Francis Ermatinger

In the Pacific Northwest in 1824

By Chalk Courchane

MEN OF COURAGE - Forefathers of the Finlay, Ermatinger, Ashley and Newman Families of Montana and the West
From our túpye? to our yaýa? and síle?

Francis Ermatinger - Book 2 – A Scrapbook of Sorts. David C. “Chalk” Courchane (Revised 2012)

The following biography of Francis Ermatinger, is in the most part has relied on Lois H. McDonald’s excellent work, The Fur Trade Letters of Francis Ermatinger. It is done in a scrapbook style using the letters as chronological markers, and not wanting to be restricted by the laws of book writing that is continuity and theme, I wanted to have room to just rabble on every now and then. I included sidebars on events and people that Francis Ermatinger knew. It is the life and times of Francis Ermatinger but it is also the West of Francis Ermatinger so stories of those he knew will be included as Notes. I have studied our grandfather for decades and can take credit only for adding a few other stories whenever needed. I had corresponded with Mrs. McDonald in the 1980’s but haven’t for many years. Chalk Courchane

The Ermatinger line can be traced back to Martin Ermatinger (abt 1520-) who lived in the Schaffhausen province of Switzerland, the family got their surname from the original its birth place, that is, Ermatingen, Switzerland. From Martin Ermatinger it travels up through the branches in sequence: Ludwig Ermatinger (1546-1576) and Ursula Shutz; Daniel Ermatinger (1565-) and Marguerite Friderich; Josua Ermatinger (1599-) and Anna Buggin; Josobea Ermatinger (1632-) and Anna Haasin; Laurenz Ermatinger (1671-1741) and Anna Sigerist (who is descended from another Ermatinger branch, that of Rudolf Ermatinger); Laurenz Ermatinger (1709-) and Anna Maria Buhl and finally the Francis’ grandfather, Lawrence Ermatinger (1736-1789) and Jemima Oakes (who was from a prosperous family and she was very well educated, bright, and had business savvy). The older people were traditionally wine makers and gunsmiths (naval guns). It is ironic that Lawrence Ermatinger was an associate in the fur trade with James Finlay, the former’s grandson and the latter’s son would one day meet in the frontier of Old Oregon Territory, that is Francis Ermatinger and Jacques Raphael “Jocko” Finlay… and Francis daughter, Mary would married Jocko’s grandson, Pierre Ashley.

Although this is Francis Ermatinger’s story I will say a few things about his grandfather, Lawrence and his father, Lawrence Edward. Lawrence came to Canada from London, England and settled in Montreal to become a fur trade merchant. During the American Revolutionary War he was forced to flee that city during its occupation by American troops in 1755-1776 and hide in the countryside, after storing all his goods in a safe place. Needless to say he did not like Americans. He spent a miserable time of it while hiding. Lawrence had many trials and
misfortunes in the fur trade and many of his letters survive in his Letter Book. But this is Francis’ story so I will not get into his grandfather’s.

A letter by Lawrence Ermatinger that mentions James Finlay:

On 21 September 1770 he wrote to Thomas Woder in Quebec:
… “On Thursday night Messrs. Todd and Mgil arrived from Michilimackina, as also “Feanlay but brought no news.....” (“Feanlay” refers to James Finlay, the father of Jocko Finlay).

And another:

(To) Grand Portage Mr. Joseph Fulton (From) Montreal the 9th May 1774

Sir.
I have by some friend of mine been informed, that Mr. Fenley here had intimated to you the last year, that he had been under some difficulty to have the packs Mr. Oakes sent to me to be delivered to him on your account, to get them of me I assure you my honor, it is groundless, for I think if a complaint it is rather on my side, I hope to have sometime or other opportunity to convince you that I attest to be unjust, its true I would not set him out as he pleased and would have done it without me, you may be assured that I always have the interest at heart of those that favor me with their commands and always shall avoid others being imposed upon by anyone. Mr. Oakes in his last letter informed me that he should order me to pay to Mr. James Fenley (Jocko Finlay’s father) 9000 livres, for which purpose he did reserve one to Mr. Todd, when Mr. Todd arrived he informed me that he knew nothing about it, and heard there was some difficulty between Fenlay and you, I did not think it safe to pay the money without hearing on what terms it was to be paid, so therefore If I am to pay the money, Mr. Oakes must draw a bill on me, conditionally or give me some instruction, that to say whether that sum is to be in full of all your accounts with him, if so you may depend upon nothing shall be neglected on my side. Should you have any furs which you want to send down here, be assured your order shall be particularly observed, or if agreeable you may let it --- in my possession in which care you draw out my hand, when you think it much convenient for your ownself, as it always shall be ready and your orders duly attended to. I have nothing else to acquaint you, wishing you health and prosperity and believe me to be your friend and much humb. servant...”

(To) Michilimackinac Messrs. Bert? and Bostwick the 7th August 1776

Since mine to you by Mr. John Kay I received three of your much esteemed favrs. without dates, one covering an order for a canoe of goods, another acquainting me your having drawn on me (-----? for?) St. Pierre? which I shall meet with due honor, as also any other draft you have drawn or may hereafter draw on me --- ---tion of your order, I consulted with Mr. John Chinn now here on the spot whether it could be to your advantage to send it, as Mr. Feanlay (James Finlay) has some time ago (took?) a canoe intended for you, which as Mr. Chinn (said?) would be sufficient to ----- the goods you already have by you, and your intention were not to ------- your ------ with goods as it was your mutual intention, to have the former ----------- and ------- ---- broke off, in which case the loss you are --------ed, the more easier ------ be to come to settlement and of course must avoid confusion, on these considerations I have declined to fullfill your order received from your last?, for although an advantage would ---- to my sending you the goods, yet considering that it might be to your advantage, I willingly sacrifice those little profits
that I could get, which I assure you I always would sacrifice those little profits for my friends, provided an advantage would arise to them, for interest is not always what I am at, except when mutual / for when the interest of my ----------- is taken care of it if worse must fall to the main source / who also has a chance to get benefit by it, should you be inclined to try your fortune in that part of the world you now are a few years longer and have that influence on me, which --- correspondents ought to have for another, you may depend upon I shall go everything in my power to promote your interest and send you such goods that always will sell to advantage and should you be as disposed you’ll send me your order this Fall for what you may want this next Spring.

The peltries from Nippisank are not yet come down. I believe Mr. John Chinn has sent for them and suppose they will be here sometime next week you may be assured proper care shall be taken for your interest.

I think its likely Mr. Chinn come down, as nothing could have been done without. Some of your three could be present, I am afraid he does not find things as he expected he would, he tells me that there is a balance of 40,000 due to Mr. Feanlay which must be paid this Fall if possible, there are some other little debts due but I don’t have the exact sum.

You must send me your power of attorney, as I apprehend your letter is not sufficient to authorize me to act for you, in your absence particularly if some altercations should start with Edward Chinn’s attorneys which may be the case, however as you desire it, I shall act ----- with Mr. John Chinn who is one of Edw. Chinn’s attorneys.

I shall advise you of everything we do, as long as the navigation will permit it. General (Gordon?) about 14 days ago going from St. John to Chambly, received? shot with two balls under the shoulder blades from some rebellious rascals who was with 5 or 6 more hid in the woods, of which wound he died, and was buried with military honors on Saturday last.

A few days ago we had news of General Howe having destroyed all the batterys the Rebels had (directed?) on New York, and three frigates sailed by that place and went up as far as the Highlands. Yesterday a savage scouting party who have been as far as Crown Point returned, and brought in news of the Rebels having evacuated that place as also Tironderoga, if this news is true, which I don’t doubt is, the Rebellious villains must have taken a severe drashing by the Army at New York. We hourly expect some important news from that quarter. The troops arrived in Canada are well, and both officers and soldiers in high spirits, and a train of artillery that was ever seen, some of our advanced parties are at the Isle aux Noix from whence they will depart so soon as a sufficient number batteaux are ready to take the remainder of the Army over Lake Champlain. We have [no] other news at present.
"Lawrence Edward Ermatinger was educated in England and, on his return to Canada, was not contented to remain with his brothers and sisters, but soon returned to England and was employed in the Purveyor-General's Department and afterwards joined the expedition of Sir James Craig to the Continent as a commissariat officer." Sir James Craig's expedition had been to the Netherlands, and in those terrible times when Napoleon Bonaparte was attempting to conquer the world Lawrence Edward was to travel over much of Europe.

While in Europe, he became involved with and may have married, an Italian woman, whose name has been lost to the past. She could have been from Tuscany or from the Italian section of Switzerland. No one knows. They had two sons. Edward (called Ned) was born in 1797 on the island of Elba, and Francis (called Frank) was born at the British military post in Lisbon, Portugal in 1798. He was baptized at the British Factory Chaplaincy, Church of England in Lisbon. Their mother died while they were very young. After which Lawrence Edward either took his sons, or sent them to London, England to be placed in a boarding school until he retired from the service. Their guardian was John Clowes, who looked after them even after they were men and traders for the Hudson's Bay Company in America, as their agent in London.

The Public Record Office of England in a letter states, "...the only information available about Laurence Edward Ermatinger is that given in the Army list. This states that he became a Deputy Assistant Commissary General on 23 May 1810 and was promoted to Assistant Commissary General on 25 May 1812. In 1815, he appears in the list as being on half pay, and continues on this until 1831 when he is listed amongst the casualties since the last publication. There are no entries for him earlier in his career." I also wrote to them hoping to get a copy of his marriage certificate, or at least some sort of military record giving him permission to marry, but was told that all those type of records were destroyed in World War Two by the German V-2 raids on London. Edward Ermatinger himself tried to find out his mother’s name but was unsuccessful.
Lawrence Edward Ermatinger’s Europe, his sons were born here while he was in the British Army, Edward on the Island of Elba, which would have been part of the Republic of Tuscany and, Francis in Lisbon, Portugal. After their mother “an Italian woman,” died they were sent to London, England to be raised and to attend school.

Europe changed a lot in a dozen or so years.
Tuscany is in “west-central Italy. It covers 8,877 square miles (22,992 sq km), and its capital is Florence. Originally settled by Etruscans c. 1000 B.C., and most of our knowledge of Etruscan civilization is derived from findings there. The Romans conquered the region in the mid-4th cent. B.C. After the fall of Rome, it was a Lombard duchy (6th-8th cent. A.D.), with Lucca as it’s capital, and later a powerful march under the Franks (8th-12th cent.). Matilda (d.1115), the last Frankish ruler, bequeathed her lands to the papacy, an act which long caused strife between popes and emperors. It comprised several independent city-states in the 12th – 13th centuries, which were subsequently united under the Medici family of Florence. Tuscany passed to the house of Lorraine in 1737 and to Sardinia and the Kingdom of Italy in the 1860s. The region suffered severe damage in World War II and extensive floods in 1966. Its mineral resources include the world-famous Carrara marble. Its agricultural products include olives, olive oil, wines, and livestock. In the late Middle Ages and throughout the Renaissance, Tuscany was a center of the arts and of learning. The Tuscan spoken language became the literary language of Italy after Dante Alighieri, Petrarch, and Boccaccio used it. Notable schools of architecture, sculpture, and painting developed from the 11th century in many cities, particularly Florence, Pisa, Siena, and Arezzo. From the 16th century, however, intellectual and artistic life was almost wholly concentrated in Florence. There are universities at Florence, Pisa, and Siena.

In spite of the dual claims, most cities became (11th-12th cent.) free communes; some of them (Pisa, Lucca, Siena, and Florence) developed into strong republics. Commerce, industry, and the arts flourished. Guelph (pro-papal) and Ghibelline (pro-imperial) strife, however, was particularly violent in Tuscany, and there were strong rivalries both within and among cities. After a period of Pisan hegemony (12th-13th cent.), Florence gained control over most Tuscan cities in the 14th-15th cent.; Siena (1559) was the last city to fall under Florence's influence.

Under the Medici, the ruling family of Florence, Tuscany became (1569) a grand duchy, and thus again a political entity; only the republic of Lucca and the duchy of Massa and Carrara remained independent. After the extinction of the Medici line, Tuscany passed (1737) to ex-duke Francis of Lorraine (later Holy Roman Emperor Francis I), who was succeeded by Grand Duke Leopold I (1765-90; later Emperor Leopold II) and then by Ferdinand III (1790-1801; 1814-24). The French Revolutionary armies invaded Tuscany in 1799, and it was briefly included in the kingdom of Etruria (1801-7) and was ruled under the duchy of Parma, before it was annexed to France by Napoleon I.

In 1814, Tuscany again became a grand duchy, under the returning Ferdinand III and then under Leopold II (1824-59) and briefly under Ferdinand IV (1859-60). In 1848, Leopold was forced to grant a constitution, and in 1849 he had to leave Tuscany briefly when it was for a short time a republic. However, in 1852 he was able, with the help of Austria, to rescind the constitution. In 1860, Tuscany voted to unite with the kingdom of Sardinia. http://www.answers.com/topic/tuscany
Lawrence Edward Ermatinger (1767-c.1830) born in Quebec, England. Schooled in England, he refused to go into the family fur trade business. He entered the British Army and fought with it throughout the Napoleonic Wars. He retired to Oxford, Oxfordshire and died there some time in 1830. This painting hangs in the museum at St. Thomas, Ontario and a photograph was taken from there to the Flathead Reservation in western Montana and presented to Francis Ermatinger’s descendents [Charlie Blood].

In 1815, Napoleon was defeated, enabling Lawrence Edward Ermatinger to return to England and be reunited with his two sons. They made their home in Oxford, Oxfordshire. He continued their schooling, with Ned showing an aptitude in learning and he loved music, learning to play the violin, bagpipes and flute. Francis (or Frank) on the other hand was less able to cope with study and he learned only what was required in those days to be called educated. Outdoor life was more to his liking, and he took a more adventurous view of things. Among the subjects they were taught by their father was the Three R’s, Latin, Italian, French and German.

From Fur Trade Letters of Francis Ermatinger; pp.32-32:

"The father was faced with the problem of his son's future. He had reared them as gentlemen; as such, they could not hope to earn a livelihood as craftsmen or laborers. Whatever military pension he may have been awarded, Lawrence undoubtedly had no capital. Without connections or wealth, it was next to impossible for a gentleman to launch himself in a profession or a business. Lawrence hoped that opportunity might open for them in Montreal. But in travelling there, he found otherwise. He did find a sponsor who was willing to recommend his sons for
positions suitable for gentlemen, which, though paying small salaries to start, would give them some hope of promotion and a comfortable livelihood. It was while on this Canadian trip that he received the promise of appointments for Francis and Edward as apprentice clerks with the Hudson's Bay Company. There is reason to believe that he had aspired higher, having envisioned help from his brother, Sheriff of Montreal.

"It was after an absence of over twenty years that Lawrence Edward returned to Canada. His parents were both gone, his mother, Jemima having died in 1807. The visit took place in 1816 or 1817. He did not find the welcome warm. If his major object was that of making arrangements for his sons to be sponsored in the Montreal business community, he was bitterly disappointed. He reported back to his sons not to expect any help from their Canadian uncles, Charles or Frederick. He laid down the law that they were not to approach their uncles. He had suffered humiliation enough by their rebuff."

When they became of age, Lawrence apprenticed them to the Hudson’s Bay Company as apprenticed clerks. It was the lowest rank in that company. “The die was cast in the spring of 1818, at ages twenty and twenty-one a little old to be entering the HBC as clerks, Francis and Edward Ermatinger signed contracts with the Hudson’s Bay Company. The contracts were drawn up in London and were signed there on May 13, 1818. It was the standard agreement: the boys would enter the company as apprenticed clerks, be transported on the company’s ship to the settlements on Hudson’s Bay, and would faithfully serve for five years. The remuneration they would receive was stipulated; first year, twenty pounds sterling, second year, twenty-five; third year, thirty; fourth year, forty; and in the fifth year, fifty pounds sterling. The contracts stipulated that the youths, to quit the service, must give notice one year in advance, earlier if no ship was to sail at the end of the twelve months.” Lois McDonald, p37-38. Lawrence Edward regularly kept up a correspondence with his sons, after they sailed to Canada. He even sent Francis a watch.

The Ermatingers set sail on the Prince of Wales from Gravesend, England on May 18, 1818 for York Factory on Hudson Bay in Canada. They arrived there on August 14, 1818. Traveling with them was another clerk, Archibald McDonald. Who became a lifelong friend of both Edward and Francis. They would not see their father or England again for many years.

Within weeks they were separated for the first time in their lives. Edward was sent to the Island Lake District, a 100 miles east of Northern Lake Winnipeg. Francis was assigned to the Severn District located under the curve of Hudson Bay. Here they learned the fur trade business, in loneliness and discomfort. Life was dull.

The HBC employees were referred to as servants, or servants of the Company. Every year the employees were evaluated and comments entered into the Servants Account Book. Sir George Simpson wrote of Francis in 1822, “A promising active young man & has a respectable Education is a tolerable Clerk and Trader and will be retained at an advanced salary at the Expiration of his Engagement. Words very similar to these were added to his “account” annually until 1832 when the practice was stopped.” McDonald, p46. By 1832 he had become a good trader.
Francis worked out of the Severn area under John Work, John Sutherland and James Keith, usually from Fort Severn for seven years. "Ermatinger was sent to Trout Lake for a part of each year, a small outlying post near the headwaters of the Severn River. Francis did not consider this assignment a plum…" He wrote to Edward, from there on

July 22, 1823
"Severn 22nd July 1823
Dear Edward,

Upon the return of our Indians I received your welcome letter and am sorry that you should have been disappointed in not getting one from me at York. The fact is before Mr. Keith's departure we were kept busy about trifling jobs and as I did not expect he would find you there, I confess that I was by no means anxious- so deferred the business until another opportunity.

I hear that some of our old shipmates have engaged upon much better terms than myself and I am therefore determined not to remain out my contract without being put upon a balance with them as, when I agreed, Mr. Keith assured me that "there were only two through the whole country of equal pretensions who were upon higher terms" which left me without hesitation and I signed, but I find myself deceived and I think I have a right to complain which I shall do in my letters to the Great People.

I hope you will remain until the schooner reaches York as I have a couple Bills to get attested and must consequently send my letters open in order to save postage. As soon as I can bring the business to a close I have to embark for the dam hole Trout Lake where I must be starved (unless fed at my own expense) in a Pig stye and that for less than others have to live at ease. I think you might interest Mr. Robertson in my cause and get him to help annul my contract.

To conclude, I must beg you will not think of remaining under Ross' terms and to guard against the worst. I have sent enclosed a Bill of balance which I hope will enable you to Draw upon me for 100 pounds sterling.

Should you embark before the schooner arrives, take out of my Trunk the B. Coat and Pantaloons for McDonald. You can give them to anyone who may remain at the Factory for him. Also get the Publishing Surtout removed from my account that Work sent for me and which I now return.

You will soon hear from me again & in the mean time believe me
Dear Edward  Yours Affectionately
Frs. Ermatinger"

McDonald, p48-49.
"The history of the place called Fort Severn, located virtually on the shores of Hudson Bay, dates back to 1685 when the Company of Adventurers Trading into Hudson's Bay built a trading post near the outlet of the Severn River. This post was destroyed 5 years later by Pierre Lemoyne d'Ilberville. The HBC rebuilt a few kilometers downstream from that first post in the 1750's and had a store there up until the early 1990's when they sold off all their northern stores which had been the backbone of that company for so long."

http://www.civilization.ca/cmc/archeo/recherche/pilon/ep7.htm (Pierre LeMoyne d’Ilberville and David Charles "Chalk" Courchane are 1st cousins 8 times removed. Their common ancestors are Pierre (LeMoine) Lemoyne and Judith (Duchene) Duchesne.)
John Work, Fur trader and Pacific Northwest explorer for the HBC.

Born: John Wark ~1792 Taughboyne parish, St Johnstown, County Donegal, Ireland and died 22 December 1861, Victoria, British Columbia, Canada.

Known for Exploring the Oregon Country.
John Work (c. 1792 – 22 December 1861) was a chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company and head of one of the original founding families in Victoria, British Columbia. Work joined the Hudson’s Bay Company in 1814 and served in many capacities until his death in 1861, ultimately becoming a member of the company’s Board of Management for its Western Department. He also served on Vancouver Island’s Legislative Council. At the time of his death, Work was the largest private land owner of Vancouver Island. Work left an important legacy in the form of sixteen journals which chronicle his trading expeditions from 1823 to 1851. His journals provide a detailed record of Pacific Northwest land features, native peoples, and the Hudson’s Bay Company’s fur trading business in the early 19th century.

Early life
John Work was born in Taughboyne parish, St Johnstown in County Donegal, Ireland, probably in 1792. He was the eldest of six children of Henry Wark. He anglicized his name to "Work" when he joined the Hudson's Bay Company. There is no record of his schooling, but in later life his poor writing was taken as a sign of a deficient education. Work joined the Hudson's Bay Company on 15 June 1814 at Stromness in the Orkney Islands. This began his lifelong association with that company.

Work began his company service in North America at two posts on Hudson Bay. He was first assigned as a steward at York Factory in 1814 and 1815. He was then moved to a junior trader position at Severn House, where he became district master in 1818. After the Hudson Bay Company merged with North West Company in 1821, Work was retained as a senior clerk and was put in charge of the Island Lake District, a position he held until 1823.

In 1823, Work was reassigned to the Columbia District. He traveled west in a party led by Peter Skene Ogden. On this trip, Work began keeping a travel journal. It is a detailed record of his journey to the Columbia River via the Athabasca River and Athabasca Pass. His party reached a site known as Boat Encampment on the Columbia on 13 October, and proceeding down the river with the Hudson Bay Company trading brigade that had been sent to meet them. The party reached the Spokane River on the 21 October. At that point, Ogden and Work traveled overland to their winter quarters at Spokane House in what is now eastern Washington state.

During the 1824 trapping season, Work helped Finan McDonald extend the company’s fur trade into the Flathead country of Montana. In the fall of 1824, Work accompanied Governor George Simpson (administrator) and Chief Factor John McLoughlin down the Columbia River to the company’s headquarters at Fort George (now Astoria, Oregon). In November 1824, Work joined an expedition led by Chief Trader James McMillan that explored the lower Fraser River looking for a site to establish a major trading post. On the return trip, his party discovered the Cowlitz Portage, which became an important route between the Columbia River and Puget Sound.

In the spring of 1825, Work helped move the company’s headquarters from Fort George to the newly established Fort Vancouver on the north bank of the Columbia facing the mouth of the Willamette River.

Later that year, Work was put in charge of Spokane House. Work spent the 1825–26 trapping season trading furs in Montana where he reopened Flathead House. However, his most important job was to establish a new post on the Columbia near Kettle Falls to be named Fort Colvile. After completing Fort Colvile, Work closed Spokane House in April 1826. Work ran his trading operations from Fort Colvile until the summer of 1829, often making short trading expeditions into British Columbia or accompanying fur cargos to Fort Vancouver.

In 1830, Chief Factor John McLoughlin put Work in charge of the Snake country trading brigade which had previously been run by Peter Skene Ogden. During the next year, Work travelled over 2,600 miles across Oregon into what is now eastern Idaho, western Montana, northwestern Utah, and along the Humboldt River in Nevada. His expeditions were profitable, but Ogden had already explored and heavily trapped these areas. Because of this, Work recommended that the annual Snake country expeditions be stopped. The next year, Work was sent into the Salmon River country of Idaho and Montana’s Flathead country. The rugged terrain, hostile Blackfeet Indians, and competition from the American trappers made these expeditions difficult. Work was promoted chief trader at the end of the 1831 season.

In 1832, the Hudson’s Bay Company sent Work to the Sacramento Valley in Mexican California. Trapping in the valley was very poor. Two previous Hudson’s Bay Company trapping expeditions led by Ogden and Alexander Roderick McLeod had already been through the valley 1829 and 1830. There was also another Hudson’s Bay Company brigade led by Michel Laframboise and an American trapping party along with Work’s brigade trapping in the same area during the 1832 season. Hostile Indians forced Work and Laframboise to join forces. Their party explored the coast from San Francisco to Cape Mendocino. Work returned to Fort Vancouver in October 1833.

In 1834, Work was posted to Fort Simpson and put in charge of the company’s trade along the British Columbia coast. He supervised the construction of the fort, which was being relocated from the Nass River to McLoughlin Bay. During a trading expedition in 1840, Work fell out of a tree, tearing open his abdomen and exposing his intestines. After pushing his intestines back into his body, he spent several days near death before continuing his journey.

In 1841, Governor Simpson decided to close all the coastal posts except Fort Simpson and Fort Stikine. His plan was to use the company’s ship Beaver for most of the coastal trade. In 1842, John McLoughlin’s son was in charge of Fort Stikine. Work felt he needed more help so he arranged for the junior clerk at Fort Stikine to be transferred to Fort Simpson. This left the young McLoughlin without any company support at his post. A few months later, McLoughlin was murdered and his powerful father blamed Work for transferring his son’s only assistant away from Fort Stikine. In addition, it took over a year for Work to capture and send the three men involved in the murder south to Fort Vancouver. Work’s relations with McLoughlin never recovered. Fortunately for Work, McLoughlin resigned from the company in 1846. A month later, Work was promoted to chief factor.

In 1845, the Hudson’s Bay Company decided to put the Columbia Department in the hands of three chief factors. In 1846, Work, Ogden, and James Douglas were selected to run of department. Work was placed in charge of the coastal trade including Forts Simpson, Fort Stikine, Fort
Langley, and the Beaver. Work’s new job required extensive travel up and down the coast. In 1849, Work decided to abandon Fort Stikine and establish Fort Rupert to exploit coal deposits on the northern part of Vancouver Island. When the miners went on strike in 1850, Work went by canoe from Fort Simpson to Fort Victoria to consult with Douglas. He then went by canoe to Fort Rupert and successfully persuaded the miners to go back to work. In 1849, Work settled his large family at Fort Victoria where his children could get an education. However, Fort Simpson remained his headquarters until 1851.

In 1852, Work purchased 823 acres of farmland north of the Fort Victoria and built a fine home there. A year later, Governor James Douglas appointed Work to the Legislative Council of Vancouver Island. Work supported Douglas in the controversy surrounding the appointment of David Cameron as chief justice of Vancouver Island. He opposed the establishment of an assembly for the colony because there were “so few people to govern” and “nobody to pay taxes to cover expenses.” Work also continued his duties as chief factor of the Hudson’s Bay Company, acting as a trustee for its Fur Trade Branch which purchased land for settlers who could not afford the required minimum 20-acre lots at £1 per acre. For two month in 1861, Work was acting governor while Douglas was away on business. Work remained both a chief factor for the Hudson’s Bay Company and a member of the Legislative Council until his death in December 1861.

Family
In 1825, Governor Simpson suggested that Work marry the daughter of a Cayuse Indian chief, to secure good relations with the Native Americans living in along the Columbia River. Work did not follow the governor’s advice. Instead, he married Josette Legace, a mixed-blood woman from the Spokane tribe in 1826.

Work’s wife accompanied him on many of his trading expeditions. In addition, she and their younger children lived with him at Fort Simpson from 1836 until 1849, while their older children attended school at Fort Vancouver and then at the Methodist mission school on the Willamette River near what is now Salem, Oregon. After finishing their schooling in 1841, the older girls joined the family at Fort Simpson.

In 1849, Work moved his family to Fort Victoria so the younger children could get an education. Work settled his family on an 823 acres farm north of the fort and built a large home there, which he called Hillside. By 1859, he owned over 1,800 acres, making him the largest private landowner on Vancouver Island.

Because of his remote assignments and constant travel, Work and his wife were unable to have a formal wedding until 1849. The couple was finally married in a church ceremony on 6 November 1849 at Fort Victoria.

Work was the father of eleven children, three boys and eight girls.

Jane, born at Fort Colvile in 1827, married W. Tolmie in 1850
Sarah, born at Fort Colvile in 1829, married R. Finlayson in 1849
Leticia, born in Idaho in 1831, married E. Huggins in 1857
Margaret, born at Fort Vancouver in 1836, married E. Jackson in 1861
Mary, born at Fort Simpson in 1837, married J. Grahame in 1860
John, born at Fort Simpson in 1839
Catherine, born at Fort Simpson between 1840 and 1842, married C. Wallace in 1861
Josette, born at Fort Victoria in 1843, married E. Prior in 1878
Henry, born at Fort Simpson in 1844 or 1845 (died in an accident at a young age)
David, born at Fort Simpson in 1846
Cecilia, born at Fort Simpson in 1849, married C. Jones in 1870

Several of Work’s son-in-laws were also well known Hudson’s Bay Company employees, including Doctor William Fraser Tolmie, Roderick Finlayson, Edward Huggins, and James Allan Grahame.

Legacy
Work chronicled his trading expeditions in sixteen meticulously kept journals, covering the period from July 1823 to October 1835 plus one additional trip in 1851. Although his journals are written as matter-of-fact business correspondence, they provide a detailed record of the Oregon Country in the early 19th century. His journals have survived intact, making them among the oldest first-hand accounts of land features, native peoples, and the Hudson’s Bay Company fur trading operations in the Pacific Northwest. As such, they are important historical records.

In addition, there are many geographical features in the Pacific Northwest named in honor of John Work. Mount Work, in the Gwilland Range flanking the east shore of Saanich Inlet and just northwest of Victoria, is named for him. Most of the range is in Mount Work Regional Park. Also named for him is Work Point at the west end of the peninsula; which now is a cruise ship terminal. Other locations named for him include Work Channel, on the northeast side of the Tsimpsean Peninsula; just northeast of Prince Rupert and near Fort Simpson, where he had served as Chief Factor; Work Bay in Finlayson Channel; and Work Island near Butedale.

In 1821 after 50 years of bush wars and fierce competition the Hudson’s Bay Company and the North West Company were merged into one company, under the older firm’s name, The Hudson’s Bay Company. The Company divided Canada into two departments, a northern and a southern, with a ruling governor for each. George Simpson, who had been in the service since 1810, was appointed as the governor of the northern department. Eventually he would rise to command both departments. To him fell the task of reorganizing the two former rivals and working them into a solid working unit. He also had to convince the Bay men and the Nor’westerners to iron out their past differences and hatreds. But after so many years of prejudices and petty bickering this job proved to be a great one. Simpson accomplished it only when he
obtained the help of hard-core Nor’wester, such as Dr. John McLoughlin, Samuel Black and Peter Skene Ogden. Most of the best and toughest Nor’wester were destined to end up in the Columbia District. Mainly, some believed, to get them out of the way. Francis Ermatinger would spend most of his fur trade career with these men.

George Simpson, called the “Whirlwind”, or “Little Emperor,” was an illegitimate son born in Scotland. He was a stern, intelligent, demanding and even a carping taskmaster with a chip on his shoulder. Later he was knighted and became Sir George Simpson.

“The 1820s were turbulent years politically. The Russians were pressing hard to extend their trade southward and declared all waters northward from Vancouver Island to be Russian territory. At the same time, the ownership of the land southward of the Russian claim, particularly the Oregon territory, was in doubt. The 1814 Treaty of Ghent, following the War of 1812, established the boundary between Great Britain and the United States east of the Rockies (the 49th parallel) but failed to establish a firm line to the west; the treaty provided a 10-year period wherein the territory between California and the Russian claim was left open to subjects of both the United States and Great Britain. This arrangement cast grave doubts on the future of the newly amalgamated Hudson’s Bay Company’s operations in the Columbia watershed, especially the ocean terminus at Fort George.”

M.P. Shepard and A.W. Argue, 1989, page 4. Eventually the Russian claims evaporated and the California question was solved in 1846 by the Treaty of Washington, which made the boundary at the 49th parallel. Fort Vancouver was the headquarters for many years until it was supplanted by the northern posts of Fort Victoria and to some extent earlier by Fort Langley.

While at Fort Severn, Francis had a daughter, Mary, with a Cree woman. This child was later the wife of James Bird. After Francis was assigned to the Columbia he received word that both his daughter and her mother had died. He found out years later that the news was false. Many people send he abandoned them when he was sent to the Columbia, but George Simpson’s policy was not to allow the native families of the HBC men to accompany them from post to post. In 1824 the fur-trade officers passed a series of resolutions that included a decreed that “no officer or Servant in the companys service be hereafter allowed to take a woman without binding himself down to such reasonable provision for the maintenance of the woman and children as on a fair and equitable principle may be considered necessary not only during their residence in the country but after their departure hence.” They also directed that the woman and children should attend church on Sunday, to learn their A,B,C’s, and to be decent, clean and moral. But there was always someone who did not abide by the laws. “The Women of Fort Vancouver, John A. Hussey, page 269, Oregon Historical Quarterly, Fall 1991.

The Hudson’s Bay Company and the North West Company, and all other fur trade company’s were in business to exploit the Indians and animals of Canada and the United States. They traded and dealt in dressed furs, hides, timber and other goods. To do this they developed a military like structure with gentlemen and servants instead of officers and enlisted men. A line of forts and posts was strung out across from York Factory in Canada to Buena Vista in California and to Russian Alaska; this line was called the “Communication.” York Factory, and then Fort William, was the headquarters on the eastern end, while Fort George and then Fort Vancouver was headquarters in the West. Every trade or occupation needed to run a country was employed by the Company. Some forts were depots or staging areas, while others raised cattle
or crops, or packed and preserved salmon, and still others maintained the horse herds. Both local Indians, and Company trappers were used, as well as free trappers called “freemen.”

The red dots represent Hudson’s Bay Company forts and post

“After spending the first half of his career with the Northwest Company in the upper Great Lakes region, following the merger with the HBC in the 1820s”(1), Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin was sent to the Columbia Department as its new commander. He left for his new assignment on July 7, 1824. During the overland trip to the Columbia he was overtaken by the swift moving brigade of Governor Simpson, who had left HBC headquarters on August 15, 1824. Simpson’s light brigade traveled the rest of the way with him as the governor was on his first inspection tour of the HBC’s western holdings. “As the HBCs Chief Factor at Fort Vancouver, McLoughlin would continue as the chief public figure in the Pacific Northwest for over two decades. McLoughlin later acquired the title, the Father of Oregon, and a statue of him is one of the two representing the state of Oregon in the Capitol building in Washington, D.C.” (1) (Robert Foxcurran, “Washington Territory’s Tale of a Few Frenchtowns: and resettlement of the French-Breeds onto nearby reservations”, Manuscript), page 300, 2010)

Dr. Barker refers to letters in the Fort Vancouver leather-bound letter book: “On reading these letters one is impressed with the infinite details of the business which Dr. McLoughlin had to supervise. Apparently there was no one to whom these details could be assigned, or if so, he was unwilling so to assign them. As a result we find him not only passing on matters pertaining to the policy of the company in his district (Columbia), but giving detailed orders as to the location and shifting of men, horses, trappers, freemen, boatmen; also, he supervised the building of saw and grist mills, and the manufacture and sale of their products. He indicated the uses to which the lands were to be put, even as to what to plant in a local vegetable garden. He ordered what a post was to produce and the use to which the produce was to be put, even to the exchange of produce between the forts. He had to see that all forts were properly supplied with men, food, horses, trapping, materials and goods for exchange. He gave instructions as to the rate of exchange for pelts, whether the goods were blankets, guns, ammunition, food, traps, beads, cloth, clothing, and other articles of exchange. This rate he would change as competition at any fort made it necessary. The letters are full of such details indicating that his life was one of great activity and that he was in constant touch with every department of his district, which was the largest under the control of the Hudson’s Bay Company.” So this pretty much allows that everything that Francis Ermatinger did was from orders through John McDonald.

“With characteristic energy and foresight Dr. McLoughlin soon established at and near Fort Vancouver a large farm on which were grown quantities of grain and vegetables. It was afterwards stocked with cattle, horses, sheep, goats, and hogs. In 1836 this farm consisted of 3,000 acres, fenced into fields, with here and there dairy houses and herdsmen's and shepherd's cottages. In 1836 the products of this farm were, in bushels: 8,000 of wheat; 5,500 of barley; 6,000 of oats; 9,000 of peas; 14,000 of potatoes; besides large quantities of turnips (rutabaga), pumpkins, etc. There were about ten acres in apples, pear, and quince trees, which bore in profusion. He established two saw mills and two flour mills near the fort. For many years there were shipped, from Fort Vancouver, lumber to the Hawaiian Islands (then called the Sandwich
Islands) and flour to Sitka. It was not many years after Dr. McLoughlin came to the Oregon Country until it was one of the most profitable parts of North America to the Hudson's Bay Company. For many years the London value of the yearly gathering of furs, in the Oregon Country, varied from $500,000 to $1,000,000, sums of money representing then a value several fold more than such sums represent today.

Thomas J. Farnham was a traveler who came to Oregon in 1839. He was entertained by Dr. McLoughlin at Fort Vancouver. In his account of his travels, which he subsequently published he gives the following description of the usual dinner at Fort Vancouver:

The bell rings for dinner; we will now pay a visit to the "Hall" and its convivialities. . . At the end of a table twenty feet In length stands Governor McLoughlin, directing guests and gentlemen from neighboring posts to their places; and chief-traders, traders, the physician, clerks, and the farmer slide respectfully to their places, at distances from the Governor corresponding to the dignity of their rank In the service. Thanks are given to God, and all are seated. Roast beef and pork, boiled mutton, baked salmon, boiled ham; beets. carrots, turnips, cabbage, and potatoes, and wheaten bread, are tastefully distributed over the table among a dinner-set of elegant queen's ware, burnished with glittering glasses and decanters of various-coloured Italian wines. Course after course goes round, . . and each gentleman In turn vies with him In diffusing around the board a most generous allowance of viands, wines, and warm fellow-feeling. The cloth and wines are removed together, cigars are lighted, and a strolling smoke about the premises, enlivened by a courteous discussion of some mooted point of natural history or politics, closes the ceremonies of the dinner hour at Fort Vancouver."

After Simpson inspected the department in Oregon he reported to the Council of Chief Factors at Norway House, that to improve and extend the trade more men had to be sent to the Columbia. Among those picked to go were the two Ermatinger brothers.

“The selection of the Ermatingers must be considered a mark of recognition of their ability. There is some indication that Francis was chosen as an after-thought. His name appears last on the list of clerks chosen by the Council; and he himself was of the opinion that he was transferred from the Severn as a reprimand. He had a boisterous manner, to borrow a phrase; he often was talking when he should have been listening. But his work gave the Company no cause for complaint. Simpson wrote the committee in his reports for 1825 that Francis was “active & promising good clerk & Trader likely to go forward.” Since George Simpson was not a man to let sentiment interfere with business, it is safe to assume that the choice was made on the basis of Francis’ potential as a trader.” McDonald, p57.

Others going out west were the clerks Francois Noel Annance and Donald Manson, and chief traders, Alexander Roderick McLeod and Samuel Black, a former Nor’Wester with a reputation for meanness. The assembled brigade left York Factory for the west on July 21, 1825 amid the usual excitement and confusion. They traveled up the North Saskatchewan River to Edmonton House, and then moved on to Fort Assiniboine on the Athabasca River. “.the journey was certain to be unpleasant. At least 18 hours a day of canoe paddling. At portages, every man was expected to do his share. Danger of drowning, freezing and starving helped to lessen the inconveniences of mosquitoes, cold meals, regular wetting by rain and portage, and attacks by either wild animals or wild natives.” McDonald, p58. At Fort Edmonton horses were obtained, so the trip to Fort Assiniboine had been on horseback. The
brigade traveled on to Jasper’s House on the Upper Athabasca, and then crossed Athabasca Pass, and on to a little lake on the summit of the pass. The lake was called the Committee’s Punchbowl by Simpson in 1824. This was Boat Encampment and it was here that the brigade split into parties, with Samuel Black and Edward Ermatinger descending the Columbia River by canoe. With fresh New Caledonia horses Alexander Roderick McLeod and Francis Ermatinger went by horse on the usual trails to the Columbia River posts.

“Both parties arrived at the junction of the Spokane and Columbia Rivers in late October. One of their stops was Spokane House on the Spokane River. John Work was in charge of the post and he was happy to see Francis Ermatinger again. In his journal Work noted “A. R. McLeod Esq., Chief Trader, and Mr. F. Ermatinger arrived from the Forks with the Express (mail from York). Mr. Black and Mr. E. Ermatinger remained at the Forks. Towards evening Mr. McLeod with three men and an Indian on horseback set out for Nez Perces (Ft. Walla Walla) to meet Mr. McLoughlin with the dispatches. Three men were also sent off with provisions for the people at the Forks.” McDonald, p59.

On November 1, 1825 Francis left for Fort Okanogan, from here he went on to Fort Kamloops located on the Thompson River. And he reached that place on November 24, 1825, reporting to Chief Trader John McLeod. Francis traveled between Fort Okanogan and Fort Kamloops to perform his duties as both places were part of the Thompson River District.

In the early days of the New Caledonia District, which was north of the Thompson River district, the Hudson’s Bay Company had sent the yearly trade goods and supplies directly from York Factory on Hudson Bay over the Athabasca correspondence route to Forts St. James and Alexandria. HBC Governor George Simpson had decided that sending the goods and supplies up the Columbia River from Fort Vancouver in the Columbia District would cut costs for the company. So they were sent up to Fort Okanogan by boat and from here on to Fort Kamloops. From Kamloops the trip continued by horse brigade in the Fall to Fort Alexandria then from here the goods again traveled by canoe to Fort St. James, an old North West Company fort built by Simon Fraser in 1806. And the next March the furs would be sent back down to Fort Vancouver to be loaded onto a HBC ship bound for England that summer.

Meanwhile Edward went down the Columbia to Fort Vancouver. At Fort Kamloops was the Hudson’s Bay Company’s horse herd, Governor George Simpson said Kamloops was small with a good palisade in 1828. The fort was operated in the manner that the U. S. Army referred to as a “remount station.” Usually over 100 horses were kept here for the use of the New Caledonia brigade in the spring and fall. Horses were an important item and there was always a shortage of them. Beaver was scarce in this area, so the fort’s importance came from its horse herd and its strategic importance to the northern posts. Salmon was abundant in the Fraser River and fishermen were sent to catch them. The salmon were processed at Fort Kamloops for the trade.
Before the Ermatingers came to the West, Fort George was the headquarters of the Columbia district. When Dr. McLoughlin had “arrived at Astoria, he concluded that it was unfit for the headquarters, so he and Governor Simpson demoted it in Company importance and moved the headquarters upriver 75 miles to Belle Vue Point, called by the voyageurs Jolie Prairie. He built the new fort at Belle Vue Point and named it Fort Vancouver. It had good soil and was at the crossroads of three fur trade routes through the Columbia, the Willamette, and the Cowlitz. He quickly made friends with the local Indians and was soon to be known as the White Headed Eagle and "hyas tyee" or Great Chief. It was McLoughlin's policy to demonstrate to the Indians that all white men whether British or American were under his protection. The post was christened on March 19, 1825.
Fort Vancouver was about 750 ft. long and 450 ft. wide with a stockade about 20 ft. high. The Northwester corner had two 12-lb cannon and the center had several 18-pounders. Inside were the quarters for married officers, the Chief Factor's house, kitchen, and wash house, and other small residences. Outside the stockade a small town sprung up that housed the mechanics, engages, and voyageurs. There were 20 domestic servants at the fort, all men. Meals were formal and consisted of several courses. After dinner, the men retired to the Bachelors Hall for smoking and conversation. A large library was kept, which was referred to as the Columbia Library. The fort also had a museum and armory in the Bachelors Hall. On holidays, employees got double rations and little work was done. Christmas feasts were very lavish. There was dancing after dinner, a favorite of McLoughlin's. McLoughlin always treated guests with hospitality. David Douglas, the famous Scottish botanist, was his first guest, before the fort was even completed. The Douglas fir is named for him. [http://members.aol.com/Gibson0817/mcl.htm](http://members.aol.com/Gibson0817/mcl.htm)

Edward Ermatinger found Fort Vancouver to be a palisade of some 18 feet high with an enclosed area of approximately 2 acres, able to quarter 150 people. The original fort was built about a mile from the Columbia River, but this distance proved inconvenient, for it was irksome to transport food, water, and supplies from the boat landing. Water had to be hauled the whole distance by hand, which proved difficult for the water carriers. Early in 1829 a new fort was built about a mile west on lower ground and closer to the river.


“Furthermore, the mere physical structure of the Columbia depot and its role as the administrative, agricultural, and supply center for a vast area of western North America resulted in a type of life matched at only a few of the company’s largest posts. Fort Vancouver was a substantial establishment. At the peak of its development, about 1845, its log stockade enclosed
an area as large as five football fields placed side by side. Within the pickets were twenty-two major buildings: large warehouses, a granary, a blacksmith shop, a bakery, apartments for officers and clerks, and, dominating all, the French colonial-style Manager’s Residence. Other workshops, barns, and dwellings for the servants extended over a wide area outside the palisade. Cultivated fields and grazing lands stretched for miles along the river and back into the woods. Not without reason did Narcissa Whitman call Fort Vancouver the “New York of the Pacific.” In 1845 there were 210 men, about 160 women, 210 children and an unknown number of Indian slaves at the fort. By 1860 the fort’s personal was down to about 14 people, due to reductions after the main depot was moved to Vancouver Island in that same year.

An important part of the fort was the kitchen.

From “The Women of Fort Vancouver”, John A. Hussey, page 286, Oregon Historical Quarterly, Fall 1991. Hussey wrote about the food preparation at Fort Vancouver and this was probably similar at the other larger posts when food was available. “Food preparation was done largely in native fashion. Each male employee received a weekly ration that varied with season and year. Governor Simpson noted that in 1841 the usual Saturday issue was twenty-one pounds of salted salmon and one bushel of potatoes, with occasionally a bit of venison or wildfowl. Two years later McLoughlin wrote that three pounds of salted salmon and one and a half pounds of biscuit formed the “usual rations p. day” of the latter. If preferred, each man could have instead one quart of “corn” and two ounces of “tallow” (lard) or three pounds of peas and two ounces of “tallow” per day.” These rations were for the men only and did not include their women or children. The women would gather roots and pick berries to supplement their diet, and work for the Company to get “credits” to use at the company stores. They also became members of the trapping parties, dressing beaver skins for their husbands, and “make and break camp each day, gather firewood, cook, dry meat and fish, take care of the children, patch clothing, dry furs and equipment after rains, and, occasionally fight Indians beside their men.”

“Most visitors to Fort Vancouver spoke in glowing terms of the plentiful and varied food served from the post kitchen. Narcissa Whitman, Thomas Jefferson Farnham, and Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, among others, described the "abundance of good fare" they enjoyed at the fort. The roast duck, boiled pork, fresh salmon, numerous vegetables, melons, puddings, pies, and many other dishes served in "course after course" made a distinct and favorable impression.” “Sept. 25, (1843)

In 1826 to 1829 these were in Fort Vancouver’s garden: Deptford Onion, vetch, early white turnip, Dutch turnip, La Filame Turnip, Broad beans, Early York Cabbage, Green Tarvy Cabbage, Cos Lettuce, Onion underground, Lwent (?vent) Marjoram, Blue Pease, Hopper peas, Radish-black, Radish Turnip, Swedish Turnip, Yellow Turnip, carrots, parsnip, Mustard, Olrefry, Drum or Dream Cabbage, Salmon Radish, Early Yellow Storm Turnip, White Storm Turnip, Beet-red, Red Cabbage, celery, cucumber, leeks, Thyme, Green Cos Lettuce, White Lettuce, Melon, Welch Onion, Good Parsley, Early White Pease, Early Mumontfort?, Green Savory Cabbage, Chulter? Pease, Chives, toled or soled or loled ? Celery, Cress, shed Marjoram, pot marjoram, Mansilly (?), Thobrugh (?) onion, curled parsley.  

Fort Vancouver Cultural Landscape Report, APPENDIX D: GARDEN PLANT LIST AND CHRONOLOGY
In 1831 the fort received these seeds:
1/2 lb. each—Early Frame Cucumbers; broccoli, white broccoli, Curled Parsley. 1 lb. each—
Green Cos Lettuce, Curly Kale, Welch Onion, Mustard; 2 lbs. Leek; 10 lbs. Deptford Onions; 4 lbs. Strasburgh Onion; 1 gross each—Early Green Pease, Early White Pease; 3 lbs. Salmon Radish; 2 lbs. Turnip Radish; 10 lbs. each—Early White Turnip, Early Yellow Turnip; Dutch Turnip; 1 lb. Lapland Turnip; 6 lbs. Yellow Swedish Turnip; 1 bushel each—Flax, Hemp,
Timothy Grass, Early Angus oats, Early potatoes, Winter Wheat; 2 bushels Rye Grass; 6 lbs.
each White & Red Clover

1834: culinary vegetables, apples, peaches, grapes, pears, melons—musk & water, pumpkins,
squashes, potatoes, carrots, parsnips (J.K. Townsend, Jason Lee, Cyrus Shepherd)

1835: "esculent vegetables, ornamental plants & flowers", grapes strawberries, peaches, "various
tropical fruits — figs, oranges & lemons" (Rev. Samuel Parker)

1836: melons, apples, grapes, cherries, peaches, strawberries, plums, peas cucumbers, tomatoes,
beans, beets, cabbages, figs, citrons, oranges, quinces, lemons, pomegranates, cotton plants
(Narcissa Whitman, Henry Spalding)

1841: gooseberries, strawberries, nectarine, grapes, musk & water melons, pears, currants,
apples, peaches, "a large variety of vegetables", (William Brackenridge)
roses (James Douglas), Pyrus malus, apple; Pyrus communis, pear; Vitis vinifera, European
grape; Amygdalus persica, peach; Armeniaca vulgaris, apricot; Prunus domestica, European
plum; Prunus cerasus, European or common garden cherry; Fragaria—several imported varieties
of strawberry; Ribes rubrum, garden currant; Ribes grossularia, European or common
gooseberry; Cucumis melo, musk melon; Cucurbita melopepo, squash; Pisum sativum, garden
pea; Phaseolus, common kidney bean; Solanum melongena, egg plant or aubergine; Beta
vulgaris, beet; Apium dulce, celery; Petroselinum sativum, parsley; Allium cepa, onion; and all
the other common vegetables. Lemons. Fort Vancouver Cultural Landscape Report, Appendix D:
Garden Plant List and Chronology.

Apples and Pears now all ripe, but grapes in front of Big House still green. Melons all taken in.”
Lowe who has just healed from a broken arm wrote on July 5, 1844, “Gooseberries and Currants
have been ripe for upwards of a week, and wild bramble berries are very abundant.” Private Journal
kept at Fort Vancouver Columbia River by Thomas Lowe Hudson Bay Coy., page 1A B & 1. Lowe also wrote that the
frequently bathed in the Columbia, daily in fact. He talks of dysentery being “prevalent” at Fort
Vancouver on August 6th and by the 13th he says many patients were dangerously unwell with
the dysentery and eventually one of the Indians died of it. Lowe wrote that 50 years before the
dysentery was very fatal in that area. By that September three or four of the HBC people had
died of the illness and many of the Indians had also succumbed to it.
This old apple tree was planted in 1826 at Fort Vancouver. It is thought to be the oldest apple tree in the Pacific Northwest. [http://walking.about.com/od/trailusawest/ig/Vancouver-Land-Bridge/Old-Apple-Tree-Park.htm](http://walking.about.com/od/trailusawest/ig/Vancouver-Land-Bridge/Old-Apple-Tree-Park.htm)

“The oldest apple tree in the Pacific Northwest. The seed was brought from England and planted by the Hudson Bay Company in the year 1826.”


“Apples got their start in Washington State in 1826, when Captain Aemilius Simpson arrived at Fort Vancouver in Washington. He gave some apple seeds from a dinner he had attended in London to Dr. John McLoughlin of the Hudson’s Bay Company at Fort Vancouver. One of those trees still exists at the Old Apple Tree Park in Vancouver. [www.ci.vancouver.wa.us/parks-recreation/parks_trails/parks/west_vancouver/appletree.htm](http://www.ci.vancouver.wa.us/parks-recreation/parks_trails/parks/west_vancouver/appletree.htm).

"Fruits of various kinds, apples, peaches, plums, &c., do remarkably well. I remember being particularly struck, upon my arrival at Vancouver in the autumn, with the display of apples in the garden of the fort. The trees were crowded with fruit, so that every limb required to be restained by a prop. The apples were literally packed along the branches, and so closely that I could compare them to nothing more aptly than to ropes of onions.” Report on the territory of Oregon by Columbus, O. Citizens' Committee, Samuel Medary

“Miss Anna Maria Pittman, in 1837, was quite overwhelmed in fact. She wrote in her diary: "Our first course was soup, next boiled salmon, then roasted ducks, then such a roast turkey as I never saw or ate. It was a monster, it was like cutting slices of pork, then wheat pancakes, after that bread and butter and cheese all of their own make, and excellent too." Evidently Clerk George B. Roberts was correct when he remembered years later that "We often had a bountiful table in those days." Cut Rev. Herbert Beaver wrote he wrote on March 19, 1838: "We have seldom anything good to eat, and when we have, it is generally so badly cooked, as to be uneatable.”

“Mrs. Roberts has consented to open a School for the children of the Fort, and has got 10 pupils, which we can muster here at present. The fee will be about L5 p head annum, and until the children increasem the school is to be kept in her own house.” Sept. 10, 1844 Private Journal kept at Fort Vancouver Columbia River by Thomas Lowe Hudson Bay Coy., page 4.
“...during the early years [at Fort Vancouver], the cook was also supposed to be the manservant to the "gentlemen" of the establishment. In 1829, for instance, he was required to bring them water for washing and shaving, to brush their shoes, to make the beds and sweep the rooms of the bachelors, and to perform other assorted tasks.”


The fort’s bakery usually kept three men busy baking bread and sea biscuits. In the history of Fort Vancouver several bakery were to be constructed of brick, the last being in 1844. Joseph Petrain, Bazile Poirer and Joseph Raymond were three of the voyageurs that were bakers at the fort during different times. The bakery lasted until 1852 and was torn down in 1860 by the U.S. Army.

A fur trade depot:

“The months of June and July were generally a busy time at Vancouver, when from the 1st to the 10th of June, at which season the Columbia is high, the Brigade of Boats, as they were called, descended from the interior with the furs and carried back the winter supplies. Then the men composing the crews, principally Canadians, Iroquois and Half-breeds, would be indulged, after their long abstinence, with an allowance of liquor, port and flour, as a regale; then would come the tug of war, with many bloody noses and black eyes, but never with any fatal result. After the departure of the boats, the Snake party of trappers would arrive, headed by Mr. Work, who had then succeeded Mr. Ogden, formerly mentioned as leader of trappers into the Sake and Blackfeet countries, often a perilous undertaking, as during my time at Vancouver those parties have returned with wounded men, and left several killed behind them. The mode adopted with the trappers was to furnish their supplies at a moderate rate, and allow them a fair price for their furs. A large beaver skin, so far as I recollect, was eleven shillings sterling. The horses and traps were also furnished them, and on being returned, placed to their credit. A good hunter often made it a profitable business, and many of those men were the first settlers in the valley of the Willamette, who when they began to raise wheat the company received it, and gradually, as settlers increased, dropped their own farming at Vancouver. All trapping parties were accompanied by an officer of the H. B. Co., who regulated the encampments, kept accounts, etc. Mr. Work, an Irishman by birth, a kind-hearted and generous man, often amused us by his murder of the French tongue, but the men generally managed to understand him. On one occasion Mrs. Work, who also spoke French, left her husband in the tent in charge of the baby, who, becoming rather unruly, tried the patience of its father, who asked his wife on her return where she had been, when she laughingly replied that she had been looking for a beau, to which Mr. Work rejoined in French, si vous chozios les garcon aporte toujours le petit avoz vous, and which meant, when you again look for a beau, pray carry the baby with you.” Reminiscences of Fort Vancouver on Columbia River, Oregon in 1832. Author not identified. Found in Transactions of the Ninth Annual Reunion of the Pioneer Association; for 1881. Located at Oregon Historical Society, Portland, Oregon.

For almost two decades the post was the largest settlement between San Francisco and Sitka. It was the economic, political, social, and cultural hub of the present British Columbia, Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and western Montana. Explorers, government officials, private “tourists,” and even rival traders found hospitable welcomes there ….”
Fort Vancouver had farmers, clergymen, skilled artisans and such things as sawn lumber for houses, a school and a chapel, and it had manufactured goods and clothing for purchase. And according to Narcissa Whitman Fort Vancouver had the kindest woman in the world, Mrs. Marguerite McLoughlin.

The rank and file under McLoughlin were: chief traders, who were in charge of the more important posts and like chief factors shared in the Company’s profits; clerks or postmasters, who were in charge of the less important posts; and workers, voyageurs and engages. The engages being mostly French-Canadians, Indians and Kanakas (Hawaiians).

Notes on Voyageurs – Pork Eaters and Winterers - Voyageur is the French word for traveler. But in the Fur Trade Era, it referred to a group of men employed by the various companies who acted as canoe paddlers, bundle carriers, and general laborers. The voyageurs were often referred to as engagés. Though it is true that the majority of voyageurs were French or French/Canadian, there were those who were British, German, African, Russian and persons of all the Native Tribes with which the company did business. Many in the beginning of the fur trade were Iroquois and Ottawa. The strength and endurance of the voyageurs was legendary. It was expected that each voyageur work at least 14 hours a day, paddle 55 strokes per minute and be able to carry two bundles across each portage between the lakes and rivers of the north woods. A bundle generally consisted of beaver pelts or other furs weighing about 90 lbs. on the way to Montreal, or 90 lbs. of trade goods coming from Montreal. A routine portage meant carrying 180 pounds across rugged terrain full of rocks, mud, mosquitoes and black flies. At approximately every ½ mile the voyageurs had a posé where the packs were set down and they ran back to get 2 more. They also had the “privilege” of carrying the bourgeois (or gentleman) in or out of the canoe since it was unacceptable for a gentlemen to get his feet or clothes wet! There were two classes of voyageurs: the mangeurs de lard (pork eaters) and the hivernants (winterers). The pork eaters paddled from Montreal to Grand Portage for the rendezvous and back. The winterers paddled from the interior to Grand Portage for the rendezvous and back. In the two classes of voyageurs you have three types, the avant (bowsman), gouvernail (steersman) and the milieux (middle man). Because of the skill and experience required, the bowsman and steersman were paid twice the rate of the middle man. Voyageurs were fond of games. They liked to play La cross and cat and mouse when they got the chance and, of course, to sing. http://www.whiteoak.org/historical-library/fur-trade/voyageurs/
FORT VANCOUVER
From an etching made by Lieutenant Warre of the Warre-Vavasour Expedition in 1845.

Drawing of Fort Vancouver in 1853 by Gustavus Sohon. Original is in the United States War Department archives, Washington, D.C.

He writes the following letter to Robert Seaborn Miles (who was the accountant at York Factory) describing his journey out west.

"Thompsons River 14 March 1826
Dear Miles
Referring you [to] the other letter for a small favor connected with your official situation, I come now under a private seal - to solicit your attention to a few matters of private nature - which however troublesome or unreasonable they may appear, are to me of some consequence; consequently I trust you will endeavor to meet my views in accomplishing them for me as far as possible.

On our trip hither, I shall merely observe, that if it was at times pleasant, it was as often made unpleasant by the continual jarring of our leading men. The conductors throughout, it would appear from some cause or other, were jealous of each other's power and had not sense enough to keep it within bounds; nor were the heroes of the Columbia singular in this respect but those of a higher station seemed to possess similar feelings and heartily to wish each other at the Devil. This, you may imagine, was nothing in our favor, while berthed with the pigs and fowls in the worst boat of the Brigade - for while they were trying to see who could take the lead, we were thrown in the rear, and often had to make our beds Sans Soup unless mayhap we were persuaded to take a luncheon with the men. However, I must observe, that while at any of the Forts, particularly with our jolly hosts, Messrs Stewart and Round(Rowand), the (feuds) were respited and we were allowed to pass a day or two in social order, as we ought to do.

I had the pleasure to pass a day with our old friend Work en route who is anxious to get news from your quarter - two days after (4th Nov.) I was dropped by my fellow passengers at Okanagan, where I remained 10 days - then proceeded to this place and arrived upon the 24th. From this date until the 23rd of Feby I was under the directions of Mr. John McLeod, (whose presence being required at Vancouver; previous to his departure for the east side) Mr. A.
MacDonald succeeded to his honors, and has to finish the business of the year, for which purpose, he proposes to leave me here to await the Caledonian (Brigade), and will himself depart tomorrow to meet the express, in order to make such arrangements as the welfare of the place may require.

The affairs of the Columbia, in general, seem to be promising and but for the disasters which befell Mr. Ogden at the hands of the Americans, they would have been prosperous indeed. Even this [place] is prepared for the Governor's expedition to extend the trade on the coast, and all are busied in forwarding his views. In short, being appointed to this side of the mountains is reckoned by the Sanguine as a sure step to their promotions, in as much as it is thought to be the only field where a young man can exert himself. Hitherto I have been employed purchasing the celebrated Salmon and transporting it to the Okanogan Depot for spring consumption, but, I fancy, some objections may be found to my continuing in the berth as it is found to be a monstrous crime of mine to be too fond of [ladies]. To this charge, I confess, I must plead guilty, and hope to be recommended to mercy, in consideration of my youth. Yet I shall abide by the sentence without making anything in the shape of a promise to reform in future, for however preposterous such a crime may appear, as I consider it as having been provoked by the parties complaining, I shall not for one moment hesitate to carry the stigma with me to the grave. However, to counterbalance the misery of Damned Dried Salmon - with which we are obliged to sustain a miserable existence, we have the pleasure of fine horses, and can obtain a wife at every port, for a moderate charge, we come to. In this last sort of traffic, our friend Work, being fortunate enough to live upon a more juicy substance than myself, outdoes us all. Just after I left Spokan last fall he purchased a fine young milcher, which with the fees to the relations requisite cost him about 10-10 [10 pounds 10 shillings] - and he took her on with him to the Flathead post, where he managed, according to his own account, to shuffle the time away pretty agreeable. But upon his arrival at Spokan, to spend the holydays, he was smitten with the charm of Madamoiselle Laguin [Susette Lagace] a ward of Mr. Ogden's, and fancying that he would get some credit by carrying off the prize from two rivals (Messrs Black and Manson) who had been treating for empassant, he fairly agreed to sign and seal, and is now safely moored with her for life, and of course with two for the time being - that is, one at each post.

With respect to myself, you may possibly imagine that I could not live in the contagion without being effected(sic) and although it was intended to place me in a similar situation with my friend, but with less admirable character, I contented myself with one at once and relinquished the claims to the second in favour of a gentleman who, in his amours, was much less prosperous than ourselves.

I have enclosed a small memorandum, to which I beg your attention, and if you see any prospect of getting them forwarded hither, by either the first or second Canoe, to let me have them. I have also sent home an order to Clowes for some trifles I wish to reach me in the Columbia, should I remain in the service, but as my mind cannot be made up upon the subject until I hear from you, I have promised him that you will countermand it, in a note to my father, should you see the smallest possibility of my quitting the service in the ensuing year. This I was induced to do, my friend, as I think, the matter may be managed without infringing upon the secrecy of officers - for by the time the ship sails from the Bay, everyone will be aware of the
terms to be granted to me, and you of course as soon as anyone. I therefore wish you to draw an inference and report accordingly: namely, should my articles be drawn up for anything less than L100 per, an[ ] will you have the goodness just to drop a note to my father requesting him to stop the shipment for me, without giving any cause whatever for so doing, as I have prepared them for the news. Even the smallest hint will be sufficient. My other little affairs I leave to yourself without comment, resting confident that you have done your best for me - and living in hopes of being able to show my gratitude in a more effectual manner than I can do within ink and paper.

In the mean time believe me
   Dear Miles    Yours with Sincerely    F.E.
Should John Robertson apply for anything out of the F shop for the family I left at Severn, have the goodness to authorize the gentleman acting to supply him."

On March 14, 1826 at Thompson River (Kamloops) Archibald McDonald, who was in charge of that place, wrote To Chief Factor William Connolly (in charge of the New Caledonia district): “I leave this tomorrow with the Returns and upwards to 2,000 salmon, as to meet the Express at OK (Fort Okanogan) were I shall have further instructions from Mr. McLoughlin; in the meantime Mr. Francis Ermatinger remains at this place with the interpreter & 2 good men expecting daily to hear from Alexandria.” Fort Alexandria was Chief Factor William Connolly’s domain. He also mentions that two of his men would go up to Fort Alexandria, Etienne Gregoire and Jean Gingras (or Gingrais as McDonald spelled it.) Francis had orders to send Connolly horses to meet him if he needed them on his trip to Kamloops. It turned out that CF Connolly’s horse herd was hit hard by the winter and he needed horses to move south even to Kamloops. ("This Blessed Wilderness – Archibald McDonald’s Letters From the Columbia, 1822-44" Jean Murray Cole, UBC Press, Vancouver & Toronto, 2001, page 30.) From The White-Headed Eagle John McLoughlin, Richard G. Montgomery

Archibald McDonald    David Douglas    James “Black” Douglas
The express left Fort Vancouver on March 20, 1826 under the charge of Chief Trader John McLeod (who was considered “useless” as a fur trader by George Simpson because he was afraid of the local Indians) and included Francis Ermatinger, David Douglas and 14 voyageurs. They paddled up river in two flat-bottomed, clinker-built canoes, which were loaded with the east-bound mail, supplies for forts Colville and Okanogan, plus three calves and three pigs. The
livestock was the first of their kind to be brought into the Inland Empire of present-day Washington State. Francis the year before (1825) had mentioned in a letter to a friend back East, of pigs being in the brigade that brought him and Edward to the Columbia. Archibald McDonald later wrote on Jan. 25, 1837 to (McLeod?), “Your 3 calves are up to 55 & your Grunters would have swarmed the country if we did not make it a point to keep them down to 150.”

David Douglas was to write in his journal, “On the afternoon of Monday, the 20th, at four o’clock, I left Fort Vancouver in company with John McLeod, Esq., a gentleman going across to Hudson’s Bay, and Mr. Francis Ermatinger, for the interior with two boats and 14 men…. The day was very rainy, and we camped on a low piece of ground among poplars and willows, on the north side of the river, a few miles from the establishment, at dusk.”


On the morning of the 21st, it was still raining as they resumed their journey up river. Douglas described in his journal the scenes along the river as they past them, as “grand beyond description” and “a contrast of rural grandeur that can scarcely be surpassed.”

By March 23rd they had reached the low part of The Dalles, where they camped in a small cove under a shelf-like rock. Here they had trouble with the Wishrams, who alone among the tribes of the lower Columbia River lived by violence or the threat of violence. They exacted tribute from boat crews that were forced to portage around the rapids and from fishermen netting salmon from the nearby rocks.

To avoid friction Dr. McLoughlin had accepted a policy of paying tribute, so much tobacco per boat. But on this occasion after permitting the portage to proceed all the way to smooth water the Wishrams arbitrarily increased the toll price and refused to allow departure until a higher levy was paid. They may have been interested in the cargo of pigs and calves the express was carrying. John McLeod refused to pay more and it looked like the brigade might be attacked, so guards were posted all night long.

Douglas wrote on the 24th, “After a tedious night, daybreak was to me particularly gratifying as might well be guessed, being surrounded by at least 450 savages, who, judging from appearances were everything but amicable. As no one in the brigade could converse with them better than myself, little could be done by persuasion. However, finding two of the principal men who understood the Chenook tongue, with which I am partially acquainted, the little I had I found on this occasion helpful. We took a little breakfast on the rocks at The Dalles, four miles below the Great Falls, at seven o’clock. The day was pleasant, with a clear sky. At five in the evening we made the portage over the Falls, where we found the Indians very troublesome. I learned from Mr. McLeod that they had collected for the purpose of pillaging the boats, which we soon found to be the case. After they had the usual present of tobacco they became desirous of our camping for the night, no doubt to affect their purpose. The first thing that was observed was their cunningly throwing water on the gunlocks, and on the boats being ordered to be put in
the water they refused to allow them. As Mr. McLeod was putting his hand on one of their shoulders to push him back, a fellow immediately pulled from his quiver a bow and a handful of arrows, and presented it at Mr. McLeod. As I was on the outside of the crowd I perceived it, and as no time was to be lost, I instantly slipped the cover off my gun, which at the time was charged with buckshot, and presented it at him, and invited him to fire his arrow, or I would certainly shoot him. Just at this time a chief of the Kyeuuse tribe and three of his men, who are the terror of all other tribes west of the mountains and great friends of the white people, as they call them, stepped in and settled the matter in a few words without further trouble. This very friendly Indian, who is the finest figure of a man that I have seen, standing nearly 6 feet 6 inches high, accompanied us a few miles up the river, where we camped for the night, after being enumerated by Mr. McLeod for his friendship “… with a twist of tobacco, Douglas gave him a shilling with a hole bored into it. The Cayuse chief hung this shilling from the septum of his nose and highly prized it. Douglas was called “King George’s Chief, or Grass Man.” Douglas was wandering the West collecting flora and fauna for the Horticultural Society of London and had papers from the London Committee of the Hudson’s Bay Company saying he was to get all the provisions and assistance he needed from HBC employees in America.

A Scot botanist, “born in humble circumstances in the village of Scone, Scotland, on June 25, 1799. As a child, he was more interested in exploring nature outdoors than being in school. Upon finishing his formal education at about age eleven, he worked his way up as a gardener at various posts in Scotland, before launching his career as a plant explorer at age twenty-four.” Finding David Douglas, OREGON CULTURAL HERITAGE COMMISSION, Portland, Oregon, December 2008, page 3 (http://www.ochcom.org/David-Douglas.html). David Douglas was in fact Oregon’s first tourist. He landed in the Pacific Northwest in 1826, and “For two growing seasons, David Douglas “botanized” in the Pacific Northwest from his home base at Fort Vancouver. Traveling to other company forts in the region, Douglas was assisted in his fieldwork by fur trappers and Indian guides. In the winter, Douglas spent time meticulously preparing his collections of dried plants, seeds, bark, preserved animals and birds—all with detailed written descriptions—for shipment via HBC supply ships to England.

“Many of these, when they reached the Society in London months later, caused a sensation,” wrote one biographer. “Notable among them were Gaultheria shallon (salal), the red flowering currant Ribes sanguineum, the broad-leafed maple Acer macrophyllum, the vine maple Acer circinatum and the tall Oregon grape Mahonia aquifolium, and, of course, the Douglas fir.” Finding David Douglas, OREGON CULTURAL HERITAGE COMMISSION, Portland, Oregon, December 2008, page 6 (http://www.ochcom.org/David-Douglas.html). According to Jack Nisbet, his latest biographer, Douglas had at least 85 plants named after him, and Curator Ken Favrholt says he had listed 215 new plant species. His main job was to send plants back to London in seed form or as live plants so they could be developed and sold in the Society’s seed catalogs. Nisbet says that he was very good at it and more successful than most. He was the first to identify the ponderosa pine which he saw near Spokane, Washington and the sugar pine which he saw near Roseburg, Oregon. He wrote two journals of his explorations, "A Sketch of a Journey to the North-Western Parts of the Continent of North America During the Years 1824, 1825, 1826, 1827" and "Journal of an Expedition to North-West America; Being the Second Journey Undertaken by David Douglas, On Behalf of the Horticultural Society." And http://www.archive.org/stream/journalkeptbydav00dougiala#page/157/mode/1up; & “David Douglas,” Ken Favrholt, Kamloops Museum Curator and Archivist, April 8, 1983, p-5. In the Oregon Country, Indians regarded Douglas as a harmless and strange visitor because he was interested in plants and trees instead of trapping furs. They called him the

From *A History of the Pacific Northwest*, George W. Fuller, 1947

Fort Nez Perces (Fort Walla Walla) xroads.virginia.edu/~HYPER/IGUIDE/or-gw7.GIF
After four more days of traveling in sagebrush covered landscape the party reached the first great bend of the Columbia River. At this point Fort Nez Perces (later called Fort Walla Walla) was located. The adobe trading post was important as headquarters for outfitting the Snake Country brigades with horses and goods.

This image of Priest Rapids was taken in the days when the steamboats ran up and down the Columbia to Wenatchee and farther up north. And about 60 or so years after Francis went through here. The man in the foreground almost looks like early steamboater, Alexander Grigg.

After resting and outfitting here for two days they resumed their trip up river, making portages at Priest Rapids, which was a dangerous spot, and then another portage at Wanapum. Priest Rapids was a narrow fast stretch of the Columbia that dropped 20 feet in just a short distance and it was comprised of at least seven separate cataracts that ran nine miles dropping 72 feet in all. It was named after a Wanapum “Haquilaugh”, or priest that Alexander Ross, of the Pacific Fur Company, met there in 1811. It was a good salmon fishing spot and a number of Wanapam Indian villages surrounded the area. The Wanapam Hydroelectric Dam flooded over the area and today it is under the Columbia River’s water.

From Wanapum they reached the Rock Island Rapids and then on to the Wenatchee Valley and here passing by the Piskalous River (Wenatchee River) on the way to Fort Okanogan. The Wenatchee River was well known to them as they occasionally traded for salmon there. At Rock Island Rapids the Rock Island Dam was built in the early 1930s. The French Canadian voyageurs of the fur trade companies called it “Isle de Piere” Taken by Chalk Courchane at the Wenatchee Valley Museum and Cultural Center in Wenatchee.
Another shot of Rock Island Rapids, 10 miles or so from Wenatchee and the exact center of Washington State according to some people.
This is part of the displays at the Wenatchee Valley Museum and Cultural Center, in Wenatchee, Washington, taken by Chalk Courchane in 2010.
Salmon drying near open fire, circa 1940. Similar to the salmon traded from the Wenatchi by Francis Ermatinger and his companions in 1826 while traveling up river. The Wenatchee River was well known to them as they occasionally traded for salmon there.

Tule and canvas mats at a Wanapum (So-Kulk) village on the Columbia River near Priest Rapids, circa 1941.
The Wenatchi band of the Interior Salish Indians tell of the legend of this volcanic plug that lays just west of Wenatchee’s city limits. According to Wenatchi Indian, Celia Ann Dick in 1980:

“In early days the two large rocks and the smaller rocks on the mountain were bears. They were Black Bear and Grizzly Bear and most of their time was spent quarreling over their husband while the children played.

Grizzly Bear was very jealous of Black Bear, who had a better disposition and was a better cook. Black Bear was therefore more favored by the husband. When the husband praised Black Bear, it made Grizzly Bear all the more jealous, mean and cranky.

Black Bear was clever, too, and she seemed always to be a jump ahead of Grizzly Bear, whether it was in gathering camas, serving tasty meals, caring for the children, or making nice clothes. She argued back at Grizzly Bear when she growled and complained.

Their constant bickering and quarreling finally got so bad that one day Coyote decided to put a stop to it. Using his power, he changed them all to stone. You can see them there today, facing each other on the mountain top with their children scattered near them on the ground.” From the Bernice Gellatly Greene Collection, Wenatchee Valley Museum Archives

Francis remained at Fort Okanogan while the rest of the brigade went on up the Columbia and traveled overland to York Factory on Hudson Bay. David Douglas was dropped off at Fort Colville.
A site along the Columbia River near Wenatchee that Francis knew well, Saddle Rock in the distant in about the middle of photograph.

The Wenatchee River taken by Chalk Courchane in 2010. A peaceful section of the river, as the river is fast moving and has many rapids. Rafters go down it every summer and usually someone ends up drowning.
“Tuesday 11 (April 1826) Cloudy weather. The meat was again all opened & spread out to air. The Express arrived in the evening, Messrs. [John] McLeod, Ermatinger & [David] Douglas. They brought 3 pigs & 3 young cows for Fort, Colvile.

Wed. 12 Mr. A. McDonald arrived from Okanagan by land.”

“Tuesday 18 A boat loaded with Packs of furs, appichimons, leather &c. Messrs. McDonald, Ermatinger & myself passengers, Set out in the morning for Okanagan.-

Wed. 19th (April 1826) Arrived at Okanagan in the morning with all safe. Met the man that left the forks on the 12th returning yesterday morning. They would reach the forks in the course of the day.”

On April 19, 1826 Archibald McDonald wrote to him from Fort Okanogan, he was still at Kamloops:

“I arrived here from the Forks of the Spokane (Spokane House) this morning, accompanied by your brother [Edward Ermatinger] and Mr. [John] Work. Edward & I depart tomorrow for the sea. [Fort Vancouver] & Mr. Work takes Mr. [Francois] Annance’s place [at Okanogan] (who in a like manner goes down with us) until you arrive & will then in conformance as I have already observed with Mr. Chief Factor McLoughlin’s arrangement take charge for the summer.

You already sufficiently well know the nature of our situation at Okanagan to render minute directions unnecessary – I would like however to lay considerable stress on the provisions and means of subsistence at the post for the winter without having recourse to Kamloops or Fraser River. Therefore the salmon is the first consideration, which I believe can be traded to some extent in the months of July & August. The garden is the next object & I am sanguine enough to hope that my own pains in seeing the crop put in the ground & Mr. Work’s assiduous attention no doubt to that department also, ultimately joined by your own talent & zeal for promoting so laudable an object will almost ensure us a thriving crop. Berries & everything else that will serve as part rations ought to be traded on a particular scale. You may also trade a few good horses if not too dear.

The most unlimited assistance is to be given to Mr. Connolly & party. In a few days Jos. Deslard & the New Caledonia men with an Indian will leave this with thirty horses. The three sent by the men are expressly for carrying packs, and at the risk of the Company. I hope this reinforcement will enable you all to get on swimmingly.

Of course you are aware how destructive insects have been about this post during the summer season & will guard against as much as possible. The six kegs potatoes we could muster here are in the ground, but one I had from Spokane will be sent up by Deslard for enlarging out field in
Kamloops – [Jacques] Lafentasie and [Antoine] Bourdignon are the two men that will summer with you. I left open memoranda with Mr. Work & you will attend to the things required to go down by the Brigade to be returned to the general store, besides the few furs that may be got in before their departure.” (“This Blessed Wilderness, Cole)

(McDonald wrote later that August about the garden at Fort Okanogan, which consisted of potatoes, cabbage (a very good crop), and turnips, beets, onions, peas, and melons all doing good enough to try them the next year. Also Indian corn and barley, these did not do that good and the wheat crop completely failed.)


Thursday 20 (May 1826) Overcast mild weather. Messrs. A McDonald. E. Ermatinger and [Francois] Annance, 12 Men and 2 Indians took their departure for Nezperces & thence to Fort Vancouver in a boat, with 12 Packs furs, 15 bales salmon, 4 Bales Appichimons, 1 bale Saddles, 1 Bale leather, 1 Bale Cords & 3 (caffetes). They are to proceed from Walla Walla by land with horses

June 1826 “Thur. 1 st Cloudy fair weather. The men employed gumming the boats.-Yesterday I gave up the charge of the store &c. to Mr. F. Ermatinger who is to remain at this place during summer.”

“From 1825 to 1831 Pierre Pambrun worked as a clerk in the district of New Caledonia, mainly at Fort Kilmars (near Babine), where he arrived in June 1825. During the summer of 1826 he accompanied James Douglas and Francis Ermatinger on a thousand-mile trip as far as Fort Vancouver, the new supply centre for the district, and returned to Stuart Lake.” http://www.scribd.com/doc/66391931/Pierre-Chrysologue-Pambrun

“Okanagan 4th June 1826

Dear Edward,
All being now ready for the embarkation as soon as ever the Spokan folks arrived I have to observe that I feel particularly well pleased at the result of my assistance to the New Caledonia gentlemen. I took the liberty to differ in opinion with Mr. [Archibald] McDonald, consequently, did not follow his arrangement exactly. I however have the satisfaction to find that my own were successful. I have enclosed a Bill upon you for L20 which you must pass through the official forms and then send it to [John] Clowes for me. If Messrs. [Donald] Manson & [Alexander Roderick] MacLeod return before the next opportunity plead my excuse for not writing to them, which I at present forbear under the impression that another opportunity is likely occur before they return. I have mentioned several things to our friend [John] Work, for your information, which I at present have neither time nor inclination to write.

I am Dear Edward Yours Sincerely, F. Ermatinger”

In the spring of 1827 Francis left Fort Okanogan and made a canoe trip down the Columbia to Fort Vancouver. He had been ordered to headquarters to help the east-bound express brigade bring supplies up the river. His destination was the new fort at Kettle Falls on the Spokane
River, Fort Colville. Here he met his brother Edward again and probably had much to talk over. Also at Fort Colville was David Douglas. “Douglas departed Fort Vancouver in the spring of 1827 for his overland journey home to England accompanying the HBC’s annual delivery of furs outbound to York Factory, some 3,000 miles distant. Edward Ermatinger, a company employee, led Douglas’s journey to York Factory at the mouth of the Hayes River on Hudson Bay. Along with Douglas, his specimens and instruments, the fur brigade carried the winter’s bounty—hides from the trapping of furs—on their journey to London markets. By his own account, Douglas had traveled 7,032 miles—by foot, horse or canoe since his arrival on the Columbia in 1825—to the Rocky Mountains. By the time he arrived at York Factory, the distance was probably closer to 10,000 miles.” Finding David Douglas, OREGON CULTURAL HERITAGE COMMISSION, Portland, Oregon, December 2008, page 8 (http://www.ochcom.org/David-Douglas.html).

Painting by Paul Kane of Indian camp at Fort Colville, 1825

After making various botanical walks around Fort Colville and Kettle Falls David Douglas returned to Fort Okanogan on June 6, 1826 walking most of the way. He arrived there just in time to find Francis Ermatinger about to take part in a brigade going down river to Fort Vancouver. Also with the express brigade were Chief Trader Francois Noel Annance, John Work, Pierre C. Pambrun, James “Black” Douglas and the New Caledonia (British Columbia) brigade under the command of Chief Factor William Connolly. Douglas wrote, “I shall ever feel no small degree of pleasure on thinking of the kindness I had from these people, which is naturally doubly esteemed in this distant uninhabited country.” He left a stuffed large female grouse and a male black grouse with Francis until he could pick them up that autumn.

They left Fort Okanogan on June 7, 1826 in five canoes taking David Douglas with them, who killed a three foot rattlesnake along the way.

In July of 1826 Archibald McDonald sent up Fort Nez Perces a bale of tobacco to Francis at Fort Okanogan, by William Kittson and three boats that were going to Fort Colville.

In August of 1826 Francis sent from Fort Okanogan two or three gunlocks to Fort Colville to be repaired by Pierre Philippe Degras.

He was at Fort Okanogan on August 22, 1826 when David Douglas wandered into that post. Archibald McDonald was in charge at that time. Douglas needed provisions, so McDonald gave him all he could spare in dried salmon, tea, and sugar, as did Francis. They even bought Douglas a canoe and hired him two Indian guides for his trip down river.

18 October 1826 Okanagan
"My Dear Edward,

As we may soon, seriously, expect to see expresses from all quarters, I shall prepare, and begin with acknowledging your several favours via Spokan, Walla Walla and per Mr. Ogden. I stop the prep.[aration] being just called out to see a race, upon two new purchases, between My Girl [Cleo] and Piard's [Andre Picard] in which the latter has been thrown. When Mr. Douglas was here I was really unwell, and he could not make my situation appear more drab than it was, but the joke, or what gave rise to it, of the girls eating cucumbers, is quite lost upon me, as I have no conception of it. After his departure I got better, but at present I am as bad as ever, in the same spot. [It seems that he had some kind of venereal disease].

I am tugging on here, in the old routine of business. Furs are scarce, but of Salmon &c., I have, I think, rendered the place independent of supplies from Kamloops, altho' it has been an unfavorable season. The gardens have also done tolerable, at least the potatoe part of them, and I have housed about 55 kegs of as fine as ones as ever I eat in any country.

With respect to my amity with Mr. McDonald, I have my doubts whether it will ever be upon a more desirable footing. In general business I do not propose to imitate him, but in private we put on a good face on the matter and pass the time tolerable. I am however concerned to learn that he does not seem to be upon good terms with his men, and has had three quarrels with them since his arrival here, namely one with [Donald] Manson, for omitting to lower his Chapeau a oui Mon Sieur; this ended as it ought, without bloodshed, yet a little blustering if you please. The second with poor old [Antoine] Bourdignon for a fault he certainly was no more responsible for than he would be for an error in your accounts. The affairs stand thus: I had, during the summer at some trouble and pains, made a pretty correct list of all the horses on the ground belonging to the different posts, but rather than avail himself to it, he called in Bourdignon, and after 4 or 5 efforts, partly from memory and partly from waistcoat pocket accounts, drew up a list and deemed their work complete. However, the next day when the brigades were divided, it turned out, to the no small mirth of the men, one he had given to carry two packs up to Kamloops had been dead six months. This made him blush and irritated him so that he gave the poor guiltless old wretch smart tap or two in the chops. The third and most serious quarrel, if true, for I have it from Indian report, was owing to his ordering a load to be put upon a horse en route sans permission; that he had allowed Desland to trade for himself while here, which the man had no sooner found to be the case, than he disputed his right to do so, and at the sometime grounded the load. Mr. Macdonald, of course, found it necessary to punish this breach of despotic discipline, in order to which he took a reasonable size stick; but Desland [Deslard?] being upon his guard succeeded in disarming him, and ultimately in giving him a severe tug of the whiskers, laying him by the side of the load, &c.&c. Upon the whole I must say this for Mr. Macdonald, that he has some scamps to deal with, (yet he thinks them good), whom he will find rather averse to any new laws he may, of himself, think proper to enact amongst them; they however, in common with the rest of mankind, do not like to be thought either fools or slaves and which we appear more than our situation authorizes, they are able to discern it.

As to my remaining in the service, I have only to add, that if I do upon former terms, it will be on one condition, that you will not, and regulate myself I shall try to ascertain your terms. When and if I find them fall short of my expectations, I may be less scrupulous as to those offered me, for I do not think it would do for us both to leave the service in the same year, and I am
persuaded that as you have abilities, you will soon find something advantageous turn up. Even of myself I am vain and think this is not the only country in which I can live. Hitherto I have been fortunate, and even some little errors committed by me were the most advantageous event of my whole life inasmuch as they were the means of throwing me in your way after an absence of seven years &c.&c. Of course I leave it with yourself to determine, but if I remain under 100 [pounds sterling] Per An. you hear the conditions, a breach of which I shall not easily excuse. We have seen humility enough in our days; now let us make an effort for better.

You perhaps, in getting a hat for me, fancy my head larger than it really is; I see many with much bigger....As to the lime juice, do as you please, it will be acceptable at any time. But that this letter may not be an exception, I have more orders for you, namely send me 50 small hooks (to my account) like those supplied this district, as they may help me to keep the life in the poor natives here; and, if such a thing is to be got, a small tea pot (also to my account) the one here being too extravagant for my stock. The gun you got stocked for me I did not like and exchanged with man for a new one and gave a horse to boot. Let me know the prime cost of the double barrel shot guns, that I may see what kind of a bargain I have made. I hear no word of the Tobacco pipe Tube and suppose you pocketed the silver. I have enclosed a couple of official notes for you and beg your attention to the one for Pierre [Picard], if it is possible to oblige him.

I am    My D.E.  Yours Affectionately

F. Ermatinger

P.S. My Girl requests that you will, (as a kind of introduction of course), trade a few of the [Chemise lace] for her, and send them up by the first opportunity. I must, however, add not if they are too dear."

He had married in Indian custom an Okanagan woman, whom he always referred to as Cleopatra, Cleo or My Girl. It is Okanogan on the American side of the Medicine Line and Okanagan on the Canadian side.

"S-Ookanhkchinx" in the Okanagan language translates to mean "transport toward the head or top end" and this refers to the people traveling from the head of the Okanagan Lake to where the Okanagan River meets the Columbia River. In other words Okanagan Lake and Okanagan River as well as other water systems were the traditional transportation routes of the syilx. The Okanagan people were hunters and gatherers, and were noted to be semi-nomadic. Their staple diet consisted of deer, salmon, rabbit and other wild game. The Okanagan's were also gatherers of roots, berries and various other plants.

The first contact with the Okanagans was probably made in the late 1700's through the Hudson's Bay Company. One of the first actual contact dates was recorded in 1805 at Fort Kamloops. The Hudson's Bay "brigade trail" led right through the Okanagan Nation's territory, from Fort Kamloops to Fort Colville, presently know as Colville, Washington. U.S.A.”  
Okanagan Nation Alliance
http://www.syilx.org/history-history.php

“Other explorers (Franchere, Ermatinger and Work) passing through the Lake Chelan area noted the use of boat transport (Smith 1987)”. 1988 Ethnography of the North Cascades. Center for Northwest Anthropology, Washington State University Project Report Number 7, for North Cascades National Park Service Complex and Cultural Resource Division, Pacific Northwest Region, Seattle
Ok. 25th Octr 1826 [Fort Okanogan]
"Dear Ed.

Upon Mr. McMillan repacking his paper trunk he handed me the letter from our father which I have had just time to hurry over and now forward it. He also gave me one from Donald Ross, under the impression that it was one from the Governor upon private affairs, but upon ascertaining the mistake I did not read it. Enclosed you will find one I have just written for the Doctor (McLoughlin) which you will do with as you please. I sent it in case you should yourself remain in order that they can have no excuse to keep me.

Get my Pistols from Manson and show them to [James] Birnie, who will, if he takes them, pay 105 p[ence] for them, which, with the Gun, I must be credited with. If he does not choose, then perhaps [Pierre] Pambrun or some other will take them -- he spoke to me about a pair -- when here in the spring.

I shall write you at leisure by and by, in the mean time I am D.E. Yours most affectionately
F. Ermatinger"

On December 3, 1826 Francis was still at Fort Okanogan as Archibald McDonald wrote to him from “Thompson’s River”:

“Our people returned from Fraser River about six days ago, although their trip was not to the full extent of our expectations, yet I hope [Andre] Picard will be at you to a day, that Mr. [Samuel] Black’s people, should he send up for the salmon, may not be detained a single hour. To avoid any misunderstanding as to the quantity intended for him, I have left my letter open for your guide.

Lafentasie comes up in the room of [place of] Picard & I see no necessity for their remaining in expectation of the Express from below later than the 25th … Should any letters from Fort Vancouver… arrive after that date, perhaps to avoid unnecessary expense with the Indians you could find it convenient to come up with them yourself. Keep down such horses as you think will not be in good condition to accompany me in March; I fear some of them are affected with the strangles as is the case with many of those now here.” (“This Blessed Wilderness”, Cole)

Archibald McDonald wrote from Thompson’s River (Kamloops) on January 6, 1827 to Francis at Fort Okanogan:

“I make no doubt you will be surprised at seeing two of our principal personages at Kamloops pop in on you, but such are the orders from headquarters from the last packet. [Pierre] LaCourse proceeds without delay to Fort Colvile & his plan is to be supplied by a middleman from Mr. Work. Now if you have nothing particular requiring your presence at Okanagan& your health perfectly recovered I should be glad to see you up here on arrival of Mr. [Francois] Annance, who continues his journey to Fort Vancouver, where Picard is joined by the man coming from Ft. Colville. Mr. A. has time enough and can remain at least 20 days. Should he go down by land let him take Mr. Black’s mare, or if she is unfit, you can give another in her stead, that we may have no more horses charged so in this season. In mean let Mr. B[lack] again be informed that we are absolutely in want of pack cords. Send Mr. Work an account of the boat irons we have at OK in
case he may require them. Get LaCourse to examine the Boats below, & secure what hoops, nails &c. may be required for their repair. Bring up all the saddles with their proportion of appechements (buffalo robes used as saddle blankets), & what cords you can gather. We also want up to 10 yds blue strouds & the same quantity of red baise. With further reference to Annance.” (“This Blessed Wilderness”, Cole.)

McDonald wrote to Francois Noel Annance at Fort Okanogan, in February 5, 1826 telling him to remain at Fort Okanogan until Francis Ermatinger returned there. And then on February 12 he told Annance to go ahead and go down river to Fort Vancouver and Francis would be there in 10 days. The same day he wrote to Chief Factor John McLoughlin telling him that Francis was leaving Kamloops for Fort Okanogan the next day, the 13th. (“This Blessed Wilderness”, Cole.)

Francis returned to Fort Kamloops from Fort Okanogan shortly afterwards. Francis wintered that year in the northern posts. “During 1827-29 Thompson’s River was Francis’ usual headquarters, but he traveled much of the time on a variety of activities demanded by the trade.” He wrote to Edward on Sept. 9, 1827,

Thompson’s River 9th Septr 1827
“My Dear Edward
Altho’ the chance is so small, of your returning to this part of the country yet as it is not, from what you said impossible, I enclose the letters I received for you, from our father, Clowes and Ross, together with your account from the Company, but shall withhold any comments thereon until the fall, when if I hear you have passed, depend upon receiving a long letter.

After the Brigade reached Okanagan I was shuffled from one to another like a pack of cards before dealing, and it was not known for some time to whom I was to belong. However, ultimately they determined that if Mr. Yale did not arrive by 10th Septr to Caledonia I must go in his place. He has not come, consequently tomorrow I start but when I return is not so easily settled.

Since I saw you I have passed a solitary time as usual, except when tripping; a few days ago I returned from the West of Frazier’s River, where I made a tolerable trade /200/ but was near losing my life by a fall over a steep River. Latterly I have passed a few pleasant days with Mr. McDonald. He tells me, he proposes to go down to Okanagan in the fall and as I do not mean to give any news, on chance, he promises to satisfy you upon any point connected with ourselves.

All your things are as yet at the sea and of those which came from London I beg you will send me one of your cravat stiffners. I got from those you left, your Bridle, 2 Pairs of old Flannel Drawers and the stirrup straps, the latter of which are still at Okanagan and you can take them empassant. There is also a shirt of yours there, that Work sent down last spring, Mr. McDonald will hand you the keys and help yourself to any of my things you may fancy without reserve.

Wishing you every happiness and success believe me
My Dear Edward--Your Affectionate Brother---Frs. Ermatinger
I sent Tod’s music and strings in and acknowledged Ross’ letter. If you bring in anything for me, leave them with Mr. McDonald. I trust the Doctor will not with indifference allow me to pass from his department for good and all.” McDonald, p81

A good description of a horse brigade coming into Fort Okanogan from other districts follows:

“Then came a long line of two or three hundred pack horses, each carrying two "pieces" or bales of beaver pelts weighing nearly 85 pounds apiece. Between and among them, mounted packers shouted and prodded to keep things moving. At the rear rode the packers' women with bundles of bedding and kitchen utensils. "A beautiful sight was that horse brigade," a fur trader wrote. "With no broken hacks in the train, but every animal in his full beauty of form and color, and all so tractable." But so large a caravan had to be unwieldy, and few brigades laden with cargo could count on more than 18-20 miles a day. Each morning there were fires to light, breakfasts to cook (usually dried salmon), horses to round up and packs to load. Normally it was 9 a.m. before most of the brigade was underway, and by 4 p.m. it was going into camp.

As the brigade approached Fort Okanogan, outriders might be expected and probably a firing of guns and much excited shouting. The Chief Trader would acknowledge his formal reception. Then the horses would be turned loose to graze across the lush grasses of the south half. For a day or two, the men would be busy repacking furs and loading them aboard boats for their voyage down the Columbia River to Fort Vancouver. But the flotilla could not depart until all three brigades had arrived, the Thompson River brigade, the New Caledonia (from farther north), and the Colville brigade. During the week or so of waiting, Fort Okanogan became the scene of memorable parties in which drinking, feasting, gambling, dancing, horse racing, and drinking played paramount roles.

The trail followed by fur brigades through Okanogan County was hardly a new one. With various deviations, Indians had used it for centuries. It was a natural north-south passageway created by the meandering flow of the Okanogan River. John Jacob Astor's Pacific Fur Company had barely completed its original Fort Okanogan in the early fall of 1811 before David Stuart and three other men headed north, the first white party to travel through the Okanogan Valley. They passed Osoyoos and Okanogan Lakes and continued through Thompson River country to the land of the Shuswap Indians, returning to Fort Okanogan after 188 days. The following year Stuart built a post at Kamloops. Shortly after, Astor's western forts were taken over by his Canadian competitors, the Northwest Company.

Nor'westers had built their own post at Kamloops on the Thompson River. They had long since been operating three posts much farther north. Simon Fraser had built all three, Fort McLeod in 1805 and Fort's St. James and Fraser in 1806. These forts drew furs from a vast area Fraser named New Caledonia, the northern interior of present-day British Columbia. Later, in 1821, Fort Alexandria was constructed as a storage depot on the Fraser River, about midway between the northern forts and Kamloops.

By the usual brigade route it was 491 miles from Fort Okanogan to Fort Alexandria, all of it overland, and 236 miles from Alexandria to Fort St. James, by way of canoe up the Fraser, Nechako and Stuart Rivers. This made a total journey of 727 miles from Fort St. James, the Nor'westers' New Caledonia headquarters, to Fort Okanogan.

As soon as the Northwest Company gained possession of Fort Okanogan, in 1813, the Okanogan Valley route was employed to supply the post at Kamloops and to receive furs from the Thompson River district. But the northern posts in New Caledonia remained linked to Montreal by an east-west route pioneered by Northwest Company explorers. From 1816 until 1821, New Caledonia remained linked to Columbia River. The Hudson's Bay Company, taking over in 1821, continued this practice for two more years, and then switched back to receiving supplies from the east. Finally Governor George Simpson concluded the east-west route was too long and costly. Also, he temporarily abandoned hopes of forcing a more direct route down the Fraser River to the Pacific. This left him only the Okanogan Valley. In 1825 he ordered the New Caledonia posts to begin, the following year, regular use of the north-south trail to Fort Okanogan and the Columbia River.

This decision marked the real institution of what is now referred to as the Hudson's Bay Brigade Trail. After 1826, the Overland Trail through the Okanogan Valley was regularly and constantly used for a period of 20 years. Each winter the furs traded at the posts in the northern interior were brought to Fort St. James, the headquarters of New
Caledonia, with dog sledges. As soon as the ice broke up, generally about April 20, boats loaded with cargoes of furs started from Stuart Lake to pick up the furs from Fort Fraser, Fort McLeod and Fort George (now Prince George.) At Alexandria, the horse brigade started out for Fort Okanogan, sometimes accompanying and sometimes following the Thompson's River brigade, which was taking out the furs of the Kamloops district.

There was a general rendezvous of the Thompson, New Caledonia and Colville traders at Fort Okanogan, and then a senior officer took charge of the united brigade for the boat run to Fort Vancouver. There were many dangers to be passed before that place was reached around June 15.

About a month was a spent there collecting supplies, then the return trip to Fort Okanogan took 20 days. At Fort Okanogan the Colville brigade branched off to the east and the Thompson and New Caledonia outfits started overland. In all, it usually took two months to make the trip from Fort Vancouver to Fort St. James, the navigation of the upper Fraser from Alexandria to Fort St. James taking 19 days.

Leaving Fort Okanogan, the Hudson's Bay brigade trail started up the East Side of the Okanogan River, seldom straying far from the shoreline except when the watercourse itself looped away. Probably the trial passed through what is now East Omak, as there would have been no reason for it to wander farther eastward into higher hills. Blocked by a rocky spur north of Riverside, the trail detoured inland to pass through McLoughlin Canyon before rejoining the river just below the mouth of Bonaparte Creek, near present-day Tonasket.

The trail continued along the eastern banks of the Okanogan to the mouth of Osoyoos Lake, where it crossed over. Then it climbed into the hills on the western side of Osoyoos Lake and continued northward, following the western shores of Okanogan Lake. At the head of Okanogan Lake, the trail turned more or less westerly to Kamloops, the great halfway house of the British Columbia interior. At Kamloops the horses that had come from Fort Okanogan were turned out and fresh horses loaded for the long northwesterly trek to Fort Alexandria. There the supplies and trade goods were transferred to boats. These were paddled up the Fraser River to the posts in New Caledonia.

Except where geographic features offered only narrow passageways, as at McLoughlin Canyon, the trail was more of a route than a roadway and the brigades at one time or another might deviate considerably from the medium of their courses. Some brigades apparently passed Okanogan Lake on the east rather than the west.

It was a relatively easy trail with ample water, unlimited bunchgrass, and generally soft ground. Unlike Hudson's Bay brigades in other parts of the West, the New Caledonia and Thompson River outfits had no rival brigades to outwit and no reason to believe they would be attacked by Indians. However, it was a roundabout way to deliver supplies from British vessels at Fort Vancouver to Fort St. James, some 1,500 miles altogether. Simpson in his 1829 dispatch to the governor and committee of the Hudson's Bay Company reported: "the mode of transport being from Fort Vancouver to Okanogan by boats. They left Okanogan to Alexandria by horses, from Alexandria to Stewarts Lake by canoes and from Stewarts Lake to the outposts by a variety of conveyances. Large and small canoes, horses, dog sleds and men's backs; in short, there is not a district in the country, where the servants have such harassing duties or where they undergo so many privations."

Simpson also objected to the "very unprofitable establishment" at Kamloops, where the beaver harvest had been declining steadily since 1822. But Kamloops showed profits of 1000 British pounds in 1825, 1100 pounds in 1826, and 1300 pounds in 1827 and also served as an inland fishery, supplying dried salmon to other posts and the brigades.

Increasingly, however, most of the furs came from north of Alexandria. The trapping grounds of New Caledonia seem to have been fabulous. The extent of Hudson's Bay Company profits, which passed through Fort Okanogan, cannot be determined without an exhaustive study of company records. The late William Compton Brown of Okanogan once told the author as much as $300,000 worth of pelts.

At first, horses needed for the brigades were obtained by trade with the Indians. Horses apparently reached the Columbia River at some time before 1800. In 1808 Simon Fraser, while exploring down the Fraser River, came across bands of horses a large Indian village near the present site of Lytton. John Work, at Fort Nez Perce (near the present site of Walla Walla), recorded in his journal of July 17, 1826, "I am directed if possible to purchase at least
On August 3, "Mr. Douglas proceeded on his journey to Okanogan with the 59 horses allotted for that place and Caledonia. We pursued our route with 20 horses for Fort Colville." Simpson reported that the Hudson's Bay Company depended principally on Indians at Fort Nez Perce for an annual supply of about 250 horses. Later the company raised horses at Kamloops and probably at Fort Alexandria. Cattle as well as horses were grazed at Fort Okanogan.

Francis Ermatinger, Connolly, Dease, these were the names of some of the New Caledonia brigade leaders who came down the Okanogan Valley. Young James Douglas, who had served as an apprentice in New Caledonia, accompanied Connolly one year. He later became a Chief Factor and then governor of Vancouver Island and British Columbia. The distinguished botanist, David Douglas, also accompanied a brigade up the Okanogan Valley. Peter Skene Ogden, a former Nor’wester and a veteran of the Snake River brigades, led the New Caledonia outfit for a year or two. He was one of the most famous of all Hudson's Bay Company brigade leaders.

The last Hudson's Bay brigade passed through the Okanogan Valley in 1847. Then the route was abandoned. The Treaty of 1846 had established the 49th parallel as the international boundary and Fort Okanogan now lay in U.S. territory. Moreover, an outbreak of Indian wars in eastern Washington had rendered the Columbia unsafe for valuable cargoes. In 1848 the Hudson's Bay Company finally opened a pack train from Kamloops through the Coquihalla Valley to Hope and thence down the Fraser to its mouth. Thereafter, even the company's dwindling operations at Colville and Fort Okanogan were supplied through Hope until they, too, were abandoned.” “Hudson’s Bay Brigade Trail” Bruce Wilson, 1966; Boom Town Tales & Historic People;( http://www.ghosttownsusa.com/btales17.htm)

Francis had made the first journey down the Frazer River through the Coast Mountains since Alexander McKenzie in 1793. The trail they took on their reconnaissance would later be called the Lakes Route.

Thompson’s River, 4th Decb. 1827

“My Dear Edward,

The perfect indifference shown, as to where I should winter was still maintained, even after my arrival in New Caledonia, and in the same letter wherein Mr. Connolly deplored the want of gentlemen for the department, he expressed a desire, that I should be immediately sent back, at the same time leaving it to Mr. McGillivray to determine as he thought proper, who however well inclined to keep me, deemed the hint to expensive, and finally resolved, that back I should go after he had made a trip up the Alexandria (Ft. Alexandria), and upon the whole the trip has done me good in as much as it has given me a better idea of the situation of this place and the indifference of the mode of trade. I arrived here upon the 16th of October, and Mr. McDonald returned the 29th, but I did not get your letters until the 1st ultimo, and passed the three days in a most anxious suspense. He had, after I had taken a glass or two of grog with him, informed me of our loss (Uncle Frederick William Ermatinger had died), which so affected me, that I was obliged to leave him abruptly. The event was so unexpected, and was disclosed to me in a moment that - from your return - I was indulging in a hope of some fortunate change in your favor. Nor am I still satisfied with the information you appear to have received upon the subject; the want of date to our uncle’s death, the disposition of his property, in part, the forgetting of names in some cases and no mention being made of who are his executors, render the whole, in my opinion, unauthentic; not that I am so sanguine as to expect that we are included in the distribution, but I cannot think our father would be wholly neglected. Be it as it may, I trust he will never be in want, and I have now some hopes that we may, with little persuasion, prevail upon him to retire to Canada with us; in fact his presence there is the more necessary, as our aunts are now, in a great measure, left without a sufficient protector. The interest we have lost, rather than any share we might have anticipated in our uncle’s wealth, is what I am the most
sensible to; yet the name will, I trust, be respected, and at all hazards I am still for your trying your fortune in some part of Canada. Our little stock of cash will be increased by this additional year’s servitude and, I think united will make a total of at least L900 besides my annual stipend to this amount. But if you form the resolution, carry it into effect, without something of more importance to our better fortune turns up to prevent it. You try, my dear Edward, to cheer my spirits, and are yourself evidently labouring under a greater depression; but I trust the day will come when we may be better pleased with our situation. At least I live in hopes.

You did right in writing to our uncle Charles. It cannot now give offence; if previously he had an object in not wishing us to realize a fortune, it is removed and his end gained. If he encourages you, so much in your favor. If he does not, pursue your inclinations without his advice, hitherto we owe him no obligation. His daughter will be a fine chance for some young buck out at Grass. (note from Chalk --a bit of snobbishness against their Uncle Charles’ half-breed daughter?). Amongst Mr. McGillivray’s other anecdotes, was one of fops, and he brought in a son of Charles’ as an example, and added that he was the completest lump of dandiesm that was ever formed, by a long and narrow cut coat, tensed stays, starched collar and ruffles, high heeled Boots &c. &c. and that too at his father’s house above. This does not exactly agree with the accounts I have heard of our uncle’s penurious disposition.

I am surprised you did not get a letter from home, but am loath, for a moment to attribute it to the cause you seem to think possible. Rather I fancy it is owing to the difficulty there is in getting one forwarded by the Company via Montreal. If anything serious had occurred at home, Clowes, at least, would have written to us. Our father is yet young, and even I live in the strongest hopes of seeing him again.

I have no further reasons to urge favour of your leaving the country, but I add that my heart will be with you, go where you will, and you may depend upon my last farthing to assist your speculations. If you are successful, the fruits will be your own. If unsuccessful, the loss shall be partly mine. All I propose in the former event and when you have no further use for my little cash, is that you will endeavor to put it out to the best use for me in the purchase of land &c. &c. but in case of the latter I will endure “the insolence of office” without a murmur, and continue to drudge through life of servitude to secure a living for myself and a miserable assistance to you, Dear Edward. To calculate upon a share I find the chance remote. At the rate they are falling in, if I get one after 21 years of service I may be thought lucky. Few who possess one now worked so long to obtain it. All I wish in the mean time, is the L100 Per An. and let the commission come when it will afterwards. When you go out, you ought to sound the Governor as to my chance of immediate promotion.

Mr. McDonald has copied the powers of attorney, but they are not to my liking, there is one word we cannot make out, nor have I a [wax] wafer to fix my seal; I shall however forward them and if I do not see you in the spring I will send it down. I wonder you did not make them out yourself, as you was at the trouble to copy them; it would have taken very little more time to make complete work. Perhaps, if these do not please, you may still recopy through the winter what you think essential. If these will do, Mr. McDonald will place the word at Okanagan. I thought the two the more necessary, as if you do not enter into business yourself, you may purchase stock or land in Canada in my name, they are not weighty, and it is proper they be full,
so as to prevent any doubt as to their limitation. You need not fear my making any bargains, that can give either you or my friends cause to reprobate. In fact I have very little to bargain upon and I mean to have less. You did not let me know whether Miles countermanded my last order to Clowes. If he did not, I shall still be his debtor considerably and Birnie should, in the event of his taking what I had laid aside for him, make over the amount in his [Miles] favour. Show the list or not as you please. I am really sorry for the things I sent home for last year, and if they come out, I am determined to dispose of the most of them. Economy is now my study, but I do mean to be mean withall. By the By, Mr. McDonald told you to take out a tent for me, if you have not done so, let it alone. I will get an old one some how or other. Also the hat, but substitute a cover and send it by the first conveyance.

With respect to my Girl, I have as yet had very little cause to complain. She has, it is true, in one or two instances, while I was absent not been too well used, and some quarrels took place in the family; last spring Mr. McDonald’s cook made advances to her, of which she complained but no notice was taken of it, until I arrived at Okanagan, when I gave the fellow a good thrashing. Since then a more pointed neglect has been shown, and if I have not complained, I am never the less sensible of it. While I was at Frazer’s River last August, she was ill used in the family (the Okanogans), and an Indian actually scaled the pickets, in the night, and entered my room and would likely have gained his end, had not another prevented him. This was known, but nothing said to him upon the subject and when I came here he was cautioned to keep out of my way, which he has done, but killed six horses to pay for the advice. However, after all I have said, I declare I feel no love for her, by the Lord, No!! Nor do I at present mean to become attached to any one in the country. They are all alike, faulty in some shape or other, and to turn away one upon vague suspicion and take another, perhaps worse, would be folly indeed. Besides it will require some resolution while I remain about Kamloops. Nor am I, I confess, anxious to do so. She answers my purpose well and so long as I can keep clear of a family, or her conduct is not more palpable that it has, with every effort, been proved to me, we may remain together. But upon the first appearance of either, a separation shall, I promise, take place.

Since we parted last spring, I have been often on the move, a few days ago I returned from the Cutamins with 4000 Salmon and 54 Bear Skins and Mr. McDonald is now off to Frazer’s River for Salmon, and proposes to cross it and follow my track’s in search of Beaver, in compliance with an agreement I made with the natives there. Upon the whole our returns have a better appearance than at this time last year, but they are still far short of what I am persuaded they ought to be. Salmon are luckily in abundance, and we have calls for them from all quarters. In New Caledonia it will, I fear, go hard with them, as they have already sent here for 2500. Mind you let me know next year, if there is any chance of an answer to this coming to hand. Endeavor to get permission for me to visit you at Okanagan. There will be very little to do here at the time, but from what I hear it is not likely I shall go down.

Now for orders, of which you say my letters are ever full. If you write to Barnstan (George Barnston) request of him the French grammar McKenzie (Alexander McKenzie) sent to me and let me have from the store (?) out of the free mess.

1 Good Elk Skin
4 “ Deer Skin
1 “ Clemant, if none can be got, 2 Elk skins
And supply yourself with plenty of stores so as to leave a few, well-packed, for me. I am obliged to beg here for a piece of leather, as if it was a great favour, nor have I been able to obtain a single inch for shoes, because I was not ready with any account of how I used what I got last year from Mr. Connolly, for what I had lent him! Wishing you happiness believe me ever--

My Dear Edward   Your most affectionate Brother---Frs. Ermatinger"

Edward Ermatinger decided to resign from the Hudson’s Bay Company and return to Canada in 1828 after 10 years of service. He eventually settled in St. Thomas, Ontario, Canada. He continued to keep up his correspondence with old HBC friends. On July 15, 1829 from York Factory William Todd wrote this to Edward,” Frank talking as loud as ever bye the bye he appears a favourite of the great man. Your old friend [Jean Baptiste] Ouvre had a narrow escape of leaving his scalp one of his divisions his brother-in-law having killed an Indian who was accompanying him (Ouvre) to Chicalias (Chehalis) and obliged him to return, the friends of the Indian who belong to the Fort George side took their arms and would have soon made a finish had not the “Princess” (Chief Comcomly’s daughter) sent him out of the way till the hurry was over.”

In the spring the Hudson’s Bay Company’s interior and outlying forts and posts would bring their furs and other cargoes down the Columbia to the headquarters at Fort Vancouver. Fort Okanogan was one of the rallying points for the incoming brigades to meet from 1826 to 1847. On May 22, 1828 John Work arrived at Fort Okanogan with his Fort Colville brigade. Work had with him 3 pigs in a cage to send up to New Caledonia and one to take down the river to Fort Nez Perces. That day their meal was salmon, barley, and corn. While Work waited for the other brigades his men rested, and repaired and re-gummed his canoes. Francis Ermatinger from Fort Kamloops on the Thompson’s River stopped at Fort Okanogan on May 24, 1828 on his way to Fort Vancouver with his canoe brigade, he reported that the New Caledonia brigade would arrive in two days. Thomas Dears with the New Caledonia brigade from Fort St. James came in on May 27 1828, but Chief Factor William Connolly had come in the day before. John Work wrote of the horse brigades in this manner, “A beautiful sight was the horse brigade, with no broken hacks in the train, but every animal in his full beauty of form and color, and all so tractable! - more tractable than anything I know of in civilized life.”

“The large overland brigades consisted of one to three hundred pack horses with each animal carrying two pieces, or bales, weighing 90 to 100 pounds each. Mounted men rode in among the caravan, shouting and prodding the horses to keep them moving, while their Indian wives and children trailed behind with kitchen equipment and bedding. At the front rode the chief trader, normally wearing a broadcloth suit, white shirt, collar, and a gentlemen’s tall-brimmed beaver hat on his head to indicate his authority over the HBC’s employees and to impress the Indians.”

“Forgotten Trails – Historical Sources of the Columbia’s Big Bend Country” Ron Anglin, edited by Glen W. Lindeman, Washington State University Press, Pullman, 1995, p 81. At times they could travel about 20 miles a day, leaving after breakfast of dried salmon about 9 o’clock in the morning and camping at a good spot about 4 o’clock in the afternoon.
A feast was held at which the main meal was two horses and some barley. When Connolly left for Fort Vancouver he put Francis Ermatinger, John Work, and Thomas Dears each in charge of one of the nine canoes of the brigade.

They lost three men at Priest Rapid’s when one of the canoes struck a rock. Louis Primeau, a guide, was in that boat which had stayed behind while the other 8 canoes shot the rapids and went all the way to Fort Nez Perces before stopping. The main brigade had no idea that the last canoe had met with disaster. Pierre Letange and another man finally arrived at Fort Nez Perces late in the evening of May 29, 1828.

Work wrote “...when coming down the lower part of the Prists Rapids in the morning just after the other boats…. They struck upon a stone, broke their boat, and three of the seven men that were in her [Primeau, foreman, J. F. Laurent, and Joseph Plouff] .. were drowned, and the others very narrowly escaped. Some of the Indians assisted the survivors in getting some of the packs ashore, but how many would be saved, cannot yet be ascertained ….” The furs carried in the canoe were recovered, but a keg of castoreum was lost. They stopped at Fort Nez Perces (Walla Walla) to unpack and lay out to dry some of the furs. “[Laurent, one of the drowned men had been sick, and was very weak. The Guide [stated that] a gust of wind, and the people not pulling fast enough, is the cause of them not being able to clear the rock. Mr. Cumatage [Ermatinger] and Mr. Dear’s were immediately sent off with two boats and 22 men to endeavor to move the bodies and to that may be saved from the water. I am to start early tomorrow morning on horseback with two men, for the same purpose, by crossing to the [west] side of the river, and straight across the plains. It is expected we will arrive before the boats, and prevent the Indians from carrying off any of the packs, if they be so inclined.” Work wrote the next day that the wind was blowing so hard he could not cross the river with the horses. So his part of the rescue mission was canceled.

June 1, 1828 John Work wrote: “Dark cloudy weather. Mr. Cumatinge & Dear arrived with the party at noon, they found all the furs, Oky [keg] of customs, [castoreum, parflesh] a bale of leather, and the 3e …. [skins] of gum. Nothing was seen of the bodies of the three unfortunate men that were drowned. The old prist and his people behaved well. One of the old mans sons came to the fort, and received in renumeration for his good conduct in the assistance given in saving the furs.” “Forgotten Trails – Historical Sources of the Columbia’s Big Bend Country” Ron Anglin, edited by Glen W. Lindeman, Washington State University Press, Pullman, 1995, p84. The rest of the day was spent in drying the furs and packing for the continued trip down river the next morning. The trip again was interrupted this time at Day’s River on June 3rd by heavy wind. All day was spent here and some trading got them a few salmon. The wind held them up until the night of the 5th when they re-embarked on the Columbia River but were stopped by the wind. After a breakfast they again proceeded to The Dalles where they portaged over rocks with the boats. They camped here and traded for two weeks supply of salmon, John Work reported that most of the Indians were out digging roots. After portaging over the Cascades they finally reached Fort Vancouver on night of the 7th.

After staying two weeks at Fort Vancouver to unload furs and take on new supplies and dispatches for the interior they returned up river on July 23. The brigade of 9 canoes and 54 men included Chief Factor William Connolly, Francis Ermatinger, John W. Dease, James Yale, John Work and two Indians.
John Work wrote on “July 24th. Cloudy weather, with fine breeze. Continued our route early in the morning, and were employed the whole day, getting to just a little above the Cascades. The water is very low, and it was very difficult dragging the boats. The line broke, and one of the rudders; so considerable time was lost fixing them. Part of the cargo had to be carried, both at the New Portage, and at another place below the Cascades. The Indians at the Cascades are taking plenty of salmon, but would give us none – a superstitious idea, that if our people, who had been at war, would eat of the salmon, they would catch no more. Had we been in want of provisions, we would have [helped] ourselves without caring; but this not being the case, we did not take any; though we told the Indians we would do so if we chose.

At camp on the 25th at lower end of the Dalles they were given a few salmon. The whole of the next day was occupied in getting the goods over the portage but the boats only half way. Here they met Peter Skene Ogden coming in ahead of his Snake River Expedition and he was on his way to Fort Vancouver. He camped with them for the night. By the 26th three of the men had taken sick and were temporarily disabled. “Got plenty of salmon in the evening for the people.” Work.

“July 27th. It employed the men before breakfast carrying the boats across the portage; we got them loaded, and after breakfast took our leave of Mr. Ogden, and proceeded under sail to the Chutes, when boats and cargo had to be carried. We got to the upper end of the Portage late in the evening; loaded the boats, and encamped for the night. It was very warm during the day, though it blew a storm, and the people were nearly blinded with driving sand. The Indians here had a few fresh salmon, but we got some dried ones from them. One Indian lodge took afire and was burnt; and though it was on an island, and apart from where we were working, they came in and demanded payment for the property destroyed, and in case of refusal, they would take it by force. We threatened them with severe punishment for their conduct, when they became quite. However, as a boat had to return from above, it was deemed advisable to give them a little tobacco.” For the next several days they poled and sailed up to Fort Nez Perces (Walla Walla). They left here with 8 boats as one was returned to Fort Vancouver and camped that night. “Left Nespurs at 7 o’clock, and encamped in the evening above the Yakaman River. The men worked the poles all day, the weather very calm and warm….“ Work

On August 2, 1828, “The weather very warm and sultry. Proceeded on our journey, and encamped in the evening at White banks. From an Indian’s information, part of the bones of one of our unfortunate men that were drowned in the Spring was found. We had them collected and buried. Mr. Connolly read the funeral service. They are few Indians on the river, and they are starving; they are taking no salmon.” Work

At Fort Nez Perce Francis Ermatinger and Thomas Dears took a party of men with a herd of horses across the Columbia Basin to Fort Okanogan. The horse party met Connolly’s brigade at Priest Rapids but on the opposite side of the Columbia. John Work sent some men over to help them with the herd the next day.

THIS PART PUT IN A HISTORY OF WENATCHEE TOO!
“Aug. 5th. Very warm weather, it is really hot passing over the burning sands … encamped in the evening, a little below Roscal [Qualque] Rapid.”

Aug. 6th. “Continued our journey, and encamped early, and got cargoes carried, to Rend [Cabinet] Rapids. The weather very warm, though occasionally blowing a little. Very few Indians in the River, and salmon very scarce. Another man left work with a sore hand.”

Aug. 7th. “Warm sultry weather. Passed Pirtanhause [Wenatchee] River in the afternoon. We were detained some time mending one of the boats … had sail wind a little in the evening. Traded some Salmon from the Indians.”

Aug. 8th. “Had a good breeze, and sailed most of the day. The wind though warm was a great relief from the scorching heat we experienced three days past. Encamped in the evening a little above Clear Water [Chelan] River. A man from Okanogan met us in the evening, with two horses from there.”

Aug. 9th. “Cloudy, but very warm weather. In the morning, Mr. Conolly and I left the boats, and proceeded on horseback to Okanogan, where we arrived late in the evening, the others are a little behind.”

Aug. 10th. “Arrived early in the morning, when the boats were unloaded, and the different outfits separated.”

Aug. 11th. “Went to the boats early this morning, but it was near 8 o’clock before they got through gumming, when we proceeded up the river, and encamped for the night a little about the Dalls [Mahkin Rapids]. The current is very strong, nevertheless we got on well.”

Aug. 12th. “Continued our route, this morning passed the Dalls, and encamped in the evening a little below the Big Stone [Equilibrium Rock]. We lost some time gumming Charlie’s boat. The boat had to be lighted at a place near the Dalls.”

Aug. 13th. “Continued our journey early, and encamped a little below Semapoilish [Sanpoil] River. One of the men not able to work with a sore hand. Chatfaux is also complaining of his hand, but does not give up working yet.” By Aug. 18th Work had made it to Fort Colvile.
A view of sage brush, apple orchards and the town of Brewster, Washington, site of Fort Okanogan. Taken by Chalk Courchane

Blockhouse ruins, Fort Colville, Washington, 1910. Hudson's Bay fort established in 1825 on the east side of the Columbia River. (Ghost Towns of Washington)