

“The Cowlitz Farm on which the newly-married couple settled was a subsidiary of the main headquarters of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company at Nisqually. The Company’s sole function was to raise foodstuffs for the Russian American settlement with which the HBC had contracted in 1839 to furnish provisions. Francis Ermatinger’s appointment to the Cowlitz Farm was much like giving him a year’s vacation.” McDonald, p249.

Cowlitz farm was on the land of the Cowlitz and Chehalis Indians, and was located between the Columbia River and Puget Sound at the head of the Cowlitz River near the present-day town of Toledo, Lewis County, Washington. Cowlitz was the Puget Sound Agricultural Company’s headquarters for the production of grain, peas and potatoes. There is still farming on the land but no buildings stand from the Hudson’s Bay Company farm. It had nearly 1,000 acres of fenced land (later up to 4,000 acres) and potatoes, wheat, barley, peas and oats were raised there. In 1841, 8,000 bushels of wheat and 4,000 bushels of oats were harvested by the Hudson’s Bay Company farmers. By 1853-54 the farm was taken over by the Americans. From this farm and also Fort Nisqually’s farm produce was shipped to the Russians in Alaska, to the Spanish in California, to HBC forts and posts in the Northwest, and to the independent kingdom of Hawaii (Sandwich Islands). John Tod, who managed the farm for a short time, remembered: “We had 1,000 acres ploughed, also a fine horse park and large dairy.” (Wolfenden, 1954). To the Russians 8,000 bushels of wheat, 8 tons of flour, 15 tons of salted beef, and 8 tons of butter were annually sent. But even then the farm was never a successful enterprise.

“Catherine Ermatinger’s personality fails to emerge from her husband’s letters. She was too young for him – even he could see that, (he wrote Edward, ‘The only fault I can find with the marriage is, that she is rather too young), despite this his earlier mock-horror at Edward’s attempts to interest him in a match with one or more mature ladies in the St. Thomas vicinity. Catherine proved herself a spendthrift, and she was unfaithful to her husband. Probably she gave as much as she received in a relationship between two people ill-suited for each other. It was something in Ermatinger’s favor that he forgave her, her shortcomings, and accepted the limitations she placed on his ambitions.” McDonald, p250

On the duties and dress of a HBC officer’s wife at Fort Vancouver is:

“Wives of fort employees, whether they lived in the village or within the pickets, wore European clothing. The bolts of cloth available at the sale shop included such fabrics as bombazette (sort of thin woolen cloth. It is of various colors, and may be plain or twilled), cassimere (A plain or twilled woolen cloth used for suits), and “fancy Earlston Gingham” (a pretty cotton fabric from Earlston in England); such accessories as “Ladies short Kid Gloves,” hooks and eyes, ribbons, “best diamond pins,” “ladies round plated Hats,” and shawls could also be had. Still, traces of native dress persisted. Almost universally the ladies, except for a few pure whites, retained Indian leggin or gaiter, made of red and blue cloth richly ornamented with beads. The leggins were prominently displayed during horseback rides, when the women – again except for the Europeans – sat astride in Indian fashion. For most women the moccasin took the place of both shoes and stockings, but the gentlemen’s wives preferred European-style footwear.” “The Women of Fort Vancouver”, John A. Hussey, page 288, Oregon Historical Quarterly, Fall 1991. Also the

officer's wives were not required to cook or bake or perform most of the household tasks, these were done by the HBC employees (men). Most Native American or Metis women did not like to do house work anyway and usually wouldn't. Many would not even sit on chairs in the house but preferred to sit on the floor in Indian fashion. The gentlemen's families at Fort Vancouver usually lived in the long, seventeen room Bachelor's Quarters. Here the women ate their meals while their husbands dined in the "Big House's" mess hall. Except for the highest ranks the meals for the officers was sometimes "generally so badly cooked as to be uneatable." (Herbert Beaver)

Parties were held at the fort with card games and dances. Picnics, horse races and plays and athletic contests were frequent on holidays.

Francis wrote to Edward on March 4, 1843 from Cowlitz Farm:

My Dear Edward

Per the fall express, 6th Novb. I received your three letters dated 23d June 1841 and 10th April 1842. [Not] the great trouble you give yourself, nor all your anxiety of mind to see me, can avail us. You know well enough the nature of the service I am in, and how hard it is to obtain a favour from those in power. My folly was, that I did not leave the Company a dozen years ago when, if I could have earnt a living in Canada, I could have done something more, by trading for the American companies. 1842 will form an epoch in my future memoirs. Last August Mr. Douglas and Mr. McLoughlin and several others took a trip to Fort George, and upon the 10th, the Rev. Mr. Frost, rather a cold name for so warm a subject, there pronounced Frs. Ermatinger and Catherine Sinclair, man and wife. The young lady is daughter of your fellow clerk and grand daughter of Mrs. McLoughlin. The only fault I can find with the marriage is, that she is rather too young. I dare say, by this time you have come to the conclusion that Frank is now lost to us forever. However I do not think so – for I never thought less of the service than I do at present, but you that I cannot claim my half share without giving four years service, one is nearly done – and besides since I wrote to you, and after I sent Sir George my opinion, in writing, of my treatment, I took a long Gallop after him in California and had an interview at Monterey, when he promised me a furlough in 1844, and if I am not deceived again, perhaps I will avail myself to it. It is no use speaking positively, for we have been so often disappointed. I however, at present, think it is likely. Mrs. E. will not of course accompany me; you have enough of one, Mrs. Dears, from this country. Hereafter should I take it into my head that she should visit St. Thomas, I hope you will find a little difference [from Mrs. Dears], and I expect with a lesson or two from your wife upon housekeeping, and a few from you upon her music, she will be able to pass in a crowd. You only lack one thing in the family now and that is some one to call you uncle. This want, I trust, will be found in about three months more.

It grieves me to hear that your business was declining and that your spirits were so much depressed in consequence. As to a partner; it would be much easier to find one with the amount of money you mention, than with the disposition he must possess. But I trust your affairs are getting round again. If not, and money is wanted, we must try to supply

it. I do not really know what balance I have, but I do not think it exceeds L200. However, it may, for I have not examined my account closely lately, and this year I have spent at least L100. If I draw upon my commission for two or three years to come, I must pay 5 Per Cent interest. Never mind, if money is your only want I must do my best to raise it, but while I extend this desire to yourself, I feel no inclination to do so for the benefit of your partner. He has had the start of me already. If it is novelty you require, I will bring down Mrs. E. who with Mrs. Dears in a cheenook petticoat and one with a skin shirt garnished with scalps and bear grease, and thus supported I think you will, with the aid of a little vermilion [sic], draw folks to your store. You say that you think a new face would do something. If that is all you want, I will soon bring you one with plenty of brass in it. (My God! Chalk) In the mean time, man, do not lose courage. You have a brother who will never hold a penny while you want one. I had always an abundance of vanity in my composition and possess enough still, to think that I can get a living anywhere. Some times I am half inclined to give up all thoughts of the service, and Canada, in favor of California. It is a country I like – the people all live and have plenty – yet there is scarcely a dollar in it. A man kills his bullock, eats the beef, and gets what he wants for the skin. I passed a jovial winter of it last year, let the trappers take care of themselves while I was galloping about the country to the American shipping, to Rae's &c. and I really believe, if I had not come away as I did, that my big nose would have been ornamented with carbuncles. Sir George would not let me go out last year, and I showed that there is two ways of doing our duty. He has spoilt as zealous a clerk as ever he had and I am not sure yet whether he has made a good chief trader. It will depend upon how he is used. But what has all this to do with money matters? Well in a word, if I can help you let me know, and if your necessity is urgent, use your power of attorney for about L200. I think I have that much still. I have just glanced over your letters again and find their strain too serious. For God's sake do not dispond [sic], if your responsibilities are with my means, release yourself from them. Sell all the stock I have in Canada, if it is worth anything, and the land, rather than feel as you write you do. As to seeing me, your mind dwells too much upon it – and I repeat to you that I worked hard to get leave and will see you, If God spares us, when I do. The Company may have been hard upon me from first to last. This year I find instead of being a trader upon outfit '41 as promised me, I was the last upon the list of promotions of '42, and in my letter from Mr. Smith, I was told I could only have half a share upon this. Since, I have received another telling me that, owing to the death of Mr. Pambrun, I would be entitled to the full emoluments of the commission. A. McDonald to be C.F. and Rae were the other promotions. I had an idea of sending you copies of the letters but I am too busy.

I believe that I have got clear of trapping for a while and am farming, but I cannot say that I like this place, nor that I am very ambitious to become a farmer under the system here. I took three shares in the business (Puget Sound Agricultural Company) and I will freely give up the L30 I have paid in to get clear of it. Work remains upon the coast yet, and as the steamer (Beaver) has been under repairs all winter, I fancy you will be disappointed in his not writing you. He has had no opportunity.

My poor old Grand papa and Bourgeois, the Dr. has been sorely afflicted, and his mind at one time could dwell upon no other subject, that is, the murder of his son John by his men

– at Sts. Vine. (Stikine) I have just been over all the depositions, taken by Sir George Simpson in April last, and by Mr. Manson in August. Those taken by Sir George were not what they ought to have been, with his letter to the father unfeeling in the extreme. This hurt the old gentlemen as much as the murder. Sir George wishes to throw all the blame upon the victim, and to justify the murderers by calling it self defense. But they had fired two shots at him some weeks before, and depositions taken by Mr. Manson makes me doubt whether John did bouse [booze], wench, and cudgel the men as Sir George wrote the father, and altogether I think it was premeditated and as cool and heartless murder as could be. The men are prisoners, but it will be hard to have them punished. The greatest bar is, what power has the right to try them, perhaps the Russians. It is one of those cases, in which Linch [lynch] law is tolerable. It would not, I think, be well for Sir George to cross the path of the Dr. in his present state of feelings. They had a few words upon business in California, and rough ones they were, before the fate of poor John was known. (McLoughlin took Simpson's rough dismissal of the murder of his mixed-blood son as a slap in the face for which he never forgave Simpson. The old Chief Factor's long-term efforts to clear his son's name, to have the murderers punished, and to convince the Committee of Simpson's misuse of his powers, monopolized his thoughts and correspondence to London for years.) McDonald p 253. Altogether the Gov's trip to the Columbia could not have been so pleasing as his former ones. To him, he found discontent enough and did not mend matters.

With respect to poor Lawrence, we seem to understand one another. If he turns out as I see many of the young fellows of this country do, I shall be distressed indeed. Let him have a chance, that is let him learn to read and write well, and if God spares us we will determine upon something when we meet. In the mean time give my love to and tell him, that I expect son to receive a letter from him. Why do you trouble yourself about

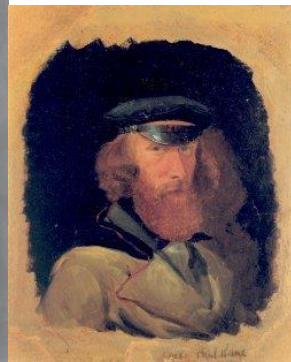
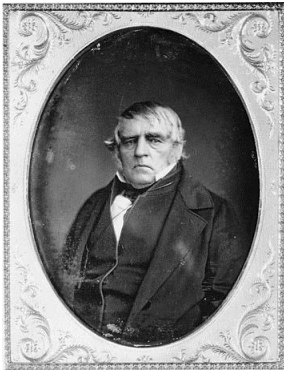
Ranald? (footnote: 17:Ranald McDonald, Archy's son by the Chinook Princess Raven, lived with Edward Ermatinger, after completing his Red River schooling. Working as a teller in Ermatinger's bank, the poor youth shriveled in spirit at the confinement, intelligent, but gentle and passive, Ranald was to find a place among the Japanese as a teacher. He entered Japan while working on a whaling ship. The son of Archie McDonald has been credited by some as helping to open Japan to the western world for trade and diplomatic relations.) If he will not do any good, write to his father to take him back, and while you wait the opportunity, put him out to board and make the father pay for it. You had better refuse any more. I have not heard from Archy since your last. Poor man, he has another boy laying in the Vancouver hospital with a complaint something like leprosy. You may remember [Jean Baptiste] Ouvre's daughter, she is similar. Your old friend Tod has Thompson's river, he has not written me since I was married, at least I have not received a letter from him. I do not think he would have liked to hear of my being so, if Miss had remained single, nor do I think he would if she had. (Eloisa McLoughlin)

I never trouble you with much of the news of the trade. The truth is I take no interest in it myself and even now, that my pay is to come out of the profits, I care very little whether it is successful or otherwise. One thing let me tell you O doubt whether a tradership is worth more than half it used to be and it will diminish in value yearly. So much for the reward of my 24 years service.

Neither Work nor you understand the workings of the pension list. Dr. McLoughlin, when he was out, with Mr. Christie, proposed and carried the point, for a sum of say L300 a year to be taken out of the Fur trade, to provide for old clerks. The first pension we heard of from it was L100 Per An. to Colin Robertson C.F. This last year the Gov.

wrote to the Dr. to place me at Fort George to watch the motions of the Am. Traders and give (James) Birnie his walking ticket with L60 Per. An. out of that fund for seven years. But the Dr. would not do so and says the Gov. may do his dirty work himself. Had they offered me a handsome sum at once, I would have taken it in preference to a commission, but to have to go seven times for 420 pounds would never do, and I fancy it was the meanness of the sum and the manner it was to be given that made Work hope that I would not accept it, if it was offered. Birnie remains Fort George still and has children enough for a colony. He looks as young as ever, and is as fat and lazy as a man ought to be, when he is thought no more of than he is by Sir George. When I was at Fort George I asked Birnie what he had done to offend the Gov., but mind he does not know what was written to the Dr. about him. He told me that Sir George sent two cotton sheets to get washed, and while taking them to the ship one fell overboard, but he intended to send another to London and hoped his offence would be forgiven- poor fellow. I do not know what he will do if he is obliged to leave the service, unless indeed he trades for the Americans, which I would do was I in his place. He has very little money and I do not think he would succeed as a farmer here (footnote 24 "Birnie did, in fact, retire to the Willamette settlement within a few years, where with his mill and acreage he contrived a very pleasant existence.")

I shall not copy this letter, so make the most of it, but before I close let me beg of you to cheer up and do your best. I tell no one that you write me in low spirits, because all your friends here seemed to think that if you did not leave politics you would go wrong – and I shall not allow them to boast of their foresight before you do. You see what I have written you above upon money matters, and if I can help you let me know. Give my love to Mrs. E. and my niece and believe me to be
My Dear Edward , Sincerely Yours,
Frs. Ermatinger.
E. Ermatinger, Esq.
Did you get with the watch for Mrs. E. a guard chain, 2 seals and a split ring?"



Peter Skene Ogden (a stout, short man with a high-pitched voice) the third picture was by John Mix Stanley, at Fort Vancouver in 1848. http://www.ohs.org/research/quarterly/images/ohq1042_Ott.pdf

Paul Kane

At this time Francis was a member of the Pioneer Lyceum and Literary Club at Willamette Falls.

“The Oregon Lyceum or Pioneer Lyceum and Literary Club was founded in Oregon City, Oregon Country around 1840. The forum was a prominent fixture for the leading pioneer settlers during its brief existence. It would begin publishing the first American newspaper west of the Rocky Mountains in 1846 and had several names during its existence.

One source lists the founding of the institution as 1844, but this is unlikely as there are many references to debates regarding forming a government in 1842. The forum was likely started at that time with the goal of producing a newspaper in the region. That paper, the Oregon Spectator, began publishing in 1846.

The Lyceum’s first meeting was held at the home of Sidney Moss who had purchased his land in Oregon City from Dr. John McLoughlin of the Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC). Frederick Prigg was another member of the Lyceum that assisted in building the organization. So was Portland co-founder Francis Pettygrove.

In addition to debates on government and the creation of a press, the group discussed literary items, scientific pursuits, and other local issues. Literary works of the group were published in the Spectator. The group was also known as The Willamette Falls Debating Society or The Falls Association.

Other notable members during its existence include: Henry A. G. Lee, William H. Gray, Lansford W. Hastings, Elisha Applegate, Jesse Applegate, Asa Lovejoy, Sidney W. Moss, Robert Newell, James W. Nesmith, William C. Dement, Medorem Crawford, Hiram Straight, William Cushing, Philip Foster, Theophilus Magruder, Daniel Waldo, Peter G. Stewart, Isaac W. Smith, Joseph Watt, Frank Ermatinger, Albert E. Wilson, Jacob Hoover, John Minto, Barton Lee, and John P. Brooks.

Beginning in the fall and winter of 1840-1841 the members of the Lyceum debated the future of the region. At the time neither the United States nor Great Britain could claim the Oregon Country under the terms of the Treaty of 1818 signed at the conclusion of the War of 1812. During these debates in Oregon City the European settlers argued about whether an independent country should be formed, or if a provisional government should be formed. It is not known when the Oregon Lyceum disbanded, but the Lyceum movement in the United States died out around the turn of the Twentieth Century.” http://www.enotes.com/topic/Oregon_Lyceum



Tshimakain Mission of Rev. Elkanah Walker and the Rev. Cushing Eels.
Painting by Paul Kane

Chief Trader Peter Skene Ogden was scheduled to go on furlough in 1843, and had journeyed to Fort Colville from his post in New Caledonia to meet the eastbound express there. But the Columbia Department was extremely short-handed that year and in McLoughlin’s behalf Ogden decided to put off another year his leave. Francis was assigned to replace Ogden in New Caledonia, and had already gone to Ft. Colville when Ogden changed his mind. On his way to meet Ogden he stopped over to visit the missionaries at the Spokane Mission. Mary Walker wrote in her diary on April 1, 1843, that they had a visit from Ermatinger. The news of possible Indian trouble at Waiilatpu kept the Walkers and Ermatinger talking until midnight.” McDonald p257

Francis wrote to Edward on April 26, 1843 from Fort Colville:
“My Dear Edward

I arrived here a day or two ago, having been unexpectedly sent off from the Cowlitz, to see Mr. Ogden here, who has a leave of absence, and to succeed him in his charge of New Caledonia. Mr. O[gdén] however has consented to remain, and I must immediately start back to Vancouver. I am not sorry that Mr. O. has remained, for otherwise, I fancy it would have been impossible for me to get out for some years to come. I have written to Sir George Simpson to remind him of his promise of 1844, but pray do not depend too much upon seeing me. We have been so often disappointed that we may be again. I will do my best. I have just overhauled my accounts here and find that I have little or nothing in the Company’s hands. You are aware that it must be a couple of years before I can get any dividend from my commission, and all I have must cover my expenses or I will have to pay 5 Per Cent for what I exceed my balance. If you want cash you must settle about selling the house, Bank Stock &c., but secure me as well as you can. I have every desire to furnish you with my last farthing so long as it can benefit yourself, but trust you will take as much care as possible to provide against the risk of its falling into the hands of strangers, should anything unfortunately happen to yourself. In the mean time cheer up, and if it becomes necessary I will endeavor to raise you a few hundreds upon my commission.

I have nothing to write about. I left all well at Vancouver and hope to find them so upon my return. I leave this in a day or two. Give my respects to Mrs. E., also to Lawrence, and that you may recover your business and live happy is the prayer of
My Dear Edward
Your Affectionate Brother
Frs. Ermatinger.”

“On May 2 Ermatinger stopped by again and brought Ogden with him to stay over for a day on their way to Okanogan, from whence the latter would head back for New Caledonia.” McDonald, p257 Mary Walker was to write, “We enjoyed a pleasant visit except there was too much trifling conversation and Br[other] E[rmatinger’s] ego [which] was quite too prominent. When a man of such extreme information is present [Ogden], I regret to have the time occupied with trifles that might be filled up so usefully.” Clifford Drury, *First White Women Over the Rockies*, Vol.II, pp. 249-250). Typical Mary Walker. Frank wrote to Edward, on April 26, 1843 from Ft. Colville, “I arrived here a day or two ago, having been unexpectedly sent off from the Cowlitz, to see Mr. Ogden here, who has a leave of absence, and to, succeed him in his charge of New Caledonia . Mr. O. however has consented to remain, and I must immediately start back to Vancouver.”

This is how Peter Skene Ogden was described by Lt. Henry James Warre:
“Much later in Ogden’s career, Henry James Warre wrote a frank assessment of him – an assessment that was struck out of his journal but that remains legible. Warre crossed the continent in Ogden’s company in 1845. He identified a few more aspects of the factor’s character that confirm his being prone to indulge in exaggeration for the sake of his own entertainment and at the expense of easily duped newcomers to the Pacific Slope:

Ogden, a fat jolly good fellow reminding me of Falstaff both in appearance & in wit[,] always talking, always proving himself right – clever with a good knowledge of French and of most of the Indian Languages having been 30 years in the Indian Country, strongly prejudiced in favor of all the Indian Customs, and cannot imagine that anyone who has not had the same advantages can possibly know any thing about the Country ...Has read a vast number of works which he remembers well, but takes too much for Gospel[.] On the whole he is a very good & companionable fellow[,] full of information about the country which we are about to visit, but most difficult to obtain such information from[,] his partiality for joking and “selling” rendering it nearly impossible to know when he is earnest or not.” Henry James Warre Papers, Library and Archives Canada, vol. 14.66-7, vol. 33:1030-1; & “Caledonian Suttee”? An Anatomy of Carrier Cremation Cruelty in the Historical Record, I.S. Maclaren. If Lt. Warre wrote this about Ogden I wonder what he wrote of Francis Ermatinger? Probably something similar. Both Mrs. Mary Walker and Lt. Warre would have thought different of these men if they had walked a mile in their shoes when both were young men and trekking in the wilds of North America in the 1820s and 1830s, looking out for their hair at every turn. Neither one of them could imagine the courage of both Ogden and Ermatinger. Of course Ogden or Ermatinger would not have cared what was said about them by the tenderfoot spies. Boasting and bragging (and telling the biggest lie) was a trait of the American mountain men, which they did just for fun and a type of entertainment, and I don't see why the HBC traders would be any different in this mannerism.

Archibald McDonald writes on Fort Colville on March 22, 1844 to Edward Ermatinger at St. Thomas, Upper Canada about a river accident:

“Last season (1843) going down [to Vancouver] we had a Boat with all hands swamped in the middle of the portage neuf. The Judge [Ogden] was ashore, but Frank & myself being afloat with the craft, all hands were saved as well as the packs. Coming up we were less fortunate in the Dalles; by a Boat engulfed in one of the boiling whirlpools we lost one man & 4/5ths of the lading. We get not Iroquois up now & all the old ones are either gone or dehors le service.” Francis was not on the return trip up the Columbia River.

Still being under-manned for the 1843-44 Season, McLoughlin couldn't let Francis have his furlough. “The earlier difficulties which the Company had encountered with Americans claiming land for settlement in Oregon, was compounded by an immigration of from 800 to 1000 people during the summer and fall of 1843. These added numbers of Americans tipped, or nearly tipped, the balance of popular allegiance towards the United States. With increasing numbers in highly vocal individuals demanding that the U. S. extend the arm of government to them, and acting on the assumption that such government was as good as granted for the asking, the British Company came under increasing harassment.” McDonald, p258

Rev. Gustavus Hines came to Oregon on the ship *Lausanne* and he writes: “Thursday, June 1st. Arrived at the mission station below the Dalls (sic Dalles), where we met with news from the lower country, ships having arrived in the Columbia River, bringing letters, goods and passengers for Oregon. As Dr. White expected to be detained

some time at the Dalls, I resolved to proceed homeward the first opportunity. Fortunately the brigade of boats for which Mrs. Whitman awaited at Walla Walla, arrived at the Dalls a few hours after we did; and applying to Mr. Ogden, who had command of the brigade, I obtained a passage in his boat down the Columbia River to Fort Vancouver. The boats were nine in number, each capable of carrying five or six tons; all loaded with furs which had been collected in the vast interior, and now on their way to the general depot at Vancouver, where they were to be examined, dried, packed and shipped for London. Associated with Mr. Ogden were Mr. McDonald, and Mr. Ermatinger, two former being chief factors on the company, and the latter a chief trader, both honorable and lucrative offices. Sixty men were required to man the boats, and these were all French Canadians, and half-caste Iroquois.” From Oregon: Its History, Condition and Prospects: Containing a Description of the Geography, Climate and Productions with Personal Adventures Among the Indian during a Residence of the Author on the Plains Bordering the Pacific while Connected with the Oregon Mission: Embracing Extended Notes of A Voyage Around the World, p189. Gustavus Hines, Buffalo, N. Y.: Geo. H. Derby and Co., 1851.

Oregon in the early years of the 1840s had two dominate groups of political thinking; McLoughlin and the British, and Jason Lee and the Methodists, who were later reinforced by incoming settlers and ex-mountain men. Many of the “Johnny-come-latelys” were broke and in needed credit, especially ex-mountain men, such as Joe Meek and Doc Newell. To get assistance they had to rely on either Dr. McLoughlin or Lee. Some like Meek were considered a bad risk and no credit was given to them, making their first years extremely difficult. Bad feelings and resentment grew between the Americans and the HBC people because of this.

The situation had become politically serious to the HBC, and Dr. McLoughlin deemed it important to get Francis Ermatinger closer to the Americans, as he was well liked by them. Events had steadily become worse, as Dr. Elijah White, who had been run off from the Willamette Mission in 1840 by Rev. Lee and his colleagues, had returned. But now he was important feeling, being newly appointed sub-agent to the Indians of Oregon, his appointment was made by foolish American bureaucrats. Once back in Oregon he had laid claim to authority amounting practically to that of a governor. This Johnny-come-lately became a painful nuisance to all parties involved, no one excepting his authority.

To the Americans he was someone to champion their cause, who wanted to form a government favorable to them. When the old horse thief, Ewing Young, died in 1841 a special committee was formed to probate his estate, this had made a lot of people yearn to have some kind of government authority. This plus the problem of wolves killing livestock and endangering the settlers brought about more meetings among the early settlers. These meetings were to be known as the “wolf meetings,” although their main theme was predator discussion, the talk of local government was also prevalent. Francis on Dr. McLoughlin’s encouragement became involved in the local politics. He kept a sharp eye on the political scene for McLoughlin, and attended many of the functions as possible, probably even some of the “wolf meetings.” On May 2, 1843 he and others met at Champoege to form some kind of provisional government. (My ancestor Joseph Barnaby also was present at these meetings. Chalk)

Some of the Canadian elements were becoming convinced, not only of the need for an organization, but of the advantages but might come to them, if they joined in on a

provisional government. They made McLoughlin and his people anxious to the outcome. The French-Canadians leaders were cautious and even hostile to the other factions even though they had some of their ranks who felt otherwise. They were told to vote “no” on every proposal put forward by the Americans. The memorable meeting of May 2, at Champoege, was held on the open prairie near the Hudson’s Bay Company’s warehouse known as the “granary.” Though there were perhaps only two Canadians to every three Americans, who were heads of families, and eligible to vote, the location of the meeting was in their favor and more of them attended because of it. Three secretaries were chosen to take down the details of the gathering. And after much debate and oratory, the First Provisional Government of Oregon passed by a majority of vote. Francis Ermatinger and his employers lost a lot of ground that day. The entire government was practically inactive the remainder of 1843 and the first months of 1844.

On June 13, 1843 Francis and Catherine Ermatinger had a baby girl, whom they named Frances Maria. Her baptism reads:

“This 18 June 1843 we priest undersigned have baptized Franis (sic) Maria Ermatinger born the 13th of the present month, legitimate child of Francis Ermatinger, Esquire, Chief Trader of the Hudson’s Bay Company and of Dame Catherine Sinclair, living at Vancouver. The godfather has been John McLoughlin, Chief Factor of H. Bay Co. and the godmother Madame Marie Barclay, who have signed with us as well as several present.

Marie Barclay (signed)	Frs. Ermatinger (signed)	Dugald Mactavish
John McLoughlin (signed)	David McLoughlin (signed)	Forbes Barclay
		Ant. Langlois, priest
		(all signed)”

Fathers De Smet and Mengarini were in Oregon City that October and also at Fort Vancouver and it is possible that Francis saw both of them while they were in the area. They left on a barge loaded with supplies and accompanied by six Kanakas to the St. Mary’s Mission via Fort Walla Walla by mule train.

The Willamette Falls is a natural waterfall on the Willamette River between Oregon City and West Linn, Oregon. It is the largest waterfall in the Pacific Northwest (2nd largest in the United States behind Niagara Falls) and the eighteenth largest in the world by water volume. It spills about 40 feet over horseshoe-shaped basalt ridge. Located 26 miles (42 km) upriver from the Willamette's mouth, a canal and set of locks allow vessels to pass into the main Willamette Valley.

Native American legends taught that the falls were placed there by a great god so that their people would have fish to eat all winter. Many local tribes built villages in the area because of the abundance of salmon that could only pass the falls at certain water levels. Native Americans still harvest Pacific Lamprey at the falls each year in the early summer. Willamette Falls is a traditional fishing site for the Warm Springs Indians as well as other tribes.

"Coyote came to a place near Oregon City and found the people there very hungry. The river was full of salmon, but they had no way to spear them in the deep water. Coyote decided he would build a big waterfall, so that the salmon would come to the surface for spearing. Then he would build a fish trap there too. First he tried at the mouth of Pudding River, but it was no good, and all he made was a gravel bar there. So he went on down the river to Rock Island, and it was better, but after making the rapids there he gave up again and went farther down still. Where the Willamette Falls are now, he found just the right place, and he made the Falls high and wide. All the Indians came and began to fish."

Near the mouth of the Clackamas River, there once stood an old, moss-covered, seemingly dilapidated house 300 feet long. In it lived the entire Clackamas Indian tribe. The Indians along this portion of the Wal-lam-t, or Willamette River were hosts to the hundreds of migrating Molallas, Calapooyas, Multnomahs, Teninos, and Chinooks who came each year to catch salmon at Hyas Tyee Tumchuck -- what white men named Willamette Falls. The Indians' permanent marks can still be seen in petroglyphs at the base of the falls on Black Point. http://www.octa-trails.org/learn/people_places/articles_oregon_city.php

Lewis and Clark make many references to the "falls of the Multnomah" and the Indian tribe which lived there. The first white man to take an interest in the Willamette Falls area was Alexander Ross of the North West Company in 1815, who recognized that the falls could supply reliable, year-round power to mills along the river banks. The falls were a major salmon fishing location. John McLoughlin made a claim at the falls in the name of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1829. Oregon City was established in 1842 near the east end of the falls. Later the falls furnished the power for a lumber mill (1842), a flour mill (1844), a woolen mill (1864), and the first paper mill in the Pacific Northwest (1867).

In 1840 a Methodist Mission established itself in the Oregon City area, and in 1867 the paper mill opened. The Methodists and McLoughlin would be at odds for a dozen years, driven more by strength of personality than by the soon mooted battle for political supremacy in Oregon City.

McLoughlin surveyed and laid out the town site of Oregon City in 1842, replacing the commonly used name of Willamette Falls. Oregon City has always been a natural place of commerce, a narrow spot in the river valley where Indians came together to trade and fish and where whites found abundant and dependable power for mills and generators. The first business, the American Store, was established in 1840 by Captain Couch, who represented J.P. Cushing of Massachusetts. In 1843, Francis Pettygrove opened his Red Store. In 1844, the HBC opened a store at Oregon City. The three stores were founded in response to the increasing numbers of Oregon Trail immigrants who needed to be resupplied to start their farms. In 1844, Oregon City was incorporated by the Oregon Provisional Government, making it the oldest American city west of the Rocky Mountains. It soon had 500 residents, 2 churches, 2 saloons, a newspaper, 75 houses, 2 blacksmiths, 2 coopers, 2 cabinet makers, 2 hatters, 2 silversmiths, and 4 tailors to resupply and properly clothe the new settlers. Oregon City was the first capital of Oregon. The Provisional and Territorial Governments met there from 1844 to 1853, when

the capital was moved to Salem. Other firsts for Oregon City included the first newspaper (1846), mail delivery (1846), jail (1845), library (1845), and debating society (1842) west of the Rocky Mountains. Oregon City was the end of the Barlow Road and the Oregon Trail. The Oregon City Post Office was established in 1847. In the 1840s and '50s, Oregon City became rich from the gold discovered in California. Merchants plying the coastal runs and canny citizens who knew an opportunity when they saw one sold lumber and wheat to boomtown residents for up to a thousand times what it cost to buy in Oregon. Gold dust flowed north into Oregon in such quantities that the Provisional Government had to authorize the minting of coins in Oregon City to keep the economy in order. California gold paid for a dozen fine mansions built along the rim of the bluff above Willamette Falls. Oregon City has been drowned by eight major floods since its founding. The last was in February, 1996. Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia; U.S. Forest Service, Gifford Pinchot website, 2006, a Clackamas Chinook legend; http://columbiariverimages.com/Regions/Places/willamette_falls.html; http://www.octa-trails.org/learn/people_places/articles_oregon_city.php

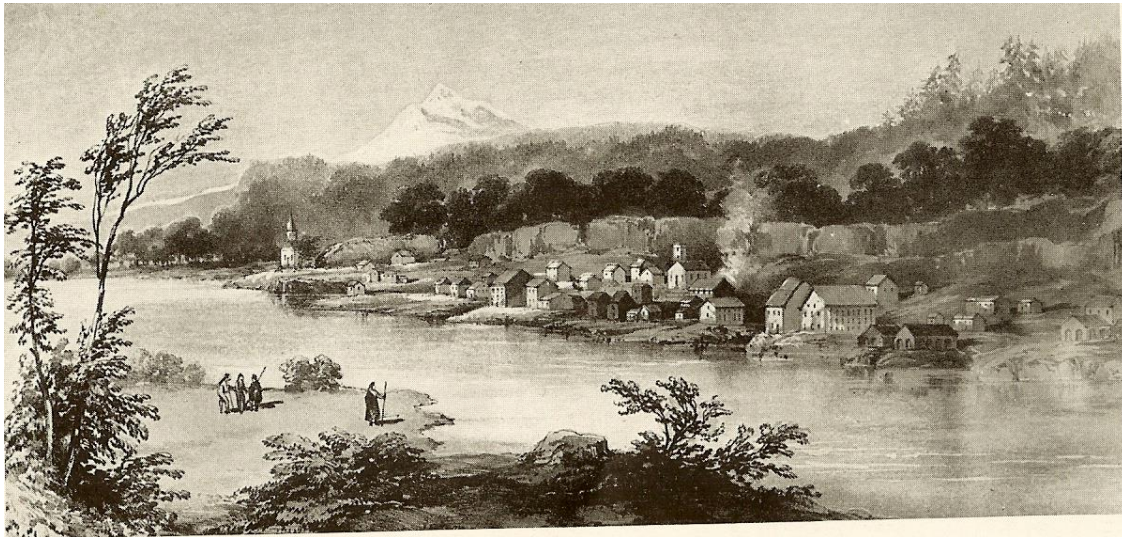
Along the northern edge of McLoughlin's town site was the land claim of George Abernethy. He was a steward of the Methodist Mission from 1840 to 1844. He supervised their granary and operated a mercantile business. He invented and circulated "Abernethy rocks" -- flints inscribed with his initials and backed by his high standing -- for making change due to the lack of circulating currency. From 1845 to 1849 he served as Provisional Governor, the first man to be elected governor of Oregon. Abernethy Green, a grassy meadow just above his house, was the marshaling point for new arrivals, both those arriving by raft from Fort Vancouver and overland via the Barlow Road.

Linn City (originally Robins Nest) was established across the Willamette from Oregon City. After Portland was incorporated in 1851, quickly growing into Oregon's largest city, Oregon City gradually lost its importance as the economic and political center of the Willamette Valley. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Willamette_River



“Ermatinger was an ideal man to have running the Company’s stores in Willamette Falls, and to reside there in the little community which McLoughlin eyed so jealously. Francis was liked and trusted by the mountain men who had settled in the Willamette Valley. The missionaries, Wyeth’s men who settled there, and any number of adventuresome souls who encountered Ermatinger along the Snake River, remembered his courtesy and kindness. The old Doctor knew very well what he was doing when he pleaded with Francis to “carry through some important works at Willamette Falls.” McDonald, p258-259

“While Ermatinger faithfully followed McLoughlin’s instructions at Willamette Falls, he became increasingly conscious of the Doctor’s personal interests taking precedence over the Hudson’s Bay Company’s operating policies. It was painful Ermatinger. He had no love for the “Great People” as he often called the Governing Committee in London, and he was resentful toward the duplicity of Simpson. But Francis was a stickler for “morality” and when he saw a man he admired and loved like a father begin to exhibit signs of deviousness toward their mutual employer he was faced with a moral crisis of his own.” McDonald, p264 Dr. John McLoughlin was later relieved of his command, after which he retired from the Hudson’s Bay Company, and applied for United States citizenship.

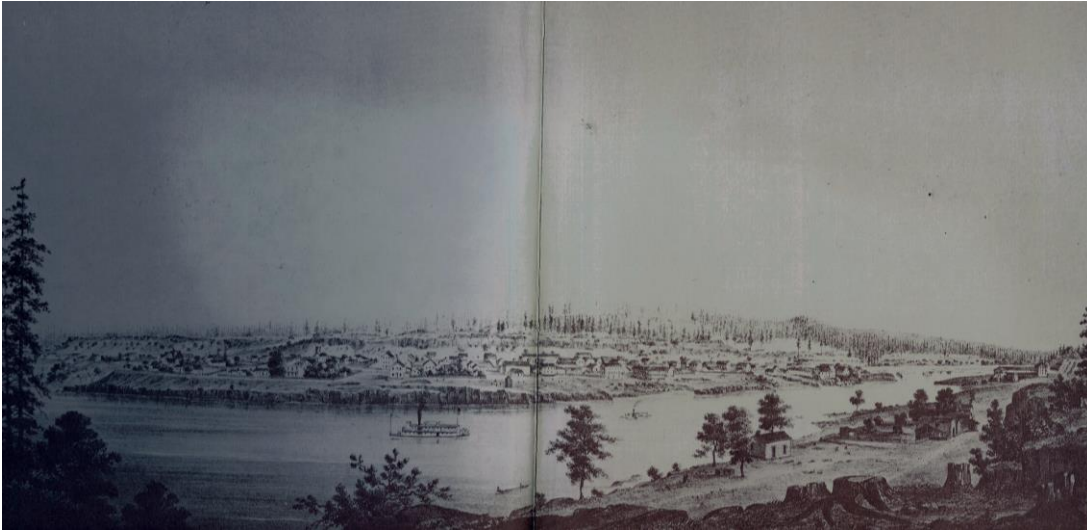


OREGON CITY

From an etching made by Lieutenant Warre of the Warre-Vavasour Expedition in 1845.

Lt. Warre doesn’t seem to have included Francis Ermatinger’s house in this etching. It should be in front of the church with the steeple.

From The White-Headed Eagle John McLoughlin, Richard G. Montgomery



Oregon City, Oregon Territory about 1850. From "Royal Family of the Columbia –Dr. John McLoughlin and His Family," Alberta Brooks Fogdall, Ye Galleon Press Fairfield, Washington, 1978



X

Above the X is Francis Ermatinger's flat roofed house

Francis wrote to Edward:

80 miles up the river Willamette Falls 4th April 1844

"My Dear Edward

I received your letters of the 26th & 27th March, with three others you wrote to me enroute, and I have put off answering them until this moment, being fully determined to cross the mountains, and had actually gone the length of packing my portmandeau, but

the Doctor pleaded his case so hard that he prevailed upon me to remain and carry through some important works he is getting made here.

This place is claimed by the old gentleman and he has done much for it. He took one mile square and has laid a town out. His lots 66 feet X 100, he sells for 100 dollars, but altho he has sold many, he has not received the first penny. His outlay is very great - at present we have upwards to 60 houses. There are five stores and very soon there will be three saw, and two grist, mills under way. The principal thing however is still wanting, that is a good market for lumber and farm produce. If we find one the country may thrive and this place will become valuable. I have been here since last July and have passed my time agreeable enough. And it is to complete the mills, canals & roads that the Dr. prevailed upon me to remain. We are getting the church built, and have methodist missionaries enough here, but I cannot go to their meetings. Wallar [sic], the pastor of this town, I look upon as an hypocritical, canting, and mercenary fellow, and a man who has brought just contempt upon himself. He posted a notice full lies the other day, that he should claim this place in his own right, and called upon the people, to resist Mr. McLoughlin, who was a British subject, he said, could hold no land in the United States territory. This may be true, but the yambling manner [in which] the fellow went about it make me despise him. I have not laid claim to any location yet, nor do I think I will: first, I am not so sanguine that the country will ever succeed and, secondly, I would not be troubled with it if I was. If Oregon is a fair example of settling new countries in the States, I will go east. We are in continual altercations here about one man jumping another's claim. So much for Willamette Town, of which I have been chosen one of the Aldermen.

I was gratified to find that you wrote me last year in better spirits than the year before, and you did well to draw upon my account, if doing so could in the smallest degree aid you in our business. I fancy the Company do not owe me much now, but by bargains &c. &c. I managed to raise 1000 dollars here to pay my expenses, if I had gone back to visit you. It is hard to get this money upon the Company's books; but I will make it turn to account in some way. What my commission will bring us in, I have no idea, but I think it must be under L300 Per An. The Columbia trade is getting from bad to worse, and upon the other side it is not much better. The Americans are scattered all over this country, from Fort George to the Cascades, and, as we may expect the emigration to encrease, the fur trade must fall to nothing. Besides, the price of Beaver is falling, owing to the use of silk. Yet all this does not trouble me. I am so much against the service that I would not grieve should I never draw a cent from it - and as soon as my four years are out I think it likely that I will make arrangements to quit the concern. They cannot bother me any more, I got my Tradership with such a bad grace, that I will not depend upon any promises for a Factorship. Keep up your spirits and I trust we can do yet. At least, I have a few years for myself. If the two governments would settle the Oregon question, I could judge better what to do.

Mrs. Ermatinger has enjoyed good health since we were married, and is at present employed nursing a stout girl of little more than nine months old. She is a very healthy child - and carries the name of Frances Maria. She is really a fine child and I must place

myself, if she lives, where she can be educated. Here, I presume, it will be impossible to do so for many years to come.

With respect to Lawrence, I am at a loss what to advise. I wish him to have a chance to gain a living; but if he is worthless, it will be impossible. To send him here would I think cut off all hope, but perhaps he could be apprenticed to a trade in the States, where if he does well, and I am able, I will assist him. Do for the best - you have him with you and can best judge his disposition. I have not heard from Archy since I received your letter so cannot say what he thinks of Ranald. He has, I heard, been sick, and this was one excuse to prevent my crossing the mountains, lest it should be necessary to send me to relieve him at Colville.

I believe Tod sent you an order to draw a thousand pounds. If you draw it I hope you will keep it so that it will be available to him when he wants it. I saw Tod last spring and he mentioned this sum to me. Not [page torn] however with distrust, but I would perceive that your letters of the spring before had made an impression upon him. With respect to yourself you must, in the mean time, make the best arrangements you can for me. At the same time, if there is to be a loss, I would rather that the whole should fall upon me than any of your friends should lose a shilling. Cheer bear disappointment with the best grace we can.

Mrs. Ermatinger joins me in love to you and sister, and believe me to be

My Dear Edward Your Affectionate Brother Frs. Ermatinger
E. Ermatinger, Esq.

My house is like a public one, the boors here are continually entering sans ceremony and it is with difficulty that I can get a moment to myself to write, or do anything else."

June 16, 1844 "Mr. Frank Ermatinger (Chief Trader) and his wife arrived from Willamette Falls." Private Journal kept at Fort Vancouver Columbia River by Thomas Lowe Hudson Bay Coy., page 1.

Sept. 19, 1844 "Mr. Harvey came down here from the Mill very unwell, and Mr. Peers is to remain on the Plain until he recovers. The Barge left again for the Falls, with a large supply of goods consigned to Mr. Ermatinger. Letters arrived from Nisqually, but no news. Weather beautifully clear and warm. The Settlers have again returned to the Wallamette." Private Journal kept at Fort Vancouver Columbia River by Thomas Lowe Hudson Bay Coy., page 5.

The 1844 Tax Book of Willamette Falls, Oregon shows:

Francis Ermatinger, with watches valued at \$16.00, mules at \$60.00, cattle at \$350.00, with the total valuation of \$426.00 and that he paid a tax of \$1.03. Of course most of Francis' salary was going to his brother Edward in St. Thomas, Ontario.

"Sept. 23, 1844 "In the afternoon Mr. A.[ngus] McDonald arrived with the Returns of the Snake Country in one boat. He brings intelligence that a large party of Emigrants from the United States are on their way to this place, and may be expected about the same time

as last year. Blowing very heavy all day from the E.” Private Journal kept at Fort Vancouver Columbia River by Thomas Lowe Hudson Bay Coy., page 6. The next day Lowe wrote that “The Easterly Gale still continues with unabated force, and the dust is flying in all directions, a fire broke out at the end of the (Camas) plain, and all the men to be mustered to extinguish it.” The 26th, “Easterly gales all day. In the evening rode out with Mr. (James) Douglas and Mr. Roberts to observe the fire which had originated in the Camas Plain, and which has now spread as far in this direction as the Little River on this side of the 1st. plain. A party of men set to watch the Barn behind, and another the Barn on the lower plain. Carting water all night. A Watch set at the Fort. I had the morning Watch. (The Methodist missionaries has threatened to burn down Fort Vancouver and soon a fire broke out that is described by the Scot, Thomas Lowe in his journal.

27th, Friday. Early this morning a report was brought that fire had broke out in the lower plain and that the Barn there was in imminent danger. Mr. McDonald and Mr. David accompanied Mr. Douglas to the place, and succeeded with a party of men and Indians in smothering it. All the men were turned out about 1 o’clock in the morning, and distributed into different parties to guard against an outbreak of fire from the woods, which now in a blaze all round. Most of the men were employed all morning about the Fort Hill, settin the grass on fire, ploughing the ground, and taking other precautions to prevent the fire running when it emerged from the woods. While much of the men were so engaged, a spark from the woods behind set the Barn ablaze, when there was only an Indian present, and in an instant the whole was in flames. The few who were in the Fort immediately got wet Blankets ready, and put themselves in positions where the sparks could be most easily extinguished. Meantime Mr. Douglas, Mr. Lewis, and Mr. K. Logan accompanied by all hands from the Old Fort Hill made all haste to the Barn and did all they possibly could in extinguishing the fire, which by this time had run to the camp and set the garden fences of Baron’s and Mrs. Lattey’s house on fire, as well as the Orchard adjoining the Fort garden. Dr. Barclay, Mr. Roberts and I were in the Fort when the fire broke out. The Dr. went to the orchard, Mr. R. was employed putting out the burning grass that surrounded the school rooms, and I mustered a party to protect the clover field next the Fort, which had caught in several places, and after leaving some men to perform the duty, I took charge of the party at the Barn, and remained there till the afternoon, when little danger was to be apprehended from it, and then under Mr. D.s (Douglas) directions employed a good many men and Indians in burning a broad strip in the stubble fields from the Barn to the water’s edge, to prevent the fire which was approaching from the Old Fort Hill from running into the clover field next the Fort. All hands were on the move the whole night, firing the grass and looking after the fires. The ladies of the Fort and all the children crossed to the other side of the River, immediately after I had taken down the papers and money, for although they had strict injunctions to remain, fear had so taken possession of them, that they pulled themselves across without any assistance from our men, several of whom deserted with their families and property during the time of the fire was at its height.” Private Journal kept at Fort Vancouver Columbia River by Thomas Lowe Hudson Bay Coy., page 6

“28th. Saturday. The woods around presented an awful appearance this morning, but all immediate danger is now removed, and I was sent across the River, to bring back the women and children, whom I found quietly encamped directly opposite the Fort. We

have heard that both the Saw and Grist Mills, as well as the Mill Plain have been visited by the fire, and that the sheds on the plain have had a narrow escape. Mr. Harvey and Mr. Peers are in charge there, and with the assistance of the Indians, have succeeded in preserving everything as yet. Messrs. D.[avid] McLoughlin and [Angus] McDonald are in charge of the party at the lower plain, where they have also had plenty of employment. Most of the men engaged cutting the grass in the garden, and watching the fires.”

29th. Sunday. “The air is full of smoke, and has been since this time last week, and the stumps and trees are still burning in the woods. In the afternoon I was sent up to sleep at the Grist Mill, and take every precaution to insure it against fire. I first rode up by the upper toad past the old Fort Hill, but found it so blocked up with burnt and fallen timber that I was obliged to take the lower road along the River side. At the end of the plain I found Mr. Roberts with a party of men stationed to protect the shed, as the fire was only a short distance back in the woods. I arrived at the Grist Mill I arrived at the Grist Mill about an hour before dark, and to my delight discovered that the fire was nearly a mile off, and as the night was calm there appeared little danger. The six men that were there I divided into watches, and erected a ladder to reach the roof of the mill, and took every precaution in my power. The fire did not approach nearer during the night, and early in the morning, I rode up to the Mill .

30th. “Plain where I found Mr. Peers. The woods had been on fire all round, and several parts of the Plain had been burnt. The sheds of grain escaped narrowly, the straw around one having actually been burned to the very base of the Stack. The men were very active, and the large number of Indians who were fortunately encamped there at the time rendered important services. Mr. P.[eers] and I rode down together to the Saw Mill, the road to which was rather dangerous, as the trees were still falling. We met Mr. Harvey near the Hill, and breakfasted with him. The men were all busily employed removing the fences around, and carrying them to the Rivers edge. As the weather was calm and the grass and underwood green, there did not appear much danger to the houses, unless the wind should blow down the River. After breakfast Mr. H. rode down with me to the Grist Mill, from whence I proceeded to the Fort. I arrived there in the forenoon, and found most of the people going on with their customary employments. An examination was made today of the Canadians who deserted during the time the fire was raging, and fled to the opposite side of the River. Beaudoin one of them was put in irons, and after receiving a severe reprimand was liberated, making many promises of amendment. Monique, Barron, Bayfield and two or three half-breed lads, who were the other deserters, only were blamed for running away, but nothing done to them. The Indians who assisted have been well paid to day, and appear satisfied. Weather fine. No rain.”

October 1st, Tuesday. Two Kanakas (Tova and Samohomoho) who broke into the depense when the barn took fire, were apprehended and examined to day, and being found guilty Tova received 15 lashes at the Gun, and the other ten, and were afterwards put in confinement. Parties of men were still kept watching the fires in the woods, which continue to burn, but not fiercely as the weather is calm.”

2nd, Wednesday. Most of the work about the Fort going on as usual. About 10 o'clock at night it rained for about an hour which will do much good."

3rd, Wednesday. Weather fair and the air free from smoke, and all danger from fire is now ended. Mr. Douglas rode up in the afternoon to the Plain, and brought down Mr. Peers with him.

4th. Friday About 4 this morning Dr. McLoughlin arrived from the Wallamette, where he has been for the last 5 weeks. The Wallamette Settlement and Jallatine (Tualatin) Plains had also been overrun with fire, and a good deal of damage done to cattle, as well as grain." Private Journal kept at Fort Vancouver Columbia River by Thomas Lowe Hudson Bay Coy., page 6-7.

Sept. 3, 1844 "In the forenoon Mr. Wm. McKay arrived from the Wallamette Falls, and as the Court sits there tomorrow he was sent by Mr. Ermatinger to bring Mr. McTavish, whose claims had been taken possession of by an American who is to be tried for so doing. Mr. McTavish therefore set off with him again in the afternoon as his presence there may be of use. The day has been fair, but very close.

"5th. Tuesday. Mr. Peers started in the forenoon with 3 men for Umpqua of which he is to take charge, Mr. Fraser (who has been here since 11th. October) being appointed to succeed Mr. McDonald at Colville. Mr. McBean and family arrived from the Wallamette Falls being too unwell to attend to business. He has been for the last 6 weeks assisting Mr. Ermatinger to post up the Books of the Company's Shop at the Falls. Heavy showers at intervals during the day. The Cadboro is at the Cowlitz River.

"6th. Wednesday. In the Evening Mr. McTavish returned from the W. Falls, bringing with him Mrs. Ermatinger, Mr. Perkins, Mr. Lovejoy and several Kanakas from the Methodist Mission who are to go to Woahoo (Oahu). Still raining heavy." Private Journal kept at Fort Vancouver Columbia River by Thomas Lowe Hudson Bay Coy., page 8.

"19th. Tuesday. Mr. David McLoughlin left in a Boat for the Wallamette Falls with his mother and Mrs. Ermatinger, to return again in few days. Fair.

"29th. Friday. The late heavy rains have swollen both the Columbia and Wallamette River to an unusual height, and we heard today that Mr. Pettygrove's house at the Wallamette Falls had been washed away, that Dr. McLoughlin's two mills there were in great danger, the water having risen to the windows, and that another boat with Wheat has been lost. Rode out in the afternoon."

"30th. Saturday. St. Andrew's day. I have to day attained my 20th year. Mr. Grahame who is in charge of the Sale Shop in the absence of Mr. David McLoughlin, began to take the Shop Inventory yesterday and finished this afternoon. Several of the men who were to have accompanied Capt. Humphreys to the N.W. Coast, returned this evening from the Cowelitz Farm with the Boat, having been taken unwell on the trip. They brought papers from, Woahoo which were on board the Chinamis, Captain Couch, who is in his way to this place, having some, Molasses on board for the Company. We have intelligence by her that Texas has been annexed to the United States. The Woahoo a/cs for Outfit 1844

have also been received. Raining heavily and incessantly the whole day and night.” Private Journal kept at Fort Vancouver Columbia River by Thomas Lowe Hudson Bay Coy., pages 9-10.

“25th. Wednesday (1844) Christmas. Showery, Holyday to all hands. Most of us went out shooting. Divine Service in the Church, forenoon and afternoon. Had a card party in Dr. McLoughlin’s room in the evening, and a Supper afterwards.

26th. Thursday. A Holyday also. Another card party, and a dance in Bachelor’s Hall. Barge returned from Chenmus.

31st. Tuesday. In the afternoon Dr. McLoughlin arrived from the Wallamette Falls, accompanied by Mrs. McL. and Mrs. Ermatinger. Shortly afterwards Mr. Joseph McLoughlin arrived from the Wallamette. The people engaged erecting a new Belfry, the Bell being placed at the top of a spar 45 feet above ground the butt end of which was placed in a large cask of salt water in order to preserve it from decay. It is placed behind the small Granary, near the North pickets. This being the last day of the year, the men got a regale of beef and flour, also a half pint of Rum. Heavy rains all day.” Private Journal kept at Fort Vancouver Columbia River by Thomas Lowe Hudson Bay Coy., pages 11.

Feb. 4, 1845 “Tuesday. Mizzling rain all day. Wind S.E. Mrs. Ermatinger arrived today from the W. Falls.” Lowe, p. 13

Willamette Falls 23d March 1845

“My Dear Edward

I received your two letters of the 26th March and 9th April 1844 - and they afford me much pleasure. To learn that business was more successful with you was gratifying - and I sincerely hope that you may continue to prosper. With respect to myself, I really believe that I never was doomed for happiness, and circumstances have occurred that make me regret that I got married in this country. I have been disgusted with the service many years past and am becoming more so daily, yet lack resolution to leave it - much may depend upon my own unfortunate mind. Something does not [sic] the country is not now what it was when you saw it. Immigrations have been pouring in and a town has sprung up here of some size. We have four mills at work, one of them, from England (I am told the Dr’s) which can turn out from 80 to 100 barrels of flour daily, if it could be kept in wheat. The Methodists have built a church - and the Catholics are putting one up upon a grand scale. With all this business, I have more or less to do, and with the society of the place, which adds nothing to my content. Mrs. E. is too young to be of much use to me and has not been brought up in a school for good house wives. She may improve, in the mean time I want the happiness of a well conducted house. Another thing we are kept too close to the family and I am anxious for a removal. If things do not go on better and I retire to St. Thomas, it is not certain that I will take her with me. This is between ourselves, and rest assured that if I do not the fault shall not be mine. I applied for leave to cross this spring and promised the Dr. that I would not come back again. But he said, he could not grant it and promised he would do his best to remove [me] to another part. This is all humbug. He is at a loss for one to put here and my feelings are out of the question. My heart is heavy. Last year I was appointed to succeed Archy, at Colville, and

have been ordered to move twice. Once we went the length of packing up, yet, at the moment I was about to embark, the order was countermanded. What with the store, mills, and building here, I have business enough to keep me and two clerks constantly employed, and I do my best to do it well, and believe me they know so. But the Doctor's policy with the infernal lawless rascals about us is so counter to my feelings, that it is, another course of satisfaction to me. Then we have our political parties, which run high and threaten destruction to all order. There are two parties - the Hudson's Bay and the Methodist Mission - and I have daily to endure the vile slang of the latter. They have even gone the length to threaten to burn Vancouver. Upon the whole, I have no taste for a new country, and if the Americans who come here are a fair sample of their law and order, neither should I desire to live in what they call a free country.

With respect to Lawrence, you must do your best; in the mean time, and if we find that he will not do any good for himself, he must come here. To try to make a gentleman out of him would be a folly, indeed for nothing gentlemanly can come of the tribe. Yet if they can be made useful something will be accomplished. Where is there one, who has spent more upon his family than our friend, the Doctor? Yet what comfort has his boys been to him? John has been taken from him - a victim of his disposition - and David remains a youth without the first principal [sic] of duty and honor. He would not care if his father was called tomorrow, if he was certain to get his money. He is good looking and that is all that can be said of him. He was placed with me this spring. But when I sent him off to Vancouver I told his father that he must not be sent back to do business with me. You may judge that it was not upon a trifle that I would do so to any father. I feel for the old gentleman.

Money matters scarcely ever enter my head these times, and I do not know how I stand with the Company, but I fancy about square. My commission, I think, will not increase my fortune largely nor is there much prospect of the dividends increasing. However, by the account from London, which has already reached us per the ship this spring, I see that there was money enough ahead to meet the Draft you gave out, and this year I have paid for all the supplies I took in the country Transfers, so that I am clear of debt. I have no idea what 1842 will give me, but scarcely think it will exceed L200. I think I did wrong, that I did not leave the country 8 years ago. Now I scarcely know what to do. To go to Canada and become a farmer for a living will not [do] - yet if their honors will give me two or three years of leave of absence, as they have done many others, I will leave the service and depend upon the chance a living. Of course, your success will influence me some. Your letter of 1843 was written in such low spirits that I could not think of leaving. Last year they were more encouraging and if they continue to be so I shall make up my mind. In the mean time, I wish to be prepared for the worst, and if misfortune should reach you, to stand prepared to render what assistance I can.

Our little daughter is growing a lively child. She and the mother have been off some time to Vancouver and the education of the child costs me much serious thought. The schools got up here are such a mixt nature, and the mere teaching a child to read and write I look upon as nothing. I want a good moral education, and the mothers of this

country have not themselves been well enough brought up to attend to it. It is true they are much better than they were; still, to my ideas, are awfully deficient.

Mr. McDonald wrote me that he should go your way, if so I fancy he will take this, and he can describe this place - with all its prospects, laws and lawmakers, as he was at the meeting of our legislators. I wish him success and he has my good will and friendship, go where he will.

Give my love to Mrs. Ermatinger and with every prayer for yours and her happiness I am My Dear Edward Yours Affectionately Frs. Ermatinger

I scarcely know what I have written. The express has been off some days but I took a sudden desire to follow it and did not write a letter until the last minute. Mr. McLoughlin and I have had a correspondence upon the subject of my leaving but he would not grant permission, and at one moment I was nearly going off in spite of all authority. The truth is Edward, between ourselves, I do not think that I can remain here or near Vancouver with honor to myself. Let this suffice for the present."

March 29, 1845 "Mr. (Richard) Grant was married this afternoon to Mrs. Kittson (Helene McDonald) in the Hall, at which we all were present. Dr. McLoughlin left this afternoon in a canoe for the Wallamette Falls, accompanied by Mrs. Ermatinger. The Vancouver's crew employed rigging a stage. Fine fair day." Lowe, p. 15.

May 17, 1845. "Saturday. Fine weather. Pore Desmit (Pierre De Smet) arrived in the afternoon from Nez Percis, bringing the document sent by Mr. MacTavish from Colville, as also papers from New Caledonia and Thompson's River."

"18th. Sunday. Fine warm day. Mosquitoes have made their appearance today for the first time this year. The apples in the garden are now formed, and there is every appearance of a good crop of them. Wild strawberries at table to day, the first of the season." Lowe, p. 17.

May 29, 1845 "Thursday. Rainy and cold. Dr. McLoughlin and Mrs. Ermatinger arrived from the Wallamette." Lowe, p. 17.

June 15, 1845 "Sunday. Fair weather, but oppressively warm and close, a drying parching wind, blowing strong from the East. Mr. Ermatinger arrived in the afternoon from the W. Falls. Indians arrived in the evening with letters from Nisqually, with the melancholy intelligence of Chief Trader Rae's death at San Francisco in California. The Barque Cowlitz has arrived at Fort Victoria from California and Waahoo, and Mr. W. Sinclair, Mr. Rae's assistant, had been dispatched from thence to this place via Nisqually, and is now on his way hither, having sent on the Indians ahead in order to break the news in some degree before he arrived. The business in California is closed."

"18th. Wednesday. Day fair and warm. Mr. Wm. Sinclair arrived in the afternoon from Nisqually bringing the particulars of Mr. Rae's death, by which it appears that in a fit of temporary insanity he shot himself, having previously instructed Mr. Forbes to wind up

the business. Mrs. Rae has not come in the Cowlitz, being unwell. This evening Mr. (James) Douglas accompanied the 4 Batteaux which were to transport Wheat from Cowlitz, and Mr. (Henry Newsham) Peers left in the green Boat for Fort George, of which place it is intended he shall ultimately take charge, although he is to return here in a few days. A few peals of thunder.”

“19th. Thursday. Mr. and Mrs. Ermatinger left this for the Falls in the forenoon, accompanied by W. Sinclair, who is to remain there. We have had early potatoes at table for several days past. River has fallen a very little.” Lowe, p18.

“23rd. Monday. Cowelitz began to unload. Had green pease at table to day, for the first time this season. Bathed with Mr. Roberts in the evening. Beautiful warm weather.” Lowe, p18.

June 28, 1845 “Saturday. Day exceedingly warm. About 9 o’clock in the evening the Interior Brigade consisting of 9 Boats in charge of Messrs. Tod and Manson started from here, accompanied by the Rev. Fathers Ravale (Anthony Ravalli) and Accolte. The Barque Cowelitz saluted with 7 guns. Much thunder and lightening in course of the night, and a little rain.” Lowe, p18.

About the Thomas Lowe:

“The Lowe family home was in Coupar Angus, Perthshire, Scotland. Thomas joined the Hudson Bay Company in 1840, aged 16, and served with them for the next decade. He was one of the original founders of Victoria, BC in June 1843 and was subsequently based at Fort Vancouver where he knew the Birnie family extremely well. The HBC Archives in Winnipeg have his journals from 1840 to 1850 and there are frequent references to the Birnies in them...”

“In 1849 Thomas married James Birnie's daughter Rose (sometimes called La Rose) and this was the main reason why he left the HBC. He joined the store-keeping business of Allan, McKinlay and Co. which had been established in Oregon City by two other ex-HBC men, George Trail Allan and Archibald McKinlay, both former chief traders. Sadly, Rose died in September 1850 of lung disease (presumably TB). Thomas remained on very friendly terms with the Birnie family and James and Charlotte named their last child after him, Thomas Lowe Birnie, born on 12 August 1851. However, Thomas Lowe seems to have gradually lost interest in the land which James Birnie had given him at Cathlamet.”

“...in 1852 Thomas Lowe was sent to San Francisco to establish the new business of Allan, McKinlay and Lowe, Commission Merchants, later to be renamed Allan, Lowe and Company. Half the capital in the new company came from Allen, McKinlay and Lowe, and the other half from three sleeping partners, John Ballenden, James Grahame (married to Susan Birnie) and Alexander Caulfield Anderson.”

“In that same year, 1852, Thomas' younger brother, David, joined the Oregon City business as a clerk and in 1853 the youngest brother, James, joined Thomas in San Francisco. One of the business activities they engaged in was to sell salmon and potatoes from Cathlamet on behalf of James Birnie.”

“Between 1853 and 1860 Thomas and James alternated their time between the businesses in San Francisco and Oregon (David died in 1858). Whilst the former flourished the later made big losses and in 1860 Thomas decided to call it a day. Alexander Caulfield Anderson's share in the business was transferred to shares in two Vitoria steamers, the Governor Douglas and Colonel Moody. James went to Victoria to establish a new business as Commission Merchants and Thomas joined him two years later, in 1862, when he had finally managed to wind up all their interests in Oregon.”

“Thomas and James remained in partnership in Victoria until 1870 when Thomas decided to retire, returning to Scotland in 1872. James remained in business with another partner in Victoria until 1874, moving back to San Francisco in 1876 and dying there in 1879. Thomas lived on quietly in retirement in Coupar Angus until his death in 1912.” Notes from Caroline Gurney, Oct. 2002: Manuscript by Ben Holladay Dorcy, page 150.

In the Elections of the 3rd Provisional Government in 1845, Francis was elected the Treasurer of Oregon. “The Factors at Ft. Vancouver had received sanction from the Committee to proceed with cooperation in the formation of an interim government, a step made easier for McLoughlin by the adoption of the Organic Law of 1845. This body of provisions was in essence a state constitution, incorporating three branches of

government and providing for a Bill of Rights. When he was elected to office on June 3, 1845, so was James Abernathy, as governor, and James Willis Nesmith, as Supreme Judge. Only two delegates had voted against Francis, Hill and Straight. He was uneasy in his role as politician, not wanting to be in the middle of things. "In his ambivalence, he excused his disloyalty to the Company and the British Government by bemoaning the expectations of McLoughlin, with whom he now had family ties." McDonald, p264

William Gray wrote about the elections of the Third Provisional Oregon Government: "On the third day of the session, the question as to the legality of allowing Francis Ermatinger to hold the office of treasurer came up, and it was finally decided that there were not sufficient grounds for contesting the election. ... I have no doubt, from the feeling and influence just then operating among the officers and servants of the company and English colonists (which subsequent events have proved), that they were laboring to divide the American influence, by coming in and appearing to act with us. Ermatinger was popular among the Americans, and received the entire French vote, and was elected by the Legislative Committee." A history of Oregon, 1792-1849, drawn from personal observation and authentic information Gray, W. H. (William Henry), 1810-1889. 627 pages. (Portland, Oregon: New York : Harris & Holman ; American News Co., 1870.) Currency issued by the Oregon Provisional Government in during this time was called "Ermatinger money." "Dictionary of the American West", page 140, Winifred Blevins, 2001

Through his duties Francis had gained a good insight on the new governments strengths and weaknesses. He didn't care much for the new government. Meanwhile a breach between Governor George Simpson and Dr. McLoughlin had progressively widened. "Ermatinger was rather too intimate with Dr. McLoughlin to be pleasant to Sir Geo., " wrote George Roberts, "he was at the head of the Company's business at Oregon City and was a general favorite, I think, with the Americans."

"Not long after the Provisional Government was seated, McLoughlin moved to secure title to the territory around Fort Vancouver under the registration procedure set up by the new Constitution. His motive or this is unclear, but in all likelihood he was loath to see the rich Vancouver farms slip from the British ownership when the headquarters of the Columbia Department moved to Vancouver Island, a transfer that had been in the works for some years. McLoughlin resisted this move; finally in 1842 Simpson gave a direct order. By 1845 Fort Victoria had become the chief repository of trade goods.

Not surprisingly, McLoughlin had claimed one of the nine-mile-square parcels at Fort Vancouver in the name of Francis Ermatinger. James Douglas also had a claim recorded in his name, as did several other HBC men. Before the end of 1845, Ermatinger's claim, the choicest of the nine, had been jumped by Americans, Hudson's Bay Company men drove off the first trespassers on the riverside land, now part of the city of Vancouver, Washington. The next, more persistent claim jumper was Amos Short. Ermatinger served him with a legal eviction notice. Short killed two HBC employees as they tried to force him off "Ermatinger's" land. Short then thought it expedient to disappear for a time, but such was the climate for American prerogative that when Clark County, Washington was organized a few years later, Short was appointed Probate Judge. He proceeded to have

his claim to the section recorded, and Short Park in downtown Vancouver today marks the center of Ermatinger's briefly owned real estate." McDonald, p265

Here is how Francis Ermatinger's claim is recorded:

"Evidence for the United States in the matter of the claim of the Hudson's Bay Company pending before the British and American joint commission for the settlement of the Claims of the Hudson's Bay and Puget's Sound Agricultural Companies."

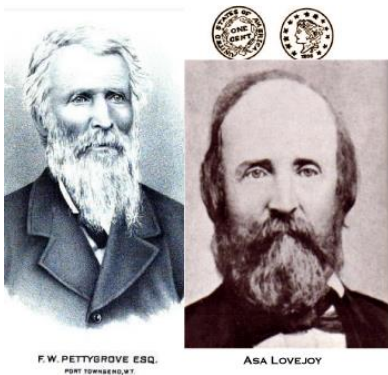
In PABC, NW971H B862 (microfiche) Author, Hudson's Bay Co

p.381 "Francis Ermatinger has this day recorded a land claim in Vancouver district as follows, to wit: Commencing at a tree on the north bank of the Columbia River, being the southwest corner of James Douglas' claim, following the said river downwards to another tree marked; thence about north one mile to another tree marked, thence to the northwest corner of James Douglas's claim, and from thence to the place of beginning, so as to include about 640 acres of land. And the claimant states that he holds the said claim without occupancy. Dated Oregon City, 10th October, 1845, J.E. Long, Recorder." [nananderson@shaw.ca]

"The original inhabitant of what was to become Portland was William Johnson. He settled there in 1842, but he had no intent to establish a city and soon moved across the river to start a sawmill on Johnson Creek. On their way to Fort Vancouver in November 1843, William Overton and Asa Lovejoy pulled their canoes ashore on the western bank of the Willamette long enough to claim 640 acres in Lovejoy's name. Overton became the proprietor for Lovejoy, who remained an absentee owner. He took half the claim as his payment and promptly sold it to Francis Pettygrove for \$50. Pettygrove had been a successful merchant in Maine and was enjoying similar success in the Oregon Country running the Red House Store in Oregon City and a warehouse in Champoege. In 1844, he built a log house on what would become the Portland waterfront.

Lovejoy and Pettygrove platted their new city in 1845. Both men wanted to name it for their respective hometowns. Following a "merry dinner party" in the Oregon City home of Francis Ermatinger, an HBC employee and Treasurer of the Oregon Provisional Government, a penny was flipped. Pettygrove won and saved future Portlanders from being known as New Bostonians. Portland's first settler was Captain John Couch, who built a wharf and allowed the young city to begin to live up to its name."

<http://www.endoftheoregontrail.org/road2oregon/sa33pdx.html> The penny flipped two out of three times at the Ermatinger House was minted in 1835 and now is exhibited in the Oregon Historical Society Museum in Portland, Oregon,



Francis W. Pettygrove & Asa Lovejoy

http://www.historicpreservationleague.org/mep_Ermatinger.php



William Sinclair, Jr.

“In Search of Nahoway: Conflicting Family Traditions and the Question of Paternity”

“A note on the Pettygroves:

Benjamin Stark Pettygrove,—Born in Portland, Oregon, Sept. 30, 1846, died at Port Townsend, March 7, 1913, aged 67 years. His father, Francis W. Pettygrove, settled on the Portland townsite several years before, and was one of the town projectors. He suggested the name and bestowed it, his partner in the enterprise favoring Boston instead. When this boy, this first white male child born there, came along, the question of sovereignty in Oregon was not settled between Great Britain and the United States, as far as known to the people of Oregon, though, as a matter of fact, it had been settled three and a half months before. A ship came in having on board a passenger named Benjamin Stark, who had a newspaper in which was the first report of the conclusion of the matter on the basis of the international boundary line on the 49th parallel. The Pettygroves were so pleased that they named their boy after this stranger. Streets in Portland are named Pettygrove and Stark. Benjamin Stark stayed there, became a prominent citizen, and represented the state in the U. S. Senate. The Pettygrove family removed to Port Townsend in 1852, and were among the founders of that city. B. S. Pettygrove lived there almost sixty-one years. After a married life of nineteen years, his wife died in 1893. They left one son.” *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, “Pioneer Dead of 1913”, pages 20-24.

Francis resigned as Treasurer of the Oregon government and was replaced by John H. Couch on March 4, 1846. “Brown’s Political History of Oregon – Provisional Government” James Henry Brown, Volume one, Wiley B. Allen, Pub., Portland, Oregon, 1892, page 292.

Notes on Asa L. Lovejoy:

Asa Lawrence Lovejoy (March 14, 1808 – September 10, 1882) was an American pioneer and politician in the region that would become the U.S. state of Oregon. He is best remembered as a founder of the city of Portland, Oregon. He was an attorney in Boston, Massachusetts before traveling by land to Oregon; he was a legislator in the Provisional Government of Oregon, mayor of Oregon City, and a general during the Cayuse War that followed the Whitman massacre in 1847. He was also a candidate for Provisional Governor in 1847, before the Oregon Territory was founded, but lost that election.

Lovejoy continued his political career during territorial period as a member of both chambers of the Oregon Territorial Legislature; he served as the first Speaker of the Oregon House of Representatives in 1849. He was also a delegate to the Oregon Constitutional Convention held in 1857 that paved the way for Oregon’s entry into the Union. He was part owner of the *Oregon Telegraph* newspaper, and worked on railroad development in the Willamette Valley after leaving politics. Lovejoy Street in Northwest Portland and the Lovejoy Fountain in Downtown Portland are named in his honor.

Lovejoy was born in Groton, Massachusetts, on March 14, 1808. His parents were Betsy Lovejoy (née Lawrence) and Doctor Samuel Lovejoy. In the Eastern United States, he attended college at both Cambridge College and Amherst College, before studying law and passing the Maine bar to become an attorney. After leaving Boston he moved west to Missouri, but left the bottom lands of that state for the unorganized Oregon Country due to poor health. Lovejoy first traveled to the Oregon Country in 1842 over the Oregon Trail. He was part of a wagon train led by Elijah White that arrived at the Whitman Mission in what is now eastern Washington State. During this trip he was briefly held captive with another immigrant by Native Americans before arriving at the Whitman’s. At the mission, Lovejoy agreed to join Marcus Whitman on a trip to return east during the winter. Lovejoy returned to Oregon in 1843, as part of the Great Migration that helped open up the Oregon Trail to large migrations, settling in the Willamette Valley. Upon returning to the region, Lovejoy set up a law practice in Oregon City, the seat of government during the Provisional government period. In 1843, Lovejoy and traveling companion William Overton split a claim to a 640 acres (2.6 km²) tract along the Willamette River.^[6] This site would later become part of downtown Portland. Overton held the land, as Lovejoy settled elsewhere. Overton soon sold his share to Francis Pettygrove and Lovejoy and Pettygrove held their famous coin toss in 1845 to decide the name of the city which was being platted on the claim. Each desired to name the area after his hometown. Pettygrove, from Portland, Maine, won the toss, and the town site became known as Portland, Oregon. The two would plat sixteen blocks of the town that year; Lovejoy later sold his stake to Benjamin Stark in 1845. Also in 1845, Lovejoy married Elizabeth McGary. They would have five children: William, Amos, Ada,

Elizabeth, and Nellie. In 1846, he was the last administrator of the Ewing Young estate, whose death had precipitated the formation of the Provisional Government of Oregon.

In 1844, Asa Lovejoy was elected to the Provisional Legislature of Oregon to represent Clackamas County. Lovejoy ran for the newly created office of governor that replaced the Executive Committee in 1845 with the adoption of the Second Organic Laws of Oregon. George Abernethy won the election after he received the most votes with 228, followed by Osbourne Russell with 130, William J. Bailey with 75, and finally Lovejoy with 71 votes. Though he lost the election for governor, he was elected as mayor of Oregon City that year. Lovejoy returned to the legislature in 1846 and served as Speaker of the body. In 1847, Lovejoy ran against Abernethy for governor a second time. Lovejoy lost the election 536 to 520. From 1847 to 1848, he served as adjunct general during the Cayuse War, the war resulting from the Whitman Massacre. Lovejoy was elected in 1848 to what would be the final session of the Provisional Legislature, which was held in late 1848 into early 1849. However, Lovejoy now representing Vancouver District north of the Columbia River resigned before the session started. In September 1848, he traveled with a group to California during the California Gold Rush, but returned aboard the brig *Undine* in January 1849 after six weeks in California. During the same session he resigned from, he was selected by the Provisional Legislature as Supreme Judge of the government on February 16, 1849, but never served and the Provisional government was dissolved the following month with the arrival of the territorial government.

Once the government of the Oregon Territory arrived in March 1849, a new legislature with two chambers was established. Lovejoy was elected to the first session of this legislature, first serving in the lower chamber Oregon House of Representatives. Representing Clackamas District again, he also became the first Speaker of the Oregon Territorial Legislature. In 1851, he returned to the legislature, serving in the upper chamber Council. The following year, he remained in the Council, but now elected as a Whig Party politician. In 1854, he was back in the House of Representatives, and in 1856 he served in one final session, now as a Democratic Party member. In 1857, Lovejoy represented Clackamas County at the Oregon Constitutional Convention in Salem. The convention created the Oregon Constitution in preparation for the territory becoming a U.S. state. Lovejoy, still a Democrat, served as the chairperson of the boundaries committee and also served on the committee responsible for matters concerning the legislature. The convention finished on September 18, 1857, and submitted the finished document to a vote of the public on November 9. This vote approved the Constitution and on February 14, 1859, Oregon entered the Union as the 33rd state. In his later years he was involved in a variety of business ventures in Oregon, including as a major shareholder in the Oregon Telegraph newspaper and vice-president of the Willamette Steam Navigation Company. Lovejoy died on September 10, 1882, at the age of 74 and was buried in the Masonic section at Lone Fir Cemetery in Portland. Lovejoy Street in Portland is named after him, and the character Reverend Timothy Lovejoy in *The Simpsons* is named after this street. The fountain at Lovejoy Fountain Park in downtown Portland is named in his honor. From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

In June of 1845 Governor Simpson instructed the board of management of the Columbia Department (McLoughlin, Ogden & Douglas) to close the store at Willamette Falls, and send Francis to another post. Although the Company's property at Willamette was sold to McLoughlin, the Company continued a store for a little longer.

Thomas Lowe wrote an interesting and detailed trip from Fort Vancouver throughout the settlements at and near Willamette Falls, Oregon, his journal is a treasure of Fort Vancouver and Willamette Valley tidbits that often mention, Francis & Catherine Ermatinger, and show what going on in Francis' world at that time. I include many of these entries in full even though they did not directly refer to him:

July 31, 1845, "[We left this place] at a quarter past four in the morning, and arrived at the Wallamette Falls at eight o'clock. Took breakfast at the Company's mess table there, and went through the town in the forenoon, visiting the Doctor's Saw and Grist Mills, the latter is a splendid building, and has the finest machinery of any in the Country. Dined, and started at half past one on horseback to take a few days tour through the Settlement, accompanied by Wm. Sinclair, Mrs. Ermatinger's brother. Arrived at Tom McKay's farm (about 15 miles from the Falls) at 4 o'clock, but finding him absent, proceeded onwards till we came to Dr. Bailey's where we alighted and took tea. Remounted, and having rode two miles farther on arrived at Mr. Newell's house, where we met Mr. McDonald who is in charge of the Company's Granary at Champooiak. (This McDonald might be either Angus (not the Chief Trader Angus but another, or Murdoch McDonald, both were laborers in this area at the time). Here unsaddled our horses and turned them adrift for the night. After remaining some time at Mr. Newell's where we

had a second supper, we walked over to the Granary with Mr. McD. To take up our quarters for the night. We found him living in an old Wheat Binn, and preferred sleeping out side to lying down in his miserable hovel. The Granary is on the East bank of the Wallamette River, and there was about 4000 bushels in Store then. Slept soundly after such a long ride, Champooiak being about 30 miles from the Falls.

“August 1st. Friday. This morning we walked down to Mr. Newell’s where we took breakfast, after which he sent for his own horses and gave us the use of them for the day, so as those which we had rode from the Falls might have time to recruit. Mr. McDonald accompanied us in our journey, to day, in the course of which we visited the Roman Catholic Mission where the Rev. Mr. (Modeste) DeMers and (Z.) Bolduc at present are, we then rode past the Farms of Picard, Champagne, Deslards, Gervais and Laderoute, from thence into the Big Plain where we made a circuit of a few miles, passing by Gingras, Dupoty, McKay’s, Rodadeaus (Rondeau), Bonefant’s and Mastas, at which latter house we alighted and took dinner. From Masta’s rode straight across the Plain to the Catholic church which is building, then through a belt of wood to Waccan Umppreville’s, and proceeding onwards passed Quintal and Chalifou’s houses, from whence we once more came to the Mission, but did not stop as it was getting late. When we arrived at Perreault’s place, we found that Mr. Newell had sent our horses there to meet us, and as Mr. McDonald was to go home to Champooiak he took the horses which we had rode all day back to Mr. Newell, who had so kindly lent them to us. We crossed the Wallamette River at Perrault’s in a scow in which we embarked with the horses, and mounting on the other side rode on to Mr. Joseph McLoughlin’s house, where we arrived at eight o’clock at night, and slept there.”

“2nd. Saturday. Started from Joe’s at 10 A.M. and crossed the Yam Hill River at (Louis) Labonte’s, where we were taken across in a canoe, but had to swim our horses. Passed Cristman’s and Howards, and went as far as Matheny’s farm, from whence we returned. Two miles from Matheny’s we came to George Gay’s house, where we alighted and had dinner. Gay is an English sailor, has been about 15 years in the Country and now has a fine brick house, the only one as yet in the settlement, with a good well stocked farm. We arrived at Gay’s about 1 P.M. which is 12 miles from Joseph McLoughlin’s. Our original plan was to have gone the length of (Jesse) Applegate’s, but this we found our horses were unable to accomplish, and we had therefore to return from Gay’s and make the rest of our way to Joe’s before dark. We passed by Howard’s, Ben William’s, Armstrong’s and Cook and Fletcher’s where we forded the Yam Hill River at the Falls, intending from thence to have gone direct to Clarke and Campbell’s claim, but receiving wrong directions, we made an unnecessary circuit of 6 miles, passing by Hubbard’s and Milligan’s, before arriving there. Wm. Sinclair had received a horse from Mr. Campbell at the Wallamette Falls which he was to leave with Mr. Clarke and get a fresh one instead, but Mr. Clarke was unfortunately from home when we arrived, and as another could not be procured until his return, I had to leave William there for the night, and push on to Joe McLoughlin’s alone (about 6 miles farther on) where I arrived about 8 in the evening, and took up my quarters. This was a pleasant day.”

“3rd. Sunday I waited at Joe’s until 10 o’clock, when Wm. Sinclair arrived with Mr. Clarke, at whose house he slept, and from whom he had procured a fresh horse. We started half an hour afterwards, and having rode about 5 miles passed a solitary oak tree on the top of the Chikalem Hill, which serves as an excellent land mark, winding for 4 miles along the ridge of these Hills, we came to an American’s house of the name of Thompson about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile on the right of the road, and proceeding a couple of miles onwards passed close to Doty’s – 3 miles farther to a new house building by one of the last year’s Emmigrants, and then scouring along 6 miles of a marshy plain, we came to Mr. Hill’s house, which is 12 miles distant from Joe McLoughlin’s. Here we remained for about 10 minutes, and had a mouthful of bread and water. Reid’s house was 3 miles farther on, and another miles ride brought us to the first branch of the Fallaty River which we forded, and passed Hill’s house on the opposite bank of the left. We had another mile to go before coming to the next branch, where there was a bridge, not far beyond which, on the left, we passed Smith’s house. Had then to ride over 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ mile of prairie, 1 mile of wood, another mile of prairie before arriving at Mr. Blevin’s. About a mile beyond his house we came to a third branch of the Fallaty, which also had a bridge across it. Another four miles of prairie brought us the Charles McKay’s, near the crossing of the fourth branch of the Fallaty River, at whose house we alighted, and remained all night. He we found Tom Smith the deputy Sheriff, and Mr. Goodwin 1st Mate of the Chinamus in search of some deserters from that vessel. The day has been very warm and no breeze.”

“4th. Monday. McKay’s being a central place in the FallatyPlains we took an early breakfast, and rode around to several of the Settler’s houses and called upon David Munro and Mr. Burnett. Took a luncheon at McKay’s house, and started for the Wallamette Falls (about 30 miles off) at noon. Called upon Burns and Ebberts on our way, and arrived at the Falls about 4 P.M. Charles McKay accompanied us, and had given us fresh horses, which he brought to the Falls to take Capt. Conel, Mr. and Mrs. Ricker to the Plains. Fine warm weather.”

“5th. Tuesday. This being the day on which the Oregon Legislature met, I took advantage of my being at the Falls to attend, and listened the whole day to their angry debates.”

After listen to the debates the next day and a visit to Joe McLoughlin he, “Started at 8 P.M. from the Falls for Vancouver with Dr. McLoughlin in the canoe which brought us up.”

“7th. Thursday. Reached the Fort at 6 in the morning and found all well. Mrs. Roberts had been delivered of a first born son in our absence. And on the 10th Lowe wrote, “Very Sultry. John McLeod who was subject to fits of insanity, was found this morning dead in bed.”

“26th. Tuesday. About 7 o’clock this morning we were agreeably surprised by the arrival of Chief Factor Ogden, Mr. Lane, and two English officers. The party left Red River on the 15th, June, came on horseback as far as Colville, and from thence down the Columbia in a River Boat, having been 70 days on the trip. Mr. Ogden who was formerly in charge

of New Caledonia, and went across the Mountains in the Spring of 1844, has since then been to Europe, and again returned to this department. Mr. Lane who was Accountant at Red River comes to Vancouver to act in the same capacity, Mr. McTavish being appointed by the Governor and Council to the charge of Fort Victoria. Mr. Lane says he has been promised by Sir George to go out in charge of the Express next Spring, being betrothed to a Miss McDermont at Red River, whom he wishes to bring into the Columbia with him. The two Officers are on leave of absence from their regiments, stationed in Canada, and have come it seems principally on a pleasure trip, although they are also furnished with instruments for making geographical surveys. One named Vavassour (Mervin Vavasour), is a lieutenant, and the Ware (Henry James Warre) belongs to the 54th Regiment, and is aide-de-camp to Sir Richard Jackson, Commander of the Forces of Canada. They both intend to recross the Mountains with the Express next Spring, making Vancouver their head quarters for the winter. Only 6 new men have been brought by the Party to the Columbia. No very important news from the East Side, the Oregon Question is in exactly the same state as before. I received by this opportunity a Letter from home dated 26th. Jan. last, by which I was happy to learn that all was well there then. Very rainy all day, with a thunder storm in the afternoon.” Private Journal kept at Fort Vancouver Columbia River by Thomas Lowe Hudson Bay Coy., pages 20-23.



Bishop A.M.A. Blanchet of Nisqually (l.), Archbishop Francis Norbert Blanchet of Oregon City, and Bishop Modeste DeMers

Sept. 11, 1845, “Thursday. In the forenoon Mr. Douglas with two of his daughters, Lieutenants Warre and Vavassour, Mr. Roberts, Dr. Long, and Mr. Sangster left the Falls for Vancouver in the Green Boat, while Mr. Ogden, Mr. Ermatinger, and Mr. David McLoughlin went in a river boat. Shortly afterwards I sent off Labelle with our luggage in a boat that was starting for Champooiack, with orders to pitch our tent near the Granary (about 20 miles up the Wallamette from the Falls) and have everything ready on our arrival. After dinner Mr. (William) Peel, Capt. Parke and myself set out for Champooiac on horses hired from Mr. Ross. We took Norman Henry one of the Company’s men with us, to look after our horses on the trip, he had likewise accompanied Mr. Douglas’ party through the Settlement. In riding up the Hill at the Falls, Capt. Parke had the misfortune to hurt his leg severely by coming in contact with the projecting branch of a tree, which he did not however consider of so serious a nature as to oblige him to return to the Falls. We arrived at Mr. (Robert) Newell’s house about 7 in the evening, alighted and took tea with him, then walked over to our tent at the Granary, accompanied by Mr. Newell and Mr. McDonald. Being furnished with a Case

and Basket we passed a pleasant evening, and between 11 and 12 I returned with Mr. Newell to his house, whence I slept, the two Officers taking up their quarters in the tent. Fine day.” Private Journal kept at Fort Vancouver Columbia River by Thomas Lowe Hudson Bay Coy., pages 25.

“14th. Sunday. Went to the Catholic Church in the forenoon, where we met Capt. Parke, who had rode up from the tent of with Mr. Newell. Mr. Demers preached in English and Pere Vere Cruz in French to a numerous congregation, principally Canadian Settlers and their families. Capt. Parke, Mr. Peel, Mr. McDonald, Tom McKay and myself dined with the Priests, but did not go to the afternoon service. After dinner we mounted our horses at Yerstain’s and rode over to our camp at the Granary (about 4 miles distant) calling at Lucier’s on our way, where we had as many apples as we chose to eat, Lucier having the largest orchard in the Wallamette. Had supper when we arrived at the tent, and sat up until a late hour over a flagon of wine, listening to Mr. Newell and Tom McKay relating their adventures in the Rocky Mountains, and “fighting their battles over again.” The two Officers and I slept in the tent.”

“15th. Monday. Took an early breakfast, and sent the tent and all our luggage on board a wheat Batteau going to the Falls, in which Capt. Parke, Mr. Demers and Mr. Newell embarked, the Captain’s leg not being sufficiently recovered to risk a ride on horseback. Soon after their departure, that is about 10 o’clock, Mr. Peel and I having taken leave of Mr. McDonald and Tom McKay, started on our return, accompanied by Norman Henry, on the same horses we brought from the Falls, and which we had rode the whole trip. Overtook Mr. Lafamboise (Michel LaFramboise), who accompanied us to the Falls where he was going on business. Met Pere de Vos on his way to the Catholic Mission, who informed us that Mr. Ermatinger had returned from the Fort, and that the canoe and Indians that brought him up, were waiting there to take us down. Stopped some time at Tom McKay’s farm, which is about half way between Champooiac and the Falls, and had a delicious feast of water melons. Arrived at the Falls about 2 o’clock in the afternoon. Mr. Newell’s bateau got down 4 hours after us. Remained at Mr. Ermatinger’s until 11 at night, when Mr. Peel, Capt. Parke and myself embarked in our canoe for Vancouver, which we reached a little after breakfast next morning.” Private Journal kept at Fort Vancouver Columbia River by Thomas Lowe Hudson Bay Coy., pages 25.

Sept 17, 1845. “Wednesday. Beautiful warm weather. Many cases of Fever and Ague amongst our men. Mr. Lewes who has been up here for two days returned again this forenoon to his farm.”

“18th. Thursday. Two boats arrived with Wheat from the Wallamette Falls, in which came Mr. William Sinclair, brother of Mrs. Ermatinger’s who has been for some time at the Falls, and Mr. Lafamboise an old Canadian who used to head the Company’s trapping parties in Calefornia. Warm and pleasant.”

“20th. Saturday. This morning early Mr. Ogden again in his boat for the Wallamette, accompanied by Mr. Lane who is to return soon. Several Americans came here to day and bought a large quantity of provisions, intending to go and meet the Immigrants from the States to whom they will be able to dispose of these provisions at a very high rate. General McCarver arrived in the evening. Mr. K. Logan has been absent for two days taling an inventory of the Cattle for the purpose of furnishing a correct account of the

Hudson's Bay Company's stock here, in order to determine the amount of taxes payable to the Oregon Government."

21st. Sunday. Mr. (James) Douglas being absent, I had to officiate to day in the Hall, Mr. Grahame reading the lessons. Beautiful warm weather. Bathed in the River. The Peaches, pears and apples are now perfectly ripe, and the garden abounds this season with the fruits, as well as with melons, grapes, etc."

"24th. Wednesday, Continued fine weather with every appearance of its lasting for some time. A Party of 18 Americans arrived at the Fort from above for breakfast, in two of the Company's boats, being part of this year's Immigration from the States. The whole party when they started from Independence amounted they say to 3300 men, women and children having with them 600 wagons, of which number however 100 wagons have branched off to California, so that only 500 come to the Columbia. This statement agrees with what the three Canadians who arrived some time ago told us. No accounts are to be opened here with the new Immigrants, whatever they get from the Shop must be paid for in Cash. These 18 men took passage again in the forenoon for Lynnton in the Green Boat, which was proceeding there for Wheat. "Callepooiah" arrived in the afternoon from the Falls, as did also Capt. Smith from Fallaty Plains."

"26th. Friday. Continued to my room to day with violent toothache, brought on by getting my last wisdom tooth, the first made its appearance in the Spring. Cloudy."

"27th. Saturday. Still confined to the house, face much swollen. Mr. Angus McDonald arrived in the forenoon from the Snake Country in a Boat with 17 men, bringing the Returns. Slight showers during the day." (I sympathize with 20 year-old Thomas Lowe because when I was 20 and in Viet Nam I got my last wisdom teeth too. No dentist nearby as was his case! Chalk)

Sept. 30, 1845 "Tuesday. Cool. In the afternoon Mr. Ogden arrived from the Wallamette Falls, accompanied by Mr. Robert Birnie and Mr. Brooks, clerk to Capt. Couch. Mr. Lane who went up with Mr. Ogden has not yet returned, as he was to have accompanied Mr. and Mrs. Ermatinger and Mr. Joseph McLoughlin and his wife as far up the settlement as Mr. Applegate's."

"3rd. Friday. Unusually cold. Mr. Ogden and Mr. Angus McDonald started before breakfast in a Boat to proceed into the Interior. Mr. Ogden intends visiting New Caledonia for the purpose of discovering a good and safe route for the Interior Brigade to bring the Returns out to the N.W. Coast instead of down the Columbia to Vancouver as hitherto, on the latter at present most unsafe. It is thought that Fraser's River will be chosen as the most eligible water communication. Mr. McDonald returns to the Snake County. The Barge left to day for the Falls. Strong Easterly gale."

"19th. Sunday.. We have letters from Fort Simpson up to the 12th, August, where all was as usual, and Mr. (John) Work quite well, having recovered from the cancer in his lip, which threatened at one time to prove fatal. The Vancouver sailed from Sitka on the 25th, July, and has had a very protracted voyage. She has Salmon on board from Victoria."

“22nd. Wednesday. I had a severe attack of the Fever and Ague to day. The Calepooiah arrived from the Cascades with Immigrants. It is reported that about one hundred of them have died from eating diseased cattle. They were induced to try a new route under the guidance of Stephen Meek, and not succeeding ran out of provisions in the Mountains.”

“24th. Friday. Heavy rain most of the day. A card party and supper upstairs in celebration of Cecilia Douglas’ eleventh birthday.”

“Oct. 2, 1845 “Sunday. Fine weather. Mr. Work arrived in the forenoon from Fort Simpson. He has quite recovered from the cancer in his lip, which had so nearly proved fatal to him. He left the Steamer at Nisqually, Capt. Dodd in command, Humphries being half crazy, and unable to carry on the duty of the Vessel. C. T. McNiell is in charge of Stikene, and Dr. Kennedy remains at Fort Simpson.”

Nov. 9, 1845 “ Sunday. Fine weather. At half past seven this morning the York Factory Express arrived, in charge of Dugald McTavish, brought down 10 new hands. C.(hief) F.(actor) Lewes and family, and Mr. McArthur apprentice clerk crossed the mountains with the Express, but both have remained here with the Express Boats.

“14th. Friday. Mr. Ermatinger and Mr. Campbell arrived from the Wallamette Falls. Mr. E. speaks of going to England per the Cowelitz.”

“19th. Wednesday. Weather as yesterday (heavy rain). Old Louis Jironquay is no more!” He was buried the next day. Private Journal kept at Fort Vancouver Columbia River by Thomas Lowe Hudson Bay Coy., pages 26-30.

DR. JOHN MCLOUGHLIN WROTE FROM FORT VANCOUVER, COLUMBIA, 20th November, 1845, (point 15 of the letter):

“15. In addition to the terms of compact stated in my letter, another condition was required as indispensable, that the district or north bank of the Columbia that they had named after Lewes and Clark should be called "Vancouver District". This point excited much unpleasant feeling among the Americans, and gave rise to many angry discussions but was finally carried in our favor by one vote, which shows how unpalatable the motion was. That object being gained, we became parties to the Association, and the district officers required to administer the laws (say three judges and a sheriff) were immediately afterwards appointed. These appointments are filled by Chief Factor Douglas, Mr. Forest, and Mr. Simmons, (an American) as judges, the sheriff being Mr. Jackson, (an Englishman settled in the Cowlitz).¹³ In order to obtain the full advantage of the laws of the Association, in regard to land claims, we have had the country around this place surveyed, and had nine lots, each of one square mile, registered in the Recorder's office, 14 to be held for the Company, under the names of
James Douglas, Chief Factor
Francis Ermatinger, Chief Trader
Forbes Barclay, Surgeon and Clerk
Richard Lane, Clerk
James Graham, Do.

Thomas Lowe, Do.
William Bruce, Gardener
Edward Spenser, Apprentice

John McPhail, Shepherd and we have besides three or four more lots to take, in order to cover the remainder of the Company's ground here. The advantage of this arrangement is that any intruder can be ejected from these claims on a magistrates warrant and the owners right of property protected, without his having recourse to violent means, or even appearing in the arrest, as he has only to prove that the land was registered in his name, and that the other requisition of the land law regarding claims, that is to say, having the four corners marked by stakes or notched trees, and a hut built upon it, had been duly executed."

November "26th. Wednesday. Beautiful mild weather, after breakfast Mr. Ogden, Mr. and Mrs. Ermatinger and Mr. MacTavish left this for the Wallamette Falls, Mr. Ogden and Mr. McTavish to return here in a few days. Rev. Mr. Panish arrived in the afternoon from the Falls."

"December 1st. Monday. Fair and warm. A large dinner party at the Fort, all the Officers of the Modeste having been invited. Sat down to dinner at half past 5, and in the evening had a dance in the second Hall which was kept up till one o'clock in the morning. Mr. McPherson arrived here in the afternoon accompanied by Patrick McKenzie from above. McPherson left the service last Spring and went across the mountains with the Express, but came back in the Fall, and has now brought down his wife and family from Colville to settle in the Wallamette. Patrick McKenzie, Postmaster was stationed at Thompson's River, but it seems that he could not agree with Mr. Todd (John Tod), and he has come down here to endeavor to make some arrangement with Dr. McLoughlin."

"11th. Thursday. Rainy. Lewis returned. Peers arrived from Fort George. The Barque Vancouver proceeded down the River on a voyage to California and Woahoo 13 retiring Sandwich Island employees take passage in her, and Mr. McTavish and Mr. David McLoughlin will start in a few days to join her. Mr. McTavish is to wind up the Hudson's Bay Company's business in California, and David McLoughlin is to bring his Sister Mrs. Rae and her children to the Columbia. After returning to San Francisco, from Woahoo the "Vancouver" will bring them all here."

"18th. Tuesday. I am suffering from violent Diarrhaea (which is prevalent here at present) and am confined to the house." By the next day he felt better and able to walk a little.

"20th. Saturday. Frosty weather. Had a ride on horseback in the afternoon. A number of sailors and marines from the "Modeste" had a foot ball match in the field immediately at the back of the Fort. An eruption of Mount St. Helens took place this afternoon, which was distinctly seen from the Lower Plain."

“21st. Sunday. Fine and frosty. Mr. Lane read prayers in the Hall as I was not very well. Mr. Angus McDonald arrived from Champoege to settle his Wheat accounts.”

“25th. Thursday. Cloudy, but no rain. A holiday of course to all hands. I went shooting on the forenoon to the Lower Plain. Dined at the fort and rode out afterwards. We were all invited on board the “Modeste” to see the splendid manner in which the ship’s company had decorated her, and the Christmas feast that the table groaned under. Many of the ladies and gentlemen of the fort went. I did not. We had no fun on shore but on board they kept it up in grand style, and many of our men joined them.”

“26th. Friday. Holiday. Raining. So no out of door enjoyment.”

“27th. Saturday. Holiday for the men but work going on as usual in the office. Chief Factor Douglas arrived before dinner from Victoria. He went in the Steamer Beaver from Nisqually to Vancouver’s Island, and thence to Fort Langley. Remained there a short time returned to Victoria with the Schooner Cadboro in tow (laden with barrels of Salmon). Remained a week at Victoria, dispatched the Barque Cowelitz for London on the 18th, and returned to Nisqually by Steamer. From thence across the Portage. 5 ½ days from Victoria to this place. Raining hard. Capt. Baillie gave a dance in the New Office where he has lately taken up his shore quarters in the Fort. Most of the officers of the “Modeste” were present, and we kept it up until midnight. It was rather a noisy affair. I sprained my ankle in dancing.”

“31st. Wednesday. Mizzling rain all day. Mr. Ogden returned from the Willamette, as also Tom McKay and Joe McLoughlin. Singing, dancing and all kinds of fun carried on to a late or rather early hour in Bachelor’s Hall, ushering in the New Year. Several of the Junior Officers from the “Modeste” and a number of the other visitors were with us.”

“1846, January 1st. Thursday. A holiday of course. More preaching in the Roman Catholic Church. Dull and cloudy, with a little rain in the evening. Visited all the ladies in the Fort to wish them a Happy New Year and many returns. A dance in the evening in the large Mess Hall, at which all the ladies were present. Everything went on pleasantly until about 10 when some of the Officers of the “Modeste” (who had been dining) began to drop in and there was then rather too much noise to be altogether pleasant. However it passed off well.”

“2nd. Friday. A holiday still. Rained the whole day and poured down at night. Another ball this evening at which all the ladies of the Establishment and all the officers of the “Modeste” who could be spared were present. All went off pleasantly. Broke up dancing at midnight and sat down to supper. Adjourned afterwards to Bachelor’s Hall where we continued singing and enjoying ourselves until 4 in the morning.”

“3rd. Saturday. No work yet. Incessant and heavy rain and stormy weather. In the forenoon Indians arrived from the Snake Country with letters from Mr. Grant by which we learn it is reported that Dr. White and his party of 7 men who were returning to the States have been murdered by the Sioux.”

“6th. Tuesday. Dr. McLoughlin started for the Wallamette Falls in the forenoon, where he is to remain for some time. I and most of the Gentlemen of the Fort dined on board the Modeste at 3 o’clock, and at 7 in the evening the play which had been got up on board commenced. A great many of our men came off from shore as well as the ladies, and every one acted his part well. The two pieces performed were “Twenty per Cent” and the Mayor of Garrell,” with singing at intervals, and a hornpipe by a sailor who deserted last summer, from the Chinamus. We went ashore about 12 at night highly delighted with the evenings entertainment. Mr. Forrest arrived in the evening from the Cowelitz in bad health accompanied by Patrick McKenzie.”

“January 15, 1846 “Rainy and squally weather. Mr. and Mrs. Ermatinger arrived from the Wallamette Falls in order to take up Mrs. McLoughlin and all her household, as Dr. McLoughlin has got a new house ready for them there, Mr. Gibbon returned from his trip down the River.”

“17th. Saturday. Stormy wet weather. Mr. and Mrs. Ermatinger and Mrs. McLoughlin left this afternoon in a Batteau for the Wallamette Falls, Mr. Wilson and Mr. Brooks arrived today from Fort George bringing letters from the Vancouver, which is still in Baker’s Bay, for which she started from Fort George on Sunday the 11th.”

Feb. 2, 1846 “Monday. Two Boats in charge of Mr. Pelly started this forenoon with part of the Colville outfit. Mr. McBean and his family passengers as far as Walla Walla. Mr. Pelly only takes the Boats to Walla Walla and proceeds from thence to Colville with laden horses. Capt. Baillie and party returned in the afternoon from the Wallamette Falls, bringing Mr. and Mrs. Ermatinger, Mrs. Wm. McKay and Mr. Newell, who have all come to see the play to morrow evening on board the Modeste.”

“3rd. Tuesday. Raining hard all day. Theatre on board this evening got up by the sailors, which was numerously attended, but the rainy uncomfortable weather detracted much from the pleasure it otherwise afforded us. The different performers played their several parts well, and the whole went off in fine style, having been kept up from 7 to 12 at night.”

“4th. Wednesday. The weather has cleared up, and has to day been remarkably pleasant. A party of sailors from the Modeste came up in the afternoon, and sang several songs before the Big House, for which they received what they wished – a dram or two – the consequence was that most of them got rather crapulous, and were rather moisy and quarrelsome in the Fort. In the evening Capt. Baillie gave a Ball in his room, at which we all attended, and enjoyed ourselves much dancing having been kept up until two in the morning. Mr. Pearce and Montgomerie who have been visiting the Cowelitz, returned in the afternoon.”

“5th. Thursday. Fine bracing weather. Mr. Ermatinger gave a Ball in his room to night, got up however rather suddenly, and at which only a few were present.”

“6th. Friday. Beautiful day. Mr. and Mrs. Ermatinger, Mrs. Wm. McKay, Mr. and Mrs. McPherson, Miss Buck and several others who have been here for the last few days started in the forenoon for Lynnton accompanied by Messrs. Warre and Vavasour, Mr. Lewes, and several of the Officers of the Modeste, in order to try and get up another Ball to night at Lynnton.”

“7th. Saturday. Rainy unpleasant weather. Lynnton party returned in the afternoon. Received the first number of the Oregon Spectator.

“10th (Feb. 1846) Tuesday. Weather rather cold, a few slight showers, Mr. Angus McDonald arrived in the afternoon from the Wallamette Falls, and will I hope be able to render us some assistance in the Office.”

“14th. Saturday. St. Valentine’s day. In the forenoon Mr. Birnie arrived from Fort George, and two men also from Umpqua bringing the accounts of these two posts. Mr. Birnie passed the Cadboro in Tongue Point Channel on her way up; and has brought her packet. Mr. Ogden purchased the claim at Cape Disappointment from Wheeler and McDaniel for 1000 dollars, and Mr. McDonald (not Angus McDonald) was dispatched in the afternoon to Oregon City to have it recorded by Dr. Long. Lieut. Rodney arrived in the evening from Mr. Lewes, but the remainder of the party have gone on to Logie’s.”

“16th. Monday. Beautiful forenoon, but cloudy in the after part of the day, with muzzling rain. Mr. Peers arrived in the afternoon from the Cowelitz Farm, where he has been in charge during the time Mr. Forrest has been under the Doctors hands at this place. Mr. McDonald (not Angus) returned before supper from the Wallamette Falls, having come down in 4 ½ hours, probably the quickest trip ever made between the two places. About 9 o’clock at night Mr. Angus McDonald arrived from the Snake Country. He came down the River in a canoe. Mr. McBeans had not arrived at Walla Walla when he passed, and Mr. McKinley was nearly blind having been complaining of his eyes for the last 2 or 3 months. In the forenoon Messrs. Warre and Vavasour started in a Boat for Fort George, to survey Cape Disappointment, and they are to call at Mr. Lewes’s on their way, and take him down with them.”

“17th. Tuesday. Beautiful weather, and everything indicates the near approach of Spring, buds beginning to shoot from the trees in the garden, and the whole air singing with the music of the little warblers in the woods and fields. In the evening 5 men arrived from Nisqually with the accounts from Victoria, Langley, the Steamer and Nisqually.”

“March 20, 1846 “Friday. In the afternoon Mr. Ogden arrived with Mr. Ermatinger and Mr. McKinlay from the Wallamette Falls. Mr. E. is to go out with the Express, and Mr. McK. to see Dr. Barclay about his eyes which are very weak. Mr. Angus McDonald also returned in the afternoon from Walla Walla with the 4 Boats which went up with the Outfit of that Post. M. Laframboise returned to the Wallamette.”

“21st. Saturday. Beautiful day, but frosty at night. Mr. Ermatinger and Mr. McDonald start for the Wallamette in search of two deserters from this place, Hagrut and L’hussier.”

“22nd. Sunday. Beautiful warm weather. Mr. Fenton arrived from the Falls in the forenoon. Late at night Mr. Ermatinger, Mr. McDonald and William McKay returned from the Wallamette having apprehended the two deserters and brought them here.”

“24th. Tuesday. Splendid weather. Capt. Baillie gave a dinner on board the Modeste to the Gentlemen who start to morrow with the Express. Two Boats started ahead in charge of Joe Tayentas.”

Francis was finally granted his furlough in 1846. Francis had left his family behind with the John McLoughlin's, and had doubts as rather he wanted Catherine with him again. On March 25th of that year, he left Fort Vancouver for the last time with the British Army officers, Henry Warre and Mervin Vavasour. ‘These men were on a military reconnaissance for the border between the U. S. and Canada, and they were looking for possible defense positions in the Oregon country, should war break out over the boundary line.

Ermatinger traveled with the two men and he had been told were British “sports”, London friends of one of the Committee. At least there is no reason to believe that he suspected the true nature of their tour; McLoughlin had not. There is a possibility that Francis speaking openly and in exaggerated terms as was his wont, made considerable impact on the final report submitted by Warre and Vavasour to the War Department.

McDonald, p 269

His statements were to get McLoughlin possibly in more trouble, and he hotly denied any charges that he was leaning towards the Americans.

“25th. Wednesday. Beautiful warm weather. This afternoon about 5 o'clock the Express started for York Factory, Passengers Francis Ermatinger Esq. C.(hief) T.(rader), Lieutenants Warre and Vavasour, Mr. Lane, and Mr. Burke, who only goes up to Walla Walla in the Boats. The Fort fired a salute of 7 guns, and as the Boats were passing, the Modeste manned rigging and gave three cheers. Mr. Ermatinger intends going to England on furlough, the two Officers go down to Canada, and Mr. Lane returns in the Fall with the Express.”

“30th. Monday. Cool cloudy weather. A meeting of the subscribers to the Vancouver Library was held this forenoon in order to order a supply of Books from England.”^{Private} Journal kept at Fort Vancouver Columbia River by Thomas Lowe Hudson Bay Coy., pages 26-36. So we now leave Thomas Lowe and his daily journal as Francis Ermatinger has left the country not to return. If Lowe mentions Catherine and Fanny Ermatinger later in the journal then we will add those entries. Thomas Lowe impresses me very much (see his short biography) and in the following days he mentions going on a “pic nic” and playing a game of cricket. He has made me aware of things happening at Fort Vancouver I never supposed happened. At this time he was a full-fledged clerk and just turned 21.



Both photos of the Francis Ermatinger House from
http://www.historicpreservationleague.org/mep_Ermatinger.php



www.orcity.org/.../ermatinger-house.htm



Francis Ermatinger had this house built for his family in 1845, it is currently the oldest house in Clackamas County. This was the first frame house built in Oregon City and only the third in the entire Oregon Country. It is also unusual in that it is the only two story Federal-style house in the state with a flat roof. <http://www.ohwy.com/or/e/ermathou.htm>



A Tea Party with "Spirits"

The Francis Ermatinger House, built in 1845 in Oregon City is known for the two friendly spirits that haunt it. In the month of October your group can be their guests at an authentic Victorian tea party and living history interpretation, including the special traditions of the Victorian mourning period and the history of the home's resident ghosts. <http://www.clackamas-oregon.com/unique.htm>

It was moved to its present location at 619 6th Street and is owned by the McLoughlin Memorial Association who put on historic teas. The spirits here have a tendency to move displays around. <http://www.ghostsandcritters.com/portlandbasin.html>



The Francis Ermatinger House is both an early and an unusual house for Oregon. The structure is a two-story rectangular box with a flat roof and a full length front porch. Four sturdy square posts with minimal bases and capitals support an entablature and the flat porch roof. The same entablature is repeated at the roof line. The exterior cladding is clapboard with medium width corner boards. The openings on the long façade are arranged slightly asymmetrically, with the upper and lower levels lined up. Most of the windows are wood frame 6/6 double-hung with narrow muntins and simple frames. The two windows to either side of the front door are 6/9 and have slightly more elaborate, classically inspired frames. The front entrance has a six-pane transom window over the door. The upper third of the door itself is also glazed. Statement of Significance: The Francis Ermatinger House was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1977. And the description is from: Oregon City Historic Resource Survey Form; <http://www.orcity.org/planning/619-6th-street-francis-ermatinger-house>



“The house was moved in 1910 and again in 1989 to its current location. It is owned by the City and has been used as a house museum for over two decades. In the 1980s,

preservationist Ruth McBride Powers helped finance a restoration of the house, but since then the whole building has shifted. It is currently off limits to the public. The windows, which were recently repaired, have not been reinstalled for fear that the continued shifting of the house might affect the windows or even bring down the entire house. The City of Oregon City wants our help. This house deserves broad support—and maybe even a coin or two.” http://www.historicpreservationleague.org/mep_Ermatinger.php



Taken by Rachel Garcia, on Feb. 6, 2011



Today it is so structurally compromised that without immediate intervention, the house could fall in on itself. A structural report has been prepared and needed work identified.

The city of Oregon City, Oregon proclaimed June 25, 2005 as Francis Ermatinger Day.

On the way east Francis Ermatinger and his spy companions met an old friend of theirs, Father Jean Pierre DeSmet. He was on his way to the Rocky Mountain Missions. Father DeSmet wrote at Boat Encampment on the Columbia River headwaters, on May 10, 1846:

"Toward evening on the 6th of May they discovered, at a distance of about three miles, two men approaching on snow-shoes. They proved to be the advance-guard of the annual brigade bound from Fort Vancouver to York Factory.

The following morning De Smet and his men were off early, and after a march of eight miles fell in with the main body of the brigade. The leader was Francis Ermatinger, one of the most capable and adventurous of the traders of the Hudson's Bay Company, and an old friend of the missionary. With him were two British army officers, Lt. Warre and Lt. Vavasour, who had been sent out by the British Government the previous year in connection with the Oregon question, and were now returning home by way of York Factory. De Smet had entertained them in 1845 at Kalispel Lake. *Life, Letters, and Travels of Father Pierre Jean DeSmet, S. J., Hiram M. Chittenden & Alfred Talbot Richardson, p542*

Lieutenant Warre describes the meeting in his *Sketches in North America and the Oregon Country*. 'We had,' he says, 'scarcely walked ten miles when the joyful sound of human voices assured us of more immediate relief, and we soon encountered a party of men who had been sent to meet us with provisions, accompanied by Le Père de Smit, a Jesuit priest from Belgium, and chief of the Roman Catholic missionaries in the Columbia district, who was on his return to that part of Oregon.'

"Henry Warre and Merwin Vavasour, British Spies An aborted mission to the Pacific Northwest in 1845 by two British spies has provided us with our most accurate information about the Puget Sound country at the time of the 54-40 or Fight crisis and as a bonus a charming folio of paintings and sketches.

On April 3 of that year Sir George Simpson, governor of the Hudson's Bay Company in North America, was closeted at Number 10 Downing Street with Sir Robert Peel, the British Prime Minister and the Earl of Aberdeen, foreign minister. Sir George, who gloried in the nickname of "Little Emperor" and thought in Napoleonic terms, noted that a dispatch just received by sailing packet from America reported that the new American President, James K. Polk, in his inaugural address had declared that the United States claim to all Oregon, the entire region from the Rockies to the Pacific, from Mexico to Russian America, as "clear and unquestionable."

The Little Emperor proposed that England send four war ships to the Oregon Country, occupy Cape Disappointment at the north side of the mouth of the Columbia and place artillery on the bluff. He proposed using two of the ships to guard the Strait of Juan de Fuca and Puget Sound while 2,000 Indians and mixed blood auxiliaries trained for service in the Northwest in case of war. Peel and Aberdeen were inclined to interpret President Polk's tough talk about "all Oregon" as preliminary bluster, the establishment of a bargaining position from which he could afford to make concessions. The fifty gun British frigate America was already on her way to the Oregon Country. Though she drew too much water to enter the Columbia River, her presence in the Strait of Juan De Fuca should give pause to Yankee Hawks and comfort to British fur traders. But Prime Minister Peel did agree to send a pair of undercover agents west "...to gain a general knowledge of the capabilities of the Oregon territory in a military point of view, in order that we may be enabled to act immediately and with effect in defense of our rights in that quarter, should those rights be infringed by any hostile aggression or encroachment on the part of the United States." Chosen for the mission were Lt Henry J. Warre, aid de camp to the governor of Canada and Lt. M. Vavasour of the Royal Engineers.

They were instructed to pass themselves off as young gentlemen visiting the west "for the pleasure of field sports and scientific pursuit. Warre who had considerable talent as a painter took along a sketch pad and water colors. The young spies were rushed west

from Montreal in a Hudson's Bay Company express canoe. They covered the 2,300 miles to Fort Garry on the Red River in the month. From there they traveled with a fur brigade on horseback. The trip to Fort Vancouver on the Columbia took from June 16 to August 12, claiming the lives of 33 of their 60 horses, and convinced them that the idea of supplying a military force by the overland route was, in the words of Warre's report "quite impractical." He was deeply impressed with Eastern Washington. The barrenness of the soil, the total absence of wood and water, completely excludes all hope of its ever being adopted to the wants of men. During their six month stay in the Oregon Country the spies gave a good demonstration of their idea of the wants of man, running up a considerable bill at the Fort Vancouver commissary. The expense account submitted along with their spy reports shows they worked hard at their role of young gentlemen of leisure. They purchased several beaver hats of the highest quality (\$8.88 each), frock coats (\$26), cloth vests, figured vests, tweed trousers, nail brushes, hair brushes, fancy handkerchiefs, shirts, tobacco, pipes, wines, whiskeys and a quantity of extract of roses. Wherever the sweet smelling spies went in the Oregon country, and their travels took them down the Willamette to the American settlements to the mouth of the Columbia, up the Cowlitz River and across the plains to Puget Sound, down the Strait of Juan De Fuca to the new Hudson's Bay Company post at Fort Victoria, Warre sketched and painted. Indians and settlers and fur traders might occupy the foreground of his pictures, but the back ground often included areas of military importance; the guardian rocks at Camp Disappointment, the defensible defiles on the Columbia, the wooden bastions of Fort Nisqually, and Fort Victoria. And while Warre sketched, Vavasour gathered information about the Indian population and the attitudes of the English and American settlers.

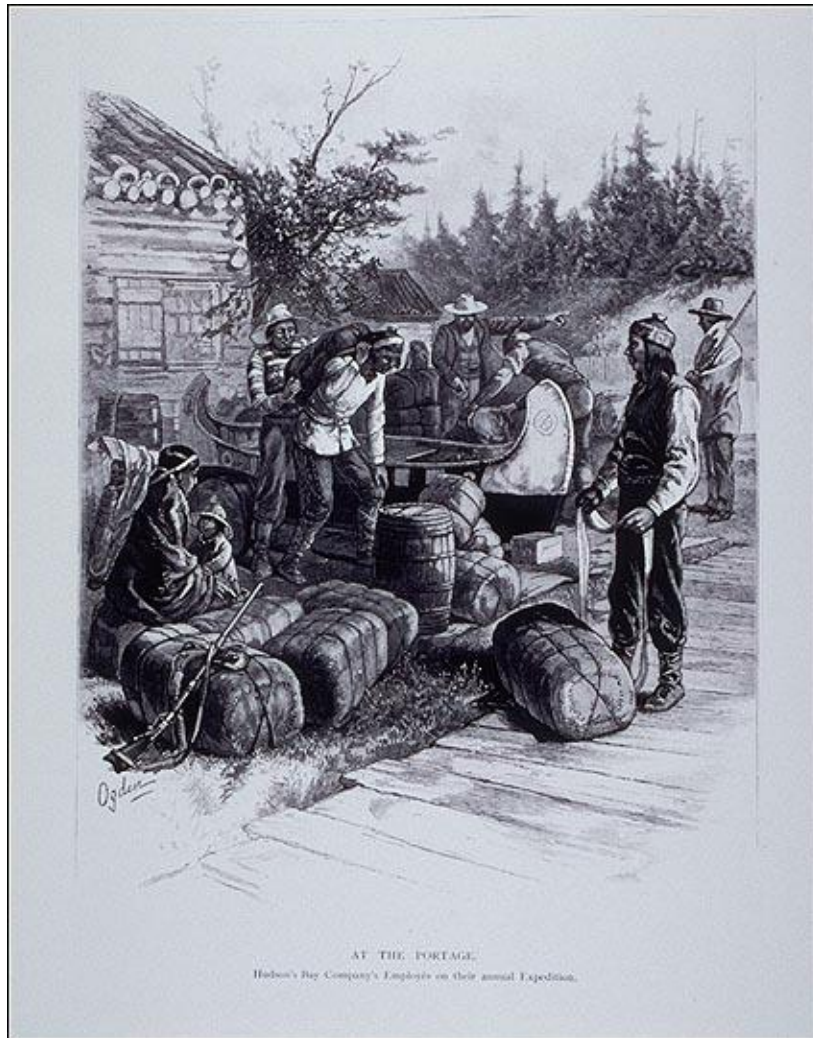
Henry Warre and Mervin Vavasour, the British secret agents who visited the Pacific Northwest in the winter of 1845-46 in the guise of young gentlemen seeking amusement, were assigned to assess the military potential of the area. They were less than sanguine about the capacity of the Hudson's Bay Company posts to withstand the impact of missiles impelled by energy greater than that released from a bent bow. The buildings at Fort Nisqually, they wrote off as totally incapable of defense, those at Fort Vancouver as "poorly located," and at Cowlitz Farms the only structure they considered of any military worth was the Catholic Church and it "...was in want of loopholes." While they deplored the state of British fortifications, the spies were even more alarmed by the rising tide of American immigration. Whereas British movement across North America still was along the canoe routes of the Hudson's Bay Company beaver trade, the Americans had found, far to the south, passes through which they could roll wheelers. The covered wagon caravans were moving through the Rockies, bringing to the Oregon country not ragged individualists dropping out of the fur business but ready made farm families looking for land. Warre and Vavasour foresaw the danger to British interest in the Americans' westward movement though they did not state them as vividly as an American Congressman who, in an address to the House declared that the United States should neither fight Britain for possession of Oregon, nor agree to a diplomatic settlement, but rely on time and sex. "We will win the contest for Oregon in our bedrooms. We will outbreed them." While not mentioning the fecundity of the young American families moving west, the British agents noted their numbers. Already the Americans had taken up most of the Willamette Valley and were beginning to stake out claims along the Columbia and even on Puget Sound from which the Hudson's Bay Company had managed until 1845 to exclude them by denying supplies from the post at Nisqually.

"Till the year 1842-43, not more than thirty American families were resident in the country," Warre wrote in his secret report. "In 1843 an emigration of about one thousand persons with a large number of wagons, horses, cattle, etc., arrived on the Willamette having traversed the vast desert section of the country between the Missouri, the Rocky Mountains and the Columbia..." "The American immigrants have as yet confined themselves principally to the valley of the Willamette which has by far the richest soil and finest land in the whole country. The cultivable part of it, however, cannot be said to extend more than sixty to eighty miles in length, and fifteen or twenty miles in breadth. Nearly all the Prairie land is now taken up, and the Immigrants are too indolent to clear the woods. "They are consequently forming new settlements on the banks of the Columbia at the mouth of the same river and on the beautiful but not very rich plains to the north, in the neighborhood of Nisqually and Puget's Sound. The mention of Puget Sound was the first reference by the spies to the arrival at Tumwater of a party led by Michel Troutman Simmons, a wagon train colonel, and George Washington Bush, a black pioneer. They were the first Americans, other than missionaries to settle north of the Columbia. In the final spying mission along the Wallamette at the end of their six month stay, Warre and Vavasour found "...the village at the falls (Oregon City) much improved in appearance, many buildings having been erected and the trees, etc. cleared from the adjacent heights."

They recommended that if war came, the community be occupied by British troops. "A small force could overawe the present American population and obtain any quantity of cattle to supply the troops in other parts of the country." The agents noted too, that "since the summer a village called Portland has been commenced between the Falls and Lenton." Lenton was Linnton, the town founded by Morton Matthew McCarver, who later helped promote Tacoma. The spies, both engineering officers, proved better judges of townsites than the professional boomer. "The situation of Portland is superior to that of Lenton," they said flatly, "and the back country of easier access." In the Spring of 1846 Warre and Vavasour returned to Montreal, from where their report was forwarded to England. It arrived too late to influence the officials who had commissioned it. Prime Minister Robert Peel had already decided to yield the area between the Columbia and the 49th parallel to the Americans. The Warre and Vavasour spy reports gather dust in the Public Records office in London. Warre did find some use for his sketches. He wrote a book "Sketch of a Journey Across the Continent of North America from Canada to the Oregon Territory and the Pacific Ocean." He illustrated it with many pictures, but made no mention that they had been done while he was spying. Murray C. Morgan Henry, Warre and Mervin Vavasour, *British Spies* Tacoma News Tribune December 9, 1973"

"Simpson ordered James Hargrave, Chief Trader in charge of York Factory, to hold the sailing of the *Prince of Wales* until Ermatinger arrived. He reached York well ahead of the ship's departure and spent several weeks helping in the fur storage rooms, preparing pelts for shipping. Francis had one more scare before embarking. A ship load of British

soldiers were due to arrive at York and a guide was needed to escort them to Red River. It looked for a time as if Ermatinger might be recruited.” McDonald, p269



H.A. Ogden *At the Portage: Hudson's Bay Company's Employees on Their Annual Expedition* From *Picturesque Canada*, vol. 1 (Toronto, 1882) Hudson's Bay Company Archives (RB FC 51 vol. 1, opp. p. 309 [N13764]) Provincial Archives of Manitoba <http://www.civilization.ca/hist/canoe/can10eng.html>

Francis was relieved of his York Factory duties by his father-in-law, Chief Trader William Sinclair. He sailed to England on the *Prince of Wales*. When he returned he intended not to go back to Oregon, and he would send for his family at a later date. Dr. McLoughlin had instructions to sell his house and property in the Willamette on his behalf.

York Factory 8th August 1846

“My Dear Edward

The Canoe is upon the eve of leaving this for Canada and my object for writing this to prepare you to share my disappointment once more, for after all my toils to get this length it is not certain that I shall be allowed to see you this year. At least, some time ago Sir George wrote us, that as Troops were expected this Fall for Red River it might be necessary to keep me to accompany them up. Our ship [the *Prince of Wales*] has arrived

and the Captain tells us that there is no mistake and that they [the troops] were to leave Cork upon the 18th June and we are looking for them daily. I will, however, when the Governor gets here, plead hard to get off. In the mean time you must remain in doubt and prepare yourself for the worst. Mr. Sinclair has been called from Churchill for the same purpose that I am to be kept and all the brigades are ordered to leave the bulk of their outfits at Norway House and send the boats back here for the Troop's. In fact everything will be in confusion and the year's trade lost. What the Troop's will do in Red River when there I cannot conceive.

I have been employed in the Fur store and have all that have come to hand ready for shipment, but altho' Mr. Hargrave, who often speaks of you, with much esteem, and I pull well together, my summer has not been very agreeable to me. Being played with so and kept in such a state of doubt, while the poor natives around us have been dying by wholesale. Nothing could be more distressing than to see them.

If I succeed in getting to England by the Ship, you need not look for me too soon. My stop in England shall be as short as possible, yet I think it unlikely that I can get to you before the holy days.

Give my respects to Mrs. E. and believe me to be My Dear Edward Your Affectionate Brother Frs. Ermatinger"

HBC Apprentice Clerk Thomas Lowe made mention to a claim jumper: November 20, 1846 "Friday. Rain still continues. Both Mr. Joseph and Mr. David McLoughlin left this in the forenoon to go down to the "Toulon" which is on its way up the River to deliver its cargo at Portland. In the evening Mr. Campbell arrived from the Wallamette Falls to act as Agent for Mr. Ermatinger, an American of the name of Short having settled upon his claim, and Mr. Campbell being determined to make him move either by persuasion or by the Law."

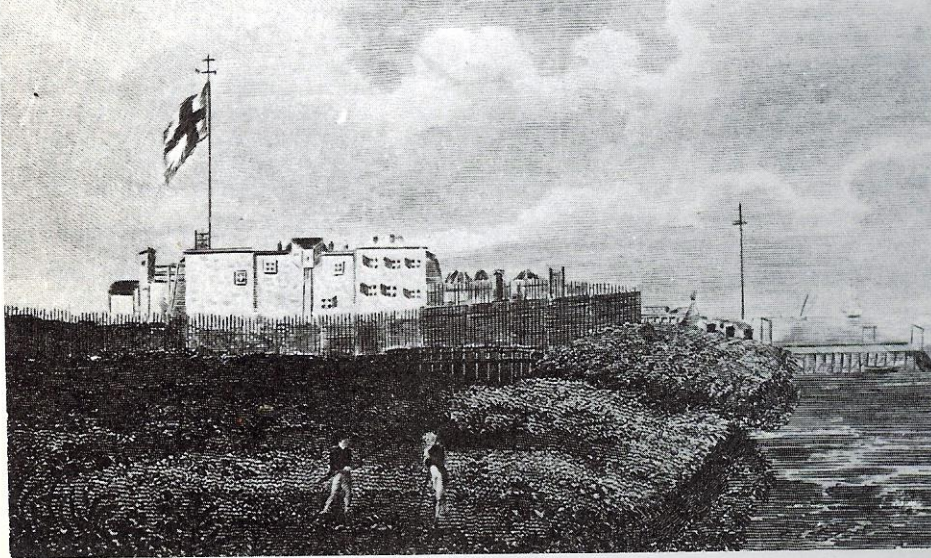
"23rd. Monday. Mizzling rain most of the day. Mr. Campbell returned to the Falls."

"28th. Saturday. Fair day. Late last night Mr. Campbell, Mr. Skinner and Mr. Prigg arrived from the Wallamette Falls to attend the trial of Short's case. The Court opened at 10 o'clock in the morning, Mr. MacTavish being Judge, and from the evidence given, the Jury found Short in the wrong, and he was accordingly ordered to quit Mr. Ermatinger's claim. He has Appealed however from this decision to the next County Court, which does not meet until April 1847. Dr. Tolmie arrived to night from Fort Nisqually, bringing the Accounts from Fort Langley, and the Packet pr. Barque Vancouver from the Sandwich Islands. The Steamer Cormorant has sailed from Fort Victoria for St. Blas. I have had another attack of Fever and Ague to day, but not severe." Campbell, Skinner and Prigg returned to the Willamette on the 30th.

December 1, 1846 "Splendid weather. Mr. Short has agreed to quit Mr. E.'s claim."

Private Journal kept at Fort Vancouver Columbia River by Thomas Lowe Hudson Bay Coy., pages 53-54.

January 9, 1847 “Saturday. Fine frosty morning. In the forenoon, Mr. Covington held a Justice Court to try Amos Short for a second trespass on Mr. Ermatinger’s claim. Mr. Campbell who arrived last night from the Wallamette Falls, acted as Mr. Ermatinger’s Attorney. The jury found Short guilty, as before, and he has to quit the premises. I was sworn in as one of the Jurymen. In the evening an Express arrived from Nisqually with Letters, brought by three Invalids.” Private Journal kept at Fort Vancouver Columbia River by Thomas Lowe Hudson Bay Coy., pages 57. Short persisted and finally got the land years later.



York Fort, on Hudson Bay, first Headquarters of Hudsons Bay Company

“Royal Family of the Columbia –Dr. John McLoughlin and His Family,” Alberta Brooks Fogdall, Ye Galleon Press Fairfield, Washington, 1978



“In 1843 fur trader Robert Ballantyne described York Factory as "a monstrous blot on a swampy spot, with a partial view of the frozen sea." Mosquitoes and flies in the summer and intense cold in the winter "render the country unbearable." Yet in terms of logistics that "swampy spot" was actually considered to be prime real estate.

Situated on a low-lying narrow peninsula that separated the mouth of the Hayes River from that of the Nelson to the northwest, York Factory was built in 1684. This followed two unsuccessful attempts (1670, 1682) to establish a major post at "Port Nelson", the term originally used for the land between the two rivers. The location was key for several reasons. Both major rivers led inland, although the Hayes was less rough and thus the preferred route to and from the interior. Along the shore of Hudson Bay silted mudflats deposited by river outflows made for shallow waters, keeping large vessels at a distance. But ocean-going ships could anchor at Five Fathom Hole, a deep anchorage some seven miles off York Factory and sloops sent out to load and offload cargoes.

Soon after its construction the fort became a pawn in the Thirty Years' War between the English and the French. Their North American possessions increasingly became a secondary theatre of military operations. Raids by the French resulted in the loss of almost all the bayside posts at one time or another. Periodic recapture by the English meant that most posts changed hands several times. York Factory was itself held by the French for a period of 16 years (1697-1713) after being captured by Pierre Le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville (our ancestor). The terms of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 restored it and all the other posts to the Company.

The Factory was laid out in the form of an H, the guesthouse, depot, and the summer mess house in the line forming the cross bar. The legs of the H were composed of four fur stores, the arms contained the trading shop, provision store, clerks' house and the house of the officer in charge. Various other buildings such as a boat shed, oil store, lumber house, ice house, powder magazine, cooper's shop, and smithy, were scattered here and there. In 1840, Letitia Hargrave, wife of Chief Factor James Hargrave, described the Factory as an appealing place to live: "It looks beautiful. The houses are painted pale yellow. The windows and some particular parts are white. Some have green gauze mosquito curtains outside and the effect is very good." Our History: Places, Forts &

Postsh<http://www2.hbc.com/hbcheritage/history/places/forts/york.asp>

“The Hargraves, John and Letitia, and their two small children, were traveling on the same ship with Francis. They enjoyed each other's company, although Letitia was self conscious about Ermatinger's appearance:

Ermatinger was a man with a puckish sense of humor; he had his frailties, but he was a loveable character, and the Hargraves were fond of him. It was arranged that as Hargrave was to leave the ship as soon as it reached the coast of England and hasten to London with the Company's dispatches Frank Ermatinger would take charge of Letitia and his family until they reached London. Ermatinger had come up from the Interior and had sailed without opportunity to smarten up for the civilized world, and Letitia began to feel conscious for her escort's appearance as they neared England.

Letitia sent word ahead by messenger, asking that lodgings be taken rather than reservations made at a hotel, "Where Mr. Ermatinger will be held up to public gaze." The extent of the Hargrave's fondness for Francis may be inferred from their promise to him that he should be godfather of their next child. Letitia loved to amuse her Scotch relatives with stories of the man who "had cherry brandy with his breakfasts." *The Letters of Letitia Hargrave*, Margaret A. MacLeod, 1947, Champlain, pciii Letitia Hargrave was the sister of HBC Chief Factor Dugald MacTavish, the Hudson's Bay Company's trouble-shooter. He was a judge in the Oregon Provisional Government and sat on the case of Francis Ermatinger's claim being jumped by Short. "A man of great intelligence, plain and unpretentious in his manner, and possessed of sound common sense." Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online, http://biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?id_nbr=5119.

Notes on Letitia Hargrave:

Letitia MacTavish Hargrave, letterwriter; b. 1813 in Edinburgh, eldest of nine children of Dugald Mactavish and Letitia Lockhart; m. 8 Jan. 1840 James Hargrave; d. 18 Sept. 1854 in Sault Ste Marie, Upper Canada. Letitia Mactavish spent most of her early life at Kilchrist House, the family home near Campbeltown, Scotland, where, as daughter of the sheriff of Argyllshire and granddaughter of the chief of the clan Tavish, she received a good education and the social training befitting her family's position. The name of McTavish (Mactavish) was renowned in the fur trade of British North America. Simon McTavish, one of the principal partners in the North West Company and a distant relative, took Letitia's uncle John George McTavish into the trade in 1798. After the union with the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821, John George became an influential officer, and three of Letitia's brothers, William, Dugald, and Hector, entered the HBC. William was posted to York Factory (Man.) in 1834, under Chief Trader James Hargrave, and the two men became close friends. When Hargrave went to Scotland on furlough in the fall of 1837 he was warmly received at Kilchrist House. He was quickly convinced that he had found the ideal wife in Miss Mactavish but, before he had time to present his official suit, duty compelled him to return hastily to York Factory in March 1838. Both his proposal and Letitia's acceptance were conveyed by mail and Hargrave returned to Scotland in the fall of 1839 for the marriage. After their January wedding the couple travelled in the spring of 1840 to London, where they were hospitably entertained by HBC governor George Simpson. Letitia formed a lasting friendship with Simpson's wife, Frances Ramsay Simpson, and her sister Isobel Graham Simpson, the wife of Chief Factor Duncan Finlayson. Between sightseeing and social engagements, Letitia selected furnishings, including "a 1st rate square piano, seasoned for any extremes of climate," to add to the comfort of life at York Factory.

The Hargraves sailed from Gravesend aboard the *Prince Rupert* on 6 June 1840, accompanied by Isobel Finlayson, and arrived at York Factory early in August. Although Letitia's first reaction to the bleak expanse of the factory was "to turn my back to the company & cry myself sick," her practical and optimistic nature enabled her to adapt readily to life on Hudson Bay. She wrote to her family as frequently as possible, describing her situation in lively detail. This unique collection of letters, written by one of the few white women living in the HBC territories in the 1840s, provides an intimate picture of the social life of the fur trade in the mid 19th century from a feminine point of view. Despite the drawbacks of life at York Factory, notably the unhealthy climate and the isolation, Letitia was not subject to the toil and privation of many pioneer women. As the wife of the chief officer of the company's main supply depot, she enjoyed a privileged position. She was mistress of her own commodious, snugly furnished house and benefited from the services of a personal maid, Mary Clarke, who was an old family servant, as well as those of the company cook and butler. In the winter the gentlemen's mess was held in Letitia's dining-room, but during the hectic summer season, when Hargrave was so busy that his wife scarcely saw him, Letitia dined alone unless there were lady visitors. The fare, though monotonous and seriously lacking in greens, was plentiful, and even the women had prodigious appetites – a "usual dinner" for four ladies consisted of roast venison, three geese, four ducks, six plovers, a large Red River ham, potatoes, and mashed turnips or boiled lettuce. Letitia's fashionable gowns excited astonishment at York Factory, but she adapted her wardrobe to include Indian "leggings" and moccasins. Hargrave saw that his wife was well wrapped in furs when she went for an airing on the wooden walkways in the fort, called platforms, or for a ride in her elegantly appointed dog carriage.

As the only white woman at York Factory, Letitia was an object of curiosity to the native people. The Indian women called her "Hockimaw Erqua," meaning chieftainess, and often brought presents of berries and flowers. Letitia was much impressed by the cradle and moss bag in which the Indian women carried their babies and remarked on their great kindness to their children. It was difficult for a white woman to look with equanimity upon certain social customs of the fur trade, many men having taken an Indian or Métis wife "after the fashion of the Country." To her credit, Letitia realized that the too rigid enforcement of European morality could lead to unnecessary suffering. She strongly censured the Reverend John Macallum, schoolmaster at the Red River settlement, for refusing to allow Métis children to visit their mothers if they had not had a church marriage. "This may be all very right, but it is fearfully cruel for the poor unfortunate mothers did not know that there was any distinction & it is only within the last few years that any one was so married."

In her private letters Letitia was often highly critical of people she met. With her sharp wit, she delighted in regaling her family with the gossip of the country, but her uncharitable remarks were usually motivated by her dislike of hypocrisy and affectation. Although she expected the deference due her social position, she did not shun the companionship of Métis women such as Harriet Vincent, wife of Chief Trader George Gladman and godmother of the Hargraves' first child. In 1841 she met Dr William Fraser

Tolmie at York Factory and was impressed by his dedication and energy, both in his work for the company and in the classes in arithmetic and sacred music he offered to the inhabitants of the fort in the evenings. Another young doctor, John Sebastian Helmcken, visited York as ship's surgeon in 1847 and formed a very favourable impression of Letitia. In his *Reminiscences* he described her as "one of those nice ladies, one occasionally meets with, kind and affable. Altho not handsome she had a decidedly nice face – and a very pleasing expression with a very good figure."

During her years at York, Letitia was chiefly concerned with the welfare of her growing family. The birth of her first son, Joseph James, on 1 April 1841 created a sensation. The Indians flocked to see the new baby and the women were delighted to be able to kiss him, exclaiming "Very fat! Very white!" Letitia persuaded Hargrave to have a nursery, an unknown luxury at fur-trade posts, built on to their house with the advent of her second child. The death of the little boy shortly after his birth in December 1842 was a grievous blow. His mother found solace in the thriving health of her eldest and a daughter, Letitia Lockhart, born on 24 Oct. 1844.

By the mid 1840s Hargrave was hoping to move his family to a more congenial clime since both he and his wife suffered from ill health. In 1846 they went with their children to Scotland where Letitia received skilled medical treatment in Edinburgh, and returned to York Factory the following year. Letitia deeply missed her son, who had remained at school in Scotland, but she was soon diverted by another daughter, Mary Jane, born 11 July 1848. With the anticipated transfer continually deferred, Letitia became despondent, seeing her husband worn out by his heavy duties at York Factory and the prospects of the trade fast declining. Before the birth of their fifth child, Dugald John, in September 1850, the Hargraves received confirmation of a transfer to the company depot at Sault Ste Marie, where more civilized amenities would be available. Hargrave left York for his new post in the summer of 1851 but considered the overland journey too strenuous for his family and arranged for them to leave on the HBC's fall ship to Britain. Letitia enjoyed the reunion with her family and placed her eldest daughter, "Tash," in school with Joseph James at St Andrews.

Hargrave wrote to her of the charms of the Sault, advising on purchases for their new home and for Letitia herself: "a fine silk velvet gown worthy of being worn by such a wife as you have been to me." Letitia and her two youngest children were met by her husband in New York in the summer of 1852. Two years later the Hargraves' domestic happiness was shattered when Letitia died of cholera, then epidemic. Hargrave left his post, without waiting for permission, to take her body to Toronto for burial at St James', the nearest consecrated cemetery. Sylvia Van Kirk The correspondence of Letitia Mactavish can be found in the Hargrave papers at PAC, MG 19, A21, ser.1, 27. Most of the letters have been published by the Champlain Society in *Letters of Letitia Hargrave*, intro. by M. A. MacLeod.



Letitia Hargrave, wife of Chief Factor James Hargrave

Letitia Hargrave

Francis had sailed to England that August of 1846, and after a brief stay returned to Canada by HBC ship. At St. Thomas he had a joyful reunion with his brother, Edward, whom he hadn't seen in 18 years. And he was able to meet Edward's family, and old HBC friends living in St. Thomas. He next visited Archibald McDonald in Montreal.

About this time he seems to have become one of the guardians of Joseph Dears, son of Thomas Dears who died in 1839 and his wife, Emma Dears who died in 1847. The other guardians were Edward Ermatinger and William K. Kains, a St. Thomas merchant.

http://www.sutton.org/oldsite/Elgin_ON_estates.htm, Surrogate Court Records, Elgin County, Ontario (Database 1)

Montreal 26th March 1847

“My Dear Edward

I got here upon the 8th and received yours of the 14th yesterday, upon my return from the Lake of the two mountains. My trip here was so-so, but with your friend Smith of Kingston it was made agreeable. Since I have been going a round of N.[orth] W.[est] dinners, Archy is my constant companion. I have seen all our cousins and think much of them. With Charles and the sisters I am to dine tomorrow. Lawrence is here, doing nothing. What to do with him I know not. The other day I paid 18 weeks board for him. I tried to give him to the new Bishop Blanchette who left the other for Walla Walla but it was no go - more of this hereafter. The young aids were glad to see me but I do not often see them; in fact, except for our own family, the North Westers (Connolly I [leave out] and the boarders here [at] Daleys, I have little intercourse, I called at Moffat's office upon my arrival & gave him the Dr.'s letters and in about 10 days he called here and left his card. A week after I left mine at his house and so we stand.

It is out of the question now about my route. To St. Thomas I cannot go this spring. My orders are to leave Lachine upon the 1st May with the light canoe and to wait for the Governor [Simpson] upon Lake Superior, who will take steam hence, so it must rest with you whether we meet again this spring. The House, I believe, will meet in May, perhaps early. So think, and if you can, pray do come down.

What did you say to the little girls for their dolls? They must have been disappointed, however I have not forgot them. Give my love to Mrs. E. and kiss the young ones for me and with Compliments to Clara's [Claris] little Doctor [Wade Allworth], and all St. Thomas friends, to believe me to be

My Dear Brother Sincerely Yours Frs. Ermatinger

N.B. We have made Champagne fly since we came here occasionally.”

Norway House 1st July 1847

“Dear Edward

I believe Sir George is anxious to be off to Canada and will start in a day or two, but I believe refuses to take letters. Yet I will prepare this. We reached this without accident, and it was, I believe, intended to send me back to the Columbia until Messrs. Ogden & Co.'s dispatch came to hand in which, they say, that they are not anxious to have me back. The truth is they wish to keep me out from the Doctor. I had some plain talk with Sir George and was for being off, but he would not allow me, and made me half a promise that I shall be promoted among the first. I am now to take charge of the Athabasca department. I shall request Mrs. E. to cross the mountains next spring and meet me here, rather than allow her to pass through New Caledonia to Peace river. Since I left her, I find she has been very extravagant, for my Columbia account I see amounts to L120. This with what I myself overdrew in London puts me greatly in debt. I have, however, to meet it as far as it will go. Sold my watch, &c.&c., for L76, and as I must have property in the Columbia worth two or three hundred pounds which I will order to be sold, I expect to get clear of debt. I wish you to increase [sic] my bank stock in

Canada as much as possible and I will send down Miss Fanny to spend the dividends with you. Pray what have you done with Lawrence? If nothing better, I now do not care if he goes to Oregon, as it is not likely that I shall ever return to that country. In the mean time he must shift for himself. Sir George has promised me a furlough again, when I wish one.

I have no doubt Ogden, &c., thought they would gull me by preventing my return to the Columbia. It true that I am anxious to see my family & the time must be long before I can do so, yet I do not regret the change much and shall expect to be benefited by it. Your deed shall be attended to in time.

Give my kind respects to Mrs. E. and kiss the dear little girls for me and you may promise them that I will go and see them when they write me to do so - perhaps then. If you see the family in Montreal remember me to them, for I have too much to do to write at present to them. God bless you all.

Yours Affectionately Frs. Ermatinger”

Norway House 18th July 1847

“My Dear Edward

Tomorrow morning I hope that I shall be off to my desolate appointment, where for the want of goods I anticipate much vexation. Mr. Campbell has been going on from bad to worse without taking any precautions to remedy the evils - he has created - Furs he has brought out in great quantities, but then he has not paid for them. My outfit [when] sold would buy 6000 beaver, and of it 4000 must go to pay up his debts to the Indians. At present I cannot be helped, for we have to ask two years before we can get - but what is this to you?

I am very anxious to hear what you have done with Lawrence, to support him, I cannot and he must move for himself. In the mean time I depend upon you to do the best with him or send him now to Oregon or anywhere else you please. Try to send me complete files of the Albion. In Athabaska they have nothing to read; neither have I. Canadian papers, unless they contain something of yourself or of our friends, are not worth sending for. Those however let me have.

I have done all in my power to make arrangements to get my family across the mountains next spring and my next move will be to get Miss Fanny down to Canada, but this I fancy I cannot do for one, two or perhaps three years. Sir George promised that I shall have a furlough when I choose and if I find no other means of sending her I will possibly avail myself of this. Should Mrs. Ermatinger, after the manner the board of management has treated us - and what I have written to her - not come to me next spring, I do not that that I will ask her to do so again, but leave her to her own judgment in every thing that concerns herself, except my purse. I have treated Messrs. Ogden and Douglas as chevalierly as they did me, and have told that that if they were satisfied with the change of appointment, so was I, and to fear nothing, for if ever they saw me again in the Columbia, it would be my care, that is should not be to serve under their command. I

suppose Mr. McLoughlin wrote you, the worst has been done by them for him. Yet I trust he will prosper. If he is not too generous, I am certain he will make money in spite of them. Confound the fellows, they have, after all, made me proud of myself. To imagine that they were afraid to have me back near them. I hope in a very few years will see me a C.[hief] F.[actor] and in the mean time I will work myself out of debt, check Mrs. E.'s monstrous extravagance and bank what I can. Our returns are again good, and if the furs would sell, we might expect tolerable dividends yet. But beaver can scarcely be given away. I presume this summer there will, with what is in Fenchurch Street, be 120,000 upon hand.

With all my disappointment, I continue in good spirits, and enjoy health. It is true I do not get so many glasses of "hot stuff" and where I am to go, there will be no night caps. So, as the Yankees say, I must stick my spoon in the wall. Be it so, I can do without it.

If you see Archy tell him I think of him with every respect but I have nothing to write about worth 1/6. This letter to yourself is a proof, yet I could not have gone without it.

Give my respects to Mrs. E. and kiss the dear little girls for me and mind that you let them have Dolls and other toys upon my account in abundance. God bless you all and believe ever

My Dear Edward Your Affectionate Brother Frs. Ermatinger.
Edw. Ermatinger Esq.

All my friends here are in church while I am writing this and others."

Francis had been sent to the Athabasca District for his next assignment. It seems that Ogden and Douglas did not want him back in Oregon and in a brusque manner requested that he be removed from the Columbia, so Simpson more or less exiled him to that far northern post. This separated him from Catherine and Fanny for two years. The Athabasca Department was in the northernmost part of present-day Alberta and Saskatchewan. At one time it was rich in beaver. Fort Chipewyan was the headquarters and that is where Francis was headed. "Situated to the north of the main east-west express route across British North America, Fort Chipewyan was reached from the west by way of the Churchill (English), Clearwater and Athabasca rivers. From the west, trails came up from Edmonton or from New Caledonia by way of the Peace River. Winter brought movement to a standstill on the frozen landscape. Only Indians made their way to the post during the dark months, coming half-starved in quest of food and ammunition. In addition to taking out the furs these Chipewyan Indians could trap in the depleted land, Ermatinger had the responsibility for feeding the natives and the Company servants in sufficient abundance that they remained peaceful and productive. He also maintained a supply depot and way station for Company personnel and guests that passed through the district. Fort Chipewyan was not an attractive place to linger. The terrible mosquitoes in the summer months were cause enough to hurry visitors on. Local agriculture added little to the Athabasca stores and in some seasons the table fare scant. One Londoner wrote friends of surviving on "half rotten bear" while Ermatinger's guest." McDonald, p277

“Francis Ermatinger’s old friends were dismayed by the way Simpson had treated and used him. John Work wrote to Edward, “Frank is ordered to Athabasca and not allowed to join his family. I can well imagine his feelings but these appear to be little regarded nowadays.”

From “The Oblates and the Northwest: 1845-1861 by Gaston Carriere, O.M.I., University Seminary, Ottawa.

The Oblates that were at Fort Chipewyan worked out of St. Boniface Diocese. Father Alexander Tache arrived at the fort in September of 1847. He stayed at Fort Chipewyan for three weeks, and was helped a great deal by the Canadian Metis. He was able to baptize 183 people while there. He resided at the Fort and Francis Ermatinger was very kind to him. In 1848 he returned to Fort Chipewyan with Ermatinger. He was happy to meet several Caribou Eaters. “He remained at the Fort until the beginning of January in response to the pressing and amiable request of Ermatinger who showed him much graciousness.” Frank probably wanted good company.



Notes on Father Alexander Tache:

Alexandre-Antonin Taché circa 1890 Alexandre-Antonin Taché (23 July 1823 – 22 June 1894) was a Roman Catholic priest, missionary of the Oblate order, author and the first Archbishop of Saint Boniface in the Canadian province of Manitoba.

In late 1844 Taché entered the Oblate novitiate. He soon expressed an urge to preach to the native population of the west and was sent to Saint Boniface in the Red River Colony along with Father Pierre Aubert. They went to work with Bishop Joseph-Norbert Provencher. Provencher ordained Taché a priest on 12 October 1845. He studied the basics of the Ojibwe language and was sent to start a mission in Île-à-la-Crosse. Later, he also became proficient in Cree and Athabaskan.

In 1847, Rome created the diocese of the North-West. In June 1850, Taché was named bishop of Arath^[where?] and Provencher's successor at the age of 27. He only received the news of his appointment in January 1851. He was consecrated a bishop on 23

November 1851 in Marseille by Bishop Eugene de Mazenode. Provencher died on 7 June 1853, and Taché became the bishop of St. Boniface. Bishop Taché died in Saint Boniface in 1894. The Rural Municipality of Tache and Tache Avenue in Saint Boniface were named after him. From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

From The Letters of Letitia Hargrave, Margaret A. MacLeod, 1947, Champlain, pcxi: “The Hargrave’s traveling companion of the previous autumn, Frank Ermatinger, had returned to Canada in the spring. On his way to his new assignment at Fort Chipewyan, he found awaiting him at Norway House a letter that Hargrave had written to him from London; and he replied before continuing his journey. “It gave me the greatest gratification to hear that Sister Hargrave was perfectly recovered, God bless her. Not so, however to hear that she is doomed to solitude, swamps, infernal fried suckers and salt geese of York Factory. What constitution can stand such fare in such a place!” Ermatinger had been bespoken as godfather for the Hargraves; next child, and he added, “Little Tash, dear little Tash, she must be solitary, at least for a few months, until Joseph’s place can be supplied. Pray give my kind respects to Mrs. H. and tell her that I feel I was made a better man by her society. Hargrave replied to this in November: “We are spending a delightful winter, plenty of work, plenty of exercise, with plenty of good cheer and fellowship. It may be some time before you stand god father to poor Tash’s successor.” However, before the year was out, they knew that the successor might be expected in the coming July.”

November 24, 1847 “Wednesday. Rainy unpleasant weather. I was sent to warn William Wilson an American immigrant of this season, to quit the claim of Mr. Ermatinger, where he is at present working, being employed by Amos Short, who has jumped it.” Private Journal kept at Fort Vancouver Columbia River by Thomas Lowe Hudson Bay Coy., pages 61.

“In January, 1848, the letter that Hargrave had written to John George McTavish the previous autumn was returned from Red River by Alexander Christie, with the information that McTavish had died of cholera in Montreal on July 20, 1847. Hargrave later wrote of the loss, to Sinclair at Churchill, “I have yet no spirits equal to any thing beyond the routine of this place ... He was my oldest friend in the country and my regard for him was like that of a son for a father.”

John George McTavish was a man of rare personality. No officer in the Company was more esteemed, and he seemed to inspire a sort of hero-worship in those who served under him. A comment of Letitia’s suggests this. Frank Ermatinger had seen him among some retired officers of the Company in Montreal the previous year and had written to Hargrave, “John Oh! Hargrave what a contrast he shows to the other North Westers – but he is a gentleman in any country and any society.”

The 49 year old Francis Ermatinger spent the years 1847 to 1850 at the Athabasca post of Fort Chipewyan.

I leave the following here to remind me to further research this:

James Calder murder trial in 1848.

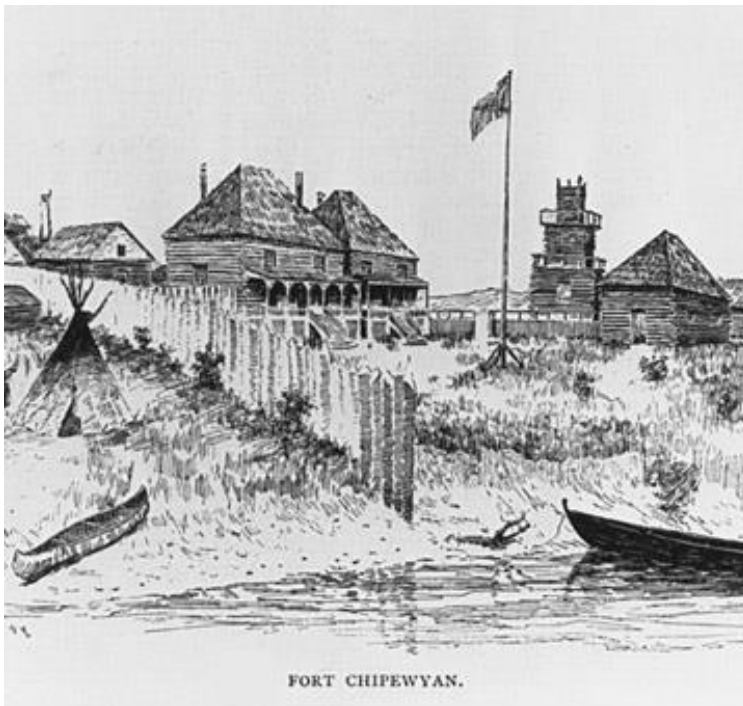
blood must have been removed by the fire before he saw it and a roach knife is generally made broader about two inches from the point than close to the halt.

If Mr. Shaw was as convinced of the guilt of Calder, as he expresses himself, I think that he did very wrong to give him the certificate he did and which you will find subjoined. I shall not take upon myself to say how much guilt is to be attached to the crime yet I must add, that there is nothing in Mr. Shaw's document to warrant either the conclusion of malice or premeditation. I shall take out Calder and all the men that were upon the spot to Norway House next spring without letting them know my design in the meantime it will rest with you gentlemen to determine what course must be pursued with Calder. I have the honor to be, Gentlemen, Your obedt. Servt. (signed) Frs. Ermatinger

Chalk; To write this up you might have to look at all the files in this box, because there seems to be a lot of information about Calder. Files 15 to 20 deal with this incident.

As above, File 19; contains a letter regarding Ermatinger
Norway House, 24th June 1848

I hereby authorize and order you or any of you, to conduct James Calder from this place to Red River Settlement, there to be delivered to the Governor of the same or any other competent authority in order to stand his trial before the Court of Governor and Council of Assiniboia for felonious homicide said to have been committed by him on Peace River. Yours [illeg.] gov. In chief of Ruperts Land. To Donald Ross, Esq. and Francis Ermatinger, Esq. and William Sinclair Esq. and [blank]

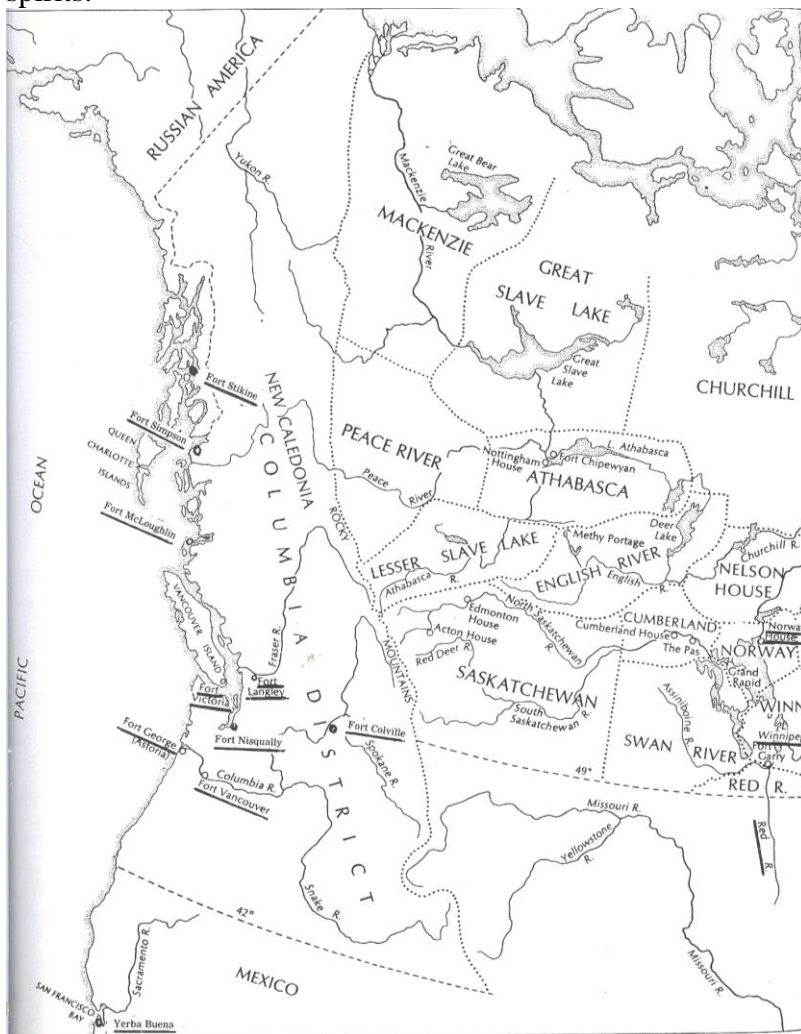


Fort Chipewyan, Alberta in 1894, Photogravure by Harry S. Watson (1871-1936).

“Ermatinger's chief complaint was the posts heavy indebtedness. Chief Trader Colin Campbell's mismanagement of his trade outfits had put his successor in a position where the Indians could justifiably make claims upon him. Always garrulous, Ermatinger

talked of this far and wide, even among persons outside the company ... News of his complaints of previous mismanagement at Fort Chipewyan reached the ears of HBC man, John Rae, who was at the time on Sir John Richardson's Arctic Expedition and he wrote to George Simpson about it:

"I was somewhat amused and a little annoyed to hear a story having got among the Expedition men that the Company are in debt to the Indians of the Athabasca district for the better of three years, nor can I account for any such rumor getting abroad, supposing that F. Ermatinger who is rather fond it is said of "heaving the hatchet" spread it himself – for I am aware he was boasting of the number of beaver skins he was in debt to his Indians, when on his way down." Was the HBC in debt to the Indians or not? John Rae also complained that Francis had sent to Fort Confidence sled dogs that were worn out and too old for the Arctic Expedition. And he said he was sure Francis would charge full price for them. This is much out of character for Francis. But Rae did say that "Ermatinger has been most kind and liberal in supplying us with all [the good wine] we required." He had complained about the spirits he got from James Hargrave. As Lois Halliday McDonald says he possibly was simply not the judge of dog flesh that he was of spirits.



Ermatinger's grouching was not limited to the financial embarrassment of his new post. He was in great anxiety over his personal debts. At Christmas 1847, he wrote a long letter to Edward in which he expressed no joy at the holy season, but only frustration at his real and imagined plight. "I was 24 years a clerk, for which I received *L*1940. Of this you got *L*1215, and with the *L*725 I have clothed myself 27 years and my family ... " He raged at his brother over the meager 5% interest he was receiving for the use of the *L*1215, writing "It is absurd to say that 5 per cent is as good for money, which neither the principle nor proceeds can be at your command, as the 7, 8, or even 9 per cent ... merely because the person giving 5 per cent holds your power of attorney and does just as he pleases with you." McDonald, p278

"Francis querulously commented on Edward's choice of investments for his money. He berated himself equally for extravagance while on furlough, exceeding his entire *L*537 dividends as a trader by *L*50. Catherine had been free with her charges to his Company account, and he was over *L*200 in debt." McDonald, page 279

February 25, 1848 "Friday. Beautiful clear day, but rather cold. In the evening a boat arrived from the Wallamette Falls with Mrs. Ermatinger, Mr. Robert Birnie, Mr. and Mrs. Wm. McKay, the last on their way to Scappoose. Mr. E. is come to settle about her going with the [York Factory] Express." Private Journal kept at Fort Vancouver Columbia River by Thomas Lowe Hudson Bay Coy., page 65. So Catherine Ermatinger was there during the Cayuse troubles and the influx of Americans and the Whitman Massacre. She must of saw much of what was transpiring in Old Oregon during those days.

March 16, 1848 "Thursday. Raining all day. In the evening a boat arrived from the Wallamette Falls, with Mr. McKinlay, Mr. Stanley, Mr. Fenton, Mrs. McLoughlin, Mrs. Rae and Mrs. Ermatinger and daughter. I have been employed all day in packing the East Side Otters in puncheons for Fort Victoria." The York Factory Express left Fort Vancouver with Clerk Thomas Lowe in charge on March 20, 1848 and he returned there on November 3, 1848. No journal at Fort Vancouver by Lowe in that time, but he did write a York Factory Journal of the trip, as he did the year before. We are pretty confident that Catherine and Fanny Ermatinger were in the boats of the Express when they left Fort Vancouver as per John McLoughlin's letter below.

Dr. John McLoughlin wrote this letter to Francis from Oregon City on March 15, 1848:

"Tomorrow Catherine and Fanny leave this [Oregon City] to go to Vancouver from whence they will proceed with the Express if the route is safe and as usual in Boats to join you. But if the reverse is the case or that danger is apprehended they will return here and proceed with the Summer brigade which I understand will go by Fort Langley and proceed in the fall with Lewis to Boat Encampment. Where she will receive instructions from you. It has been suggested to me by Mr. McKinlay that she could go up by New

Caledonia but to this I objected and if it depends on me she will go in the way I mention and no other, unless I receive orders from you to the contrary by the Spring Express.

Since I last wrote you we received via Oahu a bedstead, a cooking stove with pans &c kettles, but the damper I believe it is called is broken, a box containing carpet or carpets, five kegs which seem to be paint and 8 cases ----- one of which has been opened and contained 12 bottles of brandy which I believe was sold at \$2 pr bottle and the money given to Catherine. If the other case contain brandy and I can get the same price or even less I will sell. Indeed I sent for your letters to Vancouver and if I had seen any in Wyeths handwriting I would have opened it in the expectation of finding the account and I would have sold all that he sent you as soon as I could. I will therefore wait for your instructions before putting all he sent you up to sale. Except the brandy which I will sell for what I can get. But I must remark the damper of your cooking stove is broken but I suppose I will be able to get one cast here this summer as we have two foundaries in operation. I suppose you will also consider it advisable to sell your house and Catherine's two lots. I think they will bring next year between two and three hundred dollars each and I have made Catherine leave the Deeds. The house on your lot is a poor concern besides a corner infringes on the street. In fact I think the house worth little. But the lot is a good one but you will never get two thousand dollars the price you asked for it Nor even half that money as all that is valuable is the lot, the house is a nuisance. Give your full instructions on these points. Applegate sold his lots on two years credit for two hundred and fifty dollars each. They are along side of yours but he will have to wait more than double that time in my opinion. But to return to your goods here I have kept them at the present price because there are none else on the market. If they do not sell in the beginning of the summer I will lower the price. Mrs. E. has left with me Nesmith & Hedges note for 333.50 payable 1st March 1848
D D note for 333.50 payable 1st March 1847
Robert Newell note for 228 payable 1st Feby 1847. "Sampson, pp 87-89
(James W. Nesmith & Absalon F. Hedges, Nesmith had came out with Whitman)

Francois had been anxious to see his family, and had asked Dr. McLoughlin to see that they were sent to him at Fort Chipewyan in early spring 1848. But that spring and summer the measles spread throughout Oregon, killing many people, American immigrants had brought the disease with them that year. Catherine and Fanny had contacted the disease which nearly killed them. They made it as Fort Colville, and there they rested being too weak to travel any further.

At the time that the York Factory express arrived at Fort Colville, "the missionaries Eells and Walker and their families were lodged there in refuge from the hostile Indians who had perpetuated the massacre at the Whitman Mission the autumn before. Mary Walker was in a position to observe what happened. Her April 21, 1848 diary entry reads: "Mrs. Ermatinger concludes not to go on at present. Thinks the journey too much." McDonald, p280 Elkanah Walker wrote the same day, "Friday 21. The boats came this morning before breakfast & with them the Bishop (Father Blanchet), Mr. Logan, & Mrs. Ermatinger & daughter."

“July 1848 found Ermatinger at Norway House on Lake Winnipeg for the council’s business transactions. He wrote about his feelings for John McLoughlin on July 15, 1848 from Norway House to Edward:

“Doctor McLoughlin has all my affairs in hand there [Oregon]. The poor old gentleman was, I am told very much depressed when he heard of my being kept upon this side and I fear that I have fallen in his opinion by remaining in the service under the circumstances. God bless him, he is a worthy old gentleman and I hope to see him yet.” McLoughlin in turn wrote to Nathaniel J. Wyeth in February of 1848, “You are aware before this that Ermatinger was not sent back to this quarter and since this is the case I am surprised that he did not come back and open a shop in this place [Oregon City] himself. If he had come back with a Vessel of three hundred Tons and Goods I would have given constant Employment to his Vessel ...” McLoughlin besides missing a good business chance most likely missed Francis’ jovial presence. Many of Francis’ friends in the HBC were dismayed by the way Ogden, Douglas and Simpson had treated him. John Work wrote. “Frank is ordered to Athabasca and not allowed to join his family. I can well imagine his feelings but these appear to be little regarded nowadays.” To Simpson the work came first! One writer, Frank T. Gilbert, wrote a romantic but untrue story in his book, “History of Yolo County” of Francis Ermatinger’s banishment from the Oregon country and had him assigned as far away as St. Petersburg in Russia. And for years just because he married the woman he loved [Catherine]. Gilbert has him dying of fever in Russia. All nonsense but it shows that Francis had become a bit of a legend in California stemming from his ne brief trapping expedition there.

He had ordered while in Oregon City household furniture from his old friend, Nathaniel Jarvis Wyeth, now a Cambridge, Massachusetts merchant. Now far up north in Canada he did not need the stuff and this haunted him. The furniture along with carpets, curtains and brandy had already been shipped to Oregon. He asked his step-grandfather-in-law, John McLoughlin (now out of the HBC) to sell the stuff when it reached Oregon, and Edward to arrange to pay the bill. Wyeth acknowledged his earlier debt to Francis, but still added 18 months interest at 6% to the bill, bringing it to \$300.00. Wyeth wrote to Edward on November 26, 1848:

“Herewith please find the acct. of disbursements made by me for Mr. Francis Ermatinger for goods sent to the Columbia which I am afraid will be of little use to him in his desolate residence at Athabasca ... Having been under great obligation to your brother in the Indian Country in 1834 & 5, I should be pleased to make your acquaintance & beg favor of a visit if you should come into this region.”

From Thomas Lowe’s “Journal of a Trip from Vancouver to York Factory, March 24-October 29, 1848:

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We are now speaking of the incoming brigade, which has just travelled over the Athabasca Pass and reached Boat Encampment to meet the men who are accompanying the Jasper’s House men out of the territory.

“Thursday 12th [October] – Rained during the night, but continued fair during the day. Got to the Grand Traverse about 10am. and crossed without taking off the loads. Michel & the two others had arranged the boat, but we did not require it. the road beyond the Grand Traverse are very bad, and we had a great many trees to clear out of the way. Encamped at the Campement d’Original but it was late when we got there. [The next year young John Charles would be killed at this camp, see blog.]

“Friday 13th – Began raining before daylight, and continued so the whole day, but we went on nevertheless. Went on very well in spite of the snow, and encamped at Mr. Rousseau’s encampment.

“Saturday 14th – Snowed the whole of last night and this morning there was upwards of 6 inches of snow on the ground. Brightened up in course of the day, but the melting of the snow rendered the roads miserable. Got to the first Battur at the foot of the Grand Cote. [Batture is gravel bank].

“Sunday 15th – Beautiful weather. I started ahead this morning for the Boat Encampment when I arrived about 3pm. Found C.F. Lewes & family, Mrs. Ermatinger & daughter, Mrs. Fraser & family and Mr. Angus McDonald waiting for us there, to cross the mountains with the horses which we have brought. They have been here for only 6 days, having taken 20 days to come up from Colvile. About an hour after dark Mr. Beardmore & the brigade arrived, except 3 of the laziest who have fallen behind, and can not come up tonight. Mr. Lewes brought up two boats from Colvile, and there are 7 engaged men and 5 Indians to go back with us, also Mr. Fraser’s family.

“Monday 16th – Fine weather. In the forenoon the three men who were behind with their horses last night arrived. The Boat which we left here in the Spring was properly gummed and arranged today, and in the afternoon about 4 o'clock we started from the Boat Encampment with 3 boats, having about 20 pieces per boat, and 13 men each. The river is in a fine state, and we swamped a short distance above St. Martin’s Rapid.....”
Received from Nancy Anderson.

‘It was a hard winter near Athabasca Lake in 1848-49, and a shortage of food caused great suffering. Ermatinger was greatly distressed by the Indians; plight. “Many died from want and some, in Peace River, even went the length of eating one another. I, in consequence, did not come off with my usual successes.”

Francis writes from Lake Winnipeg, 3rd July 1849 to George Simpson at Lachine about the loss of some horses:

“Sir, I do myself the honor, while wind bound here, to acknowledge receipt of your confidential letter of 26th ulto., and also one of the same date, upon the subject of the supplies of horses to Portage La Loche & the great losses of them there.

With respect to the first, I do not think it will be prudent to make any alterations for the present, I consider the Athabasca Indian tariff very liberal & it would require some consideration before a change could be made to benefit either part concerned in it. The Indians are very lazy hunters & did I feel inclined to increase their supplies, I should prefer doing so by giving a bonus upon the amount of their hunts, in order to stimulate

them, rather than supply them with goods at too easy a rate before they commenced their hunts. However, if the tariff is materially reduced at the surrounding posts it may be necessary for us, in Athabasca, to lower ours too.

For years upon the subject of the horses, I was partly prepared, by having read a very curious document last winter, from the Edmonton [Press? can't be -- must be Post] a "public letter" -- It is often our misfortune to write to give information upon subjects that we are scarcely half informed upon ourselves as in the case before us: and here, sir, allow me to correct one part of the information conveyed to you, namely, have been the destruction & losses of horses at Portage La Loche even as great as has been represented Desjarlais was as innocent of the cause as anyone of your servants at Lachine, for the same reason. He had no more to do with them than they had and at this moment it is, a question with me, if even he ever saw them there.

I am not however prepared to enter into the merits or demerits of Desjarlais and all I propose is to give you what "information I can upon the subject, to enable you to decide upon the necessity of the arrangements in prospective." --

Mr. Campbell had, I believe some 40 horses at the Portage [La Loche] under the care of two men / Baptiste Lafleur & Baptiste Sylvestre / of which 4 only remained in the spring. In summer 1847 you in council ordered 40 more, these were supplied from Edmonton in spring 1848 and were sent off in such a wretched poor state that were Mr. Harriott had no expectation that they would be at the Portage to benefit me coming out, so he wrote. -- To drive these horses to the Portage Mr. Harriott engaged Desjarlais and gave him 30 pounds for the trip & Mr. Pruden was sent with him, I presume, to have an eye over him, they arrived at the Portage late in July, found Mr. McPherson there, delivered him 27 horses I believe & Desjarlais considered his duty finished, however, for a trifle, 30 skins, consented to remain with Mr. McPherson & to remain for the Athabasca Boats. When I arrived I entered into a verbal agreement with him for one or two years at 35 pounds per annum, he to go back to Edmonton for 20 more horses & take care of them the whole year round, wintering at Deers Lake, to feed himself, & my giving a small net & a little ammunition, & to pay for all the assistance he may require. In making this arrangement, I considered I was taking the only feasible plan for the preservation of the horses & was saving near 20 pounds upon the bargain. This summer notwithstanding the winter was so extremely severe & the spring backward, I found Desjarlais at the Portage with 42 horses for transporting our baggage across, so that, the only winter he had the horses to keep, & that winter a most severe one, not a horse died, & it was the only spring that the Company's property, I believe, was transported by their own horses.

After all said, I do not myself feel perfectly satisfied with all, as it goes on at the Portage, but forbear to enter into details, suffice it to say, that without an Establishment there, & a person in authority over it, it will be impossible to have all as complete as one would wish. I have only to add, that it is another error to say that Desjarlais was engaged for three years, he was not, & will not stand in the way of any arrangements you may wish to have made.

I shall not give an opinion of the road between the Portage & Isle a la Crosse, but I will, with submission, suggest that if the plan is determined upon, to substitute half the number of oxen for horses & wheels for saddles & the needless etceteras required for them.”

I have the honor to be, sir, Your most obdt. servant, Frs. Ermatinger. ” “Reel 3M86, D.5/25, fo. 352-didn't note last page of letter

“The prospect of returning to Athabasca for his second year appalled Francis. He wrote to Edward from Norway House on July 15, 1848 that:

“I have brought my first campaign in Athabasca to a close and am just now on the eve of starting upon the second. I was most successful, but passed a very dull winter and actually dread the next ... He could say with satisfaction that enough of his property in Oregon had been sold to clear him of debt with the Company.” McDonald page 283
He was very lonely at Fort Chipewyan and it changed his habits and him. He kept to himself and did not associate with the men and he did not mention in his letters who his clerk was. He hardly drank even though he had four gallons of good port and two gallons of brandy at the fort, drinking only once or twice in five months. In his July 15, 1848 letter to Edward he said, “Liquor without company I never think seriously of ... At present, I have been so long under probation, I feel myself qualified to be private secretary to Father Matthew.”

He also spent time brooding over his son, Lawrence and his failure to make something of him.

Francis went west to Fort Edmonton to find news of his family, their whereabouts and in a chance he might even meet them coming east. At Les Trois Isles near Cumberland House, he met a party of Eden Colville, headed west on an inspection tour of Company posts. ‘A wind storm delayed both Ermatinger and Colvile so that the men exchanged views and sized each other up. Francis wrote to Edward on July 11, 1849 from Norway House that Colvile “has all the prejudices of Sir George and I fear will not get along so very easy as he expects to do.” Colvile wrote Simpson, “I found Ermatinger, as you forewarned me, full of jaw. He says the reason of the clerks at Vancouver giving notice of retirement is not from a wish to go to the ‘diggins’ but from disgust at the way they were treated by the chief there, meaning I suppose, Douglas – but I could get no particulars out of him, & I should judge from his manner that he is somewhat loose in his assertions.” Both men thought little of each other. McDonald, p284 Eden Colville would eventually replace Sir George Simpson and along with James Douglas were three peas in a pod. Colvile’s reference to the ‘diggins’ was to the 1849 Gold Rush in California. Francis knew what he was talking about in reference to Black James Douglas.

Edward wrote to him his tackless letters to him, “Edward was both angry and apologetic at the charges of unfairness and mismanagement his brother had hurled at him.” Francis replied that he now knew his financial situation wasn’t as bad as he had thought it was.

At long last the family arrived with the York Factory Express. "I have just joined Mrs. Ermatinger and Fanny. The former is in tolerable health and Fanny has grown a fine active girl."

"Ermatinger's joy of being re-united with his family at Norway House the following summer soon turned to despair when he discovered that his wife was pregnant. She had been led astray during the winter by young Alexander Christie, Jr., the educated son of the respected chief factor. Shortly after the birth of the child in December, Ermatinger poured out his grief to his friend Hargrave:

"I am, I believe, a doomed man. My last two winters, in this quarter were wretched by solitary but I had hope and employed myself in getting everything snug about me and succeeded in doing so. Poor reward, I have received for all my care and anxiety. My friend, if ever a woman had a husband in this country, who indulged her every wish and spared no expense to raise her ideas above the common herd, the one with me had but I cannot dwell upon my shame." *Many Tender Ties – Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870*, Sylvia Van Kirk, p168

"The news was the topic of gossip throughout the Company. Within the confines of a winter-bound fur post, Ermatinger faced his wife with her unfaithfulness, heard her pitiful excuses, prepared for the delivery of the infant, and mollified his feelings with the pleasure of getting to know his six-year-old Fanny." McDonald

Francis wrote to Edward in his July 11, 1849 letter news brought up by Catherine and the York Express, "...the men [on the Columbia] were all running off to California and the clerks had all given out notice to leave the service. The doctor had, I believe, made out well upon some goods he had from England and would have done better had not part of his importations been lost upon the [Columbia] bar with the [ship] Vancouver. In fact all were making money and I cannot help thinking sometimes upon the chance I have lost; particularly as I have little faith in the promises of Sir George ... The Fur trade has, I do believe, seen its best day and the Hudson's Bay Company, with all the bolstering of the English government, will soon come to nothing. In Red river the half breeds have declared for free trade & have set us at defiance. I wish them success!" He completed this letter the evening before he started on his third trip to Atnabasca for another year, this time with Catherine and Fanny. He wrote "Should Sir George depend too much upon my good nature I may show him his error, should I even have to go to Oregon or California for livelihood." McDonald pages 285-286.

Letter from: Farm, Cowlitz, 15th January [18]50 To: W[illiam F. Tolmie, Esq[ui]re]
[Agent, Puget's Sound Agricultural Company]
[Fort Nisqually, Oregon Territory] by George B. Roberts, HBC clerk:
"Property [in Oregon City] has attained an almost unheard of price during my stay. Dr. McL[oughlin] sold ½ a lot 16 feet x 25 at \$3,000 to Thornton & was mortified to think he let it go at this, for the Judge took him at his word & unthinkingly [paid that price]. [Francis] Ermatinger's old house was sold the other day for \$4,000. Quesnel's Rock, Knightin's, now designated Pacific City, was sold at \$20,000." Steve Anderson

In March and April of 1850 our journalist, Clerk Thomas Lowe, quit the HBC service and settled in Oregon Territory to later become a naturalized American:

“March 20, 1850 “Wednesday. Cleared up a little today. In the afternoon about 2 o’clock the Express for York Factory started from this place. Passengers Governor Colville, Sir Edward Poore, Mr. Franklin and Mr. Kenneth Logan. The men were all three sheets to the wind. Some of them more. Rode after dinner. Having got the accounts of the year wound up, I am now free of the service of the Hudson’s Bay Company, and must shift for myself. Our prospects are tolerable, but it is difficult to say how we may get on. I have entered the partnership with Messrs. Allan and McKinlay, and will hereafter reside at Oregon City.” Private Journal kept at Fort Vancouver Columbia River by Thomas Lowe Hudson Bay Coy., page 75. His office job was taken over by a HBC clerk named Hardisty. The third to the last entry in his Fort Vancouver Journal Thomas Lowe writes again about the scoundrel, Amos Short:

April 6, 1850 “Saturday. Drizzling rain in the forenoon. Rode out after dinner. In a dispute between Amos Short and a man named Gardiner this afternoon, concerning the claim below the Fort, a scuffle ensued in which several were engaged on both sides. Gardiner and a Sandwich Islander named Hoolapa were shot by Short and his son in law.”

“7th Sunday. Was present at an inquest held on the bodies of the two men who were killed yesterday in the quarrel with Short.” Private Journal kept at Fort Vancouver Columbia River by Thomas Lowe Hudson Bay Coy., page 76.

There were no letters to Edward from Fort Chipewyan that winter, they were either destroyed by Edward or never were written because Francis could just as easily see Edward when he had taken Fanny to St. Thomas to school.

From the Fort Victoria Correspondence, letter from James Douglas to Archibald Barclay on 13 Sept. 1850:

"In one of the cases the Gold Dust received from Fort Vancouver, none of which have been opened at this place, there is a parcel containing 330 oz. 12 dwts 11 Grains of Gold dust the property of Chief Trader Ermatinger about which Mr. Ogden writes as follows: "Mr. Ermatinger’s Gold dust goes to England and is shipped on his private account on the following terms -- Freight 2 1/2 per cent, Insurance 2 1/2 pc, equal to 5 per Cent and at his risk from this place to Victoria. Signed, James Douglas (From Nancy Anderson, July 20, 2010). Where did this gold dust come from? Much of the mode of payment at Oregon City was in California gold dust.

“The Ermatinger family arrived at the 1850 Council, and for what transpired there we depend on a gossip letter written by Letitia Hargrave from York Factory to her mother in Scotland. The source of her information was her brother, William McTavish, chief accountant at York.

“Willie met Mr. Ermatinger waiting at Norway House for the canoe in which his little girl and he were to go to Canada. He had written to Mr. Sinclair [William Sinclair II, her

father] to meet him there and take Mrs. E. off his hands. Neither, Sinclair or his wife were there nor took any notice of his request. Mrs. E. was living with him in great harmony. They had separate rooms opening off one hall Frank walked in and out of his wife's. She made his room tidy, and he upbraided her when anything was out of sorts with it, and there they were. We will soon hear whether he carries her on to Lac La Pluie and leaves her with her father, but even the Norway House people were astonished at his mode of proceeding. I did not like to ask what had become of the baby but presume it has been at nurse till papa takes it." The baby was left with a nurse at Fort Chipewyan and died in infancy?

William Sinclair was made Chief Factor by the Council in 1850, but he was absent from the meeting, as noted by Mrs. Hargrave. Since he was not far, as trade distances ran, Francis found other transportation for Catherine to Rainy Lake; probably he delivered her to her parents' door himself, on his way to a year's leave in Canada. In all likelihood, Catherine was as eager to go home for a visit as Ermatinger was to dump her. Whether a permanent separation was planned at that time is not known. An extended stay in her parents' home succeeded in convincing Catherine that almost any terms with Francis were preferable to the status of discarded spouse. In July of 1851 Eden Colville wrote Governor Simpson at Lachine that he had given CF Sinclair permission to "put Mrs. Ermatinger on board any canoe that was a liberty – as it passed Lac La Pluie (for Canada)," Francis applied for another years leave in Montreal and it was granted. It can be inferred that Catherine joined her husband and paid the long postponed visit to Edward and Axie Ermatinger in St. Thomas. She was eager to visit with Fanny, but she did not stay on with the family. She went back to Lac La Pluie (Rainy Lake).

Francis writes to Sir George Simpson:

"Private letter, St. Thomas, C.W. March 5th 1852

Dear sir; As spring is approaching and it will require some time to communicate, it becomes necessary to me, to learn how I am to be disposed of for Outfit 1852. My health is much better than it has been since I came down, yet I have slight touches of rheumatism still, but if you insist upon my going up to the Indian country, I must prepare myself to do so. I, however, have no wish to do it, on the contrary, and if my means were not so very limited, I would retire from the service at once. Upon outfit 1853 it is my determination to do so, in the meantime it rests with you to dispose of me as you please for the ensuing outfit.

"Since I saw you I have been keeping Bachelor Hall and had Capt. Ermatinger with me. He left about a week ago, and now his two sisters are living with me. In November the young ladies started with me for Montreal, but owing to the very boisterous weather, at the time, and the uncertainty of the Boats, we returned from Hamilton. As early in April as possible we shall try it again and if you remain in Canada I hope to see you.

"If you do me the favor to write please let me know, about the time the canoes will start - not that I intend to embark at Lachine -- should you insist upon my wintering but that I may know what time they are likely to be at the Sault, when I propose to see them under any circumstances. Also let me know what dividend we had upon 1st. Decr.

"...we are all well here. My brother has business enough upon his hands while I have so little to do, that I have become the most lazy man in Canada West -- the winter has been so very severe and we have had more sleighing than has been for many years past. In the expectation of seeing you and in the meantime of hearing from you and with respectful remembrance to Lady Simpson, I am, Dear sir, Your Obedt. Servant, Frs. Ermatinger.

"P.S. While writing this we have heard that St. Thomas is the county town and most of the people here are in "high glee". And I hope they will not be disappointed." Reel 3M98, D.5/33 fo. 263 HBCA

"...The Gov & Committee approve of what you propose to do in the case of Mr. Ermatinger. They cannot sanction any deviation from the rule which they have laid down, and which is according to the Deed Poll." Reel 3M98, D.5/33, fo. 392, excerpt, Letter from Hudson's Bay house, London, A Barclay, Secty. to George Simpson, April 2, 1852 (from Nancy Anderson)

During his sojourn in Montreal, Francis found pleasure in visiting his cousins, children of Uncle Charles Oakes Ermatinger, now retired from the Sault. He had a circle of friends from the fur trade, and his comings and goings at clubs, dinners, and theater were attended by a valet, "a performing negro, who obliged gratuitously in the Canadian streets." Judge Ermatinger remembered that his uncle's man Aaron played both the banjo and the bones. When Francis left Canada for his 1852 assignment at Fort William, Aaron was left for Edward to employ, since it seemed a cruelty to the man to be hauled off to a deserted fur post." McDonald, p287

"The contrast between the Ermatinger brothers must have been a source of much conversation in social circles of St. Thomas. Edward was a worrier, sober in his outlook on life, a quoter of the biblical passages (thereby earning Francis' accusation of cant), and something of a milquetoast - judging by the way he was imposed on to look after the sons and servants of old HBC acquaintances. Francis soon developed a circle of friends in his brother's community that joined him in convivialty, including so much tipping that Francis felt obliged to beg his sister-in-law's forgiveness for their behavior. Vut it was Edward's children that absorbed Francis' greatest affection. He never failed to remember them in his letters." McDonald p. 288

At Fort William on Lake Superior Francis was to spend his last days in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. By the time of the winter of 1849-50 was over he knew his chief factorship was not in the cards, and that he wanted out of the service. He was a little bitter about, and besides he was never treated kindly by George Simpson and they may even have quarreled. He wrote to Edward on January 26, 1851 from Montreal, "Sir George and I have had a few interviews and he was d----d polite We never allude to any differences ... I have not called upon Mr. Simpson yet but may do so before I go off -- not for money however (Francis emphasized this last phase).

His relationship with his wife greatly improved, "he forgave and forgot," with Catherine making great pains to be a good wife. Fanny had been left with Edward to get a good education.

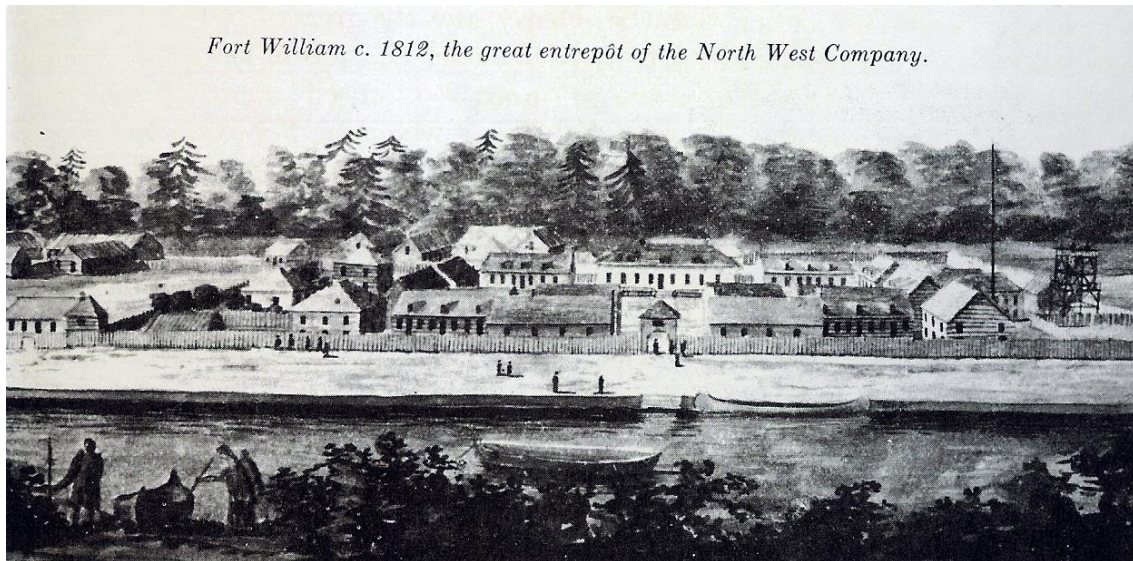
Lake Superior is the largest of the five traditionally-demarcated Great Lakes. It is bounded to the north by Ontario and Minnesota, and to the south by Wisconsin and Michigan. It is the largest freshwater lake in the world by surface area if Lake Huron and Lake Michigan are considered to be two lakes. It is the world's third-largest freshwater lake by volume. The Ojibwe call the lake *Gichigami*, meaning "big water." The first French explorers approaching the great inland sea by way of the Ottawa River and Lake Huron during the 17th century referred to their discovery as *le lac supérieur*. Properly translated, the expression means "Upper Lake," that is, the lake above Lake Huron. The lake was also called *Lac Tracy* by 17th century Jesuit missionaries. The English, upon taking control of the region from the French in the 1760's, following the French and Indian War, anglicized the lake's name to *Superior*, "on account of its being superior in magnitude to any of the lakes on that vast continent." Over 80 species of fish have been found in Lake Superior.



Fort William <http://data2.collectionscanada.ca/ap/c/c010512k.gif>



Fort William in 1845 From "Vie de Mgr Tache" volume I by Dom Benoit, 1904



"Royal Family of the Columbia –Dr. John McLoughlin and His Family," Alberta Brooks Fogdall, Ye Galleon Press Fairfield, Washington, 1978

From *The Hudson's Bay Territory, and Returning: Commencing May 1852 with a brief account of his life, and a short history of the Wesleyan mission in that country.* Peter Jacobs 1808-1858, New York: published by the author, 1857:

"Tuesday, 18th.—The day was fine. I dined with John Johnston, Esquire, and his lady, and I found them affable and kind. This John Johnston is a son of the late great John Johnston of Sault Ste. Marie. After dinner, the Hudson's Bay canoes arrived. The number of men in the canoes was about thirty; they had a young clerk with them named Mr. Taylor.

Wednesday, 19th. – At ten o'clock I left my hotel at Sault Ste. Marie, and went over to the other side of the river, to the Hudson's Bay House, and after being furnished with provisions we were at the further side of the Portage at two o'clock. The number of passengers now in the canoes, excluding myself, was two, viz: Francis Ermatinger, Esquire, chief trader, and young Mr. Taylor. The Canadians and Iroquois now pushed off and gave us some of their beautiful Canadian canoe songs. We encamped at a place about fifteen miles from the Sault, called Point Pine. This was a fine encampment for us. The soil of this place is of light sand, and the timber is nothing but pine; and indeed I may say here in my Journal—Farewell, ye beautiful lands of Canada, we shall not see you for many a long day."

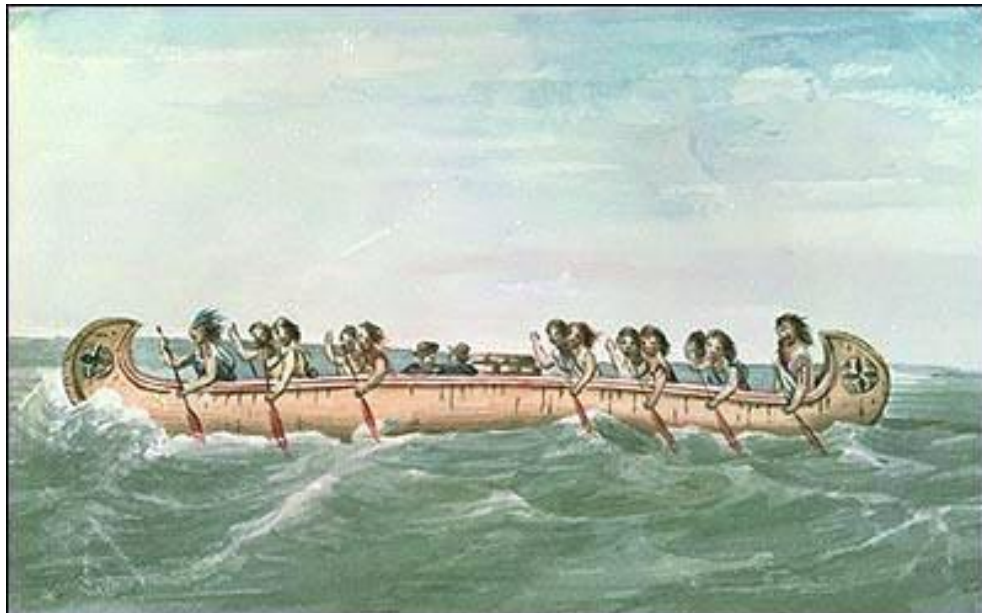
Wednesday, 26th - In the afternoon, Mr. Taylor went off with ten men in a light canoe to Red River. As Mr. Ermatinger was to take charge of this fort, he remained here. I find Mr. Ermatinger a very fine traveling companion. There is no home sickness where he is. We spent a very pleasant evening with Mr. McKennie.

Fort William is situated on beautiful ground. This fort was formerly one of the great forts of the North West Company. I was told, that in the time of glory it was not uncommon to find a thousand men here belonging to the Company; but its greatness is fast diminishing.

Fish are caught here in great abundance at all the seasons of the year. Fort William has a fine view of the bay and the mountains. The whole country is surrounded by barren rocky mountains; and not only this part is rocky, but the entire coast from Sault Ste. Marie. The canoe route from the Sault, in and out of the bays, to Fort William, is about three hundred miles.

Sunday, 30th.-Early this morning we were off again. Poor Christians we are in an hour's time arrived at the dog portage ; here we met with Mrs. Ermetinger with five men, one boy, and a woman. She is on her way down to Fort William to meet her husband, who is now in charge of that Establishment. They left the portage as we entered it, and we made this splendid portage in two hours' time, some say it is three miles long, and from the top of which you have a most splendid view of the surrounding country, and I think the height of this portage is more than 200 feet above water level. At the other end there is a fine lake culled after the portage, and here we had breakfast. The lands we passed from mountain portage to this are worth little or nothing for agricultural purposes, in fact they consist of high and barren rocks, covered with a few stunted pine, birch and juniper; and if it is not rocky it is swampy. We are now about 36 miles from the mountain portage."

Journal of the Reverend Peter Jacobs From Rice Lake to the Hudson's Bay Territory: and Returning, Commencing May, 1853; with A Brief Account of His Life: and A Short History of the Wesleyan Mission to that Country. Toronto, Published by Anson Green, at the Conference Office, No. 9, Wellington Buildings, King Street, 1853.



Mary Millicent Chaplin's *North West Canoe on Lake Ontario*, c. 1840 Watercolour, 18.9 x 30.7 cm National Archives of Canada (C-873) <http://www.civilization.ca/hist/canoe/can10eng.html>

Francis arrived at Fort William on May 26, 1852 and four days later he was joined by Catherine who came over from Rainy Lake. "He was suffering from the effects of too riotous a farewell from his St. Thomas cronies. He was, he wrote Edward, on the water cure." McDonald page 290. He would serve here from 1852-1853. "Superior Rendezvous-Place: Fort William in the Canadian Fur Trade," Jean Morrison, page 7.

From the now decayed and almost deserted Fort William Francis made his verbal notice to retire. While waiting out his last days of service he and Catherine planned for their move to St. Thomas, asking Edward to rent them a house. On June 1st of 1853 Francis left his Hudson's Bay Company, after 35 years of faithful service.

That June he wrote Edward, "Mrs. E. says she has no desire to leave me again and it is not likely she will go to St. Thomas next fall (presumably to visit Fanny). She has changed very much in her thinking since we separated and if she will continue in her present views she may be happy." McDonald, p290

In July he wrote "... Mrs. E.'s health, has, I think, improved and I have been very industrious gardening ... I often wish Fanny was with us ... "A letter came from Edward with news that Fanny was ill, causing both parents worry. Francis wrote on July 31, "I shall be very anxious until ... I hear from you again. My poor little Fanny's sickness distresses me very much and her mother is very much affected by it.

By September the Ermatingers had been assured of Fanny's recovery. Francis wrote that, "Mrs. E. and I are very well and enjoy ourselves very well for the place we are in. She is improved in mind very much since I left her, and if she will continue in her present way of thinking and as dutiful as present, she will be all that I can expect her to be or in fact all I wish.

At Christmas Francis wrote again to tell his brother how they were:

....I am well and hearty. Not so with Mrs. E., who has occasionally fits of sickness, and being without a female servant about her, having sent off the only white girl about the place for being too lazy, she finds it hard. Yet she keeps up her spirits and as time rolls by consoles herself with the prospect of soon getting someone to do the household drudgery for her. In the mean time, poor woman, she has enough to do. But she sees that it is no fault of mine, therefore does not complain over the washing tub. As far as grub goes we are well enough; having killed a few fine pigs and a couple of tolerable good cows for our winter stock, which with plenty of Superior trout, potatoes and a few &c. we can manage to live. Yet I do not think that either Mrs. E. or I could be easily prevailed upon to prolong our stay here after the year is done."

He wrote Edward to rent them a house and that they hoped to move their baggage to St. Thomas by June of 1853:

"...she says you must get her a neat house, merely large enough to have a good spare bed room for any friend of hers who may come from the North to see her, and if not large enough for "turn's out" she will not be sulky about it. Leather being scarce and she

having an economy idea in her head at present, suggests that the tops of Indian shoes, past use, should be taken care of for other shoes to be made hereafter...

That I shall be with you this summer, if God spare me, I think there is no doubt, and our friends may find that Frank with a wife will not be quite so reckless as Frank without one. Mrs. E. continues to try to please me in everything and if she continues to do so at St. Thomas, it shall be my care to make her happy. If she does ever feel inclined to scold, it is when she sees me apply to the decanter a second or third time."

His replacement at Fort William did not arrive in June so they had to wait until July. George Simpson stopped by and told him he could leave the fort in charge of a man, but he wouldn't, he wanted to make sure the accounts were in order. Faithful to the end.

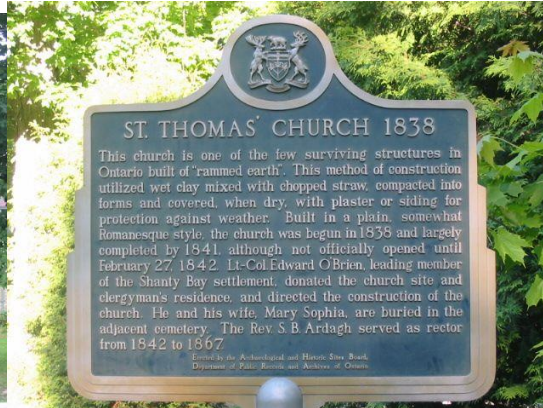
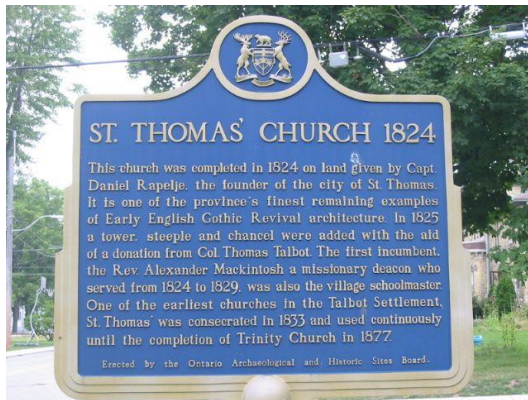
"Five years remained of Francis' life to enjoy his new-found peace of mind. He had comparatively good health, his chief complaint being lumbago or rheumatism. The cause of his death is unknown ... There is little in St. Thomas today to remind the visitor of Francis Ermatinger. His picture, and that, of his brother and his father hang in a small museum." McDonald 292-293



Frances Anne Hopkins (1838-1919) *Canoe Manned by Voyageurs Passing a Waterfall*, 1869 Oil on canvas National Archives of Canada (1989-401-1X; C-2771) <http://www.civilization.ca/hist/canoe/can10eng.html>

Charles Oakes Ermatinger, his nephew told Cornelius J. Brosnan in 1919:

"I was so small when he died that I remember being lifted from the floor to look into the coffin at his remains. At the same time I have a fairly good recollection of his general appearance and manner as I spent a good deal of time at that period of my childhood at his home and farm which he named "Multnomah," some 2 miles or so from St. Thomas. His appearance and manner reflected his character (tho' possibly his photo may not) which was open-hearted, generous and good-natured. His jovial disposition drew many friends about him during the comparatively few years he lived there. He was very fond of company. .. He attended St. Thomas Church in which he was a pewholder, and his remains interred in the churchyard attached to the church where the tomb placed over them still stands.



http://www.ontarioplaques.com/Plaques_STU/Plaque_Simcoe20.html

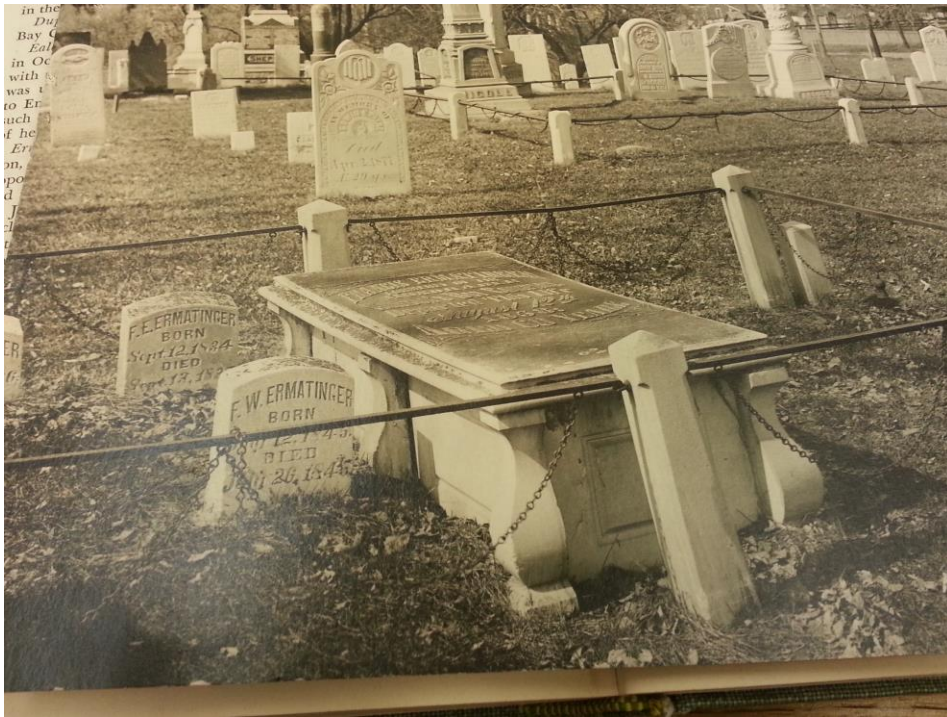


http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Old_St._Thomas_Church

By his grave lie the graves of Edward's three small children who died in infancy, his reads:

Francis Ermatinger
Formerly of the Honorable
Hudson's Bay Company
Departed This Life
August 12th
1858
Aged 60 Years

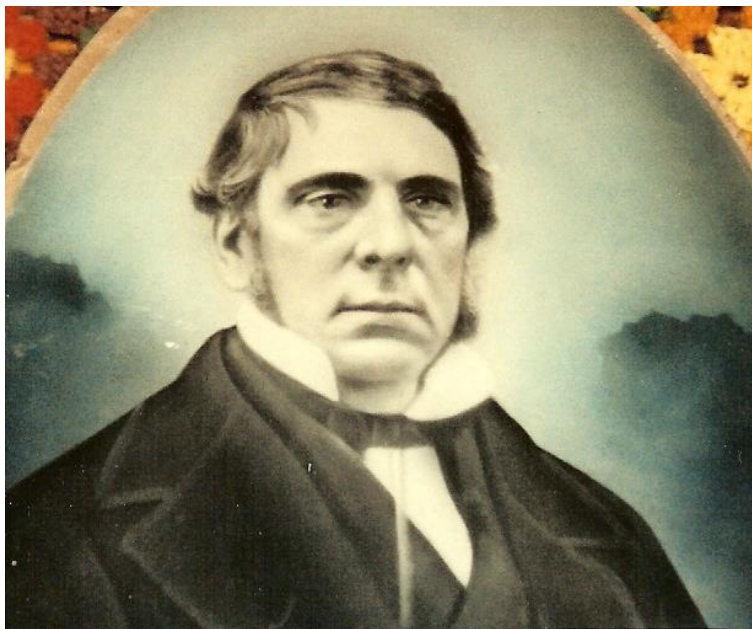
Edward Ermatinger was buried next to him in 1876.



Taken by Rachel Garcia at Oregon Historical Society in Portland, Oregon, Feb. 2013.

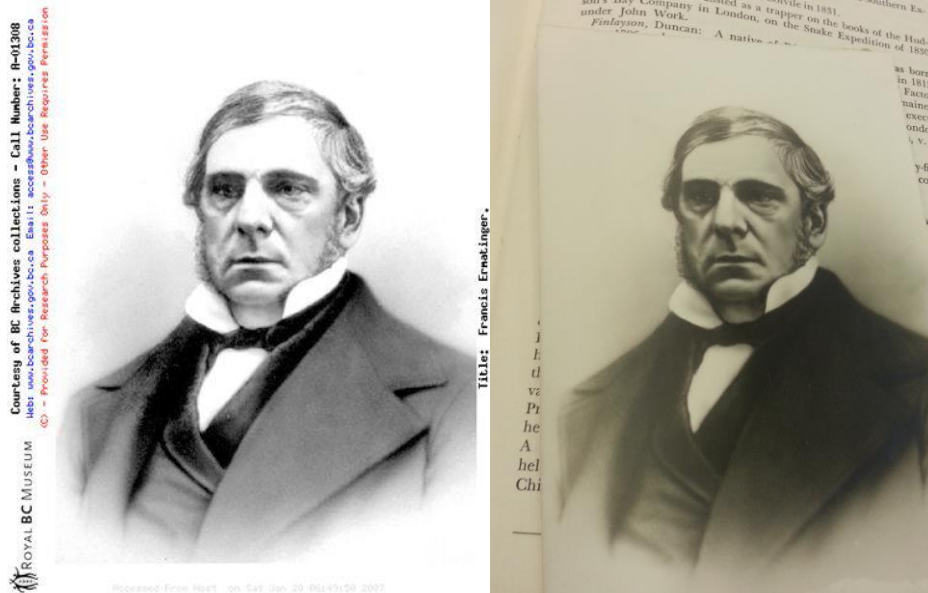


(kpaxtongearge)



This portrait is in the possession of Charles Blood of St. Ignatius, Montana. A similar picture but in black and white is in possession of Dorothy Clinkenbeard of Arlee, Montana

Francis Ermatinger in his lifetime was considered by those who knew him, “as affable, hilarious, a tippler and a competent trader, and one who made friends easily.” He had been called the “Watch-Dog of the Columbia” and has been described as: close blue eyes, aggressive chin, long nose and thin tanned face.”



Taken by Rachel Garcia at Oregon Historical Society, Feb. 2013.

NAME: ERMATINGER, Francis (Frank)		PARISH: Cambden Town St. Pancras, London	ENTERED SERVICE: 13 May 1818 (A.32/27, fo. 95)	DATES: b. 1798 d. 1858 (A.33/4)
Appointments & Service Outfit Year*	Position	Post	District	HBCA Reference
*An Outfit year runs from 1 June to 31 May				
1818 - 1820	Clerk	Trout Lake	Severn	A.16/37, p. 128; A.30/16, no. 71
1820 - 1821	Clerk in charge	Trout Lake, Outpost of Severn	Severn	A.16/37, p. 128; List of NWC & HBC, fo. 5
1821 - 1824	Clerk		Severn	A.34/1, p. 46; B.239/f12, fo. 11; B.239/k/1, p. 58
1824 - 1825	Clerk in charge	Trout Lake	Severn	B.239/k/1, p. 90
1825 - 1826	Clerk	Thompson's River	Columbia	B.239/k/1, p. 128
1826 - 1829	Clerk	Kamloops	Columbia	B.239/k/1, p. 177, 215, 250; <i>Peace River Canoe Voyage</i> , ed. M. McLeod, p. 34
1829 - 1831	Clerk in charge	Thompson's River	Columbia	B.239/k/1, p. 271, 292
1831 - 1834	Clerk	Fort Colville, accompanied by Flat Heads to Snake Country	Columbia	B.146/a/1; B.223/k/8; B.239/k/1, p. 316; B.239/k/2, p. 16, 43; D.4/102, fo. 26d
1834 - 1838	Clerk in charge	Flat Head Post	Columbia	B.239/k/2, p. 72, 95, 138, 163
1838 - 1839	Clerk	Snake Expedition	Columbia	B.239/g/18, p. 31
1839 - 1840	Clerk in charge	Snake Expedition including Forts Hall and Boise	Columbia	B.239/k/2, p. 186
1840 - 1842	Clerk in charge	Snake Expedition including Fort Hall	Columbia	B.239/k/2, p. 206, 228
1842 - 1843	Chief Trader i/c	Bona Ventura Expedition	Columbia	A.1/62, p. 146; B.239/k/2, p. 258
1843 - 1844	Chief Trader	disposable	Columbia	B.239/k/2, p. 281
1844 - 1846	Chief Trader i/c	Fort Colville	Columbia	B.239/k/2, p. 332, 361
1846 - 1847	Chief Trader	Fur Store, York Factory	York	B.239/k/2, p. 389
1846, August	Chief Trader -	conducted first troop brigade to Old Rock Depot from York Factory		D.4/35, p. 91
1847 - 1850	Chief Trader i/c	Fort Chipewyan	Athabasca	B.39/b/12; B.239/k/2, p. 401, 423, 452
1850 - 1851		on furlough		B.239/k/2, p. 473
1851 - 1852		leave of absence		B.239/k/3, p. 1
1852 - 1853	Chief Trader i/c	Fort William	Lake Superior	B.135/k/3, p. 318
1853, 1 June		retired - settled on his farm "Multnomah" at St. Thomas, Ontario		A.31/4; E.94/4, fo. 213
1858, 12 Aug.		died - buried at St. Thomas, Ontario		
Grandfather:	Lawrence Ermatinger (1743-1789) married Jemima Oakes (-1807)			
Father:	Lawrence Edward Ermatinger (1767-ca. 1829) (A.1/51, fo. 104d)			
Uncles:	Frederick W. Ermatinger of the North West Company, Charles Oakes Ermatinger, married Charlotte Kalawabide			
Brother:	Edward Ermatinger (1797-1876) married Achsah Burnham early 1830's			
FAMILY:				
1) Alliance with unnamed woman; daughter born at Severn and remained there - marrying David Bird 1841 (B.198/z/1, fo. 142)				
2) Alliance with Cleo, an Okanagan woman, ca. 1826-1831 (see D.4/125, fo. 78); son Lawrence (1828-); daughter (1831) died shortly after birth				
3) Country marriage to Mary Three Dresses, a Flathead woman, ca. 1834; son (-ca. 1836); daughter Mary (1838-1940) married Peter Ashley of Montana				
4) Married Catharine Sinclair (baptized 1827), daughter of Chief Factor William Sinclair, 10 August 1842; daughter Frances "Fanny" Maria (1843-), married John Crawford of St. Thomas; ... In 1849 Ermatinger wished to obtain a divorce from Catharine Sinclair (D.5/26, fo. 745)				
See also: Search File: "Ermatinger, Francis"				

Filename: Ermatinger, Francis (1798-1858) (fl. 1818-1853) ; November 1986 ES:wg ; June/99/mhd

This is Francis Ermatinger's Hudson's Bay Company work sheet (or record). I don't think he was in charge of Fort Colville in 1844-1846 and it doesn't show his time at Cowlitz Farm or the HBC store in Oregon City.

A word on Edward Ermatinger:

BIOGRAPHY; DICTIONARY OF CANADIAN BIOGRAPHY; pp 273-274.

"Ermatinger, Edward, fur-trader, businessman, politician, and writer; b. in February 1797 on the island of Elba, son of Lawrence Edward Ermatinger, assistant commissary general in the British army, and grandson of Lawrence Ermatinger, merchant of Swiss origin who married a sister of fur-trader Forrest Oakes; d. in October 1876 at St. Thomas, Ont.

"Edward Ermatinger's mother, an Italian, died when he and his younger brother Francis were infants. Their father - 'indeed a good-hearted man - but what a strange Father' - apparently took only a casual interest in their upbringing, but Edward received in England a good education in the languages and music. Several members of the family were fur traders - an uncle, Charles Oakes Ermatinger, established the important trading post at Sault Ste Marie - and Lawrence Edward Ermatinger arranged for his sons' entry into the service of the Hudson's Bay Company as apprentice clerks. The brothers sailed from London on Prince of Wales, arriving at York Factory on 14 Aug 1818.

"Edward Ermatinger remained in the company's service until 1828, at Island Lake, Oxford House, York Factory, Red River (all in present-day Manitoba), and for three years in the Columbia district. His 'York Factory express journal,' covering his travels between Fort Vancouver and York Factory, 1827-28, has been published, along with a diary of his canoe journey out to Lachine in 1828. He had, however, little enthusiasm for the life of the trade. 'I have long sought to get out of this country but never could manage it before - now I must struggle once out of it to keep so.' Though there is reason to believe that he was disappointed in his hopes that Governor George Simpson would promote his advance in the company, he accepted a reverse with equanimity: 'I never heartily desired to return.' He was to remain on friendly terms with many former colleagues in the trade, including John Work, some of whom unburdened themselves freely to this sympathetic correspondent and often asked him for advice on their establishing themselves after retirement. He seems to have had no regrets about leaving the northwest and the 'humdrum life we led there.'

"Ermatinger visited England in 1828, where he saw his father, but returned to Canada in 1829. He made several journeys through Upper Canada and his diaries suggest that he was seeking a new way of life. He finally settled in St. Thomas where he thought he saw opportunities for the profitable employment of his small capital. There, as postmaster from at least 1842 to 1876, banker, and merchant, he remained until his death. He opened a general store, and was successively manager of the Bank of Upper Canada, the Commercial Bank, and for 14 years the Bank of Montreal. When Elgin County was established in 1851 he was the moving spirit in the formation of the Bank of the County of Elgin and was chairman of the board.

St. Thomas, located at the intersection of two historical roads, was first settled in 1810. It

was named the seat of the new Elgin County in 1844 and was incorporated as a village in 1852, as a town in 1861. In 1871, St. Thomas and the nearby village of Millersburg (a village east of the town) amalgamated. In 1881 St. Thomas finally grew to become a city.

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/St._Thomas,_Ontario Tidbits on St. Thomas: Jumbo (the elephant) died here on September 15, 1885, when a locomotive crashed into him. There is a life-sized commemorative statue that was erected in 1985, on the centennial of Jumbo's demise. The city was named after Thomas Talbot who helped promote the development of this region during the early 19th century. The founder of the settlement that became St. Thomas was Capt. Daniel Rapelje, descendant of a Walloon family settled in New Amsterdam, now New York City, at its inception in the seventeenth century. In 1820, Rapelje, the town's first settler, divided his land into town lots suitable for a village. Owner of the New England Mill, Rapelje subsequently donated two acres of land for the building of Old St. Thomas Church. In 1824, Charles Duncombe and John Rolph established the first medical school in Upper Canada, in St. Thomas, under the patronage of Colonel Thomas Talbot. Duncombe's house now forms part of The Elgin Military Museum complex located just steps from the Jumbo monument. Between 1881 and 1988 the city had a private woman's school operating called Alma College (St. Thomas) which was destroyed by fire in 2008. Edward Ermatinger was one of its mayors.

"Ermatinger contested the Middlesex seat in the Legislative Assembly. In 1844 he was elected as a Conservative. He was defeated in 1847 and by 1851 he had withdrawn from politics: 'What I gained in wisdom I lost in pocket.' He did not find congenial a political climate in which 'some of the advisers of Her Majesty's Representatives were the rebels of '37.' He obviously found more enjoyment in literary composition, writing several pamphlets, many letters to the press, particularly to the Hamilton SPECTATOR under the pseudonym of 'British Canadian,' and a biography of Colonel Thomas Talbot. He also founded the St. Thomas Standard about 1843-44, and edited it for two years before selling it. He married Achsah Burnham, daughter of Zaccheus Burnham of Cobourg and sister of the Church of England rector at St. Thomas. They had seven children.

"Edward Ermatinger appears from his correspondence to have been a man of attractive personality, who cherished his friendships. He devoted himself indefatigably to his business, but his diary of a trip to New York records a nightly visit to a theatre or other entertainment. He took great pleasure in music and his proficiency with the flute and violin provided him with enjoyment long after he had left the fur trade. He made a collection of the words and music of French Canadian folksongs, which survives, and one of his friends refers to a 'Red River March' he composed. An active man, though introspective, he displayed a lively interest in affairs at home and abroad and held vigorous opinions on the issues he discussed in his letters and published writings. In spite of his freely expressed dislike of the life of the fur trade, he preserved no animus against the HBC and defended it against its critics.

"Deeply concerned with religion, Ermatinger was a staunch adherent of the Church of England. He was, as a Mason and an anti-Catholic, no sympathizer with the more conciliatory views espoused by Toronto bishop, John Strachan, noting that 'the vigilance of the laity is required to expurgate the level of popery with which [the church] is infected.' He seems early to have won the 'estimation of all the most respectable' and to have retained it until his death." L.G. Thomas

"From the St. Thomas Times, October 31, 1876:
"Death of Edward Ermatinger, Esq.

The death of the venerable gentleman whose name stands at the head of this notice took place at his residence in this Town on Saturday evening last at 9 o'clock. Mr. Ermatinger lived within a few months of his 80th birthday, and up to three weeks ago continued unusually active, both in mind and body, for one of his advanced age. About three weeks ago he suffered from a partial paralytic stroke, from which he never recovered and which brought on his death at the above mentioned hour ... For a number of years past he felt himself incapacitated for business duties and devoted a greater portion of his time in preparation for his approaching entrance upon another world, to which he looked forward with pleasurable anticipation. Through suffering some physical pain at the last, his end was on the whole a peaceful and happy one. The funeral will take place this (Tuesday) afternoon at halfpast three from Oakton, his late residence, to the St. Thomas burial ground."

Edward and his family's gravestones:

43. Hollow metal obelisk with urn 12 ft. high

(E) wheat

Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord / In memory of / Edward Ermatinger / who departed this life Oct. 29, 1876 / in the 80th year of his age / Ermatinger

(S) trees

I know that my redeemer liveth / In memory of / Achsah / wife of / Edward Ermatinger / and daughter of /Hon. Zaccheus Burnham / who departed this life / March 1, 1881 / in the 72nd year of her / age.

(W) corn

Annie Jemima / daughter of / Edward & Achsah Ermatinger / born 9 Aug. 1843 / died 23 May 1917 / Ermatinger

(N) anchor

Francis Edward / son of / Edward & Achsah ERMATINGER / born 30 Sept 1847 / died 21 Sept. 1892

From English Church Cemetery, St. Thomas Anglican Church, Walnut Street ,St. Thomas, Ontario, Canada

Elgin County gravestone photos on the Elgin OGS Flickr site, Gravestone Inscriptions and Burials without Monuments Elgin County Branch, OGS, revised and formatted for the Internet 23 August 2005 by Carol Van Harn.

Edward authored the following:

The Hudson's Bay Territories; a series of letters on this important question (Toronto, 1858)

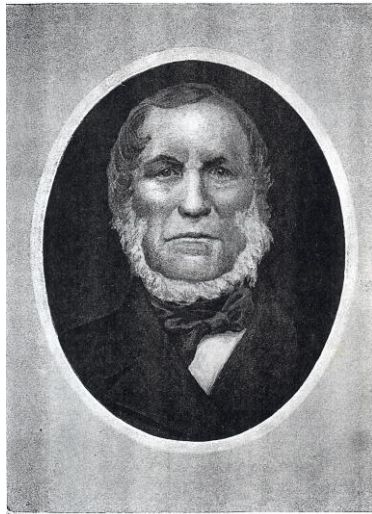
Life of Colonel Talbot, and the Talbot Settlement, Its Rise and Progress (St.Thomas, C.W., 1859)

"Edward Ermatinger's York Factory express journal, being a record of journeys made between Fort Vancouver and Hudson Bay in the years 1827-1828," ed. C.O. Ermatinger and James White, RSCT, 3rd ser., VI (1912, sect. II, 67-132.

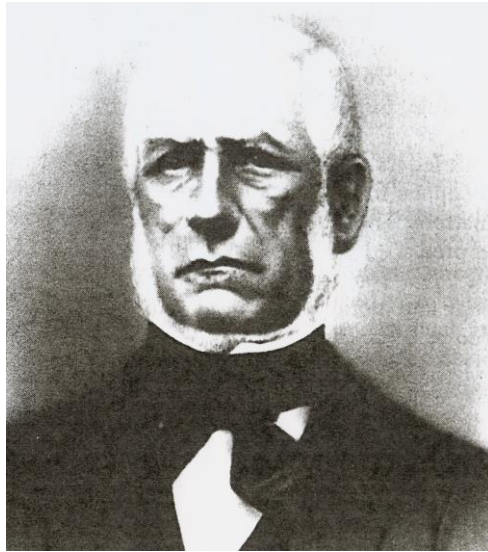
PABC, Edward Ermatinger papers, 1828-49, PAC, MG 19, A2 (Ermatinger family papers). University of Western Ontario Library, 27 (Ermatinger papers), boxes 1-3, HBRS, II (Rich and Fleming); IV (Rich); VI (Rich); XVIII (Rich and Johnson).

VIGNETTES OF ST. THOMAS, an anthology of the life and times of its first century, ed. W.C. Miller (St. Thomas, Ont., 1967).

C.O. Ermatinger, THE TALBOT REGIME; or the first half century of the Talbot settlement (St. Thomas, Ont., 1904). Charles Oakes Zaccheus Ermatinger- (1851-)



EDWARD ERMATINGER



Edward "Ned" Ermatinger (NAC, C51628)



“Oakton” Edward Ermatinger’s home at St. Thomas, Ontario (NAC, PA26920)
A white brick house that was at that time one of the finest in St. Thomas. “The typical three-bay front is surmounted by a shallow unbracketed hip roof. The original trellised porch wraps around the front left side.

NAME: ERMATINGER, Edward PARISH: Camden Town, ENTERED SERVICE: 13 May 1818 DATES: b.February 1797
St. Pancras, London (A.1/51.fo.104d.A.30/16.no.70) d.1876

Appointments & Service Outfit Year*	Position	Post	District	HBCA Reference
*An Outfit year ran from 1 June to 31 May				
1818 - 1822	Clerk	Island Lake	Island Lake	A.16/37.p.127;A.32/27.fo.94;A.34/1.p.55
1822 - 1823	Clerk & Trader		Upper Red River	B.22/e/2;B.63/a/2;B.239/f/12.fo.11
1823 - 1824	Clerk		Lac la Pluie	B.239/k/1.p.58
1824 - 1825	Clerk	York Factory	York Factory	B.239/k/1.p.92
1825 - 1826	Clerk	Thompsons River	Columbia River	B.239/k/1.p.128
1826 - 1827	Clerk	Coastal trade or shipping	Columbia River	B.239/k/1.p.177
1827 - 1828	Clerk	Fraser's River or Fort Langley	Columbia River	B.239/k/1.p.215
1828	retired from service to Canada			A.34/1.p.55;B.239/k/1.p.256
1830	settled in St. Thomas, Ontario as a merchant, banker and postmaster			
early 1830s	married Achsah Burnham (daughter of Zaccheus Burnham of Cobourg)			
1876	died, buried at St. Thomas, Ontario			



grandfather: Lawrence Ermatinger (1743-1789) married Jemima Oakes (-1807)
father: Lawrence Edward Ermatinger (1767-c.1829)
uncles: Frederick W. Ermatinger of the North West Company, Charles Oakes Ermatinger, married Charlotte Kalawabide
brother: Francis Ermatinger (1798-1857)
son: Judge C.O. Ermatinger, St. Thomas, Ontario

Publications: The Hudson's Bay Territories (1856); Life of Colonel Talbot, (1859)
References: "Edward Ermatinger's York Factory Express Journal...1827-1828", Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Third Series, Vol. VI, Sec. II, 1912, pp.67-132. Includes map, portrait of E. Ermatinger
Graham A. MacDonald, "Commerce, Civility and Old Sault Ste. Marie", The Beaver, Autumn 1981, pp.19-25;ill.
Lois H. McDonald, Fur Trade Letters of Francis Ermatinger, Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1980.
See also: Search File: "Ermatinger, Edward"
Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol.X, pp.273-274

Filename: Ermatinger, Edwad (1797-1876) (fl. 1818-1828) ; ES-wg November 1986 ; June/99/mhd

YORK FACTORY EXPRESS JOURNAL (1827-1828) by Edward Ermatinger (HBC)(Royal Society of Canada)

This describes his trip across the North American continent west to east.

"March 1827---

Tuesday 20th.-Fair weather. The Express Boat leaves Fort Vancouver at 1/4 before 6 o'clock p.m. A second Boat accompanies us as far as the Chutes to assist in carrying our Boat over them and to strengthen the party. Passengers Messrs. McLoughlin [Dr. John

McLoughlin], McLeod [Alex R. McLeod], Douglas [David Douglas], Pambrun [Pierre Chrysologue Pambrun], Annance [Francois Annance], and E. Ermatinger. Proceed 3 miles and encamp.

21st. - Embark at 4 a.m. Breakfast at the upper end of Prairie du the. Head wind strong all day. Encamp at the end of Portage Neuf. Trade 1 sturgeon and 1 salmon trout. Patches of snow along the banks of the River.

22nd. - Rain most of the day. Clear the Cascades Portage by 1/2 past 11 o'clock. Sail and paddle the rest of the day. Encamp a little below Cape Horn at 6 p.m.

23rd. - Rainy weather. Start at 5 a.m. Breakfast below the Dalles. Encamp above the little Dalles (discharged part of our baggage) at 6 p.m. Saw the corpse of a woman on this Portage, lying in a hole, close to the track, which had been made for some other purpose, entirely naked, left a prey to the crows-so little are these savages actuated by decency.

24th. - Fine weather. Start at 5 a.m. Pass our Baggage and Boat and clear the Chutes portage by 11 a.m. The other Boat and crew return to the Fort. Hoist sail with a stiff breeze. Doctor McLoughlin and Mr. McLeod remain behind to hire horses to carry them to Walla Walla. Encamp three miles above J.[John]Day's River at 5 p.m. having waited for the Doctor and Mr. McLeod who were unable to procure horses. They left Ouvre (Jean Bte. Ouvre) with Indians who had sent for horses which he was to bring up. He arrives after dark with 5 accompanied by 2 Indians. Being ahead of the Indians, escorted only by Baptiste, a slave, he was attacked by 4 others who wish to pillage him. They, however, cut them off and took their arrows away from them which Ouvre brought with him as spoils of war. The Slave's having a gun conducted most to their safety.

Sunday 25th - Fine weather. We are unable to agree with the Indians for the loan of their horses, therefore the gentlemen walk by turns to lighten the boat which is insufficient to carry all the baggage and 6 passengers besides an extra man and the Indian slave. Proceed at 1/2 past 5. Hoist sail with a light breeze which continues all day. Assist with the Poles and Paddles. Encamp about 6 miles below the Gros isle at 6 p.m.

Monday 26th. - Some light rain at noon-rest of the day fine. Embark at 5 a.m. Breakfast at 10 at the tail of the larger island. Proceed to the end of it. Find Indians with horses-hire 3. Ouvre returns to our breakfast place in search of a gun left there by mistake. Encamp at 3 o'clock to wait his return.

27th. - Fine weather. Two men who went with Ouvre return early this morning and inform us that he has gone in pursuit of an Indian who had watched our departure and made off with the gun. At 8 o'clock Messrs. McLoughlin, McLeod and Ermatinger take horse and arrive at Walla Walla at 5 p.m. The boat starts at the same time- sail wind. Encamp above the Grand Rapid.

28th. -The Boat arrives at Walla Walla by 11 o'clock a.m. Ouvre also arrives on foot having recovered the gun with the aid of Tomas Tippiuri's (the Walla Walla chief) wife. The Boat having been pitched and our business at this place settled, we resume our journey at 1/2 past 3 p.m. Encamp at 6 o'clock 4 or 5 miles below Lewis and Clark's river (Snake River). 1 bag of lead embarked for Spokane from Walla Walla.

29th. - Heavy shower of rain in the evening- day fine. Start at 5 a.m. Pole all day. Encamp 8 or 9 miles up what is now termed the Marle Banks at the head of an island.

30th. - Rain nearly all day. Embark at 1/2 past 4 a.m. Encamp at 6 p.m. about 2 miles above the Marle Banks- 2 geese and 1 rabbit killed to-day by the walking party.

31st. - Fine weather. Proceed at 1/2 past 4 a.m. at 11 o'clock Mr. A. McDonald meets us with letters from N. Caledonia informing that their people go out by the new route. He returns with us. Proceed 1/2 way up the Priest's Rapid and encamp at 1/4 past 6 p.m.

April-

Sunday 1st. - Fine weather. The Boat continues her progress up the Rapids (which are very bad this year, the water being remarkably low) at 1/2 past 5 a.m. Clear the Rapids by 11 o'clock. Proceed up the River and encamp at 1/2 past 6 p.m. about 12 or 15 miles above. Hire an Indian canoe to carry some of the passengers.

2nd.--Light rain in course of the day. Start 1/4 past 5 a.m. Proceed as usual and encamp above Rapids a Potein [Paquin Rapid] at 1/2 past 6 o'clock.

3rd.--Fine weather. Start at 1/2 past 5 a.m. Clear Isle des Portage (note: Rock Island, Washington-called "Rocky Island Rapid" by Ross Cox and later called "Isles des Pierres" by Edward Ermatinger) and take breakfast by 11 o'clock. (Hauled our boat up without discharging; gummed). Encamp 5 miles above the Piscouhoose River [Wenatchee River] at 1/2 past 6 p.m. Trade a little meat and a few roots (our canoe proceeds no farther).

4th.--Fine weather. Embark at 1/4 past 4 o'clock. Encamp a league above Clear water Creek [probably Chelan River] at 8 p.m. The gentlemen afoot found a good deal of snow on the hills to-day.

5th.--Fine weather. Resume our journey at 5 o'clock. Arrive at Okanagan [near Brewster, Washington] at 5 p.m.

Friday 6th.--Send off the Boat Manned by 12 men (4 being additional to return with the Doctor, etc.) and Mr. Douglas, Passenger, in order that they may pass the Dalles while the gentlemen remain behind to settle the accts. of this place.

7th.--Fine weather. At 10 o'clock Messrs. McLoughlin, McLeod, and E. Ermatinger leave Okanagan on horseback in order to join the Boat at the Grosse Roche whither they arrive at 3 p.m. having met with a great deal of snow the first half of the distance on the hills. The Boat only arrives at 7 p.m. Encamp.

8th.--Fine weather. Embark at 5 a.m. Reach nearly the upper end of the Grand Coulee and encamp at 7 p.m.

9th.--Slight rain afternoon. Start at 5 a.m. and encamp at 1/2 past 7 p.m. Perrault falls sick and is unable to work.

10th.--Rain afternoon. Embark 1/2 past 4 o'clock. Pass the Spokane river at noon. Encamp from 12 to 15 miles above at 7 p.m.

Wednesday 11th.--Fine weather. Start at 1/2 past 2 o'clock a.m. Pole and paddle all day. Encamp 4 miles below the Grand Rapid at 7 p.m. 4 pheasants killed to-day.

12th.--Fine weather. Proceed at 1/2 past 4 a.m. Make 2 portages on the Grande Rapide which is extremely bad on account of the shoalness of the River. Arrive at the Kettle Falls at noon. Leave our Boat below the Portage for the Doctor's return. Get all our baggage up to Fort Colville by 4 p.m. Mr. Dease only arrived yesterday from Flat Heads.

Sunday, 15th.--Laprade arrives from Okanagan in the afternoon with Mr. McDonald's dispatches, this being his third (day) on horseback.

Tuesday, 17th.--The accounts being completed for YF [York Factory] as far as circumstances permit Express Boat manned by 7 men under charge of Mr. E. Ermatinger leaves Fort Colville in the evening. D. Douglas, Esq., Passenger. Encamp a mile from the Fort. Perrault found himself too unwell to go out as intended, therefore Moche Otocavin takes his place as Bowsmen.

Wednesday, 18th.- Light snow this morning-fine weather afterwards. Proceed on our journey at 1/2 past 5 a.m. Reach the head of the Dalles by 3 p.m.[note that is the Little Dalles near Northport, Washington]. Experienced very little difficulty in ascending them. Only required to haul up with the line at two of the strongest points. An Indian overtakes us on foot with a letter from Fort Colville. Encamp at 1/2 past 6, 8 miles above the Dalles.

19th.- We had a fall of snow last night-fine weather to-day. Continue our journey at 1/4 before 5. Pole and paddle all day. Use the line only 3 times. Encamp a short distance below McGillivray's River [now the Kootenay River, his camp was at Trail, B.C.] Country very mountainous and many hills covered apparently with perpetual snow.

20th.- Hard frost in the morning-day fine. Proceed at 5 a.m. Ascend several Rapids. Enter the first Lake [Lower Arrow Lake] at 8 o'clock and take breakfast. Afterwards hoist sail with a light breeze. Continue sailing all day and encamp at the end of the Lake at 7 p.m. An Indian comes to our camp with a few fish (Suckers and Tidubee [whitefish])and a small piece of cabris which we exchange for a piece of dried meat.

21st, Saturday.- Fine weather, but wind strong ahead. Embark at 5 a.m. Pass the narrows and continue up the River to the entrance of the 2nd lake [Upper Arrow lake] where we encamp at 7 a.m. Our track this day, with the exception of a short narrow of about 1 mile, may all be said to be Lake way, comparing it with what we really called the Lakes-generally not more than 1 mile wide. Passed several camps of Indians in course of the day and traded 7 pairs of Pas d'ours [snowshoes] for our journey across the mountains-gave for them 2 scalpels, 13 ball and powders, and some dried salmon. Country still mountainous and covered with snow on the hills.

Sunday, 22nd.- Fine weather. Start at 4 a.m. Paddle thro' the 2nd Lake. Re-enter the river at 4 p.m.-find Indians encamped here. Trade from them a little bears meat and a pair of snow shoes for ammunition and tobacco. Proceed up the River 6 or 7 miles and encamp [they camp at present-day Arrow,B.C.]-1.2 past 6.

23rd.- Fine weather. Resume our journey at 1/4 past 4 a.m.-find the River till toward evening very good and the current slack. We then enter a narrow banked on each side by rugged rocks and ascend a succession of strong rapids at the head of one of which we encamp, having before us a short piece of smooth current, 7 p.m. The banks of the river nearly the whole way we came to-day are still covered with deep snow as well as the woods. In the morning we saw a Indian woman and children from whom we traded about 40 Tidubee (or a small species of white fish and suckers) for a little amm. and dried salmon.

Tuesday, 24th - Toward evening commences raining and continues all night. Proceed at 5 a.m. The part of the River we have this day passed is full of Rapids and strong current with occasional pieces of smooth current-in mounting the Rapids we sometimes used the Line but more frequently the poles. Encamp at 1/4 past 7 p.m. Saw a beaver to-day, but our gun being out of order he escaped.

Wednesday, 25th-Thick fog in the morning-fine day. Start at 1/4 past 5 a.m. Course of the river very rapid. Take breakfast at the foot of the Rapid below the Dalles des Morts. Carry all our baggage at the lower brink of the Dalles-haul up our boat safe, tho' it is rather a dangerous place-clear the Dalles about noon. While here endeavored to procure a piece of Rock Crystal, according to Dr. McLoughlin's instructions, but not knowing the exact spot where it is said to be were unable to find any. Probably the great quantity of snow on many parts of the banks of the River concealed it from our view. River becomes more rapidous as we ascend. Encamp about 7 or 8 miles above Dalles des Morts at 1/2 past 7 p.m.

Thursday, 26th-Fine weather. Proceed at 5 a.m. Ascend many rapids. Breakfast above the Rapids Croches. Afterwards less frequent. Pass several pieces of smooth current. Country very mountainous-snow deep. Encamp at the head of a small rapid at 1/2 past 7 p.m.

Friday, 27th.-Sharp frost in the morning-fine day. Proceed at 1/4 before 5 a.m. and arrive at the Boat Encampment (the most northerly part of the Columbia River) between 11 and 12 o'clock. The most part of the distance we made up the river this day the current was strong but smooth with several steep Rapids. The remainder of the day we occupied in preparing our baggage for the journey across the mountains. The paper trunk (which is very heavy, say upwards of 70 lbs.) is to be carried by 3 men alternately together with their provs. and private baggage. Our other baggage is divided among the remaining four men.

Owing to the liberality of the gentlemen by whose posts we passed along the communication we were enabled nearly every night since we left Fort Vancouver to treat ourselves with potatoes at supper and finished the remains of our stock from Fort Colville to-day, probably the first ever eaten at this place. Fruits of attention to gardening.

Our tent being dry, strike and pack it up-dry the main line as well as we can first by the sun and afterwards by the fire. Take an acct. of everything to be left en cache; kill 1 goose.

Saturday, 28th.-Morning sharp frost, day fine and warm. People commence arranging and strapping their loads at 4 p.m. Cross over the property to be left and put en cache. Return and haul up the boat and then start about 7 o'clock-course easterly. Our road lies first thro' woods and swamps along the banks of the river (Wood River) and then we cross the 1st point of woods and encamp having travelled about 9 miles. We found in the woods snow knee deep occasionally which caused us to put on our Pas d'ours. Two of our Iroquois who would not have carried snow shoes from the Boat Encampment, had I not insisted upon them having them, now found them very useful and were glad to put them on. A wolverine hovers about our camp and Mr. Douglas wounds him, but he escapes.

Sunday, 29th.-Fine clear weather. Resume our journey at 4 a.m. Our track commences on the Battures (bottoms) over which we travel about 10 miles, having forded the Columbia (he makes a clerical error here and means the Wood River) main river in that space 13 times, the depth of water never exceeding 3 feet. Enter the 2nd Point of Woods about 9 o'clock and travel near 3 miles and encamp at noon, the snow having become too soft for us to continue further this day. The road thro' these woods is very bad and difficult to be found not being distinctly marked as was the case in the point we passed yesterday. This causes much additional labour to the people and often leads them out of their way not one of them knowing the road properly. If the person returning with the horses in the fall and best acquainted with the proper track were desired to mark the trees sufficiently high not to be hidden by the snow it would be a great relief to the people going out in the spring. The snow shoes or Pas d'ours we traded from the Indians are very bad and too small and break often. I would therefore suggest that in future sufficiency for the Express people might be made at Fort Colville, a little larger than the 2 pairs we got from there this spring, as it would render the travelling much easier and prevent the uncertainty of obtaining them from Indians. See geese-kill a partridge.

Monday, 30th.-Sharp frost in the morning-fine day. Course north-start at 4 a.m. Continue thro' the woods about 1/4 mile and fall upon the river then travel upon the battures about 9 miles having forded the main stream 7 miles and arrive at the foot of the Grand Cote at 8 o'clock. Ascend it for about 2 miles and encamp at 11 a.m. Experienced some difficulty in finding the proper track.

May-

Tuesday, 1st.-Fine weather. Start at 1/2 past 4 a.m. Snow not less than between 4 and 5 feet deep. Continue to descend the Grand Cote by very short stages for about 2 miles till we meet the Rocky Hills on the right at 8 a.m. when we incline to the left a little and having journeyed I should say between 3 and 5 miles encamp nearly a mile on this side of the height of land (Athabaska Pass) at noon. We experienced again much difficulty in finding and keeping our road. In fact we could not ascend 50 yards before the people were wandering in every direction in search of the track. What few marks have been made to point out the way I conceive are concealed by the depth of snow. Kill a partridge.

Wednesday, 2nd.-Fine weather. Resume our journey at 3 a.m. in order to avail ourselves of the crust on the snow. Course north east. Travel at a good pace for about 17 miles (he is now descending Whirlpool River, a branch of the Athabaska), and stop at 11 a.m. to breakfast and give the people a rest during the heat of the day. Two-thirds of the distance across the grand batture. Hang up our snowshoes on a tree, there appearing no need of them further. Since passing the height of land the snow has very rapidly diminished. At our last encampment it was 5 feet deep and here there is only a little remaining on the ice on the banks of the River. What is left still smoothen our road which passes often over rough rocks. We however had to use our snow shoes occasionally thro' the small points of woods. Being here informed by the people that it is customary to send somebody ahead to meet the man with the horses and advertize him of our approach I send off Roy light for that purpose. Make a fresh start ourselves at 2 p.m. and continue over Battures and thro' woods and swamps between 6 and 7 miles and encamp at 1/2 past 6. One of the swamps entirely frozen over. Traversed the Athabaska river 6 times to-day, twice knee deep; current strong. We went out of our road a little in the last part of the day's march and got into very bad woods. Roy returns after dark to our camp on horseback having found J. Cardinalle at Campment d'Orignal with 9 horses. Send him back on foot to desire Cardinalle to bring up the horses as soon as possible in the morning.

Thursday, 3rd.- Fine warm weather. Load the horse Roy brought last night and proceed forward with the rest of our baggage at 1/2 past 3 a.m. Shortly after meet Jacquan with 3 more horses. Arrive at Campment d'Orignal at 7 o'clock having travelled 5 miles thro' very bad woods. Breakfast. Understanding that there is a canoe at the Grand traverse which is likely to be wanted below, send off three men to repair and take it down to the end of the Portage. Then having loaded 2 horses with our baggage, give the rest for the men to mount and continue our journey at 8 a.m. Ford the Grand traverse about noon. Proceed to Camp des Vaches (now Buffalo Prairie) where arrive about 3 p.m. The greatest part of the road hither thro' thick woods much encumbered with fallen wood. Ice and snow thick on the banks of the River. Terminate our journey across the mountains at 6 p.m. The canoe arrives before us. The men are employed repairing another which we find here, in order to proceed to Jasper's House to-morrow morning.

Friday, 4th.-Fine weather. It being necessary to take down both the canoes, I divide the men including Jacques, who leaves his horses here for the present, 4 into each and embark at 1/2 past 4 a.m. Arrive at the 2nd Lake where Jasper's House stands. We are regaled here with some most excellent white fish. The freemen not having arrived I am unable to explain and arrange their accts. for

them according to C.F. Rowand's request, my instructions not authorizing me to make any further delay. However in case the Iroquois should come, I intend leaving Mr. Rowand's 2 men at this place and 1 of the Columbia men with a canoe to wait here 4 days, as I am informed they have near 300 Beaver which it is desirable should be taken out.

Saturday, 5th.-Fine warm weather. Embark with 6 men and old Paget a freeman at 1/2 past 4 a.m. taking with us all the furs at this place, say 7 packtons. Stop 3/4 hour to breakfast. Afterwards 1 do (hour) to gum our canoe. Encamp at 7 p.m. A great deal of ice along the banks of the River.

Sunday, 6th.-do do. Start 1/4 before 5 a.m. At 10 o'clock come up with Mr. McDougal and 4 men from N. Caledonia who have been following the ice these 9 days past from Jasper's House. Remain here 3 or 4 hours and proceed again 6 or 7 miles, the ice having given way so far. Mr. McDougal gets a bark canoe, left here by Mr. F. McDonald last fall, repaired to take down in place of a skin one which he brought from Jasper's House.

Monday, 7th.-Fine warm weather. Make an attempt to continue our but are soon stopt. However after breakfast having observed that by making a short portage we should gain a clear channel we again embark and succeed. Afterwards having occasion to put ashore and speak to some Indians about a boat left somewhere hereabouts by Mr. F. McDonald last fall we are overtaken by an immense quantity of loose floating ice which detains us ashore above an hour till it is passed. We then make a fresh start and meet with no further impediment. As to the boat we find that it is a good distance above us in one of the channels blocked by ice when we passed which prevented us from seeing it. Arrive at Fort Assiniboine [75 miles northwest of Edmonton] at 8 p.m. and learn that this Post has not provisions enough to furnish our men a meal- the want of which was one reason for my not delaying longer to endeavor to get down the Boat.

Tuesday, 8th.-Fine warm weather. As J. Stuart, Esq., has not yet arrived from L.S. Lake from whom alone we can expect a supply of provisions to put us to Edmonton and also having been given to understand by Mr. Harriott that that gentleman required a few more men to expedite his arrival, I determined on remaining here with the Express while the Columbia men in conjunction with those of N. Caledonia should go down and assist him up with his craft. Accordingly, Mr. McDougal with 9 men in one canoe embarks for that purpose this morning. D. Douglas, Esq., Passenger.

Wednesday, 9th.-Fine warm weather. The three men left above and Nipissingue (Nipissing Indians) whom Mr. Rowand requested from Jasper's to act as guide for people going with Leather (Express) arrive this afternoon, but without the Iroquois's Beaver one having come in and informed that they were unable to bring them the distance is so great and so much snow.

Tuesday, 10th.-Thick snow all day-no arrivals.

Friday, 11th.-Snowing all day. Bastonnois treats his comrades with a dog.

Saturday, 12th.-Light snow in the morning. Clears up before noon. Snow mostly disappears.

Sunday, 13th.-Fine weather. In the evening J. Stuart, Esq., &c. arrives with 3 canoes.

Monday, 14th.-Fine weather. Take our departure from Assiniboine about 4 o'clock with 56 horses and men, part of the horses only being loaded. Proceed thro' the woods between 4 and 5 miles and encamp at a small creek. Many deep mires. Horses very poor and weak.

Tuesday, 15th.-Weather rather overcast. Start at 7 a.m. Breakfast at the Riviere Creuse (Picher or Cruche creek). Road to it very bad full of mires - ascend several hills. Several horses remain behind unable to come farther light. Men sent back to endeavour to bring them up - report one to be dead. Mr. McDougal with a man goes ahead to Edmonton to inform of the state of the horses &c. Proceed again having rested the horses 5 hours and encamp at Les Deux Rivières. Distance of today's journey between 10 and 12 miles. Killed 2 geese and 2 ducks.

Wednesday, 16th.-Morning fine-towards evening several claps of thunder. Shower of hail and successive showers of rain. Start between 7 and 8 a.m. Proceed thro' thick woods. Swamps-about 8 miles and take breakfast at first prairie. Afterwards continue for near 5 miles and encamp in the woods across the 2nd prairie. Our road the whole of this day has been thro' one continued mire - several horses too weak to come up with the rest, tho' light. Two men return to bring them up but are unable.

Thursday, 17th.-Fine morning. Start 6 a.m. Proceed 1 1/2 mile and arrive at the Paddle River (a tributary of the Pembina River)- make a raft and get our baggage across in about 3 hours-afterwards go on 3 miles and stop to breakfast. Detained here several hours by rain. Again continue 7 miles and arrive at the Pembina River. The road from Paddle River lies along the borders of small lakes, thro' swamps and woods - the track thro' the latter being in some cases extremely bad-much fallen wood and deep mires.

Friday, 18th.-Fine morning. Mr. Stuart's craft not having yet arrived, people set about making 3 rafts. These being made cross over all the property and load 20 horses therewith. Proceed to Lac la Nane (Nun Lake)-distance 5 or 6 miles. Set a net. Two men also repair a weir already made in the River. Find here Cardinale, a freeman, and family with several tents of Indians. Mr. Stuart remains at Pembina with the rest of the horses to wait his people.

Saturday, 19th.-Fine warm weather. Our net last night yielded 60 carp and the weir 30 carp and pike-9 horses are returned to assist Mr. Stuart in bringing forward his pieces. Afterwards 3 men sent off to clear the road ahead of fallen wood and also to make a wear (weir) at Berland's Lake to supply fish on our arrival.

Sunday,20th.-Fine warm weather. Our fishing yield about the same quantity as last night. A man arrives from Mr. Stuart with letters. The craft were about to arrive when he left. Mr. S. had gone down to meet them on a raft. Having collected all the carp we are able for our voyage we take our departure hence with 13 loaded horses. Travel about 8 miles thro' woods occasionally very bad road and encamp. One of the horses is unable to bring up his load. The men carry it.

Monday,21st.-Fine weather. Start at 5 a.m. Mr.Douglas with one man goes ahead to reach the Fort to-day. Near Berland's Lake we meet 5 men with 22 horses from Edmonton-take 2 saddle horses for Messrs. E. Harriot and Ermatinger. Send the rest forward to meet Mr. Stuart. Take breakfast at Berland's creek. Afterwards proceed to the large scaffold and encamp. Our route to Berland's Lake was for the greater part bad in the extreme-thro' thick woods full of deep mires-thence the road takes thro' the plains and is pretty good. Distance say to the Lake 12 miles and to the encampment 8 or 9 do.

Tuesday,22nd.-Fine warm weather. Proceed at 4 a.m. reach the Sturgeon River about 10 o'clock with the strongest of the horses. Others do not arrive till 2 o'clock-occupy our time till 3 p.m. rafting our property across- afterwards resume our journey and arrive at Edmonton at 7 p.m. 5 men remain behind at the river their horses being to fatigued to proceed-roads thro' the plains often bad thro' swamps and mires-distance to Sturgeon River from our encampment about 16 miles thence to the Fort 9 miles. (note on Edmonton: "Formerly "Old" Fort Augustus, also, sometimes, called Fort des Prairies. It was built in 1795, for the N.W.Co. by James Hughes; about 1859, was a large oblong, palisaded structure with bastions. The new (in 1912) Provincial Parliament building has been constructed within the limits of the old fort.")

Wednesday,23rd.-Fine warm weather-6 boats receive their cargoes in order to be off to-morrow morning.

Thursday,24th.-do. Boats start this morning-afternoon Mr. Stuart and party arrive.

Friday,25th.-do-8 boats more receive their loading.

Saturday,26th.-do. The boats leave Edmonton at 9 a.m. Passengers C.F. Stuart, & Rowand, Messrs. Douglas, McDonald, Harriott, McDougal and E.E.(Edward Ermatinger). Manned Mr. Stuart's boat 5 men, Mr.R's 4 and the rest 3 each. Proceed till 8 p.m. and encamp, distance 50 miles.

27th,Sunday.-Strong head wind. Start at 1/2 past 3 a.m. Saw some Crees from whom a few Beaver &c. are traded-detained afternoon 2 hours for one of the Boats unable to keep up. Mr. McDonald kills a red deer (elk)-put ashore at 8 p.m. to cook-afterwards lash the boats together and drive all night.

Monday,28th.-Head wind-begin to row at sunrise. Breakfast at the old Fort George (Note 2: "Fort George was built by Angus Shaw in the autumn of 1792, and abandoned in 1801. It was one of several Saskatchewan posts to which the name of "Fort des Prairies" attached and was a place of importance...."). In the evening put ashore at Vermillion Creek. People go off in chase of Red Deer-kill a cabris. After stopping about 2 hours start again and proceed a short distance to an Island where we stop to supper. No signs of the other six boats-supposed we passed then in the night as they had orders not to proceed farther than Dog Rump Creek. Make a large fire for signal. Embark again to drift all night.

Tuesday,29th.-Fine weather. Wind ahead. Continue rowing from daylight till sunset, at intervals, and then put ashore to supper-after which go little below to sleep. See Red Deer several times-3 are killed.

Wednesday,30th.-Wind still ahead. Start at sunrise. Do not proceed far when we see 5 buffalo crossing the river, pursue them and kill two-people go hunting on both sides of the River. On each side they kill two bulls-fetching home the meat occupies the rest of the men till night. Push off and go to sleep at Island out of sight of our fires.

Thursday,31st.-Wind still easterly. Proceed down the River a few miles till we come up to two of our men who have been absent hunting since yesterday morning. They have each killed a Bull-16 men set off immediately to bring home the meat-men return with 1 1/2 animals, the rest having been consumed by wolves -continue again a short distance and put ashore where animals appear to be numerous. People go off hunting-return afternoon having killed 11 Bulls-all hands employed carrying the meat to the boats-1 too lean-thrown away. Encamp.

June-

Friday,1st.-Fine weather. Wind strong ahead. Early this morning some of the men employed bringing down the remainder of the animals killed yesterday. Also 5 more Bulls by Salois-and afterwards we procured 2 cows and 2 Bulls- proceed down 2 or 3 miles and encamp.

Saturday,2nd.-Make an early start and proceed till near noon. See many herds of Buffalo. Hunters go off in pursuit-Mr. Harriott kills 2, Salois one- men fetch the meat. Continue our journey having been here 4 or 5 hours-in the evening more animals in sight. Mr. H. goes off and kills 2 Bulls-a very serious accident attends the evening's hunting. Mr. H. having wounded two other Bulls goes off with a view of getting them accompanied by Messrs. F. McDonald and E.E.(Edward Ermatinger). On approaching them they made off. Mr. H. pursued and overtook one, followed by Mr. McD.-the former fired but did not bring the Bull down. Mr. McD.'s rifle snapped and while he was endeavouring to distinguish his object in the dark of the night to have another shot the animal rushed toward him with utmost impetuosity. Mr.McD. as soon as he perceived him, which was not till he was very close, tried to escape by running across a small plain to shelter himself as it appeared to him in a hammock of woods, but before he reached it he became out of breath and threw himself down trusting to fate. The first blow the animal gave him he tossed him with great violence and gored the most fleshy part of the thigh nearly to the bone. Mr. McD., after this seized him by the wool of the head and held him for some time, but the immense power of the animal obliged him to quit his hold-on doing this, he supposes, he dislocated his wrist. He remembers

having received 6 blows, one of which was so dreadful that his whole side is bruised black and blue and some of his ribs appear to be broken-the last furious butt made him call out, and what is very strange the Bull at the same instant fell down as if a ball had struck him. In this state they both remained for above an hour while Mr. H. ran to the Boats at least 2 miles distant for assistance, Mr. E. remaining near the spot to point it out, for altho' these two gentlemen heard and saw as far as the darkness of the night permitted the whole of this distressing affair, they were unable to render immediate relief, lest in firing at the Bull they might kill the man. A large armed party being collected were devising means of extricating Mr. McD. from his painful situation, when one of the men's guns went off in the air by accident. This caused the Bull to rise. He looked at the party attentively for a moment and then galloped off. Mr McD. whom they found perfectly sensible altho' he had fainted several times as he himself says, also states that the Bull watched him the whole time they lay together and that he durst not stir. The animal too he says appeared to suffer much groaning and vomiting blood a great deal. The ground around bore evident marks of this deplorable catastrophe, being gored up in many places and covered with blood- a shot pouch which Mr. McD. wore at his left side, made of thick sealskin, covered with porcupine quills and stuffed with rags, &c., for wadding was found to be pierced thro' and thro' and must have saved his life, altho' he was not aware when this happened. He was conveyed upon blankets fastened upon poles on the men's shoulders to the Boat and in order to reach Carlton (Fort Carlton) as soon as possible, we drift down the river all night in hopes of finding Dr. Richardson (Sir John Richardson) at that place. His wounds were dressed as well as the means of the party permitted.

Sunday, 3rd.-Overcast with light rain. Commence rowing at daylight and continue till breakfast. Afterwards hoist sail with a light breeze which freshens and carries us till we pass the Elbow. Our course North, wind ahead- row till 9 p.m. Encamp.

Monday, 4th.-Overcast and cold -light rain. Continue at daylight-the 6 boats which left Edmonton on the 24th overtake us at breakfast. Arrive at Carlton afternoon. People set about making Pemican, &c.

Tuesday, 5th.-Rain most part of the day. Dr. Richardson having quitted Carlton on the 21st ultimo, in order that Mr. McDonald may get surgical aid as soon as possible, a boat manned by 5 men is dispatched with him to Cumberland (House) accompanied by Mr. McDougal, this afternoon. The other boats afterwards receive an addition to their cargoes from the returns of this place and 8 of them depart in the evening.

Wednesday, 6th.-Fine weather, very warm. The other 5 boats start at 2 a.m. See some Crees and freeman from whom we gather a few skins. Stop to supper a little below the South Branch. We hoisted sail once to-day, but this rather caused delay than advance the wind dying away almost immediately-run down part of Cole's rapids by moonlight it being 9 o'clock when we stopt to supper-lash the boats together and drive-current very strong.

Thursday, 7th.-Fine warm weather. We are alarmed in the night by 2 of our boats having run afoul of a large stone, but no other damage was received than the breaking of one rib in her upper works. See more Indians this morning from whom we get some skins. Overtake all the Boats afternoon. Stop to cook below Thorburn's Rapid ("Thorburn, a fur-trader, had a house near here in Thompson's time." This makes me think of Thornburn Finlay, probable child of Jocko Finlay, did Jocko know Thorburn?). Drift all night.

Friday, 8th.-Fine warm weather. Wind N.W. strong ahead. Commence rowing at sunrise-arrive at Cumberland (House) about 7 p.m. with 9 boats, 4 others having taken a wrong channel do not come up with us. Mr. McDonald arrived this morning.

Saturday, 9th.-Fine weather. Remain here all day-reloading and waiting the other boats.

Sunday, 10th.-Overcast-wind strong ahead. Leave Cumberland at 5 a.m. Continue pulling all day. Encamp at 8 p.m.

Monday, 11th.-Rain all last night. Ceases about 7 a.m. Start at 5 o'clock. Breakfast at the Pas (an outpost in Cumberland district). Find several freemen here. Receive.....(indecipherable) from them. Continue till 1/2 past 8 p.m. and encamp at Muddy Lake. Find our other boats here. Leave one.

Tuesday, 12th.-Hoist sail with a fair wind at 3 a.m., breeze freshens, reach the lower end of Cedar Lake by 1 o'clock, breakfast-resume at 1/2 past two. Proceed thro' narrows and across Cross Lake-then down the River to the Grand Rapids. Boats run down full cargoes. One breaks upon the rocks. Cargo wet. Find J. Spencer (a HBC chief trader), Esq., encamped at the lower end, with 2 boats. He has been detained here 9 days-the ice in Lake Winnipeg not permitting him to proceed. Encamp. Set a net.

Wednesday, 13th.-Fine weather. Wind Easterly. Mr. Spencer sets off with his two boats early this morning. People employed here unpacking and drying furs-procure 25 sturgeon, part traded from Indians and part killed by our men.

Thursday, 14th.-The weather became very boisterous during last night. We had thunder and lightning with very heavy rain which continues all this morning, latterly it turned to snow. Wind N.W. blowing very hard. Obtain from Indians 15 Sturgeon and 2 of our Iroquois killed 5. In the evening the wind have moderated, we push off at 9 p.m. and row in the Lake (Lake Winnipeg) all night-pass several times thro' loose floating ice.

Friday, 15th.-Fine weather. Wind E.S.E. hoist sail-put ashore 1 hour to breakfast-pass theislands. About 3 p.m. begins to blow very hard. Obligated to make shore. Land with 4 boats a short distance on this side the steep banks-flat gravelly beach. Experience some difficulty in landing our cargoes dry-very few packs get wet. The other Boats keep out and hold their course to Mossy Point-soon lose sight of them.

Saturday, 16th.-Fine weather. Being calm this morning, begin to load our Boats before 3 o'clock a.m. and start at 4. Fair wind springs up-hoist sail. At the steep banks find Mr. Spencer who had driven ashore yesterday in the gale. One of his boats was dashed so violently against the shore that it is broken useless-abandon it. Load the other and put the cargo of the other amongst our Boats and proceed. Arrive at Norway House, old establishment at Noon. All the other Boats here safe. Breakfast. Resume at 1/2 past 2 p.m.

with 3 boats, leaving the remainder here to dry some which have got wet. Reach the New Establishment at the foot of Jack River at 10 p.m.

Sunday, 17th.-Fine weather. Governor Simpson arrives at 5 a.m. The rest of the Saskatchewan Boats arrive shortly after.

JOURNAL OF A VOYAGE FROM YORK FACTORY TO FORT VANCOUVER, COLUMBIA RIVER -1827 (east to west)

July-

14th.-Saturday, Wet weather. Mosquitoes very numerous. Left YF 1/4 before 5 o'clock p.m. with 3 boats manned by 24 men. Encamped at 1/2 past 9 o'clock below the 18 mile Island.

15th.-Fine weather. Started at daylight. Stopt 1 hour for breakfast-afterwards hoisted sail with a fresh breeze and continued sailing all day. Encamped about 9 p.m. a little above the mouth of Steel River.

16th, Monday.-Fine weather. Tracked the whole day, except 1 hour stopt for breakfast. Entered the Hill River at 5 p.m. and encamped a few miles up it at 9 o'clock.

17th, Tuesday.-Day fine. In the evening showers of rain with thunder. Started at 2 a.m. Current very strong and rapidous. Encamped at 1/2 past 8 o'clock 2 pipes below the Rock.(Rock House, an outpost),(footnote 2: "2 pipes"-distances were often measured by the number of pipes a voyageur would smoke while traversing them.). Wm. Spence with letters from YF overtakes us this evening.

18th.-wet morning-fine day. Started at 1/2 past 3 a.m. cleared the Rock Portage by 1/2 past 6 o'clock. Arrived at Borwick's Falls by 8 and hauled up at a 1/4 past 9. At 11 came to the White Mud Portage which we cleared by 1/4 past 12. Thence proceeded on and hauled up the Point of Rocks Rapid by 3 p.m. Made another short hauling place and entered the still water about 6 o'clock. Encamped among the Rapids at the head of it at 9 o'clock.

19th, Thursday.-Light showers of rain at intervals during the day. Started at 2 a.m. and arrived at Brassy's Portage at 5. Hauled up it with half cargoes and left it at 7-then hauled and poled up the Lower Flats and reached the Lower Burntwood portage at 10-which we cleared and took breakfast by 1/2 past 12 o'clock. At 1/2 past 1 we reached the South Side Hauling place where we took out half cargoes and cleared it in 2 hours. Mr. C. Grant with 2 boats from Red River passes us on his way to YF. Afterward ascended some bad Rapids. At Morgan's Rocks one of our Boats gets stove while passing within a small island to gain the foot of the Rapid. Cargo very little wetted-delayed, repair the Boat 2 hours. Leaving Morgan's Rock we proceed to U.Burntwood Portage which having cleared we went to the Rocky Launcher and encamped at 10 p.m.

20th, Friday.-Fine weather. Began our day's march at 1/2 past 2 a.m. Cleared the Rocky Launcher, Swampy and Smooth Rocky Portages and reached the Mossy Portage by 1/2 past 10 a.m. Here we occupied 5 hours afterwards with much difficulty get up the Upper Flats and Lurance's Boat meets with another accident. This causes us to encamp at the next portage rather earlier than usual.

21st.-Slight rain in the morning-fine warm day. Embark at 2 a.m. Shortly after leaving the Portage McKay's boat runs foul of a stone and knocks a hole in her stem. Put ashore about an hour to repair-then make the Upper Portage and a lightening place (where a portion of the load was taken out of the canoes. These portages were also called "demi-charges") which hold us till about noon. Continued the remainder of the day poling and hauling a succession of very strong rapids. Encamped on an Island near the top of Hill River at 9 p.m. Heavy rain in the evening.

22nd, Sunday -heavy rain this morning. Started a little after 2 a.m. Come up to Mr. Leith (James Leith) &c. with 2 Boats just ready to leave the 2nd Portage in Little Jack River at 1/2 past 11 a.m. Cleared it ourselves by 1/2 past 3 p.m. Arrived at the Up.Portage between 7 and 8 o'clock. People carried over the cargoes and got up the Boats over the first brink of the Fall and encamped about 9 p.m.

23rd.-Rained all last night and continued at intervals during the day. Cleared the Portage by 5 a.m. Proceeded in the Knee Lake pulling against a head wind (S.E.) In the afternoon overtake Mr. Nolin with 2 Boats for R.R. Men's provisions reduced to Peas and water. Encamped on an Island a short distance beyond the Knee about 9 p.m.

24th.-Showers of rain during the day. Started about 2 a.m.-rejoined Mr.Leith at the Trout Fall. Encamped at 10 p.m.-at the last strong rapid in Trout River, having made on it 1 portage and 3 lightening places.

25th.-Fine weather. Started at 3 a.m.-arrived at Oxford House about 8 o'clock. Thence proceeded thro' the Holy Lake sailing most of the day with a side wind. Got our cargoes over the first portage in the Weepin a panis and encamped about 1/2 past 8 p.m. Slight rain.

26th.Thursday.-In the evening we had a tremendous shower of rain with much thunder and lightning. Men began to get up the boats about 1/2 past 2 a.m. Made another portage in the Weepin a panis-passed thro' a lake, then a grassy River and another Lake and cleared the first portage in Hell's Gate or Hill's Gate. Encamped at the 2nd Hauling Place.

27th.-Slight showers of rain. Cleared the 2nd Portage in Hell's Gate. Passed thro' a small Lake and arrived at the White Falls about 9 a.m. got over our boats and cargoes by 8 o'clock-loaded the boats and encamped.

28th.-Fine weather. Started at 1/2 past 1 a.m. arrived at the painted stone about 8. Found the upper end of the Itchenemanines rather shoal. Encamped near the end of the River at 10 p.m.

29th.-Rain in the morning. Started about 3 a.m. Proceeded with the oars to the sea river portage which having cleared hoisted the sail and sailed to Jack River House (the 'new' Norway House) where we arrived about 9 p.m.

30th.-Wet weather. Left Jack River House before noon and sailed to Norway House. Here we found 2 R. river Boats Messrs. Ross and Heron. Started again in the evening and encamped at the next point.

31st.-Weather being moderate started after sunrise and rowed to the Mossy Point-here finding that wind was likely to be too much for us we about ship to regain our last Encampment-however afterwards thinking that it had calmed we put about again when about half back-then the wind veered a little to the S.W. We were enabled to hoist sail-but we soon perceived that a storm was coming on and had only time to run our boats ashore and get out the cargoes when it began to blow a gale with thunder and lightening and heavy showers of rain. The place where we were forced to put ashore is a very bad landing and never approached but in cases of danger-here we were fortunate enough to find Tom Firth with two Saskn. Boats who was forced ashore yesterday by bad weather. His people were useful in assisting us to land our cargoes which was done with little damage. One Boat however got two planks knocked out by the violence of the waves before she could be hauled up and 16 of her timbers broken.

August--

1st.-Fine weather. Wind westerly blowing hard-people employed drying some of our wet things and repairing the boat broken yesterday. Remained here for this night.

2nd.-Fine weather. Wind being more moderate loaded the boats and got under weigh about 8 a.m.-rowed along the shores of the Lake till 6 p.m. and then hoisted sail and proceeded with a fresh breeze till night.

3rd.-Friday. Sailed all night and arrived at the Grand Rapid at 9 a.m. Got the Boats up to the Portage and carried the cargoes half way over. Traded some fresh and dried sturgeon from freemen and Indians.

4th.-Fine weather. Had our boats and cargoes over the portage and were ready to start about 4 a.m. However Larance's Boat by mischance got loose just as they were going to load her and was precipitated down the Rapid-fortunately an eddy brought her up before she got far down and in a short time she was brought back safe. As we were about to embark one of our Columbia young hands (Desaire) was missing and it was thought he had deserted, people were sent off in pursuit. In a short time he came running to the boats in great consternation-it seems he had laid himself down in some part of the Portage and fell asleep which held him longer than he intended. While we were sending for him another man (E.Pepin) actually did desert and we only succeeded in finding him late at night. This fellow added the crime of theft to desertion-for it appears during the time we were occupied on the Portage he had concealed a small bale containing the property of two of his companions and when found he was already rigged out in their clothing. As a punishment he was tied for the night. About 6 p.m. 4 of the Boats were sent off and ourselves with two remained near the portage for the double purpose of recovering our man and trading some more sturgeon.

5th.-We had a good deal rain during the day with thunder and lightening. Started between 3 and 4 a.m. At the Red Rock carried half cargoes and after working up a very bad part of the River full of strong Rapids we came up with our other 4 Boats at midnight encamped at the entrance of the Cedar Lake.

6th.-Fine weather. Started between 9 and 10 a.m., sailed for a short distance thro' the Lake and then pulled thro' it till 9 p.m. when we encamped near the end of it.

7th.-Fine weather. Started about 3 a.m. Rowed all day and stopt to rest in the Boats about 8 o'clock. Land being overflowed unable to camp on shore.

8th.-Started about 3 a.m. Rowed till afternoon then hoisted sail and sailed and rowed together till 10 p.m. and stopt for the night at the lower end of the narrow below the Pas. Rained all day.

9th.-Tremendous claps of thunder this morning. Rained at intervals all day. Started before 3 a.m. Sailed a short distance. Reached the Pas between 9 and 10 o'clock and took breakfast with Capt. Back (George Back), Lieut. Kendall (E.N. Kendall) and Mr. Drummond (Thomas Drummond) who arrived at the same time with ourselves. Afterwards set off and pulled all day against a strong head wind. Encamped (on land) at 1/2 past 8 p.m.

10th.-Rained all day. Started between 3 and 4 a.m. Reached the Barriers, by which track we proceeded at 8 p.m. Having pulled up the River against a very strong current for a short distance, we entered a Lake and hoisted Sail, but the darkness of night obliged us to wait daylight and at 10 o'clock we set about making ourselves as comfortable as we could in open Boats drenched with incessant rain.

11th.-Rained all day (one shower of hail). About 4 a.m. we resumed our voyage and arrived at Cumberland about 6 p.m. having rowed all day against a strong head wind thro' lakes and narrows. We found two men here from Carlton who arrived some time ago with Provisions.

12, Sunday.-Overcast with rain. Some changes having been made in the Boats cargoes to embark the families of Messrs. McLeod and McDougal (A.R. McLeod and James McDougal) we took our departure from the place at 8 a.m. The last Boat arrived at the encampment at 10 p.m.

13th.-Overcast with rain. Embarked at 4 a.m. having made some further alterations to equalize the Boats cargoes. Encamped at 1/2 past 8 p.m.

14th.-Showers of rain during the day. Started at 1/2 past 4 a.m. Passed the River Cebanac about 10. Encamped at the head of Thoburn's Rapid at 8 p.m.

15th.-Slight rain. Wind ahead. Started at 4 a.m. At dusk having arrived at a very shoal part of the River we had much difficulty in passing it and only reached our encampment at 1/2 past 10 o'clock. Mr.Rowand's (Chief Factor John Rowand) Boat having taken a different channel found it barred at the top and was obliged to remain there for the night.

16th.-One shower of rain to-day-part of the crews of the five Boats went a daylight to assist in extricating Mr.R's boat from its confined situation, which being effected we resumed our journey at 5 a.m. Encamped at 8 p.m. (Dr.Todd stretched his legs in the Boat). La Rivie unwell, off duty.

17th.-Rain afternoon. The dog Prince having strayed from the Boats yesterday, a man was dispatched in search of him this morning. Started at 1/4 past 4 a.m. Encamped at 1/2 past 8.

18th.-Fine weather. Started at 1/2 past 4 a.m. At noon came to point La Corne and breakfasted. Saw G.Sutherland freeman from whom traded a little dried meat &c. McKay and Guilbauche fought at the point above-2 rounds-Guilbauche beaten. Encamped 2 points above Fort a Batosh. Man returned without the dog.

19th.-Rained in the evening. Started at 1/2 past 4 a.m. Breakfast at 11 opposite the South Branch (mouth of the South Saskatchewan River). Saw an Indian here from whom were traded 270 swans. Encamped at 8 o'clock below the 7th of the Cole's Rapids. Papin sick, off duty.

20th.-Fine weather. Started at 5 a.m. A Point below Campment des femmes-found a man from Carlton with the meat of 2 Buffaloes, off which we took breakfast. Owing to the badness of one of the staves in a 2 gallon keg (Brandy) which we got at YF for Cola (Columbia), outcoming 1828, we found that just the half has run out in LaRance's boat. Desaire having a sore foot remained at our Encampment unknown to us. McKay went off in search of him and only arrived at the Encampment with him at 11 p.m. Encamped at 1/2 past 7 o'clock one point above Rapide Croche.

21st.-Fine warm weather. Started at 5 a.m. Encamped a point above Sturgeon River.

22nd.-Fine weather. Started at 1/2 past 4 a.m. At 9 o'clock we were met by Gadana with meat from Carlton. Breakfasted and afterwards hoisted sail with a fresh breeze, but did not sail far when the wind headed us-ward and we again took to the oars. Encamped about 8 p.m. in sight of the Steep Banks.

23rd.-Fine weather. Mosquitoes very thick. Started before 4 a.m. Sailed for a short distance; arrived at Carlton after 3 p.m. Yesterday it appears the last of a party of about 400 Slaves, Sourcis and other Indians took their departure after having stolen 7 horses and committed other depredations about the Fort.

24th.-Very warm weather and mosquitoes so thick that we can get no rest night or day. Employed giving out the orders and outfit of this place &c.

25th.-Weather very warm and mosquitoes very thick. Outfit for this place completed and Boats reloaded.

26th,Sunday.-Fine weather. Started with 6 Boats between 8 and 9 a.m. At 5 afternoon hoist sail with a fresh breeze which soon increased to a gale with thunder and lightening. Encamped about 7 o'clock.

27th.-Fine weather. Started about 5 a.m. Continued pulling and tracking until 7 and encamped about the elbow. Found an Indian and some half breeds on the Island encamped also. On their way to Carlton.

28th.-Fine weather. Started at 1/2 past 4 a.m. Wind ahead-rowed and tracked all day. Encamped a little after 7 p.m.

29th.-Fine warm weather. Started at 5 a.m. Saw several Bulls (Buffalo bulls) opposite to Basfond Guilbache about 1 p.m.-killed one. Encamped on a Sandy Island after having stopt on the main shore to cook and take supper.

30th.-weather as yesterday. Hoisted sail, about 4 a.m., with a moderate breeze and continued sailing till about 3 o'clock when the wind shifts ahead. Encamped on Island at 7 p.m.

31st.-Fine weather. Started at 1/2 past 4 a.m. Passed the Battle River this morning. In the evening hoisted sail with a fair wind which scarcely favours us when we are driven a shore by a perfect storm of head wind about 6 o'clock. Encamped.

September

1st,Saturday,-Fine weather. Started at 4 a.m, Saw a Black Bear to-day at which several shots were fired, but missed. Continued rowing and tracking,all day against a head wind. Encamped at 8 p.m.

2nd.-Fine weather. Started at 4 a.m., travelled till 10 o'clock rowing and tracking, then having taken breakfast hoist sail with a fresh breeze. Eastly wind which pushes us forward till night and put ashore a few hours at the lower end of the long reach below Vermilion about 8 p.m. Two men went off along shore to hunt this morning and killed a Cabris.

3rd.-Fine weather. Started this morning a little after midnight and sailed to the upper end of the long reach by 10 o'clock. Here we found 2 men with 8 horses from Edmonton-from them we got a little deer's meat. At noon we resume our journey with a strong breeze-4 men proceed along ashore with the horses-passed Vermilion Creek at 1/2 past 1 p.m. Encamped 1/4 before 8 o'clock some distance above the Frog Rapid.

4th, Tuesday.-Fine weather. Started about 4 o'clock and took breakfast at 10 at the Old Fort (Old Fort George) below the Dog Rump Creek. Hence two men were dispatched on horseback for Edmonton in order that horses may be brought home in readiness by the time the boats arrive. Wind still continues to favour us and assists us in ascending many strong rapids. Continued sailing till 6 o'clock in the evening when it calmed and we proceeded tracking till 1/4 before 8 and encamped at 4 or 5 miles above the Island House.

5th.-Commenced raining last night and continued till 9 this morning-afterwards fine weather but wind strong ahead. Started before 5 a.m. Afternoon hunters informed us they had killed 4 Red Deer and wounded another some distance off-therefore we put ashore and wait while they bring it to the boats-about 7 p.m. the hunters arrive with the meat which having embarked we continued our voyage and encamped at Craig's point at 1/4 past 8 o'clock.

6th.-Fine weather. Light shower of rain toward evening. Started at 4 a.m., got up the Rapids Croche by 1/2 past 3 p.m., several lines broken at this rapid. Encamped at 1/2 past 8 o'clock.

7th.-Fine weather. Started 1/2 past 4 a.m. Continued tracking all day and encamped 1/4 before 9 p.m.

8th.-Fair weather. Started at 4 a.m. Arrived at the Carp Creek at 11 o'clock and took breakfast. Found a party of Crees encamped at this place, from them traded some furs and provisions after which Messrs. Rowand set off on horseback. Encamped a little above the painted Creek at 9 p.m.

9th, Sunday.-Fine weather. Started at 5 a.m. and encamped 9 p.m. about 3 miles above Pointe a Perogin.

10th.-Fine weather. Embarked 1/2 past 4 a.m. and arrived at Edmonton about 1 o'clock.

11th & 12th.-Remained at Edmonton arranging our baggage and waiting till the Saskatchewan were ready, as Mr. Klyne (Michel Klyne) has to accompany us to the mountains with an outfit for Jaspers.

13th.-Fine weather. Left Edmonton this afternoon with 29 loaded and 6 saddle horses. Passengers, pieces and baggage being as follows:-Messrs. Todd, McDougal, Ermatinger, Louis Leblanc, the ladies of Messrs. McLeod and McDougal and 2 children.

12 packs dressed straps	1/2 bale sundries-families
1 bale portage straps	2 case and basket--Dr.Todd
5 " Robes for Jaspers House	2 barrels biscuit----
1 Cassette & portmandeau Dr.Todd	1 keg sugar Mess
2 " Mr.McDougal	1 keg tea
	1/2 Maccaroni ----
1 " E.E. (Edward Ermatinger)	1 keg Beef and Pork
2 " families	1 keg spirits for Drams
1 C" (small) L. Leblanc	Prov.
1 bag flour J.W. Dease	6 Bags Pemican
1 keg sugar "	2 bales Dried Meat ea. 50lbs.
	2 prs.Saddle Bags grease
	ea. 100lbs.
2 keg do families	8 bags potatoes
2 bags flour do	5 beds and sundry small parcels.
1/2 Maccaron do	We were accompanied by Messrs.
1 case G.McD.	Harriott and Klyne with their
1 tent do	people and outfit. Crossed the
1 do Dr.Todd	Sturgeon River and encamped.
	Carried the pieces across.
1 paper Trunk	

14th, Thursday.-Started at sunrise and made our first stage to the Grand Echaffaud by 11-resumed 2 and at 5 encamped at Riviere que basse near Lac a Berland-light rain.

15th.-Fine weather. Proceeded this day as far as Lac La Nan, having made one halt-2 men sent ahead to repair the canoes at Fort Assiniboine. Picard arrives at our encampment with letters from J.R. Esq.(John Rowand).

16th.-Fine weather. The party went as far as Jolie Prairie and encamped-having made one stop near Paddle River. Messrs. Klyne and Ermatinger went off ahead this morning for the fort.

17th, Sunday.-Fine weather. Starting from Jolie Prairie our party reached Les Deux Rivières and encamped.

18th.-Fine weather. The whole Brigade reached Fort Assiniboine before noon all safe-except that Leblanc's horse got astray the night before last and was left. Messrs. Klyne and Ermatinger with the 2 men arrived yesterday morning. Shortly after arrival the people set about making their poles and paddles while the Boutes (Bowsmen) are repairing the canoes. We only found here two good canoes and 3 much broken-and as we require 4, we have chosen the two best of the latter and the 2 former.

19th.-Fine weather-people employed as yesterday. The 2 old canoes have had half their bottoms renewed.

20th.-Fine weather. Our canoes being ready we embarked at 1/2 past 9 a.m. with the lading as follows:-

No.1	No.2
9 packs Leather	8 packs Leather
1 barrel biscuit	3 Cassettes p.p.
2 Cassettes p.p.	1 bag flour "
1 do paper trunk	1 keg sugar "
2 kegs tea and sugar	1 keg "
1 portmandeau p.p.	1 bag Ball E
2 case and basket	1 Roll Tobacco

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18	16
No.1	No.2
Brot.forward-18 pcs	Brt.forward 16 pcs.
1 Bale Portage Straps	
1 Bag Ball E	
---	---
20 ps.	16
Passengers	Passengers
Dr.Todd and Mr.Ermatinger	Mr.Geo.McDougall
son Michael Klyne	and Lady of Mr.J.McD.
Prov.3 bags Pemican 1 bale meat	Provs.3 bags Pemican
Crews	
Michael Otatame Boute	J.B.Jolibois
Pierre Karagangate	J.B.Obichon
L.Ogsin M	X.Seguin
H.Lacharite "	Loyer
P.Gilbot "	Jos.Roquebrune
P.Therrien M	P.Desaire
A. Eno M	F.LaFrance
Jos.Lapierre M	L.Leblanc
No.3	No.4
10 packs Leather	4 bales Goods E
2 kegs sugar p.p.	5 packs Robes "
2 bags flour "	2 kegs powder "
2 Cassettes "	2 " sugar "
1 keg sugar E	1 maccaron "
1 case Irons "	2 kegs Spirits"
---	1/2 bag shot "
18	1/2 " guns and Rifles "
	2 bags flour "
	1 roll tobacco"
---	---
20	
Passengers	Passengers
Families A.R. McLeod,Esq.,	Michel Klyne and family
and A.Ogie,viz.--2 women	viz.--woman and 4 children
and 4 children	
Provs.	
3 bags Pemican	3 bags Pemican and 1 bale meat.
Crews	
P.Bouche	Bedeau
F.Lepine	A.Roudeau
J.Simpson	Beauchamps
Bouisseau	Louis Shargashatsh
Baptiste Iroquois	Fullardeau
Jas.Lacharite	E.Pepin
A.Ogre	Picard
	Nipisingue
1 pack Leather among the Canoes for coverings	

Of the foregoing cargoes--28 packs of Leather are for New Caledonia and 25 ps. for Jasper's House Outfit. Detained 1 hour pitching canoes. Encamped at 7 p.m.

21st,Thursday Fine weather. Embarked at 5 a.m. and encamped at 7 after mounting a very strong and long Rapid in which Bouche's canoe got broken.

22nd.-Rained last night-day overcast.Bouche's canoe having been repaired we started after 6 a.m. having previously exchanged his steersman (Lepine) who finds himself unable to perform his duty in that capacity, his eyesight being bad. At breakfast time, we found that the same canoe required more repairs and were consequently delayed four hours more for that purpose-2 of the other canoes were also gummed. Afterwards proceeded opposite to McLeod's Branch and encamped at 1/2 past 6 p.m. River hitherto very Rapidous.

23rd.-Continued raining all last night and ceased this morning at 1/4 past 5. Gummed 3 canoes at breakfast time-which delayed us an hour, and afterwards one of the same requires gumming again which causes another delay. Encamped 1/4 past 6 p.m. Loyer and Picard were off hunting this morning but saw nothing. Jolibois falls sick with a swelling in his throat.

25th, Tuesday, -Fine weather. Started at 1/2 past 5 a.m. Gummed our canoes twice. Encamped at 6 p.m. Ascended many strong rapids to-day. Jolibois still unwell, unable to do duty.

26th, -Rain this morning prevented from starting till near 7 o'clock. We then proceeded till 9 when we came up to a camp of Stone Indians (Assiniboine) where we took breakfast and traded with them a little dried provisions-during our stay here one of our canoes regummed-resumed our journey at 11 a.m. Shortly after another canoe having got a slight break in one of the rapids, put ashore to gum. Indeed we find all our canoes too much laden to proceed without getting damaged in such strong rapids as we have passed to-day and they have so often rubbed on the rocks in them that we were obliged to put ashore at 1/2 past 5 p.m. and have them gummed afresh. Passed Riviere a Baptiste about 1/2 past 1 o'clock. Picard and Nipissingue two of the Rocky Mountain freemen took leave of us this morning-the former to hunt his way down and the latter to proceed to Jasper's. Altho' these two men disembarked out of one canoe, we find that she goes better with the remaining six than she did before with eight.

27th, -Fine day. One of our men (Lafrance) having been seized last night with a violent choleric we could not start as usual--however, about 8 o'clock we made an attempt to continue our voyage, but were soon obliged to put ashore again, the man's illness having much increased. The Doctor gave him a triple dose that took no effect. About 2 p.m. we were enabled to pursue our voyage. During our stay here several packs which had got wet were opened and dried. Encamped a little after 6 p.m. having ascended several very strong rapids. Some of the canoes could not mount under the poles and the men had to drag them up. Lafrance still very unwell. Jolibois getting better.

28th, Friday, -Fine weather. Started at 1/2 past 5 a.m. At breakfast time two of our canoes required gumming. We afterwards ascended a chain of rapids to the head of Rapids des Morts where, as our canoes require gumming again, we encamped at 5 p.m. At 8 of these rapids which are very strong three of the canoes were handed up-only one has been able to ascend under the poles which is owing to the dexterity of the Bouts. Lafrance and Jolibois are on the recovery.

29th, -Fine day. Started at 1/2 past 5 a.m. and continued our voyage till past 5 when we camped, just below the Grand Basfound, on account of bad weather, it having begun to rain. The river has been less difficult to-day than heretofore. We had our first view of the Rocky Mountains about noon and should have seen them sooner but for the cloudy weather. Our two men have both recovered and are on duty.

30th, -Tolerable weather till evening when it began to rain and afterwards to hail. We started a little after 5 and encamped about 1/2 way up the last string of rapids about 6 p.m. Loyer left us this morning to go to the fort.

October

1st, -Overcast. Started before 6 a.m. and having got up a number of Shoal Rapids full of large stones, we arrived at Jasper's House about 10 o'clock. The remainder of the day was occupied remaking packs Leather, gumming the canoes, &c., &c. Out of the packs rendered this summer at this place we find about one to be useless. We found on arrival here 3 men from the Columbia with a letter from J.W. Dease, Esq., dated from the West end of the Portage Oct. 25th.

2nd, -Fine weather but cool. The 4 canoes were sent off about 8 o'clock this morning to proceed to the Portage, the 2 large ones, laden with each 15 packs Leather and 3 Cassettes or cases and manned by 6 men.-and the 2 old ones each 12 packs 1 Cassette and manned by 5 men. Provisions 1 bag Pemican pr. canoe. At noon our horses being collected and the baggage tied &c. our van marched and the whole party were off from Jasper's by 1 p.m. All the gentlemen and families go by land to lighten the canoes. Our pieces for this amount 66 packs Leather and parchment, 18 bags pemican with our private baggage and the number of horses we are to employ on the Portage amount to 54. We encamped at 5 p.m. below the point of Mietts Rock, which is high and difficult to pass. The mares are to follow us light to the Portage.

3rd, -Fine weather. Started before 8 a.m. and proceeded generally through a good track and encamped at Campment de Cardinalle a small creek, after descending the hills beyond the 2nd Lake at 5 p.m. Apisasis killed two moose near the Encampment, which the horses fetch after they arrived from their day's march.

4th, -Fine weather. Started before 8 a.m. and arrived at the Portage about noon. On our way thither the hunter killed another moose. We found the people with the canoes and cargoes here before us. They arrived this morning also. The rest of the day employed drying and repacking leather.

5th, Friday, -Fine warm weather. Having separated and prepared the Baggage the Columbia people set off about 10 a.m. with 15 horses-3 employed as saddle horses for Messrs. Todd, Ermatinger, Mr. McLeod's wife and 2 children, the other 12 laden with the following Baggage &c.

22 Cassettes-Dr. Todd and Mrs. McL.

22 " " paper trunk and small Cassette-E.E. and L. Leblanc

2 case and basket

1 portmandeau--Dr. T.

8 bags pemican

1/2 bale Portage Straps

2 kegs sugar biscuit

1 bag flour-Mrs. McL.

1 1/2 Moose--Beds, &c., &c.

Mr. McDougal has 40 horses to transport his packs, &c. Memo. of Art. given to Mr. McD. for his voyage--8 bags Pemican, 2 canisters tea 3 lb., 1/2 keg biscuit, 1 moose, 1 canister sugar, 8 lb. 4 flagons spirits, 1/2 cheese.

Encamped on the banks of the River, having passed Campment des Vaches and a piece of Bad Woods.

6th.-Fine warm weather. Started before 8 a.m. and proceeded till 4 when we encamped 3 or 4 miles beyond Campment d'Orignal. Road much encumbered with fallen wood.

7th.-Fine weather. Started at 8 a.m. and encamped near the height of land, having passed thro' some very bad swamps and mires during the day. View of the mountains very grand. One ahead all day clearing the road in different places-and as the track is much worse farther on 4 will start early to-morrow morning for the same purpose.

8th.-Sharp frost this morning, but day fine. We started between 8 and 9 o'clock and continued our march until near 4 p.m., when we encamped on the battures below the Grand Cote. This has certainly been a very labourious day's march for the horses, but the road was never better, we had not the least snow on the way. Apisasis killed a young grizzly bear at the height of land-and one of the men killed a martin on the Big Hill.

9th. Tuesday.-Fine weather. Start as usual. Proceeded over Battures and afterwards thro' a point of woods which is one mire from beginning to end and much encumbered with fallen wood. Encamped at the end of the Battures next to the last point of woods-3p.m.

10th.-Fine weather. Started at 7 a.m. and arrived at the end of the Portage about 1/2 past 10. Found J.W.Dease.Esq.,and family here-people occupied the remainder of the day making paddles &c.

11th.-Fine weather. Left the Portage between 9 and 10 a.m. and having travelled with a swift current all day encamped at 1/4 before 6 about 5 miles below the Dalles des Morts-killed a fine fat Bear to-day.

12th.-Thick fog all day. We were on the water before 5 a.m. Entered the 1st Lake about 3. Encamped at 1/2 past 6 p.m.

13th.-Foggy morning but fine day. Started at 1/2 past 4 a.m. Paddled thro' the 1st Lake (about 2/3 of it) down the River and encamped a little way in the 2nd Lake at 5 p.m.(Upper and Lower Arrow Lakes) Gummed one of our boats. Saw Indians.

14th.-Had a shower of rain but day generally fine. Embarked 2 a.m. Proceeded thro' the 2nd Lake and re-entered the River about 2 p.m. Encamped some distance below McGillivray's River (Kootenay River) at 5 o'clock.

15th.-Fine weather. Started about 4 a.m. and reached Fort Colville by noon.

16th.-Fine weather. People employed this day gumming their boats. One they take over the Kettle Falls portage and one is already there left in summer. The latter requires pitching all over. Get our baggage transported in carts below the Portage.

17th.-Fine weather. One of our Boats was not finished pitching till near eleven o'clock when we embarked with crews and cargoes as follows:viz.

No.1		No.2	
3 bags Corn	Crew	5 bags Potatoes N.P.	Crew
1 keg Gum	1 M.Otretance F.	1 pack Parfleches	1 P.Bouche F.
1 Pack Leather	2 P. Karangangate S.	1 keg Gum	2 Louis Iroquois S.
1 bale Straps	4 Middlemen and Boy	1 Cassette	
2 Cassettes		1 Sugar & Flour	6 Middlemen
1 do Papers	Passengers	1 case	
1 Trunk	Messrs.Todd & E.E.	2 bags Pemican -	Provs. Passengers
1 Portmandeau		1 bag Potatoes -	A.R.McLeod,Esq.
3 bags pemican -		1 box 3 pigs & Barlay	Family
2 do Potatoes &c.-			
2 case and basket			

Made portage with Boats and Cargoes at the Grand Rapid which occupied us above 2 hours. Encamped at 1/4 past 5 o'clock.

18th, Thursday.-Fine weather. Started at 4 a.m. passed the Spokane Forks at 1/2 past 10. Encamped at 1/2 past 5.

19th.-Fine weather. Started at 1/2 past 5 and arrived at Okanagan about 1 p.m. Mr.A.McDonald arrived shortly after us from Thompson's River.

20th.-Fine weather. Mr. McDonald's men having arrived this afternoon with Salmon which we have to take to Nez Peces we load our boats and went and encamped at the Fork of the little River. We left Okanagan the Pigs and a bale of Leather which we brought from Colville and we take in for Nez Perces 15 bales Dried Salmon. The two boats are thus loaded.

No.2		No.1	
8 bales Salmon N.P.		7 bales Salmon N.P.	
3 bags Potatoes "	Provs.	2 bags Potatoes	
1 bag Corn Vancr.	2 Bs.ea.2 Pemican	2 " Corn, Vancr.	
1 bale Parfleches "		1 Lodge	
1 keg Gum "	Passengers	1 keg Gum	
1 l.Lodge "	Mr.McLeod's	2 Cassette	
1 case	family	2 case and basket	
1 cassette family		1 Trading Chest	
1 ps.Flour 7 Sugar	Crew	1 Portmandeau	
1 Trunk	7 men & boy	1 Strap & p. Trunk	/2 ps. Rifles
----	----		
19	201/2		
		Provs.	
		1 1/2 Pemican	
		1 bale salmon	
		Passengers	
		Messrs. Todd & E.E.	
		Crew	
		8 men	

21st.-Fine weather. Started at 6 a.m. and encamped at the head of the Isles des Pierres (Rock Island, Wash. 15 miles south of Wenatchee) at 5 p.m.

22nd.-Fine weather. Embarked about 6 a.m. and ran the Isles des Pierres Rapids-ran the Priest's Rapids also. Put ashore a little above the Marle Banks and took supper. We afterwards started with the intention of drifting all night but the people paddled till 10 p.m. when we considered safest to put ashore till morning, the night being very dark and the River shoal in some places.

23rd.-Fine weather. Started at 4 a.m. and arrived at Nez Perces about 1 p.m. We passed great numbers of Indians this morning on their way downwards. At Nez Perces we found Mr.Birnie (James Birnie) sent up from Fort Vancr.(Vancouver) to meet us and strengthen the party going down. Great numbers of Indians encamped round the Fort.

24th.-Fine weather. Having settled our business at this place we embarked at 11 a.m. Most of our cargoes remain here and we have scarce anything but our Provs. and Baggage to take down. Encamped at 1/2 past 5 at the tail of the Long Island.

25th.-Fine weather. Embarked at 4 a.m. The Chutes Portage (Celilo Falls) held us 2 1/2 hours and we had just time to clear it and encamped at 5 p.m. began to blow very hard. Found but few Indians on the Portage.

26th.-We had a little rain to-day and a strong head wind which impeded our progress greatly. We could not start till daylight about 6 a.m. on acct. of running the Dalles. Encamped just above the Cascades 1/2 past 5 p.m.

27th.-Fine weather. Started about 6 a.m. Got over the Cascades by 9 and arrived at Fort Vancouver about 4 p.m.

Express Journal, Spring, 1828

March

22nd, Saturday.-Two boats with the Express take their departure from Fort Vancouver about 10 a.m. laden as follows

Boats	
No.1	No.2
1 Bag Ball C.	1 Bag flour 100 lbs.
1 Basket Kettles C.	1 " do small & small keg
1 Bag Flour 100 lbs.	1 keg Beads C.
1 " Biscuit	1 case Guns &c.
1 keg do	4 kegs Potatoes N.P.
1 " Spirits	1 " Biscuit
1 " Potatoes N.P.	1 " Butter 6 galls.
2 " Beef & Pork	1 " Salt C.
1 " Tallow -----	4 Bags Corn & Peas
2 bags Corn Provs.	1 " Pemican
2 " Pemican-----	1 Case & Tent
1 pcs. 6 Hams	1 Maccaron
1 case & Basket & Tent	1 Ploughshare & Coulter
1 Pacton dressed Leather	1 Case Muskets
1 Trading Chest	1 Roll Tobacco
1 case muskets	1 Sugar
2 Cassettes p.p.	Passengers
1 Portmandeau	M.Laframboise & J. Randall
2 Paper Trunks	
Passengers	
Messrs. Dears (2)	Crew
& E.E. & Manson	1 M. Otoclanie Bout
	2 P. Karaganyate "
	3 P. Gilbot "
	4 V.Baudin "
	5 P. Dubois "
	6 J.B. Dubois "
	7 Carvoman "
	8Thos. Canasanasette
Crew	
1 P.L.Etienne Guide	
2 C.Lacourse Bout	
3 Jos. Louis	
4 Louis Shacgoskatsta	
5 A. Vincent	
6 Kahanow	
7 John Simpson	
8 & 9 Ladrioute & Fallandeau	

Messrs. Manson and Laframboise (Michel Laframboise) with 2 men go with us as far as the Chutes in case the Indians should be numerous--continues raining all day. Encamp a few miles below the Cascades.

23rd.-Rains almost the whole day incessantly. Start at 1/2 6 a.m.; detained more than 1/2 the day at the Cascades Portage and have great difficulty in getting up the boats owing to the lowness of the water, and encamp just above the portage at 1/2 past 5 p.m. in order to gum our boats. See very few Indians.

24th.-Fine weather.Start at 5 a.m. Sail all day with a fresh breeze and encamp about have way up the Grand Dalles. Indians not numerous about us-however we find it necessary to keep watch all night. Prepare and load our muskets.

25th.-Tolerable weather. Got over the Grande Dalles by a little after eight a.m. having carried our baggage from our last night's encampment. Lighten at the little Dalles Portage. Then proceed to the Chutes which we clear by 5 p.m., but few Indians on the Portage. Here Mr. Manson (Donald Manson) and party take leave of us to return to Fort Vancouver. Leaving the Chutes hoist sail with a strong breeze and proceed till 7 o'clock when we encamp some distance below John Day's River.

26th.-Fine weather. Hoist sail this morning with a very strong breeze which continues all day and obliges us to reef half our sails. Encamp about 5 miles below the Long Island at 1/2 past 6 a.m.

27th, Thursday.-Fine weather. Start at 1/2 past 4 a.m. A light breeze assists in pushing us forward all day. Encamp at 1/2 past 6 about a league above the Grand Rapid. See a good many geese to-day but kill none. Very few Indians along the river.

28th.-Fine weather. Arrive at Walla Walla before 8 a.m. Delivered over to Mr. Black (Samuel Black) 5 Barrels Potatoes, 1 two gn. Keg Butter and a Ham-supplied also 1 keg Jama. Rum, 1 galln. out of the voyage stores, Mr.B. being entirely destitute of that article-made over to this place two men, Fallardeau and J.B. Dubois--the former was appointed by Doctor McLoughlin to be exchanged for Bouche, but this man having died here during winter leaves the Cola. (Columbia) one short of the number calculated upon. Dubois was only to have taken the place of Joyalle when the Brigade should come down, it having been understood by the Doctor that this man had not given regular notice and was therefore liable to be detained another year, but Mr.Black says he gave him notice last year and that he is entitled to go out, this being the case I was obliged to give the above man for him. This I did with great reluctance it not having been so settled by the Doctor.

Saturday, 29th.-Fine weather. Having gathered the necessary documents for completing the accts. of this place we take our departure at 9 a.m. taking with us 1 Roll Tobacco for Colville. Leave at Walla Walla 10 muskets and 9 horns and shot bags for the people down coming. Encamp at 6 p.m.....miles below the Marle Banks. A few Indians visit us. Saw a good many geese and ducks to-day very wild. The mountains behind Walla Walla covered with snow.

30th.-Fine weather. Embark at 1/2 past 4 a.m. and proceed the fore part of the day sailing with a light breeze. Afternoon the wind becomes ahead blowing fresh. Encamp at 1/2 past 7 p.m. a short distance above the Marle Banks. See a few Indians along the River in a miserable starving condition. One of our boats last night half filled, having been hauled up upon a stone which, the boat being very old, opened her seams. Some of our stores got wet.

31st.-Fine weather, but sharp morning and evening. Start at 4 a.m. Wind strong ahead. Arrive at the Priest's Rapids about noon and reach the head of them only at 8 o'clock p.m. Encamp.

April

1st.-Weather as yesterday. Start at 4 a.m. Proceed all day against a head wind and encamp at 7 o'clock opposite the lower end of what is called the Grand Coulee.

2nd, Wednesday.-Fine weather. Embark at 1/2 past 4 a.m. Breakfast below Isle des Pierres (Rock Island, Washington). Haul up these Rapids, then hoist sail with a light breeze which continues to assist us occasionally the rest of the day-pole and haul up many rapids. Encamp at 1/2 past 6 p.m. above the River Episcouhouse (Wenatchee River's mouth at Wenatchee, Washington). Find ice and snow in many places along the banks of the Columbia. Country begins to assume a more fertile appearance than since we have left the Chutes. Scattered trees now seen upon the mountains and much snow.

3rd.-Fine weather. Started at 1/2 past 4 a.m. Head wind. Encamped 3 or 3 miles above Clear Water Creek.

4th.-Fine weather. Started at 4 a.m. Snow and ice very thick along the banks of the River. Met an Indian with a note and horse from Mr. A. McDonald (Archibald McDonald), Okanagan. Set off to the fort. Boats arrive at 5 p.m., find Messrs. McGillivray (Joseph McGillivray), McDonald and Ermatinger here.

5th.-Fine weather. Remain at this place all day collecting the accts. of the District and settling other matters relative to men.

6th.-Fine weather. Start with the Boats about noon. Our number of men are now increased to 20--2 from N Caledonia and 1 from this place. Passengers J.McGillivray, Esq., Messrs. A. McDonald and E.E. Left at Okanagan for the voyage down of Mr. Connolly and Mr. Dears (Thomas Dears) voyage to N. Caledonia.

- 1 bag flour
- 1 keg sugar
- 3/4 keg pork-2 Hams
- 2 lb Hyson and 2 Twankey
- 2 gallons Butter

Encamp at 7 p.m.

Monday, 7th.-Fine weather. Start at 1.2 past 4 a.m. Passed the Gros Rocher at 1 p.m. Here Messrs. McGillivray and McDonald embark, having ridden across from Okanagan. Encamp at 7 p.m.

8th.-Fine weather. Embark at 5 a.m. Patches snow on the hills. Encamp at 1/2 past 7 p.m. a few (2 or 3) miles above Riviere a cens Poiles (San Poil River).

9th.-Day very warm. Started at 4 a.m. Pass the Spokane Forks at 3 p.m. Encamp a few miles above at 1/2 past 6.

10th.-Fair weather. Embark at 4 a.m. Afternoon a light breeze favours us. Encamp about 3 miles above the Grand Rapid

11th.-Fine weather. Start at 4 a.m. Make a Portage at the Grand Rapids. Arrive at Kettle Falls at 11 o'clock. Find Messrs. Work (John Work) and Kittson (William Kittson) at Fort Colville. Mr.Dease not yet arrived.

20th.-This evening the business at this place being done the Express Boats take their departure manned by 14 men and having the following passengers--J.W. Dease and J. McGillivray, Esq., Messrs. A.McDonald and Ermatinger, J. Rundal and 2 boys. Encamp at the Point above the Fort.

Monday, 21st.-Fine weather--morning sharp. Start at 6 a.m. Stiff poling all day. Encamp at 7 p.m. above Riviere a mouton blanc (Kettle River). Passed the Little Dalles by 1/2 past 3 p.m.

22nd.-Fine warm weather. Started at 1/2 past 4 a.m. Continue poling all [day] and encamp below McGillivray's River at 1/2 past 6. Both Boats are gummed having become very leaky.

23rd.-Fine weather. Embark at 1/2 past 4 o'clock. Enter the 1st Lake between 7 and 8 a.m. Continued paddling all day and encamp at 7 p.m. near the end of the Lake. Trade a pair of snow shoes and a small piece dried meat from an Indian.

24th.-Fine weather. Start at 4 a.m. having got thro' the first Lake we proceed up the Narrows and encamp at the end of the 2nd Lake at 7 p.m.

25th.-Fine weather. Resume at 1/2 past 4 a.m. and paddle thro' the Lake by 3 p.m. See Indians and trade 3 pairs snow shoes. Continue up the River till past 7 o'clock and encamp about an hour's march above out last's encampment.

26th.-Fine weather. Embark at 1/2 past 4 a.m. Very little ice and snow on the banks of the River. Encamp at 7 p.m., beyond our last year's encampment, an hour's march.

Sunday, 27th.-Fine weather. Embark at 4 o'clock and proceed till 7 and encamp on a Sandy Point a short distance below the Dalles des Morts.

28th.-Light rain in the evening. Start at 4 a.m. Get up the Dalles des Morts, take breakfast and gum our boats by 12 o'clock-use the line often. Rapids very strong and frequent. Encamp at 7 p.m.

29th.-Rain in the evening Embark at 4 a.m. and encamp at 7.

30th.-Rain all the forenoon. Start at 1/4 past 4 a.m. Arrive at the Boat Encampment at 1/2 past 10. Occupy the remainder of the day packing and preparing the loads.

May

1st.-Fine weather. Having put up the Boats and other property in cache, we commence our journey across the mountains at 7 a.m. the 14 men being loaded with the following baggage &c.

1 paper trunks	2 loads	Get through the first point of woods
2 beds	2 "	by 1/2 past 10 o'clock found no snow
2 "	1 "	and less water in the swamps than last
1 portmandeau	1 "	year-took breakfast and allowed the
1 case	1 "	men to rest till 1 p.m. and then resumed
2 kegs liquor	1 "	our route over the Battures. Water
3 pactons sundries	3 "	high in the River-at one place the
Provs. for the Messrs. &c.	2 "	River was too deep to ford with safety
1	1 "	and therefore

we take to the woods for a short distance. Encamp about 1/2 way between the two points of woods.

May 2.-Fine weather. Start at 4 a.m. Gained the 2nd point of woods by 6 o'clock. Got thro' these woods before 9-take breakfast and rest till 1/2 past 11.

Then proceed over the Battures to the foot of the Grand Cote where we camp at 2 p.m. We met with a few patches of snow to-day, but have not yet had occasion to put on snow shoes. The traverses to-day were deep and the current strong which obliged us to ford hand in hand for personal safety.

Saturday, 3rd.-Fine weather. Start at 1/2 past 4 a.m. Find little snow till we get half way up the hill. We are then obliged to put on the snow shoes-take breakfast on top of the Hill between 9 and 10-resume at noon and proceed to within 4 miles of the Height of Land and encamp at 1/2 past 3 p.m. Send Pierre ahead to advise Cardinalle of our approach.

Sunday, 4th.-Rained during the whole of last night-day fine but cold. Start at half past 4 a.m. Pass the height of land at 6. Proceed on deep snow near to Campment de fusil-take breakfast. Afterwards snow diminishes fast. Meet Cardinalle on the Grand batture (14 miles from the summit of Athabaska Pass) at 1 p.m. with 14 horses relieve our people of their loads and continue our route to the Campment d'Orignal and encamp.

5th.-Cold with snow in morning-day fine. Start at 1/2 past 4 a.m. Breakfast at the trou (Whirlpool River) at 8. Proceed at 10 and arrive at the canoes by 5 p.m. People immediately set about repairing the canoes-One of which has got much broken thro' the timbers not having been sufficiently loosened last fall.

6th.-Fine weather. Having patched up the two canoes by 10 o'clock we embark. Sent four men by the horses, the water in the River being too low to admit of embarking the whole-get over many shoals with difficulty. Arrive at Jasper's at 6 p.m.

7th.-Fine weather. Remain this day repairing our canoes.

Thursday, 8th.-Fine weather. Start with 3 canoes at 4 a.m. Having on board 9 packs furs, &c. with Mr. Kylene besides our own baggage. Two of the canoes have each 6 men and the other 5. River very shoal-ground in many places-delay nearly 1 hour gumming one of the canoes. Encamp nearly at Baptiste's River after 7 p.m.

9th.-Fine weather. Embark at 1/4 past 3 a.m. Remain 2 hours gumming a Boat which was left on the banks of the River 2 years ago and place in it 3 men, one out of each canoe, to take it down to Assiniboine. Encamp above the Big Island-1/4 before 8 p.m.

10th.-Fine weather. Start at 3 a.m. and arrive at Assiniboine at 1/2 past 9. Prepare our Baggage and cross our horses and commence our journey on the Atha. Portage at 6 p.m., travel only two miles and encamp-13 horses are employed transporting our Baggage &c. Messrs. Kylene and Harriott accompany us with packs and horses.

11th.-Morning fine. Messrs. McGillivray, McDonald and Ermatinger with 5 horses leave the party at 4 a.m. to go ahead to Edmonton having with them the accts, &c. Afternoon a tremendous storm of wind with rain overtakes us in the Burnt woods, bringing down trees in every direction-one fell upon one of the horses and killed him on the spot. Encamp a little beyond the Paddle River.

12th.-Fine weather. Start at 3 a.m. proceed near to Lac a Berland and encamp.

13th.-do do Before we arrive at Sturgeon River, McGillivray's horse knocks up and is left. Arrive at Edmonton at 7 p.m.

14th.-A man with 6 horses sent off to assist the people behind.

16th.-Mr. Dease and party arrive at 1/2 past 2 p.m.

20th.-Fine weather. About 9 a.m. all the Boats, say 16, leave Edmonton manned, 13 Boats each 3 men and 3 in 4 do and laden with about 80 ps. per Boat. In course of the day see a party of Crees and trade a few furs, dressed leather &c. for ammu., tobacco and Rum. Encamp at 9 o'clock.

21st.-Warm weather. Start at 3 a.m. Afternoon see another party of Crees from trade furs, leather &c. Put ashore at 8 o'clock to cook and sup and afterwards lash the Boats together to drift all night.

22nd.-Fine weather. Pass Dog Rump Creek about 6 a.m. Kill a deer-put ashore to cook in the evening-drift all night.

23rd.-Warm weather. Boats ground many times during the day. See several deer. Put ashore at Bas fond dinoge about 5 p.m. Hunters go off in search of Buffalo. After supper proceed 3 or 4 miles to an Island and encamp.

24th.-Fine weather. Continue our voyage at daylight. Put ashore to breakfast at 1/2 past 8 a.m. and people go off hunting but fall in with no animals. Start again about 11 and are only able to proceed about 2 miles when the wind being too strong ahead we put ashore where some fresh tracks being observed another party are sent off hunting but return unsuccessful-toward evening two young moose take the River just above our camp and are both killed by some of the half breeds. Wind having abated before sunset push off

and make a short distance. Shortly after starting a large grizzly Bear was wounded by Mr. Rowand (John Rowand) and notwithstanding a large ball passed thro' his body and knocked him down, he escaped for some distance. A party pursued and were tracking him by his blood, when a rustling in the branches pointed out the spot where he had couched-all the guns were cocked ready to pour a volley upon him, but before the party had time to look about them he sprang thro' the thicket with a dreadful crash, seized one of the men and with his teeth bit him in many parts of the body-he also bestowed a pat on the back of a second, tore his shirt and marked him besides making an attempt at a third. A dog which happened to pass at the time drew Bruin's attention toward him and prevented his doing more mischief to the people and gave also an opportunity of firing at him which could not well be done while he had a man in his possession for fear of shooting the wrong object-the dog got only one of his thighs bitten and the Bear was killed after having received at least 1/2 doz. Balls. Camped for the night.

Sunday, 25th.-Fine weather. Wind ahead strong. Start at daylight. At breakfast time people go off hunting-kill a Bull but only bring part of it. Start again at 1/2 past 7 p.m. Drift.

26th.-Fine weather. Pull all day and encamp at the Grand Sucrierie.

27th.-do Arrive at Carlton about 7 a.m.

29th.-Leave Carlton (all the boats having received additional lading) at 4 a.m. Encamp above the Rapids. Commences raining.

30th.-Rain all last night. Start at daylight. Our Boat broken against a rock-delay more than 2 hours repairing her. Evening-thunder and lightning with rain. See Indians: trade several packtons Rats (Muskrat skins). Put ashore to supper. Afterwards drift all night.

31st.-Fine weather. Sail most part of the day. Arrive at Cumberland at 10 p.m. Lake too shoal unable to enter.

June

2nd.-Fine weather. The Lake being too low, we retraced our way up the little River until we regain the grand river (Saskatchewan River). Left Cumberland at 8 a.m. having left a few bags of pemican &c., and a new boat for Mr. Leith. Only put ashore to sup and afterwards set off to drift for the night.

3rd.-Fine weather. Arrive at the Pas between 8 and 9 a.m. Find freemen from whom we get eggs and a little fish. Encamp a little above Lac Vaseur.

Wednesday, 4th.-Fine weather. Start as usual. In making the grand traverse we used the sail a little, but the greater part of the way we had to pull against a strong contrary wind. Encamp at the Point.

5th.-A strong head wind impedes our progress all this day and we only reach the Grand Rapids late afternoon. Water being very low find it necessary to take out half cargoes. People begin to carry. Rain.

6th.-Rain all last night and continues till afternoon. Men run down 7 Boats and return with them light for the remaining cargoes-then run down the other eight boats and afterwards employed carrying the remainder of the cargoes across the Portage.

7th.-Fine weather but cold. The 7 Boats being found to be few to embark the half cargoes of 15 boats from this end of the Portage to the end of the Rapid, people fetch up another and afterwards the rest of the pieces are all got down safe. Sturgeon plentiful among the freemen here-trade nearly 100.

8th.-Fine weather. Leave the Grand Rapid early this morning and pull, the weather being perfectly calm, to the point opposite the Pine Island. Breakfast, then hoist sail across to the Islands, thence to the little Stoney Island and encamp.

9th.-Remain wind bound till afternoon and then pull to and along the mainland till 9 p.m. Encamp on a gravelly beach.

10th.-Reload our Boats (we were obliged to unload last night there being an appearance of wind from sea) and start at 5 a.m., pull for sometime and then hoist sail with a light breeze which forwards us to the head of the little Jack River, where we encamp.

11th.-Start before 3 a.m. and reach the Fort (New Norway House) about 6 o'clock. Find here J.G. Mctavish, Esq., from YF and Mr. Rae from Montreal."

Francis Ermatinger's children:

MRS. DAVID BIRD.

The daughter of Francis Ermatinger, and a Cree woman. The mother's and daughter's names were unmentioned by Frank in his letters. She was born in the Severn District of Canada under Hudson's Bay. She was born prior to 1825. Frank left her and her mother when he went to the Columbia Department in 1825. He never saw them again, although he did provide for them. She eventually married David Bird in March of 1841. Not much is known about her. Frank had originally believed the mother and daughter had frozen to death in a blizzard. It was some years before he discovered the truth.

From THE FUR TRADE LETTERS OF FRANCIS ERMATINGER: page 239 footnote 102-

"On March 11, 1841, John Hargrave wrote to John Cromarty at Churchill Fort that he gave permission for Bird to marry the daughter of Mr. Ermatinger.

LETTERS OF LETITIA HARGRAVE, Margaret Arnett MacLeod, Champlain Society of Canada, Publications, 1947, p.lii. David Bird was probably the son of Chief Factor James Bird and a native woman. The elder Bird was retired to Red River. Mrs. Hargrave had marvelled that Bird educated some of his sons to be "nobility at the colony", while one who had worked as a voyageur at York sat at table with the house servants. She added, "I daresay the heathen is the happiest of them as the father is constantly upbraiding the others with the ransom they have cost him."

"Hargrave to John Cromarty, March 16, 1841: "I observe what you say about David Bird having taken to wife the daughter of Mr. Ermatinger. As he is a decent man, and a good servant I can have no objection, to permit of this arrangement provided he signs the enclosed papers consisting of a promise of marriage in duplicate - one copy so signed to be given to the young woman or her mother; the other is to be forwarded to me on the first opportunity to this place. This being done you will receive her into the fort and furnish her with the customary rations to men's wives."

LETTERS, p.84. If David Bird was James' son, he was undoubtedly one of the "heathens".

LETTERS, page 293: "Ermatinger's eldest daughter, Mrs. David Bird, may be presumed to have lived out her life on the shores of Hudson Bay."

From the Hudson's Bay Company Land Tenure:
Lot No. 493 was given to the Widow of David Bird.

Letter from Charles Durham Bird, Box 22, Erskine, Alberta, Canada T0C 1G0
15 October 1993 to David Courchane:

"You inquire if I have a record of the marriage between a David Bird and an Ermatinger. I am sorry that I do not. I do, however, have a James Bird that married a Mary Ermatinger and with her had a son James Bird that was born 28 Jan 1848 [this according to the latter's application, Affidavit 2200, in the 1876 Manitoba Metis Scrip Index]. I am assuming that James Bird, the father, was a grandson of James Curtis Bird the HBC Chief Factor but I do not have proof of this. Similarly, I would think it highly likely that Mary Ermatinger was a descendant of Francis Ermatinger. Perhaps you know. If so, I would be interested in the details."

DOMINION OF CANADA, James Bird
 PROVINCE OF MANITOBA, of the Parish of St Peter
 County of Selkirk, of Selkirk, in said Province, farmer
 Parish of Selkirk, I make oath and say as follows:

1. I am a Half breed head of a family resident in the Parish of St Peter in the said Province, on the 15th day of July, A.D. 1876, and consisting of myself and wife and children and I claim to be entitled as such head of family to receive a grant of one hundred and sixty acres of land or to receive scrip for one hundred and sixty dollars pursuant to the Statute in that behalf.
2. I was born on or about the 28th day of January A.D. 1848 in the Parish of St Peter in said Province.
3. James Bird, Scotchman, was my father and Mary Bonalinger, halfbreed, was my mother.
4. I have not made or caused to be made any claim of land or scrip other than the above in this or any other Parish in said Province, nor have I claimed or received, as an Indian, any annuity moneys, from the Government of said Dominion.

James Bird

Sworn before me at the Parish and County aforesaid on the 11th day of January A.D. 1876 having been first read over and explained in the English language to said deponent who seemed perfectly to understand the same and

in my presence.

Notary
 Commissioner

Alfred N^o 2206.
 Cairn N^o 2144
 Series N^o 1877. #100 (C).
 Scrip issued on 2nd Oct. 1876
 1-3-86. J. B. C.

DOMINION OF CANADA, We James Johnston
 PROVINCE OF MANITOBA, of the said Parish
 County of Selkirk, in said County and Province, farmer
 Parish of Selkirk, and Robert Henderson
 of the same place severally make oath and say as follows:

1. We are respectively house holders in said Parish.
2. We severally know the within named claimant, who has this day made the within affidavit in our presence. We know he is the person, he represents himself to be, and we believe the several statements in said affidavit to be true.

Sworn before us at the Parish aforesaid on the eleventh day of January 1876.

Notary
 Commissioner

James Johnston
 Robert Henderson
 James Bird
 All three of same and have had live.

LAWRENCE ERMATINGER

He was born on August 23, 1828, in Fort Kamloops the son of Francis Ermatinger and of the Okanagan woman, Cleopatra, more commonly called Cleo. Frank took control of Lawrence not long after he was born. He took Lawrence from his mother in 1831 at age three and sent him to Fort Vancouver to be cared for and educated under the direction of Dr. John McLoughlin and his wife Marguerite. Frank and Cleo also had an unnamed daughter who died shortly after she was born. This person grew up to not be care about or be of any interest by anyone. They couldn't be bothered with him. A sad story.

From the "Mission Record Book, Methodist Episcopal Church, Willamette Station, Oregon Territory, North America, commenced 1834" this is located at Oregon Historical Society in Portland, Oregon (Mss 1224, Methodist Missions):

"Baptisms, page 116-117

14 Dec 1834 Laurence Ermatinger Vancouver [by] Jason Lee"

In a letter to Edward Ermatinger on Feb. 1, 1836 from Fort Vancouver Dr. John McLoughlin wrote, "Your brother is still in the Snake country, and doing every justice to his charge and had a very narrow escape last summer of being killed by the Blackfeet, his son is here at a school I have established for the good of the native children in this quarter. But the boy had so much misery in his youth and has been so sickly that he makes but slow progress he has also an infirmity he is a little deaf, however it is wearing off and I hope he will get cured of it."

Frank called Lawrence "a fine little fellow, roguish, and requires looking after." McLoughlin referred to him as "slow" or slightly retarded. Frank Began to think seriously of sending Lawrence to St. Thomas, Ontario to be raised by Edward Ermatinger. He wrote 11 Mar 1836 to Ned, "I wish he was with you, however the Dr. is against my sending him down yet." Through the influence of the pious Reverend Beaver, Frank came to the conclusion that the school at Fort Vancouver was the fault of his son's misbehavior and slowness. He took him along with the 1837 outfit to the Flatheads. "Somewhere along the way, Ermatinger had found that nine year old Lawrence was a bed-wetter." (Lois McDonald) From the 1837 Rendezvous at Green River, he sent his son east with the missionary W. H. Gray.

Taken from Fur Trade Letters of Francis Ermatinger, by Lois H. McDonald is the following paragraph about Lawrence's adventure east:

"In a final word about W. H. Gray's, (and Lawrence's) adventures. In a word, they were catastrophic, although the two of them made it through to St. Louis. With impatience which typified him, Gray had been unwilling to wait at the Rendezvous for the wagons returning to St. Louis after the trading had ended. When he was unsuccessful in recruiting a party to start early he took off alone, except for the Flatheads, who had come with McLeod from the missions to go with Gray. They were apprehended by the Sioux, and none of the Indians were allowed to live. It was generally believed by the trappers in the

Rockies, and by the Flathead, that Gray had deliberately sacrificed the Indians without a struggle when he thought there was doubt of his getting through with his own scalp. Exactly what did happen is not known. DeVoto declares that Gray doctored his journal so that even that sketchy account is probably not reliable. His tale of being robbed of all his personal belongings is contradicted by the fact that the letter written on June 1, 1837, by Francis Ermatinger to his brother Edward, travelled safely with Gray and was delivered with Lawrence to him."

William H. Gray wrote his version of the story in his 1870 book *History of Oregon*, pages 173-174:

"It was from this Flathead tribe that the first Indian delegation was sent to ask for teachers. Three of there number volunteered to go with Gray to the States in 1837 to urge their claims for teachers come among them. The party reached Ash Hollow, where they were attacked by about three hundred Sioux warriors, and, after fighting for three hours, killed some fifteen of them, when the Sioux, by means of a French trader then among them, obtained a parley with Gray and his traveling companions, two young men that had started to go to the States with him. While the Frenchman was in conversation with Gray, the treacherous Sioux made a rush upon the three Flatheads, one Snake, and one Iroquois Indian belonging to the party, and killed them. The Frenchman then turned to Gray and told him and his companions they were prisoners, and must go to the Sioux camp, first attempting to get possession of their guns. Gray informed him at once: "You have killed our Indians in a cowardly manner, and you shall not have our guns," at the same time telling the young men to watch the first motion of the Indians to take their lives, and if we must die, to take as many Indians with us we could. The Sioux found in the contest thus far, that, notwithstanding they had conquered and killed five, they had lost fifteen, among them one of their war-chiefs, besides several severely wounded. The party were not further molested till they reached the camp, containing between one and two hundred lodges. A full explanation was had of the whole affair. Gray had two horses killed under him and two balls passed through his hat, both inflicting slight wounds. The party was feasted, and smoked the pipe of peace over the dead body of the chief's son; next day they were allowed to proceed with nine of their horses; the balance, with the property of the Indians, the Sioux claimed as part pay for their losses, doubtless calculating to waylay and take the balance of the horses. Be that as it may; Gray and his young men reached Council Bluffs in twenty-one days, traveling nights and during storms to avoid the Indians on the plains.

At Council Bluffs they found an Indian trader speaking the French language, meaner than the Sioux Indian, by the name of Papeon. The party had been twenty-one days on rations that ordinarily would have been consumed in four days; they had killed and eaten parts of two of the worn-out horses; they had with them six. The party entered the trading establishment and requested some food and the privilege of washing, not as beggars, but expecting to pay for what they required. They waited an hour or more; no food was forthcoming; Gray went to Papeon, the trader, and inquired the reason they could get no food. The old French imp inquired, in his broken French, "Have you got any ting to pa for de tings you vant?" He was asked if gold would pay him, or draft on his company. "Oh, yes." He said, and in short time food and what was required was produced.

This is only a specimen of most Indian traders of the Catholic stamp. There are honorable exceptions." So ends Gray's version.

The excepted version of the trip to Ash Hollow:

Again, in 1837, Big Ignace packed supplies and headed east to St. Louis, Missouri. It had been, "eighteen months from Ignace's return, having brought no tidings of any priests on the way." So the tribes decided to try again to induce them personally. From *INDIAN AND WHITE IN THE NORTHWEST* by Rev. Lawrence Palladino, S.J. Big Ignace traveled with three Flatheads and one Nez Perce, at the rendezvous on the Green River in Wyoming they were joined by William Henry Gray and Lawrence Ermatinger. Ermatinger was the son of Hudson's Bay Company Chief Trader, Francis Ermatinger and the half-brother of Mary Ermatinger Ashley. Referring to Gray, Father Palladino writes, "This gentleman was going back to the States from the Presbyterian missions on the Columbia, the object of his journey being to secure assistants for the establishment of a Presbyterian station among the Flatheads."

Palladino further writes, "Our Indians and Mr. Gray's party were now traveling together, and while passing through the country of the hostile Sioux, at a point called Ash Hollow, on the South Platte, they fell in with a large body of warriors, some 300 strong, of that nation." The date was August 7, 1837 and Ash Hollow is now in the present state of Nebraska. A three hour battle ensued, with the Flatheads fighting fiercely managing to sell their lives dearly, killing 15 of the Sioux.

The Whites were ordered to stand aside during the battle. Big Ignace was dressed in the manner of a Whiteman, and he was told to stand with W. M. Gray and 1/2 Okanogan Ermatinger, but he seeing the Sioux fall on his companions ran to their side and was killed with them. William Gray later said, "that the Sioux dispatched a French trader, Joseph Papier, to negotiate with him and his companions". At the same time they rushed upon the Flatheads, LaMousse, and the Nez Perce and killed them. After a short captivity the two survivors, Gray and 12 year old Lawrence Ermatinger were released.

Olga Johnson writes, "Ignace dressed as a Whiteman could have stood with Gray and saved his skin, but he would not. Gray later displayed to the Flathead Indian Agent, Peter Ronan the scar of a slight bullet wound which he said he had suffered when he tried to defend the Flatheads, and told him that young Ermatinger also resisted, and that the Sioux only released the White-blooded men from captivity some days later. A present-day historian, however, claims that "in the mountain men always believed that William Gray, would-be servant of God, swapped his Indians' lives to the Sioux in exchange for his own." (The Flatheads were sons of Chief Big Face and a brother of Palchina).

Notes on Big Ignace LaMousse:

Big Ignace LaMousse

Also known as: Ignatius the Large, Old Ignace, Aeneas, LeVieux Ignace, and Eneas. It is doubtful that he is the same person as Ignace Shonomene.

He was born in the eastern part of the American continent, probably near the Caughnawaga Mission situated on the St. Lawrence River. Caughnawaga was a Iroquois mission.

His parents were Iroquois and he became a fur trapper at an early age. It is known that he accompanied a band of 24 Iroquois trappers who left from Quebec for Oregon in about the year 1816. It is said that they literally trapped their way west via the Canadian wilderness. By 1828 Big Ignace, now a Hudson's Bay Company trapper, settled in the Bitterroot Valley of western Montana. With Big Ignace was Peter Gaucher called Left-Hand, Ignace the Small (Ignace Chapped Lips), and Jean Baptiste Gervais. The Iroquois were all members of the Catholic faith.

From "Family Histories for the St. Mary's Mission Book", draft manuscript, Richard Malouf (received from Bob Bigart, Dec. 3, 2003):

"In the West, Ignace married a Pend d'Oreille or Kalispel woman (Schaeffer n.d.; Curtis 1911:) named Sinshe (see E-129). They lived with the Flathead, among whom Ignace planted the seeds of Catholicism."

After learning the Salish tongue, Big Ignace, a natural leader, taught the Flatheads some things about the "whites" and about their religion. Of course he told them about the Catholic Black Robes and discussed their teachings. Jean Baptiste Gervais said he told the Indians, "my friends all that I say is nothing. If those dressed in black should come here they would know, for it is from them that I learned all of this which I tell you." It is said that he wouldn't teach the Flatheads and Pend d'Oreilles prayers in fear that he would teach them wrong. Eventually he led them on two expeditions east to find the Black Robes.

In Pierre Jean De Smet's LETTERS AND SKETCHES 1841-1842, edited by Rueben Gold Thwaites, part of the Thwaites Early Western Travels series, on page 230 is the following footnote:

"Both the second and third embassies were headed by the Iroquois Indian known as, "Old Ignace", otherwise Ignace La Mousse, who was educated at the mission of Caughnawaga, and had gone to the Rocky Mountains between 1812 and 1820. The Iroquois were much employed by the Northwest Company and later by the Hudson's Bay Company, to assist fur-trading parties on the Far West. Ignace settled among the Flatheads, where he married, and taught the tribe the rudiments of the religion he had learned at the Canadian mission."

In LIFE, LETTERS AND TRAVELS OF FATHER PIERRE-JEAN DE SMET, S.J.

1801-1873 by Hiram Martin Chittenden & Alfred T. Richardson, volume one, page 20 is written: concerning the Iroquois' entry and introduction of religion in the Flathead lands,

"Irving gives in Astoria the names of the first two individuals of these classes that arrived on the Lower Columbia -- Regis Brugiere, a half-breed, and Ignace Shonowane, an Iroquois." Some people think this is Big Ignace and others say it isn't. The name Ignace was common among the Iroquois that came west.

The Flatheads, Pend d'Oreilles, and related tribes were anxious to learn the religion of the Black Robes and wanted Black Robes to come to their land. They regarded the stories told by the Iroquois trappers as wonderful. They called them "sumesh." It was talked about many times and eventually the tribes decided to seek out the Black Robes. They must go to the land where the Black Robes lived in the east and bring them home. So, in consequence, a series of delegations, or "embassies" was sent east to bring back the Black Robes. There would be four of them.

Rev. Robert Ignatius Burns, S. J. in his book, THE JESUITS AND THE INDIAN WARS OF THE NORTHWEST writes:

"Though there are vigorous schools of dissent, the 1831 visit seems to be the first of those successive groups, mixed Flathead-Nez Perce in membership, who came seeking priests at St. Louis in 1831, 1835, 1837, and 1839."

Burns also writes, "Since the Indians of the delegation spoke no language known at St. Louis, there can never be absolute certitude as to their exact, purpose, tribal affiliation, or number."

THE FIRST DELEGATION EAST

In the spring of 1831 (or 1830 by some accounts) four Flatheads and three Nez Perce (or 3 Nez Perce and 1 Flathead by another version), trekked to St. Louis in search of the Black Robes. They crossed the mountains and plains but out of Independence, Missouri (or St. Louis depending on the version) some of the party died. "Sickened by unfamiliar food, climate, and surroundings the two older men, the Flathead called Man-in-the-Morning, baptised Paul, and the Nez Perce called Black Eagle (Keepellele), baptised Narcisse, died in St. Louis. Rabbit-skin Leggings and No-Horns-On-His-Head started home the following spring, only to lose their lives on the way." FLATHEAD AND KOOTENAI - Olga W. Johnson, pages 266-267. As one story goes two Flatheads managed to return home, but as stated earlier it is not certain how many were involved in the first trip to St. Louis, 7 or 4.

Once the Indians were in St. Louis, "They did make the Catholic Sign of the Cross, and other signs which seemed to relate to baptism. (William) Clark, an active Episcopalian, therefore sent them to the Catholic cathedral where they were baptised." - Burns

THE SECOND TRIP EAST

The second delegation was headed by Big Ignace La Mousse, and included two of his sons. They left in late summer of 1835. "His first intention was to visit Canada, but learning that Jesuits were at St. Louis he journeyed thither, taking with him his two sons to be baptised." Letters and Sketches - De Smet. La Mousse reached St. Louis after many privations and sufferings, and had his two sons baptised as Charles (age 12), and as Francis (age 10).

The priest who officiated at the baptisms wrote that the boys, "were of handsome figure and very intelligent. They understand a little French. They received the sacrament of regeneration with much devotion, their father on his knees in tears". Flathead and Kootenai - Johnson.

Bishop Rosati assured them that missionaries would be sent to the Flatheads. Elated the travelers returned home. (The boys were left in St. Louis to be educated. Joining Big Ignace on his way home was Gabriel Prudhomme, Jr. "Family tradition held that Ignace's widow went to St. Louis herself and retrieved her sons (Schaeffer n.d.; Tolan 1980:23). Indeed, traveling westward from Fort Laramie on 09 Jun 1838, Sarah Gilbert White said, "We have in company with us, the Wife & 4 little children of Eneus, one of the 3 [sic], men who were murdered last autumn in company with Mr. Gray (Drury 1999:84).

THE THIRD TRIP EAST

Again, in 1837, Big Ignace packed supplies and headed east to Louis, Missouri. It had been, "eighteen months from Ignace's return, having brought no tidings of any priests on the way." So the tribes decided to try again to induce them personally. From INDIAN AND WHITE IN THE NORTHWEST by Rev. Lawrence Palladino, S.J. Big Ignace traveled with three Flatheads and one Nez Perce, at the rendezvous on the Green River in Wyoming they were joined by William Henry Gray and Lawrence Ermatinger. Ermatinger was the son of Hudson's Bay Company Chief Trader, Francis Ermatinger and the half-brother of Mary Ermatinger Ashley). Referring to Gray, Father Palladino writes, " This gentleman was going back to the States from the Presbyterian missions on the Columbia, the object of his journey being to secure assistants for the establishment of a Presbyterian station among the Flatheads."

Palladino further writes, "Our Indians and Mr. Gray's party were now traveling together, and while passing through the country of the hostile Sioux, at a point called Ash Hollow, on the South Platte, they fell in with a large body of warriors, some 300 strong, of that nation." The date was August 7, 1837 and Ash Hollow is now in the present state of Nebraska. A three hour battle ensued, with the Flatheads fighting fiercely managing to sell their lives dearly, killing 15 of the Sioux.

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THE FOURTH TRIP

No Flatheads went on this delegation in 1839. Two Iroquois, Little Ignace and Peter Gaucher the Left Handed, went this time. They traveled with a trader's caravan to St. Louis, Missouri. On they way down they met and talked to Pierre Jean DeSmet. In St. Louis Jesuit Provincial Peter Joseph Verhaegen promised to send a missionary to their homeland. The missionary to be sent was Pierre Jean DeSmet. Little Ignace remained to escort Father DeSmet west, while Peter Gaucher returned to the Bitterroot Valley, to tell the Flatheads the news. In the spring of 1840 the Flatheads, Pend d'Oreilles, and Nez Perce met Father DeSmet and Little Ignace at Pierre's Hole, Idaho.

Footnote:

From DeSmet's Letters and Sketches - Thwaites, page 230:

"Young Ignace, who accompanied Father DeSmet on his first visit (1840) to the Flatheads, became a zealous convert, and lived at St. Ignatius until his death in the winter of 1875-76."

See: "Religion Among The Flatheads" by T.C. Elliott, March 1936.

"The Evolution Of A Lament" by C. T. Johnson

"The Jesuits in the Middle United States" by Father Gilbert J. Garraghan, Volume 2, America Press, New York, 1938.

"The Nez Perce Delegation To St. Louis In 1831" by Francis Haines

"The Flat-heads And Nez Perce Delegation To St. Louis, 1831-1839: by John Rothensteiner, 1920 (CSKT 485)

"From The Pages Of The Past" by Bon Whealdon, 1936 (CSKT 596)

"Unsung Saint in the Calumet" (CSKT 910)

"Iroquois In Northwestern Canada" by Alexander F. Chamberlain (CSKT 916)

The version from Indian and White in the Northwest by Lawrence Palladino:

CHAPTER II

HOW THE SELISH OR FLAT HEADS OBTAINED THE FIRST NOTIONS OF CHRISTIANITY

As far back as the seventeenth century French Jesuits had crossed the ocean to Christianize the savages of Canada. Among the number was Father Isaac Jogues, who became the apostle of the Iroquois, sealing with his blood his heroic labors and the father he had come to preach.

Did he ever imagine, in the midst of his trials and sufferings, that he was preparing apostles for the unknown regions of the Northwest, and that the seed which he was planting and fertilizing with his blood on the banks of the St. Lawrence would be borne beyond the Mississippi, across the Rockies, and even to the Pacific Coast?

Between the years 1812 and 1820 a band of these Iroquois, twenty-four in number according to Bishop Rosati in his letter to the Father General of the Society of Jesus, dated St. Louis, October 20, 1839, left the Mission of Caughnawaga, near Sault St. Louis on the St. Lawrence, and crossing the Mississippi Valley, directed their course westward.

The leader of the band was Ignace La Mousse, better known among the Indians and to history as Big Ignace, or Old Ignace, because of his moral and physical superiority, and also to distinguish him from another and younger Ignace, who, as will be seen later on, also figures conspicuously in the history of the Flat Heads.

Having reached the land of our Indians, these Iroquois were kindly and hospitably received, and here the wandering band concluded to remain. The ties of friendship soon ripened into stronger ones by intermarriage, and from this on, Iroquois became members of the Selish or Flat Head nation. Old Ignace soon acquired an ascendancy and great influence over the tribe, which he wielded for the temporal and spiritual welfare of his adopted brethren. Often would he speak to them of the Catholic religion, its teachings, its prayers and its rites, the conclusion of all his discourses being always the same, namely, the advantage and necessity of having the Black robes or Catholic missionaries among them, by whom they could be instructed and taught the way to Heaven.

He was listened to with the greatest attention, and docile to his instructions, the Flat Heads learned from him the principal truths and precepts of Christianity, the sign of the Cross. The Lord's Prayer, and other practices of Catholic devotion. These good people strove as best they could, not only to remember what they were taught by old Ignace, but also to put it into practice. Hence they prayed in common morning and evening, observed Sunday, baptized their children and marked the graves of their dead with a cross, the symbol of Redemption. The Sunday was announced to the tribe by raising on a high pole something in the form of a flag called in their language S'chazéus. Hence the Lord's day became known to them under that name, by which they still designate it.

Gradually a strong desire to have in their midst some of the Black Robes spoken of by Old Ignace took hold of them, and the possibility as well as ways and means of obtaining the missionaries were frequently discussed in council. Ignace had suggested that some of the tribe be sent to the country of the white man, where Black robes might be had. The suggestion was adopted in a general assembly, four of their braves volunteered to make the journey. It is well to note here that two of these were partly Nez Percés and partly flat Heads, being the former by blood, and the latter by choice, since they lived with the Flat Heads as actual members of the tribe.

The proposal would likely have appeared to be the highest of folly to all but courageous people. None of them, save the Iroquois, had ever seen the village of a white man, and but few of them even a white man's face. They would have to travel thousands of miles, over trackless mountains, deserts, and treeless plains, across wide, deep rushing streams, their path being beset on every side by deadly enemies, whose eagerness and alertness to waylay them it would be next to impossible to escape. But the flat heads were without fear.

In the spring of 1831 the four braves who have volunteered to undertake the expedition started on their long, perilous journey, and safely reached St. Louis in the early part of October. It is not known which way they traveled, but it is likely that at least part of their course lay along the overland route followed by the traders, whose headquarters were in St. Louis. Indians were a common sight in the streets of St. Louis at the time, and it is no wonder that our Flat Heads appear to have been scarcely noticed. The privations of the journey told severely on the brave fellows. Two fell dangerously ill shortly after their arrival, and died, both being baptized during their sickness. Their names were Narcisse and Paul and, as shown by the record of their interment, they were buried in the cemetery of the parish, Narcisse, October 31; Paul, November 17.

Le trent-et-un d'Octobre mil-huit cent trent-et-un, Je sousigné ai inhumé dans le Cimetière de cette Paroisse le corps de Keepeellelé out Pipe Bard du Nez Percé de la tribu de Chopweck appelée. Têtes Plattes agé d'environ quarante quatre ans, administré du St. Baptême, venant de la rivière Columbia au déla des Rocky Mountains.

Edm. Saulnier, Pr. Le Dix-sept de Novembre mil-huit cent trent-et-un, je sousigné, ai inhumé dans le Cimetière de cete Paroisse le corps de Paul sauvage de la nation des Têtes Plattes venant de la rivière Columbia au déla des Rocky Moutains, administré du St. Baptême et de l'estrême onction. ROUX, PR.

Their surviving companions left St. Louis most likely the following spring to return to their country. But they never reached it, and what has become of them has never been ascertained.

Geo. Catlin in his Letter no. 48, speaks of meeting two Indians, whose portraits he painted from life and with whom he traveled two thousand miles. From his description it can hardly be doubted that they were the survivors of the delegation. We are told by the same Catlin that one of them died near the mouth of the Yellowstone River. This leaves but one of the band unaccounted for.

But let us now listen to the Right Rev. Joseph Rosati, at the time Bishop of St. Louis. Scarcely three months after the arrival of the Indian delegation he wrote an account of it, which he sent to the annals of the Association of the Propagation of the Faith, under date of December 31, 1831. The letter runs as follows:

Some three months ago four Indians who live across the Rocky Mountains near the Columbia River (Clark's Fork of the Columbia) arrived at St. Louis. After visiting General Clark who, in his celebrated travels, has visited their country and has been well treated by them, they came to see our church and appeared to be exceedingly well pleased with it. Unfortunately, there was no one who understood their language. Some time afterwards two of them fell dangerously ill. I was then absent from St. Louis.

Two of our priests visited them and the poor Indians seemed delighted with the visit. They made the sign of the Cross and other signs which appeared to have some relation to baptism. The sacrament was administered to them; they gave expressions of satisfaction. A little cross was presented to them. They took it with eagerness, kissed it repeatedly, and it could be taken from them only after death. It was truly distressing that they could not be spoken to. Their remains were carried to the church and their funeral was conducted with all Catholic ceremonies. The other two attended and acted very becomingly. We have since learned from a Canadian, who has crossed the country which they inhabit, that they belong to the nation of Flathead who, as also another nation called Blackfeet, has received some notions of the Catholic religion from two Indians who has been to Canada, and who has related what they had seen, giving a striking description of the beautiful ceremonies of Catholic worship, and telling them that it was also the religion of the whites. They have retained what they could of it and they have learned to make the sign of the Cross and to pray. These nations have not yet been corrupted by intercourse with others. Their manners and customs are simple, and they are very numerous. Mr. Condamine (Rev. Matthew Condamine was one of Bishop Rosati's clergy attached to the Cathedral) has offered himself to go to them next spring with another. In the meantime we shall obtain some further information of what we have been told and of the means of travel.

We must note, however, that what is stated in this letter with regard to the Blackfeet nation, should be understood to apply to the Nez Percés, who were the neighbors and friends of the Flat Heads and who, like them, desired to be instructed in the teachings of the Catholic faith. This, so far as we know, was not as yet the case with the Blackfeet. Hence, the obvious conclusion, that either the Canadian informant of Bishop Rosati was not sufficiently well informed on the subject, or that, while speaking of the tribes of the Rocky Mountains, he was misunderstood. Such a misunderstanding was very apt to occur in those early days, when so little was known of the wild Indian races of the Northwest.

CHAPTER V

OTHER EXPEDITIONS SENT FORTH BY THE FLAT HEADS TO SECURE CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES

The Protestant expedition that had passed through their land in 1834, and still more, the report made by Insulá and his party upon their return from Green River in the summer of 1835, convinced the Flat Heads that their first deputation had failed. They were greatly disappointed, but not discouraged. On the contrary, their very disappointment seemed to increase rather than diminish their yearning for the true Black Robe. Hence, another expedition was resolved upon shortly after Insulá's return.

It was Old Ignace himself this time who offered to go, and we are inclined to believe that the news brought to the tribe by the Green River band, prompted his resolution and hastened his departure, in order, perhaps, to forestall the intrusion of non-Catholic teachers among the Flat Heads.

He left late in the summer of 1835, and took with him his two sons, Charles and Francis, lads between twelve and fourteen years of age, for the purpose of having them solemnly baptized, and perhaps also confirmed, though of this latter we have no direct evidence. Old Ignace started with the intention of going to Canada, the place of his birth, where he thought he could more easily obtain missionaries, this being, as just said, the principal purpose of his long journey. Learning, however, that there were Jesuit Fathers in St. Louis, he turned his steps in that direction and reached the place late in the fall, after many privations and sufferings.

His two sons were baptized by one of the Fathers at the college on the eve of the feast of St. Francis Xavier, December 2, 1835, according to the record of their baptism, for a copy of which we are indebted to Father Thos. Sherman. The record is as follows: "1835 2 Decembris Carolus & Franciscus Xaverius Ignati Partus Indiani ex vulgo Flat Heads solemniter baptizati fuerunt."

Ignace pleased the cause of the Flat Heads with Bishop Rosati; and with the latter's assurance that missionaries would be sent to them as soon as possible, he left with his two sons and safely returned to the mountains.

His son Francis is still living and has been a personal friend of the writer for very many years; and perhaps in the whole of Missoula County there is not a man more respected by white and Indian than François Saxá, the name by which he is known.

Eighteen months having passed after Old Ignace's return, and no tidings of any Black Robes being on the way, a third expedition went forth in the summer of 1837. This third delegation consisted of three Flat Heads proper, one Nez Percés and Old Ignace himself, the leader of the party, five in all. At or near Fort Laramie, our little band was joined by some whites, one of the number being W. H. Gray, whom we have already met in company with the Rev. Mr. Spalding and Dr. Whitman.

W. H. Gray was going back to the States from the Presbyterian mission on the Columbia, the object of his present journey being to secure assistants for the establishment of a Presbyterian mission among the Flat Heads. In furtherance of his plan he purposely passed through the Bitter Root Valley, the usual route more to the south. That he received no encouragement from the Flat Heads is evident from the act of his meeting with Ignace and companions who, according to Mr. Gray himself, were going "to urge the claim for teachers to come among them."

Our Indians and Mr. Gray's party were now traveling together, and while passing through the country of the hostile Sioux, at a point called Ash Hollow, on the South Platte, they fell in with a large war party of that tribe. Being attacked, our little band bravely defended themselves, killing some fifteen of their assailants. But they were greatly outnumbered by the foe, and all five perished in the unequal struggle.

Old Ignace was dressed like a white man, and he had been ordered to stand apart with the whites. But he spurned the command, and preferred to share the lot of his adopted brethren. Thus perished the one who may justly be called the apostle of the Flat Heads.

The untimely taking away of Old Ignace and his companions was a rude shock and caused the greatest grief to the whole tribe. It did not, however, shake in the least their determination to secure Black Robes, because soon after a fourth delegation was resolved upon in one of their councils. Two of the Iroquois adopted by the Flat Heads showed themselves willing to undertake the task, undismayed by the previous failures and the last disaster. This final effort was destined to be crowned with success.

The two Iroquois who formed the fourth delegation, were Peter Gaucher (Left-hand Peter) and Young Ignace, so called to distinguish him from Old Ignace. Leaving their Flat Head Company home in the summer of 1839, they joined some Hudson Bay Company men about to make the voyage to St. Louis by canoe. Their course lay naturally down the Yellowstone River and the Missouri. In passing St. Joseph's Mission, at Council Bluffs, they stopped to confer with the priests in charge, and it is indeed a remarkable coincidence that they should have met there the very man destined to comply in person with their long-cherished desires. Their visit is thus described by Father De Smet:

On the 18th of last September two Catholic Iroquois came to visit us. They had been for twenty-three years among the nation called the Flatheads and Pierced Noses, about a thousand Flemish leagues from where we are. I have never seen any savages so fervent in religion. By their instructions and examples they have given all that nation a great desire to have themselves baptized. All that tribe strictly observe Sunday and assemble several times a week to pray and sing Canticles. The sole object of these good Iroquois was to obtain a priest to come and finish what they had so happily commenced. We gave them letter for our Rev. Father Superior at St. Louis. They thought nothing of adding three hundred leagues to the thousand they had already accomplished in the hope that their request would be granted.

The two brave Iroquois arrived safely in St. Louis and, having laid the desires of their tribe before Bishop Rosati, they were assured by him that a priest would be sent to them in the following spring.

But before proceeding any further with our narrative, we must listen again to Bishop Rosati, who as an eye-witness of several of the facts just related, cannot but shed much light also on the rest.

In a letter dated "St. Louis, Oct. 20, 1839," and addressed to the Father General of the Society of Jesus at Rome, Bishop Rosati wrote as follows:

Reverent Father:

Eight or nine years ago (1831) some of the Flathead nation came to St. Louis. the object of their journey was to ascertain if the religion spoken of with so much praise by the Iroquois warriors was in reality such as represented and, above all, if the nations that have white skin had adopted and practiced it. Soon after their arrival in St. Louis they fell sick, called for a priest and earnestly asked to be baptized. Their request was promptly granted and they received holy baptism with great devotion. Then holding the crucifix they covered it with affectionate kisses and expired.

Some years after (1835) the Flathead nation sent again one of the Iroquois nation (Old Ignace) to St. Louis. There he came with two of his children, who were instructed and baptized by the Fathers of the college. He asked missionaries for his countrymen and started with the hope that one day the desire of the nation would be accomplished, but on his journey he was killed by the infidel Indians of the Sioux nation.

At last a third expedition (Peter Gaucher and Young Ignace) arrived at St. Louis after a voyage of three months. It was composed of two Christian Iroquois. Those Indians, who talk French, have edified us by their truly exemplary conduct and interested us by their discourses. The Fathers of the College have heard their confessions and to-day they approached the holy table at high mass in the Cathedral Church. Afterwards I administered to them the sacrament of Confirmation, and in an address delivered after the ceremony I rejoiced with them at their happiness and gave them the hope of soon having a priest.

They will depart tomorrow; one of them will carry the good news promptly to the Flat Heads, the other will spend the winter at the mouth of the Bear River, and in the spring he will continue the journey with the missionary whom we will send them.

Of the twenty-four Iroquois who formerly emigrated from Canada, (continues Bishop Rosati) only four are still living. Not only have they planted the faith in those wild countries, but they have besides defended it against the encroachments of the Protestant ministers. When these missionaries presented themselves among them, our good Catholics refused to accept them. "These are not the priests about whom we have spoken to you," they would say to the Flat Heads; "these are not the long black-robed priests who have no wives, who say mass, who carry the crucifix with them." For the love of God, my Very Reverend Father, do not abandon these souls!

Back to Lawrence Ermatinger:

In that June 1, letter Frank wrote, "To give you a character of the Boy, I am unable. This much I think that he is vicious and requires a curb. At Vancouver he remained too long; not that I have to complain of the kindness of Mr. McLoughlin's family, as far as giving him plenty to eat and, I believe, good will, but they have so many about them, of all tribes, that they cannot pay the attention to them that children require. The consequences are that their morals are neither to good, nor their habits of cleanliness charming. Lawrence has

imbibed the vile practice of piddling his bed and he must absolutely be broke of it before you can recommend him a decent one. I have since he has been with me, succeeded tolerably well, by making him set up before going to bed myself. His ears, too, have been neglected. They are equal to those of my mule, and I doubt whether, even with care, they can be brought to a reasonable compass. Give them a trial and let him wear hats, for caps we can never succeed..."

Gray delivered Lawrence to Edward somewhere in Buffalo, New York. He was to stay with Edward for some years to come. Sometime in 1838 Lawrence's mother hung herself. Frank wrote Ned that he didn't want Lawrence to know of it, or who his mother was. "The little fellow, like his father, has had his share of misery in his childhood, and I fear from the neglect he has experienced and the habits he has formed, it will require a peculiar treatment to bring him round. Dull, in spite of the Dr.'s opinion, I do not think him."

Frank continually wrote to Ned and almost always asked of Lawrence's well being and often fretted of his possible station in life. He hoped for the best, but knew Lawrence was destined to work at labor to attain a living. One time he thought a farmer's life was for Lawrence, another a sailor's, and so on. As Lawrence grew older it became apparent to Frank that Lawrence was a loafer and irresponsible.

In 1844 Frank wrote to Ned (from Oregon), "With respect to Lawrence, I am at a loss what to advice. I wish him to have a chance to gain a living; but if he is worthless, it will be impossible. To send him here would I think cut off all hope, but perhaps he could be apprenticed to trade in the States, where if he does well, and I am able, I will assist him. Do for the best - you have him with you and can best judge his disposition."

Archie McDonald writes on December 10, 1846 from Montreal to Edward Ermatinger at St. Thomas, Ontario:

"The day before yesterday I in Notre Dame Street met with your gallant cousin the knight of the Golden Fleece (Colonel Frederick William Ermatinger, who was at the time Superintendent of Police in Montreal) who told me he lately had a note from you accompanying one for myself & begged the favor of my calling at his office next day on the subject of Lawrence [Francis' son]. This of course I did. Your worthy nephew was sent for. He soon appeared in what was truly a very respectable style, namely in the cidevant costume of the Chief Magistrate of Police himself, before whom he then stood. When I spoke to him the poor creature had not the least recollection of me - of Ranald he had. The Colonel is utterly at a loss what to do with him ... As he himself told me, when the fellow first made up to him on the street, in tatters as he was ... he had him clothed as above noticed [in his own castoffs] & lodged at 2 ½ dollars a week until he heard more about him. The interview yesterday was with the view of having the benefit of my opinion ... his appearance and manners are exceedingly sloven & unprepossessing. At your cousin's request I gave him a very serious lecture ... He does not like work. He says he did drink at one time when he had money about Kingston, but now that he merely drinks Beer at dinner! He says he was robbed, or rather that everything he had was stolen from him, Bible, prayer book & all; in short he is a miserable wretch. The Colonel wrote to his brother [Charles Oakes Ermatinger, Jr., Chief of Police of Montreal] to see if he could take

him under his command, but the Captain, & I believe properly, declined it, as it would soon go abroad that favouritism was more attended to than efficient service .. . My own advice was to lop off his Beer, to place him until the arrival of his father [who was on vacation in Great Britain] whom I would recommend to have his son bundled off to Oregon..”

From “This Blessed Wilderness Archibald McDonald’s Letters from the Columbia 1822-1844” edited by Jean Murray Cole, UBC Press, Vancouver/Toronto, 2001, pages 257-258.

In 1847 Frank took leave and visited the east. He and Lawrence were able to see one another for a while. Frank took him to Montreal when he went to that city. He wrote Ned from there, "Lawrence is here, doing nothing. What to do with him I know not. The other day I paid 18 weeks board for him. I tried to give him to the new Bishop Blanchet who left the other day for Walla Walla but it was no going....."

By 1848 Frank was greatly distressed at his failure to make anything good out of his son, and Lawrence was fast becoming a vagabond. Francis wrote on July 18th of that year to “Let him go to the States, to Oregon ... to do anything honest, if he can be honest ... If he is determined to be a vagabond the sooner that he proved himself the better and let us have an end to it. He began to take off on his own for indefinite periods, turning up at Ned's house without money or plans for employment. Frank refused to enter into a correspondence with his son, lest it give Lawrence hope that he would be recognized as the son of a gentleman.

The last of Lawrence is heard when he departed for Chicago, there after nothing.

Native American in the Land of the Shogun: Ranald MacDonald and the Opening of Japan, by Frederik L. Schodt. Berkeley, Stone Bridge Press, 2003. xiv, 418 pp. \$39.95 US (cloth), \$19.95 US (paper). Has three pages on Francis’ son Lawrence.

Could this be our Lawrence?

Names of Persons Confirmed at St. Peter’s Church, Dunwich by Bishop Strachan at the confirmation held there 26 July 1845:

Mrs. Margaret Potts, Dunwich, age 28
Lawrence Ermatinger, Dunwich, age 18
Daniel McCrank, Dunwich, age 34
Edward Burwell, Dunwich, age 15

Also a list of *Deceased Mariners and Loss of Life on the Lakes in 1866*, 170 sailors were lost that year on the Great Lakes.

Could this be our Lawrence?

“Lawrence Ermatinger, seaman, died in Marine Hospital, Detroit.”

Mary Ermatinger – see next chapter.


Frances Maria Ermatinger

She was born June 3, 1843 the daughter of Francis Ermatinger and his half-Cree wife Catherine Sinclair Ermatinger. Frances soon received the nickname Fanny and was the apple of her father's eye. Writing to Ned on April 4, 1844 from Willamette Falls, he said, "Mrs. Ermatinger has enjoyed good health since we were married, and is at present employed nursing a stout girl of little more than nine months old. She is a very healthy child- and carries the name of Frances Maria. She is really a fine child and I must place myself, if she lives, where she can be educated..."

THE FIRST WHITE MEN

...in a dilapidated condition. In 1855 the post was abandoned by the Hudson's Bay Company. It was used for a time as military quarters for our government troops during the Civil War. In the year 1869 Great Britain and the United States reached an agreement by which the latter country was to reimburse "in gold coin" the Hudson's Bay Company for its possessory rights in Fort Hall, as well as its other holdings in the Oregon country, and the history of Idaho's famous old Tabard Inn was at an end.

Francis Ermatinger Made Money for His Company at Fort Hall.—In 1838, two years after the Hudson's Bay Company purchased Fort Hall from Nathaniel Wyeth, the "Great Company," as it was called, sent Francis Ermatinger to take charge of the trading business at Fort Hall. His official title was clerk and his salary was £100 or about \$500 a year. He was stationed at this post from 1838 to 1841. "Frank" Ermatinger, as he was usually called by his fur-trading friends, was a good-natured, generous, and efficient trader who made money for his company. This quotation from letters written to his brother, Edward, who was living




FRANCIS ERMATINGER, CLERK AT FORT HALL, 1838 TO 1841.
The girl in the picture is his granddaughter, Frances Maria.

...the History of the State of Idaho—by Cornelius J. Brosnan

THE FUR TRADERS

at St. Thomas, Ontario, will explain what the fur-trading business was like in those days:

How Francis Ermatinger Explained the Fur-Trading Business in a Letter to His Brother.—"I told you in my last letter that I have been in the Snake Country. It was a place of confusion and the fur-trading business little understood. The business is not now merely trapping, but trade as well. Last year, 1838, I had four clerks and fifty men under me to carry on operations. This business often brings me among Americans. I will bet you I can make a better bargain with them than you can. See what Washington Irving says, in his book the *Adventures of Captain Bonneville*,¹ of the Hudson's Bay Company trader whom Captain Bonneville met on the Snake River Plain. I am the Hudson's Bay Company trader to whom Irving refers. My campaign in the Snake Country was my masterpiece. We doubled the returns and reduced the expenditures much. We had a ruined country to work upon. At the close of the trapping season of 1839, I brought out of that country 3,300 beaver and better. The Snake



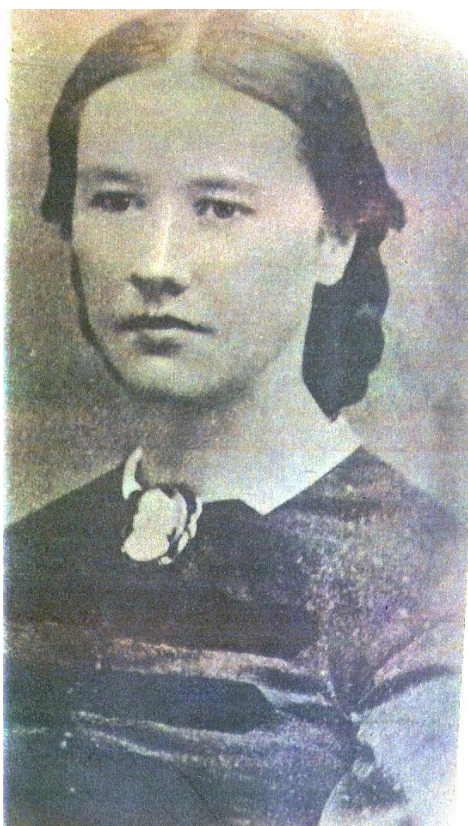
MRS. FRANCIS ERMATINGER, WIFE OF THE GOOD-NATURED HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY TRADER AT FORT HALL.
She was a granddaughter of Mrs. John McLoughlin.
Catherine Sinclair

¹ See Irving's *Adventures of Captain Bonneville*, Chap. XVIII, for the anecdote.

Pages from *The History of the State of Idaho*, Cornelius J. Brosnan



Frances Maria and Francis Ermatinger, the right arm of Catherine is visible. The Oregon Historical Society. Some where I saw the complete photograph many years ago.



Frances Maria Ermatinger (Grandmother Ashley's half-sister & my great-great aunt) 1843-1900 She married John LeHey Crawford who was a clerk for the Rae Brothers Store in St. Thomas, Ontario. She has many descendants and some in Seattle. She is about 17 years old in these three photographs of different tones.

Later Frank wrote this to Ned, March 23, 1845, "Our little daughter is growing a lively child. She and the mother have been off some time to Vancouver and the education of the child costs me much serious thought."

In 1848 she left Vancouver with her mother to Fort Chipewyan via Fort Colville, where they spent some time. The two had just got over a bout with the measles, and so journeyed there to get up their strength. Frank was appointed to Fort Chipewyan and was waiting for them there. By early in 1849 the Ermatinger was reunited. Later they all went to St. Thomas and Montreal to visit relatives and friends. Frank wrote of Fanny at this time as, "has grown a fine active girl". Fanny later went to live with Edward to be educated in the ways of a lady.

Fanny grew to womanhood and married John Crawford a clerk in the Rae Brother's Store in St. Thomas. Of that union three daughters and a son were born. It is presumed that she lived her days there in St. Thomas. She died in 1901.

From Catholic Church Records of the Pacific Northwest, Vancouver II, Warner & Munnick, French Prairie Press, 1972, page 22:

St. James Church, Vancouver, Washington

"B 94 Fr. Marie Ermatinger

This 18 June, 1843, we priest undersigned have baptized Francis [sic] Maria Ermatinger, born the 13 of the present month, legitimate child of Francis Ermatinger, Esquire, Chief Trader of the Hudson's Bay Company, and Dame Catherine Sinclair, living at Vancouver. The godfather has been John McLoughlin, Esquire, Chief Factor H Bay Co., and the godmother Madame Marie Barclay, who have signed with us, as well as several friends present.

Maria Barclay Frs. Ermatinger
John McLoughlin David McLoughlin
 dugald Mactavish
 Forbes Barclay
 Ant Langlois, priest"



Catherine Sinclair Ermatinger (1824-1876)

This and the next nine or so photographs are from Robert Darling of Seattle. Who has since giving me these copies has passed away.



Taken by Rachel Garcia at Oregon Historical Society in Portland, Feb. 2013



Catherine Sinclair and Frances Maria "Fanny" Ermatinger, Fanny is 12 years old in this photograph.



Frances Maria Ermatinger Crawford, age 50 years old



John Le Hey Crawford (1837-1900)



Emily E. Crawford Darling



Reginald E. Crawford (1873-)



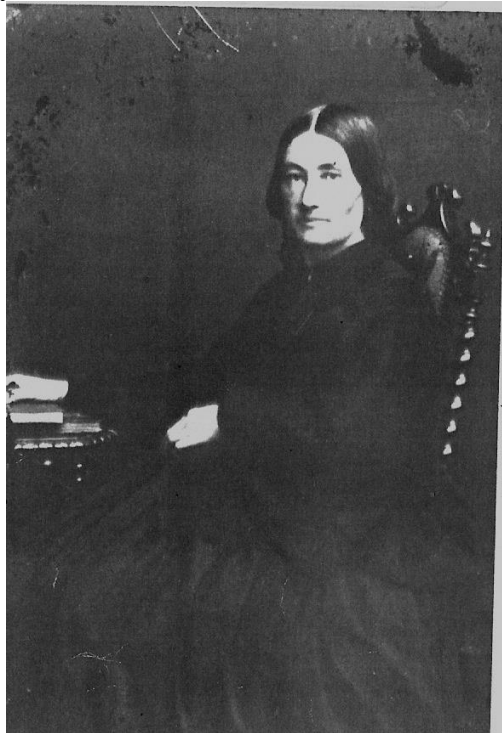
Harriet E. "Hattie" Crawford (1870-)



Emily Crawford, 2 years &
Catherine Crawford 1 years



Catherine E. "Kate" Crawford



Margaret Sinclair Darling (1831-1906)



Robert Darling, age 60, 1990 a descendant of Francis Ermatinger's daughter, Fanny Ermatinger Crawford.

CATHERINE "Kate" SINCLAIR ERMATINGER

She was born about 1824 and baptized three years later on July 9, 1827, daughter of William "Credo" Sinclair, Jr. (HBC Chief Factor 1798/99-1868) and Mary Wadin McKay (1804-1893). Her father was at the time a clerk at Rainy Lake. He had entered the HBC in 1810 as an apprentice. Edward had known him while at Island Lake. Sinclair was the eldest son of a Cree woman and a high ranking HBC officer. Mary McKay was the daughter of Marguerite Wadin McKay, later the wife of Dr. John McLoughlin. Her uncle on her mother's side was Thomas McKay, early trapper of the HBC and Oregon pioneer. Her aunt Betsy Sinclair bore a child of Sir George Simpson, and later married Robert Miles, HBC accountant. Her uncle, James Sinclair, was a free trader and merchant at Red River. He led the 1841 contingent of Red River families destined for settlement on the Nisqually Plains across the Rocky Mountains.

From "This Blessed Wilderness – Archibald McDonald's Letters from the Columbia, 1822-44" edited by Jean Murray Cole, UBC Press, Vancouver/Toronto, 2001, page 150.

In a letter to Edward Ermatinger on April 2, 1840 from Fort Colvile:

Speaking of Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin, "His granddaughter, Miss [Catherine] Sinclair of Lac la Pluie, a very accomplished young lady from the Red River boarding school he has brought in with him to replace Maria with the old Lady [McLoughlin's wife]. I dare say it will be her own fault, a failing by the bye that few of her sex can be charged with, if she does not soon follow the example of the charming aunt." Her aunt was Maria Eloise McLoughlin who married William Glen Rae. Francis had dreamed of

marrying Maria and also thought about marrying the daughter of Chief Factor John Charles.

Catherine married Francis Ermatinger August 10, 1842 at Ft. George. She lived with him at various locations, including Fort Vancouver, Cowlitz Farm, Willamette Falls, Fort Athabasca, Fort William, and St. Thomas at their home "Multnomah" where Francis died. Catherine lived at "Multnomah" for some years after her husband's death. Occasionally, visiting her mother in St. Francis, Manitoba. She never remarried and later moved to Red River. She died of cancer at Winnipeg at age 52 on November 11, 1876. She is buried in St. John's Cemetery at Winnipeg.

In her lifetime she had two children, Frances Marie Ermatinger in union with Francis Ermatinger, and another daughter in 1849 from an affair she had with an HBC employee, Alexander Christie, Jr. while Frank was in England. After much grief, she and Frank were reconciled. They lived happily the rest of his life. Lois Halliday McDonald wrote in her book in 1980, "There remains one question to be answered: what was the fate of Catherine's second child? It seems quite possible that Francis relented and accepted her in his own family. In a letter to Edward in 1852 made mention that Francis had written to "our children." And Francis expressed a wish that "Fanny and Catherine" might come from St. Thomas to visit them at Fort William. He had a heart big enough to forgive Catherine's indiscretion, his love for children was genuine, and for lack of evidence to the contrary, it is conjectured that Ermatinger saw to it that Catherine's child was not in want while he lived." Page 294. Another version is that the baby was left at Fort Chipewyan with a wet nurse and died in infancy.

"Her mother spoke Indian, using with difficulty "very, very few English words."

"The record of her burial is preserved, signed by Dean---Rector, and William Sinclair and Andrew Strong, as witnesses. W.S. was her cousin, as was A. S's wife. Catherine died of cancer, shortly after going to Winnipeg, her mother having predeceased her a short time. She lived with her mother at Ft. Francis from 1873-1875, and doubtless before 1873, having frequently made long visits to her, before that date."

"St. John's Cemetery record:

Diocese of Rupert's Land, November 11, 1876

This eleventh day of November, one thousand eight hundred and seventy six was buried by me Catherine Ermatinger of Winnipeg in the County of Selkirk, who died on the death day of November, aged fifty two years. John Grisdale, Officiating Clergyman." . . . Letters to Mrs. F. F. Victor," Oregon Historical Quarterly, LXIII (1926) p. 211 and The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West, Leroy R. Hafen, -Chapter on Edward and Francis Ermatinger by Harriett D. Munnick, p.168. The Arthur H. Clark Co., Glendale, Calif. 1971.

Catherine's father, William Sinclair II:

SINCLAIR, WILLIAM, HBC chief factor; b. c. 1794 in Rupert's Land, eldest son of Chief Factor William Sinclair from the Orkney Islands, Scotland, and of Nahovway (otherwise Margaret, by family tradition a daughter of Chief Factor Moses Norton but possibly a Cree), and brother of James Colin, and Thomas Sinclair; m. 21 June 1823, Mary, daughter of fur-trader Alexander McKay and they had four daughters and four sons; d. 12 Oct. 1868 in Brockville, Ont.

An “active lad,” five feet, five inches tall, dark, “peaceable and mild,” William Sinclair entered the service of the Hudson’s Bay Company in 1808 as an apprentice with a salary of £8 a year. He spent his first years at Oxford House, York Factory, Winnipeg River District, and Norway House before setting off for Britain in the company ship, *Prince of Wales*, in 1816. Turned back by ice, the ship wintered in James Bay. To relieve the resulting food shortage young Sinclair was dispatched with able-bodied passengers and letters to Fort Severn and the Capusco Goose Camp in the same region. In 1817 he was made clerk in Lesser Slave Lake District, where, on a journey stopped by ice, he resourcefully improvised a winter post for trading. His annual salary rose slowly to £100. Returning in 1819 from a year in England he served at Oxford House, Sandy Lake (Ont.), and Island Lake (Man.) before joining the Bow River expedition of 1822–23 led by Chief Factor Donald McKenzie to the forks of the South Saskatchewan and Red Deer rivers; during this expedition Sinclair accompanied John Edward Harriott on a seven-week, 850-mile journey over the little known southwestern plains to the Cypress Hills and Missouri country.

In 1824 began 20 years of service in the Winnipeg River and Rainy Lake districts (later combined), at first in outlying areas, collecting wild rice, hunting, gathering furs, heading off American competition along the border, or going with the annual boat brigade to York Factory. The “promising youth” of 1809–10 had become in the mid 1820s, in the opinion of Chief Factor John Dugald Cameron “a sober young man – careful and attentive,” “very handy and industrious,” though “rather of a sickly disposition.” He was a good accountant but could not speak French, which was, according to Simon McGillivray Jr, “much against him in commanding Canadians.” His first independent command was the Dalles post in 1831 where, after initial mistakes, he won Chief Factor John Stuart’s approval; there were few to whom Stuart “would more willingly commit a charge.” Stuart urged George Simpson in 1831 to favour Sinclair since, though capable and “born in the service,” he had “but little chance of being promoted.” Nevertheless, in 1844 Sinclair was made chief trader.

Sinclair was transferred to Churchill in 1845 as the person best qualified to improve its trade, and was again appointed to Rainy Lake District in 1848; he became chief factor in 1850. He was assigned in 1854 to Fort Edmonton, in charge of the Saskatchewan District. There he attempted to make peace between the Crees and the Blackfoot Confederacy. In 1857 he was again in charge of the Rainy Lake District, going on in 1858 to command the key Norway House District. He went on retirement furlough in 1862. In 1854 he had “lands and a house in Red River,” but in 1863 he settled near Brockville, Canada West, where he spent the remainder of his life.

Like other officers of the HBC, Sinclair was a prodigious traveller. He took on assignments such as re-establishing a grist mill, supplying birch bark and other canoe-building materials, apprehending a murderer, and collecting a musk-ox skin for John James Audubon. The “difficult and troublesome” service of organizing troop transport between York Factory and Red River in 1846, 1848, 1857, and 1861 he performed “in a highly satisfactory manner.” From 1851 to at least 1863 he was a member of the council of the Northern Department.

William Sinclair was one of the country-born, mixed-blood sons of HBC officers to become commissioned officers in its service. George Simpson’s estimate in 1832, in his confidential “Character Book,” was critical: “a half breed of the Cree nation . . . Deficient in education – A good shot and tolerably active but possesses little judgement. A mean spirited low blackguard kind of fellow – Manages the business of a small outpost but moderately well and commands little respect among servants or Indians – .” By 1845 his opinion had changed. His official letters to Sinclair commend him as “an active intelligent officer” on whose “excellent management” and “usual great ability” he counted, though with occasional disappointments. The turning point in Sinclair’s career seems to have been his satisfactory service with Chief Factor John Stuart. Irene M. Spry

HBC Arch., A.16/64, p.207; A.30/11–14; A.34/2; A.36/12; B.4/b/1, 6, 10, 23 Oct., 14 Dec. 1829, 7 Feb. 1830, 26 May 1831; B.34/a/4, p.48; B.34/d/1, p.45; B.60/a/29b, 17 Sept. 1856, 11 March, 15 May 1857; B.105/a/10–14, 17, 19–20; B.115/a/1; B.115/d/2; B.134/b/22, 24, 26–28; B.135/a/1139; B.154/a/59, 65; B.239/a/132, 1 Aug. 1824; B.239/d/143, 147, 152, 170, 175, 195; B.239/1/8–15; B.239/k/1–3; C.1/785, 787–88; D.4/22, 6 July 1836; D.4/24, 28 Feb. 1838; D.4/57, 10 June 1845; D.4/65, 8 June 1844; D.4/67, 10 June, 22 Nov. 1845; D.4/69, 30 June, 18 Dec. 1847; D.4/70, 2 June, 9 July, 15 Nov. 1848, 19 Nov. 1849; D.4/71, 11 July, 18 Dec. 1850; D.4/75, 28 Jan. 1855, 19 Jan. 1856; D.4/76a, 6 Dec. 1856. [Particular thanks are due to the archivist of the Hudson’s Bay Company and her colleagues for tracing much of the widely scattered material used in the biography that would otherwise have escaped notice. I.M.S.]

PAC, MG 19, D7, ser.2. United Counties of Leeds and Grenville Surrogate Court (Brockville, Ont.), register 2, pp.678–83. *Canadian North-West* (Oliver), I, 648, 664, 671, 681–82; II, 697, 706, 716, 732, 738, 765, 770, 791, 805, 822, 830, 842, 858, 865. HBRS, III (Fleming). D. G. Lent, *West of the mountains: James Sinclair and the Hudson’s Bay Company* (Seattle, Wash., 1963), 19, 21, 23, 31–32, 42, 155, 201, 293, 295–96. E. W. Marwick, “A Harrayman in Hudson Bay,” *Orcadian* (Kirkwall, Scot.), 18, 25 March 1965. © 2000 University of Toronto/Université Laval

Mary Three Dresses “Cha-teel-she-nah”

Mary Three-Dresses married Francis Ermatinger in the custom of the country. And according to Elizabeth Ashley, Mary Three-Dresses died when young young Mary was about 6 years old. Young Mary was then raised by her grandmother, Matilda.

A letter by Elizabeth Ashley; date unknown, but before 1940:

"My grandmother Mary, married the first Hudson Bay man in this section of the country. His name was Francis Armentiger, at this time he did not have a post at any of the settlements, but more or less carried on business with the Indians in their own camps, following them from one hunting ground to another. Until he eventually did organize a trading post 6 miles north of St. Ignatius at what is now known as Post Creek - however after organizing the Post he placed one Angus McDonald in charge of the Post. Upon leaving this country he took his family to Portland, Oregon. Knowing Mary his wife became very homesick - and being with child - expressed the wish that her child might be born among her own people, being unable to leave Portland at that time, he had his wife Mary brought back to St. Ignatius by some of his men, the entire trip was made by horseback. She arrived in time for her child to be born here in St. Ignatius - this child was my mother Mary - being of ill health she was unable to make the return trip to Portland - Altho her husband sent for her repeatedly she could not bring herself to leave her own people and return to the city. Armentiger continued to take care of her through the Post operated by McDonald - sending her clothes and other essentials. This continued for some time until eventually, McDonald informed her that he was no longer receiving goods from Armentiger. Whether or not this is true I cannot say but it is the general belief that McDonald appropriated these goods to his own use. It is also reported that Armentiger had deposited large amounts of money in the banks at either or both Salt Lake City and also at Montreal which has never been recovered by either Mary or her descendants. When my mother was about six years old my grandmother died. My mother was left in her grandmother's care who raised her. When my mother was about 10 years old her father sent a man from Portland to bring her back with him wishing to place her in school. The grandmother agreed to let the child go as everything was in readiness for the trip and they were about to depart - other relations of the child became so concerned over the child's safety that they refused to let her go, so the messenger returned to Portland without her. Armentiger was not heard from again-----

Signed----Francis Big Neck
Mary Three Dresses
Big Beard

From The Fur Trade Letters of Francis Ermatinger -Lois Halliday McDonald, pp- 178-179:

"Ermatinger himself married a Pend d'Oreille woman about this time.(1835) Her name was Mary Three Dresses. In April 1836, Archie McDonald wrote to Edward about her, presuming that Francis' brother knew about the young woman's role in the trader's life. The Flathead women were rather handsome, and had a reputation for chastity not found in the Indians along the coast. When he met and approved of Mary, Archie urged Francis to think of her as a permanent arrangement, rather than as an alliance formed to facilitate trade relations with the Indians. Francis was unable to give up his dream of winning Maria McLoughlin's affections and the consent of her father for them to marry."

About this time, he had made camp somewhere near Evaro or Arlee, Montana to settled down and trade with Salish tribes. In order to get rid of his stock of goods and trinkets he

knew he would have to get the tribes into a good mood before any serious and profitable business could be done. He devised an idea of a foot race, the contestants to be the women of the camp. The winner was to get an assortment of trade trinkets as prize. Born gamblers the Pend d'Oreilles and Flatheads were ready for the fun. Forty or so hopeful girls lined up on a race course laid out on a trail. They were to race to a large pine tree and back, about two and a half miles. On a signal from Francis they dashed off, amid cheers and encouragement from the husbands and admirers, some of which excitedly galloped off with them on ponies. Mary Three Dresses (Cha-teel-she-nah) and her sister, Che-la-sil-shin-nah, were possibly some of the racers. The winner of the foot race was the "young and beautiful" wife of Charles LaMoose (one Big Ignace's sons). Mrs. LaMoose was famous afterwards as the "race woman" in Flathead folklore. She was fleet of foot even in later years. When her young grandson playfully shot her in the back with his little arrow, she amazed him by hoisting her buckskin skirt and running him down." Francis gave consolation gifts to all the racers, and as a result he was able to carry on some very good trading. The place of the race was called "Course des femmes" meaning Prairie of the Women, for years afterwards. "Ellen Big Sam, a full-blood of 71 years, says the race was held on a flat at the top of the Evaro Grade. The Indians call it Sin-shel-oi, which means "Place where water flows two ways." Men and Trade on the Northwest Frontier as shown by the Fort Owen Ledger, George Weisel, p 26-27 Course des Femmes Creek is now called Finlay Creek, near Arlee, Montana.

In 1838 Chief Trader John McLeod became ill, and Dr. John McLoughlin, who was going on furlough, felt that Francis Ermatinger should take McLeod's place. When Francis took his outfit to the Flatheads, he told them why he wouldn't be back, and then he returned to Fort Colville. Here he met Dr. McLoughlin and John McLoughlin, Jr., on their way East with the York Factory Express. They talked over the coming trade season, and the Snake brigade, which Francis now had.

What Mary Threes Dresses thought of this isn't known, or what she thought of Lawrence Ermatinger's appearance in the Pend d'Oreille camp the year before. The Flathead Agency, Montana enrollment and allotment records of the first decade of the twentieth century reveal that he was known of by both Mary Three Dresses and her daughter, Mary Ermatinger Ashley, his half-sister. Grandmother Ashley even knew that he lived in Canada. As Francis wrote Edward that he separated with Mary in June of 1839, she must have been with him until then.

From Individual Summary Sheet Prepared by David C. Courchane:

"The wife of Francis Ermatinger, and the daughter the of full-blood Pend d'Oreilles, Chel-squa and Matilda. She is often referred to as: Cha-teel-she-nah, Mary the Elder, and Mary Three Dresses and various versions of these in the church registers of St. Ignatius Mission, Montana. Little is known about her. There is a tintype that has survived through the years in the possession of Charlie Blood, who lives in St. Ignatius, Montana. This shows three Indian figures, one of which is most likely Mary Three Dresses' mother.



This old tin type belongs to Charlie Blood of St. Ignatius, Montana and according to the Flathead Culture Committee years ago it is probably taken of Ashley women. It could very well be Mary Ermatinger Ashley (my great-grandmother) and two of her kids and her grandmother Matilda. Mary Ermatinger Ashley (1838-1940).

Mary probably was born between 1811--1815, assuming she was in the range of 18 to 22 years of age when she married Francis Ermatinger. Or was given to him by her father in Indian custom. Of course she could have been much younger at that time of her marriage with Ermatinger. Most likely place of her birth is western Montana, in a Pend d'Oreille camp, probably in the Mission Valley, or in one of the other haunts of that time. She could have been born in the Clark's Fork-Thompson Falls area, also.

In the early part of her life she followed the ways of her people, the Pend d'Oreilles. These people lived off the land, practiced animism and other religious rites of the Indians. When the Jesuit priests came in the 1840's, she was probably baptised by Father DeSmet like most of her tribe was. It is not known who gave her the Christian name of Mary, the Catholic priests or her husband, Francis Ermatinger.

Like all Pend d'Oreilles women, she learned the things necessary to maintain her family: setting up a skin lodge (tepee), preparing cooked foods, and preserving foods, making medicinal concoctions, and clothing from hides and furs. Things that needed to be learned. One of the main chores of the men was that of preparing beaver pelts and buffalo hides. The fur trade played a great economic and financial part of her tribes existence, and this made her a person of relative importance. She traveled in the nomadic trend of the tribe, usually spending springs and summers camped with the Flatheads in the Bitterroot Valley. Although the Pend d'Oreilles ranged throughout western Montana, northern Idaho, and eastern Washington. That Tribes' generally accepted territory was from the Flathead River to Horse Plains on the Clark's Fork, down to the headwaters of the Missouri & up to Flathead Lake. Winter and Fall were spent on the Plains near the upper tributaries of the Missouri River engaged in hunting buffalo.

Sometime around 1834-1835 she became Francis Ermatinger's wife. Their Indian custom marriage was mainly to cement relationships with her tribe for trade purposes. It was a convenience for him and a true marriage to her.

Their involvement ended in June of 1839, when he transferred out of that area to Idaho. They had three children: a son (name unknown) who was born in 1837 and died in 1838; Mary (our grandmother) who married Pierre Ashley and had 12 children; and then another boy (name unknown) born in 1838-39 and died 1840-41. It is known that Francis Ermatinger was greatly distressed when his little sons died. So we can imagine the distress and grief held by our Grandma Mary Three Dresses. Mary Ermatinger Ashley, who could not have been old enough to know her brothers--mentioned them in her allotment records sixty some years later. She had to have been told about them by her people.

Mary Three Dresses had at least two sisters and a brother: Che-la-sil-shin-nah (called Ann Quitoo, and also Two Leggins); Felicite; and Che-lele (or Che-heb).

More from Letters of Francis Ermatinger:

Archibald McDonald wrote to Edward Ermatinger from Ft. Colville in April, 1836: "....His chere amie (a Flathead woman) is more desirable than the generality of her class in the country, and with proper attention to her further improvement would, I have no doubt, make a good wife, and is one that would make Frank perfectly happy." page 128.

Francis Ermatinger wrote to his brother, Edward, from Ft. Vancouver on February 6, 1840: "I have another boy with the Flathead camp, a fine little fellow and I have written to McDonald to get him from the mother and take care of him. We separated last June and I have carefully avoided all connexions since, nor do I think it likely that the mother will come my way again. Nor do I desire she should. However I shall think it a duty to supply her while she remains single." page 227

As Francis Ermatinger was assigned to Fort Hall in 1838, it would seem that Mary Three Dresses had contact with him either there, or while he was out trading. Did she move with him to Fort Hall? There is no mention of her being there, and presumably he never returned to the Flatheads after leaving them in 1838.

Did Mary Three Dresses' youngest brother really die, or was he hid from McDonald, and has been lost in time?

It is not known if Mary Three Dresses ever married again, or how long she lived. According to her granddaughter, Elizabeth Ashley, she died when Young Mary was just a child of six. This would put her death at about 1844.

From Clarence Woodcock, (founder of the Salish & Pend d'Oreille Culture Committee)
22 Dec.1984:

"Dear Chalk:

I wanted to explain in the last letter why it took so long to get the reply back to you. The first letter I sent was returned to me because of insufficient address. Then I had to wait to get hold of Donna or Darlene to get your complete address as your letter didn't have it. At any rate I'm glad you finally got the answer.

The negatives you sent are really appreciated. I'll as well as other members of the Culture committee enjoy having the pictures for our collection. They are an asset to our work. There are times when we need to refer to them to find certain details relevant to costumes, activities, and of course the pictures of the people, often inspire memories thus more stories. We really regret that this type of activity didn't start until late.

There is, however, a lot to learn from the elders we do have.

You really layed the names on me this time. The only name that we can make out is Cha-teel-she-nah. Again Cha-teel refers to Three. (Chetle means three – Troy Felsman) She-nah refers to dresses. It is a shortened version of the word she-nah-tsel-qeh. That is usually what happens in our language whenever words are put together.

The root word generally gets shortened. Che-la-shil-shin-nah is another story. The way to say two (2) is Eh-sel and leggings is chachatskey. This is quite different. Again the Che-la seems to me to refer to the number three. The last portion of the word we cannot make anything of it. As you have indicated this is due to the spelling of the Agency clerks.

Concerning the places of death of William H. Newman and Elizabeth Barnaby Newman, I will have to check with the father's records to see if there is anything there that would give a lead. I am not totally sure how far back their records are here in the Mission. It is any further back than the early 1900's then we have to search through the archives at Gonzaga. Some early Jesuit records are even kept in Seattle. Well anyway, I'll let you know what I find.

I am going to close for now so that this can get in the mail to you. May you and your family enjoy this holiday season. My wishes for peace.....

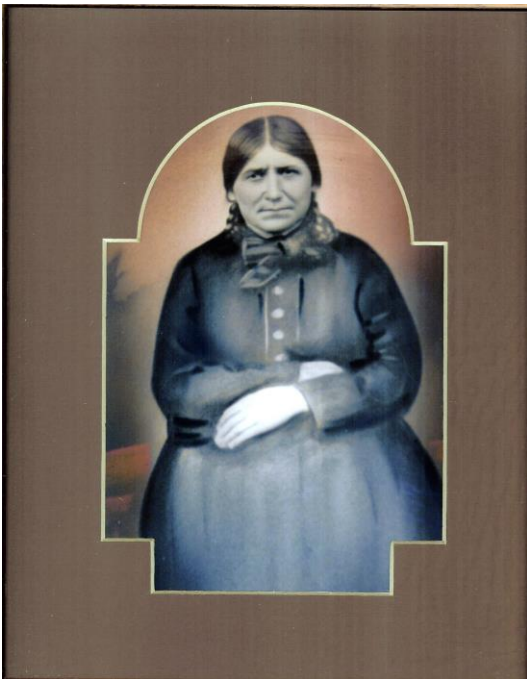
Sincerely, Your Friend, Clarence"

[A note on the Upper Pend d'Oreille, or Q̄ispé (Kalispel), those of the Mission Valley being the Slqtkwmscint, the people living along the shore of the Flathead Lake. The Pend d'Oreille were the closest Salish tribe to the Salish proper, or Flatheads, in language and customs. From a Q̄ispé term said to mean "Camas"; they were given the name Pend d'Oreilles, because when they were first met by Europeans nearly all of them wore large shell earrings. So called Earring People, or Hanging Ears. There lived on the Pend Oreille River and Pend Oreille Lake, Priest Lake, and the lower course of Clark's Fork. They were said to have extended east-ward to Thompson Falls and Horse Plains and to have hunted over some of the Salmon River country, Canada, and were formerly said to have extended to Flathead Lake and Missoula. The Upper Pend d'Oreille lived in Montana while two other subdivisions lived in Washington: the Lower Kalispel or Lower Pend d'Oreilles or Kalispel proper and the Chewelah, who spoke a slightly different dialect. They were considered Plateau Indians of the Interior Salish but lived in the customs of the Plains Indians. Winter and Fall were spent on the Plains near the upper tributaries of the Missouri River engaged in hunting buffalo.] (http://www.accessgenealogy.com/native/idaho/kalispel_indian_tribe_location.htm)

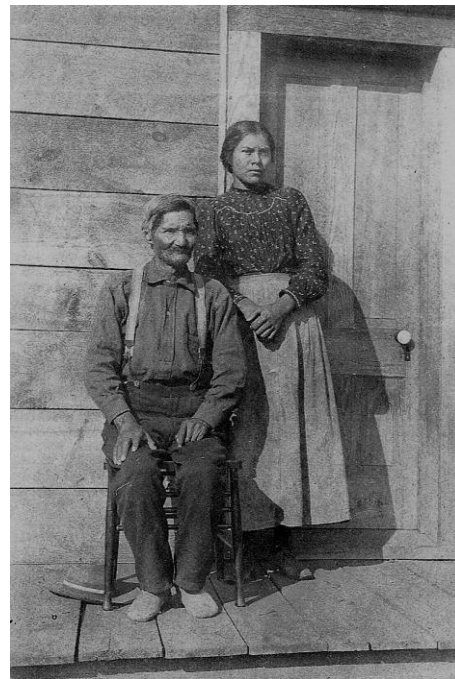
"Two other more obscure bands were the Semte'use (Foolish People) and the Tunaxa. It was said that Theresa Flathead the wife of Francois Rivet and in turn Chief Alexander were of part Tunaxa descent." The Tunaxas were the ones that lived east of the Rockies. They bore the brunt of Blackfeet encroachment as well as disease. The remnants of their band settled among the other Salish bands.



St. Ignatius Mission by Peter Toft 1865



Mary Ermatinger Ashley, this portrait hung from the wall of Aunt Jenny and Uncle Frank Allison's log house near St. Ignatius, Montana. Received from Arlene Wheeler Groepper.



Pierre Ashley and his daughter, Mary Augustine Ashley
Received from JoAnn Blood Roullier