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# Merging Amerindian & Euroamerican Understandings of a Shared Past: The 1832 Washaw Conflict

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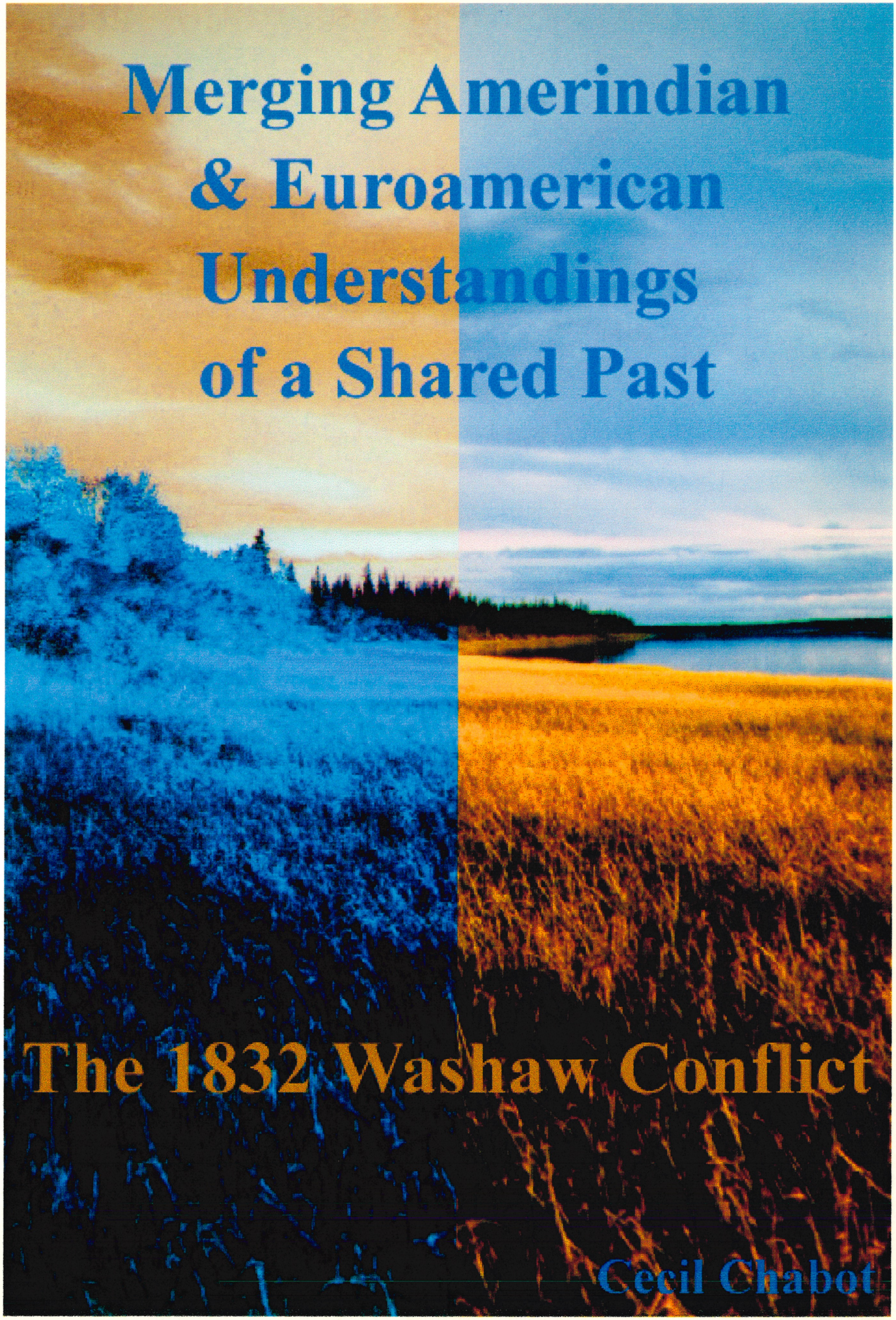

# Merging Amerindian & Euroamerican Understandings of a Shared Past

## The 1832 Washaw Conflict

Cecil Chabot

# SUMMARY

If the merging of Amerindian and Euroamerican hi*stories* (understandings of the past) is an overwhelming challenge, it is primarily because the merging of their *H*istories has been an overwhelming reality. As Steve J. Stern phrases it, the "magnitude of consequence that issued from the collision of European and indigenous American histories . . . forces us to consider the problem of meaning: to discover, define, appropriate what 1492 means to human history."[1] Similarly, at the close of the 19th century, Lord Acton had said that "if the Past has been an obstacle and a burden, knowledge of the Past is the safest and the surest emancipation."[2] Yet, while the nature of Amerindians' and Euroamericans' shared past makes it "an obstacle and a burden," the similar nature of its narration is also "an obstacle and a burden" to the emancipating knowledge of this Past.

The history of the 1832 Washaw conflict and its narration provides an excellent context for examining this problem. Moreover it does so precisely by forcing us to question the adequacy of the very paradigm – Euroamerican vs. Amerindian – used to frame the problem. This dominant paradigm reflects real differences, but not those that were the deciding factors either in *the 1832 conflict* or *the narration of it.*

The Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) acquired an impressive charter in 1670, but its success was contingent not on the implementation of English common law, which then had no weight in Wiinipek (Hudson's Bay), but on traders' respect for Cree common law: socioeconomic norms transmitted from generation to generation

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[1] Steve J. Stern, "Paradigms of Conquest: History, Historiography, and Politics," first published in the *Journal of Latin American Studies 24: Quincentennial Supplement* (1992); republished the "Prologue" to Steve J. Stern, *Peru's Indian Peoples and the Challenge of Spanish Conquest: Huamanga to 1640*, 2nd ed., revised (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993; first edition published in 1982), p. 4.

[2] John Ermich E.D. Acton, *Lectures on Modern History* (London: Macmillan, 1912), p. 10.

through a rich collection of *atâlôhkâna* (stories). Although an 1821 merger with its chief competitor (the North West Company) would help make HBC, by the turn of the 20th century, the dominant "partner" in this fur trade relationship, this merger had little bearing on the conflict that occurred at Hannah Bay House in January 1832, when a number of Crees breached the accepted norms, but were provoked and answered by other actions that did likewise.

The Washaw conflict was primarily an intersection of personality conflicts with a desperate situation caused by extreme weather fluctuations in an unforgiving land. Crees were involved on both sides of the conflict, both in the initial attack on the HBC's Hannah Bay House and in the HBC's retaliations. Moreover, HBC men proved more critical of these retaliations than most Crees (including the father of one of the accused). In fact, personal conflicts and differences among HBC men account for most of the variations in the narration of the event.

While the Amerindian vs. Euroamerican paradigm also accounts for many differences between the narratives, these differences tend to be complementary ones. This is because the ideal of both Cree and Euroamerican historiography is to collect *experience* (with the goal of being faithful to reality - as each perceives it) in order to build, reaffirm, or modify an accurate *understanding* of who they have been, who they are and, ultimately, who they *should be*. The extent to which the narratives of the Washaw conflict are contradictory instead of complementary depends primarily on the degree and manner in which their narrators share(d) this goal.

The root of competence is self-knowledge in relation to one's human and non-human environment. Inasmuch as Amerindians and Euroamericans seek to be competent, they need to compare *experiences* in order to merge *understandings*, hopefully reconciling and resolving those that are contradictory and both drawing from and adding to those that are complementary. Problems arise when we seek uniformity of understanding, instead of unity of understanding with reality, or when we forget that our experiences of the latter are limited and different. Ultimately, the question of merging understandings of the past brings us back to the question that has been at the root of the Washaw conflict and its narration: *what does it mean to be competent within a particular culture's context and how relative to its particular context should any personal or collective culture's definition of competence be*? In the 19th century, many were too quick to answer this question; at the turn of the 21st, too many are too hesitant to ask it.

# RÉSUMÉ

Prenant un avion de Moosonee vers le sud, une journée au ciel clair, nous pouvons voir l'endroit où les eaux brunes et turbulentes de la rivière Abitibi se joignent à celles, d'un bleu foncé, de la rivière Moose. Ces deux sources descendent en parallèle vers le nord-est, séparées par une ligne de plus en plus brumeuse, et bien avant de se mêler dans les eaux salées de la baie James, elles se fusionnent en une seule source.

« Massacre d'Européens à la baie de Hannah (fait apparemment par des Cris mécontents de la présence blanche et influencés par un de leurs shamans). » Telle est la donnée pour l'année 1832 fournie par Hap Wilson dans la chronologie qui se trouve dans son livre, *Missinaibi: Journey to the Northern Sky, From Lake Superior to James Bay by Canoe.*[1] Il résume ainsi l'information recueillie de conversations avec des résidents de Moosonee, une des communautés de la baie James où habitent des descendants de ceux qui ont participé aux événements de l'hiver de 1832 ou qui en ont été témoins. Ces événements ont marqué les mémoires collectives et personnelles de la région, car les récits oraux portant sur ce conflit sont nombreux, riches et variés, surtout sur les terres voisines de la baie de Hannah, où les Cris continuent à cueillir des ressources naturelles, et dans les communautés de Waskaganish (Fort Rupert) et de Moose Factory. De plus, à cette tradition orale s'ajoute une grande collection encore plus diverse de sources documentaires d'origine non-crie.

Malgré le fait que ces sources s'accordent sur bien plus que de mettre en doute le résumé de Wilson, elles sont toutefois en désaccord sur d'autres points. Si elles coulent dans la même direction, leurs origines sont de colorations très

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[1] [traduit de l'anglais] "Massacre of Europeans at Hannah Bay (apparently induced by shamanic influence from Cree disgruntled with white presence)." Hap Wilson, *Missinaibi: Journey to the Northen Sky, From Lake Superior to James Bay by Canoe*, (Canadian Recreational Canoe Association: Hyde Park, Ontario, 1994), pp. 15-17.

différentes, et la question se pose : « Leurs visions, peuvent-elles jamais se fusionner? » Aborder cette question peut nous permettre d'expliquer, de diminuer, et même d'enlever les obstacles à la formation et à la communication d'une vision plus complète de ce qui se déroula, son contexte, ses raisons, et ses conséquences, à la baie de Hannah en 1832. D'un autre côté, tenter de répondre à ces quatre questions historiques peut éclaircir le problème historiographique qui transcende le contexte du conflit dans lequel on vient de le poser. C'est une problématique à laquelle fait face tout historien qui tente de comprendre des passés interculturels, surtout celui que les Euro-américains et les Amérindiens ont partagé, de façon de plus en plus étroite, et raconté, ce dernier demi millénaire depuis l'arrivée de Christophe Colomb en 1492.

Si la fusion des visions du passé commun des Amérindiens et des Euro-américains est un défit énorme, c'est d'abord parce que la fusion de leur passé a été une réalité énorme. Selon Steve J. Stern « la magnitude des conséquences qui sont issues de la collision des passés Européens et Autochtones ... nous obligent à considérer le problème de sens: découvrir, définir et approprier ce que 1492 veut dire pour l'histoire humaine. »[2] Ses paroles nous font penser à celles qu'a prononcées Lord Acton à la fin du 19ème siècle : "Si le passé a été un obstacle et un fardeau, la connaissance du passé en est l'émancipation la plus sécuritaire et certaine. »[3] Or, dans le cas des Amérindiens et des Euro-américains, les récits divergents de leur passé commun sont également « un obstacle et un fardeau » pour la connaissance émancipatrice de celui-ci.

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[2] [traduit de l'anglais] "the magnitude of consequence that issued from the collision of European and indigenous American histories . . . forces us to consider the problem of meaning: to discover, define, appropriate what 1492 means to human history." Steve J. Stern, "Paradigms of Conquest: History, Historiography, and Politics," first published in the *Journal of Latin American Studies 24: Quincentennial Supplement* (1992); republished the "Prologue" to Steve J. Stern, *Peru's Indian Peoples and the Challenge of Spanish Conquest: Huamanga to 1640*, 2nd ed., revised (Madison:University of Wisconsin Press, 1993; first edition published in 1982), p. 4.

[3] [traduit de l'anglais] "if the Past has been an obstacle and a burden, knowledge of the Past is the safest and the surest emancipation." John Emmich E.D. Acton, *Lectures on Modern History* (London: Macmillan, 1912), p. 10.

L'histoire et la narration du conflit de Washaw de 1832 nous fournit un excellent contexte pour examiner le problème élaboré ci haut, surtout parce que ce contexte nous force à nous questionner sur le paradigme – Euro-américain v. Amérindien – utilisé dans la formulation du même problème. Ce paradigme dominant tire son origine de différences réelles, et non pas des différences pertinantes du conflit de 1832 ou de la narration de ce dernier.

La Compagnie de la baie d'Hudson (HBC) a reçu une charte impressionnante en 1670, mais le succès de la compagnie dépendait non pas de son adhésion à la loi britannique, de peu d'importance à l'époque à la baie d'Hudson, mais du respect que démontraient les commerçants pour la loi crie: les normes socio-économiques transmises d'une génération à l'autre par une collection riche d'*atâlôhkâna* (légendes). Il est vrai que la fusion en 1821 de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest avec la Compagnie de la baie d'Hudson plaça celle-ci, avant la fin du 19ème siècle, dans un position dominante vis-à-vis les trappeurs amérindiens. Cependant, les changements apportés par cette fusion n'ont pas été la cause du conflit qui a eu lieu à la baie de Hannah dans l'hiver de 1832 lorsqu'un groupe de Cris a contrevenu aux normes acceptées, provoqué par et provoquant d'autres actes qui ont fait de même.

Le conflit de Washaw fut une intersection de conflits personnels, mêlé à une situation grave causée par des fluctuations extrêmes de la température dans un environnement difficile. Des Cris furent impliqués des deux côtés, dans l'attaque initiale sur le poste de la Compagnie, et après, lors des représailles de la Compagnie. De plus, la réponse de la Compagnie semble avoir été plus critiqué par les hommes de la Compagnie, que par les Amérindiens (le père d'un des accusés par exemple). En fait, ses employés sont à l'origine de certaines des différences de narration les plus importantes, et ce, à cause des conflits personnels au sein de la Compagnie.

Le paradigme de l'Amérindien v. l'Euro-américain peut aussi expliquer beaucoup de différences entre les narrations, mais surtout celles qui sont complémentaires. Il en est ainsi parce que l'idéal de l'historiographie crie et euroaméricaine est le même : cueillir des expériences (avec un souci d'être fidèle à la réalité, telle que nous la percevons) afin de construire, réaffirmer, ou modifier une compréhension précise qui qui nous fûmes, de qui nous sommes, et au fond, de qui nous devons être. Le fait que les narrations du conflit de Washaw soient séparés par des différences conflictuelles au lieu de complémentaires dépend surtout du degré que les narrateurs ont partagé ce même objectif.

La compétence (à tous les niveaux mais surtout au niveau éthique) dépend de la connaissance de soi-même, vis-à-vis son environnement humain et non-humain. Alors, autant que les Amérindiens et les Euro-américains cherchent à être compétents, autant doivent-ils partager leurs expériences afin de fusionner leurs compréhensions, en réconciliant celles qui sont contradictoires, en utilisant celles qui sont complémentaires, et en faisant naître de nouvelles. Des problèmes surgissent lorsque nous visons l'unification des compréhensions au lieu de l'unité de la compréhension avec la réalité, ou lorsque nous oublions que nos expériences de cette dernière sont limitées et différentes. Enfin, la question de fusionner des compréhensions du passé commun nous ramène à la question qui a été à la base du conflit de Washaw et à la narration de ce dernier : Qu'est-ce que c'est, être compétent dans son contexte culturel particulier et jusqu'à quel point toute définition de la compétence devrait-elle dépendre de son contexte culturel particulier? Au dix-neuvième siècle, beaucoup de gens ont été trop rapides à répondre à cette question, alors qu'au début du vingt-et-unième siècle, beaucoup de gens ont même trop peur de la poser.

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# ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| HBC | Hudson's Bay Company |
| HBCA | Hudson's Bay Company Archives |
| NAC | National Archives of Canada |
| NWC | North West Company |
| AO | Archives of Ontario |
| OCCC | Ojibway and Cree Cultural Centre |
| RBSCD/MUL | Rare Books & Special Collections Division of McGill University Libraries |
| UCC/VUC | United Church of Canada/Victoria University Archives |

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*In memory of Gilbert Faries & Kathleen Hardisty*

*ᒥ·ᑫᒡ Thank You Merci*

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# INTRODUCTION: MERGING AMERINDIAN & EUROAMERICAN UNDERSTANDINGS OF A SHARED PAST

"... History may be servitude, / History may be freedom. See, now they vanish, / The faces and places, with the self which, as it could, loved them, / To become renewed, transfigured, in another pattern."[1]
But what pattern?

Flying south from Moosonee on a clear summer day, one can look back and see the clay-brown waters of the Abitibi tumbling down the Allan Rapids into and alongside the dark blue waters of the Moose. The clean line, sometimes broken by an island, hazes in the distance and where they reach the shores of James Bay, the two rivers have mingled into one.

"Massacre of Europeans at Hannah Bay (apparently induced by shamanic influence from Cree disgruntled with white presence)." So reads the 1832 entry in Hap Wilson's "Historical Timetable: European Influence" which appears in his book, *Missinaibi: Journey to the Northern Sky, From Lake Superior to James Bay by Canoe.*[2] He thus summarises information picked up in conversations with people from Moosonee,[3] one of several communities near Washaw (Hannah Bay), home to descendants of those who partook in or witnessed the sequence of events which left their mark in individual and collective memories during the winter of 1832. Oral tradition has kept the memories of this event alive, especially in the neighbouring communities of Moose Factory[4] and Waskaganish (both about 50 miles in opposite directions from the bottom of Washaw). Yet the rich and diverse oral sources from these communities and others are coupled with extensive documents written at the time of the event and in later years. While the oral and written sources both coincide in casting doubt on Wilson's summary phrase and in other aspects, diversity and discord are likewise present. They flow in the same direction, but their origins are of very different colourings and where they diverge, islands of doubt and questioning appear. The question remains: how, if ever, can they merge?

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[1] T.S. Eliot, "Little Gidding," *Four Quartets* (London, Faber & Faber, 1944), lines 162-165.

[2] Hap Wilson, *Missinaibi: Journey to the Northen Sky, From Lake Superior to James Bay by Canoe*, (Canadian Recreational Canoe Association: Hyde Park, Ontario, 1994), pp. 15-17.

[3] Personal communication, December 10, 1998. He recalled two people in particular: a Ministry of Natural Resources employee and a former HBC employee who used to do the "mail run" from Moose Factory to Mattice before the arrival of the railway in Moosonee in 1932.

It is "in the reciprocal relationship between two or more cultures in contact," writes James Axtell, "that historians have found the greatest utility and most distinctive contribution of ethnohistory."[5] This hints that the best approach will be an ethnohistorical one, but what is ethnohistory? Moreover, can it or any other method produce a strong alloy, or only solder a weak bond between distinct sources, a bond that blurs their underlying perspectives, doing justice to neither?

From the latter half of the 19th century into the first decades of the 20th, anthropologists and ethnologists became very interested in what they believed to be the urgent task of determining "what traditional cultures had been like before they disappeared completely."[6] Heavily influential was the evolutionist evaluation of Amerindian peoples as primitives doomed by the principle of "survival of the fittest." Even anthropologists whose work was unmarred by such biological racism tended to study Amerindian societies less for their own sake than for the sake of understanding "modern" man's own "primitive" origins or at best his simpler, purer and static "primitive" forms of culture and society. The latter approach is exemplified by Boasian anthropology. Strongly rooted in 19th century romanticism, it denounced evolutionary racism but often produced the same diagnosis as its opponents, that of the "dying race." It was nevertheless better than the theories of Francis Parkman and

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[4] Ontario's "oldest permanent settlement," where I was born and raised and where I first heard the story.

[5] James Axtell, "Ethnohistory: An Historian's viewpoint," *Ethnohistory*, XXVI, 1 (1979): 2-3.

[6] Bruce Trigger, "The Historians' Indian," *The Canadian Historical Review*, LXVII (1986): 323.

numerous less influential anthropologists and historians who "invoked both science and religion to justify European aggression against native peoples by demonstrating that the latter were victims of their own irremediable shortcomings."[7]

Much of this directly influenced the Canadian government's sometimes forceful policies of assimilation which included the pass system, the "Peasant" farming policy,[8] and the banning of religious ceremonies, all of which had serious consequences in spite of frequent lack of enforcement and effectiveness that ensued from opposition on the part of Amerindians and numerous Euroamericans.[9] It begs qualification, but the following testimony of the era speaks poignantly: "if the Dominion Government intends to carry out a starvation policy with the Indians, then we will be no better than our cousins across the line whom we condemn so lustily for their extermination policy."[10]

Influential anthropologist Robert Lowie denied oral tradition any historical value when he wrote in 1915 that "if primitive notions tally with ours, so much the better for them, not for ours." Since they failed to record events that fell under his narrow concept of "most momentous happenings" (i.e. early visits by Europeans), he claimed that Amerindian oral traditions only remembered the insignificant. Essentially, he could "not attach to oral traditions any value whatsoever under any circumstances whatsoever ... [because] we cannot know them to be true."[11] This opinion encountered little sustained criticism from either anthropologists or historians. Few anthropologists were interested in history[12] and few historians interested in the history of "non-literate" peoples.[13]

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[7] Bruce Trigger, "Ethnohistory: The Unfinished Edifice," *Ethnohistory*, XXX, 3 (1986): 254-257.

[8] Sarah Carter, "Two Acres and a Cow: 'Peasant' Farming for the Indians of the Northwest, 1889-1897," *Sweet Promises: A Reader on Indian-White Relations in Canada*, ed. J. R. Miller (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), pp. 353-373.

[9] J.R. Miller's "Owen Glendower, Hotspur, and Canadian Indian Policy" puts these policies in perspective. *Sweet Promises*, pp. 323-352.

[10] Fr. Louis Cochin, *Saskatchewan Herald*, 8 February 1880, cited in Howard Adams, *Prison of Grass: Canada from a Native Point of View* (Saskatoon: Fifth House Publishers, 1989), p. 69.

[11] Cited in David Henige, *Oral Historiography* (Longman: New York, 1982), pp. 17-20.

The idea of the "dying race" lost its role as a central paradigm by the 1930's to be replaced by the paradigm of acculturation which was becoming the focus of significant studies by well-intentioned American anthropologists hoping to formulate "useful generalisations about the nature of cultural change" and to "help government agencies formulate more effective and humane policies for dealing with [Amerindians]." This was a sign of change confirmed in Canada by the innovative studies carried out during this decade by several social scientists, studies which recognised Amerindians as protagonists in a shared history rather than scenery in a Eurocentric history.[14]

By the 1950's, ethnology and history began to be systematically combined to examine the "ways by which many native Americans had also resisted acculturation and struggled to preserve their cultures over the centuries." One factor that influenced the development of this new approach was the archival research that some American anthropologists were doing for the litigation of Amerindian land claims. The main initial impulse behind ethnohistory, however, came primarily from anthropologists who "tended to see ethnohistory as the use of written documents only for the study of special people - 'primitive' people - that is the use of non-anthropological evidence for their own anthropological purposes."[15]

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[12] For more information on the reasons why few anthropologists were interested in history see Edward E. Evans-Pritchard's lecture: *Anthropology and History, a lecture delivered in the University of Manchester with the support of the Simon Fund for the Social Sciences* (Manchester, England: Univesity of Manchester, 1961), 22 pages. In this essay, Evans-Pritchard argues that the "functionalist critics of both evolutionists and diffusionists should have challenged them, not for writing history, but for writing bad history. As it was they dropped the history and kept the pursuit of laws, which was often precisely what made the history bad." *Ibid.*, p. 2.

[13] Henige, *op. cit.*, p. 17. Trigger reiterates this point: "Canadian historians have generally treated native peoples as part of the setting for European activities, instead of studying them for their own sakes, while ethnologists used the ethnographic information contained in these works [Jesuit Relations and other such documents] only to try to determine what native cultures had been like prior to European contact. The systematic use of these data to study native American history had to await the development of ethnohistory." *Natives and Newcomers: Canada's "Heroic Age" Reconsidered* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985), p. 164.

[14] Trigger, "Ethnohistory: The Unfinished Edifice," 257; Trigger, *Natives and Newcomers*, 164-165. He lists as examples of these innovative studies Harold Innis' *The Fur Trade in Canada* but especially A. G. Bailey's *The Conflict of European and Eastern Algonkian Cultures, 1504-1700*. Trigger, "The Historians' Indian," pp. 324-6.

Since then there has been ongoing debate about the nature of ethnohistory. In *Natives and Newcomers* (1985) Bruce Trigger remarks that "ethnohistory has been variously described as a separate discipline, a branch of anthropology or of history, a technique for analysing particular kinds of data, and a convenient source of information for other disciplines."[16] Axtell (in an article first published in 1979, but reprinted as recently as 1990) comes to the conclusion that since the 1960 symposium on the subject, the definition of ethnohistory has been "broadened and refined" to engender the following consensus between historians and anthropologists: "ethnohistory is essentially the use of historical and ethnological methods and materials to gain knowledge of the nature and causes of change in a culture defined by ethnological concepts and categories." Culture he defines as "an *idealized* [emphasis added] pattern of meanings, values, and norms differentially shared by the members of a society, which can be inferred from the non-instinctive behaviour of the group and from the symbolic products of their actions, including material artefacts, language, and social institutions."[17]

Axtell's definition limits the scope of ethnohistory to "culture," but culture does not encompass all the aspects of a society's past, and as anthropologist/ethnohistorian William Fenton notes in 1962, it is "the historian's business to apprehend the past as a thing in itself."[18] Axtell's definition, therefore, is perhaps too narrow for historians who might join with Trigger in saying it "is generally agreed that ethnohistory uses documentary evidence and oral traditions to study changes in nonliterate societies" or to study "the history of nonliterate peoples."[19]

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[15] Trigger, "The Historians' Indian," p. 325; *Natives and Newcomers*, pp. 165-166; Axtell, *op. cit.*, p. 1. Reiterated by Trigger in *Natives and Newcomers*, p. 166.

[16] *Op. cit.*, p. 166.

[17] *Op. cit.*, p. 2. Axtell derives these respective definitions from various studies by Fenton, Hudson, Sturtevant, Cohn, Fontana, Walker, Carmack, Day, Euler, and Fogelson and (for culture) Kroeber, Kluckhohn, Bidney, Singer, Berkhofer, Geertz, Schneider, Bonjean, and Keesing. Although Axtell's article dates from 1979, it has since been republished in his book *The European and the Indian*, of which the latest edition was published in 1990.

Yet, also in *Natives and Newcomers*, Trigger advocates a more limited definition of the term: "[it] should be confined to labelling a set of techniques that are necessary for studying native history." The reason he gives for this is that "labelling a field of historical investigation 'ethnohistory' perpetuates an ethnocentric and unjustifiable distinction between the study of literate and nonliterate societies."[20] In a later discussion, however, he says that "ethnohistorians must learn to combine the study of written documents more effectively with data provided by ethnology, historical linguistics, ethnosemantics, archaeology, and oral traditions, as well as with the analytical perspectives of economics and ecology."[21] He is a little ambiguous about whether or not ethnohistory is to be considered a field of historiography that "uses written sources of information and oral traditions to study the history of nonliterate peoples." In another discussion that also post-dates *Natives and Newcomers*, he writes that "only as the marginalization of native Americans in modern society is overcome can Euroamerican ethnohistorians advance beyond critiques of their own society to realize their stated goal of studying native American history."[22] Again, this seems to portray ethnohistory as a separate field of study, rather than a technique to be used in the field of history.

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[18] William N. Fenton, "Ethnohistory and its Problems," *Ethnohistory*, IX, 1 (1962): 3.

[19] *Natives and Newcomers*, pp. 166, 164.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 166.

[21] "The Historians' Indian," p. 336.

[22] "Ethnohistory: The Unfinished Edifice," p. 253.

What is to be concluded from this attempt to single out a definition of ethnohistory? Since this is an analysis of the benefits, limitations and risks of an ethnohistorical approach, it seems necessary to examine ethnohistory as a general "movement," for singling out one of the many definitions would only cripple the analysis. Nevertheless, I believe that the term ethnohistory should be given a very limited scope, as it is given in the first example below, and I will elaborate on this later.

Daniel Francis and Toby Morantz write that their study, *Partners in Furs: A History of the Fur Trade in Eastern James Bay 1600-1870*, "combines historical and ethnohistorical methods ... the latter term ... referring only to reconstructing (or constructing a reasonable facsimile of) societal organization from historical materials originally intended by the writers for other purposes."[23] The ethnohistorical method thus narrowly defined as a technique, is perhaps an essential element in the ethnohistory movement.

As shown in the overview of ethnohistory's development, lack of interest in writing Amerindian history has been strongly rooted in the changing evaluation of Amerindian peoples' importance in mainstream society.[24] It can also be concluded that the credit for ethnohistory's greater interest in the past of Amerindian peoples is due mainly to the struggles of many Amerindians, who have not disappeared, but have defied numerous such theories and assimilative policies.[25] The increasing public importance, presence, and influence of Amerindian peoples has countered a problem at the root of the old historiography of academics. For HBC historian Edwin E. Rich, "the Indians were objects, distant ones, not subjects of his history," writes Morantz, "He therefore omitted subjecting descriptions involving them ... to critical examination."[26] For Morantz, in contrast, Indians neither were nor are objects, but subjects in a history, aspects of which she has painstakingly reconstructed from sources not originally produced for such purposes.

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[23] Daniel Francis & Toby Morantz, *Partners in Furs: A History of the Fur Trade in Eastern James Bay 1600-1870* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1983), p. xii.

[24] This is confirmed by Trigger in "The Historians' Indian," pp. 337-338.

[25] A good example is the American Indian Movement that was born in Minnesota in 1968 and soon extended "into Canada, challenging the administration to allow Amerindians a greater say in running their own affairs." Olive P. Dickason, *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1992; Reprinted in 1994), p. 385.

The ethnohistory movement's "current focus on cultural continuity"[27] when writing Amerindian peoples' histories has increased the awareness of the need and utility of interdisciplinary studies as a means to achieve a more varied, extensive, and critical use of a widening range of sources. This is where the credit belongs to ethnohistorians.[28] Many examples can be cited. Trigger points out that the "very low estimates of Amerindian population by James Mooney (1928) and A. L. Kroeber (1939) resulted from lack of historical perspective in their use of demographic data"; historical documentation is insufficient because many diseases preceded Europeans. Archaeological information, he further argues, is "vital for setting ethnographic descriptions in a historical context and hence clarifying their significance," which is why he used it extensively in his well-known and excellent study of the Huron.[29] Mary Black-Rogers' "'Starving' and Survival in the Subarctic Fur Trade: A Case for Contextual Semantics," shows that claims about "starvation" were often manipulative.[30] Literary and cultural studies have provided a better understanding of colonial texts; studies in intellectual history, such as Robert F. Berkhofer's *The White Man's Indian* have unveiled patterns in the changing portrayal of the Amerindian people. Peter Schmalz and L.V. Eid have combined Ojibwa traditions and seventeenth-century documents in separate studies of the Ojibwa wars against the

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[26] Toby Morantz, "Old Texts, Old Questions: Another Look at the Issue of Continuity and the Early Fur-Trade Period," *Canadian Historical Review*, LXXIII, 2 (1992): 171.

[27] Morantz, "Old Texts," p. 186.

[28] See also: Trigger, "The Historians' Indian," p. 333.

[29] "Ethnohistory: The Unfinished Edifice," p. 259; "Ethnohistory: Problems and Prospects," p. 12.

[30] Cited in Morantz, "Old Texts," p. 171.

Iroquois in the 1690s.[31] These are but a few examples of ethnohistorians' recognition of the utility and need for data and techniques from a wide range of fields such as comparative ethnology, historical linguistics, ethnosemantics, archaeology, demography, economics, environmental history, geography, etc.

Yet in spite of the revisionist or "visionist" histories that many ethnohistorians have skilfully written in their attempt to "free mainstream North American history from its legacy as a colonial ideology,"[32] ethnohistory *as a movement* nevertheless has several problems. I will only address two of them.

To date, ethnohistory "has mainly been valuable for what it has told Euroamericans about themselves."[33] The ethnocentric tendency in ethnohistory was pointed out as early as 1974 by Raymond Fogelson when he commented that "native interpretation of critical events and significant historical personages are un- or under-represented in ethnohistorical research."[34] Yet this tendency is not limited to ethnohistory, nor is it the key problem. Amerindian oral traditions and written histories also reflect particular visions of what is important, producing historical accounts that tend to be very different, both in content, perspective, and structure from mainstream historiography. The problem, instead, is that ethnohistorians sometimes claim to be writing history from an "Amerindian" point of view, when in most cases they are writing from their own point of view ... about *aspects* of "Amerindian" history that can often be accessed only by skillful and dextrous use of limited sources. This same problem can occur if an Ojibwa historian writes about Mohawk history. Even Amerindian historians writing or telling the history of their own people are not writing from their ancestors' point of view, but from their own generations' or personal point of view. Ethnocentricism and other "centricisms" are impossible to avoid: we are all centred somewhere. The key is not to avoid "stepping into others' shoes," but rather to remember that this a *metaphor*.

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[31] Trigger, "The Historians' Indian," 333-334.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 337.

[33] Trigger, "Ethnohistory: The Unfinished Edifice," p. 264.

[34] As cited in Morantz, "Plunder or Harmony? On Merging European and Native Views of Early Contact," *Decentring the Renaissance: Canada and Europe in Multidisciplinary Perspective, 1500-1700*, ed. Germaine Warkentin & Carolyn Podruchny (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), p. 4.

The second problem is intrinsic to ethnohistory. As Trigger notes, "the distinction between history and ethnohistory runs essentially parallel to the evolutionary distinction between so-called primitive societies and civilizations." He is aware of this problem and has advocated a limited definition of ethnohistory – as we have already seen – but perhaps not limited enough. In saying that ethnohistory "uses written sources of information and oral traditions to study the history of *nonliterate* [emphasis added] peoples," Trigger hints that he has perhaps not been critical enough of the old "primitive vs. civilized" paradigm cited above.[35]

The apparent ambiguity about defining ethnohistory reveals that it is a problematic issue Trigger (among others) has not yet resolved. This may be because he is "convinced ... that North American ethnohistorians *could* profitably *complement* [emphasis added] their collection of data by more intensive investigations of the historical significance of oral traditions," but is not "optimistic that much can be learned about historical events from oral traditions alone, especially for small-scale egalitarian societies."[36] Although he views oral tradition as more than a side-show, he does not consider it a form of historiography. Morantz points out that Trigger's study of the Huron, *The Children of Aataentsic*, although "light years ahead of Eric Wolf's *Europe and the People Without History* (1982), would likely fall prey to Stephen Hugh-Jones' criticism of the latter, more global history. Hugh-Jones comments that Wolf 'aims to give back history to those who have been denied it but the history he provides is doubly our own; not only is it dominated by our European world, it is also seen through our western eyes.'" Much to his credit (and hers for mentioning it), in his preface to the 1987 reprinted edition, "Trigger anticipated such criticisms ... and welcomed new insights."[37]

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[35] Trigger, "Ethnohistory: Problems and Prospects," 3; Trigger, *Natives and Newcomers*, p. 165.

[36] Trigger, "Ethnohistory: The Unfinished Edifice," p. 261.

Morantz' study entitled "Plunder or Harmony? On Merging European and Native Views of Early Contact," provides new insights into some of the issues raised thus far. I hope to address some of them while elaborating now on why I believe ethnohistory is best understood as a "low gear" in which we should drive the historical method and why interdisciplinarity is best described as a four-wheel-drive option.

Francis and Morantz define the historical method as "rendering an account of the situations and events, the motives, and processes whereby change occurred."[38] In order to render this account, historians should have constant recourse to other disciplines in order to help them "apprehend the past," rather than ignore those dimensions of the past that are less apprehensible by means of documentary sources and conventional methods. Likewise, when the means available are insufficient, the historical account should reflect a recognition of this.[39]

Ethnohistory defined as the "reconstructing (or constructing a reasonable facsimile of) societal organisation from historical materials originally intended by the writers for other purposes," is a technique to be used by historians for history that needs it. It should be limited to this definition in order to avoid distinctions drawn along the lines of "so-called primitive societies" and "civilizations," distinctions that are subtly inherent in a conception of ethnohistory "as the study of change among indigenous peoples as opposed to history which studies the activities of Europeans both before and after they settled elsewhere throughout the world."[40]

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[37] Morantz, "Plunder," p. 4.

[38] Francis and Morantz, *op. cit.*, p. xii.

[39] Neglecting to do this is another recurring problem within the ethnohistory movement, aggevated due to the nature of its ojbect of study, its methodology and its sources. "Indian responses," for example, are almost always reconstructed." Morantz, "Old Texts," p. 177. This means that there is a danger of forgetting this. The example of Morantz should be followed when she cautions the reader that her study of Cree social organization is missing two "significant issues," the "religious perspective and marriage preferences," the reason being her sources, the journals, in which "the Indian hunters are presented as almost totally secular." Morantz, *An Ethnohistoric Study of Eastern James Bay Cree Social Organization, 1700-1850*, Canadian Ethnology Service, Mercury Series, Paper No. 88, (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1983), p. 2.

The reasoning behind such a distinction is linked to the notion that Amerindian peoples are illiterate peoples, whose oral traditions do not provide them with a sense of history or who need to have their history "uncovered" or "rewritten." Yet James Bay Cree oral traditions, for example, do render "an account of the situations and events, the motives, and processes whereby change occurred."

Effectively, the accounts provided by Cree oral tradition and by modern mainstream historiography are more alike than different, because they share the same goal. Both of them collect *experience* (with the goal of being faithful to reality - as they perceive it) in order to build, reaffirm, or modify an *understanding*.

However, because they have different means (the spoken and written word), there are certainly differences in their results. Since oral tradition retains a smaller amount of *experience*, it emphasises the *understanding* and may often omit details of *experience* by which that *understanding* was formed. This helps explain the continuum between the two forms of Cree narrative, *tipâchimôwin* ("news" or "history") and *atâlôhkân* ("legend"): the first emphasises *experience*, the second *understanding*.[41] Secondly, whereas documents can hold more aspects and versions of such *understandings* as well as chronologically isolate them, oral tradition tends to retain primarily what is essential, the perception of which changes as the *understanding* is transformed in response to new *experience*. Both, therefore, are dynamic, although oral tradition tends to hide this dynamism.[42] This is a key limitation of oral traditions: we cannot re-evaluate the *understanding*, because the *experience* it was based on is no longer available. This is also true of many historical documents, however, that are simply written "oral traditions" (second, third and fourth hand accounts) without, however, the strength of an oral culture to maintain their accurate transmission. Oral traditions are also limited by the fact that they are always passed on by the living, who "do not give up their secrets with the candour of the dead."[43] Again, many written historical accounts share this limitation. In contrast with oral sources, however, most documents used by historians were not produced by, or for the sake of, historians; therefore they often reveal things that the authors might not have included or wished to include had they been narrating historical accounts.

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[40] "Ethnohistory: The Unfinished Edifice," p. 3. I cite Trigger's discussion of common perceptions, not his own personal view.

[41] Cree oral tradition is divided into two types of narratives: *tipâchimowina* ("historical narratives" or "news") and *atâlôhkâna* ("stories" or "legends"). See Richard Preston's excellent study entitled *Cree Narrative: Expressing the Personal Meanings of Events*, Canadian Ethnology Service, Mercury Series, Paper No 30, (Ottawa, National Museum of Man, 1975). A second edition of this book with four new chapters is scheduled for release by McGill-Queen's University Press in summer 2002.

Cree oral tradition clearly has more limitations than most (but not all) document-based histories, simply because of the limitations of human memory and oral narrative. Yet given the importance of the spoken word in oral cultures, the limitations of Cree oral tradition should not be equivocated with the limitations of "hearsay" in non-oral cultures. Additionally, oral tradition should not be dismissed because it includes more than simply an account of the past. Literate cultures can systematically divide the labour into specialised fields for collecting particular *experience* and formulating particular *understandings*; oral traditions, on the other hand, have less capacity for specialisation, so they often speak of more than what mainstream culture would define as history.[44]

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[42] It is odd that some historians have simultaneously claimed that Native societies are primitive and static, and that their oral traditions are unreliable because they change too much.

[43] John Ermich E.D. Acton, *Lectures on Modern History* (London: Macmillan, 1912), p. 4.

[44] Richard Preston, writes Morantz, analysed both types of Cree narrative - *tipâchimôwin* and *ahtâlôhkân*, and "found five concepts that he suggests convey, to the Cree, notions of their past or history": "local knowledge," "sense of continuity," "cosmology," "moral teachings," and a "notion of evolution." Morantz, "Plunder," p. 8.

It is evident that the content and medium of Cree and non-Cree sources differ. However, the differences in form at the level of medium are much less significant than those at the level of content. Each culture in*forms* using a particular "reasoning of forms" (etymology of "ideology") in order to "form reasons." In other words, *experience* is never collected or passed on in a neutral form, but is always formatted by and for an *understanding*. Furthermore, the differing ideologies ("reasonings of forms") are often embedded in the respective languages, which are expressions and tools of expression of the cultures in question. If it is rigid, like an eye that has lost its ability to focus, ideology distorts historiography. However, if it is a dynamic like a living eye, ideology has more than a positive influence on historiography, for without a "reasoning of forms" one cannot "form reasons."

Ideological differences, however, should not prevent historians, be they Cree or non-Cree from using culturally-foreign sources. If it is true that among French and English Canadians, for example, there has always been a tendency to favour perspectives that are rooted in one's own culture, it is all the more true in the case of Cree and non-Cree, Amerindian and Euroamerican history, where differences are often greater. Here, one must double-underline the principle that no historical source or factor should be neglected because of, or examined outside, its individual and cultural context. Many modern historians do not adhere to the religious viewpoint or explanations that permeate the Jesuit Relations, which were written to form as much as to inform; yet they certainly view them as an important historical source.

As noted above, the limitations of Cree historiography are due to the nature of the spoken word and the limitations of memory. However, what would happen if predominantly oral societies like the Cree began using different media that enabled them to specialise in a manner more systematic they were earlier able to do, to "inform" in more detail than oral traditions earlier allowed, to retain a wider variety of versions, and to keep records that could be later used in historical accounts? Narratives of the past would still be communicated in order to entertain, form and inform, much like mainstream history, and the humour, values, news, vision of the past would still be Cree.

Such changes, of course, have long ago started to take effect. Although Cree culture is still predominantly oral, Crees are no longer a "non-literate" people. They readily adopted syllabics when introduced by James Evans, and most of them now also (or sometimes only) write in English and they also master many other media (audio and video recordings, web publishing, etc.) These documents provide sources for, and include, historical accounts that remain significantly different from modern mainstream history. Ultimately, the fact that many of them wish to have oral traditions recorded demonstrates that their historiographical goals are much the same as others': they wish to record an accurate rendering of past *experience* and *understandings* in order to update and refine their *understanding* of who they are and who they have been.

This is not a simple case of assimilation or of rejection of one's traditions; changes that are taking place in the ways the Cree think about and communicate their history are often simply an adaptation in a long tradition of collecting and sharing *experience* with a demand for "maximum precision in narration" in order to build, reaffirm, or modify an *understanding.*[45] In any case, to hope, expect or demand that cultures in contact will or should remain immutable is an "idea [that] is irreconcilable with the whole course of human history, which is nothing but a vast system of intercultural relations."[46] The new *understandings* continue to be distinctly Cree to the extent they are drawn from particular *experiences* and a particular evolution of *understandings*. Even the often overwhelming influence of mainstream culture is experienced in a very particular way by most Cree. To assume that all changes that occur in their society are simply part of an assimilative process, is to return to the dehumanising vision of the "dying race," of the "Indian" that does not act.

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[45] Richard Preston, as cited in Morantz, "Plunder," p. 15.

[46] Christopher Dawson, *Progress and Religion: An Historical Enquiry* (London: Sheed & Ward, 1938), p. 42.

The implications of this are more numerous than the two subsequent points reflect. First, what is often referred to as "prehistoric" should perhaps be referred to as "lost-historic." Secondly, "even when there is no historical data to compare it to ... oral tradition ought to be considered in itself trustworthy historical material, subject only to the same tests of internal consistency and credibility that we use for all historical accounts."[47] Ultimately, each source should be taken in its context for *what it is* by every historian who wishes to "render an account of the situations and events, the motives, and processes whereby change occurred." Discovering what a source *is* can be difficult when it is culturally foreign. The ethnohistorical movement has encouraged the use of new and multiple methodologies necessary for such a task. Ethnohistory defined as "reconstructing (or constructing a reasonable facsimile of) societal organization from historical materials originally intended by the writers for other purposes," is one of these new methodologies and it is particularly useful for placing the Washaw conflict in context. If it is clear that historians must respect both the value and limitations of Cree and non-Cree sources, it is perhaps still not clear if or how they can be merged.

Morantz writes in her recent study that although she was "full of hope that evidence from the two types of histories could be merged to produce a history informed by both English and Cree perspectives ... [she is] now sceptical about ever achieving a kind of blended, universal history that does justice to both cultural traditions." She doubts that a mixture will "yield anything but a low-level understanding," except where the focus is on a limited issue, such as the Washaw conflict. She offers the alternative of producing "different accounts according to the cultural expertise of the writers."[48] I agree with Morantz on the level of communicating an *understanding* of the shared past that is informed by both perspectives, but I am less sceptical about the possibility of forming such an *understanding*.

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[47] Morantz, "Oral and Recorded History in James Bay," *Papers of the 15th Algonquian Conference* (Ottawa: Carleton University, 1984), p. 186.

There is more in common between the Cree and mainstream historiography than there are differences that separate them. The differences inherent to the different media used are much less important than those fostered by different *experience* and the resulting *understandings*; yet what is "historiography" but the study of both of these in order to "render an account of the situations and events, the motives, and processes whereby change occurred"? Moreover, the Washaw conflict is, by nature, a "métis" event with in a "métis" history. By "métis" I mean that the people involved were of different cultures (which influenced and changed each other) or were bi/tri-cultural (a mixed culture distinct from either of its root origins did not develop in the same way as it did in the West). This mixture is reflected in the sources, and therefore any account of the Washaw conflict that seeks to "understand" what happened, in what context, why and to what effect, must also reflect this mixture. The following study of the Washaw conflict will therefore be a merging of *experiences* and of *understandings*, hopefully resolving those that are contradictory and both drawing from and adding to those that are complementary.

Cree and non-Cree historiography collects *experience* (with the goal of being faithful to reality - as each perceives it) in order to build, reaffirm, or modify an *understanding* of who they have been, who they are and, ultimately, who they *should be*. Such self-knowledge is the foundation of competence, particularly ethical competence (wisdom), the issue that has been at the heart of the Washaw conflict and its narration.

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[48] *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 5, 6, 20.

# CHAPTER 1: THE WASHAW CONFLICT WITHIN THE HISTORY OF HBC-CREE RELATIONS

## INTRODUCTION

By Royal Charter dated May 1670, Charles II of England incorporated the Hudson's Bay Company (hereafter HBC), simultaneously granting it "Rupert's Land," a territory defined by the watershed after which the Company was named. Two centuries later, the HBC relinquished, by "Order of Her Majesty in Council," all its "territorial and other rights" over this watershed. By the same Order in Council of June 1870, the three-year-old Dominion of Canada acquired this land as well as the North-Western Territory over which the Company had previously held certain rights based on a "License for Exclusive Trade" granted in 1821 (the year the HBC merged with its chief rival, the North West Company).[1]

Thus seen from a British legal perspective, 1670, 1821 and 1870 are three of the most important dates in the evolution of the Company's relationship with its oldest "partners in furs": the *Illiliwak* ("people" – in other Cree dialects: *Iiyuuch, Ininiwak* and *Iinuuch*) of the Wiinipek (Hudson Bay) watershed. Not surprisingly, however, the Crees' (as the *Illiliwak* now refer to themselves in English) oral tradition says nothing of the legal transactions made in these years. Their *tipâchimôwina* (historical narratives) nevertheless reveal a somewhat parallel evolution of situations/events that are linked to them. This evolution can be broadly represented as follows: (1) first encounters (2) development and evolution of trade relations; (3) the arrival of missionaries, the growing presence of a foreign government (Canada), and the formation of new pressures on Cree resources combined with a weakening of the Crees' influence in the fur trade. The 1832 Washaw (Hannah Bay) conflict, the focus of this study, is an event that falls in the second period. The dissonant accounts of this conflict are problematic, yet so is the broader historiography of the Cree-HBC "partnership in furs."[2]

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[1] Many historians date the transfer to 1869, when the deed of surrender was made; the Company's rights, however, were not legally extinguished until the British Crown accepted this surrender, which it did only on June 22, 1870. "Territorial and other rights" is the wording used in the "Address to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty" by the Canadian Parliament, cited in Schedule B of the "Order of Her Majesty in Council Admitting Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory into the Union," dated June 23, 1870. *Revised Statutes of Canada*, 1970, App. II, No. 9. The combined territory (renamed the North-West Territory) that was "transferred" to Canada covered about 2,300,000 square miles. Beckles Willson, *The Great Company, Being a History of the Honourable Company of Merchants-Adventurers Trading into Hudson's Bay* (Toronto: The Copp, Clark Company, 1899), p. 493. The 1821 "License" was renewed for the second and last time in 1838, for 21 years. Edwin E. Rich, *The Fur Trade and the Northwest, to 1857*, Vol. 11 in *The Canadian Centenary Series*, ed. W.L. Morton (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967), p. 26.

The pivotal shift in relations revealed by the Washaw conflict originated with the 1821 legal transaction. While a review is therefore necessary of the latter's significance, the meaning still given by many historians to the 1670 and 1870 legal transactions, on the other hand, needs revision. Otherwise, one risks misunderstanding whence and whither the Cree-HBC relationship was shifting, and to what extent this transition set the stage for the Washaw conflict.

The British legal perspective is certainly a valuable one, but it is problematic if taken at face value, for in 1670 it was of no relevance to the Crees. The Crees' own unwritten laws, on the other hand, were immediately relevant to the Hudson's Bay Company's trade and survival. Transmitted from generation to generation through a rich collection of *atâlôhkâna*, these Cree socioeconomic norms struck a unique equilibrium between personal freedom and social responsibility, one to which the English Company would have to adjust.[3] At Hannah Bay House in January 1832, a number of Crees breached these norms, but they were provoked and answered by other actions that did likewise.

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[2] "Partnership in furs" is an allusion to Daniel Francis' and Toby Morantz' *Partners in Furs. A History of the Fur Trade in Eastern James Bay. 1600-1870* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1983).

[3] I am grateful to John Paul Murdoch for his insightful comparison of *âtalôhkâna* and English common law. See: Richard Preston, *Cree Narrative*.

Although a rare outbreak of violence on the part of the Crees, some of those closely tied to the Washaw conflict would nevertheless later refer to "those troublesome times of Hannah Bay, etc."[4] The "Hannah Bay massacre," as many have come to call it, signalled a transformation of the "partnership in furs": the priority of what can be called the HBC's "public relations policy" was shifting from the Cree towards the British (North American) population, and the British legal perspective, as defined by HBC traders, was becoming increasingly relevant to the Cree.

### *1870: A Transfer of "Rupert's Land"?*

Nevertheless, even on the threshold of the 1870 "Rupert's land transfer," Britain's legal perspective was not yet as important as its Secretary of State for the Colonies, Earl Granville, implied in an April 1869 letter to the Governor General of Canada:

> On one point which has not been hitherto touched upon, I am anxious to express to you the expectations of Her Majesty's Government – They believe that whatever may have been the policy of the Company, and the effect of their Chartered rights upon the progress of settlement, the Indian Tribes who form the existing populations of this part of America have profited by the *Company's rule* [emphasis added].[5]

Just one month earlier, Earl Granville himself had written that the Company's "legal rights, whatever these may be, are liable to be invaded without law by a mass of Canadian and American settlers, whose occupation of the country on any terms they [the HBC] will be little able to resist."[6] While the colonisation of the west by Euro-

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[4] Peter McKellar, "The Hannah Bay Massacre," manuscript attached to a letter to Robert Bell, 11 April 1899 (Robert Bell Papers, Lawrence Lande Collection, RBSCD/MUL, Montreal), p. 3. Peter McKellar's account is based on an interview with William, John & Thomas Weigand. This citation refers to the stories John Wiegand was often told by two people involved in the Washaw conflict (one of whom was his father). For more details on this account, see Chapter Three.

[5] Letter to Sir John Young, April, 1869. Cited in: Canada, Parliament, Report of Delegates Appointed to Negotiate for the Acquisition of Rupert's Land and the North-West Territory, (Ottawa: 1869), pp. 37-38.

[6] Canada, Sessional Papers (No. 25) 32 Victoriae; A. 1869.

Canadians was desirable, Granville knew that such settlers risked being overwhelmed and assimilated by their American counterparts, whose expansionism was precisely what had provoked Canadian leaders to press for a transfer sooner than they would have otherwise liked.[7]

Their "Indian Wars" showed that the Americans were not the only potential obstacle to Canadian expansion. They alone, however, posed a significant threat in the international diplomatic arena recognised by Britain (which would officially relinquish control over Canada's international affairs only in 1931 with the Statute of Westminster). Establishing sovereignty in this Europe-centred political arena, therefore, was the Canadian Government's most urgent priority. Only when this was done could it attempt what the HBC had always prudently avoided: asserting sovereignty over the territory that drained into Wiinipek.

The Hudson's Bay Company had seldom sought to protect anything other than its fur trade interests, often with very limited success, especially before 1821. Like its American competitor, the Canadian Government, on the other hand, was now seeking real control over the rich land to the west. Though conscious of the problems this radical change could incur, the Canadian Government was likely less aware of them than the HBC. Among the "Details of Agreement between the Delegates of the Government of the Dominion, and the Directors of the Hudson's Bay Company" is the following condition of surrender: "any claims of Indians to compensation for lands required for purposes of [European] settlement, shall be disposed of by the Canadian Government in communication with the Imperial

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[7] In March 1865, John A. Macdonald wrote the following words about the territories soon to be "transferred" to Canada: "I would be quite willing, personally, to leave that whole country a wilderness for the next half century, but I fear if Englishmen do not go there, Yankees will." Earlier, Chief Justice William H. Draper had warned - as Galbraith phrases it - that "unless an effective government was soon established, Rupert's Land was likely to become part of the United States." He had been sent to London in 1857 by the Canadian Executive Council as an observer in the hearings of the British government's "Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company" (See Chapter Four for a discussion of this Committee). Cited in: Peter C. Newman, *Company of Adventurers*, Vol. 2 (Toronto: Penguin Books, 1985), p. 483; and John S. Galbraith, *The Hudson's Bay Company as an Imperial Factor, 1821-1869* (New York: Octagon Books, Division of Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1977), p. 342.

Government, and ... the Company shall be relieved of all responsibility in respect of them."[8] For practical and ethical concerns (reinforced by American example), the Canadian Parliament had clearly stipulated, a month earlier, that Indian claims "be considered and settled, in conformity with the equitable principles which have uniformly governed the British Crown in its dealings with the Aborigines."[9] However, "claims of Indians" in Wiinipek have yet to be fully resolved, despite the signing of treaties in 1905 (Ontario) and 1975 (Quebec).[10]

Thus, contrary to the perspective presented by almost all Canadian and British histories, what occurred in 1870 was not the transfer of "Rupert's Land." Rather, it was a transfer of Britain's diplomatic and legal support for claims to the Wiinipek watershed, a transfer from a corporation motivated by purely commercial interests to a Dominion with much broader economic and sociopolitical goals. Backed by Britain, Canada then took the unfinished struggle it had inherited from the Company to an entirely new level, and still remains far from resolving it.

The HBC, on the other hand, gained much in exchange for little. Although it relinquished many of its chartered rights (territorial and commercial), British support for them had already turned lukewarm. In compensation, the Company received £300,000 and maintained title to rich lands that it had held till then only on paper, but which a more powerful entity now promised to both secure and render more valuable by Euro-Canadian settlement. The HBC also maintained title to land in the vicinity of its trading posts, land to which the "Company's rule," both political and commercial, had always been quite limited. Largely freed from security concerns, and (*vis-à-vis* the British law and public) from many moral obligations acquired in its "partnership in furs," the Company's governors and shareholders were able to focus on the 200-year-old goal of earning maximal returns on their investment. Because of this and the development of its valuable land resources, the HBC's third century (1870-1970) would prove to be its most profitable one. Survival, on the other hand, ceased to be the central issue it had often been between 1670 and 1821.[11]

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[8] The memorandum outlining this and the other "Details of Agreement between the Delegates of the Government of the Dominion, and the Directors of the Hudson's Bay Company," was signed on March 22, 1869 by Sir Stafford H. Northcote, Governor of the HBC, and the leaders of the Canadian delegation sent to London in 1868, George Etienne Cartier and William McDougall. A copy of this memorandum is contained in their report, cited above. *Supra*, Footnote 6.

[9] Sessional Papers (no. 25) 32 Victoria, A. February 8, 1869.

[10] For a discussion of the 1905 Treaty and its additions, see the following studies by John Long. *Treaty No. 9: The Indian Petitions*, *Treaty No. 9: The Half-breed Question* and *Treaty No. 9: The Negotiations* (Cobalt: Highway Book Shop, 1978); "Treaty No. 9 and Fur Trade Company Families: Northeastern Ontario's Indians, Halfbreeds, Petitioners and Métis," pp. 137-162 in Jacqueline Peterson & Jennifer S.H. Brown, eds., *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Métis in North America* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1985); "'No Basis for Argument'?: The Signing of Treaty No. 9 in Northern Ontario, 1905-1906," *Native Studies Review*, V, 2 (1989): 19-54 & VI, 2 (1989): 99-102; "Who Got What at Winisk? Treaty Making, 1930," *The Beaver* (February - March 1995): 23-31; and "Early Visions of Development on the Abitibi River: Treaty No. 9 and the People of New Post, 1900-1905," (To be published by Nipissing University in the proceedings of the "Visions of the North, Voices of the North" conference held in North Bay, 25 May 1996). For discussion of the 1975 James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement, see: *Sovereign injustice: forcible inclusion of the James Bay Crees and Cree territory into a sovereign Québec* (Nemaska, P.Q.: Grand Council of the Crees, 1995).

## *Understanding Fur Trade Relations*

Peter C. Newman, author of the most popular history of the Hudson's Bay Company (published in three volumes), writes that the "Company has always been large in terms of the square miles it *controlled*" (emphasis added).[12] Similarly, E. E. Rich, author of the most detailed scholarly history of the HBC (also in three volumes), states that "within a decade of their becoming acquainted with European goods, tribe after tribe became utterly *dependent* (emphasis added) on regular European supplies."[13] John S. Galbraith, another prominent HBC historian, comments that at "the height of its expansion, the Company *ruled* (emphasis added) an area of more than 3,000,000 square miles."[14] All of these historians could clearly have profited from the ethnohistorical methodology used by Toby Morantz, in which "the raw data supplied by the fur trader [becomes] the important unit of study, not his general observations or his narrative accounts." Morantz' focused and meticulous study of the history of the *Wiinipeku-iiyuuch* and *Nuchimiu-iinuuch*, like Richard Preston's invaluable study of their oral tradition, shows that Newman, Rich and Galbraith's sweeping generalisations misconstrue the nature of the partnership that developed between these Cree and the Company.[15] Studies by Morantz, Colin Scott, James Morrison, John Long and Victor Lytwyn reveal the same concerning the *Mushkegowuk*, both on the west coast of Wiinipek and in Washaw (Hannah Bay) where *Mushkego* and *Wiinipeku* territories now merge. The evolution of the Cree-HBC relationship leading up to the Washaw conflict is

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[11] See the "Deed of Surrender," Schedule (C) of the "Order of Her Majesty in Council," *op. cit.* For records of the HBC's profits, see: Newman, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 467-474.

[12] Newman, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 503. Newman's *Empire of the Bay: An illustrated history of the Hudson's Bay Company* (a single-volume version of Newman's three-volume HBC history) is more explicit: "This Charter of 1670 made them [the HBC's investors] the 'true and absolute Lordes and Proprietors' of all the seas and lands of Hudson Bay and its entire tributary system. In the years that followed, the trading posts of the Hudson's Bay Company would encompass three million square miles, making it the largest private landowner in history." This quote is taken from the inside cover.

[13] Cited in: Toby Morantz, *An Ethnohistoric Study of Eastern James Bay Cree Social Organization, 1700-1850*, Canadian Ethnology Service, Mercury Series, Paper No. 88 (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1983), p. 31.

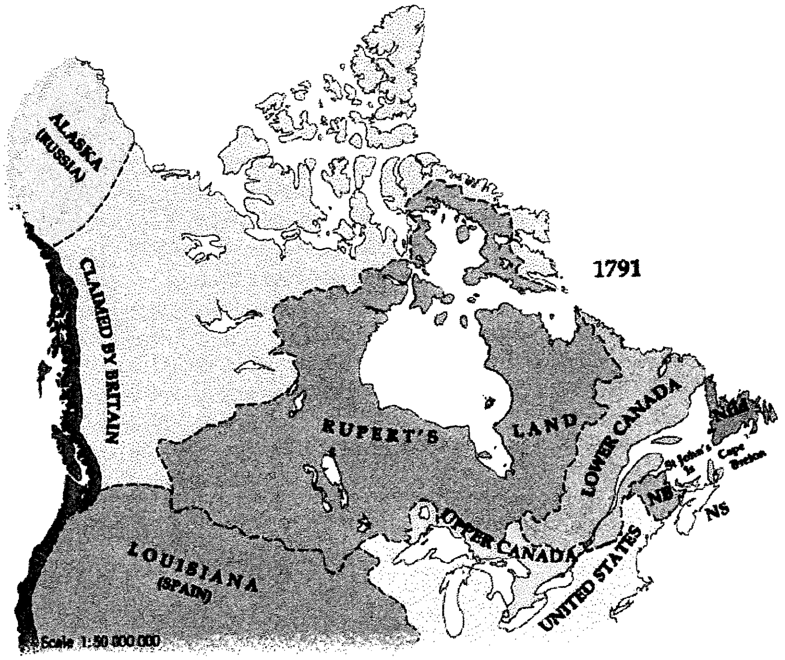

**Figure 2: Map of "Rupert's Land."** *Historical Atlas of Canada, Vol. II, The Land Transformed,* 1800-1891, ed. R. Louis Gentilcore (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), Plate 21, p.60.

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[14] Galbraith, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

[15] Morantz, *An Ethnohistoric Study.*, p. 5. Richard Preston, *Cree Narrative: Expressing the Personal Meanings of Events*, Canadian Ethnology Service, Mercury Series, Paper No. 30 (Ottawa, National Museum of Man, 1975). Even the traders' "general observations" and "narrative accounts" however, would not support these generalisations. See also: Francis and Morantz, *op. cit.*, pp. 167-171.

best reconstructed using Cree *tipâcimôwina* combined with academic studies such as these, rather than those of Rich, Newman and Galbraith.[16]

Early HBC-Cree interaction, however, cannot be isolated from French-English relations (in regard to this, the historiography of Newman, Rich and Galbraith is both reliable and invaluable). Relations between different Amerindian peoples also require attention, not only because they were involved on both sides of the Washaw conflict, but also because the newcomers had to adjust to the norms of such relations. Knowledge of them was precisely what made Médard Chouart Des Groseilliers and his brother-in-law Pierre-Esprit Radisson such valuable human resources in the Wiinipek fur trade. They initiated the first fur trade expedition to Wiinipek, and continued working there afterwards, at times for the English, at times for the French.

## 1668 ONWARDS: ESTABLISHING THE TERMS OF A PARTNERSHIP IN FURS

The first fur trade vessel to arrive in Wiinipek was the English *Nonsuch*, which Zachariah Gillam piloted into Awaashaahat in the summer of 1668. With the exception of Des Groseilliers (Radisson's ship was unable to complete the voyage), this was a completely foreign wilderness for those on board the *Nonsuch*.[17] In contrast, for the *Wiinipeku-iiyuuch* who guided the ship to the spot where Henry

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[16] Ira Chaikin and Toby Morantz, "Report of the Ontario Land Claims Research Project: Phase I" (Prepared for the Grand Council of the Crees of Quebec, March 31, 1985); Colin Scott and James Morrison, "The Quebec Cree Claim in the Hannah Bay/Harricanaw River Drainage in Ontario: Report of the Ontario Claim Research" (Report prepared for the Grand Council of the Crees of Quebec, June 1993). Victor Petro Lytwyn, "The Hudson Bay Lowland Cree in the Fur Trade to 1821: A Study in Historical Geography" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, 1993).

Note: I use "Cree" when referring to all the groups, and the Cree language terms when referring to one of the following specific groups: *Wiinipeku-iiyuuch* (bay-dwellers) and *Nuchimiu-iinuuch* (inlanders) and the *Mushkegowuk* (swamp-dwellers).

[17] Several years earlier, Des Groseilliers and Radisson had accompanied a group of Nipissing Algonquians on a voyage to or towards James Bay. (Whether or not they arrived is a subject of debate.) Francis & Morantz, *op. cit.*, p. 22. Awaashaahat is the *Wiinipeku* name for Rupert Bay.

Hudson had wintered fifty-eight years earlier, it was a very familiar home.[18] Over many centuries, their ancestors had developed the tradition of regrouping at coastal sites once the winter had released its cold grip, allowing the land and water to again provide adequate resources for larger gatherings. This was the optimal time for travelling and thus for exchanging *tipâchimôwina* and goods (North American or, more recently, also European), especially with their *Nuuhchimiu-iinuuch* neighbours to the Southeast.[19] Although it certainly provided an opportunity to trade more profitably, the arrival of the *Nonsuch* did not have any overwhelming effect on the Cree. As Preston points out, they were likely no more impressed by the newcomers' appearance and possessions than they were by their incompetence in most of the life-skills necessary for survival in Wiinipek.[20]

Before the snow arrived, the traders built a *waskahiiganish* ("little house") which they called Charles Fort, at *Kaaniyaakaau* ("sandy ledge"),[21] on the Southeast bank of the river mouth into which they had been guided. They would name this river, known now to the *Wiinipeku-iiyuuch* as the *Waskahiiganish-uusiipii* ("river of the little house"), in honour of Prince Rupert, the most prominent of the Company's investors, and their royal supporter. By the time *Wiinipeku-iiyuuch* families assembled at their coastal sites the next spring, *tipâchimôwina* about the traders had spread; according to Captain Gillam, about three hundred came to trade furs. Some of them were likely *Nuchimiu-iinuuch* who travelled from inland.[22]

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[18] Although Hudson was looking not for furs, but for a northwest passage to oriental riches, he did trade with one man who visited his ship in the spring. The account given by a crew member reveals that the man was already familiar with the European trade goods. One of Hudson's crew members, Abacuck Pricket, kept a journal of his trip, in which he described this event. *Ibid.*, p. 16. Toby Morantz, Daniel Francis, Carol Sheedy & Claire-Andrée Tremblay, "An Historical Chronology of Eastern James Bay, 1610-1870" (Report prepared under the auspices of the James Bay History Program of the Ministère des affaires culturelles, Province of Quebec, Direction d'archéologie et ethnologie, 1976), p. 4.

[19] Lytwyn, *op. cit.*, pp. 269-271.

[20] Richard Preston, "The View from the Other Side of the Frontier: East Cree Historical Notions," *Papers of the 21st Algonquian Conference*, ed. William Cowan (Ottawa: Carleton University, 1990), pp. 313-328. Cree *tipâcimôwina* focus little on the material and more on the interpersonal aspects of this encounter.

[21] David Denton, an archaeologist who has conducted work in the James Bay region for many years, told me about the use of the name *Kaaniyaaukaau* (sandy ledge). Personal communication, June 23, 2000. He learned of it by Ronnie Cowboy, a Cree elder from Waskaganish.

When the *Nonsuch* returned to England later in the year, its financiers were very pleased with their profits. They organised as a company, and on May 2, 1670, Charles II incorporated the "Governor and Company of Adventurers of England tradeing into Hudson's Bay," appointing them "true and absolute Lordes and Proprietors" over the vast territory he simultaneously named "Rupert's Land." The only significant legal conditions on the Royal Charter were, in the King's words, that the Company honour the "faith Allegiance and Sovereigne Dominion due to us our heires and successors," and that the "Lawes Constitutiones Orders and Ordinances Fynes and Amerciamentes" established for the government of Rupert's Land "bee reasonable and not contrary or repugnant but as neare as may bee agreeable to the Lawes Statutes of this our Realme." While such legal conditions had weight in England, the real conditions on the Company in the Wiinipek watershed were set by their French competitors, and more importantly, by the Cree.[23]

Although he might have deemed it within his rights, Charles II was well aware that it was not within his means to grant the "Landes Countryes and Territoryes" then unpossessed by another "Christian Prince or State" that drain into Hudson's Bay (i.e. 43% of Canada's present territory) and the "sole Trade and Commerce" therein. The Company's investors were also conscious of this fact, but they also knew, as E. E. Rich points out, that "in order that a fur trade might be maintained, the territory itself had to be claimed under a national flag and then granted away with legal formalism to a company and a colony." Otherwise, "if the French should claim and vindicate a right to the territory itself, any English fur trade would be destroyed" (or maintained at a greater expense of other English interests within the European diplomatic arena). Therefore, at the price of "two Elkcs and two

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[22] Francis & Morantz, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

[23] From the Royal Charter, cited in Newman, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1 (Appendix One), pp. 428-446.

Black beavers" for his "heires and Successors" each time they might "happen to enter into the said Countryes Territoryes and Regions hereby granted," what Charles II really granted the HBC was legal and diplomatic support for its claims to exclusive trade *vis-à-vis* other European powers or other subjects of the English crown. This was sufficient for the English investors: their interest in the territory extended little beyond the impressive fur trade profits that Des Groseilliers had proven possible therein. However, the same was true about their knowledge of the vast territory, and its people.[24]

Competing traders would only be the Company's worst cause for worry, not its central concern. As the French already knew well, European traders were not competing for furs, but for the cooperation and allegiance of the Amerindian peoples who harvested them. On this point, there was very little the English king could do to support the Company; he could only authorise it to act as it saw fit.[25] In addition to the right to exclusive trade "with all the Natives and People Inhabiting or which shall inhabit within the said Territoryes Lymittes and places," Charles II also granted the Company the right to

> continue or make peace or Warre with any Prince or People whatsoever that are not Christians [i.e. Amerindian peoples] in any places where the said Company

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[24] Rupert's Land covered an area of 1,379,166 square miles. Peter C. Newman, *op. cit.*, p. 19. The Royal Charter, as cited in *loc. cit.*, pp. 428-446. The result was "un décalage entre la doctrine officielle et la pratique," whereby claims made in one sphere would not be repeated or asserted in another. Michel Morin, *L'Usurpation de la Souveraineté Autochtone: Le cas des peuples de la Nouvelle-France et des colonies anglaises de l'Amérique du Nord* (Montreal: Les Editions du Boreal, 1997), 125-126. Cornelius J. Jaenen makes a very similar point about the French Regime noting that "on the international level, France like other European powers involved in colonisation of America asserted her sovereign rights over a vast continental expanse. At the regional level, dealing with 'independent' peoples, she refrained from interference with original territorial rights, customs and mode of life." "French Sovereignty and Native Nationhood During the French Regime," *An Introduction to Canadian History*, A. I. Silver ed. (Toronto: Canadian Scholars, 1991; first published in the *Native Studies Review*, 1986), pp. 54-55. Rich, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31, 236.

[25] Galbraith writes: "The responsibility for defending this estate [Rupert's Land] against encroachments by rival traders and for preserving order among the inhabitants rested upon the Company; its tenure during the 200 years after the issue of the charter depended primarily upon its efficiency rather than upon protection afforded it by the charter or by the British government." *Op. cit.*, p. 3-4.

> shall ... [be present] as shall bee for the advantage and benefit of the said Governor and Company and of their Trade and alsoe to right and recompense themselves upon the Goodes Estates or people of those partes by whome the said Governor and Company shall sustayne any injury losse or dammage or ... [who] interrupt wrong or injure them in theire said Trade within the said places ...[26]

While recognising the commercial importance of Amerindian peoples, the Charter grants the Company the right to define the terms of "partnership" with them, peacefully or violently. Yet since it was based on an authority devoid of meaning in Wiinipek, this "right" would seldom be exercised, or at least not without serious consequences like the Washaw conflict or the controversy that resurfaced years after the Company's retaliation to the attack on its post.

In contrast to the Charter it granted the HBC, the English crown also issued in 1668 "a code of instructions ... for the guidance of the Governors of Colonies," which commanded "'that they at no time give any just provocation to any of the ... Indians that are at peace with us.'" The reasoning was simple: "'most of our Colonies do border upon the Indians, and peace is not to be expected without the due observance and preservation of justice to them.'"[27] Although the English traders were not colonists, this code of instructions is a better indication than the Charter, of the policy they would tend to follow as closely as possible, when not for nobler reasons, at least out of necessity. While competition for resources would provoke violent conflicts in the thirteen English colonies south of New France, the dependence of the HBC traders on the Crees prompted them, in contrast, to be much more attentive to negotiating peaceful and cooperative relationships with them and other Amerindian peoples.[28] Furthermore, compared to their colonialist counterparts, they were quite successful, primarily because their influence on Cree society was minimal, and on the Cree economy, mainly a positive one (at least for the first 200 years). This was the case not only with the *Wiinipeku-iiyuuch* and *Nuchimiiu-iinuuch*, but also with the *Mushkegowuk.*

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[26] "Royal Charter," *loc. cit.*, pp. 439-40, 443. These are the only two references to Native peoples in the charter.

[27] "Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada," *Journal of Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada* (1847), App. EEE, Section 1 (entitled "History of the Relations between the Government and the Indians").

[28] Francis & Morantz, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

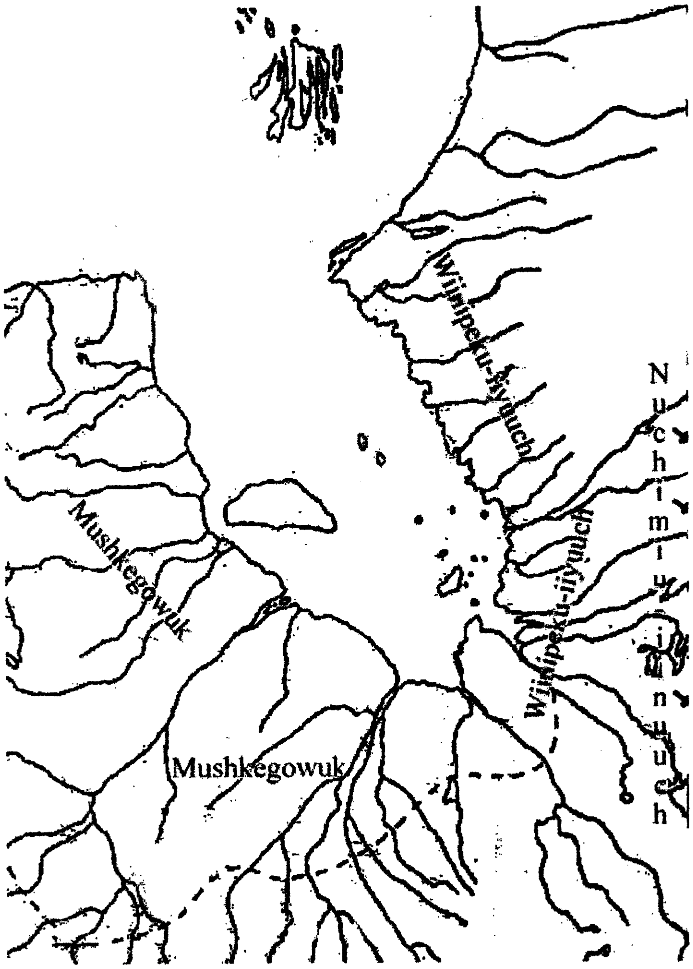

**Figure 3: Mushkegowuk, Wiinipeku-iiyuuch & Nuchimiu-iinuuch territories** (approximation).

In the fall of 1670, Des Groseilliers returned to Wiinipek, accompanied by Radisson and Charles Bayly, the Company's first overseas governor. During the winter, which the traders spent in several newly constructed houses and a "wigwam" at the site of the Rupert Bay *waskahiiganish*, *Wiinipeku-iiyuuch* visited frequently to trade food and furs. In the spring, Radisson and Bayly travelled southwest to the Mooso Sibi (Moose River), where they traded with a number of *Mushkegowuk*, ancestors of those now dwelling in this and other parts of the western Wiinipek lowlands. Within a decade, Bayly would establish small trade posts in *Omushkegowuk otaskiiyaaw* ("*Mushkegowuk* territory") at the mouths of the Mooso Sibi (Moose Fort, 1673) and the Kashechewan Sibi (Albany Fort, 1679). The Company was slowly inserting itself into the local economies.[29]

## THE FUR TRADE'S INTEGRATION WITH THE CREE SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

*Mushkego*, *Winipeku* and *Nuchimiyu* economies were all based on seasonal hunting, fishing, and gathering of their territory's limited resources. Though stable, their social organisation was nevertheless flexible, reflecting the need for maintaining "a balance between group size and [availability of] natural resources." The smallest social unit was the nuclear family. Two to four families would normally winter together in one lodge, working together, but maintaining separate family spaces and resources. Yet in feasts or in times of scarcity food would be shared. Several winter hunting groups would unite for the spring and fall goose hunts, between which they would normally migrate to traditional summer fishing sites, where abundant resources supported the largest gatherings of the year. Being the most suitable for travelling, these summer weeks presented the best opportunity to trade with other groups, an opportunity that the arrival of Europeans expanded significantly.[30]

As they began setting up trading camps and posts, the HBC traders sought locations close to the Crees' traditional spring and summer sites, first those on the coast frequented by the *Mushkegowuk* and *Wiinipeku-iiyuuch*, and starting in the late 18th century, those of the *Nuuchimiu-iinuuch* and other Amerindian peoples (where competition was already present). If HBC posts were not close enough, Cree families and groups might change sites, organise a trip to the nearest trading post, whether English or not, or let the *coureurs de bois* or voyageurs bring the trade to them. Decisions regarding such matters were made in a very decentralised manner, by each family or hunting group.[31]

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[29] Newman, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 125-128. Note that Bayly had a reputation for being a fair trader.

[30] Chaikin & Morantz, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-18 (citation from p. 18). See also: Richard Preston's article "Eastern Cree Community in Relation to the Fur Trade Post in the 1830s: the Background of the Posting Process," *Papers of the Sixth Algonquian Conference*, William Cowan, ed. (Ottawa, Carlton University, 1974), p. 325-356; Scott & Morrison, *op. cit.*, p. 30; Lytwyn, *op. cit.*, pp. 268-271, 277-280. There were many variants of these general rules. In times of scarcity, families might also disperse in order to make better use of the territory's resources. If they did so, however, it was because sharing evenly their combined resources was still insufficient; this continues today.

Families and hunting groups were led by one or more *okimawak*. *Okimaw* (singular of *okimawak*) can be translated as "leader," "elder" or "teacher." Typically the eldest able hunter in a family or group, he was recognised as *okimaw* based on his social, economic (hunting, trading, etc.) and spiritual experience and competence. Yet, since one man might be a better trader, one a better hunter, and another a better diplomat, *okimawak* did not necessarily have a permanent or all-encompassing authority. If, for example, several families were travelling together, whoever knew the territory better was more likely to be considered the one who *okimawiw*, who "leads." The HBC factor (manager) might therefore be called *okimaw*, without this implying that the Cree submitted to his authority: he was simply respected as the *okimaw* in Company affairs.[32]

While Cree *okimawak* recognised the competence of the factor in his domain, the HBC Factors acted reciprocally. In fact, they accorded certain privileges to many Cree *okimawak*, whom they named as "trading captains," hoping they would bring their fellow hunters to trade at the English posts.[33] Yet trading captains were not always successful, for compared to the authority Company *okimawak* had over HBC servants, Cree *okimawak* had a very limited authority among their fellow Cree hunters. They would be recognised for their skill in bargaining with the traders, but if they sought self-interest at the expense of the others in their family or hunting group, they risked being rejected.

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[31] Chaikin & Morantz, *op. cit.*, p. 12. Scott and Morrison, *op. cit.*, p. 30. Francis and Morantz, *op. cit.*, p. 27. Preston, "Eastern Cree Community," p. 329.

[32] Thomas Gorst, HBC trader dwelling in the *waskahiganish* at Rupert River in 1674, observed the following: "The Indians of certain Districhs [sic], which are bounded by such and such Rivers, have each an Okimah, as they call him, or Captain over them, who is an Old Man, consider'd only for his Prudence and Experience." Cited in Lytwyn, *op. cit.*, p. 45. Things have changed little. Recounting one's experience before speaking on a specific subject is typical in Cree culture. In *Okimah*, a 1998 National Film Board production directed by Paul Rickard of the Moose Cree First Nation, the *okimah* is described as he who looks out for everyone, who teaches, who guides. The leader of a fishing expedition is called the *namesikimaw*, the clergyman is the called the *ayamihewikimaw* ("speech-master"), the Indian agent is called the *shôliyanikimaw* (money-master), etc. Note that a Band Chief is referred to as an *okimahkan* ("surrogate chief"), not as an *okimaw*. C. Douglas Ellis, "A Note on Okimahkan," *Anthropological Linguistics*, II, 3 (Indiana University, March 1960), p. 1. See also: Scott & Morrison, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27.

It took some time before the establishment of HBC posts had any notable effect on Cree society, especially on *Nuuchimiu* society. The HBC was competing, not with the Crees, but with other Europeans wanting to obtain, in exchange for useful goods, surplus quantities of one of the Crees' most abundant resources. Besides providing tools that facilitated rather than disrupted the Cree economy, HBC posts gave an additional focus for summer gatherings (which were probably enlarged as a result) and an additional role for (or criterion for the recognition of) *okimawak*. Other than this, the arrival of the Company, in the words of Richard Preston, "probably didn't make much of a dent in the Cree world."[34]

In fact, the HBC did all it could to avoid making any dents in the world from which it was able to derive significant profits with a minimal investment. In order to prevent potential conflicts, or private trading, the HBC's London committee initially forbade non-commercial relations with the Cree, and commercial relations were made the exclusive responsibility of the factor. HBC men thus stayed within or close by the confines of their small posts. Yet initial uneasiness in their very new surroundings was, for most of them, far more influential than the London Committee's regulations. They were "strangers in an alien land, dependent for survival on the goodwill of an unknown local population and unreliable sea links."[35]

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[33] The following instruction to a trader illustrates this: "on your arrival at the Lake, in order to gain the good opinion of the Indians you may meet with, and entice them over to our Interest, you may give them a Treat of Brandy, and to Coochee or the principal leading Indian of those parts you may give a Captain's Coat which will be a means of ensureing [sic] their Friendship & Assistance in shewing [sic] you the best fishing places and bringing you Provisions, what they bring you, You may Trade at the usual rates." Edwin E. Rich & Alice M. Johnson, eds., *Moose Fort Journals 1783-85* (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1954), p. 197. See also: Toby Morantz, "Northern Algonquian concepts of status and leadership reviewed: a case study of the eighteenth-century trading captain system," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, XIX, 4, (1982): 484-501.

[34] Chaikin & Morantz, *op. cit.*, 12. Preston, "The view", p. 317.

The Company servants were ignorant of both the land and its inhabitants (human and non-human) as well as the refined technology and skills required for survival let alone maintaining a livelihood. They therefore regularly relied on the *Wiinipeku-iiyuuch* and *Mushkegowuk* not only for furs, but as post journals and oral traditions reveal, also for food and other services.[36] One of these services included information on French activities and potential attacks (primarily in the 17th and early 18th centuries). Traders soon began referring to these Crees as the "homeguard," or "half-homeguard," depending on how closely they were connected with the post.[37] Yet the homeguard Crees demanded things in return, and many, to some extent, even welcomed the presence of the HBC's competitors. A few maintained (or established) their own trade services, profiting from competition or (especially on the west coast of Hudson Bay) from their position as middlemen.[38]

Combined with the HBC's lack of sociopolitical strength, competition allowed the homeguard Crees to maintain the upper hand in defining the terms of partnership, even as the relationship of HBC dependence on the homeguard shifted towards one of interdependence. Traders were unable to pressure them into trapping, trading or working to their disadvantage, especially since superfluous goods reduced one's mobility making such items undesirable to the Crees. On their own initiative, local HBC traders began granting "debt" (supplies on credit) to the homeguard in order to maintain this valuable clientele, doing likewise for the *Nuchimiu* "trading Indians." The latter, who normally visited the HBC posts only once or twice a year during the summer (if they did not go elsewhere), would typically repay one year's debt and receive the next year's at the same time. Since they remained closer to the posts during the winter, the homeguard were able to take supplies on "debt" more frequently. When the Company's London-based hierarchy found out about these practices and ordered a halt to them, local traders - under pressure from the Crees - replied that they could not comply without a loss of trade.[39] The following excerpt from a letter sent to Moose Factory in 1802 by Thomas Rich at Hannah Bay shows why: "Nannashish's Son seems to be very ill pleased that he is not got a coat and he had no will to take any measures at this time, he wants a 3 1/2 foot gun in debt that is if you give him a coat but if not he does not want any debt from our side."[40]

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[35] Carol Judd, "Housing the Homeguard at Moose Factory: 1730-1982," *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, III, 1 (1983), p. 27. Citation from: Francis & Morantz, *op. cit.*, p. 26. They point out that if the Crees had become hostile in 1675, for example, the "approximately sixty" men at the three posts would have been "hopelessly outnumbered."

[36] In Richard Preston's words, they seemed "poorly able, and rarely willing, to live in the bush." Preston, "The view", p. 317. The dependence of the HBC on the Crees for food supplies is discussed below.

[37] Lytwyn, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-66.

[38] See: W. L. Morton's "The Middleman Role in the Fur Trade: Its Influence on Interethnic Relations in the Saskatchewan-Missouri Plains," *Reappraisals in Canadian History: Pre-Confederation*, 2nd ed., C.M. Wallace, et al., eds. (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice Hall Canada, 1996), p. 310.

Competition, however, had its negative side as well. Francis and Morantz point out that the few references to alcohol in the records of the Company's early decades speak only of "cases of heavy drinking by European servants." Yet as competition intensified, liquor was offered in increasing quantities, particularly by the French. The HBC made it a trade item in 1710, and within two decades it became one of the most important ones, and remained so into the next century. One trader found that liquor was "the stapelest Commoditie to acquire all sorts of small furrs." Yet another trader's exaggerated comment in 1716 that brandy "is become so bewitching A Liquor Amongst all the Indians" must not be interpreted as evidence of alcoholism among the Crees. Both HBC and Montreal-based traders saw them infrequently, many of them only once a year, if that, and as with other superfluous goods, hauling great amounts of liquor around in the bush was out of the question. It could, and would (if at all), however, be consumed on the spot. The fact that liquor was a more popular trade item than food does not reflect the quantity of liquor traded, but the lack of trade in European food items (especially in the case of the inland "trading Indians").[41]

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[39] Francis and Morantz, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-53.

[40] Thomas Rich to John Thomas, September 14, 1802, letter transcribed in the Moose Factory Journal, September 14, 1802, HBCA, B.135/a/90. At this time the North West Company had a post in Hannah Bay.

The situation was somewhat different with the "homeguard Indians," but only because the Company itself depended on them for much of its own food supplies.[42] This was the primary purpose of the HBC outposts at Hannah Bay, which initially began as seasonal "goose tents." In 1857, George Gladman Jr. testified before a Canadian Government Select Committee: "[I] have been at Hannah Bay, a small Post at the extremity of James' Bay maintained chiefly for the purpose of procuring wild fowl for the subsistence of the Depot establishment of servants [at Moose Factory]."[43] These "country provisions" were much more than a mere supplement for the HBC's imported European food, as the following excerpt from the 1827 Moose Factory journal shows:

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[41] Citations from: Francis and Morantz, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-40. The Rupert House Journal describes the following typical visit from a group of "trading Indians." On May 20, 1833, "Pussao, Nauguoshish, Pastuo & Chechem & a Woswonaby Indian named Pishoowinum [are reported to have] arrived in 3 canoes" bringing a total of "about 360 MBeaver in good furs." On May 21, they are said to be "trading their surplus furs, drinking –, and enjoying themselves after their customary fashions." By May 23, they taking their winter debt and leave. HBCA, B.186/a/46: 21. Note that "Made Beaver" (MB or MBeaver) was a standard measurement used for all fur-trade items.

[42] Morantz cites two examples from Eastmain "randomly chosen according to availability of data and to represent a good and poor food year for the Indians." In 1857, a bad year for the Crees, 20 of them obtained a total of 573 quarts of oatmeal between February and June, while in the same year, the eight HBC men employed at the post consumed 976 salt geese, 190 lbs. of dried caribou meat and over 100 fish, all provisions that had been provided by the homeguard Crees. In 1786, a good year for the Crees, the HBC men gave out no rations, but were supplied by the homeguard with "1599 geese, 318 ducks, 1414 lbs. fish, 368 hare, the flesh of 20 beaver, 11 porcupines, 2 seals, etc." Morantz, *An Ethnohistoric Study*, pp. 49-50. See also: Lytwyn, *op. cit.*, p. 305; and Doug Baldwin, *The Fur Trade in the Moose-Missinaibi River Valley, 1770-1917*, Research Report 8 (Toronto: Ontario Ministry of Culture and Recreation, 1976), p. 58.

[43] 20 Victoriae, Appendix No. 17, A. 1857. Gladman was born of a Cree mother at New Brunswick House on the Missinaibi River and later (1820-1834) was a clerk and storekeeper at Moose Factory.

> Oct 11 Thursday ... at dusk the Union Sloop from Albany anchored at the point of Pull, and soon after Mr. Swanson, and Mr. Wm McKay came on shore. They bring the unpleasant intelligence of the failure of the Albany Goose hunt and that only four barrels of geese could be spared from thence for the service of this place, we will in consequence be extremely deficient in the articles of meat to meet all demands.[44]

The Company was expected to provide a reciprocal service if, as a result of hunting geese for the HBC in the fall, a homeguard hunter was not able to fully ready himself for the winter, or if the winter was particularly harsh.[45] Both on their own initiative, moreover, and at the suggestion of the HBC traders, many homeguard began leaving their elderly and sick at the posts, often for long periods, while hunting.[46]

## TOWARDS A CLOSER PARTNERSHIP

As HBC men grew more comfortable in their new environment, both they and many of their Cree "partners in furs" perceived certain advantages in developing closer social ties, including intermarriage. Like Cree men, HBC servants sought the companionship and economic assistance of Cree women (especially since the Company did not hire female servants for overseas work). The family bonds that resulted from the more stable of these relationships also solidified commercial ties, to the advantage of both the traders and Crees. Due to its needs (and those of its servants), therefore, combined with Cree needs and socioeconomic norms, the Company soon found itself in partnerships extending beyond the sphere of mere commercial exchange, the exclusive goal for which it had been established. The London committee's non-interaction policy had been rendered meaningless at the most profound level. By the late 1700s, however, it was no longer attempting to enforce it in the same way.[47]

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[44] Moose Factory Journal, October 11, 1827, HBCA, B.135/a/131.

[45] Morantz, *Ethnohistoric Study*, pp. 49-50. Baldwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59. Carol Judd, "Housing the Homeguard at Moose Factory, 1730-1982," *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, III, 1 (1983): p. 25. On June 16, 1819, William Corrigal wrote to Joseph Beioley at Moose Factory: "I am sorry to inform you that there has been no goose hunt at this place this spring[.] I was obliged to almost feed the Indians during the Hunt. They were all very willing to hunt but there were no geese.... the Indians are all inland now hunting and will be down in 10 or 12 days if they have any success." Transcribed in the Moose Factory Journal, June 17, 1819, HBCA, B.135/a/119a.

[46] Judd, *op. cit.*, p. 24. In 1802, Thomas Rich at Hannah Bay received a letter from Moose Factory with the following instructions: "If the old man Pussao wishes to come to the Factory and he can be brought here by his sons or any body else he shall be taken care of tell him otherwise you must assist him at Hannah Bay that his son Kenapick may not be encumbered with him and prevented hunting to pay his debt." John Thomas to Thomas Rich, October 20, 1802, letter transcribed in the Moose Factory Journal, October 20, 1802, HBCA, B.135/a/90.

Realising that children born of mixed marriages developed bilingual, bi-cultural and bi-economic competencies, the London Committee ceased, for a time, to prohibit intermarriage between its servants and Crees.[48] The following excerpt from a Moose Factory letter clearly shows how Native men filled the Company's growing need for competent servants, particularly for the establishment and operation of inland posts:

> The services of these Native youths are becoming [sic] every year more & more conspicuous, two of 'em are now locum tenens at two of the Inland Settlements, and they have had a very principal hand in giving the Inland places their supplys [sic.] in short they are almost our sole dependance [sic] both for supplying & supporting the Inland Stations, as well as otherwise opposing the Canadians."[49]

The Company tried to set rules, nevertheless, for it wanted to maintain a proper ratio of profitability of Native servants' labour to the expenses incurred in supporting servants' dependants (who were sometimes abandoned by servants returning to Europe).[50] Perhaps it also wanted to avoid conflicts such as the 1751

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[47] Francis and Morantz, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

[48] Toby Morantz points out that at the turn of the 18th century, the HBC was also having difficulties recruiting European servants, because of England's involvement in European wars. Personal communication, autumn, 2001.

[49] Moose Factory Servants' resolves, 1803, HBCA, B.135/f/1: 2d-3.

[50] Judd, *op. cit.*, p. 28. After 1824, marriage to Amerindian women was again prohibited, and marriage to native (mixed-blood) women required the chief factor's approval. "If permission was granted, a man had to sign a contract obligating him to support his wife, have a marriage ceremony performed at the first opportunity, and, in some cases, pay a penalty if he failed to fulfil the latter pledge." Edith I. Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company: Work, Discipline, and Conflict in the Hudson's Bay Company, 1770-1870* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 55.

Henley House "massacre," which resulted from an abusive relationship in which individuals involved on both sides appear to have been equally at fault.[51]

Although closer socioeconomic interaction did sometimes lead to conflicts like the Henley House "massacre," they never seem to have escalated beyond the limited circle of a few individuals or families in which they began. (They were little different from conflicts that occurred among the Crees themselves.) This was due, moreover, to the very same socioeconomic interaction, the combination of the Crees' decentralised social organisation with the HBC's centralised organisation and rigid hierarchy, and the Crees' "ethic of non-interference," which – in its own manner – the Company tended to imitate.[52]

Increasing freedom of movement and association blurred the boundaries between Cree and HBC society, both on the level of group membership and leadership. First, group ties became based more on economic activity, rather than race, for children of mixed marriages did not form a distinct social group, but either entered the traditional Cree economy, the HBC economy, or crossed back and forth.[53] Because family ties ultimately remained the strongest, however, the bond between a Cree hunter and an HBC trader or servant to whom he was related, would likely be greater than that between two Cree hunters who did not know each other well.[54] The blurring of social boundaries also affected leadership patterns. Crees might seek or accept the leadership of a Company *okimaw* they considered competent.[55] Although rigid HBC hierarchical organisation discouraged the opposite phenomenon, many Company servants and traders nevertheless also sought or at least accepted the guidance or leadership of Cree *okimawak*: when away from the post, they frequently depended on the latter's competence for their survival. When interpersonal conflicts involving HBC servants and Crees did arise, and the guilty party was Cree, the Company's retaliation was generally tolerated. Yet, the opposite was also true: if the guilty party was clearly the HBC servant, the Company did not often interfere if he was punished or disciplined by Crees.[56]

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[51] See: Charles A. Bishop, "The Henley House Massacre," *The Beaver* (Autumn 1976), pp. 36-41; and Jennifer S. H. Brown, *Strangers in blood: fur trade company families in Indian country* (Vancouver: U.B.C. Press, 1980), pp. 60-63; John S. Long, "In Search of Mr. Bundin: Henley House 1759 Revisited," *Papers of the 26th Algonquian Conference,* ed. David H. Pentland (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1994), pp. 203-225.

[52] The phrase "ethic of non-interference" is taken from Preston, "The View," *op. cit.*, p. 322. The HBC adopted it mainly for practical reasons. Borron sums it up well when he writes that although the HBC traders "have been prompt to punish any crime committed against the company's property or servants, they have, as a rule, kept themselves entirely aloof from the disputes, feuds and quarrels of the Indians, whether as individuals, families or bands. They seem to have held that trade, not government, or the administration of justice, was their chief or only function, and to the prosecution of trade have devoted all their energies. The relatives of the wronged or injured have been left to administer justice and to maintain security of life and property among themselves in their own rough way. This policy of non-intervention, and of prompt retribution when necessary, has enabled the Company to plant and maintain its trading posts from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the great lakes to the Arctic, wherever it might be thought most convenient and advantageous for the carrying on of the fur trade – among every band or tribe of Indians however powerful, wild or turbulent – the trading posts of the Hon. Hudson's Bay Company may be found." E. B. Borron, *Report on the Basin of Moose River and Adjacent Country belonging to the Province of Ontario* (Toronto: Ontario Legislative Assembly, 1890), pp. 78-79.

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[53] Francis and Morantz, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-156.

[54] E.B. Borron wrote in his 1890 report on the Moose River basin: "I am informed that the Indians in the greater portion of this territory are not divided into bands, nor have they any chiefs. Family-ties would appear to form the principal, if not only, bond of union; excepting, perhaps, that weaker one which arises from the circumstance of a number of families trading their furs, and obtaining their supplies, at the same post; where as mentioned already, they congregate and frequently remain for several months during the summer, to be scattered again as winter approaches. It requires a large extent of country to furnish game and furred animals sufficient for the support of a family, and hence their mode of life does not admit of their living in communities however small, during the winter season." Borron, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

[55] "In the domain of trade" write Scott and Morrison, HBC factors "were accorded the status of *uuchimaau* [*okimaw*] or leader, and they often achieved a measure of real legitimacy in Cree eyes. It is also clear that their legitimate political domain was not seen to include Cree land." *Op. cit.*, p. 33. A very good example of an HBC *okimaw* who was respected beyond the sphere of trade is James Watt. He arrived in Rupert House after the First World War, and devised a plan to bring back the beaver, whose population was very low due to pressures from white trappers working on the southern limits of Cree territory. The situation was desperate: for example, one family had lost ten of 12 children to starvation and another family had lost all of their 13 children. Watt persisted with his plan, despite the indifference of his superiors, and succeeding in bringing back the beaver. When he passed away, the Crees of Waskaganish presented his wife Maud Watt, with $343 and a short letter: We will never forget the kindness and guidance of Mr. Watt." Roy MacGregor, *Chief: The Fearless Vision of Billy Diamond* (Markham, Ontario: Penguin Books Canada, 1990), pp. 10-11.

[56] For example, see the account of William Appleby's death in Morantz, et al., *Historical Chronology*, p. 34. In fact, in some cases, such as the Big Lake incident of 1818-19 (see Chapter 4), the Company did not retaliate even though Company servants had been killed for surviving on flesh of

Overall, conflicts between Crees and English traders were infrequent and relatively minor, especially when compared to those that occurred between the Crees and the Iroquois, Inuit or Chipewyan, and between the HBC and its European competitors. In Wiinipek, more Cree lives would be lost in conflicts with other Amerindian peoples and even other Crees, than in conflicts with Company traders.[57] Likewise, more HBC traders died in conflicts with fur trade competitors (French, Mohawk allies of the French, and later, even English compatriots), than with Crees. Effectively, the Company's posts remained fortified long after 1670, not in spite of, but because of, the relatively peaceful partnerships its traders negotiated with Cree *okimawak.*

## THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY & ITS COMPETITION

Shortly after the English set up their walled forts in Wiinipek, the French sought to eject them, recognising the serious trade threat.[58] The best-known battle in the bay that resulted from this struggle, occurred 1686 when Chevalier de Troyes led a group of 105 men overland from Montreal, and easily captured all the HBC posts (leaving only Port Nelson). As a result, Moose Fort, Fort Charles and Albany Fort became French trading posts, renamed respectively Fort Saint-Louis, Fort Saint-Jacques and Fort Sainte-Anne. Until the 1713 *Traité d'Utrecht* ended the larger French-English conflict, the HBC would only have one post in the bay, first Port Nelson, then Albany Fort (except for one year when they would control both). They

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starved companions. It was understood that the Cree men who killed the HBC servants would have acted likewise if it had been other Crees who were surviving on human flesh.

[57] See Lytwyn, *op. cit.*, Chapter 5, "Distant Enemies: The Inuit, Chipewyan and Iroquois," pp. 153-197.

[58] "Il n'y a point de doute si on les laisse dans cette Baye qu'ils se rendent Maistres de tout le commerce du Canada devant dix ans," was the exaggerated warning given by French explorer Louis Jolliet after travelling to James Bay in 1679. Cited in Francis and Morantz, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

would nevertheless eventually force the French to burn and abandon Fort Saint-Louis and Fort Saint-Jacques.[59]

In the 1713 treaty, the French conceded to English claims over Hudson's Bay. After fruitless negotiations, however, the two sides left the establishment of a border for traders to sort out. As a result, competition grew fierce enough to prompt the following complaint a decade later from the factor at Albany Fort: "I have reason to Believe this part of the Co[u]ntry was never So Pestered with the wood Runners [French *coureurs de bois*] as at this time." In response, by the 1730s, the English once again occupied three posts around James Bay: Albany Fort, Moose Fort, and East Main (Charles Fort would only be replaced in 1776, by Rupert House). Many threats of French and Mohawk attacks were reported by the homeguard Crees, and some materialised.[60]

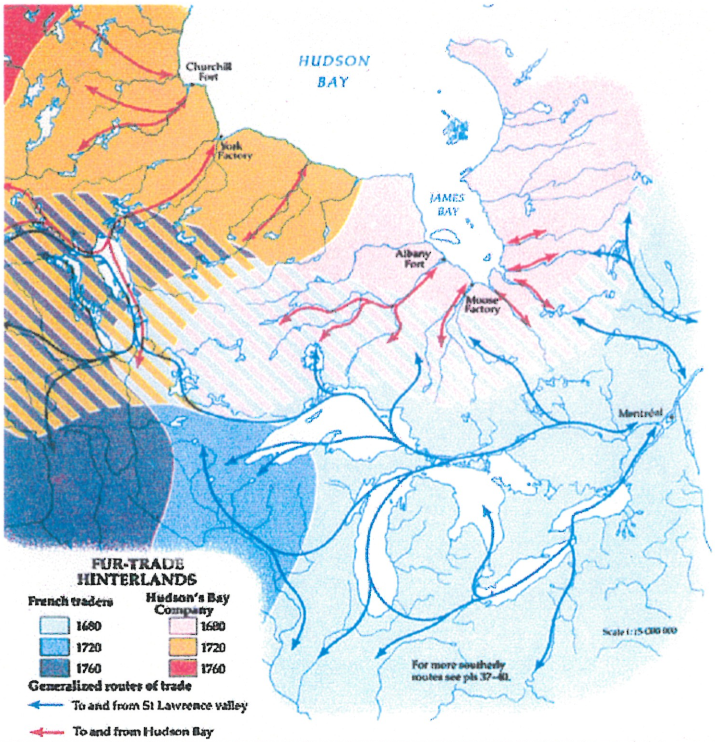
Churchill Fort
HUDSON BAY
York Factory
JAMES BAY
Albany Fort
Moose Factory
Montréal
FUR-TRADE HINTERLANDS
French traders
Hudson's Bay Company
1680
1720
1760
1680
1720
1760
Generalized routes of trade
To and from St Lawrence valley
To and from Hudson Bay
Scale 1:15 000 000
For more southerly routes see pls 37-40.

**Figure 4: Competition in James Bay**
*Historical Atlas of Canada, Vol. 1: From the Beginning to 1800*, ed. R. Cole Harris (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1987), Plate 57, p. 149.

French competition wavered after the capitulation of Montreal in 1760, and stopped with signing of the 1763 *Traité de Paris*; yet nineteen years later, with England and France once again at war, three French vessels sailed into Hudson Bay, pillaged and destroyed Prince of Wales Fort and Fort York. Another *Traité de Paris* (1783) again removed the French threat, but the HBC had little chance to celebrate its demise or worry about its potential revival: by 1783, it was already struggling with new competitors.[61]

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[59] *Ibid.*, pp. 27-32.

[60] *Ibid.*, pp. 36-40 (citation taken from p. 37).

After the capitulation of Montreal in 1760, *Canadien*, English and Scottish independent fur traders struck out into the fur-rich territories upriver from Montreal. By 1768, the British authorities in Quebec had eliminated all trade restrictions in the Northwest. As the Montreal-based traders moved progressively closer to the Bay, the HBC's profits decreased drastically. In 1774, after a decade and a half spent trying to entice inland Crees to come to the bay to trade, the HBC finally changed tactics and set up the first of many inland posts. Yet the Company's competition was consolidating. Founded in 1779, by 1804, the North West Company would be reorganised several times to incorporate all the significant Montreal-based traders. Strengthened by their growing coalition, the Nor'westers controlled about 78 percent of the trade by 1793.[62]

In many ways, these competitors were more of a threat to the HBC than the French had been, because they were more aggressive in covering territory and more demanding with Amerindian hunters.[63] In 1803 the NWC sent the *Eddystone* to set up coastal posts in James Bay. The Hudson's Bay Committee, after first ordering the capture of the Eddystone, soon called off the attack, for in August of the same year, an act was passed that (according to an 1857 official HBC interpretation) was to "extend the jurisdiction of Canadian courts to the Indian territories. This Act was considered not to apply to the Company's territories, because although their territorial position brought them within the Act, the civil and criminal jurisdiction already granted by the Charter took them out of it."[64] Yet in 1803, the Company had certainly come to a different conclusion. Worried about its charter's validity, the HBC's London Committee stated that "If any serious consequences should arise from our Quarrels and Disputes it would be very difficult to find redress here even on application to Government." The Committee members were no longer the only British subjects with interests in the fur trade.[65]

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[61] Morantz et al., *Historical Chronology*, p. 28. Newman, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 366-375.

[62] Frits Pannekoek, *The Fur Trade and Western Canadian Society, 1670-1870*. Canadian Historical Association Historical Booklet No. 43 (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Ass., 1987), pp. 4-10; Newman, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 502-504; Morantz *et al.*, *Historical Chronology*, p. 29.

[63] Galbraith notes that "the most perilous era in the history of the Hudson's Bay Company began in 1784" (when the NWC finishing reorganising). *Op. cit.*, p. 4. These traders were more dangerous because the English Government did nothing to stop them; they had no interest in doing so, since one way or another it was English citizens controlling the fur trade.

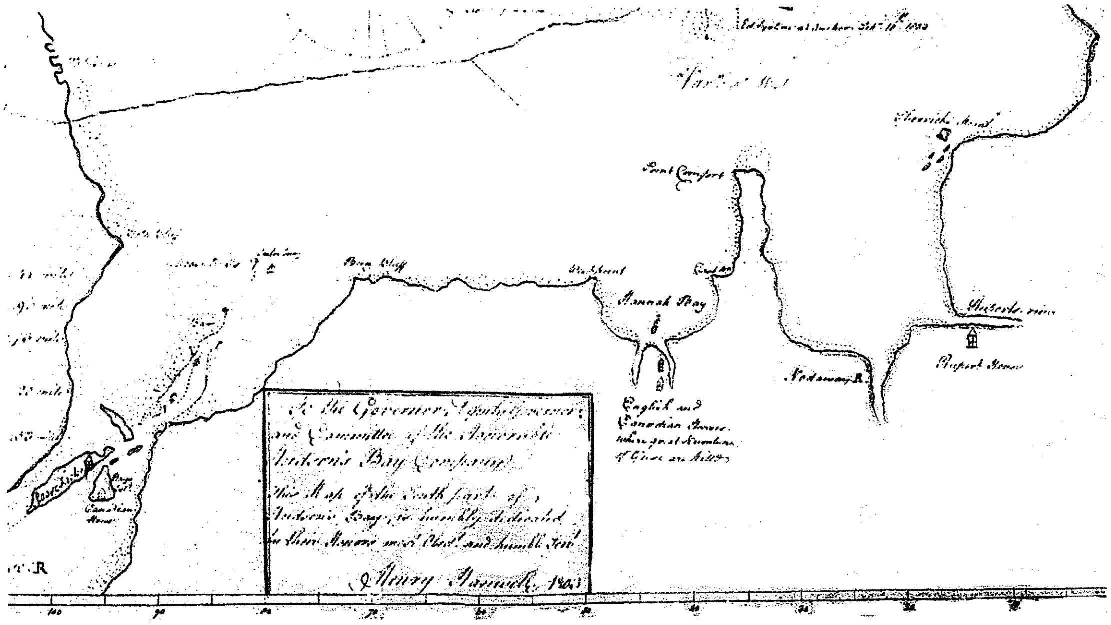
Point Comfort
Hannah Bay
English and Canadian Houses. where great Numbers of Geese are killed
Nodaway R.
Rupert House
To the Governor, Deputy Governor and Committee of the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company
This Map of the South part of Hudson's Bay, is humbly dedicated by their Honours most Obed.t and humble Serv.t
Henry Hanwell, 1803
100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20

**Figure 5: Henry Hanwell's 1803 map of the Southern Part of James Bay.**
HBCA, G.1/162.

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[64] Rich, *op. cit.*, pp. 192-193. The citation is from: *Statement of the Hudson's Bay Company* (London: Henry Kent Couston, 1857), p. 11. In fact, the act did not give any specific exemption to the Hudson's Bay Company's "Rupert's Land." It did not mention the Company at all. *Charters, Statutes Orders in Council, etc. Relating to the Hudson's Bay Company* (London: Hudson's Bay Company, 1931), pp. 87-90.

[65] Cited in Rich, *op. cit.*, pp. 192-193.

*Eddystone*'s passengers, joined by two parties sent overland from Montreal, set up Fort St. Andrews at Charleton Island. With this storage depot as a base of operations, they soon established trading posts at Hayes Island, near Moose Factory, at Washaw (Hannah Bay), near the HBC's house, at Rupert River, Big River, and the following year, at Old Factory River. Competition at some posts was peaceful, but confrontations frequently occurred at others. And while most "ruffian" tactics were targeted at opposing traders, if the accusations of HBC traders are to be believed, many Cree hunters (when they were alone or in small groups) were also subjected to rough forms of persuasion. The NWC hoped to use their bay-side posts to negotiate transportation rights into Hudson Bay; these negotiations failed, however, so in 1806 the Nor'Westers abandoned these posts and departed.[66]

The Company had won this relatively peaceful competition in James Bay, but it was taking heavy losses inland, especially in the fur-rich country to the west of James Bay. Since its British-based rights lacked British backing, it could only survive by putting up a fight. Yet compared to bay-side competition it faced from 1803-1806, inland competition was much more intense, increasingly violent and fatal for some.[67] At Eagle Lake (now part of Northern Ontario), in 1809, for example, one Canadian lost his life in a conflict which resulted in three HBC men being taken by Nor'westers to Montreal to face trial, an incident which showed that the Company's jurisdiction was not respected (the conflict had occurred in Rupert's Land).[68]

From 1809 to 1814, the HBC shareholders would earn no dividend.[69] Similarly, although in 1793 they had been in control of about 78 percent of the trade and were still shipping more furs than the HBC, the Montreal traders were now also suffering because of the hostilities. These came to a head in the "great crisis [at Red River] that finally precipitated the union" of the two companies.[70]

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[66] *Ibid.*, pp. 192-193. Francis & Morantz, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-110.

[67] Frits Pannekoek, *The Fur Trade and Western Canadian Society, 1670-1870*. Canadian Historical Association Historical Booklet No. 43 (Ottawa: Can. Hist. Ass., 1987), pp. 4-10; Newman, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 502-504.

[68] See the profile of William Corrigal (the trader who lost his life in the Washaw conflict) in the appendix. Corrigal was one of the three HBC men taken to Montreal. He was acquitted.

[69] Newman, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 470;

## THE 1821 "MERGER": THE END OF COMPETITION IN WIINIPEK

The Red River Colony crisis of 1814-15 once more revealed the weakness of the HBC charter.[71] Ironically, however, it also enabled the HBC to peacefully absorb its hostile competitor. Seeking to establish a governing body in fur-trade territory, "a function [it] ... was not willing to assume," and eliminate often violent competition, the British government pressured the two companies to form a coalition in exchange for exclusive trading privileges in British-claimed territories west of Rupert's Land.[72] Since they were both already seeking an arrangement for financial reasons, on March 26, 1821, under the name of the Hudson's Bay Company, a coalition was formed between the HBC and the two components of the NWC: the Montreal-based suppliers and their "wintering partners" in the west. The Montreal suppliers of the NWC soon went bankrupt, however, leaving the London-based HBC as the sole supplier of a combined but significantly empowered group of traders made up mainly of former NWC "wintering partners" and a smaller number of their former HBC counterparts. These skilled traders became the 25 Chief Factors, who would participate in regulating the trade by means of an annual meeting to be known as the Northern Council, and the 28 lower ranked Chief Traders, who would each receive a share of profits half the size of a Chief Factor's share (which was 2/85 of 40% of the profits).[73]

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[70] *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, pp. 502-504; Pannekoek, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-10.

[71] In the early 1800s, "pressed by mounting debt and the prospect of poor fur returns" writes Pannekoek, the Company had decided to allow Lord Selkirk, a principal shareholder, to establish a colony for "dispossessed farmers" along the banks of the Red River south of Lake Winnipeg. By a legal deed of transfer, completed on June 12, 1811, the colony of Assiniboia - better known as the Red River Colony - was granted to Lord Selkirk; it was a fertile area five times the size of Scotland, the motherland of the unwelcome newcomers. Although settlement was "anathema to the wintering traders of both companies," it was the Nor'Westers who helped the first group of settlers survive the winter of 1812-13, providing them with pemmican. The same thing happened the next winter. Then, on January 8th, 1814, Miles Macdonell, Governor of the new colony, issued the "Pemmican Proclamation," forbidding "the export from Assiniboia of any provisions ... procured or raised within that territory," thereby effectively asserting ownership - for the first time - of the whole 116,000 square miles of land granted on paper by the Company; his assertion, however, served more to demonstrate the tenuous control of the land that the Company had. Not only were the Norwesters opposed (because they depended on pemmican), but so were the Métis, being "alarmed at Selkirk's claim to the land over which they roamed and hunted." After some confrontation, a clash was temporarily avoided by means of a compromise, but the next year - shortly after sixteen ill-equipped HBC men starved in Athabasca due ultimately to NWC hostility - the infamous "massacre at Seven Oaks" occurred at Red River. Pannekoek, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6; Newman, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 505; Rich, *op. cit.*, pp. 209-221.

[72] Alarmed by the violence that was occurring in "Indian country," the British Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, Lord Bathurst, "ordered the compilation of the 1819 Blue Book" - the *Papers Relating to the Red River Settlement, 1815-1819.* This and other evidence presented to the Parliament and the Privy Council led the government to conclude that the law had been broken many times by both sides, that competition was "productive of great inconvenience and loss ... , and also of great injury to the native Indians and other persons," and that a better system of law enforcement was needed. In 1820, a warning was sent to the companies to cease hostilities. Rich, *op. cit.*, pp. 236-239.

The March 26 coalition was rewarded by an *Act For regulating the Fur Trade and establishing a Criminal and Civil Jurisdiction within certain parts of North America* and *a License for Exclusive Trade* (July 2 and December 5, 1821). Though restructured, the HBC thus obtained the elimination of its fiercest rival, the reaffirmation of its dubious charter, and British legal support for a fur-trade monopoly in the vast Indian Territory that would later be referred to as the North-Western Territory.[74] Moreover, in the Wiinipek watershed, particularly the more isolated coastal region, the Company acquired the closest thing to a monopoly that it had ever held since the day Charles II granted it this "right." Furthermore, although it still had to ensure the continued cooperation of its Cree "partners in furs," its many other partnerships made the HBC less dependent on them.[75]

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[73] John S. Galbraith, *The Hudson's Bay Company as an Imperial Factor, 1821-1869* (New York: Octagon Books, Division of Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1977), p. 8; Rich, *op. cit.*, p. 239; Pannekoek, *op. cit.*, p. 6. Note that the union was made under the name of the HBC, not because the latter was more powerful, but in order to maintain its Royal Charter.

[74] Pannekoek, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-10; Rich, *op. cit.*, pp. 239-243; Newman, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 506. For more information on the nature of the two Companies, see Galbraith, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5. Note that "Indian Territory" was the term used as late as the 1857 publication by the Parliament of Great Britain, of the *Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company; Together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Index* (London: 1857), p. iii. British legal backing still had little weight west of Canada, so in 1849, shortly after Americans began offering competition, the Métis would win free trade. Rich, *op. cit.*, 265; Newman, *op. cit.*, p. 508.

In Wiinipek, HBC traders did not only become the sole commercial presence; they also strengthened that presence significantly. In addition to key areas of jurisdiction that were transferred from London, the "overseas" (*vis-à-vis* England) Governor and the Chief Factors also had more resources at their disposal for the North American "fur trade capital" had been transferred from Montreal to York Factory (now the base of the Northern Department) and Moose Factory (base of the Southern Department). The latter, for example, became the supplier of trade goods to Fort William (now Thunder Bay), which had previously been supplied from Montreal.[76]

The Company began reorganising its 173 posts (including the former NWC posts), closing many of them, and tightening its trade policies. Every family was assigned to a specific post. "If a hunter brought his furs to a different post, they naturally were accepted but were credited to his 'home' post where he was encouraged to return as usual the next season." Traders wanted to minimise and regularise the granting of debt. They also wanted to avoid someone running up debts at different posts, and paying as little of them as possible.[77]

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[75] After 1821, the HBC would face little challenge in the coastal region around James Bay till the arrival of the Révillon Frères Trading Company in 1904. J. Garth Taylor, "Northern Algonquians on the Frontier of "New Ontario,' 1800-1945," *Aboriginal Ontario: Historical Perspectives on the First Nations*, Edward S. Rogers and Donald B. Smith, eds., Ontario Historical Studies Series (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1994), p. 346. However, in the interior of Quebec, for example, the HBC continued to face opposition from the King's Post Company until 1831, and again later on, from petty traders, particularly (after 1850) those involved in the lumber trade. Claude Gélinas, *La Gestion de l'étranger: Les Atikamekw et la présence eurocanadienne en Haute-Mauricie, 1760-1870* (Sillery, Québec: Septentrion, 2000), p. 278.

[76] The inland route would be totally eclipsed by its historical counterpart, the Hudson's Bay route that the Nor'Westers had long envied. Pannekoek, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-10; Rich, *op. cit.*, p. 239; Newman, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 506.

[77] Citation taken from: Francis & Morantz, pp. 123-124; See also: Edward S. Rogers, "Northern Algonquians and the Hudson's Bay Company, 1821-1890," *Aboriginal Ontario*, pp. 307, 323; Rich, *op. cit.*, p. 239; Newman, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 506; Chaikin and Morantz, "Report of the

The Company was more successful in revising its haphazard system of gift distribution. When its coastal posts were competing with inland competitors, it had proven necessary to appoint *okimawak* as trading captains and provide them with gifts, up to half the value of their party's winter hunt goods. Yet even before its 1821 merger with the NWC, the Company had begun phasing out this system, since its inland posts had diminished its usefulness. *Okimawak* were still respected as such, but they were referred to as "Principal Indians" and no longer also as "Trading Captains." Instead of giving gifts to the latter, who used to then redistribute them to their companions, the Company began rewarding individuals directly, based on the value of their business. The Company continued to be dependent on their support, but many Cree *okimawak* now had less influence than before, while Company *okimawak*, many of them now shareholders and key decision-makers in the Company, had more. Although these changes did not occur instantly, within a decade they would affect the Crees, who had profited, to a greater or lesser extent, from European competition since the beginning of the fur trade. They would likely have farther to travel, and certainly less bargaining power and benefits when they arrived.[78]

Competition and conflict was greatly diminished not only among traders, but also among Amerindian peoples. For the first time, there was a lack of significant

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Ontario Land Claims," p. 32; Morantz, "'Gift-Offerings to Their Own Importance and Superiority': Fur Trade Relations, 1700-1940," *Papers of the 19th Algonquian Conference,* ed. William Cowan (Ottawa: Carleton University, 1988), pp. 137-138. The following is one trader's list character assessments of Cree hunters who frequented his post: "'No hunter, but honest,' 'Honest,' 'Tries to get all he can, but never pays,' 'Can pray well, but pay bad,' 'Can't work since he got married,' 'Can pray and preach, but trust him not,' 'Cunning. Good hunter, but look out for him,' 'Defrauded on the first opportunity he got, also on the second and last,' 'Honest as the day is long.'" Cited in Charles R. Tuttle, *Our North land: being a full account of the Canadian Northwest and Hudson's Bay route, together with a narrative of the experiences of the Hudson's Bay expedition of 1884* (Toronto: C. B. Robinson, 1885), p. 378. A comment in the Moose Factory Journal entry for January 26, 1832 reveals the extent to which the Company controlled who went to what post: "An Indian belonging to Albany District paid a visit here – says his errand was to see a relative here (Mrs. Flett) he acknowledges that he is come from that quarter without the consent or knowledge of the Mr. Chief Trader, Jacob Corrigal." HBCA, B.135/a/137.

[78] Francis and Morantz, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-125, 135; Rogers, *loc. cit.*, p. 325.

competition for both "partners in furs," the presence of which had once mitigated any potential for friction between them. And the potential for friction, the words of Preston, "was most dramatic when the Company's man did not temper commercialism with sufficient human consideration."[79]

## CONCLUSION

The Hudson's Bay Company acquired its impressive charter in 1670. However, traders quickly realised their success was contingent not on their implementation of English common law, which had no weight in Wiinipek, but on their respect for Cree common law (unwritten socio-economic norms that were passed on with comparable authority). As the "partnership in furs" progressed, traders were able to negotiate a profitable position within the boundaries of these socioeconomic norms. They sometimes went beyond the boundaries, but so did their Cree counterparts. However, once strengthened by the 1821 merger, the HBC began to redefine the "partnership in furs" according to its own vision, a vision which emphasised the "economic." Those traders who continued to share or respect many Crees' emphasis on the "socio," did so less out of necessity than previously. This trend would continue to develop in Wiinipek, particularly after 1870, when the Company officially transferred its social obligations to Canada.

The 1821 merger was clearly a key turning point in the Company-Cree relationship, but to what extent can it be blamed for the 1832 Hannah Bay "massacre"? James Morrison and William Weigand (retired HBC servants) would later both date this conflict to 1821. Was its link with the 1821 merger more unforgettable than the date of the "massacre" itself? The answer to these questions lies in a detailed examination of the event itself and the sources that recount it.

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[79] Preston, "Eastern Cree Community," p. 329.

# CHAPTER 2: THE WASHAW CONFLICT

## INTRODUCTION

Late in the month of January 1832, three Crees and a young HBC apprentice fled from Hannah Bay House to Moose Factory. Arriving cold and shaken, they hastily divulged the news that Quappakay, a Cree *okimaw*, and members of his family had attacked the house and killed William Corrigal, the HBC trader stationed there. They feared, moreover, that none of the nine others (all of Cree or mixed ancestry) who were there had escaped. Within two days, John George McTavish, chief factor at Moose Factory, sent out a party to investigate, warn and punish if possible. Led by William Swanson, these HBC men arrived at Hannah Bay to find frozen evidence confirming the report, but no sign of the alleged assailants. Quickly, they advanced to Rupert House to alert its chief factor, Joseph Beioley. On their return to Moose Factory, Swanson and his eleven men passed by Hannah Bay House to bury the dead.

There was no sign of the accused until the end of March when Shaintoquaish and Bolland (Quappakay's son and son-in-law) arrived at Rupert House with their wives and children. Although alleged to have stripped Hannah Bay House of provisions, they were nevertheless starving. When questioned, the men soon confessed their involvement in the sacking of the post and were then escorted towards Moose Factory by Beioley, Swanson and several others. Bolland escaped before they arrived. Shaintoquaish, however, did not. Several days after being interrogated at Moose Factory, he was executed by an HBC posse as it set out from the island post on a mission that had now put Beioley and McTavish sharply at odds. By the end of April, Quappakay and his two other sons – Staicimau and a 15-year-old lad – had been found and executed. Bolland was the last to be apprehended, apparently with the help and consent of his father who told him he must face the consequences of his conduct.

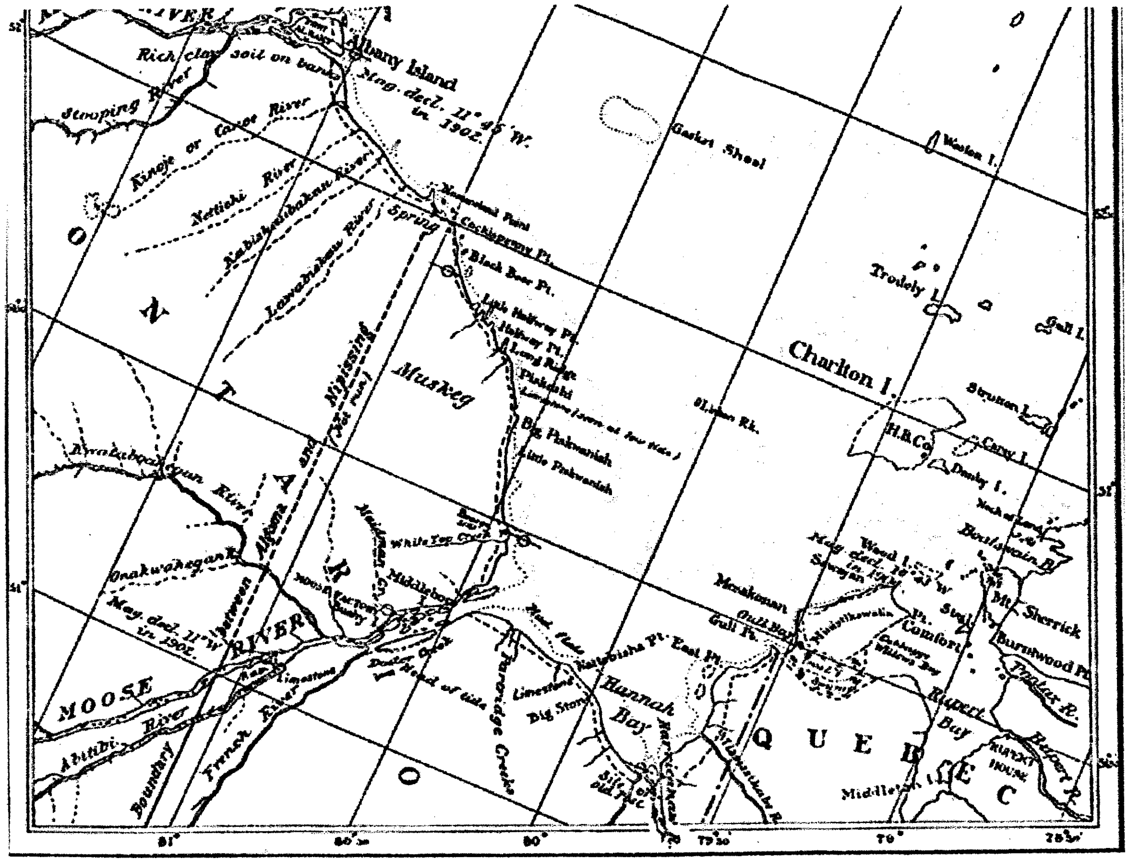
Albany Island
Rich clay soil on banks
Mag. decl. 11° 45' W. in 1902
Stooping River
Kinoje or Canoe River
Nettichi River
Gasket Shoal
Weston I.
Trodely I.
Charlton I.
Gull I.
H.B.Co.
Strutton I.
Carey I.
Danby I.
Musky
Nipissing
Algoma
Boundary
MOOSE
RIVER
Abitibi River
French River
Moose Factory
Middleboro
Hannah Bay
Big Stone
Limestone
East Pt.
Gull Pt.
Sherrick Mt.
Comfort Pt.
Burntwood Pt.
Rupert Bay
Rupert R.
Rupert House
Middleton I.
QUEBEC
ONTARIO
Partridge Creek
Mag. decl. 11° W. in 1902
81°
80°30'
80°
79°30'
79°
78°30'

**Figure 6: Map of James Bay, showing Hannah Bay House, Moose Factory & Rupert House.** Map by H. Lefebvre, Geological Survey of Canada, 1904. AO, B-41, RG1 (SR5836).

Numerous questions regarding the Washaw conflict have long remained unanswered, both in spite and because of the wide range of Euroamerican and Amerindian sources that depict it. While there are important differences between these accounts, the dominant Euroamerican vs. Amerindian paradigm is inadequate for framing either *the event* or *the telling of it*. The following chapter is an attempt to provide a better understanding of the first by rendering coherent the second. Yet this merging of narratives must be accounted for by means of a detailed examination, in the succeeding chapter, of the primary and secondary sources, the understandings their narrators sought to communicate, and the means they had to do so.

## THE WINTER OF 1831-32 & THE CONFLICT AT WASHAW

**Figure 7: Winter near Washaw.** Photo by the author, 1993.

The winter of 1831-32 filled the Rupert House and Moose Factory journals with many accounts "of scarcity of partridges, rabbits ... of the difficulty of finding subsistence" and of sickness.[1] The following excerpts are drawn from Moose Factory journal entries written in January:

> 5 Thursday – J Flett was attackd with rheumatic complaints who with 4 others are now under the doctors care ... 13 Friday – milder weather – thermometer up as high as 25 above zero ... 14 Saturday – milde weather for the season – during the day it was above the freezing point. 15 Sunday – weather continuing mild for the season. 16 Monday – mild weather accompanied with sleet ... Old Sib and Puskugee visited the former with 5 and the latter 15 Mbeaver - chiefly beavers – these Indians complains much of hunger and scarcity of martins, rabbits and partridges this winter. 17 Tuesday – Remarkably mild weather during the day - it was 10 deg's above the freezing point. ... four still on the sick list. 18 Wednesday – Rain during the night and a little today – thermometer 40 above zero – those that were hauling logs yesterday were not sent on account of the mildness of the weather ... Waitchaiepaish brought 10 Mbeaver chiefly

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[1] "Coopaun arrived with 57 martins & a small otter skin in part payment of the debt he owes. He complains of scarcity of partridges, rabbits & of the difficulty of finding subsistence." Rupert House Journal, December 13, 1832, HBCA B.186/a/45: 25d. At Fort Albany, things were no different: "[January] 26 Sunday – Boisterous weather, but not very cold – An Indian belonging to Albany District paid a visit here [Moose Factory] – says his errand was to see a relative here (Mrs. Flett) he acknowledges that he is come from that quarter without the consent or knowledge of the Mr. Chief Trader, Jacob Corrigal. said a brother of his would be in tomorrow – complains much of the privations this scarce winter, and says there is a number of Indians in at Albany under the same privations and receiving sustenance from Mr. Jacob Corrigal." Moose Factory Journal, January 26, 1832, HBCA, B.135/a/137.

> beaver skins – complaining much of the scarcity this winter both of animals and birds. 19 Thursday – the weather still mild.[2]

Very mild weather was making travel extremely difficult and dangerous, not only on the rivers, lakes and the bay, but also much of the muskeg, which was now covered by a mix of slush and water deep enough in many places to drown a man, and everywhere, cold enough to freeze him. Because they developed so unexpectedly, these conditions were an intensified version of those typical of early spring, a time referred to as *ahshiiuhtahnuuch* ("the starving time") when mobility – so crucial to a hunter – is often very limited.[3]

On Friday, January 20, there came an abrupt "change in the weather, being 22 below the freezing point and snowing all day." This brief cold spell – Saturday would be "milder by 23 degrees" – allowed Quappakay, his sons Staicimau and Shaintoquaish, and his son-in-law Bolland, to cross the Harricanaw river to Hannah Bay House. Accompanied by their families, they numbered over 20.[4]

Although his hunting territory was in the Ministikawatin Peninsula, midway between Rupert House and Hannah Bay House, Quappakay was an *okimaw* who normally frequented Rupert House, where he was considered a "principal Indian." He and his sons, moreover, were frequently employed as guides by the chief factor at this post.[5] Under normal circumstances, therefore, they would have gone to Rupert House when in need of supplies. In this case, however, weather conditions had forced or prompted them to turn towards Hannah Bay House, where William Corrigal was the HBC *okimaw* in charge.[6]

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[2] Moose Factory Journal, January 1832, HBCA, B.135/a/137. These accounts of scarcity were not usually part of the normal winter happenings. The Moose Factory Journal entries for the winter of 1834-35, for example, make no reference to problems of "scarcity."

[3] Jim Chism, an archaeologist who has worked many years for the Quebec Cree, was told about the "starving time" by Job Bearskin of Chisasibi. Personal communication: spring 1999. Gary Chewaynish of Chisasibi confirmed this. Personal communication: October 19, 2000.

[4] Moose Factory Journal, January 20, 21 & 23, 1832, HBCA, B.135/a/137. This number is an estimate based on an comparison of all the sources.

[5] See the profile of Quappakay and his family, and the account of the "Big Lake incident," both in the appendix.

Exceptional circumstances had already brought Quappakay to this small outpost in the fall. He had not left on good terms with Corrigal, however, who had provided him with less supplies than requested, knowing that Quappakay normally got his winter "debt" (supplies on credit) at Rupert House. According to James Morrison, Corrigal was "very over bearing … shrod [shrewd] and r[o]ugh," and had not treated Quappakay kindly.[7]

Despite the friction at Hannah Bay House the previous fall, there is little doubt that Quappakay's decision to go there in January was the best one. Travelling to Rupert House was extremely risky if not impossible, and there can be no doubt that his family was, in Blackned's words "hard up at the time" and urgently needed assistance. The Moose Factory HBC journal is more specific: according to an eyewitness, they were in a "starving & naked state."[8] From other sources, including Cree oral tradition, we learn that they were so desperate that, after consulting his *Mistabeo* (spirit helper) using the *kwashapshigan* ("shaking tent"), Quappakay had ended the life of "an old woman at their camp." George Diamond elaborates:

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[6] Between the Ministikawatin Peninsula and Rupert House lay either Rupert Bay or both the Nodaway and the Broadback rivers. On the other hand, Quappakay's family could arrive within sight of Hannah Bay House by crossing only one river at most (the Missisicabi, smaller than the Broadback, and much smaller than the Nodaway). Then, once on the eastern shore of the Harricanaw, they could signal for help and obtain it quickly once the temperature dropped sufficiently to freeze a safe path across the river. This was certainly not the case with Rupert House. See the profile of Corrigal in the appendix.

[7] William Weigand, "Hannah Bay Massacre," interview by John Driver, Fort William (Thunder Bay, Ontario), June 1881, attached to letter to Robert Bell, May 3, 1899" (Bell Papers, Lawrence Lande Collection, RBSCD/MUL, Montreal), p. 1. Weigand was working inland, but came to Rupert House during the winter of 1832, when Swanson was there with other men looking for the accused. Peter McKellar, "The Hannah Bay Massacre," manuscript attached to letter to Robert Bell, April 11, 1899, Bell Papers, *loc. cit.*, p. 1; James Morrison, "Story related to the Hannah Bay Murdring of Mr. Wm. Corrigal and servants," interview by John Driver, Moose Factory, Ontario, 1881, attached to letter to Robert Bell, May 3, 1899, *loc. cit.*, pp. 1-2. These accounts of Quappakay seeking debt at Hannah Bay are neither confirmed nor contradicted by the Rupert House journal. Quappakay's name is not listed or mentioned among the many hunters, including his sons & son-in-law, who obtained debt or participated in the 1831 fall goose hunt (Toby Morantz pointed out that Quappakay's sons could also have requested debt on his behalf). HBCA, B.186/a/45: 12-26. James Anderson's 1849 report provides a possible explanation for Quappakay seeking debt at Hannah Bay instead of Rupert House in 1831. He states that the "murderers … remained much about the establishment of Rupert's House and were always employed by Beioley as his crew when travelling between Ruperts Ho[ouse] and M.F. & I believe that they all spoke English – in the autumn of 1831 I conversed several times with one of them." James Anderson, "Hannah Bay Massacre," report sent with a letter to George Simpson, September 16, 1849, NAC, MG 19, A.29, Vol. 3, p. 68. If Quappakay was the one with whom Anderson conversed, it would make sense to get supplies at Hannah Bay before returning to his hunting grounds in Ministikawatin. This would allow him to avoid the two inconvenient options remaining: seeking debt at Moose Factory (which meant carrying an extra load the distance from Moose Factory to Hannah Bay) or at Rupert House (which meant a lengthy detour before returning westward to rejoin his sons at Ministikawatin).

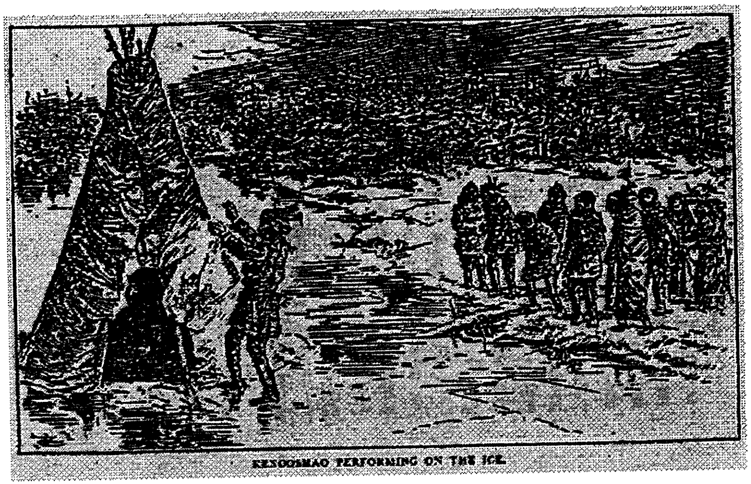
KENOOSHAO PERFORMING ON THE ICE

**Figure 8: Depiction of the "stratagem" allegedly used to lure people onto the ice.** George Barnley's *Kenooshao*, p. 49.

> She was very old and unable to do things for herself. She must have been blind because of how old she was and must have been just carried around. This was the first person they killed - the old woman. I don't think they properly buried the old woman because of how they acted. The whole camp was on the move."[9]

There is much doubt, however, surrounding the conflict that occurred soon after Quappakay arrived at the post with his family and either requested provisions, sought to trade for them, or both. According to the Moose Factory journal, Quappakay and his family "got provisions given them but on Sunday afternoon, having by Stragation [strategy] got all these Indians [those not with Quappakay's group] outside the House, they began their bloody intentions."[10] James Anderson echoes this claim in 1849: "Their wants were immediately relieved," he writes, "by Mr. Corrigal ... who lodged them in the house and supplied them abundantly with food. A day or two after, these Indians succeeded by strategem in getting the young men out of the house and immediately afterwards they heard several gunshots..."[11] These HBC accounts imply that the aggressors' actions were in no way provoked by Corrigal or those with him at Hannah Bay House. Other sources, however, depict a different scenario.

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[8] Blackned, *loc. cit.*, p. 146. Moose Factory Journal, January 23, 1832, HBCA, B.135/a/137.

[9] George & Louise Diamond, "The Hannah Bay Massacre," interview by Christopher Stephen, translated by Brian Webb, published in *the Nation*, January 15, 1999, p. 10; and interview by Paul Rickard, Waskaganish, Quebec, November 5-6, 1998 (transcript/translation provided by the interviewer), p. 1 William Weigand says that the woman Quappakay killed was one of his elderly wives. Weigand "Hannah Bay Massacre," p. 2.

According to James Morrison, Corrigal simply got angry with Quappakay "for wasting his time when the weather was favorible [sic] for hunting."[12] Similarly, John Blackned says he heard that the "reason the Indians did that [attacked the House] was because the Manager wasn't trying to help them ... [this is] what the big boss [of the HBC, later] told the manager [McTavish]." He adds, however: "I don't know if that's right."[13] Several other sources report that Corrigal did not provide Quappakay's family with sufficient provisions in exchange for the furs he received or was offered, but instead tried to profit from their desperate situation.[14]

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[10] Moose Factory Journal, January 23, 1832, HBCA, B.135/a/137.

[11] Anderson, "Hannah Bay Massacre," report to George Simpson, p. 63.

[12] Morrison, interview by John Driver, p. 2. He is referring to the excuse given by Corrigal, not the actual situation.

[13] John Blackned, interview by Richard Preston with assistance of interpreter, Willy Weistchee, Waskaganish, c. 1965, audio recording translated & transcribed by Gertie Murdoch, cited in: Richard Preston, *Cree Narrative: Expressing the Personal Meanings of Events*, Canadian Ethnology Service, Mercury Series, Paper No. 30 (Ottawa, National Museum of Man, 1975), 146.

[14] Brodie Echum, whose camp is situated across the river from where the conflict occurred, heard from his mother that Quappakay and his family wanted food and were dissatisfied with what they received in exchange for their furs. Interview by John Long, with assistance of Sinclair Trapper as interpreter, August 13, 1999, cited in John S. Long & Cecil Chabot, "Some Historical Sites Near Wa-sh-ow James Bay Wilderness Centre: Final Report to Moose Cree First Nation (unpublished report, December, 30, 1999), p. 34. Fred Close recalls hearing allegations that Corrigal demanded sexual favours from some of the women in Quappakay's family, after passing around alcohol. Personal Communication, July 1999.

Corrigal, however, had freely supplied provisions to Cree hunters under similar circumstances in the past. On January 4, 1817, for example, he reports: "there is nothing to be got at this place to hunt, I have been out this last 7 days and only got one wood partridge. Tishaway and Napawishiw is a little way from the House almost perishing with hunger. I have supplied them with ... a little oatmeal of my own."[15] Yet these hunters were regular clients at Hannah Bay House in 1817, unlike Quappakay, who in 1832, was not.[16] Furthermore, like Quappakay, one of them had now come to Hannah Bay House for assistance.

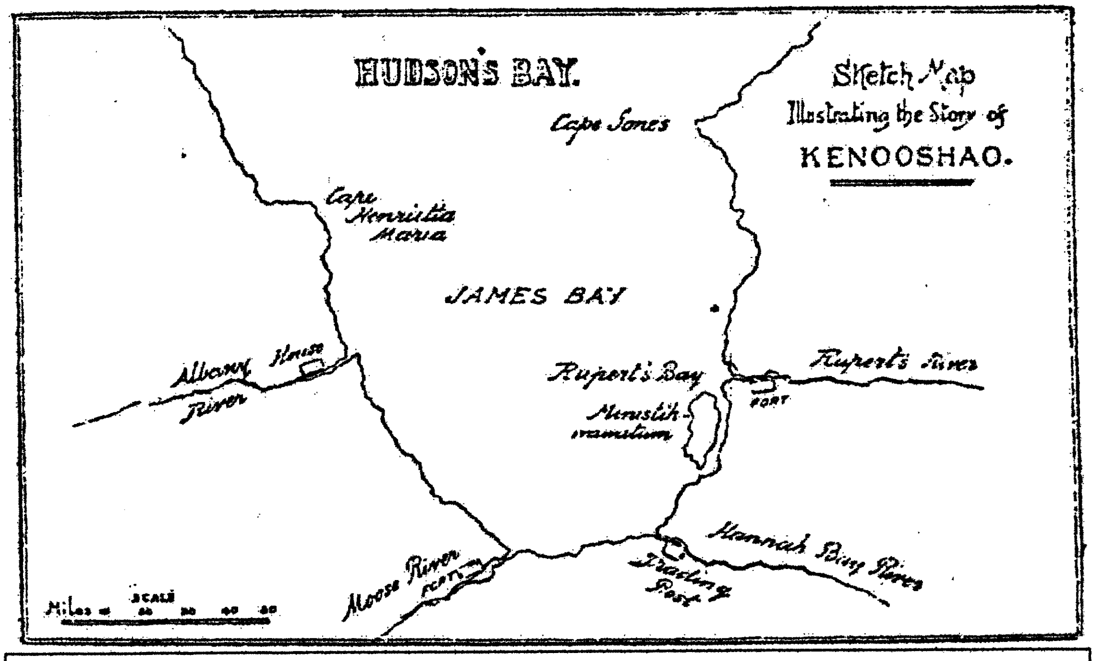
HUDSON'S BAY.
Sketch Map
Illustrating the Story of
KENOOSHAO.
Cape Jones
Cape Henrietta Maria
JAMES BAY
Albany House
Albany River
Rupert's Bay
Rupert's River
FORT
Hannah Bay River
Trading Post
Moose River
Fort
Miles
SCALE

**Figure 9: Map showing the HBC posts implicated in the Washaw conflict.**
Barnley, *Kenooshao*, p. 8.

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[15] Moose Factory Post Journal, B.135/a/114. He had done this even when supplies were short. In April, 1819, Corrigal reported the following situation at Hannah Bay: "Napawishiw and family have been lying about here for three weeks starving and have been supplied by me with a considerable number of geese so that my stock begins to get low[.] there are 100 geese remaining." *Ibid.*, B.135/a/119a.

[16] Nabowishiw hunted in the Kesagami Lake area, but traded both at Waswanipi and Hannah Bay House. Ira Chaikin & Toby Morantz, "Report of the Ontario Land Claims Research Project, Phase I," Prepared for the Grand Council of the Crees of Quebec, March 31, 1985, p. 68.

When Quappakay arrived at Hannah Bay House on January 20, 1832, Tishaway and Manask (another Hannah Bay hunter) had already been there for some time with their families.[17] There is a shadow of truth, therefore, in George Barnley's comment that Corrigal "felt annoyed that demands should be made upon his hospitality by wayfarers who had no claims upon the small allowance allotted to him for the occasional entertainment of his own hunters."[18] Yet it was clearly not a question of "hospitality" or "occasional entertainment" but of survival, not only for Quappakay's family, however, but also those resident at the post. Corrigal was being asked to share provisions that not only he depended on, but also 13 others (and given the weather conditions, they might have used much of these resources already).[19] Tishaway and Manask, who had helped provide these provisions with their fall goose hunt, likely reminded him of this fact.

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The following excerpts from the Moose Factory Journal provide evidence of Tishaway's affiliation with Hannah Bay House. Corrigal writes to Beioley (letter received on March 19, 1819): "I have sent 2 guns to be repaired [.] they belong to Tishaway and Nanshis' son [.] if they could be got repaired it would be a very good thing as these two men are the only best hunters of geese at Hannah Bay" (HBCA, B.135/a/119a). Corrigal writes in another letter (received by Beioley on April 24, 1819): "as there are no potatoes here ... I have sent Jacob and Tishaway for a few if you will have the goodness to send them." (*Ibid.*) In 1821, Tishaway participated in a trade expedition from "Moose Factory towards Abbitibbi Lake." Twenty people went on this trip: 3 HBC officers (Mr. Joseph Beioley, Mr. Erland Erlandson and Mr. John Vincent), 7 company servants, Alexander McKay ("a youth"), four "Indian men" including Tishaway, two "Indian youths," "Aquanaquashish, an Indian woman," and two boys (a brother and a son of one of the Indian men). HBCA, B.135/a/123. Note that other spellings of Tishaway's name include Tishawyae (Moose Factory Journal, January 23, 1832, HBCA, B.135/a/137: 14d), Tishawashick (Rupert House Journal, January 29, 1832, HBCA, B.186/a/45: 28d) & Tishaweyae (Moose Factory Journal, HBCA, B.135/a/123).

[17] Evidence regarding Manask is scant. However, George Gladman reports on December 23, 1828: "Manask arrived from Mr W Corrigal at Hannah Bay." HBCA, B.135/a/134.

[18] George Barnley, *Kenooshao: A Red Indian Tragedy* (London: Charles H. Kelly, c.1898), p. 33.

[19] These 14 people included: Mr. Corrigal, his wife and a little girl whom they were raising (mixed-blood daughter of Pierre Robilliard); Manask and his wife; Tishaway, his wife and their infant child; Edward Richards (a young mixed-blood apprentice boy), Kwokowdjic (a boy referred to in the HBC records as Crooked Dick) and his younger brother Joseph, Nataha (a boy), and 2 other Cree boys (apparently sons of Quaquatcheshish). Corrigal was the only European. Nevertheless, Edward Richards, the daughter of Robilliard and *perhaps* Mrs. Corrigal had some European ancestry; moreover, Kwokowdjic and his brother Joseph had been raised at the post (their mother was no longer alive).

It is difficult to determine what verbal or material exchange occurred between the two groups in this difficult situation, particularly between Corrigal & Quappakay, who, under more normal circumstances, had angered each other in the fall. What is certain is that Quappakay and his family soon withdrew a distance from the post where, unsatisfied, offended and certainly desperate, they sought advice from their *Mistabeo* using the *kwashapshigan*. John Blackned explains:

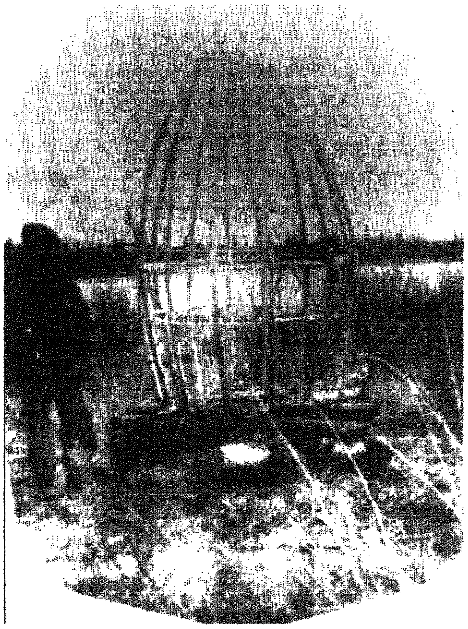

**Figure 10: Kwashapshigan (shaking tent) frame.** Photo taken upriver from Albany Post, c. 1930. Photo by Walter Watt, HBCA, 1987/363-A-6/14 (N8284).

> And the old man [Quappakay] had had a Mistabeo [spirit-helper], but now his son had it. When the old man had gone into the conjuring house, it didn't work very well, but he used to think a lot of it... . The old man used to play [midwajit] with the shaking tent, but his oldest son played with the conjuring tent now. This old man thought lots of his son when he did that. This oldest brother's Mistabeo told him that to attack the Hannah Bay store was the only way they could live.

They did not act immediately on the *Mistabeo*'s counsels: "The first time the Mistabeo told them to spoil the Hannah Bay store, they didn't do it right away. Then the second time they made the conjuring tent, the *Mistabeo* told them to kill the boss [the HBC "*okimaw*"]. The *Mistabeo* said [that] 'That was the only way they were going to see the summer.'"[20] This concurs with the account that Shaintoquaish gave Joseph Beioley in March of 1832:

> they had striven hard to get the "spirit above" not to enforce the task on them because they had a disinclination to do what they thought to be wrong but that the "spirit above" threatened and assured them that except they obeyed they

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[20] Blackned, *loc. cit.*, p. 144. According to Edward Namekus, Quappakay first conjured and then his son. Namekus, "Hannah Bay Massacre," interview by John M. Cooper, Rupert House, Quebec, 1934, excerpt from John M. Cooper, "1934 Field notes," (field notes in the possession of Regina Flannery, Catholic University of America), p. 93.

> should have all their children taken from them, that what was required of them was merely the life of one Englishman and was trivial in comparison of what the English themselves did who fought with ships close to each other and killed a great numbers of people. He then said that they had conjured or practiced divinations repeatedly and separately, that is to say his father, his brother and Bolland and himself in order to have the task of executing the orders of the "spirit above" taken from them ...[21]

In the end the sons "asked their father what they were going to do. And this old man said that they could do what the *Mistabeo* said."[22]

Quappakay and his family returned to the post late in the day on January 21: "when the manager had his dinner, that's when they got there."[23] George Diamond explains what happened next:

> They erected their teepees. At night they built a huge fire. There was a young boy at the trading post, who had been raised there. He had a younger sibling there. I don't think their mother was alive. That was where they stayed. This young boy entered the teepee with the brightly lit fire. The people inside were preparing their guns ... they were cleaning their guns. This young boy went home. He was very surprised to see them really cleaning their guns. He told the post manager what the group was doing. "I wonder if these people are trying to kill us," the young boy said. The manager didn't listen to what was said.[24]

This young boy's name was "Kwokowdjic," known in the HBC records as "Crooked Dick."[25] In 1934, his son John, elderly by then, told the story (with Willie

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[21] Rupert House Journal, March 25, 1832, transcribed in Moose Factory Journal, HBCA, B.135/a/138: 6-6d.

[22] Blackned, *loc. cit.*, p. 144. George Diamond explains that when Quappakay was captured later on, "he was blaming his sons. But all the women at the camp were saying it was all his orders that were followed." George & Louise Diamond, interview by Stephen, p. 13.

[23] Blackned, *loc. cit.*, p. 144.

[24] George & Louise Diamond, interview by Stephen, p. 11. Kathleen Hardisty also says that Corrigal did not listen to the warning he was given by the Crees at the post. Kathleen Hardisty, interview by Paul Rickard, Moose Factory, Ontario, Autumn, 1998 (transcript/translation provided by the interviewer), p. 1.

[25] John Dick, "Hannah Bay Massacre," interview by John M. Cooper with the assistance of interpreter Willie McLeod, Moose Factory, Ontario, 1935, excerpt from John M. Cooper, "1934 Field notes," pp. 575-585 (field notes in the possession of Regina Flannery, Catholic University of America), cited in: John S. Long, "'Shaganash': Early Protestant Missionaries and the Adoption of

McLeod translating) to John M. Cooper. Cooper kept the following notes, which are a bit difficult to follow: it is not always clear when John is speaking in his own voice or his father's, or if McLeod or Cooper are paraphrasing. John explains, in his father's voice:

> The way this started [was] when they were cleaning their guns ... then they started to load their guns. They chased me, and one called out to me, "Wait for me." So I waited for him. He came up to me and [I] saw there was something they were going to do that wasn't right. I soon told it too ... So this lady [Corrigal's wife] told me: "It is you that wants to murder us."

Mrs. Corrigal's comment was meant to reassure Kwokowdjic with a little humour. It does not make any sense interpreted in any other way for "she took him [John's father] in the house and kept him there that night." Yet even though she brought him into the house (he probably stayed in the servants quarters under normal circumstances), Kwokowdjic still remained anxious. John continues in his father's voice: "And [through the window] I watched him [the man that had chased him earlier] all that night and didn't go to sleep till [the] next day."[26]

Sunday was mild and cloudy. According to John Blackned, the "Mistabeo [had] told the oldest brother that when they got near to the Hannah Bay store they would leave their wives, and then go and fight from there."[27] Other sources, however, say that they were present. Mid-morning, before attacking the post, Quappakay and some of those with him supposedly entered the store, and pretending to look around, "spit on the flint [of the HBC guns] so they wouldn't be able to ignite."[28] Meanwhile, one of Quappakay's family went to the river bank and

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Christianity by the Western James Bay Cree, 1840-1893" (Ph.D. dissertation, OISE, University of Toronto, 1986), "Appendix" (This "Appendix" is not attached to the copy of Long's thesis held at OISE: he himself provided me with a copy.), p. 3.

[26] Dick, *loc. cit.*, p. 1.

[27] Blackned, *loc. cit.*, p. 144.

[28] Fred Moore, "They had to kill him at Middleborough," interview by John Long, Moose Factory, Ontario, June 2, 1984 (transcript provided by Long), p. 2.

"started to pretend he was crazy... . So then the crowd said, 'Watch him that he doesn't run off.'"[29] James Morrison explains in more detail:

> Quapikay's grandson was at the post with his mother a widow and was called the Congrer ... it was planned by the Indians that Congrer was to play insane or out of his mind and that his mother would get Mr. Corrigal to send some of the men after him as he was to run away along the coast pretending he was out of his mind ... all was done and Mr. Corrigal never suspecting any thing wrong sent his men after the boy so as soon as the men ...[were] gone Quapikay and his band [attacked] ...[30]

John Dick recounts, in his father's voice, what happened next:

> ... at the time my father was sleeping [he had kept watch all through the night] and the lady of the place wakened him. They [Quappakay and sons] all had their guns in their hands then. I ran out, so I didn't have the door shut when they started to fire. When they fired, the boss was the first one shot, and yet I heard them still trying to fight. [Here Willie McLeod paraphrases] So then John Dick's father gave the door a kick. Some of them, with John Dick's father, had an axe and made a chop at the attackers but missed them, and they took [the] axe out of his hands. [It was] Only then that they killed the boss dead by striking him on the head with the axe taken from [John Dick's] father's companion. While the boss was yet living, he [had] said to John Dick's father, "As soon as I'm dead, you run for your life.

Kwokowdjic now fled to the riverbank with his younger brother Joseph and another boy. John Dick continues in his father's voice: "They chased after me then, when I was carrying my little brother in my arms. At last they were coming up on me, and I had to throw down my little brother and leave him. I looked back and I just saw them shooting my little brother. They just had gun muzzles right up against the little fellow when they fired at him."[31]

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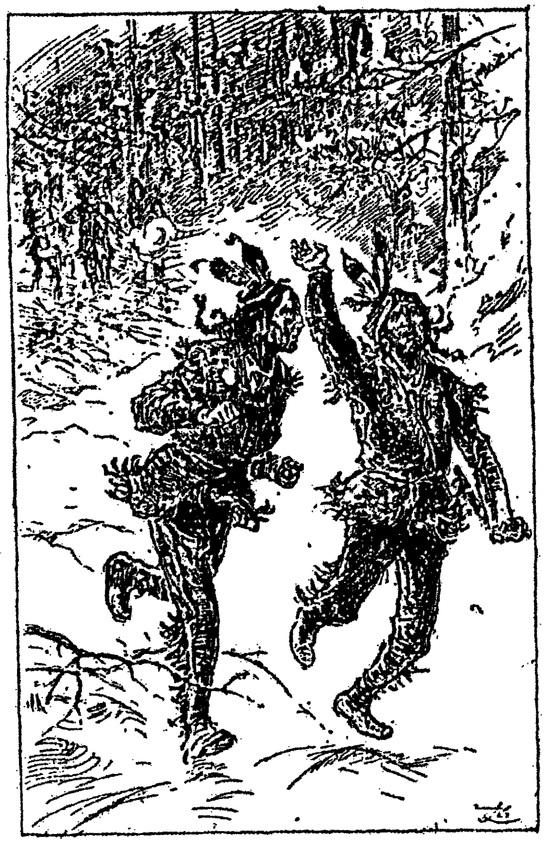
[29] Dick, *loc. cit.*, p. 1.

[30] Morrison, *loc. cit.*, p. 3. John McLean writes that Quappakay and his family "came one day to the establishment and told the people that the 'man of medicine' had come for the purpose of performing some extraordinary feat that would astonish them all. The silly creatures believed the story, and went to the borders of the lake [the bay], where they observed the sorcerer showing off a variety of antics very much to their amusement. The conspirators, seeing this part of the strategem succeed, rushed into the house, and immediately despatched Mr. Corrigal and his family." McLean, *John McLean's Notes of a Twenty-Five Year's Service in the Hudson's Bay Territory*, ed. W.S. Wallace (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1932), p. 100. (His informant was probably Edward Richards. See Chapter Four.) See also: Barnley, *Kenooshao*, pp. 46-52; Frederick Close, "1832 Atrocity: Hannah Bay Massacre Based Upon Trickery," *Moosetalk*, Vol. 1, no. 2 (June 25, 1970), p. 11 (first published in *Ministikok* in July 1968). He explained to me, however, that he had been corrected afterwards on several points by a local person who had read his story in the newspaper. Personal communication, summer 1999.



HE TOOK DELIBERATE AIM AND FIRED.

**Figure 11: Flight from Hannah Bay House, as depicted in Barnley's *Kenooshao.*** P. 63.

Early next morning, news of the attack on Hannah Bay House arrived at Moose Factory with the first of four survivors. The post's journal entry for Monday, January 23 reads as follows:

> Mild the forepart of the day. About 3:00 a.m. two Indians Nataha and Crooked Dick, two Indians who have been residents at Hannah Bay Post, had fled from there without mittens, cape or snowshoes to preserve their lives. They bring the melancholy account of the band of Rupert's House Indians having taken possession of the House and had killed an Indian man and woman outside the House fore themselves fled for their own preservation and am sorry to say, very little hopes of Mr. W. Corrigal or his wife escaping the same fate. As these Indians affirms, the band had shut the door to prevent their entrance, but they had distinctly heard 3 shots inside of the House, with the cry of load again, in the Indian language. These 2 Indians were pursued some distance by a couple of the villains which obligated Crooked Dick to desert a brother of his he was leading by the hand as the last resource of escaping their pursuers.[32] About 10 A.M. another Indian Tishewyae reach'd here. Wounded in the hand, having had his own child shot under his arm, this Indian had done all he could to force the door but could not get in to help Mr. Corrigal. Although he got one of the rascals out at the door they got him drag'd in again. About 4 pm Edward Richards arrived

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[31] Dick, *loc. cit.*, pp. 1-2.

[32] According to John Dick, when his father arrived at Moose Factory, "he gave his report. And they told him, 'You're the murderer and you are blaming it on somebody else.' Then the third man came in with a broken hand [Tishawayae] and they took his word." *Ibid.*, p. 2.

> much fatigued and jaded. But all the light he can throw on this brutal outrage is that the band arrived on Friday last in a starving & naked state. They got provisions given them but on Sunday afternoon having by Stragation got all these Indians outside the House, they began their bloody intentions.[33]

## RESPONSE OR RETALIATION: BEIOLEY VS. MCTAVISH

Edward Namekus explains that following the arrival of the survivors, "A conference was held of the white staff at Moose ... One of the staff advised: 'Go and kill all the Indians we meet as we go along.' Another advised, 'Go to the place and get the guilty ones.'"[34] According to one source, McTavish issued orders "not to spare the women and children," but James Anderson, who was present at the time later described this accusation as "decidedly false."[35] In the anger of the moment, however, such vengeful actions were likely proposed, but in the end, "They said that

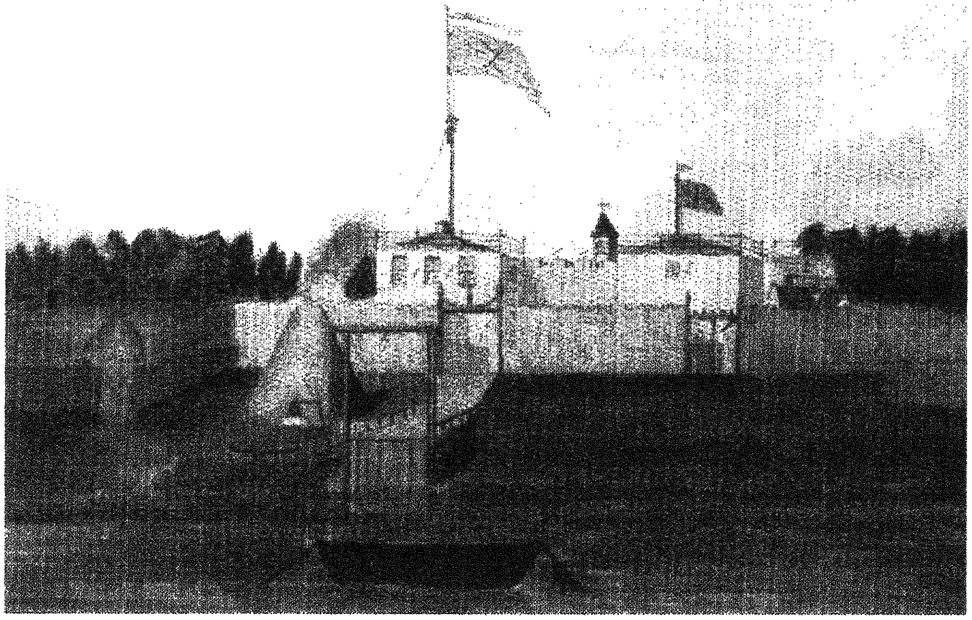

**Figure 12: Moose Factory, depicted in a painting by William Richards, c. 1804-1811.** Glenbow Museum, Calgary, 62.113.1.

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[33] Moose Factory Journal, 1831-32, Hudson's Bay Company Archives, B.135/a/137.

[34] Edward Namekus, *loc. cit.*, p. 1.

[35] Anderson, *loc. cit.* (1849), p. 59.

they were just to kill the men, and the boys who are big enough to remember the things that they had been doing."[36] A posse was quickly organised.

By Tuesday, the temperature had dropped from 33°F to -23°F. Under cover of the early morning darkness, William Swanson, the sloopmaster, set out for Hannah Bay House. Over a decade earlier, his sister-in-law had been killed under peculiar circumstances by one of the accused men he was now hunting down.[37] McTavish wrote in the journal later that day: "If Mr. Swanson should not meet with the murderers at the post to make an example of, he is to proceed with his party to Rupert's House & is the bearer of a letter to Mr. Chief Factor Joseph Beioley to inform him of the crime committed by the Indians belonging to his district."[38] Swanson began a journal of the trip on this day:

> The requisite preparations being made yesterday afternoon, at 3 o'clock this morning myself and 11 men, George Moore, Thomas Weigand, John Richards, John Brown, Philip Turner, John Marie Boucher, Pierre Neven, Paul Jermain, John Gowdy, Andrew Linklater, and James Beads all well-armed started from the Factory having with us 5 sleds and 9 dogs with luggage and provisions.[39] The weather was very unfavourable, the snow drifting so thick that at so early an hour we could not see each other. On arriving near the mouth of the river we found we were almost surrounded by the tide, which was running strong and uncommonly high. We therefore were obliged to retrace our steps of about a quarter of a mile and lose no time in getting onto shore. In this we did not succeed without the loss of one sled which the two dogs drew into deep water, from once we could not get at that time extracate [sic] them. Some of the party having got wet, and the weather being exceedingly cold became necessary to proceed for the nearest point, the Goose Bluff, to make a fire and wait for daylight. As soon as the tide had ebbed and the overflowings were frozen, a party went out to seek the sled which the men's provisions axes on it, they recovered it and one of the dogs. As soon as the provisions blankets, etc. were put in little order and the gale moderated which was not until between 2 and 3

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[36] Blackned, *loc. cit.*, p. 145.

[37] See the story of the "Big Lake massacre" in Chapter Four.

[38] Moose Factory journal, January 24, 1832, HBCA, B.135/a/137: 15.

[39] George Moore Jr., Thomas Weigand, John Richards, John Brown, James Beads and Philip Turnor were all of mixed ancestry. Andrew Linklater and James Goudie (Gowdy) were Orkneymen, Jean-Marie Boucher, Paul Germain (Jermain) and Pierre Nieveu (Neven) were Canadians (perhaps also of mixed ancestry). *Ibid.*

o'clock we set out and at dusk we camped for the night at the Meniskoscepee Creek.

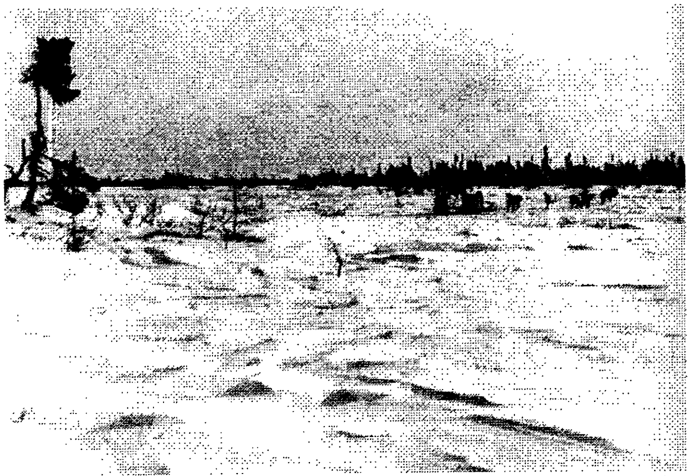

**Figure 13: Dog Sledding in Wiinipek.** Photo by John Macfie, from John Macfie and Basil Johnston, *Hudson Bay Watershed* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1991), p. 27.

It was "drifting" on the 25th – the coldest morning yet that winter at -34° F.[40] Swanson writes: "Started from our encampment at about 4 o'clock and put up at the end of the green woods, seven miles beyond the point of big stone – kept watch during the night." The 26th, it was "Still drifting."

> We set off at about 2 o'clock this morning and travelled through the woods and swamps to West River where we kept our sleds. Preparations were now made in case of finding the Indians yet at the house, for attacking them, and I gave orders that half the party should watch the windows as we approached and fire immediately if they observed anyone who seemed disposed to molest us, whilst the others should with all speed break open the doors. We then proceeded across the woods towards the house, and approaching cautiously observed several pairs of snowshoes, which led us to suppose the Indians were there, we immediately therefore pushed forward and went rapidly from one house to the other, expecting to find them. Not one person was to be found, the doors were standing open and windows destroyed. We now looked around in our approach we past at about 30 yards distance from the house, the body of a woman, it was the wife of one of the Indians who escaped to the Factory, she had been strangled and her infant with its throat cut was laid in her arms. The body of an Indian lad was found near the door of the house. After considerable search we found the bodies of Mr. Corrigal, his wife, and the Indian Manask, his wife and an Indian lad in the privy where they appeared to have been placed shortly after they had been murdered. All the dogs were killed.[41]

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[40] William Swanson, "Narrative of the proceedings of a party of 11 men under the command of Mr. William Swanson, ... [etc.]," report transcribed in the Moose Factory Journal, HBCA, B.135/a/138, January 25, 1832. Moose Factory Journal, January 25, 1832, HBCA, B.135/a/137. The journal entry of this day also include the comment that "... in short the scarcity of the winter is complained of by every arrival."

[41] Swanson, *loc. cit.*, January 25-26.

According to a number of sources, the victims' bodies were mutilated. The veracity of these accounts is questionable however. John Blackned likely heard some of them, because he argues: "Those ... Indians didn't even do anything to the people they had killed, all they did was to pull them out of the building, and left them."[42]

Swanson's account continues:

> We now gathered together all the furs and goods that could be found, secured them as well as possible in one of the bed places in the house and returned between 1 and 2 o'clock to our sleds at the West River. Went up the river a short distance and we camped. All the provisions and nearly all the goods both public and private property have been taken away even to the bed tick.

At the end of his journal, Swanson included a list of the "List of Property Brought From Hannah Bay." Among the items were "Some old Indian debt and other books, together with some private papers were also brought, but there were none found that related to the transactions and affairs of the present year."[43]

At about 11:00 a.m. on the 27th, the party "crossed the island of Hannah Bay River" to the eastern shore. Swanson, leading three men, "proceeded through the swamps and willows in hopes of falling on the tracks of the Indians that way," while George Moore and the others followed the shoreline. "When near the Seeseecapties," writes Swanson, "George Moore made the signal for finding tracks. I therefore joined him. Footmarks of a large party some with sleds were perceptible here and there breaking through the thin hollow ice for about a mile proceeding along to the coast ..." Yet they "could find no tracks beyond or in the Seeseecapties," because the weather had obliterated them. The posse "encamped at east point of Hannah Bay after sunset."[44]

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[42] John McLean writes that "the mangled limbs of their victims were scattered among the articles of property which the wretches, not being able to carry off with them, had attempted to destroy." McLean, *op. cit.*, p. 101. Fred Moore's father told him that the bodies were "stuffed ... down the outhouse hole." Moore, *loc. cit.*, p. 1. Anderson writes that "The greatest indignities had been practised on the corpses, all of them being more or less mutilated. Corrigal and his wife were found in the privy with the carcasses of some dogs; the poor infant had her throat cut and had then been placed with her mouth to the nipple of her mother's breast, to which it was firmly congealed." Anderson, *op. cit.* (1849), p. 64. Blackned, *loc. cit.*, p. 145.

The next day it was again "Snowing and drifting." They continued searching along the coast, at all "the places where Quapecay and family usually tent, [but] there were no signs of their having been recently at any one of them." They nevertheless found "tracks at the east point and at the large willows, of Indians proceeding towards Hannah Bay. They had evidently passed," writes Swanson, "during the mild weather previous to the 23rd." At sunset, they set up camp "about two miles on the east side of Cabbage Willows."[45]

The 29th was a "Fine day." Swanson and his party "crossed the Bay from Blackbear Point and reached Ruperts House about 2 o'clock in the afternoon." Beioley wrote in that post's journal later in the day:

> At one p.m. Mr. Swanson master of the Union Sloop accompanied by 11 of the company servants arrived. The party having been despatched from Moose by Chief Factor McTavish in quest of Quappakey's family who are represented [accused] by an Indian named Tishawashick belonging to Hannah Bay and 3 others who escaped the slaughter to have murdered Mr. Wm. Corrigal and wife, an Indian named Manask and his wife and others amounting in all to 10 persons and it appears that the murderers, subsequent to the escape of 4 persons who brought the intelligence of the shocking event to Moose, -- have plundered the house of meat and of most of the provisions. I received a few lines from Mr. McTavish of which the following is a copy: "Dear Sir: Intelligence of a most brutal out-rage having been committed on the companies' establishment at Hannah Bay in which we have reason to suppose the poor unfortunate Wm. Corrigal has been murdered and the whole of the inmates, by a family or two of the Indians of your quarter. It has just reached me by three Indians who escaped thence. I loose no time in dispatching the present party under Wm. Swanson to ascertain facts and communicate with you on the most proper steps to be taken to bring the perpetrators to account. I beg you will receive this hurried scroll as I am too busy getting the party off to give coherent news at present ... with

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[43] *Ibid.*

[44] *Ibid.*

[45] *Ibid.*

> much respect I have the honour to be dear sir, Your most obedient servant, J. G. McTavish."[46]

The 30th brought fine weather again. At Rupert House, the party was preparing for the return trip. Swanson writes: "Proposed to William Beioley to cross with my party from Nodaway River to the Seeseecapties in quest of the Indian Quapecay and sons, if he could furnish a guide, none of my men knowing that route, this he could not do and the design was consequently relinquished." Beioley explained in a letter written to McTavish that same day: "The only Indians competent to guide a party of people thro' the lands of the Hannah Bay Indian Wintipoeggun, to which it is probable the murderers will resort, are, I think, some of the Hannah Bay Indians themselves, the relations & connexions of the murdered Indians."[47]

On the 31st, Swanson's party left Rupert House at 8 o'clock, crossed the bay amid drifting, swirling snow, and camped on Blackbear Point. The first day of February brought better weather; the party followed the shoreline to Cabbage Willows and camped at East Point. By the next day, however, it would be snowing once again. When Swanson and his men arrived at Hannah Bay House on February 2, they had seen no sign of the accused, but they did find the body of Kwokwodjic's brother "about two miles [down river] from the house. He had been shot and at so short a distance that his clothes had taken fire." The sun was setting as they conveyed his body to the house. Nothing had been disturbed since their last visit. They settled in for the night.[48]

The next morning, a grave was dug in the potato vault, the only place where the ground was not completely frozen. Swanson elaborates:

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[46] Swanson, *loc. cit.*, January 29. Rupert House Journal, January 29, 1832, HBCA, B.186/a/45: 28d.

[47] Swanson, *loc. cit.*, January 30. Beioley to McTavish, January 30, 1832. Rupert House Correspondence, 1831-32. HBCA, B.186/b/22: 7.

[48] Swanson, *loc. cit.*, January 31 - February 3.

> It was necessary to break down the privy before the bodies could be taken out - that of Corrigal had been stripped of coat, waistcoat and trousers he was both shot and stabbed and his head wrapped round with a piece of cloth, his wife had been dreadfully cut. A coffin being made, William Corrigal were then buried in a proper a manner as circumstances permitted. The bodies of the Indians also put into the vault and the door closed up with earth and wood. A search was made for a little girl, the daughter of Pierre Robilliard who had been brought up by Mrs. Corrigal and was with her on the morning of the murder, but in vain, we therefore concluded that the Indians had taken her along with them. The whole number of individuals as ascertained to be killed on this occasion is 9. As we were making preparations for our departure a Hannah Bay Indian Quaquatcheshish and his son arrived, we communicated to him what had occurred at the post and that amongst the Indians killed were two of his sons, gave the poor fellow a supply of provisions as there was remaining, with some ammunition, and he set off again with all speed to rejoin the rest of his family. The furs and property as per annexed list having been made up in convenient parcels last night, the goods we were obliged to leave being secured as well as possible and every task of our painful duty performed, we set off about 1 o'clock and stopped at an encampment near Big Stone for the night.[49]

As they broke camp early the following morning, a fresh cold wind was blowing. McTavish wrote in the Moose Factory journal that evening:

> At dusk Mr. Swanson and party returned without seeing any signs to enable them to track down the murderers although they searched at the usual places where they used to hunt all along the coast from Hannah Bay Post to Rupert's House. Yesterday upon their return they performed the last offices to the corpse of the murdered vis à vis M. Wm. Corrigal and Wife, one Indian man, two women, one infant and three boys, one of them was found a distance from the house on the river, supposed to be the boy left by his brother (Crooked Dick). Mr. Swanson's party brought all the furs found at the house and a few other articles but everything like blankets, or wearing apparel together with all the provisions, the Wretches have got clean away with and also with a quantity of provisions. They even robbed the dead of part of their apparel. A few foxes and a number of martin skins they have taken away but no papers being found to refer to prevents any reference being made to ascertain the exact amount of skins except from the Indians that escaped from there.[50]

Nothing would be heard of Quappakay's family till the end of March. Meanwhile, the four survivors of the attack, Edward Richards, Nitaha, Kwokwodjic and Tishaway, remained at Moose Factory. Tishaway was "under the surgeon's care with his wounded hand."[51] Shortages continued to be reported at all the posts in the area. On February 14, for example, Nabowisho and two other hunters brought 36 Mbeaver to Rupert House. "They all came from the same tent," writes Beioley, and "have slept one night since they left it & say they are almost starving." After receiving 40 lb. of oatmeal and 10 geese for his family Nabowisho returned the next day to his family's camp up the Nodaway river.[52]

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[49] *Ibid.*, February 3.

[50] *Ibid.*, February 4. Moose Factory Journal, February 4, 1832, HBCA, B.135/a/138: 17.

News of the attack on Hannah Bay was spreading. Five days after leaving Rupert House, where he had likely heard the news, Nabowisho returned with his wife and children. Beioley explains: "they are afraid to stay longer on their own lands for fear of the Indians who are reported to have committed the atrocious outrage on the post at Hannah Bay & its inmates."[53] Two days later, Beioley wrote to East Main post, warning the trader there of the "inhuman massacre of nine other individuals ... by old Quappakay, his two sons & his son in law who may attempt to visit this place as usual under the impression that their misdeeds are not yet known here."[54] He also wrote to Waswanipi on February 24:

> ... [a] most atrocious outrage has been committed this winter on the Hon. Comp. Post & property at Hannah Bay in which Mr. W. Corrigal & his wife, the Indian Manusk & his wife & the wife of an Indian named Tishaweyae, together with five children belonging to different individuals have been wantonly & inhumanly massacred. The perpetrators of this wicked act are said to be the Rupert's House Indians Quappiakay, Staicimau, Shaintoquaish & Bolland, assisted by their respective wives & such of their sons & daughters as were big enough & able to do mischief.[55]

On February 28, William Swanson and James Anderson arrived from Moose Factory with 10 servants and 4 Indians. They had been sent to "endeavor to trace out the murderers and also to strengthen the post ... which it was surmised might be attacked. The men intended for that purpose," writes Anderson, "were left there, but we found no traces of the Indians." They departed for Moose Factory on March 2.[56]

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[51] Moose Factory Journal, February 11, 1832, HBCA, B.135/a/138.

[52] Rupert House Journal, February 14-15, 1832, HBCA, B.186/a/45: 30d.

[53] *Ibid.*, February 19, 1832, HBCA, B.186/a/45: 31.

[54] Rupert House Correspondence, 1831-32, HBCA, B.186/b/22: 8.

[55] Rupert House Correspondence, 1831-32, HBCA, B.186/b/22: 9.

"Late in the evening" of March 23, Swanson and three men returned from Moose with letters for Beioley.[57] The next day, Beioley began a letter to Governor George Simpson:

> Until the 29th of January, the date on which I received intelligence of this dreadful affair, the business ... was going on in a smooth & uniform manner but subsequently all has been horror & anxiety, attended by a powerful sensation of insecurity in the minds of the Indians & of the Hon. Company's servants which will not readily be allayed unless the villainous murderers are speedily brought ... to justice & condign punishment.[58]

Harbouring doubts about the accusations or at least desiring more evidence, Beioley had earlier spoken of the "accused," as opposed to the "villainous murderers." On March 25, just as he was becoming convinced that the accusations were valid, "a most unexpected occurrence" took place. Continuing his letter to Simpson, Beioley described what happened following "the arrival of two of the Indians who are accused of the atrocious affair at Hannah Bay, accompanied by their wives & children, & who together with themselves are in a most reduced state from the effects of starvation."[59] Richard Preston comments that "this is the point that demands explanation."[60] Why did Shaintoquaish and Bolland part ways with Quappakay and Staicimau, apparently taking none of the provisions with them? Had they been pressured to participate in the attack? Had they been afraid of Quappakay, of his powers as a *mitew*?[61] Beioley recognised that this demanded an explanation, and it renewed his uncertainty about the culpability of these accused men. This is evident in his detailed description of their arrival in his journal entry for March 25:

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[56] Rupert House Journal, February 28 - March 2, 1832, HBCA, B.186/a/45: 32-33. Anderson, *loc. cit.* (1849), p. 64.

[57] Rupert House Journal, March 23, 1832, HBCA, B.186/a/45: 35.

[58] Rupert House Correspondence, 1831-32, HBCA, B.186/b/22: 16.

[59] Rupert House Correspondence, 1831-32, HBCA, B.186/b/22: 17d.

[60] Richard Preston, "The View from the Other Side of the Frontier: East Cree Historical Notions," *Papers of the 21st Algonquian Conference*, ed. William Cowan (Ottawa: Carleton University, 1990), p. 318.

> Wind westerly, weather cloudy in the forenoon with snow - partially clear in the Afternoon - about 9 a.m. people were observed approaching toward the house about 1 1/2 miles distant, but on account of the snowy cloudy weather could not be distinctly perceived who they were until they were close to the place. They proved to be two of the four Indian men accused of the murder of Mr. William Corrigal at Hannah Bay, and 8 or 9 other individuals male and female natives of different age on January the 22nd last. The names of the two Indians now arrived are Shaintoquaish and Bolland, the first named being the second son of old Quappukay and latter the son-in-law of the same old man, their family accompanied them, a wife and three children belonging to Shaintoquaish, and a wife and one child of belonging to Bolland none of which children from their age and size can be sensible of the distinction between good and evil but as they may be directed by their parents, the oldest not exceeding I think 11 years of age and neither of the other three attaining to the age of 6 years or at the upmost 7. Notwithstanding they are said to have plundered Hannah Bay Post of so much flour, oatmeal and other provisions and of ammunition and twine etc. that it would have been supposed that they could not have suffered from famine under almost any circumstances for a long time, they are at present in a more reduced state from starvation than I recklect ever to have seen Indians at any Post in the country [emphasis added]...[62]

Although Beioley makes no mention of any friction with Swanson, other sources indicate that the two disagreed strongly about what action to take. William Weigand told Peter McKellar that "Mr. Boiley [sic] ... wanted to save the Indians' lives, but Captain Swanson took them prisoner."[63] According to George Barnley's more elaborate account, Swanson wanted to shoot the approaching men as soon as they were within range, in opposition to Beioley's orders. He finally agreed not to shoot only after Beioley proposed a compromise: the accused men would be allowed to come to the post as usual, but once captured they would be taken to Moose Factory.[64] According to Beioley's version of the events, on the other hand, he maintained control of the situation. He gave the famished arrivals "bread, tea, oatmeal broth, etc. etc. as appeared suitable to persons in such a wretched reduced condition from famine. Although [,] accused of such dreadful crimes as they are said to have committed [,] they can scarcely be conceived deserving of any assistance or support of the kind." Swanson was apparently excluded from the questioning of Shaintoquaish and Bolland:

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[61] A good man with conjuring competence was a *kwashaptum*; he who used his conjuring powers immorally was a *mitew*. See: Richard Preston, *Cree Narrative: Expressing the Personal Meanings of Events*, Canadian Ethnology Service, Mercury Series, Paper No. 30 (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1975), p. 27. Asked if Quappakay was a *mitew*, Cree elder John Dick replied: "Yes, up to his eyes in it." Dick, *loc. cit.*, p. 3. Other Cree and non-Cree sources also agree with Dick on this point.

[62] Rupert House Journal, March 25, 1832, HBCA, B.186/a/45: 35-36.

[63] Peter McKellar, "The Hannah Bay Massacre," manuscript attached to letter to Dr. Robert Bell, April 11, 1899 (Bell Papers, Lawrence Lande Collection, RBSCD/MUL, Montreal), p. 8.

> After being in the house about half an hour I was given to understand that one of the two Indians, Bolland had expressed a desire to communicate to his brother Iaiskoosin, who arrived yesterday. Something of importance, I intimated therefore that it would be prudent to let the communication be made in a retired place out of Shaintoquaish's hearing, and that Mr. McKay should be present with the brother. Previously thereto I had Shaintoquaish's wife named Jennyshish called into the kitchen to be questioned there, and interrogated with the reports of Quappukay and his sons and son-in-law, with their families having committed the dreadful deed at Hannah Bay were perfectly correct or not. At first she denied the whole but afterwards was induced to acknowledge that they had seen the perpetrators of the murders and she then gave information on such points as she was acquainted with, either as having seen the transactions, or after conversations of the parties. I was sometimes in

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[64] The content of the fictional conversation in Barnley's novel is very dubious, but it at least confirms a disagreement between Swanson and Beioley: "the captain [Swanson] asked of the trader in charge [Beioley]: 'What is the reception you intend for them?' This the trader parried by enquiring, 'What do you propose?' And Swanson's reply, promptly and energetically given, was: 'Why, shoot them down without more ado as soon as they come within our range.' The trader paled, and in a troubled voice cried, "No, no, not that! That would be to provoke the vengeance of their countrymen both far and near. No white man's life would be secure for years to come, and perhaps throughout the territory a wild storm of rage would sweep away our trade and people.' Swanson cursed him for a coward, and then went on: 'Sir, I know that under ordinary conditions your authority here is supreme. But you will understand that in this one particular, the commission of your superior officer gives me all jurisdiction. You have read the document, and I act as I deem best. Weigand and Brown, bring out your guns and fire at those coming men when I give the command.' The trader exclaimed: 'I forbid it, and you are bound to yield obedience to a superior officer.' But the men took no heed. They moved off, and then came back ready to obey their commander. Seeing himself rendered powerless, and willing to avoid a wider rupture, the trader proposed a compromise, such as would remove the scene of retribution to another and distant locality. It was that the men should be allowed to approach uninjured, should meet with the ordinary welcome, should, on a favourable opportunity offering, be put under arrest, and then be conveyed to Moose for Mr. McTavish's final judgement." Barnley, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-82.

> attendance, hearing her replies to questions asked, at other times going to where Shaintoquaish was and observing his conduct, at length I went to the trading room where Bolland was with his brother and with Mr. William McKay. I had not had an opportunity of hearing what Bolland had said but William McKay told me that Bolland commenced by addressing him Mr. William McKay by saying "I suppose you have heard of what has happened at one of the houses" - having received an answer in the affirmative he went on to say that "it was the Indian whom he was living with who had done it" that the "spirit above" had directed it to be done and he then without giving further information as to facts either general or detached went into a long rhapsody of nonsense, unintelligible in a great measure but exhibiting either gross mental dillusions [sic] or partial insanity, and concluding with requesting Mr. McKay not to mention for the present anything to me, because Shaintoquaish had come to the place with the intention of himself acquainting me with the whole affair. I shortly after was standing near Shaintoquaish when he addressed me by saying that he was desireous [sic]of speaking to me for a little time if I would listen to him at the same time producing a piece of stick about 8 or 9 inches long, and about 1/2 an inch square with a number of notches on it probably from 19 to 22 or 23 that he would tell me the whole truth, would not conceal anything, and would not deceive, I therefore desired him to go around out of the house where he then was and go into my room which he immediately did and he there detailed particulars of the atrocious deeds committed in and at Hannah Bay house, and that some proceeding circumstances connecting therewith, the latter however consisted of very little more than what is either inventions, or which may be attributed to gross mental delusions, and local superstitions, such as their being ordered by the "spirit above" to do what they had done ... and went in with a great deal of nonsense which made me think at times that he was deranged, occasionally he replied to mater-of-fact questions and then he wandered again. The notches on the piece of stick aforementioned I understood him to say represented the number of houses they saw above where there were many people gaily dressed with caps on their heads such as he himself had and that the "spirit above" told him that when I saw the ribbon I would credit all he said and the "spirit above" said he would have written to me but that I would not understand his writing therefore the spirit above told him it was necessary he should go in himself to the house and explain everything that has happened to me, etc. etc.[65]

Once he ascertained "who had killed particular individuals" and other details of the attack, Beioley writes that he then decided to send Shaintoquaish and Bolland prisoners to Moose Factory in order to "answer the ends of justice" and "bring them all to deserved and condign punishment." Again, no mention is made of Swanson's involvement or influence in any of this process. Beioley continues:

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[65] Rupert House Journal, March 25, 1832, transcribed in Moose Factory Journal, HBCA, B.135/a/138: 5-6d.

> I therefore told … [Shaintoquaish] he must go to Moose in company with the Moose people and that when there, must tell the same sought story of the affairs that he had done to me on which case perhaps his life might be spared but that I did not think Bolland would nor yet those of any of the family except of his own wife and children and the children incapable of distinguishing right from wrong. He stated objections related merely to his own feebleness and it being early to perform the journey to what would become of his family and to what would become of the furs. I informed him he would go otherwise the people were so irritated against the whole family that they would kill him at the place without having the power to protect him from immediate death which on the other hand he might perhaps avoid if he went quietly and without attempting to make his escape or to do any mischief to anyone, that I would go to Moose myself in company with the Factory people and he might be assured that while I was in company with the party and that he conducted himself as was required of him no person would hurt him until he came to Moose from there he would be at the disposal of the gentleman who was in charge there and that I would interest myself to procure a conditional pardon for him and for him only amongst the men and grown-up youths, I would not promise it would be granted, as it depended upon the opinion others might entertain on this propriety. I told him that he must answer candidly the questions put to him except when they implicated himself for the purpose of ascertaining who amongst them killed the respective murdered individuals.[66]

On March 27, Beioley, Swanson and six others (including William Corrigal's son Jacob) set off to bring Shaintoquaish and Bolland to Moose Factory.[67] "The party encamped the first night at Black Bear Point and one of the Indians (Bowlan) ran away, and crossed Rupert Bay, distance about 15 miles, to his father's camp. In the morning the party went on to Moose with the other Indian."[68]

At about 2:30 p.m. the 30th, the party arrived at Moose Factory. McTavish wrote in the journal later that evening: "Put this murderer [Shaintoquaish] into irons & set a watch over him at night. He has made a promise to guide people to the rest of the miscreants."[69] Barnley writes that before being questioned, Shaintoquaish was told by McTavish: "It is not our custom to punish any man unless his guilt be clearly proved."[70] Weigand depicts a very different scenario: "When they arrived, Gov. McTavish was walking upon the upper veranda. Mr. Boiley asked him to pardon the Indian. The Governor replied 'pardon be damned, take him away and shoot him.'"[71] Within four days, Shaintoquiash would be dead.

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[66] *Ibid.*, 7.

[67] Rupert House Journal, March 27, 1832, HBCA, B.186/a/45: 36. McKay took over writing the Rupert House Journal at this point.

[68] McKellar, *loc. cit.*, pp. 8-9.

On April 3, a party left Moose Factory in order to find and punish the other alleged murderers. James Anderson, one of the leaders of this punitive expedition, kept a journal, in which he describes the execution of Shaintoquaish:

> Started from Moose Factory in Company with Mr. Swanson, McKenzie, 13 men and Shantoquiesh, a prisoner (the murderer of Mrs. Corrigal and two other women and was brought here from Rupert's House by Mr. Beioley). We took this man with us as a guide if we could not do without him, but finding he could not walk we hauled him to Middleborough [Island] 4 miles from the factory and there shot him.[72]

According to Fred Moore, however, Shaintoquaish was not shot, but pushed under the ice. This concurs with what Fred Close was told, that "a hole was chopped in the ice near Middlesboro Island into which the convicted man was to be dropped." Just before Shaintoquaish was dropped through the ice, however, one of the survivors, "in a state of frenzy grabbed an ice chisel and rammed it through the prisoner … [who] was then dropped into the hole and disappeared into the crimson water."[73]

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[69] Moose Factory Journal, March 30, 1832, HBCA, B.135/a/137.

[70] Barnley, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

[71] McKellar, *loc. cit.*, p. 9.

[72] James Anderson, Journal of an Expedition to Punish the Murderers of Mr. and Mrs. Corrigal and eight other individuals," HBCA, E.37/15, April 3. The rest of the men on the expedition were: "John Goudie, Wm. Johnston, Andrew Linklater, Jean Marie Boucher, Pierre Nieveu, Jacque Paignant, James Beads, John Brown, T. Weigand, Geo. Moore B, John Richards, Edward Richards & an Indian. The 3 latter had relatives massacred by those fiends." Moose Factory Journal, April 2, 1832, HBCA, B.135/a/137.

It seems likely that McTavish ordered the execution, which was to done by shooting Shaintoquiash and pushing his body under the ice, but an angry survivor killed him with an ice chisel first. McTavish, however, provides an account similar to Anderson's: "The Indian prisoner was released from his irons & went off in company but pretending he could not walk in hopes of making his escape should the party leave him an opportunity, they hauled him away about 4 miles when he began to murmur & the Indian shot him." How did McTavish receive news of this execution the same day? It was either planned or someone brought news to the Moose Factory after the execution was carried out. Yet Swanson says that after shooting Shaintoquiash, the party continued on its way.[74]

Swanson, Anderson and the rest of the Moose Factory men "Breakfasted at the Goose Bluff 7 miles from the factory [and] pursued ... [their] journey" till about 2 or 3 o'clock in the afternoon, when they encamped at Natitishee. "We here arranged our plans," recounts Anderson, "Mr. Swanson took the command of five men, Mr. McKenzie of four and myself of the same number which if we attack the tent are to be formed in the shape of a half moon. Mr. Swanson in the centre, Mr. McKenzie on his right, myself on his left."[75]

Beioley, who was excluded from these plans, arrived at the camp with three Rupert House servants after dark, at about 9 o'clock.[76] They had "left ... [Moose

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[73] Fred Moore, *loc. cit.*, p. 2. Frederic Close, *loc. cit.*, p. 11. Martin Hunter also says that one of the accused was killed with an ice chisel. Hunter, "The Hanna Bay Massacre" (Gladman Family Papers, Archives of Ontario, F432), p. 2.

[74] Moose Factory Journal, April 3, 1832, HBCA, B.135/a/137. William Swanson, "Journal of the proceedings of a party, consisting of 13 men under the direction of Mr. Swanson ... [etc.]," transcribed in the Moose Factory Journal, HBCA, B.135/a/138.

[75] Swanson, *ibid.* Anderson, *loc. cit.* (1832), April 3.

[76] Anderson, *ibid.*

Factory] about noon."[77] Did Beioley want no part in the summary execution of Shaintoquaish? Did he have a heated argument with McTavish before leaving? He and McTavish were already on bad terms because of McTavish's refusal, the previous fall, to allow Beioley's Cree wife to associate with his Scottish wife.[78] Later in the year, George Simpson would praise McTavish for his handling of the affair: "You managed admirably in regard to the Hanna Bay Murders; it will strike terror from one end of the country to the other. Poor B[eioley] has been a shade too cautious I am sorry to find. He has given me a very guarded report of the whole operation."[79]

On the 4th it was "Blowing a hurricane, snowing and drifting so much that ... [they] could not attempt to cross the bay" till 4:00 a.m. the following day. Yet it was still "Blowing and drifting" so they arrived on the east side at about 2:00 p.m. Anderson continues:

> Mr. Swanson, McKenzie and myself with two men now left the party with an intention of walking through the woods to see if we could discover any tracks next to the bluff where we intended to camp, but had scarcely entered the willows when we discovered men's tracks. I returned to the men, desired them to leave their sleds, which they immediately did as well as two of Mr. Beioley's men (one of whom was added to each wing). Mr. Beioley stopping behind with one man, formed the party as before mentioned and advanced into the woods. In a short time we came upon the spot where they had been encamped two days before[.] [F]inding that they had decamped, sent the men to take their sleds to the next bluff whilst we walked through the woods to it. During the time the men were making the barracade [sic], Mr. Swanson, McKenzie and myself and one man followed the tracks for about two miles through the woods and found they lead into Smith's Bay. Returned, gave strict orders that no noise was to be made.[80]

Breaking camp before dawn the next day, they rounded East Point into Smith's Bay. Swanson, Anderson, McKenzie and another man "followed the tracks through the woods and willows" while the rest of the "men kept outside of the willows for the sake of the hauling." Soon afterwards, while crossing a bit of open muskeg, they caught sight of smoke about a mile ahead of them. Anderson backtracked and had the men haul their sleds into the willows. While Beioley and one man remained with the sleds, Anderson and the rest of the men rejoined Swanson and McKenzie. In half-moon formation they "marched through the willows to where ... [they] had seen the smoke," but there was no longer anyone there. "Commenced a general chase," writes Anderson, "and after running about 4 miles came up [at Gull Point] with two women and a boy who proved to be the wife of Stacemow one of the murderers, her son and the daughter of Quappekay, another of the villains and the father of Stacemow and Santsquiesh."[81]

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[77] Moose Factory Journal, April 3, 1832, HBCA, B.135/a/137.

[78] See the profile of McTavish in the appendix.

[79] Simpson to McTavish, July 19, 1832, HBCA, B.135/c/2: 85-87d.

[80] Anderson, "Journal," April 4-5.

The women, who had been picking *wapusknamino* ("whitebear berries"), "wanted to fight back," explains Kathleen Hardisty: "... they tried to hit them [the men in the posse] with an axe," but the men "took the axe away from the women and asked them, 'Where are your husbands?'" Their reply, according to Anderson, was that only "Quappekay's wife, the children and Stacemow's eldest son, one of the conjurers and principal instigator of the dreadful crime they had committed" were at the camp. Ruby McLeod recounts the rest of their conversation: "'Well if you show us where they are,' he says, 'we'll give you some stuff ... and you can go home with your kids. But we're not saving your husband. Just pick out your kids ... and go home ... But these,' he says, 'we're not saving none of these.'" Anderson's account concurs: "We told them that if they guided us faithfully and told us no falsehoods, their lives should be spared as well as those of the children, but on the contrary, if they deceived us in one instance death would be the penalty."[82]

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[81] *Ibid.*, April 6.

[82] Hardisty, *loc. cit.*, p. 2. (Note: "White-bear berries" are frozen cranberries.) Anderson, "Journal," April 6. Ruby McLeod, "He made them believe he could do anything," interview by John Long, Moose Factory, Ontario, June 23, 1985 (transcript provided by Long), p. 3.

Anderson continues: "Sent the women in front, formed the party and entered the woods ..." With the women guiding them, they were able to avoid the traps that had apparently been set for them. Edward Namekus explains: "The murder[er]s had stolen quite a few guns from the post. They had made holes in the snow, and put the guns in them, and had attached strings to the triggers of the guns. These strings were so arranged that the passerby would kick them and so shoot himself."[83]

They arrived at the camp unobserved and told one of the women

> to enter and inform the rest. Directly afterwards, the conjurer came running out with some of his apparatus toward the tent which had been formed for his operations. Before he reached it he was seized, his hands tied behind his back, thrown into his tent and two men placed over him. In the meantime the other tent had been entered, the guns, flour, powder, shot, etc taken out and guard placed over it.[84]

The posse leaders then questioned Quappakay's wife. She told them everything, explain George and Louise Diamond, because "she thought they were going to kill her."[85] Ruby McLead is more explicit: "They had a rope around her neck and was going to hang her out on a tree; that's what they were going to do, hang her." Not surprisingly, neither Anderson nor Swanson mention this rough treatment of Quappakay's wife. Their reports simply describe how they "divided the party" and with "Stacimau's wife as a guide," went off "in search of Stacimau, Quappekay and a lad of about 15 years of age," who were supposedly "keeping watch on the point" waiting "for any small party which might have been passing." "We found the place," explains Anderson, "where they had been watching the day before and after proceeding about one half a mile further perceived Stacemou walking in the willows." According to Swanson they told "the woman to call out to him." [86] John Blackned gives one account of what occurred next:

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[83] Namekus, *loc. cit.*, p. 1.

[84] Anderson, "Journal," April 6.

[85] George and Louise Diamond, interview by Paul Rickard, p. 4.

> So she went to run near to her husband. She told her husband, "I guess they are coming after us." So this woman hid herself behind her husband's back. They couldn't shoot the man because the woman was behind the man's back. So they told the woman that they weren't going to kill her, because she didn't help them when they killed the manager. So she pushed herself away from her husband, and they shot the man.[87]

Swanson (like Anderson), on the other hand, reports that they did not shoot Staicimau immediately: "when he [Staicimau] came towards us, [we] rushed upon him, deprived him of his gun, tied his hands behind his back and sent two of the men back with him to the tent, not wishing to shoot till we had secured the whole."[88] Then, "[we] walked through the woods and willows about 3 miles," continues Swanson, "when we fell in with Quapecay's son a lad about fifteen, took his axe from him and marched him in along with us." Kathleen Hardisty, in contrast, explains that the leader was "really angry" and exclaimed, "'There is someone running!' A boy was seen up in the tree. 'Not me,' said the boy. And they shot him while he was still in the tree."[89]

After walking "about a quarter of a mile" further, they "discovered Quappekay in the willows."[90] He was "making snares," explains Blackned, "So they ... asked him why he ... kill[ed] the manager. The old man told them it was his sons that did that. Then they told the old man that he should have stopped his sons from doing that. After they told him that, they shot him right away. He was still sitting

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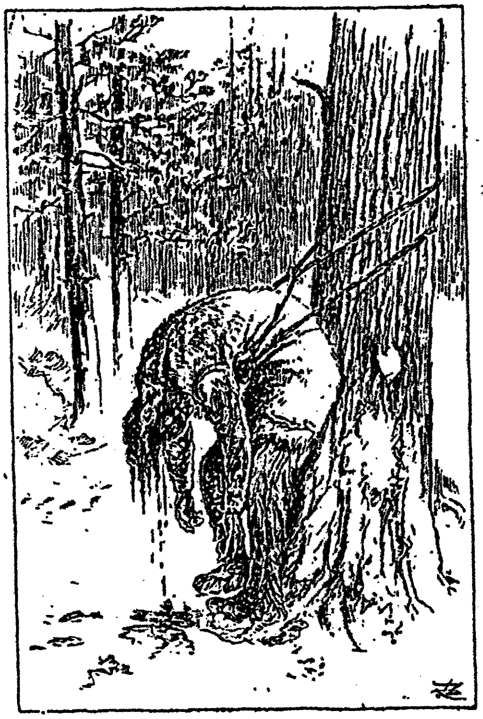
[86] Anderson, "Journal," April 6. Swanson, "Journal," April 6. However, their reports (supposedly written very shortly afterwards) differ on one detail: according to Swanson, they left "two men at the tents," while Anderson says they left "seven men" there.

[87] Blackned, *loc. cit.*, p. 146.

[88] Swanson, "Journal," April 6. Anderson, "Journal," April 6.

[89] Hardisty, *loc. cit.*, p. 2.

[90] Anderson, "Journal," April 6.



KENOOSHAO'S END.

**Figure 14: Quappakay's execution as depicted in Barnley's *Kenooshao*,** p. 107.

there after they shot him, so they gave him another shot."[91] After Quappakay was dead, they shot the boy, reports Swanson, and "returned to the tent where the same act of justice was dealt out to Stacemou and son." The bodies were then covered with the tent and some branches.[92]

Although Swanson and Anderson agree with Blackned that Quappakay was shot away from the camp, Blackned, on the other hand, says that Quappakay was the first to be apprehended. Other sources agree with Blackned on the latter point, yet say that Quappakay was interrogated at the camp, either having been first captured there or having been brought there. According to John Dick, for example, when the women were first discovered, they told the posse: "They [the men] are off hunting birds. The men are off. There's no one here [at the camp] but the okimau'" and (according to Kathleen Hardisty) "a young boy. That's all." She adds: "The elder wanted to run into his shaking tent. He was conjuring, that elder."[93] Edward Namekus tells a similar story: "As they reached the tent one old man [Quappakay] ran out and they asked him: 'Why did you kill the people and burn the post?' The old man answered: "I did not do it; my sons did it." The white people said to him: "No, you are the responsible one; you were at the head of the party." James Morrison says that Quappakay was found at the camp wearing Corrigal's clothes and in possession of his watch, which he had kept wound.[94]

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[91] Blackned, *loc. cit.*, p. 146.

[92] Swanson, "Journal," April 6.

[93] Dick, *loc. cit.*, p. 3. Hardisty, *loc. cit.*, p. 2.

One element that many of these accounts have in common is a depiction of Quappakay being interrogated in relation to the books he had stolen from Hannah Bay. Fred Moore explains that they found Quappakay "scribbling away in the ledger, the books. And this old Captain Swanson would say, 'What does that mean?' This old fellow would just sit there grinning, you know. And he'd [Swanson] give him a slap on his head. And he turned over another page. 'What does that mean?' he told him. And he'd [the old fellow] just grin away, laugh. And he'd [Swanson] slap him on the other side."[95] John Dick tells an almost identical story:

> So then they asked the boss [of the murderers], 'Where did you get all this stuff from?' And the books were lying there. So they (Moose people) started to rummage among the stuff they (group of women) had. So they brought the head murderer and took him (captive). And he got very badly used by them. And he was asked again, 'Where did you get these books from that you have here.' He said, 'I got them from heaven.' They said, 'You're telling lies." Then he was asked, 'Who killed the boss?' He said, 'Not I, sir. It's not us on this side [of the bay] that did the murder.' They took the murderer to one side to kill him. So my father [Quaquadjik] told him, 'You see that now. This day has come when you get your reward.' So they fired at one of the murderers. And the old man covered up his face when he saw he was going to be shot.[96]

The exact manner, location and order in which Quappakay and the others were found and executed cannot be determined with any certainty: there is too much disagreement among the sources. Anderson and Swanson's accounts present a more coherent story, but they also depict a posse motivated exclusively by sense of duty and justice. Other accounts, although less coherent, portray a more hot-headed posse – more motivated by desire for revenge – which could explain why Beioley appears to have refused any part in it. As Anderson's report indicates, he remained the whole time with the sleds:

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[94] Namekus, *loc. cit*., pp. 1-2. Morrison, *loc. cit.*, p. 4.

[95] Moore, *loc. cit.*, 1-2. Moore actually says that it was Shaintoquaish who was interrogated in this manner, but he refers to him as the *okimaw* (i.e. Quappakay). It is possible that both Moore and Ruby McLeod (who tells a similar story) were really referring to Shaintoquaish's interrogation at Moose Factory. McLeod, *loc. cit.*, p. 2.

[96] Dick, *loc. cit.*, pp. 3-4.

> During the time we had been absent, Jacob Corrigal, one of Mr. Beioley's men had selected all the property which belonged to his late father as well as 5 fox skins, four guns and a kettle, there was also some powder and shot and two old guns which we left with the women to gain a subsistence for themselves and their families. The furs and one gun we left with Mr. Beioley, and the remainder we brought away with us. We now set off for the place where we had left our sleds and found Mr. Beioley one mile from them on his way to join us. Being opposite a bluff where we could encamp we struck in and sent the men to bring up their sleds and who returned a good deal fatigued with their day's exertions. We have brought Stacemou's wife with an intention of going to the caches the gang had made of the furs, etc., which they had taken away from Hannah Bay House. But Mr. Beioley said he would take this off our hands and sent directly. He returned to Rupert's House. He therefore sent the women back with provisions consisting of 30 lbs. of flour, oatmeal and bread and 20 lbs. pork and bacon, as the women and children were and had been for some time in a complete starvation. Mr. Beioley having also expressed a wish that we should leave some provisions here on cache for the party who would return for the furs etc., we left about 20 lbs. bacon and pork.[97]

The sources do agree, however, that the women and children were not executed, with the exception of the boys "who were old enough to remember people doing like that. 'Just the small boys who don't remember things, don't kill them,' that's what they were told at Moose," explains John Blackned, "One of the old man's sons had a son who was that small [motioning with his hand]. And some old people from around here older than I, have seen that [man] when he was a baby. Long ago he was at Nemiska. They didn't kill the women. So they were the ones that told all that happened at Hannah Bay."

On the 7th, between 6 & 7 a.m., Anderson's and Beioley's parties split up and went their separate ways. Later that afternoon, Anderson, Swanson and company camped at East Point, "the weather not permitting ... [them] to cross the bay" till the next day at 5 am. After spending the night of the 8th at Natitishee, they were back in Moose Factory by noon the next day. Although some of the men had "suffered very much ... from snow blindness," the Moose Factory journal nevertheless recorded that they had "returned all safe having found the murderers & inflicted that punishment their crimes merited without hurting either women or children. It seems it was their [Quappakay and others] further intention that had there been a small party travelling between here and Rupert's House, to have murdered & plundered them." James Anderson's journal concludes on April 9:

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[97] Anderson, "Journal," April 6.

> Started this morning at 2. Breakfasted at Moose Bluff and reached the factory at 11 where we were received with flag hoisted etc etc etc which honour we returned with three hearty cheers and a salute. Thus has happily ended this expedition without the loss of one life or even one person being wounded. A thing which we could hardly expect considering the desperate characters of the men with whom we had to deal. The women informed us that it was the intention of the men to attack any party either of Indians or Europeans when they could do it with safety to themselves or could gain anything by it for which purpose they kept strict watch on the points. 132 miles travelled in expedition.

McTavish, satisfied with the outcome, traced the following lines in the Moose Factory journal on April 9th:

> At 11:30 a.m. Messrs W. Swanson, J. Anderson & John Geo. McKenzie, with their party returned all safe having found the murderers & inflicted that punishment their crimes merited without hurting either women or children. It seems it was their further intention that had there been a small party travelling between here and Rupert's House, to have murdered & plundered them.[98]

Of all the accused men, only Bolland, who had earlier escaped to his father's camp, remained alive.

By April 8th, Beioley was back in Rupert House. Four days previously, McKay had learned from Commachauppai about Bolland's escape to his father's tent. Two days later, on the 6th, Autawayham had come to Rupert House "to speak to Chief Factor Beioley about his son Bollund, thinking that Mr. Beioley had already returned from Moose."[99] McKay had also reported that day that

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[98] Anderson, "Journal," April 7-9. Swanson, "Journal," April 7-9. Moose Factory Journal, April 9, 1832, HBCA, B.135/a/137.

> At 11 minutes from 11 o'clock p.m. by my watch, John Moose and Wm. Wylie being on the first watch, I took a look to see what they were about and as I suspected I found Wylie asleep in the big house and three Indians lying right before him at the same time one of them looking at him. I immediately ordered him to bed and out of my sight and told him I would have him punished for his negligence. This is the second time I have found him asleep when on duty. For the sake of example to others I hope this circumstance will be noticed.

In contrast to William Wylie, McKay was clearly worried about something. His journal entry a day later reads as follows:

> [The] Indians as I suspect came in partially for to take away Bollund's wife and as I observed her preparing to take her departure I told her in the hearing of the Indians that she must not think of leaving this place until I receive orders to that effect from my superiors and if she made the tempt to get away it would surely cause mischief to be in the spot. Also in the hearing of the Indians - ordered the Sheno [Cree for "old man"] not to allow the women to go or to be taken in any recount whilst there was the slightest chance of preventing it. In the conversation that I had with Attauah I strongly dread that Mr. Beioley and his party had not all got up to Moose - in answer to questions that I asked him he told me that he thought Wm. Beioley was still in being but did not know about the rest. "But do not know," said I "Whether any are cut off at all?" He then replied that he did not and added that there was no knowing what might have happened at the same time telling me that he had mentioned all that he himself knew about it - but as Attumqua has already deceived me I cannot first put much confidence in what he says, however I sincerely hope that my suspicions are altogether erroneous.[100]

McKay's fears were allayed with Beioley's arrival the next day, and on the 10th, he and seven men left for Pontack's Creek to get Bolland. "They were joined by a number of Indians. When all the party came to the tent, Artawayham was told to deliver up his son, which he did without any hesitation."[101] The Weigands told

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[99] This concurs with the account given to McKellar by the Weigands: "Aatah-wa-am the father of the runaway Bowlan, sent word to Rupert House that this son was in his camp. McKellar, *loc. cit.*, p. 9.

[100] Rupert House Journal, April 4-8, 1832, HBCA, B.186/a/45: 39d-40d. This section was crossed out in the original journal.

[101] Rupert House Journal, April 10, 1832, HBCA, B.186/a/45: 41.

McKellar the same thing: "When they got there Bowlan did not want to go out, but his father made him, saying he would not protect him."[102] John Dick confirms this version of events: "When they caught the son, they asked the old man, 'Are you going to allow your son to be killed?' The old man said to his son, 'You get out of the tent. You brought this on yourself. This will have to be done to you now.'"[103] Bolland was then brought to Rupert House, where he was kept under guard until the 12th when five men, including William Corrigal's son Jacob, "set off taking the prisoner Bollund along with them."[104] According to the Weigands, "he was taken and shot."[105] Beioley reports in the Rupert House journal on the 19th:

> Between 11 and 12 a.m. the 5 men sent from Rupert's on the 12th April, returned bringing with them the fall hunts of old Quappakay and party from cabins, willows and all the fair and public and private property plundered from Hannah Bay House which will be found at the several depots made by the murderers in the course of their progress after the massacre - and to which the people were guided by one of the women belonging to that family... . 2 boys came from Tom Pipes' tent & bring intelligence of the Indian Artawayham having died this morning.[106]

Artawayham had been sick for some time, and had been relying on the post for provisions. Did he hand over his son, fearing that protecting him would cost him the help he had been receiving from the post? Sickness and want of provisions were affecting many other Cree in the area.[107] Did they allow the Company to punish Bolland for the same reason? Some of them, as McKay's nervous report demonstrates, were not in agreement with the Company's handling of the situation. On the other hand, some of them, like Nabowisho, were afraid of Quappakay and the members of his family who had participated in the attack on Hannah Bay House. Perhaps this is why some of the family members were sent away to other regions.

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[102] McKellar, *loc. cit.*, p. 9.

[103] Dick, *loc. cit.*, p. 4.

[104] Rupert House Journal, April 12, 1832, HBCA, B.186/a/45: 41d.

[105] McKellar, *loc. cit.*, p. 9.

[106] Rupert House Journal, April 19, 1832, HBCA, B.186/a/45: 42d.

[107] March 31: "two girls arrived from Autawayham's tent being sent by him for provisions, he being able to procure little or none where he has his tent." Rupert House Journal: HBCA, B.186/a/45: 38d. The entries for the month of April contain many reports of sickness and of arrivals seeking medicine and provisions. *Ibid.*: 39-44d.

According to Swanson, two of the "women were sent back to their families with … provisions." [108] Others were taken "right to Moose."[109] Ruby McLeod, for example, says that Quappakay's wife was brought to Moose Factory.[110] One of the daughters, a sixteen-year-old, was also brought to Moose Factory, where she was supposedly adopted by one of the families there and eventually married a Native man named John Matt.[111] Kathleen Hardisty explains what happened to some of the others:

> The young boy, maybe the oldest [of the children], said: "That's what we'll be doing too, using the shaking tent" ... That's why they brought them here [all the boys] ... And they sent one woman to Bagwah, and her son too. That's where the women were sent, because of the boys, so that they [would] not do that again ... [because] they had said, "we will do it too." My mother has seen the woman at Missinaibi, and [she] told her ... "The reason why we're here is because our husbands killed people. My son and I were sent here, and that is why we are here."[112]

As the following Rupert House journal entry shows, some remained in the vicinity of Rupert House: "About 2 p.m. 3 women and 7 children belonging to the families of Quappekay arrived from Black Bear Point in a destitute state for want of provisions." Again, on May 18, Beioley reports that "The families of Quappakay and Bolland who have been supported at the place for a long time past, went away to endeavour to procure a few geese etc. for themselves."[113]

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[108] Swanson, "Journal," April 6.

[109] Blackned, *loc. cit.*, p. 146.

[110] McLeod, *loc. cit.*, p. 5.

[111] Hunter, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-2. Barnley, *op. cit.*, p. 111 (footnote).

[112] Hardisty, *loc. cit.*, p. 2.

[113] Rupert House Journal, April 20, May 18, 1832, HBCA, B.186/a/45: 42d, 47.

## CONCLUSION

In this manner the event known as the "Hannah Bay massacre" drew to a close. As Richard Preston points out, a comparative and critical merging of the sources leads one to the conclusion that this conflict was, more than anything else, the result of decisions made at the intersection of a personality conflict – involving two rough characters, Quappakay and Corrigal – with a desperate situation in which these men found themselves on opposite sides. The mixture of reaction and retaliation to the initial outbreak of violence, however, shows that not all the witnesses saw the conflict in this light. The meaning of this event, in fact, became and still remains a subject of debate, having been subjected, over time, to a wide variety of interpretations and purposes. As the following chapter shows, the history of telling of the Washaw conflict is as interesting a story as the conflict itself.

# CHAPTER 3: THE NARRATION OF THE WASHAW CONFLICT

## INTRODUCTION

It is spring near the mouth of the Washaw Sibi (Hannah Bay River). Around a distant bend to the south, the melt-water that has swollen silently beneath its frozen ceiling emerges now, tumbling before it a crashing wall of ice that threatens to send the river over its banks till it finds its old path or gouges out another. The beds of Wiinipek's north-flowing rivers can be carved anew by an early break-up, but the wildest of these is dwarfed by the tremendous glacial break-up that occurred thousands of years ago. As the James Bay lowlands continue to rebound from the icy burden they once bore, the mouth of the Washaw Sibi stretches out further and further into the ever-shrinking shallows of Washaw.[1]

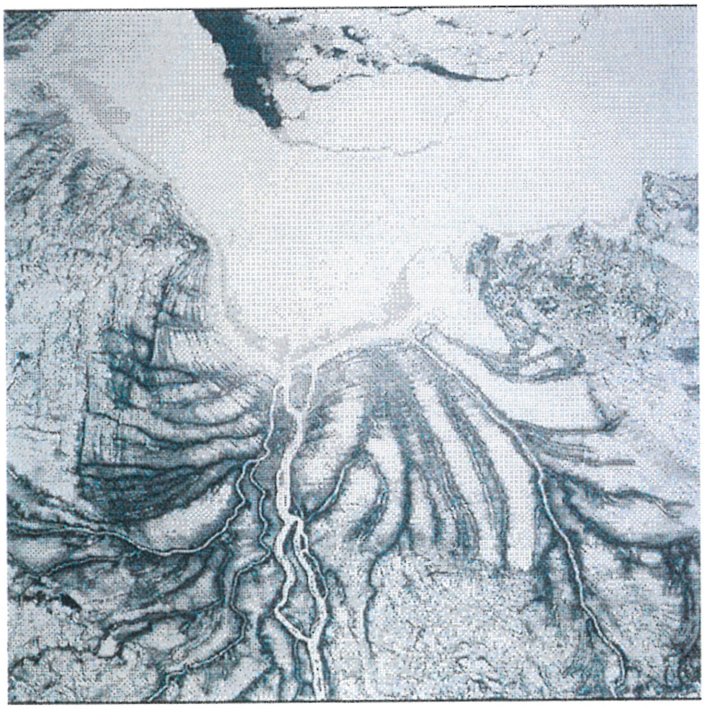

**Figure 15: Washaw.** Image courtesy of Earth Sciences and Image Analysis Laboratory, NASA Johnson Space Center (Mission STS099, Roll 706, Frame 90).

In September 1999, with a Cree elder and two archaeologists, I searched along the east bank of the Washaw Sibi for the remains of the old Hudson's Bay Company fur-trade post that had been closed following the conflict that occurred there in 1832.[2] The maps we had were nearly two centuries old, and the river, like the land that held it, had transformed. After hovering over the area in a helicopter and walking for several hours along the shoreline and through dense willows shaded by poplars, we were still unable to discern where the remains lay or whether the earth and water had swallowed them.

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[1] See: Robert Bell, "Proofs of the Rising of the Land around Hudson Bay," *The American Journal of Science*, Vol. 1, 1896; and Daniel Francis and Toby Morantz, *Partners in Furs. A History of the Fur Trade in Eastern James Bay. 1600-1870* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1983), pp. 4-5. [Show satellite photo]

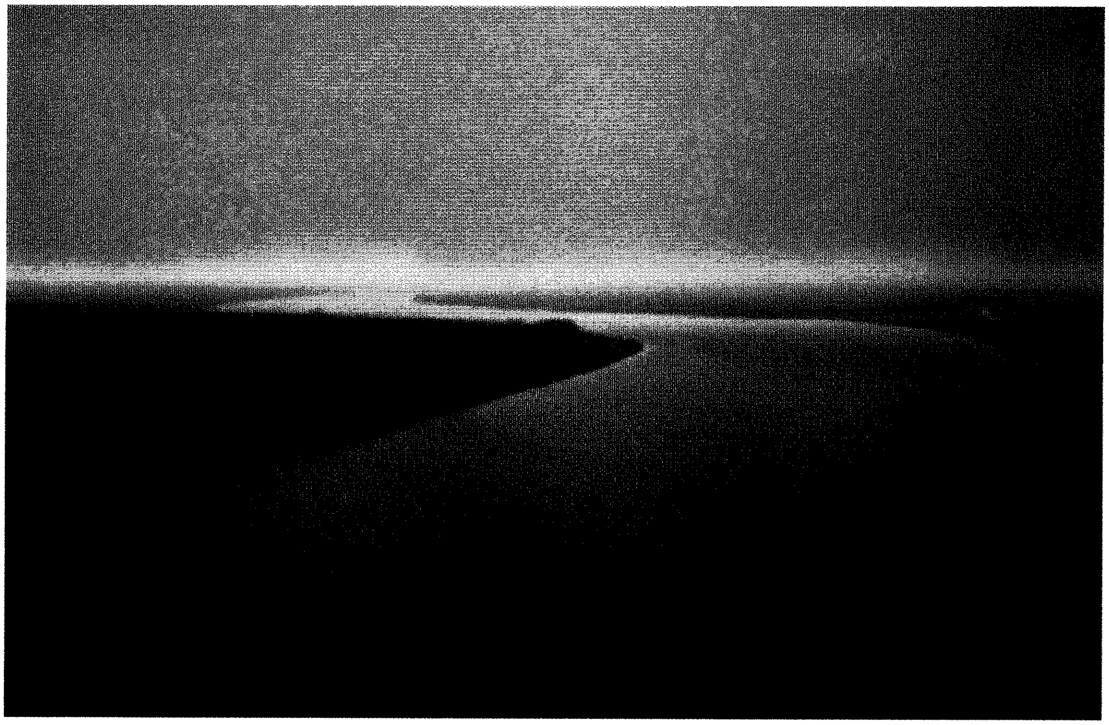

**Figure 16: Mouth of the Harricanaw, facing North towards Washaw.** Photo by the author, 1999. Hannah Bay House was near the bend on the left side of the river (centre of photo).

The land seems to have forgotten the Washaw conflict, and if any hollow memories do remain, they lie well-hidden. In contrast, accounts of this event are still transmitted orally from generation to generation among the *Wiinipeku-iyuuch* and the *Mushkegowuk* who call this land home. Nevertheless, recognizing that time here also takes its toll, many Cree elders have welcomed the opportunity to record, in more than human memories, the *tipâchimôwina* and *atâlôhkâna* they recollect. In 1965, *Wiinipeku* elder John Blackned told anthropologist Richard Preston: "I know a lot of stories but only remember parts of some of them. Since the old stories were not written, they change because they are told from memory. I tell you the stories that I can remember very well."[3] One of these *tipâchimôwina* was about the 1832 Washaw conflict. In 1998, when George Diamond told Christopher Stephen the *tipâchimôwin* of the "Hannah Bay massacre," he began with a similar historiographical introduction:

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[2] Eddy Trapper has a home in Moose Factory, but his trap-line is in the Washaw Sibi basin. John Pollock (over 35 years experience as an archaeologist) and Luke Dellabonna are partners in Woodland Heritage Services (based in New Liskeard, Ontario), which specialises in "Archaeological & Cultural Heritage Impact Assessment, Large Scale Heritage Potential Modelling, First Nations Values Identification and Protection." http://www.woodlandheritage.com.

> I will talk about what I was asked to talk about today. This was really long ago. Many of the Elders who told the stories are not alive anymore. ... I don't really like what I'm going to try because it was too long ago. Because some stories [*tipâchimôwina*] that are told are not the same. Just like the legends [*atalôhkana*]; they're not all the same. That's what happens to the old stories. I think the young people should have tried to get these stories earlier. But I guess they didn't hear the stories that we heard in the past. ... I will try to tell the story of what I've heard. I'll try to tell the story carefully.[4]

Although Cree narratives of the Washaw conflict continue to be told orally, many of them, like those of John Blackned and George Diamond, have also become part of a wider collection of "documents" (in writing or in other media) that record first-hand and transmitted accounts of this event. Many of these documents are not of Cree origin. George Diamond comments:

> Today, we all know that white people document everything that they hear. I'm not sure if there is a document that exists of that story I told [about the Washaw conflict]. But if there is one, it must be written with all the facts that happened. And for us who only heard it through stories, there are many versions. I have

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[3] Richard Preston, *Cree Narrative: Expressing the Personal Meanings of Events*, Canadian Ethnology Service, Mercury Series, Paper No. 30 (Ottawa, National Museum of Man, 1975), p. 10. Preston's recordings of Blackned have recently been transferred to c.d. for the use of the Cree School Board and other educational institutions. In the fall of 1998, a prominent member of Waskaganish First Nation commented to me that she owes much of her understanding of her own culture to Richard Preston. See below for a more detailed discussion of Blackned's account and Preston's work. Cree oral tradition includes *tipâchimowina* ("historical narratives" or "news") and *atâlôhkâna* ("stories" or "legends").

[4] George & Louise Diamond, "The Hannah Bay Massacre," interview by Christopher Stephen, translated by Brian Webb, *The Nation*, January 15, 1999, p. 10. *The Nation* is a magazine that serves the *Iyiyuuch* of Quebec. This interview will be discussed in greater detail below.

> heard that there are documents out there of things that have happened in the past. *I am told of things that have happened from documents* [, things] *which I didn't know* [emphasis added].[5]

He suggests the use of "white" documents in order to supplement and verify the oral tradition he has learned. Yet, in the words of Richard Preston, "If we had to work from only one of these documents, we would find sometimes wildly different histories indicated, depending on which document we had."[6] Like Diamond's comment above, John Blackned's remark that elders "probably tell the story slightly different" applies also to non-Cree documentary sources.[7] If Cree narratives of the Washaw conflict are varied and can be supplemented and verified by comparing them with non-Cree narratives, the contrary is equally true.

Whether recorded or oral, Cree or non-Cree, the narratives of the 1832 Washaw conflict cannot be isolated either from the audiences to which they have been directed, or the goals of their narrators. The previous chapter attempted to merge these and other sources to form and communicate an understanding of what happened, in what context, why, and to what effect at Washaw in 1832. The extent to which the narratives of this conflict are contradictory or complementary depends largely on the extent to which their narrators share(d) this goal and the means they had or have of attaining it.

## THE HBC UNDER SCRUTINY IN THE 19TH CENTURY

The earliest documents that speak of the Washaw conflict are the 1831-32 Hudson's Bay Company journals, reports and correspondence originating primarily from Rupert House and Moose Factory (there are no records available from Hannah Bay House). The relevant excerpts from the Moose Factory journal of 1831-32 were written by John George McTavish and George Gladman Jr. The Rupert House journal for 1831-32 was written by Joseph Beioley and, in his absence, William McKay. James Anderson and William Swanson both kept journals of the final HBC punitive expedition, and Swanson also kept one of the first expedition. Although there is no evidence indicating that these journals are mere fabrications, like the correspondence, they were nonetheless directed to very specific audiences.[8]

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[5] Diamond, *loc. cit.*, pp. 11-14.

[6] Preston, "The View from the Other Side of the Frontier: East Cree Historical Notions," *Papers of the 21st Algonquian Conference*, ed. William Cowan (Ottawa: Carleton University, 1990), pp. 318 & 322.

[7] Cited in Preston, *Cree Narrative*, p. 10.

In order to remain well-informed of all the developments that took place across the ocean, the HBC's London Committee had long required that records be kept of all occurrences and transactions, whether exceptional or not, and sent to London on a regular basis.[9] In the case of servants like Swanson and Anderson, their reports were also or primarily written for their superior officers in Rupert's Land. Much private correspondence, however, has also been preserved. Along with other documents, this private correspondence confirms the difference of opinion between HBC traders, Beioley and McTavish for example, that is only subtly present in the official journals.

Years after the Washaw conflict, McTavish's handling of the affair would draw significant criticism from others who had been involved, criticism that would result in an inquiry by George Simpson, the HBC Governor and a good friend of McTavish. In the spring of 1832, however, Simpson confided to McTavish: "Poor B[eioley] has been a shade too cautious I am sorry to find. He has given me a very guarded report of the whole operation." Beioley had to write his reports with his audience in mind. This may explain why William Weigand's recollections of Beioley (and the latter's very limited involvement in the final punitive expedition) reveal someone much more keen on pardoning Shaintoquaish than is indicated in his

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[8] See the profiles of McTavish and Beioley in the appendix.

[9] When the HBC's post journals, reports, accounts, correspondence, ship's logs, minute books, and other miscellaneous documents were transferred from London to the Provincial Archives of Manitoba in 1974, they were weighed for insurance purposes: they totalled sixty-eight tons. Peter C. Newman, *Company of Adventurers*, Vol. 1 (Toronto: Penguin Books, 1985), p. xviii.

"guarded report." Beioley's audience was Simpson, who praised McTavish: "You managed admirably in regard to the Hanna Bay Murders; it will strike terror from one end of the country to the other" (recall that McTavish had spoken of "making an example of the rest of the murderers").[10]

Since the turn of the century, the Company's presence had begun to spread "from one end of the country to the other," an expansion that would continue into the second half of the nineteenth century. Simpson, when attending a civic dinner in Norway during an 1841 world tour, would be toasted as "head of the most extended dominion in the known world – the Emperor of Russia, the Queen of England and the President of the United States excepted."[11] Although the Company's true "dominion" was often limited to its fur-trade posts, it was impressive nonetheless, especially to those who knew it only through stories. The HBC was certainly far more than a group of London-based investors struggling to profit from a handful of tiny fur-trade posts on the shores of an isolated bay. It now represented the British Crown in territories that were frequented by, and closer to, numerous other British citizens, and in which many more had an interest.

Whether missionaries, humanitarians, capitalists or politicians, these other interested parties were fast becoming the primary focus of the Company's public relations policy, for there were many debates in these circles about the Company, its monopoly, its treatment of, and effect on Amerindian peoples, and its alleged hindrance of British settlement of what is now northwestern Canada. These debates became particularly intense in the late 1830s, prior to the anticipated expiration of the Company's 1821 license for exclusive trade in the "Indian Territory," and again in the 1850s, prior to 1859 expiration of the Company's renewal license (granted in 1838, three years before expiration of the first license).[12]

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[10] Simpson to McTavish, July 19, 1832, HBCA, B.135/c/2: 85-87d.

[11] Cited in Newman, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p.2

On the November 9, 1838, the London newspaper *The Times* was prompted to publish a short but significant editorial comment:

> The gentlemen belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company are worthy of commendation for their good treatment of the Indians ... they consult [i.e. consider] the prosperity of the Indians, as intimately connected with their own. I have not heard as yet of any Indians being wantonly killed by any of the men belonging to this company; nor have I heard any boasting among them of the satisfaction taken in killing or abusing Indians, as I have elsewhere heard.[13]

Letitia Hargrave, whose husband had praised her uncle John George McTavish in 1832 for his handling of the Hannah Bay House incident, was not as impressed with all the servants of the Company.[14] As the days at York Factory grew shorter in December 1842, she wrote a letter to her mother in England. In it we read:

> ... Mr. Anderson ... a would-be literary gentleman, writes letters to the Times, & bothers the Hon$^{ble}$ Co$^{y}$ a good deal by their contents. Some years ago he was here & exhibited on the platform with a journal he had got from his brother at Moose reading to a party of dandies & bragging of the number of Indians he had shot as if he had been speaking of white partridges. After all it was not the brother who killed or at least ought to have killed them as Uncle John sent a Mr. Swantson with a party & if Mr. A. was there it was without authority & must have been as an amateur. The Indians had cut off a whole post belonging to Uncles district, murdered men women and children.[15]

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[12] See: Edwin E. Rich, *The Fur Trade and the Northwest, to 1857*, The Canadian Centenary Series, W.L. Morton, ed., Vol. 11 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967), p. 26. See also: F. H. Underhill, "Upper Canadian Radical Opinion," chapter in F.H. Underhill *et al.*, *Upper Canadian politics in the 1850's: essays* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), pp. 6-7.

[13] *The Times*, November 9, 1838, p. 5.

[14] York Factory's Chief Factor James Hargrave praised both John George McTavish and William Swanson for their prompt administration of "justice." Hargrave to McMurray, August 17, 1832; Hargrave to E[dward] Smith, December 2, 1832. See: Margaret Arnett MacLeod, ed., *The Letters of Letitia Hargrave* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1947), p. 133, footnote 2.

[15] Letitia Hargrave to Mrs. Dugald McTavish, December 2 [to 9], 1842, transcribed in: *The Letters of Letitia Hargrave*, *op. cit.*, pp. 132-133.

At Lake Nipigon on September 16, 1849, James Anderson (Mr. A.) hastily drew up a report for George Simpson on the "massacre at Hannah Bay in 1832 - the pillaging of the Co's property and of the punishment of the murderers." Anderson notes that he was present at the "examination of the Indians who escaped and of one of the murderers," and was "employed in two of the expeditions" (the last two of three).[16] On most points his account is in agreement with the other narratives, but his portrayal of the contrast between Corrigal and the accused men is untrustworthy. There can be little doubt that he exaggerates, if not fabricates, the latters' villainous nature, wanting to justify the Company's reprisals.

Mr. Corrigal, Anderson recounts, had lodged the starving Quappakay and his family (about 24 persons) in the house and "supplied them abundantly with food." He contrasts this with the "horrible" massacre, noting that "the greatest indignities had been practiced on the corpses," a claim rejected by John Blackned, but one that certainly helped to justify Anderson's participation in the punitive expeditions. The first of these in which he participated (February 23 to March 6) left Moose Factory, in his words, with the orders "to endeavor to trace out the murderers and also to strengthen the post of Rupert House, which it was surmised might be attacked. The men intended for that purpose were left there but we found no traces of the Indians." When Shaintoquaish and Bolland were captured at Rupert House in March, he adds, "it was supposed [that they] had come in to spy out the weakness of the land." Beioley's account, in contrast, reveals quite a different motive: they were starving. When examined at Moose Factory by "McTavish, Stewart and Beioley," Anderson claims that Shaintoquiash

> stipulated that a promise of pardon should be given to him and that he would then not only confess everything, but would even conduct a party to apprehend his relatives. To this Mr. McTavish would not consent, as this was the fellow who was seen to shot the poor boy on the ice. Ultimately he confessed unsolicited everything - which was nothing more than we already knew. He

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[16] James Anderson to George Simpson, September 16, 1849, NAC, MG 19, A.29, Vol. 3, p. 62.

> said poor Corrigal was killed while sitting in a chair reading the Bible, and that their motive for these dreadful deeds was the desire for plunder.

Anderson further claims the women later revealed that their husbands' plan had been to "cut off the different small posts in the interior of Rupert's River District – then Rupert's House and lastly Moose Factory. They expected to be joined by all the E[ast] Main Indians and had even contemplated the possibility of capturing the vessel from Europe and murdering the crew."[17] This contradicts the *tipâchimôwin*, originating from these same women, that John Blackned would recount in the 1960s. According to Blackned, they were motivated by starvation.

Anderson then concludes with a list of "observations - those that induced ... [him] to volunteer for this service." The evidence was most convincing, he asserts: there was "no provocation" for the attack by these "hardened wretches" who, being "as intelligent as any similar number of uneducated Europeans," should not be excused as an "ignorant set of savages." Moreover, "by every principle of justice, honor and expediency the Company were bound to avenge the death of their servants as well as the poor Indians who were then living under their protection." If the murderers had not been executed, he argues, the inland posts would have been cut off and other innocent people likely killed, and "the relatives of the Indians murdered would have made war on the murderers, and there would have been an endless feud." He adds, finally, that the company supported "at considerable expense" the families of the murderers and protected them against vengeance: "They were, when I last heard of them, comfortably situated, and I believe the bad feeling which existed against them has at length died away."[18]

A private letter to Simpson accompanying this report (also dated September 16, 1849) reveals the *raison d'être* of both: "According to your desire I have forwarded a narrative of the murders at Hannah Bay and the consequent proceedings." It seems that Chief Factor Robert Miles of Moose Factory had written Simpson a letter regarding the incident:

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[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 62-64.

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 67-69.

> In reading over Mr. Miles' letter I perceive that he has been wrongly informed. I have made 3 or 4 nos on the margin in pencil for reference. No 1 is incorrect; he was shot by orders issued by myself (McKenzie and Swanston would not act) he refused to walk and I was determined not to accept his guidance so he was the worst of a bad lot, and had we availed ourselves of his services we must have let him escape.

"No. 1" is certainly a reference to the execution of Shaintoquaish. McTavish was likely accused of having ordered the execution in the manner described by Weigand: "The Governor replied 'pardon be damned, take him away and shoot him.'" Anderson claims that he himself ordered the execution, once he realised Shaintoquiash would give them too much trouble. This is highly doubtful, given the account pieced together from the other sources (see Chapter Two). "No 2 is incorrect," continues Anderson, "the women and children were not present when the men were shot - it would have been an useless piece of cruelty - they were in their tent some distance apart." He then addresses the gravest accusation: "No 3, regarding the instructions issued by Mr. McTavish not to spare the women and children is decidedly false. Mr. McTavish," Anderson affirms, "never did issue such a barbarous order. It is a reflection on his character even to suppose him capable of doing so - and also on the character of the officers employed in this service to assert that they consented to act under such instructions." Given that he was one of these officers, and in light of his questionable testimony on the first point, Anderson's defence of McTavish on this last point is untrustworthy.[19]

Anderson notes the existence of a narrative from Moose Factory "contained in Mr. Beioley's report on the affairs of his district for Oct/31 [1833, and] ... a short report concocted between Geo[rge] Gladman [Jr.] and [William] Swanson under the latter's signature." Anderson also warns Simpson at the beginning of his letter: "In case you should make any alterations it may be as well for you to know that there is a very incorrect and exaggerated account of the affair extant in Canada, written by the late J. G. McKenzie."[20] If the originals or copies have survived of Mr. Miles' letter, the report by Gladman and Swanson, or McKenzie's account, their locations remain unknown. Although it is not certain that the three latter accounts concur with Miles' informant(s) in criticising McTavish, Anderson nevertheless appears to have been in disagreement with their contents. The goal of his report is clearly to defend the retaliation ordered by McTavish, in which he was not only a participant, but a leader.

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[19] See: Chapter Three, p. 20; Anderson to Simpson, 1849, *loc. cit.*, pp. 58-59.

Born in 1800 at New Brunswick House on the Moose River, George Gladman Jr. became, in 1820, the clerk and storekeeper at Moose Factory, where he remained until 1834. When McTavish arrived at Moose Factory in 1832, friction quickly developed between him and Gladman.[21] Years later, in 1857, prior to co-leading the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition, Gladman testified before the Province of Canada's "Select Committee appointed to receive and collect evidence and information as to the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company under their Charter, the renewal of the license of occupation, the character of the soil and climate of the [Indian] Territory, and its fitness for settlement." His lengthy testimony, primarily descriptive, reflects an honest attempt to portray the situation in "the British North-west Possessions." He is not critical of the Company, with which he says he has had "no quarrel."[22]

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[20] John George McKenzie (for full name see: January 16, 1831, HBCA, B.135/a/136) was one of the leaders of the punitive expedition. Anderson to Simpson, 1849, *loc. cit.*, pp. 58-59.

[21] See the profile of John George McTavish in the appendix.

[22] Citations taken from: Province of Canada, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly* (Vol. 15), 20 Victoriae, Appendix (no. 17); A. 1857, "Minutes of Evidence."

In his 1832 "Character Book," George Simpson wrote that Gladman "Entertains a very high opinion of himself and would be presuming & forward if permitted . . . fancies . . . he could do much better elsewhere - but I think he has brought his Services to an excellent market and that he is fully paid for them." Simpson also noted that Joseph Gladman: "like his brother [George], has an excellent opinion of himself, and is very conceited which is a leading characteristic in the half breed race. His services I should consider well paid for at £100 p Annum in any Country." George Simpson, Earlier in 1857, on February 26, Sir George Simpson found himself in London before a similar "Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company ... appointed [prior to its Canadian counterpart] by Her Majesty's Government to consider the state of those British possessions in North America which are under the Administration of the Hudson's Bay Company." Simpson was asked the following question: "I suppose this can hardly be considered as administration of justice: I find that in Mr. Alexander Simpson's 'Life of Mr. Thomas Simpson,' at page 427, it is stated that the Company has the invariable rule of avenging the murder by Indians of any of its servants, by blood for blood, without trial of any kind. Is that the case?" Simpson replied: "We are obliged to punish Indians as a measure of self-preservation in some parts of the country."[23]

As Gladman notes in his testimony, however, such decisions were really left in the hands of Company officers. In 1821, he explains, the Company made a "general order ... ["that ... has never been rescinded"] ... that the Indians be treated with kindness and humanity." He emphasizes, however, that the "treatment of the Indians, whether humane or otherwise, depends entirely on the officer in charge of posts, his liberality governed by his outfit." Although McTavish is not mentioned by either Simpson or Gladman, Simpson may very well have had the Washaw conflict in mind when replying to the question cited above, and one has the impression that the earlier report "concocted between Geo Gladman and Swanson" would place him among those whose "treatment of the Indians" was "otherwise."[24]

If Gladman were clearly at odds with McTavish on more issues than his management of the incident at Hannah Bay, Swanson, on the other hand, had been

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"Simpson's Character Book," *Hudson's Bay Miscellany*, ed. Glyndwr Williams (Winnipeg: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1975), pp. 208-209.

[23] Great Britain, Parliament, *Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company; Together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Index* (London: 1857), p. 61.

[24] Canada, *Journals* (Vol. 15), *loc. cit.*

entrusted by McTavish with the leadership of all the punitive expeditions. Why, then, would he have joined Gladman in criticising McTavish years later, if indeed this was the case? Among the men he hunted down in 1832, however, was Staicimau, the man who had killed his sister-in-law years before in the so-called "murder at Big Lake." Had this not been the case, perhaps Swanson would have taken less time to form or express second thoughts about the punitive expedition.[25]

Like Swanson, John George McKenzie participated in the punitive expeditions and yet his "very incorrect and exaggerated account of the affair," in the words of Anderson, appears to be critical of McTavish, for Anderson fears that Simpson might "make ... alterations" to his own report based on McKenzie's. Did McKenzie have a quarrel with McTavish or the Company? Perhaps he was related to Nancy McKenzie, the "country wife" that McTavish had abandoned before coming to Moose Factory in 1832.[26]

One former HBC servant who certainly had a quarrel with the Company was John McLean who, in 1849, published a short account of the Washaw conflict in his *Notes of a Twenty-Five Year's Service in the Hudson's Bay Territory*.[27] His informant, a survivor of the attack on Hannah Bay (likely Edward Richard), would not have had an easy time giving an objective account.[28] Nevertheless, although critical of the "murderers" and their "superstitious belief ... aggravated ... by some of the vices of the whites," McLean also mocks the claim that the Company's management is more "humane and gentle" than the North West Company's had been. He cites the treatment of these "murderers" as an example. According to

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[25] See below for an account of the "murder at Big Lake."

[26] See the profile of McTavish in the appendix.

[27] For an account of McLean's quarrel with George Simpson, see: W. S. Wallace, ed., *John McLean's "Notes of a Twenty-Five Year's Service in the Hudson's Bay Territory"* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1932, first published in 1849), "Biographical Introduction," p. xvi.

[28] McLean says that his informant got frostbite on his feet, and Edward Richard was the last person to arrive at Moose Factory after fleeing from Hannah Bay. He was the only survivor of mixed ancestry, and thus the most likely person for McLean to encounter.

McLean, they were "conveyed to Moose Factory, bound hand and foot, and there shot down by the orders of the Chief Factor." McLean's account of where the executions took place does not agree with the majority of the other sources; the point he clearly wants to emphasize, however, is the manner in which McTavish ordered the executions.[29]

In the preface to his book, McLean says that his kept these notes to "while a way the many lonely and wearisome hours which are the lot of the Indian trader" and "to gratify his friends by the narrative of his adventures." Yet the closing paragraph of his preface reveals an additional motive:

> Should his work contribute, in any degree, to awaken the sympathy of the Christian world in behalf of the wretched and degraded Aborigines of this vast territory; should it tend in any way to expose, or to reform the abuses in the management of the Hudson's Bay Company, or to render its monopoly less injurious to the natives than hitherto it has been; the writer's labour will have been amply compensated.[30]

## THE WASHAW CONFLICT AND 19TH CENTURY PARADIGMS OF "PROGRESS"

On April 10, 1869, as negotiations came to a close for the transfer to Canada of British support for claims over Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territories, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Earl Granville, wrote the following to the Governor General of Canada, Sir John Young:

> whatever may have been the policy of the Company, and the effect of their Chartered rights upon the *progress of settlement* [emphasis added], the Indian Tribes who form the existing populations of this part of America have profited by the Company's rule. I am sure that your Government will not forget the care which is due to those who must soon be exposed to new dangers, and in the

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[29] John McLean, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-101, 323.

[30] *Ibid.*, pp. xxvii-xxviii.

> course of settlement be dispossessed of the lands which they are used to enjoy as their own, or be confined within unwontedly narrow limits.[31]

Nineteenth century Euroamerican debates about what came to be known as the "Indian problem" revolved around paradigms of progress based on one of two principles: "survival of the fittest" or "salvation through Christian civilisation." In MacDonald's words, Amerindians were either "survivors of an early stage in human development, incapable of improvement and true belief, and destined to disappear from the earth," or "ordinary human beings who lacked only education and Christian conversion to become fully civilized." This polarization, continues MacDonald, evolved into the basic literary characterizations of the "good" and "bad" Indian, that, in nineteenth century literature, were only rarely questioned by the introduction of "elements of ambivalence." Indian traits considered "good" were: "harmony with nature, simplicity, hospitality, wisdom, nobility of character, military alliance, Christian conversion, and, however free and independent their past life may have been, an acceptance of present White domination." "Bad" Indian traits were: "violence, cruelty, following instinct rather than reason, active opposition to White control, and rejection of Christianity."[32] With the Canadian "progress of settlement," referred to above by Granville, and the progress of missionary movements, such imagery became particularly dominant. In Tucker's *The Rainbow in the North: a Short Account of the First Establishment of Christianity in Rupert's Land by the Church Missionary Society* (1856), we find a striking example of the manner in which it was used by missionaries to arouse the sympathy of potential missionaries and benefactors:

> The Indian, as he still roams in his native plains and forests, rarely trodden by a white man's foot, is, it is true, less degenerate than his brethren of the border;

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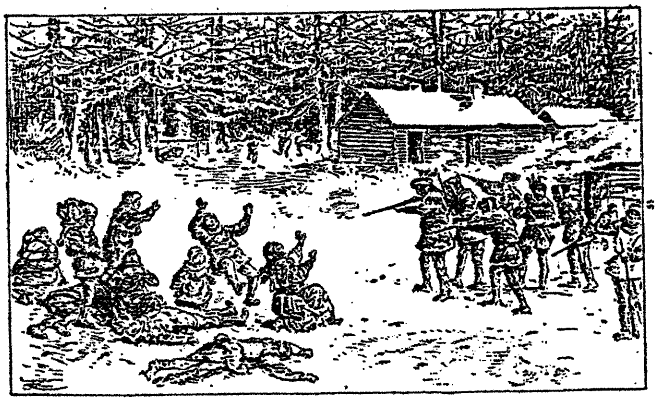
[31] Letter to Sir John Young, April, 1869. Cited in: Canada, Parliament, *Report of Delegates Appointed to Negotiate for the Acquisition of Rupert's Land and the North-West Territory* (Ottawa: 1869), pp. 37-38.

[32] Mary Lu MacDonald, "Literary Attitudes," *Images of the Indian: Portrayals of Native Peoples, Readings in Aboriginal Studies*, Vol. 4, ed. Joe Sawchuk (Brandon, Manitoba: Bearpaw Publishing, 1995), p. 24.

> and there is, among them all, a bravery and noble independence, and an intense love for their children, that excite one's interest; but on the whole they are sunk to almost the lowest point in the scale of humanity: haughty, vindictive, cruel, and blood-thirsty, unable to appreciate either moral or intellectual excellence; indolent, improvident, and selfish beyond conception, without hope and without God in the world....Thus low was their state when first visited by Europeans, but a still deeper degradation awaited those among them who, when the territory was claimed as British territory, came in contact with so-called British Christians.[33]

Tucker's depiction of "good" and "bad" Indian traits, however, was modified to emphasise the need for missionaries to mend the degradation of Indians caused by their contact with "so-called British Christians" (fur traders, particularly those of the HBC) who had laid claim to the territory.

It was in a similar context that Wesleyan missionary George Barnley composed his account of the Washaw conflict. When he journeyed from England to James Bay in 1840, he "ushered in," in John Long's words, "a new missionary era." Yet the fruit of his seven years' work in James Bay fell short of his expectations.[34] Nevertheless, he would later claim the contrary in *Kenooshao: A Red Indian Tragedy*, a book based on the "Hannah Bay massacre" published in London in 1898. In a single



THE MURDERS AT HANNAH BAY.

**Figure 17: Depiction of the "massacre" from Barnley's *Kenooshao*, p. 55.**

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[33] Tucker, S. *The Rainbow in the North: A Short Account of the First Establishment of Christianity in Rupert's Land by the Church Missionary Society* (London: James Nisbet and Co., 1856), pp. 12-13. Such imagery was not only used to portray Indians. Any social or religious cause tended to be promoted by exaggerating the perceived need.

[34] John Long, "The Reverend Barnley and the James Bay Cree," *Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (1986), 314. See also: "Chapter Two: The Reverend George Barnley," in John S. Long, "'Shaganash': Early Protestant Missionaries and the Adoption of Christianity by the Western James Bay Cree, 1840-1893" (Ph.D. dissertation, OISE, University of Toronto, 1986), pp. 67-100.

endnote, Barnley writes: “The year 1840 introduced a new order of things at Moose and its dependencies. A Wesleyan Missionary commenced his labours there, and in less than eight years the old Paganism was superseded by a universally accepted Christianity.” The subject of the book is ostensibly the Hannah Bay “massacre.” Yet, its 112 pages, divided into three chapters entitled “A Conspiracy Organised,” “A Great Crime Perpetrated” and “Retribution,” are more literary than historical.[35]

Effectively, Barnley wanted to depict the Indian condition as he believed or wanted others to believe it was before his mission work “introduced a new order of things.” He also wanted to inspire sympathy (and hopefully financial support and personnel) for the continuation of this work. Moreover, rather than an accurate history, both he and his publisher wished to provide an edifying story. Pasted on the inside cover of the copy held at the United Church Archives in Toronto, a dedication reads:

**New Road Leigh**
**Wesleyan Sunday School**
**Awarded to**
Ivy Bridge
**Feb. 8, 1905**

Barnley’s narrative employs a common literary technique in which virtues and vices are dressed up as people. Vice, in this case, is personified by the leaders of the “conspiracy” who plan to make “the tide of vengeance sweep ... till like a whirlpool the Indian bears away, in a torrent of fire and of blood, the pale-faces from the entire land” (words attributed to the Kenooshao, the name Barnley gives Quappakay). However, he certainly cannot be dismissed as “racist,” for virtue is personified by Dick who is also an Indian: “Dick, with a brother’s love, stopped and bent over his companion, and then raised the fallen one upon his back and still strove to run. Kenooshao stood aghast at this heroic forgetfulness of self."[36]

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[35] George Barnley, *Kenooshao: A Red Indian Tragedy* (London: Charles H. Kelly, c.1898).

Barnley claims that "the narrative, in its leading incidents, is literally accurate." If by "leading incidents" he means the basic sequence of actions, then his claim is not untenable. Although it is primarily literary, his narrative nevertheless contains information of historical value, but it can be used as little more than a confirmation of features found in other sources. The most reliable information is found in part of the single endnote, where Barnley mentions the sources of his information: "At that time all the persons employed in punishing the marauders were living, as was Dick Butterfly [Kwokowdjic] and the woman whose life was spared. She married a native in the interior, and came but rarely to the coast. With the rest the Missionary was very familiarly associated."[37]

After Barnley had left James Bay, but long before his book was published, another missionary, Anglican Bishop David Anderson, made reference to the Hannah Bay incident in *The Net in the Bay; or Journal of a Visit to Moose and Albany*, published in 1854. The story he learned while visiting Moose Factory appears to be the same one that was circulating when Barnley was resident there. He writes:

> Little apprehension need now be entertained as regards the Indians. The last painful case was in 1831, at Hannah Bay, about sixty miles eastward of Moose. The poor Indians had been made the dupes of one of their own conjurers, who held out to them visions of wealth and greatness, if they should destroy those of their own post, and then proceed to the forts around. They listened in an evil hour, attacked the Fort, and killed Corrigal, who was in charge of it, his family, and others - in all twelve or thirteen. Their next object would have been Rupert's House, and from it they would have found their way back to take possession of Moose, but some fortunately escaped, and in an incredibly short time brought the tidings to Moose. The ringleaders were immediately

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[36] *Ibid.*, pp. 23 & 65. Note that the publisher added a list of books for sale, which includes such titles as: *Saints of Christ*, *Visions of Sin*, "*Our Blest Redeemer*," and *The Range of Christian Experience*.

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 111.

> apprehended and put to death. Several of the Hannah Bay Indians I saw during my stay, and among them too the Gospel is gradually making its way.[38]

Robert Miles was the post manager at the time of Bishop Anderson's visit. Just several years previously Miles had written a letter to Simpson regarding the incident, a letter that conveyed a report very critical of McTavish. One wonders why there is no reference to this criticism in Bishop Anderson's account. Had Miles been told to remain quiet about the incident? Perhaps Bishop Anderson did hear about it, but did not want to cause trouble for Miles, to whom he was very grateful: "From Mr. Miles," he writes, "I had received the heartiness of an English welcome, and all at the Fort had done their utmost to make each day pass pleasantly along."[39] Moreover, mentioning this criticism would have required a more subtle account of the story than he needed for the purpose of his journal. Like Barnley, he wanted to provide edifying reading material and solicit support for the continued progress of Christianity among Indians.

In 1904, a missionary stationed at Rupert House, J. Woodall, would refer to the Washaw conflict to explain a particular case of lack of progress of Christianity. In a letter written on April 6, he comments: "The Indians at East Main are proverbially a bad lot. They are the descendants of the Hannah Bay murderers, and are still somewhat under the influence of old Jonah, a conjuror." Later that year, he explained in another letter that "attendance has been all that could be desired on the part of the Rupert House Inlanders ... but the Coasters and East Mainers have been very conspicuous by their absence. Some of the latter are as much heathen as ever they were. They are much under the influence of an old conjurer, named Jonah, who has never yielded to the influences of the Gospel." These letters were published in the *Moosonee and Keewatin Mailbag*, a missionary journal of the Anglican Church.[40]

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[38] Bishop of Rupert's Land [David Anderson], *The Net in the Bay; or Journal of a Visit to Moose and Albany* (London: Thomas Hatchard, 1854), pp. 173-174.

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 171.

Though he was not a missionary, Henry Youle Hind held similar views about conjurors and the obstacle they posed to the progress of white (Christian) civilisation. In his *Explorations in the Interior of the Labrador Peninsula, The Country of the Montagnais and Nasquapee Indians*, published in 1863, he provides an account of the Washaw conflict:

> The power of the conjuror has often induced the Crees to commit outrages against the whites, in some instances attended with terrible bloodshed and murder. So late as the year 1831, the Indians of Rupert's River and Jame's Bay - Mustegans, as they are termed - inspired by the promises of their conjuror, attacked a post of the Hudson's Bay Company, and killed the officer in charge, his family, and some employés, in all twelve persons; they next determined to attack Rupert's house, and then Moose factory, but happily some of the people attached to the post first attacked escaped and found their way to Moose. Assistance was procured; the conjuror and his most violent adherents were taken prisoners, and either hung or shot: thus terminating an Indian insurrection against the whites, often conceived and spoken of by the conjurors, but attempted without the slightest prospect of success.[41]

Hind recounted this story in the context of a discussion of the traits of the Indian peoples of the Labrador Peninsula. His portrayal of them includes many broad generalisations, some positive, some negative, but like many people of his time, he is bluntly critical of any resistance to whites and the advancement of Christian civilisation. As a leader of several very important Canadian exploratory expeditions to the Red, Assiniboine and Sasketchewan rivers (in 1857-58), this is not surprising. It is possible that he heard the story of the Washaw conflict from George Gladman who was a co-leader of the 1857 "Red River Exploring Expedition."

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[40] J. E. Woodall, letters, April 6 and July 18th, 1904, letters transcribed in the *Moosonee and Keewatin Mailbag*, Vol. 3, No. 8, pp. 4-5 and Vol. 4, No. 1, p. 149.

[41] Henry Youle Hind, *Explorations in the Interior of the Labrador Peninsula*, (1863), Vol. 2, Chapter 21, pp. 16-17.

By 1890, the Province of Ontario had begun applying its jurisdiction over the territory which it had "acquired" through the transfer of British support (for claims to this territory) from the HBC to Canada. In this year, E.B. Borron's *Report on the Basin of Moose River and Adjacent Country belonging to the Province of Ontario* was printed. In one paragraph he discusses "one of the few outrages on record," explaining how at Hannah Bay Post in 1832-33, the "officer in charge, his family and several natives, in all nine persons, were treacherously murdered and the post robbed." Writing in a tone similar to that of Hind's account, he delivers a curt condemnation of the "murderers," noting: "It seems to me that they richly deserved the punishment meted out to them, and the promptitude and vigor with which it was inflicted has doubtless tended to restrain evil disposed natives, all over the territory, from similar acts of treachery, violence and murder...." Such a perspective is not surprising given that his sources were likely HBC officers or missionaries, and that he was the Stipendiary Magistrate of the Province of Ontario. Yet, like Hind and others cited above, Borron also had many positive things to say about the Crees. In an 1883 report "On Part of the Basin off Hudson's Bay Belonging to the Province of Ontario," he discusses his role in the "Administration of Justice," commenting that he is not looking forward to the necessity of performing this duty, but that he has not yet had to do so, in large part due to the "quiet and inoffensive character of the people."[42]

Near the turn of the century, a retired HBC trader named Martin Hunter published a short account of the Washaw conflict entitled "The Hanna Bay Massacre." His main source appears to have been a woman he calls "the last surviving witness of a terrible drama that took place at one of the Hudson's Bay Company posts, on the shores of Hudson's Bay, in the year 1819." This woman, named Mary Matt, died at the age of ninety, several years prior to the publication of Hunter's account. Originally called Mes-keg, she had been orphaned, according to Hunter, at the age of sixteen after her father was killed for participating in the attack on Hannah Bay House. Nevertheless, remarks Hunter, "Mes-keg could hardly be held responsible for the crimes of her father and the others of the band, and as she was a nice, tidy girl, she was adopted into the family of the head watchman of the factory, and under the guidance of his wife very rapidly acquired domestic habits."[43]

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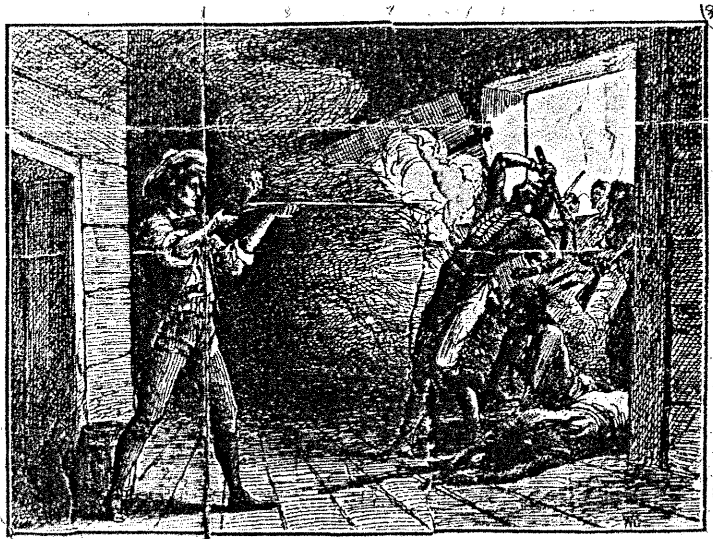
[42] E. B. Borron, Stipendiary Magistrate, *Report on the Basin of Moose River and Adjacent Country Belonging to the Province of Ontario* (Toronto: Warwick & Sons, by order of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario, 1890), p. 79; and *Report of the E. B. Borron, Stipendiary Magistrate, on the Part of the Basin of Hudson's Bay Belonging to the Province of Ontario* (Toronto: C. Blackett Robinson, by order of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario, 1883), p. 41.

William Ogilvie, in his *Report of the Exploratory Survey to Hudson's Bay*, also mentions the conflict, but in passing, referring to the abandonment of Hannah Bay House due to "troubles with the natives many years ago" (Ottawa: Ministry of the Interior, 20th January, 1891), p. 22.

It is highly doubtful that Hunter was very faithful to his source(s), for his two-page narrative, resembling other contemporary frontier stories involving "good" and "bad" Indians, and the forces of civilisation and savagery, is inaccurate on many counts. The paragraph cited below, for example, describes the heroic efforts of Corrigal's son to defend his mother and siblings after his father had been killed, when in fact, neither of Corrigal's sons had been present at the time of the attack:



He killed three of the Indians with his father's weapons

**Figure 18: Martin Hunter's Illustration.**
AO, Gladman Family fonds, F432.

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[43] Martin Hunter, "The Hanna Bay Massacre" (Gladman Family Papers, Archives of Ontario, F432).

> Young Corrigal ... heard the shots and screams from the men's house, and understood the worst had come ... he at once explained matters to his mother in a few hurried words, and got her and the children to take refuge in the cellar. Here, at the door of the cellar, young Corrigal stood his ground with his father's double-barrelled shotgun and pistols. He heard the outer door give way from the rush of Indians that hurled themselves against it, and then of a certainty he knew it had now come to the pass of selling his life as dearly as possible in defence of his dear mother and her children. Before he succumbed to the onslaught of savages he killed three of the Indians with his father's weapons, and then fell slain himself. Nothing now to bar the way, the remaining members of the band entered the cellar, and in a few minutes, mother, stepdaughter and the young children were butchered in cold blood, and with uplifted hands pleading for mercy.

A copy of Hunter's account is located among the Gladman Family Papers (at the Ontario Archives) as a clipping from a book containing similar stories. This collection is likely similar to the book Hunter published in 1907, entitled *Canadian Wilds ... the Hudson's Bay Company, Northern Indians and Their modes of Hunting, Trapping, Etc.*, a republication of stories that originally appeared in the magazines *Forest and Stream* and *Hunter-Trader-Trapper*. In the introduction to this book, Hunter notes that he was employed by the HBC for forty years (the last twenty as a commissioned officer) before retiring in 1903, during which time he worked at a various posts between Labrador and Lake Superior. "The modes of Trapping and Hunting," he writes, "were learned directly by personal participation in the chase with the Indians and the other stories heard first hand from the red men." Although Hunter interacted for many years with Algonquian people, his story, meant primarily to entertain a Euroamerican audience, lacks the subtlety that might have distinguished it from stereotypical nineteenth century accounts of the "Canadian Wilds." This is perhaps clearest in his description of the motives for the attack on Hannah Bay:

> The Indians who traded their furs at Hanna Bay, after several secret councils held amongst themselves in the interior, conceived the plot to kill the employees of the post, pillage the place, await the arrival of the ship, take her by surprise, and sail away and take England, the place from which all beautiful goods were

> obtained. A bold plan certainly, and it took the brain of a savage to think such a thing possible.[44]

This paragraph is written in a tone found in the closing lines of Charles Darwin's *The Descent of Man*:

> He who has seen a savage in his native land will not feel much shame if forced to acknowledge that the blood of some more humble creature flows in his veins. For my part, I would as soon be descended from that heroic little monkey who braved his dreaded enemy in order to save the life of his keeper ... as from a savage who delights to torture his enemies, offers up bloody sacrifices, practices infanticide without remorse, treats his wives like slaves, knows no decency, and is haunted by the grossest superstitions.[45]

## TOWARDS A MORE SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF THE WASHAW CONFLICT: ROBERT BELL

Had Charles Darwin written an account of the Washaw conflict he would likely have taken an approach very different from that of Dr. Robert Bell, whom Darwin himself praised for doing "such great work" with the Geological Survey of Canada.[46] Besides being a world-renown geologist, biologist, geographer, explorer and professor, Bell was also a member of many anthropological and folklore societies.[47] He had a great interest in Amerindian peoples, and his approach to the study of their culture and history appears to have been exceptional for its scientific and objective nature. His opening remarks in a 1886 paper entitled *The "Medicine-Man"; Indian and Eskimo Notions of Medicine* demonstrate this clearly: "while ... we may be disposed to laugh at their (Indian and Eskimos') primitive ideas, we are reminded that many – perhaps the majority – of the doctrines once taught among our own people were absurd enough." In contrast to the broad generalisations about "the Indian" so typical of his era, Bell also notes that "Many people speak of 'the Indians' as if all tribes were alike in every respect. But in truth," he adds, "there are great differences."[48]

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[44] Hunter, *op. cit.*; and *Canadian Wilds: Tells About the Hudson's Bay Company, Northern Indians and Their modes of Hunting, Trapping, Etc.* (Columbus, Ohio: A. R. Harding Publishing Co., 1907), pp. 5-6.

[45] Cited in: Francis Jennings, "A Growing Partnership: Historians, Anthropologists, and American Indian History," *Ethnohistory*, XXIX, 1 (1982): 26..

[46] Charles Robert Darwin to Robert Bell, April 14, 1876, excerpt cited in: "The Papers of Robert Bell, 1841-1817," Part I (Catalogue prepared by the Montreal Book Auctions Ltd. for a 1978-79 series of auctions of a large portion of Bell's papers). A copy of this catalogue is available at the Rare Books Department of McGill University in Montreal.

[47] One profile of Dr. Robert Bell (1841-1917) reads: "Because of the 'Renaissance' nature of his education and interests, he could communicate on a scientific level in many disciplines and with many scientists throughout the world. Because of the fact that all this diversity was to be found in one man, Bell became a focal point of international scientific endeavour – at the same time being both the impressario of Canadian sciences and the tie that bound Canadian scientific research to that of the United States, England, and Scotland." See profiles in: "The Papers of Robert Bell, *loc. cit.*," Parts I & III. Included in the Robert Bell Papers at the National Archives is a large collection of transcribed Amerindian narratives and legends.

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**Figure 19: Dr. Robert Bell.** Geological Survey of Canada.

One of the many subjects that Bell became interested in was the story of the Washaw conflict. He may have first heard the story in the summer of 1875, when working in Moose Factory, or later, in 1895-96, when conducting surveys of the basin of "Washahow river" and other parts of southern James Bay.[49] Yet regardless of when he first heard the story, by 1905, he had done enough research on the subject to present the following proposal to George Wrong, head of the Champlain Society, Canada's premier historical society at the time. He writes: "I might make a contribution to the history of Canada in connection with one or other of several events which have never yet been written up, such for example as the massacre of the Hudson Bay people at Hannah Bay by the Indians about one hundred years ago."[50]

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[48] Robert Bell, *The "Medicine-Man"'; Indian and Eskimo Notions of Medicine* (Montreal: Gazette Printing Company, 1886; reprinted from the *Canada Medical and Surgical Journal* for March and April, 1886), pp. 1-2.

[49] Robert Bell, *Recent Explorations to the South of Hudson Bay* (London: William Clowes and Sons, Ltd., 1897; reprinted from *The Geographical Journal*, July, 1897), pp. 1 & 8.

Although there is no proof that Bell collected information from Cree oral sources, it is quite likely that he did, given his respect for the historical value of Indian tradition. In the letter cited above, he notes that he also has, in his words, a history of the

> Indian settlement of Lacloche Island, extending up to the time of the arrival of the white man and going back several hundred years. It is, of course, derived from Indian tradition, but I got it mostly from a very intelligent chief who was rather proud of keeping in mind the history of his family back to the remote past. I have the richest MS collection of the folk-lore of the various Indian tribes which exists, being the result of more than forty years collections amongst these people. These stories would fill two volumes.[51]

Bell certainly did collect, however, oral sources from several Native people (of mixed ancestry).

Around 1899, Bell received information on the Washaw conflict from John Driver of Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, and Peter McKellar of Fort William, Ontario.[52] John Driver had heard about the whole affair from his mother, and in 1881, from William Weigand (in Fort William) and James Morrison (in Moose Factory).[53] He had kept notes from conversations with the latter two, copies of which he now sent to Bell. He explains that he is "only the copyer," knowing nothing except what he has been told. He adds: "I am aware that the wording in some places is not proper but in my way of copying I always put the words just as they are given by the speaker so that you will have to place it all in the proper wording yourself."[54]

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[50] Robert Bell to George Wrong, August 17, 1905, Robert Bell Papers, NAC, MG 29, B 15, Vol. 16, File 27, "Correspondence, Champlain Society, 1905," p. 1.

[51] *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

[52] John Driver was an explorer and Peter McKellar, a geologist and pioneer mining explorer in the Thunder Bay district. See description of their accounts in "The Papers of Robert Bell," *loc. cit.*, Part IV.

[53] John Driver to Robert Bell, Fort William (Thunder Bay), Ontario, January 23, 1899, Bell Papers, Lawrence Lande Collection, Rare Books Department, McGill University (Montreal), p. 2. William Weigand, "Hannah Bay Massacre," interview by John Driver, Fort William (Thunder Bay, Ontario), June 1881, attached to letter to Robert Bell, May 3, 1899," Bell Papers, *loc. cit.*, p. 1. Weigand, a mix-blood HBC employee, was at Rupert House during the winter of 1832, when Swanson was there with other men looking for the accused. His brother Thomas participated in the punitive expeditions. Peter McKellar, "The Hannah Bay Massacre," manuscript attached to letter to Dr. Robert Bell, April 11, 1899, Bell Papers, *loc. cit.*, p. 1; James Morrison, "Story related to the

The two narratives recorded by Driver differ on a number of points, but the major difference is that Weigand blames Quappakay for the conflict, while Morrison blames Corrigal. Weigand, in fact, claims that food was abundant (clearly wrong) and that Quappakay simply wanted revenge after having had "some words with Mr. Corrigal in the fall when getting his suplyes [sic] for the winters hunting." Morrison, on the other hand, gives an explanation more in line with the narrative provided in the previous chapter:

> ... Mr. William Corrigal came from the Orkney islands and was very over bearing man - he was very shrod and rugh with the indians his high spirited rughniss cost him his life at Hannah Bay Post in 1821 - the indians ware not to blam so much as hisself - had he treated the chief Quapikay kindley it would not have hapned ... when Quapikay went to get his suplies far the winter's hunt as thay all do Mr. Corrigal would not give him all he Quapikay needed far the winter.[55]

The key reason for this difference in interpretations is the fact that Weigand's half-sister had been killed by Staicimau as earlier mentioned, one of the men involved in the attack on Hannah Bay House. This is evident from Peter McKellar's 1899 account, based on an interview with William Weigand, his son Thomas and his nephew John (who had worked both with his father, Thomas Weigand, and with

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Hannah Bay Murdring of Mr. Wm. Corrigal and servants," interview by John Driver, Moose Factory, Ontario, 1881, attached to letter to Dr. Robert Bell, May 3, 1899, *loc. cit.*, p. 1. James Morrison was a mix-blood HBC employee who was born in Albany, but worked in Moose Factory from 1839-1895. See the HBC Search File for "Morrison, James (B)."

[54] Driver to Bell, Fort William, Ontario, May 3, 1899, *loc. cit.*, pp. 1-2.

[55] Weigand, *loc. cit.*, pp. 1-2.

William Swanson, often hearing them speak of "those troublesome times of Hannah Bay, etc.")[56]

In contrast to the narrative recorded by Driver, the later account actually begins with the incident that led to the death of Weigand's half-sister. "The trouble originated," writes McKellar, " at a small H.B.Co. post at Big Lake ... One winter about 83 years ago, the party was short of supplies, and all starved with the exception of the wife of Swanson [Weigand's half-sister]." When Staicimau was sent from Rupert House to "see how the Big Lake Post was getting on," he and his wife found Mrs. Swanson, whom Staicimau killed, "pretending she was a cannibal," and, notes McKellar, " it seems nothing was done to him for it."[57]

William Weigand himself later told McKellar that Staicimau's wife had reported that "Mrs. Swanson, when unable to get rabbits, cut a slice of the flesh of [the] dead men." "This accounts," he explains, "for the Indian thinking she was dangerous."[58] Yet Weigand offered McKellar this explanation a month after first recounting the story of the Hannah Bay "massacre" with much less understanding for the "murderer" of his half-sister. Providing an objective account of this conflict was simply much more of a challenge for Weigand than it was for Morrison, whose family was not tied to the story in any way similar to the Weigand family.

Yet in spite of this, Weigand's recollections are valuable, particularly those he and his relatives shared with McKellar in 1899. Besides adding the background information noted above, McKellar's account provides many more details and corrects several inaccuracies present in the 1881 narrative. It is only in the 1899 version, for example, that we learn how Beioley

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[56] McKellar, *loc. cit.*, p. 3.

[57] *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4. For a full account of the Big Lake incident, see the appendix.

[58] McKellar to Bell, May 26, 1899, Bell Papers, *loc. cit.*, p. 1-2.

> wanted to save their [Shaintoquaish and Bolland's] lives [when they arrived at Rupert House in March], but Captain Swanson took them prisoner and the party started for Moose, including Mr. Boily, to bring them before Geo. McTavish... . When they arrived Gov. McTavish was walking upon the upper veranda. Mr. Boiley asked him to pardon the Indian. The Governor replied "pardon be damned, take him away and shoot him." He was taken down the River to Pilgrim Island and shot.

In effect, the 1899 version is much more reliable, because of the input of John and Thomas, and because of McKellar's careful questioning. He explains in a letter to Bell: "I think it [the account of the "Hannah Bay Massacre"] is about as near correct as it can be got out of them. I had to write it over three times. By consultation and revival of memory, they made several corrections."[59] Moreover, when Bell wrote back shortly after receiving the account, McKellar responded on May 26 with additional information that he had obtained from Weigand.[60]

In addition to the accounts he obtained through Driver and McKellar, Bell also copied, in 1905, an narrative of the "Tragedy at Hannah Bay House" originally written by Henry Connolly. Another account that he obtained was from S. K. Parson, an HBC employee who spent time working in Moose Factory. Although these sources are known to exist, they have not yet been located. Moreover, if Robert Bell did eventually write his own version of the Washaw conflict, it has not yet been located either.[61]

While there is no evidence that Bell ever wrote a history of the Washaw conflict, he nevertheless stands out in contrast to many of those who narrated, gave account of, or commented on this event. He sought to understand what had really occurred, and he had a desire to obtain and use all the sources available. If he did write an account of the conflict, it would certainly include a deeper analysis of the event than that of Roy F. Fleming, from whom Bell obtained a transcription of John McLean's account. In a marginal note, Fleming compares the conjuror's influence over his fellow hunters to the "Witch of Endor and MacBeth."[62] Regardless of what Bell himself might have or did write on this event, his interest in the Washaw conflict, and his scientific approach, led to the preservation of several accounts of the Washaw conflict.

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[59] McKellar to Bell, Fort William, Ontario, April 11, 1899, Bell Papers, *loc. cit.*, p. 1.

[60] McKellar to Bell, May 26, 1899, *loc. cit.*

[61] The narratives by Connolly and Parson were sold at an auction held by the Montreal Book Auctions Ltd., a company that has since gone out of business. I have been unable to obtain information about who the buyers were, and although a complete search of all the Bell papers at the National Archives might reveal otherwise, an initial search suggests that they do not have them. Regarding Bell's proposed narrative, neither the National Archives nor the Champlain Society appear to have such a narrative.

In the 1930s, the interest and methodology of another university professor, Father John M. Cooper, preserved several other accounts of the Washaw conflict. An anthropologist from the Catholic University of America in Washington, he conducted research in the James Bay region in the 1930s. He was interested in a number of questions regarding Cree culture and life, particularly traditional Cree religious beliefs and the integration of Christianity. Included in the field-notes he kept are transcripts of interviews with a number of Crees from both sides of James Bay. The Washaw conflict was among the subjects discussed in two of these interviews.

In Moose Factory, in 1934, with the help of William McLeod, a Native man from the community, Cooper interviewed John Dick, the son of Kwokwodjic ("Crooked Dick" in the HBC records), one of the boys who escaped from Hannah Bay House in 1832. The resulting story is unclear at points, primarily because of the difficulty of translating and transcribing what was originally transmitted according to Cree narrative norms.

Although John Dick's account accuses Quappakay's family of murder and the intention of attacking Moose Factory, it does not emphasise these points, for though the story Kwokwodjic passed on to his son is influenced by what he experienced, it is not affected by the need to justify anything. Rather, the narrative centres precisely on the personal experience of John's father, describing how he felt and reacted to things. Despite some minor errors regarding the context in which these events were experienced, the resulting story contains valuable information that is included in few or none of the other sources. Besides providing an insider's impression of the attack, it is also the only other source besides the Rupert House journal that notes how Autawayham reprimanded his son Bolland. When the Company men came to get Bolland, Dick says, the latter was told by his father: "You get out of the tent. You brought this on yourself. This will have to be done to you now." Only when questioned by John Cooper did Dick provide more information regarding the motives of the accused and the reasons for their actions. He explains that they were influenced by the "old conjuror," a *mitew* (bad shaman) to begin attacking all the posts in the area, and as a result of this ethical incompetence, they lost their humanity, becoming *wiitikowak* (inhuman cannibal-like creatures). John Dick explains: "It took many shots to kill them because they were living on human flesh."[63]

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[62] Robert Bell Papers, NAC, MG 30, Vol. D55, File 32, "Fleming, Roy, F."

The other Cree elder who told Cooper about the Hannah Bay Massacre was Edward Namekus of Rupert House, who was about 60 years old at the time. The story, which he learned from his father, is much less personal than John Dick's account. Despite a few discrepancies with the main narrative given in the previous chapter, Namekus gives an comparable account of the sequence of events, providing several details that are not contained in other sources, details, however, which do not contradict the main narrative. Like John Dick, however, he attributes the origin of the "massacre" to the "conjuring" of the "old Indian," who was "possessed," he says,

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[63] John Dick, "Hannah Bay Massacre," interview by John M. Cooper with the assistance of interpreter Willie McLeod, Moose Factory, Ontario, 1935, excerpt from John M. Cooper, "1934 Field notes," pp. 575-585 (field notes in the possession of Regina Flannery, Catholic University of America), cited in: John S. Long, "'Shaganash': Early Protestant Missionaries and the Adoption of Christianity by the Western James Bay Cree, 1840-1893" (Ph.D. dissertation, OISE, University of Toronto, 1986), "Appendix" (This "Appendix" is not attached to the copy of Long's thesis held at OISE: he himself provided me with a copy.), pp. 1-5.

"by the devil," and as such, "was so hard to kill." Yet he comments that he does not know why they actually attacked the post.[64] The explanations provided by Namekus and Dick regarding the motivations of the attackers are in some ways very close to that of Hind, Barnley, Anderson and Woodall.

## A CONTINUED INTEREST IN THE WASHAW CONFLICT: THE LAST 50 YEARS

On June 24, 1968, *Moose Talk*, a local paper from Moosonee, Ontario, published an article by Frederick Close entitled "1832 Atrocity: Hannah Bay Massacre Based Upon Trickery." Close introduces the story with a question about law enforcement prior to 1926, and forewarns the reader that he will "only briefly outline the story" as he is "still investigating certain aspects of it." The main point of his account is that the Hannah Bay people were tricked out onto the ice by one man who was distorting his body into many shapes to arouse their curiosity, and once on the ice, they were easily shot by men that an "insane" leader from Rupert House had stationed on the shore. The account clearly errs in citing John Dick as the sole survivor, who is said to have fled with his dead son under his arm (a confusion with both Dick's father and Tishawayae). Two other features of Close's narrative stand out. Allegedly the "investigating party, upon arrival at Hannah Bay ... were surprised to find one of the murderers still there, methodically sorting through papers." This man, explains Close, was then escorted back to Moose Factory where just before he was dropped through a hole in the ice, John Dick (again confused with his father) grabbed a chisel and stabbed him. Despite the inaccuracies noted earlier, these two latter features cannot be dismissed, especially since they are repeated in other narratives (cited below).[65] Close also mentions the "Hannah Bay massacre" in his book *All Aboard the Polar Bear Express: The Lure and Lore of the Land*, published in 1996. He points out that Moose Factory "residents were convinced the massacre was a direct result of a shaman's misguided use of a power source to predict the future." This is a key reason, he concludes, why "shamanism and tent shaking disappeared from Moose Factory."[66]

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[64] Edward Namekus, "Hannah Bay Massacre," interview by John M. Cooper, Rupert House, Quebec, 1934, excerpt from John M. Cooper, "1934 Field notes," (field notes in the possession of Regina Flannery, Catholic University of America), p. 93.

[65] *Moose Talk* (Moosonee, Ontario), 25 June 1968, p. 11 (first published in *Ministikok*, 1968). See the accounts of Fred Moore and Ruby McLeod (below).

Close emigrated to Canada from England in 1957, where he worked as a HBC trader in James Bay for six years. He then attended Toronto Teacher's College before returning (with his wife) in 1965 to teach and work as a school principal in Moose Factory and Moosonee. His key sources were Billy Corston, Willie Frenchman (who heard the story from John Dick) and Gordon Moore (most of whom were connected with the Company). When I contacted Close recently, he was happy to learn of my research and offered his assistance, from which I have greatly benefited. He noted that the version published in 1968 contains several errors, and that he had been thinking of finishing his own research on the incident; he still feels strongly the lure of the lore of the land of James Bay.

In 1971, anthropologist Richard Preston completed his invaluable doctoral dissertation entitled *Cree Narration: An Expression of the Personal Meanings of Events*. This study was based on research conducted in Waskaganish (Rupert House), where he first learned from his friend, mentor, and main informant, John Blackned, the story of the "Hannah Bay massacre." As Preston notes, Blackned's narrative is "detailed and complete" (see Blackned's historiographical comments, cited above in the introduction). Not only does Blackned concur with the main narrative of the previous chapter, he also gives reasonable accounts of the situation of the attackers and their motives, without, however, excusing what he considers their ethical incompetence. Although he notes that the HBC manager may have also been equally incompetent, his narrative, as Preston points out, centres on "what happens when a *Mistabeo* gives poor (morally and tactically) advice and the people are foolish enough to accept it."[67]

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[66] Frederick Close, *All Aboard the Polar Bear Express: The Lure and Lore of the Land* (Simcoe: Privately printed, 1996), p. 59.

Preston revisited this event in an article published in 1990, entitled "The View from the Other Side of the Frontier: East Cree Historical Notions." In this study, he compares Blackned's narrative with the contradictory documentary narratives (by then he had obtained most of those discussed above), concluding that this "seems an ideal case ... [demonstrating] the risks of document-based histories." He notes, in particular, the difference between Beioley's perspective, which provides a more personal explanation (mental derangement) in contrast with the other official HBC accounts which provide a more structural explanation (nativistic movement). He himself suspects that the uncompromising and rough characters of Corrigal and Quappakay were the determining factors that caused the attack, which was essentially the latter's retaliation for the former's breach of the social code. It was an attack carried out, however, in spite of "Cree notions of personal respect and the long term maintenance of good relations." (Bolland and Shaintoquaish, being aware of this, claimed not to have wanted to follow the *mistabeo*'s counsels). "To most of the Crees," Preston concludes, "the Hannah Bay case was a few who were misled by conjuring. But to some of the Company men, it was the rumblings of revolutionary conspiracy against their colonial empire."[68] Preston did not give much weight to the theory (discussed below) put forth by a student of his in a preliminary study done in 1973. In his opinion, moreover, the event has yet to be accounted for adequately and he has thus encouraged me in my study of it, sharing his research material, articles, and advice.

Patrick Doran, an MA student working under Preston's guidance, produced an unpublished manuscript in 1973 entitled "Preliminary Investigations into the

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[67] *Cree Narrative: Expressing the Personal Meanings of Events*, Canadian Ethnology Service, Mercury Series, Paper No. 30 (Ottawa, National Museum of Man, 1975), p. 142.

[68] "The View from the Other Side of the Frontier: East Cree Historical Notions," *Papers of the* 21st Algonquian Conference (Ottawa: Carleton University, 1990), pp. 322-324.

Narratives of the Hannah Bay Massacre: 1832." He was able to locate several of the key HBC documents from the HBC archives at a time when access was still quite difficult. Although both the journals for Hannah Bay House and the minutes to the Southern Department Council of 1832 were discovered to be missing, Doran located the relevant excerpts in the journals of Moose Factory and Rupert House, and the report made in 1849 by James Anderson. In his study, he contextualises and compares these documents with Blackned's account (drawing primarily from Preston's 1971 study). His tentative theory as to why the event happened is presented in a section entitled: "Booze Road Theory." The provision of alcohol, he believes, transformed a planned attack, prompted by the *mistabeo*'s requirement of the death of one Englishman, into a massacre; moreover, it explains why the massacre was so bloody (he does not appear to question the allegations of mutilation).[69] This theory is plausible, but without more evidence, it can only remain – as Doran recognised – a theory. When I contacted him shortly after beginning this current study, he noted, like Close, that he had been thinking of re-examining the history of the Washaw conflict (a change of career plans had left his MA research incomplete).

Interest in the Washaw conflict has not been confined to the James Bay region and a few academics. In 1980, a dramatised history of the "Hannah Bay Massacre" aired on CBC radio. This account is said to be "based on the oral tradition of the Cree Indians and the written record of the Hudson's Bay Company, though neither account gives the full story."[70]

Ethnohistorians Toby Morantz and Daniel Francis did some preliminary research on the conflict for their book *Partners in Furs*, published in 1983. They give a short summary of the event based on the HBC journals, McLean's account, and the *tipâchimôwin* of Blackned. The key point they make is that such an outbreak of violence was atypical of the Cree. Although no definitive explanation is given due to the "fragmentary and one-sided" nature of the evidence they had available at the time, several possible motives of "religious and economic" nature are outlined.[71]

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[69] Patrick Doran, Preliminary Investigations into the Narratives of the Hannah Bay Massacre: 1832, ed. Richard Preston (manuscript, 1973).

[70] Description given in ArchiviaNet (National Archives Search Tool). http://www.archives.ca.

In 1984 and 1985, James Bay historian and educator John Long conducted several interviews in Moose Factory, in which the "Hannah Bay massacre" was discussed.[72] Fred Moore, a former HBC employee of mixed ancestry who has since passed away, told Long the story that he heard from his father. Though short (about one page when transcribed), it includes very interesting features that both complement and contradict the HBC accounts, particularly in reference to the execution of Shantoquaish, whom Moore says was dropped through a hole off Middleborough Island. He also mentions that the *okimaw* of the accused family was found reading the Company books (both these features were reported by Close). Although it mixes up some names and the sequence of some of the events, it is a valuable source, primarily because of the two points mentioned above. Moore was aware, however, that his version of the story is incomplete. Despite his short account, he concludes with the following comment: "That's the yarn my dad told me. There's quite a bit to it, you know."[73]

Ruby Mcleod also provided Long with an account of the "massacre." She heard the story from Emily Swanson, her step-mother. Although she confuses names and skips parts of the sequence of events, rendering her account confusing at times, she also includes features that are found in few or none of the other accounts. In particular, she says that the leader of the attackers was found with all the Company books, and that the leader of the posse "got an order to go out to Hannah Bay, and they told him not to spare any of them Indians what was there." She also describes how the wife of Quappakay was abused by the posse. For Ruby McLeod, like Fred Moore, the history of the "massacre" appears to have been primarily a good story (Ruby laughs as she recounts parts of it).[74]

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[71] *Op. cit.*, pp. 158-160.

[72] Long, who has made the land of the *Mushkegowuk* his home since 1972, has continually emphasised the importance of oral traditions for understanding the region's history. He is very well respected by the *Mushkegowuk*, whose Council hired him in 1987 as its executive director. He has worked as a teacher, education consultant, and researcher in Moose Factory, Moosonee and other Cree communities.

[73] Fred Moore, "They had to kill him at Middleborough," interview by John Long, Moose Factory, Ontario, June 2, 1984 (transcript provided by Long), pp. 1-2.

In an article published in 1987, entitled "Manitu, Power, Books and Wiihtikow: Some Factors in the Adoption of Christianity by Nineteenth-Century Western James Bay Cree," John Long makes reference to the "Hannah Bay massacre." He implies that the attack can be attributed to the distress caused by the virtual monopoly obtained by the Company after 1821. He notes that in the oral tradition (particularly the two accounts he recorded in 1984-85), there is "some suggestion ... that the Company's books played a role": they were perhaps "associated ... with power. Taking debt, whereby the Indians were advanced supplies for the winter, was closely associated in Cree with writing in a 'book' (the Company's ledger)." Based on Blackned's account, Long concludes that as a result of the Hannah Bay murders, faith in the shaking tent's "benefits may have begun to wane."[75]

In March 1990, the Washaw conflict once again reached the airwaves, when the CBC Radio programme *Ideas* aired a two-part series entitled "Memories of Contact," bringing together Cree and non-Cree historians and leaders of James Bay to address this theme. John Long was one of those present and the "Hannah Bay massacre" was one of the memories discussed. Both Long and Randy Kapashesit, Chief of Mocreebec (an organisation representing Quebec Crees living in the Moose

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[74] Ruby McLeod, "He made them believe he could do anything," interview by John Long, Moose Factory, Ontario, June 23, 1985 (transcript provided by Long), pp. 1-5.

[75] John Long, "Manitu, Power, Books and Wiihtikow: Some Factors in the Adoption of Christianity by Nineteenth-Century Western James Bay Cree," *Native Studies Review*, III, 1 (1987): 8-9.

River basin), expressed views that were critical of the HBC accounts and tended to see the attack as a retaliation against Corrigal's disrespect for the social contract according to which he should have provided Quappakay with provisions. Kapashesit also suspected that the people "felt that ... a lot of the families were becoming too dependent on the Bay and the Bay was getting too powerful, and that they would teach them a lesson." He later told me, however, that he learned the story from non-Cree sources. As he noted on CBC radio: "If I'm to think back to my own experiences of growing up, very little, that I can recall at least, was a discussion on what happened there. I don't think people were open to discussing that, for whatever reasons."[76]

In 1998, however, Cree film director Paul Rickard initiated a film project that, with this MA research, has started encouraging a little more discussion of the "Hannah Bay massacre" in Moose Factory. Like Kapashesit, Rickard also grew up in Moose Factory. However, he learned of the "Hannah Bay massacre" from his father, not from Euroamerican sources. His father is from Hannah Bay and knows the land and its stories well. One of their family's ancestors was among the four survivors of the attack on Hannah Bay. Yet as his brother comments in Rickard's award-winning film *Okimah*, their father tells these stories to teach them how they should conduct themselves properly today.[77] He does not tell the story to remember past wrongs. Rickard's project (currently on hold till adequate time and funds can be secured) is to produce a film (documentary or docu-drama) that will give account of the meaning this event has for those who live in the Cree communities neighbouring Hannah Bay. In the fall of 1998, he interviewed Kathleen Hardisty of Moose Factory, and George and Louise Diamond of Waskaganish.

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[76] "Memories of Contact," *Ideas*, CBC Radio, March 15 & 22, 1990 (transcript). He is chief of the Mocreebec people, a group of East Coast Cree who moved to Moose Factory during this century; some of their ancestors may have been related to Quappakay's family.

[77] See *Okimah*, National Film Board of Canada, ©1998.

Although Hardisty was initially reluctant, she did eventually consent to have the story recorded. As Rickard points out, Hardisty (in her 90s at the time of the interview) likely heard the story from John Dick, for she focuses on his father's role in what happened, but confuses John Dick with his father (she later told corrected herself when telling me the story). She also adds some details about what happened to the women after the posse killed their husbands. Her account centres on these personal experiences and it concurs for the most part with the main narrative given in the preceding chapter.

**Figure 20: Kathleen Hardisty and her daughter Jemima.** Photo by the author, 1999.

George Diamond Sr. and Louise Diamond are greatly respected in the community of Waskaganish for "their knowledge of the old days and traditional values." They were both 77 years old and had been married for 50 years (George is unilingual Cree) when Rickard interviewed them; 1998 was the first year that they were not able to go out on their trap-line. Prompted by Rickard's interest, Christopher Stephen of Waskaganish also interviewed the Diamonds shortly afterwards for *the Nation* (he had helped Rickard, who speaks Moose Cree, but not Waskaganish Cree). In the second interview, George begins by saying: "I don't really like what I'm going to try because it was too long ago. Because some stories that are told are not the same ... That's what happens to the old stories. I think the young people should have tried to get these stories earlier." In spite of this warning, the story he tells both Rickard and Stephen is very coherent and contains details not mentioned elsewhere. However, both George and Louise also underline the fact that there are some details that they do not remember: the name of the post manager, for example.

**Figure 21: George Diamond.** *The Nation*, January 15, 1999, p. 10.

Like John Blackned, the Diamonds say that it was the women who were spared by the posse who told the story that has been passed down in the Waskaganish oral tradition. Yet as Blackned pointed out, the story is told slightly differently by each narrator. The Diamonds, for example, confirm a point found nowhere else except in Barnley's book: before the attack on Hannah Bay House, they say, an old Cree woman was killed, based on what the *mistabeo* told Quappakay from the shaking tent.[78] The tone and care in which the Diamonds tell the *tipâchimôwin* confirms what George expressed in his comment about young people learning these stories earlier: they both wished to transmit an accurate account of what occurred.

The same year that Paul Rickard commenced his film project, I also began this MA research project. In the spring of 1998, Partners In Change Education Services (a service of Mushkegowak Council) offered me a tentative research contract. On the suggestion of John Long, I was asked to research and produce a local history unit based on the "Hannah Bay massacre." Since I was already looking for an MA topic that would allow me to contribute to my home community, I suggested making this the focus of my MA thesis, which could then be adapted for use in local schools. I also wanted to know more about the event, which I had first learned about in one of these schools, from a copy of the Fred Close's article that had been used for a Native Studies class by the late Joe Rowe. Although in 1996,

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[78] George & Louise Diamond, "The Hannah Bay Massacre," interview by Christopher Stephen, translated by Brian Webb, published in *the Nation*, January 15, 1999, pp. 10-15; and interview by Paul Rickard, Waskaganish, Quebec, November 5-6, 1998 (transcript/translation provided by the interviewer), pp. 1-5.

Partners in Change had already co-produced *Iliłiwak: Literature and Lore of the James Bay*, an educational textbook which included Close's account of the Hannah Bay "massacre," Long later confided to me that he found this version incomplete, even though some explanatory notes had been added.[79] These notes were drawn from one of his articles and from the episode of the CBC radio show *Ideas*, noted above.

When John Dickinson (University of Montreal) agreed to direct my research on the condition that I find a specialist in James Bay history to co-direct, I contacted Toby Morantz (McGill University) who promptly accepted. She also provided me copies of the primary sources contained in her file on Hannah Bay and informed me that Paul Rickard had recently contacted her regarding the film project noted above. One thing led to another and Rickard and I began doing research together on the event. I worked on collecting written documents and transcriptions of oral accounts, while he recorded interviews (as noted above) with Cree elders in Waskaganish and Moose Factory. Although it has been postponed for now, Paul still wishes to produce a film that will depict the event, how it has been seen over time, and what it has come to mean for people in the communities neighbouring Washaw.[80]

The origin of this thesis project is equally linked to the question of what this event has come to mean for people in these communities, particularly in Moose Factory, a community which is composed of several distinct communities.[81]

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[79] At the request of local high school teacher Ginny Jones, Partners in Change helped revise and add to a compilation of stories she had collected 20 years previously from local people. For more information, see the Partners In Change catalogue entitled: "Curriculum Resource Materials for Aboriginal Education."

[80] Speaking about his film Okimah, Paul Rickard told *the Nation* magazine the following: "I've seen quite a few good documentaries about life in the Native communities or about Native people in general ... these documentaries were done with a non-Native perspective ... They have a different sense of what Native communities are. There's nothing wrong with those films. They're great, but what I wanted to do is show what a goose hunt was all about ... from the perspective of my family. *The Nation* (January 1, 1999), p. 11.

[81] The smallest group is composed of non-Cree people who have integrated with the community (mostly hospital and school staff). There is a large population of "non-status Indians" and "métis" whose lineage is both Cree and Scottish (or European of another line). The two largest groups, however, are the Moose Cree First Nation (whose reserve occupies half of the three-by-one-

Although the borders between these communities are, in many respects, very blurred, in others respects they are defined in a black and white manner, especially in the case of the Moose Cree First Nation and Mocreebec Association. Over the last decades there have been political frictions between these two groups, frictions that were highlighted when Mocreebec was ejected from the Mushkegowuk Council in the 1990s.

Although frictions do exist in the political arena, the majority of the members of these communities work closely together on most other levels. Their close cooperation in the development of the eco-tourism industry is a good example. In the fall of 1999, John Long and I also participated in one of several eco-tourism projects that Moose Cree First Nation has undertaken: the Washaw Eco-Lodge, now situated across the river from where the Washaw conflict occurred so many years ago. While assisting Long in writing a report on the culturally and historically important sites in the vicinity of the Washaw Eco-Lodge, he told me the reason why he had suggested, in 1998, the "Hannah Bay Massacre" as a subject for a local history unit. Effectively, it has been misrepresented by a few people in Moose Factory, particularly in the context of Mocreebec and MCFN political frictions (which stem primarily from land use issues). Long also noted that he recommended me for the research, because I was born and raised in Moose Factory, but as neither a Mocreebec or a Moose Cree, I am in a more neutral position.

A growing awareness of the sensitivity surrounding the topic of my thesis helped me to understand why one elder was not keen on telling me the story. In September 1999, as noted in the introduction, I passed through Moose Factory on my way to assist in the archaeological work that was done at Washaw for a separate report produced by John Pollock and Luke Dellabona.[82] While in Moose Factory, I

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mile island), and the Mocreebec Association (Quebec Crees established or born in the Moose River basin).

[82] John Long and Cecil Chabot, "We always had our own lands": Some Historical Sites Near Wa-sh-ow James Bay Wilderness Centre, Final Report to Moose Cree First Nation (submitted 30

visited Cree elders Gilbert and Nellie Faries (who were long-time neighbours when I was living in Moose Factory). I asked Gilbert about the Hannah Bay "massacre," but preferring not to speak about it, he began telling me another, more cheerful story instead. Nevertheless, during the same visit to Moose Factory, I was asked to present a workshop on the Washaw conflict for the Great Moon Gathering, a curriculum conference that was being organised in Moose Factory the following February.

Thus, in February 2000, at the Great Moon Gathering (sponsored by Partners in Change Education Services), I presented a workshop entitled "History and the Hannah Bay Massacre." While preparing for this workshop, I asked one Moose Cree First Nation student what she thought about studying the Washaw conflict in the local schools. Her response was the following:

> only after talking to my mom and asking her about the massacre did I understand the importance of it. She mentioned the animosity that exists between many of the elders of Moose Factory and the elders of the Quebec side. I think that this history should be taught, but if it is, will it create that animosity that has existed since this tragic event?

Several days prior to the workshop, I also spoke with other people about this very question. Randy Kapashesit, Chief of Mocreebec, encouraged me to present the history as well as I could: "you're the expert on it ... and you've had an opportunity to study it that many others haven't had, so it is good that you share this knowledge." With this last point in mind, I began the workshop by showing a slide of a handout that I had kept from a grade six local history class. This transcript of an old newspaper article by Fred Close was how I first learned of the Washaw conflict. A former classmate who was present at the workshop commented that she had come to this workshop to learn more about the history of the conflict, since all she knew was what she had learned from this same grade six class. The others attending the workshop were equally keen on knowing what had happened, including one Moose

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December, 1999). We addressed the Washaw conflict in this report, but to avoid repetition, I do not discuss it here.

Cree elder, who later commented to her nephew, another former classmate of mine, that if he wanted to understand the friction that is sometimes present between Moose Cree and Quebec Cree, he should attend the second presentation of the workshop. There was considerable discussion about the sensitivity of the subject.

## CONCLUSION

The history of the Washaw conflict is much like Washaw itself. This bay has long had a reputation as a dangerous body of water and must be navigated with great precaution. In September 1999, when returning by boat from the site of the Washaw Eco-Lodge, Arnold Cheechoo, Sinclair Trapper and I were reminded of this fact. Pummelled by the waves, one of the two boats we were travelling in sprung a leak. Yet before the sinking boat was swallowed by the cold brown water, we managed to transfer its cargo and outboard motor to the good boat. I was the last one off before we cut it loose. As we continued on to Moose Factory the waters gradually grew calmer, and so did we: although we were able to see the humorous side of the incident, we did not take it lightly. Then, two weeks later, a great tragedy occurred in the same area where we had had our relatively minor accident: two boats were swamped by towering waves tossed up by a fierce north wind.

Although this tragedy claimed eight lives, the rescue and recovery efforts brought together Mocreebec, Moose Cree and Waskaganish First Nations and caused them to put aside the friction that has sometimes been present between them. If the Washaw tragedy of 1999 removed obstacles between them, my hope is that an accurate account of the Washaw tragedy of 1832 can help do the same. Likewise, knowing that the study of this event addresses issues related to the merging of different Amerindian and Euroamerican understandings of a shared past, I also hope to contribute to removing obstacles that exist on this larger scale.

To repeat the words spoken by Lord Acton at the close of the 19th century: “if the Past has been an obstacle and a burden, knowledge of the Past is the safest and the surest emancipation."[83] The accuracy of the different *understandings* of the Washaw conflict depends more on the extent to which their narrators shared such a viewpoint, than it does on their cultural origin or medium.

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[83] John Ermich E.D. Acton, *Lectures on Modern History* (London: Macmillan, 1912), p. 10.

# CONCLUSION

"But the historian's aim is not to chastize the actors of the past, who are mortally incorrigible, but to let himself and his contemporaries be judged and instructed by the past."[1]

When forced to compromise in a desperate situation caused by unpredictable weather in an unforgiving land, neither Quappakay nor Corrigal acted according to the socio-economic norms that guided relations in the Cree world which the HBC had entered 160 years earlier. Corrigal was unwilling to provide (enough) food to satisfy Quappakay's family, and perhaps also took advantage of the situation. One way or another, he clearly provoked Quappakay who had led his family to the post because they were starving for food, not a fight. Quappakay, however, was too willing to resort to violence in order to satisfy his hunger and perhaps also his anger. If the planned surprise attack was initially directed only against Corrigal and the other men, in the end, it did not spare women and children.

The HBC's retaliation was not based on a unanimous decision by the officers in charge, for there was clearly a split between McTavish and Beioley, one that had a lot to do with their different personalities. McTavish was the superior officer, however, so his was the final decision. Moreover, he had the support of most of the HBC servants, particularly those who had issues to settle with the accused men they hunted down. Some of these servants, however, later criticized McTavish for his harsh retaliation against the accused. No *Mushkegowuk* appear to have objected to the punishment that was meted out; some certainly approved of it. The same can be said of the *Wiinipeku-iiyuuch*, even those who were related to the accused (Bolland's father for example).

Although the HBC had strengthened its position since the 1821 merger, its unopposed punishment of the accused men cannot be seen as a sign that it had gained mastery over the land. Rather it is a confirmation that few *Mushkegowuk* or *Wiinipeku-iiyuuch* approved of the actions taken by Quappakay and also a sign that the Company's monopoly had not changed the relationship enough to provoke sympathy for an attack on Hannah Bay House. There is no indication, except for the claims of Anderson and a few others, of a threat of an imminent Cree uprising against the Company. Anderson made these claims in order to counter possible accusations that the retaliation was motivated more by a desire for revenge than for justice, and he reiterated them when the Company came under fire in the mid-nineteenth century.

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[1] James Axtell, "Ethnohistory: An Historian's viewpoint," *Ethnohistory*, XXVI, 1, (1979): 7.

Although the HBC's retaliation was criticized by some nineteenth century non-Cree commentators and narrators, most of them expressed views similar to Anderson's, attributing the "massacre" either to rebelliousness or greed, and portraying Quappakay as an evil conjuror. Cree accounts depict Quappakay in a similar light, but with one key difference. Most of them do not attribute Quappakay's waywardness to the fact that he was a conjuror, but instead to his misguided conjuring: he was a *mitew* (a conjuror who used his powers immorally).

Only a minority of the Cree accounts hint that the HBC trader was also to blame, and the only account that places the primary responsibility for the conflict on Corrigal is the narrative of a retired HBC employee (of Cree and Scottish ancestry). All of the accounts coincide in assigning the blame to one or both of these men. Quappakay's sons and son-in-law are also seen as culpable, but to a lesser extent.

As Richard Preston points out, the Washaw conflict appears to have been primarily a conflict between two rough characters who did not get along. It was the intersection of a personality conflict with a desperate situation. Moreover, the retaliation, as well as the subsequent criticism of it, also had a lot to do with personality conflicts. The historical context is certainly important, but it is ultimately at the personal level that this particular event must be understood; this in turn will help us revise and refine our understanding of the broader historical context.

Paradigms such as Euroamerican vs. Amerindian, or *Mushkegowuk* vs. *Wiinipeku-iiyuuch*, are helpful, but they can also be a hindrance. To draw an example from another context, the Black vs. White paradigm, despite being an essential tool for understanding American history, completely misconstrued what really should have been at issue in the infamous 1995 trial of American football star OJ Simpson.

Likewise, although the understandings of the Washaw conflict cannot be separated from their contexts, they must be distinguished from them, in order to better comprehend these very contexts. While cultural differences must be understood, it must be underlined that within cultures there are differences, both within generations and between them. Ultimately, cultural understandings live in individual subjects who have been *cultured* (formed and informed) in similar, but particular ways. Therefore it is at the level of individual subjects that the understandings of the Washaw conflict should be evaluated and merged.

Insofar as they seek to cultivate, refine and transmit an *accurate* "understanding," members of a culture will be open to all potential sources and means that might serve this purpose. Although they will express their revised or refined understanding within and by means of their own cultural norms, they will seek, above all, to be well formed and informed, to be *cultured.* Each new understanding, moreover, modifies the cultural context and norms within which the culture's participants express it. They may wish to preserve an exact copy of the understanding their ancestors have passed on to them; yet their goal will not necessarily be to perpetuate it strictly as is, but rather, to combine it with the best of other sources in order to rethink and enhance their understandings. The resulting culture may be less or more distinct from others than it was before, but what makes cultures viable and healthy is not their distinctiveness, but their success in cultivating, revising, refining, and transmitting an understanding of where they come from, who they are, where they are going, but most importantly, *where they should go.* Their success is contingent on their being competent (technologically, socially, economically, but above all ethically). This is why, when asked what his community needed, Cree elder Raphael Wabano suggested that the "native students should be taught [Cree] cultural values with new values that are introduced … from southern communities … [and that] a cultural ... centre would help people, both young and old to learn and exchange ideas on moral and cultural values."[2]

The question of merging sources brings us back to the question that has been at the root of the Washaw conflict and its narration: *what does it mean to be competent within a particular culture's context and how relative to its particular context should any personal or collective culture's definition of competence be*? In the 19th century, many were too quick to answer this question; at the turn of the 21st, too many are too hesitant to ask it.

In order to be competent, we need to merge *experiences* and *understandings*, hopefully resolving those that are contradictory and both drawing from and adding to those that are complementary. Problems arise when we seek uniformity of understanding, instead of unity of understanding with reality, or when we forget that our experiences of the latter are limited and different.

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[2] Raphael Wabano, interview (translated from Cree), in *Wetamakwin "To Inform,"* Report by "James Bay Cree Society," (Royal Commission on the Northern Environment: Moose Factory, Ontario, April 1979), pp. 18-19.

# APPENDIX: CHARACTER PROFILES & RELATIONSHIPS

## QUAPPAKAY AND FAMILY

Quappakay was a Cree *okimaw* (leader).[1] From Cree and non-Cree sources, we learn that he was also a *mitew* (conjuror).[2] His family was large. By 1823, he had two wives and seven children, including two grown sons and two grown daughters.[3] By 1832, two of his sons, Shaintoquaish and Staicimau,[4] and at least one of his daughters (married to Bolland), had their own families as well, but still wintered with their father. Little can be ascertained about the character of Quappakay, his sons or his son-in-law Bolland, except for often questionable testimony contained in accounts related to the Washaw conflict, which tend to see these men in a very negative light.

In part because of this last point, there has been some debate about Quappakay's group affiliation. Official HBC records for Rupert House, as of 1822 at least, specify that Quappakay was a "principal Indian" among the "coasters" (*wiinipeku-iiyuuch*) of Rupert House.[5] Yet in 1881, when William Weigand (a retired HBC servant who worked in the Rupert House district in the 1830s) described Quappakay as "the head man or chief of the Cree indian [sic] Band who lived around that Part of the Bay," he was referring not to Rupert Bay but to Hannah Bay.[6] This concurs with what John Blackned, an elder from Waskaganish (Rupert House) was told, that "the Indians who killed their boss [their trader] at Hannah Bay . . . where they used to get their supplies . . . talked a little bit different from the Rupert's House Indians."[7] Neither of these perspectives is necessarily wrong, but both are perhaps incomplete.

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[1] Toby Morantz, *An Ethnohistoric Study of Eastern James Bay Cree Social Organization, 1700-1850,* Canadian Ethnology Service, Mercury Series, Paper No. 88 (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1983), p. 66.

Other variants of Quappakay's name include: Quappakey, Quapikay (William Weigand & James Morrison interviewed by John Driver), Quappacai (Nicol Finlayson HBC), Quabiga (John Driver). Other names referring to him include: Kapsowgan (Billy Isaac) and Kaapischaaukuu (George Diamond).

[2] Asked if Quappakay was a *mitew*, Cree elder John Dick replied: "Yes, up to his eyes in it." John Dick, "Hannah Bay Massacre," interview by John M. Cooper with the assistance of interpreter Willie McLeod, Moose Factory, Ontario, 1935, excerpt from John M. Cooper, "1934 Field notes," pp. 575-585 (field notes in the possession of Regina Flannery, Catholic University of America), cited in: John S. Long, "'Shaganash': Early Protestant Missionaries and the Adoption of Christianity by the Western James Bay Cree, 1840-1893" (Ph.D. dissertation, OISE, University of Toronto, 1986), "Appendix," p. 3. (This "Appendix" is not attached to the copy of Long's thesis held at OISE: he himself provided me with a copy.) Other Cree and non-Cree sources, cited subsequently, also agree with Dick on this point.

[3] Morantz, *Ethnohistoric Study*, p. 66. In the Rupert House District Report for 1827-28, Quappakay is listed as a principal Indian with 2 wives, 4 sons and two daughters. HBCA, B.186/e/6. [One of Quappakay's daughters, the wife of Tom Pipes, had passed away in 1826. Rupert House Journal, March 28, 1826, HBCA, B.186/a/30, 1825-26, fo. 20d.]

[4] Other spellings of their names include: Stacemow, Stacimai, Shentokish, Shantoquash, Sheutickush.

Quappakay, his sons Staicimau and Shaintoquaish, and his son-in-law Bolland had clearly long been regular participants in the socioeconomic activities in the vicinity of this Rupert House. This does not mean, however, that they were exclusively affiliated with it or the other Crees who frequented it. Evidence gleaned from the same Rupert House records, in fact, also situates Quappakay's hunting territory "considerably southwest" of this post (in the direction of Hannah Bay).[8] Likewise, in 1832, the writer of the Moose Factory HBC journal refers to Quappakay and his family as "a band of Rupert's House Indians," but he also acknowledges that they normally hunted southwest of this post, at "places ... along the coast from Hannah Bay Post to Ruperts House."[9] Furthermore, in his 1849 report on the "Hannah Bay massacre" James Anderson states that the "murderers ... remained much about the establishment of Rupert's House and were always employed by Beioley as his crew when travelling between Ruperts Ho[use] and M.F. & I believe that they all spoke English – in the autumn of 1831 I conversed several times with one of them."[10]

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[5] Morantz, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

[6] William Weigand, "Hannah Bay Massacre," interview by John Driver, Fort William (Thunder Bay, Ontario), June 1881, attached to letter to Dr. Robert Bell, May 3, 1899," Bell Papers, Lawrence Lande Collection, RBSC/MUL, p. 1. Weigand was working inland, but came to Rupert House during the winter of 1832, when Swanson was there with other men looking for the accused. Peter McKellar, "The Hannah Bay Massacre," manuscript attached to letter to Dr. Robert Bell, April 11, 1899, Bell Papers, Lawrence Lande Collection, RBSC/MUL, p. 1.

[7] John Blackned, interview by Richard Preston with assistance of interpreter, Willy Weistchee, Waskaganish, c. 1965, audio recording translated & transcribed by Gertie Murdoch, cited in: Richard Preston, *Cree Narrative: Expressing the Personal Meanings of Events*, Canadian Ethnology Service, Mercury Series, Paper No. 30 (Ottawa, National Museum of Man, 1975), 142. Note that "boss" is a translation of the term *ochimaw* (*okimaw*), a term still used in James Bay – regardless of whether or not one is an employee – to address the local Northern Stores (the successor of the HBC in northern Canadian communities) manager. The use of this term, however, is not necessarily meant to imply a manager-employee relationship. Thus, to avoid misunderstandings, I have added in brackets the phrase "their trader," having the same connotation as in "their barber," "their tailor" or "their dentist."

In the Harricanaw river basin, the use of the "y" dialect of Cree (spoken in Waskaganish) overlapped with the use of the "l" dialect (spoken in the Moose River basin) and the "r" dialect (originally spoken south of Hannah Bay). The Harricanaw river appears on an 18th century HBC map as the "Bread River." See: "Chart of part of Hudsons Bay and Rivers and Lakes falling into it, by Philip Turnor,'' insert in: *Journals of Samuel Hearne and Philip Turnor*, ed. J.B. Tyrrell (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1934). "Bread" is simply a translation of the "r" dialect Cree word "harrikanaaw." Its equivalent in the "l" dialect is "halikanaaw," and in the "y" dialect, "aykunaaw." See Scott & Morrison, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-42.

If he normally traded at Rupert House, Quappakay would have nevertheless considered himself free to go where he wished. Furthermore, given the location of his hunting grounds, Hannah Bay House was evidently at times the closer of the two posts, particularly during winter, when even "coasters" frequently moved further inland to trap and hunt.[11] Moreover, as a resource management strategy, a hunter like Quappakay would not always winter in the same area. He might even leave his own territory altogether and winter with a relative or friend some distance away (this was less likely to occur, however, once he had his own large family). In the early 19th century, for example, Quappakay sometimes wintered with Commochoppy and his brother Autawayham. As noted above, the latter's son Bolland married one of Quappakay's daughters and ended up wintering regularly with Quappakay.[12] As another example, Cree elder Kathleen Hardisty recalled that her grandparents normally hunted and trapped near Hannah Bay. The year when the incident occurred, however, they wintered with others at Missinaibi and only heard what happened after arriving in Moose Factory in the summer.[13]

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[8] See Toby Morantz' profile of Quappakay in Chapter IV of her study of the HBC records of the posts on the east coast of James Bay. *Op. cit.*, p. 64. Note that there are no records for Hannah Bay House to compare with those of Rupert House.

[9] Moose Factory Journal, January 23 & February 4, 1832. HBCA, B.135/a/137. The journal of Nicol Finlayson provides additional evidence that Quappakay knew well the coastline between Hannah Bay and Rupert House. On June 10, 1830, Finlayson left Moose Factory for the direction of Rupert House. He was one of two "passengers" traveling in three canoes with ten HBC men, and accompanied in a fourth canoe by a Cree guide named Saunders, and his son, who were to bring Finlayson to Eastmain. Rounding Ministikawatin Peninsula several days later, they found the coast "all blocked up with ice" as far as they could see. At 5 p.m. on the 14th, having encamped for the day, they were passed by "Quappacai." Finlayson writes: "it being half-flood [half-tide] we embarked and followed him through the ice to Black Bear Point where we encamped at 7 p.m." It is highly unlikely that ten HBC men (not including the two passengers) and two Cree guides from Moose Factory (all of whom had some knowledge of the area) would break camp to follow anyone unless they knew his knowledge of the area was better than theirs. *Northern Quebec and Labrador journals and correspondence, 1819-35*, ed. K.G. Davies & A.M. Johnson, Publications of the Hudson's Bay Record Society, No. 24 (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1963), pp. 101-102.

[10] James Anderson, "Hannah Bay Massacre," report sent with a letter to George Simpson, September 16, 1849, NAC, MG 19, A.29, Vol. 3, p. 68. In the summer of 1822, at least two trips to Moose Factory by Quappakay are recorded in the Rupert House journal (Rupert House Journal, July 1 and August 17, HBCA, B.186/a/26, fos. 6, 13.). On July 20, 1826 the factor at Rupert House writes: "Stacemow & Shantoquash came across From Ministickiwottoo. They brought nothing & say they can get no fish. Engaged them both as two of the hands to accompany me to Moose" (Rupert House Journal, July 20, 1826, HBCA, B.186/a/32, 1826-27, fo. 2d).

Even if Quappakay was more often closer to Rupert House, this would not necessarily rule out a trip to Hannah Bay House. It was an advantage to be able to access two posts. For example, if the "debt" (supplies purchased on credit) taken at one post was considered insufficient, one could seek additional debt at the other.[14]

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[11] Colin Scott & James Morrison, "The Quebec Cree Claim in the Hannah Bay/Harricanaw River Drainage in Ontario: Report of the Ontario Claim Research," Prepared for the Grand Council of the Crees of Quebec, (June, 1993), pp. 29-30. Moose Factory Journal, Sunday, October 30, 1831. HBCA, B.135/a/137: "Almost all the Indians came from the marshes, saying it was useless to remain any longer, as all the wild fowl had fled to the southward, but their principal motive is to get their advances, and set off to their wintering grounds - Olicketashish received his advances for the winter intending to leave here tomorrow." How far inland the coasters went depended on a variety of ecological factors. Moving further inland (southward) would have brought Quappakay closer to Hannah Bay House and further from Rupert House.

[12] Morantz, *Ethnohistoric*, pp. 64-65.

[13] Kathleen Hardisty, interview by Paul Rickard, Moose Factory, Ontario, Autumn, 1998 (transcript/translation provided by the interviewer), p. 3. The following additional example is drawn from the Rupert House Journal, April 18, 1870. HBCA : Minister, his brother and Jimmy Gun come to the post for provisions; "the former has been along with the Hannah Bay Indians this winter."

[14] For example, on April 14, 1860, the Rupert House journal reports that the "Hannah Bay Indian Tappaise, his wife & daughter arrived for a further supply of ammunition as he thinks the quantity he received at H. Bay will be insufficient." HBCA, B.186/a/91: 21. Although this example is

The official HBC records are therefore correct, but incomplete regarding post affiliation: Quappakay was primarily affiliated with Rupert House, but visited Hannah Bay House on occasion as well. This would also explain, to some extent, the discrepancy among the sources in regards to Quappakay's affiliation with Cree groups (which were very decentralised). HBC traders, as Morrison and Scott point out, "tended to define people who frequented a given post as members of *that* regional band – a definition that ignored native social flexibility and mobility." Moreover, "a native hunter might frequently trade at a post – sometimes over an extended period of time – whose main clientele came from another band."[15] Weigand and Blackned may thus be correct in associating Quappakay with a Cree band[16] from Hannah Bay rather than one from the Rupert House area with which the HBC associated him. This scenario would also be easier to reconcile with the idea that Quappakay was originally from the Abitibi area.

If Quappakay was born in the Abitibi region, as Fred Close was told, he could have inherited a hunting territory in the Hannah Bay area.[17] It was not uncommon for a man to leave his father's hunting territory and begin hunting with his father-in-law: this was the case with Quappakay's own son-in-law Bolland. Moreover, fur trade records show that hunters had long been moving up and down the Harricanaw watershed between Abitibi Lake posts (both NWC and HBC) and Hannah Bay House.[18] This scenario would certainly account for Quappakay speaking a different

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from 1860, it must be noted that the post at Hannah Bay in 1860 was of similar proportions to the one manned by Corrigal in 1832.

[15] Scott & Morrison, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

[16] This use of "band" is not in reference to an organized structure (like contemporary Indian Bands as defined by the Indian Act), but to an informal, and very loosely organized group of hunters and their families.

[17] He was also told that Quappakay traded there at one point. Fred Close, personal communication, July, 1999.

[18] Morantz, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-67; and "Report of the Ontario Land Claims Research Project, Phase I," Prepared for the Grand Council of the Crees of Quebec, March 31, 1985, pp. 17, 47-53, 68-69. See map [copy of map 15 in Scott & Morrison: "Regional Canoe Route and Portage Network Used by Rupert House Band Members in this Century."]

dialect of Cree than that spoken at Rupert House. It would also explain why John Blackned heard that Quappakay had been "hunting up the Hannah Bay River" (south towards Abitibi) the winter the conflict occurred: he could have been visiting relatives.[19]

However, George Diamond says that "there were people from Eastmain who were related to him [Quappakay]. And here in Waskaganish is William Katapatuk; they must have been related. That was when it was kept secret. But I will tell of what I've heard. When . . . [Quappakay's] relatives were searched for, the people were told if they did it again, all of them would be killed." George's wife Louise adds that the posse asked Quappakay's wife, "'Where are the relatives?' . . . And the posse looked for people that could be related to the woman. There were some people from Waskaganish that were related to them, but [they] never mentioned who those people were. They hid everything." As Louise explains, "They were afraid that if the others found out who . . . [Quappakay] was related to, something would happen to them."[20]

It is certainly possible to reconcile many of the discrepancies noted above. Quappakay could easily have had relatives and in-laws both in the Abitibi area and in East Main and Waskaganish. Yet there may be a simpler explanation. As Scott and Morrison point out, there is also a "'distancing' going on": nobody wants to be associated with the people who resorted to violence at Hannah Bay in 1832. This may better explain why John Blackned (of Waskaganish) referred to the accused family as "Moose Indians," and John Dick (of Moose Factory) said they were "Really Eastmain and Rupert's House Indians."[21]

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[19] Blackned, in: Preston, *op. cit.*, p. 144. Regarding the question of dialect differences, see footnote 6 above.

[20] George & Louise Diamond, "The Hannah Bay Massacre," interview by Christopher Stephen, translated by Brian Webb, published in *the Nation*, January 15, 1999, p. 13; and interview by Paul Rickard, Waskaganish, Quebec, November 5-6, 1998 (transcript/translation provided by the interviewer), pp. 4-5.

The available evidence is inadequate to determine where Quappakay was from originally, but one can be certain that Quappakay was hunting in the Ministikawatin Peninsula in January of 1832 when the conflict occurred.[22] Before rejoining his sons there, however, Quappakay seems to have sought debt at Hannah Bay House in the fall of 1831, where he and Corrigal had a disagreement. We learn this from the accounts of William Weigand and James Morrison. Although they agree on this point, however, their assessments of Quappakay's character are very different.[23]

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[21]. Scott & Morrison, *op. cit.*, p. 142. Blackned, in Preston, *op. cit.*, p. 145. Dick, "Hannah Bay Massacre," p. 4. He adds: "A whole crowd of them who used [?] to kill one another before. It took so many shots to kill them because they were living on human flesh."

[22] When he and his family went to Hannah Bay in January, they approached from East Point, walking along the shore. William Swanson writes: "Saw tracks at the east point and at the large willows, of Indians proceeding towards Hannah Bay. They had evidently passed during the mild weather previous to the 23rd. Visited the places where Quapecay and family usually tent, there were no signs of their having been recently at any one of them." William Swanson, "Narrative of the proceedings of a party of 11 men under the command of Mr. William Swanson, sent off to Hannah Bay ...," January 28, 1832, transcribed in the Moose Factory Journal, HBCA, B135/a/138: 2d.

[23] Weigand, "Hannah Bay Massacre," p. 1; James Morrison, interview by John Driver, Moose Factory, Ontario, 1881, attached to letter to Dr. Robert Bell, May 3, 1899," Bell Papers, Lawrence Lande Collection, RBSC/MUL, p. 1. Regarding Quappakay requesting debt at Hannah Bay House, Weigand and Morrison seem to concur with the Rupert House Journal. While listing the names of many hunters, including Quappakay's sons, who obtained debt there in the fall of 1831, the post journal makes no mention of Quappakay obtaining debt or participating in the fall goose hunt. According to Toby Morantz' excerpts [which recorded all mentions of proper names] from the Rupert House Journal, the following references are made to Quappakay and his sons and son-in-law in the summer and fall of 1831. "In the evening Quappakay & Staicimau came across from Ministickiwotton but brought nothing [July 24] . . . Staicimau and Bolland with their wives and families came in but brought nothing [Aug. 20] . . . Quappakay and Shaintoquaish with their wives & families arrived in the course of the day [Aug. 21] . . . Shaintoquaish & Bolland came from the Westward & brought 2 otter and 12 martin skins. They were furnished with a few articles they said they required for the further prosecution of their hunt [Dec. 12]." Morantz sums up the fall months by saying that the "Hunting Indians include Governor, Misquapao, Tom Pipes, Mutchituay, Cockajinnis, Cawaiskum, Coopaun, Eshcokaupo, Bolland, Staicimau, Artawayham, Poppashikai & Nabowisho. About mid–Oct. they come in for the last time with geese, take debt & depart." Thus, no mention seems to have been made of Quappakay taking debt at Rupert House in the fall of 1831 (HBCA, B.186/a/45: 12-26). (This data has yet to be checked in the Rupert House records themselves, and as Morantz points out, Quappakay's sons might have taken debt for him.) Moreover, if Quappakay was

At Hannah Bay, says Weigand, Quappakay "had some words with Mr. Corrigal . . . so that the chief Quapikay went away to his hunting grounds and found his four sons there with Betilewater, their uncil [uncle] so Quapikay and his Brother immediately began to consider how they would have thir Reveng on Corrigal."[24] In this account, Weigand does not attempt to explain the nature of the autumn confrontation between Corrigal and Quappakay. In 1899, almost 20 years after Weigand gave this version of the story, he, his son and his half-nephew were interviewed by Peter McKellar. In this instance, not only do they leave the autumn confrontation at Hannah Bay House unexplained, they do not even mention it. Moreover, instead of revenge, even more chilling motives are attributed to Quappakay. McKellar summarizes: "It seems that a family of Indians at Hannah Bay developed a scheme to kill all the white people in the vicinity of James Bay. They consisted of seven Indians - Stissimow, the murderer of Big Lake; his father Quabiga [list continues]. . ." Stissimow (Staicimau) is listed first here, because as a prologue to what happened at Hannah Bay, the Weigands first informed McKellar of the "murder" of William's half-sister at Big Lake (Lake Evans). McKellar reports that the "trouble [which escalated into the Hannah Bay massacre (this is what is implied)] originated at a small H.B.Co. post at Big Lake, about 180 miles to the east of Rupert House."[25]

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the one with whom Anderson conversed at Moose Factory in the autumn of 1831 (and the evidence above best supports this option), it would make sense to get supplies at Hannah Bay before returning to his hunting grounds in Ministikawatin. This would allow him to avoid the two inconvenient options remaining: seeking debt at Moose Factory (which meant carrying an extra load the distance from Moose Factory to Hannah Bay) or at Rupert House (which meant a lengthy detour before returning westward to rejoin his sons).

[24] Weigand, "Hannah Bay Massacre," pp. 2-3. The uncle is not mentioned in any of the other sources.

[25] McKellar, "Hannah Bay Massacre," pp. 5 & 3. Weigand initially described Swanson's wife as his sister, but later explained to McKellar that she and Thomas Weigand were really half-siblings of his. They had a Cree mother, he had a "halfbreed" mother. McKellar to Robert Bell, May 26, 1899, Bell Papers, Lawrence Lande Collection, RBSC/MUL, p. 1.

### *The Big Lake Incident: Staicimau and Shaintoquaish*

Because it shows the importance of the socioeconomic contract between the Crees and the HBC (and the participation of Quappakay's family in this contract) and reveals the ties between the perpetrators of the attack and the members of the posse sent to punish them, the Big Lake incident is an important subplot of Washaw conflict.

On September 10, 1817, several HBC men, including Henry Swanson (William Swanson's brother) and his wife (Weigand's half-sister), left Rupert House to set up a new inland outpost in opposition to the NWC post at Waswanipi Lake. They were officially led by John Pitt Greely (and unofficially, by a Cree guide). Greeley had earlier offered his services for this purpose to Joseph Beioley (then at Moose Factory).[26] They travelled with another party "up the Rupert River to Namiska Lake. It seems they were having a good time while together and took [a] much longer time than they should [have]. When they separated, the Greely party went south and the other N.E." Yet an early cold front froze their water route solid by the 24th of October. Greely and his group were thus forced to establish themselves for the winter some distance from their planned destination. Hastily building a log cabin, they set their nets and hooks, for they had been able to bring food for the journey alone (supplies had been low in James Bay when they left, because the HBC supply ships had been forced by another early cold front to pass the winter of 1816-17 in James Bay).[27]

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[26] K.G. Davies & A.M. Johnson, eds., "Appendix A," *Northern Quebec and Labrador journals and correspondence, 1819-35*, Publications of the Hudson's Bay Record Society, No. 24 (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1963), p. 318. The dependence of the HBC on the Cree for travel is illustrated by the following excerpts from letters written by Corrigal at Hannah Bay to Beioley at Moose Factory. "As there are no Indians at the house at present I can give no information with regard to Waswonaby but the next time you send [supplies, mail, etc.] I will be able to send you a good deal of information [.] the Indians have already told me that the route by water is very hard but by land it is not bad nor far, only 10 nights from this house" (letter written on February 19, 1919). "I expect Taucheesh in everyday and then I think I shall be able to procure any requisite information respecting Waswanoby, the above Indian being in the habit of going to that place very often" (letter received at Moose Factory on February 25, 1919). Moose Factory Journal, HBCA, B.135/a/114.

On the 6th of November, writes Greely in his last letter to Beioley,

> the river and lake . . . began to break owing to the heavy fall of rain, the river is now entirely open and a considerable part of the lake. All our hooks, about 60 that was in the river are carried off and those in the lake we cannot get. We have not been able to get any supply from either hooks or nets for eight days. We are obliged to live entirely on flour [their stock of which had been reduced to 150 lbs]. If the fishing proves good after the river sets fast as it was for a short time before it opened I shall be able to lay up a stock to carry us to Woswonnuppy in the spring . . . I do not wish to retreat to the Bay if I can avoid it.

This letter and a letter to Andrew Moar at Rupert House were delivered by Nabbowisho, one of two Cree men who had been engaged to guide the trade expedition. Since these letters "expressed a confidence that was hardly justified considering his low stock of provisions and the inexperience of his men," Alexander Christie (at Rupert House), in his own words, was "under no apprehension for their safety" and expected to be able to send sufficient supplies to get them through the winter and on to Waswanipi in the spring.[28]

It took Christie some time to find a Cree hunter who knew the route and was available to bring supplies to Greely and his companions. On February 23, Staicimau (spelt "Stacemow") and his wife left Rupert House with this very mission. Arriving at the camp, however, they found only the half-sister of William Weigand alive (her husband [Henry Swanson], Greely and another man named Simon Corston had starved to death, and the remaining three had left the camp earlier). Stacemow and his wife began the trip back with the woman, but he killed her before reaching Rupert House, where, upon arriving, he reported to Christie that, being deranged, the woman had refused to eat the food he provided, and that he had killed her in self-defence. Christie later commented that he did not think the woman had been insane; yet knowing that the Crees would kill even their closest relatives "when they know of their having been reduced to the dreadful necessity of eating human flesh," he did not pursue the matter further.[29]

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[27] McKellar to Bell, May 26, 1899, p. 2. They wintered on the "south side of the narrows on the East side of the Lake [Big Lake/Lake Evans] at Mount Hugh." *Ibid.*, p. 1. Regarding the supply ships, see: Davies & Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 320-321.

At the end of March, Christie sent several HBC servants with Staicimau's brother Shaintoquaish (spelt "Sheutickush) to find Peter White, his wife and William Laughton, who had left the camp at Big Lake prior to Staicimau's trip there. They soon discovered that White had starved to death in his tent and Laughton had been killed by Amoshish, a Cree hunter who had initially been sheltering Laughton. Laughton, however, had gone to the Big Lake camp in March to get rum and tobacco and Amoshish had followed him when he did not return quickly. "Amoshish," explains Christie, "found … Laughton by himself, at the same time observing that Laughton had been subsisting upon human flesh, he through a superstitious fear, unhappily deprived him of life." Another Cree named Camitchesit later told Christie that he had initially helped Greely with provisions and in mid-January attempted to convince him to be guided to the coast or to spend the rest of the winter with him. Greely, however, had refused both offers.[30]

The Cree who had come in contact with the starving HBC servants clearly attempted to help them as best they could. However, by subsisting on human flesh Laughton and Mrs. Swanson had become *wiitikowak* in Amoshish and Staicimau's eyes. Christie does not show signs of doubting their sincerity on either count. Moreover, William Weigand himself later told McKellar that Staicimau's wife had reported that "Mrs. Swanson, when unable to get rabbits, cut a slice of the flesh of

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[29] Alexander Christie, cited in: Davies & Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 321.

[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 321-322.

[the] dead men." "This accounts," he explains, "for the Indian thinking she was dangerous."[31]

Yet Weigand offered McKellar this explanation a month after first recounting the story of the Hannah Bay "massacre" with much less understanding for the "murderer" of his half-sister. Providing an objective account of this conflict was simply much more of a challenge for Weigand than it was for Morrison, whose family was not touched by the story in any way similar to the Weigand family. Weigand was ready to believe Quappakay, like Staicimau, was at fault, while Morrison put the blame on Corrigal.

## WILLIAM CORRIGAL

In contrast to the Weigand accounts, James Morrison's version gives a specific explanation for the origin of the Hannah Bay conflict. He notes that in the fall of 1831 "Quapikay went to get his suplies for the winter's hunt as they all do," but "Mr. Corrigal would not give him all he . . . needed for the winter and from one word to another chief Quapikay went of[f] to his hunting grounds unsatisfyed." Moreover, Morrison does not say that Quapikay immediately began plotting revenge. Instead, he blames Corrigal's roughness and his breach of the accepted socioeconomic norms: Mr. William Corrigal came from the Orkney islands and was [a] very over bearing man [.] [H]e was very shrod [shrewd] and r[o]ugh with the indians [.] [H]is highspirited rughniss cost him his life at Hannah Bay Post ... the indians ware not to blam[e] so much as hisself [.] [H]ad he treated the chief Quapikay kindley it would not have hapned."[32] This judgement of Corrigal's character is supported by other sources.

William Corrigal was an Orkneyman who first entered the Company's service in 1794 at the age of twenty. He began his fur trade career in the Albany district, where he soon became an inland trader and then postmaster. Competition with the NWC was so intense at the time that the HBC traders were forced to withdraw from the area south of the Lake Sanderson region in 1806, after John Haldane, a Norwester, attacked and looted their outposts, including one manned by Corrigal. The fact that John Hodgson, chief factor at Albany Fort, then ordered Corrigal to re-establish a Company post in the area three years later, reflects his assessment of Corrigal's character: not just anybody could handle the foes whom Hodgson characterized as "a set of abandoned wretches who stick at nothing short of murder."

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[31] McKellar to Bell, May 26, 1899, p. 2.

[32] James Morrison, *op. cit.*, p. 1-2.

Soon after setting up a post at Eagle Lake, Corrigal and his men were confronted by a force of Nor'Westers led by Aeneas Macdonell. He had been sent by Haldane, in Corrigal's words, to "spill blood." An argument began when Macdonell and another Nor'Wester tried to force an Indian to go to the NWC post; he had just acquired debt at the HBC post. According to James Tate, an HBC servant who kept a journal of the whole affair, Corrigal told Macdonell "that he should not take away the canoe, but give him his goods and he might make of the Indian whatever he pleased." Macdonell refused to leave the canoe alone, and a fight broke out in which several people were injured before John Mowat, a lame HBC servant, abruptly ended it by shooting Macdonell who was attempting to run him through with his sword. Little more than a week after Macdonell's death, Haldane and another NWC trader named Archibald McLellan arrived with a large armed force and demanded that the "murderer" be handed over. Mowat spent the winter at the NWC post with fellow servants James Tate and Robert Leask, who accompanied Mowat as witnesses. Corrigal replaced Leask the following May, and upon being brought to Montreal, they were tried, but acquitted (except for Mowat, who was charged with manslaughter, but served merely six months in prison).[33]

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[33] Eagle Lake is now named Moar Lake. HBCA Search File: "Corrigal, William (b. ca. 1774-1832) (fl.1794-1832)." Victor P. Lytwyn, *The Fur Trade of the Little North: Indians, Pedlars, and Englishmen East of Lake Winnipeg, 1760-1821* (Winnipeg: Rupert's Land Research Centre, University of Winnipeg, 1986), pp. 112, 126. Glyndwr Williams, ed. & James Tate, "James Tate's

After being acquitted, Corrigal returned first to England, and then to the Albany district after receiving compensation from the Company. He worked in Albany Factory as a clerk for two years before being sent to Hannah Bay House in the Moose district in 1814, a transfer that would prove to be his last.[34]

Although it was more tranquil at Hannah Bay, the Nor'Westers at Abitibi nevertheless provided significant competition. The following excerpts from Corrigal's correspondence with the factor at Moose Factory reveal the mobility of the Hannah Bay and Abitibi Cree, and their ability to benefit from the competition (it also provides supporting evidence for the possibility of Quappakay originating from Abitibi). The story of Nanashis and his son is particularly interesting.

On September 2, 1818, Joseph Beioley at Moose Factory sent a letter to Corrigal, advising him: if the "Abbitibbi Indians visit you, do not trust them with much debt but trade liberally with them for what furs they bring you as near as possible to the standard at which they are traded with at Abbitibbi . . . [use] articles which are cheap with us and abundant [expensive?] with the N.W. Hs [house]." On Oct. 18, Corrigal wrote back:

> you will . . . see by the inclosed list [not included in the journal] of Abbitibbi Indians what Furs they brought and what goods they got for their Furs. The rest of the furs I got from Nanashis and Wintipaeggan in part payment of their debts. I traded with the Abbitibbi Indians much the same as with the Indians of Hannah Bay, making them a few presents of Tobacco, Knives, Steels with a little Oatmeal, Rum . . . all which except the Rum they pay for at Abbitibbi as they tell me themselves[.] [I]f you wish me to trade with them in any other manner have the goodness to tell me, but they seem to be pleased with [the] above especially as they get from us twice as much powder and shot for one Beaver skin as they get at Abbitibbi[.] [A]nother Abbitibbi Indian arrived this evening with three whole and 2 half Beavers skins. these he has traded for powder and shot and he means to go hunt geese tomorrow. I am at a loss for his name till some of the Indians who can acquaint me come in. The report you have heard of Nanashis going to the Canadians [Nor'Westers] I do not think is

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Journal, 1809-12," *Hudson's Bay Miscellany* (Winnipeg: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1975), pp. 97-105, 108.

[34] HBCA, Search File: "Corrigal, William"; Williams, *op. cit.*, footnote 3, p. 99.

> correct [.] [A]t any rate he appears well pleased, but however I shall take all the care I can to prevent the Indians going to the Canadians. Muscoweito is with his sister, Nanashis son's wife, and hardly ever comes near me. [I]t is indeed out of my power to get him off but he shall get nothing here . . . I hope this year will be a good year for furs as I am informed by the Indians there are a great many tracks to be seen along the coast. All the Ab[itibi] Indians whose names are on the enclosed list are to be here either in the winter or soon in the spring.

Corrigal wrote again on February 1, 1819:

> Tishaway, Nanashis and Wintipoeggan arrived last evening [.] [T]hey all three have brought a few furs, but nothing near their debts. Nanashis' son went up the river the 1st of last November and on the 13th of the same sent down his two oldest wives and 7 children telling them to stay at the house till he went inland and took a few beaver houses he saw in the summer and that he would be away only about 1 month and a half. I have had to keep them ever since, and no word of him as yet. I am sadly afraid he has gone to the Canadians Hs [House.] [W]hen he went away he was supplied with every thing he wanted, and he and I had no disputes whatever.[35]

Beioley responded on February 15: "I hope to hear your apprehensions respecting Nanashis' son have proved unfounded and that he has taken the advantage of his being uncumbered with the maintenance of the greater part of his family by his having them at our House and exert himself and procure a good quantity of furs." Corrigal's reply arrived four days later: "Nanashis' son arrived last Saturday the 13th [.] he brought only about 28 MB most of which however is beaver skins. I think from what I could learn he has still a few skins at his tent which I have sent my woman and Jacob for them." (They returned later, bringing "7 MBr skins 7 martins and 12 lbs venison from Nanashis sons tent.")[36]

Corrigal had a Cree (or native) wife and a son, Jacob, who helped him at the post.[37] They were involved in the incident described below, an incident that illustrates the difficulty of assessing Corrigal's character. On June 16, 1819, Corrigal wrote the following letter to Beioley at Moose Factory:

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[35] Moose Factory Journal, February 1, 1819, HBCA, B.135/a/119a.

[36] *Ibid.*

[37] "My woman sends a few furs to pay the debt she took from you the last time she was at the factory." Corrigal to Beioley, transcribed in Moose Factory Journal, April 19, 1819, HBCA, B.135/a/119a. Once Corrigal's death is known in Rupert House, John and Jacob Corrigal, stationed by this time at Rupert House, are regularly mentioned in the Rupert House Journal. Patrick Doran

> I am sorry to inform you that there has been no goose hunt at this place this spring [.] I was obliged to almost feed the Indians during the Hunt. They were all very willing to hunt but there were no geese. . . . the Indians are all inland now hunting and will be down in 10 or 12 days if they have any success. I have seen no Abbitibbi Indians yet but I still expect them every day. Last Sunday about 12 o'clock Jacob was about a quarter of a mile from the House along the bank of the river below the House and on his coming out of the willows he saw an Indian man and a woman standing a little from him[.] [O]n the Indian seeing Jacob he came running towards Jacob with his gun in his hand: when Jacob saw that and not knowing the Indian he turned round and came off for home. [A]nd when within 60 yards of Jacob the Indian fired his gun and shot through Jacobs hat, as soon as he saw that the shot was fired at him he turned round and fired at the Indian and loaded his gun again as fast as he could but however the Indian set off as fast as he could he and his wife ran to their canoe, got into it and went across the river as fast as they could. We have heard nothing of them since. Their canoe is as black as it can be, and straight like a stick from one end to the other. Since then my woman is so affrighted that I cannot get her to set a net and I can't go from the house and the boy cannot set a net by himself[.] Jacob says that he is sure that that Indian never was at this house since we came here first[.] I do not think he will come back again.[38]

Corrigal notes how he supported the Crees who came in for the goose hunt. Moreover, it is not the only incident that clearly shows his recognition of the

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points out that one can infer from the nature of the references that the author of the journal was concerned about how they were coping with the death of William Corrigal. One entry notes that Jacob is "in company with two Indian women." Cited in Patrick Doran, "Preliminary Investigations into the Narratives of the Hannah Bay Massacre: 1832," ed. Richard Preston (unpublished manuscript, Fall 1973). As Doran points out, this leads one to believe that they are his sons. *Ibid.*, p. 42. Jacob Corrigal junr is said to be a "resident at Hannah Bay" Moose Factory Journal, September 17, 1818, HBCA, B.135/a/119a. He is referred to as Jacob Corrigal *junr*, in order to distinguish him from the other Jacob Corrigal in the department, the Chief Trader at Albany, and not because he was the latter's son. The HBCA Search File for William Corrigal confirms that he had a son named Jacob. Moreover, James Anderson notes that while he and others had executed the accused men at their camps in April, "Jacob Corrigal (one of Mr. B[eioley]'s men) had selected all the property which belonged to his late father ..." James Anderson, "Hannah Bay Massacre: Journal of an Expedition to punish the Murderers of Mr. and Mrs. Corrigal and eight other individuals," appended to a report on the "Hannah Bay Massacre" sent with a letter to George Simpson, September 16, 1849, NAC, MG 19, A.29, Vol. 3, p. 74.

[38] Letter transcribed in the Moose Factory Journal, June 17, 1819, HBCA, B.135/a/119a. The account of the canoe being black and straight as a stick makes one question the accuracy of the account.

socioeconomic contract.[39] Yet the attack on Jacob leaves one wondering if his father had ever breached this contract before.

After 1821, it certainly became easier for Corrigal to interpret the socioeconomic norms in his favour. The HBC presence at Hannah Bay House had commenced with little more than a seasonal goose tent in the 1700s and had slowly grown into a small outpost (always dependent on Moose Factory). With the merger of the two rival companies, Moose Factory became the headquarters of the HBC's newly-formed Southern Department, and Rupert House also grew in importance. The post at Abitibi completed the triangle of larger HBC posts that sheltered and strengthened Hannah Bay House.[40]

## JOHN GEORGE MCTAVISH

In 1832, the chief factor at Moose Factory, the most important of these posts, was John George McTavish. Born in Scotland, McTavish was recruited by Simon McTavish (a distant relative of his) to the NWC in 1798 at the age of about 20, and was promoted to partnership in 1813. He first went to James Bay in 1803, when the NWC attempted to establish coastal posts there. Placed in charge of Fort St. Andrews, a storage depot on Charlton Island, he also frequented the other posts, particularly the one set up on Hayes Island (near Moose Factory).[41] He wrote to his brother at this time, "You'll no doubt be surprised to hear that we are armed to force our ways but I can assure you that now in this country we are almost obliged to fight for every skin we get from an Indian with the other Traders."[42] Yet in spite of this fairly accurate statement, competition at Moose River was peaceful enough for McTavish to be able to marry Charlotte Thomas, daughter of HBC factor John Thomas and his Cree wife. In 1806, however, McTavish retreated with the Nor'Westers to Montreal, abandoning a distraught Charlotte. During the three years he had spent in James Bay, McTavish had certainly come to know many of the *okimawak* of the area, including, perhaps, Quappakay.[43]

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[39] See: Moose Factory Journal, January 4, 1817, HBCA, B.135/a/114; April 19, 1819, HBCA, B.135/a/119a.

[40] John S. Long & Cecil Chabot, "Some Historical Sites Near Wa-sh-ow James Bay Wilderness Centre: Final Report to Moose Cree First Nation (unpublished report, December 30, 1999), pp. 14-17. Even in 1829, the HBC establishment at Hannah Bay is described as the "Hannah Bay Goose tent." Moose Factory Journal, October 3, 1829, HBCA, B.135/a/134.

[41] Jean Morrison, ed., *The North West Company in Rebellion: Simon McGillivray's Fort William Notebook, 1815* (Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society, 1988), p. 50. Sylvia Van Kirk, "McTavish (Mactavish), John George," *The Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. VII, 1836-1850*, ed. Francess G. Halpenny & Jean Hamelin (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), pp. 577-578. Daniel Francis & Toby Morantz, *Partners in Furs: A History of the Fur Trade in Eastern James Bay: 1600-1870* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1983), pp. 107-110.

McTavish then spent over a decade in the what is now British Columbia, where he played an important role in the NWC. Around 1813 he married Nancy McKenzie, whose father, Nor'wester Roderick McKenzie, had placed her under the care of the New Caledonia trader, John Stuart. Together, Matooskie (Nancy's Cree name) and McTavish would eventually have at least six daughters.[44]

In 1818, McTavish was arrested at Grand Rapids (in present-day Manitoba) by William Williams, the HBC Governor, as a result of frictions between the two companies. Brought first to York Factory, he was then taken to England for trial. These proceedings "came to nothing" however, and in 1820, McTavish returned to Montreal on the same ship as the HBC's future Governor-in-Chief of Rupert's Land, George Simpson (who had just signed on with the HBC). The two became friends and at the 1821 merger of the NWC and the HBC, McTavish became a chief factor. Simpson, now governor of the Northern Department, placed McTavish (who was still married to Matooskie) in charge of his principal depot, York Factory. In 1824,

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[42] Cited in: Francis & Morantz, *Ibid.*, pp. 107-108.

[43] Van Kirk, *op. cit.*, pp. 577-578. Francis & Morantz, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-110.

[44] Van Kirk, *op. cit.*, & "Women and the Fur Trade," *The Beaver* (Winter 1972), p. 14.

McTavish was appointed to preside over the Northern council (meeting of chief factors and traders for the Northern Department) in the case of Simpson's absence.[45]

Then came an abrupt change to McTavish' work and family life. On a trip to Scotland in 1830, both he and Simpson decided to abandon their wives and espouse anew.[46] McTavish sailed to Montreal with his new wife, Catherine A. Turner, but instead of returning from there to York Factory, he went to Moose Factory. He was thus able to have someone else inform Matooskie (for whom Simpson soon arranged a new marriage) of the change. Moreover, he was also able to escape the accusations of cruelty and drunkenness that he had now provoked at York Factory (where he had already been unpopular even before his betrayal of the well-liked Matooskie). This demotion to the headquarters of the smaller Southern Department was a favour from Simpson, whose higher rank shielded him from the open criticism that McTavish was now bearing for both of them.[47]. Referring to his new position at Moose Factory, McTavish confided to a friend: "I owe it all to Geordy."[48]

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[45] Van Kirk, "McTavish," pp. 577-578. George Simpson would become Governor-in-Chief of Rupert's Land in 1839. Peter C. Newman, *Company of Adventurers*, Vol. 2 (Toronto: Penguin Books, 1985), p. 507.

[46] Simpson wrote in a letter to McTavish: "I see you are something like myself, shy with the fair, we should not be so much so with the Browns . . . muster courage 'a faint heart never won a fair lady'." ... [and added] "Let me know if you have any fair cousin or acquaintance likely to suit an invalid like me . . ." Van Kirk, "Women," p. 14.

[47] Van Kirk, "McTavish," p. #, and "Women," pp. 15-18. Simpson referred to his Native lovers in letters to McTavish using such phrases as "The commodity," and "an unnecessary & expensive appendage." Ibid., pp. 11-13. Fur trade historian Irene Spry notes that "His sex-object attitude to women was largely responsible for the breakdown of marriage *à la façon du pays*, which was a humanly decent type of relationship. He created a total dislocation in what had been a perfectly valid type of society." Cited in: Newman, *op. cit.*, p. 347. The fact that Simpson was open with McTavish about his attitudes also says much about McTavish' attitudes. Donald McKenzie (who had already abandoned his own wife) heavily criticized McTavish, as did John Stuart, who reprimanded him in a letter: "what could be your aim in discarding her whom you . . . had for 17 Years with you. She was the Wife of your choice and has born you seven Children, now Stigmatized with ignominy . . . if with a view to domestick [sic] happiness you have thus actued [sic], I fear the Aim has been Missed and that remorse will be your portion for life . . . I will never become your enemy, but . . . I think it is as well . . . our correspondence may cease." Even James Hargrave, who married McTavish's niece Letitia, and who disapproved of country marriages, felt great sympathy for Matooskie. He wrote, after she was told McTavish would not be returning, that the "first blow was

Yet in Moose Factory, McTavish's refusal to allow Cree or Native women to associate with his Scottish bride quickly brought friction to his relationships with the other officers. Again, Simpson supported his friend, to whom he wrote: "I . . . understand that the other Ladies at Moose are violent and indignant at being kept at such a distance, likewise their husbands, the Young Gladmans particularly . . . The greater distance at which they are kept the better."[49] Friction was not limited, however, to social relationships. On October 27, 1831, George Gladman Jr. reported the following event in Moose Factory journal:

> . . . a fresh breeze from the South - 21 below the freezing point this morning but 5 above during the day - the shipwright finished . . . all employd shipping cargo on board that vessel for Albany. after the shipment was completed the crew of the Union _ viz _ T. Weigand, J Brown, Philip Turnor, Andrew Linklater, Magnus Harvey, & W. Johnston deserted the vessel refusing to sail in her on account of her crazy condition. Mr. Chief Factor John George McTavish ordered them out of the mens House, and discharged them as mutinous servants (except Willm Johnston) they immediately took their baggage out of the mens dwelling and went to take their abode up in the woods.[50]

In 1832, however, Simpson wrote to McTavish to caution him about his temper: "Let us entreat that you keep temper and do not allow yourself be drawn into altercation wt any of those who may be there; you can gain neither honor nor glory by quarrelling wt them but can twist them round your finger by setting about it properly."[51] It is from Simpson's 1832 "Character Book" (meant only for his use) that we get the most concise and revealing assessment of his friend, whom he describes as

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dreadful to witness . . . but the poor girl here bears up wonderfully & is fast acquiring resignation." Cited in: Van Kirk, "Women," p. 16.

[48] Cited in: Newman, *op. cit.*, p. 353.

[49] Cited in Van Kirk, "Women," p. 21.

[50] HBCA, B.135/a/137. Gladman's sympathy clearly did not lie with McTavish. He does not write "discharged the mutinous servants," but "discharged them *as* mutinous servants"; likewise he writes "on account of her crazy condition," rather than a more neutral phrase like "claiming she was in bad shape."

[51] Cited in: Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

> . . . the most finished man of business we had [note the past tense] in the Country, well Educated, respectably connected and more of the Man of the World in his conversation and address than any of his colleagues. A good hearted Man and generous to extravagance, but unnecessarily dignified and high minded which leads to frequent difficulties with his associates by whom he is considered a "Shylock" and upon many of whom he looks down; rather strong in his prejudices against, and partialities for individuals, which frequently influences his judgement, so that his opinions on men and things must be listened to with caution: is about 54 Years of Age, has of late Years become very heavey unwieldy and inactive; over fond of good living and I must fear is getting into habits of conviviality and intemperance."[52]

## JOSEPH BEIOLEY

Originally from Essex, England, Beioley joined the HBC in 1800, when he was about 15 years old. He was the trader at Moose Fort for a number of years. In 1821, he became a chief factor, and from 1822 to 1835, he supervised the Rupert River District.[53] In contrast to McTavish, Beioley seems to have had a very good relationship with the Crees of his district (starting with his wife), whose socioeconomic norms he seems to have understood well.[54]

In the winter of 1831-32, Joseph Beioley became embroiled in heated arguments with McTavish. Despite Simpson's awareness of McTavish's shortcomings, he sided with his friend, to whom he wrote in January 1832:

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[52] George Simpson, "Simpson's Character Book," *Hudson's Bay Miscellany*, p. 171. McTavish's generosity seems to have taken a predominantly financial form. Williams comments that "for a 'a man of business' McTavish seems to have been in serious personal financial difficulties at about this time." *Op. cit.*, p. 171, footnote 2. Edward Smith (also a friend of McTavish) wrote in 1834: "I never saw such a stout man as Mr. McTavish. He is corpulent in the extreme." Cited in: *ibid.*, p. 171, footnote 4.

[53] Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 177, footnote 4.

[54] The two following examples from the Rupert House Journal of 1831-32 show this: "Dec. 27 ... Cockajinnis & Saukootaiaibin with the 2 wives of Commachauppai (one of whom is lame & to remain at the post as usual for some years past) arrived with 1 beaver skin, 6 cross & silver fox, & 17 martin skins. They complain of scarcity of rabbits & partridges [He gives them provisions and they depart] ... Mar. 2 ... Sent John Moar with 4 dogs hauling Artawayham's wife on 2 sleds lashed together to Sherrick's Gutway to Artawayham's tent. This was done at her own request [the tent is 22 miles from the post]." HBCA, B.186/a/45: 26d & 33.

> I am perfectly amazed to learn that Beioley is such a vain silly body; I always took him for a man of decimals and thought him a little contracted in his ideas but that the creature could ape the exquisite or be capable of making himself and his bit of circulating copper so ridiculous is really astonishing. He is unquestionably a perfect model of oeconomy & good management in his district and clever in some respects -- a man of strict integrity & veracity likewise . . .[55]

This event is certainly the source of the only negative comment in Simpson's assessment of Beioley, made shortly thereafter in his "Character Book":

> About 50 Years of Age. A steady well conducted little man whose word can be depended upon; tolerably well educated, and particular and oeconomical in business to excess if possible, as his peculiarities in those respects adapt him better for operations on a contracted than an extend scale. He is not generally liked being considered vain touchy and vindictive, but I have always been most pleased with his whole demeanour conduct and management, and his strict integrity & veracity I think cover all his faults; in short, I consider him one of the most valuable members of the Fur Trade.[56]

Instead of "He is not generally like being considered vain touchy and vindictive" we should perhaps read "he did not like the attitude McTavish and I have towards Cree and Native women."[57]

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[55] Cited in: Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 178, footnote 2.

[56] *Op. cit.*, pp. 177-178.

[57] Note that in this 1832 "Character Book," Simpson's assessments of Donald McKenzie and John Stuart are extremely critical. This is clearly a result of the latters' criticism of McTavish (and implicitly, Simpson) for abandoning their country wives: in the 1820s, Simpson found both these men very praiseworthy. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

# PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SOURCES

## ARCHIVAL SOURCES

The archives consulted include: the National Archives of Canada (NAC); the Hudson's Bay Company Archives (HBCA, part of the Provincial Archives of Manitoba, with microfilm copies available at the NAC); the Archives of Ontario (AO); the United Church of Canada/Victoria University Archives (UCC/VUC) in Toronto; the Rare Books & Special Collections Division of McGill University Libraries (RBSCD/MUL); and the library of the Ojibway and Cree Cultural Centre in Timmins, Ontario (OCCC). With the exception of the HBCA Records listed here below, the archival sources are listed under one of the following sections, depending on whether they were directly or indirectly pertinent to the Washaw conflict.

It should be noted that there are still accounts of the Washaw conflict known to exist that have yet to be found,[58] and leads that have yet to be followed. In particular, an exhaustive examination of the HBC records could easily reveal more relevant sources; however, this is beyond the scope of an MA thesis. It should be noted, nonetheless, that the exhaustive research conducted by Toby Morantz on the records of HBC posts of Northern Quebec, has proven invaluable (she provided me with many of the references to relevant Rupert House records).

HBCA records consulted include parts of the following: Moose Factory Post Journals, 1802-1840 B.135/a/90-144; Moose Factory Correspondence, 1746-1864, B.135/c/1-2; Moose Factory Servants' resolves, 1803-1815, B.135/f/1-9; James Anderson(a): Miscellaneous Papers, 1842-1861, E.37/13-15; Rupert House Post Journals, 1784-1860, B.186/a/5-91; Rupert House Correspondence, 1832,

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[58] Other sources which could have been very useful are missing if not destroyed: the Moose Factory District Report for 1832, for example.

B.186/b/22; HBCA search files. References for other HBCA records researched are provided below.

## ORAL SOURCES

The "oral sources" consulted or collected, and referred to in this study are transcriptions and recordings (video and audio) from an oral tradition that is still alive today (though not unchanged). Although I conducted some interviews and took notes, almost all the recordings and transcripts cited were made by others. These sources are listed below under the appropriate headings.

## BOOKS, ARTICLES, THESES, MANUSCRIPTS

Numerous published and unpublished articles and manuscripts were consulted. They are also listed below in the appropriate categories. A selection of general references is included at the end.

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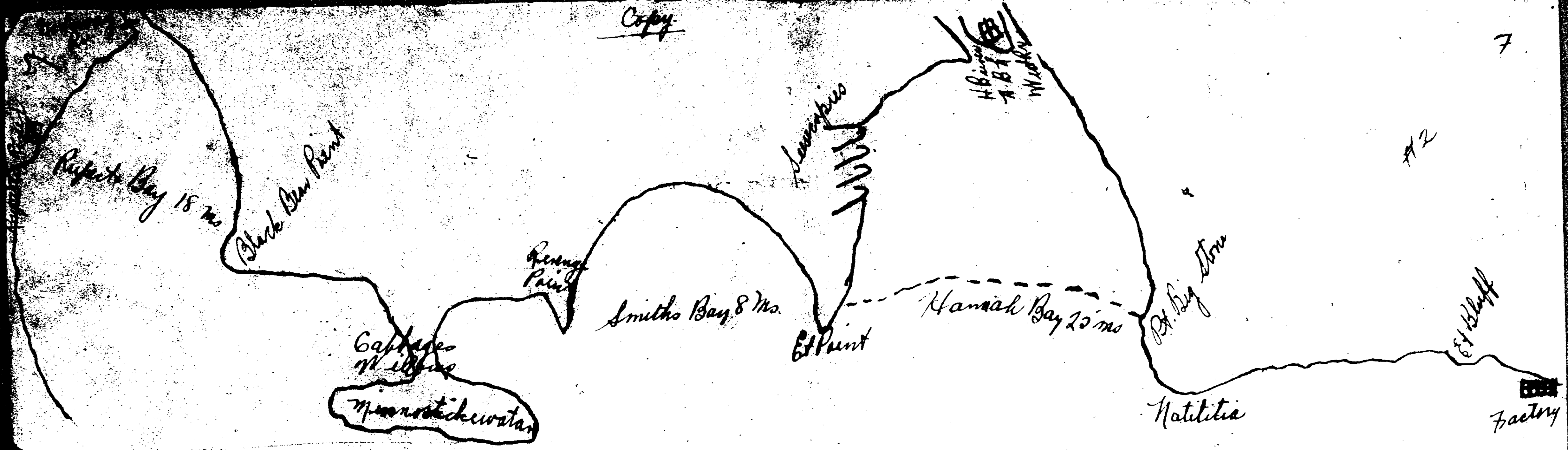
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Pt. Big Stone
Natititia
#2
Et Bluff
Factory

The murderers when the left H. By House
went into the Seesecapice large plains
with here and there a bluff of Poplars
Revenge Point so named by the
Men was where we shot the
rascals —

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY ARCHIVES WINNIPEG

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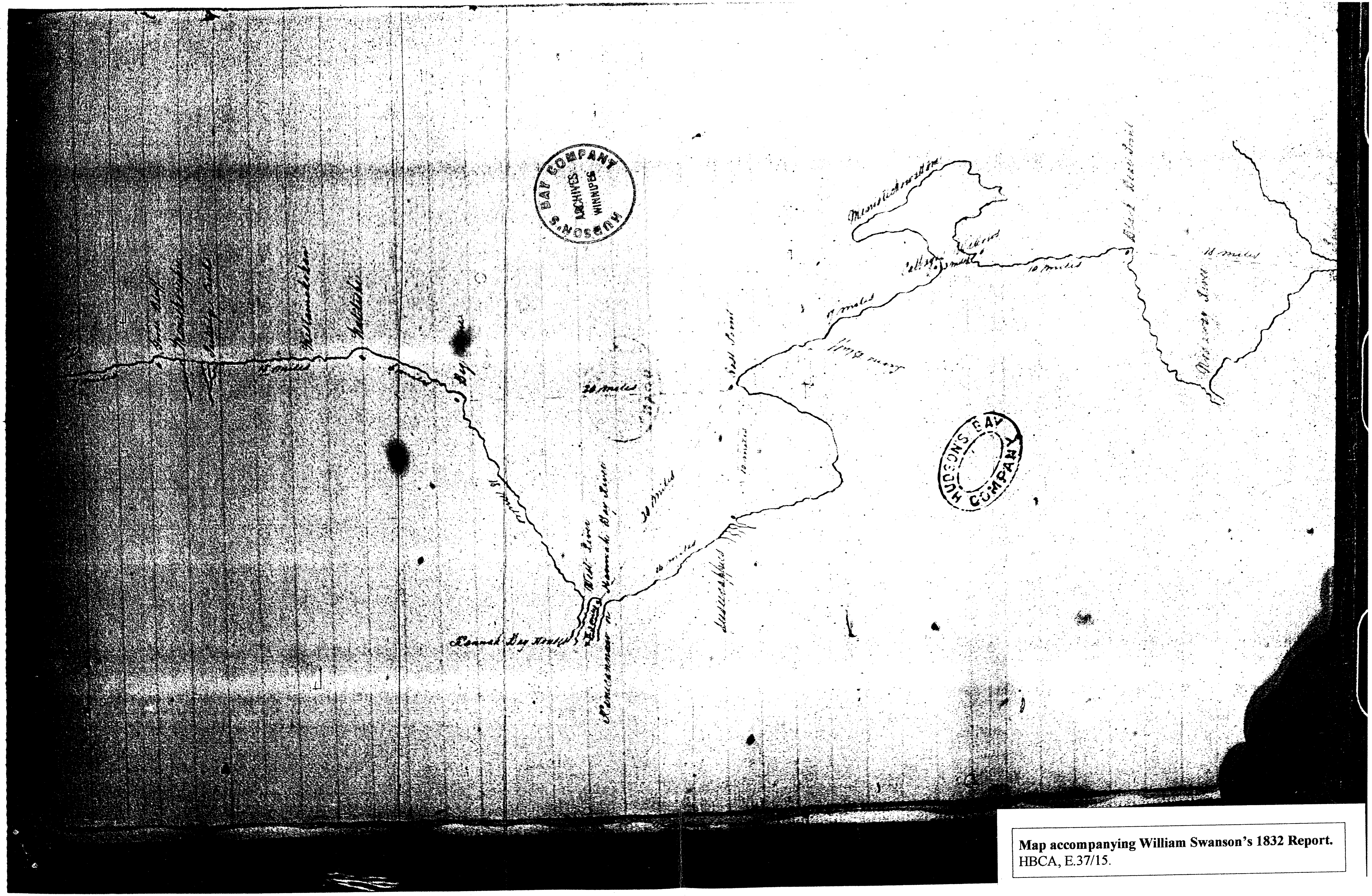
**Map accompanying James Anderson's 1832 Report.**
HBCA, B.135/a/138.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HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY ARCHIVES WINNIPEG

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

**Map accompanying William Swanson's 1832 Report.**
HBCA, E.37/15.