PRINCE OF WALES' FORT:
A SOCIAL HISTORY 1717-1782
by Michael Payne
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Preface

In the course of doing the research for this history of Prince of Wales' Fort I have become deeply indebted to a number of people for their help and advice. While one name will appear on the cover of this report, many have contributed in meaningful ways to whatever is good in it. I would like to thank the Hudson's Bay Company for allowing me to use their archives, and quote material from their company records. The Hudson's Bay Company Archives staff also were singularly helpful. I would like to thank Mrs. Shirlee A. Smith, Hudson's Bay Company Archivist, Ms. Garron Wells and Mr. Gordon Elenbaas, assistant Archivists for their help. I am especially indebted to Ms. Wells, who in addition to her normal duties as an Archivist found time to read and criticize several sections of this report, and who gave me permission to use some of her personal research on eighteenth century sloop voyages from Churchill. I have also had occasion to use material from the Public Archives of Manitoba and Canada, and I would like to thank the staffs of both of those institutions.

Many people helped with the writing of this report providing advice, criticism, editing help, even in some cases new material that I was unaware of. This is a large group and everyone who helped me should consider themselves hereby thanked, but I would like to mention Professors Morris Mott and Ross McCormack, Frits Pannekoek, Laura McLauchlan, Ian Clarke, and the people in the Historic Research Division of Parks Canada, Prairie Region. Greg Thomas, who read the report, corrected spelling and grammatical errors, and
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All errors of fact, interpretation, and judgement are of course mine alone.
Introduction

History is not what you thought.
It is what you can remember. All
other history defeats itself.¹

This piece of useful advice for writers of history comes from
an unlikely source: Sellar and Yeatman's classic satirical
history of England 1066 And All That. It is a particularly
helpful approach to take to writing history that is to be
used in an interpretive program for a historical site:
what guides and visitors cannot remember literally does de­
feat itself. As a result the material used in this report
has been chosen wherever possible to take into account the
interests of visitors and guides, and illustrate whatever
point is being made in as dramatic and memorable a manner
as the historical record allows.

At the same time it is not the intention of this report
to simply amuse the reader, and spin a few good yarns about life
in a bay-side post in the eighteenth century. The fur
trade's importance to Canadian and Western Canadian history is
unquestionable, and with some justice Harold Innis and his
followers have seen its characteristics and pattern of devel­
opment as a paradigm of Canadian economic history as a whole.²
However, most of the work done on the fur trade to date has
emphasized fur trade economics, its relationship to explora­
tion and settlement, and even connection to wider questions
of imperial expansion and competition. What has been largely,
though not totally overlooked in fur trade historiography is
the "social" history of the fur trade.

"Social" history as field of historical study is rather
difficult to define.³ Outside of a few rather sweeping state­
ments of what it is and what it is not like G.M. Trevelyan's
suggestion that "social history" is "... a history of a people with the politics left out," most writers have contented themselves with listing the kinds of topics done in "social" history. This leaves us with a definition of social history as that which is done by social historians; a somewhat tautological position not helped by the diversity of work done by those professing to be social historians.

For the purposes of this report I have adopted a rather unsophisticated definition of "social" history, that I have borrowed from a certain Mr. Dooley, resident of Chicago circa 1900:

I know history isn't true Hinnissy, because it ain't like what I see e'very day in Halstead Street. If any one comes along with a history iv Greece or Rome that'll show me the people fightin', getting drunk, makin' love, gettin' married, ownin' the grocery man and bein' without hard coal. I'll believe they was a Greece or Rome but not before.

This report will try to trace the "fightin', getting drunk, makin' love, and ownin' the grocery man" of the people who lived in and around Prince of Wales' Fort between 1717 and 1782.

This report is a case study and like all case studies is subject to the criticism that the post in question was atypical of Hudson's Bay Company posts in the 18th century. In fact, Prince of Wales' Fort differed in several important ways from other such fur trade societies. It had a larger complement of men than most, only York Factory had equivalent numbers, and it was a stone fort, not wooden. It was the most northerly post so its climate and the natural resources of the area distinguished it from other posts, and during the period covered, a much wider variety of occupations were carried on at the fort, ranging from construction work to whaling, in addition to the usual pastimes of trading, hunting, fishing and so on.

For the most part, however, society at Prince of Wales' differed in degree rather than in kind from the society and
life-styles at other Hudson's Bay Company posts in the 18th
century. More substantial differences existed between
Hudson's Bay Company posts and those of French and, later
on, Canadian traders, and for this reason this paper cannot
be construed as a general social history of the fur trade,
though it was primarily in Hudson's Bay Company posts that
fur trade societies existed in the 18th century. French and
Canadian posts in the interior were very important in economic
and political terms, but they were often only intermittently
occupied, and then only by a handful of men for the most part,
with the major exceptions of Fort William and Michilimackinac.
It is only in Hudson's Bay Company bay-side posts that groups
of Europeans numbering thirty or more men occupied a single
site for virtually the entire century. 8

The rationale for this paper then is that there was such
a thing as a fur trade society in Hudson's Bay Company posts,
and that therefore it is useful to write the history of that
society, particularly since it has rarely been attempted
before. In order to do this, I have examined in some detail
the archival material relating to Prince of Wales' Fort in
the Hudson's Bay Company Archives. The Hudson's Bay Company
kept an extraordinary number of records of their activities
including journal books that recount the important or untoward
events in posts on a day to day basis. It is sometimes diffi­
cult to believe that a record was kept of the weather, work
schedule, trading activities, eating and drinking habits, of a
post on a daily basis 250 years ago, but the Company required
it and these records have survived. These post journals, and
to a lesser extent account books and correspondence, provide
an intriguing look into the society of bay-side posts. How­
ever, it must be remembered that the description of life con­
tained in these records was incidental to their purposes for
a commercial enterprise, and much of what we would like to
know was never commented on. Often, very intriguing information
is included simply because it was associated with an event
of more obvious importance to the men writing these journals at the time. As a result one must often "read between the lines" in the most literal of senses to see what was happening, and often infer behaviour on slim documentary evidence. Moreover, important areas of social life are ignored or only occasionally alluded to: sexual activity, family life, recreations aside from drinking, and so on. On the other hand, some activities are well documented: work, diet and physical health are good examples.

It is therefore difficult to present as full and balanced an account of life on the bay: the documentation simply will not allow it. However, it may be possible to build up a fairly accurate picture of society in Prince of Wales' Fort by borrowing from the method of Fernand Braudel. In his book *Capitalism and Material Life 1400-1800* Braudel selects certain key areas of human life for discussion and makes no claim to comprehensiveness. Nevertheless, despite limiting his attention to population growth, agriculture, food and drink, money, towns and so on, he is able to give an overall impression of material life over no less than four centuries and six continents. In a somewhat less ambitious manner I hope that by examining work and social class, recreation and leisure, diet, clothing and accommodation, health, exploration, military activity, and white-native contact, an overall impression of fur trade society in the 18th century will emerge.

In order to give as full an impression of 18th century life as possible, I have not modernized spelling, punctuation, grammar or word usage. From time to time this makes some quotations difficult to follow, but readers are asked to persevere. When necessary I have provided definitions of archaic words or terms in the end notes or the text. Sometimes I have had to explain a reference within a quotation, on which occasions I have placed my interjection within square brackets. Otherwise I have transcribed all references in the form I found them: idiosyncratic spellings and all.
The history of Prince of Wales' Fort might be construed as starting with the European discovery of Hudson's Bay in 1610. Hudson, of course, gave both his life and his name to this huge body of water that for a time seemed to offer potential as a major part of the elusive North-West Passage. He was followed by a large number of explorers into the Bay: Button, Fox, James and Munk none of whom found a passage to anything overly interesting. Jens Munk however, did winter at the mouth of the Churchill River in 1619-1620 with calamitous results. Over the winter 59 of his 61 men died of either scurvy or trichinosis or both, and in 1620 Munk and the two surviving crewmen somehow sailed back to Norway.

Munk's experience foreshadows many of the subsequent problems Europeans had in settling in the Churchill area. His party suffered disease, extreme discomfort from the cold and near starvation; three recurring themes in the story of human habitation at Churchill. Apparently however, he did recognize the potential wealth of the area in furs and suggested that fur might be the means of financing exploration in the area.¹ His experiences, however, seem to have dissuaded other Europeans from following him into the Churchill River area, and for about fifty years the shores of Hudson Bay were ignored by Europeans generally.

It was Radisson and Groseillers who are chiefly responsible for seeing the commercial potential of the bay, which could provide a simple direct route between the furs of the North-West and the markets of Europe.² Sometime about 1659 or 1660 they saw the connection between the discoveries of
Hudson and James and the rich fur lands of the Indians they were trading with north of Lake Superior. Their idea of a Hudson Bay based trade languished for a variety of reasons until 1669 when a group of English merchants outfitted the famous Nonsuch ketch to trade on the shores of the bay. The financial returns from their early provisional venture were sufficiently good to attract investor attention, and in 1670 a royally chartered company with the unwieldy corporate designation of the "Governor and Company of Adventurers of England Trading into Hudson Bay" was formed (for reasons of brevity hereafter the Hudson's Bay Company or HBC).

To begin with the Company engaged in trade at the "bottom of the bay," in what is now known as James Bay. It was engaged also in a struggle for control of the coastal trade with New England merchants, and, more importantly, French interests. From 1670 to 1713 rival imperial and commercial interests contended for control of the Hudson Bay fur trade. It was only in 1713, with the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht, that the Company gained undisputed possession of the bay-side posts.

The Company then began a period of expansion in its trade northwards along the eastern and western shores of Hudson Bay. An expedition was sent north from York Factory in 1715-1716 to make peace between the Cree and Chipewyans in the area, and the justly famed Thanadelthur or Slave Woman managed to get the two hostile groups to agree to co-exist. With the area more or less peaceful three groups of native peoples could be drawn into a trade at a post on the Churchill where their respective territories more or less overlapped. Churchill is situated in the transitional zone from taiga to tundra, yet is still close to the forest lands of the Canadian Shield. Lying amidst three distinctive environments it is not surprising that it also lay between the three native groups exploiting these different environments; the Inuit of the tundra zone, the Swampy Cree of the boreal forests and Hudson Bay Lowland regions, and the Chipewyans who drifted between the three environments.
In what is known to geographers as the northern transitional forest.\textsuperscript{5}

In addition to drawing these remote northerly natives into the fur trade Governor Knight of the HBC, the progenitor of the scheme to settle at Churchill, probably had in mind three main purposes for the new port. It would draw off extra trade from York and "...leave the latter free to compete with the French in the lands of the Saskatchewan, Moose, and Albany rivers, it would serve as a point of departure for voyages of trade and discovery to the north as well as undertaking a white whale fishing, and finally it might provide...access to great mineral wealth," particularly the legendary mines of the Copper Indians.\textsuperscript{6}

With such great prospects in store, work was begun in 1717 on a Churchill River post, and in 1719 it was officially named "Prince of Wales Fort."\textsuperscript{7} From the start the post did not quite live up to its proponents expectations. Even James Knight, its founder, was moved to remark "...York Fort is badd but this is Tenn times worse."\textsuperscript{8} Trade returns were mixed, and many observers felt that Prince of Wales' Fort would never fully pay the costs of its operation. This view was particularly strong amongst the chief factors at York, who almost to a man thought Prince of Wales' Fort only siphoned off furs that would have gone to York in any case.\textsuperscript{9} However the Company persevered with the post, and made it independent of York in 1725.

In 1730 the prestige of Prince of Wales' Fort was further augmented, when it was decided to make it the lynch-pin in the Company's military defenses on the Bay. The governing committee of the HBC on March 18, 1730 accepted a plan for an ambitious stone fort at Churchill drawn up by one of the Company's sea captains, Captain Christopher Middleton. There has always been a great deal of speculation as to why a stone fort was ever built, and particularly at the mouth of the Churchill River. York Factory was obviously much more important
PLAN OF FORT PRINCE OF WALES.
By J. B. Tyrrell. 1894.

Walls, 37 to 42 feet thick, 16 feet 9 inches high.
Scale: 80 feet = 1 inch.

Figure 2. Plan of Fort Prince of Wales F-49
Hudson's Bay Company
in economic terms: its trade was normally two to three times that of Prince of Wales' Fort. On the other hand, the Churchill River did offer a large harbour, and stone could be quarried locally. Perhaps the best explanation of why the stone fort was built was recorded by historian A.S. Morton. He argues that Prince of Wales' Fort was built not solely to defend Company interests in the Churchill River area, but as a defensible place of refuge for all bay-side employees and Company possessions in the event of war. All ships and men were to converge on Prince of Wales' Fort should fighting break out, and anchor under the fort's guns in the river mouth. Crews and employees could then man the fort's guns which could at no time have been handled by the complement of men stationed at Prince of Wales' Fort itself.

Work was begun on the stone fort in 1731, and eventually a fort was built, consisting of four bastions connected by curtain walls along which ran boarded runways for guns and a five foot high parapet wall. Forty-two cannons were mounted on the walls, and across the river a battery with emplacements for 6 additional cannons also was constructed to aid in closing off the mouth of the river to hostile shipping.

Actually the fort itself has only 40 gun emplacements, leaving two extra cannon. Where these cannon were placed is unknown. Currently each gun emplacement at the fort is filled with a cannon, and there is one cannon at Cape Merry and another placed in front of the Eskimo Museum in Churchill, so all cannon are accounted for. I suspect that the battery at Cape Merry did not have any cannon at it in 1782, though there are references in post journals to taking cannon to Cape Merry at the time when the first Cape Merry battery was built. The fort never really was totally completed, for a variety of reasons. As we shall see construction lagged, and repairs and major alterations in the fort's construction continued right up to the time the fort was captured by LaPerouse.
From 1731 to 1782 Prince of Wales' Fort remained an important, but not crucial part of the Hudson's Bay Company's operations. It was the starting-point for a variety of trading, whaling, and exploratory ventures, including the epic overland journey of Samuel Hearne to the mouth of the Coppermine River in 1770-71. It experienced the various war-scares of the century, and saw its trade increasingly usurped by French and later Canadian traders, despite its northern site. In short, it shared the general history of all the Hudson's Bay Company bay-side posts during the 18th century. Finally in 1782 its military function in Hudson's Bay Company planning was put to the test by a French expedition under the command of Compte de la Perouse. Samuel Hearne surrendered the fort without attempting to make any defence at all. Le Perouse effectively put an end to the fort's career as a trading post and as a military installation. He "...spiked the cannon and burned the gun carriages, undermined the walls and blew great breaches in them, and set fire to the fort in five different places." When Churchill was returned to the company in 1783, a new post was built at the site of the original Prince of Wales' Fort. This new Prince of Wales' Fort never achieved the economic or strategic importance of its predecessor. It entered a period of long decline as the focus of the fur trade moved inland. Whereas York Factory remained important as the chief depot of the Hudson Bay Company's trade, by the mid-1850s Churchill was left with a single post-master to run its affairs. It had become a fur-trade "ghost town," and only the construction of a railroad line and port at the mouth of the Churchill River in the early 20th century prevented its decline into total oblivion.
Hudson's Bay Company employees in the 18th century were divided into three more or less distinctive socio-economic classes. Every post had officers, tradesmen, and labourers, each of whom had their own pay scales, fringe benefits, customs and so on. The most privileged group, the officers, consisted of the Chief Factor, the Surgeon, the Sloop Master, the Deputy Factor, and often a Clerk-Writer. The latter wrote up the correspondence, post journals and so on, essentially as an apprentice learning the trade. Chief Factors were paid about £80 to £100 per annum, and could make almost as much again in "personal" trappings.\textsuperscript{1} Other officers received proportionately less: the Deputy about half the salary of the Chief Factor, Sloop's Captains about £40 per annum,\textsuperscript{2} and Surgeons about the same. Apprentice clerks were paid considerably less, £15 a year being considered high, though of course they had the chance of advancement.\textsuperscript{3}

In comparison skilled tradesmen earned between £20 and £36 per annum, and labourers began at £6 per annum and received increments of 40 shillings assuming good behaviour up to a maximum of about £14 per annum.\textsuperscript{4} The following entry from a letter sent to Henry Kelsey from the Committee illustrates the basic wage differential between tradesmen and labourers. A cooper was hired at £25 per annum for four years, whereas a Tailor, considered to be a relatively unskilled job was hired for five years at £6, £8, £10, £12, and finally £14 per annum.\textsuperscript{5} Needless to say the tradesmen and labourers had fewer chances for making money on the side, though they did engage in some illicit trading as we will see, and the
Company did offer bonuses for performing certain jobs. In order to encourage whaling for example, brandy and then later money bounties were offered for each whale killed. Exploratory work was also rewarded: Samuel Hearne received a gratuity of £200 for his efforts on the Company's behalf.

On the whole these wages compare favourably with wages in England, particularly as room and board was provided by the company. The most highly skilled craftsmen in London earned between 15 and 20 shillings a week without board. Craftsmen in less highly esteemed trades, such as cabinet-makers or glaziers, earned between 12 and 15 shillings a week. Weavers and other crafts where pay was on a piece-work basis often earned as little as 10 shillings a week. Thus men with recognized tradesmen's skills would earn between £25 and £50 per annum without board. Labourers earned no more than 10 shillings a week, and outside of London wages tended to be even less though the cost of living may also have been lower.

At least as far as wages were concerned the company seems to have followed the general social pattern of England at the time, even down to relative wage differentials between skilled and unskilled workers. However, there is more to social class than simple differences in wages. As subsequent sections of this paper will indicate, there were differences in leisure and recreation patterns, diet, accommodation, and even opportunities for enrichment from illicit trade between the three groups of company employees. In particular, the officers of the company had a privileged position vis-à-vis the tradesmen and labourers. Between tradesmen and labourers fewer distinctions are apparent except for a clear difference in terms of wages. However, where distinctions can be made in terms of accommodation and the like, I will mention them.

In terms of everyday material life the division of fur-trade post society into three socio-economic classes seems sound. To be sure these are not classes in any traditional Marxist sense, nor even perhaps in terms of the models of
current social history. If, however, "...class happens when some men, as a result of identity of their interests as between themselves, and as against other men whose interests are different from (and usually opposed to) theirs," then we can find clear evidence of this sort of class behaviour at Prince of Wales' Fort.

Class interests intersected and often clashed in the work-place. At its simplest level, conflict arose because company officers were charged with the responsibility of making sure work was done, and tradesmen and labourers quite naturally preferred to complete work at a leisurely pace. They also occasionally preferred to drink rather than work, or otherwise while away their time in more pleasant diversions than cutting wood, hauling water and picking oakum.

When this happened the officers often had no alternative but to use their fists to force the men to work, and as a result "labour-management" relations were often very physical. Mr. Squire for example, as deputy factor would often kick, challenge to fight, and threaten to make "....Spread Agles..." of workmen whom he felt needed correction. This kind of direct confrontation and violence was not uncommon. One of the most intriguing examples involved Ferdinand Jacobs and the mason.

.....this Morning I went to the Building where the Mason & Others had laid three Stones which I found was not Set as they Should be, two of them I turned off the wall, the Other I Showed to Our Mason where his Error was, and Could not help Reprimanding him to which he gave me very Provoking Answers, I Said to him if there was a Stick upon the wall I Should Bate him, he Immediately took up a Six foot Rule Expressing at the Same time many wicked Imprecations that he would Knock me Down if I touch'd him, upon which I took up a Rouler & made to hit him on his Shoulder when he at the Same time Struck full at me with the Rule wch. Blow I Guarded of with my Left Arm, after which we Closed, Mr. Norton Came upon the wall & Laid hold of him when we all three Fell on the Gravil at which time we Quited Each Other, I told him I would Put him in Irons, he Came off the wall very willingly to be put in Irons Expecting
thereby to Live an Idle Life, to Prevent which and that the Build: g may not be retarded I Ordered him to his work again...12

Jacobs went on further to complain that he had worked very little after his wages had been raised to £20 per annum, and furthermore was something of an ungrateful glutton: "...as he is a man of Large Stature & Stomach allowed him Every winter on the Partridge Days Six Partridges Each Day which is three more then is given to Other men."13

Less serious challenges to the officers' authority were treated in a rather cavalier or off-hand manner:

...John Buttler Junr. Came home to this Fort for Some Necessaries, he behaved in so rude and afrun­ted me in such a maner with his Sauce language that I gave him a blowe with my hand and put him from me (our people told me that know him beter than I do/ that he is Some times luatic & Crackd braind, so I thought him not worth my anger...14

Of course the men did have some ways to get back at officers who they felt abused them. They could fight back at the time or threaten violence later. In 1746 one Alexander Robertson was put in irons and given six lashes with a cat of nine tails for assaulting Ferdinand Jacobs. His brother flew into a rage and threatened to seek revenge against men who testified against his brother. He too had to be put in irons, and was not released for five days, when he had become somewhat calmer.15 Others threatened to destroy property. One Arthur Wildridge, for example, took the opportu­nity in 1759 to threaten to break up the lime kiln, and thereby ruin two years worth of mortar. This would have been a severe set-back, of course, to the fort's construction. His motive seems to have been at least in part a dislike of Ferdinand Jacobs whom he had struck the year before.16

In fact, at one point Moses Norton seems to have been even threatened with legal action for hitting Thomas Johnson:

...Last year when ye Ship was here I was Provoked to Strike Thos. Johnson for his Denieing to Do his Duty for wch have had a Lawyers Letter Sined Tomlinson wch Letter and a Certificate of ye Whole
Affair have Sent to your Hons, Inclosed in ye Packet...17

The men seem to have discovered that their interests could be protected with fists, sabotage, or legal action. The threat of violence from the officers was not the only thing they tried to protect themselves against. Some wished to break their contracts and return home early. The Company tried to prevent this, but when directly challenged by people like John Dunk they could do nothing except let them return. John Dunk had asked to go home but the committee's letter of 1752 did not so order him. He appears to have answered ".... that he would go home notwithstanding, & that if he is detain'd will do no work & will write to ye Duck of New Castles office, & further Said that he is Keept, that it must be in Irons...."18 He went home.

They also seem to have realized that collective action could sometimes force a hearing of their grievances. As we will see later on, they often resorted to public displays of their displeasure with rations, and on at least one occasion they forced repair of a sloop they considered unsafe. In 1767 the ordinary seamen refused to sail north on the "Success" sloop until some major repairs were made to it, making it considerably more seaworthy than it was.19 In 1765 many of the men protested and demanded that they be allowed to return home to the Orkney Islands when the supply ship arrived without having stopped to pick up mail or anything else in the Orkneys. Their demand was refused, but 15 men wrote and signed a petition complaining of having to work for two years with no news from their families and friends.20 Thereafter the Company would seem to have made efforts to prevent a recurrence of this complaint, or at least the problem was not repeated.

Disputes of one sort or another were also quite common within the officer class. Problems often arose apparently over the question of authority and jurisdiction, though other
factors may also have been involved. In particular, surgeons and sloop captains seem to have caused trouble for the Chief Factors. They apparently viewed themselves as autonomous, and in fact in many ways they were. The earliest example of this kind of jurisdictional dispute occurred in 1731. Anthony Beale, the man in charge of Prince of Wales' Fort, died in the spring, and Thomas Bird his deputy took over responsibility for the post. The surgeon, John Humes seems to have resented Bird taking command. Perhaps he thought the post should have been his, or he may have simply felt that a young relatively inexperienced man like Bird would be unable to prevent him from doing as he liked. At any rate, by May 29, 1731 Bird was reporting that John Humes was insolent and would obey no commands saying ..."a Comp:y Gov:n is no Governor..." Bird responded two days later by making Humes dine by himself, and trying to keep him from learning anything about company business: "...I serv'd Jno: Humes Surgeon his Allowance out by himself I resenting his ill Language & behaviour not thinking him proper to be Acquainted wth: your honours Affaires at this Place..." Humes then began leaving the fort on his own without Bird's permission. This was deemed to be an important offense against company regulations since men abroad outside the post walls could, and often did, trade privately with Indians. It seems this was in fact what Humes was up to since on June 19 he was caught talking to Indians privately in his cabin.

in ye Afternoon Some of the Indian Docters Came in & I wanted some few Salves & Ointments, I sent for our Surgeon Jno:Humes & he told me when he Came he had none wch: I know to the Contrary Whereupon I went to his Cabbin & found his door Shut, I required to Come into his Cabbin wch: he denied & I was forced, to Use him very Abrupt, & told him I whould break open his Cabbin door if he did not Let me in, I found 3 of ye Natives Let in by some of our men but I could not find out who & 1 of them was lock'd in his Cabbin at the Same time & he told me if I offered to break open his door he would draw upon me, & this has been his way of Carrige ever Since the Decease of Cap:n Beale, & he has more of his faction in ye factory...
Bird's final statement that Humes was leading a faction in the post against him might be attributed to paranoia, were it not for the fact that such factions did develop. Between 1750 and 1752, Joseph Isbister, the Chief Factor at Prince of Wales' Fort was faced with an extremely mutinous faction amongst his officers.

To a very large extent trouble between Isbister and his officers arose out of Isbister's rather abrasive character. He was impetuous, irascible, and interfering. His later reaction to the massacre at Henley House is indicative of his character. Henley House was a small interior post dependent on Albany, which in 1755 was under the command of Joseph Isbister. Small and remote, it was not easily defended, and apparently one rather villainous Indian and his two sons decided to rob it. They killed all five men in the post and then looted it. Isbister found out who they were, and waited until they came to Albany to trade. When they did, he allowed them into the fort, shut the gate, and then seized them. He then almost immediately hanged them. It seems this did little to improve white-Indian relations in the area, and Isbister was brought home in disgrace to England, a victim of his hasty and impetuous nature.24

At Prince of Wales' the first suggestion of trouble occurred when Isbister interfered with what James Walker, the Sloop Master, felt were his responsibilities. Isbister rebuked a man making repairs on the sloop for not doing them properly. It seems, however, that the man was following Walker's instructions. Walker became angry, and questioned Isbister's judgement in things nautical. Isbister accused Walker of being idle, of not promoting the Company's interests, and he banned Walker from dining with his fellow officers at the Factor's table. They then fought over geese, and Isbister threatened to relieve Walker of his command. Walker at first refused to apologize to Isbister, then finally "begane to humble himself & acknowledge his faults."25 Isbister
finally relented and forgave Walker, but Walker now nurtured an obvious dislike of his superior.

He was soon joined as Isbister's enemy by Mr. Bass the Surgeon, and Timothy Sutton the clerk. These two decided one morning to go for a walk outside the fort, but Isbister refused to give them permission to do so. He stated that the Surgeon had no reason to leave the post, and should always be available in the event of an accident. Moreover, he stated that he had to know what business anyone leaving the fort was about, or else he could not stop private, illicit trade. Bass replied in an impudent manner. That night the fort's watch bill was torn down, and Timothy Sutton was suspected of doing it. Apparently after the watch bill, a roster of whose duty it was to stand watch was discovered missing, Sutton announced that he did not care and would never write up another.

Isbister began to suspect a conspiracy against him because he was trying to curtail private trading. He already suspected Walker of trading brandy, with some cause, since Walker had a habit of anchoring the sloop out of sight from the fort at ship-time, and now Sutton and Bass seemed to be joining him. Bass and Sutton then began to leave the fort without permission, and on October 27, 1750 they were caught trying to waylay some Indian women outside the fort. On November 22 some Indian women came to the fort on the verge of freezing, and were put in the cookroom to warm themselves by the fire. Sutton, Bass and Walker all joined the women there; according to Isbister so as to "...gratify their brutal appetits & abuse ye women before it Could come to my knowlage...." Isbister went to the cookroom and eventually forced the three to leave, but not before they accused Isbister of wanting the women for himself, which he hotly denied.

They then began to demand vast quantities of brandy, which Isbister refused to give them, and tried to encourage the
tradesmen and labourers not to work. Bass, as surgeon, tried
to encourage men with small injuries to be malingerers.\textsuperscript{32}
They also refused to dine and drink with Isbister, or follow
any orders. Sutton refused even to celebrate Christmas
with Isbister, Jacobs and the other officers, sending
Isbister instead an insulting letter.\textsuperscript{33} It was a miserable
winter for Isbister though he may have been able to derive
some amusement from at least one of his unruly officer's es-
capades. Apparently Sutton and Bass one day "...thought they
See an Indian woman Coming to ye factory, Some distance off
they both Set out with one Acord to intercep her (but it
happined to be a wolfe which when they drew nigh perud them
& drove them back with as great precipitation as they Set
out with..."\textsuperscript{34}

The three continued absolutely intransigent and disrup-
tive until ship-time that summer. Isbister sent Bass and
Sutton aboard ship, and refused to let them come ashore.\textsuperscript{35}
Bass quickly begged forgiveness, and tried to get Isbister
to take him back. Isbister did not particularly want him
back, but he could not persuade the ship's surgeon to replace
Bass.\textsuperscript{36} He was forced to take Bass back with all sorts of
assurances that his behaviour would improve.\textsuperscript{37} Walker had
earlier made similar promises which convinced Isbister he
could stay, but Sutton was shipped home ingloriously.\textsuperscript{38}

If Isbister thought his troubles were over, he was
soon disappointed. Bass and Walker began to cause trouble
again that winter. Bass started the new round of hostility
by refusing categorically to read Sunday prayers, leading
to speculation that his reason for doing so was a reluctance
to get out of bed.\textsuperscript{39} The next week Walker began again to
avoid social evenings with his fellow officers. He refused
Isbister's invitation to share a Saturday evening bowl of
punch, and indicated to Isbister that he disliked him be-
cause Isbister would not "tolerate him to have free access
to Indian women & make him large presents of furs."\textsuperscript{40}
Isbister stated that he refused to buy Walker's friendship in this way, and went on to point out that if he gave Walker furs it could only be at Company or his own expense and Walker did not seem to merit it.  

Bass and Walker then began to do the same thing as they had the previous year. They left the fort without permission, attempting to pursue Indian women after they had visited the fort, and tried to get the other men to evade work. On one occasion Bass tried to convince one John Spence to evade work. When Spence refused to let Bass divert him, Bass hurled a board at Spence cutting his hand.  

They also began to fight with Ferdinand Jacobs, Isbister's deputy. They took to calling Jacobs a "Pimp & Tale bearer" amongst other things, and later Bass fought with him. A rather silly argument had developed between Isbister and Bass over medicines. Walker and Jacobs were present, and Jacobs interposed himself on Isbister's side. Bass began to revile him, and called him a "Coward." Jacobs took hold of Bass, and shook him, whereupon Bass began to bite Jacob's hand and kick him. Isbister separated them, and then Walker tried to start a fight with Jacobs. Isbister finally had to threaten Walker with being put in irons, in order to stop the fighting.  

A solution of sorts was reached at ship-time: Isbister, Bass, and motley collection of others Isbister called "Sots & Mutinous persons, & useless men," all left the factory and sailed home. The story of Isbister's troubles indicates a great deal about life in the post. First of all, company officers resented infringements on their liberties and authority. At one point Walker stated that he would rather earn $30 a year serving for James Isham than $40 a year with Isbister. Isham apparently was a more easy-going factor, who did not try to prevent his men from having sexual relations with Indian women, and who participated fully in the tradition of giving "presents" of furs to all his men. It seems that factors who tried to follow the
"letter of the law" in company regulations created grave problems for themselves. This period of the post's history is also marked by serious problems with the men, disputes over food, heavy drinking, fighting, and an attempt on Isbister's life by a disgruntled Armourer.\textsuperscript{47} Too much, perhaps, has been made of the events during Isbister's tenure as Chief Factor at Prince of Wales' Fort, but it is quite probable that when the officer class at a post was divided, severe social problems developed. It seems a united group of officers was necessary to preserve the system of custom and tradition that held society at Prince of Wales' Fort together.

A post like Prince of Wales' Fort was quite different from the kinds of fur-trade posts set up by French and Canadian traders in the interior. These posts were really no more than places of exchange where whites and Indians met to trade their respective products. Prince of Wales' Fort was both a military installation and factory as well. The Company chose to call its major posts factories because it was always hoped that they would be productive sites, not just convenient depots for European goods. It is significant that the first entry in the earliest surviving document from Prince of Wales' Fort lists the goods produced in the factory that year: 400 Hatchets, 100 "Ice Chessels," 100 Scrapers, 40 "Baggonets."\textsuperscript{48}

The company's plans to make Prince of Wales' Fort a hive of industry were tempered somewhat by the attitudes of their employees to the question of work. Long days of work were not uncommon. The men engaged in the white whale fishing were sometimes asked to work from 3:00 A.M. to "Dark Night,"\textsuperscript{49} and the shipwrights might have to work from 4:00 A.M. to 8:00 P.M., getting sloops ready for the summer voyage northwards to trade with the Eskimo.\textsuperscript{50} When such extra effort was required, these men were often granted extra liquor rations as a compensation.\textsuperscript{51} In fact, liquor
was often used to reward men who took on added risks or responsibilities in their work. Thomas Smith was granted ten gallons of brandy a year in return for risking life and limb blowing up rocks for the fort's walls. This kind of effort prompted Joseph Isbister to describe the workforce at Prince of Wales' Fort in rather flattering terms:

No Idlers here no nor is their Men Suficent to do ye Necessary works of this place & at this time Severall works lie undone for want of hands to doe it (here is building, rafting, fishing, Stones to be blowd Drild and hauld to the wales by the Horses, lime to be burnt besides other rocks which must be done all at one time.

This kind of hard work, however, tended to be seasonal. The men worked long and hard in late Spring and early Summer, preparing the ships, digging the vegetable garden, pursuing the goose hunt and other such seasonal tasks. Work was also long and hard in late summer when the supply ship arrived. "Ship-time" was a period of frantic work with furs to be packed, accounts to be completed and loading and unloading the ship, all in the space of a few days. The supply ships had to be off, and heading for home almost immediately or else they ran the risk of being trapped in the bay for the winter.

Throughout much of the rest of the year the men do not seem to have worked at a frantic pace. They had half of Saturday and all day Sunday off work, and rainy or cold days too. Isbister, despite his comment about the absence of idlers, commented that it was against his inclination to let the men have so many holidays.

In fact when Chief Factors went out on tours of the work sites they often found very little work being done. Ferdinand Jacobs for example paid a surprise visit to the wooders' tents up river one fall, and discovered to his great displeasure that the men had collected less than a month's worth of firewood after several months' work. Isbister visited the post garden one day, and saw that most
of the men meant to be working there were missing: "I went to our hay house where I found ye following persons loitering their time away: Vizt Richard Johnson, James Pink, Thos. Bailey, Thos. Ormsby & Thos. Haycock..." In 1749 a new carpenter came to the fort, and Isbister mentions that his assistants and he completed as much work in six weeks as previous carpenters had claimed for a whole winter's work.

This of course is typical of attitudes towards work, and the general pattern of work (short periods of intense effort followed by longer periods of very little work), in pre-industrial societies. It also helps to explain why many company officers found it easier to encourage greater output with their fists than with rational persuasion. However, the problem was somewhat more complex than that. Many company employees did not, in reality possess the skills that they were hired to provide. Tradesmen were commonly reported to be deficient in training. An armourer might be both a poor hunter and incapable of putting the post's guns in order. In 1750 the post's blacksmith was declared almost entirely unfit for his job. Apparently he did not even know how to shoe horses properly: "our Smith Set about making frosted Shoes for our horses but as Yet I find he had no notion howe to make or Shoe horses."

Some employees were simply untrustworthy. Thefts were not unheard of, and at York Factory on at least one occasion, the Chief Factor had to send to Churchill to get a key made, since he could not trust his own armourer. Many, especially tradesmen, resented doing anything but work appropriate to their skills:

Snowing hard which put our people of from working out of doores so employed them in picking oakhams for our Craft, which our Masons Grumbled to doe expecting to do no other work but their owne business.

Occasionally an employee was quite simply an idle and
useless person. James Holly was both of these things, and
something of a trouble-maker too. Shortly after his arri-
val at Prince of Wales' Fort he distinguished himself by
behaving "in a Verry rude manner without Cause, Exclaming
against ye Country provision, & Said he had not found two
true words of all ye Company Said to him." Isbister men-
tioned that he was "a Verry Idle fellow & will work no longer
then when Mr. Jacobs or my Self is besd him & is much given
to liquor & Verry Corupted." On November 28, 1751 he lived
up to his early promise by coming
home from ye woods with his beding without leave
from Mr. Walker or my knowlage he Saies in his
defence that ye men at the great Sleedge do throw
Snow bales at him (a Slender excuse for his deser-
ting his duty ye reason yt ye people heav Snow bales
at him is because he is remarkably idle.
He had to be sent home the next summer.

The environment at Churchill also was something of a
deterrent to work. It could make work distinctly unpleasant,
and often made it much more difficult than it need be. In
the summer, if the weather was fine, then the men were plagued
by flies and mosquitoes: "Such fine weather ye Sand Flys were
very Lively and bitt us as we were at work." Governor
Knight was even more graphic in his description of these
pests.

but the Musketos & flyes are so Intolerable thick
that there is no Workeing for them without a fire
all round; & last Night they was so brief that I
thought I should be stung to Death, altho' I made
a Smoke in the tent wch allmost Smok'd my Eyes out
& at Last forc'd out of the Tent to lye upon my
Chest. their Ugly Venomous Stings raisd Such bumps
all over me that it putt me into a feavour.

At York Factory at least "Musketos Fans" were a common
item of trade. They were made by the Indians of the interior,
who attached the long black hair of the Buffalo to short
sticks, with which one could whisk biting insects off the
face.
Insects were a minor hardship compared with the cold to be endured all winter. During that long season if the snow were light, the men out collecting firewood had to carry it home on their shoulders since the "great Sledge" could not be taken out. If there was a lot of snow things were even worse. Snow could pile up to a depth of 24 feet in the courtyard. When this happened snow had to be shovelled off the roof-tops, and all buildings reinforced to prevent them from collapsing. Sometimes passageways or tunnels had to be dug under the snow in order to get around, and in 1780 the men had to dig their way out from the second story windows in the dwelling house every morning, the drifting was so bad. Worse still was the fact that the cold could prevent the mortar used on the walls from setting. For a time when this happened, a rather unsavory solution to the problem was employed: "our Masons began to build on ye new house to day, but are oblige to Cover their work Every Even:g wth Horse dung to prevent ye frost in ye Nights Damaging of of it."

The weather could also be highly destructive, for example on August 11, 1746 the fort was hit by a hailstorm that smashed all the windows on the north-west side of the buildings with hail-stones four and three-quarter inches in circumference. On October 5, 1759 a violent wind blew the whole wooden parapet off the ramparts along the north-east wall, and also blew down most of the palisade wall outside the fort. Sometimes a whole winter's work could be destroyed by adverse weather conditions. In 1740 the carpenters had spent a whole winter producing about 400 "deals," and about twenty-four hundred feet of quartering. High winds and raging tides prevented the men bringing them along the river from reaching the fort, so they were left on the ice. The next day when conditions improved, a party was sent out to bring them in only to find that the river had broken up, and the timber had been swept out to sea.
Despite the weather and despite the somewhat casual approach taken to work, Prince of Wales' Fort was not an unproductive place. As many as 96 white whales were killed in a season, and rendered down into oil. Large numbers of trading goods like ice chisels and the like were produced in the fort's work-shops, and a large proportion of the building materials used for the fort were produced on site. The men of the fort were also very productive of strange and bizarre schemes.

For a time when horses were difficult to procure for the fort, there were efforts made to tame caribou, and train them to pull sleds. Moses Norton shipped home several live elks, much to the consternation of the ship's captain, and the London committee. It is not exactly clear why he sent elks home, but the shipping of animals and plants home, either as specimens or live was common and sometimes even encouraged. There was also an attempt made to poison animals which seemed able to avoid conventional traps and setting guns.

The Coseluss Invecus I Sent for this Experiment

Gentlemen, we have in ye winter time a Great many Shy Vermin as foxes Wolves & c. wch has been wounded at a Gun & gone of, therefore will not Take bait of a Gun or a Trap at ye Same time will take a Loose piece of Meat that is Carelessly Laid, having Tryed all ye Methods as Possible Can be Invented, Now Understanding that this Phosphorous preparid in a Proper manner & Mixt up in fatt & Laid Loose when ye Vermin takes it, throws them into a Delerium or a Profound Sleep by wch if well Looked after may be a Means to Gett them, for if any Vermin are Catcht in Traps these Shye Ones, devours them by wch. we are at a Great Loss.

The appeal of work on the bay obviously varied from person to person, but according to James Isham the work had to be fairly appealing to explain why so many men signed on again at the end of their contracts, or who, after going home for a year, signed on to return.
I can but Observe that some persons that has been many Years in those parts, Know's not what itts' to work for a Lively whood when in England, or if they did, the work they have ab't the fort, being chiefly of an Easy Nature, intermixt with Variety of pleasures, such as hunting, fishing & c. that when in England they can not fix to heard Labr. after such a Long time of Ease and pleasure, therefore are glad to Returning; not mention'g the clear proffitt they find they can Gain; a proof of which, a man at £23/18 [sic] pr. ann. which is 9s. a week in England can not save clear at the Years End about 4 or 5 D. whereas a frugal man will Clear £4 out of £6 Yearly in those parts....it is not the pleasantness of the Country that makes men prefer itt to all other places, but the Ease, pleasure, and in truth the proffitt they Gain by thier Sallery & c.81
IV Recreation and Leisure

In traditional societies up to one-third of the year might be considered "leisure."¹ I think it would be stretching any sensible definition of the term "leisure" to claim that it constituted one-third of the working year for Hudson's Bay Company employees, but they did enjoy a considerable amount of free time. Generally speaking they had Sunday, and half of Saturday off work, in addition to days when the weather was too inclement to work.² Moreover, they had various holidays: Coronation Day, Guy Fawkes Day, Christmas, New Year's Day, Easter, St. George's Day, and St. Andrew's Day. All might be celebrated at the discretion of the Chief Factor. Sometimes special holidays were declared also, to celebrate the King's Birthday, the signing of peace treaties, or even local events like the completion of some work on the fort,³ or to mourn the death of a prominent company servant.⁴

Life in bayside posts was not one of unremitting toil, and leisure activity was an important part of daily activity in Prince of Wales' Fort. I am using the term leisure to mean "the time an individual has free from work or other duties and which may be utilized for purposes of relaxation, diversion, social achievement, or personal development."⁵ As post journals and correspondence tell us little about leisure directed at personal development or social achievement, for the most part I am going to talk about activities engaged in for relaxation or diversion, or what sociologists might call recreation.⁶

In attempting to write about fur trade recreation and leisure some very real problems emerge in terms of defining
what sorts of activity fall into this area of social life. Hunting for example was usually considered a recreation in England in the 18th century, but it might or might not have been so considered in bay-side posts. On occasion it was engaged in for relaxation or personal profit, particularly by company officers who could supplement their earnings through their private trapping, but in these cases it should be construed as an early form of "moon-lighting," and not recreation as such. Similarly, a great deal of the men's other spare-time activities such as exploring around the post, and the like may have been done with ulterior motives of self-enrichment in mind. Illicit trade, while not technically a "leisure" activity, was a popular pursuit outside of work hours and I will deal with it later on in this section.

Recreational activity at Prince of Wales' Fort was for the most part sedentary which is not surprising when one considers that the work was largely physical. By far the most common recreation was drinking, but other sedentary pursuits were also common. Games that involved a measure of gambling apparently were very popular amongst company employees and Indians. Cards, dice, checkers, and dominoes all seem to have been played regularly though direct confirmation that they were played is hard to find. The equipment used in such games was of course the property of the men themselves, and therefore does not usually appear on company inventories. James Isham, however, in his Observations, offers a Cree-English dictionary that includes some interesting terms. He offers Cree equivalents for cards, the King, the Queen, the Knave, the ace or one, the various suits and so on. He also lists words or phrases for the following activities—dancing, walking, "leaping," running, riding, singing, speaking, standing, lying, swimming and diving. This of course indicates that words were needed to describe these activities, not to mention the cards, and that there-
fore these objects and activities were not unknown on the bay. Company journals also occasionally refer to these sorts of pursuits as the following entry for December 23, 1754 shows. "I am Credibly Informed that Mr. Squire yesterday after Prayers in Company wth. Some of My Mess & the Two Ship Carptrs. Lost 15 Tinn Pots of Bumboe in Tossing up." Mr. Squire apparently was playing dice for alcohol since bumboe is a drink of rum with sugar, water and nutmeg. Indians also took up some of these games, and we have reference to their skill at draughts at a somewhat later date. According to Daniel Harmon they were so taken with the game, and became so proficient at it that few if any whites could beat them. Indians also enjoyed sleight-of-hand guessing games especially when they also involved gambling. A favorite game involved hiding some object in one of a number of moccasins, and then challenging someone to guess which moccasin held the hidden object. According to Andrew Graham, the Indians would "stake one, two, three, even ten beaver skins at a time; and it frequently happens that he who in the morning was possessed of furs sufficient to procure at the Factory necessaries for his whole family for a twelvemonth, shall in a few hours be destitute of the means to barter a knife or an awl."  

Another sedentary activity that had its devotees was reading. Hudson's Bay Company posts generally had libraries composed of the odd books the company sent out to improve their employees' minds and morals, and a wide variety of books the men brought out themselves and then left behind. There is no real way of learning exactly what proportion of the men took advantage of the post library nor even what books were available at Churchill since the library there was packed up and sent to England in 1924. However, the libraries at York Factory and Moose Factory were sent to Winnipeg and repose now in the vaults of Hudson's Bay House.
The oldest appears to be the *Epistles of Pliny the Younger* in Latin which contains the signature "John Dering 1678." The collection also includes 18th century works on philosophy, language, medicine, poetry, elocution, and other high minded subjects. Almanacs, comic plays, and other such lighter fare also appear in the collection, indicating that self-improvement was not the only motive for reading.

Nevertheless, the fact that most of the books were of a technical or intellectual nature suggests that most of the reading was done by company officers. The fact that many of the tradesmen and even some of the labourers were literate, and could write letters on their own to the London committee means that they too might have been readers.

A market for "popular" literature was developing the the 18th century, but like their cards, checkers, and dominoes the ordinary men may well have carried their copies of *Pilgrim's Progress* or cheap chapbooks to the New World and back in their chests without ever having the fact noted in correspondence, inventories, or journals.

Nevertheless, more active kinds of recreation were sometimes noted. For example a tradition developed of target shooting on St. George's Day: "and in the afternoon the People that were at the Fort amus'd themselves with fireing at a mark and other diversions agreeable to the day according to old custom." The posts sometimes had horses for hauling goods around, and a Chief Factor might on occasion employ one for a little exercise. Humphrey Marten at York Factory did so: "I took much exercise on Horseback in the fall, and do so still: As the post set in before we had snow, I had a fine opportunity of riding of the Forked-tree, Four mile gulley, Sallisbury hammock, and almost to the Burnt Tent, but the old broken winded Horse did not like the Sport half so well as I did, and frequently fell on his knees probably to pray for Snow to hinder such long Journeys."
We know that company employees sometimes skated though it is not until the 19th century that frequent reference is made to this pleasant activity. It is also not exactly clear how the men skated, or at least on what they skated, but we do know it could be hazardous: "In the afternoon Mr. John Agnew had the Misfortune to fall on the ice a skating and broke his chollar bone." There is also a reference in post journals to playing football. Once again references are more common in the 19th century, when apparently crews of the Hudson's Bay Company supply ships regularly played football on the ice of Hudson Strait on their inward journey, and the men stationed at Norway House played the boys at the missionary school at Rossville. Probably the first game of football every played in Manitoba took place on New Year's Day, 1734.

this Being ye first Day of ye New Year we Keep it accordingly, & Gave our men Liquor in wch. we all offfen Repated a good Health to our masters & a Hapy New Year, It being Little wind at NWt. & fine weather all our men Spent most of ye Day in Sports as at foot Ball & ce. It would be intriguing to know exactly how the game was played, especially since in England at the time it had so many variations. Sometimes only kicking was allowed, whereas other variations of the sport "emphasized throwing and carrying." The ball itself varied between inflated bladders and small hard balls, and the field might be anything from the length of a parish's boundaries, two to three miles, or a small enclosed field. Teams varied from hundreds a side to ten to fifteen, and goals might be scored by kicking, throwing or carrying the ball between posts set ten yards apart, or in the case of the famous Shrovetide game at Derby carrying the ball to the gate of a nursery ground on one side and to the wheel of a water mill on the other. At any rate, it was generally a rough and "manly" game well suited to the tastes of Company employees in the 18th century.
Company employees seem to have had a taste for violent entertainment, a characteristic they shared with most of their compatriots who had an unpleasant propensity for bull and bear baiting, dog and cock fighting and the like. The more common English blood sports were seemingly absent from Prince of Wales' Fort, but fighting was common. The fighting was of an impromptu nature, and was caused by drink and ill-feeling mostly, though once again in the 19th century the practice seems to have become more sporting and less spontaneous. It of course was tied in with the ubiquitous human tendency to test strength and skill in contests like arm wrestling, lifting weights and so on: contests that undoubtedly took place at Prince of Wales' Fort. Fights sometimes indicated a hostility to authority. As we have seen company officers often had to rely on their fists to maintain order, but more often they arose out of the very human tensions involved when people live in close proximity to one another. When they occurred they must have provided good entertainment, though men were sometimes badly hurt:

at ½ past 1 O:Clock this morning Archld. Schlater & 13 men of our Wooders Came to this factory with Thos. Ormsby who by a fall Yesterday in ye evening broak his legg at their tint door his foot Slipt as they told me makeing water but I doubt the troth of this report & think it was rather done by fighting & quareling.27

Subsequent statements made to the Chief Factor Joseph Isbister show that his original suspicion was correct.

One Robert Lowman was savagely beaten in 1756, and was rendered unfit for work for weeks.28 The year before he had managed to render himself unfit for work through drinking "Robt. Lowman not able to work being Troubled with. a Nervious disorder, wch. there is Room to believe Proceeded from his hard Drinking this Holly Day time, being a Person much adicted to Get Drunk."29 The year before that he hurt Samuel Skinner's knee so badly in a fight that Skinner was unable to work for more than a month.30 Lowman was obviously something of a
brawler and a drinker, but he was certainly not alone in either quality.

Drink was something of a mixed blessing to posts like Prince of Wales' Fort. It was an integral part of all celebrations and it was regularly used to reward the men for work done or as an incentive to get work done. It was customary to give the men approximately one quart of brandy each on Wednesdays and Saturdays if they wanted it, and the Chief Factor on those same days would have his officers over to his quarters in the evening for a bowl of rum or brandy punch. In addition to this, spruce and strong beer were drunk at meal-times, and officers sometimes enjoyed wine.

In 1721 average consumption of brandy, according to the account books, was 7 3/8 gallons per person per year. The average was lowered somewhat by the presence of two tee-totallers, and at least five out of the 16 men at Prince of Wales' Fort drank over ten gallons of brandy, over and above the alcohol given to them without charge. The amount of brandy purchased by the men seems to have declined as the century wore on. In 1737 average consumption was approximately 3 1/8 gallons per person, though over 200 gallons of brandy were dispensed at company expense or about 3½ gallons more per person. In 1745 consumption was down to an average of about 2½ gallons per person with approximately another two gallons dispensed per person at company expense. I suspect the lowered rates of alcohol purchase from Company stores reflects not so much lowered consumption rates, but rather more illicit trade in brandy and spirits.

At any rate alcohol consumption was high, and it remained a serious social problem throughout the 18th century, for all that alcohol made dining on Wednesdays and Saturdays more pleasant, and Christmas, Easter, St. George's Day and the other holidays more joyous. A lengthy discussion of these celebrations can be found in the journal of H.M.S.
Furnace when that ship wintered at Prince of Wales' Fort:

This being the Anniversary of her Majestys Coronation Day we solumnized it in a partic­r Manner. We march'd all our Men from ye New Fort, under Arms, to the Cove where the Ships Lay, being above 2 Miles distant, and at Noon Dischard'd 28 Guns belonging to both ships that were lay'd in order on the shore for that pur­pose where ye two ships Winter. The Officers drank to his Majestys Health and Success to the British Arms, as ye Guns were firing, It was Observ'd at ye same time that the wine with which the Officers drank the Aforesaid Healths, and which was good port wine, froze in the Glass as soon as pour'd out of the Bottle, They March'd back in ye same order with drums beating & Colours flying, when they arriv'd at ye New Fort they were Drawn up in the Middle of the Area, where they went thro' their Exercise, fir'd several Vollier, & drank to the Health of his Majesty, the prince and princess of Wales & all the Royal Family, The Articles of War & Orders of the Navy were read to them, In the Evening His Majestys Officers and those of the Hudsons Bay Company were plentifully regal'd & the Men belonging to both ships and ye Factory Men had thirty Gallons of Brandy made into punch to drink ye aforesaid Healths, to which ye Natives were invited, and the Evening Concluded with all possible Demonstrations of joy to the Great pleasure & Satisfaction of the Na­tives.38

As we have seen it was also responsible for a great deal of fighting, and gambling. Alcoholic consumption also produced other side effects. Men stole for it:

this morning it was Suspected yt John dunk had pickt the lock of our Strong beer Shade & had taken away Some qualtiy, but I Could not get a Sufficient profe of it so Could not inflict any punishment on him for so doing.39

Men also risked and sometimes lost their lives for liquor:

this forenoon Jno. Armount, Wm. Allen & Robt. Irvin Came here for Somethings they wanted got drunk & one offering to go away, run ye Resque of his Life by Lying Down to Sleep by ye River, brought him in, Irvin we put in Irons for Scan­derlizing my Chief Officer & making a Disturbance about 6 at Night he broke ye Lock of his Irons.40
For this action he received 12 lashes as punishment. Mathew Stains was not so lucky. He and some fellow hunters set out from the fort in 1744 to go to the hunting tent. They drank along the way, and as might be expected lost their way. Stains froze to death, but according to James Isham the Chief Factor, "Brandy...was ye Cheif Occation" of death.41

Alcohol also interfered with other leisure activities, dinners were often interrupted, and religious observance suffered from competition from drinking and gambling: "had prayers read, but 1oth are our people to come to hear. (it is easier to get them to work then to prayers."42 William Aspinall, Thomas Bally and James Pink all exhibited this reluctance to see their souls saved on September 22, 1751 when they offended Joseph Isbister by preferring to spend Sunday morning drunk.43

The most spectacular of these incidents involved Joseph Isbister and one John Watson:

about 1/2 past 10 o'Clock I order'd ye bell to be runge & towld for prayers to bring our people together Some of our people Came but finding Several mising order'd. ye bell to be runge ye Second time which had no efect So Sent one of our Young lads to desire them to come to prayers, but John Watson our Armerer treated ye Messanger with contempt hold a Cole of fire to his face Cursing & Swearing, & had him tell me that he would not come prayers or not if I Came for him my Self/upon receiving this answer/Iwent my Self to ye Armerer & others, And Said to them /Come brothers/Come to prayers, those who were more Soshable went, but John Watson, & made answer and Swore by G-d he would not/I demanded his reasons for it he ansured impudently that he would Satisfie me so mych & Swore yt. he did not want to hear Any Such prayers/so abandont are those Men in their principals that they would raither Spend ye whole Sabath in Swareing, lying, & drunkeness, than half one houre to hear the word of God, this profane man if So I may Cale him make me angerry with him. I toke hold of hime & made hime walke before me to hear Service Contrary to his inclination, so hard a thing it is to be debard & Curbd in their darling Vices that they ra­con it ye Greatest of tirany to be intorrupted in them.44
"Private" or "illicit" trading, while an economic concern to the Hudson's Bay Company, was also considered to be a major "social" problem at bay-side posts. Like drinking, it was a favorite spare time activity and it could result in disruption of otherwise relatively innocent entertainments.

The Indians I Traded with Yesterday Desired the Lend of Our Drum to Sing & Dance too, I to Oblige Sent it them, in the Night, when the Indians were Drinking Nicholass Robertson the Taylor being upon the Watch Flung Several Stones & Pieces of Lime at their Tent which Cut the Head of Our Drum in two Places & made it useless, this Morng. when I went for the Drum Seeing it Cut, asked the Indians how they Could be so Unkind they told me they did not nor would not any Such thing, and that it was one the Watch in the Night that did it by Plinging Stones at the Tent, at which time One the Indians Asked the Taylor what he wanted who Said he wanted to Trade the Handkerchief about his Neck for Martins.45

This story also suggests that musical instruments, singing, and dancing were not unknown at Prince of Wales' Fort, though they receive little attention in the post journals.

Over time private trading became more or less formalized into an elaborate system of bribes for everyone in the post according to rank, not to mention the Captain and mates of the supply ships. (see Table I). Andrew Graham detailed the practice in his Observations, but by then private trade was in decline. In 1770 in order to reduce illicit trade salaries were raised, and chief factors and ships captains were given a bounty on the number of skins traded. 46 Graham rather astutely points out that the Chief Factor at York that year was disgruntled with a salary and gratuity of £355. Since previously his salary and personal trappings could not have been worth more than £200 per annum, the volume of business he was doing with the ship's captain must have been formidable.47

The Company itself seized furs worth about £988 in 1769
Table I  

Graham's Observations (p. 285)  

Illicit Trade at York Factory and Severy House

Presents given yearly.

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including 9 Beaver "Coverlids," 2 Beaver Coats, 1 pair of "Trowsers," 3 Waistcoats, some bits of beaver skins, 14 beaver skins, and 18 martin skins on board the "Prince Rupert," supply ship for Prince of Wales' Fort.48 Along side of this formal business in contraband furs, there was a great deal of illicit trading not carried on with the Chief Factor's approval.

Apparently almost everyone in the fort did a little trapping on the side. The surgeon, for example, could trade "medicines" to Indians eager to set themselves up as healers, or in return for treatment.49 Tradesmen could steal post supplies and trade them, though in the following case the guilty party received his just reward.

Anderson [the post armourer] this morning blowd himself up with gun powder wch he had Concealed in his briches in order to trade or deal with ye Indians (as he was Stricking to the Smith a Spark flew of ye Iron & Set ye pouder on fire & Skind him all below ye wastband of ye briches.50

Some merchants seem to have even outfitted men signing on with the Company with their own personal supplies of trade goods. A certain James Moad died in 1759, and as was the custom his chest was opened in order to auction off his effects for the benefit of his family. Ferdinand Jacobs the Chief Factor notes,

I Found in his Chest Nine Buck Handle Clasp Knives, 5 Small Pair of Scissors, 20 Brass Thimbles, 7 Plain Brass Rings & 3 Small Horn Handle Knives, wch I by Letters Find to be the Remains of Several Dozn. of the above Sorts of Trading Goods Sent to him by James Young of Strumneys in Orkney to be Sold (NB Traded) no doubt this James Young has more Corrispondents here & at Your Other Factory's to Deal for him in this Manner.51

Penalties for clandestine trade could be severe, and it was not uncommon for Chief Factors to lash men caught attempting to enrich themselves.52 Men could also be sent home though this sanction was rarely invoked, and usually the promise to abandon private trade was sufficient to get
the culprit off the hook. Company officers seem to have been the most prominent private traders, and it was usually the sloop captain, deputy factor, or surgeon who appears as the middle-man in this trade. It was these men who traded brandy to the men for cash or goods.

I have been this day informed by Dominick Manners that Mr. Squire sold to him last ship time ten gallons of brandy for £2/10s/0d in cash, likewise by Robt. Otterton that Jno. Bean your Honrs. sloop master at this place, sold to him Otterton 10 gallons of English brandy for which he is to pay him £3/10s/0d.53

Five and ten gallon kegs of brandy regularly turned up in the men's possessions, and the desire for alcohol quite simply encouraged still more private trading.

Private trade then came in two varieties. First, there was the rather formal giving of the euphemistically termed "presents" described by Andrew Graham, which the company seems to have severely restricted after 1770 by giving Chief Factors and Ships Captains bounties on the volume of trade. The second smaller scale private trade, involving almost everybody else but the Chief Factor, was harder to control.

It is not in the power of one or two persons to prevent it, but that some skins will fall into the hands of the fellows & have such opportunity to secret them by the advantage of the cliffs & holes in the rocks, that they are not to be found out.55

It was to remain a popular spare-time activity into the 19th century.

Leisure and recreation at Prince of Wales' Fort basically was similar to the kind of activity that took place in England and Scotland at the same time. It was primarily sedentary, and involved drinking, gambling, and card and board games for the most part. The more active and physical pastimes of the men, skating, fighting and football were not really developed into sports as we would define them, lacking formal rules, equipment and so on. It was really only in the 19th century that sports became common and formalized in
England, and this seems to have also been the case in fur-trade society. At Prince of Wales' Fort competitions of strength or skill remained spontaneous and informal throughout the 18th century. In short the pattern of leisure and recreation at Prince of Wales' Fort was of the same general pattern as pre-industrial England.
This section of the paper will deal with what might be called "quality of life" concerns: what Hudson's Bay Company employees ate, what they wore, and where they lived. In addition to simply describing these facts of every-day life on the bay I will attempt to compare standards of nutrition, accommodation and so on with what the company's employees would have experienced at home in England or the Orkney Isles.

There were two basic categories of foodstuff consumed at Prince of Wales' Fort: "country provisions" produced locally, and imported foods brought over every year on the supply ship. The aim of the Company was to support its posts as much as possible with "country provisions" so as to lower the costs of maintaining them. As a result a substantial local industry grew up around the posts supplying them with food. In addition, a great deal of time and effort was put into provisioning the post by company employees themselves. They hunted, tended the factory garden, and kept domestic animals. It is impossible to determine exactly what proportion of the food consumption of the fort was made up of country-provisions, though it is safe to say most of the meat and fish consumed came from local sources, whereas most of the carbohydrates eaten, flour, sugar, oatmeal, dried "pease," and similar items were imported. Imported food stuffs were more important to life at Churchill and York Factory than at interior posts or more southerly posts since their geographic situation meant that they could produce very little locally.
For example, they did not have access to the wild rice, and Indian corn supplies of the Great Lakes, and Lake of the Woods areas.\(^1\)

At a northerly post like Fort Prince of Wales country provisions consisted of some vegetables grown in the post gardens, fresh and preserved meat and fish from hunting and fishing, and the occasional meat from domestic animals kept at the post. The garden at Prince of Wales' produced some welcome fresh vegetables, but never in large quantities.\(^2\)

As early as 1722 there is reference in the post journals to the men preparing ground for a garden,\(^3\) a chore which was repeated year after year despite the fact that it was often onerous: "had our little garding dugg and broake the ground with Hatchets being Yet hard frose."\(^4\)

There were numerous experiments made to try to find out what in fact would grow in the post garden, and in the 1730s oats, barley and even corn were planted apparently without success.\(^5\) In the end attempts to grow grain were abandoned, and only rather hardy crops like turnips and cabbages were cultivated as the following journal entry points out "ye rest a getting ye Turnips & Coliworts out of ye Ground."\(^6\)

Other vegetables like lettuce, radishes, cauliflower, and even beans and peas may have been grown successfully, but are not mentioned in post journals.\(^7\)

There were some native plants, shrubs, and berries also used on occasion for food or beverages. "Wishapucka" or Labrador tea was a common drink, and much prized for its supposed medicinal qualities.\(^8\) According to Samuel Hearne dandelion was plentiful at Churchill, and was used to make "an early salad, long before anything can be produced in the gardens."\(^9\) He also mentions the use of several local berries as foods or flavourings. Gooseberries were made into tarts or pies, heath-berries were made into a drink, and juniper berries were made into a cordial infused with brandy.
Currants, strawberries, and blueberries were all popular supplements to the diet, though the local currants acted as a "powerful purgative" on some people. Cranberries were packed in casks with moist sugar, and sent home to England in large quantities as presents every year.  

Sheep, swine, cattle, and horses all were kept at Prince of Wales' Fort at one time or another in the 18th century with varying success. The main problem was simply keeping the animals alive and healthy. None of the animals brought over from Great Britain were very resilient, and many died of strange maladies: "this Day one of our Horses Dyed upon opening him we found his Lungs much Decayed & Putryfied." Another example of the dangers of Churchill to animal life can be found in the journal for 1733.  

this Morning We Kild our Bull he having been out of Order 5 Days Last Past, & upon Opening him We found he had Eat Something yt had Eaten a hole in his Maw of Wch. he Would Certainly have Dyed had We Not Kild him.  

The domestic animals even killed each other: "this Morning, one of our Cows Dyed of a hurt She Recd. from one of our oxen."  

They also quite regularly went wild, and could no longer be controlled.  

the Old Bull got Jno. Inkester down & would have Kild him, had it not been for the Timely assistance of Some the men who Disingaged him, this Beast is So mischievious that no Person Can Safly pass by him, & he Frequently attempts to Gore People.  

Five days later, he had to be killed because he had become so dangerous. The only "domestic" animals who thrived were the post dogs, and they were a distinct threat to man and beast.  

our Hogs being about a Mile from this Fort feding the dogs being out on the hunt fell foul of our Sowe & Kild her & had Kild one bore too had not one of our men prevented it as he was Coming from the Netts, So our Uskemee [Eskimo] breed of dogs
has destroyed our breed of Swin & our breed of sheep last fall, they being of Wolfish Kind will let nothing live about ye factory the breed Came from the Uskemes & are quite ravenous Not fit to be here, so to prevent the like againe, had the breeder & three of ye dogs Shot that Kild ye Sheep & hogs.  

The keeping of animals also meant extra work: creating pasturage, cutting hay, building stables and so on. In return of course the animals could do work in the case of horses, cattle and dogs, and cattle, sheep and hogs did provide fresh food when slaughtered. Such fresh meat was a rare treat since there were never many domestic animals at Prince of Wales' Fort, but when available it must have enlivened and often dull diet. One such occasion is noted in 1759, when as a special addition to the usual Christmas cheer a hog was killed.

Most of the country provisions, however, came from hunting and fishing. Fishing was carried on year round with nets, though most often in the autumn and winter when the fish were most palatable. In winter, the fish were taken by running a net under the ice between two holes, a cold and unpleasant chore not made easier by the fact that post fishermen were on the whole poorly paid. The fish most often caught at Prince of Wales' Fort were "tickameg" or whitefish, and "salmon" or what we now call arctic char. These fish were eaten fresh, or more commonly, after being preserved by freezing, smoking, drying or salting. The following are two recipes for the preservation of salmon dating from 1723.

Receipt to Cure Salmon
Take Whole Salmons Split them up ye Back, (not through ye Belly) & take ye Bone Clear out, wash & clean them thoroughly, then double them together, & lay them to drein in ye Shade, a Whole Day, then at night begin to Salt them, Vizt put a little Bay, & Common Salt at ye bottom of ye Tub, after which open ye Salmon & lay them in with ye Skin downward, then sprinkle it with ye same Salt, & lay them one upon ye other, ye Skin still downward, & continue sprinkling with Salts between each Fish, till
(1) The trees the snares are tied to (2) the Hedge (3) the Snare (4) Snare Slack tied to the hedge (5) stakes to Keep the Deer from going under.
ye Tub is full, let them lye so for & or 10 Days, to be kept in a cool place, then provide Casks, & put ye Fish therein, in ye same manner laying them open with ye Skin downwards, without anymore Salt, & Head them up being well pressed down then take ye Pickle out of ye Tubs, & put it into ye Cask's at ye Bung Hole, keeping them every day fill'd up for 10 Days, then Stop them up close.

Receipt for Drying Salmon
Take ye Salmon Split it as above, & Steep them in ye Tub & ca for 4 day's, then take them out & Spreet them on ye Back & hang them out to dry (not letting them Melt) till they are pretty dry, then lay them open on Straw, & Straw between ye Layes, packing 12 in a bundle.19

Salt Salmon was eaten with "Oil & Vinegar," as a kind of dressing, but despite the fact that Arctic char is now considered a delicacy, the men from time to time would fling it in each others' faces oil, vinegar and all.20

Venison was a common supplement to the men's diet, most of it provided by Indians who hunted for the post. Some moose, deer and even buffalo meat reached Prince of Wales' Fort, but most of the venison consumed came from caribou, and of that most came from the barren ground caribou.21 As a migratory herd animal they were relatively easy to hunt if their migrations were intercepted. They were hunted in two main ways according to Graham, Isham and other observers. The most common method involved killing them as they crossed rivers on their migration route.

When the deer are pretty far advanced into the river, the canoes are all manned, and paddle after them, one party surrounding them and preventing their landing on the opposite shore; whilst the women, children and dogs by making a noise and throwing stones, hinder them from returning. The men in the other canoes immediately approach the unhappy victims, and stab them with spears, bayonets, knives, arrows, or even a stick sharpened at the point and hardened in the fire; for they cannot make the smallest resistance while swimming.22

They were also snared in what were called deer hedges. their snares are made of Deer, or other skins Cutt in strips, platting several things together, —they
also make snares of Sinnew's of beast after the same manner, they then make a hedge for one or two mile in Length, Leaving Vacant places, —they then fall trees and Sprig them as big as they can gett, setting one up on End at the side of the Vacant place, fastning the End of the snare to one of these trees, then setting the snare round they Slightly studdy the snare on Each side, the bottom of the snare being about 2½ foot from the ground, Driving stakes under' ne that they may not creep under, they then Leave them when the Deer being pur- sued by the Natives other way's they stirve to go thro these Vacant places, by which they are Entangld. and striving to gett away the tree falls Downe, some- times upon them and Kills them if not they frequently hawl these trees for far some miles tell a growing tree or stump bringe them up, —when the Indians trak's them and Knock's them on the head.  

Unfortunately, the caribou migration routes were not completely regular, and sometimes venison was hard to come by. In good years though it was a common supplement to their diet. Andrew Graham mentions receiving over one thousand pounds of venison in one month at York Factory. The entry for August 21, 1742 at Prince of Wales' Fort is typical of this rather large supply and consumption of venison. "Late this Eveng. 4 Cannoos Came Down ye River to Trade Brought us 5 Deer & Some Tongues & Fatt." Tongues were considered a delicacy, and the fat made the meat more palatable. The Indians saved the fat from the deer they killed and stored it in bladders. They then sold it to the English "who use it in frying instead of butter." The largest single month's trade at Prince of Wales' Fort mentioned in the journals was that of November 1774 which consisted of 600 made beaver, 9651 pounds of "Deers flesh," a Musk Ox, a small quantity of fat, 800 tongues, and twenty-four hares.  

The most common though of the "country provisions" were "partridges" and geese. "Partridges" were in fact the common ptarmigan, and they were literally killed by the thousands in order to feed the men of Prince of Wales' Fort. Ptarmigan were the single most important source of food during most winters. The following journal entry for April 16, 1720 is
by no means atypical.

So what hath been brought home & Eaten a broad, by those laine out; a partridge hunting, 19 weeks, being at the least 12 men, at ye most 24 men, but for the generality 16 men, that the Totall of partridges kill'd this winter is 6237 & 5 Rabbitts. 28

Partridges were killed using shot, and when returns for shot and gunpowder seemed too expensive hunters used piles of gravel as bait, since ptarmigan needed pebbles for their gizzards in winter: nets were then thrown over unwary birds. 29 Other ingenious hunting methods were also developed.

The Partridge, as soon as the Winter sets in, begin to go in Flocks, sometimes two hundred in a Flock, which the Hunter endeavours to get out upon the Plains or the Ice; and he there keeps them constantly on the Scare, by firing small Charges of Powder at them, they rising and settling again just before him, and so keeps following them until they are tired, and he hath made them as tame as Chickens; then he kills almost as he pleases. Some of the Factory Servants and Indians use a Whistle, in which they imitate the Hawk; and when they see the Partridge are likely to take a far Flight, will, by their Whistling, cause the Partridge to pitch. 30

Geese were also shot by the thousand in spring and fall during what came to be known as the goose hunt seasons. The spring goose hunt of 1739 netted over five thousand geese, and this was not an exceptional year. 31 The fall goose hunt usually resulted in a smaller take of geese, 32 but all in all geese provided much of the total food consumed at Prince of Wales' Fort. The geese killed were largely Snow Geese, with some Canada Geese and Grey Geese also taken. Unfortunately, both ptarmigan and geese were somewhat erratic sources of food. It appears that their numbers fluctuated according to some natural cycle or the intensity with which they were hunted. For example in 1748 only 185 geese were killed and salted in the fall goose hunt; a fact which seriously threatened the food supplies of Prince of Wales' Fort that winter. 33

Hunting geese was a skilled occupation.
To kill the Geese both Factory Servants and Indians go out to the Swamps, and there build themselves what they call a Stand, which is a Parcel of Bows stuck up, and they sit within them waiting for the Geese, never going in Pursuit of them; when the Geese come near they call to them, imitating the Cackle of the Geese so well, that the Geese will answer, and on the continuing to call them, the Geese will wheel and come nearer the Stand. There is usually but one in a Stand, and while he is lureing the Geese, he keeps motionless the whole Time, and on his Knees with his Gun cock'd, but does not fire until he can plainly see the Eyes of the Geese, and the Geese are going from him; when the first Gun is discharg'd, he dexterously picks up another Gun, that lies ready, and fires that also: What Geese he kills he usually puts up with Sticks in such a Manner as to represent them like alike, for a Decoy to others; they also make sometimes sham Decoys, about their Stands.34

In fact, none of the supplies of country provisions were a sure thing, and often the supply of two or more of these food-stuffs would fail in a single season. When that happened the spectre of starvation and disease caused by dietary deficiencies loomed large. The following entries from post journals show how real this problem was: "wee have but 30 daies meat, to serave us 14 weeks, before wee Can Expect any refreshment from fresh geese."35 or

We Kill'd 620 Geese in the Fall but ever Since then has been the Greatest Scarsity of Fish, and Namely Deer — & Partridges, that even was known of hears of at this Place, have only been able to Serve 6 Days Partridges as Yet, to our Men, which you will Say is hard, and Conciquently must Lay very heavy on our English Provisions, We have had a few Northern Indians in with furs but in a Starving Condition there being no Deer to be got far nor Near & they was Obliged to eat Some of their Beavr. Skins before they Reach'd the Fort.36

Country provisions were eaten fresh whenever possible, but some fish, venison, and geese in particular were also preserved. Salting was the most common technique of preserving these foods, though smoking and drying were also used. Preservation of the food altered the size of the portions given to the men as their daily allowances: they would be given one fresh goose apiece per day, but only three quarters
of a salted goose, three pounds of fresh fish with some butter, or three and one-half pounds of salt fish with oil and vinegar.\textsuperscript{37} In order to make salted provisions slightly more palatable they were usually "freshened" by suspending them in the river through a hole cut in the ice.\textsuperscript{38}

The European provisions also needed some refreshing and flavouring to make them more palatable. Salt pork, salt beef and bacon were all consumed in large quantities at the post. Cheese, dried peas and beans, oatmeal, barley and a variety of other foods ranging from plums to suet, were also sent out for consumption at Prince of Wales' Fort. The company did attempt to answer special requests for food from Chief Factors.

We should have sent you some prunes this year, but there are none good in town, and the new prunes are not yet come in, but hope we shall procure you some another year.\textsuperscript{39}

Of course the food sent out from England was not always of high quality: in 1756, 90 pounds of cheese had to be flung into the river it was so bad.\textsuperscript{40} Similar problems with salt beef and pork were common. The meat was sometimes worm-eaten,\textsuperscript{41} or simply putrid.

\textbf{this Day in Opening ye Cask of Hogs Cheeks that Came over this year we find ye Whole Cask to be Infected, I had Some of them Drest at my Table but it was so Bad it Could not be Eat, therefore must be oblidged to give it to Starvd Indns.}\textsuperscript{42}

Flour was often flour more in name than reality; sand and dirt were common additions to flour barrels,\textsuperscript{43} and even then they were usually underweight by ten to twenty pounds.\textsuperscript{44} However, the company did provide spices to help make the food more appetizing: in 1782 the Company shipped 12 lb. Coffee, 12 lb. Chocolate, 12 lb. Carraway Comfits, 112 lb. refined Sugar, 12 lb. Brown Candy, 12 lb. White Candy, 1 lb. Cinnamon, \(\frac{1}{4}\) lb. Mace, 1 lb. Cloves, 1 lb. Nutmeg, 8 lb. Ginger, 20 lb. Pepper, 10 lb. Pimento, 12 lb. Spanish Juice, 6 lb. Bees Wax, 10 lb. Sassafras, 6 lb. Sulphur, 7 lb. Bohea Tea, and 7 lb. Green Tea, to Prince of Wales' Fort.\textsuperscript{45}
For the purposes of cooking and eating the men were divided up into messes of four men each, except for the officers who dined at the Chief Factor's Table. Andrew Graham offers a list of typical servings of provisions to each mess for one day.46

Pork salt from England 4 lb. wt., peas 1 quart.,
  4 lb. wt. plums, 2 lb. Flour 2 lb.
Beef Ditto from ditto
  Suet 2 lb., peas 1 quart
Bacon ditto from ditto 3 lb. etc., peas 1 quart
Cheese Chesire 2 lb. wt Butter $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. Oatmeal 1 quart
Geese fresh 4 No.
Geese salt 2 No., peas 1 quart
Deer's flesh either fresh or salt 14 lb.
Ptarmigans 12 No. Oatmeal 1 quart
Deer Tongues 10 No. Oatmeal 1 quart
Beaver's flesh (rich food) 12 lb. wt.
Fish 12 lb. wt. Butter $\frac{1}{2}$ lb.
Fish salt 14 lb. wt. Vinegar and Oil each $\frac{1}{2}$ pint.
Hares small 6 No. Oatmeal 1 quart
Ducks 8. Oatmeal 1 quart
Flour for bread for one week 24 lb. wt.

A more detailed account of food consumption can be found in the records of sloop voyages. The following list represents the food consumed by eight men on a 36 day voyage:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beef Pieces</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pork Pieces</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geese</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suet lb.</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flour lb.</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bread lb.</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butter lb.</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheese lb.</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plumbs lb.</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beer gal.</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pease gal.</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oatmeal gal.</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice Gal.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mollasses gal.</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil qts.</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vinegar qts.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barley qts.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Molasses gal.</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice Gal.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oatmeal gal.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pease gal.</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beer gal.</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The daily allotments of meat and fish broke down as follows: Beef 10 days, Pork 10 days, Geese 6 days, Fresh Fish 7 days, and Fresh Venison 3 days.47 The fish and venison were acquired by trade on the voyage, and represent a lower proportion of the total protein consumed by the men than would have been the case in the fort itself. However, in other respects the food consumption on this voyage seems typical of the diet at Prince of Wales' Fort as a whole. We see that large quantities of flour were consumed: about a pound
per person per day. We also see that some "luxuries" also appeared on the table: "plumbs" were generally turned into puddings, and molasses could be put to good use as a sweetener. It was also used to make a popular fur-trade dish, grout. Grout consisted of oatmeal, "boiled to a thickness, sweetened with Molossus." An interesting comparison can be made between the diet of the men at Prince of Wales' Fort and that of Canadian fur trade employees working in the interior. An artisan named Demaison at Grande Portage was allowed "7 Flour, 5 Pork, 3 or 4 Quarts Corn, & ½ Grease pr. Week." The quantities of flour, pork and grease were presumably pounds. Demaison was considered "an industrious Man," and worthy of extra provisions since this diet was termed an "indulgence."

Generally speaking food was not prepared in a very exciting manner. Bread was baked, and then stacked like cord wood for eating at a later date. It was rarely eaten freshly baked: for example the sixty pounds of bread eaten on the sloop voyage had to be baked before the sloop left Prince of Wales' Fort. The salt beef and pork were usually boiled up in kind of soup or stew, and most of the oatmeal, pease and barley were simply turned into gruel. As a result, although the food was usually plentiful, aside from the years when country provisions were in short supply, it must have been a monotonous and bland diet.

Despite the fact that most of the men would not have dined as well in England or the Orkneys, they often engaged in near riots over the food. The men might have been used to the kind of diet Ferdinand Jacobs describes: the "best part of them having Seldom, if Ever, Eat Any thing better than Pease or Barley Bread with Salt Sellocks & Kale," and most of them were like Andrew Shewrie, who according to Jacobs "is a Fellow that Never Eat a bit of wheate Bread till he Came into Your Honrs. Services," but they often rejected the Company's food.
Almost everything on the post's menu came in for violent criticism at some point or the other. Salt "salmon" was deemed unfit for human consumption by the men from time to time, and in 1758 Ferdinand Jacobs actually sent a cask home to England for the Committee to taste to see if they agreed with the men who found it unpalatable. They did not of course. The incident that brought on this unusual action by Jacobs occurred the previous year when some of the men subjected to salt salmon twice a week on Mondays and Fridays finally reacted: "these Fellows in this Factory to their Eternal Shame I am Obliged to Mention it has the Impudence to Fling it in One another's Faces, and Turn up their Noses at it." Partridges were abused in the same manner:

orderd fresh Partridges to be Servd out to ye people that they might make pies or dress them as usual, but in my absence Some of ye Corrupted ones Stir'd up most of our men to throw away all their partridges that was Sewd them out, for their days allowance...when Mr. Walker & I Came into ye factory we was Surprised to See the partridges so Strowd about in ye dirt & gravel, toke one of them up in my hand, I Smelt it & found it is Swet as when it Kill'd.

The Chief Factor Joseph Isbister called the mess leaders in to explain their actions, and was told that the partridges were inedible, or not wholesome. One man even said that they would have been eaten if it had not been Sunday. Isbister accused the men of behaving in a mutinous manner, and threatened "to whip & Cane them all." This more or less ended the mutiny, and the partridges were removed from the courtyard. Isbister, however, thought the protest part and parcel of the labour troubles he had been experiencing with what he called "a great Multitude of Corrupted [men]."

Bread touched off a rather nasty dispute in 1760. a Complaint was made to me by Wm. Brooks ye Smith, that their Bread was not Backt Sufitionally, wch to be Sure it was not thou it had been ye usual time in ye Oven, & Enquiring into ye Affair ye Cook Enformd me that ye men was Continually opening ye
Oven Door to Look at ye their pyes &c, was ye Reason of ye Bread not being Backt.60

Later that night Brooks, Wm. Story, and Robt. Gory created "an uproar in ye mens house," and complained that their food had not been dressed properly. Called out to explain themselves they complained that their food allowances were not sufficient and were not wholesome. The three got little support from their fellows, so they "begain to Pick or Quarrel with ye Cook and brooks would have Struck him if I had not Prevented him by teling him that one Stricker in ye Factory was Sufficient."61 Robert Gory would not let the matter rest, and stated that the cook would never dress "a morsel more for him" for which Moses Norton the Chief Factor "Trimd [him] pretty handsomly."62 As in the previously mentioned incident the application of a strong right arm to the malcontents quieted the problem.

However the threat of the whip, the cane, or the factor's fists was not sufficient to make the problem go away, and protests over food remained a fact of life at Prince of Wales' Fort. The only group at Prince of Wales' Fort who do not seem to have protested about the food were the Chief Factor and his officers, though Andrew Graham notes that their "table is always handsomely supplied with provisions, very seldom having less than three dishes; and on particular occasions fourteen or sixteen."63 Even they however seem to have felt the need for variety, for Moses Norton notes with some relish in the journal

this day Dines upon a Fresh Cod Twenty Inches long
it was throwen a Shoar by the Vilous of the Sea
one of our Indeans found it along Shoar a Verry
Great Raraty in this part of the World.64

Clothing was generally speaking an interesting mixture of European and Indian styles and materials. According to Andrew Graham "common European dress" was usual during the summer months, from about June to October.65 The company's labourers and tradesmen acquired their European clothes up
Figure 5. Hudson's Bay Company Archives G.1/94
to 1770 for the most part by purchasing "slops" from the supply ship's captain: "Slops" being the generic term for cheap ready-made garments, and even foot-wear, sold to sailors. They could also purchase cloth of various sorts: duffel, cotton and so on from company stocks, and after 1770 we begin to see finished clothing turning up in the men's accounts: shirts with and without straps, gloves, stockings, shoes turned up, and shoes flat soled. The men also continued to make their own clothes or have them made for them as cloth, thread, and needles all regularly appeared in their accounts.

Winter dress was largely borrowed in terms of design from Indian models, but European materials were often used in concert with fur and hide. Andrew Graham describes the well-dressed fur trader as follows:

the outer garment is an open coat or banian made of moose skin, with cuffs and a cape of beaver or other; but in very cold weather this is not sufficient. It is therefore changed for a beaver togy with the fur inwards. It is in the same form as the other. The waistcoat is of cloth with sleeves and lined with flannel. The breeches are made of deer, or elk skin, lined with flannel. The legs are covered with a pair of worsted or yarn stockings without feet; and over them, a pair of cloth stockings Indian fashion, reaching from the ankle to the groin, and tied below the knee with strings or Indian garters. The feet are defended from the cold by three pairs of socks made of duffel, or blanketing, and reaching half way up the leg. The shoes are the same as the natives' with a piece of leather or cloth sewed round the quarters which wrap round the instep and excludes the cold and snow in travelling. In mild weather an other skin wig or cap is worn, having a broad piece of the above skin round it, the crown of cloth lined with linen; but when the cold is great or snow drifting much another kind of cap is used, the crown also of cloth but lined with flannel, and has a large flap or cape which comes down over the shoulders, and ties under the chin. The face is defended by a chin-cloth made of beaver, duffel, flannel or blanketing. It comes under the chin, over the cheeks and ties with strings on the crown of the head under the cap; so that little more than the eyes, nose and mouth is exposed to the air...In warm days we use only large leather mittens
lined with duffel or blanketing, and fastened together with a string like the natives. But in sharp weather, beaver mittens with the fur outwards, for defending the face on occasions, these are lined and fastened like the others.68

James Isham offers a similar if less detailed description of winter wear suggesting either that clothing became more sophisticated and specialized over the century, or else that as usual Graham was the more perceptive observer of the two. Isham however does offer the observation that when fitted out with their outfit the men appeared "more Like Beasts than men, with the hairy Cloathing we wear." 69

Accommodation like clothing was partially European and partially native in inspiration. At Prince of Wales' Fort and Cape Merry Battery the men were housed in European sytle buildings, but when outside the fort working they resorted to log-tents, or skin-tents, exactly like the Indians, only kept cleaner.70 "Log-tents" varied in length and width according to the number of men housed in them: one 14 feet long, 7 feet wide, and about 9 feet high could accommodate 14 men.71 They were built by placing a long pole of about 14 to 16 feet between two trees, at a height of about nine or ten feet. Then logs would be laid up against this cross pole on either side sloping outwards towards the ground. A space was left for a small doorway on the south side of the "tent," and the ends of the structure were filled with logs just like the sides. The overall shape of the tent was like the "eves of a house." Moss filled in the spaces between logs, and then the whole structure was daubed over with mud. A crosspiece was placed above the door, and shorter logs placed on it creating a chimney in the centre of the tent, beneath which the men built their hearth. About the hearth large squared logs were arranged as seats, and the men slept around the outside of the tent with their feet towards the inside and the fire. Beds were not laid on the ground, but rather on a pile of pine tree tops that raised the bedding at least a foot off the ground.72
FIGURE 6

East Elevation

West

South

GOVERNOR'S HOUSE

WAREHOUSE

MEN'S HOUSE

Plan

North
Figure 7: "A Draft of a Dwelling house for Churchill River deliver'd the Compa. the 9th of March 1735 by Capt. George Spurrell. Hudson's Bay Company Archives G.1/89"
Figure 8. Log Tent "Isham's Observations and Notes 1743-49, p. 91". Hudson's Bay Record Society, Winnipeg.
These log tents were the preferred housing of company employees, as they were considered both warmer and less smoky than the men's house at Prince of Wales' Fort, and, skin tents. Skin tents were the basic Indian tent: the teepee or wigwam. In the north they were made of dressed deer or moose hides, and Isham rather distastefully remarks that they were very cold and very smokey. He also gives a graphic account of why company employees preferred not to sleep in skin tents.

It is somewhat difficult to determine the internal structure of the men's house, though it probably would not have differed very much from the plans drawn up by Captain Spurell in
1735. If this is the case, the men's house would have had a large stove in the centre of each floor, and around the walls small cubicles or "cabins" would have been ranged. The surgeon, book-keeper, deputy chief factor, sloop master, mate of the sloop, and skilled tradesmen; smith, joiner, carpenter, and armourer would have received cabins of their own, each with a bed-place and some room for tools, books, supplies, or the like. The rest of the men would have bunked two together in small bed-places. However, there would have been a dining area, some storage space for the men's belongings, and a common area around the stove. It sounds more pleasant than it must have been. In winter the central stove does not seem to have cast its warmth into the corners of the building: "to Prevent the frost is Impossible, the very Victuale in our Dwelling houses being frose in ye winter." Even more serious was the fact that the cold regularly froze the beer solid and made it "insipped" and undrinkable. In order to preserve the beer some ingenious methods were invented including burying the beer:

men employ'd...stowing away the Strong Beer in a pit dug for it at ye New Factory, & covering it with Earth and Horse dung from ye Frost, being 6 feet under Ground, and a covering of 8 or 9 feet above, no Liquor being proof against the Winter, except in Cellars under the house in the Area within ye Fort, where there are Constantly two or three large fires kept.

The cold was so intense that the men even with shelter were frequently "laid up," unable to work, since it apparently produced "Great pains" in the joints, in fact in all parts of the body.

Sometimes no firewood was available, or was in such short supply fires could not be burned indiscriminately. On such occasions the cold in the men's house must have been indescribable. Even when the fires burned it was uncomfortable. The chimneys were stopped up with iron covers to keep the heat in, but this also kept the smoke in, leading to eye and other problems. Shot was placed in the fire until red hot,
and then hung in the windows to try to increase the warmth of rooms, but it made little difference. Rime built up on all interior walls to a depth of several inches, and the men periodically had to chop it off before the spring thaw to prevent it from melting and dropping onto the stores, thereby spoiling them. According to David Thompson this rime was wetted down with water to make a thick coating of ice on the walls. This of course acted as extra insulation, though sleeping too close to it must have been unpleasantly chilly.

Unpleasant as life in the men's house could be it was not as cramped as some of the accommodation devised at Prince of Wales' Fort. Perhaps the most peculiar housing scheme developed at Prince of Wales' Fort involved a bake oven. In 1735 Richard Norton decided that "ye Oven without Doors to be Commodious for ye mens Lodgings, & has ordered a Sheadh to be built over it." The shed to complete this odd housing was built the following spring, and some men presumably enjoyed the privilege of living in it.

The Governor's residence would have been more spacious, and included space for entertaining the officers on Wednesdays and Saturdays, for writing up the journal, relaxing, and in the case of Moses Norton doing a little idle hunting. The post journal entry for November 1, 1759 notes that Norton entertained himself by catching white and brown foxes in the yard by extending bait on fish hooks out of his window. He caught three foxes this way. The Governor's residence also included a few other advantages like a sally port, that connected directly with the walls. However, it too was cold, smoky and uncomfortable: a fact attested to by Isham and others.

Once again a comparison with the kind of accommodation enjoyed by French and Canadian fur traders in the interior is possible. Matthew Cocking reported that the Canadian François traded out of a house that was a long square; built log on log: half of it is appropriated to the use of a kitchen; the other half used as a Trading room & Bed-room; with a loft.
above, the whole length of the building where He lays his furs.  

There were also three other small log houses for François' employees, and the whole group of buildings was enclosed by a ten foot high stockade, about 20 yards square. Anthony Henday described Fort La Corne at "Basquea" as being

26 feet long; 12 feet wide; 9 feet high to the ridge; having a sloping roof; the Walls Log on Log; the top covered with Birch rind, fastened together with Willows, & divided into three apartments: One for Trading Goods, one for Furs, and the third they well in.  

Bleak as this picture of material life may seem, particularly in terms of the housing available to the men, to a majority of the Company's employees it was probably an improvement on what they had left behind. During the 18th century the company came to rely more and more on the Orkney Islands as a source of employees. The bulk of the company's labourers, for whom the conditions of work at Prince of Wales' Fort were worst, came from these islands.  

On the Orkney Islands lime was expensive and scarce, so houses were built with "dry-stone" walling. Spaces between the stones could only be filled with clay. The roof of the typical cottage was thatched since the islands could provide no trees large enough for timber. The only fuel was peat and it was expensive. A family might well spend ten per cent or more of its income on fuel alone. Orkney Islanders then must have been well used to cold, damp, and draughty houses, and the log tents and men's house at Prince of Wales' Fort would not have seemed so intolerable to them.  

The English tradesmen and officers probably were used to far superior accommodation at home. According to Fernand Braudel within the wealthier urbanized areas of Europe housing had been improving for some centuries before 1700. London for example became primarily a city of brick dwellings after the great fire of 1666. Even in smaller regional centres artisan's housing acquired a characteristic appearance.
Houses were tall and narrow since land was expensive, and included a shop on the ground floor, workmen's and apprentice's rooms, and master's dwelling above. Poorer journeymen tradesmen lived in two room dwellings composed of "the front room and the back room," but which could be extended upwards and downwards if one's wealth increased. Building construction seems to have improved perceptibly in England from the 17th century on, and not only at the level of palace and cathedral building. Inigo Jones and Christopher Wren represented at the top changes that were taking place in all construction. New materials like brick and new techniques of carpentry or joining like built-up timber trusses for roofing combined to make vast improvements in building possible, and not just for the wealthy.

If the English tradesmen and officers suffered in terms of accommodation somewhat in taking employment with the company, they were less hard done by in terms of diet and clothing. The standard costume of company employees as described by Andrew Graham was a judicious mixture of native and European materials. Their garments were well suited for life in the cold and inhospitable climate of Churchill. Had the men been forced to purchase their beaver toggies and fur-lined "banians" they might have had cause to complain, but usually the fur and hides used for winter clothing were issued from Company stores. The only winter clothing the men had to purchase for themselves were their shirts, stockings and so on which of course they would have had to buy for themselves anywhere.

It was in the realm of diet that company employees benefitted most. The diet of the average inhabitant of the Orkney Islands was quite simply poor in the 18th century. Wheat was not grown there, so they did not get white bread, which as Braudel and others have pointed out was considered a great luxury. Company employees of course did eat wheat bread, and in huge amounts. The only grains grown on the
islands were barley and oats, and these were cultivated in the most primitive of ways. These two crops were rotated on a yearly basis, on land which was both exhausted and scarcely ploughed. Apparently in the 1790s the standard Orcadian plough resembled the ploughs "described by Virgil in his first Georgie." Up to one-third of the crop had to be set aside for seed since such land and methods only produced a three or four fold return on each seed planted. This kind of yield corresponds with the English average for the period of 1200-49, according to B.H. Slicher van Bath.

The Orcadians supplemented their meagre cereal crops with cabbages and root vegetables from small kitchen gardens, and with fish. Thus Ferdinand Jacobs was basically right when he said company employees had little right to complain about their provisions when previously they had survived on "Salt Sellocks and Kale." Domestic animals in the Orkneys were few. There were some cattle kept for milk, and small remarkably hairy pigs. There were more sheep on the islands, but they were largely left to run wild, and they fed themselves on sea-weed. This had the effect of making their mutton "not very pleasant" to the taste.

The diet of English tradesmen would have been considerably better. England by the mid-18th century was in the forefront of what can be called an agricultural revolution. Average yields for cereals in England for the period 1750-1820 seem to have been about 10.6 grains for every seed sown. But unfortunately population was also increasing rapidly so the price of flour and bread does not seem to have dropped as much as increased productivity suggests it should have. In fact according to R.J. Forbes after 1780 there was a shortage of wheaten flour, and the average man consumed only two-thirds of the wheat he had eaten at the beginning of the century. Fortunately new food products from the New World like the potato, maize, and buckwheat seem to have made up the difference between demand for bread and flour,
and supplies of cereal grains. Technique also improved. Legume crop rotation was introduced, and men like Jethro Tull, Charles "Turnip" Townshend and the like developed new devices, like the seed-drill, new crops like turnips, and new more scientific techniques of farming like manuring by marling. Stock-breeding, milling, even cooking improved in this burst of agricultural and dietary innovation. Between about 1350 and 1550 following the catastrophes of the Black Death, populations were low, but wages were high, and per capita food production was also. Food consumption in Europe seems to have then declined thereafter except in privileged areas like England and the Netherlands where it began to rise again in the 18th century. According to E.P. Thompson the diet of English working-men regressed from about 1795 to 1840. However the 18th century prior to about 1795 was marked by high levels of food consumption, even by artisans and labourers, in England.

Privileged as tradesmen and labourers were in England, enjoying a diet superior to all their fellow workers around the world with the possible exception of the Dutch, their diet if anything improved in bay-side posts. Bread was relatively cheap and plentiful in England, at least up to the 1780s, but it also was readily available at Prince of Wales' Fort. Meat seems to have been a regular part of the artisan's diet though good cuts were purchased only during periods of employment; and cheap inferior meats like sheep's trotters, tripe and black pudding often took the place of roasts and chops on the table. Figures on meat consumption in England are hard to find though figures for France do exist. In 1789 overall French consumption of meats was about 20 kilograms per person per year. Consumption was higher for Paris, about 50 to 60 kilograms per person per year. The privileged position of Paris roughly corresponds with the privileged position of England as a whole, and I suspect that the meat consumption of Parisians is about
equal to that of Englishmen in the 18th century. This suggests meat consumption was about 110 to 130 pounds per capita per annum, or about one-third of a pound of meat per day. The lowliest of company servants would have been shocked at such a meager allowance from post stores. Moreover the company employee got to enjoy foods that at home were of an exotic or luxurious nature: venison, goose, "salmon," and "partridge." The men at Prince of Wales' Fort had meat, fish, cheese, beer, flour and bread in quantities as great or greater than they would have enjoyed in England. Company officers, who would have dined more sumptuously in England, according to Andrew Graham also dined more sumptuously still in the New World. In fact the only way the diet of the men at Prince of Wales' Fort could be considered inferior even to the English diet at the time was in the relative absence of fresh vegetables.

Orcadian company servants dined better, lived in better housing, and were clothed at least as well as they would have been at home. English tradesmen and officers dined as well or better, and were clothed at least as well as they would have been at home. On the other hand accommodation at Prince of Wales' Fort was undoubtedly inferior to what they would have been accustomed to. All in all then in terms of material culture company service was not an unattractive prospect. Moreover in comparison to the living standards of French and Canadian traders in the interior work in a bay-side post like Prince of Wales' Fort must have been attractive indeed.
The general state of health at Prince of Wales' Fort is rather aptly summarized in a letter from Ferdinand Jacobs to James Isham then at York Factory: "We are all Brave and Hearty at present (except the Surgeon troubled with the Gout, and One Young Man Raving Mad)." On the whole Prince of Wales' Fort was a healthy place to live, or at least it was not obviously unhealthy for Europeans like the west coast of Africa, or the West Indies, in the 18th century. However, disease did affect life at the post, and the men working there were subject to all of the usual European diseases, as well as some that seem to be attributable to living at Churchill. Before reading the following account of the medical problems of the men it should be remembered that note was made of illness, accident, and the like in journals and correspondence, in large measure because they were untoward occurrences and therefore worthy of note. Little space was given to discussing the health of the men.

The men at Prince of Wales' Fort suffered from gout, scrofula, piles, rheumatism, and the like. One poor soul, James Flat, managed to come down with scurvy, as well as "the King's Evil": scrofula, and rheumatism during the winter of 1763. Many suffered from something called "distemper" which they seem to have brought out from England. It was probably some sort of fever combined with catarrh. The post also had an epileptic, John Potts Junior, who suffered from periodic fits. John Hancock, an armourer, died of fever and consumption in 1741, and "John Devenport" suffocated, presumably in his own vomit, after drinking too much
brandy.\textsuperscript{7}

By far and away the most dangerous and unpleasant of the European diseases that affected life at Prince of Wales' Fort were the venereal diseases, syphilis and gonorrhoea. They were, unfortunately, all too common, and virtually untreatable at the time. These diseases also spread widely among the Indians. Currently there is a great deal of debate over the origins of syphilis. Some believe that it was endemic amongst North American Indians, and that they transmitted it to Europeans. Others believe that it is similar to yaws, and that the spirochete causing yaws simply developed the capacity to move from host to host through the mucous membranes of the sex organs.\textsuperscript{8} With remarkable candour Ferdinand Jacobs discusses his Sloop Master affliction:

\begin{quote}
the ...Sloop Master has been Ailing & Under the Surgeons care these 4 Months wth the Clap or Pox which he got of an Indian Woman that Came wth a Packet from York Fort the 21st Last Janry.\textsuperscript{9}
\end{quote}

Others had their indiscretions less concretely preserved in company records, but their sickness and its affects were still discussed. In 1762 for example the fort's Cooper came down with "the foul disease," and he is described as having "broke Out in Ulcers & Scabs with Pains all Over his body, the Effects of the Venereal Disease."\textsuperscript{10} Later he was "in a Salvation for the Venereal Disorder."\textsuperscript{11}

The company, of course, was particularly concerned about the problem of venereal disease, and regularly talked about the need to control "debauchery," and thereby the disease in correspondence with the post.\textsuperscript{12} They even sent a letter to the surgeon, John Potts, commending him on his efforts "to eradicate the Venereal Distemper whenever it offers."\textsuperscript{13} Of course, in 1764 little could be done to eradicate such distemper. It is interesting, however, to note that the three 18th century medical books found in the libraries of Moose and York Factory were Gonorrhoea by Benjamin Bell, and Midwifery volumes I and II by William Smellie M.D.\textsuperscript{14}
There were also a number of diseases endemic to the area, or that can be attributed directly to the fact that men lived at Prince of Wales' Fort. The two most common of these diseases were the "Country Distemper" and "Bloody Flux." Country Distemper was typically a disease of the cold months, and was marked by sharp pains in the chest. It was probably pleurisy or some form of pneumonia, and it was not normally fatal just incapacitating. On the other hand the "Bloody Flux" or dysentery was a much more serious disease. It was often fatal to both company employees and Indians: the journal entry for November 19, 1747 is illustrative of this: "this morning at ½ past 6 Peter Murray Departed this Life his Distemper a Bloody Flux." It also seems to have flared up from time to time into small epidemics, as in 1758 when throughout the month of July it kept up to six company employees ill and off work as well as affecting nearby Indians.

Scurvy, the scourge of sailors and explorers, was not a great threat at Prince of Wales' Fort for the most part. It sometimes made an appearance when country provisions were hard to obtain, and too much reliance was made on salt provisions for food. However, numerous antiscorbutics were used to keep scurvy under control. Fresh provisions were the best remedy, though local practice saw other schemes developed for keeping scurvy at bay. One that seems to have been common must have been quite pleasant; it involved consuming large quantities of English Porter and Port Wine, along with "crystallized salts of Lemon, essence of malt & cranberries." Spruce beer or spruce juice was the common cure at Prince of Wales' Fort, and in 1726 six men came down with scurvy when supplies of malt ran out, preventing the brewing of spruce beer.

The recipe for brewing spruce beer was not simple:

To brew this Beer, the Kettle being near full of Water, cram the Kettle with small Pine; from one Experiment you will judge the Quantity of Pine that will bear a Porportion to your Water, let the Tops of the Pine be boiled in the Water until the Pine
turns yellow, and the Bark peels, or the Sprigs strip off readily on being pulled; then take off your Kettle, and the Pine out of the Water, and to about two Gallons of Liquor put a quarter of a Pint of Molasses; hang your Kettle on, giving the Liquor another Boil until a Scum arises; then take the Liquor off, put it into a Cask in which you have before put cold Water, the Quantity of about two Gallons, if it is a twelve Gallon Cask; when your Cask is full, then take a Gun with a small Quantity of Powder, and no Wad; fire into the Bunghole, it will set the Liquor a working; in about twenty-four Hours stop the Cask down, and the Liquor will be ready to drink.20

Spruce beer, however, was not a "miracle drug," and when improperly prepared it too could create medical problems:

had Some Small beer brewd. to day (my way, which is the way that every body brew in England and Else where Excepng: at Churchill & York Fort, a lassey Custome and Hurtfull to mens Constitutions brought up by Mr. Isham, to boyle the malt molases and Spruce all together a fine Hodgepodge anoff to give all those whoe drink of it ye Gravel, which disorder we have Severall men that Complaine off (in perticulare Mr. Jacobs whoe Contrated with it in Mr. Ishams Time).21

Gravel is apparently a disease marked by aggregations of visible urinary crystals.22 It can be painful and disconcerting.

Some sickness seems to have been caused by living in smoke-filled rooms all the time. As I mentioned earlier, in order to keep heat in the living quarters, chimneys were closed up, and the rooms filled up with smoke. It produced giddiness or light-headedness as well as affecting eye-sight over time.23 It also seems to have made recuperation from sickness more difficult, or at least so Isham felt: "Still bad notwithstanding a Remedies, at ye Present two Polisters on my thigh & Leg, Very weak & Feeble a Dismal House for a Sick man, by ye Continual Smoak Oceatined by ye Chimnys."24

On the other hand, the cold at Prince of Wales' Fort was a definite health hazard. The extreme cold caused violent pains in limbs, joints, and bones, which in turn totally incapacitated those suffering from the pains.25 Sunlight re-
fleeting off the snow caused snow-blindness, and simple exposure to the cold caused freezing of the exposed body parts. Faces were commonly frozen, and when the weather got too cold it became simply impossible to work outdoors no matter how warmly one was dressed.

Freezing one's face, ears, or toes was a relatively minor discomfort however, compared with the threat of death by freezing. One could easily freeze to death simply by getting lost or separated from one's companions, or by falling through the ice and getting wet. Such deaths were common, and I will look at them more closely when I talk about accidents and occupational hazards at Prince of Wales' Fort.

Mental health could also be a problem in any isolated, and, for some, rather unappealing fur trade post. The post journals of Prince of Wales' Fort record everything from attempted suicide to attempted murder. The degree of drinking alone suggests that the men were not contented at all times with their lot in life. Many went beyond drinking and other neurotic behaviour into psychotic behaviour. Though it should be noted some behaviour described in journals as "lunatic" may very well have been no more than "delirium tremens."

This Morning about Eight a Clock Mr. Walker Cutt his own Throat he having been Much Disturbed in Mind Ever Since the Hannah Capt. Middleton Commander Arrived here, Mr. Walker is Nott Dead but the Doctor is afraid the Wound is Mortall.

In the end the wound was not mortal, and Walker survived.

Walker was only a threat to himself, but others seem to have been more menacing figures. In 1754 one William Stout began to exhibit "Frensical actions" and seemed "much Disorder in his mind." For safety's sake Ferdinand Jacobs, the Chief Factor

Inspected into Wm. Stouts Chest for Edge Tools that he might not have it in his power to do himself or any Other Person damage; Wherein I found 13 New Clasp Knives of different Sorts & Sizes; 4 New Rasors & one old one; two new pair Sissors, two Old Penknives, one Old Aul & a broken Pair of Compasses.
It is hard to tell whether Stout was a homicidal maniac with a taste for sharp objects, or a free trader at this stage, but his condition deteriorated. On May 23, he was handcuffed, and on May 24 he was chained to his bed. He was released on June 4 since he seemed harmless, though the journal entry for June 9 points out he was as mad as ever. On June 21 he was back in irons, and on July 2 he was handcuffed and chained to the floor after threatening to blow up the magazine.

Needless to say, he was shipped home in the fall.

Stout of course only threatened violence, others attempted to put their threats into practice.

Yesterday Came to my Knowlange an afaire I litle Suspected (the Armerer John Watson haveing formed a design to Stabb me, had prepared a weapon for that purpose (my first inteligentes of this was brought to me by our Surgeon & Mr. Jacobs declaring to me that it was not Safe for me to let him go Unconfined, for that he had disturb the Whole house one friday Night, Seemingly madd Saying that the Govr. was there with guns & Pistoles to Shutt Him (this was at 12 O'clock at Night when None but the watch was upp, for that time Mr. Jacobs got up & made him quiet & Senthim to his bed but Could not hould So, and moore openly beguane to declare his designs, on Me (which the people in the Factory, Vouches for Truth and that without any reall Cause for So doing.

Mr. Norton our Surgeon informed that he had Seen this John Watson, Sharpen the point of a File and asked ye Sd: John Watson what he intended that for but was answered, with those words, to defend my self (and Swore he would have the hearts Blood of Somebody this Night, also Severall of our men told me they had heard him Say so & had Seen the weapon with which he intend to do ye deed, & in perticuler Michell Charter Isgrigg & Ricrd: Walton had heard those Verry words before, mentioned that he would have his hearts blood saying at the same time (damne him I am ready for hime Now, not fearing to let it be known whoes hearts blood he wanted, I thought this Suficent to Convince me of the dainger I was in so Consulted with Mr. Jacobs & Mr. Norton & Concluded that the best waye to prevent Maters of worse Concequine would be to put him into Irones till he Came to himself So Sent for him and demanded of him his reason for this ill behaviour, I asked ye Sd: John Watson what
Cause I had given him that Could incence or incite him to So Evile a designs on my lif, he Could not give any reasons for it but answered & Said You Cannot blame me for Standing in my owne defence to defend mySelf when You had ordered men & was going to Shut me with Pistoles, (at this Mr. Jacobs discovered something in his bussom Conceild upon which I Seas:d hold of him & take it from him and found it to be a long half round File pointed being 7 inches long from the haft.30

Isbister ordered him handcuffed and confined to his cabin, where he spent the night swearing that Isbister was coming to shoot him with pistols. Subsequently Isbister noted "this morning I had his head Shaved, blead him and laid a blister on his back but he Continued Verry obstinate and prejudiced against me."31

Despite this medical attention Watson remained mad and chained up though he apparently from time to time became lucid enough to request brandy from the surgeon.32 On October 8 he had calmed down enough to ask for a pardon and admit to his sins. Isbister released him on the promise of good behaviour. He caused no trouble until after the supply ship had left in 1749 when he once again exhibited "tanturimes," and "faignes to Act ye Maddman."33 According to Isbister the whole problem was that Watson was a "Sote," and the Ships Captain's were to blame since they brought "brandy the bane of this Countrey" over in order to trade it for illicit furs.34

Nothing else could be done with Watson, and in 1750 he was shipped home:

Our Armr. being an unsociable & Untractable Lunatick man we were Obliged for Our Safty to Send him on board the Ship Soon after her arrival, he being a man of Evil Intentions, and not Capable of being Reformed.35

Nevertheless mental illness remained relatively rare considering the situation the men found themselves in. Accidents were really the major threat to health at Prince of Wales' Fort.

Even the most ordinary activities could be fraught with danger. Walking around the walls could be unsafe: "My self
& one of our Men had like to have been Killd by a piece of ye Old wale Sudenlly Shutting & tumbling down." Walking out­doors could be hazardous especially on the ice: one John Smith slipped on the ice and broke his "Chollor bone," while Robert Irwin fell through a weak spot in the ice, and if it had not been for the timely assistance of his companions who got him out from under the ice and back to the Factory he would have perished. Lighting a fire for a little comfort and warmth was dangerous if the fire-place was cracked and the bricks burnt. In 1723 the entire fort would have burned down if the watch had not noticed that the fire had escaped the confines of the fire-place. Even an innocuous event like a funeral could become dangerous.

About 2 a Clock this Afternoon We buried Mr. Bishops Corps wth. what decency the Place whould Afford, Discharging our Guns hy. belonged to the Fort; but an Accident hapened tho thanks be to God itt did no harm for one of the Wads out of a Gun hapining to light in our Dry wood Pile itt Sett afire But wee Soon flung it down & Put out ye fire.

Most of the work done at the fort carried with it occup­pational hazards of one sort or another. Hunting could be quite dangerous especially for the inexperienced or careless. Guns were often carelessly discharged, as the following account illustrates:

I sent one man to the N; ward to the guns and traps, returned this afternoon wounded, having Shotte himselfe with one of the guns, with two Shott in his right legg, Instep, & all his fin­gers Excepting his little finger; his thumb being verry much Shattered, So that the Chyriurgeon at present Cannot resolve weather he Can Save his thumb till the next dressing.

Similarly, the explosive nature of gunpowder made caution imperative when handling it.

as they were a Coming away a Shifting their Powdr., out of one horn Into another, in the Tent a spark of fire flew and Gott hold of the Powdr., and it blew up both the Horns Likewise hurted Geo. Saunders hands and face.
Sometimes these accidents were the result of faulty equipment. Guns could and did explode: Joseph Hansom for example had his hand literally torn to pieces when the barrel of the gun he was shooting exploded.  

Some hunting accidents were almost freakish in nature. this Day Jn:o Budge Junr. one of our hunters was Haled home by his tent mates he being Accidentally Shot in his Legs & Feet by a Seting Gun that was Set for Foxes & c., as he was Pursuing a wounded Partridg it flew foul of ye Triger Line wch put ye Gun off at ye Juncter he was opposite ye Muzzle of it.

George Isbister had a similarly odd accident.

he lost his way and Getting Up in a tree to look about him, Tumbled down and bruised himself about his breast, where he was till Evin: g Edward Mason found him and Gott him home to their tent So the Doctr., has sent some Oyntment and things.

Hunting also could be hazardous simply because the game hunted was dangerous, especially polar bears.

this morning at 6 o Clock the Sentry See a White beare feding on ye Carcases of ye White Whale at the launch; upon which Mr. Jacobs & my Self toke each our Gun & went Close to the beare, so Mr. [Jacobs] fired but mist him then I atempted to fire but my gun mist fire tho I snapd her twice, upon which the beare Came runing at me full Speed in afears manner but Stopt about 15 Yards Short of me, as I was turning about my Gun with intent to hit him on ye head if he Came Near.

As the bear stood still Jacobs shot and wounded it, and the hunters then chased it down and killed the animal. Not, however, before it had clearly put a little fear into the heart of Joseph Isbister.

Other occupations at Prince of Wales' Fort could be equally dangerous. Construction, and particularly blowing up rocks, for the walls, was very hazardous. Richard Norton discovered this while attempting to show his men how to quarry the rocks:

I blow'd up 4 Large Rocks at Eskemay Point, ye Last of wch had Like to have been fatall to me, in Setting Fire to ye Sarpent ye Rock blew up before I
Could Gett far enough from it, ye Blast Knocked me down, where I Lay some moments stood, & rec'd 2 slight wounds in my thighs by a piece of ye Rock yt flew between my legs.47

After this disconcerting experience he allowed others to run the risk of dismemberment. Robert Gawdie blew up rocks for a while nearly losing his face in the process,48 and in return the company promised to compensate him for his injuries when his contract was up.49

However, it was Thomas Smith who sustained most of the injuries, and did most of the blasting. He was injured several times when the gunpowder he was using blew up prematurely, though the journals rather laconically remark that his wounds to "ye head, legs & hands" were "not Mortall."50 In return for risking life and limb Thomas Smith was given ten gallons of brandy per year, which as previously mentioned must have helped keep fear at bay.51

These stones were dangerous up to the time when they were set in the wall, and even then they sometimes fell out as previously noted. Henry Mason received a "Greivious Cutt" in his leg when a large stone fell on it.52 Much more serious was an accident that took place of August 6, 1762.

One the Guy Ropes of our Sheers broke when we ware lowering a very large stone on the Wall by which our Sheers fell and brused Mag:s Seart & Malcome Jock very much, they was very Nigh being Crush'd to Death.53

Tradesmen were subject to numerous occupational hazards. Dominick Manners, a mason, got some mortar in his eye, and while it did not seal the eye shut it did force him to stay "in the house most of the afternoon."54 The various smiths found a variety of ways to injure themselves. One scorched his eye when a spark of fire flew into it,55 and another had his lip cut completely through when the hammer he was holding flew up in his face after the Armourer struck it with a sledge hammer.56 The post's wood-workers: carpenters, sawyers, joiners, and shipwrights were also particularly prone to injury.
One shipwright managed to run a nail through his foot, while one joiner managed to let his axe slip, and cut his toes right down to the bone. In the end his second and third toes had to be amputated. John Maulkin cut off his thumb, and sawyers frequently squared their boots and feet instead of timber. Henry Soaper was peculiarly unlucky: he cut his foot, but when it was almost well "(happened to hitt itt against a Stump Under the Snow) and both made it swell as bigg as 3 feet, & itt hath broken out in 2 holes & is so bad that he Cannot Goe att all."  

The men who cut the post's fire-wood not only could do themselves serious injury with sharp objects they could slip on the ice, and have blunt objects fall on them. James Isbister had his arm broken in two places when the wooding sled and its load overthrown on him. John Inkester hurt his leg and knee when a wood pile fell on him, and one man was "bruised by a tree yt fell upon him, as he was a raising another Stick to ye Pile of firewood."  

Everytime the men ventured out on the water or ice they ran the risk of death or injury. Boats overturned with regularity in the tricky waters of the bay and river; on one occasion the two men aboard were only saved because the sea was so heavy it drove them up on shore. On other occasions ships and boats were wrecked upon rocks. The "Musquah" sloop had her bottom holed in 1736 after setting "upon a Stone," and one of the post's long-boats was smashed three years earlier.  

this Morning I Sent 4 hands wth our Long Boat, for Drift wood, but ye wind Rising made a Great Swell wch forced our boat a Shoar on a Ledge of Rocks, wch has Stove Most of her Starboard Side & broke Severall Timbers.  

The tide also made navigation in the river-mouth dangerous. all day our wooders Endavouring to gett ye rafts of wood to ascomay point, in wch Action both boats & rafts was carryed with out ye rivers Mouth wth a Strong Ebb Tide, ye Rafts 2 Grapnils & ye Roaps belonging thereto was Lost & ye men Narrowly Escaped wth their Lives.
Even when boats and ships were safely ashore or docked they could be dangerous. Henry Moad had his finger broken when an anchor fell on it, and Thomas Ormsby got drunk and fell off the launch when he was trying to roll an empty cask ashore.

The worst of these accidents occurred on September 21, 1767. A Melancholy Accident Happened to Richard Chirgwen a Seaman who was Killd out Right by ye Sloop Sliding off ye Blocks forward on to him & 3 other men Narrowly Escaped ye Same Fate they Being under her Bottom at that Juncture Clearing ye Gravel, the Jack Screws Given way that Supported ye Vessil up was ye occation of this Disaster.

No job was truly safe: John Sinclair broke three ribs when he was jammed between the sled and the gateway while removing snow from the courtyard. Another man fractured his arm while making hay when he fell off a "hay Cock." David Knight injured himself severely freshening provisions by suspending them under the ice on the river. He accidently received "a Cut in ye Lower Part of his Rump Quite to ye Bone."

Everyone working at the post was subject to the threat of death by freezing. This was the occupational hazard that cut across all occupational lines. Fortunately most of the men were careful, and always travelled in company and with great care when crossing ice. When they did not use proper care death could result. In 1724 a post employee froze to death when he obstinately refused to keep company with his fellows. All alone he lost his senses in the cold and quickly died. When the ice broke under travellers and they became wet they were in real danger. One Swan Addison met his death this way. He was out in the post's boat with four other men when ice prevented them from landing the boat. They then attempted to walk ashore over the ice, but it broke. All the men arrived ashore wet and exhausted. The wind was blowing hard and they were soon benumbed. Addison became speechless with the cold, and eventually had to be abandoned so that the other men could get to the factory and bring help. High winds and drifting snow made the search for Addison fruitless.
that evening, and next morning when he was found he was frozen to death. 77

Given the number of accidents and the frequency of illness in the post Surgeon's job was very important. Surgeons had been included as a necessary part of company operations ever since Pierre Romieux was engaged to serve on the Nonsuch. Unfortunately we do not know very much about how they treated disease.

We do know that the Company and its surgeons had remarkable success in preventing scurvy. On occasion it appeared at Prince of Wales' Fort, but it was generally kept at bay by regular doses of spruce beer, and the consumption of fresh provisions. At a time when the cause of scurvy was veiled in mystery the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company seem to have understood its cause well enough. The British Navy only started issuing lime juice on a daily basis in 1793, 78 but by that time scurvy was almost entirely controlled at bay-side posts. When scurvy did strike the surgeon would "make Decoctions of Spruce & Baths their Limbs therin" and they were given "fresh Meat & Broth for their Common Diet." 79

Some local plants were put to use in the control of disease. The most popular of these was "Wishakapucka" or "Labrador tea." Isham reported that one pint of it consumed daily for three months entirely cured his "Nervious Disorder." 80 He also claimed that it had cured an acquaintance in England who had been subject to "giddiness in his head" and "fainting fitts." 81 He claimed that it was commonly used on the bay as a "perge or fomentation," presumably as a kind of diuretic. Andrew Graham states that it is useful when brewed into tea for alleviating "rheumatic complaints." It also "strengthens the stomach, and relieves the head, also promotes perspiration." 82 It was also applied externally to "gangrenes, contusions, and excorations." 83 Samuel Hearne noted these medicinal uses of the plant, but he felt it did not have the "least medical quality." 84
The cure for "country distemper" also could include "wishakapucka" tea. Graham felt "country distemper" was a kind of "peripneumony" or "pneumonia."

It seems to proceed from cold air constricting the lungs and impeding the circulation of the blood through them; for there is a short catching, difficult respiration, with great anguish in the breast and about the pit of the stomach (called scorbiculum cordis). The patient is very restless, and the pulse is full and hard, but not quick: the usual remedy is a drink of hot sage, or wishikapuckwaw tea, with some ginger and a fourth part brandy. This generally causes a plentiful diaphoresis, and procures sleep leaving only a slight pain or soreness behind, which is removed by oily balsamic emulsions.

Most treatments seem to have involved the external application of poultices, plasters and the like. Isham, who spend the winter of 1743 suffering from severe pains in his back and legs, recounts that his treatment was "two Polisters on my thigh and Leg." There is a list of drugs on hand at Albany in 1730 which E.E. Rich mentions in his article on drugs and diet in the fur trade. It was analyzed by an American pharmacist in 1971. (see Table II) This list contains four varieties of plasters: epispastic, oxycrot, diachylon gummi and melilot. Epispastic plaster contained burgundy pitch, yellow wax, Venice turpentine, mustard seed, pepper, verdigris and cantharides. The modern judgement on this concoction is that it is "a vesicant we can afford to do without." The oxycrot plaster used saffron, and was "an infrugal and injudicious composition." Diachylon gummi plasters were produced by boiling lead monoxide with olive oil and water to the detriment of the pharmacist's health with little benefit for the patient. This plaster was applied to flesh wounds. Melilot plasters were made with clover, and presumably they were at least safe for use, if not too effective.

Ointments were in common use also. One called Unguementum
Table II  An Inventory of Surgeon's Supplies  1730

The list is to be found in the company's archives (Albany miscellaneous papers, II.B.C. Arch. B.3/z/2, fo. 4-4d).

Surgeon Wills' Inventory

The following Medicines remain at Fort Albany:  viz.

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<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
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<td></td>
<td>Oxycrot:</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Diach[ylon] c gummi</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Melilot</td>
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<td>Cariophyllor:</td>
<td>dr. ii</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rad:</td>
<td>Gentian:</td>
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<td></td>
<td>althacae;</td>
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<td></td>
<td>China ;</td>
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<td>Serpent:  virg;</td>
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<td>Ipecacuanha ;</td>
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<td>Ellebor: alb:</td>
<td>lib ss</td>
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</table>
Folio: Menthae
   Salviae rub

Herbs: Pectoral
   Enematibus;

Cons: Cydonior:
   rosarium rub:

Semen: Carui
   focniculi
   Cymini,
   anisi;

Spt: Sal: armoniac:
   Cornu Cervi;
   Sal: volatile;

AQ: Raphan: Compos;

Elixir Salutis

Tinct: Mart: mynch:

Pull: Cornu cervi ust;
   Enulae Camp [anae]
   glycyrrhizae;
   Jallappae;
   ad guttetam;

Gummi: ammoniac:
   gambog:
   Scammonii
   aloes succotr:
   guaiac:

Lap: Prunellae:
   Hybernicus;

Ras: Cornu Cervi;
   Sassafras

Cort[ex] Peruvian:

Hord cum [Perlat:]

mel; anglican
manna;

Cremor: Tarter:

arsenicum;
Bacc: Lauri; oz. 4
Thus; oz. ii
Cubebs; oz. 4
vitrioli alb: oz. iii
vitrioli romanum; oz. ii
Sperma Ceti; oz. ii
Diaphoret: antimon: oz. ss
Occulum; 6/9 [cancrorum] oz. iii
Tarter: vetrioli; oz. ii
precipitat: virid: oz. ss
Callomel; pp. dr. ii
Laud: Liquid: C Spt: nitri: Dulc: oz. i
Porrengers; no. 2
morters; Ditto
funnels; ditto;
one urinal
one Clyster Syringe
Weights & Scale
a Set of Cappitell Instruments

pr me Gilles Wills

July the 23rd, 1730;
Apostolorum was composed of turpentine, wax, litharge or lead monoxide, myrrh and opoponax. It was used to treat ulcers. Unguentum nicotianae, an ointment made from tobacco leaves was also used on ulcers, and to destroy "cutaneous insects." Other ointments included everything from impure zinc oxide to the juice of the berries of the deadly nightshade: belladonna. Some herbal remedies or "simples" were also in use: marshmallow root, fennel, anise, gentian. Wild valerian root and peony root were pulverized together in equal parts to produce an epileptic powder or anticonvulsant. "Peruvian bark" still in use as a cure for malaria, was probably used in 1731 as a treatment for fever. Guaiac now used in varnishes and as a reagent was used in the 18th century to treat fevers, and more generally as one of the standard treatments of syphilis. When supplies of these drugs were low they were even transported between posts. This is an indication of how important the surgeon and his drugs for treatment were deemed to be in a post like Prince of Wales' Fort.

These plasters, ointments, and simples were also used from time to time in concert with other means to affect cures. Joseph Isbister subjected John Watson to a rather unpleasant cure for insanity. As previously mentioned his head was shaved, he was bled, and a blister presumably composed of cantharides and all the other substances in the epispastic plaster applied to his back. Small wonder he continued obstinate and prejudiced against Isbister. The usual cure for insanity was simply chaining the man up, and this seems to have worked at least to calm him. However, since many of the men were probably only suffering from "delirium tremens," just restraining them for awhile would have been successful.

Of course the surgeon's main talents probably lay in such fundamental skills as bandaging wounds, setting bones and the like. They seem to have been quite successful in most of the accident cases that came to them, and since it seems that accidents were the most common health problem
faced at Prince of Wales' Fort their value to fur trade society was assured.

In conclusion then it seems that men at Prince of Wales' Fort did not really suffer from any extraordinary threat to their health. The only diseases they faced that they might not have in England or Scotland were "bloody flux," "the country distemper," and scurvy, and the latter was for the most part well under control. Climatic conditions made frost-bite and snow-blindness problems, but company men, through a process of adapting Indian clothing to their needs, reduced these problems to a minimum. They developed warm and sensible clothing as previously mentioned, and snow-blindness was avoided by wearing "a piece of black crape" before the eyes: a kind of early sunglasses. Accidents were frequent, and sometimes fatal. The most dangerous thing that could happen to a company employee was to get wet in cold weather. When this happened either by falling through the ice, or being caught in the rain as the weather was changing, death might well ensue. Also the work conducted in and around the fort was fraught with occupational hazards like hunters wounding themselves, wooders cutting themselves, and so on. Many accidents, particularly amongst the hunters seem to have been caused by inexperience or carelessness, and they seem to have become less frequent as more men acquired greater knowledge of the bush. However, occupational hazards, carelessness and inexperience were not unique to bay-side posts. Working men in England and Scotland were equally at risk at the time.

There seems to be little or no evidence on which to base an argument that Hudson's Bay Company employees risked their lives or their health in taking up company employ any more than they would have working at home. If anything, their state of health may have been improved by company service: this certainly was the feeling of many of the employees themselves. Samuel Hearne articulated this feeling in a letter to a fellow
factor Humphrey Martin.

Myself and People are as usual all in good health, but that is no wonder since the pureness of the air and the wholesomeness of the Diet makes it the healthiest part in the known world and what is very extraordinary at this place some of us think we never grow any older.102
VII Prince of Wales' Fort as a Military Installation

When work was begun on a stone fort at the mouth of the Churchill River in 1731, it was clear that the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company envisioned an important military role for the fort. The trading, exploring, and other functions of ordinary fur trade posts obviously were not forgotten, but they were not to be the only purposes of this fort. The original Prince of Wales' Fort was a wooden pallisaded structure constructed approximately five miles up the Churchill River. While neither a particularly strong nor well-situated post, the potential strategic importance of the site was very clear.

A fort at the mouth of the Churchill River would be situated almost exactly at the point of intersection of the territories of three native groups: the Cree, the Chipewyan, and the Inuit. During the 1720s and 1730s the total value of trade at Prince of Wales' Fort had been for the most part on the increase. Despite marked yearly variations in the volume of trade, it rose from around fifty-five hundred to six thousand made beaver per annum in the mid-1720s to approximately double that level in the 1730s, an average of about 12,500 made beaver per annum.

While the Chief Factors at York generally argued that these furs were merely siphoned off from the York Factory trade, to the Governor and Committee in England trade on the Churchill River must have seemed important and most gratifyingly on the increase. In addition, Churchill was the nearest bay-side port to Europe, its harbour potential was great, for especially in good weather large numbers of ships
could anchor in the river mouth between Cape Merry and Esquimaux Point, and furthermore, the navigational and sailing problems involved in entering the river were somewhat fewer than at York. Moreover building materials were available on or near the site: stone, slaked lime for mortar, and even wood if one was prepared to venture up river or north to the Knife Rivers to find it.

Unfortunately, the minutes of the London Committee do not include such valuable information as a record of the debate that led up to the decision made on March 18, 1731 to build a stone fort on "Eskimo Point." Apparently some prior thought had gone into the question, since Captain Middleton, a highly experienced Company sailor, had drawn up a map of the river, and it would seem, a proposal for the fort's construction for the Committee's inspection. Things moved very quickly with the plan for the fort's construction approved on April 8, 1731 and a scheme for shipping over necessary tradesmen and supplies adopted by April 31, 1731. In just over one month the decision to construct a massive stone fort on the Churchill River had been made. Even allowing for the fact that some previous planning had gone into the scheme, the speed with which the project was moved forward suggests that it was never fully thought out.

Indicative of this singular lack of planning for such an expensive and potentially important fort is the fact that the man sent out to oversee construction of the fort, Richard Norton, had no military, engineering, or any other kind of experience to recommend him for the job. He was, if anything, an able trader and reasonable administrator of a post, but he was totally out of his depth when it came to building forts. Not that he was alone in this regard, his successors were by and large equally unqualified to superintend construction of a fort. Indeed, the only person who appears to have known what he was doing, or at least left a written record claiming to have known what he was doing, was Joseph Robson,
and despite his years as a mason at Prince of Wales' Fort and whatever he may or may not have known about construction all his suggestions were ignored.

Given this apparent lack of planning in the construction of the fort it is not surprising that the purpose of the fort is also something of an enigma. Taking into consideration the size of the proposed fort, approximately 100 yards from the tip of one bastion to the tip of the other on each side, it is clear that the fort was meant to have more than local defensive responsibilities. Even considering the optimistic appearance of fur returns for Prince of Wales' Fort in the 1730s, they were not large enough to warrant building such a large and expensive fort to defend them. It would seem that the Company had decided that the Churchill River would serve as a place of refuge in the event of war. Men and goods from other bay-side posts might in the event of war congregate at Prince of Wales' Fort and thereby avoid capture. Similarly in war years the yearly supply ships might sail in convoy to the vicinity of Churchill. There, if under threat of attack, they could make a dash for the Churchill River and anchored under the guns of the fort, move their crews ashore to man those guns. This was the great flaw in the defences of the stone fort. Its regular complement of men, even during the period of its construction, was never large enough to man the guns. If attacked it had to rely on men coming in from elsewhere, for without reinforcements its cannons were an empty threat.

It is of course impossible to state exactly what strategic ends the London Committee hoped to achieve by the construction of Prince of Wales' Fort, but it is likely that they had in mind the events of King William's War and the War of Spanish Succession (Queen Anne's War) when the Company had all but been pushed out of the bay. The Treaties of both Ryswick and Utrecht took into account Company interests largely because the Company had been able to maintain some claim
to trade on the Bay by preserving at least one post. In the event of renewed hostilities Prince of Wales' Fort might take the place of Albany or York Factory as the Company's beach-head on the Bay when the peace treaty was signed.

In all likelihood then, Prince of Wales' Fort was to be a refuge for men, ships and stores in the event of war as well as the one entirely defensible post that would prevent the Company from being pushed completely out of the bay. Unfortunately the new fort was not to be admirably suited for either purpose.

On the surface of things the fort should have been able to fulfill its intended function as a stronghold and place of refuge. Money was spent lavishly on its construction. Company officials apparently claimed that it cost between £30,000 and £40,000 to construct, a huge sum of money in the 18th century. Robson disputes this figure, and suggests that the real costs of the fort were only 20 to 25 per cent of this sum or about £8,000 at the most. The actual cost of building the fort probably falls somewhere between these two figures, but whatever the cost, it was clearly a major financial undertaking for the Hudson's Bay Company, especially at a time when the Company was only just beginning to recover from the disruptions of trade in the period up to 1713. It is difficult to illustrate what these figures meant in purchasing power. Sir Robert Walpole spent £14,000 on building himself a new lodge in Richmond Park, and about £3,000 a year on two "meetings" or parties: one in the spring involved only close friends and important cabinet members and lasted only three weeks, the other held in the fall for the shooting season, included friends, their friends, and most of the gentry of the county at which he provided a public table for six to eight weeks. One calculation of buying power suggests that the 18th century pound when multiplied by 23 will give one an approximate value in American dollars in 1968. Given double digit inflation since then these figures
Figure 9. Range of Cannons.
should be revised substantially upwards in order to get an idea of how much Prince of Wales' Fort cost in current dollars. However, using this calculation Prince of Wales' Fort cost at least $184,000 and perhaps as much as $920,000 to build.\textsuperscript{11}

The fort itself was constructed along very typical 18th century lines. It followed the pattern of "star" fortresses, so named because of their projecting bastions. Prince of Wales' Fort was built to the simplest of "star" fortress patterns with only four projecting bastions; many of these forts had five, six and even more bastions. The military principle of the projecting bastion was quite simple, the guns in the bastion could be brought to bear on other bastions and the base of the curtain wall. This, in theory, prevented an enemy from being able to approach the walls, and left as small an area as possible on which no guns could be brought to bear.

These forts could be besieged successfully: in the late 17th century Marshal de Vauban developed a method of attacking bastioned forts based on the digging of parallel systems of trenches. Given a great deal of time and determination a large attacking force could breach the walls of a star fortress, and capture it. However, given the shortness of the summer season at Churchill, and the rocky nature of the ground, seige craft with its trenches, zig-zag saps and so on was rather out of place. Properly garrisoned Prince of Wales' Fort should have been able to defend itself from frontal assault, and had only to hold out for a few weeks to frustrate a seige.\textsuperscript{12}

The fort itself contained ten 24 pound cannon, twenty-four 12 pound cannon, and eight 6 pound cannon in 1776.\textsuperscript{13} In experienced hands these cannon would have had a range of more than one thousand yards, though accurate firing was impossible at anything greater than what was known as "point-blank" range. In effect this was a range of about six hundred yards. One fired point blank by aligning "the axis of
the barrel on the target, using the highest points on the breech and chase as guides. However even at the limited range of six hundred yards guns placed on either side of the river mouth, due to the relative narrowness of the entrance, and the even narrower safe channel, could provide an overlapping field of fire (see map). With this in mind the Company ordered the construction of a battery of guns on Cape Merry. The original battery constructed under the care of James Isham was neither well-planned nor well-situated. Apparently it was felt that if it were captured its guns could be turned on the fort itself. To prevent this a second battery was built, and the previous battery was partially destroyed. The new battery was constructed in such a manner that its field of fire was limited. Three guns guarded the entrance to the river mouth, and three guns could be brought to bear on any ship that passed through the entrance to the river. None could be directed on the fort. This new battery was completed in 1749, though it is not clear whether or not the new battery ever was supplied with any cannon.

At the fort itself adjustments were made in its defences. The terreplein or rampart of the fort had to be widened to forty feet from about twenty-five feet. The reason why the rampart had to be widened at great time and expense was because its original narrow width took insufficient account of the cannon's recoil. A test firing resulted in the cannon running back off the rampart and into the courtyard. In addition a ravelin was built outside the gate to provide protection for this weak-spot. It prevented an enemy firing directly at the gate, and breaching it. There was also a wooden palisade erected around the walls though its purpose was not primarily defensive.

It was on the surface of things an impressive military installation. It was well supplied with cannon and ammunition, the walls were large, imposing, and the basic design had been proven effective in dozens of battles since bastioned
forts had first appeared. It could not be besieged by means of the usual assault strategies, since it was built on rocky ground that could provide no cover, and at any rate the summer season was so short, anyone besieging the fort would have to leave by early September or risk being trapped in the bay and freezing to death. Perhaps the most significant of its defenses was simply that so few people knew how to sail there. Without charts, a great deal of experience in sailing northern waters, and a considerable degree of bravery few could reach Prince of Wales' Fort, let alone successfully besiege it.

On the other hand, the fort had serious problems. It had not been built to very exacting standards, and the materials used in its construction were not of the best. The lime mortar used in its walls deteriorated, and from time to time large sections of the wall simply collapsed. The harshness of the climate led to buckling and shifting in the walls, and they had a tendency to bulge ominously. The result was that the exterior and interior casings of the walls, the scarp and the talus, were liable to fall apart under any stress. Robson was so sceptical of the strength of the wall that he believed the very act of firing cannon on the wall would cause it to collapse on the "first or second discharge." Even if this was an exaggeration it is evident that the fort's walls could not survive much battering from enemy cannon. It also meant that the fort had to be constantly repaired, and there is no evidence to suggest that it was ever considered fully completed. As late as the 1770s the post journals and correspondence contain reference to major work being done on the walls.

The fort also lacked some basic requirements for defence. It had, for example, no well within its walls to provide drinkable water. Water had to be hauled into the fort.

The garrison of the fort was also unequal to the task of defending it. To begin with the men, for the most part,
had little or no military training. There were marksmen at the fort, who could use their muskets to good effect in hunting but when it came to firing the cannon they were not very proficient. Military drill was part of the routine of the fort in the 1740s, but as the general letter of 1746 suggests it was not too effective.

Instructed Our men at all Convenient times in the Use of Fire Arms & Exercis'd them in the Milletary way, as far as Our Knowledge in those affairs Extended, but do not Pretend to be any Great Proficients, However they are most of them able to Load fire & hit a Mark at a Tollerable distance.24

In the army at the time a gun crew consisted of at least four trained gunners, and one officer or senior non-commissioned officer to co-ordinate activity. Moreover, each of those gunners usually had an assistant or two to help them with their duties. The gunners' job was not easy, and it was very dangerous. The man who swabbed out the gun, for example, was often badly burned, and if the crew's timing was off could easily lose an arm. Charges had to be measured accurately, wads had to be inserted correctly, and the gunpowder itself had to be mixed properly, with its composition and grain taken account of. Without a trained crew even at point-blank range cannon fire would be erratic and not very accurate.25 It is doubtful if at any time more than about ten of the fort's cannon could have been fired at once, given the size of the garrison.

It should also be remembered that the men garrisoning the fort had signed on with the company as tailors, masons, black-smiths, and labourers and not as soldiers. Their desire to court death or dismemberment in the defence of their employer's property was probably slight. The Company, recognizing this fact, offered cash benefits for those wounded in defence of its forts, and money for the estates of those killed. A sum of £30 was to be paid to any man who lost an arm or a leg in the defence of a company fort, and for those
who died an equal sum of money would be paid to their beneficiaries. Other injuries would be compensated for as the Governor and Committee saw fit. All cures of injuries were at the "Charge of the Company."²⁶

In summary then the fortifications at Churchill were of much greater potential strength than actual strength. The fort was well-armed, but under-manned. Its walls were large and imposing but poorly constructed. It offered the illusion of strength but not the reality. It is not really clear why the Hudson's Bay Company allowed this situation to develop: military policy on the Bay seems strangely inconsistent. Perhaps as Donald Gunn, a 19th century observer, had suggested, attention to the strategic problems of the bay-side trade slowly lapsed, as the Company began to move inland to face the threat of rival traders in the interior.

The Treaty of Utrecht gave undisputed possession of Hudson's Bay to the British nation. Being thus freed from the immediate pressure of their active and enterprising foes—during the peace which followed the Hudson's Bay Company, the only British traders resident on the Bay, seem to have considered their Forts on the shores of the Bay so remote from and so inaccessible by reason of their frozen straits and Icy seas, to any European enemy that they relaxed their vigilance.²⁷

Prince of Wales' Fort finally had an opportunity to show its military importance in 1782. In 1781 the French government devised a plan for an attack on the British fur trade sites on Hudson's Bay.²⁸ A combined force of naval and army personnel were to sail from France into the Bay, and there disrupt and if possible destroy the trade of the Hudson's Bay Company. Various problems prevented the expedition from sailing in 1781, but in 1782 a squadron of three ships: the Sceptre, a ship of 74 guns under the command of la Pérouse, the Astrée, a frigate of 36 guns commanded by Delangle (or De L'Angle), and the Engageante, another frigate of 36 guns under de la Taille, set sail for Hudson Bay.²⁹ According to a memoire composed by the Marquis de la
Taille for the French government, the Sceptre carried 150 men from the Regiment d'Armagnac as well as 35 artillerymen. The two frigates carried 100 men from the regiment d'Auxerrois, and fifteen additional artillerymen: a force of at least 300 soldiers under the command of Major M. de Nostaing of the regiment d'Armagnac. In addition to this substantial force of men, two 8 inch mortars, and four 8 inch cannons were taken along in case any seige-work had to be taken on. It was, in short, an assault force of some considerable size and power.

Despite the wealth of men and material at his disposal, la Pérouse was not without serious problems. His expedition was heading into largely unknown waters for the French, and he seems to have lacked any charts that as de la Taille put it "merited any confidence." They knew nothing of the tides or currents of the Bay or Hudson Strait, and they were not even sure of the positions of the forts they were to attack. There was not a single man on any of the three ships who had even sailed to the bay in any capacity. It is small wonder that in his report home la Pérouse talked of the inexpressible difficulties of sailing into unknown waters while surrounded by huge banks of ice that threatened to crush the ships, and near constant fog and mist. Quite rightly he stated that the difficulty of navigation, and lack of knowledge of sailing conditions, and routes in the bay provided company posts with their "meilleur rempart:"

their best defences.

Just inside Hudson Strait ice forced the expedition to wait for several days, and disaster nearly struck. The frigates had great difficulty keeping clear of the ice, and the Sceptre all but lost her rudder. Finally like the company's sloops on their northern voyages, they grappled themselves onto the ice with their anchors, and thereby lessened the danger of their situation. Finally on the 30th of July, they sighted Cape Walsingham, the western end of Hudson Strait.
La Pérouse believed the worst of their difficulties were over, and he impatiently pushed on to attack Prince of Wales' Fort, his first target, since he knew that the weather would soon force him to abandon the expedition and return to France. There was also some discussion of a plan to put off the attack until the next summer, but on the 8th of August La Pérouse finally saw the walls of Prince of Wales' Fort. He anchored about a league and a half, or about six kilometres away from the fort, and well out of the range of the fort's cannon. A party was sent out to sound the mouth of the river, and reconnoitre the situation. On their return La Pérouse was told that it would be easy to bring the ships in right up close to the fort, and if any resistance was forthcoming that the Sceptre alone could reduce it. Night fell, and it was so dark and the sea so contrary, that no move to land troops was made until early morning. At about two in the morning the troops were embarked in longboats and rowed ashore. When they landed, Monsieur de Nostaing, much to his surprise, realized that no preparations for the fort's defence had been made at all. He requested the fort's surrender, and the governor and garrison opened the gates and surrendered the fort. The terms of the surrender were not fixed, but "à discrétion," which in this case meant that the men were, in theory, to be allowed to keep their personal possessions.

The post journal for Prince of Wales' Fort in 1782 was lost when the French captured the fort so there is no formal record of what happened from the point of view of Samuel Hearne and the other Company employees. However, someone in the fort kept a journal from August 8 to September 2, 1782 that was preserved as part of Andrew Graham's Observations. Graham attributes the journal to an "officer" of the Company, though it is by no means clear who this would have been.

The journal states that early in the afternoon on August 8, 1782 the sails of three ships were seen on the horizon. These were immediately judged to be enemy ships,
presumably because only one company supply ship ever called at Churchill. Preparations for defence were hurriedly made, and the fort's cannons were loaded. At 8 o'clock that evening the ships anchored off the fort, and proceeded to sound the river. The small boat sounding the river came within range of the fort's guns, but it was not shot at.

At 2 o'clock in the morning six long boats carrying large numbers of men began rowing ashore, and at seven they landed "on the Bayside nearly within Cannon shot of the Fort."44 A "young gentleman," presumably Monsieur de Nostaing, and a drummer approached the fort and demanded its surrender. Hearne surrendered the fort and its contents, since in the words of the journal "we were in no ways capable of defending the Settlement three Ships on one side the Fort & Six hundred Regulars on the other."45 While French sources show this assessment of the strength of the French forces was somewhat exaggerated—they did not have more than 300 regular troops with them—it was more than strong enough to make resistance hopeless.

Samuel Hearne has been frequently criticized for not offering any defence of the fort, and David Thompson suggested that had the long-boat sounding the river been fired upon la Pérouse would not have attacked the fort. He also suggests that the men at the fort begged Hearne for a chance to mow down the French troops with grape shot, and that Hearne was eventually dismissed from Company service because of his cowardice.46 There is little evidence to support Thompson's suggestion. The French quite clearly stayed, for the most part, well out of range of the fort's guns. Hearne as has already been pointed out commanded a fort whose defences were inadequate. Moreover, in 1782 only 39 men were stationed at Prince of Wales' Fort, and there is no evidence that they were particularly well-trained in the use of cannon.47 Hearne was in all likelihood the man with the most military experience of all in the fort,48 and was probably
the best judge of whether or not the fort could be defended. Given the size of his garrison and the problems of his fort's construction it would seem that Hearne had in the long run no choice but to surrender. However had he made some pretence of defending the fort he might have been able to demand terms from the French when he finally succumbed to the inevitable, as Humphrey Marten did at York.

When the French entered the fort they hoisted their flag and began to systematically strip the fort of any objects of value. Furs, provisions, sheet-lead, and even the fort's horses were removed. The horses were later shot on August 11 and turned into a "good Soup." The employees were herded aboard the French ships, and before night-fall fires had been started in five different places. The following day, August 10 the destruction of the fort continued. The walls were mined, and "Cannon rendered unserviceable by Spiking, Breaking & Burning the Carriages." Most of the cannon were "rendered unserviceable" by breaking either or both of the trunnions off the barrel. At seven o'Clock that evening the mined walls were blown up, creating enough of a shock wave that the men on board the ships felt them shake underneath them. The following morning the remainder of the fort was blown up, and La Pérouse's squadron set sail for York Factory.

La Pérouse in his account of his activities at Prince of Wales' Fort discussed the importance of his conquest. After commenting on the variety of merchandise in the fort, and the quality of the artillery there, he mentions that they even found an observatory, constructed by the Royal Society some years earlier. He also made a plan of the fort. He estimated that the loss of the fort would cost the company at least "4 millions," though, the monetary unit he was using is unclear. Before destroying the fort he gave any Indians around all the power and lead they could carry off. In his report he states clearly that he understood how
devastating a blow the destruction of Prince of Wales' Fort would be to the natives. Since starting to trade with Europeans their knowledge of how to use traditional hunting weapons like the bow had almost disappeared, and without powder and shot they faced death by starvation. Despite dispensing powder and shot he stated that humanity forced him to be concerned by what was likely to befall the natives in the future.\textsuperscript{57}

On August 12, an English ship was sighted. It was the Prince Rupert, a Company supply ship, and L'Engageante gave chase to it. The Sceptre and the Astrée continued on towards York Factory, but it was difficult navigating in these unknown waters, and apparently shallops had to proceed the ships taking frequent soundings in order to avoid running aground. The prisoners obstinately refused to aid the French much to La Pérouse's annoyance. In this rather laborious manner La Pérouse sailed south until on August 15 arrived off York Factory, or at least they were near enough to hear guns being fired there to welcome the arrival of Humphrey Marten, the new Chief Factor.\textsuperscript{59}

On August 16, L'Engageante returned after a fruitless chase of the Prince Rupert, that had taken them back as far as Churchill. There they had seen about 60 Indians who had raised the English flag in the hope that a Company ship was returning.\textsuperscript{60} The French landed and gave away ammunition and other goods, but apparently the Indians remained "dejected at the sight of the misfortunes which we had brought down upon them."\textsuperscript{61} The shallops, which the French had captured at Prince of Wales',\textsuperscript{62} travelled back and forth between the French squadron and shore seeking to find an entrance into the Hayes River. The French had to press on with their attack since time was running short, and scurvy had broken out on the ships. Two or three Frenchmen died and were thrown overboard every day.

On August 19, troops were loaded into the shallops and
ships' boats to be ferried ashore but they could not land, and they returned to the French ships the next day. The French ships moved in closer to shore, and on August 21, successfully landed their troops on the shore of the Nelson River. A Company employee named John Irvine had agreed to guide the French in return for "a considerable Number of Dollars." The trail he pointed out across the point of land between the Nelson and the Hayes was so swampy, that the French tried to find a better path. They marched seven miles up river only to find that the path there was even worse. Returning to the original path shown them by John Irvine, they realized that they could not get their artillery over it. They had wasted two days seeking a path, time that Humphrey Marten put to use loading furs and other valuables onto the Company supply ship, the King George. The King George slipped away on the night of August 24, and managed to escape to England.

On August 25, the French finally reached York Factory, and with guns primed they advanced on the Fort. Humphrey Marten thought it prudent to parley since their numbers were so formidable. He asked them to halt, and when they did not he threatened to fire at them. This halted them, and a parley ensued. The French demanded that the Fort be handed over within two hours, and threatened "severest vengeance" if it was not. They offered only to protect the persons and private property of the English. Humphrey Marten, showing some initiative, refused these terms, and demanded instead that Company employees be treated as prisoners of war, be given provisions according to rank and equal to those of the French, that they be exchanged as soon as possible, that their private property be secure, and that officers be allowed to keep their side arms. The French agreed, and Marten handed over the fort.

The French stripped York of much needed provisions and stores. The French soldiers also seem to have taken
clothing and other personal possessions from their prisoners, despite the promises made when the fort was surrendered. Perhaps their ire was raised by the fact that fourteen or more of their fellows were drowned when several boats overturned in the Hayes River. At any rate the French hurried to leave this place that they found so unpleasant, and without bothering to destroy York, or even take all the furs still left in it, they set sail for home on September 2, 1782. Before they left the French once again left ammunition and supplies for the Indians, and they also allowed most of the prisoners to sail home in the Severn sloop, a rather gracious gesture.

The expedition had been a great success for the French. They inflicted severe losses on the Company: fur losses at Churchill were conservatively estimated at £14,580, and La Pérouse estimated total losses at 10 or 12 million in some unnamed currency unit. They also managed to disrupt the fur trade in that area of the bay for years to come, though unwittingly it was probably the Indians who suffered most from the expedition. They faced a winter of starvation and death without fur traders in the area with whom to trade for necessary supplies. The caches of goods left by the French were insufficient, and the Homeguard and Chipewyan Indians in particular suffered.

The strategic experiment of Prince of Wales' Fort was clearly a failure. The Company made no attempt to repair the fort, nor any attempt to build another stone fortress and refuge on the Bay. No further stone fur trade forts were built until well into the 19th century when the Company built Upper and Lower Fort Garry.
When it was decided to build a fur trade post at the mouth of the Churchill River it was not only to be a centre for the fur trade, but it was also to act as a centre for exploration. While exploration for exploration's sake rarely motivated the Company or its employees, exploration for the purposes of expansion of trade, finding mineral deposits or new raw materials for trade like whale oil and whale bone, or simply to prevent loss of the Company's charter was not an unimportant part of life at Prince of Wales' Fort. In fact a certain amount of exploration was inevitable, given the desire of James Knight and the London Committee to push the area of their trade north, and involve the Chipewyan Indians, and Eskimo or Inuit more directly in it.

In particular the Eskimo had to be traded with directly in their own territory, since they could not come down even as far south as Churchill for fear of being massacred by either the Cree or Chipewyans. In fact the early years of the settlement at Churchill are marked by attempts to establish peace between the three native groups in the area. Not surprisingly one of the first actions of James Knight after setting up a post at Churchill was to plan a voyage of discovery northwards. At the same time Henry Kelsey, his successor as Governor-in-Chief on the bay, was also planning a voyage to the north.

Knight seems to have been primarily interested in the search for valuable minerals and the North-West Passage. During his time at York Factory he seems to have become obsessed by visions of the mineral wealth of the north.
Chipewyan Indians coming down to York to trade had dazzled him with reports of a river along the banks of which could be found huge lumps of virgin copper, and that farther away still on the "West Seas" there were Indians who used a yellow metal just as the Copper Indians used copper. He had been caught up in the dream of the Coppermine River and of another Eldorado. He spent so much time and energy thinking about the copper and gold that he might find, and interrogating visiting Chipewyans that his obsession became a source of comment and even jokes on the bay. Robson, reporting comments that must have been made thirty years later, states that Knight claimed "he knew the way to the place as well as to his bedside." He was at least clear-headed enough to realize that the Chipewyans would never carry large quantities of ore down to Churchill or York, so the only way these mysterious copper deposits could be exploited would be directly by ship.

In contrast, Henry Kelsey had fewer illusions about the prospects of his voyage north. He, too, hoped to find "copper mines" if possible, but it seems the more prosaic concern of establishing a coastal trade with the Eskimos was predominant. At any rate these two expeditions set off in the summer of 1719.

Kelsey sailed north to Churchill in the Prosperous hoy, and then accompanied by the Success sloop, set off to explore the Arctic coast-line of Hudson's Bay. According to James Kenney, he probably sailed as far north as 62°40', and possibly some distance past Marble Island. Except for some trading with the Eskimos little of importance happened on the voyage. The trade that Kelsey engaged in was also of the least appealing sort. He appears to have exchanged two Indian slaves for two Eskimos, who were to be trained as interpreters. Attempts were then made in the next two years to follow this preliminary contact up, and establish
a regular trade with the Eskimo. Unfortunately these were to no avail, and in 1722 when the fate of Knight's expedition became clear, northern voyages were abandoned until 1737.

The major mystery of Kelsey's voyage was why no attempt was made to link it with that of James Knight. Many reasons have been suggested for this rather startling omission. Part of the reason may have been the hostility that had developed between Knight and Kelsey, while they were both at York Factory, and which led to Knight making unspecified charges against Kelsey to the London Committee in 1718. These charges appear to have been largely ignored, but it is clear ill-feeling existed between the two men. The Company may also have feared that Knight would trade with Indians and Eskimos in the vicinity of Churchill or farther south, thereby upsetting the patiently developed standard of trade in the area. Finally, had Knight's expedition gone south to Churchill or York to winter they might have over-taxed an already strained food supply, and inadvertently caused scurvy and starvation. The Company, therefore, decided to order Knight to remain north of 64°, or in other words well to the north of Marble Island in the area of Southampton Island and Roes' Welcome.

Aside from this restriction the Company outfitted Knight well. He was given the use of a new forty ton sloop the Discovery, as well as a frigate of over one hundred tons, the Albany. They were also given trading goods, provisions for about nine months, and large quantities of salt and other preservatives which could be used to add to the stock of provisions after arriving in the New World. They also carried on board building materials, including bricks and lime, in order that they could erect a shelter very quickly if they were forced to winter on the Arctic coastline of Hudson Bay. About the only things in short supply voyage were seamen, experienced in sailing northern water.
In fact some of the crew were probably miners, smiths and other landsmen. Only the captains of the two ships, Barlow of the Albany and Vaughan of the Discovery, were experienced men in sailing in the largely unknown waters of northern Hudson Bay. The total cost of the expedition was approximately £1137/4/8, since James Knight supplied one-eighth of the costs, or £142/3/1. He entered on this expedition not as a company employee, but as an independent business man with a part share in its' success or failure. The reason why the Company got involved in such a scheme is unclear. Perhaps they were just as dazzled as Knight by the prospect of copper and gold mines: the mood in England at the time was one of bullish optimism for the prospects of overseas trade. This optimism of course was soon dampened by the infamous South Sea Bubble stock scandal. However, it is equally likely that Knight forced the Company to back him. According to Robson, the Company only agreed to back Knight's expedition after he had threatened to seek financing elsewhere, and also to encourage an investigation into how well the Company was living up to the obligations of their charter.

On June 4, 1719, the ships and crews were given over to Knight's command at Gravesend, the Governor and Committee tipping the men for drink, and the captains for fresh provisions. Knight, well supplied with strong wooden chests bound with iron to carry the treasure he knew so clearly how to find, set sail. They were never to return.

They must have reached the waters around Marble Island a few weeks after Kelsey's expedition left them. How far north they sailed will never be known, but it is known that they wintered on Marble Island, setting up camp in a harbour on the south-east end of the island. In 1720, Kelsey sent out another sloop expedition to the north, but it did not progress very far. An accident to the Good Success, and contrary winds prevented the expedition from
reaching Marble Island, although John Hancock, captain of the *Prosperous*, brought back word that Knight's expedition had wintered on the bay. His only comment was they had traded with the Eskimo and "spoiled our trade." Of course in 1720, there was as yet no reason to believe the Knight expedition was in trouble.

The next year, in 1721, there was still no real alarm about Knight's whereabouts: for all anyone knew he had found the Straits of Anian and was leisurely cruising through the South Seas. Kelsey again sailed north in the *Prosperous* hoy that summer, but with trade and mining foremost in his mind, for he carried a Northern Indian on board to direct him to the copper mines. Once again contrary winds forced them to turn back before they reached Marble Island, though Kelsey appears to have come across objects, probably in the possession of the Eskimos, that suggested the ship was lost. It was not until the next year that, almost by accident, the fate of Knight's expedition became clear.

John Scroggs, in the *Whalebone* sloop, sailed north from Churchill on June 22, 1722. By sailing from Churchill they were able to make an earlier start on their voyage, and this time the expedition actually passed Marble Island. Exploration and trade were the primary objects of the voyage, but this year, included in Scroggs' sailing direction was a suggestion that he look for the Knight expedition. While neither a bold nor enterprising captain he did reach Chesterfield Inlet and perhaps Daly Bay before turning back. As they passed by Marble Island on their return voyage a boat was put ashore. Eskimos on the island were found to have a medicine chest, part of a mast, ice-poles and even part of a cabin lining. Since they did not find Knight's encampment at the south-east harbour, Scroggs assumed that the ships had been lost on shoals or reefs nearby, and that any survivors had simply been killed by the Eskimos. This evidence convinced all concerned that not only were Knight
and all his men dead, but that northern exploration was fruitless. No sloop voyages were made northward for trade, exploration or mining ventures until 1737.

No new information about Knight's expedition turned up until 1767 when, on the regular sloop voyage northward a stop was made on Marble Island in order to pursue the black whale fishery. Ships' boats out scouting for either whales or driftwood for burning happened at last on the harbour at the south-east end of the island. Samuel Hearne, a mate on the sloop Churchill at the time, has left a lengthy account of what they found and also what they learned about the fate of Knight and his men.

they found guns, anchors, cables, bricks, a smith's anvil, and many other articles, which the hand of time had not defaced, and which being of no use to the natives, or too heavy to be removed by them, had not been taken from the place in which they were originally laid. The remains of the house, although pulled to pieces by the Esquimaux for the wood and iron, are as yet very plain to be seen, as also the hulls, or more properly speaking, the bottoms of the ship and sloop, which lie sunk in about five fathoms water, toward the head of the harbour. The figure-head of the ship, and also the guns &c. were sent home to the Company, and are certain proofs that Messrs. Knight and Barlow had been lost on that inhospitable island, where neither stick nor stump was to be seen, and which lies near sixteen miles from the mainland...

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

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

Sickness and famine occasioned such havoc among the English, that by the setting in of the second Winter their number was reduced to twenty. That Winter (one thousand seven hundred and twenty) some of the Esquimaux took up their abode on the opposite side of the harbour to that on which the English had built their houses, and frequently supplied them with such provisions as they had, which chiefly consisted of whales' blubber, and seals' flesh and train oil. When the Spring advanced, the Esquimaux went to the continent, and on their visiting Marble Island again, in the Summer of one thousand seven hundred and twenty-one, they found five of the English alive, and those were in such distress for provisions that they eagerly eat the seals' flesh and whales' blubber quite raw, as they purchased it from the natives. This disordered them so much, that three of them died in a few days, and the other two, though very weak, made a shift to bury them. Those two survived many days after the rest, and frequently went to the top of an adjacent rock, and earnestly looked to the South and East, as if in expectation of some vessels coming to their relief! After continuing there a considerable time together, and nothing appearing in sight, they sat down close together, and wept bitterly. At length one of the two died, and the other's strength was so far exhausted, that he fell down and died also, in attempting to dig a grave for his companion. The sculls and other large bones of these two men are now lying above-ground close to the house. The longest liver was, according to the Esquimaux account, always employed in working of iron into implements for them; probably he was the armourer, or smith.19

This story is probably overly dramatic, but some elements ring true. For example, scurvy and malnutrition would
have thinned the men out in the first winter on Marble Island since the expedition only carried supplies for about nine months. On the other hand the Eskimos may not have been as helpful to the survivors as Hearne's story suggests. They certainly looted the site of any objects they could use, and they might not have been so scrupulous as to wait until all the men died by other causes before they helped themselves to what was a treasure trove for them. A.S. Morton suggests that they may well have attacked the camp in the spring of 1720, before the survivors could complete the building of an enlarged long-boat in which to make their escape. He also suggests that they may very well have kept an armourer or smith, carpenters and other artisans alive since they could make implements for them, and simply killed the others. The Eskimos certainly had no instinctive affection for Europeans, and in the early years of the sloop voyages northward to trade, they often seemed very hostile and menacing towards Europeans. However, whether they hastened the end of Knight's party, or tried to prevent it, the outcome was the same, and one of the more grisly episodes in northern exploration was concluded.

It was not until the 1730s that attempts were made once again to explore northwards from Churchill. The impetus for a renewed effort to explore the northern reaches of Hudson Bay came from Arthur Dobbs. In 1731, he composed a lengthy letter or memorial which he sent off to the Prince of Wales among others. In it, or at least in the revised copy of the memorial he produced in 1733, he examined the discoveries and observations of all previous northern explorers, and concluded that they had not proved the North-West Passage did not exist. He argued further that ice and particularly tidal conditions suggested the contrary: that in fact a North-West Passage did exist. He ends his memorial on an aggressive note. He states that it would be "no Loss..." to the Hudson's Bay Company to outfit a ship to explore, or even
to divert their supply ships to do all little exploration on their way in and out of the bay.\textsuperscript{22} He also states that at a "Trifling Expense," His Majesty or the Lords of the Admiralty could fit out a couple of sloops to make another attempt to find a passage.\textsuperscript{23} The rewards of finding such a passage would be great, and in his mind it was the "greatest probability" that the passage existed.\textsuperscript{24}

At this stage Dobbs was obviously not the uncompromising critic of the Company that over time he was to become. In fact the Company in due time reluctantly agreed to send sloops northward again, as Dobbs suggested. After a meeting with Governor Bibye Lake in 1735, word was sent to Churchill to prepare to resume sloop voyages northward. The spectre of Knight's failure had not been completely exorcised, but it no longer seemed so vivid or so daunting.\textsuperscript{25}

Plans were made to explore north from Churchill in 1736, but the ships and men sent out that year arrived too late for any adventure that year. In 1737 the two sloops, the Musquash and the Churchill, under the command of James Napper, sailed cautiously northwards. They reached Whale Cove, at a latitude of only 62°15'N, where they did some trading with the Eskimo. Napper promised to return the next year to trade again, thereby initiating a regular yearly trade at that spot. He also died there, and the sloops slipped home. It was a feeble effort at exploration, and it did not satisfy the zealot Dobbs. Of course it more than satisfied the Governor and Committee. They had adopted the policy that Kelsey had followed earlier. Sloop voyages northward were for trade first and foremost, if mineral deposits were found so much the better, and if by chance important discoveries were made, such as of a North-West Passage, that was better still. However neither the search for a passage, nor copper or gold mines were to be a priority for these sloop voyages.\textsuperscript{26}

The Company sent out sloops from Churchill thereafter on a regular basis until 1744, by which time the sloops had never
progressed beyond Whale Cove. Then until 1750 no voyages were made. In that year James Walker, captain of the Churchill, sailed north to Whale Cove and began a regular annual trade there. While he dutifully sailed north every year, he took as few risks as possible, and if he sailed north of Whale Cove he stayed well off-shore, and contributed nothing to the exploration of that region.

This was generally speaking, the attitude of most of the sloop captains. They spent as little time out as possible, and only went inshore at a few specified places to trade: Whale Cove, Knapp's Bay, and so on. There were some sloop captains, however, who showed more initiative. One of these men was John Bean, who sailed north in 1755, 1756 and 1757. In addition to trading he was ordered to search for the "Kish-stachewan" River, as the Indians called it. The Company had received several reports of a large "river" running inland in the vicinity of $64^\circ N$ from natives. A straight or river had also been seen though never properly explored by the Dobbs' backed expedition of 1746-47. Bean searched diligently for the river in the summers of 1755 and 1756, but could not find it. His mistake was that he searched from the 64th parallel north, whereas the entrance to Chesterfield Inlet lies between $63^\circ 28'$ and $63^\circ 36'$N. More or less in disgust he called it a "fly away river," and he was convinced it existed only in the overly fertile imaginations of those he termed "Chimercal persons." It really is unfortunate that he did not find Chesterfield Inlet, since his skill and daring should have resulted in some concrete discoveries.

His immediate successor James Wood reverted to the tendencies of James Walker, and contributed nothing to the exploration of the Northern coast of the bay. However in 1761, Moses Norton was sent back to Churchill as deputy factor, apparently with orders to pursue northern exploration.
obviously had had some previous interest in northern exploration, and had had two maps prepared by Indian informants outlining what lay to the north of Churchill. These two maps purport to show where the northern copper mines were at least the lands of the Copper Indians, and in addition they suggest the existence of coal and pitch deposits, not to mention rich fur lands, and "Dear Plenty." According to these maps the lands north of Churchill were rich in furs, game, and minerals. However they do not suggest that any of the rivers north of Churchill could be a passage to the Western Seas. Typically, the rivers are depicted as ending in large lakes. If these maps were a factor in convincing the Committee to pursue a policy of active northern exploration it must have been primarily in the hope of expanding their trade through direct contact with rich fur lands, and some may still have had the old lingering vision of finding mineral wealth.

In 1761, William Christopher found Bean's "fly away river," and sailed up it about 150 kilometres. Its' size may have encouraged speculation about a passage, but Ferdinand Jacobs, Chief Factor at Prince of Wales' Fort, saw it primarily as a means of extending trade into the interior. The next year Christopher and Norton explored Chesterfield Inlet as far inland as Baker Lake. Norton, in a cutter, reached the western end of the lake, and found no further passage, only a tiny stream. Disappointed at not finding a passage to the South Seas, they seem to be even more disappointed that this passage into the interior provided no route to furs or minerals. Instead these sloop voyages were to be put to a new purpose in the future: starting in 1765, instead of exploring, northern voyages were to combine trading with whaling.

While no great discoveries came from this period of Company exploration, it was not without achievements. John Bean was unlucky not to have had his efforts rewarded by significant discoveries, and Chesterfield Inlet was found and
explored by Norton and Christopher. With its rediscovery it was shown conclusively that yet another large section of the coastline did not contain a passage to the South Seas. In the end the northern sloop voyages resulted in the further mapping of the coast between Churchill and the area of Marble Island and Chesterfield Inlet. The unfortunate thing was, as Samuel Hearne aptly put it, all these explorations "did not lead into a country that produces anything for trade, or that contains any inhabitants worth visiting."  

While the Company was sending sloops northward along the coast, other interests in England were also engaged in the exploration of these regions. Almost inevitably these other voyages of exploration came into contact with Company employees and operations on the Bay. Nor could the Company keep itself aloof from events in England, and as a result, part of the initial impetus for renewing sloop voyages northwards came from Arthur Dobbs. Dobbs was not overly impressed by the Company's efforts, and later on he became perhaps the most persistent and dangerous critic the Company ever had. However, he was also largely responsible for two major voyages of discovery in 1741-42, and 1746-47. The second of these expeditions wintered at York Factory. Under the command of William Moor and Francis Smith, its' two ships the Dobbs Galley and the California explored Wager Bay. They also noted Chesterfield Inlet on their travels as previously mentioned, but failed to explore it properly. Their failure to do so led to Bean's problems with this "fly away river." Since the expedition wintered at York Factory it is not of direct interest to this report, but the earlier expedition under the command of Captain Christopher Middleton wintered at Churchill.

Captain Middleton, an experienced Company sailor and something of a scholar, was outfitted in 1741 with two ships. One, the Furnace, was originally a bomb ketch converted into a sloop. In some ways it was ideally suited for northern exploration since it was designed to withstand the recoil of
heavy mortars. Unfortunately her stout timbers notwithstanding, she had limited storage space so Middleton was forced to order extensive alterations. Surprisingly enough as it turned out, she handled very well. The second ship was a one hundred and fifty ton pink called the Discovery. It turned out to be a slow and unwieldy vessel.

Middleton, who left the Company's service to command this expedition, managed to attract some other Company servants as well. This gave him a few sound and experienced men, but most of his crew was either incompetent or diseased. It was wartime and good sailors were extremely hard to find. Crews had to be made up with the rather dubious produce of the press gangs, and any other person willing, even if scarcely able, to sail.

Eventually everything was more or less ready, and on June 8, 1741 the Furnace and Discovery set sail for Hudson Bay. This late start combined with the uncertain sailing ability of the Discovery made it necessary for Middleton and his crews to winter on the Bay otherwise no exploration could take place at all. As a result it was decided to find shelter for the ships and accommodation for the men at Churchill. When the ships arrived at Churchill they created something of a stir:

at Break of Day Saw two Ships in ye Offing...I immediately Shotted all our Guns, & made all ready for a Vigorous Defence Sent for all our men Home, & about 10 on ye Clock Saw a boat a brest ye Rivers Mouth, I fir'd about 11 She Came a Shore wth an Officer I talk't to him Over ye Parapet when he Show'd me Your Honours Letter I then Lett Him in & found your Honours new Orders to Admitt Capt. Middleton & C. to Come here.

It was a wary reception that Middleton received, notwithstanding his long contacts with bay-side employees. However, as the Company permitted it, his ships and his men were allowed to winter at Churchill. They were given the old factory to winter in, though Middleton himself and some of the officers
were allowed to stay at the new fort.\footnote{42} Company employees on the bay were never very eager to put up extra people, and this was especially true at Churchill.\footnote{43} There are the problems of providing food and fuel for a normal compliment of men was hard enough: "common fewel is so scarce near that Factory, that it is the chief employment of most of the servants for upward of seven months in the year, to procure as much wood as will supply the fires for a Winter."\footnote{44} To compound the problem the sailors of the Furnace and Discovery had not been outfitted very well for wintering in the Bay, and they lacked even basic warm clothing to protect themselves from the cold.\footnote{45} The situation was ripe for trouble before the winter even began.

Unfortunately the winter of 1741-42 was particularly bad. It was so cold by October 11 that wine froze in the glass before it could be drunk.\footnote{46} The weather stayed so cold that the stoves at Prince of Wales' Fort were burning upwards of four cart loads of wood a day. Even then it was not enough to keep anything that would freeze, including alcohol, from freezing indoors.\footnote{47}

Country provisions were scarce that winter for several reasons. The cold inhibited hunting, the Homeguard Indians had been well supplied earlier with shot and powder and had no need to come into the fort that winter, and the number of partridges around that winter was down.\footnote{48} As a result scurvy broke out amongst Captain Middleton's men: "Eight of our Men very ill in the Scurvy, & a Slow fever. Our Surgeon make Decoctions of Spruce & baths their limbs therein, applies ye best Medicines he has for their Disorders, & they have fresh Meat & Broth for their Common Diet."\footnote{49}

The best efforts of the Surgeon were not enough to keep all of Middleton's men alive, and by April 1942 ten men had died of scurvy and many others were ill or enfeebled.\footnote{50} Middleton, to make up his complement of men, tried to induce some Company servants to enlist. On April 19 John Armount entered the King's Service, as did William Mackcullook later
on June 1. Still others followed, and Isham, the Chief Factor, was in something of a quandry. Difficulties also arose when the Indians began to come in to trade after break-up, and in order to prevent clandestine trading Isham put Ferdinand Jacobs on board the Furnace. It is clear that relations had cooled between Isham and Middleton, and particularly between company men and sailors. Finally, on the night of June 30, Isham's now unwelcome guests set sail for the north. Isham's final comment was that Middleton had been "a Very Troublesome Guess," and he stated that if any more ships were to come out to winter he would like fuller orders on how to treat them.

The Furnace and Discovery soon reached an inlet at about 65°10'N where they sought shelter from the ice of Roe's Welcome. They were farther north than anyone had been previously, and they named the inlet Wager after the First Lord of the Admiralty. They spent some time in Wager Bay, but never conclusively proved it was a dead end. As the ice began to clear on Roe's Welcome, they pushed on northwards until they reached the end of Roe's Welcome: a low beach stretching right around from north to west. The end of Roe's Welcome was a bay, and in his disappointment Middleton named it Repulse Bay. They turned south, but no one seems to have had much interest in further exploration. For the most part the ships stood well off shore until they reached Marble Island. There it was decided to head home as it was the middle of August and no further exploration would be possible that season. In the minds of Middleton and his officers, if not Dobbs and some other eager proponents of the Northwest Passage, it was now clear that between Churchill and the end of Roe's Welcome a position of about 67°N no passage to the Pacific existed.

The northern sloop voyages and Captain Middleton's voyage constitute the extent of Churchill's contribution to northern exploration by sea in the 18th century. However, exploration
by sea was only a small part of the overall exploration efforts of the Company. Because of its direct financial interest in the natural resources of the interior, the Company put more effort and enterprise into overland exploration. While the Company was not as energetic in exploring the interior as the fur-traders based on the St. Lawrence River, some notable journeys of exploration were made by Company employees in the 17th and 18th centuries. Most of these journeys took place from York Factory, and much of country that was explored was the territory south and west of York.

The first of these inland explorers was Henry Kelsey, but it is unclear how much importance should be given to his discoveries. His journals are partially written in verse, and it is almost impossible to determine exactly where he went. In 1690 he probably reached the Saskatchewan River. From his base at "Deerings Point," which may well have been somewhere near The Pas, he travelled south and west again in 1691, and may have reached the Touchwood Hills about 50 miles north of Regina. No real use was made of either Kelsey's discoveries or journals until the 1740s when the Company used them to buttress their claim that they had in fact carried out some exploration of the interior. With the Parliamentary Inquiry into the Company's Charter concluded, Kelsey and his explorations sank from public consciousness again.

In the 1740s and 1750s the Company's trade began to suffer at the hands of Canadian traders moving into the interior from the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence River System. The La Vérendryes and their successors moved progressively north and westwards in their pursuit of furs, and by 1750 they had built a post at The Pas. This post lay astride the river routes to Bay-side posts, and many of the Indians' best furs were traded in the interior long before they got to the bay. Even before the establishment of the post at The Pas, a significant number of furs that previously had reached Company
posts on the bay were being diverted into the hands of French traders.

The Company responded by sending employees into the interior to winter with the Indians. They were there to bring the Indians back if possible to the Bay, and in the process shepherd them past the French posts. This policy was not completely successful, but it did lead to one most notable inland journey. Anthony Henday in the years 1754 and 1755 travelled inland from York all the way to the foothills of the Rockies. In the company of a party of Cree he travelled as far west as the area around Red Deer, and visited the "Archithinues" or Blackfeet.\(^{57}\) It was a daring and most important journey, and it indicated to all concerned that more significant discoveries might be made by travelling inland, instead of searching along sea-coasts.

Henday was followed inland by a string of Company employees from York: Smith and Waggoner, Batt and Potts, Pressick, Primeau and many others.\(^{58}\) The primary intention of these trips was to bring Indians in to trade, but significant discoveries were made by Henday, Tomison from Severn House, and others. Not surprisingly at Churchill inland journeys also were considered.

Actually some inland journeys had been made from Churchill prior to the 1750s. Richard Norton, for example, had travelled inland in 1717-18 following in the footsteps of William Stewart. The intent of the trip was to secure peace between the Crees and the Chipewyans, and to bring the latter down to trade at Prince of Wales' Fort.\(^{59}\) No one knows exactly where either Norton or Stewart went. Stewart probably reached the area "south of Great Slave Lake and east of Slave River."\(^{60}\) Norton travelled north-west to a few degrees north of Churchill then travelled in a long arc south and west. He was mainly interested in meeting the Chipewyans, and this he did.

Thereafter a certain amount of "exploration" took place around the Churchill area. For example the post journal entry
for June 7, 1720 mentions a search being made around the fort for red earth. Several times mineral deposits were "discovered" around the post, but they never produced any ore of value. One of these reports of minerals near Churchill found its way into Henry Ellis' book *A Voyage to Hudson's Bay* in the statement that "Lead Orr" was to be found on the surface of the ground in large quantities near Churchill. James Isham refuted this statement vehemently.

What the Author here intimates of Ore being found at Churchill, is Nothing but a sort of Red Oaker, for the Information he might have had of Lead Orr, being found any Where near that place is false; an On their was, of which I had try'd when in England before, and Since my arrival Now, proves to be no Sort of Metal, its consistent being only of a Sulfurous Nature & c.

Other kinds of "exploration" also took place as this entry from the post journal of 1725 illustrates:

I [Richard Norton] Designing to go as far to the North: as the Seal River It Being About 50 Miles off Churchill River, The Indians having Acquain-
ted that it is a very fine River And that thare is a vast Quantity of Timber at it and very Deep Water; Likewise a vast Quantity of fish Resorts there as Whole Salmon and other fish, So I think to go and Discover it as far as I can, that the Vessell might go there in the Spring If I find it will Answer.

It did not "Answer" since Norton found it in fact "very Shoul." This kind of small scale exploring took place regularly, and almost inevitably as the men of the fort went out looking for wood, game, and red ochre or the like. One can safely say that by the mid-1750s when inland journeys were taken up in earnest by the Company, most of the territory in about a fifty mile radius of Prince of Wales' Fort, and the entire coast between Churchill and York Factory, was known. Outside of this small enclave of known land little was known. Indian informants had told Company employees about large lakes and river systems in the interior, but the maps of the period show how garbled this information became
by the time it had been translated, assimilated, and then made to fit with established theory and popular myth, like the imaginary voyage of Admiral de Fonte.

The hinterland of Prince of Wales' Fort was left largely unexplored longer than the hinterland of York Factory because fur returns at Prince of Wales' Fort were less affected by competition from Canadian traders. The impetus that led to inland exploration from York in the 1750s and early 1760s was largely absent at Churchill, because of its northerly situation, until the late 1760s and 1770s. Finally in 1773 Joseph Hanson was sent inland to assess the degree to which trade with Prince of Wales' Fort had been usurped by Canadian traders. Hanson found that Canadian traders had established themselves between the Indians of the interior and Prince of Wales' Fort. Because the Churchill River was not easily navigable, and therefore the trip to Prince of Wales' Fort was only undertaken out of necessity, Hanson felt that few Indians would bother coming down to the fort if they could get supplies nearer home. The fur returns of 1775-76 seemed to bear Hanson out. In these years trade dipped to 7375 1/6 made beaver and 8254 7/8 made beaver respectively, a far cry from the early average of about 12,000 to 13,000 made beaver per annum. Andrew Graham summarized the problem: "such is the Influence of the Peddlars within us."

Whether or not the explorations of Samuel Hearne can be termed a response the incursions of Canadian traders on the hinterland of Prince of Wales' Fort, the timing is suggestive. Hearne's explorations occurred almost simultaneously with the move of the Frobisher brothers into the drainage area of the upper Churchill River. Moses Norton, the Chief Factor at Prince of Wales' Fort, obviously thought that mining could become a profitable part of the Company's operations, and Churchill was well situated to lead the search for copper and other ore deposits in the north. As previously mentioned he had been prominent in the sloop voyages
northward looking for mines, but when nothing came of them he switched his attention to the possibilities of inland exploration.

Moses Norton may very well have been a reprehensible man, and his motives for promoting northern exploration may not have been of the finest, but it was Norton who got the Company to authorize an overland exploration of the route to the Coppermine Indians. Samuel Hearne was chosen to lead the expedition.

The first expedition was sent out in 1769. It was composed of Hearne, two other Company servants William Isbister and Thomas Merriman, two Homeguard Crees, and a party of Chipewyans led by their trading captain, Chawchinahaw. The entire project was badly planned, and shortly after they had crossed the Seal River and moved out into the Barrens Chawchinahaw began to plot to get Hearne and the others to return to Prince of Wales' Fort. Food was short, and Chawchinahaw and his men put little effort into helping the Europeans or Cree acquire provisions. When, however, he found that he could not starve Hearne and the others into returning, he apparently arranged to have most of his men desert with the bulk of Hearne's supplies. He then, in effect, abandoned Hearne and his companions two hundred miles from the fort. The Indians who remained with Hearne were no more helpful, and as they returned back over the Barrens the Indians made certain that they were well supplied with provisions even if Hearne, Isbister and Merriman had none. When they reached the Seal River, food supplies improved due to the relative profusion of game. The remaining trip was marked only by some trouble over the purchase of venison from a Chipewyan whom they had met. Hearne eventually purchased the meat at an inflated price, but he now realized how dependent a European was on the good graces of the Indians when far away from Company posts. Eventually, on December 11, 1769, exactly one month and five days after they had left,
Hearne and company returned to Prince of Wales' Fort.

Despite the rapid and inglorious end to his exploratory effort Hearne learned some important lessons from his experience. He had learned how important it was to travel with the right Indian leader: Chawchinahaw was neither competent nor very honest, and when food got short he was unprepared to aid Hearne. Hearne also realized that it was pointless to take Company servants along. The Indians had little enough concern for Hearne; they cared even less for the fate of Isbister and Merriman. When food became scarce they were simply extra mouths to feed. Most importantly he realized how totally dependent he was on the Indians he travelled with, and for the most part thereafter he did all he could to avoid irritating his hosts.

Norton was eager for Hearne to set out again, and he hired an Indian called Conne-e-quoise, who claimed to have been near the Coppermine River, to lead this second expedition. On February 23, 1770 Hearne set off again with Conne-e-quoise and his party, and two Homeguard Crees, not to mention a large supply of ammunition, "light trading goods," and other "useful articles." This time the party travelled north to the Seal River, and then instead of crossing into the Barrens started inland along the river. The weather was poor and progress slow, but at least game was plentiful. However the party was heavily loaded, and most of the game killed had to be abandoned almost untouched. Hearne quite rightly suspected that this would prove a problem later. Fortunately, when the deer supply failed early in March they were close to a lake on the Seal River where they were able to set up camp and fish.

It was decided to remain in camp, and fish for provisions until the goose hunting season began. All would have been well except that unexpectedly the supply of fish failed on April 1. Conne-e-quoise went back to hunting, but he had no success for ten days. During this period of famine Hearne
relates that no one had much for refreshment but "a pipe of tobacco and a draught of water." After Conne-e-quese had succeeded in killing a few deer, the Indians then, in compensation for their days of starving, gave themselves over to several days of feasting. As a result, provisions were soon short once again, and towards the end of the month it was decided to move further down river. They set up camp again to fish at a spot on the Seal River called She-than-nee, and there they waited until May 13 when the geese began to appear. Hunting kept them occupied until May 23 when it was decided to move out onto the Barrens.

The thaw made travel in the woods impractical so they moved north along a tributary of the Seal River. First they abandoned their snowshoes on June 6, and on June 10 their sleds. They moved forward on foot with packs on their backs. Hearne found this mode of travel most awkward. His pack weighed over sixty pounds, and included such bulky objects as a quadrant and a land-compass. It was at this point that Conne-e-quese, who up until this time had been most helpful, first let Hearne down. He failed to warn Hearne and the Homeguard Crees that they should cut themselves tent poles before moving out onto the barrens. As a result neither Hearne nor the Crees had proper shelter. For the next several weeks they wandered further out onto the barrens. According to Hearne they alternated between starving and feasting which played havoc with his digestion and health.

They had been travelling generally north and west throughout the summer, but late in July Conne-e-quese announced that the season was too late to reach the Coppermine that year, and that they should winter with a large group of Indians in a place where there was plenty of game. Hearne was in no position to disagree so they began to move inland. All the Indians they met expected Hearne to shower them with presents, and when they discovered he had nothing to spare
called him a "poor servant, noways like the Governor at the Factory, who...they never saw, but he gave them something useful." It made Hearne very conscious of how dependent and powerless he was. Perhaps for this reason he decided to return to Prince of Wales' Fort when a few days later his quadrant was accidently broken. According to his calculations, which were not always accurate, he had reached a point 63°10' North and 10°40' West of Churchill. He had reached the area of Dubawnt Lake, just south and west of Baker Lake and the end of Chesterfield Inlet.

Shortly after Hearne decided to return home his possessions were plundered by some of the Chipewyans. They simply entered his tent and took what they wanted. As something of a favour they let him keep a knife, a needle, and an awl and razor. The Homeguard Crees were also stripped of most of their possessions though not in as premtory a manner as Hearne. Conne-e-quake was completely incapable of preventing the theft, and in fact had to give up some of his own possessions too. Hearne's load, now substantially lightened, allowed him to make good time on the return trip. Unfortunately they had neither proper winter clothing nor anyone to make it for them. Thus, despite plenty of food, and good travelling conditions, they suffered greatly from the cold.

Fortunately on September 20, 1770 they came upon an Indian leader called Matonabbee and his party. Unlike the other Chipewyans they had met, he decided to help them. He provided Hearne and the Homeguard with good winter clothing, he directed them to some woods where they could make themselves snowshoes, and he accompanied them down to the vicinity of Churchill. Just north of the Seal River, at Egg River, Hearne left Matonabbee and pushed on quickly for home. He reached Prince of Wales' Fort on November 25, 1770. Matonabbee followed on later. While he had been travelling with Matonabbee, they had discussed the reasons for the failure of his first two attempts to find the Coppermine. Matonabbee attributed all of Hearne's problems to the "misconduct" of
his guides, and offered to act as Hearne's guide himself. By now Hearne had learned a number of important lessons. Not only was his Indian guide all important, but he also knew that travelling with either, Cree or European companions was a waste of food and supplies. For this reason he refused to take any Homeguard Crees along with him, despite the fact that this earned him the undying hatred of Moses Norton. Hearne also realized that he had to go along with what the Chipewyans wanted and not interfere or try to change their plans. For the most part Hearne attempted to merge his interests and concerns with those of the Chipewyans he was travelling with. Although at times this was hard for him, particularly when the Indians he was travelling with decided to massacre Eskimos for example, he stuck to his policy of adapting to Indian ways in order to survive. He was one of the first important European explorers to follow the exploratory technique of "going native." His journey with Matonabbee is a shining example of how adaptable some Hudson's Bay Company employees could be, faced with the demands of a new and unfamiliar land: in this case the Barrens.

On December 7, 1770 he set out once again, along with Matonabbee and his band of trading Chipewyans. As usual, they travelled generally north and west, living off the land. They passed the Seal and Egg Rivers, until early in January they reached what Hearne called Island Lake, now Neultin Lake. This lake was famous for its supplies of fish, and most of the wives and children of the men who went down to Churchill to trade, camped there until the men returned. At Neultin Lake they could provide themselves with plenty of provisions without "the assistance of a gun and ammunition, which is a point of real consequence to them." They stayed at Neultin Lake for some time, feeding them-
selves well, and building up a stock of provisions: dried and pounded venison. They then set off later in January in a generally north-westerly direction. They followed more or less along the edge of the northern transitional forest. Most of the time Hearne was aware of the Barrens lying just to the north and east. Travelling on the edge of the forest kept them supplied with deer though after a time they began to move away from the direct path to the Coppermine. Matonabbee explained to Hearne that only in Spring when the caribou, or "deer" moved out onto the Barrens could they turn directly north to the Coppermine. In the meantime they continued to wander sometimes north and west, often south or west and south as food supplies dictated. Along the way they came across a band of Chipewyans at Wholdiah Lake who were supporting themselves with the produce from a deer hedge they had built there. Meeting these Indians made Hearne aware of one of the great ironies of the Chipewyan Indians' lives. Those who supported themselves at deer hedge could live comfortably for the most part but acquired few furs. Those who tried to acquire furs might gain material wealth, but at the expense of great labour and very real risk since to pursue furs was to neglect hunting the great food resource of the area, the caribou. Hearne was perhaps the first European to doubt the benefits of European contact for the Indians.

April found Hearne at a lake called Thelewey-aza-yeth where they spent ten days preparing to move out onto the Barrens. Meat was dried and pounded, and tent poles cut. Hearne knew from his experiences with Conne-e-quoise the importance of carrying tent poles with him. He describes them as being seven or eight feet long and about one and a quarter inches square. They were generally hauled by the Chipewyans' dogs all summer between camping places, and in late fall they were put to yet another use, serving as snow-shoe frames. It was here also that the Chipewyans acquired birch-rind and timbers for their canoes. These canoes were small, light
conveyances, used solely to cross rivers. Their main virtues were that they could be carried by a single person, and they could be portaged "150 or even 200 miles." Otherwise they were unstable, rather dangerous craft in the water, and they could generally carry only one person and very small quantities of goods.\textsuperscript{90}

As they moved north other Indians joined their party for a time, and most traded their furs to Matonabbee. He was in fact acting as a middleman between the Company and the Chipewyan, Dogrib and Copper Indians who never visited Prince of Wales' Fort. Late in May they started out onto the Barrens. Some of the Indians that they had met up with when making their preparations for the summer's travel continued on with Matonabbee. Their intention was to kill as many Eskimo as possible: part of the reason for travelling to the Coppermine River was to massacre the Eskimos who were known to "frequent that river."\textsuperscript{91}

As more and more men joined the party preparations for war were carried out. Wooden shields or "targets" were made, each about three quarters of an inch thick, and two feet broad by three feet long.\textsuperscript{92} These were for protection from Eskimo arrows. Women and children were for the most part left behind, along with dogs, baggage and other encumberances.\textsuperscript{93} Hearne himself tried to dissuade Matonabbee and his followers from committing a massacre with almost disastrous consequences. The Indians accused him of cowardice. Hearne was suddenly and rather unpleasantly reminded of how much his own personal safety rested on the good opinion Matonabbee and the other Indians had of him. He had to answer their charge quickly, which he did by saying that he despised but did not fear the Eskimo, and that he would not attack them, but if attacked by them would defend himself and his friends with all his strength. Fortunately this statement was accepted as proof that he was not a coward, but he never again tried to interfere with the plans of his guides.\textsuperscript{94}
They travelled generally north and west until July 14 when they at last reached the Coppermine River. Along the way Hearne had several noteworthy experiences. He met a group of Copper Indians who had never seen a white man before, and who examined him like a zoological specimen. He also saw vast herds of musk-oxen, grizzly bears and other exotic wildlife. Hearne was not very impressed by the Coppermine River. It had been described by Indians as a huge river navigable by European shipping, instead he discovered it was shoal, had numerous falls and rapids, and was barely navigable by canoes. There were virtually no trees there, and those were "crooked and dwarfish:" useful only as firewood. Nevertheless he began his survey of the river while his companions continued their preparations for killing Eskimos.

On the sixteenth some Eskimos were sighted in a party of about five tents, and the remainder of the day was spent stalking them. At about one o'clock in the morning of July 17 Matonabbee and his companions attacked the sleeping Eskimos. Unable to make any defense, upward of twenty were massacred. One girl of about eighteen was killed so close to Hearne that as she was "transfixed to the ground" by spears, she grasped Hearne's legs, and he had great difficulty disengaging himself from her dying clasp. Hearne was quite shaken by this experience, and his clear distaste for the proceedings resulted in his companions ridiculing his weakness. There were other Eskimos in the area, and they too were attacked though in the end only an old man and an old woman were killed. The Indians at one point shot at some Eskimos on the other side of the river who were so unacquainted with the nature of fire-arms, that when the bullets struck the ground, they ran in crowds to see what was sent them and seemed anxious to examine all the pieces of lead which they found flattened against the rocks. They only escaped when one of the men was hit in the calf by a bullet, which for the first time alerted them to the danger they were in.
With the killing and plundering of the Eskimos over Hearne completed the survey of the river. He travelled about eight miles to the mouth of the river from the site of the massacre, only to discover that it was full of islands and shoals, and that ice still came to within three-quarters of a miles of the shore. They travelled back inland again about "twenty-nine or thirty miles" until they reached one of the fabled copper mines. Hearne found it to be a "jumble of rocks and gravel" that after a search of four hours produced only one sizeable chunk of copper. While this piece was large: weighing over four pounds, and quite pure, Hearne was not impressed by the commercial potential of the "mine." With the two chief goals of his expedition realized, Hearne and his companions turned south. They travelled at an extremely rapid pace back to Cogead Lake, where they rejoined the women and children whom they had left behind. So rapid was the pace at which they travelled that Hearne seriously damaged his feet. Ordinarily the Indians did not walk more than about ten or twelve miles a day, but on the trip back from the Coppermine River they travelled as much as 45 miles in a day. Hearne's legs and feet were very swollen, and this caused his shoes to chafe off all the skin on the tops of his feet and between the toes. Sand and gravel, then getting into his footwear, so abraded the raw parts of his feet that he states his flesh was "quite honey-combed." Moreover since this caused him to stagger somewhat he often hit his feet against stones bruising them until several of his toe-nails "festered" and fell off. He feared he would be unable to keep up and would be left behind. Fortunately the party of women and children was joined before Hearne's feet completely failed him, though as it was, for some days, he left his foot-print in blood with almost every step he took. For some time thereafter he had difficulty travelling at even the usual pace of ten miles a day.

They travelled at a very leisurely pace in a generally
south-westerly direction towards "Athapuscow Lake" which is now called Great Slave Lake. The Indians were in no hurry so a good part of the fall was spent hunting, fishing and trading. Matonabbee was in fact a kind of middleman. He traded iron goods and other valuable objects to fellow Chipewyans who did not want to go down to Churchill to trade. He also collected furs from the more remote tribes like the Copper and Dog Rib Indians. He and some other Chipewyan Indians like Captain Keelshies, Idotliazee, and Conne-e-quese had adapted the traditional Chipewyan patterns of nomadic food-gathering to the demands of the fur trade. As they travelled through the Barrens and northern transitional forest they would trade for other furs which in time would be traded at Churchill when their wanderings brought them near the Bay again. Often these trading Chipewyans would take three or more years before they could return to Prince of Wales' Fort to trade.\textsuperscript{101}

On December 24, 1771 they finally reached "Athapuscow" Lake. They crossed the lake on the ice at its narrowest point early in January and continued on to the south-west travelling along the Slave River. Hearne had hoped to meet up with some of the local Indians so that he could purchase a hide tent and some other necessaries, but none were found. Thus on January 27, 1772 it was decided to turn eastwards, and travel back to Churchill. Hearne now intended if possible to arrive back at Prince of Wales' Fort before the Company supply ship arrived in late summer. As usual they wandered in the general direction they wished to go following the food supply and terrain as much as possible. Where deer were plentiful they often stopped to camp for a few days in order to restock supplies of dried meat and fat. On May 6 they reached Black Bear Hill, a short distance west of Wholdiah Lake. Then they left the elderly and young members of the party in order to travel as quickly as possible down to the Fort.

Food soon became scarce, and so too was powder and shot.
Fortunately enough geese, wild fowl, and other small game were shot to prevent starvation, though many Indians with Matonabbee's party simply abandoned it, and went back to hunting. They cached their furs to await a more favourable time to go to trade. Hearne and Matonabbee pushed on, and by June 18 they had reached the Egg River. From there Hearne sent a letter on ahead to Moses Norton announcing his impending arrival. On July 26 they crossed the Seal River, and on June 29, 1772 Hearne at last returned to Prince of Wales' Fort. He had been absent "eighteen months and twenty-three days on this last expedition," and it was "two years seven months and twenty-four days" since he had first set out with "Captain" Chawchinaha. 102

The men who lived and worked at Prince of Wales' Fort made an important contribution to the exploration of northern Canada. The northern sloop voyages resulted in the exploration of the coastline of Hudson Bay from Churchill to Chesterfield Inlet. Using cutters some exploration inland also took place, and Moses Norton actually travelled inland along Chesterfield Inlet as far as the head waters of Baker Lake. Along with the more formal expeditions of Knight and Middleton sent out from England they helped to show to all but the most optimistic that a North-West Passage could not exist within the confines of Hudson Bay. By far the most important and intriguing of the explorers who set out from Churchill was Samuel Hearne. Not only did he travel through a huge area of north-western Canada as far as the mouth of the Coppermine River and the shores of the Arctic Ocean, a major accomplishment in itself, but he travelled in a most interesting manner. Not only did he travel with a band of Chipewyans, but he travelled almost as if he was Chipewyan. He realized that he was entirely dependent on the good-will and expertise of his guides, and he adapted himself to their ways to a remarkable degree. He ate their food, even when sometimes its contents or mode of preparation might have offended his
European sensibilities, he learned their methods of travel and became in time a proficient snowshoer, and he also learned to keep quiet and not interfere with his guests' hunting, travelling, or military plans, even when these most definitely ran counter to his plans and sensibilities. He showed himself to be a remarkably flexible and adaptable man. He also exhibited a great deal of courage in even attempting the expedition, and fortitude in putting up with starvation, injury, and two abortive attempts to complete the journey. Hearne, along with Henday and perhaps Kelsey, showed the way for other English explorers who followed them inland, for they were the earliest and most notable Company explorers to adopt Indian methods and Indian aid to ensure the success of their exploration.
For the most part the historical record of the Hudson's Bay Company's trade on the bay emphasizes the activities of the European employees of the company. This means that a "Social" history of Prince of Wales' Fort almost inevitably concentrates on the tiny complement of men who lived in and around the post. However, of all the people affected by the construction of a fur trade post at the mouth of the Churchill River, company employees were a tiny minority. Throughout the 18th century it is unlikely that the European population of the North-West ever exceeded one thousand persons. As late as 1811 the Hudson's Bay Company only employed 320 men in all their posts, of whom at least 21 were of mixed European and Indian parentage.  

The number of French and later Canadian traders living in the interior up to the end of the century was probably no more than a few hundred at any one time. Meanwhile, estimates of the size of the native population of the North-West at the time vary, but it was probably somewhere between 40 and 60 thousand persons. This means that the European population of the North-West at most was no more than one or two per cent of the whole.

Because of its northerly position, the post at Churchill had an impact in terms of trade over a singularly large area. Indians along the Churchill River system came to trade, as did even some plains Indians from the northern prairies. The Chipewyan Indians of what is now the North-West Territories traded at Churchill, and through trading contacts with other Athapaskan-speaking tribes extended the trading area of Prince of Wales' Fort far to the West and North. Sloop
voyages for trade northwards along the shores of the bay also engaged the Caribou Eskimo of the Keewatin District in a somewhat erratic trading contact. Furs shipped from Churchill then were drawn from an area roughly corresponding with what is now Manitoba north of the Churchill River, Saskatchewan north of the drainage area of the Saskatchewan River, parts of north-eastern Alberta, and most of the North-West Territories lying east of Great Slave and Great Bear Lakes, and extending north to the area of the Arctic Circle. Most of this huge area, however, was relatively sparsely populated. Before European contact the Chipewyans numbered only about thirty-five hundred persons despite the huge territory they inhabited. Nevertheless, because of its relative isolation, the European population of Churchill amounted probably to an even smaller proportion of the total population in some way dependent on the fur trade than was the case farther south.

If fur trade society is defined as those persons who support themselves and their families in whole or in part by the trade in furs or related products like foodstuffs, whalebone, oil or the like then more than 99 per cent of that society dependent on Prince of Wales' Fort has not been discussed in any detail yet in this report. This section of the report then will try to parallel previous chapters as much as possible by examining a number of topics like clothing, diet, and social organization for the three main native groups involved in trade with Prince of Wales' Fort, the Cree, the Chipewyans, and the Eskimos or Inuit. In addition an attempt will be made to describe the general character of European-Indian contact, and to assess the impact of contact on native cultures in the 18th century.

The native culture most affected by the construction of a fur trade post at Churchill was that of the Swampy Cree, who inhabited the Hudson Bay Lowlands area. They were often called the "Homeguard" Indians by traders, and should be distinguished from the Cree of the interior who were called
"Upland" Indians by Company traders, and who correspond with what we now call the Woodland Cree. Still farther afield were the Plains Cree, who with the introduction of horses and firearms into the West adopted a culture very similar to that of the Assiniboines. "Upland" Indians traded regularly at Prince of Wales' Fort, while the Plains Cree and Assiniboines or "Stone" Indians seem to have had less direct contact with bay-side posts. They traded more frequently at York Factory than at Churchill, though for a time in the late 1730s "Stone" Indians did arrive annually at Prince of Wales' Fort. 4

The Chipewyans also were affected by the construction of Prince of Wales' Fort, being drawn into the trade system of that post after 1719. Unlike the Homeguard Cree, however, the impact of European contact on the Chipewyans or "Northern" Indians as they were usually called was erratic. Some were profoundly affected by being drawn into the fur trade, many, probably even most, were scarcely influenced at all. 5 The more remote Athapaskan speaking tribes like the "Copper" or Yellowknife Indians, the Dogrib, Slave, and Beaver Indians were affected to some extent by what happened to their Cree and Chipewyan neighbours.

The Caribou Eskimos living in what is now the Keewatin District of the North-West Territories also were drawn to some extent into the trading activities of Prince of Wales' Fort, and they too were affected by the impact of white contact on their neighbours, in this case the Chipewyans. In each case the impact of white contact on the native population can be broken down into direct and indirect effects. The direct consequences of white contact expressed themselves in changes in material culture, social organization, and hunting patterns for example, while indirect consequences tend to be those changes brought about by changes in neighbouring populations like migration or increased warfare.

The Cree, or "Kristineaux" as they are sometimes called,
were an Algonkian-speaking people who occupied the territory that stretches in a huge arc from Northern Quebec to the Churchill River around Hudson and James Bays. They occupied an immense territory, and in part for this reason they were not a particularly homogeneous group. In fact, as Diamond Jenness points out, one of the characteristics of the Cree was that they had a tendency to take "on the colour of the tribes with whom they had most contact." This was also true after contact with Europeans leading to the development of three relatively distinctive Cree cultures within the trading hinterland of Prince of Wales' Fort: the Homeguard, the Woodland and the Plains Cree. The Homeguard Cree developed from the Swampy Cree, who in turn shared many cultural traits with the Woodland Cree. They were a migratory culture surviving by hunting the large mammals of the boreal forest of the Canadian Shield, and the more stunted forests of the Hudson Bay Lowland region. Woodland caribou, moose, bear, beaver, smaller game like hares, and some birds, geese and ptarmigan formed the basis of their food supplies. Intriguingly, fishing was not traditionally considered an important food-gathering activity, and seems to have been largely scorned as an unworthy activity for hunters.\(^7\)

Since large mammals were their primary food source, and they were relatively rare and widely dispersed, these Cree never developed a very sophisticated social structure or organization. They lived for the most part in small bands usually based on some kind of family ties. They had none of the more formal tribal structures of the West Coast, and Eastern agricultural Indian groups.

Beginning with James Isham, a succession of Company employees set down on paper their observations on the Cree and their manners and mores. Most, like Isham, described them in attractive physical terms: "The men are for the most part tall and thin streight & clean Lim'd bon'd and full breast'ed, their is Very few Crooked or Deform'd persons amongst them."\(^8\)
Alexander Mackenzie offered much the same description of the Cree, and went on to state that Cree women were "the most comely" on the continent.\(^9\)

All observers agreed that their health was generally good, though Mackenzie remarks that by the end of the century at least, "lues venerea" or syphilis was common amongst the Cree, but that they cured it easily with simples.\(^{10}\) Andrew Graham also observed that Indians seemed to be affected by syphilis in a more mild manner than Europeans. He attributed this to their diet which was "void of salt, spices, also spiritous liquors when from the Factories."\(^{11}\) They also suffered like the Europeans in the post from "bloody flux" or dysentery, and the "country distemper" or severe pains in the breast. They fell victim to periodic epidemics of one sort or another and in particular, the smallpox epidemic of 1781-82 profoundly affected the Cree population. Between 40 and 50 per cent of their population may have perished.\(^{12}\)

The major cause, however, of health problems for the Cree lay in the uncertain nature of their food supplies. Theirs was a very marginal hunting and food-gathering economy. According to Graham, the Cree of the interior generally had plenty of game, but the Swampy Cree of the Hudson's Bay Lowland area were not so fortunate. They were frequently without any food at all.\(^{13}\) Before white contact they pursued game with bows and arrows, or spears, and captured game in pounds or hedges, and snares. The Cree were extremely able hunters, but not very provident. They knew how to preserve meat by smoking it, but they rarely bothered.\(^{14}\) Instead, they ate well when they could, and endured hunger when they could not. They tended to kill as many animals as possible, not out of wantonness so much as the belief that the more animals "they destroy the more plentiful they grow."\(^{15}\) As a result they often disturbed European observers, who knew of the food problems they faced, when they would kill several deer or caribou and only take the choicest parts: tongues, heads, hearts
and feet, and leave the rest to rot. This habit so offended Isham that he stated "it's no wonder that God Almighty shou'd fix his judgemen't upon these Vile Reaches." He felt only ignorance could explain this improvident trait, though Graham may have been closer to the truth when he stated that the migratory life of the Cree made carrying food supplies around with them difficult.

Nevertheless it meant that each day's food had to be procured that selfsame day, which in turn made shortages a fact of every day life. This produced some interesting effects. Post journals and other contemporaneous accounts often remark on how much food the Indians could eat. A typical comment can be found in the post journal for 1722 which states that each Indian consumes as much food as five company employees every day. Perhaps part of the reason why Chief Factors were loathe to have Indians living at the fort or in the vicinity of Prince of Wales' Fort was simply that they quickly became a heavy drain on food supplies.

Their hunting practices may have contributed to the spiritual life of the Cree. By all accounts they were a very "superstitious" group, and inclined to assign supernatural causes to most everyday events. Success in hunting, health, family life and so on all were guided by supernatural forces. Their world was composed of many "spirits" any of which might be either helpful or harmful, but most were never really "ethical forces" like good or evil. Sacrifices to spirits could be given either to make them favourable to some object, or to propitiate anger and ward off harm. Generally speaking these sacrifices consisted of throwing some tobacco, brandy or other valued product into the campfire. The two major spirits, however, were "Kitchimanitow" or "Uckimow" the Great Chief, a rather benign spirit, and "Whittico" or "Windigo," the cause of most misfortune. This "bad" spirit often stalked the forest for human prey, and many claimed to have seen its "hideous" form, or at least its tracks. When
this happened it was not uncommon for those present to try to hunt down the Whittico and kill it. Other times sacrifices and songs would be offered to the spirit to gain its mercy, or to keep it happy and at bay.\textsuperscript{24} The Whittico not only had a taste for human flesh, but it also had many servants or helpers on earth. One of the melancholy facts of life on the Bay was the threat of starvation, and some in the grip of exhaustion and starvation appear to have lost their minds and become cannibals. These persons then became the Whittico's servants, or even in a sense the Whittico itself. Post journals often gave accounts of cannibalism of which the following is amongst the most graphic:

this Eveng here Come Down ye river two Indian women, in a most miserable Condition of hunger, one of them is ye mother of ye other, & they releat ye following Tragical Story, ye daughter had a husband & 3 Children, & was one of our goose Hunters Spring & fall Some time Last month this family was in Such a Starved Condition that ye man murthered his youngest Child & Eat it, And in 4 Days after he murthered his Eldest Son who was about 12 Years of age, the women fearing he would murder them all they Left him wth ye dead Boy, taking wth them their Second Child wch was girl about 7 or 8 years old, & made for ye factory, they then being about 150 Miles Distance from hence, 3 Days after he pursued them and Coming up wth them he Endeavoured to wrest ye Girl from ye mother but both ye women Endeavouring to preserve ye Child, he throatled it in its' mothers hands & after that Seized his wife to Murder her also but ye two women over Come him & his wife Knocked him on ye head wth a hatchet, after they had Slue him they Buried him & his Daughter together under ye Snow & Come for ye factory, & in 16 Days time they got here, what is very Surprizing at ye time of this Disaster there was Plenty of Deer about them & he had amunition & might have Kild Venison, wch his family Strongly Desired him to do, but he gave no manner of Care to their Sollicitations but his mind Seemed to be fixed upon what is above releated.\textsuperscript{25}

From this account it is quite easy to see where, at least in part, the idea of the Whittico came from. In cases when the cannibals lived, they were shunned by other Indians,
having broken such a fundamental taboo. They were looked upon as no longer fully human.

Also rather different from the average Cree were the "conjurers," the medicine men or shamans of the tribe. According to Graham these were men who had "intelligence with the Evil Spirit," though it seems not all of them worked their magic to achieve evil ends.\(^26\) It was within their power to cast and cast off spells, to predict the future and ward off evil, and cure the sick. Important spells or prophesies only came about after a lengthy ritual. The conjurer would make a circle of strong sticks and cover them with skins to a height of about eight feet, making a kind of tent with an open top. Inside the tent a stage would be made by tying poles across the tent some distance above the ground. The conjurer would be placed on the stage, often firmly tied,\(^27\) and the tent closed up so no one could see inside. If tied he would then free himself by magic, and proceed to shake the tent and howl. After some hours the conjurer, painted black and otherwise decked out to create a hideous impression, would emerge from the tent in a kind of frenzy and deliver his message from the supernatural world.\(^28\) These pronouncements were taken very seriously, and conjurers, especially those with a powerful reputation, were felt to have a life and death power over their fellows. For this reason they were often given large presents both for working magic for individuals, and often to ensure that they cast no spells against someone.

They were also masters of sleight of hand. Andrew Graham lists some of their more favoured tricks

- such as swallowing a string with a musket ball hanging to it; taking it directly out at the fundament; pretending to blow one another down;
- swallowing bears' claws, and vomiting them up;
- extracting them from wounds, or the beast, mouth, etc. of a sick person, firing off a gun and the ball to remain behind; and a thousand other pranks.\(^29\)

These tricks, if that is indeed what they were, were an im-
important part of Cree Medicine, and often the same person claimed skills as both a doctor and a conjurer.

Nevertheless, not all Cree medicine was magical. Some acquired medical supplies at fur trade posts as was mentioned earlier, and set themselves up as doctors. Others used native roots, herbs, and barks to cure illness. Wishakapucka was a common Indian herbal medicine that was adopted by Company employees as a cure for many of their ills. Cree doctors also used blood-letting as a cure, and Andrew Graham claims to have "found benefit" by their methods when afflicted with "headache and dizziness." Perhaps the most intriguing element of Cree medicine however, was the use of the sweat-house.

The sweat-house was by no means an invention of the Cree, it was a part of the medical lore of Indian tribes from the Atlantic to the Pacific coasts of Canada. However, the Cree were very fond of the healthful properties of the sweat-house, and "to clean and lubricate themselves." The sweat-house was a "Little hutt or tent, about four foot high and about 6 foot over," which was covered with a thick blanket of furs. A small opening was left to allow entrance to the tent, and through which hot stones could be passed. An attendant was generally present to heat the necessary stones in an adjacent fire, and after the patient had entered the tent they were passed in and placed in the centre of the tent. A vessel of water and a piece of spruce bush were also placed in the tent so that water could be dropped on the stones to increase humidity and thereby perspiration. After the sweating cure was completed the patient would leave the tent and race into the nearest body of water in summer, or run out and roll in the snow in winter. Occasionally they would allow the tent simply to cool while the patient scraped the sweat off. Both Graham and Isham comment that this kind of medical treatment was likely to be fatal to Englishmen, though, of course, it resembles nothing so much as the Finnish
sauna.

When neither travelling nor seeking food, games and sports were common diversions. Many were sports of skill or strength. Contests of marksmanship were not uncommon, at first with bows and arrows and later with guns. The Cree also were fond of running races, though according to Graham these were generally only over short distances. They also engaged in wrestling and jumping contests, though their wrestling activities did not have the consequences of those of their neighbours the Chipewyans.

They played several different ball games, one played by the men consisted of throwing a ball in the air, and batting it back and forth amongst the men in the ring. A variation of this game consisted of throwing the ball into the air, and then trying to catch it and run with it back to a base or designated spot before the other players could stop the catcher. Cree women played a game of their own. They made a curious device from two small stuffed balls attached together by a string about six inches long. According to Isham they called it "tishesvy's," or in 18th century parlance "a pair of stones." These balls were then tossed from person to person, and caught by means of sticks. The primary rule was that they could not be touched with the hands.

All of these games were generally played to the accompaniment of gambling. Participants in most contests would put up some kind of stakes, which would then go to the winner. The Cree seem to have been singularly fond of gambling, and often risked as much as a whole winter's trappings on one of a number of gambling games. Some like the "moccasin" game have already been described. Andrew Graham mentions a game that was common especially amongst the young people, who would place "bits of stones, brass and other things in a wooden platex." After shaking it they would observe what sides turned up much like tossing a series of coins. After white contact they took up European games like checkers or draughts.
at which they became most proficient.

They were also very fond of dancing, singing and feast­ing. Some songs and dances celebrated their accomplishments particularly in warfare. Their war-dance mimed an actual battle, with the dancers armed, and carrying trophies of previous conflicts. Most dances, however, were of a more recreational nature. Typically the Cree danced to the beat of a "small drum or tabor," usually played by the old men of the band. The others arranged themselves in two concentric circles. The innermost circle was all male, and they danced with their faces turned forward while moving in an east-west rotation like the sun. The women danced around the men, moving in the opposite direction with their heads turned sideways. The actual steps of the dance were subject to less formality: the men hopped, jumped, and moved about actively if not regularly. The women too had no formal step, though they never lifted their feet off the ground, making it appear as if all they were doing was shuffling sideways. Most European observers of Indian dancing around the bay tended to be rather scornful of it, since it lacked the complex steps and ritual of European dancing of the period, and its musical accompaniment was no more than a drum. The singing to European ears was generally heard to be "hideous howling." Most like Joseph Robson found the dancing and the music "dismal;" only Andrew Graham made much of an attempt to understand Cree dancing and left anything like a complete description of what it was like.

Feasts were often associated with dancing, and unlike European custom they were not held to celebrate special events, days or to honour any person. They were celebrated when provisions were plentiful. As with dances, all participants dressed themselves in their finest clothing, and often painted their faces, and otherwise "set off their persons to ad­vantage." Every guest carried a platter or dish. The person holding the feast usually began it by offering the company a lengthy speech, generally termed a "harangue" by European
observers. Then the food was distributed to the guests. Everybody was expected to eat all they were given even if meant eating from morning to night. So great was the importance placed on eating all that you were given, that sometimes another person had to be hired to clean the plate. Dancing or conversation usually followed a feast, with the guests departing from time to time during the evening, intriguingly without "taking any leave" of their host even when they were going away, and would be separated for a long time.

In terms of dress the Cree generally wore a pair of leather stockings, dressed to be soft and pliable like chamois or "shammy" as Umfreville put it. They wore a loose jacket with sleeves, and over everything else a dressed Buffalo skin, or other heavy fur covering. Leather clothing was often decorated with intricate patterns of porcupine quill "beads." Deer skin moccasins and socks of "Green Rabbit" skin completed the basic attire. In winter more and heavier clothing was the rule. After contact with Europeans, new items of clothing like woolen stockings, and new clothing materials like cloth and blanket were added to Indian dress.

The Cree lived in skin tents for the most part. These tents were of the familiar tipi pattern, though in the north they were primarily made from deer and moose hides. Isham states that usually ten skins were needed for the tent. Most tents could shelter 12 to 14 Indians, though not with much comfort. They tended to be cold and smoky. Sometimes a kind of wooden hut was built for shelter, and often when hunting or travelling a sort of "lean-to" was built for protection from the wind. Isham mentions that when travelling to the bay to trade some Cree simply stuck up their paddles, and placed a piece of "Ryen" or bark around them to keep the wind off. The advantage of all these sorts of shelter was that they were simple to build if needed, and used easily obtainable materials, or in the case of the "tipi" were easily transportable.
In summary, the Cree of the Hudson Bay area were a migratory hunting people, inclined to living in small family bands. While their material, economic, and social culture was not as sophisticated as either the agricultural tribes of Eastern Canada, or the West Coast tribes, they had developed a fairly effective technology and lifestyle for ensuring survival in the lands they inhabited.

Contact with the fur-traders of the Hudson's Bay Company wrought major changes in the culture of the Cree, particularly amongst the Swampy Cree of the Hudson Bay Lowland region. They were in the closest proximity to the posts, and soon their lives became so involved with and altered by the demands of the fur trade that they came to be known as the "Homeguard" Indians. In fact, within the first few years of the operation of the post at Churchill, a number of recognizable "Homeguard" Indians had begun to live in the general neighbourhood of the fort. Perhaps the first of these Homeguards was the aptly named "Factory" who hired himself out to the Company as a goose hunter. He received the title of "Captain" or "Chief" of the river, though it turned out this title was almost entirely honorific, and carried little weight with his fellow Cree. It is interesting to note that Company traders seem to have been most eager to create leaders amongst the Cree, and later on amongst the Chipewyans. Despite the fact that all observers commented that the Cree had no system of formal leadership, and no real social organization outside of small family bands, the Company chose to create for its own purposes an artificial system of chieftainship.

Nowhere was this tendency more marked than in the trading ceremony. Edward Umfreville described at some length the trading process.

In the month of March, the Upland Indians assemble on the banks of a particular river or lake, the nomination of which had been agreed on by common consent, before they separated for the winter. Here they begin to build their canoes, which are generally completed very soon after the river ice
breaks. They then commence their voyage, but without any regularity, all striving to be foremost; because those who are first have the best chance of procuring food. During the voyage, each leader canvasses, with all manner of art and diligence, for people to join his gang; influencing some by presents, and others by promises, for the more canoes he has under his command, the greater he appears at the Factory.

If there is but one Captain, his situation is in the center of the canoes; if more, they place themselves on the wings; and their canoes are distinguished by having a small flag hoisted on a stick, and placed in the stern.

When they arrive within a few hundred yards of the Fort, they discharge their fowling-pieces to compliment the English; who, in return, salute them by firing two or three small cannon. The leaders seldom concern themselves with taking out the bundles, but the other men will assist the women. The Factor being informed that the Indians are arrived, sends the trader to introduce the leaders with their lieutenants, who are usually their eldest sons or nearest relations. Chairs are placed for them to sit down on, and pipes, &c. are introduced.56

There follows an exchange of formal compliments between the Factor and the trading captain followed by giving of gifts. Each Captain was dressed at Company expense in the following outfit:

- a coarse cloth coat; either red or blue, lined with baize, and having regimental cuffs; and a waistcoat and breeches of baize. The suit is ornamented with orris lace. He is also presented with a white or check shirt; his stockings are of yarn, one of them red, the other blue, and tied below the knee with worsted garters; his Indian shoes are sometimes put on, but he frequently walks in his stocking-feet; his hat is coarse, and bedecked with three ostrick feathers, of various colours, and a worsted sash tied round the crown; a small silk handkerchief is tied round his neck, and this compleats his dress.

The Lieutenant is also provided with a coat, but it has no lining; he is likewise provided with a shirt and a cap, not unlike those worn by mariners.57

Gifts of bread, prunes, tobacco and brandy were then given to the Captain who later distributed them amongst his followers. He was then led from the fort back to his tent by the
Factor in a rather formal procession, involving company servants carrying the gifts, beating on a drum, and in front men carrying a halbard and an ensign. Back in his tent the Captain shared the presents with his followers, and for two or three days they celebrated. With their celebration completed the Indians usually renewed their bonds of friendship with the traders by smoking "the calimut" with them. This involved a ceremony which usually ended with the Captain making a speech of the following sort.

You told me last year to bring many Indians to trade, which I promised to do; you see I have not lied; here are a great many young men comes with me; use them kindly, I say; let them trade good goods; let them trade good goods, I say! We lived hard last winter and hungry; the powder being short measure and bad, I say! Tell your servants to fill the measure, and not to put their thumbs within the brim; take pity on us, take pity on us, I say! We paddle a long way to see you; we love the English. Let us trade good black tobacco, moist and hard twisted; let us see it before it is opened. Take pity on us; take pity on us, I say! The guns are bad, let us trade light guns, small in the hand, and well shaped, with locks that will not freeze in the winter, and red gun cases. Let the young men have more than measure of tobacco; cheap kettles, thick, and high. Give us good measure of cloth; let us see the old measure; do you mind me? The young men loves you, by coming so far to see you; take pity, I say; and give them good goods; they like to dress and be fine. Do you understand me?58

Trading then finally took place.

From Umfreville's account of the trading ceremony a number of inferences can be drawn. The entire process with its rituals, colourful display, and gift-giving was designed to enhance the often temporary prestige of the captain. While would-be trading leaders and the Factors conspired to this end, in many respects it was the Company's doing that this system of trade developed. It is also clear that some of the more cherished myths of European-Indian trade quite simply do not apply to trade on the bay in the 18th century.
For example, the Company did not take advantage of drunken Indians to boost their trade. Umfreville was no supporter of the Company, but he points out quite clearly that all celebrations were over before trading took place. On the same subject it might also be worth pointing out that the Indians of the interior: the Woodland and Plains Cree, Chipewyans, and others had access to alcohol at most a week of every year, up until the time when traders moved into the interior. Moreover, Indians were much more intelligent consumers than they have often been given credit for. Not only were they wise to some of the more obvious frauds that could be employed against them, like thumbs in powder measures, but they were able to demand and get a remarkably stable standard of trade, and supply of goods.

Even the sorts of goods they traded for changed very little, for most Indians had a very clear idea of what they wanted, and in what quantity. Despite the attempts of the Company to bring in new products like "Musical Chirmers" and the like, Indians were unlikely to buy goods other than those they felt they needed. According to Andrew Graham, few Indians would bring in furs worth more than one hundred made beaver. Once they had this quantity of furs they simply stopped trapping or trading for them. Of this number of furs approximately seventy made beaver went for "real necessaries." Often not knowing what to purchase with any extra furs, Indians would ask the Factor what to buy. If the Factor were to reply "Trade some more powder, shot, tobacco and hatchets etc., his [the Indian's] answer is, I have traded sufficient to serve me and my family until I see you again next summer." Generally these extra furs were frittered away drinking, gambling, or on "baubles." For this reason Graham rather sensibly pointed out that giving the Indians more for their furs would only mean fewer furs would be brought in. On the other hand, of course, too harsh a standard of trade could, and sometimes did, simply force the
Indians to stay away from the post.

I am Afraid by the Report of these Indians wee Shall not have Many More this Season, by the Disincouragement they have had by the hard Standard of Trade.61

Trade and supplies always rested on rather narrow margin of need. If the Indians did not require any European goods they simply stayed away from the post, and the men would be forced to hunt for themselves. The entry for September 20, 1741 in the Churchill journal illustrates this point rather clearly.

not having Indians to Hunt for ye factory Mr. Norton having Supplyed them wth a greater Quantity of ammunion then Useuall as I am Informed; before he went away, by wch they have had no Occation to Come a Nigh us.62

All of which suggests that the Cree in the Hudson Bay region were rather less dependent on the fur trade than has sometimes been argued, in fact during the 18th century at least, a stronger case can be made for saying that the English were almost entirely dependent on the Homeguard Cree.

This is not to say that the acquisition of European products was unimportant to the Indians in Churchill's hinterland, obviously access to firearms, iron goods and other such products was a tremendous benefit to those who had it. The advantages of the musket over the bow and arrow for hunting are obvious, and really need no elaboration. The same is true for iron kettles, knives, hatchets and most of the other objects Indians traded for. Quite simply, white contact enriched and expanded the range of native material culture, but it had costs. Nevertheless the Cree, and to some extent the Assiniboines attempted to control access to Company posts by more remote tribes. Their territory lay astride the main water routes to the bay, and after they had acquired guns from Company posts they were in a position to enforce, if necessary, their monopoly on trade.63 Their position made it possible for them to set themselves up as middlemen in the fur
trade, and eventually they were to almost totally give up trapping for themselves.

The Cree seem to have had some sense of common kinship, since there is no evidence in Company journals that the Homeguard Cree who lived in close proximity to the forts attempted to interfere with more distant Cree bands coming down to trade. However, they most definitely did resist other tribes. Much of the early history of Prince of Wales' Fort corresponds closely with the shifting nature of Cree-Chipewyan relations. One of the primary reasons for building a fur trade post at Churchill was to enable the Athapaskan-speaking tribes of the north to come to trade. Prior to white contact Cree and Chipewyan seem to have existed in a state of mutual hostility, but neither side had much advantage. As the Cree became armed, however, the balance of power shifted. Suddenly they were able to raid their Athapaskan-speaking neighbours with impunity.

Governor Knight of York Factory appears to have sought some means of bringing peace to the two groups, since this would improve trade. However, bringing about contact between the two groups to arrange a peace seemed almost impossible. The only chance that Knight had to make this contact would be through one of the Chipewyan women held as captive amongst the Homeguard Cree. The first such Chipewyan woman Knight found unfortunately died, but two days later a Chipewyan woman who had escaped from her Cree master stumbled into a goose hunter's camp near York Factory. She was the remarkable "Thanadelthur" or "Slave Woman," as the post journals describe her. She had exactly the characteristics Knight needed, for she was brave, resourceful, and able to speak some Cree as well as Chipewyan.

Knight feasted, bribed, and cajoled local and the more remote Upland Cree until he got them to agree to a truce with the Chipewyans. He then sent a party of about one hundred and fifty Cree with Thanadelthur and a Company employee William
Stuart north to make contact with the Chipewyans in the summer of 1715. He also promised to build a post at the mouth of the Churchill River so that the Chipewyans would not have to traverse much Cree territory in order to trade.

This party experienced numerous hardships, and some very bad moments. At one point they found a number of dead Chipewyans, murdered by the Crees, just before they hoped to make contact with the Chipewyans. Without Thanadelthur the mission probably would have failed, but she persevered, found a large party of her countrymen and brought them to hear the offer from the Cree. Once there she "made them all Stand in fear of her she Scolded at Some and pushing others...forced them to ye peace."66

The result was a sort of local peace in the Churchill area, which allowed Chipewyans to come in to trade. However, this local peace did not spring up immediately following Thanadelthur's mission. A few bands of Cree making peace with a few bands of Chipewyans hardly committed all their compatriots to the peace.

For some time afterward, in fact up until about 1730, there were periodic attacks on Chipewyans coming down to Churchill to trade. In 1718-19 Richard Norton was sent out with the Cree around Churchill to act as "a dictator between 'em,"67 or in other words to make sure that if they met up with any "Northern" Indians that the Cree did not "Molest them."68 In 1725, the Upland Indians, or the Cree of the interior, attacked and killed many Chipewyans, but in 1726 when they came down to trade pressure was brought to bear on them to observe the peace.

This Morning here Came 9 Canoes of Upland Indians and They Proved to be those Indians that was at Wars with the Northern Indians Last Year, and I Used them Accordingly.69

In 1729 another peace treaty had to be agreed upon between the Homeguard Cree in the Churchill area, and the Chipewyans coming down to trade after several "Northern" Indians were
It was really only the threat of incurring the displeasure of the Chief Factor at having his trade ruined that forced a more or less permanent truce. Nonetheless, as late as 1762 Ferdinand Jacobs, in writing to Humphrey Marten at York Factory, alludes to the continuing nature of this problem.

I Say that Old Rogue [Caw-win-ne-cut-tow] & Some of his Tribe has Kild at two different Times Several of those Northern Indians whom I have been Endeavouring to bring down to this Factory to Trade, which Intimidated the rest So Much that Only Eight of them Came here this Sumr.

No amount of contact between the Cree and Chipewyans during the 18th century ever could really make their relations friendly. As Hearne's account of his journey to the Copper-mine shows, the Chipewyans were more than willing to rob and mistreat Cree who found themselves in Chipewyan territory. It is also worth noting that in the interior, far away from the bay side posts, Cree expansion through northern Saskatchewan and Alberta continued unabated. They expanded west and north at the expense of their Athapaskan-speaking neighbours until the small-pox epidemic of the early 1789s decimated their population. The Peace River for example, is so named because it was there that a peace agreement was made between the Cree and the Beaver Indians.

In part the extraordinary expansion of the Cree can be explained by the demands of the fur trade, which changed the pattern of Cree life. They became first of all trappers of valuable fur-bearing animals, and later middlemen for the Company. As trappers of furs they were forced to change their traditional hunting habits. Instead of putting most of their efforts into hunting the large mammals of the forest and parkland areas of the Canadian West, they began to turn more and more of their attention to hunting and trapping beaver, marten, wolverine, lynx, and other animals with pelts that the Europeans valued. As middlemen trading with the tribes of the interior, their traditional culture changed
even further, but it was amongst the Homeguard Cree that the greatest changes took place in traditional cultural patterns.

The Homeguard Cree gave their services to the Company, setting up a form of local industry around the posts supplying the English with some very valuable goods and services. Many of the Cree in the Hudson Bay Lowland region supported themselves in whole or in part by working for the Company. The Company was well aware of their importance to its operations, and the affairs and particularly health of local Indians were part of journal entries. The deaths of prominent Indians were regularly noted, and most agreed with James Knight when he commented, "the Death of these Indians is an Unrecoverable Loss to ye Company." So important to life at Prince of Wales' Fort were the Homeguards, that even domestic problems could come to be concerns of the Factor. In September of 1759 an Indian woman arrived at the fort, and asked to be allowed in. She was looking to escape from her husband who it seems was in the habit of beating her. Moses Norton took an interest in the case. He arranged a meeting between the two, and like a marriage counsellor: a reconciliation. Whether or not the man stopped beating his wife is unknown.

The main activity of the Homeguard for much of the year was provisioning the post. The spring and fall goose hunts were staffed for the most part by Homeguards, who were quite simply better hunters than the English. For this service they were paid in supplies:

Wee discharged all our Indian hunters this Morng:
Giving to Each Man 3 lb. Powder & Shot with
flints Answerable Also a yard and half of Broad
Cloath for Stockings for the men, Without this
Supply they Can't Subsist having Nothing of
their own to Purchase any thing withall.

It seems that as early as 1722 the Homeguard were neglecting their own hunting and subsistence in favour of Company work. Of course rates of pay for work varied depending on local
conditions, as Joseph Isbister discovered.

Seven of our hunters Came from ye North goose Tent to be Trusted. Some Necessarys for the winter and also to get the presents that is Usually given them for Hunting a thing New to Me for down the bay if we give an Indian a bottle or two of Brandy, & a little tobacco, thats all but here it is otherwis, they Expect to be Clothed & brandy besides.  

In addition to the goose hunts, Homeguard hunters supplied the fort with venison, fat and other country provisions during the winter. Often hunters provided other goods to the post that required Indian know how.

I think to Entertain him he having a small family, for to hunt for us this Winter alsoe to Knitt Show Shooes & Making Indian Shooes & other things is wainting for ye Men in ye Winter.  

They also carried messages known as country correspondence between York Factory and Churchill, and generally carried out any tasks the Company was prepared to hire them for. Homeguards even helped for a time in constructing the stone fort:

I have this Morng agreed wth 8 Indian Men to work from 6 a Clock in ye Morng till 6 at Night wth our men at Carrying of Gravel &c on to ye Ram--pts; at ye rate of one Beavr Skin Value in Trade pr Day.

With all this contact a peculiar set of rules or social mores developed to cover white-Indian relationships. Officially the Company adopted a policy of trying to keep its employees away from the Indians, and showed very little trust in its native clients. Not only were the men forbidden in theory to take on Indian wives or dependents or even have sexual relations with any Indian woman, Indians were not to "be taken into ye Trading Room, or taught to Write or Read, or otherwise to be privy to ye Companies affairs." These rules soon broke down. Umfreville mentions that any Trading Captain who wished to was allowed into the Trading Room, and Richard Norton to whom the above advice was directed managed to have his son by an Indian woman, Moses Norton, educated enough to read and write, albeit idiosyncratically. Moses
Norton was also to be privy enough to the "Companies Affairs" to become Chief Factor. As for the men taking Indian wives, and starting families, that became so common that Chief Factors did not bother trying to keep even their offspring a secret. Ferdinand Jacobs even made note of his son's christening in the post journal, "Performed Divine Service at which Time I had a Child of Mine Christened Samuel by Our Surgeon."82

The Company, while never officially changing its policy, was forced to bend, and it came to accept a much closer kind of relationship between whites and Indians than it had hoped would develop. Not only did some Indian leaders become genuine friends of Company officers,83 but an increasing degree of trust developed between whites and the Indians who surrounded them. At first it is clear that Company employees lived in a climate of fear. The mere mention of a rumour that some Eskimos were at Ward's Mount was enough to cause watches to be kept all night, and preparations for the defence of the fort to be made.84 The massacres at Henley House in 1755 and 1760 may well have contributed to this fear, though Andrew Graham felt that much of the problem in the first looting of Henley was the imprudence of its master who let three Indians sleep overnight in the post.85 Certainly, at Churchill, the threat of Indian hostility was low, and by the 1740s most of the Chief Factors were more concerned with protecting the Indians from company employees rather than vice versa.

Company employees were not of the finest families of England: in fact, many tended to be rather coarse, violent, and debauched.86 When Indian groups came in to trade many men tried to gain entry into their camps in order to drink with them and engage in sexual relations with women.87 Often illicit trade was also a motive in clandestine visits to Indian encampments. This sort of behaviour the Company and its Factors usually tried to prevent. For example, in 1751 John Dunk and Charles Leth were caught going over the wall of the fort with liquor in order to pay a nocturnal visit to the
Indian encampment nearby. For their efforts they were caned the next day. The pallisade built outside the walls of the fort was put up to discourage men from going over the walls, by preventing snow from drifting up against the outside of the walls, which of course made leaving the fort no more arduous than a quick stroll down the drift.

The reasons for trying to prevent this kind of contact are fairly obvious. The Company had little to gain by debauching such important allies, nor in causing trouble within Indian bands. Such activity also would have lowered the regard of the Homeguards had for the English, and it could be dangerous and unhealthy. As previously mentioned, venereal disease was a very real problem in bay-side posts, and people could get hurt, particularly when alcohol was present.

Last Night two Indian women went Privately to the Sloops Cove to Mr. Wood, at his Invitation, and there on Board one of the Sloops, One the Said Women fell Down & Cut her Head very Much the Surgeon tells me her Scull is Hurted. Moreover, as Joseph Isbister discovered, men who spent a good deal of time trying to seduce Indian women often were discipline problems and did little work. They were bad for morale in the post.

On the other hand many of the men in bay-side posts formed long-lasting and stable relationships with Indian women. The Company, with the exception of the odd fanatic Chief Factor, like James Duffield at Moose Factory, turned a blind eye to these "Country" marriages. In fact in many ways the Company benefitted by them. Many men signed on to stay in Company service year after year because of their wives and families in the New World. It also tied Company employees into the family groups or tribes around them. In the case of Company officers this was especially important since it induced their relatives to come in to trade and to hunt for the post.

Many of these marriages seem to have been founded on real feeling, and some Company men appear to have been fond husbands,
and even generous fathers. Andrew Graham for example stated to the London Committee that he had settled a sum of £1000 on his daughter to pay for her education and keep in England. Moses Norton, whatever evil qualities he had, attempted to take care of some of his family through his will.

It having been represented to Us that Mr. Moses Norton deceased (Our Late Chief) by his Will bequeathed a Legacy to be laid out in Clothing only (that is to say) in the purchase of Blankets and Cloth out of the Company's Warehouse in Hudson's Bay for the use of his Sister Mee, See, Tah, Ka, Pow, and her Neice Sarah Norton, during their joint Lives, Share and Share alike and after the decease of either of them the above Clothing is to be delivered for the use of the Survivor - And Mrs. Sarah Norton the Widow and Executrix having paid to Us Ten Pounds to answer the Said Legacy for the ensuing year.

There is certain irony in this bequest in that Norton's English wife Sarah, whom he spent almost no time with, should have to provide £10 a year for the support of his part-Indian daughter who was named after her.

The Plains Cree and Assiniboines were not regular visitors to Prince of Wales' Fort, and so do not require extensive comment in this report. Their trade was almost exclusively with York Factory, though as previously mentioned there are references to these Indians trading at Churchill. The Plains Cree reflect the Cree habit of taking on the culture and lifestyle of their neighbours. In this case the Plains Cree probably began as a few bands who left the forests of the Canadian shield, and joined their neighbours, the Assiniboines, in exploiting the resources of the parkland and grassland regions of Saskatchewan and Manitoba. Originally both groups travelled primarily by foot and hunted with bows and arrows which limited both their range, and their success in killing buffalo which were their main food supply. Two products of white contact changed all that: the horse and the musket. Together these revolutionized the culture and food resources of these tribes. The horse made them mobile, the musket made
them great hunters and warriors, and the vast herds of buffalo on the plains gave them an ample food supply in the short run. These factors led to their rapid expansion in numbers and territory, which in turn created change in those tribes which neighboured them. For example, from the end of the 18th century through most of the early 19th century warfare between the Assiniboine and Plains Cree, and the tribes of the Blackfoot confederation was endemic.  

The Chipewyans were of more direct significance to Prince of Wales' Fort. As previously mentioned it was built primarily to bring them into the fur trade since they could not go down to York Factory. The Chipewyans were the most numerous Athapaskan-speaking people in the 18th century, and the most easterly. As a result they went through a similar kind of change and adaptation after white contact as did the Cree. After 1717 and the construction of Prince of Wales' Fort they acquired firearms and iron goods, and in their turn oppressed their neighbours and became middlemen in the fur trade. They had certain cultural characteristics, however, that affected their response to the fur trade, and that limited the impact of white contact on them until trading posts were set up in the interior nearer to their territory.  

The Chipewyans, like the Cree, were a migratory people who lived for the most part in small family bands. They had no real system of social organization or hierarchy beyond the extended family, though sometimes they did band together into larger groups at deer hedges, good fishing places, or to go down to Churchill to trade. At such times leadership was really informal, though later the Chipewyans too developed an equivalent of the trading captain amongst the Cree.  

The Chipewyans lived for the most part along the fringes of the northern transitional forest. They were in Diamond Jenness's words, an "edge-of-the-woods" people. Most of the year they spent in the woods along the edge of the Barrens, and some rarely left them. Most Chipewyans, however, left the woods in early summer to follow the caribou out
onto the Barrens. For most Chipewyans the pattern of their lives was based on the yearly migration of the caribou, for the caribou was their major food source. The Chipewyans were also able fishermen with no aversion to a diet of fish, and when fish and caribou were not available they subsisted on waterfowl, and small game, like hares.

For hunting they used the bow and arrow and the spear as well as snares, nets, and pounds or hedges. They had several techniques for hunting caribou. The "deer" hedge described earlier in this report was commonly used, as was killing the caribou, as they swam across rivers or lakes on their annual migrations. While in the water, the caribou could offer no resistance to the hunters at all, and often only a sharpened stick or other such crude weapon was sufficient to kill the poor creatures. Otherwise, these animals were stalked like other large game with bow and arrow.

They often ate their food raw owing to the lack of firewood out on the Barrens, and many ate fish raw out of preference. Interestingly enough, Hearne also acquired a taste for uncooked fish, and confessed that he enjoyed trout, arctic char, and whitefish, "when they are not warm at the bone." Aside from roasting their food, they also boiled it in "large upright vessels made of birch-rind." Hot stones were dropped into these containers, eventually boiling the contents. Unfortunately this led to the food being filled with gravel, since many of these stones broke to pieces when immersed in the water, and others being of "a coarse gritty nature" just fell apart in the food.

They had a number of dietary peculiarities that Hearne reports, for example the men and boys always ate the reproductive organs of the animals they killed. Parts that were too tough to be eaten were thrown in the fire to prevent their dogs from eating them. This, it was felt, would result in bad hunting. They also liked eating wombs of animals, and in particular unborn calves, fawns, beavers and the like.
Figure 11. From Samuel Hearne's A Journey to the Northern Ocean 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, ed. R. Glover (Toronto: McMillan, 1958).
Figure 12. From Samuel Hearne's *A Journey to the Northern Ocean, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772*, ed. R. Glover, (Toronto: MacMillan, 1958).
Hearne agreed that these were "the greatest dainties that can be eaten," though he could not summon up much enthusiasm for wombs however they were prepared. A final Chipewyan delicacy that he reported was blood mixed with the half-digested contents of a deer's stomach and then cooked in the stomach for several days in the heat and smoke above the fire. This cooking technique put the contents of the stomach into a state of fermentation, which gave the whole "an agreeable acid taste."

They lived year round in "deer"-skin tents, which were small and quite portable. Tents, kettles, and other household furnishings were transported by their dogs. Hearne found these dogs to be "docile and tractable," though they were descended from wolves or foxes. They were of various sizes and colours, but all had sharp noses, sharp erect ears, and bushy tails. They were also good fighters and most courageous, making even the smallest dog more than a match for several large English dogs. These dogs were sometimes given proper sleds to pull, but more often their loads were simply lashed to their backs, or carried in a curious make-shift sled. During the fall and winter when there was snow on the ground, they simply sewed the skins of caribou legs together into a pouch which "when hauled on the snow as the hair lies, are as slippery as an otter."

Sleds were made for people to pull in varying sizes, depending on the strength of the person who was to pull them. Most were about eight or nine feet in length and 12 to 14 inches in width. They looked like what we now call the toboggan, since they were turned up in a semi-circle at the front to prevent them from "diving into light snow," and to help them over hard packed drifts. A kind of long double leather thong, attached to the sled and made fast to the head, provided the means of pulling it. Chipewyan snow-shoes were also rather odd since they were distinctly right-footed and left-footed. The outside frame of the snow-shoe was strongly bowed, but the inner edge was almost straight.
The Chipewyans also had canoes which could be used after the rivers broke up, but these canoes were quite different from those of their southern neighbours, and served a quite different purpose.

In shape the Northern [Chipewyan] Indian canoe bears some resemblance to a weaver's shuttle; being flat-bottomed, with straight upright sides, and sharp at each end; but the stern is by the far the widest part; as there the baggage is generally laid, and occasionally a second person, who always lies down at full length in the bottom of the canoe. In this manner they carry one another across the rivers and the narrow parts of lakes in those small vessels, which seldom exceed twelve or thirteen feet in length, and are from twenty inches to two feet broad in the widest part. The head, or fore part, is unnecessarily long, and narrow, and is all covered over with birch-bark, which adds considerably to the weight, without contributing to the strength of the vessel. In general, these Indians make use of the single paddle, though a few have double ones, like the Esquimaux.

The great virtue of these canoes were that they could be portaged hundreds of miles, and then used simply to ferry people and goods across otherwise impassable stretches of open water. Most goods were simply carried from place to place, and most of this labour fell to the women.

Amongst the Chipewyan women seem to have been primarily valued for their work. Matonabbee, for example, told Hearne that

Women...though they do everything, are maintained at a trifling expense; for as they always stand cook, the very licking of their fingers in scarce times, is sufficient for their subsistence.

Yet despite the ease with which they could be maintained, they can carry, or haul, as much as two men can do. They also pitch our tents, make and mend our clothing, keep us warm at night; and, in fact, there is no such thing as travelling any considerable distance, or for any length of time, in this country, without their assistance.

Possibly for this reason Chipewyan women sometimes achieved a kind of prominence and influence within bands, and even amongst the Chipewyans as a whole, as in the case of Thanadelthur,
that was not possible amongst most other Canadian Indian groups. It also explains why women were a valuable resource for their families and husbands, and therefore in great demand. Wealthy and powerful Chipewyan men often acquired several wives; Matonabbee, for example, had seven during the time Hearne travelled with him. Women were often won and lost in wrestling matches. Sometimes these women were alone with no protector, but often they were already married. In fact Hearne states that no weak man, unless he was a good hunter and well-liked, ever got to keep a woman that stronger men thought valuable.

Their wrestling matches also took place over material goods as well, and had a distinctive style. They fought by "hauling each other about by the hair of the head," and they rarely struck or kicked each other. Sometimes a man would shave his head and grease his ears before a fight. This allowed even weaker men to prevail, though frequently if one man used this ploy, the other would follow suit. When this happened they grasped each other around the waist, and attempted to throw their opponent down. Bystanders never interfered in these contests, and few were ever badly injured since it quickly became clear in most contests who was the better wrestler. Moreover, the losers in these contests almost always accepted their losses, and rarely sought any kind of revenge except perhaps a rematch.

They also had other less vigorous entertainments. They enjoyed contests of skill like shooting at a mark with bows and arrows, and later guns. They played a game called "Holl," which resembled the European game of quoits or ring-toss. It would seem that they were less inclined towards gambling than their Cree neighbours, for Hearne lists only one gambling game amongst them, though perhaps their winner-takes-all wrestling matches answered their need. Only two persons could play this game, and each sat opposite the other with a small pile of wood chips, sticks or other markers before
them. They then took turns hiding a small object in one or the other of their hands. If their opponent correctly guessed which hand the button, stone, or bit of wood was in, he won one of his opponent's pile of markers. The first person to lose all his markers lost the game, and usually some small stake, like an arrow or a single load of powder and shot.\textsuperscript{122}

Chipewyans also enjoyed dancing, though according to Hearne they had no dances of their own, just ones they borrowed from their neighbours the Cree and the Dogrib Indians. They usually danced in the manner of the Dogribs, since few Chipewyans were very conversant with either Cree songs or dances. This dance consisted of lifting the feet off the ground alternately "as high as possible, without moving the body." Hands were held closed and close to the breast, and the head was inclined forward. Music was provided by drums and rattles, and the dance was performed either naked or dressed only in a breech-cloth. Only the men participated in this dance.\textsuperscript{123} The women when they danced remained fully clothed, and were much less active. They lined up in a straight line, and shuffled from right to left, and back again in the same line, without lifting their feet from the ground; and when the music stops, they all give a little bend of the body and knee, somewhat like an awkward curtsey, and pronounce, in a shrill tone, h-e-e, h-o-o-e.\textsuperscript{124}

Their health appears to have been fairly good though they suffered from flux or dysentry, and what Hearne calls "consumptions," probably the pleurisy or pneumonia others called the "country distemper." They also suffered from a peculiar disease that Hearne called a scorbutic disorder. This disease did not exhibit the usual symptoms of scurvy; bleeding gums, swollen joints, loose teeth and so on, instead it appeared as blotches or boils. In the young these appeared on the palms and the soles of the feet; older victims were affected on the wrists, insteps, and "posteriors." The disease struck most often when the Chipewyans were out on the Barrens
in the summer, and Hearne suspected that it was caused by bad water or eating unwholesome fish. It was rarely fatal, but it often left its victims' skin scarred with deep livid marks for the rest of their lives.¹²⁵

Like the Cree, the Chipewyans were firm believers in the medical and prophetic powers of conjurers, in fact they believed that conjurers in other tribes could kill them. Most deaths of prominent Chipewyan leaders were put down to the evil magic of Cree and Eskimo shamans. This led to frequent warfare with the Eskimo, in particular, as a means of revenging these deaths.¹²⁶ Hearne observed Chipewyan conjurers in action on several occasions. His scepticism about their healing powers colours his account of their activities, though he had to admit that their patients claimed some relief. In simple cases, they generally sucked or blew on the affected part to draw the illness out, all the while singing and chanting.¹²⁷ More serious illnesses required more stringent cures. On these occasions, in addition to the usual remedies, a tent was often constructed much like the medicine tent of the Cree except that the Chipewyans enclosed the top of the tent keeping light from entering. There the spirits were consulted, and rather remarkable feats of swallowing performed. Hatchets, bayonets, and long wooden sticks were swallowed, or at least a pretence of swallowing them was made. This generally completed the cure. Hearne was most dubious about these swallowing performances and thought them a trick, though he admitted that the conjurer was very quick, and it was most difficult to detect any sleight of hand.¹²⁸

Later on in his travels he saw a conjurer appear to swallow a board about the size of a barrel-stave. It was shaped like this: with the topmost piece designed to aid in pulling it out after the rest of the board was swallowed. Hearne claimed to have seen the conjurer making a second wooden piece shaped like this the day before the swallowing performance, and though he did not
see it he felt the conjurer switched pieces during the performance meaning that the forked piece of wood protruding from his mouth was not attached to anything. In his mind the conjurers were just very able magicians, but his scepticism had no affect on his companions who continued to believe in their powers. Perhaps this belief was justified since Hearne had to admit that the conjurers did affect cures, and by casting spells actually did hold a life and death power over their fellows.

The Chipewyans had no belief in an after-life, nor any really formal codified religious beliefs. They had a myth of creation, believed in spirits, and had faith in the supernatural powers of their conjurers. However according to Matonabbee they had:

nothing to do but consult their own interest, inclinations, and passions; and to pass through this world with as much ease and contentment as possible, without any hopes of reward, or painful fear of punishment, in the next.

Their contact with Europeans in the 18th century was somewhat limited, because of their relative remoteness from all posts except Prince of Wales' Fort, and the limitations on their travel caused by the fact that they had neither easily navigable rivers nor large canoes. As a result they went through many of the same changes as the Woodland and Homeguard Cree, but not to the same degree. For example their material culture was not as affected as that of the Homeguard Cree because they had less access to European goods. They retained a primary reliance on spears and bows and arrows for hunting, long after the Cree had largely abandoned them.

Most, if not all, Chipewyans acquired some European goods in the 18th century, but few had more than a peripheral contact with Europeans. "It is true, that there are few of the Indians...but have once in their lives at least visited Prince of Wales's Fort." However, most of them experienced such "hardships and dangers" in the course of visiting Prince of Wales' Fort that "nothing can induce them to repeat
Not that this affected trade very much since most Chipewyans only required about three or four made beaver worth of European goods, and that only every two or three years. Since most Chipewyans neither owned nor used muskets, they did not need to constantly replenish their supplies of powder, shot, and flints. Instead all they needed was a hatchet, a knife and perhaps a kettle or another edge tool. With this rather limited shopping list it was possible to acquire the lot from others who were prepared to face the hardships and dangers of visiting Prince of Wales' Fort.

Very quickly a number of Chipewyans set themselves up as middlemen to serve the needs of their fellows. As early as 1733 the post journals begin to record that these trading Chipewyans came down in bands under the command of chiefs or trading captains: "this Evening here Come 8 Northern Indians to trade, wth whom is a Leading Indian Call'd LongChinn." Just as amongst the Cree, trading captains became an integral part of the Chipewyans' trading pattern. In the case of the Chipewyans they served a very useful purpose. Having a leader made it possible to ensure that large numbers of furs were gathered to bring in, unlike earlier visits of the Chipewyans when as many as twenty-three men came in bearing no more than four martin skins, and a few badly dressed beaver. It also made it possible to organize a trading expedition to Prince of Wales' Fort, despite the fact that it often took as much as three winters, or about two and a half years, to complete the trip from the more remote Chipewyan and other Athapaskan territories.

A number of notable Chipewyan trading band leaders visited Churchill in the 18th century. Long Chinn, Captain Keelshies, and the best known of all, Matonabbee, Samuel Hearne's guide. Matonabbee ranged as far to north and west as the area around Great Slave Lake and the Mackenzie River in search of furs. In order to do this bands like Matonabbee's wandered
over vast territories hunting, fishing and trading when they meet other groups of Indians who did not want to go down to Churchill. Hearne describes meeting such a group wintering near Wholdaia Lake. They had built a large deer hedge in a cluster of woods near the lake, from which they acquired enough food to supply even the aged and infirm with food. On the other hand they acquired little of value for trade since the caribou skins they took in winter were thin and "full of warbles." The occasional fur-bearing animal they took they simply traded to men like Matonabbee.

The situation of the trading Chipewyans struck Hearne as being most ironic.

The real wants of these people are few, and easily supplied...those who endeavour to possess more, are always the most unhappy, and may, in fact, be said to be only slaves and carriers to the rest, whose ambition never leads them to anything beyond the means of procuring food and clothing. It is true, the carriers pride themselves much on the respect which is shewn to them at the Factory; to obtain which they frequently run great risques of being starved to death in their way thither and back; and all they procure after a year's toil, seldom amounts to more than is sufficient to yield a bare subsistence,...while those whom they call indolent and mean-spirited live generally in a state of plenty, without trouble or risque; and consequently must be the most happy, and, in truth, the most independent also.

The life of Matonabbee illustrates these observations very well. Highly honoured by the English, and respected by most of his fellow Chipewyans, he committed suicide by hanging himself when he heard Prince of Wales' Fort had been captured and destroyed by the French. Six of his wives and four of his children died of starvation shortly thereafter with neither Matonabbee nor the English to support them.

As previously mentioned the Chipewyans were attacked repeatedly by the Cree during the period of initial white contact, and it was only at the instigation of Company traders that a truce was patched up in the Churchill area. Not
surprisingly perhaps the Chipewyans showed a similar warlike attitude towards their neighbours after they had been armed. Hearne travelled to the Coppermine River with a group of Chipewyans intent on killing Eskimos, and warfare between the two groups continued through most of the century.

On one of the sloop voyages northward the master of the sloop John Bean refused to land to trade with some Chipewyans near Cape Eskimaux. His instructions were to trade only with the Eskimos, so he sailed on and the Chipewyans followed along the shore. When he reached Cape Eskimaux he put in to trade with the Eskimos waiting there. After Bean left, the Chipewyans fell on the Eskimos and slaughtered 16 to 18 of them in a most brutal manner. The Chipewyans involved resented the Company going out to trade with the Eskimo, when they had to make the hazardous journey down to Churchill. It was not until 1765 that a peace was first agreed to between the Chipewyans and the Caribou Eskimos. Farther in the interior as Hearne discovered, the Chipewyans still fought with the Coppermine Eskimo and others into the 1770s.

Also like the Cree, the Chipewyans were generally unwilling to let even their fellow Athapaskan-speaking neighbours traverse their territory to trade at Prince of Wales' Fort. Post journals mention Dogrib, Copper and other Indians visiting the post, but no regular trade ever developed despite the desire of the Chief Factors at Prince of Wales' Fort to expand their hinterland. The Chipewyans seem to have varied between extorting furs by force from their neighbours to trading their worn-out iron goods at a one thousand per cent premium. Once again contact by one tribe with European fur traders had ramifications far beyond the territorial boundaries of that tribe. However, the net impact of white contact on the Chipewyans was considerably less than on the Cree, proximity to posts being the most important factor determining how great that impact was to be. Thus it was not until the late 1780s and early 1790s when posts were built at
Fort Chipewyan and Fort Providence that the bulk of the Chipewyans became directly involved in the fur trade.

The Caribou Eskimo of the Keewatin District of the Northwest Territories were the other major native group affected by the building of a post at Churchill. The Company had high hopes that a profitable trade could be built up with the Eskimo from Prince of Wales' Fort, but this was not to be the case. From the start the Eskimos were figures of mystery and some fear for Europeans. Nicholas Jérémie, the French fur trader at Fort Bourbon or York Factory, describes the European view of Eskimos in the early 1700s. He described them as

so wild and intractable that it is not yet been possible to get them interested in trade. They make war on all their neighbours, and when they kill or capture any of their enemies they eat them raw and drink their blood. They even make infants at the breast drink it, so as to instil in them the barbarism and ardour of war from their tenderest years.

He goes on to discuss how they "mangle" and "eat" French sailors when they can. Not surprisingly he felt that they were scarcely human, though as the following passage shows this judgement was based on myth and not close observation.

Unlike other uncivilized tribes, few of whom have any beard, these people have beards which reach to the eyes. This has led some people...to think that they must have originated from some Basque ship which....was wrecked on these coasts. They never cut their great beard, and it gives them an aspect so frightful and hideous that they resemble wild beasts more than men. Indeed their only resemblance to other men is in their arms and legs.

This sort of attitude was also present amongst the English, and the Eskimos were figures of fear all around the bay. The mere mention that they were in the area in 1723 was enough to make the garrison at Prince of Wales' Fort send out armed search parties and post watches all night. As late as 1755, a letter in the country correspondence book, from Joseph Isbister at Albany to Ferdinand Jacobs at Churchill, suggests
that the attack made on Henley House was carried out by the Eskimos.

There was some basis for this fear of the Eskimos, since not all white-Eskimo contact in the 18th century was friendly. Some sloop captains on the northern trading voyages had great problems with the Eskimos. James Walker, in particular, was to have trouble with his trading partners despite the instructions he received from the Company to "treat them kindly in order to Cultivate and have a Understanding With them."150 On one trading voyage he found the Eskimos "Empertinent and Saucy," and they indicated on several occasions that they would like to kill the Chipewyans on board the sloop.151 By 1753 Walker had so alienated the Eskimos that one stabbed him in the leg. Walker drew his cutlass, and the Eskimo prepared to counter with his lance. Only when Walker also drew his pistol did things cool off.152 Walker ordered his men to arm themselves, and to prevent any Eskimos from boarding the ship by force if necessary. The next morning some Eskimos attempted to board the sloop, but were rebuffed. The next day they tried to trade some whalebone to Walker, but he refused it. Angered by this refusal the Eskimos armed themselves with their lances, and ringed the sloop along the shore, and surrounded it on the water with their kayaks. Walker and the sloop beat a hasty retreat to Churchill.153

Walker was obviously not a diplomatic man, but in fairness to him it should be pointed out that the Eskimos "stole" whatever they could from the sloops, and were in contrast to the Cree and Chipewyans "rude" and "saucy" in their dealings with Europeans.154 The problem was one of communication, since the English simply did not understand Eskimo language, customs, diet, economic conditions, or anything else. For a time attempts were made to bring Eskimos down to Churchill to winter so that they could acquire a smattering of English, and act as interpreters. This was not very successful, however, since they spent most of their time at Churchill homesick and
lonely. Andrew Graham offers a touching picture of Eskimo boys sitting on the north wall of the fort.

the tears...copiously distilling down their cheeks; and when the cause of their grief was enquired after, the mournful guests replied 'they were looking towards their native country and thinking about their absent friends.'

It seemed impossible to really get a firm basis for trade with the Eskimo: their strangeness in European eyes, the fear with which they were held, and the basic problem of communication all contributed to this. Perhaps even more important was the fact that the Eskimo of the Hudson Bay coastline had little of value for trade with the Company. Whalebone, oil, and a few furs were all they could offer. Trade returns from the sloop voyage rarely, if ever, would have covered the costs of mounting the voyage. The surprising thing is that the Company continued for so long to make trading voyages northward. Even so, Eskimo-English contact was slight, and the value of trade so low that it is only fair to conclude that the impact of building Prince of Wales' Fort on the Eskimo in the 18th century was minimal.

By way of a conclusion for this section of the report, a number of very general statements can be made. The impact of building Prince of Wales' Fort on native cultures resembles the level of illumination generated by a light source: it decreases inversely with the square of the distance from the source. It is also fair to say that white and native communities in the 18th century existed in a peculiar situation of symbiotic parasitism: they fed off each other, and by the end of the century the Homeguard Cree, Trading Chipewyans, and English could not live without each other the interdependence was so great. This interdependence had costs and benefits for each side, but certainly up until large numbers of traders moved into the interior there was a rough equality about white-Indian relations, with the Indians if anything the stronger of the two parties.
Louis Hartz has argued that colonies tend to be fragments of the society that throws them off. The people who make up the colonial fragment carry with them the social, political, and economic ideas of their mother societies into the new environment. Hartz also argues that the part separated from the whole "lapses into a kind of immobility."¹ This of course was not the case with fur trade posts: change and adaptation to the new environment did take place. As we have seen, a certain amount of borrowing from Indian cultures did take place. The clothing of the men, their faith in wishakapucka tea, and their preference for living in log tents are all indicative of a willingness on the part of Company employees to change.

On the other hand, company employees did not adopt an Indian life-style and survival techniques like the French and Canadian traders of the interior. They remained in most areas of social life resolutely European. Their leisure and recreation patterns, work habits, pay scales, medical treatments and accommodation were all basically similar to those of 18th century pre-industrial England. This differs from popular conceptions of fur trade life, which tend to view fur-traders generally as hunters and woodsmen, travelling about Canada in birch-bark canoes, and not as English or Orcadian masons, tailors, and clerks.

It also seems to be a popular belief that the men who worked in the fur trade led hard, demanding lives. On occasion this was true, and the rigours faced by French and Canadian traders in the interior, and explorers like Hearne should not
be understated. On the other hand, Hudson's Bay Company employees usually ate well, did not have to work particularly hard, and were quite well paid. They ran a certain risk of accident, and their living accommodations were, for the most part, ill-suited to the severity of the climate, but a large proportion of the men at Prince of Wales' Fort were satisfied with their work, and made company-service a life-long career. Many men rarely returned home, despite wives and family back in England. Andrew Graham was undoubtedly exaggerating when he said Company servants lived like "princes," but there is no doubt work for the company in the 18th century could be appealing and profitable.

On the other hand, the Company itself had less success with its fort on the Churchill than its employees had with coming to terms with life on the bay. Prince of Wales' Fort was built with several objectives in mind: it was to be the lynch-pin of the Company's military defences on the Bay, it was to be a centre for exploration and the exploitation of the mineral resources of the North, and it was, by virtue of its situation on the borders of the territory of three native groups, to be a great centre for trade.

None of these objectives were ever really met. The fort was built at great expense, but had to be surrendered meekly without a shot being fired the first time that it was attacked. Some notable exploration actually took place out of Churchill, but no useful mineral deposits were ever found. When Hearne finally found the fabled coppermines, they were neither rich in copper nor accessible in any practical sense. As for trade, Churchill never lived up to the expectations of the Company or Company officers at the post. Fur returns were never more than about 50 per cent of those of York Factory, and usually were about 35 per cent or less. Despite the vast hinterland of Prince of Wales' Fort, relatively few furs reached the post, because travel along the Churchill River was so difficult. This ensured that the Cree preferred to
trade at York and the Chipewyans had real difficulty transporting their furs there without good canoes or rivers to travel on. As for trade with the Eskimos, it never amounted to much, since they had so few products outside of oil, whalebone, and a few furs that had any value in European eyes. Even Company attempts to diversify economic activity at Churchill through the white whale and later the black whale fisheries met with little or no success. Rather than living up to the most optimistic hopes of its backers, the various Prince of Wales' Forts provided steady, if unspectacular returns, through the 18th century.

As for the native population in Churchill's hinterland, the fort was also a mixed blessing. It gave them firearms, iron goods, woolen clothing, and other useful items, but at a certain cost. The fur trade disturbed traditional hunting patterns, and raised the risks of starvation and accident for those who engaged in it. It upset traditional social patterns, and sparked increased levels of intertribal warfare. It also resulted in the introduction of new and devastating diseases, not to mention other health hazards like tobacco and alcohol.

In many respects then, Prince of Wales' Fort was at best a limited benefit to Company and native population. Moreover, many of the company's employees would have agreed with James Knight's belief that York was bad, but Churchill ten times worse, in opposition to the opinions of Graham and Hearne. On the other hand, it was the scene of much worthwhile human activity. The fort's residents exhibited a whole range of human qualities from courage to cowardice, generosity to spitefulness, compassion to anger and so on. Prince of Wales' Fort may not have been all that important to Canadian economic, military, or exploration history, but its significance to the kind of history Mr. Dooley wanted written is unquestionable.


3 E.J. Hobsbawm, for example makes this point in *From Social History to the History of Society*, in Gilbert and Graubard (eds.) *Historical Studies Today*, pp. 1-26, see page 1.


7 I have chosen to use the form Prince of Wales' Fort for this report. The earliest reference to the fort calls it Prince of Wales Fort. It has been called Fort Prince of Wales for the last few decades, and there are any number of variants in the journals of the post. No version of the name can really be claimed to be the most accurate so I have adopted the simple possessive form of Prince of Wales' Fort. From time to time, for reasons of brevity I have used PWF as a short form of this name in the text.

8 Prince of Wales' Fort on occasion had a complement of men exceeding 50, though generally speaking about 40 men lived at the post up to 1782.

9 For example we know the men sometimes skated on the river since one man fell and broke his collar bone doing so. The journal makes reference to the event because of the
accident obviously, not because the London Committee wanted to know how the men amused themselves on Sundays.

10 See Fernand Braudel, Capitalism and Material Life 1400-1800 (Fontana) see Introduction pp. XI-XV for method.

II A Brief History of Prince of Wales' Fort to 1782


2 Ibid., p. 10.

3 She was a Chipewyan woman who had been captured and enslaved by the Cree. She escaped and became a linguist for the Company, and a crucial figure in the founding of Prince of Wales' Fort. See Sylvia Van Kirk, "Thanadelthur," The Beaver, Spring, 1974.

4 Inter-tribal conflict was never totally ended in the 18th century: The Cree tended to guard their position as middlemen in the fur trade with violence if necessary. See Arthur Ray, Indians in the Fur Trade (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974).

5 I am not a geographer, and I hope I have the terms straight. The position of PWF with regard to Indian linguistic groups is illustrated in Figure 1, reproduced from Orysia Luchak's Prince of Wales' Fort in the 18th Century, (Historic Research Division, Parks Canada).


8 James Kenney, ed., The Founding of Churchill - Being the Journal of Captain James Knight, Governor-in-Chief in Hudson's Bay, from the 14th July to the 13th of September 1717 (London: J.M. Dent and Sons), p. 60.
The point is made clearly by Thomas Macklish in 1723 who wrote of York Factory "most of the fur trade is only a robbery of this place."

PWF from 1717 to 1781 had fur returns of between 10,000 and 15,000 male beaver by and large. Trade exceeded 20,000 male beaver only twice, and often dipped below 10,000 male beaver. York on the other hand averaged 30,000 or more, and often reached 40,000 and even 50,000 male beaver. Figures from Hudson's Bay Company Archives (hereafter cited as HBCA), account books, B.42/d/2-60 and B.239/d/1-72.


See figures II and III for diagrams of the fort and Cape Merry Battery. A breakdown of the complement of cannon at the fort is given in HBCA, A.11/15, fos. 27 & 28.

Joseph Isbister the Chief Factor in 1751 makes note of the walls short comings. "My Self & one of our Men had like to have been Killd by a peice of ye Old wale Sudenlly Shuting & tumbling down." HBCA, B.42/a/38, fo. Even the reconstructed walls using modern building materials and techniques have been subject to shifting and once again seem on the verge of "Shuting & tumbling down."


III Work and Social Class

In 1756 Ferdinand Jacobs received a salary of £80 and sent home furs worth £84/4/10. In three years his fur trappings amounted to more than £200. HBCA, A.5/1, fo. 15d.

The salary of James Walker in 1752; see HBCA, B.42/a/38,
fos. 27d and 28. According to Andrew Graham the salary range was £30 to £50 p.a.

3 This was Andrew Graham's salary in 1754. See Andrew Graham's Observations on the Hudson's Bay 1767-1791 (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society), p. 334.

4 Ibid., p. 247.

5 HBCA, A.6/4, fo. 44, Letter, London Committee to Henry Kelsey, June 1, 1720.

6 Ibid., fo. 98.

7 Ibid., A.6/11, fo. 175, Letter, London Committee to Samuel Hearne, May 12, 1773.


9 Ibid., p. 73.


11 HBCA, B.42/a/42, fo. 48, August 29, 1754.

12 Ibid., B.42/a/52, fo. 35, June 15, 1759.

13 Ibid., fo. 35 and 35d.

14 Ibid., B.42/a/32, fo. 28d, April 23, 1749.

15 Ibid., B.42/a/28, fos 22 and 22d, February 18 and 20, 1746.

16 Ibid., B.42/a/52, fo. 45, August 10, 1759, or at least so Jacobs thought.

17 Ibid., A1/14, fo. 4d, PWF General Letter of 1764.

18 Ibid., B.42/a/38, fo. 56d, August 2, 1752. The Duke of Newcastle was then secretary of State for foreign policy, and along with his younger brother, in effect, the joint heads of government.

19 Ibid., A.1/14, fo. 57, General Letter of 1767.

20 Ibid., fo. 22, General Letter of 1765.

21 Ibid., B.42/a/11, fo. 23d.

22 Cabins were not separate dwellings, but sub-divisions of the larger rooms of the men's house. They were usually shared by two men, but as a Surgeon, Hume would have had his own little room with door, walls, and so on. See section on the accommodation at the post.
23 HBCA, B.42/a/11, fo. 26, June 19, 1731. Apparently surgeons often traded their medicines for furs to Indian "doctors." See section on illicit trade.
24 See HBCA, B.42/b/2, fos. 5d and 6 and Graham, op. cit., p. 254.
25 HBCA, B.42/a/34, fos. 34d and 36d.
26 Ibid., B.42/a/36, fos. 8d and 9, September 12, 1750.
27 Ibid., fos. 9 and 9d, September 13, 1750.
28 Ibid., fo. 4d, August 19, 1750.
29 Ibid., fo. 16d.
30 Ibid., fo. 20d.
31 Ibid., fo. 20.
32 Ibid., fo. 22.
33 Ibid., fo. 33.
34 Ibid., fo. 41, March 11, 1751.
35 Ibid., fo. 65, July 29, 1751.
36 Ibid., fo. 66, August 3, 1751.
37 Ibid., fo. 67, August 7, 1751.
38 Ibid., fo. 68d.
39 Ibid., B.42/a/38, fo. 24, January 26, 1752.
40 Ibid., fo. 25d, February 1, 1752.

41 See section on illicit trade for a discussion of the practice of giving presents of furs to the men.
42 HBCA, B.42/a/38, fo. 38, April 13, 1752.
43 Ibid., fo. 27d, February 8, 1752.
44 Ibid., fo. 48d and 49, June 17, 1752.
45 Ibid., fo. 57, August 5, 1752.
46 Ibid., fos. 27d and 28, February 8, 1872.
47 This story is recounted in the section on health.
48 HBCA, B.42/a/1, fo. 1. "Baggonettes" are bayonets which at the time were not used on muskets, but which were large knives.
49 Ibid., A.11/15, fo. 17d, General letter of 1775.
50 Ibid., B.42/a/90, fo. 27, June 24, 1775.
51 For example, see Ibid., fo. 27.
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52 HBCA, A.11/13, fo. 31d, general letter of 1736.
53 Ibid., B.42/a/32, fo. 40, July 17, 1749.
54 Ibid., fo. 34d, June 13, 1749.
55 Ibid., B.42/a/42, fo. 3, September 15, 1753.
56 Ibid., B.42/a/38, fos. 40-40d, April 28, 1752.
57 Ibid., B.42/a/34, fo. 15, December 1, 1749.
58 Ibid., B.43/a/38, fo. 15, November 6, 1751.
59 Ibid., B.42/a/36, fo. 15, October 17, 1750.
60 Ibid., B.42/b/5, fo. 3.
61 Ibid., B.42/a/32, fo. 11, October 19, 1748.
62 Ibid., B.42/a/38, fo. 8d, October 1, 1751.
63 Ibid., fo. 8d.
64 Ibid., fo. 17d.
65 Ibid., B.42/a/30, fo. 4.
67 Clerk of the California (T.S. Drage); An Account of a Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage (London), Vol. II p. 62.
68 HBCA, B.42/a/55, fo. 22, November 14, 1719. The great sledge was built out of two large crooked pieces of timber, knit together with cross bars, and then planked over. The crooked timber ensured that the sled turned up in front so as to slide more easily over all kinds of snow. Fully loaded it needed twelve men to pull it. Clerk of the California, op. cit., p. 20.
69 HBCA, B.42/a/55, fo. 22, January 29, 1760.
70 Ibid., fo. 22d, February 2, 1760.
71 Ibid., B.42/a/20, fo. 16d, March 2, 1740.
72 Ibid., fo. 23, May 26, 1740.
73 Ibid., B.42/a/29, fo. 2.
74 Ibid., B.42/a/53, fo. 8d.
75 Ibid., B.42/a/20, fo. 17, March 12, 1740.
76 Ibid., B.42/a/90, fo. 33, August 16, 1775.
77 Ibid., A.6/7, fo. 75.
78 Ibid., A.5/1, fo. 88d.
Andrew Graham was a noted collector of flora and fauna for example.

HBCA, A.11/13, fo. 85.


IV Recreation and Leisure

2 HBCA, B.42/a/32, fo. 34d.
3 HBCA, B.42/a/12, fo. 29d, on June 3, 1732 a celebration was held to mark laying the first stone in the fort's foundation.
4 For example liquor was dispensed to the men after the funeral of Captain Beale on April 14, 1731.
6 Ibid., p. 20.
8 HBCA, B.42/a/44, fo. 15.
9 According to the Oxford English Dictionary that is.
11 This material is from an unpublished, Ph. D. thesis by Prof. Morris Mott of the University of Manitoba.
13 HBCA, A.6/7, fo. 110. "We have Sent you Some Good books for the Factorys use in order to Promote Virtue and discourage Vice." In 1778 this meant 6 books of Common Prayer, 1 Nautical Almanack, and a copy of Dr. Dodd's Sermons, see A.24/18, fo. 33d and 34d.
15 I have seen a partial catalogue of the books now held at Hudson's Bay House, unfortunately it is still an unclassified document in the Hudson's Bay Archives and therefore I may not quote directly from it. Suffice it to say that it reveals a wide variety of reading tastes, but most intriguingly a fairly scholarly and sophisticated taste on the whole. The catalogue was compiled by Ralph Parsons, *Catalogue of the Fur Trade Library* (Winnipeg: Hudson's Bay House, 1932).


18 HBCA, B.42/a/92, fo. 24d entry for April 23, 1776.

19 Ibid., B.43/a/94, fo. 14, Humphrey Marten to Samuel Hearne, January 4, 1777.

20 Ibid., fo. 21 entry for February 23, 1777.


22 Also courtesy of Morris Mott, see McDougall, John, *Forest, Lake and Prairie*, p. 84.

23 HBCA, B.42/a/14, fo. 17d.


25 All information from Malcolmson, ibid., see pp. 36-37 for an account of Derby's rather fascinating version of the game.

26 One contemporary observer left this description: "the players kick each other's shins without the least ceremony, and some of them are overthrown at the hazard of their limbs." Ibid., p. 35.
27 HBCA, B.42/a/26, fo. 38, February 19, 1751.
28 Ibid., B.42/a/46, fo. 25, March 14, 1756.
29 Ibid., B.42/a/44, fo. 15d, January 2, 1755.
30 Ibid., fo. 9d, November 17, 1754.
31 As for example with Thomas Smith Stone-blower extraordinaire mentioned previously. See A.11/13, fo. 31d, general letter of 1736.
32 HBCA, B.42/a/36, fo. 21d, November 12, 1750.
33 In 1746 for example 36 gallons of wine were sent out to PWF as a general charge of the fort, B.42/d/26, fo. 68.
34 Ibid., B.42/d/2.
36 Ibid., B.42/d/46.
37 A typical entry in the post journal during the Christmas Season, December 24 - January 1 being mostly spent drinking and eating would read "Wee being all Merry a Drinking the Kings & Compys. Good health, & Gave the People Liquor to do the Same as is Customary."
HBCA, B.42/a/4, fo. 15, December 26, 1723.
38 Public Archives of Canada (hereafter cited as PAC) Journal of the Furnace, MG18, P4 Volume 4, October 11, 1741.
39 HBCA, B.42/a/36, fo. 58d, June 11, 1751.
40 Ibid., B.42/a/23, fo. 18d, December 20, 1741.
41 Ibid., B.42/a/25, fo. 20d, March 21, 1744.
42 Ibid., B.42/a/36, fo. 17, October 28, 1750.
43 Ibid., B.42/a/38, fos. 6d and 7, September 22, 1751.
44 Ibid., B.42/a/34, fos. 24d and 25, March 4, 1750.
45 Ibid., B.42/a/50, fo. 5ld, September 4, 1758. Nicholas Robertson received "Several Cuffs about his Ears" for his troubles.
46 Ibid., A.6/11, fos. 91d and 92.
47 Graham, op. cit., p. 283.
48 HBCA, A.10/1, fo. 12.
49 One surgeon, a Mr. Robertson, did exactly this, and there
are suggestions he was not alone in the practice, HBCA, B.42/2/55, fos. 45d and 46.

50 HBCA, B.42/a/36, fo. 56, May 24, 1751.

51 Ibid., B.42/a/52, fo. 22d, March 13, 1759.

52 For example, Henry Lisk received 8 strokes of the lash on August 19, 1744 for "clandestine trading," B.42/a/27, fo. 1d.

53 Mr. Squire was deputy factor. HBCA, B.42/a/46, fo. 16d, January 2, 1756.

54 See B.42/a/46, fo. 5, October 6, 1755. The man whose brandy is seized threatens to charge Ferdinand Jacobs with theft.

55 HBCA, A.11/13, fo. 116, the PWF general letter of 1750.

V Material Life: Diet, Clothing and Accommodation

1 Eric Ross, Beyond the River and the Bay (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), p. 76.

2 Quantities ranged from Several bushels of Turnips to three quarts of "Pottatoes" the size of hen's eggs B.42/a/90 fos. 6 and 6d, October 12 and 14, 1774. According to the journal 4 cart'loads of vegetables were taken off the garden plot.

3 HBCA, B.42/a/3, fo. 2d.

4 Ibid., B.42/a/32, fo. 31d, May 18, 1749.

5 The corn being wheat I presume, see HBCA, B.42/a/13, fo. 25, B.42/a/14.

6 HBCA, B.42/a/24, fo. 9, September 29, 1742 Colewort being an archaic term for vegetables of the cabbage family.


8 see Section 6 of this paper.

9 Samuel Hearne, A Journey to the Northern Ocean (MacMillan Toronto), p. 294.
10 Ibid., pp. 289-292.
11 HBCA, B.42/a/20, fo. 8d, November 10, 1739.
12 Ibid., B.42/a/13, fo. 19, March 2, 1733.
13 Ibid., B.42/a/14, fo. 17, December 24, 1733.
14 Ibid., B.42/a/46, fo. 6, October 12, 1755.
15 Ibid., B.42/a/32, fo. 40d, July 20, 1749. These dogs also periodically attacked humans; on one occasion they so severely mauled an Indian man the journal states "his thigh is like a Cullender." HBCA, B.42/a/90, fo. 21d, May 1, 1775.
16 See HBCA, B.42/a/13, fos 24 and 35d for example.
17 Ibid., B.42/a/53, fo. 20, December 20, 1759.
18 Graham, op. cit., pp. 294-295, offers a description of the technique.
19 HBCA, A.6/4, fo. 82.
20 Ibid., B.42/a/50, fo. 9d, October 28, 1751.
21 Rangifer Tarandus Groenlandicus to be exact.
22 Andrew Graham, op. cit., p. 15.
23 Isham's Observations, pp. 152-153, see figure 3.
24 Andrew Graham, op. cit., p. 15, September 1771 is the month described.
25 HBCA, B.42/a/24, fo. 4d.
27 HBCA, B.42/a/90, fo. 10, November 23, 1774.
28 HBCA, B.42/a/1, fo. 75 by way of comparison in 1718, 4152 ptarmigan were killed: B.42/a/1, fo. 33d, and in 1722 3020. B.42/a/2, fo. 39d.
31 HBCA, B.42/a/19, fo. 28d, May 28, 1739.
32 For example in 1735, 2,200 geese were killed in the spring hunt, B.42/a/15, fo. 33d, and 800 in the fall hunt, B.42/a/16, fo. 6d.
33 HBCA, B.42/a/32, fo. 5, September 10, 1748.
34 Clerk of the California, op. cit., volume II, p. 30.
35 HBCA, B.42/a/1, fo. 69, January 19, 1720.
36 Ibid., B.42/b/10, letter dated January 9, 1764, M. Norton to F. Jacobs.
37 Andrew Graham, op. cit., p. 296.
38 "this afternoon Cutt a hole in ye Ice upon ye river to water Victuals in." HBCA, B.42/a/24, fo. 14d, November 10, 1742.
40 HBCA, B.42/a/48, fo. 8.
41 Ibid., B.42/a/60, fo. 68, August 6, 1764.
42 Ibid., B.42/a/67, fo. 9d, October 2, 1766.
43 Ibid., A.11/14, fo. 99 general letter of 1769.
44 Ibid., A.11/13, fo. 39d, general letter of 1737.
45 Ibid., A.24/18, fo. 70d.
46 Graham, op. cit., p. 296.
47 HBCA, B.42/a/101, fos. 2d and 3.
48 "this being Easter Sunday Served out to the people Flower and ploms Grates to make a Puding for Each Mess likewise give them a Bottle of Brandy Each Mess." B.42/a/74, fo. 34, March 26, 1769.
49 Clerk of the California, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 122.
51 See B.42/a/36, fos. 37d and 38, February 17, 1751.
52 Fernand, Braudel, Capitalism and Material Life (Collins; Fontana) see p. 93.
53 HBCA, B.42/a/50, fo. 10, Kale is another term for cabbage, and sellochs, or sillochs are young coal-fish or saithe-cod or coal-fish fry.
54 HBCA, B.42/a/50, October 28, 1757.
55 Ibid., A.11/13, fo. 150d.
56 Ibid., B.42/a/50, fo. 9d, October 28, 1757.
57 HBCA, B.42/a/38, fos. 43 and 43d, May 17, 1752.
58 Ibid., fo. 49, eventually only one James Flat was caned for throwing away his mess-mates partridges without their consent, ibid., fo. 44d.
59 Ibid., fo. 44, see Section III of this paper.
60 Ibid., B.42/a/53, fo. 36d, May 4, 1760.
61 Ibid., fo. 37.
62 Ibid.
63 Andrew Graham, op. cit., p. 297.
64 HBCA, B.42/a/74, fo. 3, September 8, 1768.
65 Andrew Graham, op. cit., p. 298.
66 see B.42/d/51, B.42/a/56, B.42/d/60, men's accounts.
67 See account books, see also B.42/a/46, fos. 3d and 4, September 29, 1755. The Sloop Master, Bean, kicks and strikes two Indian women for not making him some socks from deer hide as he requested.
69 Isham, op. cit., p. 117.
70 Andrew Graham, op. cit., pp. 293-94.
71 Or at least according to ibid., p. 293, and Isham op. cit., p. 91.
72 This description comes from the Clerk of the California; Account of a Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage, Vol. 1, (London), 1747, pp. 135-137. See figure 4, illustration from Isham, op. cit., p. 91.
73 Ibid., p. 89.
74 Ibid., p. 90.
75 Surveys done at Cape Merry in 1958 for Parks Canada indicate the strong probability such a building was there. See Figure IV.
76 See Figure V.
77 See HBCA, G.2/26.
78 See Figure 6.
79 HBCA, A.11/13, fo. 152d, general letter of 1758.
80 HBCA, B.42/a/96, fo. 32, May 1, 1778 or B.42/a/60, fo. 18d, December 20, 1763.
82 HBCA, B.42/a/81, April 17, 1732, for example.
83 "we had no fire up Stares in our Stove this 14 days last past" HBCA, B.42/a/30, fo. 12, February 4, 1747. The fires in the stoves used a cart load of wood each. PAC, Journal of H.M.S. Furnace, op. cit., January 2, 1741.
84 The provision of firewood for PWF was a never-ending task and one that became increasingly unpleasant and onerous as the wood around the fort got cut down and burned. In time wood had to be brought from as much as thirty miles distance though this was rare. A large part of the complement of men had to work cutting wood especially when it was burned as fast as it was brought in. HBCA, B.42/a/64d, November 10, 1779. A "stout" winters supply of wood was calculated it "2 Large Piles Each 43 Yards Round." HBCA, B.42/a/53, fo. 28d. Isbister stated that providing firewood for the fort took up at least 9 months of the year. HBCA, B.42/a/32, fo. 14.
85 see B.42/a/24, fo. 20d, January 21, 1743.
86 Eric Ross, op. cit., p. 102.
87 HBCA, B.42/a/59, fo. 31, March 23, 1763.
88 David Thompson, Narrative of his Explorations in Western America 1784-1812 (Toronto: Champlain Society) p. 13.
89 HBCA, B.42/a/115, fo. 11, September 23, 1735.
90 Ibid., fo. 24d, March 1, 1736.
91 HBCA, B.42/a/36, fo. 21d.
92 HBCA, B.42/a/53, fo. 13.
93 HBCA, B.42/a/60, fo. 8, October 14, 1763.
94 Isham, op. cit., pp. 172-173. He called the accommodation "offensive and unholesome."
95 PAC, MG18, D5, volume 1, Journal of Matthew Cocking, p.113, May 21, 1773.
96 PAC, MG18, D5, volume 1, Anthony Henday's Journal pp. 61-62. May 29, 1755.
98 Fernand Braudel, op. cit., p. 195.
100 Ibid., p. 201.
102 Braudel, op. cit., pp. 92-95.
103 Glover, op. cit., p. XIV.
104 Ibid.
105 Quoted in Braudel, op. cit., p. 81.
106 Glover, op. cit., p. XIVI.
107 According to B.H. Slicker Van Bath; see Braudel, op. cit., p. 81.
109 Ibid.
110 Ibid., p. 15.
111 Ibid., pp. 15-23.
112 Braudel, op. cit., pp. 129-120.
114 Braudel, op. cit., p. 131.
115 Ibid., p. 131.

VI Health: Disease, Accident and Treatment
1 HBCA, B.42/b/la, fo. 8, letter dated May 27, 1754.
2 Ibid., B.42/a/60, fo. 17d, also, fos 26d and 27d.
3 Ibid., B.42/a/3, fo. 12 or B.42/a/11, fo. 15d, for example.
4 See Oxford English Dictionary.
5 HBCA, B.42/a/60, fo. 5, September 28, 1763. For example, he had fits quite frequently, interfering with his job as mate of the sloop.

6 Ibid., B.42/a/23, fos. 10 and 13.

7 Ibid., B.42/a/31, fo. 19d, February 15, 1748.

8 William McNeil, *Plagues and Peoples* (New York, Anchor Books) pp. 193-194. See also Andrew Graham, op. cit. pp.143-148. Intriguingly he suggests symptoms were less pronounced amongst Indians. He thought their diet might be the cause of this. He also clearly blames Europeans for transmitting the diseases to the Indians.

9 HBCA, B.42/a/55, fos. 37 and 37d, May 31, 1761

10 Ibid., B.42/a/56, fo. 34, May 17, 1762.

11 Ibid., fo. 35.

12 Ibid., for example see A.6/6, fo. 50.

13 Ibid., A.5/1, fo. 59d, Committee to John Potts (Senior). May 23, 1764.

14 See previous note on fur trade libraries.

15 See HBCA, B.42/a/1, fo. 42d, or B.42/a/23, fo. 24 for example.

16 Ibid., B.42/a/31, fo. 11d, November 19, 1747.

17 Ibid., B.42/a/50, fo. 43d ad passim.


19 HBCA, B.42/a/6, fo. 24d, May 2, 1726.

20 Clerk of the California, op. cit., vol 1, p. 170.

21 HBCA, B.42/a/32, fo. 12, October 28, 1748.

22 Or so the OED tells us.

23 HBCA, B.42/a/1, fo. 69d, January 28, 1720.

24 HBCA, B.42/a/24, fo. 20d, January 21, 1743.

25 See for example, HBCA, B.42/a/21, fo. 34 or B.42/a/1, fo.66d.

26 HBCA, B.42/a/19, fo. 18d, or B./42/a/1, fo. 74d.

27 Ibid., B.42/a/14, fos. 20d and 21.

28 Ibid., B.42/a/6, fo. 5, September 13, 1725.
29 Ibid., B.42/a/42, fo. 35, May 21, 1754.
30 Ibid., B.42/a/32, fos. 8 and 8d, October 2, 1748.
31 Ibid., fo. 8d.
32 Ibid., fo. 9.
33 Ibid., B.42/a/34, September 5, 1749.
34 Ibid., B.42/a/32, fo. 8d.
36 Ibid., B.42/a/38, fo. 3, August 29, 1751.
37 Ibid., B.42/a/14, fo. 24, March 14, 1734.
38 Ibid., B.42/a/17, fo. 13d, October 23, 1736.
39 Ibid., B.42/a/3, fo. 13d, January 25, 1723.
40 Ibid., fo. 31, July 2, 1723.
41 Ibid., B.42/a/1, fo. 37d.
42 Ibid., B.42/a/3, fo. 10d, December 8, 1722.
43 Ibid., B.42/a/80, fo. 61d, May 31, 1771.
44 Ibid., B.42/a/70, fos. 13d and 14, December 11, 1767.
46 Ibid., B.42/a/38, fo. 4d, September 8, 1751.
47 Ibid., B.42/a/14, fos. 34d and 35, May 8, 1734.
48 Ibid., fo. 49d, July 18, 1734.
49 Ibid., A.6/5, fo. 98.
50 Ibid., B.42/a/14, fo. 43d, June 19, 1734.
51 Ibid., A.11/13, fo. 31d. See also Letters from Hudson Bay, 1703-1740 (Hudson's Bay Record Society, Vol. XXV) pp. 213-214.
52 HBCA, B.42/a/18, fo. 7d, September 28, 1737.
53 HBCA, B.42/a/56, fo. 47d, "sheers" or "shears" were a device for hoisting heavy objects consisting of two or more sloping poles steadied by guys, and fastened at the top from which the hoisting tackle depends. OED.
54 Ibid., B.42/a/30, fo. 22d, May 5, 1787.
55 Ibid., B.42/a/36, fo. 33, January 41, 1751.
56 Ibid., B.42/a/48, fo. 9, October 18, 1756.
57 Ibid., B.42/a/16, fo. 32d, May 8, 1736.
58 Ibid., B.42/a/25, fo. 39, July 27 and 29, 1744.
202

59 Ibid., B.42/a/12, fo. 15, December 9, 1731.
60 For example see HBCA, B.42/a/12, fo. 12, November 5, 1731.
61 Ibid., B.42/a/2, fo. 31d, October 24, 1721.
62 Ibid., B.42/a/20, fo. 12d, January 10, 1740.
63 Ibid., B.42/a/80, fos 21 and 21d, December 1, 1770.
64 Ibid., B.42/a/42, fo. 16, December 12, 1753.
65 Ibid., B.42/a/19, fo. 18, February 9, 1739.
66 Ibid., B.42/a/36, fo. 14, October 8, 1750.
67 Ibid., B.42/a/16, fo. 48, August 3, 1736.
68 Ibid., B.42/a/14, fo. 3d, August 25, 1733.
69 Ibid., B.42/a/18, fo. 4d, September 4, 1737.
70 Ibid., B.42/a/42, fo. 41d, July 7, 1754.
71 Ibid., B.42/a/38, fo. 8, September 26, 1751, "The accident occurred at 9:00 A.M."
72 Ibid., B.42/a/70, fos. 3d and 4.
73 Ibid., B.42/a/96, fo. 33d, May 11, 1778.
74 Ibid., B.42/a/25, fo. 3, August 19, 1743.
75 Ibid., B.42/a/60, fo. 32d, March 3, 1764.
76 Ibid., B.42/a/5, fo. 11d, November 30, 1724.
77 Ibid., B.42/a/12, fos. 9 and 9d, October 8, 1732.
80 Isham, op. cit., p. 134, "wishakapucka" in Cree means the "louse's canoe" a fact which may have limited its market- ability as a medicine.
81 Ibid., p. 217.
82 Graham, op. cit., p. 130.
83 Ibid., p. 130.
84 Hearne, A Journey to the Northern Ocean (Toronto: Macmillan) p. 293.
85 Graham, op. cit., p. 299.
86 HBCA, B.42/a/24, fo. 20d, January 21, 1743.
87 E.E. Rich, op. cit., p. 53. The unnamed American pharmacist was in fact Dr. S. Jarcho, the editor-in-chief of the Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine. The
article referred to is "Drugs Used at Hudson Bay in 1730" BNYAM, 1971.

88 See Jarcho, ibid., pp. 838-839.

89 Ibid., p. 841. Vesicants are substances that produce skin blisters. Apparently it was thought to strengthen the parts to which it was applied and cure "cold" tumors.

90 Ibid., p. 841.

91 Ibid.

92 Ibid.

93 Ibid., p. 842.

94 Ibid.

95 Ibid.

96 Ibid. It produces quinine.

97 Ibid. It is a greenish-brown resin obtained from the lignum vitae tree.

98 For example see HBCA, B.42/b/1a, fo. 6, Letter dated April 2, 1754, Churchill requested supplies of Cantharides or Spanish Fly and Spirits of Hartshorn or Sal Volatile from York. The latter was used as a cure for quinsy or the inflammation of the tonsils.

99 HBCA, B.42/a/32, fos. 8 and 8d, October 21, 1748.

100 Graham, op. cit., p. 299.

101 This happened to James Langley for example, see B.42/a/l, fo. 76d.

102 HBCA, B.42/a/94, fo. 24, letter dated March 20, 1777.

VII Prince of Wales' Port as a Military Installation

1 The term territory is used loosely all three groups ranged over large areas roughly corresponding to geographic zones: forest, taiga, and tundra. The range of these groups overlapped, and in no way were their territories exclusive.

2 See Churchill Account Books, B.42/d series or Orysia Luchak, op. cit., Appendix 1 graph and p. 169. The
largest fur returns of all from Churchill occurred in 1739 when furs worth 23,696 6/12, made beaver were shipped home.  

This point is illustrated by the experience of La Perouse's ships discussed later in this section. Churchill's strategic virtues then were almost exactly what they are today and explain in part why it was preferred as a port to Port Nelson, and why it still is of some military significance as an air-base.

4 HBCA, A.1/143, fo. 77d.
5 His plan for the fort was adopted in preference to proposals from Richard Norton and Captain George Spummell.

HBCA, Ibid., fo. 78d.
6 HBCA, fo. 78d.
7 This of course is, in essence, the argument of A.S. Morton, op. cit., p. 227.
8 Robson, op. cit., p. 20.
9 Ibid., p. 72, Appendix 2.
11 Ibid., p. 410.
13 HBCA, fo. 27.
16 Ibid., fo. 120.
17 Joseph Robson, op. cit., see diagram facing page 30. Actually 40 feet was generally chosen as the proper width for ramparts, since it allowed 14 feet for a 24-pounder cannon, 12 feet for recoil, and 14 to 18 feet for a path for ammunition carts. See Christopher Duffy, Fire and Stone, pp. 47-48.
18 It seems that a pallisade made it more difficult for people to go in and out of the fort illicitly. During the winter without a pallisade snow would drift up to the level of the parapet so one could simply stroll over the wall. See A.11/13, fo. 77d, general letter of 1742.

19 See for example, HBCA, B.42/a/38, fo. 3.

20 The walls even after modern reconstruction still bulge, ominously, the problem is caused by what is known as "post heave."

21 Quoted in Orysia Luchak, op. cit., p. 78.

22 See for example, A.11/14, fo. 152d, general letter of 1771. Work had progressed enough that one of the two masons could be sent home.

23 James Isham describes the well as being "of Great Service in Supplying the fort with water for cooking, & washing, but not fitt to Drink being thick and bad tasted." Isham, op. cit., p. 176.

24 HBCA, A.11/13, fo. 92d. In 1746 and 1747 the Company used the Armourer, a veteran of the Battle of Fountenoy, to lead these military exercises.

25 For a lengthy description of how cannon were fired, what the duties of the gunners were, and so on see Jobé Joseph, op. cit., pp. 71-74, especially pp. 73-74, "Serving the Guns."

26 HBCA, A.6/7, fo. 39.

27 PAM, Donald Gunn Correspondence, 1857-1875, MG2, C25#7, see pp. 1-2.

28 See Microfilm HBCA, copy 363 material from the French Nouvelles Acquisitions 9421, fo. 85.

29 Ibid., fo. 90.

30 Ibid.

31 Ibid. "Meritât quelque confiance."

32 Ibid.

33 Ibid., fo. 85.

34 Ibid. Ironically here he agrees with Donald Gunn, who felt the company relied too heavily on this fact.
35 Ibid., for 85.
36 Ibid.
37 Ibid.
38 Ibid.
39 Ibid., fo. 85d.
40 Ibid.
41 Ibid. See also Glyndwr Williams, Hudson's Bay Miscellany 1670-1870 (Winnipeg: Hudson's Bay Record Society) Vol. XXX footnote #1, p. 82.
42 See HBCA, E.2/12, pp. 622-635. This journal has also been published in Hudson's Bay Company Miscellany 1670-1870, pp. 81-94.
43 Glyndwr Williams in his introduction to the journal points out that for a variety of reasons it is unlikely that the journal was kept by any of the officers then residing at the fort, it is likely that whoever kept the journal, if he in fact was an officer, was promoted to this rank after 1782.
44 HBCA, E.2/12, p. 623.
45 Ibid.
47 See Hudson's Bay Miscellany, 1679-1870, op. cit., p. 79.
48 Hearne spent six years in the Royal Navy during the Seven Year's War. He served on the frigates Bideford and Vestal, and saw some action. The capture of the frigate Bellona and the seige of Gibraltar for example. See editor's Introduction (pp. viii-ix), Samuel Hearne A Journey to the Northern Ocean (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada) Glover, Richard, ed.
49 HBCA, E.2/12, pp. 624 and 625.
50 Ibid., p. 625.
51 Most of the cannon at the fort now are damaged in this way. It is apparently the simplest and quickest way to make the cannon usable. All one need do is to drop shot into the trunnion and break it off.
This, of course, was built by Wales and Dymond to observe the transit of Venus.

"mais l'humanité ne me permet point de n'être pas touché de leur sort à venir." ibid., fo. 85. La Pérouse's observations on this point were not completely accurate but the destruction of PWF was a heavy blow for the Home-guard Cree and Trading Chipewyans.
VIII Prince of Wales's Fort as a Centre for Exploration

1 This story is covered elsewhere in the chapter "Prince of Wales' Fort and the Indians and Inuit."

2 See Glyndwr Williams, The British Search for the North-West Passage in the Eighteenth Century (London: Published for the Royal Commonwealth Society of Longmins), see pp. 2 and 3.

3 Joseph Robson, An Account of Six Years Residence in Hudson's Bay, p. 15.


5 Ibid., p. 81, he reached at least Whale Cove.

6 See Orysia Luchak, Prince of Wales' Fort in the 18th Century, Historic Research Division, Parks Canada, see p. 28.

7 Glyndwr Williams, op. cit., pp. 16-17 offers some suggestions of company thinking at this time.

8 Ibid., p. 9. Sloops came in various sizes presumably up to at least 40 tons worth. What was characteristic about the sloop was its design: it was a "small vessel furnished with one mast, the main sail of which is attached to a gait above, to the mast on its fore-most edge, and to a boon below, by which it is occasionally shifted to either quarter. It differs from a cutter, by having a fixed steering bowsprint, and a jib-stay; nor are the sails generally so large in proportion to the size of the vessel. William Falconer, A New and Universal Dictionary of the Marine, enlarged and modernized by Burney William, London, 1815.

9 Ibid., p. 11.

10 Ibid., p. 10.

11 Ibid., p. 11.

12 Ibid., p. 9.

13 Joseph Robson, op. cit., p. 15, see also Appendix 1, pp. 36-37.
14 Ibid., p. 37.
15 HBCA, B.239/2/5.
16 James Kenney, op. cit., p. 82; Glyndwr Williams, op. cit., p. 22.
17 Ibid., p. 22.
18 HBCA, B.42/a/2, fo. 51, July 25, 1722.
19 Samuel Hearne, *A Journey to the Northern Ocean*, op. cit. p. LXII-LXIV.
21 Glyndwr Williams, op. cit., p. 31.
22 HBCA, E.18/1, fos. 105 and 105d.
23 Ibid., fo. 105d.
24 Ibid.;
26 This point has been frequently made, it comes out very clearly in a recent unpublished paper by Gerron Wells "The Development of Trade Along the North West Coast of Hudson Bay 1750-1772."
27 Gerron Wells found a difference of as much as ten days in the duration of sloop voyages on average between various captains. About four weeks was as much time as most captains chose to be out on the open sea.
28 See HBCA, B.42/a/35, fo. 9d or B.42/a/39, fo. 11.
29 HBCA, B.42/a/47, fo. 14d.
30 Ibid., fo. 14d.
31 Glyndwr Williams, op. cit., p. 126.
32 HBCA, B.2/8, and G.1/19.
33 HBCA, B.42/a/8, fo. 4d.
34 See the journal of the Churchill, HBCA, B.42/a/57.
36 Eventually he was elected to the Royal Society for his services to navigation and his scholarly papers on topics like magnetic variation.
37 Glyndwr Williams, op. cit., p. 50.
38 see PAC, MGL8, D4, Vol. 4, Journal of the Furnace.
39 A pink is a small vessel marked by an extremely narrow stern.
40 Glyndwr Williams, op. cit., pp. 52-53.
41 HBCA, B.42/a/23, fo. 4d.
42 Ibid., fo. 5.
43 The experience of the first parties of the Selkirk Settlers amply illustrates this point.
44 Samuel Hearne, A Journey to the Northern Ocean (Toronto: Macmillan) pp. 194-195.
45 HBCA, B.42/a/23, fo. 14, October 25, 1741.
46 PAC, Journal of the H.M.S. Furnace, op. cit., October 11, 1741.
47 Ibid., January 2, 1742.
48 See HBCA, B.42/a/23, fo. 14 et passim, also William Glyndwr, op. cit., p. 61.
50 Williams, op. cit., p. 63.
51 HBCA, B.42/a/23, fos. 30 and 35d.
52 Ibid., fo. 35d, June 2, 1742.
53 HBCA, A.11/13, fo. 76d Isham to Committee, July, 1742.
54 Williams, op. cit., p. 68.
56 See John Warkentin, Ed. The Western Interior of Canada (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart) p. 29.
58 A complete listing of all these expeditions can be found in a most useful book, Cooke, Alan and Holland, Clive The Exploration of Northern Canada, 500 to 1920, A Chronology (Toronto: The Arctic History Press) 1978.
59 See Section IX of this paper.
Cooke and Holland, op. cit., p. 51.

HBCA, B.42/a/1.

James Isham, op. cit., p. 218.

HBCA, B.42/2/6, fos. 1d-12, December 5, 1725.

Ibid., fo. 12d, December 12, 1725.

See HBCA, A.11/15, fos. 11-1ld; Hanson's report to Moses Norton.

Ibid., fo. 21, Annual letter of 1775, Graham to London Committee.


Ibid., Chapter I, page 3.

Ibid., p. 4.

Ibid., p. 5.

Ibid., p. 6.

Ibid., p. 9.


Ibid., p. 15.

Ibid., p. 18.

Ibid., p. 19.

Ibid.

Ibid., p. 25.

Ibid., p. 28.

Ibid., pp. 30-31.

Ibid., p. 33.

Ibid., pp. 35-36.

Ibid., p. 35.

Ibid., p. 39. It seems Norton hoped to have at least two of his relatives amongst the Homeguard along on the trip. They, of course, would have been given much of the credit for the success of the expedition.

As Vilhjalmur Stefansson and others have pointed out this was not a common practice. It was not until the explorations
of Amundsen, and to a lesser extent Dr. John Rae that living off the land like the native population became the accepted method of northern and Arctic exploration.

86 Ibid., p. 46.
87 Ibid., p. 49.
88 Ibid., pp. 50-52.
89 Ibid., p. 55.
90 Eric Ross, *Beyond the River and the Bay* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press) p. 69. These canoes are described more fully in this report in the chapter on Indians and the Fur Trade.

91 Samuel Hearne, op. cit., p. 74.
92 Ibid.
93 Ibid., p. 75
94 Ibid.
95 Ibid., p. 95.
96 Ibid., p. 100.
97 Ibid., p. 101.
98 Ibid., p. 106.
99 Ibid., p. 112.
100 Ibid., pp. 120-121.
101 This new Chipewyan "life-style" is discussed in some detail in the next section of this report.

102 Ibid., p. 195.

IX Indians, Inuit and Prince of Wales' Fort
1 Eric Ross, *Beyond the River and the Bay*, op. cit., p. 18.
2 Ibid., p. 17.
4 See for example, HBCA, B.42/a/18, fo. 30d, June 29, 1738, or B.42/a/19, fo. 33, July 6, 1739.
5 Hearne as we shall see discusses this point at some length.
6 Jenness, op. cit., p. 284.
7 Ibid., p. 285.
8 James Isham, Observations, op. cit., p. 78.
9 Alexander Mackenzie, Voyages from Montreal to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans in the Years 1789 and 1893, London, p. XCV.
10 Ibid.
11 Andrew Graham, Observations, op. cit., p. 143.
13 Graham, op. cit., p. 155.
14 Ibid., p. 154.
15 Ibid.
16 Ibid.
17 Isham, op. cit., p. 81.
18 Graham, op. cit., p. 154.
19 HBCA, B.42/a/3, fo. 5d, September 10, 1722.
21 See Jenness, op. cit., p. 171.
22 Graham, op. cit., p. 160.
23 Ibid., p. 160, the spelling Whittico is Graham's numerous other spellings also occur.
24 Ibid., p. 160.
25 HBCA, B.42/a/22, fos. 18-18d, February 13, 1741.
27 David Thompson, Narrative, op. cit., pp. 80-81.
28 Graham, op. cit., p. 162.
29 Ibid., p. 161.
30 Ibid., p. 163.
31 Jenness, op. cit., p. 89.
32 Graham, op. cit., p. 163.
33 Isham, op. cit., p. 96.
34 Graham, op. cit., pp.163-164.
36 Ibid., p. 168.
37 Ibid.
38 As we shall see the Chipewyans often wrestled for wives and other possessions, and a strong and able wrestler would greatly enrich himself.
39 Ibid., p. 168.
40 Isham, op. cit., p. 111.
41 Ibid. Testicles or perhaps something a little more crude would be the modern equivalent.
42 see Section IV, Leisure and Recreation.
43 Graham, op. cit., p. 168.
44 Ibid., p. 169.
45 Ibid.
46 Robson, op. cit., p. 52.
47 Graham, op. cit., p. 165.
48 Isham, op. cit., p. 76.
49 Graham, op. cit., p. 165.
50 Ibid., p. 166.
52 Isham, op. cit., p. 110.
53 Ibid., p. 89.
54 Ibid., pp. 88-89.
55 HBCA, B.42/a/3, fo. 18d.
56 Umfreville, op. cit., pp. 28-29.
57 Ibid., p. 29.
58 Ibid., pp. 31-32.
59 HBCA, A.24/17, fos. 69 and 73.
61 HBCA, B.42/a/4, fo. 29d, June 19, 1724.
62 Ibid., B.42/a/23, fo. 10d.
63 Ray, op. cit., p. 69.
64 The value of a woman's labour was such that they were much prized as sports of war. A good deal of effort was
made by raiding parties to ensure that they brought home a number of female captives.


66 Quoted in ibid., p. 43.

67 HBCA, B.42/2/1, fo. 23, September 12, 1718.

68 Ibid., B.42/a/1, fo. 43, April 17, 1719.

69 Ibid., B.42/a/6, fo. 29, June 20, 1726.

70 Ibid., B.42/a/9, fos. 25 and fo. 27d.

71 Ibid., B.42/b/8, letter dated August 23, 1762.

72 Hearne, op. cit.

73 Jenness, op. cit., p. 284.


75 HBCA, B.42/a/53, fo. 6, September 17, 1759.

76 Ibid., B.42/a/3, fo. 54, September 8, 1722.

77 Ibid., B.42/a/32, fo. 5d, September 14, 1748.

78 Ibid., B.42/a/5, fo. 7, October 8, 1724.

79 Ibid., B.42/a/22, fo. 28, June 8, 1741.


81 Umfreville, op. cit., p. 3.

82 HBCA, B.42/a/46, fo. 22d, February 22, 1756.

83 Mattonabbee for example appears to have won the respect and friendship of Hearne.

84 HBCA, B.42/a/4, fo. 5, August 28, 1723.

85 Graham, op. cit., p. 254.

86 See earlier sections of this report dealing with drinking, fighting and disease.

87 Most European observers found Cree and other Indian women immodest by European standards: Isham found them "Lud [lewd] from their cradle..." (page 80). It would seem that they did not attach nearly so many taboos and injunctions on sexual activity as their European acquaintances, and adultery was accepted so long as the husband agreed in
advance to it or even suggested it. According to Graham children of white fathers and Indian mothers were particularly prized, and mother and step-father were generally most fond of these children and took special care of them. (page 145).

89 HBCA, B.42/a/50, fo. 40d, June 22, 1758.
90 see Frits Pannekoek, "Corruption,' at Moose," The Beaver, Spring, 1979.
91 Graham, op. cit., p. 344.
92 HBCA, A.6/12, fo. 33d, annual letter of 1775.
93 See Jenness, op. cit., Chapter XX and Ray, op. cit., chapters 1 and 5.
94 Ibid., p. 386.
95 Ibid., p. 386.
96 The Barren-Ground Caribou, "Rangifer Tarandus Groenlandieus" winters in the woods at the edge of the Barrens, and in late spring or early summer move out onto the Barrens where calving takes place.
97 Graham, op. cit., p. 15.
98 Hearne describes their hunting methods on pp. 206-207; he mentions that sometimes they also built large pounds into which they drove migrating caribou.
99 Hearne, op. cit., p. 203.
100 Ibid.
101 Ibid., p. 205. The same result would ensue if women ate these organs.
102 Ibid., p. 204.
103 Ibid., p. 205.
104 Ibid., p. 204.
105 Ibid., The "deer" were of course caribou.
106 Ibid., p. 207.
107 Ibid., p. 208.
108 Ibid.
109 Ibid., pp. 208-209, see illustration.
110 Ibid., p. 209, see illustration.
An exception was amongst the Iroquois where old women had great power.

One of these women he killed as a result of beating her, after she questioned why he would want to acquire yet another wife.

Intriguingly, if it was caused by dietary deficiencies, like scurvy, it took a singularly long time to heal; twelve to eighteen months according to Hearne.

In the case mentioned, above whatever the conjurer did, he managed to affect a partial cure of a man struck by dead palsey.
Hearne, op. cit., p. 51.

Ibid., p. 53. Warbles are abcessed swellings in or under the hide of caribou caused by the larva of the warble fly.

Ibid., pp. 51-52.

Ibid., p. 228. Matonabbee was not as closely tied to the English as some, however, from the early 1720s on post journals make mention of what would have to be called Homeguard Chipewyans, who fulfilled the same functions as the Homeguard Cree. See HBCA, B.42/2/3, fo. 13. By the 1770s a good part of the posts' country provisions came from Chipewyan sources; see HBCA, B.42/a/90, fo. 10, November 23, 1774.

HBCA, B.42/2/47, fo. 2.

Ibid., fo. 2d.

HBCA, B.21/a/64, fos. 12-12d, November 16, 1765.

see for example, HBCA, B.42/a/64, fo. 45, July 1, 1766.

Hearne, op. cit., pp. 114-115. A small brass kettle might fetch sixty martins or twenty beavers amongst the Copper Indians.


Ibid., p. 17.

HBCA, B.42/a/4, fo. 5, August 28, 1723.

Ibid., B.42/b/1b, fo. 7, Isbister to Jacobs, May 29, 1755.

Ibid., B.42/a/35, fo. 1.

Ibid., fo. 13.

Ibid., B.42/a/39, fos. 13d-14, July 18, 1753. The Eskimo had been trying to steal one of the sloop's boats.

Ibid., fo. 15.

They of course would not have seen removing iron-work from the sloop as theft.

Graham, op. cit., p. 224.
Conclusion


2 Graham, op. cit., p. 299.

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