NORTHERN ARC: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SHIPPING AND SEAFARERS OF HUDSON BAY, 1508-1920

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by

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Abstract

This dissertation depicts maritime activity as a lived aspect of human experience essential to history in, and of, the Canadian North; to historical process in Canada as a whole; and to the history of development in Western Canada in particular, because the North was the site of maritime ingress to the Canadian West. The thesis addresses three misapprehensions about seafaring activity and Hudson Bay. First, that the volume of shipping in the Bay and associated waters from 1508 to 1920 was too low to warrant study; second that Hudson's Bay Company voyages were merely economic linkages; and third that communication between ship and shore was limited and straightforward. I examine the contextual aspect of sailors' experiences -- temporally, geographically, and technologically -- describing the distinctiveness of Company ships, routes, and sailors. I find that sea ice, as a natural feature, was a primary determinant of maritime work, the pacing of work routines, and the timeframe of voyages in the past. I demonstrate that, as agents of diverse backgrounds with varied personal paths who actualized intercontinental transportation, integration, and exchanges of people, goods, and ideas, the sailors were harbingers and makers of change and continuity in history. Appreciating the cumulative effect of past commerce, communication, and ideas requires thinking beyond shorelines and taking the people who affected traverses of sea space into account. The journeys of seafarers, as well as their destinations, have relevance to histories of development.

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List of Abbreviations

ACSP	Atlantic Canada Shipping Project
CGS	Canadian Government Ship
DCB	Dictionary of Canadian Biography, online edition
HBC	Hudson's Bay Company
HBCA	Hudson's Bay Company Archives
HMS	His/Her Majesty's Ship
NMM	National Maritime Museum
NWC	North West Company
NWMP	North West Mounted Police
OED	Oxford English Dictionary, online edition
ORO	Oxford Reference Online
LAC	Library and Archives of Canada
RAC	Royal African Company
RCMP	Royal Canadian Mounted Police
RNWMP	Royal Northwest Mounted Police
SS	Steam Ship

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Chapter One

Introduction

With this dissertation I argue that sailors to and from Hudson Bay were "essential or indispensable" to Western Canadian development. In other words, they were 'fundamental' to historical process in the Canadian context.[1] I frame my support for this argument as a social history in order to address a historiographical gap that has left the nature and scope of the sailors' individual and collective contributions to historical process unexamined. The problem is not that existing academic historiography about Western Canada denies the presence or contribution of sailors, but that it presumes the presence and contribution perfunctorily.[2] Conceptually, historians have reduced sailors to

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[1] See "fundamental," Oxford English Dictionary Online [OED] <http://dictionary.oed.com> (accessed 2004–2009), as in "3. a. Serving as the foundation or base on which something is built. [especially as the term is applied] Chiefly and now exclusively in immaterial applications. Hence, forming an essential or indispensable part of a system, institution, etc." – in this case a process. See also Allan Pred, "Social Reproduction and the Time-Geography of Everyday Life," *Geografiska Annaler,* ser. B, *Human Geography* 63, no. 1 (1981): 5, 6, 20.

[2] "historiography," OED, defines the term as "The writing of history; written history." *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, 4th ed. Online <http://www.answers.com/topic/historiography> (accessed 26 February 2009), adds that the term also signifies "The principles, theories, or methodology of scholarly historical research and presentation," as well as "The writing of history based on a critical analysis, evaluation, and selection of authentic source materials and composition of these

an abstraction with the limited, albeit necessary, function of linking, via ship, a historically significant point on one side of the Atlantic to a historically significant point on the other – the sailors appearing ancillary to goods and information ferried. By considering sailors as more complex agents of communication, I demonstrate that the possibility exists to appreciate more fully how individual agency figured within the history of seafarers to and from Hudson Bay, and the broader significance of their collective history to Western Canadian development.

Historiography

The following discussion follows loosely thematic, but more properly topical rather than strictly chronological, lines. The works that have inspired my thesis did not do so by dint of participation in a shared, ongoing historiographical debate. The organization therefore reflects the manner in which previous works about ocean-borne, commercial transport to Hudson Bay have touched on related subjects without coalescing around what appears to be a commonly held – and held to be sensible – point: sailors of the region mattered to historical process. As works that test or elaborate upon that point do not exist, there has been no debate on the relation of Hudson's Bay Company [HBC] sailors to historical process at political-economic or socio-cultural levels. Instead,

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materials into a narrative subject to scholarly methods of criticism," and "A body of historical literature." See also "Historiographer," Appendix C, this thesis. Throughout this dissertation the term accords with such understandings – including in its adjective and adverbial forms. My intended meaning is not consistent with the usage suggested by writers, such as Anthony Sebastian, "historiography," Citizendium online encyclopedia <http://en.citizendium.org/wiki/Historiography> (accessed 26 February 2009), who define historiography as "the study of historians." See also comments on his definition on the discussion page <http://en.citizendium.org/wiki/Talk:Historiography> (accessed 26 February 2009).

common sense appears to stand in the place of "any depth or subtlety of argument."[3]

A typical example of a commonsensical acceptance of sailors as economically vital appears in "Ships of Three Centuries," published in 1970 about maritime vessels of the HBC. Author Alan Cameron states, "Ships, the men to man them, and finding the best sea routes, were the fundamental prerequisites for any ambitious and adventurous merchant who aimed at overseas trade."[4] At the time of publication, Cameron was editor of the Port of London Authority's monthly magazine. Given his vantage point, the choice of subject – ships – and his stance regarding the nautical fundament of trade are understandable. Historians of Western Canada and the fur trade who discuss ocean-borne, commercial transport to Hudson Bay, though their vantage points differ from Cameron's and vary among themselves, generally agree with his stance: they do not dispute that shipping mattered to overseas merchants, and they accept that merchants, as political-economic actors, mattered to historical development. Where such historians differ substantively from Cameron is on the amount of attention paid to describing the fundamental prerequisites of merchant activity that he sets out – ships, sailors, and routes. While Cameron highlights seaward operations, those historians of Western Canada who acknowledge the maritime dimension of HBC trade emphasize activity on land.

The historiography devoted to Western Canada is extensive. I confine my remarks in defence of the assertion immediately above to three historians: Harold A. Innis, Arthur S. Morton, and E.E. Rich. Their works are not only exemplary in depth and breadth, but

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[3] "commonsensical," OED, meaning "[p]ossessing or characterized by common sense." As such, "commonsensicality takes the place of any depth or subtlety of argument."

[4] Alan Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," *The Beaver* 50, no. 1 (summer 1970): 5.

also relatively exceptional in that they supply more than cursory observations on development, and Western Canada, and transatlantic merchant shipping.[5]

As a Canadian historian, writing from a vantage point in central Canada, Innis was original in adopting a North American continental perspective for *The Fur Trade in Canada*, published in 1930.[6] His text argues that overseas trade by way of Hudson Bay was fundamental to the pattern of Canadian development as a whole. Sea routes to the margins of such centres as London and Paris are presented as determining elements insofar as the geography at the termini of routes to North America allowed or constrained access to inland resources and extraction via waterways.[7] Cost and the technological means of transporting resources are important to this "analytic study" of the dynamics of

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[5] There are historians who link maritime activity with landward development. See, for example, Marcus Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirates and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700–1750* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987),10, who asserts "The seaman was central to the changing history and political economy of the North Atlantic world" of the eighteenth century; Daniel Vickers and Vince Walsh, *Young Men and the Sea: Yankee Seafarers in the Age of Sail* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 8; also Matthew Raffety, "Recent Currents in the Nineteenth-Century American Maritime History," *History Compass* 6, no. 2 (2008): 608, who observes of American maritime historiography that "there is broad agreement at the most basic level that seamen and the maritime world are essential to understanding the developing nation ... and that seafarers should play a prominent role in any accurate history of ... development," because at multiple levels, "seafarers were central actors in the national story"; and Kenneth Norrie and Douglas Owram, *A History of the Canadian Economy* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Canada. 1991), 24–25, 28–34, 38, 51–61, 67–68, 86, 90–92, 104–29, 133–35, 138–39, 141–43, 145–50, 153–56, 160, 174, 176, 185, 196–98, 202–03, 207, 214, 216–17, who, in outlining the significance to transatlantic commerce of past maritime practice on the part of Spain, Portugal, France, and particularly England, imply the significance of maritime activity to Canadian development generally. They suggest that prior to 1867, Canadian history was essentially, or at base, a maritime history. This theme carries forward in later editions of their text.

[6] Harold A. Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History* (1930; revised ed. 1956; reprint, with a revised foreword, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970). See also Carl L. Berger, *The Writing of Canadian History: Aspects of English-Canadian Historical Writing since 1900*, 2d ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 85, 94.

[7] See J.M.S. Careless, *Frontier and Metropolis: Regions, Cities, and Identities in Canada before 1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), who used the term 'hinterland' to establish a commonality between Frederick Jackson Turner's conception of the frontier and Innis' use of 'margin.' Similarly, Careless used 'metropolis' where Innis wrote of the 'centre.'

economic dependency, and to the argument that the HBC had a more cost-effective route than did merchants operating out of Montreal.[8] Despite presenting shipping as integral to the analysis, Innis' text supplies no details of the maritime labour that effected transport and enabled transoceanic communication. The gap may reflect Innis' methodology: he did not examine maritime documents archived by the HBC, presumably because he did not have ready access. He relied instead on published works.[9]

In contrast to Innis, writing from a Saskatchewan vantage point, historian Arthur S. Morton made extensive use of HBC documents for *A History of the Canadian West*, of 1939.[10] As a result, the book considerably expands the amount of historical detail recounted, though the focus of inquiry narrows. Rather than taking a continental or pan-Canadian perspective, the study concentrates on the development of Western Canada. The text presents past people's passages as progressing ever westward over time, moving away from the shores of the St. Lawrence and Hudson Bay in patterns of conflict and

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[8] R.M. MacIver, "Foreword to the First Edition," in *The Fur Trade in Canada*, by Harold A. Innis, viii. See also W.J. Eccles, "A Belated Review of Harold Adams Innis, The Fur Trade in Canada," *Canadian Historical Review* 60, no. 4, (December 1979): 419–41, who refutes Innis' argument on cost; and Robert C.H. Sweeny, "The Staples as the Significant Past: A Case Study in Historical Theory and Method," in *Canada: Theoretical Discourse/Discours théoriques*, ed. Terry Goldie, Carmen Lambert, and Rowland Lorimer (Montréal: Association for Canadian Studies/Association d'études canadiennes, 1994), 327–49, who supplies a critique of Innis' application of economic theory, arguing that "labour forces created within the internal economies of … conquered colonies" were what "literally powered" the expansion of the fur trade.

[9] See Deidre Simmons, *Keepers of the Record: The History of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008), 7–9, 198; and E.E. Rich, "The Hudson's Bay Company's Activities: Forthcoming Publication of Documents by Hudson's Bay Record Society," *Pacific Historical Review* 7, no. 3 (September 1938): 267–73, on the history of archival organization of Company documents beginning ca. 1921, and the limited granting of access to historians prior to 1931; also Robin W. Winks, "Foreword," in *The Fur Trade in Canada*, by Harold A. Innis, xv.

[10] Arthur S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870–71, Being a History of Rupert's Land (The Hudson's Bay Company Territory) and of the North-West Territory (Including the Pacific Slope)* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1939). See Berger, *Writing of Canadian History*, 30; and "1941 – Arthur S. Morton, FRSC," Royal Society of Canada, J.B. Tyrrell Historical Medal <http://www.rsc.ca/index.php?lang_id=1&page_id=148#TOC44> (accessed 18 October 2008).

resolution. Implicit in the description, is the premise that overseas traffic was prerequisite to this movement – including overseas traffic to the Pacific Slope. Occasionally, the text supplies the names of ships and individuals involved in seaward violence. Nevertheless, this account of merchant-inspired trade is particularly concerned with the inland progress of fur-trading agents ashore. Hudson Bay seafaring remains an acknowledged, but relatively under-interrogated variable.

The planning of overseas merchants is at the core of Cambridge historian E.E. Rich's two-volume study, *The History of the Hudson's Bay Company*, published in 1958 and 1959.[11] Volume I, 1670–1763, describes the London-centred world in which the merchants lived as one that supplied impetus and invited response, with merchant actions contributing to the ongoing dynamic. Initially in Rich's treatment, with respect to the HBC, this dynamic world was also decidedly maritime: plainly, the trade in furs required a high degree of merchant concern with ships, mariners, and seaborne servants.[12] By Volume II, however, as Rich finds Company interest in westward expansion across the 'North West' increasing from 1763 to 1870, his description also shifts inland: the ships, captains, and crews of Hudson Bay that were so visible in Volume I virtually disappear. Like Innis and Morton, Rich appears principally interested in describing the repercussions of pursuing resource extraction – i.e. development – but only so far as this pursuit was organized, and the repercussions were realized, by people stationed on land.

While at best academic monographs devoted to describing Western Canadian

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[11] E.E. Rich, *The History of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1670–1870* vols. I and II (New York, Macmillan, c. 1958–1960). A third volume (1960) contains the endnote references for the first two.

[12] See "mariner," OED. For the purpose of this dissertation, the term is used in the general sense, as in "1. ... any person employed on a ship."

development supply glimpses of Hudson Bay ships, sailors, and routes, aspects of these 'fundamental prerequisites' are detailed in articles, chapters, or annotations in a variety of popular and scholarly texts. Additionally, there are entries in equally varied reference works. Although most of these works either do not engage in a historiographical argument that is directly relevant to my thesis, or do so with the brevity of an aside, several deserve acknowledgement for their contribution to the historiography of Hudson Bay seafaring.

Alice M. Johnson, formerly a Hudson's Bay Company archivist in London, began her career as a contributor to the historiography about voyaging in the North with an article entitled "The Mythical Land of Buss," published in the HBC's *The Beaver*, in 1942.[13] A dozen articles for the magazine followed to 1971, including "Early Ships in Hudson's Bay" in 1946, and "Life on the Hayes" in 1957.[14] In addition, as assistant editor for the Hudson's Bay Record Society from 1948 to 1978, Johnson compiled, annotated, and edited twelve collections of original documents – several of which contain detailed reference notes on specific ships and mariners.[15] She also wrote numerous biographies for *The Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, thus supplying additional insight into

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[13] Alice M. Johnson, "The Mythical Land of Buss," *The Beaver* 22, no. 3 (December 1942): 43–47.

[14] Alice M. Johnson, "Early Ships in Hudson's Bay," *The Beaver* 26, no. 1 (June 1946): 10–13; Alice M. Johnson, "Life on the Hayes," *The Beaver* 37, no. 3 (winter 1957): 38–43.

[15] See for example, E. E. Rich ed., with A.M. Johnson, *Copy-book of letters outward &c: Begins 29th May, 1680, ends 5 July, 1687* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1948); E.E. Rich ed., with A.M. Johnson, *James Isham's observations on Hudson's Bay, 1743: and notes and observations on a book entitled A voyage to Hudson's Bay in the Dobbs Galley, 1749* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1949); E. E. Rich ed., with A.M. Johnson. *Hudson's Bay copy book of letters, commissions, instructions outward, 1688–1696* (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1957); K.G. Davies ed., with A. M. Johnson, *Northern Quebec and Labrador Journals and Correspondence, 1819–35* (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1963).

otherwise obscure seafarers of Hudson Bay.[16] In this respect, Johnson's work is comparatively unusual: references to, and biographies about, non-HBC seafarers of greater renown, such as Henry Hudson, Pierre le Moyne d'Iberville, or Sir John Franklin are more common in both popular and academic literature. Yet, while Johnson's work attests to the individuality of sailors as they contributed to HBC trade, it does not elaborate on their experience as seafarers.

In terms of historical information about HBC ships, aside from Cameron's contribution noted above, Clive Holland and Alan Cooke supply the most extensive sets of published data in two chronologically ordered reference works: Holland's *Arctic Exploration and Development c. 500 B.C. to 1915: An Encyclopedia*, and, *The Exploration of Northern Canada: 500 to 1920, A Chronology*, a collaborative effort with Cooke.[17] Both works supply names of vessels, sponsors of voyages, and names of captains and commanders. However numerous, informative, or scholarly works such as those by Holland and Cooke, or Cameron and Johnson, might be, the problem remains that they do not constitute a synthesized argument regarding the relation of HBC sailors to ships, to routes, and to Western Canadian history.

One unpublished academic work, geographer John A. Alwin's doctoral dissertation, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse: Hudson's Bay Company Transport, 1670–1821,"

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[16] See, for example, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, online edition [DCB] <http://www.biographi.ca/EN/index.html> (accessed 2004–2009), for entries on John Abraham, Alexander Apthorp, Charles Bayly, Anthony Beale, William Bevan, Thomas Bird, William Bond, Erland Erlandson, Robert Evinson, Nicol Finlayson, John Fletcher (d. 1697), John Fullartine, George Geyer, Michael Grimington Senior, Michael Grimington Junior, Thomas Gorst, Andrew Hamilton, Thomas McCliesh, Richard Norton, Thomas Shepard, Thomas Render, Hugh Verner, Nehemiah Walker, and Richard White.

[17] Clive Holland, *Arctic Exploration and Development c. 500 B.C. to 1915: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1994). Alan Cooke and Clive Holland, *The Exploration of Northern Canada: 500 to 1920, A Chronology* (Toronto: Arctic History Press, 1978).

completed in 1978, is notable for coming close to supplying such a synthesis. His 'cultural historical human geography' sets out to examine "marine transport, including transatlantic linkage and coastal carriage," in Hudson Bay.[18] Like Morton and Rich, however, Alwin's inclusion of transatlantic activity in his discussion terminates with the HBC's shift inland during the mid-1770s. Further, while he supplies fresh insight into waterborne technology as a cultural factor of human geography and the HBC, he barely considers the deep sea and coastal mariners who conveyed, confronted, and expressed culture in effecting the transport of that technology.

Moving towards synthesis of a different kind and from a different angle, Edith I. Burley went some way towards addressing the social side of cultural expression in the maritime workforce of the HBC with her doctoral dissertation, published in 1997 as *Servants of the Honourable Company: Work, Discipline, and Conflict in the Hudson's Bay Company, 1770–1879*.[19] Sailors figure in the book's discussion of HBC workers and the endurance of paternalism as a feature of the Company's approach to management. Beyond the insertion of descriptions formulated by maritime historians such as Marcus Rediker and Eric W. Sager, however, there is little distinction between seafaring and land-based labour. Effectively subsumed within the largely terrestrial labouring class that the text describes, sailors lose occupational and contextual dimensionality.[20] While the

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[18] John Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse: Hudson's Bay Company Transport, 1670–1821," Ph.D. diss. (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1978), 8.

[19] Edith I. Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company: Work, Discipline, and Conflict in the Hudson's Bay Company, 1770–1879* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1997).

[20] See Robert C.H. Sweeny, "Understanding Work Historically: A Reflection Prompted by Two Recent Studies of the Fur Trade," review of *Servants of the Honourable Company: Work, Discipline and*

examination of structures of authority between masters and servants within the Company establishes the longevity of pre-industrial conditions for the HBC workforce, it does so without a thorough examination of workplaces.

Sager and fellow maritime historian David Alexander have established that, in some respects, the experience of sailors is analogous to that of working men on land and compatible with theoretical models based on the household and factory.[21] Alexander's point that "as an occupational group … sailors were not beyond the pale" of their landward societies, and Sager's insistence that sailors were integral to a process of production "transcending both sea and land," and that, therefore, they directly participated in a larger transition to industrialization, are well taken.[22] But, as Sager also makes clear, the contextual aspect of sailors' experience – temporally, geographically, and technologically – introduced differences between workplaces on land and those on water.[23] A profound difference, of importance for my thesis, is that past sailors'

Conflict in the Hudson's Bay Company, 1770–1879, by Edith I. Burley, and *Trading Beyond the Mountains: The British Fur Trade on the Pacific*, by Richard Somerset Mackie, *Labour/Le Travail* 41 (spring 1998): 244, 250–51; and Frank Tough, review of *Servants of the Honourable Company: Work, Discipline, and Conflict in the Hudson's Bay Company, 1770–1879*, by Edith I. Burley, *Manitoba History* 37 (spring/summer 1999): 47, 49, 51. Both point out that the level of abstraction in Burley's text, in part attributable to her sampling method, erases context.

[21] David Alexander, "Literacy among Canadian and Foreign Seamen, 1863–1899," in *Working Men Who Got Wet*, ed. Rosemary Ommer and Gerald Panting (St. John's, NL: Maritime History Group, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1980); Eric W. Sager, *Seafaring Labour: The Merchant Marine of Atlantic Canada, 1820–1914* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 3–33. See also Louis A. Zurcher, Jr., "The Sailor Aboard Ship: A Study of Role Behavior in a Total Institution," *Social Forces* 43, no. 3 (March 1965): 389–400, who, taking a cue from Erving Goffman, considers naval vessels as a form of total institution; and Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea*, 211–12, on the same point.

[22] Sager, *Seafaring Labour*, 3, 10, 14.

[23] Ibid., 11, 14–15, however, explicitly rejects a suggestion, attributed to Peter Linebaugh, that "by the late seventeenth century ships may be a distinct mode of production in themselves."

workplaces moved not only through time, but also through space and, while doing so, across the unstable medium of water – a movement that changed the range and nature of opportunities and constraints confronted from one moment to another and from one location to another.[24] That conditions at sea varied according to geographical location meant that the route of a voyage determined the degree to which sailors' experience might differ amongst themselves. Sailing the route from the London docks to Five Fathom Hole in Hudson Bay was not the same as sailing to other North Atlantic destinations, such as ports along the St. Lawrence or the coast of Newfoundland, much less destinations in the South Atlantic, the Pacific, or other waters.

Although the particularity of routes significantly contextualized sailors' experience, the route to Hudson Bay is perhaps the least examined prerequisite of overseas trade as set out by Cameron above.[25] Rediker has observed that between 1650 and 1730, transoceanic shipping routes became "the most elementary material structures of empire, indeed the entire world economy."[26] Yet, aside from Innis, comparatively few

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[24] See John Froude, quoted in Sager, *Seafaring Labour*, 45. See also Bill Bryson, *A Short History of Nearly Everything* (Toronto: Anchor Canada, 2003), 270–73, 280, 283–86, on the "extraordinary" properties of water as a chemical compound, the peculiarities of seawater, and the characteristics of seas.

[25] See, for example, Michael F. Dove, "Voyages to Rupert's Land: The Hudson's Bay Company's Maritime Component, 1670–1770," in *Selected Papers of Rupert's Land Colloquium 2002,* compiled by David G. Malaher (Winnipeg: Centre for Rupert's Land Studies, 2002), 23–24, 26–29. Despite reference to voyaging in the paper's title, Dove does not detail the route to Hudson's Bay – much as Cameron did not discuss sailors, though he avowed they mattered. Michael F. Dove, "Hudson's Bay Company Shipping, 1668–1774," Ph.D. diss. (London ON: University of Western Ontario, 2008), was not available for consideration prior to completion of my dissertation. Michael F. Dove, "Plying the Northernmost Atlantic Trading Route to the New World: The Hudson's Bay Company and the British Seaborne Empire," in *The English Atlantic Revisited: Essays Honouring Professor Ian K. Steele*, ed. Nancy L. Rhoden (Montreal and Toronto: McGill-Queen's Press, 2007), 176, also of too recent release to have figured in the writing of this dissertation, adds interesting observations on the distinctiveness of the HBC route, but is principally concerned with an argument about the historical feasibility of extending trade inland.

[26] Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea*, 21, 22–23, also supplies a map showing

authors of secondary texts dealing with transatlantic shipping and the history of Western Canada lend the HBC route to Hudson Bay any consideration beyond noting that London was at one end, fur trade posts were at the other, and sometimes ships called in at the Orkney Islands.[27] In *The English Atlantic 1675–1740*, published in 1986, Ian K. Steele briefly describes ways in which concerns with navigability – in the face of seasonal weather and militaristic predation – figured in the shaping of the route's distinctive temporal and spatial contours.[28] Stephen J. Hornsby's, *British Atlantic, American Frontier – Spaces of Power in Early Modern British America*, published in 2004, has maps that give a general indication of those contours. The discussion in the text, however, concerns activity at landward nodal points.[29] In terms of theory and method, Hornsby does not move appreciably beyond work penned by Innis seventy-four years

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significant landward nodal points of the Atlantic world economy 1650–1730 – none appears in Hudson Bay, or any North American ports north of Boston, and routes between nodal points are not indicated.

[27] The near silence on the HBC route is striking. It does not figure on maps that illustrate merchant marine activity traversing the North Atlantic, such as Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea*, see n.25 above; and Sager, *Seafaring Labour*, 19. R. Louis Gentilcore, ed., *Historical Atlas of Canada*, vol. 2 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), plates 1, 2, 3, 17, 27, 39, 43; John Warkentin, and Richard I. Ruggles, eds., "A Section from Luke Foxe's Map of the North Part of America. 1635," and "The Platt of Sayling [sic] for the Discovery of a Passage Into the South Sea. 1633," in *Manitoba Historical Atlas: A Selection of Facsimile Maps, Plans, and Sketches from 1612 to 1969* (Winnipeg: The Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, 1970), 27, only chart the routes of two voyages of discovery. Quentin H. Stanford, "Canada: Exploration," *Canadian Oxford World Atlas*, 5 th ed. (Don Mills ON: Oxford University Press, 2003), plate 32, likewise maps the routes of explorers, but not commercial voyages in Hudson Bay. Richard I. Ruggles, *A Country So Interesting: The Hudson's Bay Company and Two Centuries of Mapping 1670–1870* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), supplies facsimiles of relevant maps housed in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, but does not plot voyages. W. Gillies Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos: Hudson Bay 1860–1915* (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975), plots the voyages of whalers in Hudson Bay and Strait, but not the HBC supply routes. See also n.48, below.

[28] Ian K. Steele, *The English Atlantic, 1675–1740: An Exploration of Communication and Community* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 86–91.

[29] Stephen J. Hornsby, *British Atlantic, American Frontier – Spaces of Power in Early Modern British America* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2004), maps, 1.6, 2.18, 2.20, 6.13, 6.15, 6.18.

earlier. The argument remains that the movement of staple commodities explains differences in development and secondary literature serves as the source base. Despite Hornsby's inclusion of maps and the broadening of geographical scope, there is still no consideration of what the physical act of moving commodities across oceans entailed, diminishing the role of those who actualized such movement.

It is as though, from Innis to Hornsby, the writers mentioned above regarded the importance of sailors to transoceanic transport by way of Hudson Bay to be so obvious that they left the point alone – historians, geographers, and archivists alike, whether writing popular or academic texts. After all, among Cameron's three prerequisites to overseas trade, sailors were the deciding factor: in terms of 'simple perception plainly stated,' ships could not have connected London to the fur trade without sailors' expertise, and routes would not have been tested or known without sailors' experience.[30] Equally plainly, it follows that sailors were the essential agents of the seaborne communication necessary for trade. If human agency matters to historical process, then there is a significant hole in the historiography of Western Canadian development.[31]

Objective

It is my objective to demonstrate that HBC sailors were more than abstract

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[30] See "commonsensical," OED, and this thesis, n. 2 above; see also "common sense," Merriam-Webster's Online Dictionary <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/commonsensically> (accessed 1 September 2008).

[31] Mark Peter Jones, "Posthuman Agency: Between Theoretical Traditions," *Sociological Theory* 14, no. 3 (November 1996): 290–309, critiques contentions that to privilege human agency in historical process is to accede to the hegemony of anthrocentrism.

"*träger* or vectors" of intercontinental, commercial transportation.[32] As agents of complex communication, their occupational group was equally complex, made up of individuals of diverse backgrounds with varied personal paths. Yet, collectively and cumulatively, from 1508 to 1920, the actions of sailors – in a manner beyond their immediate comprehension – were necessary for implementing change compatible with realizing programs of resource extraction, appreciation in value, and promises of continuity in Western Canadian development.[33]

Delineation of Social, Temporal, and Spatial Scope

For practical reasons, I have imposed limits on the scope of my discussion. The first pertains to the selection and definition of the seafarers who serve as subjects of this study. For two centuries, 1670–1870, a royal charter allowed the Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay, otherwise known as the HBC, 'sole' proprietorship of a 'plantation' comprised of approximately one-third of the North American land mass.[34] As an institution that actively pursued projects within that territory for its entire tenure, the Company played a significant role in the course of Western Canadian political economic

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[32] Louis Althusser quoted in E.P. Thompson, *The Poverty of Theory and Other Essays* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1978), 2. See also Sager, *Seafaring Labour*, 11, who notes that sailors, as well as their ships "were vehicles of technology and culture as well as cargo"; and Harold A. Innis, *The Bias of Communication* (1951; reprint with an introduction by Marshall McLuhan, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964), 140–41, who abstracts the communication of culture to the point that human beings as carriers can only be inferred.

[33] See Pred, "Social Reproduction," 7, 8, and his reference to Baskar, Lukáks, and Bourdieu on human actors and the limits of awareness and conscious intention.

[34] See Hudson's Bay Company, "The Royal Charter for Incorporating the Hudson's Bay Company. A.D. 1670," The Project Gutenberg EBook of Charter and Supplemental Charter of the Hudson's Bay Company, no. 6584 (September 2004) <http://www.gutenberg.org/catalog/world/readfile?fk_files=9258& pageno=1> (accessed 25 April 2008).

development. Historically, the HBC was the largest incorporated institution to employ maritime workers on the seas that accessed the portion of the Company's landward possession – initially designated as Rupert's Land – that was later encompassed by the Canadian West. I therefore limit my analysis to seafarers on Company voyages. To allow a fuller illumination of their social experience, however, I use the term seafarers broadly, as in "a traveller by sea." As recent studies of seafaring that examine the experiences of women who accompanied their husbands to sea have shown, the sailors' world on water included people other than seamen. While recognizing that the term seafarer signifies "esp[ecially] one whose life is spent in voyaging, a sailor," my application of the more inclusive sense acknowledges the contribution made by passengers, masters, and crewmembers such as carpenters, cooks, and surgeons to the collective experience of sailors.[35]

A second bounded aspect of this study is its temporal scope. The first voyage to North America conducted by the HBC under its charter occurred in 1670. To acknowledge that mariner activity that determined the nature of HBC voyaging took place prior to the Company's advent, the timeline of my study extends back to 1508. The HBC maintained a maritime component for a full three centuries, entitling the Company "to the claim of the world's longest corporate history of oceanic shipping."[36] The

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[35] "seafarer," OED; see also n.11 above. See Lisa Norling, "Ahab's Wife," in *Iron Men, Wooden Women: Gender and Seafaring in the Atlantic World, 1700–1920*, ed. Margaret S. Creighton, and Lisa Norling (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 70–91; Haskell Springer, "The Captain's Wife at Sea," in *Iron Men, Wooden Women*, 92–117; Joan Druett, *Hen Frigates: Passion and Peril, Nineteenth-Century Women at Sea* (New York: Touchstone, 1998); and David Cordingly, *Women Sailors and Sailors' Women: An Untold Maritime History* (Westminster, MD: Random House, 2001).

[36] A.J.W. Catchpole and Marcia-Anne Faurer, "Ships' Log-Books, Sea Ice and the Cold Summer

termination of my study at 1920, well before the end of HBC shipping, reflects a lack of readily accessible records detailing the Company's seaward activities after that date.[37]

I have imposed spatial limits to the thesis as well. The HBC might well lay claim to having one of the broadest corporate maritime histories in terms of geographical scope. By 1866, the Company's transoceanic transportation network had expanded beyond Hudson Bay and Strait to include the east coast of North America, accessing ports of Labrador, Newfoundland, the St. Lawrence Seaway, and the Eastern Seaboard of the United States.[38] By the 1860s, the Company had also developed and continued to develop the "the greatest inland waterway the world has ever seen" with a variety of sail and steam technologies, integrating Western Canadian transportation networks with those of the Great Lakes, through to the St. Lawrence.[39] A significant seaward expansion had occurred decades earlier, however. In 1821, through union with the North West Company

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of 1816 in Hudson Bay and Its Approaches," *Arctic* 38, no. 2 (June 1985): 126. See also Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 5, who notes that the Company owned "the *Pierre Radisson*, and a small tug and barge fleet," that were still in operation as of 1970, and as well transported goods aboard the chartered vessel, *Twillingate*.

[37] Archives of Manitoba, Hudson's Bay Company Archives [HBCA], C.1/663, Ship's Log, *Pelican*, 1920, was the last readily available ship's log at time of writing. More recent HBC documents have some restrictions on access.

[38] See, for examples, Cooke and Holland, *Exploration of Northern Canada*, 222, 226; Appendix A, this thesis, years 1838, 1840, 1843, 1857; Appendix B, this thesis, nos. 624, 629, 641, 688, vessels *Tadussac*, *Marten* [II], and *Great Britain*.

[39] J.E. Rae, "The Hudson's Bay Company and the North-West Rebellion," *The Beaver* 62, no. 1 (summer 1982): 44–45. See also, HBCA, "Abell, Edmund Richard (1826–1895) (fl. 1865–1885)", "Aymond, Frank (fl. 1869–1876)", "Bell, John (fl. 1887–1895)", "Berens, Johnny (1871–1954) (fl. 1886–1947)", "Emerson, Samuel (b. ca. 1853) (fl. 1884–1897)," and "Johnson, William (1852–1933) (fl. 1878–1918)," Biographical Sheets, online index <http://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/hbca/biographical/index.html> (accessed 2004–2008), for references to steamships on the Mackenzie River and the Red River; and "Chisholm, Hugh (ca. 1804–1876) (fl. 1819–1836)," Biographical Sheet, whose position is described as "skipper" at Mingan, 1834–1836. G.A. Cuthbertson, "Fur Traders on Fresh Water," *The Beaver* 14, no. 3 (December 1934): 26–30, 41, indicates that although the Company's use of sailing vessels on the Great Lakes may be said, in retrospect, to have originated with the NWC, after amalgamation in 1821 vessels carrying Company shipments on the lakes were chartered.

[NWC], the HBC had inherited access to ports of call along the Pacific Slope of Oregon Territory, Washington Territory and/or British Columbia, and on Vancouver Island. Company ships voyaging around Cape Horn serviced agents stationed in Chile, California, and Hawaii.[40] Eventually Pacific routes extended farther north to ports in Alaska, Siberia, and Canada's Western Arctic region. Likewise, North Atlantic routes expanded to include Baffin Island in the Eastern Arctic. During the Great War, the Company managed French shipping, including vessels servicing ports in Russia, Holland, Norway, and the Black Sea.[41] To manage the amount of detail that studying historical seafarers generates, my study is restricted to the ocean arc that extended from England to Hudson Bay and Strait, including the associated waters of James Bay, and to some extent, those of Ungava Bay and Foxe Basin.

Theory

The conceptual underpinnings of this thesis depend ultimately on understanding history as a process that concerns people. I use 'concerns' in two senses: that people of the present consider the past to have been determinative, whether or not they believe it possible to arrive at an unequivocal answer as to how; as well as in the anthrocentric

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[40] See Alfred L. Lomax, "Dr McLoughlin's Tropical Trade Route," *The Beaver* 43, no. 4 (spring 1964): 10-15. HBCA, "Hildred, George (fl. 1849–1850)," Biographical Sheet, indicates that in 1849–1850 the HBC ship *Albion* sailed from London to Sydney, Australia, then to the northwest coast of America.

[41] See William Schooling, *The Hudson's Bay Company, 1670–1920* (London: The Hudson's Bay Company, 1920), 120–127; "Close of French Government Transport Work: A.M. Irvine and Staff Leave Service With Shutting of Montreal Agency; Great War Work of the H.B.C. Recalled," *The Beaver* 1, no. 8 (May 1921): 20–21; also HBCA, "Ships' Logs – by Area of Service," Online Finding Aid, Section C: Ships' Records Finding Aid <http://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/hbca/resource/ship_rec/area.html> (accessed 25 April 2008); Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 5, 15–17; and Judith Hudson Beattie and Helen M. Buss, eds., *Undelivered Letters to Hudson's Bay Company Men on the Northwest Coast of America, 1830–57* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003), 3, 5.

sense that what is interesting about the past is people – who they were, where they were and why, as well as how they got there, and what they did to contribute to historical process. Because my focus is on a specific occupational group neglected within historiography, my dissertation falls within the category of social history. The array of understandings, hypotheses, or theories that co-exist within that category is broad.[42] The points on which I might argue that this thesis is more or less congruent or at odds with particular stances, proponents, or schools within the category appear infinite in my imagination – as does the list of scholars to whom I owe an intellectual debt, including many who worked without the category but, in my estimation, had congruous goals. A brief outline of my core precepts, with an indication of prior formulations in extended discourses from which they were adopted and adapted, follows.

First, I regard historical process as a metaphysical construct with epistemological limits, because process is a human concept and the entirety of the past is irrecoverable. Without knowledge of all relationships that might have bound events in series, theory as to the ordering of series in processual change is necessarily provisional.[43] Therefore, following historian E.P. Thompson, I regard theory as always only hypothesis and historical method as a dialogue between hypotheses and historical sources. Like Thompson, I consider the latter determinate, in the sense of setting limits as to claims that

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[42] See E. J. Hobsbawm , "From Social History to the History of Society," in *Historical Studies Today*, ed. Felix Gilbert and Stephen R. Graubard (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1972): 1–26.

[43] See Keith Jenkins, *Re-thinking History* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 5–12; also "Process," and "Processual," Appendix C, this thesis.

can be made about what happened in relation to the object – the 'real,' lived past.[44]

Having adopted historical process as the model in which to situate my thesis, I have ordered my dissertation to accord with ideas about the social that were originally advanced by historians of historical materialism. At the point where social historians turn to, and foreground the cultural in search of theory, however, easy accord ends.[45] While the ideas of cultural theorists such as Edward W. Said and James W. Carey inform my approach, overall my work is more compatible with formulations about the social developed by geographers, such as Allan Pred and Cole Harris, who, in borrowing from social history, have enriched the precepts of their discipline.[46] For the purpose of this

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[44] Thompson, *Poverty of Theory*, 193–397, accords primacy to evidence and counsels that, to check a tendency to idealism, theory ought to be regarded as hypothesis. Thus, the material world remains determinant of available opportunities for, as well as constraints on, human action; see also Hobsbawm, "From Social History to the History of Society," 8, 16, who is less comfortable with the idea that the research of individual historians might be advanced as hypothetical suggestion and stand outside social science and the application of theory by teams of researchers; and Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, rev. ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 17, 41, 56–67, 77, who decries "history's atheoretical stance." I do not regard theory as distinct from, or superior to, hypothesis. Nor do I equate hypothesis – as an untested guess – with conjecture offered on the basis of someone else's untested observation or some set of popular beliefs. Rather, I hold that historians' observations back hypotheses, in that perusing historical sources supports the logic of forming a hypothesis. Further, historiographical hypothesis/theory is provisional because it can never be finally proven. No matter how many historians reach conclusions that accord with a theory, there is no guarantee that another historian will never find evidence that contradicts the theory, and, logically, a theory is subject to disproof if even one historian finds one piece of evidence that disagrees with the theory's predictions/prescriptions. Because every historian brings a set of theoretical constructs to their work, because history has been assembled as a discipline, and because historical method takes place at the level of theory (there is no physical, actual past in the present to experiment on), in my opinion historiography is chock-full of theory.

[45] See, for example, Thompson, *Poverty of Theory*, 70, who states that historical materialism "offers to study social process in its totality; that is, it offers to do this when it appears, not as another 'sectoral' history – as economic, political, intellectual history, as history of labour, or as 'social history' defined as yet another sector – but as a total history of society, in which all other sectoral histories are convened. It offers to show in what determinate ways each activity was related to the other, the logic of this process and the rationality of its causation," and whose position regarding Carl Popper and Louis Althusser exemplifies an early schism regarding the social and theory.

[46] See Pred, "Social Reproduction," 5–22; Allan Pred, "Place as Historically Contingent Process: Structuration and the Time-Geography of Becoming Places," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 74, no. 2 (June 1984): 279–97; Allan Pred, "Comment in Reply: Unglorious Isolation or

thesis, I accept Pred's theory on 'Time-Geography,' with the proviso that because my inquiry is historical in method and conceptualization, the historicization of my subject reflects a historian's bias to time: within historiography, as George Franck has pointed out, time does not run in a "one-dimensional continuum of instants."[47] I do not, therefore, seek to map a human, physical, or cultural geography by including time coordinates. Rather, I construct a historical argument about an occupational group, while taking traversed space into consideration.[48]

In two articles: "Social Reproduction and the Time-Geography of Everyday Life," and "Place as Historically Contingent Process: Structuration and the Time-Geography of Becoming Places," Pred presents a series of statements from which the logic of my thesis is derived.[49] Stated in logical sequence: sailors were agents of complex communication; sailors were fundamental to the HBC institutional project; the HBC institutional project was fundamental to development in Western Canada; therefore, sailors, as agents of complex communication, were fundamental to development in Western Canada.

Unglorious Misrepres(s)entation?" *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 75, no. 1 (March 1985): 132–33; Cole Harris, "Power, Modernity, and Historical Geography," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 81, no. 4, (December 1991): 671–83; and Cole Harris, review of *Making Histories and Constructing Human Geographies: The Local Transformation of Practice, Power Relations, and Consciousness*, by Allan Pred, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 82, no. 1 (March 1992): 176–77. See Appendix C, this thesis, for definitions of terms and concepts from historical materialism and human geography applicable to this thesis.

[47] Georg Franck, "Time, Actuality, Novelty and History: Some Facets of a Phenomenon Still Awaiting Comprehension," in *Life and Motion of Socio-Economic Units*, ed. Andrew U. Frank, Jonathan Raper, and Jean-Paul Cheyan (London: Taylor & Francis, 2001), 111–23; see also Wm. Stewart Wallace, *A History of the Canadian People* (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1930), vii.

[48] See Chapter Eight, this thesis, 170 n.2, 171 n.4; Chapter Fifteen, this thesis, 382–83; and Introduction, Appendix D, 568. Based on my experience tracing locations for this dissertation, the logistics of graphically representing changes in how location along the HBC ocean arc was understood over time might partly explain the absence of maps noted, this chapter, n.27 above.

[49] Pred, "Social Reproduction," 5–22. Pred, "Place as Historically Contingent Process, 279–97.

Ultimately, my thesis argues for the importance of agency. I concede that, as Harris has observed, in its circularity and totality Pred's theory, "like so many other bodies of ideas, is plausible but not provable."[50] Harris added, however, that there is utility in adopting Pred's theory "as broad, interrelated sets of ideas to be worked with suggestively rather than being treated as candidates for laws." I agree. Pred's formulation allows for examining the ways in which the movement of sailors, through a "collectively shared" watery world of the past, bound them to each other, to artefacts, and to nature "in a seamless web of interrelations."[51]

My application of Pred's theory is selective in emphasis. To demonstrate the logic of my thesis, the dissertation concentrates on describing two related facets within his formulation: place and social reproduction. I allude to other important facets throughout, because they determined the scope of available opportunity that existed for HBC sailors to practice agency. These facets include, but are not limited to, institutional projects, including deliberations of the HBC London Committee and the landward political economic activity of states; work and workplace technology; cognition as it relates to communication, language, teaching and learning; and structuration, in all its forms, at all scales.[52]

For this thesis, the relation between place and social reproduction conforms to a

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[50] Harris, "Power, Modernity, and Historical Geography," 678. See also Pred, "Place as Historically Contingent Process," 291; and Hobsbawm, quoted in Mark M. Smith, "Making Sense of Social History," *Journal of Social History* 37, no. 1 (autumn 2003): 182.

[51] Harris, "Power, Modernity, and Historical Geography," 674, summarising the ideas of Jürgen Habermas.

[52] See Appendix C, this thesis, as in note 46 above.

specific set of ordered precepts set out by Pred: Place is the product of human activity. Human activity is the product of conscious human beings. Each place is also the product of specific natural features, in that the features are elements to which human beings consciously respond by modifying their activity. Thus, human consciousness is a product of the features of place. Not only, therefore, is human activity an element of place, the relationship is reciprocal – place is an element of human activity.

Pred positions human activity and consciousness in an ongoing dialectic and describes social reproduction as a product of this dialectic: because human consciousness and activity are both products of place, place is an element of social reproduction. It follows that in a past place with distinctive features, both the construction of place and social production within that place displayed elements that were also distinctive. The following chapters, therefore, present evidence that demonstrates place was the product of human activity and shows that the distinctiveness of place was matched by distinctive patterns of social reproduction, while confirming sailors as agents of complex communication.

Terminology and Perspective

While Pred devised his theory to study people on land, I apply it to people at sea. At work, the geographical place of most importance to HBC sailors was the watery space that they traversed in the course of a voyage to and from Hudson Bay, from and to the London River. To underscore its importance, I use terminology that shifts perspective seaward. 'Ocean sea' is one such phrase. Following the observations of geographer

Martin W. Lewis, I use the phrase to underscore the coextensive actuality of maritime space, acknowledging the circumfluent aspect of the planet's hydrosphere.[53] The space within the ocean sea that, from 1670 to 1920, sailors made the place of HBC voyages, I regard as akin to a region – a distinctive 'becoming place,' very large and sparsely populated by transient human beings. As 'region' is a term for describing land, I instead use the phrase 'ocean arc' to signify a continuous, travelled, watery plain over which sailors repeatedly sailed their ships. The term delimits the area of sea space that specific routes traversed "not as physical units but rather as spaces of human activity … [that] can elucidate patterns [otherwise] obscured."[54] Both ocean sea and ocean arc are phrases that are archaic in origin, but they are not entirely anachronistic. They are compatible with highlighting maritime activity and continuity across ocean space and avoiding the implication that political boundaries are natural.

Other terms likewise signal perspective. For example, the adjective 'bayside' positions maritime space at the centre and *terra firma* on its margin. To maintain consistency throughout discussion of the period from 1508–1920, I do not position the bayside portion of Hudson Bay in either Canada's Eastern Arctic or the British Empire's 'North West.' Rather, I designate the coasts of Hudson Bay and associated waters – meaning Hudson Strait including Ungava Bay, James Bay, and to a limited extent Foxe Basin – as the Northern Seaboard of North America. This distinguishes the coasts, to which HBC sailors made resort, from those that lie in the region of "eternal ice and

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[53] Martin W. Lewis, "Dividing the Ocean Sea," *Geographical Review* 89, no. 2 (April 1999): 188–214, esp. 199, 203, and comments regarding European conceptions of the North Atlantic.

[54] Ibid., 204.

snow" found above the Arctic Circle at 66° 33′ 39″ north latitude.[55] Further, because I base my overall imagining about the past on the orientation of past sailors, I adopt their terminology when discussing specific aspects of the Northern Seaboard. The western shore of Hudson Bay is therefore designated as the West Main, and its eastern shore, the East Main and not, for example, as the north-east coast of Manitoba and the west coast of northern Quebec. In following chapters, where appropriate, I explain other aspects of my approach to the naming of specific locations either in the text or in footnotes. Definitions of terms peculiar to past seafaring appear in the glossary, Appendix C.

The relation, established by the thesis statement, of sailors and Hudson Bay to historiography about Western Canadian development, also requires clarification of terminology. I use 'Western Canada' to designate a "region process … transcending time."[56] This is to accommodate changes in naming between 1508 and 1920, including such geographically and temporally nonspecific designations as the 'Northwest,' and such temporally finite – if geographically mutable – designations as 'Rupert's Land.' I

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[55] See, advertisement, "To Hudson Bay and the Eastern Arctic," *The Beaver* 13, no. 1 (June 1933): back cover, with map and text that indicate the HBC considered Hudson Bay to be distinct from the Eastern Arctic. William Dennis, "The Sources of North-Western History," *Transactions of the Manitoba Historical and Scientific Society*, 1st ser., no. 6 (read 1883), reflected the view, commonplace in southern and central Canada at the time, that the North was a region, of "waste lands" and little appreciable activity, that extended from the upper margin of the "fertile belt" of the Prairie West (about 54° north latitude), through the Arctic with which it was regarded as coextensive and synonymous. See also Kerry Abel and Ken S. Coates, eds., *Northern Visions: New Perspectives on the North in Canadian History* (Peterborough ON: Broadview Press, 2001; also W.L. Morton, "The 'North' in Canadian History," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 4th ser., vol. 7 (1970): 40; Richard Diubaldo, "The North in Canadian History: An Outline," *Fram: The Journal of Polar Studies* 1, no. 1 (1984): 187; Ken Coates, "The Rediscovery of the North: Towards a Conceptual Framework for the Study of the North/Northern Regions," *Northern Review* 12, no. 13 (summer/winter 1994): 15–43.

[56] Kathleen E. Braden, "Region, Semple, and Structuration." *Geographical Review* 82, no. 3 (July 1992): 239; see also Thomas Bender, "The Boundaries and Constituencies of History," *American Literary History* 18, no. 2 (summer 2006): 268, who discusses the problematic nature of naming of regions to suit the agendas of nation states.

have adopted this solution because, as a means of dealing with a temporally layered becoming place, it is both convenient and in accord with historiographical precedence.[57] Although ultimately an abstraction, the spatial dimensions of this becoming place may be visualized as roughly coinciding with the North American land mass adjacent to the western shores of Hudson Bay that fall within the borders of Canada as they now stand. Western Canada is not the central focus of my dissertation. Conceptually, geographically, and historiographically it lies adjacent to my subject area, which is an ocean arc of the Atlantic world. With this thesis, I establish connections to, but do not describe, Western Canadian development. Rather, it is taken as a given.[58]

The term 'development' may also signal a wide range of connotations. The development to which I refer in this thesis consists of changes that, under Western European conceptions of progress in the economic realm, equate with 'growth.' In economic theory, change/development that supports growth in formalized human

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[57] See Braden, "Regions, Semple and Structuration," 239, 242. On precedence, see for example, J. Arthur Lower, *Western Canada: An Outline History* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1983), 1, 2, by whose definition Western Canada includes "the four provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia and the two territories, Yukon Territory and Northwest Territories, which lie mostly west of Hudson Bay." Lower supplies a map. See also Richard I. Ruggles, "The West of Canada in 1763: Imagination and Reality," *Canadian Geographer* 15, no. 4 (1971): 235, who notes "The 'Canadian West' is a recent entity in geographic terminology, since it did not begin to take definite form until into the nineteenth century, as agricultural, forestry, and mining populations began to diffuse through the area. Before this, the region was being explored and developed by fur-trading interests, at first British and French, and later, after 1763, by men from the new British colony of Canada. During this time there was no such region as Western Canada, but only a congeries of various ill-defined spaces which bore various names, such as le Pays d'en Haut, Rupert's Land, the West Main, the North Main, Buffalo Country, and so on. But before any of this area began to have original names applied to it, it lay unknown to Europeans, and was as such, Europocentrically, non-existent therefore."

[58] Gerald Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies, A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987); Jean Barman, *The West Beyond the West: A History of British Columbia,* 3d. ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007); Morris Zaslow, *The Opening of the Canadian North, 1870–1914* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1971); and Morris Zaslow, *The Northward Expansion of Canada, 1914–1967* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1988), taken together supply an overview of the history of development on land to the west of Hudson Bay.

economies is assumed to be possible, and, depending on the formulation, may be presented as desirable, probable, or inevitable to more or less varying degrees.[59] In using the term development, I do not mean to imply that I regard a specific type of growth in formal human economies as necessarily the best outcome, or that I agree with the economic arguments or assumptions of historians such as Innis, Morton, or Rich on causality and development.[60] I am agreeing, however, that between 1508 and 1920 change did take place in Western Canada, that its economic character was pronounced, and that, in its character, the change was consistent with what economic theorists describe as development.[61]

Likewise, regarding historical development in the broader Atlantic world, I accept both Burley and Sager's description of the relation between masters and servants aboard

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[59] The virgule between the terms above emphasizes a relationship between the two to clarify my intended meaning. Throughout this thesis, however, I also use the symbol between terms, names of people, and geographical place-names to indicate that each of the words or names so joined is equally important and applicable.

[60] I do not entirely reject Innis' use of the 'staples thesis' as a formulation on the grounds that it has a historical basis: see Innis, *Fur Trade in Canada*, 48, 178, where he notes that as early as 1694, John Graves Simcoe commented that "The Fur Trade has hitherto been the Staple of Canada," which suggests that whether or not this was the case, merchants were of the opinion that it was so, and acted accordingly. Similarly, on the issue of whether or not the Bay route represented a cost advantage, the fact that some traders of Quebec thought it did, mattered. Likewise, see Morton, *History of the Canadian West*, 24–25, which outlines what I regard as Morton's adaptation and application of Turner's 'frontier thesis' to describe "the conflict of interests which runs through our history," by arguing, in my opinion successfully, that energy generated by actors at the margins of 'empire' – including non-human actors such as whales – was both observable and consequential. I am therefore occasionally at odds with Rich in instances where his explanation appears to rest on asserting that planning and people originating in England were of an inherently superior cast.

[61] See Kenneth Norrie, Douglas Owram, and J.C. Herbert Emery, *A History of the Canadian Economy* 4th ed. (Toronto: Nelson, 2008), xix–xxv, for a discussion of theories of development in the Canadian context. Norma Jean Hall, "A 'Perfect Freedom': Red River as a Settler Society, 1810–1870," M.A. thesis (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 2003), 39–40, 43, 48–50, discusses development as a metaphor in economic theory and various ways it may be applied when analyzing historical communities to take into account locational distinctiveness and to avoid perpetuating myths vestigial to accounts of progress that posit the British political economic path as the norm. See also Bender, "Boundaries and Constituencies," 274, on the relation between teleology, development, and the nation state.

sailing vessels of the North Atlantic as paternalistic and therefore pre-industrial in character, as well as Sager's description of a shift in relations, with the transition to steamship technology, as part and parcel of a wider industrial transition. I am interested, however, by nuances in the disposition of social relations that are apparent in Hudson Bay shipping over time that contrast with theoretical schemata developed to explain activity in other maritime contexts. For example, during the late 1600s to late 1700s crews in Hudson Bay appear to have featured relatively 'rough' seafarers of a mercenary bent. Most were European, with experience in European conflicts. There were also a number of similarly militaristic 'adventurers' hailing from North American colonies. During the period, whether employed by the HBC, or by an 'interloping' interest, these sailors functioned as highly mobile labour and combat forces, moving between ship and shore in a manner akin to a marine corps, but serving the interests of private capital – sometimes their own capital – more directly than they followed state directives. I find, therefore, that 'borrowing' from "naval models" occurred prior to the advent of steam in a manner that blurred distinctions between land-based and seaward workplace relations.[62] As the eighteenth century closed, soldiering behaviour by sailors in Hudson Bay abated. It did not revive in the nineteenth century, even during wartime. Captains and crews employed by the HBC appear progressively more staid as violent challenges to Company

[62] See Sager, *Seafaring Labour,* 264; also Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea,* 242 n.76, 243 n.79, 250, who does not overtly make a connection between naval models and structures of authority in the merchant marine. See also Arthur Herman, *To Rule the Waves: How the British Navy Shaped the Modern World* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2005), 29, 36, 64, 85, 154, 162–63, 172–73, 185, 194, 240, 242–43, 369, 463–64, who points to connections between pre-existing conventions of authority in land warfare prosecuted for profit, including largely informally devised approaches to managing sea borne combat forces – particularly in the "violent maritime culture of the West Country" – and the development and formalization of principle, procedure, and tradition in the British navy. According to Herman, the essential 'Jack Tar' was a navy seaman.

suzerainty over the Bay ceased, regardless of the vessel type on which they worked – though, arguably, overt violence still occurred, if directed at non-human targets. Further, even after 1918, there is evidence that HBC, British, or Canadian regulation did not preclude the presence in Hudson Bay of "rough" and "shanghaied" seafarers, with naval experience, apparently intent on pursuing ends of dubious legality, aboard vessels with combustion engines, and clothed alike to suit the climate – not manuals on deportment.[63] Transition towards an industrial style of workplace management based on a naval model may have been, as Sager argues, a discernable, general trend in transatlantic merchant shipping in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Close analysis at the regional scale, however, reveals the existence of operational agency on the HBC ocean arc – an observation affirmed by additional evidence presented in the chapters that follow.

Overview

The chapters of this dissertation are organized to address three apparent misapprehensions about the seafaring activity of Hudson Bay in three analogous parts. While Parts I to III may be read separately as stand alone descriptions of HBC ships, routes, or sailors, the points made are interrelated. Each can only be fully understood by referencing the others, because the overall thematic cohesiveness of this dissertation lies

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[63] See "Off to Seek Trade in Arctic Lands; Leden Expedition Sails Tomorrow for Exploration in Northern Waters. Will Deal with Natives. Plan Survey of Mineral Products and Food Supplies – Ethnologists in Party," *New York Times* (8 July 1919): 11; W.O. Douglas, "The Wreck of the 'Finback'," Chesterfield Inlet, "Chester 'Then'," History of Chesterfield Inlet, <http://www.chesterfieldinlet.net/history_comerlong.htm> (accessed 30 April 2007); and Joe Hartwell, "The History of the USS Radnor: Radnor's Navigation Officer Lt. jg George Comer, Biography of Captain George Comer," (26 May 2008) <http://freepages.military.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~cacunithistories/radnor.htm> (accessed 9 August 2008).

in the underlying theoretical orientation. I illustrate Pred's aphorism that "People produce history and places at the same time that people are produced by history and places."[64]

Part I counters the perception that the volume of shipping in Hudson Bay and associated waters from 1508 to 1920 was too low to warrant study: in Chapter Two by examining the frequency and variety of voyages to Hudson Bay; in Chapter Three by discussing the significance of shipwrecked, overwintering, and coastal vessels in the Bay.

Part II challenges the notion that HBC voyages to and from Hudson Bay are adequately understood as mere economic linkages between landward nodal points, by reconstructing passages of the voyage from historical accounts and describing the HBC ocean arc in terms of space and place. Each chapter brings different aspects of the production of place to the fore – though the various aspects are present, to some degree, in other chapters. Chapter Four describes the assumptions of HBC planners regarding the material continuity of their world and the usefulness of mariners' knowledge. Chapter Five presents sailors as special holders of knowledge, introducing the texts of seafarers as sources of information about HBC voyaging. Chapter Six confirms that sailors' cumulative experience was a means of knowing indeterminate space by natural patterns – especially patterns of wind, sky, and water, whether the latter was liquid, gaseous, or frozen. Chapter Seven highlights path-project intersections with nature. It also discloses indeterminacy with respect to place naming and past practice, augmenting prior observations on sailors' knowledge as practical, experience based, and specially held. Chapter Eight describes the role of sailors in establishing landward bases that enabled

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[64] Allan Pred, "Interpenetrating Processes: Human Agency and the Becoming of Regional Spatial and Social Structures," *Papers of the Regional Science Association* 57 no. 1 (December 1985): 8.

expansion of the fur trade. In addition, it suggests that levels of transoceanic maritime activity significantly affected the fortunes of bayside communities. Chapter Nine underscores the point that the passage of time – specifically with respect to seasonality – affected traverses of maritime space. Taken in combination with the preceding chapters of Part II, it affirms that sailors' activity was as much a response to constraint as it was determining of opportunity in forwarding the HBC institutional project that underlay Western Canadian development.

Part III turns to an examination of HBC seafarers. In describing different ways in which people responded to the opportunities and constraints of place and the HBC institutional project, cumulatively the chapters counter any perception that communication between ship and shore was limited, spatially and temporally, or that social reproduction was a straightforward process. Chapter Ten shows that HBC ships, as workplaces and material contexts of social interaction, were as distinctive as the natural environment they traversed. Chapter Eleven addresses community aboard HBC ships, illustrating that within the Atlantic world transatlantic voyaging was a distinct social experience with a complex dynamic. Chapter Twelve recounts the heterogeneity of the HBC maritime workforce, highlighting the participation of North Americans to demonstrate that communication between the margin and centre of the HBC institutional project was neither unidirectional, nor simple Chapter Thirteen takes a closer look at HBC sailors, both as historical agents and as constructs of history, through a discussion of class, 'race'/culture, and gender as categories of analysis. Chapter Fourteen establishes that the familial connections of HBC seafarers mattered to the making of Western Canada

as a region with a particular and complex history of development.

The concluding chapter reprises salient points in support of the thesis, with final observations on seafarers of Hudson Bay and the implications of their past activity.

Chapter Two

Ships to Hudson Bay: Origins of Vessels and Frequency of Voyages, 1508–1920

This chapter contests existing assessments of the volume of shipping in Hudson Bay from 1508 to 1920, by referencing a list of ships, which I compiled and appended to this thesis as "An Indication of Seafaring Vessels in, or Voyaging to, Hudson Bay and Strait, including Journeys into Ungava Bay and Foxe Basin, 1508–1920." I argue that the number of voyages sent by various interests to Hudson Bay indicates that a more varied pattern of communication existed than previous commentators have assumed.[1]

The observation that HBC shipping to Hudson Bay occurred on an annual basis is standard in existing historiography. In 1888, for example, A.H. Markham observed that "During the whole of the eighteenth century vessels belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company made annual voyages to, and from, England to York and Moose Factories."[2] In 2003, archivists Judith Hudson Beattie and Helen M. Buss remarked that the pattern

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[1] See Appendix A, this thesis.

[2] A.H. Markham, "Hudson's Bay and Hudson's Strait as a Navigable Channel," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography*, New Monthly Series, 10, no. 9 (September 1888): 554.

extended into the nineteenth century.[3] Few authors, however, address the question of how many ships made up an annual fleet. Those who do, supply limited assessments. In 1883, for example, Charles N. Bell, an advocate of Northern development, critically remarked a generally held impression:

> that the Hudson Bay and Strait were navigated only by one or two vessels belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, which carried the trading goods for their annual business from London to York Factory and other posts about the Bay, and returned with the previous year's yield of furs.[4]

After pointing out that the HBC was not the only instigator of voyages to the area, Bell attempted to correct the perception of a low incidence of maritime traffic in the Bay by presenting a series of statistics. He argued that between 1789 and 1880, there had been "133 visits of vessels of the Hudson's Bay Company, from England to York Factory." This suggests there had been not quite two vessels per year for ninety-one years. He then cited United States Government records for 1861 to 1874 as indicating that American whalers had made forty-nine direct voyages to Hudson Bay. This would be almost four vessels per year. Bell also noted that, "over 730 voyages have been made into the Hudson Bay."[5] Although he was not explicit about the period during which these voyages occurred, the implication is that he meant from 1670 to the early 1880s. If this were the

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[3] Judith Hudson Beattie and Helen M. Buss, eds., *Undelivered Letters to Hudson's Bay Company Men on the Northwest Coast of America, 1830–57* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003), 13.

[4] Charles N. Bell, "Navigation of Hudson Bay and Straits," *MHS Transactions*, 1st ser., no. 7 (read 10 May 1883).

[5] *Ibid.* J.A.J. McKenna, quoted in A.H. de Trémaudan, *The Hudson Bay Road (1498–1915)* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1915), 62, similarly asserts "In the course of a century and three-quarters," there had been 750 vessels. It is not clear what dates delimit the century.

case, the frequency would approach four vessels per year.[6] Markham, equally imprecise, gave a lower estimate, commenting that there were "sometimes two, and even three being sent in a year."[7] In 1930 Harold A. Innis, arguing that the relation between the technical demands of the trade in Hudson Bay and Company organization had been established early and endured to at least 1763, inserted a quote from1674 indicating "two ships out and home."[8] Ian Kenneth Steele writing in 1986 at one point intimated a still lower estimate, citing "very low shipping volume" on the part of the HBC, and "a commercial monopoly excluding all intercolonial shipping," as resulting in a singular "annual ship" from 1675 to 1740. He revised that number upward, however, with the statement: "Except for the years 1699–1712 … at least two ships went out to the bay each year."[9] More recently, Michael F. Dove found that from 1668 to 1770 there were 256 voyages, which, expressed abstractly, indicates about 2.5 ships per year over that 102-year span.[10] Nevertheless, Dove also allowed that due to warfare, or a decline in the price of furs, there was "the possibility of no ship making the annual voyage." This "irregularity of

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[6] See also Charles N. Bell, *Our Northern Waters: A report presented to the Winnipeg Board of Trade regarding Hudson's Bay and Straits: being a statement of their resources in minerals, fisheries, timbers, furs, game and other products: also, notes on the navigation of these waters, with historical events and meteorological and climatic data* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Board of Trade, 1884), 15, who asserts "fully 750 vessels have passed through Hudson's Strait. … over 274 years," which would be from 1610–1884.

[7] Markham, "Hudson's Bay and Hudson's Strait," 556.

[8] Harold A. Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History* (1930; revised ed. 1956; reprint, with revised foreword, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), 129, see also 289, where he notes that there were four ships sent out in 1857.

[9] Ian K. Steele, *The English Atlantic, 1675–1740: An Exploration of Communication and Community* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 85, 87.

[10] Michael F. Dove, "Voyages to Rupert's Land: The Hudson's Bay Company's Maritime Component, 1670–1770," in *Selected Papers of Rupert's Land Colloquium 2002,* compiled by David G. Malaher (Winnipeg: Centre for Rupert's Land Studies, 2002), 27.

voyages," he suggested, presented "continual annoyances," to governors stationed bayside.[11] It would appear from the foregoing that for 193 years – 1668 to1770, and 1789 to 1880 – the numbers of HBC vessels sent from London to Hudson Bay was relatively low and the frequency of their arrival subject to interruption.

There are problems, however, with the above assessments. First, there is the question of evidence. Despite Bell's reputation as a competent historical authority and assurances that he consulted the best and most credible sources available, not all 'authorities' on Hudson Bay were in agreement as to who among their fellows should be considered reliable sources of information.[12] Were Charles Bell's estimates off? Second, there is the problem of non-commensurability. Dove's data, for example, because referring to another period, cannot be applied to verify Bell's data, nor extrapolated to describe other centuries. William Barr, who considered a lengthier span of time – 1670 to 1913 – thus incorporating both periods, stated that the HBC sent "usually … between 2 and 4 ships" annually.[13] He apparently based his assessment on the work of Alan Cooke

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[11] Dove, "Voyages to Rupert's Land," 18, quotes Governor Fullartine's complaint from Albany in 1703 and a similar one made by seafarer and governor, Anthony Beale, from the same post in 1706. See also Glyndwr Williams, "The Hudson's Bay Company and Its Critics in the Eighteenth Century," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 20 (1970): 150, who states, "The extent to which the Company was embroiled in war, diplomacy and politics at this time obscures the fact that its trade remained a small-scale affair: a couple of ships a year to the Bay."

[12] Bell, "Navigation of Hudson Bay and Straits," maintains that he compiled the substance of his paper from "the best authorities and most credible sources which are open to the writer," noting that he was "readily and cheerfully supplied with valuable information by the Hudson's Bay Company people, both in London and at the posts about the Bay," and that he made an "examination of the works of the old-time navigators." Markham, "Hudson's Bay and Hudson's Strait," 565, in describing the discussion that took place following the presentation of a paper to the Royal Geographical Society, records an instance of dispute over the authority of reputed, even esteemed, authorities on Hudson Bay. See Chapter Eight, this thesis, 172–73 n.8.

[13] William Barr, "The Eighteenth Century Trade between the Ships of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Hudson Strait Inuit," *Arctic* 47, no. 3 (September 1994): 236.

and Clive Holland, whose examination of sea traffic confirms Bell's observation that non-HBC ships sailed to the Bay.[14] From at least 1682, France, together with New France, was the most obvious alternate source of voyages. The French maritime presence was formidable by 1684, particularly in James Bay where French naval and supply ships held sway from 1697 to 1713. In the first year of that period of dominance, Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville was sent with five ships to the Bay. France demonstrated its naval power again in 1782, with the arrival of Jean-François Galaup, Comte de La Pérouse and his squadron of three armed ships. Supply vessels for trading ventures based in France and Quebec continued to visit the Bay into the twentieth century.[15] In addition to French vessels, there were whaling ships and various voyages of exploration. Understanding the frequency and numbers of vessels voyaging to Hudson Bay and associated waters clearly requires more information than existing estimates and general observations supply.

The ship list compiled and presented as Appendix A addresses the lack of detail about seafaring vessels along the Northern Seaboard.[16] It represents a wide survey,

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[14] Ibid., 236, 245; Alan Cooke and Clive Holland, *The Exploration of Northern Canada: 500 to 1920, A Chronology* (Toronto: Arctic History Press, 1978).

[15] See A. Stevenson, "Arctic Fur Trade Rivalry," *The Beaver* 5, no. 2 (autumn 1975): 46–51; and Thibault Martin, "Rivalités franco-anglaises en Hudsonie, (1904–1926) à l'origine de la structuration du territoire," *Recherches Amérindiennes au Quebec* 32, no. 2 (2002): 71–81.

[16] Edith I. Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company: Work, Discipline, and Conflicts in the Hudson's Bay Company, 1770–1879* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1997), 110, observes, "Counting and classifying create an impression of scientific accuracy." I exercised care in the compilation and interpretation of the list. Nevertheless, I regard accuracy – no less 'scientific' – as an equivocal attribute. See Joan Wallach Scott, "History in Crisis: The Other's Side of the Story," *The American Historical Review* 94, no. 3 (June 1989): 680–92, who argues that "history is an interpretive practice, not an objective neutral science. To maintain this does not signal the abandonment of all standards; acknowledging that history is an interpretive practice does not imply that 'anything goes.' Rather, it assumes that discursive communities (in this case, of historians) share a commitment to accuracy and to procedures of verification and documentation. … It also acknowledges that … the knowledge we produce is contextual, relative, open to revision and debate, and never absolute"; see also Thomas S. Kuhn, "[The New Reality in Art and

necessary in part due to the lack of an existent list that is comprehensive in terms of span of time, geographical scope, and vessel inclusion. The breadth of inquiry was also a response to conflicting assertions within primary and secondary sources. Some differences, such as dates of a voyage, were resolved relatively easily with a high degree of certainty. Others, such as the name of the ship's master on a voyage, were not. In some instances, discrepancies trace back to the records for a voyage: some ships' logs are unsigned.[17] Even if there is a signature, there is the possibility that a mate transcribed and signed the log, not the master.[18] Added to this, there are instances where the master purported in one ledger recording the voyage differs from that recorded in another ledger referencing the same voyage. W. Gillies Ross attests to another source of disagreement among various records, finding that occasionally "whaling masters declared for one region but subsequently sailed to another."[19] Similar inconsistencies in the records of the HBC suggest the possibility of clerical error. The "Book of Ships' Movements," for example, records the *Lady Head* as having sailed for Victoria in 1890 and the 'tea clipper' *Titania* as having visited York Factory, Charlton Island, and Moose River. Yet records of advance payments to their respective crews in the Company's portledge books suggest

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Science:] Comment," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 11, no. 4, Special Issue on Cultural Innovation (October 1969): 403–12.

[17] See for example, HBCA, B.3/a/6, Albany Post Journal, "Journall of a Voyage anno 1714 without a name, Albany Fort [sic]"; and HBCA, "Herd, David J. (*ca.* 1814–1878) (fl. 1835–1878)," Biographical Sheet, which notes that of the eight logs Herd kept aboard the *Prince Rupert*, only one was signed, and that of eight logs he kept aboard the *Prince of Wales,* one was unsigned.

[18] See R.J. Cunningham and K.R. Mabee, *Tall Ships and Master Mariners* (St. John's NL: Breakwater, 1984), 159–60.

[19] W. Gillies Ross, "The Annual Catch of Greenland (Bowhead) Whales in Waters North of Canada 1719–1915: A Preliminary Compilation," *Arctic* 32, no. 2 (June 1979): 98; and W. Gillies Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos: Hudson Bay 1860–1915* (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975), 144 n.3.

the reverse: *Lady Head* appears to have visited Moose, as the vessel often did, while Captain 'Dandy' Dunn was rounding the Horn in *Titania*, following his normal route to Victoria.[20] There is also the problem of a voyage or vessel's obscurity. Passing mentions in primary sources sometimes trace to second hand accounts and oral transmission.[21] Where an arbitrary decision between conflicting sources was required, I relied on what seemed the most credible source. Where confirmation was lacking but a voyage was plausible, I included the vessel in the list, but for the most part attempted to err on the side of caution and underestimate the number of voyages.[22] My intent, in recounting the data, is to inform and to clarify the basis for my argument.

Analysis of the list enhances insight into the frequency, numbers, and varieties of seafaring vessels in Hudson Bay and its associated waters. In total, 1,301 entries in the list represent vessels that voyaged in and towards Hudson Bay from 1508 to 1920, a period spanning 412 years. Not all years have an entry. There appear to have been 147 years in which voyages towards, or entering the Bay from distant ports did not occur.

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[20] See HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements, 1719–1929; C.3/20, Portledge Books, 1845–1915; see also Basil Lubbock, "The Days of the Tea Clippers," *The Beaver* 8, no. 3 (December 1928): 104–6.

[21] See Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation: Made by sea or overland to the remote and farthest distant quarters of the earth, at any time within the compasse of these 1600 yeares.* vol. 1, ed. Edmund Goldsmid (1599; reprint of the 2d ed., reordered with indices, new illustrations and maps, Edinburgh: E. & G. Goldsmid, 1885), 14, 23, 25, 28, 31, 33, 35. In his prefaces to the first and second editions Hakluyt promises "singular probabilities & almost certaintie therof" [sic] and describes "discourses" on which he relied – including sources such as poems. He defends the inclusion of "some particulars which hardly will be credited," by avowing "Herodotus, Strabo, Plutarch, Plinie, Solinus, yea & a great many of our new principall writers … hath reported more strange things … Nay, there is not any history in the world (the most Holy writ excepted) whereof we are precisely bound to beleeue ech [sic: believe each] word and syllable."

[22] A.G.E. Jones, *The Greenland and Davis Strait Trade 1740-1865, from Lloyd's Register of Shipping and the Register of the Society of Merchants, Ship-Owners and Underwriters* (Cambridge, UK: Bluntisham Books for the author, c.1996), vii, 151–53, supplies a thorough and apt discussion of the difficulties involved in compiling 'accurate' ship lists.

During the 1500s, after the first entry for Sebastian Cabot's reputed and disputed voyage of 1508, eighty-five of the century's remaining ninety-one years have no entry. Sixty-one years of the following century likewise have no entry. All of these gaps occur prior to 1676. For the 244 years after this date, I found reference to at least one voyage per year, excepting 1695 as the entry for that year indicates. Thus, after 1508, non-indigenous or foreign voyaging to Hudson Bay and associated waters only occurred in roughly two-thirds of the years in which such activity could have occurred – preponderantly in the later years. By mid-seventeenth century, interest in accessing the relatively unregulated region's still plentiful stock of beaver saw the frequency of voyaging rapidly increase and, within a quarter century, a variety of interests sent ships to Hudson Bay on a yearly basis.[23]

If, for the 244 years after 1676, excepting 1695, reference to at least one voyage per year entering into or setting out towards the Bay was found, then 'annual voyages' appears an entirely reasonable phrase to apply. There are complicating differences, however, among the voyages that qualify the designation of 'annual.' In the first place, whether after 1676 or before, not all vessels set out from England. As early as 1619, Jens Eriksen Munk in the *Enhiörningen* and Jens Hendrichsen in the *Lamprenen* arrived in Hudson Bay from Denmark, and as late as 1910 Captain Anderson in the *Sorine* represented that country in the Bay. Zachary Gillam commanded another early, non-English endeavour, setting out for the Bay at some time from 1662 to 1664 in a ship from

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[23] See Innis, *Fur Trade in Canada*; E.E. Rich, *The History of the Hudson's Bay Company 1670–1870*, vol. 1 (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1958); and Arthur S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870–71, Being a History of Rupert's Land (The Hudson's Bay Company Territory) and of the North-West Territory (Including the Pacific Slope)* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1939).

Boston with Médard Chouart, Sieur Des Groseilliers and Pierre-Esprit Radisson aboard.[24]

After 1576 there were some 866 vessels sent from England, organized by English interests. Forty-three of these voyaged prior to 1670, including at least two that sailed on 'proto-HBC' ventures from 1667 to 1669. After a royal charter confirmed the formation of the HBC in 1670, the Company was not the only source of the English voyages. Eleven vessels were sent to interlope on "the sole Trade and Commerce of all those Seas, Streightes, Bayes, Rivers, Lakes, Creekes and Soundes in whatsoever Latitude they shall bee, that lie within the entrance of the Streightes, commonly called Hudson's Streightes," which had been granted to the HBC – including four Moravian Missionary Society vessels.[25] There were as well ninety-four ships sent towards the Bay by either the Admiralty, or the Government of England, although some were merely escorts through

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[24] Howard Nicholas Eavenson, "Appendix 21: Two Early Works on Arctic Exploration by an Anonymous Author," in *Map Maker & Indian Traders: An Account of John Patten, Trader, Arctic Explorer, and Map Make; Charles Swaine, Author, Trader, Public Official, and Arctic Explorer; Theodorus Swaine Drage, Clerk, Trader, and Anglican Priest* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1949), 174. Morton, *History of the Canadian West*, 46–47, notes that the Boston expedition reached Hudson Strait, but its navigator "who was accustomed to fetch sugar from Barbados, took fright at the icebergs"; Irene M. Harper, "The First Complete Exploration of Hudson's Bay: Pierre Esprit Radisson and Medard Chouard Groseilliers," *Cambridge Historical Journal* 3, no. 1 (1929): 80–81, explains that "Zachary Gillam was first hired by Radisson to make an interloping journey to Hudson's Bay ... nearly six years before it happened that Gillam was engaged as a carrier by the London merchants, together with his partner Captain Stannard, another Bostonian. When we remember that Zachary Gillam not only turned back from the bay on the pleas of not understanding ice navigation, but also managed to disable his rotten ship before returning to Port Royal, suing Radisson for the entire loss of cargo and ship, and that Radisson lost the whole of 1665 in fighting this lawsuit, which he won at the cost of his remaining capital, we can understand why Radisson [in 1668] sailed with Stannard and sent Groseilliers with Gillam"; G. Andrew Moriarty, "Gillam, Zachariah," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, online edition [DCB] <http://www.biographi.ca/EN/index.html> (accessed 2004–2008), gives the date of the aborted voyage as 1663, Grace Lee Nute, "Radisson, Pierre-Esprit," DCB, is less certain of a date, and in Grace Lee Nute, "Chouart Des Groseilliers, Médard," DCB, notes only that "several journeys to Hudson Bay were begun" from Boston.

[25] Hudson's Bay Company, "The Royal Charter for Incorporating the Hudson's Bay Company. A.D. 1670," The Project Gutenberg EBook of Charter and Supplemental Charter of the Hudson's Bay Company, no. 6584 (September 2004) <http://www.gutenberg.org/catalog/world/readfile?fk_files=9258&pageno=1> (accessed 25 April 2008). I have assumed that the London whaler, *Perseverance*, of 1897 was identical with the ship of the same name contracted by the HBC for that year – a possible mistake. Nor am I

seas closer to England.

Thirty-one 'interloping' ships sailed from Scotland. Of these, twenty-six were Dundee whalers that sailed from 1886 to 1912. Two were whaling vessels from Peterhead in 1916 and 1918. While the voyage of the one ship that set out from Cork, Ireland – the *Humphrey and Thomas* (alias *Rainbow*) of 1688 – was connected to an English interloping venture headed for Hudson Bay, it is not clear that owner and master, Zachary Bardon, had harboured any intention beyond sailing for the Newfoundland fishery.

Ships hailing from French ports present an equally varied picture. Due to a lack of surviving, or readily accessible sources, the picture is also vague. By 1783, twenty-nine vessels appear to have set out from France, while ten set out from New France. For at least fourteen of the voyages organized by interests in France, however, New France might better qualify as their port of origin. 'French' voyages display a variety of permutations that highlight the intrinsic mobility of sailors, ships and commercial finance. Iberville in the *Pélican*, sailing from, and on behalf of France, was in Acadia/ New England and Newfoundland prior to reaching Hudson Bay in 1697. La Pérouse arrived there aboard the *Sceptre* in 1782 after having made a lengthy circuit of waters from Cape Breton Island to the West Indies. Members of the NWC based in Montreal organized the interloping voyage of the *Eddystone* in 1803, and the chartered ship sailed from that port, however the voyage appears to have begun and ended in England – a

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certain that this was the vessel captained by Alexander Murray of Peterhead and crewed by Murray family members from 1891 to 1894. See G.V. Clark, "An Arctic Veteran," *The Beaver* 50, no. 1 (summer 1970), 64–67.

pattern repeated by the HBC in the twentieth century.[26] In addition, from 1907 to1920, the Revillon Frères Fur Company sent 'annual' supply ships from both Paris and Montreal. Three of these appear on the appended list as confirmed, the others as presumed only.[27]

As the above mentions of Boston and Montreal indicate, North American ports added cultural and political variety to voyages sent to the Bay. After Zachary Gillam's 1663 voyage, approximately 186 American vessels, from either New England or the United States, sailed for the Bay. One of these was the ill-fated adventure undertaken by Gillam's son, Benjamin, in the appropriately, piratically named *Bachelor's Delight*.[28] In 1753 and 1754, two attempts at exploration, supported by Benjamin Franklin and funded by subscription – including that of merchants from Maryland, New York, and Boston – originated in Philadelphia.[29] Whalers undertook the next series of voyages from the United States, beginning in 1860 with the *Syren Queen* and *Northern Light* of Fairhaven Massachusetts. Two more voyages from that port set out in 1863 and 1864. In the

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[26] HBCA, C.7/45-47, *Eddystone*: Letters of Marque, Provision Books 1803–1815; Marjorie Wilkins Campbell, *Northwest to the Sea: A Biography of William McGillivray* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Company, 1975), 69.

[27] "Keys to History: Revillon Frères," McCord Museum of Canadian History, online (20 Aug. 2007) <http://www.mccord-museum.qc.ca/en/collection/artifacts/L103.30> (accessed 26 August 2007), states that Revillon Frères, "maintained a fleet of steamers that sailed annually to all of their trading posts." William C. James, *A Fur Trader's Photographs: A.A. Chesterfield in the District of Ungava, 1901-4* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985), states, however, that the *El Dorado* was chartered in 1903 and carried provisions sufficient "to equip five posts for a period of five years."

[28] In 1682, Benjamin Gillam sailed from Boston, and met up with the HBC ship *Prince Rupert* [I], which his father had captained to the Bay, raising suspicions of conspiracy between the two. Their plan, if one existed, was disrupted by Radisson and Groseilliers in command of the *St. Pierre* and *Ste. Anne* [I] and, at the time, allied with Canadian interests. The Canadian force took Benjamin prisoner; Zachary went down with his ship in a storm.

[29] Henry E. Bryant, "Notes on an Early American Arctic Expedition," *The Geographical Journal* 33, no. 1 (January 1909): 72–75.

meantime, New Bedford began sending out whalers in 1861; at least seventy-five sailed from that port by 1906. From 1863 to 1892, New London sent about twenty-three. Other known ports of origin for American voyages include: Sag Harbour, New York, in 1864 and 1866; Groton, Connecticut in 1866; Provincetown, Massachusetts in 1872 and 1915; Stamford, Connecticut in 1907, 1910, and 1913; and the port of New York in 1871, 1878 and 1919. Works that refer to Reginald B. Hegarty's research on American whalers usually credit the 1915 voyage of the *A.T. Gifford* under A.O. Gibbons from Provincetown as bringing the last American whaling vessel into the Bay.[30] In 1919, however, George Comer of the "converted yacht" *Finback* avowed whaling to be his purpose in the Bay – although W.O. Douglas, a contemporary, Canadian Royal Northwest Mounted Police [RNWMP] officer, suspected Comer's real intent was to scuttle the ship.[31] Based on published lists complied by Cooke and Holland, it appears that, in addition to the 114 whaling voyages from the American ports alluded to above, there may have been as many as sixty-five others from unspecified, though likely Northeastern, ports in the United States.[32]

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[30] Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 37, 40, 74.

[31] See Reginald B. Hegarty, ed., *Returns of Whaling Vessels Sailing from American Ports: A Continuation of Alexander Starbuck's 'History of the American Whale Fishery,' 1876–1928* (New Bedford MA: Old Dartmouth Historical Society, and Whaling Museum, 1959), 44; and Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 146 n.10; see also W.O. Douglas, "The Wreck of the 'Finback'," Chesterfield Inlet, "Chester 'Then'," History of Chesterfield Inlet <http://www.chesterfieldinlet.net/history_comerlong.htm> (accessed 30 April 2007), who offers an eye-witness assessment of Comer's intent. W. Gillies Ross, "George Comer (1858-1937)," *Arctic* 36, no. 3 (September 1983): 295, states that ethnographer Christian Leden had chartered the vessel "to carry out trade and scientific work among the Inuit of western Hudson Bay" before the *Finback* went aground in Fullerton Harbour.

[32] See Cooke and Holland, *The Exploration of Northern Canada*, 220; and Clive Holland, *Arctic Exploration and Development c. 500 B.C. to 1915: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1994), passim. Cooke and Holland conclude that there were "146 whaling voyages to Hudson Bay, 117 were American and the rest were British." Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 21, 23, particularly 37, Table 1, and

Newfoundland was another North American source of vessels that sailed for Hudson Bay. As early as 1765 Governor Hugh Palliser had advocated voyages to establish "Communication and trade" to the northward.[33] In 1884 and 1897, the Canadian Government chartered Newfoundland vessels for exploratory purposes. From 1907 to 1920, the HBC was also chartering Newfoundland ships, entering into combined ownership arrangements with Newfoundland shipping interests, or using St. John's as an intermediary port for its own vessels.[34] Although most of the voyages in which Newfoundland figures prominently seem to have been chartered by non-Newfoundland interests, fishing, sealing, and whaling voyages that originated in the Dominion are recorded as having ventured near Hudson Strait.[35]

From 1884 to 1920, at least seventy vessels, affiliated to varying degrees with the

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144 n.3, appears to be the principal source for their figures. Ross acknowledges that arriving at definite numbers is fraught with "confusions," and explains that his tablature is based "on Starbuck and Hegarty but incorporates any additional information gained from an examination of ships' logbooks and journals." I used a similar method, but have not been able to reconcile his totals (tabled numerically by decade from 1860 but only up to 1915), or those of Holland (given as numerical values per year), with vessels found through my research. The most problematic years include 1866 (Holland gives eight whalers, I found ten), 1867 (Holland gives nine whalers, I found only three), 1877 (Holland gives two whalers, I found six), and 1919 (I counted George Comer's *Finback* as a whaler).

[33] Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Memorial University of Newfoundland, "(Jonathan Horsnaill for) Hugh Palliser, Order Enclosed with Report on the Newfoundland Trade and Fisheries, April 8, 1765," Colonial Office 194 Papers, vol. 16, 179–179v.

[34] Clifford P. Wilson, "Nascopie: The Story of a Ship," *The Beaver* 27, no. 2 (September 1947): 3.

[35] William Howe Greene, *Wooden Walls among the Ice-flows: Telling the Romance of the Newfoundland Seal Fishery* (London: Hutchinson, 1933), 270–71, 274–75, 278–79. William Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay and Cumberland Gulf in the Steamship 'Diana' under the Command of William Wakeham, Marine and Fisheries Canada in the year 1897* (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, 1898), 24, 42, also 4, 22, 28, 62, 76, reported seeing the *Nimrod* of Newfoundland near Cape Chidley. Further, he indicates that unknown numbers of Newfoundland fishers frequented the "great cod fishing resources," situated off Port Burwell, the Button Islands, and Sir Terence O'Brien's Harbour, Cape Chidley. He asserts that the grounds were 'discovered' by Captain Samuel Blandford, "one of the best known and most successful ice captains in Newfoundland"; see Shannon Ryan, "Blandford, Samuel," DCB.

Canadian Government, set out for the Bay. In 1920, W. A. Bowden, of the Department of Railways and Canals, gave testimony before a Senate Committee that suggests there had been significantly more, claiming, "we put thirty-eight vessels through the straits during the season of 1914" – a year for which I found specific references to only a third as many.[36] Although arriving at exact figures would require more extensive research, indications are that a significant number of the vessels originating in Canada, including RNWMP craft, circulated on the way to, or returning from the Bay among ports ranging from Toronto to those of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia in addition to ports in Quebec and Newfoundland.

Vessels hailing from more distant North American ports also arrived in Hudson Bay. On occasion, HBC ships normally associated with the Pacific Northwest coast, such as the *Ganymede* in 1834, *Eagle* in 1836, and *Princess Royal* in 1885, circulated to the Bay – a circumstance which contributes to the confusion over the whereabouts of the *Lady Head* and *Titania* in 1890.[37] In 1913, two non-HBC tramp steamers arrived from Texas, and in 1920, the HBC steam ship *Nascopie* headed for Savannah after completing a Bay voyage.

Whatever the various origins of vessels and crews, not all voyages designed for the Bay actually arrived. Some ships never sailed – for example the *Discovery* ketch, bought by George Carteret in 1667 but ultimately rejected as inadequate. Some ships

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[36] Senate, Special Committee on Navigability and Fishery Resources of Hudson Bay and Strait, *Report*, 10–11 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1920), 53. John A. Cormie, "The Hudson Bay Route," *Geographical Review* 4, no. 1 (July 1917): 33, asserts that "In 1915 thirty-six passages are known to have been made without mishap." Because the statement is unconfirmed by documentation, I have assumed this is in fact a reference to voyages of 1914.

[37] Beattie and Buss, *Undelivered Letters*, 413.

turned back, as did Charles II of England's *Eaglet,* which proved unequal to the rough seas of the North Atlantic and returned home, awash with her masts cut in 1668.[38] There were vessels that virtually vanished. The *James* set out in 1682 from Tynemouth and never returned to port.[39] Neither did the American whalers *Pavillion* of Fairhaven and the *George Henry* of New London in 1863. Dundee whalers *Polar Star* and *Séduisante* were likewise lost in 1899 and 1911 respectively. There were also British Admiralty vessels, such as the *Shark* sloop of 1746, under Christopher Middleton and serving as an escort in light of such overlapping conflicts as the War of Jenkins' Ear, War of Austrian Succession, and King George's War. As was a common practice for many escorting commanders, Middleton only went far enough on the outward voyage to ensure the convoy was beyond the reach of enemy privateers.[40] Similarly, on a return voyage, HBC ships might rendezvous at the end of the North American shipping season of the North Atlantic – usually September – with patrol ships designated to ensure that British whalers, fishers, and others following the route had safe passage if seas closer to home were actively contested.[41] Although HBC ships seldom fell prey to enemy predation

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[38] Rich, *History of the Hudson's Bay Company,* vol. I, 32, 36, 38; and Morton, *History of the Canadian West*, 50.

[39] Rich, *History of the Hudson's Bay Company,* vol. I, 104, 105.

[40] William Coats, *The Geography of Hudson's Bay: being the remarks of Captain W. Coats, in many voyages to that locality, between the years 1727 and 1751: with an appendix containing extracts from the log of Capt. Middleton on his voyage for the discovery of the North-west passage in H.M.S. Furnace in 1741–2*, ed. John Barrow (London: Hakluyt Society, 1852), v. See also "Ships taken by the French and Spaniards, December 1746," and, "Ships taken by the English. December 1746," *The Gentleman's Magazine* 16 (December 1746): 696–98. Similarly, HBCA, C.1/420, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1808, "A Journal of a Voyage to York Fort 1808, John Turner master," Friday, 27 May, notes that on the outward journey the HBC convoy was in communication with HMS *Ned Elvin* brig, Richard O'Connor Commander.

[41] See G. S. Graham, "The Naval Defence of British North America 1739–1763," *Transactions of*

while crossing the Atlantic, occasionally voyages were disrupted. The *Hudson's Bay* [I] escaped an attack by three French privateers in 1689 and turned back while still in the Channel. The ship's consort the *Northwest Fox* was not as fortunate and ultimately surrendered.[42] Over two and a quarter centuries later, warfare again interfered: German submarines attacked HBC steamships *Nascopie* and *Pelican* during the Great War, though both survived to continue voyaging as supply ships to Hudson Bay.[43]

Of approximately 702 HBC vessels carrying supplies across the Labrador Sea from 1576 to 1920, about 694 succeeded in making landfall inside Hudson Strait. Of 513 non-HBC vessels sent, 413 appear to have arrived along the coast of the Bay or its associated waters.[44] All told, the average rate of arrival for those 344 years would be just over three ships per year. The pattern described by historians from Bell to Dove – of anywhere from two to four vessels annually – might appear, therefore, to be adequately representative. It is also, however, somewhat misleading. Depending on how the data is

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the Royal Historical Society, ser. 4, 30 (1948): 95–110. Steele, *English Atlantic,* 118, suggests HBC captains would arrange – he states "plea" – for homeward convoy protection while on their outward journey. Michael A. Palmer, "'The Soul's Right Hand': Command and Control in the Age of Fighting Sail, 1652–1827," *The Journal of Military History* 61, no. 4. (October 1997): 684, indicates the extent to which affecting a rendezvous was likely dependent more on the "initiative and judgment of individual fleet commanders," than on protocol. See also Steve Pope, *Hornblower's Navy: Life at Sea in the Age of Nelson* (London: Orion, 1998), 19, 20. HBCA, Search File, Ships, Misc. "38. Geo III (1797/98) (Cap. 76)", Search File, Ships, Misc., "Convoy. 1693"; and Search File, Ships, Misc., "Convoy. 1698," indicate HBC ships were exempt from formal regulation with respect to joining convoys, though the London Committee made funds available for captains to purchase protection from any "man of war of force" they might encounter.

[42] Rich, *History of the Hudson's Bay Company,* vol. I, 255.

[43] Wilson, "Nascopie," 3–11; G. Edmund Mack, "Nascopie Downs Submarine," *The Beaver* 19, no. 1 (June 1932): 18–21; "S.S. Pelican," *The Beaver* 9, no. 1 (June 1929): 215.

[44] Vessels of uncertain origin – such as those listed as 'already local', and 'locally crafted,' in Appendix A, this thesis – excluded; likewise smaller vessels such as yawls, cutters, shallops, and those sent out in frames.

broken up, more nuanced if equally imperfect patterns are evident.[45] For example, in considering the average numbers of vessels to land in the Bay and associated waters over five-year intervals, several distinctions become apparent. First, as Tables 2.1 to 2.3 illustrate, the intervals break down into three immediately obvious periods.

The first period, from 1575–1670, shows a relatively low frequency and number of arrivals. At its start, this period looks promising: during the first interval of 1575–1580, there were seventeen ships; in the third, 1585–1590, there were seven. None arrived, however, during eleven intervals, and only from one to three landed during the remaining six intervals. In the second period, from 1670–1860, the number of ships landing per interval increases dramatically. Only five out of thirty-eight intervals have fewer than ten arrivals: the first and second, spanning 1670–1680, and the seventh to ninth from 1700–1715. Twenty-nine intervals have from ten to twenty landings; four intervals have from twenty-one to twenty-four. The third period begins in 1860 with another obvious increase in the number of vessels to land: fifty-one arrived during the first interval, forty-nine in the second. Eight of the twelve intervals show from twenty-seven to forty-three vessels. Only in one interval, 1890–1895, did the number of landings drop below twenty-five. The interval from 1910–1915 is exceptional in that eighty-nine vessels landed.

The periodization created by considering vessel landings in five-year intervals indicates that the number of vessels to arrive per year increased over time. There was a low of no landings per year during the first period of ninety-five years, when the abstract

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[45] See Pat Hudson, *History by Numbers: An Introduction to Quantitative Approaches* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 13–16, 18.

Table 2.1 Number of Ships to arrive in Hudson Bay and associated waters during the 'First Period,' 1575 –1670

Interval (years)	Arrivals
1575–1580	17
1580–1585	00
1585–1590	07
1590–1595	00
1595–1600	00
1600–1605	02
1605–1610	00
1610–1615	03
1615–1620	03
1620–1625	00
1625–1630	02
1630–1635	02
1635–1640	00
1640–1645	00
1645–1650	00
1650–1655	00
1655–1660	00
1660–1665	00
1665–1670	01

Source: Appendix A.

Table 2.2 Number of Ships to arrive in Hudson Bay and associated waters during the 'Second Period,' 1670–1860

Interval (years)	Arrivals
1670–1675	07
1675–1680	05
1680–1685	21
1685–1690	15
1690–1695	19
1695–1700	20
1700–1705	07
1705–1710	08
1710–1715	08
1715–1720	14
1720–1725	14
1725–1730	13
1730–1735	18
1735–1740	14
1740–1745	16
1745–1750	23
1750–1755	21
1755–1760	21
1760–1765	17
1765–1770	16
1770–1775	15
1775–1780	18
1780–1785	20
1785–1790	14
1790–1795	19
1795–1800	15
1800–1805	16
1805–1810	14
1810–1815	18
1815–1820	14
1820–1825	15
1825–1830	12
1830–1835	12
1835–1840	18
1840–1845	14
1845–1850	15
1850–1855	19
1855–1860	15

Source: Appendix A

Table 2.3 Number of Ships to arrive in Hudson Bay and associated waters during the 'Third Period,' 1860–1920

Interval (years)	Arrivals
1860–1865	51
1865–1870	49
1870–1875	31
1875–1880	33
1880–1885	39
1885–1890	36
1890–1895	22
1895–1900	36
1900–1905	34
1905–1910	43
1910–1915	89
1915–1920	27

Source: Appendix A.

average number per year was .38 – or in more realistic terms, one vessel every three years or so. During the sixty years of the third period, the number of landings rises to a high of almost forty vessels in one year – 1914 – when the average number of vessels per year was about 8.2. Thus, it is only during the second period that the general pattern of anywhere from two to four vessels annually is seen to apply – the average number of landings per year being about 3.0. Incidentally, the 190-year span of this period, 1670 to 1860, largely coincides with the temporal limits historians of the HBC, the fur trade, and the 'birth of Western Canada,' tend to set on their studies – 1670 to1870.

Historians are aware of the limitations periodization may impose on historical understanding – for better or for worse.[46] In the case of shipping to Hudson Bay, I would argue that adopting the periodization suggested by the political economic history of Western Canada does not always supply the best means of seeking answers to questions about its socio-cultural history. Accepting the span from 1670 to 1870 as sufficiently representative of maritime communication in the Bay and associated waters would be to miss instances of historical variation that, while perhaps of little significance to the history of business, or of formal politics in Canada, are germane to this thesis. For

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[46] See "Periodization in History," *Dictionary of the History of Ideas*, Electronic Text Library, University of Virginia Library (Gale Group, 2003) <http://etext.virginia.edu/cgi-local/DHI/dhi.cgi?id=dv3-58> (accessed 21 November 2008); and Chris Lorenz, "Comparative Historiography: Problems and Perspectives," *History and Theory* 38, no. 1 (February 1999): 31, who opines "Some kind of chronology or periodization is usually the organizational principle of empirical historiography, which is most akin to 'normal,' traditional history. Correspondingly, usually little or no theoretical reflection is contained in it"; also Bruno Latour, quoted in Donald Wesling, "Michel Serres, Bruno Latour, and the Edges of Historical Periods," *Clio* 26, no. 2 (winter 1997): 191, 202, observes that human beings, "have always actively sorted out elements belonging to different times. We can still sort. *It is the sorting that makes the times, not the times that make the sorting*" [italics in original]. He argues, "recent ecological thinking, driven by historically new global cultural issues including a reasoned disrespect for science as a creator of risks, is led by urgent logics to the recalibration of paradigm and period."

example, it is important to grasp at such intangibles as what a 'low' or 'high' rate of sea-borne communication would be.

The terms high and low signify relative values and in the case of Hudson Bay and associated waters, these values are relative in an insular sense. This is because conditions in the area – particularly the prevention of communication by ice, but including low population density, the mix of indigenous cultures, and the minimal formalized settlement of new arrivals – set it apart from other shipping destinations in the Atlantic world. Combined with the difficulty of organizing commensurate data from available record bases in other locations, these differences hamper outside comparison. For the purpose of this thesis, it is nevertheless necessary to recognize that quality of communication between foreign-born seafarers and native-born residents mattered, both with respect to the transfer of socio-cultural norms, and with respect to opportunities for participation in new realms of work because of the transfer.[47]

Restricting the study to the second period, 1670–1860, would see the loss of actual highs and the lows, flattening values and eclipsing differences in quality of communication. What is actually the middle range – the second period – would be taken as representative, yet that range does not suggest the same degree of increase in communication over time. If anything, on a purely visual basis, it suggests that

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[47] See "native-born," and "native, *adj.*" OED. For the purpose of this thesis, the compound 'native-born,' is used to signify "A. *adj.* 2. Designating a person born in a particular place, as distinguished from an immigrant or incomer." The word 'native' is used as in "III. Senses relating to place of birth or origin," specifically, "9. a. Of a country, region, etc.: that is the place of a person's birth and early life," including "b. In extended use (chiefly *literary*). Of an object, event, circumstance, etc.: being or forming the source or origin of a thing or person," and "c. *to have one's foot on* (*one's*) *native heath* and variants: to be on home ground, esp. in one's place of birth," but excluding the senses described under the entries for 10. a., 10. b., 11 a., 11 b., and 11 c., that imply a biological heritage, an anthropological classification, or a politically constructed category.

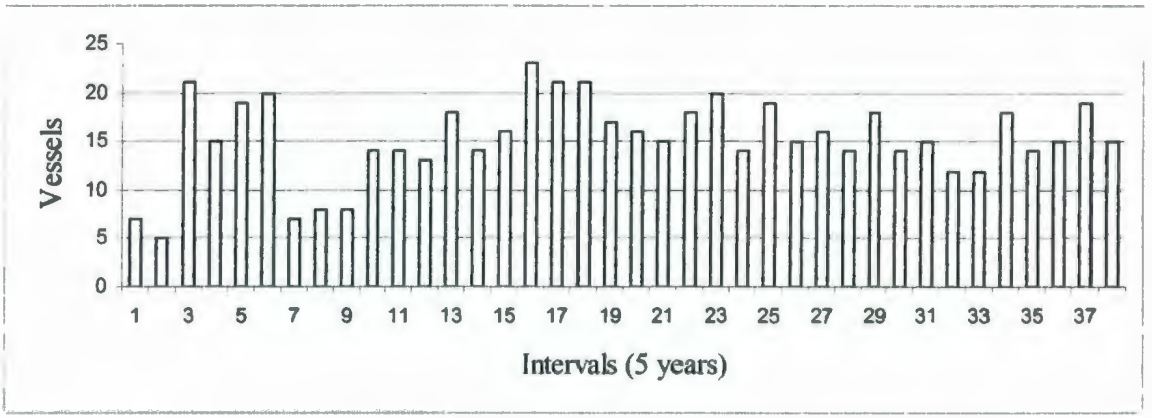

Figure 2.1. Second Period: Number of Vessels to Land in Hudson Bay and Associated Waters, 1670–1860. Source: Table 2.2.

communication began tapering off after the sixteenth interval of 1745–1750 (see Figure 2.1). Although adding intervals to accord with the date of the transfer of Rupert's Land from the HBC to Canada would indicate a dramatic increase in activity about that time, the historical perspective would remain limited.

Adopting the longer perspective to include all three periods from 1570–1920, shows the number of larger vessels landing in Hudson Bay and associated waters fell within the range of 'one or two' (0.4–2.6) per year in seventy out of 345 years. The range was from 'about three or four' (2.8–4.4) vessels per year in 150 out of the 345 years; 'about five to seven' (5.4–7.2) vessels per year for thirty-five years; and more than seven per year for twenty-five years. Strictly speaking, there were 2.0–4.0 vessels arriving for less than half of the 345 years considered. Asserting that there were from 'two to four ships per year' does not adequately characterize maritime activity in Hudson Bay.

Charles Bell was apparently justified in contesting any generally held impression that historically there was a 'HBC vessel or two, in and out of the Bay annually.' There

were more ships plying the area than that. The frequency with which vessels arrived varied over time, and 'routine' HBC voyaging did not mean routine scheduling of arrivals. There were from as few as zero non-indigenous vessels to thirty-eight or more in the Bay and associated waters in a given year. To have informative value, a general statement as to an average number of voyages requires specifying a period of time in which less variable patterns existed. In addition, examining the variety of voyage origins as a factor in the history of maritime communication reveals that adhering to the periodization of political economic history does not necessarily serve analysis along socio-cultural lines. Clearly, the variety of vessels sailing for the Bay and associated waters, and arriving along the Northern seaboard complicated such dualities as English and French cultural affiliations, social conventions, or political loyalties. The pattern of communication was more varied than such historiographically imagined dualities allow. The volume and variety of shipping in Hudson Bay from 1508 to 1920 was sufficient to support the thesis that there is merit in considering sailors to the area as active agents of complex communication.

Chapter Three

Ships in Hudson Bay: Shipwrecked, Overwintering, and Coastal Vessels as Vehicles of Communication

There was more to maritime activity in Hudson Bay than merely recounting the numbers, frequency of arrival, and variety of origins of transatlantic vessels suggests. Historians of North America as diverse as Harold A. Innis, Eric W. Sager, and James W. Carey have pointed out that while transport technology served as a means of advancing communication between spatially distant centres and their margins to affect control, it also served as a means of maintaining communication within communities that allowed resistance.[1] As numerous historians have demonstrated, people of the Atlantic world were inventive: in locations where commercial interests introduced the shipping trade, those

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[1] See for example, Harold A. Innis, *The Bias of Communication* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1951; reprint, with introduction by Marshall McLuhan, 1964), 4, 5, 10, 11, 15, 16, 76–77; and Harold A. Innis, *Empire and Communications*, Books That Explore Canada Series (1950; reissued, ed. Mary Quayle Innis, University of Toronto Press, 1972: reprint, with new introduction, ed. Alexander John Watson, Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2007), 26, 27, 30, 39, who considers not only media – including languages – but the technology associated with producing and transporting media as vehicles of communication; Eric W. Sager, *Seafaring Labour: The Merchant Marine of Atlantic Canada, 1820–1914* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 11, 44–46, 66; James W. Carey, *Communication as Culture: Essays on Media and Society*, Media and Popular Culture Series (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989; reprint, New York: Routledge, 1992), 2–3, 4; also Colin Divall, review of *Institutions in the Transport and Communications Industries: State and Private Actors in the Making of Institutional Patterns, 1850–1990*, ed. Lena Anderson-Skog and Olle Krantz, *Technology and Culture* 41, no. 3 (July

interests also organized necessary support systems, increasing opportunities for local access to maritime technology. In turn, local accesses to, and mastery of this technology conferred an ability to create and manage change, thus furthering disparate local interests.[2] With respect to the Atlantic Canadian maritime context, Sager has pointed out that historical shipping records organized to track transatlantic commerce are not necessarily reliable indicators of coastal activity. As my remarks in the following pages illustrate, the records held in Hudson's Bay Company Archives [HBCA] are no different when it comes to researching maritime activity in the Bay.[3] Nevertheless, by referencing the list of ships in Appendix A, I establish that, as in other areas of the Atlantic world, coastal activity in Hudson Bay and associated waters augmented transoceanic maritime activity, further complicating patterns of communication.[4] By presenting evidence that

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2000): 635-636, who comments on technology as factor in communication and structuration. He notes that Michael Robbins argued that without "a thorough knowledge of transport technologies and techniques ... historians ran the risk of drawing nonsensical conclusions from their studies."

[2] For comments on the importance of coastal shipping to diverse ports of the Atlantic world, see Margaret E. Shepherd and Nigel Goose, *From Hellgill to Bridge End: Aspects of Economic and Social Change in the Upper Eden Valley 1840-95* (Hatfield UK.: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2005), 177–79; Ralph D. Paine, "Bound Coastwise," *The Old Merchant Marine*, vol. 36, Chronicles of America Series, ed. Allen Johnson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921), 76–77; Sager, *Seafaring Labour*, 21; Paul Dickinson, "Smith's coasters: The Shipping Interests of C.G. Smith 1889–1966," *South African Journal of Economic History* 3, no. 1 (1988): 20–32.

[3] Sager, *Seafaring Labour*, 21, observes that data from shipping records "underestimates the importance of North American coastal passages" because often they were not recorded. He estimates coastal vessels might have made up as much as eighty-five percent of all tonnage entering a port. Of the Atlantic Canadian shipping examined, he concluded, "a majority of sailors in the industry spent most of their time in coastal waters." See also Paine, *The Old Merchant Marine*, 77, who observed, "The coasting trade has been overlooked in song and story."

[4] Canada, Transport, Infrastructure and Communities, *Report*, Hudson Bay Gateway Shortsea Shipping Workshop, 24 November 2003 (Winnipeg MB, 2003) <www.tc.gc.ca/pol/en/acf/shortseaS/workshop/HudsonBayGatewayWSReport.pdf > (accessed 26 November 2008), 5, describes coastal shipping in Hudson Bay – short sea shipping [SSS] – as "a concept with a long history that is being re-examined" to forward the interests of Northern communities. The report argues, "SSS should assure that communities in Nunavut and the Bay region have access to multiple port points and marine options which

the opportunity for local initiative to shape seaborne communication existed, I demonstrate that understanding the relation of seafarers to historical process requires contextualizing their activity.

Historiographical observations that transatlantic ships into Hudson Bay typically completed voyages "in one shipping season," imply that, relative to fur trade activity on land, the duration of contact between oceangoing vessels and bayside communities was too brief to be of much consequence.[5] Not all transoceanic vessels in Hudson Bay sailed into the Bay and promptly set out on a return voyage however. Some ships, wrecked before landing, arrived only figuratively: they might have made Hudson Bay, but they did not reach a port. Others, once grounded or sunk offshore, never left the Bay. Sailors managed to refloat some wrecked vessels. They retrieved the HBC schooner *Gypsy* in 1814, after it had lain submerged off the East Main for an entire winter. The *Prince of Wales* [II], which, baffled by fog, had run aground on Mansel Island in 1864 was also reclaimed – though the latter's consort, the barque *Prince Arthur*, wrecked on the same date at the same place was not.[6] Some wrecks were partially salvaged. In 1686 Iberville,

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permit them to source supplies from all parts of the nation. This also means that all parts of the country have a means, via appropriate transport and marine links, to trade with Nunavut, and to compete for supply contracts." Transport Canada, "Short Sea Shipping Market Study," *Report* (TP 14472E), (MariNova Consulting Ltd., 2005) <www.tc.gc.ca/TDC/projects/marine/a/5563.htm> (accessed 26 November 2008), presents short sea shipping as a competitive transport strategy.

[5] Judith Hudson Beattie and Helen M. Buss, eds., *Undelivered Letters to Hudson's Bay Company Men on the Northwest Coast of America, 1830-57* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003), 13; see also A.J.W. Catchpole and Marcia-Anne Faurer, "Ships' Log-Books, Sea Ice and the Cold Summer of 1816 in Hudson Bay and Its Approaches," *Arctic* 38, no. 2 (June 1985): 121.

[6] HBCA, B.372/a/1, Great Whale River Post Journal, 1814–1815, Thomas Alder, "Whale River Journal, 1814/15," 9 July; W. Gillies Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos: Hudson Bay 1860–1915* (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975), 43; Charles N. Bell, "Navigation of Hudson Bay and Straits," *MHS Transactions*, 1st ser., no. 7 (read 10 May 1883). See also John Macfie, "Centenary at Severn House 1770," *The Beaver* 49, no. 4 (spring, 1970): 46, 47, on the sinking and salvaging of the Severn sloop; H.M.S.

who had arrived with De Troyes' victorious overland force, had his English prisoners fashion "some sort of a shallop" out of remnants of the HBC chartered vessel, *Success*, which had been wrecked the previous year. The prisoners were to be transferred in this modified vessel from Saint-Jacques (formerly Charles Fort), to winter at Saint-Louis (formerly *Moussebae*, or Moose).[7] The vessel, however, in turn wrecked before reaching its destination.[8] Other ships were more thoroughly and immediately lost to salvage attempts. When caught by ice in Hudson Strait, for example, the *Hudson's Bay* [IV] of 1736 promptly sank.[9] Out of the 1,301 ships referred to in the previous chapter as setting out towards Hudson Bay, only 1,107 appear to have actually made landfall within Hudson Straight.

Unlike ships that never sailed, or those that turned back before making Hudson Strait, it is possible that vessels wrecked and lost on the Northern Seaboard, even if their crews did not survive, had an impact on the maritime experience of people of the Northern Seaboard. The story of the HBC's *Fort Churchill* from 1913 to 1915 is illustrative. Newly arrived from Falmouth, England, the ketch was blown – unmanned –

Cotter, "The Ship 'Prince of Wales': 1850, Full Rigged Ship in Hudson's Bay; 1934, New Zealand Coal Hulk," *The Beaver* 13, no. 4 (March 1934): 42.

[7] Charles Bayly quoted in John Clapham, *Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1671–1674,* ed. E.E. Rich (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1942), 19, supplies the early name for Moose; William Coats, *The Geography of Hudson's Bay: being the remarks of Captain W. Coats, in many voyages to that locality, between the years 1727 and 1751: with an appendix containing extracts from the log of Capt. Middleton on his voyage for the discovery of the North-west passage in H.M.S. Furnace in 1741–2,,* ed. John Barrow (London: Hakluyt Society, 1852), 49, expresses a preference for 'Indian' place names for their descriptive content and renders Moose as *Moose-e-sepee*, "from the abundance of those deer," adding that it is also called "*Nimmow-e-sepee*, from the abundance of sturgeon in it."

[8] E.E. Rich, *The History of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1670–1870* vol. 1 (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1958), 209, 242.

[9] Oliver Warner, "Voyaging to York Factory," *The Beaver* 37, no. 3 (winter 1957): 22.

from its moorings off York Factory in a gale. It quickly entered local lore as a "bewitched" ship, "racing wildly here and there about the open Bay."[10] When recovered by the HBC two years later, the vessel's out-of-the-way berth in the Belcher Islands and missing masts raised suspicions that enterprising Inuit in that area had towed and stowed it for salvage – spreading stories of wayward sightings to divert attention from their cache. They may have been following salvaging practices of long standing. On finding oak incorporated in the gunwale of a 'paleo-Eskimo' umiak, archaeologist Eigil Knuth surmised that Inuit whalers might have been appropriating parts from European vessels as early as the 1650s.[11] During his voyage from 1821 to 1823, William Edward Parry of HMS *Fury*, had been "excited" to find that Inuit used wood salvaged from wrecked whalers to build sleds.[12] Frederick Schwatka, in his narrative of a voyage aboard the *Eothan* to Depot Island in 1878, and George S. Garvin, in his journal of the 1878–1879 voyage of the whaler *Isabella*, both noted the presence of a schooner, the *Soowoomba* (alias *Fort Churchill*), sans deck, and under the command of an Inuit identified as Captain Mokko, or Marco. Both also suspected that the vessel had been obtained by less

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[10] W.B. Cameron, "Runaway Ship," *The Beaver* 28, no. 1 (June 1948): 5, 9. Ernest Renouf, "Salvage: Being the Story of the Search for and the Reclamation of the Lost Schooner, 'Fort Churchill,' and Incidentally a Few Observations Concerning the Customs of the Belcher Islands Eskimos," *The Beaver* 2, no. 2 (1921):16–21; and Cameron, "Runaway Ship," 6.

[11] Eigil Knuth, "An Outline of the Archeology of Peary Land," *Arctic* 5, no. 1 (March 1952): 17–33; and Eigil Knuth, "The Paleo-Eskimo Culture of Northeast Greenland Elucidated by Three New Sites," *American Antiquity* 19, no. 4 (April 1954): 367–81.

[12] William Edward Parry, *Journal of a Second Voyage for the Discovery of a North-west Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific; Performed in the Years 1921-22-23* (New York: E. Duyckinck, G. Long, Collins and Co., Collins and Hannay, W.B. Gilley, and Henry I. Megarey, 1824), 360.

than the "most honest of means."[13] In the absence of more comprehensive records of past activity – written, oral, or archaeological – it is impossible to determine whether wrecked and lost vessels had a widespread impact on local residents, or what sort of impact. Questions remain, for example, as to when and where they may have modified Aboriginal boat building designs or vessel use.[14]

There are other instances of transoceanic voyages that diverged from the pattern of 'a trip completed in one shipping season.' Whalers in particular appear to have wintered more often than not. W. Gillies Ross, Alan Cooke, and Clive Holland estimate that of the 146 whaling voyages to Hudson Bay they consider, 105 overwintered – at least seventy-one percent.[15] Historians of Inuit peoples, such as Ross, Dorothy Harley Eber, and Lance Edwin Davis have found that the resultant contact between American whalers and Inuit groups led to the participation of Inuit individuals in commercial whaling enterprises – afloat as well as ashore, women and children as well as men.[16] Historians

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[13] Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 93.

[14] See Ibid., 87–93, 147 nn. 2, 3, 7; also Peter Pitseolak and Dorothy Eber, with Ann Hanson trans., *People from Our Side: A Life Story with Photographs* (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1975; reprint with new preface, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 20, 75, 98, show the longevity of Inuit technology. See also "Kayak under sail. Manitounuk Island, Hudson Bay," photograph, 1927, item no. 72-81-7-1-9-9, L.T.B. (Dept. of the Interior, Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch), Louis Auguste Romanet Fonds, University of Alberta Archives <http://archive1.lse.ualberta.ca/asp/photo_main.aspx?ItemName= 72-81-7-1-9-9> (accessed 5 June 2007). See Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, *Report*, vol. 1, *Looking Forward, Looking Back* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1996), cached at Indian and Northern Affairs Canada <http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ap/pubs/sg/sg-eng.asp> (accessed 28 Feb. 2009), pdf., p. 8. For this thesis, the term 'Aboriginal' signifies an individual or group that belonged by birth and/or by association to "organic political and cultural entities that stem historically from the original peoples of North America." According to this definition, Aboriginality is not based on 'race.'

[15] Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 21; Alan Cooke and Clive Holland, *The Exploration of Northern Canada: 500 to 1920, A Chronology* (Toronto: Arctic History Press, 1978), 220.

[16] Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 21, 52, 60, 77–85; Dorothy Harley Eber, ed., *When Whalers were*

have not undertaken the same type of historical inquiry with respect to other Aboriginal groups. This is perhaps not surprising, given that cursory, quantitative evaluation, of what sparse data on shipping patterns has been organized within existing Western Canadian historiography, tends to support the conclusion that expending effort on further study would be substantially unrewarding. An evaluation of data from the list featured in Appendix A on a purely numerical basis would appear to bear this judgement out.

The list indicates that of approximately 1,107 vessels to arrive in the Bay and associated waters between 1576 and 1920, about 174 overwintered – meaning temporarily established a berth bayside, as distinct from adopting a permanent station. Twelve of these vessels wintered for more than one year at a time. An additional seventy-six vessels for which data is incomplete, may well have wintered; because they were whalers, or like whalers, the ship's complement was intent on conducting a particular, seasonally dependent round of activity before returning home; or because records suggest that they were obliged by unforeseen circumstances to wait for a more favourable time to leave. Yet, all told, even assuming the highest possible occurrence – adding 'presumed' French voyages for instance – these figures indicate that less than twenty-five percent of the vessels to arrive in Hudson Bay and associated waters overwintered.

Up North: Inuit Memories from the Eastern Arctic (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989); Lance Edwin Davis, Robert E. Gallman, and Karin Gleiter, *In Pursuit of Leviathan: Technology, Institutions, Productivity, and Profits in American Whaling* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 4, 39, 40, 52. For additional references to 'sailing Eskimos,' see: L.T. Reichel, "Report of the Visitation of the Mission in Labrador ... in the Summer of the Year 1876," *Periodical Accounts* 30/31, no. 4 (1877): 145–156, translated from *Missions-Blatt der Bruedergemeine* <http://www.mun.ca/rels/morav/texts/reichel2.html> (accessed: 4 June 2007); R.N. Hourde, "Sophisticated Eskimos," *The Beaver* 32, no. 2 (September 1952): 36–37; and Philip Goldring, "Inuit Economic Responses to Euro-American Contacts: Southeast Baffin Island, 1824–1940," in *Historical Papers*, 21, no. 1 ed. Dana Johnson and Louise Ouellette (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association/La Société historique du Canada, 1986), 151–52, 157, 161–62, 167–68, 171.

The percentage of wintering vessels that may have communicated with native inhabitants who were not Inuit is even lower. Fully ninety of the known wintering vessels featured in the list were whalers that frequented predominantly, if not exclusively Inuit territories. Seventy-two of those to 'perhaps winter' were likewise whalers of Inuit-frequented waters.[17] At best, there were possibly eighty-six overwintering ships among non-whaling vessels in non-predominantly Inuit territory between 1576 and 1920. This does not mean that communication between sailors from ships and people from shore was more limited where whalers were less common however. The fact that different groups of people did not share the same kind of exposure to maritime experience does not necessarily mean that they diverged in degree of exposure to maritime experience.

While it may seem at first glance that the 'Northern Indians', 'home guard Indians,' or 'Native families' at bayside trading locations had fewer opportunities for exposure to seafaring than the Inuit 'Ship Natives' at whaling stations, there are other kinds of opportunity to consider. From the early years of the HBC enterprise, there were vessels such as the barque *Imploy* (1672), or the sloops *Diligence* (1717), and *Whalebone* (1721), which, having sailed from London, were meant to remain stationed in the more southern reaches of the Bay for several years. Ships such as the *Knight* frigate, which was stationed bayside 1696–1712, remained for extended periods before eventually returning to London. There were other vessels – from sloops such as the *Beaver* [I] (1726), *Success* [II] (1749), and *Union* (ca. 1824), to schooner/brigantines such as the *Mainwaring* (1807), *Otter* (ca. 1850), and *Mink* (1874) – that remained permanently stationed bayside until

[17] See Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 41, 55, 58–59, 60.

they were lost, rotted out, or broken up. Then there were the local vessels that were made, and stayed, on the Bay.

Leaving aside indigenous craft, the earliest locally crafted vessel might have been a shallop, which by Thomas Gorst's account was brought "in plank" to the Bay and there constructed in 1670.[18] Similarly, other vessels, including the sloops *Good Success* (1717), and *Marten* [I] (1724), as well as the barge *Quicohatch* (1733), were sent "in frames" to be assembled bayside. Some, for example the schooner/sloops *Phoenix* (1744), and *Beaver* [III] (1828), or the yawl *Plover* (1870), appear to have incorporated – at the very least – locally crafted components, from wooden masts and iron brackets to oakum caulking.[19] Still others, such as the "fine floaty" sloop *Albany* [III] built at Albany River in 1716, were essentially constructed of bayside materials, including locally procured timber and planking.[20] Because such endeavours were restricted to locations below the treeless 'barren grounds,' Inuit did not experience the same degree of exposure to the shipwright's craft as did peoples of more southerly locations. The concentration of coastal fur trade posts in the lower reaches of the Bay, and at that principally on the West Main, meant that Inuit groups had a lower rate of exposure to vessels dedicated to coastal voyaging.

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[18] Rich, *History,* vol. I, 67. See Alice M. Johnson, "Thomas Gorst," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Online edition [DCB] <http://www.biographi.ca/EN/index.html> (accessed 2004–2008), who notes that Gorst sailed aboard the *Prince Rupert* in 1670 and kept a journal of his stay at Charles Fort for the trading season of 1670–1671. The exact whereabouts of the journal is a mystery. Likely Rich relied on John Oldmixon, *The British Empire in America, containing the history of the discovering, settlement, progress and state of the British Colonies on the continent and the islands of America,* vol. 1 (London: 1708).

[19] See HBCA, B.372/a/1, Great Whale River Post Journal, 1814/15, Thomas Alder.

[20] Thomas McCliesh, letter, Albany Fort, 20 August 1717, in *Letters from Hudson Bay, 1703–40*, ed. K.G. Davies, with A.M. Johnson (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1965), 72.

Whereas coastal voyaging in the southern reaches of the Bay began in the 1670s and continued as a critical component of HBC trade, relatively few HBC craft ventured north above the post at Churchill River. The earliest HBC trading voyages northward along the West Main were carried out from 1719 to 1722, but were intermittent at best by 1737. In that year the *Churchill* and *Musquash* failed to find the North West Passage. Two equally fruitless attempts followed: the voyages of the HMS *Furnace* and HMS *Discovery*, in 1741, and the *Dobbs* and *California*, in 1746. Public agitation against the preservation of the Company's monopolistic privilege, by HBC critic Arthur Dobbs, inspired all three expeditions. Otherwise, HBC voyaging further northward than Company posts had lapsed. The HBC conducted somewhat regular, if not particularly frequent, exploratory trade voyages to the north of Churchill from 1751, but these ceased after 1790.[21] Up until 1882, when the Company reinstituted some trade further north to counter inroads made by American whalers, official policy dictated that Inuit "desiring to trade" had to bring their goods – whalebone, oil and hides – south to Churchill.[22] On the East Main, coastal voyages likewise became routine on the southern reaches of James Bay, but remained sporadic to the north, from Great Whale River to Ungava Bay, until the late nineteenth century. People native to lands adjacent to the more southerly coastal routes of Hudson and James Bays could become accustomed to the coastal maritime

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[21] See for example, HBCA, B.42/a/47, Fort Churchill Post Journal, John McBean, "NE Journal of the most material Occurrances [sic] on board the Churchill Sloop from 11 July to 23^{d} Aug$^{st.}$ 1756 Kept by John M^{c}bean Master".

[22] Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos,* 31–32; John Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse: Hudson's Bay Company Transport, 1670–1821," Ph.D. diss. (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1978), 1, 4, 10, 37, 67; Richard I. Ruggles, *A Country So Interesting: The Hudson's Bay Company and Two Centuries of Mapping 1670–1870* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), 33, 41; Rich, *History of the Hudson's Bay Company,* vol. I, 559–61.

traffic while their neighbours to the north could not.[23]

The probable relation of southerly coastal voyaging to local experience is not a readily discernable, determinate feature in existing historiography. Perhaps partly because routine coastal voyaging on the Bay *was* routine, to date there has been little in the way of systematic study and organization of data pertaining to this activity. Geographer John Alwin, in his examination of HBC transport to 1820 filled some gaps, pointing out the importance ascribed to bayside communication, and in particular describing boat construction and use for inland voyaging.[24] Parks Canada historian Robert Coutts set out to describe late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century HBC coastal transport "in a general way," while identifying a particular vessel found buried in Sloop Creek at York Factory.[25] Aside from these two works, few published texts do more than refer to coastal voyaging in passing. From Alice M. Johnson and E.E. Rich, to Cooke and Holland, authors differentiate HBC exploration from regular coastal traffic, detailing the former but largely ignoring the latter unless something exceptional happened: a vessel was lost, captured, or used for a non-routine purpose.

The sketchy delineation of coastal voyaging by historians is perhaps not as indicative of disinterest as it is reflective of the dispersed and ambiguous references to

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[23] K.G. Davies, ed., with A.M. Johnson, *Northern Quebec and Labrador Journals and Correspondence, 1819–35* (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1963), lii–lxxviii; Ruggles, *Country So Interesting*, 33–35.

[24] Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse," 66, notes, for example, that "Such was the importance of Bayside sloops that commodores, or masters of each, were made members of the governing council at the post where the sloop was based."

[25] Robert Coutts, "Buried on the Bay: The Sloop Creek Schooner at York Factory and Hudson's Bay Company Marine Transport, 1878–1915," *Papers presented at the Rupert's Land Colloquium, Edmonton, 1994* (Winnipeg: Centre for Rupert's Land Studies, 1994): 319–32.

coastal activity found in the HBC record base. Some archival documents refer to vessels only obliquely, in that cargo or people 'sailed' to another location. Some references are perfunctory, mentions made, for example of 'the York sloop.' Some vessels are named, but named differently by separate individuals: James Knight referred to what the London Committee described simply as a yacht, sent out in frames in 1716, as the sloop called the *Good Success*, while his bayside contemporaries more often referred to it as the hoy *Success*.[26] Similarly, the *Phoenix* built in 1744 at Moose was described by James Duffield, the post master, as "a handsome sloop," but Joseph Isbister, master at Albany, called it a schooner and preferred the name *Albany*.[27] Additionally, methods of record keeping have obscured some references, and more might be missing.

Post masters such as Isbister at Churchill, Albany and Eastmain from 1748 to 1752, Alexander Light at Moose and Eastmain from 1739 to 1743, and William Falconer at Severn from 1783 to 1786, were sometimes also in command of associated sloops. There are, therefore, instances where a vessel's log and the journal of the post from which it sailed, or at which it arrived, are contiguous. In such cases, given the mass of HBCA material, it is difficult to find and separate out references to coastal voyaging.[28]

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[26] HBCA, A.1/33, fos. 124, 199d; A.6/3, fo. 133; B.239/a/2, 7–11 September 1716; B.42/a/1, 10 July 1721, cited in Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 59 n. 6.

[27] Rich, *History of the Hudson's Bay Company,* vol. I, 617.

[28] Joseph Isbister was chief factor at Fort Prince of Wales, 1748–1752 and kept the post journal, see HBCA, B.42/a/32-34, 36, 38. In 1752 he became chief factor of Albany and kept its post journal, 1753–1756, see B.3/a/34-35, 37, 46-48. From 1748 to 1752 he also kept the Eastmain journal, which includes ships' logs for the *Beaver* and *Moose*, see B.59/a/1-4. Alexander Light, master and trader working out of the *Moose* sloop, was also *de facto* master of the (floating) Eastmain Post, 1738–1743. From 1739 to 1743, he kept the journals: Moose Factory, District Statements, see B.135/1/9; and Eastmain Post Journals, see B.59/a/5-7. William Falconer was sloopmaster of the *Severn* as early as 1764. After release from capture by the French in 1782, he became master at Severn and of the *Severn*, 1783–1786, see B.198/a/29-33.

There are indications that separate logs once might have existed, in some instances at any rate. The HBC London Committee issued minute instructions to captains regarding the details to record on coastal excursions that were meant to expand trade and to map coastlines.[29] It is not clear, however, whether all coastal voyages generated logs, or that these followed a particularly nautical format. It may be that whether and how the details of a coastal voyage were recorded depended on the work experience of the HBC personnel in charge. Certainly the writings of sloop captain/post masters who had a seafaring past, such as Isbister's entries in the Eastmain Journals from 1735–1739 and Thomas Alder's from Big Whale River in 1814–1816, adopt a recognizably nautical air when describing conditions under sail.[30] Nevertheless, these records are nowhere near as exact as those maintained on transatlantic crossings. In instances where Committee instructions to an experienced master clearly required keeping a formal log – such as those to William Coats in 1749 – it is likely that detailed logs existed.[31] A contemporary journal, kept by John Marley aboard the *Churchill* sloop in 1748 and archived among the Churchill Post Journals, follows the format of HBC transoceanic ships' logs.[32] An earlier journal kept in 1717 by Peter Clemens, master of the *Diligence* sloop which was destined for coastal service includes elements of a formal log, such as tablature describing latitude

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[29] See, HBCA, A.6/3, 1-87, Official General Outward Correspondence, 1679–1910, *passim*.

[30] See HBCA, B.59/a/1-9, Eastmain Post Journals,1736–1744, for Isbister; B.372/a/1-6, Great Whale River Post Journals, 1814–1865, contains Thomas Alder's record of coastal voyaging from Eastmain, 1814–1816.

[31] HBCA, A.6/8, fos. 19-24d, 1749–1754, quoted in Ruggles, *Country So Interesting*, 16, see also 34–35.

[32] HBCA, B.42/a/33, Fort Churchill Post Journal, 1748–1749, John Marley, "A Journal of the Remarks at Prince of Wales's Fort pr [sic] Jno. Marley 1748."

and longitude on a daily basis.[33] The journal ends, however, on arrival in the Bay. Possibly journals that were virtually identical to transatlantic ships' logs were kept on a majority of coastal voyages. Presumably, these were forwarded to the Committee in London, but as with other documents, not all maritime records have survived. Consequently, material evidence confirming the supposition is missing. As historical geographer, Richard I. Ruggles, has pointed out, methods of record management and preservation at the London office of the HBC at times were haphazard.[34] His observation somewhat modifies Arthur Dobb's accusations that records were missing from public view because Company members were withholding geographical knowledge "that they may ingross a beneficial Trade to themselves [sic]."[35] It may be that accident and nonchalance took a greater toll than avarice, significantly reducing the store of HBC records.

While still in the Company's service, and in response to Dobb's published polemic, most particularly to the "incapacity and incompetency [sic]" of its geographical component, William Coats, long-time captain of HBC ships, became concerned that the HBC was less than assiduous in preserving and making "publick, for the use and benefit

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[33] HBCA, B.3/a/8, Albany Post Journal, 1717, Peter Clemens, "A Journall One Borde ye Dilligenc Sloop By Godss Assistance From Church hle [sic] Towards Albany Rivor In Hudsons Bay So God Send us a Good Voige: Amen."

[34] Ruggles, *Country So Interesting*, 3. See also Deidre Simmons, *Keepers of the Record: The History of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008), 26–28, on instructions to sea captains regarding journals.

[35] Arthur Dobbs, *An Account of the Countries ajoining to Hudson's Bay, in the North-west Part of America: Containing a Description of their Lakes and Rivers, the Nature of the Soil and Climates, and their Methods of Commerce, &c. Shewing the Benefit to be made by settling Colonies, and opening a Trade in these Parts; whereby the French will be deprived in a great Measure of their Traffic in Furs, and the Communication between Canada and the Mississippi be cut off* [sic] (London: J. Robinson, 1744), 2.

of mankind [sic]," the findings of its seafarers.[36] As early as 1744, he began compiling sources and making notes, organizing navigational information that he declared was "for the use of my sons."[37] That he attempted to address the peculiar regard that the HBC apparently paid to maritime documents – at once seemingly casual and parsimonious – indicates that circumstances detrimental to document preservation existed. His endeavor is also illustrative of the amount of information about coastal voyaging that has been lost. That he took the precaution of collecting information was fortunate for researchers. He referred not only to his own journals and logs, but also to those of previous navigators such as Luke Foxe and Thomas James (1631); Henry 'Kelso' Kelsey, mariner and HBC governor (1684–1722); James Napper, who served the Company variously as carpenter, mariner and post master (1716–1736); and the two Michaels Grimington, father and son.[38]

Career outlines for the Grimingtons and Coats illustrate, on the one hand, how three seafarers could accumulate a prodigious amount of varied experience in the Bay,

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[36] See Coats, *Geography*, 1–4, for his assessment of Dobb's accusations of Company secrecy.

[37] *Ibid.*, ii, see also 9, 58, 59, 92.

[38] *Ibid.*, 27, 58. Coats apparently used Luke Foxe, *North-West Fox, Or Fox from the North-West Passage* (London, 1635), a "rare and curious work," based on the original journal, the whereabouts of which was a mystery by 1888. See Miller Christy, "Capt. Luke Foxe," *Notes and Queries*, 7th ser., vol. 6 (22 September 1888): 228; also William F. E. Moreley, "Fox, James," DCB. Coats also refers to John Harris, *Navigantium atque Itinerarium Bibliotheca. Or, a Complete Collection of Voyages and Travels* 2 vols. (London: 1764). Whether Coats relied on the journals of one or both Grimingtons is unclear. Oddly, Barrow, the editor, was unable to find any reference to either man in the HBC records. Alice M. Johnson, "Grimington Michael (d. 1710)"; and "Grimington Michael (fl. 1698–1719)," DCB, observes that the father had been a seaman with the HBC from at least 1680 – when he served aboard the *Albemarle* – and served as a mate on coastal voyages from 1682 to 1687 until taken prisoner by Iberville's forces. The Company successfully petitioned for the release of this "excellent Seaman in those parts." He continued to serve after his release in 1688 and was master (carrying letters of marque), on voyages from 1690 to 1710. The son served as a seaman – principally coastal – from 1698 to 1718. He commanded the *Prosperous* hoy from 1714 to 1718 – excepting the northern voyage of 1716, which was conducted by David Vaughan.

and on the other, how noteworthy the loss of information due to the disappearance of their journals might be.[39] Coats undertook twenty-five voyages from 1727 to 1751. He was master of the *Mary* [II] (1727), *Hannah* (1728–1733), *Hudson's Bay* [IV] (1734–1736), *Mary* [III] (1737), *Mary* [IV] (1738–1749), and *King George* [I] (1750–1751). The Grimington's combined careers with the Company spanned the years 1680–1719. One or the other of the two had sailed aboard the *Albemarle* (1680–1681), *Lucy* (1682–1683), *Diligence* (1682–1683), "the Yatch" [sic] (possibly the *Colleton*, one of the three vessels stationed in James Bay for local service in 1682), *John and Thomas* (1683–1684), *Hayes* sloop (1685–1686), *Prosperous* (1690–1691, formerly known as *Dering* [I]), *Hudson's Bay* [I] (1692–1696), *Dering* [III] (1697–1699), *Pery* (1698–1701, and 1711), *Hudson's Bay* [II] (1702–1710, and 1712), *Prosperous* hoy (1714–1716, 1718), and *Mary* [I] (1719).[40] Like Coats, both Grimingtons had served on transatlantic voyages that overwintered, sometimes sailing together on the same ship, often wintering in 'Grimington's Bay.' They also undertook coastal voyages.[41] The senior Grimington was regarded as an asset to Company and Crown due to his knowledge of "Navigation of the Bay."[42] Like his father, the younger Grimington had served as a slooper, though he did not earn accolades for his performance. Coats obviously made use of the Grimingtons' observations, but they are incorporated into his text so as to be virtually indistinguishable

[39] Of interest, with respect to original journals, is the entry by K. G. Davies, "Kelsey, Henry," DCB, who notes that *The Kelsey Papers* (Doughty and Martin), "were not known to historians before 1926," and aspects of their provenance and authorship remain a mystery.

[40] Johnson, "Grimington, Michael (d. 1710)" DCB. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 10, notes that Company spellings included "yaught," from the Dutch *jaght*.

[41] Coats, *Geography*, 63, puts Grimington Bay on the Eastmain in latitude 53° 10'.

[42] Johnson, "Grimington Michael (d. 1710)," DCB.

from his general observations and instructions describing landmarks, channels, and hazards – the "many embarrissments [sic]" – to avoid.[43] He gives no indication of what became of the original logbooks, journals, and charts that he used in compiling his notes. Any sense of the actual contributions made by the individual seafarers – whether to the overall knowledge base, or to the success of their vessels' journeys – is lost, along with any sense of distinct personality.

A copy of Coats' notes about Bay voyaging eventually found their way into the private collection of Sir William Edward Parry, who allowed their publication in 1852.[44] Thereafter that manuscript "disappeared."[45] Only one copy of a Coats logbook survives in the HBC Archives – that of his last voyage.[46] Next to no discreet logs for vessels with which the Grimingtons were associated survive. An exception is the younger's, "A Journall of our Wintering with the Prosperos Hoye M.G. Mas^{tr} In Comp^{y} wth y^{e} Port Nelson [sic]," written while he had command of the *Prosperous* (alias Dering [I]). It includes nautical notations, but is part of the Albany Post Journal for 1715–1716.[47] That records of coastal voyages were not organized and saved as a separate class of documents by either the HBC or their archivists means that what references remain are scattered

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[43] See Coats, *Geography*, 78–84; the quote is found on 52.

[44] *Ibid.*, x, 59.

[45] Glydwr Williams, "Coats, William," DCB.

[46] HBCA, C.1/360-361, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1751–1752, details the journey from London to Fort Richmond on the Eastmain.

[47] HBCA, B.3/a/7, Albany Post Journal, 1715–1716, "Mich Grimington's Journall of the Prosperous anno 1715. From Albany River to Bayleys Island," headed: "A Journall of our Wintering with the Prosperos Hoye M.G. Mas^{tr} In Comp^{y} wth y^{e} Port Nelson." K.G. Davies, "Kelsey, Henry," DCB, notes that *The Kelsey Papers* include part of a voyage in the *Dering* [III] under 'Old' Michael Grimington, 1698.

throughout the vast collection of records, journals, correspondence, accounts, reports, and miscellaneous ephemera. The diffusion presents logistical problems for researchers. As Robert Coutts commented, the archival material pertaining to York Factory alone is "enormous."[48] In consequence, he only partially sampled it in the course of his research. The problem of lost documents and scattered references in a formidable collection may contribute to the impression, left by surveying relevant secondary literature, that there were few coastal voyages on which to comment.

The list of vessels in, or voyaging to Hudson Bay and associated waters that forms the basis for the argument of this chapter – Appendix A – is the product of incomplete records, particularly with respect to coastal voyages. It is, therefore, imperfectly representative of the number of opportunities available to local inhabitants of the Bay to expand their maritime experience. Nevertheless, the list does indicate that locally based craft increased such opportunities. The number, arrived at in the previous chapter, of vessels that landed in the Bay and associated waters from outside ports from 1576 to 1920 rises from 1,107 to 1,185 with the inclusion of twenty-one smaller vessels destined for local service, and the addition of at least thirty-one vessels constructed bayside, along with some twenty-six listed as present in the Bay but without an indication of how they came to be in the area. There is not enough information to quantify precisely the duration of service for many of these vessels. A coastal sloop, such as the *Moose River* [I] (1730–1750), or *Beaver* [II] – in the Bay 1780–1787, 1789, 1791–1792, 1793–1813 – might put in twenty years of bayside sailing. Alternatively – as the durations of

[48] Coutts, "Buried on the Bay," 320.

the careers of the *Princess* ketch (1892–1896), and the schooner *Village Belle* (1914–1916) illustrate – coastal vessels like their transatlantic counterparts were subject to disaster and re-assignment and may have served locally only a few years.

On its own, the incidence of coastal voyaging, or the number of vessels wintering may not appear impressive, just as alone the frequency and number of HBC supply voyages recounted in the previous chapter may seem unimpressive relative to other, contemporary shipping destinations. Nonetheless, at a regional scale the impact would have been relatively profound. The people who populated the land accessed by foreign vessels were comparatively few in number, thinly distributed, and migratory over a vast territorial area. They communicated by way of trade and story with distant peoples. It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that introduction of trade ships with coastal support would have increased awareness of, access to, and incorporation into local practice of new shipping technologies for a proportionately large number of individuals. Due to the problematic record base, exact figures will likely remain elusive, but indications are that from 1508 to 1920 there were upwards of 1,185 vessels to be seen and possibly boarded by inhabitants of regions adjacent to Hudson Bay and associated waters. The circumstance of naval escorts travelling with HBC convoys towards and away from Hudson Bay suggests that people of the area may well have heard stories about at least seventy-two more. Although it is easy to reduce the relation of the number of vessels over the number of years to an average number of potentially seen and heard in the course of a year – 1,257 over 412 years, yielding three per year, for example – in my opinion, the impulse is best resisted. The number does not adequately represent changes to patterns of

communication over time. Understanding the impact of sea-borne communication on the experience of people of Hudson Bay and associated waters requires consideration of not only the frequency, numbers, and varieties of water-borne transportation that individuals on the Northern Seaboard might have encountered, but the duration of that availability.

Factoring in the duration of availability of opportunities to encounter vessels in Hudson Bay and associated waters suggests that exposure to foreign maritime technology allowed material and technology transfer beyond what was afforded by relatively brief encounters with transoceanic supply ships. The range of maritime activity that existed allowed both indirect and intimate communication. Indirectly, an unknown number of vessels wrecked and lost on the Northern Seaboard contributed to available opportunities for local inhabitants to access foreign maritime technology. Within Hudson Bay, to different degrees for different groups, intimate communication with American whaling vessels from 1860 to 1919 displaced the probability of European influence being the only, or even the predominant, foreign influence. At bayside trading locations where contact with whalers was limited, locally based and crafted vessels expanded opportunities for communication between 'Northern Indians', 'home guard Indians,' or 'Native families' and seafarers. Indications are that the amount of shipping in Hudson Bay and associated waters was high enough that, through direct and indirect communication, people of Hudson Bay experienced substantial material and behavioural changes over time. Access to, and mastery of, technology of non-indigenous origin conferred an ability to enhance maritime mobility and increase maritime activity at the individual and community level throughout Hudson Bay and associated waters.

Chapter Four

Observing 'This Part of the World': Past Perceptions and Present Viewpoints[1]

In the chapters that comprise Part II of this thesis, I furnish a description of what seafarers saw, based on what they recorded, as they voyaged to and from the Northern Seaboard along a circumfluent "space of human activity," the HBC ocean arc.[2] Though broken into chapters with separate arguments, the description is continuous, reflecting the continuity of voyaging in transoceanic space – a geographical area with socio-political significance. The intention of this introduction to the chapters of Part II is to underscore the point that in the past, intercontinental travel was not the same as it is in the present. To analyze seafaring as a past activity, the place in which that seafaring occurred – the "location defined by the lived experiences of people" and valued by them accordingly –

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[1] William Wales, "Journal of a Voyage, made by Order of the Royal Society, to Churchill River, on the North-west Coast of Hudson's Bay; of Thirteen Months Residence in that Country; and of the Voyage back to England; in the Years 1768 and 1769," *Philosophical Transactions (1663–1775)* vol. 60 (1770): 132.

[2] Martin W. Lewis, "Dividing the Ocean Sea," *The Geographical Review* 89, no. 2 (April 1999), 204.

needs to be appreciated.[3] As novelist Leslie P. Hartley originally observed and geographer David Lowenthal later reaffirmed, "The past is a foreign country; they do things differently there."[4] The past 'country' that I describe was peculiar, having been established and inhabited by sailors engaged in demanding rounds of work in floating, primarily wind-driven, workplaces. The description demonstrates that in the course of repeatedly following the HBC route(s) to and from Hudson Bay within the northernmost reaches of North Atlantic space, seafarers demarked a historical place. The chapters supply evidence that sailors were the primary producers of knowledge about that place for the HBC. Together, over time, successive traverses of the ocean arc delimited its features as though it were a 'region' in its own right, the making of which had importance to the process of 'becoming place' in a terrestrial region immediately adjacent – Western Canada. For that reason, HBC routes are worthy of historiographical consideration.

The HBC ocean arc was vast with distinctive natural features that meant crossing its extent was time and energy consuming. Organizing and accomplishing a voyage and return were demanding undertakings for the HBC, and demanding exercises for its seafarers. Both the organization and prosecution of voyages were based on a perception

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[3] David Atkinson, ed., *Cultural Geography: A Critical Dictionary of Key Ideas* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005), 41–42; William Norton, *Human Geography* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1992), 49; and Allan Pred, "Social Reproduction and the Time-Geography of Everyday Life," *Geografiska Annaler,* ser. B, *Human Geography* 63, no. 1 (1981): 5, describes place "not as something that stands on its own, but as a phenomenon that is part of the becoming of individual consciousness" and argues for "describing behavior and biography in time and space" through analysis of place. Areal study, therefore, serves as a means of understanding the conditions, conjunctions, and consequences that gave rise to historical process. See Harold A. Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History* (1930; rev. ed. 1956; reprint, with a revised foreword, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), 393, in which he states, "the present Dominion emerged not in spite of geography but because of it."

[4] L.P. Hartley, *The Go-Between* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1953); David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

of continuity that persisted from the 1500s through to the 1900s – though significant discontinuities bracket the period. The introduction of non-Aboriginal adventuring to the Northern Seaboard in the sixteenth century is the first discontinuity. This foreign adventuring was sustained by the perception that a Northern constancy existed, to be learned about through observation and competently known through experience.[5] The second discontinuity is climate change, an eventuality that points to the ephemeral quality of such knowledge, but one that was not widely contemplated until the mid-twentieth century.[6] People of the past who were involved in ocean-borne adventuring to the North had a different appreciation of risk factors posed by the physical environment than people of the present, because the idea of change differed substantively. Sailors experienced change. It was a constant occasioned by their vessel's movement. Nevertheless, as a geographical setting, the world through which mariners moved appeared timeless and the organizers of voyages therefore perceived the risks the environment posed to be manageable.[7]

There were shifts in technology that related to that management. Initially, the introduction of European maritime technology was counterposed against forms indigenous to the area. Later, there was the introduction of steam, iron, and steel, still later, petroleum derived fuels. In these instances, although new technology altered the

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[5] Harold A. Innis, "The Hudson Bay Railway," *Geographical Review* 20, no. 1 (January 1930): 1.

[6] Spencer R. Weart, "Introduction: A Hyperlinked History of Climate Change Science," The Discovery of Global Warming (American Institute of Physics June 2007) <http://www.aip.org/history/climate/summary.htm> (accessed 18 March 2008).

[7] See, for example, John A. Cormie, "The Hudson Bay Route," *Geographical Review* 4, no. 1 (July 1917): 29, who finds natural and attitudinal obstacles to developing the Hudson Bay route to be "not insuperable."

organization of some mariners' immediate worlds of work, older technological forms persisted. Sail was not vanquished during the period described, nor was the need for sailors capable of handling it.[8] As late as 1903 the "handsome" barque *Lady Head*, still sailed to Hudson Bay.[9] The *Stork*, the last HBC sailing barque to make the journey, only ceased voyaging in 1908 because it grounded on a reef in James Bay.[10] Although reliant on steam, vessels such as the SS *Pelican*, SS *Thetis*, and CGS *Arctic* carried sail to 1920, making the most of wind to conserve coal.[11] HBC ships that incorporated steam did not prove any faster than sailing ships. The record for the fastest round trip set in 1900, by Captain John G. Ford in the *Lady Head*, stood until 1920. Many HBC vessels outfitted with engines did not serve on ocean crossings. Like the SS *Erik*, they were simply too small, and instead followed a coastal route, from Montreal, via St. John's Newfoundland, to bayside posts.[12] Canoes, kayaks, and umiaks, though gradually reduced in number,

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[8] See Lance Edwin Davis, Robert E. Gallman, and Karin Gleiter, *In Pursuit Of Leviathan: Technology, Institutions, Productivity, and Profits in American Whaling* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 260–96; David Learmonth, "To Labrador by Sail," *The Beaver* 78, no. 2 (April/May 1998): 36; Frederick Schwatka, "An Arctic Vessel and Her Equipment," *Science* 3, no. 64 (April 1884): 505–11; also Graeme J. Milne, *Trade and Traders in Mid-Victorian Liverpool: Mercantile Business and the Making of a World Port* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), 21–26, 37, 41–42.

[9] H.M.S. Cotter, "Some Famous Hudson's Bay Captains and Ships," part I, *The Beaver* 1, no. 7 (April 1921): 4.

[10] J. Williams, "The Last Voyage of the Stork," *The Beaver* 19, no. 2 (September 1939): 47.

[11] See "Discovery – Ships of the Polar Explorers," photograph, Cool Antarctica <http://www.coolantarctica.com/Antarctica%20fact%20file/History/antarctic_ships/discovery.htm > (accessed 23 September 2008), for the SS *Discovery* under sail. This wooden ship with auxiliary engines was originally built for the 1901 Scott expedition to Antarctica and purchased in 1904 by the HBC for voyaging to Hudson Bay.

[12] See Appendix B, this thesis, nos. 897, 901, 904; A.R. Williamson, "Voyage of the 'Discovery' 1911," part I, *The Beaver* 62, no. 4 (spring 1983): 15; Learmonth, "To Labrador by Sail," 36; Richard Finnie, "Farewell Voyages: Bernier and the 'Arctic'," *The Beaver* 54, no. 1 (summer 1974): 49, 51; also "Hudson's Bay Company's S.S. 'Pelican' Leaving for Hudson Bay, Montreal, QC, 1920, copied in 1970–1980," photograph, Musée McCord Museum <http://www.mccord-museum.qc.ca/en/collection/artifacts/

also continued to ply the Northern Seaboard into the twentieth century. Any absolute discontinuity regarding technological extinction thus falls outside the temporal bounds of this study.[13]

Collecting and codifying information communicated by seafarers into maps, instructions, and laws marked another approach to managing risk: that of acting to control space over time. In working towards realizing that aspiration, coalitions – including but not limited to the HBC – variously formed to institute and protect such intersecting programs as commerce, territorialism, imperialism, capitalism, and survival. Much of the work done in support of realization took place in the realm of 'imagining'; that is, constructing knowledge about Northern waters from a great remove.[14] Journal notations

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MP-1984.130.12> (accessed 9 November 2007); and "S.S. Thetis and Other Vessels Tied Up at Job Brothers & Co. Ltd. South Side Premises, St. John's, N.L.," photograph, Job Photograph Collection, Maritime History Archive, Memorial University of Newfoundland, Digital Archives Initiative <http://collections.mun.ca/cdm4/item_viewer.php?CISOROOT= %2Fm_job&CISOPTR=2222& DMSCALE=100&DMWIDTH=700&DMHEIGHT=600&DMMODE=viewer&DMFULL=1&DMX=0&DMY=0&DMTEXT=%2520L&DMTHUMB=1&REC=2&DMROTATE=0&x=306&y=299> (accessed 9 November 2007). H.M.S. Cotter, "Famous H.B.C. Captains and Ships," part I, 4; H.M.S. Cotter, "Famous H.B.C. Captains and Ships," part II, *The Beaver* 1, no 9 (June 1921): 32–33; G.A. Cuthbertson, "The 'Erik's' Saga," *The Beaver* 16, no. 1 (June 1936): 53; and "S.S. Pelican," *The Beaver* 9, no. 1 (June 1929): 215.

[13] Peter Pitseolak and Dorothy Eber, with Ann Hanson, trans., *People from Our Side: A Life Story with Photographs* (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1975; reprint with new preface, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 20, 75–76, 98, challenge assertions that umiaks disappeared with the introduction of new technology. See also photo, "J.J. O'Neill," photograph, GHW 51294, Canadian Museum of Civilization Online Exhibitions: The Story of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913–1918 – People of the CAE <http://www.civilization.ca/hist/cae/peo622e.html> (accessed 9 November 2007); and Eugene Y. Arima, *Report on an Eskimo Umiak Built at Ivuyivik, Quebec in the Summer of 1960,* Anthropological Series no. 59, National Museum of Canada, Bulletin no. 189 (Ottawa: Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, 1963), whose work illustrates the difficulty of arguing for technological discontinuity when older forms are subsequently revived.

[14] See Richard I. Ruggles, "The West of Canada in 1763: Imagination and Reality," *Canadian Geographer* 15, no. 4 (1971): 235–36, who notes, "Imaginary details written in treatises and drawn upon maps for various reasons have played a large part in influencing the deliberations of statesmen, and of traders, and in attracting the movement of explorers and settlers. How important for the discovery and exploration of the coastline and of the interior of North America has been the search for the migratory locations of the Western Passage to Asia, the Straits of Anian, Juan de Fuca, and Martin d'Aigular, the Sea

and seafarers' charts served as proofs, to bolster 'truths,' rendered into expressions of law concerning the ocean sea – specifically rights of access for resource extraction in artificially delineated parts of the whole.[15] The laws were formulated, sanctioned, and codified at the scale of the state. During the period from 1508 to 1920, states were at first dynastic and finally national institutions. In analyzing acts of abstracting the ocean into a collection of owned spaces, and of naming those spaces, it is possible to find in the history of seafaring to the Northern Seaboard of North America the play of empire, space, time, and communication in combination with hegemony, power, and knowledge. For all of that, legal arguments for ownership along the seaboard were first made by men of business to protect the possibility of their profit. They could not have prosecuted that business without sailors. Underlying it all, throughout it all, HBC seafarers voyaged to the North and back again. They dealt directly and simultaneously with a real, in their eyes a constant, world and with shifting representations of what sort of domain that world

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of the West, the Great River of the West, the Western Sea of Baron de Lahont, the Sea and Lands of Admiral de Fonte, the Large Land and Yesoland in the Pacific! Truly, these deserve the title of cartographic 'will-o'-the-wisps.' Thus, cartographic and geographic licence in attracting voyagers has exposed its own fallaciousness and applied its own corrective. As the explorer Nansen has said, 'Great illusions have always played an important part in the history of mankind'."

[15] See Thomas Willing Balch, "The Hudsonian Sea is a Great Open Sea," *American Journal of International Law* 7, no. 3 (July 1913): 546, 548–49, who describes recourse made to law by contending parties. He argues that on the one hand, law was used to "modify the legal status of the waters" to a *mare clausum* and impose "exclusive pretensions," which were transferred from Prince Rupert and the HBC to England and eventually Canada. Yet, he points out, countries such as France and the United States argued that the Bay, according to precedence, ought to be "brought within the regime of the liberty [of the sea]"; and Monica E. Mulrennan and Colin H. Scott, "*Mare Nullius*: Indigenous Rights in Saltwater Environments," *Development and Change* 31, no. 3 (June 2000): 681–82, who focus on Hudson and James Bays in a discussion of "the subjugation of indigenous peoples' marine territories to a 'double jeopardy' of exclusion – jurisdictional and proprietary – through the legal and administrative practices of European 'settler' states in Australia and Canada."

might be.[16]

During the period examined, transport technology changed and individual sailors came and went. As occasional inclusion in the following chapters of multiple names for geographical features highlights, the appellations sailors gave to locations, phenomena, and entities might also change. Yet, because Northern seas appeared constant, descriptions of the physical world through which vessels journeyed, whether penned by sailors in 1690 or 1920, remained essentially the same: physical features described in one account can be matched to features in another. What I furnish in the following pages is therefore a composite, drawn from written records composed by a variety of seafarers and penned at different times. Some writers sought to inform and so reduce uncertainty and mitigate contingency to forestall future casualty. Some sought to entertain, others to reassure. Arguably, all owed their presence aboard ship, in one way or another, to the perception held by the directors of the Hudson's Bay Company that it was possible to command space and time to financial advantage.

From its inception, the HBC was a commercial venture dedicated to profit. As a seaborne enterprise operating under a royal charter, the Company needed avenues of trade that promised steady, predictable expansion both to secure ongoing protection of its monopoly status and to generate investment revenue. Securing profit depended not only on taking advantage of a financial surplus generated by value added through transoceanic

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[16] See Benedict Anderson, "Census, Map, Museum," in *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London: Verso Press, 1991), 163–64; David Turnbull, "Cartography and Science in Early Modern Europe: Mapping the Construction of Knowledge Spaces," *Imago Mundi* 48 (1996): 5–7, 19–20; and Lewis, "Dividing the Ocean Sea," 188–89, 199, 211.

transport, but also on manipulating the value and number of corporate shares.[17] As a speculative venture predicated on future returns, confidence in the Company was critical to its continued operation. There had to be confidence that the routes sailed led to a fur trade, and more particularly, that furs would return to market safely. Only after the sale of a cargo of furs would the London Committee be in a position to cover debts incurred outfitting the voyage, including monies owed to owners of chartered vessels and wages advanced to masters and sailors. Only after such debts were addressed would the financial balance, and the best way to handle it, be determined.[18] As early as 1682, Company correspondence records the negative consequences of heightened perceptions of risk within shipping circles. That year the London Committee alerted Governor John Nixon, who was stationed bayside, that the loss of the chartered vessel *Prudent Mary*,

> hath Soe affrighted and discouraged all Owners and Masters of Shipps here, that wee can hardly get any to Serve us, unless at extraordinary rates, and the Seamen Use the Same Argument (to witt) the Difficulty of the Voyage, to advance there wages Soe that it must bee … good success … must recover good Opinion, and take of[f] the direfull apprehensions, they at present entertaine concerneing the Danger of our Navigation this in Short is a great moment as to

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[17] See "value added," *Oxford English Dictionary Online* [OED] <http://dictionary.oed.com.> (accessed 26 November 2008), the term refers to the additional value of a commodity over the cost of commodities used to produce it from the previous stage of production.

[18] See Innis, *Fur Trade in Canada*, 48, 50, 129, for observations on the importance of sea routes to French traders in 1683, and M. de Denonville in 1685. Arthur S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870–71, Being a History of Rupert's Land (The Hudson's Bay Company Territory) and of the North-West Territory (Including the Pacific Slope)* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1939), 61, describes HBC methods of financing voyages; E.E. Rich, "The Financing of the Trade, 1685–1686," and "Prosperity without Dividends," in *The History of the Hudson's Bay Company 1670–1870,* vol. I (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1958), 186–91, and 307–26, discusses early HBC financing, dependence on chartered vessels, and resort to somewhat suspect practices in weathering 'uneasy' markets; see also Michael F. Dove, "Voyages to Rupert's Land: The Hudson's Bay Company's Maritime Component, 1670–1770," in *Selected Papers of Rupert's Land Colloquium 2002,* compiled by David G. Malaher (Winnipeg: Centre for Rupert's Land Studies, 2002), 22–23.

our future Contracts [sic].[19]

The Company took sailors' concerns seriously because their confidence was essential to success. Their labour was fundamental to enterprise. As Eric W. Sager has pointed out, "in shipping, labour is applied to transportation and communication, and the product of labour is not a material commodity but a service."[20] He is in agreement with J.M. Blaut, who argues, "*spatial movement is part of production,*" [italics in source] and that therefore sailors' labour is critical to value added and the creation of surplus value.[21] As the HBC apprehended safety concerns and financial success as indivisibly linked, it is understandable that the Company's record of oceanic voyaging into the unknown, purely for the sake of expanding geographic knowledge, might be "none too impressive."[22] Although occasionally over the course of Company history planners would mount exploratory voyages, their principal objective was to find, secure, and expand trade. 'Adventures' were not weighted to discovery for discovery's sake, but to monetary gain.[23]

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[19] London Committee, quoted in Dove, "Voyages to Rupert's Land," 23, also 7. Dove calculates that "Of the 20 Company ships lost in the Bay during this first century [to 1770], 12 fell victim to the particular hazards of the Bay or Strait," but that by promoting "a variety of measures over the early decades" to realize "a safer and more reliable shipping operation" the HBC curbed the loss of ships. See also John Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse: Hudson's Bay Company Transport, 1670–1821," Ph.D. diss. (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1978), 47; and Rich, *History*, vol. I, 95–96.

[20] Eric W. Sager, *Seafaring Labour: The Merchant Marine of Atlantic Canada, 1820–1914* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 9.

[21] J.M. Blaut, *The Colonizer's Model of the World: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History* (New York: Guilford Press, 1993), 169; see also Sager, *Seafaring Labour*, 10.

[22] Glyndwr Williams, "The Hudson's Bay Company and Its Critics in the Eighteenth Century," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 20 (1970): 161.

[23] See R.H.G. Leveson-Gower, "Voyages for Discovery of the Northwest Passage," *The Beaver*

The HBC's prosaic approach to seafaring and the consequent routine character of its voyages might lead to the expectation that information on the routes sailed is readily available and that the details of the voyages have been thoroughly described. In 1852, John Barrow, editor of *The Geography of Hudson's Bay: being the remarks of Captain W. Coats, in many voyages to that locality, between the years 1727 and 1751*, implied as much.[24] Introducing the text, Barrow commented that although only the last journal from Coats' years of voyaging for the HBC had survived, as editor he had not consider the document worth perusing once he learned it contained "nothing beyond the usual occurrences of such voyages."[25] It is no longer possible to grasp immediately what exactly 'the usual' implied. Captain Christopher Middleton's closing remarks in his *Observations* compiled from 1741 to 1742, about a Northern voyage, suggest that much of what was considered conventional about sailing in the higher latitudes was regarded as preordained and perpetual. There was an assumption that the Northern Seaboard would remain cold. Ice would figure as a predominant element that would continue to require the utmost exertions of sailors as it took on its various forms in an ongoing cycle of movement and renewal. There was, after all "a perpetual supply from the northern parts,

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15, no. 1 (June 1936): 45–49. *The case of the Hudson's Bay Company* (S.I.: s.n, 1748?); "The Fur-Trade and the Hudson's Bay Company," *Chambers' Repository* (S.I.: s.n., 1859?), 1–2; George E. Ellis, "Hudson Bay Company, 1670–1870," *Journal of the American Geographical Society of New York* 18 (1886): 127–29, 131; K.G. Davies, ed, with A.M. Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay, 1703–40* (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1965), x; Williams, "Hudson's Bay Company and Its Critics," 151, 161; and Richard I. Ruggles, *A Country So Interesting: The Hudson's Bay Company and Two Centuries of Mapping 1670–1870* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), 3, also 28–29, 31, 34–35, 41.

[24] William Coats, *The Geography of Hudson's Bay: being the remarks of Captain W. Coats, in many voyages to that locality, between the years 1727 and 1751*, ed. John Barrow (London: Hakluyt Society, 1852).

[25] John Barrow, ed., "Introductory remarks," in Coats, *Geography*, x.

which will so continue as long as it pleases the Author of all Beings to keep things in their present state."[26]

Some two hundred and sixty-five years have passed. Ice is no longer projected to be a necessarily prevalent feature of Northern voyaging. The United States National Snow and Ice Data Center has observed that some forecasting models predict the disappearance of summer sea ice in the North by 2070.[27] Shipping lanes may finally bypass the Americas via a Northern route, but the predicted rise in water levels will see the alteration, even disappearance, of features historically used by sailors to determine their whereabouts.[28] A 'new normal' seems destined to fuel a search for new knowledge. Although various agencies are assessing the present state of knowledge on an ongoing basis, as of February 2007 the Intergovernmental Panel of Climate Change advised, "Warming of the climate system is unequivocal."[29] The same month, Sigma Xi, the

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[26] Christopher Middleton, "Observations. The effects of cold; together with observations of the longitude, latitude, refraction of the atmosphere, and declination of the magnetic needle, at Prince of Wales' Fort, Churchill River, in Hudson's Bay, North America. By Christopher Middleton, commander of his majesty's ship 'Furnace', 1741–42," in Coats, *Geography*, 139.

[27] Mark Serreze, quoted in press release, "Arctic Sea Ice Decline Again in 2004, According to CU-Boulder Researchers," National Snow and Ice Data Center, 4 October 2004 <http://nsidc.org/news/press/20041004_decline_pr.html> (accessed 23 September 2007). Mark Serreze, quoted in Michael D. Lemonick, "As Effects of Warming Grow, U.N. Report is Quickly Dated," *Yale Environment 360* (12 February 2009) <http://e360.yale.edu/content/feature.msp?id=2120> (accessed 4 April 2009), notes projections have been revised so that "the move to ice-free will come a lot earlier, say, around 2030. Some people are even saying it could happen as early as a decade from now." See also Bruce Lieberman, "Arctic Sea Ice: A Single Season Does Not a Significant Trend Make," The Yale Forum on Climate Change and the Media –International, Yale University, 15 July 2008 <http://www.yaleclimatemediaforum.org/2008/07/arctic-sea-ice-a-single-season-does-not-a-significant-trend-make/> (accessed 30 January 2009).

[28] See Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, "The Arctic Grail," CBC News In Depth, 8 August 2006 <http://www.cbc.ca/news/background/northwest-passage/> (accessed 24 September 2007).

[29] Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, "Summary for Policymakers," in *Climate Change 2007: The Physical Science Basis. Contribution of Working Group I to the Fourth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press,

Scientific Research Society, reported in a United Nations document that rises in sea level "will not be reversible for centuries to millennia."[30] With respect to mariners' understandings of what working through Northern waters involves, the resort to precedence, in order to manage a present, seems destined to become 'a thing of the past.'[31]

In the past, HBC planners reduced the risk inherent in maritime voyaging by taking advantage of precedence in selecting their Northern routes. By 1668, the year of the first 'proto-HBC' speculative voyage, the requisite discovering had already been done.[32] Even the idea to head out from England to Hudson Bay in search of gain originally had been "A French Idea Adopted by Prince Rupert," and Médart Chouart, Sieur des Groseilliers and Pierre-Esprit Radisson, effectually the idea's originators, had

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2007), Cambridge University Press, "Catalogue" <http://www.cambridge.org/us/catalogue/catalogue.asp?isbn=9780521705967> (accessed 1 September 2007), 5.

[30] Rosina Bierbaum, *et al,* "Confronting Climate Change: Avoiding the Unmanageable and Managing the Unavoidable," United Nations-Sigma Xi Scientific Expert Group Report on Climate Change, Executive Summary prepared for the 15th Session of the Commission on Sustainable Development, February 2007 <http://www.unfoundation.org/SEG/> (accessed 1 September 2007), 6.

[31] William M. Gray, "Global Warming and Hurricanes," Meeting Paper, 27th Conference on Hurricanes and Tropical Meteorology, 2006 <http://ams.confex.com/ams/pdfpapers/107533. pdf> (accessed 6 November 2007); Pat Michaels, "Conspiracy, Consensus or Correlation? What Scientists Think about the 'Popular Vision' of Global Warming," *World Climate Review* 1 (1993): 11; also Kenneth Green, Tim Ball, and Steven Schroeder, "The Science Isn't Settled – The Limitations of Global Climate Models," *Public Policy Sources* 80 (Jun. 2004) <http://www.fraserinstitute.org/COMMERCE.WEB/product_files/ScienceIsntSettled.pdf> (accessed 9 November 2007), supply dissenting views. Fred Pearce, "Meet the Global Warming Sceptics," *New Scientist* 2486 (12 February 2005): 40, notes that "There are a few authoritative climate scientists in the sceptic camp," adding, "Most others are either retired, outside mainstream academia or tied to the fossil fuel industry."

[32] K.G. Davies, ed., with A.M. Johnson, *Northern Quebec and Labrador Journals and Correspondence, 1819–35* (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1963), xvii; Morton, *History of the Canadian West*, 49, also makes the point that trade, not geographical discovery was the goal, explaining that "goods were packed 'in ordr to trade with the Indyans there'," [sic] although on page 48, he is of the opinion that "the Englishmen, allured by the representations of the two Frenchmen, not only envisaged a fur trade, but thought they were in sight of the discovery of a passage to the Western Sea, or as it was also called, the Southern Sea."

already actively assessed the potential for success.[33] Previous generations of whalers had tried and tested the necessary transport technology. As well, whalers and fishers, who had ridden Atlantic and Northern ocean currents for centuries and dealt with the regional weather systems these generated in concert with prevailing winds, had already determined which directions natural forces were likely carry a vessel, what to expect at different times of the year, and where shelter or supplies might be found.[34] Their practical expertise had been supplemented from time to time by seafaring – and disappointed – explorers bent on realizing profit from the mark-up on a hold's worth of 'necessary luxuries' secured from the apparently surfeit reserves of the 'Orient.'[35]

Along with Groseilliers and Radisson's reconnoitring in 1657 and 1668, early surveys had been conducted by seafarers such as Martin Frobisher in 1576, 1577, and 1578; John Davis in 1585, 1586, and 1587; George Weymouth in 1602; Henry Hudson in 1610; Thomas Button in 1612; Robert Bylot in 1610, 1612, and 1615; Jens Eriksen Munck in 1619; Luke Foxe and Thomas James in 1631; and Zachary Gillam *circa*

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[33] Isaac Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers: A Narrative of Seven Years in the Service of the Hudson's Bay Company during 1867–1874, On the Great Buffalo Plains with Historical and Biographical notes and comment* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1913), 35.

[34] A.R. Williamson, "Voyage of the 'Discovery' 1911," part I, *The Beaver* 62, no. 4 (spring 1983): 14; Ian K. Steele, *The English Atlantic 1675–1740: An Exploration of Communication and Community* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 78–79; Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse," 15–16.

[35] On disappointment see Thomas James, *The Strange and Dangerous Voyage of Captaine Thomas James, in his intended Discovery of the Northwest Passage into the South Sea* (London: John Legatt, for John Partridge, 1633), 3–4. On 'necessary luxuries,' see, for example, W. Hooper, "The Tudor Sumptuary Laws," *English Historical Review* 30, no. 119 (July 1915): 433–49; and Herman Freudenberger, "Fashion, Sumptuary Laws, and Business," *Business History Review* 37, no. 1/2 (spring/summer 1963): 37–48, who takes the discussion beyond law, and into the nineteenth century, to include convention and social status.

1663.[36] By 1670 this information, together with anecdotes officially gathered from, and unofficially disseminated by, various crew members had dispelled much uncertainty about how to get to Hudson Bay.[37] Cumulative knowledge had been progressively codified, refined, and expanded, as is illustrated by a comparison of Gerard Mercator's world chart of 1569, the chart of the North Pole printed in Johannes Janssonius' sea atlas of 1650, and that of the "*Regiones sub Polo Artico*," published by Joan Blaeu in 1665.[38] The latter's representation, in its day considered "the most up-to-date map of the North Pole region available," was quickly complimented, and its geographical information further circulated, by competing cartographers such as Pieter Goos in *The Sea Atlas of the Water World*, of 1666.[39] The Dutch works inundated the London market, spurring a "borrowing practice" among English hydrographers such as John Thorton, who was employed by the East India Company as well as the HBC, and who produced anglicized copies. By today's standards, early charts may appear crude, but their existence is evidence that HBC servants such as those captained by Gillam aboard the *Nonsuch* and

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[36] E.G.R. Taylor, "Hudson Strait and the Oblique Meridian," *Imago Mundi* 3 (1939): 49, posits the existence of additional, unacknowledged early voyages to Hudson Strait. Based on a close examination of, and the application of more recent mapping methods to, early mariner charts, and thereby illustrating the congruence of contours with current geographical conceptions of dimension, he deduces from that by 1580 "the Portuguese had not only entered Hudson Strait but had examined and charted Ungava Bay."

[37] See E.E. Rich, ed., with A.M. Johnson, *Copy-book of letters outward &c: begins 29th May, 1680 ends 5 July, 1687* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1948), xvi.

[38] See Gerard Mercator, "Plate 47: Sea Chart of the North Atlantic," and Johannes Janssonius, "Plate 50: Chart of the North Pole," in *Early Sea Charts*, ed. Robert Putman (New York: Abbeville Press, 1983), 87, 95; and Joan Blaeu, "Regiones sub Polo Artico," in *Atlas Major: 'The Greatest and Finest Atlas ever Published,'* ed. Peter Van Der Krogt (Los Angeles: Taschen, 2006), 32–33.

[39] Van Der Krogt, *Atlas Major*, 37; Pieter Goos, "Plate 39: Chart of the World," and Pieter Goos, "Plate 53: Sea Chart of the Seas around Greenland and Iceland," in Putman, *Early Sea Charts*, 73, 99.

William Stannard aboard the *Eaglet* where not entirely ignorant as to where they might find appropriate landfall, people, and product for prosecuting a profitable bayside trade.[40]

Although on the first HBC voyage of 1670 Stannard turned back after encountering heavy seas, the passage of time confirmed that shipping routes chosen by the London Committee were indeed viable and the trade sufficient to generate shareholders' dividends. In reviewing information compiled in its records, the Company was able to find more pattern than anomaly in its shipping experience, further reducing the perception of material risk.[41] Likewise, the majority of seafarers on Company ships knew why they were aboard and got where they expected to go, very much as they expected they would, although depending on temperament, education, and experience what they encountered may have come as a surprise.

As chapters in Part III of this thesis make clear, voyagers on Company ships were a varied lot. What was familiar to one might be foreign to another. Custom and convention were marked attributes of the European seafaring world, however, and to a considerable degree both experience, and how experience was recorded, followed standardized formats.[42] HBC logbooks supply a good example. Notations in the logs

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[40] A.R.T. Jonkers, "Parallel Meridians: Diffusion and Change in Early-Modern Oceanic Reckoning," in *Noord-Zuid in Oostindisch perspectief*, ed. J. Parmentier (The Hague: Waburg, 2005), 17–42 <http://www.liv.ac.uk/~jonkers/PARAMER.pdf> (accessed 4 March 2007), 8–11, supplies a discussion of the competition between Dutch cartographers, the quality, accuracy, and popularity of their representations, and their effect on French and English oceanic navigation. See also "Chartmaking," in *The Oxford Companion to Ships & the Sea*, ed. Peter Kemp (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 157–59.

[41] Ruggles, *Country So Interesting*, xiii; Dove, "Voyages to Rupert's Land," 7; Alwin, "Mode Pattern and Pulse," 37.

[42] See, John W. Rathbun, "Billy Budd and the Limits of Perception," *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* 20, no. 1. (June 1965): 19–34, on the prevalence of a perceived existence of customary 'usage' at sea.

indicate that navigators measured their ship's progress throughout their entire voyage, 'by account,' which meant arithmetically computing distance travelled; 'by observation' which meant taking and mapping actual latitudinal and longitudinal readings; and by sighting a series of specific landmarks. The locations of landmarks were recorded in terms of latitude and longitude, but also in terms of distance – leagues, fathoms, and miles – relative to other locations and the ship. Notations made of actual sightings included the name of each landmark and the dates on which it was expected, sighted, and abreast. These entries were not made solely for the captain's edification. From 1719 through to the early twentieth century, once submitted to the London Office, the dates were entered in "The Book of Ships' Movements" in which the landmarks figured as column headings. Compiling this knowledge base allowed 'at home' HBC Committee members to compare voyages and develop expectations regarding the management of future forays.[43] The reduction of journeys to a series of dates implied a reliable pattern and measurable progress to HBC shipping over time. The pattern appears verifiable insofar as it is possible to compile a general description of Hudson Bay voyaging. There was, however, variation. Not only was each voyage different, each witness determined and recorded their position in terms that changed over time. The tools, methods, and knowledge applied to distance, place, and naming were mutable. The texts surveyed for this thesis, for instance, show considerable variation in recording geographical location by latitude and longitude. The location of Hoy Head in the Orkney Islands, from which HBC vessels typically took their final departure, serves as an example. In 1751,

[43] See HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements, 1719–1929.

according to Jonathan Fowler, the latitudinal location of Hoy Head was "58^{d}:55^{m} N°," while in 1768, William Wales recorded it as "59° 2' N." Incidentally and ironically, although the former was a ships' captain, while the latter was trained in using the latest science available, Fowler's figure comes closest to that supplied by today's information standardizing, satellite imaging program, 'Google Earth': "58° 54' 54.33."[44] In the pages that follow, the exercise of translating leagues, nautical miles, and statute miles to kilometres demonstrates that when inspected from the present, the contours of the reconstructed past are decidedly wobbly. If my occasional inclusion of multiple measures somewhat compromises communicating for quick comprehension, it also underscores the point that perfect understanding of the past is elusive.

The designation 'home' also illustrates past convention applied to description in a manner that is no longer necessarily customary. At an abstract level, the initial point of departure for HBC voyages was London, the seat of the London Committee whose members determined whether a voyage was to take place. Initially, meetings of the Committee were held in a variety of locations ranging from private quarters such as Prince Rupert's house in Spring Gardens, Whitehall, to "business rendezvous" such as Mr. Garway's coffee house at 3 Change-alley, Cornhill; an address frequented by "traders and captains."[45] Later headquarters were established in leased premises and a series of

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[44] HBCA C.1/1021 Ship's Logs, *Seahorse*, 1751, 5; William Wales, "Journal of a Voyage, made by order of the Royal Society, to Churchill River, on the North-west Coast, of Hudson's Bay; of Thirteen Months Residence in that Country; and of the Voyage Back to England; in the Years 1768 and 1769," *Philosophical Transactions (1683–1775)* 60 (1770): 101. "Hoy Head," Google Earth 4.2, Direct X8, 13 November 2007 (accessed 7 January 2008).

[45] See Deidre Simmons, *Keepers of the Record: The History of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008), 5, 39–41; Richard Glover,

buildings successively known as 'Hudson's Bay House' on Fenchurch and Lime Streets.[46] From 1670 to 1920, it was customary in official parlance to refer to the port of London as home for HBC voyages – regardless of where the seafarers or ships actually originated. Thus, a 'return' voyage heading out of Hudson Bay was in actuality an 'outward' voyage for individuals who were native to North America, just as it might be for vessels constructed or stationed on shores other than England's. Likewise, the outward voyage for European 'adventurers' and 'discoverers' might be a home voyage for any of their companions who were returning towards the known and expected. My sympathies lie with post-colonial arguments that present the decentring of perspective as a means of avoiding the perpetuation of cultural/intellectual imperialism in historiography.[47] Nevertheless, to reduce the likelihood of readership confusion and to

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"Introduction," in *Letters from Hudson Bay,* xiii n.1. The first premises leased by the HBC, 1682–1696, was Scriveners' Hall (renamed Hudson's Bay House), in Noble Street. Company papers were stored in a trunk. Morton, *History of the Canadian West*, 60, quoting a document from 1672, uses the spelling "Garway"; John Timbs, *Curiosities of London, Exhibiting the Most Rare and Remarkable Objects of Interest in this Metropolis* (London: John Camden Hotten, 1867), 183, uses 'Garraway' and notes the coffee house "was established by Thomas Garway, tobacconist and coffee-man, who first sold and retailed tea, in 1657 … for people of quality who have business in the City, and for wealthy citizens … The consumption of sandwiches, pale ale, stout and sherry at Garraway's is immense. The Sale-room is an antiquated first-floor apartment, with a small rostrum for the seller, and a few commonly grained settles for the buyers"; see K.E. Pincott, "Garraway's Coffee House," *The Beaver* 11, no. 1 (June 1931): 217–18. Edward Walford, "The Mall and Spring Gardens," *Old and New London: Volume 4* (1878), 74–85, British History Online <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=45184> (accessed 12 November 2007).

[46] Hudson's Bay Company, "HBC in London," Our History – Places, Heritage Home <http://www.hbc.com/hbcheritage/history/places/buildings/article.asp?article=20> (accessed 12 November 2007), notes that Scriveners' Hall at the corner of Noble Street and Oat Lane was leased. Hudson's Bay House was actually located in a series of different buildings over several hundred years, including numbers 3 and 4 Fenchurch Street and number 1 Lime Street, London. Glover, "Introduction," *Letters from Hudson Bay,* xiii n.1, describes the leased premises at the north-east end of Fenchurch Street as "a handsome Hall." James McCook, "Sir George Simpson in the Hawaiian Islands," *The Beaver* 56, no. 3 (winter 1976): 50, supplies an illustration of the Fenchurch Street exterior. See "Passing of No. 1 Lime Street," photograph, *The Beaver* 5, no. 2 (March 1925): 66, for a depiction of Hudson's Bay House, 1 Lime Street.

[47] See Norma Hall, "A 'Perfect Freedom': Red River as a Settler Society, 1810–1870," M.A..

reflect the rhetorical tenor of an officialdom that plainly contributed to shaping the world aboard ships in the past, I am keeping with precedence established by custom and adopted in HBC historiography, so that the description in the following chapters segments the sea and begins and ends with the 'London docks.'

The textual passages describing ocean passages out and back might seem long to people of the present who are used to crossing the Atlantic in a matter of hours. Readers accustomed to histories that employ an economic measure of distance – reducing voyages to abstract statements showing 'x' value was added to cargo over 'y' length of time for example – might also wonder at the number of pages devoted to routes. The history described in this dissertation is about the significance of past seafaring. What matters is cumulative experience gained while travelling distance – distance that varied as courses changed according to conditions encountered. It takes time and space to describe past voyaging because, according to the records they kept, it took time for sailors of the past to traverse space.

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thesis (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 2003), 21–24.

Chapter Five

'North About' from 'London River'

Past sailors were producers of knowledge gained through experience. As a part of their craft, this knowledge was valued and specially held.[1] In the case of HBC mariners, according to the complaints of non-HBC seafarers such as Arthur Dobbs in the 1740s and Lieutenant Edward Chappell of the Royal Navy in 1814, their knowledge was not widely circulated.[2] In waters of "very dangerous and troublesome" repute, access to reliable

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[1] See Eric W. Sager, *Seafaring Labour: The Merchant Marine of Atlantic Canada, 1820–1914* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 8–10, who counts knowledge as a facet of skill and establishes that skill is an element of craft.

[2] See Arthur Dobbs, *A Short Narrative and Justification of the Proceedings of the Committee appointed by the Adventurers, to prosecute the Discovery of the Passage to the Western Ocean of America and to Open and Extend the Trade, and Settle the Countries beyond Hudson's Bay... now laid before the publick, for their future consideration* (1744; facsimile reprint, New York: Johnson Reprint, 1967), 9–10, 17, 25–27; also William Coats, *The Geography of Hudson's Bay: being the remarks of Captain W. Coats, in many voyages to that locality, between the years 1727 and 1751: with an appendix containing extracts from the log of Capt. Middleton on his voyage for the discovery of the North-west passage in H.M.S. Furnace in 1741–2*, ed. John Barrow (London: Hakluyt Society, 1852), 1–4, for his assessment of Dobb's accusations of Company secrecy; Glyndwr Williams, "The Hudson's Bay Company and Its Critics in the Eighteenth Century," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5th ser., 20 (1970): 151; D.W. Moodie. "Science and Reality: Arthur Dobbs and the Eighteenth-Century Geography of Rupert's Land," *Journal of Historical Geography* 2, no. 4 (October 1976): 293–300; Richard I. Ruggles, "Governor Samuel Wegg, Intelligent Layman of the Royal Society, 1753–1802," *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 32, no. 2 (March 1978): 181–99; also Edward Chappell, *Narrative of a voyage to Hudson's Bay in His Majesty's ship Rosamond: containing some account of the north-eastern coast of America and of the tribes inhabiting that remote region* (London: J. Mawman, 1817), 175. In 1814, Lieutenant Edward Chappell of the Royal Navy complained that due to the continuing concealment of information by "jealous" sailing officers of the HBC: "Nothing can be more incorrect than the chart supplied me by the Admiralty for the

information could mean the difference between success and failure, life and death.[3] Seafarers therefore recorded information that they considered important in journals, ship's logs, sea charts, and pilot books.[4] Imaginings about the features of seas are common in early chronicles of voyages penned to solicit sponsorship and accolades from moneyed and influential individuals, and in later accounts meant for publication to a mass audience. Surviving documents written by seamen for seamen, however, indicate that what mattered to sailors was practical knowledge about routes actually sailed. Mariners made note of the height, force, direction, and timing of tides. They made note of work aloft. Taking in and letting out of sails mattered to the progress of the voyage – its direction, and the speed of transit. Pages devoted to the latter two features show that while sailors were concerned about instances of delay, they were equally wary of excessive speed. In both cases, they were concerned about the possibility of disaster. If

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guidance of a man-of-war [HMS *Rosamond*] in *Hudson's Straits*, it absolutely bears no resemblance to the channel of which it is meant to be an exact delineation" [italics in original].

[3] Captain Caruthers quoted in Great Britain, Parliament, House of Commons, *Report from the Committee Appointed to Inquire into the State and Condition of the countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay, and of the trade carried on there ... 1749* (London: House of Commons, 1749), 230, who reported the waters of Hudson Bay to be "very dangerous and troublesome"; also Charles N. Bell, "Navigation of Hudson Bay and Straits," *Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba Transactions,* 1st ser., no. 7 (read 10 May 1883), who complains about the "much-advertised-as-being-dreadful" reputation of Northern waters. Ernest J. Chambers, ed., *Canada's Fertile Northland: A Glimpse of the Enormous Resources of Part of the Unexplored Regions of the Dominion*, Evidence Heard before a Select Committee of the Senate of Canada during the Parliamentary Session of 1906–7, and the Report based thereon (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1907), 119, notes "As to the preparation of reliable charts of these waters, a good deal requires to be done yet." T.H. Manning, "Explorations on the East Coast of Hudson Bay," *The Geographical Journal* 109, no. 1/3 (January–March 1947): 58–75, notes the lack of cartographic knowledge. E.G.R. Taylor, "Introduction," in *Copy-book of letters outward &c: begins 29th May, 1680 ends 5 July, 1687*, ed. E.E. Rich, with A.M. Johnson (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1948), xvii–xxviii, supplies an informative discussion on HBC mapping, attitudes toward knowledge management, and resultant inaccuracies. See also W. Gillies Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos: Hudson Bay 1860–1915* (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975), 43–44; and Richard I. Ruggles, *A Country So Interesting: The Hudson's Bay Company and Two Centuries of Mapping 1670–1870* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), 25–27, 32, 33, plates 1–3, 8a, 14, 15.

[4] See Robert Putman, *Early Sea Charts* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1983).

their ship did not move, sailors faced confinement without adequate provisions. If the ship moved too fast, they risked a broken spar, a lost rudder, or losing the entire vessel. Sailors were concerned with food, the state of their clothing, and the state of their health. Above all, sailors were concerned with knowing where they were. Determining location was the "great difficulty in all navigation at sea."[5] A voyage to Hudson Bay was an ongoing exercise in ascertaining whereabouts: once a present point of reference was determined, everything hinged on knowing the position of a next point along the path to the final destination. Calculating how to get to the next point, as well as recognizing it on arrival, depended on foreknowledge.

In the mid-eighteenth century, Captain William Coats expressly styled his manuscript on Hudson Bay voyaging as a "real" geography that supplied sailors, particularly navigators, with what they needed to know, as opposed to what vested interests arguing the merits of such voyages wanted to be told. He opened with the observation that, previously, a compendium of knowledge such as his "has not been attempted by any person that I know of."[6] Although his text included observations on what sort of people, speaking what languages, seamen might expect to encounter, as well as on where and how fresh provisions might be procured, Coats concentrated primarily on matters of navigation, his discussions accompanied by descriptions of physical features that marked passages of the voyage. However, when it came to describing the

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[5] Arthur Herman, *To Rule the Waves: How the British Navy Shaped the Modern World* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2005), 79.

[6] Coats, *Geography*, 1. Although begun in 1744, a century later Coats' manuscript remained unpublished – whether and how widely any copies circulated during that period is unknown. See Glyndwr Williams, "Coats, William," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online* [DCB] <http://www.biographi.ca/EN/index.html> (accessed 2004–2008).

passage out from London, "from whence we sail on the entrance of this voyage," he averred that because "all ships are bound to take pilots from hence," the first part, to as far as Oxfordness, "is sufficiently taken care of."[7] Since the passage was already well known by sailors whose business it was to navigate it, he did not discuss it further. Although Coats' original work apparently did detail England and Scotland's shores north from Oxfordness to the Orkney Islands, John Barrow, editor of the text when it was published in 1852, explained in a footnote that this information had not been included, because "of no interest or value" to a reading public intent at that time on learning about arctic exploration.[8]

The following pages reconstruct, from observations supplied in log books, journals and historical texts, a description of the first two passages of an HBC ship's adventure – from London to Oxfordness and from there to the Orkneys – to balance the representation of the voyage and to forestall any misapprehension that a ship's departure was either simply, or quickly accomplished. Hazards and discomforts experienced while sailing for the North West were not confined to distant waters. Leaving London for the Atlantic was not necessarily an instance of plain sailing.

Strictly speaking, HBC ships took their departure not from the city of London, but from Gravesend Reach. The town of Gravesend was situated approximately thirty-five kilometres, or twenty-two miles down river from "the metropolis of Great Briton," on the

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[7] Coats, *Geography*, 4.

[8] John Barrow, ed., in Coats, *Geography*, 4 n.2.

south bank, not quite at the mouth of the Thames.[9] The river, according to England's inaugural historian *Baeda*, or Bede, had become "the emporium for many nations" as early as A.D. 604.[10] By the eighteenth century, English poet Alexander Pope envisioned the river as central to Britain attaining its imperial promise when he wrote:

> The time shall come, when free as seas or wind
> Unbounded *Thames* shall flow for all mankind,
> Whole nations enter at each swelling tyde,
> And seas but join the regions they divide;[11]

To sailors, the tide-swelled portion was the 'London River,' named according to custom for the port that it served. The name 'Thames' they reserved for the course above the tidal reaches that allowed their vessels' navigation.[12]

After a French force razed the Parish of Gravesend in 1377, the inhabitants had been encouraged to rebuild by way of receiving a royal grant of the exclusive right to

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[9] Coats, *Geography*, 4; J. Williams, "The Last Voyage of the Stork," *The Beaver* 19, no. 2 (September 1939): 44; Edward Hasted, "Parishes: Gravesend," *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent*, vol. 3 (Canterbury: W. Bristow, 1797), 319–35, cached at British History Online <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=62861> (accessed 12 November 2007).

[10] Bede quoted in Charles Capper, *The Port and Trade of London* (London: Smith, Elder and Company, 1862), 4.

[11] Alexander Pope, "Windsor-Forest," 1713, text taken from *The Works of Alexander Pope* (1736), online version, ed. Jack Lynch <http://andromeda.rutgers.edu/~jlynch/Texts/windsor.html> (accessed 11 November 2007), lines 395–98; and Alexander Pope, "Windsor Forest," PDF, text based on *The Works of Alexander Pope* (1736), ed. and annotated by Alok Ayady <mason.gmu.edu/~ayadav/Pope---Windsor-Forest.pdf> (accessed 11 November 2007). See also Vincent Carretta, "Anne and Elizabeth: The Poet as Historian in Windsor Forest," *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 21, no. 3 (summer 1981): 433, 435–37, on British destiny; and John Richardson, "Alexander Pope's Windsor Forest: Its Context and Attitudes toward Slavery," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 35, no. 1 (autumn 2001): 2–3, 5, 7, on Britain's ideals, trade, and the Asiento/contract with Spain, won through the Treaty of Utrecht, on the slave trade.

[12] Mike Millichamp, "London River Lights" <http://www.michaelmillichamp.ukgateway.net/page7.html> (accessed 25 September 2007); and H.M. Tomlinson, "The Foreshore," in *London River* (Garden City NY: Garden City Publishing, 1921), 4–6, the portion of the tidal river that was of use to sailors extended approximately to Richmond.

transport ships' passengers to and from London, "on condition that they should provide boats for that purpose." Passengers paid fares – known as 'the Long Ferry' – either per person or for the hire of an entire 'Tilt Boat.'[13] According to Edward Hasted's eighteenth-century history of the town, "The signal for their departure is the ringing of a bell, which continues a quarter of an hour, during which they are obliged to depart. They go to London every flood, and return ... on the like signal, with every ebb." He added, "it is almost incredible what numbers of people pass every tide, as well by night as by day, between this town and London."[14] Lighters of ships completing their cargoes and provisioning at Gravesend supplemented the ferry traffic – the Reach having officially become part of the 'London docks' at the opening of the eighteenth century. By Hasted's time, the river had become fairly congested and it was no easy task to take a ship up or down "by reason of the mass of vessels of all sorts and sizes at moorings intended for the accommodation of less than half the number."[15] Tilt boats and passenger ferries were still plying the river in the nineteenth century. Letitia Hargrave, waiting to depart for Hudson Bay in 1840, marvelled at the "extraordinary" number of vessels seen to "splash about in every part."[16] She observed as well that a number of moorings upriver from Gravesend

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[13] Hasted, "Parishes: Gravesend," 319–35. See also *Rivers of Great Britain: The Thames, from Source to Sea, descriptive, historical, pictorial* (London: Cassell and Company, 1891), 290.

[14] Hasted, "Parishes: Gravesend," 319–35.

[15] "History of the Port of London pre 1908," History of the Port, Port of London Authority <http://www.portoflondon.co.uk/display_fixedpage.cfm/id/238> (accessed 8 October 2007).

[16] Letitia Hargrave, *The Letters of Letitia Hargrave*, ed. Margaret Arnett MacLeod (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1947), 24, 25, 31. See also Robert M. Ballantyne, *Hudson's Bay, or, Every-day life in the wilds of North America during six years' residence in the territories of the honourable Hudson's Bay Company* (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood, 1848), 3; and *Rivers of Great Britain*, 288–336. See, "The Port of London: Busy Scene on the River Thames," illustration, Antique prints: Views of England, Scotland,

were assigned to prison hulks, which she found to be "shocking looking places." In her assessment, the HMS *Dreadnought*, used as a hospital ship for sailors and their dependants, also took up considerable space. She commented, "I had imagined nothing like the Dreadnought for size, it is tremendous."[17]

Traffic increased on the waterway to the twentieth century. Steam driven transport, a source of wonder for Hargrave in 1840, was commonplace by 1859. The town, which she had found "only remarkable for quiet and shrimps," had become a popular leisure destination mid-century, though as historian Nigel Yates noted, "Gravesend had more or less ceased to be considered a seaside resort by 1900."[18] The decline was perhaps connected to the "immense" streams of "poisonous" effluent, which

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Wales and Ireland <http://www.antiquemapsandprints.com/p-8203.jpg> (accessed 17 November 2007). The work is attributed to brothers William and Edward Francis Finden, nineteenth-century engravers in London. See W.A.C., ed., *The Ports, Harbours, Watering Places, and Coast Scenery of Great Britain, Illustrated by Views Taken on the Spot by W.H. Bartlett, with Descriptions by William Beattie M.D., Finden's Ports and Harbours*, vol. I (London: George Virtue, 1842), 182.

[17] Hargrave, *Letters*, 25. See, Edward William Cooke, "The Dreadnought, 104 Guns, at Present Lying off Greenwich for The Seaman's Hospital," print, ca. 1857, PAD6149, National Maritime Museum [NMM] Collections Online <http://www.nmm.ac.uk/collections/explore/object.cfm?ID=PAD6149> (accessed 13 November 2007); see also Cooke, "The Dreadnought, 104 Guns, until Recently Lying off Greenwich," print, PAD6061, and "HMS 'Grampus' as a hospital ship off Greenwich," PAF8002, NMM Collections Online <http://www.nmm.ac.uk/collections/explore> (accessed 13 November 2007).

[18] *Rivers of Great Britain*, 291, notes that sail persisted: "the tall three master is by no means an unfamiliar object, and … one may encounter schooners and brigs and brigantines galore. Nor has the number of lighters and wherries and dumb-barges diminished [sic]." MacLeod, "Introduction," *Letters*, xxxi; Nigel Yates ed., *Kent in the Twentieth Century* (Rochester NY: Boydell & Brewer, 2001), 347; see also W.A.C., *Ports, Harbours*, 182–83, who notes "The great facilities of communication with the metropolis, the salubrity of the air, the beauty of the surrounding scenery, and the public amusements ..., have contributed to render Gravesend the most frequented town on the river. The thousands of visitors who here keep holiday during six or eight months of the year have insured resources to the inhabitants, more to be depended on than the fluctuations of trade. New houses, new streets, hotels, reading rooms, public baths, and pleasures gardens, have all appeared in succession since the introduction of steam on the river … The harbour, generally enlivened by East and West Indiamen at anchor; the incessant passing and repassing of steamers to every part of the coast and kingdom; with private yachts and pleasure-boats skimming past, or lying off the piers, with their holiday freight of joyous citizens, give a never-failing interest and spirit to the whole picture; and present ... more animation and variety than is to be met with in any other part of the river."

flowed in culverts from London to empty into the river a few miles above Gravesend at Cross Ness and Barking. By 1891, according to an account published in the illustrated guidebook, *Rivers of Great Britain*, from the point of outlet to Gravesend and beyond, vessels were "afloat on a tide of sewage. It discolours the water all around; it is sometimes churned up in the wheels of paddle-steamers; the odour of it assails the nostrils at every turn."[19]

Of Gravesend itself, Hargrave had noted that, for a town of perhaps 6,000, the houses were large and seemed occupied by lodgers in numbers well beyond what census figures intimated. Most of the houses, she opined, were "generally full of seamen, and here are several good inns, taverns, and other such houses for their accommodation."[20] Seen from the river, from before Hargrave's time to well after, the buildings of the town appeared to have "tumbled down haphazard from the top of the hill at the back" towards the three and a half mile long Reach.[21] *Rivers of Great Britain* described the town as:

> usually more populous with shipping than any other point between the Nore Light Ship and the Pool [immediately below London Bridge]. All outward bound ships must take their pilots on board at Gravesend, and so it frequently occurs that here the last farewells are said and the last kisses are given. In the Reach, vessels wait for the changing of the tide, so that at one period of the day it is full of ships with their sails furled, and, at another, of vessels newly spreading their canvas to the wind. A breezy, stirring place is Gravesend Reach.[22]

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[19] *Rivers of Great Britain*, 326–27.

[20] Hargrave, *Letters*, 28; see also Hasted, "Parishes: Gravesend," 319–35; and "Historical British Censuses," Census Reports, A Vision of Britain through Time, Great Britain Historical GIS Project, University of Portsmouth <http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/census/index.jsp> (accessed 14 November 2007), which shows census figures for Gravesend that are higher than Hargrave's estimate.

[21] Joseph Conrad, *The Mirror of the Sea*, electronic text (1906; London: Electric Book Co., ca. 2001), 132. See William Gaspey, "Gravesend," illustration, *Tallis's Illustrated London: In Commemoration of the Great Exhibition of All Nations in 1851, Forming a Complete Guide to the British Metropolis and Its Environs ...*, vol. 2 (London: John Tallis and Company, 1852), 158b.

Prior to routine use of steam tugs, HBC ships made their way from the Reach under their own sail, or if necessary towed by oarsmen in boats.[23] If the wind was favourable, after "a great deal of firing" of signal guns, outward bound HBC ships sailed down river, navigated the Nore sandbank of the river's estuary, and congregated with their consorts at anchor at the lower end of the "Hoope" (Hope Bay) in the Downs – a roadstead that accessed both the 'British Sea'/English Channel/*La Manche* and the North/German Sea.[24] The Downs was a nineteen-kilometre (twelve-mile) long, and approximately five-kilometre (three-mile) wide stretch of water that ran from the North Foreland at Ramsgate to the South Foreland at Hope Bay along the east coast of Kent

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[22] *Rivers of Great Britain*, 333, 336; see also "Gravesend Waterfront, 1895," photograph, Centre for Kentish Studies, Thames Pilot <http://www.thamespilot.org.uk/ixbin/hixclient.exe?a=query&p=thames&f=generic_objectrecord%2ehtm&_IXFIRST_=1&_IXMAXHITS_=1&%3dcms_con_core_identifier=tp%2dkn%2d001_gravesend_front_1895%2di%2d00%2d001%2etif&t=tp%2dtp%2dsourcetosea_gravesend&s=BwAMKuGnzMQ> (accessed 13 November 2007); also Karl Moritz, "On the Thames, 31st May," in *Travels in England in 1782* (London, 1886) <http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/text/chap_ page.jsp?t_id=Moritz&c_id=2&p_id=283#pn_1> (accessed 14 November 2007); John Marius Wilson, "Gravesend," *Imperial Gazetteer of England and Wales* (1870–72), A Vision of Great Britain through Time, Great Britain GIS Project, University of Portsmouth <http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/descriptions/entry_page.jsp?text_id=780130&word=NULL> (accessed 14 November 2007); and John Bartholomew, *Gazetteer of the British Isles* (1887), A Vision of Great Britain through Time, Great Britain GIS Project, University of Portsmouth <http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/descriptions/entry_page.jsp?text_id=1901370&word=NULL> (accessed 14 November 2007), for earlier descriptions of the town and its setting.

[23] See W.C.R., "The Vital Role of Tugs on the Thames," *The Port* (May/June 2003): 2, Port of London Authority <http://www. pla.co.uk/pdfs/pp/111.pdf> (accessed 10 September 2008), which notes that one of the first tugs was the screw steamer *Hibernia*, launched in 1884 by William Watkins – who, as owner of the HBC, had sold Rupert's Land to Canada; also Williams, "Last Voyage of the Stork," 44.

[24] Hargrave, *Letters*, 44. See HBCA, C.1/1021, Ship's Logs, *Seahorse*, 1751; and C.1/413, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1802, for examples of passage through the estuary; also Henry Kelsey, "Memmorandum in ye hudsons bay frigatt [sic], June ye 2d 1696," in *The Kelsey Papers*, ed. John Warkentin (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1994), 20. Williams, "Last Voyage of the Stork," 44, notes that in 1908 the vessel was towed from Gravesend to the estuary of the Thames. A.R. Williamson, "Voyage of the 'Discovery' 1911," part I, *The Beaver* 62, no. 4 (spring 1983): 14, notes the *Discovery* steamed out of the river and estuary under a "sea pilot" who would have normally been discharged at "the Sunk Light Vessel" but due to rough water was not transferred to the "Harwich pilot boat" until off Oxfordness. E. Chappell, *Narrative of a voyage to Hudson's Bay in His Majesty's ship Rosamond, containing some account of the north eastern coast of America and of the tribes inhabiting that remote region* (London: J. Mawman, 1817), 6, reported that the Admiralty vessels procured pilots at the Nore in 1814 for the journey to Orkney.

behind the "fatal" Goodwin Sands.[25] The shoal-protected area provided a safe place to wait for favourable winds and, if necessary, the assignment of an escort from among the Royal Navy vessels that moored there. The passage from Gravesend to the Downs, some forty kilometres, or twenty-five miles of sailing past flat marshlands, could take twenty-four hours to complete under good conditions without assistance from a steam tug. John Franklin, aboard the HBC vessel *Prince of Wales* in 1819, reported that two days had elapsed, due to waiting on favourable winds and tide, before the passage could be completed.[26] Typically, at an agreed upon signal, ships of the HBC convoy would sail northward from the Downs, first weaving their way across the estuary through channels such as the Swin or the Sledway, to pass by Oxfordness for Yarmouth Roads. Franklin reported a delay in this portion of the journey as well, noting that only after a "week's beating about" were they satisfactorily out of the estuary.[27] At Yarmouth, HBC ships regrouped, taking advantage of "the only relatively safe anchorage," along the east coast

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[25] R.M. Ballantyne, *The Floating Light of the Goodwin Sands*, (1870; London James Nisbet & Co., [19–]), Project Gutenburg Ebook #21735 <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/21735/21735-h/21735-h.htm> (accessed 20 November 2007), describes the single-masted, red painted lightship as, "conspicuous in its royal colour … to mark the fair-way between the white cliffs of Old England and the outlying shoals – distinguished in daylight by a huge ball at its mast-head, and at night by a magnificent lantern with argand lamps and concave reflectors, which shot its rays like lightning far and wide over the watery waste, while, in thick weather, when neither ball nor light could be discerned, a sonorous gong gave its deep-toned warning to the approaching mariner, and let him know his position amid the surrounding dangers"; see also Conrad, *Mirror of the Sea,* 130–31, for a later, but similar description; "The Treacherous Goodwins," Heritage, Whitecliffs County <http://www.whitecliffscountry.org.uk/heritage/goodwins.asp> (accessed 20 November 2007); John Warkentin, ed., "Introduction," in *Kelsey Papers*, xix, xxiii, and Kelsey, *Kelsey Papers*, 21.

[26] John Franklin, *Narrative of a journey to the shores of the Polar Sea in the years 1819, 20, 21 and 22* (London: John Murray, 1823), 1.

[27] Franklin, *Narrative of a journey*, 2.

before the Tyne, at Newcastle.[28] Well known though shipping lanes along England's coast were to mariners of Captain Coats' day – and the readers of editor Barrow's – these were also known to be dangerous shores and ships in difficulty were common. Captain John Turner and crew of the *King George* in 1803, for example, took time to aid one of "several ships [that] received damage" in a heavy squall – the non-HBC *Victory,* which had "lost her Bowsprit. Foretopmast and main yard"[29] On this as on other journeys, once HBC ships were safely at anchor at Yarmouth, a signal was fired for a boat to take ashore the Gravesend pilots who had navigated the exit from the London River and the entrance through the sands that sheltered the Roads.[30]

After a variable wait at Yarmouth – from several hours to several days – the ships navigated the "intricate passage of the Cockle Gat" through the protective sands off

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[28] Chappell, *Narrative of a voyage to Hudson Bay's*, 11, describes the town of Yarmouth as "a large straggling place; consisting of one or two good streets, and many narrow lanes; with open spaces here and there, like squares. The church has a most beautiful spire. The town does not contain any magnificent buildings." Kelsey, "A Journal of a Voyage by Gods permission in ye deering frigott from England to hudsons bay ℞ Capt crimmington Commr. &c In 1698 kept by me henry kelsey [sic]," in *Kelsey Papers*, 73, notes he sent his pilot on shore at Thropness; see also HBCA, C.1/1026, Ship's Logs, *Seahorse*, 1756.

[29] HBCA, C.1/414, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1803, 19 June.

[30] Honor, "Sailing Ships – Yarmouth Roads," Mariners-L Archives, Rootsweb (posted 12 May 2003) <http://archiver.rootsweb.com/th/read/Mariners/2003-05/1052800386> (accessed 6 January 2008), supplies the following quote from David Higgins, *The Beachman* (Lavenham Suffolk: Terence Dalton, 1987): "The Roads was a rendezvous for all vessels sailing the East Coast; they would often anchor therein for several weeks, becalmed, awaiting a favourable wind or riding out rough weather. When conditions became more favourable, thousands of vessels would be seen leaving the Roads, taking several hours to pass through." See also Hargrave, *Letters*, 46; James McDougall, transcript, "Young Apprentice," part I, *The Beaver* 32, no. 1 (June 1952), 8. William Edward Parry, *Journal of a Second Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage From the Atlantic to the Pacific, Performed in the Years 1821–22–23, In His Majesty's Ships Fury and Hecla* ... (New York: E. Duyckinck, G. Long, Collins & Co., Collins & Hannay, W.B. Gilley, and Henry I. Megarey, 1824), 2, notes that he dropped his pilots off on a sloop bound for Leith while he was off Buchanness – having been unable to put to shore earlier because of the wind.

Yarmouth and resumed their journey north.[31] Landmarks along the east coast of England such as 'Flambro' Head, Whitby Abbey, Hartlepool, and Tinmouth Castle that were passed on the way to Buchanness, 'Johnny Groat's House' and Duncansby Head in Scotland, would be noted in journals, although, depending on wind direction and weather conditions, they were not necessarily seen. On any given day, as Hargrave recorded, a ship might be wrapped in impenetrable fog, or perhaps "carried far out to sea," where scenery could be limited: sometimes "deep blue sky," and "boundless" water were the only display.[32] On one occasion, she remarked that the waves were studded with sails and seagulls – perhaps evidence of fishing activity.[33] On another, Isobel Finlayson, fellow passenger aboard the *Prince Rupert* [V], witnessed an "immense shoal of Mackarel [sic]," which on approaching "made a rushing sound and shone brilliant colours." Finlayson also observed in her journal that at one point the vessel sailed "sufficiently near the coast [opposite England] to trace every landmark and village on its picturesque shores."[34]

The route followed during this leg of the journey off England's coast headed north in order to round Scotland through Pentland Firth, and was known as going 'north about.' Although making departure from the Channel, or going 'west about,' was an

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[31] Franklin, *Narrative of a journey*, 4. Honor, "Sailing Ships – Yarmouth Roads," explains the Cockle Gatway was at the north end of the sands off Yarmouth, a series of banks that were the result of currents collecting eroded materials, and were constantly changing in shape and position.

[32] Hargrave, *Letters*, 48, 49. HBCA, E.12/5-7, "My Notebook," Isobel G[raham] Finlayson Journal (1840), 11–12. See also Chappell, *Narrative of a voyage to Hudson's Bay*, 11–12; and David Learmonth, "To Labrador by Sail," *The Beaver* 78, no. 2 (April/May 1998): 36.

[33] See Kelsey, "Memmorandum in ye hudsons bay frigatt, June ye 18th Thursday [sic]," [1696] in *Kelsey Papers*, 21.

[34] Finlayson, "Notebook," 20, 11–12. See also Barrow, "Introduction," in *Geography*, 4; HBCA, C.1/1021, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1751.

option, it was not considered optimal.[35] The Company had favoured the north about route since the initial voyage of 1668 for several reasons. First, during times of war privateers were less frequently encountered and more readily evaded.[36] The danger of a Channel departure had been illustrated in 1689 when the *Hudson's Bay* and *Northwest Fox* encountered French privateers and the latter ship, newly built and purchased with borrowed money, was taken. The escape of the equally new and similarly financed *Hudson's Bay* did not come without cost to the Company. The captain reported that on putting the damaged vessel into Plymouth for repairs, a good proportion of the seamen deserted outright, and the remainder refused to sail any further when it became clear there would be no naval escort.[37]

A second set of considerations, related to practical seafaring, meant mariners favoured heading north about as well. Contrary westerly winds were easier to deal with in more open seas than the Channel afforded: sufficient space was needed for sailors to effect operations and complete manoeuvres such as tacking and wearing their ships. With

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[35] See, for example, HBCA, B.3/a/8, Albany Post Journal, 1717, Peter Clemens, "A Journall One Borde ye Dilligenc Sloop By Godss Assistance From Church hle Towards Albany Rivor In Hudsons Bay So God Send us a Good Voige: Amen [sic]." See also Ian K. Steele, *The English Atlantic 1675–1740: An Exploration of Communication and Community* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 86; John Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse: Hudson's Bay Company Transport, 1670–1821," Ph.D. diss. (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1978), 40, also notes that the convoys sometimes sailed "south and then west through the English Channel."

[36] Isaac Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers: A Narrative of Seven Years in the Service of the Hudson's Bay Company during 1867–1874, On the Great Buffalo Plains with Historical and Biographical notes and comment* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1913), 62. HBCA, C.1/1027, Ship's Logs, *Sea Horse*, 1757, reported enemy sails in the vicinity of Tinmouth and Banbrough Castles and that HMS *Sole Bay* gave chase. Later in the journey, the entire convoy chased a Danish flyboat off "Lewes Island."

[37] Oliver Warner, "Voyaging to York Factory," *The Beaver* 37, no. 3 (winter 1957): 19–20; E.E. Rich, *The History of the Hudson's Bay Company 1670–1870,* vol. I (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1958), 254–57; Alan Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," *The Beaver* 50, no. 1 (summer 1970): 13; Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse," 54.

available crosswise reach restricted by the channel's shorelines – the one patrolled by a potentially hostile power – a ship could spend several days crossing back and forth in the face of an adverse wind, the sailors handling the sails to the point of exhaustion, with little or no appreciable headway gained.[38]

Once out into the open ocean, the north about route had further advantages. Especially in the days of rudimentary navigational tools when position was determined by 'dead reckoning,' meridian sailing to Hudson Strait by way of observing the sun and North Star and holding to the bands between the 56th and 60th parallels, "as wind and weather presents," was a straightforward course to set and follow.[39] It had the added benefit in summer of giving "more chance of favourable winds than in the zone of 'westerly variables' further south."[40] In addition, the prevalent patterns of wind readily allowed traversing the North Atlantic Drift region to take advantage of the East and

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[38] See David G. Fitz-Enz, *Old Ironsides: Eagle of the Sea* (Lanham MD: Taylor Trade Publications, 2004), 208.

[39] Coats, *Geography*, 10. See, Andrew O'Dell, "Geographical Controls of Agriculture in Orkney and Shetland," map, *Economic Geography* 11, no. 1 (January 1935): 2, showing the location of the Orkney Islands relative to the latitude of Cape Farewell and the entrance to Hudson Strait.

[40] Williamson, "Voyage of the 'Discovery'," part I, 14; Coats, *Geography*, 10. See also Tim Ball, "Company Town: Rugged Stromness in the Orkneys sent many men to the fur trade," *The Beaver* 68, no. 3 (June/July 1988): 46; and Steele, *English Atlantic*, 86, who holds a different view, asserting that the west about route was "less in the teeth of the prevailing westerlies than the 'north-about' required." F. Kenneth Hare, "The Westerlies," *Geographical Review* 50, no. 3 (July 1960): 346, explains, however, that the 'northern westerlies' were high altitude winds, "that is, 15,000–30,000 feet," above the Earth's surface that blew "from a westerly point." He describes the surface winds beneath as "not predominantly from the west" in all areas, and subject to "seasonal fluctuation in extent and position." This is well illustrated by the placement of wind roses in early charts of the North Atlantic. They suggest that a ship was more likely to encounter headwinds the more it attempted to cross the North Atlantic gyre below the 56th to 60th parallels north latitude. For examples see Blaeu, "Regiones sub Polo Artico," in *Atlas Major: 'The Greatest and Finest Atlas ever Published,'* ed. Peter Van Der Krogt (Los Angeles, Taschen, 2006), 32–33; William Jansz Blaeu and Johannes and Pieter Blaeu, "Sea chart of the coasts of Europe," in *Early Sea Charts*, ed. Robert Putman (New York: Abbeville Press, 1983), 76–77; Gerard Mercator, "Sea chart of the North Atlantic," in *Early Sea Charts*, 86–87; and Pieter Goos, "Sea chart of the seas around Greenland and Iceland," in *Early Sea Charts*, 98–99.

West Greenland currents.[41] Although Captain Coats described these as a "languid" set of currents, the direction and duration of flow were convenient. They were "sett to southward, and inclined to westward [sic]" carrying a ship at the rate of "six, eight, or nine mile a day up until the longitude of Cape Farewell" on the southernmost tip of Greenland, after which the currents flowed directly to Cape Warwick on the south coast of Resolution Island at the entrance to Hudson Strait.[42]

A third incentive for holding to the north about route was that by 1702 the Orkney Islands had become convenient sources of Company labour. The valuation of HBC governor John Nixon, that Orcadians were "a hardy people both to endure hunger, and could, and are subject to obedience [sic]," was one reason for taking on workers at Orkney.[43] Of equal concern in terms of recruitment, however, was that once HBC ships were clear of England, Company captains were less liable to lose crew members,

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[41] See G. Dietrich, G., K. Kalle, W. Krauss and G. Siedler, map, *General Oceanography: An Introduction*, 2d ed., trans. Susanne Ulrich Roll and Hans Ulrich Roll (New York: Wiley-Interscience, 1980), showing the major currents of the North Atlantic.

[42] Coats, *Geography*, 10, 11, 23; see also C. Ikminger, "Currents and Icedrifts on the Coasts of Iceland," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 5, no. 5 (1860–1861): 225.

[43] John Nixon, quoted in Sylvia Van Kirk, *'Many Tender Ties': Women in Fur-Trade Society in Western Canada, 1670–1870* (Watson and Dwyer Publishing, 1980), 11; see also Murdock Mackenzie and Samuel Hearne quoted in Bell, "Company Town," 50, also 46. Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 62, notes "The first record we have of the long connection which has existed to this day between the English Hudson's Bay Company and the men of Orkney occurred in 1707, and again in 1712, when fourteen and forty able-bodied seamen respectively were engaged … But it was not until 1740 that the Hudson's Bay ships began to make Stromness regularly their last port of call"; J. Storer Clouston, "Orkney and the Hudson's Bay Company," part II, *The Beaver* 16, no. 4 (March 1937): 43, argues that a ship had been sent to Scotland under "a certain Capt. Simpson" searching for servants as early as 1693, but that whether he "reached as far north as Orkney is not known for certain." Clouston mentions as well that in 1702 Captain Michael Grimington intentionally stopped for men in Orkneys, and that from 1722 to1891 the Company's ships "called regularly at Stromness"; see also James A. Troup, "The Impact of the 'Nor Wast' on Stromness," paper, Center for Rupert's Land Studies (Winnipeg: n.d.), 1; Jennifer S.H. Brown, *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980), 27; Alwin "Mode. Pattern and Pulse," 41, 55; Edith I. Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company: Work, Discipline, and Conflict in the Hudson's Bay Company, 1770–1879* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1997), 3, 68; and Steele, *English Atlantic*, 86.

craftsmen, and others engaged for Hudson Bay to naval impressment.[44] Added to this, younger Orkneymen, faced with limited avenues for finding gainful employment on their home islands, were favourably disposed to sign on as sailors, coal traders, fishers, or whalers on what were, from their harbours, relatively short voyages to northern waters. Orkneymen were often, therefore, experienced sailors, unfazed at the prospect of cold water voyaging, and appreciative of the comparably remunerative terms of HBC contracts – though they signed on for wages lower than those offered to English and Irish prospects.[45]

As for reaching the Orkneys in HBC ships, the islands were easier to access by going north about than by threading through the "innumerable" islands off Ireland and western Scotland where the tides were reported to be "so powerful and so distracted, that none but a person sufficiently acquainted are capable to take charge of a ship."[46] Even so,

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[44] See for example HBCA, C.1/417, and C.1/418, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1806, which note that two seamen, John Rumbirt and Thomas Cocksey, were "prest at sea" on the outward voyage off Yarmouth. The logs also indicate that reaching the Orkneys did not necessarily mean seamen were safe – William Shekle was impressed there on the ship's return from Hudson Bay; see also Warner, "Voyaging to York Factory," 20; and Bell, "Company Town," 50.

[45] Library and Archives Canada [LAC], Thomas Douglas, 5th Earl of Selkirk Fonds, Microfilm A.27, Selkirk Papers, vol. I, Miles Macdonnell, letter to Lord Selkirk, York Factory, 1 Oct 1811, (Canadian Library Association Ottawa, 1950), 43, who notes "The Orkney men being accustomed to it, think nothing of a voyage to Hudsons Bay." See also Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 62; J. Storer Clouston, "Orkney and the Hudson's Bay Company," part I, *The Beaver* 16, no. 3 (December 1936): 4, 8; and part II, 39–40, 41; Clouston quoted in Troup, "Impact of the 'Nor Wast'," 2, also 3; Bell, "Company Town," 47–48, 49, 50; and Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company*, 68–74. J. Birbeck Nevins, *A narrative of two voyages to Hudson's Bay: with traditions of the North American Indians* (London: Printed for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1847), 2, alleges "though the wages are very low, and they have to endure great hardships and privations … there is little difficulty in obtaining a sufficient number. The custom was so general a few years since, that a person was scarcely considered a man, until he had been to the 'nor-west,' and he would stand but an indifferent chance of a favourable reception, should he make proposals of marriage before having given this proof of his manhood; but this feeling is now less strong than it was, and many of the labourers are married before going out."

[46] Coats, *Geography*, 8, 22. See also Thomas M'Keevor, *A Voyage to Hudson's Bay, during the Summer of 1812: Containing a particular account of the icebergs and other phenomena which present*

wind, tide, and the standing waves of Pentland Firth could present difficulties – especially if sailing at night or in fog. Coats described the Orkney Islands in 1759 as "a cluster of islands so high and bold, and the sea so deap, and washed with so violent a tide, that the navigation through these islands has been in a great measure disused (except by persons very well acquainted) untill very lately [sic]"[47] He further avowed that "Danes, Swedes, and Dutch India men" had lost enough ships in the passage to finally decide on ranging "into the North Sea 100 or 200 leagues more than was necessary in their passage to or from the Western Ocean" and leave off traversing its "convenient way" altogether. The presumably 'very well acquainted' HBC captains and pilots who continued to use the route had been aided in 1750 by Murdock Mackenzie's publication of eight maps accompanied with "suitable directions for sailors." These, in Coats' estimation, dealt with shoals and violent tides "with such care and circumspection, and so plain and practicable to the meanest understanding, that it is now not only safe but most commodious navigation."[48] Helpful charts notwithstanding, adverse weather remained an element with which to contend. In 1862 James McDougall reported that over the span of some forty-

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themselves in those regions: also, a description of the Esquimeaux and North American Indians, their manners, customs, dress, language, &c. &c. &c. (London: Printed for Sir Richard Phillips and Co., 1819), 3.

[47] Coats, *Geography*, 5. Ian Maxwell, "Around the World: The Shetland and Orkney Islands," *Your Family Tree* 39 (July 2006): 55, notes "A steady increase in sea trade offered escape for many islanders as French and Spanish ships sheltered in Orkney in the 16th century." To about 1703, the Shetlands especially "became an important staging post in the whaling and herring boom, which brought great numbers of Dutch, Spanish and French boats to the islands."

[48] Coats, *Geography*, 5n. 2, 6; see also review of *The State of the Tides in Orkney* [1749], by Murdoch Mackenzie, *Philosophical Transactions (1683–1775)* 46 (1749–1750): 149–60; HBCA, G.5/3, which holds a copy of Murdock Mackenzie, "Geographic & Hydrographic Survey of the Orkney & Lewis Islands," map, 1750; and "Murdoch Mackenzie," Gazetteer for Scotland (1995–2007) <http://www.geo.edinburgh.ac.uk/scotgaz/gaztitle.html> (accessed 27 November 2007), which describes Mackenzie (1712–1797), as a school master, native to Orkney, who became "a surveyor and marine cartographer …

eight hours HBC Captain David Herd and the *Prince of Wales* were taken "upward of 100 [miles] to the N.E. of Orkney" or "200 miles to leeward" of the hoped for Firth, and that it took an additional two days to right the situation.[49] William Edward Parry had had better luck in making the Firth on his non-HBC expedition of 1821, but "while standing through, the wind backed to the westward of north, with heavy squalls, which would not have allowed us to clear the land with the ebb-tide."[50] The *Hecla* and *Fury* therefore sought a safe harbour, of which the Orkneys were reputed to have "sufficiente to shelter and secure all the ships of the known world [sic]."[51] They took refuge at Widewall, on the west coast of South Ronaldsay for three days, after which they advanced only as far as Longhope of the east coast of Hoy before they again anchored, this time for eight days, to wait out the "strong and unfavourable winds."[52]

Having been under sail for approximately two weeks since leaving Gravesend, HBC ships did not normally exit the North Sea by way of Pentland Firth directly to the Atlantic. Instead they made their way towards Hoy Sound, through the wide basin of Scapa Flow and then the narrower passage of Graemesay Sound. Of the passages and

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[d]etermined to make good charts around these northern islands, which would prevent the heavy loss of life in what were treacherous waters," and who surveyed both land and sea from 1742, developing "new techniques which are described in his *Treatise on Maritime Surveying* (1774)."

[49] McDougall, "Young Apprentice," part I, 8. See also See Chappell, *Narrative of a voyage to Hudson Bay*, 12; and Learmonth, "To Labrador by Sail," 36, aboard the *Pelican* in 1904, he noted that "When we rounded Duncansby Head … we ran into a true northern gale. Progress was impossible, even when the ship's engines were brought into full use. As long as the tide that runs through the Firth was in the ship's favour, she would inch along, but when the tide turned, the captain sought shelter."

[50] Parry, *Journal of a Second Voyage*, 2.

[51] Coats, *Geography*, 8.

[52] Parry, *Journal of a Second Voyage*, 2.

channels that separated the islands of Orkney, Holm Sound and Hoy Sound particularly were known for having plenty of good anchor ground and more moderate tides.[53] Before making a final departure, the vessels would make an extended stay within the Cairstone Roads of Hamnavoe Inlet. There they anchored in a "fine natural harbour sheltered by various small islands and surrounded by bleak and sterile hills, covered with short stunted grass, scarcely a tree or shrub … to be seen," but complemented by the town of Stromness.[54]

A variety of visitors penned descriptions of Stromness, including Hargrave and Finlayson in 1840, John McDougall in 1862, and Isaac Cowie in 1867. When such accounts are compared to that furnished in 1936 by J. Storer Clouston, author, historian, and resident of the nearby town of Orphir, a timelessness of the town's aspect while it served as the HBC's final European port of call is suggested. Stromness stood at the foot of a hill at harbour's edge, as Finlayson recorded, "built so close to the shore, that the houses appear to rise out of the water, many of their walls being washed by the sea."[55] She also remarked that it held greater aesthetic appeal when viewed from a distance.

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[53] Coats, *Geography*, 10. N.E.S.A. Hamilton, ed., *The National Gazetteer of Great Britain and Ireland*..., 4 vols. (London: James S. Virtue and Co., 1868), notes that Holm Sound, pronounced 'Ham,' and meaning "haven or good anchorage," separates the South East part of Mainland, Orkney, from the Island of Burray; but Ball, "Company Town," 46, notes the presence of islands within Hamnavoe Inlet "known as Holms"; see also Chappell, *Narrative of a voyage to Hudson's Bay*, 14 – possibly Coats referred to Cairstone Roads as Holm Sound. See "Orkney," maps, Genmaps, Rootsweb <http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~genmaps/genfiles/COU_Pages/SCO_pages/oki.htm> (accessed 11 February 2009), for scanned historical maps dating from 1564 to 1896.

[54] Finlayson, "Notebook," 29; McDougall, "Young Apprentice," part I, 9; Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 67; see also Clouston, "Orkney and the Hudson's Bay Company," part I, 4; Hargrave, *Letters*, 45. Parry, *Journal of a Second Voyage*, 2, does not appear to have stopped in Stromness. See, J. Storer Clouston, "An old close, Stromness," photograph, *The Beaver* 16, no. 3 (December 1936): 4.

[55] Finlayson, "Notebook," 29.

McDougall agreed that although the site was "beautiful," the town itself was in need "of a great deal of improvement both sanatory & architectural [sic]."[56] By Clouston's time, 'improved' or not, the town remained small and appeared "quaint":

> There was just room for a single narrow street between the foot of a high steep slope and the water of the little bay, and as the hill-face curved this way and that the street followed the curves, twisting, rising, and falling along the water's edge. On either hand crow-stepped gables line this tortuous lane styled by courtesy a street, with, on one side, picturesque little courtyards and alleys every now and then mounting the hill as high as they can climb, and, on the other, a row of small piers behind the houses, and between them glimpses of green translucent water. This goes on for a mile or more.[57]

Over its history, the harbour sheltered a large number of ships – as many as four hundred fishing vessels at a time from 1888 to the end of the herring boom at about the turn of the century – and the town was subject to the equally large influx of people associated with the vessels.[58] The pressure on water resources was significant, with the harbour serving as a general disposal area for bilge, ballast, and sewage. Although by 1900 nearly all of the six public and seventy private wells were severely polluted, Logan's well continued to serve as a source of fresh water for outgoing ships until it was sealed in 1931.[59]

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[56] McDougall, "Young Apprentice," part I, 9. Chappell, *Narrative of a voyage to Hudson's Bay*, 14, reports "an irregular assemblage of dirty huts, with here and there a decent house. There is scarcely anything deserving the name of a street."

[57] Clouston, "Orkney and the Hudson's Bay Company," part I, 6. Doug Houghton Photography, "Stromness – Harbour Stock Photographs" <http://www.orkneypics.com/webpage/page/page079.html> (accessed 6 January 2008), supplies photographs that suggest the town looks much the same today.

[58] "Stromness History," The Orkney Website <http://www.orkney.org/mainland/stromnesshistory.htm> (accessed 6 January 2008); Franklin, *Narrative of a journey*, 5, notes the herring fishery employed about three hundred vessels in 1819, drawing a significant number of men away from HBC employment.

[59] See, Chappell, *Narrative of a voyage to Hudson's Bay*, 14; also "Bay of Ireland," Site Report No. 35, Scottish Environmental Protection Agency (6 August 2007) <http://www.sepa.org.uk/pdf/data/

After spending anywhere from one to three weeks in Stromness, ships passed through Graemsay Sound's "racing tideway," which ran at eight to nine knots between the high cliffs of the Island of Hoy and the 'Black Craig' of the Orkney Mainland.[60] MacDougall described both of these elevations as, "literally covered with sea birds."[61] Departure was taken from Hoyhead. As Joseph Conrad explained in his 1906 publication, *Mirror of the Sea*, aboard ship the term departure signified not "so much a sea event as a definite act entailing a process, the precise observation of certain landmarks by means of the compass card."[62] The distinctive topography of Hoy provided suitable landmarks above the waterline and below. Soundings taken at the base of Hoyhead indicated that here the sea floor dropped suddenly to thirty fathoms, while, in McDougall's words, viewed from the deck of a ship:

> the island rises abruptly – starting as it were out of the sea, whereas the others are generally of a flat character – It consists of a Mountain very steep, of two peaks covered with heather, in some places nothing but bare rock & deep ravines running down the side. … the high precipice of Hoy which stands facing the Atlantic … is the highest precipice in Britain being 1400 feet high, the sea foaming against its perpendicular sides like thunder."[63]

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shellfish/35.pdf> (accessed 6 January 2008). Ball, "Company Town," 45.

[60] James McDougall, "Young Apprentice," part II, *The Beaver* 32, no. 3 (September 1952): 10. HBCA, C.1/414 Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1803, 20–28 June, the ship stayed one week at Stromness; likewise in C.1/417, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1806; C.1/419, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1807; and C.1/1021 Ship's Logs, *Seahorse*, 1751. HBCA, C.1/1022, Ship's Logs, *Seahorse*, 1752, indicates the ship stayed for two weeks; Chappell, *Narrative of a voyage to Hudson's Bay*, 19; and Nevins, *Narrative of Two Voyages*, 1, report the same length of stay.

[61] McDougall, "Young Apprentice," part II, 10.

[62] Conrad, *Mirror of the Sea*, 12.

[63] McDougall, "Young Apprentice," part II, 9–10: the mountain is Ward Hill, elevation 481 metres, or 1,577 feet; see also Coats, *Geography*, 6; Clouston, "Orkney and the Hudson's Bay Company," part I, 6. See, "The Old Man of Hoy," illustration, in Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 63, after an engraving by William Daniell ca. 1813. Cowie dates the view to 1813; see also photograph, ca. 1936, in

Hoy, which could be seen from a distance of "upwards of twenty leagues," was additionally marked by a singular promontory, four hundred and fifty feet high, styled "The old Man of Hoy" on account of its silhouette.[64] Out from Hoy, any pilots newly engaged to negotiate passage through the Orkney Islands or Hoy Sound would be dropped off – the 'old Man' serving to mark their return to shore.

Departing from Hoy, having been perhaps a month or more under sail, HBC sailors left behind the relatively well known, but nonetheless numerous and difficult to navigate natural hazards that marked all passages around the British Isles. In addition to rocks, shoals, and troubling tides, by this point in their voyage, they had escaped other dangers as well. The likelihood of encountering pirates, gunships of hostile navies, and officers of their own navy bent on impressment, grew less as their distance from Britain increased. Within a short space, they also left behind, for a number of weeks to come, the possibility of determining their whereabouts by sighting features associated with particular landforms – from hills, to birds, to floating debris. The experienced among a ship's complement, however – whether possessed or not of a master mariner's skill sets and navigational tools – knew where their vessel was headed, what sights to watch for, and which of these confirmed that their time spent working at sea had decreased their vessel's distance from its destination.

Clouston, "Orkney and the Hudson's Bay Company," part I, 7, which suggests either a fair degree of erosion had taken place by the twentieth century, or the artist Daniell had significantly embellished the rock's profile.

[64] Clouston, "Orkney and the Hudson's Bay Company," part I, 7.

Chapter Six

Crossing the North Atlantic

Once past all topographical guideposts, sailors relied on aids to navigation such as charts, quadrants, compasses, and timepieces to cross the Atlantic. The accuracy of results obtained was dependent on individuals of variable talents and, as subsequent remarks in this and following chapters show, instruments of sometimes questionable accuracy, or of limited usefulness.[1] Arguably, the fact that weather systems and currents tended as they did was more than convenient. These appear to have been critically important constants. Assuming that a competent crew had been hired, then, with some attention paid to outfitting the ship, some care in the provisioning of food and fresh water, and with a modicum of attention paid to maintaining a westward course overall, ships' captains would be hard pressed not to arrive at Cape Farewell. Certainly, from 1670 to 1920, once they had set out on the North Atlantic crossing, HBC ships invariably did so, regardless of their condition or complement. Successfully navigating the Cape and

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[1] See also Katherine Neal, "Mathematics and Empire, Navigation and Exploration: Henry Briggs and the Northwest Passage Voyages of 1631," *Isis* 93 (2002): 435–53; Arthur Herman, *To Rule the Waves: How the British Navy Shaped the Modern World* (New York: Harper Perennial 2005), 79–81.

gaining entrance to Hudson Strait was the more demanding exercise, owing to the existence of ice – a virtual constant of that region. Here again, with or without working navigational aids, understanding the play of currents, vagaries of weather, and signals of land were of utmost importance. Setting a course through the northernmost extent of the North Atlantic put sailors to work in conditions much like those encountered on other transoceanic passages of that sea. This chapter demonstrates, however, ways in which the knowledge needed to complete this particular passage, and to begin the next, is evidence of the importance of sailors' cumulative experience on the HBC ocean arc. Individual awareness of foregone successes and failures, combined with sufficient seafaring experience to be able to weigh options and choose tactics best suited to meet contingencies encountered here as opposed to elsewhere, was necessary. Competency, the means of mitigating accident, was a learned attribute.[2]

Commonly, the North Atlantic portion of the voyage began with departure from Hoyhead, entered into HBC logbooks as something in the region of 58° 55' North latitude.[3] Taking the 'usual' course entailed striking westward from this point, with uninterrupted sailing for approximately 2,253 kilometres or 1,400 miles to Cape Farewell. Occasionally, however, ships instead departed from the harbour of Stornoway on the Isle of Lewis in the Hebrides archipelago, or headed further north by way of the

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[2] See J.L. Stocks, "The Test of Experience," *Mind*, n.s., 28, no. 109 (January 1919): 79-81, for an early twentieth-century defence of the Aristotelian argument on the moral virtue of courage and the emotion of 'cheer,' as these were understood to exist among sailors faced with conditions that among the inexperienced elicited fear, or foolhardy responses. Following his reasoning, HBC sailors, competent by way of observation, would have exhibited "a mastery of dangerous situations" borne of knowing "there is promise of personal effort availing something."

[3] HBCA C.1/1021 Ship's Logs, *Seahorse*, 1751, 5; see also Chapter Four, this thesis, 89.

'Fair Passage' between the Orkneys and the Shetlands to the harbour at Lerwick, on the Shetland mainland, to pick up additional HBC recruits and strike out from there.[4] Unless this was the case, up until 1884 when it became more conventional to refer to the Greenwich meridian as the world's prime meridian longitudinally, Hoyhead served HBC navigators as the reference meridian as far as Resolution Island, at "62:15 W" or thereabouts, at which point longitude would be reset to zero degrees.[5]

When sailing from Hoy – ship and complement "plowing through the heaving waves of the wide Atlantic" away from "the faint blue line of the lessening hills" – the

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[4] See, for example, HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books, 1845–1915, accounts for *Prince Rupert,* Captain D. Herd, 1847 and 1848. Also J. Williams, "The Last Voyage of the Stork," *The Beaver* 19, no. 2 (September 1939): 44; and A.R. Williamson, "Voyage of the 'Discovery' 1911," part I, *The Beaver* 62, no. 4 (spring 1983): 16. At least one HBC vessel departed from Bristol, the *Prince Rupert* [V] in 1835; as did Thomas James, *The Strange and Dangerous Voyage of Captaine Thomas James, in his intended Discovery of the Northwest Passage into the South Sea* (London: John Legatt, for John Partridge, 1633), in the *Henrietta Maria*, 1631. See also, *Inverness Journal* (12 April 1811), 1D, reporting HBC agents, Charles MacLean of Coll, and Donald MacKenzie of Stornoway, advertising for "young able men, sailors, blacksmiths, coopers & carpenters," also (21 June 1811), 4D-E, (6 September 1811), 3C, (22 November 1811), 4C-D, (7 February 1812), 4B-E, (28 February 1812), 4C-E, (27 March 1812), A-B, (22 May 1812), 4D-E, (5 June 1812), 4E, and (14 May 1813), 3C, recruiting for the Earl of Selkirk's settlement at Red River. LAC, Thomas Douglas, 5th Earl of Selkirk Fonds, Microfilm A.27, Selkirk Papers, vol. I, John McLeod, letter, "Port York Hudsons Bay 27th Sept 1811," (Canadian Library Association Ottawa, 1950), 149, records departure at Stornoway as "latitude 59°20 & longitude 39°." See also Robert M. Ballantyne, *Hudson's Bay, or, Every-day life in the wilds of North America during six years' residence in the territories of the honourable Hudson's Bay Company* (Edinburgh : W. Blackwood, 1848), 7–8; and Ian Maxwell, "Around the World: The Shetland and Orkney Islands," *Your Family Tree* 39 (July 2006): 57, who notes "The most common occupation of the men in Shetland's registers is either fisherman or seaman. ... fishing and the sea has been the Shetland economy since before records began."

[5] See for example, HBCA, C.1/1021 Ship's Logs, *Seahorse*, 1751; C.1/411, and C.1/413, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1802; and C.1/419, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1807. A.R.T. Jonkers, Andrew Jackson, and Anne Murray, "Four Centuries of Geomagnetic Data from Historical Records," *Reviews of Geophysics* 41, no. 2 (June 2003): 53, note that in shipping generally, "Until the advent of the Greenwich meridian in the 1750s (chosen because the Royal Observatory was built there), English oceanic navigation adhered to a rather idiosyncratic practice. It fundamentally differed in two aspects from the Dutch and French manner: (1) Each major land sighting provided a new, local meridian from which to reckon. (2) Position east or west from a reference meridian was often measured in meridian distance (expressed in spherical degrees or miles) rather than in longitudinal degrees."

last close sighting of land could vary.[6] Depending on the exact course followed, it might be of two islands eleven leagues from Hoyhead, separated by three miles of water, and known as the Stack and Skerry. HBC captain, William Coats, described Stack as "pritty high and white with fowls' dung," and the site of a yearly egg gathering expedition. He remarked Skerry as being "low flatt," frequented by seals and visited annually by sealers. Alternatively, the last landmarks might be Barra and Rona, two islands visible as "high bold land … east and west five miles asunder" and twenty six leagues bearing "West ½ North" from Hoy. Then there were the four St. Kilday islands, "more to westward" with "high bold land, the westermost of a pyramidal form like a sugar loaf." Lastly, further west again, there was the solitary 'rock' of Rokel/Rockall, "well known to navigators" and shaped "not unlike the Stack, but higher and bigger, and white from some cause."[7]

The journey from Hoyhead to Hudson Strait usually took about four weeks, but with favourable winds could be much swifter. In 1851, Captain William Kennedy, formerly of the HBC and at the time sailing in search of the missing Franklin expedition, reportedly made the crossing in nineteen days.[8] In 1862 James McDougall credited

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[6] Ballantye, *Hudson's Bay,* 10.

[7] William Coats, *The Geography of Hudson's Bay: being the remarks of Captain W. Coats, in many voyages to that locality, between the years 1727 and 1751*, ed. John Barrow (London: Hakluyt Society, 1852), 7, notes that Stack and Skerry were "caled in the maps Solesskery [sic]." William Edward Parry, *Journal of a Second Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage From the Atlantic to the Pacific, Performed in the Years 1821-22-23, In His Majesty's Ships Fury and Hecla* ... (New York: E. Duyckinck, G. Long, Collins & Co., Collins & Hannay, W.B. Gilley, and Henry I. Megarey, 1824), 2, called them "remarkable" and commented that his charts underestimated their distance from Hoy. See also J. Birbeck Nevins, *A narrative of two voyages to Hudson's Bay: with traditions of the North American Indians* (London: Printed for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1847), 2.

[8] Ian K. Steele, *The English Atlantic 1675-1740: An Exploration of Communication and Community* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 86, states " The ocean crossing, from the Downs to Resolution Island, averaged just over 6 weeks and ranged from 1 to 2 months." LAC, Selkirk Papers, Miles Macdonell, letter to Lord Selkirk, York Factory, 1 Oct 1811, 4, testifies that the 1811 voyage was of

Captain David Herd of the *Prince of Wales* with having taken a mere seven days, averring that the captain, "who has been on this passage for 29 years said he never did the like before nor had he ever been so lucky as to have a fair wind across the Atlantic at this time of year … for 3 days she was going thro the water between 12 & 14 knots an hour [sic]."[9]

Ship's apprentice J. Williams, aboard the *Stork* in 1908, observed of his voyage: "Ships are scarce in these northern latitudes, and after seeing a few fishing smacks around the north of Scotland not a ship was seen."[10] In terms of visual points of interest, earlier seafarers as well tended to record the Atlantic crossing as "long, monotonous and dreary."[11] According to Robert M. Ballantyne:

> the same view of sky and water met our gaze each morning as we ascended to the deck … except where the topsails of our accompanying vessels fluttered for a moment on the distant horizon. Occasionally we approached closer to each other, and once or twice hailed with the trumpet: but these breaks in the gloom of our

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"uncommon length," taking sixty-one days to reach York Factory in Hudson Bay from Stornoway. Coats, *Geography*, 11, indicates the 1741 voyage took twenty-one days from Hoyhead to Resolution Island. See also H.M.S. Cotter, "Some Famous H.B.C. Captains and Ships," part I, *The Beaver* 1, no. 7 (April 1921): 4; H.M.S. Cotter, "Famous H.B.C. Captains and Ships," part II, *The Beaver* 1, no 9 (June 1921): 32, 33; G.A. Cuthbertson, "The 'Erik's' Saga," *The Beaver* 16, no. 1 (June 1936): 53; and "S.S. Pelican," *The Beaver* 9, no. 1 (June 1929): 215. "Bellot: His Adventures and Death in the Arctic Regions," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 12, no. 67 (December 1855): 97.

[9] James McDougall, "Young Apprentice," part II, *The Beaver* 32, no. 3 (September 1952): 11.

[10] Williams, "Last Voyage of the Stork," 44.

[11] See Anthony Beale, letter, "from Albany Fort, 1 Aug. 1712," in *Letters from Hudson Bay, 1703–40*, ed. K.G. Davies, with A.M. Johnson (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1965), 20; James Knight, letter, "York Fort 19 Sept 1714," in *Letters from Hudson Bay,* 34; Isaac Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers: A Narrative of Seven Years in the Service of the Hudson's Bay Company during 1867–1874, On the Great Buffalo Plains with Historical and Biographical notes and comment* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1913), 84, also 85; Ballantyne, *Hudson's Bay*, 3, 10–11; MacLeod, Selkirk Papers, letter, "Port York Hudson's Bay 27th Sept 1811," 149.

existence were few and far between.[12]

Although breaks in the visual monotony of a passage were limited to such events as the sighting of consorts, "myriads of porpoises," the occasional whale, or a ship returning from the whaling grounds, natural conditions could vary widely.[13] As sailor A.R. Williamson commented after his crossing in 1911, even in "high summer" it was possible to encounter "fair winds and foul, moderate seas and rough – all chances and changes to be met in any ocean passage."[14] The designation foul meant that the wind, whatever its strength, was blowing contrary to the intended bearing. A fair wind, though it sent the ship in the right direction, might generate rough weather and "very high" seas, which MacDougall described as, "a mass of foam, sprae [sic] blowing topmast high, sea breaking over our quarter."[15] Passengers did not necessarily venture above board to

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[12] Ballantyne, *Hudson's Bay*, 10–11. He reports 'hailing' other ships, as opposed to signalling, which, according to Peter Kemp, ed., "Signals at sea," *The Oxford Companion to Ships and the Sea* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 801–3, was done by flag, lantern flare, or guns and was not a codified practice among merchant vessels until 1857 when the Board of Trade dealt with standardizing it.

[13] E. Chappell, *Narrative of a Voyage to Hudson's Bay in His Majesty's Ship Rosamond, containing some account of the north eastern coast of America and of the tribes inhabiting that remote region* (London: J. Mawman, 1817), 23–26, "Observed great quantities of a peculiar kind of sea-weed, in the shape of stars" and "numberless sea-birds round the ship, particularly Solan geese" for some distance into the journey, but eventually reported "No birds to be seen, excepting two solitary sea-gulls, which are to be met with at any distance from the land." John Franklin, *Narrative of a journey to the shores of the Polar Sea in the years 1819, 20, 21 and 22* (London: John Murray, 1823), 12, writes of seeing "shoals of grampusses sporting about, which the Greenland seamen termed finners from their large dorsal fin." It seems likely he was referring to Grampus griseus, the gray, blunt-nosed dolphin common in northern seas but he may well have meant orca. Parry, *Journal of a Second Voyage*, 3, reported seeing "a number of bottle-nose whales." See also Henry Kelsey, *The Kelsey Papers*, ed. John Warkentin (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, University of Regina, 1994), xix; HBCA, C.1/1026, Ship's Logs, *Seahorse*, 1756, 2 July; C.1/1029 Ship's Logs, *Seahorse*, 1759, 22 July; C.1/411, and C.1/413, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1802, 12 July, 19 July, 22 July; and Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 85, for reports of ship sightings.

[14] Williamson, "Voyage of the 'Discovery'," part I, 18. See also James, *Strange and Dangerous Voyage*, 3.

[15] LAC, Selkirk Papers, Miles Macdonell, 44; McDougall, "Young Apprentice," part II, 2 10.

witness such displays. They were as likely to remain sequestered in their berths, more concerned with the water that got into their bunks.[16] For his part, Williamson observed of the passage that it effectively proved the saying: "the man who went to sea for pleasure would go to hell for pastime."[17]

Once within 320 kilometres, or 200 miles, of Cape Farewell, birds again became numerous. John Franklin listed fulmar petrels (*procellaria glacialis*) among his sightings, as did Edward Parry. The latter's list further included: kittiwakes (*larus rissa*); loons (*uria brunichii*); dovekies (*colymbus grylle*); rotges (*alca alle*); terns (*sterna hirundo*); and "a flock or two of ducks, of which the species was uncertain."[18] Like Franklin, Parry commented on "large flocks of Shearwaters, (*procellaria puffinus*), called by the Greenland whalers Cape hens, as being usually met with only in the neighborhood of Cape Farewell."[19] These may have been the "Great numbers of curious birds" that McDougall reported seeing, on which the "plumage approached that of a sea gull but black heads, long neck and bill like a duck."[20] Aside from indicating land in the offing, part of the enjoyment the presence of birds afforded was the opportunity they provided to bored passengers for practicing marksmanship. Isaac Cowie reported, "We shot a number

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[16] Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 81; Ballantye, *Hudson's Bay*, 10–11; also HBCA, E.12/5-7, "My Notebook," Isobel G[raham] Finlayson Journal, 1840, 37.

[17] Williamson, "Voyage of the 'Discovery'," part I, 17. See also Arthur S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870–71, Being a History of Rupert's Land (The Hudson's Bay Company Territory) and of the North-West Territory (Including the Pacific Slope)* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1939), 50.

[18] Parry, *Journal of a Second Voyage*, 3.

[19] Franklin, *Narrative of a journey*, 12. Parry, *Journal of a Second Voyage*, 3.

[20] McDougall, "Young Apprentice," part II, 10: the birds were probably Shearwaters, but may have been Brunnich's guillemot; see also Chappell, *Narrative of a Voyage to Hudson Bay*, 32.

of 'whale birds,' of which large flocks were to be seen … and great numbers of 'Mother Carey's Chickens' (the sign of coming storm)."[21]

In 1867 Captain Bishop with the *Prince Rupert* passed close enough to the island tip of Cape Farewell that it could be viewed through a telescope. Cowie described the landmark as showing:

> on the west, a comparatively low rounded outline, followed by a succession of four lofty, sharp peaks, the western sides rising perpendicularly from the water, and the eastern slopes running down a sharp angle thereto, like the teeth of a saw. The color appeared black, flecked with snow."[22]

Historically, however, HBC ships did not normally approach so close. As early as 1714 the formal 'Sailing Orders and Instructions' to ships' captains included a caution to remain south of 57° 30' North latitude until well west of Cape Farewell, on account of the "extremely dangerous" ice said to "hang near the verge of the cape most of the summer."[23] On his first voyage to Hudson Bay in 1727, Captain Coats transgressed that directive while yet following his sailing orders in which the permissible degrees of travel

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[21] Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 86. These birds are another species of petrel. William Wales, "Journal of a Voyage, made by order of the Royal Society, to Churchill River, on the North-west Coast of Hudson's Bay; Of Thirteen Months Residence in that Country; and of the Voyage Back to England; in the Years 1768 and 1769," *Philosophical Transactions (1683–1775)* 60 (1770): 102, reported that seeing driftwood was another signal that Cape Farewell was nearby.

[22] Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 86–87. See also Coats, *Geography*, 11.

[23] John Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse: Hudson's Bay Company Transport, 1670–1821," Ph.D. diss. (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1978), 61 n.2; Coats, *Geography*, 11; HBCA, A.6/3, fo. 128, London Correspondence Outward, Official, 1696–1715, Sailing Orders and Instructions to Captain Richard Harle, 25 May 1714; Chappell, *Narrative of a Voyage to Hudson Bay*, 48; Steele, *English Atlantic*, 86. Google Earth 4.2, Direct X8, 13 November 2007 (accessed 7 January 2008), shows the island lies at approximately 59°45' north latitude.

had been extended to "ye Latitude of 59."[24] He subsequently ran afoul of "hard blue ice," against which HBC factor Thomas McCliesh, formerly a sailor, contended, "a ship may with as much safety run against a rock."[25] In consequence, the newly built *Mary* under Coats' command was lost along with her cargo. From the account of the sinking penned for the London Committee by McCliesh, who was also Coats' father-in-law, and, as a passenger, witness to the event, it seems the encounter with ice may have had less to do with latitude than with there having been an exceptional amount of ice that year. Nevertheless, the London Committee revised its latitudinal boundary downward to 58° North for future instructions.[26]

Generally, therefore, ships attempted to pass well south of the cape to proceed to Resolution Island, some seven hundred miles distant, though such caution was not always appreciated. Miles Macdonell, tasked with establishing the Selkirk Settlement at Red River in 1811, complained that on the voyage that year Captain Henry Hanwell Senior, in command of the HBC fleet, was "a timid overcautious seaman," adding:

> The Commodore kept us for fifteen days together about the Longtitude [sic] of Cape Farewell, in Latitude 57 degrees North, during which time, with the winds we had, might have gained considerable distance to the Northward – he could not think himself safe within a less distance than two degrees of Latitude of the Cape."[27]

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[24] HBCA, A.6/5, fo. 14, Official general outward correspondence, 1727–1737; also "By Ship of Sail to Hudson Bay, 1723: Extract From Sailing Orders and Instructions to Capt. Geo. Spurril, Commander of ye Hudson's Bay Fregate [sic]," *The Beaver* 3, no. 10 (July 1923): 381; Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay,* 127 n.1; Steele, *English Atlantic*, 86.

[25] Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay,* 127.

[26] Coats, *Geography*, 11.

[27] Macdonell, Selkirk Papers, 46. Chappell, *Narrative of a Voyage to Hudson Bay*, 46, notes that

The location of the wait likely contributed to Macdonell's further assessment of the voyage as "boisterous": his ship appears to have lain waiting in the vicinity of the longitudinal zone designated by sailors as "the Stormy Forties."[28] According to John Birbeck Nevins, surgeon on the *Prince Rupert* [VI] in 1842 and the *Prince Albert* in 1843, HBC sailors held that south of Greenland, "whatever the weather may have been in other places, it is generally rough or foggy between 40° and 50° west longitude."[29] Cowie observed of his 1867 voyage that just past Cape Farewell, there were "terrific cross swells," which he attributed to "the meeting of the three different currents, setting along the east and west coasts of Greenland and from the Atlantic respectively. These, crashing together, threw up pyramids of water composed of the opposing swells." Without sufficient wind in the sails to steady a vessel – whether by deliberate decision or because becalmed – it was certain to roll alarmingly. The *Prince Rupert* [VII], according to Cowie, "wallowed, dipped her yardarms and pitched and tossed, helplessly becalmed, in this meeting of aqueous mountains, while every moment the straining threatened to dismast her."[30]

Regardless of the impatience of passengers such as Macdonell, only when well into Davis Strait would HBC captains head north. They affected the change in direction relatively rapidly once the winds were right, as their best course after duly clearing Cape

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Hanwell Sr. had about thirty years of sailing to and from the Bay by this point. See also Williamson, "Voyage of the 'Discovery'," Part I, 16.

[28] Nevins, *Narrative of Two Voyages*, 2.

[29] Ibid.; HBCA, "Nevins, John Birbeck (1818–1903) (fl. 1842–1843)," Biographical Sheet, online index <http://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/hbca/biographical/index.html> (accessed 2004–2007).

[30] Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 86.

Farewell's ice was to veer almost directly northward and achieve 61° 30' North, to avoid the strong, ice-laden current near the Labrador coast that carried at a speed of ten to twenty miles a day.[31] Having gained the higher latitude, the ship's complement would keep a lookout for Resolution Island's "distinctive" south cape, known as Hatton's Headland, which marked the eastern entrance to Hudson Strait.[32] A sighting did not necessary signal success, however. In 1816 Captain Benjamin Bell of the *Emerald* was in sight of Resolution when, along with Hanwell Senior in the *Prince of Wales* [I], he encountered ice rapidly moving southward. For fifteen days both ships were caught up in the drifting ice and taken 130 kilometres off course, past the northern tip of the Labrador Peninsula.[33] Surgeon Nevins reported a similar occurrence in 1842 when the *Prince Rupert* [VI] was caught and carried well below Cape Chidleigh.[34]

During the portion of the passage between Cape Farewell and Resolution, the temperature could drop noticeably. Thomas M'Keevor, a passenger aboard the *Robert Taylor* in 1812, reported, "The air feels very cold, owing, as the captain suspects, to our being near ice."[35] In 1821 Parry noted the change in the surface temperature of the water

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[31] Coats, *Geography*, 12, 23; Chappell, *Narrative of a Voyage to Hudson Bay*, 47; Steele, *English Atlantic*, 86.

[32] Nevins, *Narrative of Two Voyages*, 3; Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse," 40, 62.

[33] A.J.W. Catchpole and Marcia-Anne Faurer, "Ships' Log-Books, Sea Ice and the Cold Summer of 1816 in Hudson Bay and Its Approaches," *Arctic* 38, no. 2 (June 1985): 124.

[34] Nevins, *Narrative of Two Voyages*, 3. Williamson, "Voyage of the 'Discovery'," Part I, 19, avers that in years when the sun and moon were "in position to exert the maximum effect causing the highest tides on earth, one result is to push a submarine stream of water far enough north to reach arctic ice. This ice then undergoes partial thawing, breaks up and is carried south in the Labrador Current" in larger than normal quantities that made traversing the current a "hazardous, even impossible task," and attributes the failure of the *Eaglet* in 1668 to this cause.

[35] Thomas M'Keevor, *A Voyage to Hudson's Bay, during the Summer of 1812: Containing a*

and of the air: the water, which had been 45.5 degrees Fahrenheit (7.5° Celsius) on the other side of Cape Farewell, dropped to 40.5 degrees Fahrenheit (4.72° Celsius) in Davis Strait; the air, at 41.5 degrees Fahrenheit (5.27° Celsius), had dropped from the previous measurement of 46.5 degrees (8.05° Celsius).[36] Passenger Isabel Finlayson described becoming "intensely cold," at this point in her journey of 1840, adding that there were continuous showers of sleet and rain, the drops freezing to the deck, "while large masses of ice were hanging from all parts of the sail and rigging." She also reported seeing a small but 'dazzling' iceberg.[37]

In the region of Davis Strait and the opening to Hudson Strait, sea ice became a significant concern to a ship's crew – ice being "generally menacing in Davis Strait in early summer."[38] Over the winter, pack ice blocked passage through Davis and Hudson Straits. In late June and early July this ice would break up and flow southward with the Labrador Current, so that the summer season was largely 'open.'[39] However, there was

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particular account of the icebergs and other phenomena which present themselves in those regions: also, a description of the Esquimeaux and North American Indians, their manners, customs, dress, language, &c. &c. &c. (London: Printed for Sir Richard Phillips and Co., 1819), 4.

[36] Parry, *Journal of a Second Voyage*, 3.

[37] HBCA, E.12/5-7, Finlayson, "Notebook," 38. See also Chappell, *Narrative of a Voyage to Hudson Bay*, 35.

[38] Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse," 62; see also A.H. Markham, "Hudson's Bay and Hudson's Strait as a Navigable Channel," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography*, new monthly ser., 10, no. 9 (September 1888): 551–52, and comments on Henry Hudson and Bylot with Baffin; E.E. Rich, ed., *Copy-Book of Letters Outward &c Begins 29th May, 1680 Ends 5 July, 1687* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1948), xxix.

[39] Thomas McKenzie quoted, in William Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay and Cumberland Gulf in the Steamship 'Diana' under the Command of William Wakeham, Marine and Fisheries Canada in the year 1897* (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, 1898), 54, who stated that American whalers did not count on entering the Strait before mid July: "They have found by experience that generally they can not get in before that date. It is useless to go earlier." See

also what whalers called the "middle ice" of Baffin Bay to watch for. This southward moving, "great stream" was composed of deteriorating winter ice from the north, and icebergs. The latter, having calved off the west coast of Greenland with the seasonal rise in temperature, continued to pass from Baffin Bay through Davis Strait until about mid August.[40] The icebergs travelling out of Davis Strait could be both numerous and large. Parry in the *Fury* reported "passing a great many." Captain George Francis Lyon in the latter's consort, *Hecla*, counted fifty-four "in sight at one time," some of which stood out of the sea "not less than two hundred feet."[41] Most of the Baffin Bay/Davis Strait ice passed directly across the east to west sea-lane, towards Newfoundland, though some drifted west into Hudson Strait. The southward drift carried numerous ice fields and could be exceptionally difficult to navigate. The westward drift of ice was usually slight however, and limited to icebergs.[42]

Ice, as indicated by the above references to 'flows', 'fields', 'bergs,' and the 'blue' variety, was said to hold different properties according to type. A list of

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also "The New Route from England to Eastern Asia, and the Hudson Bay Route," *Science* 10, no. 231 (July 1887): 15.

[40] "Sir John Franklin and the Arctic Regions," *The North American Review* 71, no. 148 (1850): 176. Edward C. Shaw, "Captain William Kennedy, An Extraordinary Canadian," *MHS Transactions*, 3d ser., 27 (1970–71) <http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/transactions/3/kennedy_w.shtml> (accessed 9 July 2006). See Catchpole and Faurer, "Ships' Log-Books, Sea Ice," map, 122, showing sea currents.

[41] Parry, *Journal of a Second Voyage*, 6.

[42] See for example, Hans Rollman, with Heather Russell, transcript, "Brief Account of the Vessel Employed in the Service of the Mission on the Coast of Labrador ... from the Year 1770 to the Present Time," *Periodical Accounts* 21 <http://www.mun.ca/rels/ morav/texts/ship.html> (accessed 4 January 2008), and references to "vast mountains of ice and icefields" encountered off the coast of Labrador in 1777 and 1845. McKenzie, in Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay*, 54, attested that ice from Baffin Bay "never goes any distance into the strait; though bergs may sometimes be driven in." See also A.H. de Trémaudan, *The Hudson Bay Road (1498–1915)* (Toronto: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1915), 67; and Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse," 17–18.

terminology used by "whalers, sealers and others," compiled by William Wakeham after voyaging through Hudson Strait in 1897, includes such varieties of ice as: floes, growlers, pans, fields, sheets, pack, porridge, sish, and collar ice. Wakeham noted as well such differentiations in the state of ice as packed, hummocky, lolly, slack, running abroad, nipping, and calving.[43] Absent from his list is any mention of "ice tongues," an underwater feature described by Parry in a similarly detailed list from his journey of 1821, and by Frederick Schwatcka, who voyaged North in 1878.[44] Wakeham perhaps made no reference because the feature, according to Schwatka, was uncommonly seen.

Writing of ice for the edification of sailors in the 1700s, Coats was content to classify it according to three general 'species' – "I'les of ice", "large, heavy, solid ice", and small ice – all of which he regarded as more or less dangerous according to specific conditions.[45] The paramount condition, in his opinion, was geographical location: ice outside of Hudson Strait was in some ways more dangerous than that inside the Strait. Coats warned, "You are carefully to avoid being entangled in ice before you have enterd Hudson's Streight. Ice without is so hardned and wash'd, that it becomes like solid stone [sic]."[46] Parry agreed that meeting with ice outside of the Strait was perilous, observing:

> The effects to be apprehended from exposure to the swell of the main ocean constitute the peculiar danger of first entering the ice about the mouth of Hudson's Straits, which is completely open to the influence of the whole Atlantic.

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[43] Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay*, 5–6. See, "Ice," Appendix C, this thesis.

[44] Parry, *Journal of a Second Voyage*, xiv; Frederick Schwatka, "An Arctic Vessel and Her Equipment," *Science* 3, no. 64 (April 25, 1884): 506, 507.

[45] Coats, *Geography*, 19, 20.

[46] Ibid., 12.

> A very inconsiderable quantity of loose ice is sufficient to shelter a ship from the sea, provided it be closely packed; but when the masses are separated by wind or tide, so as to admit the swell, the concussions soon become too violent for a ship, strengthened in the ordinary way, to withstand for any length of time."[47]

Both Parry and Coats counselled staying out of the ice until well into Hudson Strait. Parry suggested a distance of eight to ten leagues past Cape Resolution was sufficient, while Coats recommended twelve to fifteen leagues. The latter's greater caution was likely reflective of more harrowing personal experience. His first, disastrous encounter with ice in 1727 had taken place well without the Strait, "near the meridian of Cape Farewell": while "worming through the ice with a small sail," he recounted, two pieces "shutt uppon us [sic]."[48] His observations on the danger of ice nearer the Strait's entrance were likewise based on actual encounters. In 1739, he recalled, "we attempted to enter the streights six times between the 1st of July and the 12th, and could not effect it, so compact and close a body of ice lay across the entrance, which obliged us to stand out to sea [sic]." Coats doubtless declined engaging closely with the ice that year because previously, in 1736, he had found its quantity "so large at the entrance" that the ship had been "inclosed [sic]."[49] Though the *Hudson's Bay* [IV] had moved within Cape Resolution six leagues, the ship was nevertheless "crushed to pieces," when "the ice shutt upon us by the sides only (for it was dead calm at the time), and crush'd our sides in, and

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[47] Parry, *Journal of a Second Voyage*, 7–8; also Coats, *Geography*, 12 n.2. See also James, *Strange and Dangerous Voyage*, 13:7–14:8.

[48] Coats, *Geography*, 12. Williamson, "Voyage of the 'Discovery'," part I, 19, suggested a ship should be "at least 30 to 40 miles inside Hudson Strait," before engaging with ice. Fifteen leagues approximates 83 kilometres, or 56 miles.

[49] See, for example, M'Keevor, illustration, *Voyage to Hudson's Bay*, ii, showing three ships, presumably the *King George*, *Eddystone* and *Robert Taylor* 'inclosed' in ice off Resolution Island in 1812.

sunk her in twenty minutes, notwithstanding all our endeavors [sic]."[50] He advised, therefore, that it was best to "forbear," until the ice entirely cleared for the requisite safe distance within the strait.

Of Coats' three distinct species of ice, Macdonell described the first as "detached lumps of Ice called by the seamen Islands."[51] According to Coats, the comparison to a land mass was made because the "immense bodys, [sic] are so deep immersed in the water, below the current of the tides, and are so fixed like land, without motion, or what is scarce sensible."[52] Captain John Turner, aboard the *King George* in 1807, did not even bother to distinguish in his log whether the "many isles in sight" past Cape Farewell were of ice or not.[53] The threat of collision that such stationary icebergs might pose was manageable, for the most part through careful manoeuvring. For newcomers to Northern waters, the greater problem large bodies or expanses of ice posed to navigation – along with cloud formations – was their resemblance to actual land when viewed from a distance.[54] The 'discovery' of Busse/Buss Island somewhere outside of Frobisher Bay, by Captain Courtney and crew aboard the *Emanuell* of Bridgewater in 1578, may serve as an example. Additional sightings of Buss subsequently were alleged, but the majority of northern seafarers, including Franklin, searched for the reputed landmass in vain. Yet

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[50] Coats, *Geography*, 12, 18.

[51] Macdonell, Selkirk Papers, 44. See, M'Keevor, illustration, "An Island of Ice," *Voyage to Hudson's Bay*, 2.

[52] Coats, *Geography*, 20. See also Nevins, *Narrative of Two Voyages*, 7.

[53] HBCA, C.1/419, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1807, 17 August.

[54] See "Ice in the Sea," Bowditch – The American Practical Navigator, National Imagery and Mapping Agency, 1995 <http://www.irbs.com/bowditch/pdf/chapt34.pdf> (accessed 10 March 2008), 345.

Buss, however shifting in location, remained a point of reference on maps to at least 1856.[55]

Throughout the period examined with this thesis, the ability to distinguish landmarks was an important aspect of a Northern navigator's skill sets. Even after chronometers had become reliable, compasses were not – insofar as the wandering of the North magnetic pole had to be accounted for.[56] Poor weather conditions over a number of days could leave mariners without a glimpse of celestial features from which to take their bearings.[57] If, on a North Atlantic crossing, based on the passage of time and reckoning by distance, sight of land was expected, the variety of formations water can assume could prove confusing. M'Keevor recounted one such instance in 1812:

> About half past one, the man at the helm said he saw land. Owing to the very unfavourable state of the weather, we remained for a considerable time in suspense. The captain does not think that this can possibly be the case. At length, however, from its very striking appearance, he was induced to send for his telescope; is still rather doubtful; if land, he thinks, it must be Cape Farewell, in which case we are 200 miles behind where we supposed ourselves to be. In the end, it appeared to be merely what the seamen call a *Cape Fly-away*.[58]

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[55] Alice M. Johnson, "The Mythical Land of Buss," *The Beaver* 22, no. 3 (December 1942): 43–47.

[56] See Nevins, *Narrative of Two Voyages*, 30–31; Nicolas Jérémie, *Twenty years of York Factory, 1694–1714: Jérémie's account of Hudson Strait and Bay*, ed. Robert Douglas and James Nevin Wallace (1720; trans. ed., Ottawa: Thorburn and Abbott, 1926), 17; E.G.R. Taylor, "Hudson Strait and the Oblique Meridian," *Imago Mundi* 3 (1939): 48–52; and Jonkers, Jackson and Murray, "Four Centuries of Geomagnetic Data," 1–2.

[57] See Chappell, *Narrative of a Voyage to Hudson Bay*, 23, 26–27.

[58] M'Keevor, *Voyage to Hudson's Bay*, 4. Chappell, *Narrative of a Voyage to Hudson Bay*, 34–35, notes, "Nothing can exceed the uncertainty that prevails, in almost every chart and book of navigation, respecting the longitude of the Cape in question" and provides an interesting discussion of the problem. In observing that "so little pains have been taken to ascertain the longitude of *Greenland's* southernmost extremity," [italics in source] and given the numbers of whalers and HBC ships that had made the voyage anyway, he raises a question as to the usefulness of such precise knowledge to sailors.

It is not clear from his account whether M'Keevor understood that this suspense provoking illusion had been caused by cloud, fog bank, by either of these in combination with massive amounts ice, or by formations of ice alone. It is obvious from his discussion, however, that he was fascinated by icebergs.

Sightings of icebergs were as eagerly anticipated by passengers as sightings of land were by sailors: icebergs figuring "as samples of the rest of the voyage" – visual evidence of having entered decidedly Northern space.[59] Particularly after the mid-nineteenth century, authors of texts devised for popular consumption often lauded sightings of ice with such assertions as: "It is worth a year of the life of a man with a soul larger than a turnip, to see a real iceberg in all its majesty and grandeur."[60] When stripped of rhetorical flourishes, descriptions of ice islands penned by seafarers are strikingly similar and commonly present the size as the most remarkable aspect. Nevins, however, opined that in clear weather with good visibility:

> Every one would probably be disappointed by the first sight of an iceberg. At a considerable distance may be seen a small white mass, which perhaps does not look larger than the palm of the hand; and the sailors, being accustomed to judge of the size of objects at a distance, will say – "There is a large iceberg. It is as high as the top of our masts. That berg is not less than six hundred feet high." The

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[59] Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 86, 85.

[60] George W. Melville, quoted in Willis J. Abbot, *American Merchant Ships and Sailors* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1902), 197; also M'Keevor, *Voyage to Hudson's Bay*, 9; and Timothy Mitchell, "Frederic Church's *The Icebergs*: Erratic Boulders and Time's Slow Changes," *Smithsonian Studies in American Art* 3, no. 4 (autumn 1989): 3, 7–8, on nineteenth century "consciousness about the North." Godden Mackay Logan, "Antarctica: Discovery and Exploration," *Mawson's Huts Historical Site – Draft Conservation Management Plan* (August 2000): 13–30; and Elizabeth Leane, "Antarctic Travel Writing and the Problematics of the Pristine: Two Australian Novelists' Narratives of Tourist Voyages to Antarctica," in *Proceedings of Imaging Nature: Media, Environment and Tourism, Cradle Mountain, 27–29 June 2004*, ed. L. Lester and C. Ellis, Faculty of Arts, University of Tasmania, July 2005 <http://www.utas.edu.au/arts/imaging/leane.pdf> (accessed 15 February 2008), 1–10, offer similar perceptions of icebergs and the Polar South.

> spectator might begin to think – "St. Paul's is about four hundred feet high, so that is half as high again." He would not perhaps remember that four or five hundred feet of its height were below water, and that he was too far off to see its real size; thus he would be disappointed, and think that it looked very small.[61]

Joseph-René Bellot, on his first northern journey aboard the *Albert* with Captain Kennedy in 1851, likewise recorded his "first berg" as initially unimpressive, noting it looked "like a light block of ice," and that he thought the crew was intent on fostering a hoax. Two hours later and ten miles closer, he admitted it was a "mountain" and that he shuddered as it passed the vessel.[62] Based on encountering other such "huge masses," Bellot estimated the larger were "half a mile long and twice as high as the vessel."[63] Observers on other vessels in different years give more or less similar evaluations. Macdonell noted the larger isles "appeared to be the size of two or three acres in circumference & about 150 feet high."[64] Surgeon Nevins claimed to have climbed "eighty feet up the mast" while passing one "so high … I could scarcely see over it," and surmised it must have extended "five and six hundred feet below the water."[65] M'Keevor reported an island that "could not be less than 300 feet high, and about a quarter of a mile

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[61] Nevins, *Narrative of Two Voyages*, 6–7.

[62] See "Bellot," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 97; Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay*, 52, also compares ice at the mouth of Hudson Strait to "mountains."

[63] See "Bellot," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 97.

[64] Macdonell, Selkirk Papers, 44. HBCA, E.12/5-7, Finlayson, "Notebook," 60, agrees; Letitia Hargrave, *The Letters of Letitia Hargrave*, ed. Margaret Arnett MacLeod (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1947), 57, on the same voyage estimated "160 feet above water."

[65] Nevins, *Narrative of Two Voyages*, 7.

in circumference."[66] Captain Jonathan Fowler Sr., reported "a large Isle of Ice that I think not Inferior In bulk to St Pauls & the top of It not much lower. which. If we had touch'd the Consequence might have been such as I pray God I may never have occasion to wright [sic: punctuation in source]."[67]

The shape of 'bergs' also excited some comment. In 1811, Red River Settler John McLeod described an ice mass as resembling a "field" elevated "one hundred and fifty feet above the surface of the water."[68] Cowie reported one such "flat-topped" giant, but another as well that "appeared a mile long and its wavy pinnacles resembled a king's crown in shape."[69] Though the illustrations in M'Keevor's published work belie it, he attested to seeing "many" which resembled "an ancient abbey with arched doors and windows, and all the rich embroidery of the Gothic style of architecture," and compared others to Grecian temples.[70] Years earlier, in 1768, William Wales, scientifically minded observer aboard the *Prince Rupert* [III], described a "very large island of ice" as "adorned both on its top and sides with spires; and indented in the most romantic manner that can

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[66] M'Keevor, *Voyage to Hudson's Bay*, 9. R. Glover, "La Pérouse on Hudson Bay," *The Beaver* 30, no. 4 (March 1951): 44, reports "*banquises*" that were "about 200 or 300 feet high."

[67] HBCA, C.1/1024, Ship's Logs, *Seahorse*, 1754, [20 July?] 18.

[68] McLeod, Selkirk Papers, 149. See also Parry, *Journal of a Second Voyage*, xiv, who defined 'fields' as sheets of "great thickness, and too great extent to be seen over from a ship's mast." See Robert E. Peary, photograph, *The North Pole: Its Discovery in 1909 under the auspices of the Peary Arctic Club* (1910; reprint, New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), 105, for a photograph of a tabular iceberg.

[69] Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 87.

[70] M'Keevor, *Voyage to Hudson's Bay*, 9–10, also illustration, 4. See also Luke Fox, quoted in Markham, "Hudson's Bay and Hudson's Strait," 553, who compares the largest pieces of ice to "a great church." Chappell, *Narrative of a Voyage to Hudson Bay*, 54, notes "the scattered fragments of ice bearing a strong resemblance to the ruins of temples, statues, columns, &c. spread in confusion over a vast plain."

be imagined."[71] Robert Ballantyne likewise reported a "fantastically formed" example with "lofty pinnacles" and "miniature cataracts" that "sparkled in the moonbeams as it floated past."[72] Letitia Hargrave, perhaps reflecting disappointment, reported that her berg's construction only inspired comparison to a haystack. Photographs from the early twentieth century fall short of suggesting forms devised by human architects. They show, however, that sun, wind and waves could produce arresting configurations.[73]

Although Wales had little more to say about his 'island' than it looked to be "nothing else" but "frozen snow," the colour of icebergs figures in a number of historical texts as a feature of interest.[74] Ballantyne remarked on the "beautiful greenish-white colour," of his pinnacled berg.[75] M'Keevor ascribed to the columns of his floating 'temple' an "azure hue," but commented that depending on the quality of light, ice might display "rich golden" facets, "light purple" tints, and "rich crimson" suffusions, or emanate a "natural effulgence" at night or in fog.[76] Finlayson, however, also wrote of the

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[71] Wales, "Journal of a Voyage," 105.

[72] Ballantyne, *Hudson's Bay,* 13.

[73] Hargrave, *Letters,* 57. Chappell, *Narrative of a Voyage to Hudson Bay,* 48, reported an "immense mountain of solid ice, in the shape of an English barn." See, Wilfred Thomas Grenfell, photograph, in *A Labrador Doctor: The Autobiography of Wilfred Thomason Grenfell* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1919), 321.

[74] Wales, "Journal of a Voyage," 104.

[75] Ballantyne, *Hudson's Bay,* 13.

[76] M'Keevor, *Voyage to Hudson's Bay,* 10, 9 n.1. See Mitchell, "Frederic Church's *The Icebergs*," 9, who describes the "checklist of the characteristics most commonly noted" – aside from size – in written and painterly descriptions of icebergs as: "the ultramarine cavern, the terraces, the fantastic shapes, the sapphire seams."

dingy greyness some icebergs displayed.[77] Cowie similarly commented that some were "ugly" and "stratified, and of a dirty bluish grey color."[78] Regardless of aspect, the longevity of icebergs seemed to suggest a 'monstrous' power, sufficient to withstand unscathed an "incessant battle," with the sea that left other species "rent and shattered."[79]

Ships exposed to this battle, according to Coats, were in most danger from a second general category of ice, designated "large, heavy, solid ice" – the "specie we most dread to fall amongst." This ice was not as large as the 'islands,' but lay deep enough in the water to feel "the full force and power of the tides," and "plough and smash the small ice in so an amazing manner, as if God had endowed them with a furious spirit of perdition." [80] Bellot described such large pieces as "less solidly built," than their massive counterparts and oscillating with wave action and collision "like drunken men."[81] Finlayson and Cowie mentioned this variety of ice as well, though they classified it as a type of iceberg, but on a smaller scale. Both commented on the visual beauty of the smaller bergs. Cowie also attested to the instability of this variety, noting that a "tall spire-like berg … as we sailed by capsized, raising enormous rings of billows round, into which our yardarms dipped."[82] A watercolour made by artist and eyewitness Peter

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[77] HBCA, E.12/5-7, Finlayson, "Notebook," 60.

[78] Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 87. George Binney, "Hudson Bay in 1928," *The Geographical Journal* 74, no. 1 (July 1929): 2–3, notes that ice from Fox Channel was "distinguished by its muddy hue."

[79] "Bellot," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 97; Coats, *Geography*, 20; Ballantyne, *Hudson's Bay,* 13.

[80] Coats, *Geography*, 20.

[81] "Bellot," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 97.

[82] HBCA, E.12/5-7, Finlayson, "Notebook," 38; Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 87.

Rindisbacher suggests Swiss settlers, destined for Red River aboard the *Lord Wellington* in 1821, had had a close encounter with such ice. Though they escaped collision, the HBC consort vessel, *Prince of Wales* [I], was "stove in" on contact.[83]

The third category of ice according to Coats was "small ice." He described it as being "the sport of the other two species of ice, and is much more affected by the winds than the tides; and this species is by far much the greatest quantity."[84] The category was broad, containing "numbers infinite, some of the quality of a roode [sic: likely a square rod, or 272.25 square feet, about 83 square metres] some a perch [one rod, or 16.5 feet, about 5 metres], some an acre or two acres."[85] In form, small ice ranged from "fleacht" [sic: sleacht, likely 'slish'] to "masht," or from detached pieces of 'slack' ice that were "small and about a foot or two above water, and eight or ten under water," to shards of "loose, brashy ice."[86]

The small ice was formed from fields of ice. These could be "of twenty or thirty miles in diameter, and ten or fifteen feet in thickness," but were relatively fragile.

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[83] J. Russell Harper, "Rindisbacher, Peter," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, online <http://www.biographi.ca/EN/ShowBio.asp?BioId=37220&query=rindisbacher> (accessed 15 Februray 2008). HBCA, C.1/794, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1821, 24 July; Catchpole and Faurer, "Ships' Log-Books, Sea Ice," 124. The *Prince of Wales* [I] took in water but the damage was repaired after her cargo was transferred to the *Eddystone*. See also Oliver Warner, "Voyaging to York Factory," *The Beaver* 37, no. 3 (winter 1957): 22; Peter Rindisbacher, watercolour, "The ship Prince of Wales runs aground on an iceberg during the night of Jul. 24, 1821. Lat. 61.42 N. Long. 65.12(?) W.," Library and Archives Canada, Negative C-001911, Item no. 00010; and Nevins, *Narrative of Two Voyages*, 27, for a sketch of a similar iceberg formation.

[84] Coats, *Geography*, 20.

[85] Luke Fox, quoted in Markham, "Hudson's Bay and Hudson's Strait," 553.

[86] Ibid.; Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 87.

Reportedly, the swell of the sea would break up a field "in a few hours."[87] As well, the swirl of tide and currents about the entrance to Hudson Strait would sometimes carry fields in a "rotary motion," so that their outer edges acquired "a velocity of several miles an hour," and produced "a tremendous shock when one impinged upon another."[88] Coats remarked:

> 'tis incredible what an alteration the spring tides in the beginning of July make amongst the ice in the mouth of the steights, and what immense bodys it will shatter and break in shivers, which before was dreadful to look at when agitated and put into motion by those furious tides, which are so distracted and cut by those heavy sands of ice which makes them boyl up in edies and whirlpooles in a most amazing manner [sic].[89]

The whirlpools were a feature that John Davis had seen in 1587. Their cause – the tide – which he termed a "mighty overfal [sic]," was commemorated in cartographical references, for example the Molyneux Globe of 1593. In addition, his mention of the overfall was later considered a proof of his having made the voyage to the strait.[90] Coats warned that the eddies and swirls were to be "particularly and carefully" attended to and that this effect of the tide was at its "most furious about that narrow entrance" to Hudson Strait, the whirling water being "violent and surprising, especially when disturbed and

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[87] W. Parker Snow, "Voyage in Search of Sir John Franklin," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 2, no. 11 (April 1851): 589.

[88] Ibid.; see also Coats, *Geography*, 20.

[89] Coats, *Geography*, 19.

[90] John Davis, quoted in Markham, "Hudson's Bay and Hudson's Strait," 551. See also C.1/416, Ship's Log, *Prince George*, 1805, 30 July, in which Captain John Turner remarks "a very strong Rippling of Tide" near Cape Resolution.

distracted by ice."[91] When broken up, within the strait, and away from swirling currents, Coats and seafarers before and after his time regarded small ice as a boon. As he explained, "In and amongst this we always endeavour to shelter our ships, where we ly [sic] easy, and quiet, and safe, and undisturbed."[92]

HBC master mariners such as Coats and Herd had an informed understanding of ice, and an ability to interpret other natural features along their route. At the end of the ocean crossing, landforms and distinct species of wildlife were useful indicators of location – as they had been at its beginning. Even if these indicators were not visible, however, in foggy weather for example, the conditions of ice within Hudson Strait were sufficiently different from those at its entrance that they signalled whether or not the transition from ocean crossing to the next passage had been completed.[93] The North Atlantic crossing was the first passage on an HBC ship's outward voyage to demand different skill sets than those commonly held by mariners who sailed other routes out of London River. The next passage of the HBC ocean arc tested these skills still further. Ice was a determining feature of voyages through Hudson Strait, in that the length of time it took to reach Hudson Bay depended on the amount of ice and whether it was 'open' or

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[91] Coats, *Geography*, 13, 18–19, 23; see also James, *Strange and Dangerous Voyage*, 14:8, who notes "Here runnes a quicke tyde into the Straight; but the ebbe is as strong as the flood [sic]."

[92] Coats, *Geography*, 20. See Markham, "Hudson's Bay and Hudson's Strait," 553, who quotes Luke Fox as writing of small ice that "these are they which do enclose you; so as in much wind, from the topmast head, you shall not see any water for them. But while you lie amongst them it is so smooth as you shall not feel the ship stirre." Markham then comments "It would not be possible to give a more accurate account of the conditions of ice in Hudson Strait at the present day, than is furnished by this description written … more than 250 years ago."

[93] See, for example, HBCA, C.1/417, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1806, 12–14 July, in which Captain John Turner, who assumed he was off Cape Farewell, did not enter 'Latitude Observed,' but only 'Latitude by Account' in his log. Although he does not mention fog specifically, he does record cloudy conditions, and "Close dark weather" which apparently prevented the taking of observations.

'closed.'[94] Along with ice conditions, the proximity of land meant there was a greater range of observations for seafarers to make than on the open ocean. If the view seemed frost bound, it also displayed activity.

[94] See David Herd, quoted in Great Britain, Parliament, House of Commons, Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, *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: HMSO, 1858), 257. See also A.J.W. Catchpole, "Hudson's Bay Company ships' log-books as sources of sea ice data, 1751-1870," in *Climate Since AD 1500*, ed. Raymond S. Bradley and Philip D. Jones (New York: Routledge, 1995), 17–39; and Catchpole and Faurer, "Ships' Log-Books, Sea Ice," 121 28, for extended discussions of summer sea ice in Hudson Strait and Hudson Bay and indications of its impact on HBC voyaging.

Chapter Seven

Between 'Disordered Shores'

Hudson Strait represented the passage along the HBC's ocean arc with perhaps the greatest potential for difficulty, even distress. Disaster, however, was not common. Of some 694 HBC vessels that entered the strait between 1670 and 1920, as few as six were lost before fully entering Hudson Bay.[1] All of these wrecks apparently resulted from encounters with ice. Encounters with hostile vessels were even rarer. Warfare, which

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[1] Ian K. Steele, *The English Atlantic 1675–1740: An Exploration of Communication and Community* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 88, notes the strait "claimed only one ship in half a century before 1749." Michael F. Dove, "Voyages to Rupert's Land: The Hudson's Bay Company's Maritime Component, 1670–1770," in *Selected Papers of Rupert's Land Colloquium 2002,* compiled by David G. Malaher (Winnipeg: Centre for Rupert's Land Studies, 2002), 7, states that from 1670 to 1770 "12 [ships] fell victim to the particular hazards of the Bay or Strait." I find only four that may have sunk in the strait itself: the *James* of 1682; the *Happy Return* of 1686; *Owner's Love* of 1697; and the *Hudson's Bay* [IV] of 1736. E.E. Rich, *The History of the Hudson's Bay Company 1670–1870,* vol. I (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1958), 104, 105, 190–91, 350, puts Captain Maximilian Keech of the Royal Navy in command of the *James,* with a special permit from Prince Rupert allowing him to fly the King's Jack in the Bay and intercept the interloping *Expectation.* Keech sailed in July from Tynemouth by the North Sea and the Orkneys. The *James* was subsequently lost, exactly where is not clear, but a reasonable assumption would be in ice, either off Cape Farewell, or at the entrance to Hudson Strait. Rich explains that the *Perpetuana Merchant* "bulged with large peace [sic] of ice" and sank with forty-five minutes thirty leagues inside the Strait early in July; see also Alan Cooke and Clive Holland, *The Exploration of Northern Canada, 500 to 1920: A Chronology* (Toronto: Arctic History Press, 1978), on the wreck of *Owner's Love.* K.G. Davies, ed., with A.M. Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay, 1703–40* (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1965), 211, 212, 220, 230n., 301n., describe the *Hudson's Bay* [IV]. For these and the following vessels see Appendix A, and Appendix B, this thesis: the *Graham* was lost in ice near Mansel Island in 1849; the *Kitty* was lost 1859; the *Prince Arthur* was wrecked on Mansel in 1864.

made sea-lanes closer to England hazardous for sailors on merchant vessels, resulted in only three incidents in Hudson Strait.[2] Shortages of drinkable water could become worrisome if the ocean crossing had been lengthy. Pools of melt water were common on pans and fields of ice along the length of the strait, however. Thus, time spent waiting for closed ice to clear could be productively spent refilling water casks.[3] Weather within the strait was not necessarily worse than elsewhere, although when complicated by unfavourable ice conditions, it could exacerbate the level of danger crewmembers faced. The portion of the voyage within Hudson Strait was one in which variability over time – in terms of conditions, seafarers' experiences, and methods of recording observations – is readily apparent when viewed from the present. Yet, patterns are as evident here as on other segments of the journey. If some voyages were harrowing, the majority were not. Where delay was possible, there might be none, but such variability was expected.[4] Just as with other passages, whether what was 'usual' in the strait appeared more or less distinctive to seafarers depended on prior experience.

This chapter details features of the passage through Hudson Strait to illustrate

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[2] See Edward H. Borins, "Claude de Bermen de La Martinière," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, online ed. [DCB] <http://www.biographi.ca/EN/index.html> (accessed 25 Sep. 2007), and Appendix B, this thesis, for the *Perpetuana Merchant*, captured 'without resistence' in or near the strait by Claude de Bermen de La Martinière, sailing home to Quebec. See E.E. Rich, *History*, vol. I, and Appendix B, this thesis, for the HMS *Hampshire*, which encountered French ships in the ice of the Strait, attacked the *Profond*, presumed it would sink, and pursued the *Pélican* into Hudson Bay. See also Chapter Eight, this thesis, 201 n.87, on the taking of the interloping *Expectation* in 1683, which captain Nehemiah Walker justified as an act of war.

[3] See, for example, HBCA, C.1/1021, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1751, 20; J. Williams, "The Last Voyage of the Stork," *The Beaver* 19, no. 2 (September 1939): 45; and A.R. Williamson, "Voyage of the 'Discovery' 1911," part I, *The Beaver* 63, no. 1 (summer 1983): 22.

[4] J. Ledingham, "Nascopie in Hudson Bay," *The Beaver* 5, no. 1 (December 1924): 9, notes of sailing through the Straits, that when it came to ice conditions, "In my fifteen years' experience of Hudson's Bay work, I have never seen two years alike."

ways in which working a HBC transatlantic voyage differed from working aboard other ships traversing the North Atlantic. It highlights encounters with nature – in Allan Pred's terms, both individual and institutional path-project intersections – that were particular to the Strait. According to the testimony of individuals who traveled its extent, people aboard HBC ships variously responded to its natural features: as procurers of commodities, consumers of resources, and producers of place.

The most obvious features of interest to sailors of Hudson Strait were its geography and topography.[5] Hudson Strait was about twelve leagues (approximately 67 kilometres, or 41 miles) wide at its mouth. Resolution Island marked the northern limit of this entrance. The Button's Islands grouping – "four principles in number, and divers small ones" – off Cape Chidleigh/Chidley, marked the southern extent (see map, Appendix D).[6] HBC ships entered Hudson Strait off Resolution Island because the current flowed west along the length of the strait's north shore, while the current along

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[5] John Oldmixon, "The History of Hudson's-Bay, Containing an Account of its Discovery and Settlement, the Progress of it, and the present State; of the Indians, Trade, and everything else relating to it: Being the last chapter of volume I of *The British Empire in America*, by John Oldmixon (London, 1708)," in *Documents relating to the early history of Hudson Bay*, ed. J. B. Tyrrell (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1931), 375 , observed of the name Hudson Strait "We know 'tis pretended, that a Dane made the Discovery of this Streight, and that he call'd it Christiana, from the King of Denmark [sic]."

[6] William Coats, *The Geography of Hudson's Bay: being the remarks of Captain W. Coats, in many voyages to that locality, between the years 1727 and 1751*, ed. John Barrow (London: Hakluyt Society, 1852), 13, 16. See also A.H. Markham, "Hudson's Bay and Hudson's Strait as a Navigable Channel," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography*, new monthly ser., 10, no. 9 (September 1888): 552. Ledingham, "Nascopie in Hudson Bay," 9, who was chief engineer of the *Nascopie*, numbers the Button Islands at "some twenty-two," and states "[t]o try to get through the Grey Straits between the Buttons and Cape Chidley when it is packed with ice is simply courting disaster, as the tides are very strong and may carry the ships too close to the rocks to be comfortable." George Binney, "Hudson Bay in 1928," *The Geographical Journal* 74, no. 1 (July 1929): 2, notes that by 1928, HBC ships arrived from Montreal rather than England. These sometimes entered the Strait by way of Grey Strait, but never if the ice was "formidable." He notes as well that "under no circumstances whatsoever should a vessel attempt the passage into Hudson Strait between Resolution Island and Baffin Island; in this strait (the Gabriel Strait) the current and tides are exceptionally strong."

the southern shore flowed east. The strait was about 805 kilometres or 500 miles long. Its breadth averaged about 161 kilometres or 100 miles. If Ungava Bay were included, its greatest crosswise expanse was perhaps 402 kilometres or 250 miles. Its narrowest navigable spans occurred at either end, the western outlet to Hudson Bay – between Nottingham Island and Cape Wostemholme, including the Digges Islands – being about equal in width to that of the outlet into the Labrador Sea. Hudson Strait was also deep. Soundings taken at a variety of points over the years indicated depths ranging from 150 to 340 fathoms, or 274 to 622 metres, in a wide channel that ran from the eastern entrance, through the middle of the strait, for its entire length. At the western end, the channel passed between Nottingham Island and the Digges Islands grouping off Cape Wolstenholme/Walsingham, continuing between Mansfield/Mansel and Cary Swan's Nest/Coats Islands.[7] HBC ships kept to this channel. Rocks, shoals, numerous islets, several larger islands, and many inlets marked both shores of the strait. Captain William Coats was of the opinion that there were "doubtles … many fine harbours [sic]," but into

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[7] See William Llewelyn Davies, "Mansell, Sir Robert," *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, Welsh Biography Online <http://yba.llgc.org.uk/en/s-MANS-ROB-1573.html> (accessed 3 December 2008). The island appears to have been named, by mariner Sir Thomas Button, for fellow mariner Sir Robert Mansel, appointed vice-admiral of England in 1618; see also James Oldham, "Murray, William, first earl of Mansfield," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101019655> (accessed 3 December 2008). The HBC London Committee changed the name to honour William Murray, fourth son of the 5th Viscount Stormont who became Earl of Mansfield in 1776, after a series of accomplishments, including delivering an "eloquent" speech in 1737 to the House of Commons in support of a merchants' petition to stop Spanish assaults on their ships, and an appointment as chief justice of the King's Bench in 1756 where he contributed to the development of English commercial law. Maps carry the name Mansel into the present, though locally the island is known as Pujjunaq. See Arthur Herman, *To Rule the Waves: How the British Navy Shaped the Modern World* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2005), 76, 128, 138, the name Walsingham would be a reference to Francis Walsingham, a member the royal council of Elizabeth I. Aggressively anti-Spanish, he championed England's potential as an expansive maritime power, encouraging seaborne exploration and colonization. Arthur S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870–71, Being a History of Rupert's Land (The Hudson's Bay Company Territory) and of the North-West Territory (Including the Pacific Slope)* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1939), 27, explains Wolstenholme refers to Sir John Wolstenholme of the Muscovy Company, financers of Hudson in 1610.

the twentieth century, these remained unexplored by anyone except people native to the region.[8] Ships seldom had any reason to approach land prior to reaching their destination in Hudson Bay and navigators paid heed to accounts of tidal streams said to course "violently" along the coastline, particularly at the eastern end.[9] Approximately three miles out from the islands off either shore, however, the channel was reportedly "wonderfully free from shoals and rocks, or any other obstacles that would tend to make

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[8] Coats, *Geography*, 13, 30; see also E. Chappell, *Narrative of a Voyage to Hudson's Bay in His Majesty's Ship Rosamond, containing some account of the north eastern coast of America and of the tribes inhabiting that remote region* (J. Mawman, 1817), 40–41, 48, 68; and LAC, Thomas Douglas, 5th Earl of Selkirk Fonds, Microfilm A.27, Selkirk Papers, vol. I, Miles Macdonell, letter to Lord Selkirk, York Factory, 1 Oct 1811, Microfilm (Canadian Library Association Ottawa, 1950), 46–47; William P. Anderson, "The Hudson Bay Expedition of 1884," *Science* 5, no. 110 (13 March 1885), 214; Robert Bell, "A Survey in Baffinland, with a Short Description of the Country," *The Geographical Journal* 18, no. 1 (July 1901): 29–30; and William Barr, "The Eighteenth Century Trade between Ships of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Hudson Strait Inuit," *Arctic* 47, no 3 (September 1994): 236, describe the direction of current flow; Nicolas Jérémie, *Twenty years of York Factory, 1694–1714: Jérémie's account of Hudson Strait and Bay: Translated from the French of 1720*, ed. Robert Douglas and James Nevin Wallace (Ottawa: Thorburn & Abbott, 1926), 15, a French seafarer and commander, who once travelled aboard a HBC ship, Jérémie described the strait as "a hundred and twenty leagues long, and sixteen or eighteen wide"; Robert Bell, quoted in, Ernest J. Chambers, ed., evidence, *Canada's Fertile Northland: A Glimpse of the Enormous Resources of Part of the Unexplored Regions of the Dominion,* Evidence heard before a Select Committee of the Senate of Canada during the Parliamentary Session of 1906–7, and the Report based thereon (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1907), 118, testified "Roughly speaking, Hudson strait is 500 statute miles in length and between Nottingham island and Cape Wolstenholme is probably 30 or 40 miles across"; see also Markham, "Hudson's Bay and Hudson's Strait," 550; Binney, "Hudson Bay in 1928," 4; John A. Cormie, "The Hudson Bay Route," *Geographical Review* 4, no. 1 (July 1917): 32, puts the length at 450 miles and the width from 50 to 200 miles. A.H. de Trémaudan, *The Hudson Bay Road (1498–1915)* (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1915), 50–52, supplies a succinct description of the strait; see also Donat Pharand, *The Northwest Passage: Arctic Straits* (Dordrech: Martinus Nijhoff, 1984), 18.

[9] Coats, *Geography*, 13, 16, 30; see also Albert P. Low, evidence, *Canada's Fertile Northland*, 112; F.C. Goulding Smith, "The Canadian Hydrographical Survey of the Hudson Bay Route," *The Geographical Journal* 87, no. 2. (February 1936), 127, 133, 134, 136; Anderson, "Hudson-Bay Expedition," 213–15; and William Wales, "Journal of a Voyage, made by order of the Royal Society, to Churchill River, on the North-west Coast of Hudson's Bay; of Thirteen Months Residence in that Country; and of the Voyage Back to England; in the Years 1768 and 1769," *Philosophical Transactions (1683–1775)*, 60. (1770): 107, who notes "The northern shore of these Straits, as it is usually called, is one continued chain of small islands; which form almost an infinite number of little bays, and inlets … The rocks which form the shores, are very high; and in most places almost perpendicular … The water is very deep close to the shore, in most places 60 or 70, and in several 120 fathoms, and upwards." Bell, "Survey in Baffinland," 34, 39–40 explored some of the inlets in 1897 and found the strait "well supplied with good harbours." He also remarked "Near the shore the difficulties incident to the great rise and fall of the water are increased by the velocity and uncertainty generated by the high tides."

the navigation of a narrow channel more than ordinarily dangerous."[10]

Seen from a ship, even in summer the "high bold land" lining Hudson Strait appeared anything but verdant, with "black-looking rocks … almost everywhere in evidence."[11] On entering the strait, William Edward Parry observed:

> The greater part of this land was now clear of snow, which, however, still filled many of the valleys, and, together with the fog that hung over it, rendered the scene before us indescribably dreary and disagreeable. It requires a few days to be passed amidst scenes of this nature, to erase, in certain degree, the impressions left by more animated landscapes; and not till then, perhaps, does the eye become familiarized, and the mind reconciled to prospects of utter barrenness and desolation such as these rugged shores present.[12]

The rugged topography featured "bare rocky hills" in "great disorder" and of a height that commanded attention.[13] The southern of three principal ranges of Baffinland mountains extended parallel to and along the north shore of Hudson Strait. Various estimates put the hills at either end of the range at from 1,000 to 2,000 feet, while the cliff faces of those along the shore rose in places to "720 feet above the sea."[14] Since within the Strait

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[10] Markham, "Hudson's Bay and Hudson's Strait," 550.

[11] Coats, *Geography,* 30; Bell, "Survey in Baffinland," 32. See Charles Gimpel, "Ports of Call," photograph, *The Beaver* 39, no. 1 (summer 1959): 41, for a shipboard view of shoreline of Hudson Strait near Sugluk.

[12] William Edward Parry, *Journal of a Second Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage From the Atlantic to the Pacific, Performed in the Years 1821–22–23, In His Majesty's Ships Fury and Hecla* ... (New York: E. Duyckinck, G. Long, Collins & Co., Collins & Hannay, W.B. Gilley, and Henry I. Megarey, 1824), 4, 6. See also Jérémie, *Twenty years of York Factory,* 15; Chappell, *Narrative of a Voyage to Hudson Bay,* 49–50; and David Herd, quoted in Great Britain, Parliament, House of Commons, Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, *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: HMSO, 1858), 256, 258, for similar remarks on the "unfavourable" appearance of the country.

[13] Goulding Smith, "The Canadian Hydrographical Survey," 136.

[14] Bell, "Survey in Baffinland," 29; also Goulding Smith, "The Canadian Hydrographical Survey,"

compasses were often useless, the hills served sailors as useful reference points. Robert Bell, who had journeyed through the Strait on nine occasions, described the shoreline as "so high that even at night you can see the outlines of the hills against the sky." [15]

Notations in HBC logbooks indicate that navigators measured their ship's progress along the channel by landmarks, for the most part islands standing far enough out from shore to be distinguished. After Resolution, HBC ships' pilots would watch for the Lower Savage Islands. These were "a distinct group of three main and several small" low-lying islands that seemed "desolate and chaotic" in appearance, and "separated from Baffin Island by four miles of turbulent water."[16] The next group appear to have been routinely designated the Middle Savage Islands on sailing charts, though seafarers knew them by a variety of names. Until about 1905, the assumption was that these were three in number, but in that year, Albert Peter Low determined there were six. HBC sailors referred to one of these as Saddleback Island – presumably the most distinctive of the group. Parry asserted that the name derived from its shape, but it might have been a reference to Saddleback Seals – an earlier name for Harp Seals, which still inhabit the area. Some references to the Middle Savage Islands designate the entire group the

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136; Bell, evidence, *Canada's Fertile Northland*, 118; and Wales, "Journal of a Voyage," 107.

[15] Bell, evidence, *Canada's Fertile Northland*, 119. See, for comments on the behaviour of compasses, Anderson, "Hudson-Bay Expedition," 214; and William Ashe, interview [3 November 1885], "The Hudson Strait. Some of the Difficulties in the Way of Regular Navigation," *The New York Times* (4 November 1885), 1; A.R. Gordon, "Report of the Hudson's Bay Expedition, under the command of Lieut. A.R. Gordon, R.N., 1884," Canadian Government Sessional Papers 18, no. 6 (Ottawa: 1885): 9–10; also Wales, "Journal of a Voyage," 113.

[16] Goulding Smith, "Canadian Hydrographical Survey," 136. See also Chappell, *Narrative of a Voyage to Hudson Bay*, 53, also 54, 31. He notes that, aside from the islands, the next land to the westward of Lower Savage was "called *Terra Nivea*; owing to it having some mountains, about thirty miles from the sea, entirely covered with snow." Parry, *Journal of a Second Voyage*, 13.

Saddleback Islands. Some also assert that these were the 'Isles of God's Mercies' named by Henry Hudson and amongst which he found shelter in 1608. Other sources, however, identify a singular Isle of God's Mercies. Still others place this among the Upper Savage Islands that were approximately twenty-three leagues further again to the west.[17]

Descriptions of the Upper Savage Islands also display variation. Generally, sources describe them as lying just before, or to the east, of Big Island and at the mouth of North Bay, an inlet that Coats designated Icy Bay. Sources are not always clear as to whether one or several islands fell under the rubric Upper Savage Island, or whether Big Island was included as one of any group so designated. According to Thomas M'Keevor, at least one island in the location, presumably one by which pilots might verify their whereabouts, was approximately "two miles in circumference" and consisted "merely of a vast lofty perpendicular rock, rising like a cone, in an easy ascent from the sea."[18]

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[17] See, "Expedition to Hudson Bay and Northward," *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society* 37, no. 7 (1905): 409. Parry, *Journal of a Second Voyage*, 11; see also Chappell, *Narrative of a Voyage to Hudson Bay*, 54, 55, 119, who supplies an illustration; Robert Hood, *To the Arctic by Canoe, 1819–1821: The Journal and Paintings of Robert Hood, midshipman with Franklin*, ed. C. Stuart Houston (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), 13 n.15. R. Glover, "La Pérouse on Hudson Bay," *The Beaver* 30, no. 4 (March 1951): 45, reports a "Lasblack Island" that may be Saddleback Island; see also Ian Chadwick, "Henry Hudson's Fourth Voyage 1610: The Northwest Passage," <http://www.ianchadwick.com/hudson/hudson_04.htm> (accessed 25 February 2008); "Lost And Found in Hudson Bay; Shipwrecked on a Barren Reef, Sir Wm. Mackenzie's Expedition Has Rediscovered Islands," *New York Times*, magazine section (14 Mar. 1915): SM14, indicates confusion arises because the location of Hudson's isle was 'forgotten' after 1662 when it no longer appeared on maps. Robert Flaherty, who 'found' the islands in 1814, placed them in Hudson Bay, off the East Main. Goulding Smith, "The Canadian Hydrographical Survey," 133, 134, says of the Middle Savage Islands, "At the western end of this group is Henry Hudson's 'Isle of God's Mercie [sic],' described by Hudson and Pricket in 'Purchas His Pilgrims.' From these quaint references we had no difficulty in identifying the place. The average mariner would consider it a most unmerciful place." See also Coats, *Geography,* 16; Wales, "Journal of a Voyage," 111.

[18] Thomas M'Keevor, *A Voyage to Hudson's Bay, during the Summer of 1812: Containing a particular account of the icebergs and other phenomena which present themselves in those regions: also, a description of the Esquimeaux and North American Indians, their manners, customs, dress, language, &c. &c. &c.* (London : Printed for Sir Richard Phillips and Co., 1819), 28, designates as Upper Savage Island what might be High Bluff Island; see Bell, map, "Survey in Baffinland," 46, who shows two 'North Bays,'

Together, seen from the sea, the islands off Icy Cape/Cape Weymouth on the eastern entrance to North Bay appeared to be a promontory of the north shore that marked a narrowing of Hudson Strait. North Bluff on Big Island – which Coats knew as Savage Point – signalled the narrow's northern extremity. According to Coats the strait was about seventeen leagues (94 kilometres, or 57 miles) across from North Bluff to Prince Henry's Foreland, "a high mountain," which signalled the narrow's southern extremity on the opposite shore of the strait. From his description, it would appear this foreland is that which later cartographers designated Cape Weggs.[19]

Having determined they had reached the narrows, HBC pilots would head across Hudson Strait to follow landmarks on the southern shore, while still keeping well out from the land "to avoid dangerous currents," rockbound hazards, and an extent of ice known as "Charles's patch," which tended to collect in the vicinity of Charles Island.[20] The ships would mark progress successively past Charles Island, Cape Wolstenholme,

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the one on Baffin Island's south shore, the other on nearby Big Island. Wales, "Journal of a Voyage," 111. Chappell, *Narrative of a Voyage to Hudson Bay*, 117–18, remarks two landmark hills, two leagues to the west of Saddleback, known as 'Virgin Paps.' Parry, *Journal of a Second Voyage*, 14, and 14 n., appears to include Big Island in the Upper Savage group. He credits Baffin with naming the islands in 1615.

[19] Coats, *Geography*, 16, also 31. See also Parry, *Journal of a Second Voyage*, 16; Bell, map, "Survey in Baffinland," 46, also 26, puts North Bluff at Ashe Inlet, Big Island, "which stands boldly out from the mainland." Isaac Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers: A Narrative of Seven Years in the Service of the Hudson's Bay Company during 1867–1874, On the Great Buffalo Plains with Historical and Biographical notes and comment* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1913), 90, adds to confusion about which landmarks defined position, remarking on being between the North Bluff and Prince of Wales Land – perhaps Cape Prince of Wales. See also Goulding Smith, "The Canadian Hydrographical Survey," 132; Chappell, *Narrative of a Voyage to Hudson Bay*, 119, refers to "Point Look-Out" – perhaps the bluff.

[20] Parry, *Journal of a Second Voyage*, 14; see also "The New Route from England to Eastern Asia, and the Hudson Bay Route," *Science* 10, no. 231 (July 1887), 15, 17. Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 90; Bell, evidence, *Canada's Fertile Northland*, 119, testified, "There is one island, Charles island, with one hundred miles or more to the north of it in which to choose your course. You need not go near that island. A stranger by keeping clear of what he sees would not be in any danger of striking rocks." A.P. Low, "Geographical Work of the Geological Survey of Canada, 1900–1905," *The Geographical Journal* 28, no. 3 (September 1906): 279, found some of the hazards marked on charts, such as Griper Shoal, to be "non-existent."

and the Digges Island group. The latter islands appeared "not very large."[21] Cape Wostenholme, however, "rose steeply from deep water" forming "a great rocky promontory" nearly 1,000 feet in height, or 304 metres.[22] The south shore about Wolstenholme was as rugged as the north, but Isaac Cowie remarked a difference:

> while every depression between barren black hills on the north side was filled with snow or ice, the brown, apparently heath-clad hills of Labrador presented a much warmer and more homelike aspect, much resembling the last land we had seen across the Atlantic – the Island of Hoy.[23]

HBC ships rounded Wolstenholme and Digges, to pass between them and Nottingham Island towards what early sailors took to be an extension of Southampton Island, but that later whalers proved were two separate landforms. These were eventually designated Bell Island and Coats's Island.[24] Bell Island, "composed of granite and limestone" was described by one observer as the "most desolate-looking country … ever seen."[25] Coats Island, principally limestone, except for the "bold headland" of the northern end of Cape Pembroke, appeared to be a "low barren plain of country, nothing distinguishable

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[21] Bell, evidence, *Canada's Fertile Northland,* 118.

[22] Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 91; and Goulding Smith, "The Canadian Hydrographical Survey," 139.

[23] Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 91. See also James Wallace, "An Abstract of a Book, viz. An Account of the Islands of Orkney. By James Wallace, M.D. and Fellow of the Royal Society. To Which is Added, an Essay concerning the Thule of the Ancients, 80. London," *Philosophical Transactions (1683–1775),* 22 (1700–1701): 543–44, whose description of the landscape of Orkney is similar to descriptions of the Strait. See, photo, F.C. Goulding Smith, "The Canadian Hydrographical Survey of the Hudson Bay Route," *The Geographical Journal* 87, no. 2 (February 1936), 139 [U13], for a view of the coast of Hudson Strait near Cape Wolstenholme.

[24] Jérémie, *Twenty years of York Factory,* 18, designated it "Assumption cape," adding "I do not give any particulars about it, as no one ever goes near enough to learn anything about its characteristics."

[25] "The Voyage of the 'Neptune' in Northern Canadian Waters," *The Geographical Journal* 26, no. 3 (September 1905), 319.

thereon."[26] As the island came into view on the starboard side of a HBC vessel, Mansel Island, "about 20 leagues long, low flat, but rises towards the north end," would recede from view off the other.[27] It too was limestone, "not so high and rugged as the mainland," and together with Coats, the last land seen on leaving the Strait and entering Hudson Bay.[28]

Aside from land masses, seafarers journeying through Hudson Strait reported seeing a variety of life forms – largely excluding live "bush or braque," but including very active people, peculiar optical phenomena and weather conditions, ice formations, and tidal currents.[29] These spectacles were somewhat predictable, in that seafarers watched for them and presumed them incident to the area, though they expected actual encounters to be governed by chance.

From aboard ship, the shores of the strait appeared virtually devoid of vegetation. Forays ashore on Upper Savage Island during Parry's expeditions yielded a report only of grasses, dwarf willow, and moss actually growing. Parry did report driftwood, however, as did Bell. The wood, in the form of small spruce trees, was seen "stranded at high-water mark" all along the north shore of the strait.[30] Given the absence of any trees on either

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[26] S.J. Stewart, "Coats Island," *The Beaver* 15, no. 3 (December 1935): 40, observes "Cape Pembroke is a bold headland with perpendicular cliffs about five hundred feet high … The land immediately behind the cliffs is anything from nine hundred to twelve hundred feet in height and is an excellent landmark seen many miles out to sea"; Coats, *Geography*, 31.

[27] Coats, *Geography*, 31.

[28] Bell, evidence, *Canada's Fertile Northland*, 118.

[29] Coats, *Geography*, 31.

[30] Bell, "Survey in Baffinland," 30. See also Chappell, *Narrative of a Voyage to Hudson Bay*, 98;

coast – except at the bottom of Ungava Bay – Bell surmised that the driftwood had been brought by the current around Cape Farewell from "some of the rivers of northern Siberia."[31]

Birds, apparently, were commonly seen, although in accounts of HBC voyages familiar varieties were seldom remarked upon unless the targets of sport. Coats, for example, reported that at Cape Charles "we took plenty of young ducks, and saw numbers of fowl about them, as is likewise at Mansfield."[32] Expeditions of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century interested in expanding ornithological knowledge focused on gathering individual specimens indicative of the range of species in an extremely wide geographic space – loosely defined as 'Arctic,' but including Hudson Bay and Strait – not on conducting population studies. Few mentions were made of birds associated specifically with Hudson Strait; what mentions there were, sometimes relied only on anecdotal evidence and most were terse. Bell, for example, commented that, "The black guillemot was common, and the least auk rare on the coast."[33] As seafarers were transients in the area, they were hardly the best indicators of the overall presence of migratory animals with different patterns of arrival or departure. Later studies suggest

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Parry, *Journal of a Second Voyage*, 15; William Campbell Steere, "Bryophyta of Arctic America. II," *American Midland Naturalist* 21, no. 2 (March 1939), 355–56.

[31] Ibid. See also Wales, "Journal of a Voyage," 102; and Chappell, *Narrative of a Voyage to Hudson Bay*, 36.

[32] Coats, *Geography*, 31.

[33] Bell, "Survey in Baffinland," 40–41. See "Notes from the National Museum of Canada," *Science*, n.s., 72, no. 1854 (11 July 1930): 40–41; also Steere, "Bryophyta of Arctic America," 355–67; and Augustus Petermann, "Notes on the Distribution of Animals Available as Food in the Arctic Regions," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 22 (1852): 119. Stewart, "Coats Island," spent a year living on the island in 1918, and reported seeing "Tinkers (little auks) … in their thousands."

that varieties of loons, geese, ducks, swans, terns, and smaller birds would have been present in considerable numbers, although seafarers might not have known them by names any more precise.[34] Tracing references to birds suggests that while much that was Northern appeared certain to endure, after 400 years of observation and exploitation, there was an awareness that some species of wildlife might not. References to Trumpeter swans and the history of Coats Island supply an example.

The early name for Coats Island was Cary Swans Nest. This name, apparently bestowed by Thomas James *circa* 1633 and carried forward by Coats, is likely a reference to the Cary family – makers of marine survey equipment in London – one of whose heraldic symbols was a swan raising its wings.[35] The name suggests that, along

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[34] See, Reynold Bray, "Notes on the Birds of Southampton Island, Baffin Island and Melville Peninsula," ed. T.H. Manning, *The Auk* 60, no. 4 (October 1943): 504–36; and Jonathan Dwight, "The Status of '*Larus thayeri*, Thayer's Gull'," *The Auk* 34, no. 4 (October 1917): 413–14. Chappell, *Narrative of a Voyage to Hudson Bay*, 41, mentions Boatswains/Tropic Birds flying overhead "day and night," noting they were numerous in the tropics and some had "long feathers, like spikes, projecting from their tails."

[35] See Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, "Anciennes cartes géographiques," Thomas James, map, 1633, Trouvailles, Exploration de Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec <http:// libweb5. princeton.edu/visual_materials/maps/websites/northwest-passage/james.map-full.jpg> (accessed 13 March 2009). Coats, *Geography*, 28, at one point writes "Carieswansnest." Cartographers have represented the island variously. John Hogson, "Rivers and Lakes West and South of Hudson's and James's Bay to Lake Superior and Lake Winnipeg (1791)," plate 15, in Richard I. Ruggles, *A Country So Interesting: The Hudson's Bay Company and Two Centuries of Mapping 1670–1870* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), 139, shows only a cape, designated "Cary Swans Ness," [sic] off a larger, unnamed land mass – Southampton Island. See: Thomas Robson, "Cary," *British Herald or Cabinet of Armorial Bearings of the Nobility & Gentry of Great Britain & Ireland, From the Earliest to the Present Time ... Collected and Arranged in Three Volumes*, vol. I (Sunderland UK: Turner & Marwood, 1830); and Joan Corder, "A swan Argent wings endorsed beaked and legged Sable. Carey," and "A swan Argent wings indorsed. "Carey, Earl of Monmouth, of Stowmarket, Woodbridge, Halesworth," *A Dictionary of Suffolk Crests: Heraldic Crests of Suffolk Families* (Woolbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1998), 143. See, "Heraldic Dictionary," University of Notre Dame, Digital Projects <http://www.rarebooks.nd. edu/digital/heraldry/ graphics/charges/birds/pelican.gif> (accessed 26 Feb. 2008), for an image similar to a 'Swan' rising, with "wings elevated & addorsed." The heraldic symbol, though more swan-like than not, is customarily referred to as a "pelican-in-her-piety." "Scientific & Medical Catalogue," West Sea Company <http://www.westsea.com/tsg3/catlocker/cat09chart.htm> (accessed 21 March 2008), lists Cary family members, of London, as eighteenth- and nineteenth-century makers of marine surveying instruments – from spy glasses to thermometers.

with geese, partridges, and ducks, in the past Tundra/ Whistling swans and Trumpeter swans had enlivened the island. Although the latter, larger variety no longer occurs in the area, formerly the breeding range of the Trumpeter swan extended across northern North America. In the late eighteenth century, sailor and HBC factor, Samuel Hearne, observed that "when flying across the wind or against it, they make but slow progress, and are then a noble shot," and counselled the London Committee to encourage a systematic harvesting.[36] The birds were hunted as food by fur trade personnel and, subsequently, the Company included Trumpeter swans in its trade, shipping anywhere from 2,500 to 5,075 skins, with feathers on, per year. The down and quills served the fashion industry as trim for women's clothing. The skins, in high demand throughout the 'print revolution,' served as protective blanketing for paper in letterpress and copperplate printing machines. By the early twentieth century, the Trumpeter swan had vanished from the Hudson Bay region and from North America so thoroughly that ornithologists considered it an endangered species.[37]

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[36] Samuel Hearne, *A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772 By Samuel Hearne*, ed. Richard Glover (1958; reprint Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1972), 280.

[37] See Stewart, "Coats Island," 39. Alexander Wilson, Charles Lucian Bonaparte, Robert Jameson, George Ord, William Maxwell Hetherington, *American Ornithology: Or the Natural History of the Birds*, The American Orthinology, vol. 4 (Edinburgh: Constable & Co., 1831), 345, notes "This is the most common swan in the interior of the fur countries … It is to the trumpeter the bulk of the swan skins imported by the Hudson's Bay Company belong"; see also "Swans," *Littell's Living Age* 180, no 2324 (Januuary 1889): 104. P. L. Simmonds, "Swan-skin,"*A Dictionary of Trade Products, Commercial, Manufacturing, and Technical Terms: With a Definition of the Moneys, Weights, and Measures, of All Countries, reduced to the British Standard* (London: G. Routledge & Co., 1858), 368, estimates 2,500 skins shipped by the Company per year. Lyn Harrington, "Triumph of the Trumpeter," *The Beaver* 35, no. 3 (winter 1955): 18, reports 5,072 skins at the annual HBC auction in 1828. See, for an example of ornithological evaluation, B. H. Swales and P. A. Taverner, "Recent Ornithological Developments in Southeastern Michigan," *The Auk* 24, no. 2 (April 1907): 135, 139, on "extinction" of the swan as a feature of change – meaning 'progress.' Bray, "Notes on the Birds of Southampton Island," 509, notes "Among the natives from Repulse Bay to Cockburn Land, Southampton Island is renowned for its swans and geese.";

Among other forms of wildlife, marine mammals invariably figure in seafarer descriptions of Hudson Strait. Bell listed, as inhabiting the north side:

> walrus, narwal, and the polar bear, the Greenland whale, the bottle-nose, the fin-back, and the little white whale, besides two or three other cetaceans. The seals on this coast include the bearded or square flipper, the Greenland or harp, the foetid or ring seal, and the harbour seal, and other species are said to be taken occasionally.[38]

Not all seafarers saw a specimen of each species on every voyage, or even a specimen of one. Captain David Herd of the HBC attested before the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company in 1857 that in twenty-two years of passing through the strait he had seen "very few" seals, was of the opinion that whales were not common, that people were mistaking porpoises for whales, and that in any case those were more frequent elsewhere.[39] He did not refer to walrus. Seafarers, whether passengers, crew or officers, appear to have routinely hunted, or at least shot, what animals they did encounter – for food, profit, and entertainment. Restrictions on shooting may have applied variously: Cowie reported seeing "several seals and a walrus," in 1867, but averred "being Sunday they were not molested by the gunners."[40] In 1905, Low reported that on his expedition

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"Bird Fact Sheets: Trumpeter Swan," Hinterland Who's Who <http://www.hww.ca/hww2.asp?id=77&cid=7> (accessed 27 February 2008), notes, however, that "in 1933 there were only 77 Trumpeters breeding in Canada and 50 breeding in the United States."

[38] Bell, "Survey in Baffinland," 40–41.

[39] Herd, quoted in *Report from the Select Committee* (1858), 255. See Chappell, *Narrative of a Voyage to Hudson Bay*, 53, who reports seals "leaping about in all directions"; Williamson, "Voyage of the 'Discovery'," part I, 22, reports frequent "parties of seals" and the "occasional walrus"; W. Gillies Ross, "Distribution, Migration, and depletion of Bowhead Whales in Hudson Bay, 1860 to 1915," *Arctic and Alpine Research* 6, no. 1 (winter 1974): 87, states "Whalers ... rarely sighted whales in Hudson Strait."

[40] Cowie, *Company of Adventures*, 89. Chappell, *Narrative of a Voyage to Hudson Bay*, 131,

near Charles Island "a great many walrus were observed." In what proved "very exciting sport," his party killed seven for dog food and two polar bears as well.[41] Whether because the bears were numerous, were drawn to ships out of curiosity, or because seafarers thought them exotic, references to polar bear sightings appear relatively frequently in journals – sometimes with sketches or photographs. They were perhaps the consummate Northern prize.[42]

HBC sailors fished along the route to Hudson Bay, but put no special effort into identifying individual species or including estimates of existing stocks in their logbooks.[43] Questions put to Captain Herd by the Select Committee on the Hudson Bay Company of 1858, and later reports of Select Committees published in 1885 and 1907, indicate that the whereabouts of Cod in particular, but other fish stocks and whales as

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reports shooting at a whale merely to see its response. Williams, "Last Voyage of the Stork," 45, reports that while crewmen filled water casks, "two polar bears were killed by the officers."

[41] "Expedition to Hudson Bay and Northward," *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society*, 409. Jérémie, *Twenty years of York Factory,* 17, reported numerous walrus at "a big island which we call Phelipeaux," apparently the French name for Mansfield/Mansel Island. Stewart, "Coats Island," 39, reported plentiful walrus on Coats Island, along with caribou. He described it as "a wonderful place for bears," and alleged killing seven the instant he arrived.

[42] See for example, J. Birbeck Nevins, *A narrative of two voyages to Hudson's Bay: with traditions of the North American Indians* (London: Printed for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1847), 7; M'Keevor, *Voyage to Hudson's Bay*, 23–25, describes the killing of a bear and capture of two cubs, supplies a sketch, and retells another hunt story; Chappell, *Narrative of a Voyage to Hudson Bay*, 128–29; Letitia Hargrave, *The Letters of Letitia Hargrave*, ed. Margaret Arnett MacLeod (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1947), 67; and HBCA, E.12/5-7, "My Notebook," Isobel G[raham] Finlayson Journal, 1840, 39, remarks on the difference between a bear and a zoo animal seen previously. See also D.W. Moodie and Barry Kaye, "Taming and Domesticating the Native Animals of Rupert's Land," *The Beaver* 56, no. 3 (winter 1976): 14, who include a photo of "Buddy," a cub aboard the *Nascopie*; also Williamson, "Voyage of the 'Discovery'," part I, 22; cover, "Nan-Nook, King of the North, *The Beaver* 3, no. 6 (March 1923); and LAC, item no. PA-183251, "Polar Bear Shot by Robert Bell, 1882," photograph, Robert Bell.

[43] See, for example, HBCA, C.1/1022, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1752, 1 August; C.1/1023, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1753, 25 June; C.1/1024, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1754, [July] 9; C.1/417, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1806, 10 July; also Parry, *Journal of a Second Voyage*, 4; and Hargrave, *Letters,* 50, for references to fishing from the ship.

well, was of interest to the government of Canada when it appeared the resources of Rupert's Land would prove enriching.[44] Keepers of HBC logbooks more carefully recorded sightings of 'fishing' vessels. They noted where these were met, at what time, and the nature of any interaction. Some meetings were limited to long distance communication by way of signalling, others included exchanges of information via face-to-face visits. That some of the fishers encountered were whalers can be inferred by the location in which they had reportedly worked – from Davis Strait to Hudson Bay – and comments such as "killd no fish & bound for Amsterdam [sic]," or "bound to Shields with thirteen fish" – amounts consistent with whaling ventures.[45]

Aside from whalers and people aboard other vessels in their convoy, seafarers aboard HBC vessels also met with Inuit along the northern shore of Hudson Strait. The notations in HBC ships' logs supply only brief summaries of the location of a meeting, hours of interaction, and details of trade – principally amounts of whalebone received.[46] Surviving documents indicate the London Committee had included instructions to

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[44] See Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, *Report from the Select Committee*, (1858), 257, 258; Gordon, in "Report of the Hudson's Bay Expedition," 13, 14; and Chambers, ed., *Canada's Fertile Northland*, 1–4, who asserts there are valuable resources to be exploited, Low, evidence, *Canada's Fertile Northland*, 14–15, and Wakeham, evidence, *Canada's Fertile Northland*, 130, describe fishery potential; see also A.R.M Lower, "By River to Albany," *The Beaver* 24, no. 1 (June 1944): 16–19, on government interest in resources, 1914. Philip Goldring, "Inuit Economic Responses to Euro-American Contacts: Southeast Baffin Island, 1824–1940," *Historical Papers/Communications Historiques* (1986), 148, notes that "commercial fisheries began off Baffin Island in 1920."

[45] HBCA C.1/1029, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1759, 22 July; C.1/417 and C.1/418, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1806, 10 July; also Anderson, "The Hudson-Bay Expedition," 215; and Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 90–91. See also W. Gillies Ross, Table 3, "The Annual Catch of Greenland (Bowhead) Whales in Waters North of Canada 1719–1915: A Preliminary Compilation," *Arctic* 32, no. 2 (June 1979): 100–6. Ross, "Distribution, Migration, and Depletion of Bowhead Whales," 87, reports twenty-two whalers in the strait between 1860 and 1900.

[46] Ross, "Distribution, Migration, and Depletion of Bowhead Whales," 87, notes that forty-seven HBC logbooks "record trade along the north shore of Hudson Strait from 1810 to 1870." Barr, "Eighteenth Century Trade," 239, comments on the briefness of the descriptions of meetings.

captains to trade "Whalebone or any other Commodity" as early as 1738.[47] By this date, it is clear that these were not chance encounters, but standard practice, remaining so throughout the period examined. Trade rendezvous usually took place near Middle and Upper Savage Islands, though the vagaries of circumstance might preclude a meeting. Like icebergs and polar bears, viewing people native to the region was a much-anticipated event for non-HBC personnel. If an encounter occurred, they wrote detailed descriptions in their journals. Inuit physique and the 'otherness' of their clothing, language, and assumed norms of behaviour excited the most curiosity and comment.[48]

Comments on curious optical phenomena observed in the North were also common and show these were both convenient aids to navigation and frustrating impediments. One convenience was the persistence of daylight from June throughout the shipping season. Although the strait was not so far north that 'midnight sun' was observable, daylight seemed perpetual during July and it was possible to go below deck with "very little of candle."[49] By August, there were only a few hours of darkness in a twenty-four hour period: the sun rising "at half-past two or three in the morning" and not

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[47] HBCA , A.6/6. fo. 24d, Official General Outward Correspondence, 1737–1741.

[48] Hargrave, *Letters*, xxxvi, 65; F.F. Payne, *Eskimo of Hudson Strait* (Toronto: Canadian Institute, 1889), 1; Parry, *Journal of a Second Voyage*, 11–13; M'Keevor, *Voyage to Hudson Bay*, 29–43; Chappell, *Narrative of a Voyage to Hudson Bay*, 55–68, 70–117, 125; HBCA, E.12/5-7, Finlayson, "Notebook," 42, 51, 58, supplies a sketch; Jérémie, *Twenty years of York Factory,* 16–17; Glover, "La Pérouse on Hudson Bay," 45; Bell, "Survey in Baffinland," 42, indicates population numbers were of interest by 1897 – estimating there were 170 people on Baffin Island's south shore. See, Barr, "Eighteenth Century Trade," 236–46, for a detailed discussion of the trade and encounters; and HBCA C.1/1021 Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1751, p. 19; C.1/1022, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1752, 10 July, p. 23; C.1/1029, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1759, 27 July, for specific examples. Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 90, expressed disappointment at not meeting the "Esquimaux," the crew had led him to expect.

[49] W. Parker Snow, "Voyage in Search of Sir John Franklin," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 2, no. 11 (April 1851): 589. Chappell, *Narrative of a Voyage to Hudson Bay*, 23, notes "Perhaps it is deserving notice, that, since our departure from *Orkney*, we never had a night so dark as not to be able to read and write"; see also Williamson, "Voyage of the 'Discovery'," part I, 23.

setting "until ten o'clock at night in summer."[50] While the Aurora Borealis of the Northwest were reputed to be "very bright," descriptions of displays are relatively rare.[51] Seafarers from Northern Scotland perhaps found them "much the same" as at home, so did not feel compelled to either note, or make extended comment on their occurrence.[52] William Wales reported to the Royal Society, the sponsor of his voyage to Churchill in 1768, that:

> The aurora-borealis, which has been represented as very extraordinary in those parts, bears in my opinion, no comparison to what I have seen in the north parts of England. It is always of the same form here, and consists of a narrow, steady stream of a pale straw-coloured light, which rises out of the horizon, about E.S.E. and extends itself through the zenith, and vanishes near the horizon, about W.N.W. It has very seldom any motion at all; and when it has, it is only a small tremulous one at the two borders.[53]

An equally plausible explanation for lack of comment, however, is that no display was witnessed: although the lights could occur at any time of year, they were most frequently

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[50] Bell, evidence, *Canada's Fertile Northland*, 119. See also Wallace, "Abstract of a Book," 544, who notes of the Orkneys that, "the Country lies about 59 degrees, and 2 minutes *Northern Lat.* … so that the longest day is above 18 hours. At Midnight it is so clear for a great part of June, that one may read a letter at his Chamber Window."

[51] See Joseph Dymond and William Wales, "Observations on the State of the Air, Winds, Weather, &c. Made at Prince of Wales's Fort, on the North-West Coast of Hudson's Bay, in the Years 1768 and 1769, by Joseph Dymond and William Wales," *Philosophical Transactions (1683–1775)* 60 (1770): 138; M'Keevor, *Voyage to Hudson's Bay*, 72; Chappell, *Narrative of a Voyage to Hudson Bay*, 27–28, 37, 136–38, appears to have travelled during an active year. He reported a faint display in the Atlantic off Orkney, a "most brilliant display" further west, and within the strait, one display bright enough to be seen through fog. He then noted that "our nights constantly illuminated by the most vivid and brilliant coruscations" from that point on; see also Williamson, "Voyage of the 'Discovery'," part I, 23.

[52] Christopher Middleton, "The Effects of Cold; Together with Observations of the Longitude, Latitude, and Declination of the Magnetic Needle, at Prince of Wales's Fort, upon Churchill-River in Hudson's Bay, North America; By Captain Christopher Middleton, F.R.S. Commander of His Majesty's Ship Furnace, 1741–2," *Philosophical Transactions (1683–1775)* 42 (1742–1743): 162.

[53] Wales, "Journal of a Voyage," 130.

reported by people stationed on land during March and September and least often in June and December.[54]

Another atmospheric phenomenon of "curious appearance," the use of which Coats judged "too evident to animadvert theron [sic]," consisted of gleams or streaks of light and dark that discoloured the sky on the horizon.[55] Termed 'blinks' by later navigators, these were interpreted according to colour as reliable indications of whether ice, land, or sea lay in the offing and in what direction. A bright white to yellowish blink indicated thick ice – snow covered ice imparting the most brilliant affect. A hazier yellowish tinge indicated ice or snow covered land, though, as the effect was relative, ice and land blinks might prove difficult to distinguish. A "black vapour" either alone or interspersed in a lighter blink indicated water. Very new, thin ice imparted a less dramatic, greyish blink.[56] Although the cause was similar, seafarers held blinks to be distinct from mirages – the latter term not applied to cold air phenomenon until the late nineteenth century. Mirages, by whatever name, occasionally supplied another peculiar, if informative 'map' to read in the sky. For instance, a ship – perhaps a consort several hundred miles distant – might be seen floating upside down well above the horizon, giving an indication of its whereabouts.[57] Mirages could also prove baffling however.

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[54] Bennie Bengston, "Aurora Borealis," *The Beaver* 26, no. 2 (September 1946): 12.

[55] M'Keevor, *Voyage to Hudson's Bay*, 5n.; Coats, *Geography*, 21.

[56] Parry, *Journal of a second Voyage*, xiv; M'Keevor, *Voyage to Hudson's Bay*, 5n.; Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay*, 5–6; Graham Danton, *The Theory and Practice of Seamanship* 11th ed. (New York: Routledge, 1996), 112.

[57] M'Keevor, *Voyage to Hudson's Bay*, 5n.; Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 91; H.L. Sawatzky and W.H. Lehn, "The Arctic Mirage and the Early North Atlantic," *Science*, n.s., 192, no. 4246 (25 June 1976): 1303.

Wales reported an instance where land was plainly visible from the quarterdeck, "as it were, lifted up in the haze, in the same manner as the ice had always done." Yet the sailor stationed as lookout on the masthead saw no shoreline anywhere. Wales was at a loss for an explanation. He did determine that the horizon – used for sighting with the Hadley's quadrant – might appear optically raised "2° or 3° at a distance of 8 or 10 miles" higher than where it actually stood.[58] Added to this, he reported that a "red haziness" extended around the horizon:

> to a considerable height, rendering the stars very dim; but at the same time large, something like the nucleus of a comet. I have been disappointed by one or other of these, two or three times before; but this is the most vexatious, as we are now among many islands, headlands, &c. whose longitudes are entirely unknown, and on which account an observation would have been singularly useful.[59]

Ultimately, Wales found that the "refractive power of the air in these parts" meant observations made on land with an astronomical quadrant differed from those made at sea with a Hadley's quadrant by a "prodigious" amount. Thus, 'scientific' knowledge about sailors' exact whereabouts on any given journey remained uncertain and difficult to reconcile exactly with accounts of similar voyages from other years.[60]

Weather conditions also made determining a ship's location difficult. The most common complaint was made most colourfully by Thomas James, who wrote of

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[58] Wales, "Journal of a Voyage," 115–16.

[59] Ibid., 113–14; see also Williamson, "Voyage of the 'Discovery'," part I, 22, for similar observations on the problems of mirages and haze.

[60] Wales, "Journal of a Voyage," 131.

"stinking fog."[61] Because no other seafarer left a comment suggesting odour, the reference appears solely to denote frustration. Foggy conditions in the Strait occurred as often as once every two days. Fog was dangerous. In 1819, shrouded in fog, the *Prince of Wales*, with Franklin's expedition and Red River Settlers aboard, struck the rocks off Resolution Island and required constant pumping to make York Factory.[62] In 1899, Captain Gray on the *Erik* reported "the most trying voyage I have ever had." While in "thick fog," he met "excessive quantities of ice." The ship "ran into a large iceberg which carried away her jib-boom, bowsprit and port cat-head."[63] Perhaps the most surreal sighting in a fog was recounted by Bell: while thickly enveloped aboard the *Ocean Nymph,* he watched as a large flock of ptarmigan materialized out of the haze and "lit in the rigging," presumably to wait it out.[64] Seafarers also reported rain, high winds, and snow. Frost was sometimes reported at night, with "a little skim of ice" surrounding a vessel in the morning.[65] Temperatures were often cold enough that ships' surfaces coated over with ice. Andrew Robertson Gordon, after voyages in 1884 and 1885 aboard the *Neptune* and *Alert* respectively, determined that the mean surface temperature of the water in Hudson Strait, "as obtained from observations taken when the ship was at sea,"

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[61] James, *Strange and Dangerous Voyage*, 14:8.

[62] John Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse: Hudson's Bay Company Transport, 1670–1821," Ph.D. diss. (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1978), 18. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 142.

[63] Oliver Warner, "Voyaging to York Factory," *The Beaver* 37, no. 3 (winter 1957): 23.

[64] Bell, evidence, *Canada's Fertile Northland*, 119.

[65] Ibid., Bell, "Baffinland," 39; Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 88. R.M. Ballantyne, *Hudson's Bay, or, Every-day life in the wilds of North America during six years' residence in the territories of the honourable Hudson's Bay Company* (Edinburgh : W. Blackwood, 1848), 16, 17–18; Chappell, *Narrative of a Voyage to Hudson Bay*, 127.

was 32.9° Fahrenheit or 0° Celsius.[66] While Bell observed that the weather could be fine – sometimes "too fine" because no wind – he also noted that "on sunny days … on the sea there was a constant feeling of cold or rawness and discomfort, on account of the presence of so much ice."[67]

Along with weather, the occurrence of ice in Hudson Strait was the event most consistently commented upon in logbooks and journals. Naval historian Oliver Warner has observed that although "some text-books will blandly tell you [the strait] should be navigable from the middle of July to October," logbook notations indicate that, "In fact, all through the decades, captains complained that ice was where they had never met with it before, and that navigation was more difficult than ever."[68] Ice was the primary determinant of the tenor of the voyage. The amount and kind of ice directly related to the length of time it took to complete the passage, the safety, and the comfort level of the passengers and crew. In 1749, Coats made the passage in a mere four days. HBC vessels entering the strait after the middle of July more commonly spent two to four weeks threading through ice over some "800 to 1,000 miles" before exiting into Hudson Bay.[69]

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[66] Gordon, in "Report of the Hudson's Bay Expedition," 12, testified, "the highest mean of a day's observations was 33.3, and the lowest 32.6."

[67] Bell, "Baffinland," 39.

[68] Warner, "Voyaging to York Factory," 19, also 21.

[69] Herd, quoted in *Report from the Select Committee* (1858), 257. See also Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 89 also 87, 97, who reports that the *Ocean Nymph* also completed the passage in four days; Steele, *English Atlantic*, 87, notes Coats' quick passage; H.M.S. Cotter, "Some Famous Hudson's Bay Captains and Ships," *The Beaver* 1, no. 7 (April 1921): 3; Ross, "Distribution, Migration, and Depletion of Bowhead Whales," 87; Ballantyne, *Hudson's Bay*, 13–15; Chappell, *Narrative of a Voyage to Hudson Bay*, 19; HBCA, E.12/5-7, Finlayson, "Notebook," 39. A.J.W. Catchpole and Marcia-Anne Faurer, "Ships' Log-Books, Sea Ice and the Cold Summer of 1816 in Hudson Bay and Its Approaches," *Arctic* 38, no. 2 (June 1986): 125, find ice to be the "major determinant" of "factors determining annual variations in the duration of westward passages through Hudson Strait."

Captain Herd testified to journeys that took as many as six weeks, during which he saw no water sufficient "to turn a boat round."[70] The log of Captain Benjamin Bell in the *Emerald*, 1816, records a westward passage through the strait of fifty-one days duration.[71]

As far as seafarers to Hudson Bay could determine, the Strait itself did not generate enough ice over the winter to freeze over entirely. They understood the ice found in the strait entered from either end. Herd averred that, because of these flows from the east and west, the Straits being entirely clear of ice would be an exception to the general rule. The heavy pack ice and icebergs from the eastern entrance might travel a fair distance into the Strait, but, caught in the 'capricious' currents and the overfall, these would eventually turn, spend some time "whirling around" in Ungava Bay, and then flow out again.[72] If a captain waited until mid July, this particular impediment would clear – hence Coats' injunction to wait before entering, and to enter along the north shore.[73] Most ice encountered in the Strait came from the west. After investigating the navigability of the region in 1885, Gordon affirmed what earlier seafarers had contended: each summer

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[70] Herd, quoted in *Report from the Select Committee* (1858), 257. See also Jérémie, *Twenty years of York Factory,* 15.

[71] Catchpole and Faurer, "Ships' Log-Books," 125.

[72] "New Route from England to Eastern Asia," *Science* 10, no. 231 (July 1887): 15; Bell, "Baffinland," 40. Joseph Robson [1752] quoted in Charles N. Bell, "Navigation of Hudson Bay and Straits," *MHS Transactions*, 1st ser., no. 7 (Read 10 May 1883); Bell, evidence, *Canada's Fertile Northland*, 118–19. Williamson, "Voyage of the 'Discovery'," part I, 22, held a dissenting view, asserting that "the strait becomes frozen over at the end of October," but that it was relatively "thin stuff." Herd, quoted in *Report from the Select Committee* (1858), 258; Low, evidence, *Canada's Fertile Northland*, 112, agrees.

[73] Coats, *Geography*, 19. See also Environment Canada, "Hudson Strait And Ungava Bay," Hudson Bay, Hudson Strait, Foxe Basin and James Bay, Environment Canada Sea Ice Overview <http:// ice-glaces.ec.gc.ca/App/WsvPageDsp.cfm?ID=10172&Lang=eng#foxe> (accessed 4 March 2008).

massive amounts of ice cleared from Foxe/Fox Channel – including icebergs calved off glaciers and heavy field ice from the channel itself. Prevailing currents carried this ice, along with a smaller amount of "ordinary field ice" that had formed over the winter in Hudson and James Bays, through Hudson Strait to the Labrador Sea, at the rate of "upwards of 10 miles a day."[74] By the time ice from Fox Channel entered the strait, the floes were relatively small. Gordon estimated their thickness to be about twenty to thirty feet. He described the ice from Hudson Bay as too light to pose a serious threat, but considered the heavy ice potentially dangerous, noting it tended to collect near, and block passages between, many of the islands at the western end of the Strait. Indeed, Captain Herd testified that in one year, beset by ice at the western end, he had been unable to exit the Strait until 25 August.[75]

Despite Gordon's misgivings, HBC sailors do not appear to have thought the western ice was as dangerous as the ice encountered at the eastern entrance to the strait. First, they judged its consistency to be different. HBC mariner Thomas McCliesh, for example, believed it to be 'fresh water ice,' unlike the hard ice of the outer ocean. In his estimation, it was "most snow on the top, and the ice below honeycombed."[76] Second, by the time ships reached the western extent of the strait, the ice was progressively breaking

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[74] Gordon, in "Report of the Hudson's Bay Expedition," 8; Cormie, "The Hudson Bay Route," 32; see also Jérémie, *Twenty years of York Factory,* 17, who reports the channel was known as "Assumption bay."

[75] Gordon, in "Report of the Hudson's Bay Expedition," 8; "New Route from England to Eastern Asia," 15, 17. See also Lendingham. "Nascopie in Hudson Bay," 9. Herd, quoted in *Report from the Select Committee* (1858), 257–58, was apparently referring to the voyage of 1854.

[76] McCliesh, letter, *Letters from Hudson Bay,* 127; also Low, evidence, *Canada's Fertile Northland,* 112; For extended arguments on the composition of ice and suppositions as to its formation see Middleton, in Coats, *Geography,* 137–39; and M'Keevor, *Voyage to Hudson's Bay,* 5–25.

down with each day of the warmer summer season – by the action of both sun and rain. It therefore posed little danger to experienced sailors in properly outfitted vessels. After studying the records of the American whalers, and based on his own experience aboard HBC vessels, Bell attested that, ice notwithstanding, "In navigating the strait during the season between these dates [22 June–10 October], with a steamship, they never had any difficulty, nor was there any difficulty with the *Ocean Nymph*, which was a poor ship for sailing."[77]

Once into Hudson Strait, it was not unusual for seafarers to see ice extending "as far as the eye could reach," to be delayed by it, have their ships bumped by it, or even heaved up out of it, but neither was it ordinary to suffer fatal damage.[78] Nor is there any report of ice completely blocking passage of the strait for an entire shipping season. The current, together with the tide – the height and power of which Coats and others long afterwards remarked upon – was strong enough to keep the ice in motion, and ships as well. There was moreover, anticipation of "open water ahead."[79]

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[77] Bell, evidence, *Canada's Fertile Northland*, 117: Low, evidence, *Canada's Fertile Northland*, 112, contends "the ice that was in there after the middle of July until November almost would not harm an ordinary vessel." See Chappell, *Narrative of a Voyage to Hudson Bay*, 130, who expresses surprise at the Admiralty for not better outfitting, or strengthening its ships.

[78] Chappell, *Narrative of a Voyage to Hudson Bay*, 119; HBCA, E.12/5-7, Finlayson, "Notebook," 39; Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 89. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 527, 215, report 'bad' ice conditions – causing delays, including wintering – in 1778, 1818, 1819–20, 1827, 1832, 1833–34 (one of Captain Bell's crew died of scurvy while wintering), 1838, 1884–85, and 1885–86. They note as well that in 1859, the *Kitty* was wrecked on the homeward voyage "at the entrance to Hudson Strait … The chief mate, William Armstrong, and four sailors, reached the Labrador coast by boat, but the captain and ten men in a longboat were never seen again. The ship's entire cargo was lost." J.W. Nichols, "Shipwreck in the Hudson Straits," *The Beaver* 25, no. 4 (March 1946): 17–19, describes a rough voyage in the strait, and another wreck in 1915. See, LAC, item no. PA-038220, "SS *Diana* lifted out of the ice off Big Island, Hudson Strait, 1897," photograph, A.P. Low.

[79] Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 89. See Chappell, *Narrative of a Voyage to Hudson Bay*, 126. Coats, *Geography*, 13, observed "The tide rises nearly 30 feet on an ordinary spring tide all along the strait,

Hudson Strait perhaps did not deserve to be "much-advertised-as-being-dreadful," but, even if it were true that a "common sailor who could not take an astronomical observation could sail through the straits with perfect safety," it appears that negotiating the passage successfully required patience, vigilance, and skills best learned through firsthand exposure.[80] The HBC retained sailors for terms that were decades long. For example the previously mentioned Jonathan Fowler Senior served from 1751–1761, his brother John Fowler from 1749–1769, and Jonathan Fowler Junior from 1756–1782. Similarly, Henry Hanwell Senior served the Company from 1766–1817, his son from 1806–1833, and David Herd from 1835–1878. Their promotion through the ranks and length of service was not unusual. William Coats served from 1726 to 1752. Although he lost two ships in ice, the Company rewarded him for observations made as a marine surveyor. Henry Bishop, captain on Cowie's 1867 voyage, sailed to Hudson Bay for over forty years, having "never lost a package of merchandise."[81] The long careers of such 'common' seamen suggest that the Company valued acuity acquired through direct experience.[82]

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but gradually decreases as you go westward"; Bell, "Baffinland," 39, described the tides "being fully 30 feet at Big Island, and considerably more at the head of Ungava Bay; but at the [western?] entrance of Hudson Bay they become, all at once, very moderate"; Goulding Smith, "The Canadian Hydrographical Survey," 135, observed the tide towards the eastern end of the strait rose "35 ½ feet in spring," and ran at "upward of 5 knots."

[80] C. Bell, "Navigation of Hudson Bay and Straits"; R. Bell, evidence, *Canada's Fertile Northland*, 119.

[81] Cotter, "Some Famous Hudson's Bay Captains and Ships," 2. See Glyndwr Williams, "Coats, William," DCB.

[82] See, HBCA, "Fowler, Jonathan Sr. (fl. 1751–1761)", "Fowler, John", "Fowler, Jonathan Jr. (fl. 1756–1782)", "Hanwell, Henry Sr. (b. ca. 1750–d. 1826) (fl. 1766–1817)", "Hanwell, Henry Jr. (d. ca. 1833) (fl. 1806–1833)", and "Herd, David (b. ca. 1814–d. 1878) (fl. 1835–1878)," Biographical Sheets; Appendix A, this thesis; and Warner, "Voyaging to York Factory," 20–22, notes that the HBC Secretary

The passage through Hudson Strait distinguished HBC voyages to Hudson Bay from other transatlantic voyages traversing the North Atlantic. Over time, HBC sailors collectively accumulated a significant amount of experience in voyaging through the Strait. While maps of the present do not always preserve the experience-based knowledge of mariners about this portion of the HBC ocean arc, documents generated by seafarers of the past clearly confirm sailors' contributions. It is evident that individual mastery gained by way of working aboard HBC vessels, in addition to ensuring ongoing production of value added, allowed an ongoing communication of knowledge. The mariners' acts of naming and recording impressions of locations contributed to their own and to others' understandings – including those of cartographers and statesmen positioned at a great remove – and thereby to constructions of place.

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had written of David Herd "He has made 32 successful voyages to Hudsons Bay [sic], in 26 of which he was in command of ships. During that long period he has had no casualty worth speaking of, nor was there ever a claim made on the underwriters for losses sustained by vessel or cargo. His success has perhaps been unexampled in any service."

Chapter Eight

Constructions of Hudson Bay

This chapter supplies a description that highlights the ways in which mariners contributed to understandings of Hudson Bay as place; determined the physical placement of trade establishments within its space; and shaped the course of landward activity. If HBC vessels were vehicles of communication, then sailors were the active agents of communication between ship and shore: where sailors went within the Bay socio-economic changes followed. Mansel Island marked their entrance to the "Great Open Sea," visually as vast as the 'high seas' of the North Atlantic.[1] As an extension of those other seas, this was contested space. Whether or not seafarers were aware of any significance that ranged beyond affecting personal communication, in assigning a name to this or any other course of the ocean sea they were engaging in larger arguments over ownership reflective of collisions between a spate of contending aspirations over time. The name(s) by which seafarers knew the body of water that signalled the western

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[1] Thomas Willing Balch, "The Hudsonian Sea is a Great Open Sea," *The American Journal of International Law* 7, no. 3 (July 1913): 546.

terminus of HBC voyages was not a natural, neutral fact.[2] Depending on the year, cultural affiliation, and political position, sailors might know it as "la mer du Nord", "Button's Bay", "mer de Hudson", "Hudson's Bay", "la baie d'Hudson", "Hudsonian Sea", the "great American sea", or "the Mediterranean of Canada."[3] Seafarers with family ties to the region might also have known it by names along the lines of "Whapmagoostu",

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[2] See, for example, R. Douglas and J. N. Wallace, "Introduction," in *Twenty years of York Factory, 1694–1714: Jérémie's account of Hudson Strait and Bay* (Trans. from the French edition of 1720, with notes and introduction; Ottawa: Thorburn and Abbott, 1926), 6, on the duplicitous use of the name 'Port Nelson,' in 1749. Thomas F. Thornton, "Anthropological Studies of Native American Place Naming," *American Indian Quarterly* 21, no. 2 (spring 1997): 209, notes "As linguistic artefacts and distinct semantic domains in the lexicons of all the world's languages, place names tell us something not only about the structure and content of the physical environment itself but also how people perceive, conceptualize, classify and utilize their environment"; and Rob Shields, "Spatial Stress and Resistance: Social Meanings of Spatialization," *Space and Social Theory: Interpreting Modernity and Postmodernity,* ed. George Benko and Ulf Strohmayer (Malden MA.: Blackwell Publishers, 1997), 186–94, 201, argues "All spatial zones and the debates surrounding them as; 'territorial waters'; the notion of 'open sea' … and offshore fishing grounds are all socio-political constructions and reified in socio-cognitive mappings of the world. Again these serve to exemplify the extent to which we live within the territorializing and boundary-drawing impulse of the *imaginary geography*" [italics in source] of states. He observes, "It is difficult to be complacent about names. Hudson's Bay denotes a body of water but also the expropriation of the natural resources" and the commercialization of space.

[3] Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610–1791*, vol. 18, *Hurons and Québec* (Cleveland: Burrows Brothers, 1898), 228; Jérémie, *Twenty years of York Factory*, 10; Balch, "Hudsonian Sea," 546–47, 552; Robert Bell, "On the Commercial Importance of Hudson's Bay, with Remarks on Recent Surveys and Investigations," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography,* new monthly ser., 3, no. 10 (October 1881): 578; A.H. Markham, "Hudson's Bay and Hudson's Strait as a Navigable Channel," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography,* new monthly ser., 10, no. 9 (September 1888): 549; A.H. de Trémaudan, *The Hudson Bay Road (1498–1915)* (Toronto: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1915), x, 61; W. Lefroy, ed, *Canada: An Illustrated Weekly Journal for All Interested in the Dominion,* Canadian Pacific Railway, Department of Colonization and Development (Toronto: Canada Newspaper Co., 1924), 43. See also E.E. Rich, ed., with A.M. Johnson, *Copy-book of letters outward &c: begins 29th May, 1680, ends 5 July, 1687* (Toronto: Champlain Society for the Hudson's Bay Record Company, 1948), xiv, xv, who notes that on many charts drawn prior to 1680, "the name of Hudson was associated only with those waters or parts of them which lay south of Cape Jones and Henrietta Maria. … Only gradually and far from consistently did the Company establish definitely the use of the name implicit in their Charter." The sea off the West Main, north of Henrietta Maria, was often termed "Button Bay" in Company correspondence; see also John Oldmixon, "The History of Hudson's-Bay, Containing an Account of its Discovery and Settlement, the Progress of it, and the present State; of the Indians, Trade, and everything else relating to it ... (London, 1708)," in *Documents relating to the early history of Hudson Bay*, ed. J. B. Tyrrell (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1931), 375, 378, on the naming of Button's Bay.

"Igluligaarjuk," or "*kitchigamy*," in accord with local, Aboriginal custom and dialect.[4]

By whatever name passengers knew the last leg of the outward voyage that began off Mansel Island about 885 kilometres, or 550 miles, from a landward destination that was in turn "some three thousand miles [4,828 kilometres] to the nor-west of England," doubtless they hoped it would be as smoothly and quickly accomplished as that described by Isaac Cowie.[5] Apparently, his passage of four days across Hudson Bay in 1867 was:

> favored by gentle breezes, a smooth summer sea, and bright balmy weather to its end. The nights, too, were exquisitely lovely, the full moon blending her radiance

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[4] "Cree Communities of Quebec: Whapmagoostui," Ottertooth.com <http://www.ottertooth.com/Native_K/whapmagoostui.htm> (accessed 11 March 2008), meaning "place of the beluga," designated Great Whale River by the HBC. "Nunavut Communities," 2007 Western Premier's Conference <http://www.gov.nu.ca/wpc/communities.html> (accessed 11 March 2008), Igluligaarjuk is Chesterfield Inlet, "place with few houses." Gérard Beaudet, "Sea," *Cree-English, English Cree Dictionary: Nehiyawe Mina Akayasimo-Akayasimo Mina Nehiyawe-Ayamiwini-Masinahigan* (Winnipeg: Wurez Publishing, 1995), 426. I have not found references to Cree, Dene, and Inuit names that would encompass the entire body of water. Victor Lytwyn, *Muskekowuck Athinuwick: Original People of the Great Swampy Land* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2002), makes it clear that there would have been other groups with names for the region, including those designated in English as Lowland Cree, Northern Ojibway, Eastmain Cree, Upland Cree, and Iroquois; Keith Basso, quoted in Thornton, "Anthropological Studies," 209, comments, "The anthropological study of Indian place-names systems has fallen on hard times … a casualty of scholarly indifference, ethnographic neglect, and the apparent assumption that place name research has little bearing on topics of general interest and theoretical value." Monica E. Mulrennan and Colin H. Scott, "*Mare Nullius*: Indigenous Rights in Saltwater Environments," *Development and Change* 31, no. 3 (June 2000): 681, note of the Cree and Inuit Peoples of James and Hudson Bays, that "Assumptions of land-sea continuity underlie these peoples' cultural constructions of coastal and marine environments," which suggests names associated with locations onshore extended into the water. The larger marine area might, therefore, have been known by many site-specific names. André Légaré, "Nunavut: The Construction of a Regional Collective Identity in the Canadian Arctic," *Wicazo Sa Review* 17, no. 2, Sovereignty and Governance 2 (autumn 2002): 73, comments "Research on nomadic societies has demonstrated that the extent of a group's cultural space is clearly produced by the termination of place names relating to one's group and the beginning of those of another" and that "Names indicate ownership by a person or group. More importantly, they establish power and territorial claim."

[5] Robert M. Ballantyne, *Hudson's Bay, or, Every-day life in the wilds of North America during six years' residence in the territories of the honourable Hudson's Bay Company* (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood, 1848), 3. A.P. Low, quoted in J.A.J. McKenna, *The Hudson Bay Route: A Compilation of Facts with Conclusions* (Ottawa: Department of the Interior, 1908), 15, puts the distance from the western end of the strait to Churchill at 500 miles. John Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse: Hudson's Bay Company Transport, 1670–1821," Ph.D. diss. (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1978), 13, notes "The distance of the one-way crossing of the North Atlantic varied with the route and bayside post, but was approximately 3,800 miles from London to York Fort."

> with the silvery crests of the wavelets playing around, and blending her sheen with the phosphorescent, whirling wake left by the ship as an evanescent trace of her path across the deep.[6]

Authorities of travel to Hudson Bay such as Robert Bell, who had voyaged there with the Canadian Geological Survey in 1869, 1884–1885, and 1897, presented Cowie's experience as the norm, contending:

> storms in the Bay are very rare and by no means formidable, ... icebergs are never seen, and that fogs, the most dreaded enemy with which a sailor has to contend, are of rare occurrence and of but short duration. The climate of the shores of Hudson's Bay, during the summer months, is mild and genial.[7]

HBC sailors with broader experience, or less luck, likely recognized the possibility of a harsher reality. Bell's contemporary, John Rae, for example, had learned about conditions on the Bay through serving as ship's surgeon on the *Prince of Wales* [I] from 1834–1835, spending ten years at Moose Factory, and sailing in vessels such as the *North Pole* and *Magnet*, used on his coastal survey of 1846. Rae criticized Bell's assessment, suggesting the Bay had "inherent problems" – including ice and fog.[8] After two decades of sailing

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[6] Isaac Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers: A Narrative of Seven Years in the Service of the Hudson's Bay Company during 1867–1874, On the Great Buffalo Plains with Historical and Biographical notes and comment* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1913), 93–92. See also HBCA, C.1/1023, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1753, for another relatively quick crossing to Albany; C.1/417, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1806; and C.1/1024, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1754, fo. 38, ca.23 Aug., Captain John Fowler, crossing to Churchill, reported, "this 24 hours have had the sea almost as smooth as a river."

[7] Robert Bell, cited in Markham, "Hudson's Bay and Hudson's Strait," 550. Ian K. Steele, *The English Atlantic 1675–1740: An Exploration of Communication and Community* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 88, agrees, describing the Hudson Bay passage as "not particularly difficult."

[8] Alwin, "Mode, Patten and Pulse," 48; see also Ross Mitchell, "Dr. John Rae," *Manitoba Pageant* 4, no. 1 (September 1958); R.L. Richards, "Rae, John," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, online ed. [DCB] <http://www.biographi.ca/EN/index.html> (accessed 2004–2008); C. Stuart Houston, "John Rae (1813–1893)," *Arctic* 4, no. 1 (March 1987): 78; "Appendix A," and "Appendix B," this thesis, year 1846, source list no. 647; and John Rae, quoted in Markham, "Hudson's Bay and Hudson's Strait," 565, who

and surveying, eighteenth-century captain William Coats had observed that the northern portion generally cleared of ice by late July due to "a draining current always to the southward." He had cautioned, however, "winds sometimes produce a contrary effect."[9] HBC records indicate crossings were likely to take at least a week or ten days if climate and hydrography combined to present any difficulties. Company mariner and governor James Knight reported that in 1714 it took about a month to find a way across, "for the easterly winds had set all the ice on the west main."[10]

Hudson Bay was vast. At different times it was estimated to be anywhere from 321,869 to 1,222,610 square kilometres or 200,000 to 759,695 square miles. Winds, therefore, had a lot of open water over which to blow. The bay was also relatively shallow. Bell ascribed an average depth of seventy fathoms. Albert P. Low, after his

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observed, "He (Dr. Rae) knew no one [Robert Bell] on whom he could place less reliance on these subjects." See Chapter Two, this thesis, 35 n.12. See also W.A. Waiser, "Bell, Robert," DCB. Bell lived 1841–1917, Rae lived 1813–1893. I use the term contemporary as in "contemporary," OED, "1. a. Belonging to the same time, age, or period; living, existing, or occurring together in time." Bell made his comments in 1881. Rae objected to their use as proofs by Markham in 1888.

[9] William Coats, *The Geography of Hudson's Bay: being the remarks of Captain W. Coats, in many voyages to that locality, between the years 1727 and 1751*, ed. John Barrow (London: Hakluyt Society, 1852), 18. See also Charles N. Bell, "Navigation of Hudson Bay and Straits," *MHS Transactions*, 1st ser., no. 7 (read 10 May 1883); A.D. Bajkov, "The Ice Conditions of Hudson's Bay," *The Beaver* 20, no. 4 (March 1941), 15–19; and Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse," 19.

[10] James Knight, letter, York Fort 19 Sept 1714, *Letters from Hudson Bay, 1703–40*, ed. K.G. Davies, with A.M. Johnson (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1965), 34–35, suggests the 1814 crossing took from after the 8 August (at which time they were reportedly thirty leagues from their destination), to about 19 September. A.J.W. Catchpole and Marcia-Anne Faurer, "Ships' Log-Books, Sea Ice and the Cold Summer of 1816 in Hudson Bay and Its Approaches," *Arctic* 38, no. 2 (June 1985): 126, argue that the summer of 1816 was the worst year for ice in Hudson Bay. In that year, Captain Benjamin Bell of the *Emerald* entered Hudson Bay on 6 September and reached Moose on 20 September. See also, for example, HBCA, C.1/1026, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1756, delayed by ice, the crossing took almost two weeks; C.1/1027, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1757, took 7 days; C.1/1028, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1758, about ten days; C.1/411, and C.1/412 Ship's Log, *King George*, 1802, two weeks. Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 97, notes that an "average passage" across the Bay was eleven days. See J. Ledingham, "*Nascopie* in Hudson Bay," photograph, *The Beaver* 5, no. 1 (December 1924): 10, showing men working the motor schooner *Fort York* through ice at the south end of Hudson Bay, ca. 1920.

survey of 1904–1905, concluded, "the depth of water varies from fifty to two hundred fathoms," across the northern portion of the bay, outward from the western shore, and a later study reported a maximum depth of 256 meters, or 141 fathoms.[11] HBC ships' logbooks show that the values of soundings taken to determine depth dropped progressively from twenty-five fathoms to five or six fathoms as ships drew closer to the shore. The depth of a body of water determines wave action: the speed of waves increases as seas become shallower, waves are also more closely spaced and they increase in height. Bay crossings therefore had the potential to be "troublesome."[12] Logbooks show that weather systems over the basin could change rapidly. Conditions might move from hazy with no ice, to "squally weather," with "much ice" and "thick fog" within hours.[13] Equally quickly, squalls could become "Prodigious Hard" gales, bringing about "great swells" amidst thunder and lightening, so that vessels "shipped much water."[14] Coats asserted that a North West wind would generate waves ranging from twelve to twenty

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[11] A.P. Low, quoted in McKenna, *Hudson Bay Route*, 15. de Trémaudan, *Hudson Bay Road*, 61, gives an area of 355,000 square miles; H.B. Hachey, "Canadian interest in arctic oceanography," *Arctic* 2, no. 1 (May 1949): 33, gives 200,000 square miles; Balch, "Hudsonian Sea," 547, citing the figures of Dr. Hugh Robert Mill of the Royal Geographical Society of England, gives 1,222,610 square kilometres; Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse," 19, gives 300,000 square miles; and Markham, "Hudson's Bay and Hudson's Strait," 549, gives 500,000 square miles.

[12] HBCA, C.1/1021 Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1751; C.1/1027, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1757. G.E.R. Deacon, "Physics of the ocean," *British Journal of Applied Physics* 12, no. 7 (1961), 329–30; and Jim Antrim, "Wave Action – How and Why Waves Behave As They Do," 1981 <http://www.antrimdesign.com/articles/waves.html> (accessed 14 Mar. 2008).

[13] HBCA, C.1/1021 Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1751, 20 July; Gertrude Laing, trans. "Du Tremblier's Account," in R. Glover, "La Pérouse on Hudson Bay," *The Beaver* 30, no. 4 (March 1951): 46, and n.7, in 1782 aboard the *Engageante* du Tremblier wrote, "We have had a very unhappy day. Two of our cables broken, two of our anchors lost, our tiller has been broken at the mortaise. Having lost hope, we let go our anchor, and dropped it to the bottom."

[14] HBCA, C.1/1026, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1756, 15–16 and 26 August; C.1/1027, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1757, 4 August; C.1/1028, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1758, 5–6 September; B.42/a/36, Churchill River Journal, 1750–1751, 20 August 1750; B.42/a/42, Churchill River Journal, 1753–1754, 13 September 1753; B.42/a/44, Churchill River Journal, 1754–1755, 20 August 1754.

feet in height, depending on location within the bay. Apprentice sailor Williams, aboard the *Stork* in 1908, emphasized, "What a dirty expanse of water it is in a gale!"[15]

Passenger Thomas M'Keevor attested to how harrowing crossing Hudson Bay could be. After three days of rain, sleet and continuous squalls, the wind "blew a tremendous gale" and the *Robert Taylor* made land before expected: "In a few minutes all was hurry and confusion; the captain flew himself from one part of the deck to the other with the greatest alertness, to assist by his own exertions, when fear, or hurry, prevented the sailors from doing their duty." Adding to M'Keevor's alarm – one fuelled by "dread of being driven on a lee-shore," and the sound of "howling wind among the rigging, the awful sound of the pumps" – were the cries of Selkirk Settler Mrs. M'Clain, who had gone into labour. M'Keevor reported "dreadful shouting" above deck, "every one in the greatest consternation and terror," when "it appeared we had got in among shoals, and that we had now not more than four fathom water."[16] The ship shortly made ten fathoms in which to cast anchor, the anchors held, and Mrs. M'Clain's daughter was born without serious accident. M'Keevor's relief is palpable in his account.

Other reports make it clear that at the very least, rough weather could disrupt

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[15] J. Williams, "The Last Voyage of the Stork." *The Beaver* 19, no. 2 (September 1939): 45. Coats, *Geography*, 27.

[16] Thomas M'Keevor, *A Voyage to Hudson's Bay, during the Summer of 1812: Containing a particular account of the icebergs and other phenomena which present themselves in those regions: also, a description of the Esquimeaux and North American Indians, their manners, customs, dress, language, &c. &c. &c.* (London: Printed for Sir Richard Phillips and Co., 1819), 49. See W.J. Healy, *Women of Red River: Being a book written from the recollections of women surviving from the Red River Era* (Winnipeg: Women's Canadian Club, 1923), 2, who identifies "Mrs. McLean," as having given birth according to Owen Keveny's letter to Lord Selkirk. D.N. Sprague and R.P. Frye, "Table 1: Genealogy of Red River Households, 1818–1870," and "Table 4: Geographical Location and Children of Manitoba Families, 1870," in *The Genealogy of the First Metis Nation: The Development and Dispersal of the Red River Settlement, 1820–1900* (Winnipeg: Pemmican Publications, 1983), ID 3275, lists a possible identity for the infant: Mary Mclean, born 1812, married Robert Mcbeath, had as many as five children, and died 1863.

HBC schedules. In 1682, John Nixon, governor at Albany River, wrote to alert the London Committee that chartered vessels with captains unfamiliar with severe conditions in the bay "prolonge their time in comeing to us, so that it being so late in the year, we have no tyme to transporte the goods, to the factories."[17] He also expressed concern that the vessels were of too deep a draught to safely navigate the waters. Neither Nixon's concerns not M'Keevor's fears were unwarranted. Disaster was not unknown – either by sinking, or by grounding and being "staved with beating upon the sands and filled full of water."[18] Sailors sometimes drowned. Such was the fate of Zachary Gillam and nine hands aboard the *Prince Rupert* [I], lost in a storm in 1682.[19] Similarly, Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville's *Pélican*, and his prize the *Hudson's Bay* [I] fared badly in a storm after a seaward battle in 1697. Some 290 men had already gone down with the HMS *Hampshire* in a "fflaw of Wind [sic]," when the *Hudson's Bay* [I] was driven ashore and grounded. The *Pélican* followed and twenty-three more sailors drowned, though Iberville and a few of his crew survived.[20] Later and larger vessels were not immune. The SS *Cearense*

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[17] E.E. Rich, *Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company 1679–1684, First Part, 1679–82* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1945), 242; Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse," 48–49.

[18] Anthony Beale, letter, "from Albany Fort, 1 Aug. 1712," *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 21, see also n.1, the captain, Richard Ward, was experienced in sailing Hudson Bay but lost the *Pery* when she grounded at Albany in 1712. Seven years later, he lost the *Hudson's Bay* [III] off Cape Tatnum on the way to York Factory from Churchill. Coats, *Geography*, 38, warns of the danger of straying too close to Tatnum on coastal voyages.

[19] Alan Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," *The Beaver* 50, no. 1 (summer, 1970): 11; Rich with Johnson, *Copy-book of letters outward &c*, xxx, 364–65, states "All but five of the crew escaped in the boats, but the Captain was one of those who perished"; G. Andrews Moriety, "Gillam Zachariah," DCB.

[20] Jérémie, *Twenty years of York Factory*, 28–30; John Prest, "The Great Sea Fight of 1697," *The Beaver* 4, no. 8 (May 1924): 286–87; Alice M. Johnson, "Fletcher, John," DCB; Robert Coutts, *On the Edge of a Frozen Sea: Prince of Wales' Fort, York Factory and the Fur Trade of Western Hudson Bay* (Ottawa: Department of Canadian Heritage, Parks Canada, 1997), 14. Grant MacEwan, *The Battle of the Bay* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Book Service, 1975), 23, 27, puts the total lives lost at "at least 313."

succumbed to a storm in 1913.[21]

At Mansel Island, HBC ships broke convoy in order to sail to separate seaports located at the mouths of major "radial rivers" that emptied into greater Hudson Bay – including the 'Bottom of the Bay,' otherwise known as James Bay.[22] The fact that normally each HBC vessel travelled alone once into Hudson Bay augmented the danger of meeting with hazards and the importance of practicing caution. The peculiar behaviour of compasses near Mansel Island illustrates how helpful familiarity with conditions specific to the bay could be. Different compasses gave different readings. Experienced sailors knew to distribute at least four compasses about the ship and that, if all pointed in different directions, an alteration of the course might bring them into alignment. If it did not, and visibility was poor, prudent pilots called a halt to all movement until they "could see land, and know by it how to steer."[23] Prudence was important, because without a consort nearby no ready rescue would be forthcoming. The distances between bayside ports and from London meant that the time it took to communicate the advent of arrival, or express concern over non-arrival, could range from days along the Northern Seaboard,

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[21] Canadian Senate, Special Committee on Navigability and Fishery Resources of Hudson Bay and Strait, *Report* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1920), 73; David Malaher, "Port Nelson and the Hudson Bay Railway," *Manitoba History* no. 8 (Autumn 1984) <http://www.mhs.mb.a/ocs/mb_history/08/hudsonbayrailway.shtml> (accessed 12 Februrary 2007); see also Appendix A, and Appendix B, this thesis, year 1913, source list no. 1078. HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid, notes of the *Fort York* that "Near Severn she was deliberately run aground to protect 'life and property' during hurricane force winds, and declared a total wreck," presumably ca.1923.

[22] Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse," 1, 40. HBCA, E.12/5-7, "My Notebook," Isobel G. Finlayson Journal, 1840, 66. See also, "A Map of Hudson Bay and Straits," map, *The Beaver* 37, no. 3 (winter 1957): 67.

[23] J. Birbeck Nevins, *A narrative of two voyages to Hudson's Bay: with traditions of the North American Indians* (London: Printed for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1847), 30; see also Williams, "Last Voyage of the Stork," 45. de Trémaudan, *Hudson Bay Road*, 49, indicates that as late as 1915, the inaccuracy of compasses was still a problem, observing "science will soon find a way to explain and combat the trouble; it seems nothing more than an ordinary problem of mathematics to solve."

to months and even years for news conveyed transatlantically. Early HBC voyages outward from London took up to twelve weeks to complete. By the 1750s, HBC ships normally made their anchoring grounds in Hudson Bay in about eight weeks. In terms of expectation of duration for transoceanic voyages, even with the advent of steam, this time span remained the norm to 1920.[24]

In 1857, Captain David Herd remarked that on arriving at termini in Hudson Bay he was "very glad to get there."[25] Presumably, most seafarers looked hopefully for land and an opportunity to disembark at one of the HBC establishments ashore. A salient point about HBC operations in Rupert's Land is that the posts and factories stationed along the Northern Seaboard also marked ports, with harbours and roads – though of a different sort than those of London or Stromness. The landward component of HBC business in the Bay was, at best, only one of three components that made up the communication relation between North America and England: the other two being the inshore organization at 'home,' and the HBC system of maritime transport. Arguably, maritime transport was the essential component: the means of affecting transoceanic relations between distant locations. The needs of mariners and their vessels were determining

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[24] Michael F. Dove, "Voyages to Rupert's Land: The Hudson's Bay Company's Maritime Component, 1670–1770," in *Selected Papers of Rupert's Land Colloquium 2002,* compiled by David G. Malaher (Winnipeg: Centre for Rupert's Land Studies, 2002), 7. Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse," 13, notes "Even marine coastal communication between the Company's Hudson Bay posts was long distance by United Kingdom standards, with the 700 mile coastal passage from Moose Factory to York Fort 200 miles longer than a voyage from London to Edinburgh." Hudson's Bay Company, "Nonsuch," Our History: Transportation and Technology <http://www.hbc.com/hbcheritage/history/transportation/nonsuch/> (accessed 27 March 2008), indicates the voyage of the *Nonsuch* lasted 118 days.

[25] David Herd, quoted in Great Britain, Parliament, House of Commons, Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, *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: HMSO, 1858), 256, see also 258, examined 8 June 1857.

factors in the arrangement of trade. They determined where communication would take place. As a matter of course, this decided what commodities were traded. If the North Atlantic route had led to a sea link with the Orient, conceivably the HBC would have transported items other than "knives, hatchets, awls and guns."[26] The use of sea borne transport also established the trade cycle. The time of year that goods arrived, in late July or August, and known locally as 'ship time,' marked the beginning of each trade year in Rupert's Land.[27] The fiscal year, beginning on 1 June, terminating 31 May, and termed an 'outfit,' was likewise set according to the date ships were outfitted for the outward voyage. Further, who would effect communication between the London Committee and the various people who arrived bayside, and those already ashore – as well as how individuals would effect such communication – was largely settled at the time the master of the voyage took charge of a vessel, completed the ship's roster, and assigned berths. Finally, the size of ocean going ships, specifically their draught, determined which

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[26] Coutts, *On the Edge of a Frozen Sea*, 10. Oldmixon, "History of Hudson's Bay," 380, lists "Guns, Powder, Shot, Cloth, Hatchets, Kettles, Tobacco, *&c.* which the *English* exchange with the *Indians* for Furrs, Beavers, Martin, Fox, Moose, and other Peltry" [italics in source]. Ann M. Carlos and Stephen Nicholas, "Theory and History: Seventeenth-Century Joint-Stock Chartered Trading Companies," *The Journal of Economic History* 56, no. 4 (December 1996): 918, observe the location of posts at river mouths "minimized transportation costs for the company while being constructed at focal points of trade." Without supplying supporting evidence, they assert that posts ashore were necessary because "The disjunction between the timing of the arrival of native groups at the coast and the period when Hudson Strait was free from ice made ship-board trade impossible and posts indispensable." Ann M. Carlos and Stephen Nicolas, "Managing the manager: An Application of the Principal Agent Model to the Hudson's Bay Company," *Oxford Economic Papers* 45 (1993): 244, leave the maritime component out of their description of HBC organizational levels. Catchpole and Faurer, "Ships' Log-Books," 121, state, "from its inception, transatlantic shipping played a pivotal role in the activities of the Hudson's Bay Company."

[27] HBCA, B.42/a/47, "NE Journal of the most material Occurrances [sic] on board the Churchill Sloop from 11 July to 23^{d} Aug$^{st.}$ 1756 Kept by John M^{c}bean Master [sic]," fo. 23d, describes "ship time" as the occasion on which Inuit north of Churchill visited Roe's Welcome, adding "they only visited for the sloops arrival." Richard Glover, "Introduction," *Letters from Hudson Bay, 1703–40* (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1965), xiv; and Dove, "Voyages to Rupert's Land," 22–23, remark on use of the term and its meaning. See also Richard I. Ruggles, "The West of Canada in 1763: Imagination and Reality," *Canadian Geographer* 15, no. 4 (1971): 252–53, for a description of bayside activity during ship time.

landforms in the shallow bay seafarers could approach.[28] The actions of current, ebbs, and tides at river mouths cut channels that allowed ocean going ships the only reasonably navigable landward ingress.

There were a limited number of locations along the Northern Seaboard where ships could anchor safely to communicate with the shore and off- and on-load trade goods, people, and information. Seafarers – initially ships' carpenters and crews – constructed landward facilities at these sites, to serve as shelters, defence positions, and to facilitate trade. Later, the HBC transported craftsmen and labourers to maintain those trading posts that proved most lucrative. Histories of the various posts along the coast underscore the point that the names given these destinations signal contests that determined the course of their abstract construction as places – the names and types of accommodation on land shifting, depending on who enjoyed occupation. These changes, though initially brought about by "frigates and fighting seamen," who sometimes "forgot the flag that floated over," were throughout regulated at the level of the state – albeit belatedly – in accord with diplomatic negotiation.[29]

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[28] See Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse," 49–50. Oliver Warner, "Voyaging to York Factory," *The Beaver* 37, no. 3 (winter 1957): 19, notes "the class of vessel" needed for trade between London, Churchill and York Factory "probably varied little over the centuries. Ships were needed 'flat in bottom, to allow of crossing the bars of shallow rivers.' ... they 'ought not to draw more water than 10 feet with full cargo,' and should have fore and aft hatches. It was, in fact, natural hazards which dictated the type of ship likely to be successful. They could never be large; they must always be well found."

[29] See W.A. Kenyon, "Old Fort Albany Relics," *The Beaver* 41, no. 1 (summer 1961): 21–23. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 8. de Trémaudan, *Hudson Bay Road*, 8. Glyndwr Williams, "The Indians and the Bay Trade," *The Beaver* 63, no. 2 (autumn 1983): 26, is of the opinion that "The Company posts were, in effect, the meeting places between the Indians of the interior and the supply ships, and their location was determined more by the navigability of the rivers for canoes than by the convenience of their estuaries for ocean-going ships." He then cites the distances from anchoring grounds at river mouths to the posts as examples of their inconvenience. In my estimation the point missed is that it was so inconvenient to access the shore from a ship anchored anywhere except at an estuary as to be almost impossible.

To the twentieth century, on the West Main of Hudson Bay there were three widely spaced anchorages: Churchill Harbour, Port Nelson, and Severn River. The last was a secondary destination in that ships from London did not sail directly to the river, but anchored elsewhere first. Sloops stationed in the Bay transported goods to Severn that had been off-loaded from ships anchored at distant ports, or from those that paused in the roads off the river's mouth while voyaging to the Bottom of the Bay. Although beginning in the latter half of the nineteenth century the HBC also serviced seaports such as Wager Bay and Chesterfield Inlet with some regularity, for the most part coastal vessels made those deliveries. Beginning in 1911, the SS *Pelican,* an ocean-going steamer, visited harbours previously considered remote. Vessels such as the *Beothic* and SS *Nascopie* maintained the practice. These vessels extended a North American coastal circuit, however, ranging from the St. Lawrence, to Newfoundland, and along the Labrador coast – they did not arrive directly from England.[30]

For ships sent directly from London, the northernmost destination was in a harbour at the mouth of a river designated the Churchill by the HBC but that, depending on cultural affiliation, people of the area might call "Manato-e-sepe" meaning 'a sea-like river,' or *Misinipiy,* meaning 'a great stretch of water.'[31] The entrance to the harbour was

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[30] See Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse," 45; Arthur S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870–71, Being a History of Rupert's Land (The Hudson's Bay Company Territory) and of the North-West Territory (Including the Pacific Slope)* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1939), 81; Alan Cooke and Clive Holland, *The Exploration of Northern Canada: 500 to 1920, A Chronology* (Toronto: Arctic History Press, 1978), 40–43. From 1685 to 1689, ships supplying Severn appear to have anchored elsewhere first. See also Appendix A, and Appendix B, this thesis, source list no. 1044, 1047, 1056; also G.P. Wilson, "Nascopie: The Story of a Ship," *The Beaver* 27, no. 2 (September 1947): 3–11; HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements, 1719–1929; C.1/627–31, Ship's Logs, *Pelican,* 1906–1913; Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 325, 328–29, 331, 338, 341–42, 344–46.

[31] Coats, *Geography*, 27, see also 36–37, is not clear on who used the name "Manato-e-sepe." He

from a third to a half of a mile wide and from seven to ten fathoms deep, with steep, rocky sides through which a "most violent" ebb and tide flowed.[32] The harbour itself was about five miles across. For three miles along its length, there was "water for any ship."[33] Farther up, however, the river was "full of sholds [sic]," and a fall of water effectively terminated navigation "to any other than very small boats and canoes."[34] The Company sent Captain James Young and crew aboard the *Hopewell* to build a post on the harbour's shore in 1689. Henry Kelsey – sailor, former ship's boy, and future governor – was among the group. Only weeks after completion, the building burned to the ground.[35] In 1717, Knight – former shipwright, and London Committee member, but current captain and factor – along with the complement of the hoy *Success*, helped to establish a more permanent occupation beside the harbour at the river's mouth. Prior to his death *circa* 1719 as a shipwrecked mariner of nearly eighty years of age on Marble Island, Knight

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suggests a number of groups traded at Churchill, including "Miscota Indians," but is not sure where people came from, because "our interpreters are not clear" on the point. Jérémie, *Twenty Years of York Factory*, 18, called the Churchill River 'Danish River.' Beaudet, "Misinipiy," *Cree-English, English-Cree Dictionary*, 82. de Trémaudan, *Hudson Bay Road*, 3, 17, mentions an earlier translation was "River of the Strangers," and that by 1750 the Churchill was known as "Rivière des Christinaux." See also J.B. Tyrrell, report, quoted in McKenna, *Hudson Bay Route*, 41–42, on the dimensions of the harbour.

[32] Coats, *Geography*, 35, puts the tide at 14 feet; Bell, "Commercial Importance of Hudson's Bay," 580, pus the average tide along the West Main at 11–12 feet. J. Ledingham, "*Nascopie* in Hudson Bay," *The Beaver* 5, no. 1 (December 1924): 11, describes the harbour as "a perfect nightmare of a place for the uninitiated mariner to try to enter; a very narrow entrance, with shoal water all around."

[33] Coats, *Geography*, 35–36; see also Bell "Commercial Importance of Hudson's Bay," 579, who describes the river as "remarkable for having at its mouth a splendid harbour with deep water and every natural convenience for the purposes of modern commerce." C. Harding, "Churchill, Past and Present," *The Beaver* 8, no. 4 (March 1929): 165, describes the harbour as "seven miles by four miles broad, making a water space of two miles with average depth of twenty feet at low water."

[34] Coats, *Geography*, 35–36. See also de Trémudan, *Hudson Bay Road*, 93–95, who quotes a pessimistic description of the harbour from "a summary of the report of the Hudson Bay Railway surveys published in October 1909 by Mr. J.M. Butler, Deputy Minister of Railways and Chief Engineer."

[35] K.G. Davies, "Kelsey, Henry," DCB, observes "In nearly 40 years of service Kelsey played a part in most of the major events in Hudson Bay." Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 43.

had informed the HBC London Committee that the fire of 1689 had been deliberate, alleging Young's crew had "sett it a fire to Run away by the light of it [sic]."[36] Although Churchill had the best deep water port in the bay, by Knight's assessment, ashore was "a Miserable Poor place of it": treeless rock surrounded by muskeg and infested with mosquitoes.[37] Nevertheless, he completed a post, with a wharf, wintering facilities for coastal sloops and whaling boats, as well as quarters suitable for a sloop master and sailors assigned to the post. The HBC had previously designated the site Churchill River and Churchill Factory, but the 1719 establishment became Prince of Wales' Fort in official parlance.[38]

In 1730, the London Committee accepted a plan for a stone fortification at Churchill drawn up by one of their captains, Christopher Middleton, and later modified by another, George Spurrell. Two other HBC mariners, described as somewhat controversial in Western Canadian historiography, became chief factors of Prince of Wales'. The one was Moses Norton. After an apprenticeship on HBC Atlantic crossings between his home at Churchill and the port of London, Norton had served as slooper and

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[36] James Knight, quoted in Coutts, *On the Edge of a Frozen Sea*, 16, 18. Coutts relates that in 1719, Knight "sailed off to look for precious metals and the northwest passage ... Shipwrecked near Marble Island, a barren, wind-swept chunk of rock off the northwest coast of Hudson Bay, Knight and his crew of forty lived for a time in a stone and sod house they constructed on the island's eastern shore, but eventually perished from starvation and cold. ... the loss of the Knight expedition ranks only behind that of the Franklin voyage as the greatest loss of men, and like that tragedy, has remained shrouded in mystery."

[37] James Knight, quoted in Coutts, *On the Edge of a Frozen Sea*, 17. McKenna, *Hudson Bay Route*, 38; Bell, "Commercial Importance of Hudson's Bay," 579, notes "The only harbours on the west side of Hudson's Bay are those formed by the mouths of rivers, but none of them, with the exception of Churchill harbour, can be entered by vessels drawing more than ten or eleven feet, and only at high water."

[38] HBCA, B.42/a/33, Fort Churchill Post Journal, 1748–1749; B.42/a/36-47, Fort Churchill Post Journal, 1750–1756; B.42/b/57, Churchill Correspondence Book, 1811–1812. Coats, *Geography*, 27. Harding, "Churchill, Past and Present," 164, notes that originally the HBC named the fort for the third governor of the Company, John, Lord Churchill, who later became Duke of Marlborough. Coutts, *On the Edge of a Frozen Sea*, 27. Ernest S. Dodge, "Knight, James," DCB.

whaler at the fort.[39] The other was Samuel Hearne, servant in the Royal Navy at eleven years old, he also became a slooper at Churchill, and participated in the whale fishery as mate aboard the brigantine *Charlotte*. He was also one of Norton's successors and his daughter Mary's apparent suitor. In 1782, "without firing a shot," Hearne surrendered, to Jean-François Galaup, Comte de La Pérouse, the massive stone fort that Richard Norton, Moses' father – likewise a seafarer – had begun building fifty years earlier.[40] Although the HBC regained possession in 1783, the fort was in poor condition and the post at Churchill went into prolonged stasis as a centre of business. The "dilapidated hamlet" was eclipsed by York Factory, "the most respectable place in the Territory," at Port Nelson.[41]

In contrast to Churchill's establishment ashore, the harbour remained respectably active overall, although its greatest achievement as the Port of Churchill falls outside the temporal bounds of this thesis. For the sixty-five years between 1717 and 1782, some

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[39] Alice M. Johnson, "Norton, Richard," DCB. Sylvia Van Kirk, "Norton, Moses," DCB; R. Glover, "Moses Norton (ca. late 1720s–1773)," *Arctic* 35, no. 3 (September 1982): 440–41; Sylvia Van Kirk, *"Many Tender Ties": Women in Fur-Trade Society in Western Canada, 1670–1870* (Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer Publishing, 1980), 10–11; A.J. Dyer, "Aboriginal History of Northern Canada," *Perspectives: the Journal of the Saskatchewan Council of Social Studies Teachers* (winter 1978) <http://www.usask.ca/education/ideas/tplan/sslp/aborhist.htm> (accessed 14 February 2006); Nan Shipley, *Churchill-Canada's Northern Gateway* (Toronto: Burns and MacEachern, 1974), 15.

[40] Bell, "Commercial Importance of Hudson's Bay," 580. C.S. Mackinnon, "Hearne, Samuel," DCB; Richard Glover, ed., *A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort, in Hudson's Bay To The Northern Ocean 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772* by Samuel Hearne (1795; reprint, Toronto: Macmillan, 1972), vii–xi; Samuel Hearne, *A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort, in Hudson's Bay, to the northern ocean . . . in the years 1769, 1770, 1771 & 1772* (1795; reprint, ed. J.B. Tyrrell, Toronto: Champlain Society, 1911), 107–108.

[41] George Simpson McTavish, quoted in Coutts, *On the Edge of a Frozen Sea*, 40. Michael Payne, "Fort Churchill, 1821–1900: An Outpost Community in the Fur Trade," *Manitoba History* 20 (autumn 1990) <http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/mb_history/20/fortchurchill.shtml> (accessed 7 April 2008), points out that 'decline' is a relative term that does not capture the continuities evident at Churchill. By some measures, for instance comparison to 'typical' staffing numbers and material accommodation provided at Northern posts from the early nineteenth century, Churchill factory held its own.

seventy HBC ships had sailed directly to Churchill from London, twenty-two of which then went on to Port Nelson. An additional four ships arrived from London after first having anchored at Port Nelson. For the twenty-nine years from 1783 to 1812, fully twenty-nine transatlantic ships arrived, all but seven continuing on to Port Nelson. Thus, the intensity of the harbour's use remained relatively stable to that point in time. The change in 1813 that carried through to 1875 was dramatic. For sixty-two years, the harbour did not receive any of the HBC's transatlantic ships, only coastal vessels.[42] Perhaps not coincidently, 1813–1875 was a period of heightened communication between distant centres in England, Canada and the Pacific slope, and Red River Settlement/ Assiniboia/Winnipeg. Unlike York, Churchill River did not have a convenient link to the burgeoning community at 'The Forks' of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers via inland waterway. Certainly, by 1876, when the HBC was free of responsibility for governing, or of affecting a transition out of that capacity in the North West of Canada, Company ships again accessed Churchill harbour. Afterward, the pattern of the ships' voyaging varied more frequently however. From 1876 to 1881, there were direct arrivals and departures annually from and to London. In 1882 and 1883 the London ships stopped at Port Nelson first, and in 1884 and 1885 they went on to Nelson from Churchill. The *Cam Owen* of 1886 was detailed to do the same, but was wrecked off Churchill harbour. For the years 1887 to 1891, the London ships bound for Churchill again stopped first at Port Nelson. From 1892, the HBC serviced Churchill by way of steamer, as part of an extended coastal

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[42] HBCA, C.1/383, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1779; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 98, 102–34, 135–238, indicate that in 1779 excessive ice prevented the *King George* from getting to Port Nelson and Captain Jonathan Fowler Jr. instead returned to England.

circuit supplied out of Montreal.[43]

A collapse of transoceanic activity in Churchill harbour threatened as early as 1881. In promoting the Canadian Pacific Railway, the central Canadian government invoked the policy of 'Disallowance,' refusing to support any of Premier John Norquay's proposed railways in Manitoba, let alone a Northern terminus for shipping Western Canadian grain through Hudson Bay. Subsequent objections and delays on the part of the federal government to 1891 saw the dissolution of the Winnipeg and Hudson's Bay Railway and Steamship Company, which had considered Churchill as a terminus. A twelve-year collapse of Churchill was assured by 1912, when obstructions set up by the federal government were lifted, but central Canadian experts and politicians had arrived at the controversial decision to bypass developing an international port at Churchill and instead backed construction at Port Nelson – albeit ineffectually. When that decision was overturned, beginning 1929, Churchill harbour's fortunes revived 'almost overnight.'[44]

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[43] HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 239–63, 264–346.

[44] Morton, *History of the Canadian West*, 78, remarks that ca.1675, Groseilliers and Radisson tried to interest Frontenac in opening a shipping route through Hudson Bay "but the merchants of the colony looked askance at their proposed expedition to Hudson Bay by sea, no doubt because it might injure the fur trade of the St. Lawrence, even though in French hands." The desire to protect the monopoly of the St. Lawrence suggests competition between ports was regarded as a zero sum game that carried forward to the age of rail – the North denied predominance as a transportation/communication route. See McKenna, *Hudson Bay Route*, 4, 35, 38, 50–51, who presents Churchill as the logical choice; de Trémaudan, *The Hudson Bay Road*, 72–83, 103–18; John A. Cormie, "The Hudson Bay Route," *Geographical Review* 4, no. 1 (July 1917): 26–40, esp. 31; Harold A. Innis, "The Hudson Bay Railway," *Geographical Review* 20, no. 1 (January 1930): 1, 3, 6; Howard A. Fleming, *Canada's Arctic Outlet: A History of the Hudson Bay Railway* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1957); MacEwan, *Battle for the Bay*, 52–73, 134–57; Grant MacEwan, "Honourable John," *Manitoba Pageant* 5, no. 3 (April 1960) <http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/pageant/05/honourablejohn. shtml> (accessed 5 May 2006); Ian Bickle, *Turmoil and Triumph: The Controversial Railway to Hudson Bay* (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 1995), 83–93; David Malaher, "Port Nelson and the Hudson Bay Railway," *Manitoba History* no. 8 (autumn 1984), and n.6, which cites Canada, Debates of the House of Commons (1912), Jan. 19, 1263–64, and notes "In October of 1910 Captain T. B. Miles of the Department of Naval Service reported that 'it is difficult to imagine anyone, who has attempted the approach from seaward, showing any great enthusiasm over Port Nelson'." All the above

Port Nelson was situated approximately 225 kilometres, or 139 miles south of Churchill, in the dual estuary of the Nelson and Hayes Rivers. Thomas Button, in command of two ships sent by the North West Company and the Prince of Wales in 1612, had named the seaward area after the master of the *Resolution*, who had died there while wintering. In 1619, Captain Jens Munck of the *Enhiörningen* named the area's territory ashore New Denmark, and in 1631, Captain Luke Foxe of the *Charles* named it New Wales. Subsequently the HBC applied the term Port Nelson to both the roads off the rivers and the low-lying, narrow peninsula between the two river mouths. The area has a convoluted history of possession. Rivalries between freebooting seafarers of shifting alliances complicated the European imperialist rivalry between the maritime powers, England and France.[45]

In 1670 and 1682, the HBC attempted to establish a major post to service the area of Port Nelson, both times unsuccessfully. The first bid lasted only as long as it took the governor-in-waiting and erstwhile navigator, Charles Bayly, to nail "the Kings Armes in

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detail the Western Canadian demand – well evident by 1875 – for a seaport that allowed "escape" from the "monopoly of the Canadian Pacific Railway." The 'last spike' of the belated rail link to the Port of Churchill was driven 1929. The first ship loaded with grain left the port in 1931. Gerald Friesen, "Norquay, John," DCB, notes that Norquay "was a descendant of Hudson's Bay Company servants who had worked on the northern rivers and the shores of Hudson Bay during the 18th century." See also MacEwan, "Honourable John"; Ellen Gillies Cooke, *Fur Trade Profiles: Five Ancestors of Premier John Norquay* (Winnipeg: self published, 1978), 8–15; HBCA, C.1/1054, p.8. cited in, "Norquay, Oman," Biographical Sheet, notes that John's grandfather "sailed from Stromness on *Seahorse* to York Factory" in 1791; and "John Norquay," biography, Orkney Roots <http://www.buyorkney.com/roots/ biographies/john_norquay/> (accessed 18 April 2008), notes that Norquay's wife, Elizabeth Setter, was HBC Captain William Kennedy's niece.

[45] See Grace Lee Nute, "The French on the Bay," *The Beaver* 37, no. 3 (winter 1957): 32–37. de Trémaudan, *The Hudson Bay Road*, 3, 4, describes Nelson as mate not master. "Thomas Button (?–1634)," Manitoba Biographies, Manitoba Historical Society (2 February 2008) <http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/ people/button_t.shtml> (accessed 3 April 2008), credits Button with naming the bayside territory New Wales prior to Foxe. Jérémie, *Twenty Years of York Factory*, 22; Margaret Arnett MacLeod, ed., *The Letters of Letitia Hargrave* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1947), xxxix, notes that the tip of the peninsula, from York Factory to the sea, was known as "Point of Marsh."

Brasse on a Small Tree [sic]," and Pierre-Esprit Radisson, detailed as chief trader, to determine that no one bearing any furs was likely to appear. The crew of the *Wivenhoe* and Company passengers then left for the Bottom of the Bay to winter with their consort, the *Prince Rupert* – Captain Robert Newland, his chief mate James Titherley, and another member of the crew having died, possibly from scurvy.[46]

Details of the second attempt, including the timeline and exact location of events in the area, are unclear due to conflicting accounts in rival testimonies. Apparently, one or the other of the two rivers was known locally as *Kakiakioway* by 1682.[47] That year, the HBC tasked Zachary Gillam and the ship's complement aboard the *Prince Rupert* [I], with re-establishing a post ashore at Port Nelson. Surreptitiously, Gillam's son Captain Benjamin Gillam and crew also arrived – on the *Bachelor's Delight* from Boston – intent on setting up a competing trading concern in the same locale. To complicate matters

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[46] Thomas Gorst, quoted in Alice M. Johnson, "Early Ships in Hudson's [sic] Bay," *The Beaver* 26, no. 1 (June 1946): 12. Gorst maintained Newland was "buried 'like a Soldier'," at Charles Fort; Morton, *History of the Canadian West*, 66–68; Clifford P. Wilson, "Forts on the Twin Rivers," *The Beaver* 37, no. 3 (winter 1957): 4; Hartwell Bowsfield, "Radisson in Hudson Bay," *Manitoba Pageant* 11, no. 2 (spring 1966) <http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/pageant/11/radisson.shtml> (accessed 12 January 2009); Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse," 44, 45. Parks Canada, "Human History," York Factory National Historic Sites of Canada, Natural Wonders & Cultural Treasures <http://www.pc.gc.ca/lhn-nhs/mb/yorkfactory/natcul/histo_e.asp> (accessed 25 Mar. 2008), avers "As early as 1670 an attempt was made by the Company to establish a post at the mouth of the Nelson River, but fierce winds hindered landing and the crew sailed back to England" – not mentioning the wintering. Alice M. Johnson, "Bayly, Charles," DCB, suggests Newland and his mate died of scurvy, after which Charles Bayly – who was to have stayed on as governor at Nelson – took command of the vessel. Johnson also indicates that though Bayly is not formally recognized as a mariner, he had fairly extensive seafaring experience and quotes Charles II's injunction that Bayly's release from the Tower of London be "granted on condition he betook himself 'to the Navigation of Hudsons Bay'."

[47] See Frances G. Davenport, ed. and Charles Oscar Paullin, *European Treaties Bearing on the History of the United States and its dependencies*, Papers of the Department of Historical Research Series, vol. 4, no. 254 (Washington DC: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1917–1937; reprint New Jersey: Lawbook Exchange, 2004), 324–26. Douglas and Wallace, "Introduction," in *Twenty years of York Factory*, 6, 9, 22 n.4, 23, also note that in 1920 the Nelson River was known as *Powinigow*, that Jérémie had heard it called it *Paouirinioua gou* meaning 'descent of strangers,' that Cocking had heard *Powethiniko*, while Radisson had heard *Kawirinagaw*, which apparently meant 'wicked'. Apparently, in 1682 the Hayes was known by Grosseilliers as *Pinasiouetchiouen* meaning "Rapid River."

further, past HBC associate Radisson, along with Jean Baptiste Chouart Des Groseilliers, who was Radisson's nephew and the son of his former partner in trade, arrived as well. Together with the crews of the *St. Pierre* and *Ste. Anne* [I], they represented an equally ambitious concern out of New France. A fourth group had set out from Dartmouth in the *Expectation* with similar intent. Their captain was Richard Lucas, who had been mate of the HBC charter vessel, *Prudent Mary*, when it was lost two years earlier. He had three other disaffected HBC personnel aboard, including a former London Committee member, Thomas Phipps, whose cousin of the same name was in charge of the warehouse at Moose. The sortie did not arrive in Hudson Bay that year however, having aborted the voyage almost before it began.[48]

At Port Nelson, after a series of encounters involving intrigue, firearms, and fatalities, the French contingent prevailed. They captured the New England and HBC ships, crew members, and assets on land. They laid claim to the *Kakiakioway* district for the Compagnie de la Baie du Nord, and occupied the Bostonian establishment, which they renamed Fort Bourbon. The wealth and prestige gained through enterprise that the seafaring interlopers had sought did not materialize in either New or Old France,

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[48] E.E. Rich, *The History of the Hudson's Bay Company 1670–1870,* vol. I (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1958), vol. I, 103–4, lists the difficulties the Company faced dealing with the captains for the voyage in 1682: on inspection at Gravesend "'parcels' of goods were lying about the decks" of the *Rupert* and *Albermarle* "and both ships had to be re-stowed"; "on the eave of departure, the behaviour of the ships' captains suddenly became most ominous. … at the last moment, Captain Bond refused to take the oath [against private trade], Knight developed a quarrel [of an undisclosed sort]… which caused him to be suspended from his appointment until it was cleared up," and Gillam unaccountably absented himself. It took several days to correct the situation. See also Wilson, "Forts on the Twin Rivers," 4; and Clifford P. Wilson, "Bridgar, John," DCB. Gillam was to leave Bridgar ashore at Nelson as governor. Bowsfield, "Radisson in Hudson Bay"; Grace Lee Nute, "Radisson, Pierre Esprit," DCB, notes this was Radisson's twelfth voyage into Hudson Bay. Maud M. Hutcheson, "Phipps, Thomas," DCB; Rich, *History,* vol. I, 104. The London Committee suspected that Lucas was either off to pillage the wreck or recover furs he had removed from it and hidden on Tetherly Island. Nevertheless, the HBC rehired Lucas to captain the *Owner's Goodwill* in 1685.

however. Radisson, Des Groseilliers *et al* lost out to the higher level "politico-religious intrigues of late seventeenth-century Europe," and the HBC charter held.[49] Radisson, taking the mercenary course, sailed under an English flag, and, without opposition from the party he had left holding the fort, restored Port Nelson/Fort Bourbon to the HBC in 1684. John Abraham, captain of the *George* out to Port Nelson from London and commissioned governor, saw York Factory constructed on the site. Henceforth *Kakiakioway* became synonymous with the Hayes River.[50]

York changed hands again in 1694, when Iberville, "first and foremost a sailor," in command of a man-of-war and a frigate, recaptured it for the French.[51] It became English in 1696 with the help of the men-of-war *Bonaventure* and *Seaford* lent by the Royal Navy, only to fall to d'Iberville with three men-of-war and an armed ship the following year in the "great sea battle," alluded to previously.[52] The establishment on land remained Fort Bourbon until the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, when again distant diplomacy saw the HBC recover their monopoly status. While Bourbon officially reverted to York in 1714, people of the area continued to use the place name *Kihciwaskahihan*, meaning 'the great house.'[53]

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[49] Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 8; Nute, "Radisson," DCB.

[50] Alice M. Johnson, "Abraham, John," DCB, adds that by 1686 Abraham "changed his allegiance and apparently spent the rest of his life preying on English shipping in the St. Lawrence."

[51] Rich, *History*, vol. I, 241. See also Nute, "Radisson," DCB.

[52] Henry Kelsey, *The Kelsey Papers* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, University of Regina, 1994), xix.

[53] Richard Glover, "Introduction," *Letters from Hudson Bay,* xxxviii; Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse," 54. Kevin Lunn, "York Factory National Historic Site of Canada: planning the future for a place with a momentous past," *Manitoba History* (22 September 2004); Jérémie, *Twenty years of York Factory,*

By the time of transfer, according to Coats, mariners usually accessed the fort by sailing to the "Port Nelson Shoalds [sic]," after which,

> in crossing a spit which shoots from them, with a S.S.E. course, you come into seven fatham and hard ground, and so into fifteen fatham soft; and so continue that course from fifteen fatham soft, untill you gradually sholding into seven fatham hard, there you come to anchor and wate the tide, to go over the flatt to Hay's River [sic].[54]

Arriving ships dropped anchors at Five Fathom Hole, "a bason three quarters of a mile in diameter [sic]," which lay on the other side of the 'flatt.'[55] Although eventually HBC personnel routinely travelled from London to York, which by 1810 was the principal centre and busiest entrepot of the Northern Department, safe arrival had not always been a forgone conclusion. The factory itself was hardly visible from Five Fathom Hole much less from further out to sea, nor was the river's mouth readily apparent from sea. Pilots found the destination by virtue of familiarity with the voyage, through recognizing the pattern of regularly taken soundings "day or night," and, to a very limited extent, by observing the topography of the shoreline.[56] In contrast to the northeastern shore of the

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9, notes that *Kakiakioway* may have meant the Nelson River in 1682, but became the name for what was later known as the Hayes River. M.J. Butler, quoted in de Trémaudan, *Hudson Bay Road*, 97, notes that by 1909, the Nelson River was "known locally as the North River," while Port Nelson was "named by the British Admiralty as York Roads." Wilson, "Forts on the Twin Rivers," 5, notes James Knight built the 1714 landward establishment just prior to building Churchill.

[54] Coats, *Geography*, 27, see also 38.

[55] Coats, *Geography*, 38, observes as well that "Two mile higher up is a hole three fatham deep. sufficient for one ship. The river, up three miles to the factory, dry's almost every tide [sic]." See also HBCA, E.12/5-7, Finlayson, "Notebook," 67; and de Trémudan, *Hudson Bay Road*, 95–100, who quotes an optimistic description of Port Nelson from "a summary of the report of the Hudson Bay Railway surveys published in October 1909 by Mr. J.M. Butler, Deputy Minister of Railways and Chief Engineer."

[56] Coats, *Geography*, 61, also 38. notes Port Nelson "has the most principle trade in that country,

bay and those along Hudson Strait, the western shore was part of an extensive lowlands. The West Main, seen from the distance that sailing clear of shoals required, presented only a "narrow and faint line" on a "thin horizon," and at that only in fine conditions.[57] Finding York was not an easy task. In 1714, after many years' forced absence from the York roads, Knight, aboard the *Union* under the command of Captain Richard Harle, wrote of the difficulties at sea that attended reasserting possession. Although they had a fair wind on entering the bay, ice soon presented an obstacle that sent the ship well off course:

> [We] could make no manner of way through it: it was of that thickness and large ice and so jammed upon one another that although we had a fair wind and as much as could blow well it never so much as moved the ice, it lying so heaped together to the shore so we were forced again out and stood to the northward, thinking to get between that and the north shore. But after we had stood to the northward of Churchill River we were forced back again all along the ice till we did get as far to the southward as New Severn and found no entrance there. We came back again to try what we could do by the outset of the river, then the wind came at SE, blew so hard forced us into the ice, and it was such heavy ice and so vastly thick and heaved together that we all thought we should have gone to the bottom before we could enter the ship so far as to get out of the great swell, and so we did continue in the ice till the day before we did get in. Our ship would not steer which made it much more difficult than it would have been.[58]

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where the two rivers brings down such swarms of natives annually, as is nowhere else in that country [sic]." A.R. Williamson, "Voyage of the 'Discovery' 1911," part I, *The Beaver* 62, no. 4 (spring 1983): 23, notes that while at anchor, "the buildings were only visible from aloft."

[57] Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 12. Jean-Luc Pilon, "Parameters for Human Occupation of the Hudson Bay Lowlands and General Results of the Archaeological Inquiries along the Lower Severn River, Ontario, Canada," *Revista de Arqueologia Americana* (1 January 2006) <http://goliath. ecnext.com/coms2/gi_0199-7323086/Parameters-for-human-occupation-of.html> (accessed 28 March 2008), describes the Hudson Bay Lowlands as 200 to 300 kilometres wide, covering over "300,000 square kilometres," and extending from the west coast of James Bay to Churchill on Hudson Bay. de Trémaudan, *Hudson Bay Road*, 55, notes, "It is impossible to get within 12 miles of the mouth of the Nelson River with vessels drawing any depth of water. F. Berkes, A Hughes, P.J. George, R.J. Preston, B.D. Cummins, and J. Turner, "The Persistence of Aboriginal Land Use: Fish and Wildlife Harvest Areas in the Hudson and James Bay Lowland, Ontario," *Arctic* 48, no. 1 (March 1995): 83, place the lowland in the Mushkegowuk region.

[58] James Knight, letter, York Fort 19 Sept 1714, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 34–35.

The following year, the *Hudson's Bay* [III] under Captain Joseph Davis, who had made the voyage to posts at the Bottom of the Bay successfully for years and was more fortunate with respect to ice, nevertheless came within fifteen miles of York, only to sail back and forth without Davis finding any sign of the port. After three weeks, he gave up and returned home. In 1719, having gone ashore at Churchill to proclaim HBC sovereignty there, Davis' replacement, Captain Richard Ward, sailed for York, but the *Hudson Bay* [III] was cast away after straying too close to the shoreline at Cape Tatnum. As late as 1899 Captain Alexander Gray of the SS *Erik* registered an objection with the Company regarding the danger in "navigating his ship through the long shallows of Port Nelson with no lights or headlands to guide … only on a clear day the thin fringe of the lowlands showing above the horizon."[59]

Ships that succeeded in locating Five Fathom Hole still faced problems. The 'flat' before the anchorage was a large silt bar – the shoal which so alarmed M'Keevor. The Hole, only sometimes marked by a signal buoy, lay some seven or eight miles out from the associated post of York Factory.[60] The waterborne journey for passengers and goods did not end at the anchoring point. After the firing of ships' guns, "many hours" would elapse before a sloop from York could reach the ship.[61] The sloop, with perhaps another

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[59] Alexander Gray, quoted in Warner, "Voyaging to York Factory," 23. Johnson, "Early Ships," 12, quotes Gorst's account, which states the *Wivenhoe* had difficulty entering Port Nelson in 1670 "by reason of fogg & contrary winds could not find the right channell to get in" and ran aground, only coming off after "the losse of some Anchors & Cables." Richard Glover, "Introduction," *Letters from Hudson Bay*, li. Richard Glover, "Ward, Richard," DCB.

[60] J. Ledingham, "An Adventure in Landing Supplies at York," *The Beaver* (December 1922): 117, puts the distance from the supply ship to the post at fifteen miles.

[61] HBCA, E.12/5-7, Finlayson, "Notebook," 67. On the use of buoys see, James Isham, *James*

in company and longboats fitted with sails besides, would then ferry passengers and cargo up to the wharf.[62] The drowning of French sailors whose longboat capsized in 1782 demonstrated the potential hazards of this last stretch – the river mouth, after all, was open to the effects of the sea. La Pérouse, in command of the fleet which had already divested the HBC of Prince of Wales' Fort that year, reported "'a very heavy gale' off York that caused him "the greatest anxiety for my ships … If it had lasted some hours longer, the frigate of the Sieur de la Jaille would have been lost and 300 men drowned."[63] Although Nelson River was better suited to receive ships, the HBC counted the defects of the Hayes River mouth as an asset: as Coats observed, "'tis more secure, and better for the Company, guarded by those flatts and shallows against the attempts of an enemy by

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Isham's observations on Hudsons Bay, 1743, and Notes and observations on a book entitled A voyage to Hudsons Bay in the Dobbs Galley, 1749, ed. E.E. Rich (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1949), 202–4, who explains that 'beacons' – empty casks tethered to an anchor – marking Five Fathom Hole had their ropes cut unless the identity of an arriving ship was certain. In times of war these beacons might be cut loose, because "those ships might be in the french [sic], or Spaniards Custity, and the Capts. Keep't on board with a Design to Conduct them to the fort, in order to Deceive us under false Couller's, as we have had Instances of Such [sic]." See also HBCA, C.1/415, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1804, 6 August, which records that on arrival at Nelson, there was no beacon in sight. James Sutherland, pilot at the factory, came alongside in the factory boat and explained it had yet to be set up; also Warner, "Voyaging to York Factory," 3, notes that Captain Jonathan Fowler Jr. "once got into difficulties because someone laid a buoy wrong in Hayes River."

[62] Dove, "Voyages to Rupert's Land," 22–23. See also Wilson, "Forts on the Twin Rivers," 11, for an aerial photograph "looking towards the sea," taken in the 1930s; and Parks Canada, "Aerial photo circa 1926 © Provincial Archives of Manitoba, 1926," photograph, York Factory National Historic Sites of Canada: Natural Wonders & Cultural Treasures <http://www.pc.gc.ca/lhn-nhs/mb/yorkfactory/natcul/histo_e.asp> (accessed 8 April 2008), that shows a three-masted schooner at the wharf, and suggests a 'timeless' aspect similar to that of Stromness. See LAC, acc. no. 1988-250-15, "Arrival at the York Fort anchorage in Hudson's Bay, August 17, 1821, after a voyage of 79 days," watercolour, by Peter Rindisbacher, showing a sloop and two open boats under sail in the Hayes River off York Factory.

[63] Glover, "La Pérouse on Hudson Bay," 46n. 7. "Remarks betwixt Churchill Fort and York Fort on their being taken by the French A.D. 1782 by an Officer," in *Andrew Graham's Observations on Hudson Bay, 1767–91*, ed. Glyndwr Williams (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1969), 87, reported "Fourteen soldiers drowned in this attempt at taking York Fort."

sea, the only way to come in at this settlement."[64]

Southeast from York about 250 miles there was anchorage at the mouth of the Severn River, or *Washahoe Sebe*.[65] As early as 1675, Bayly had traded from aboard ship in the location, and claimed to have established a post there. In 1679 Captain Nehemiah Walker of the borrowed ship, HMS *John and Alexander*, and Captain James Tatnum of the *Colleton* had instructions and materials for building at the site, as did Captain Thomas Draper of the *Albermarle* the following year. The London Committee only considered the post fully established as of 1685 when it received a report from George Geyer – also tasked with building and appointed to be its chief – that it was already "well settled" on his arrival in 1684.[66] Named New Severn and Churchill Fort, the location of Severn had much to commend it. Coats described the coast as "covered with wood everywhere and a pritty clean shore without ten or 12 fathom [sic]." As well, the bar across the river mouth was not as broad as that of the Hayes. Nevertheless, after recovering the post from the French in 1714 the HBC divided Severn's trade between York and Albany at the Bottom of the Bay, in part because inside the bar the river was "said to be shoald."[67] When the

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[64] Coats, *Geography*, 38, 44, notes the Nelson was more navigable than the Hayes for ships and "near half the trade comes down it," but inland was "so full of sharps and falls," that most used the Hayes.

[65] Oldmixon, "History of Hudson's-Bay," 392; see also "Northern Ontario – Fort Severn," <http://www.civilization.ca/cmc/archeo/recherche/fortseverne.html> (accessed 30 March 2008), the name might be *Anishininimowin*, or Oji-Cree, and translate roughly as 'a sparkling or clear river.' Rich, *Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company ... First Part*, 337; and Rich with Johnson, *Copy-Book of letters outward &c*, 380. Jérémie, *Twenty Years of York Factory*, 35, note that Ibervilled called it "rivière des Saintes Huiles."

[66] Rich, *History*, vol. I, 78, 81, 108, 119, 180, 181, 220.

[67] Coats, *Geography*, 46; Jérémie, *Twenty Years of York Factory,* 35, states HBC servants burnt down the original establishment on sighting Iberville's ship offshore in 1690. They rebuilt in 1691 when Iberville did not occupy the position – although apparently, after capture, the post commanding 'Neue Savanne' was renamed Fort Ste. Thérèse. Rich, *History*, vol. I, 682, notes that except during an English occupation in 1693, the port remained under French control, as Fort Phélipeaux, up to the treaty of 1713.

HBC at length rebuilt at Severn in 1759, shallow draft coastal vessels rather than transatlantic ships served the post, a practice that continued past 1920.[68]

The Bottom of the Bay, which Coats characterized as an arm of Hudson Bay, approximately fifty-four leagues wide east to west, was southward from Severn. HBC ships on outward voyages entered the bay off a cape known as Henriettta Maria on the West Main. James Bay was shallower again than Hudson Bay, with numerous islands, and even when clear of ice had rocks and shoals that went uncharted into the twentieth century.[69] As Coats warned, these "would hook you in, if you are not cautious, in a fog, or dark night." It was important, therefore, to keep to known passages of certain depths, though accomplishing this was awkward – there being "not much room for a ship with only sails to turn her in places when there was a headwind."[70] To keep to safer water, Coats advised mariners to take repeated soundings, as "lead is your principle guide."[71] The lead consisted of a hemp line with a lead weight of about three kilograms, or seven pounds, that had tallow packed into its cupped lower surface. This, sailors dropped to the seabed to sample the 'ground' beneath the water "every half-hour day and night."[72] Interpreting fragments embedded in the fat of the raised lead helped to confirm location.

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[68] W. Stewart Wallace, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Canada*, vol. 2 (Toronto: University Associates of Canada, 1948), 377.

[69] Coats, *Geography*, 52; Williams, "Last Voyage of the Stork," 45. de Trémaudan *Hudson Bay Road*, 5, notes that until the HBC began using James Bay, cartographers perpetuated Henry Hudson's mistake of dividing the bay into two bodies of water.

[70] Williams, "Last Voyage of the Stork," 45.

[71] Coats, *Geography*, 52.

[72] Ibid. Peter Kemp, ed., "Lead Line," *The Oxford Companion to Ships and the Sea* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 471.

According to Coats, the ground in specific parts of the bay ranged from soft, to broken, to hard. The colour also varied – from "wheyish" [pale], "blacker and blacker," to "deep galle" [yellow]. He counselled watching the colour of water as well: when a course of "black" water "quickly" turned "wheaish" [sic: likely wheyish] it was less than fifteen fathoms deep.[73]

Though knowing the specific waterways of James Bay was critical, Coat's account indicates that here, as elsewhere on the outward voyage, gaining a working knowledge of landmarks was important. In *The British Empire in America* (1708), English historian John Oldmixon opined, "the names of landmarks were decided by "the first Adventurers" who "gave the Names of some Great Men in *England*, or some that employ'd them" [italics in source].[74] As at Port Nelson and along the Northern Seaboard, however, in the Bottom of the Bay mariners often named sites in commemoration of their seafaring fellows. A bluff of wood on the West Main that stood out from a surrounding "low fenny unbounded marsh," for example, they called Point Mourning, "from buriing [sic] one of Captain James men there," and the island, Floatar's Wash, "from a man of that name having been drowned there."[75] Though distinctive woods on the otherwise "low but clean, even surroundings" of the western shore might sometimes prove useful markers, overall, seen from a ship, the coastline made little "appeal to the eye ... and

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[73] Coats, *Geography*, 52, 53.

[74] Oldmixon, "History of Hudson's-Bay," 378.

[75] Coats, *Geography*, 47, 52, see also 55, 61.

twelve miles from shore it becomes invisible."[76] Pilots of James Bay therefore combined soundings with estimates of their ship's relative distance from capes and islands to judge the proper moment to alter a vessel's course. Sailors distinguished the islands according to the number clustered in a group, their sizes and heights – relative to each other and to the hull of a ship – and the type and placement of topographical features, making note of cliffs, vegetation, and nearby rocks.[77]

There were a number of destinations in James Bay for which cargo might be bound, including posts at Albany River, Moose River and *Nemiskau*, or Rupert River. There were as well posts along the eastern coast of the bay, and up into eastern Hudson Bay, such as Eastmain, Fort George, and Whale River. Accessing anchorage at most of these was impossible for transoceanic ships, because of a long and "inconceivably" shallow approach to the shoreline, particularly at the Bottom of the Bay.[78] Added to this, the extent of navigable water in the bay could vary with ice conditions, wind, and tide. Assuming that by the time ships had arrived the ice had cleared from the shore, exactly where land began was "seldom well defined" along the gradient that saw seabed turn to

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[76] E.M. Kindle, "The James Bay Coastal Plain: Notes on a Journey," *Geographical Review* 15, no. 2 (April 1925): 230–31. See also Bell, "Commercial Importance of Hudson's Bay," 579.

[77] Coats, *Geography*, 46, 52, 59, took pains to describe island groups and warned that between and among the islands of the bay, "If you are entangled in ice hear, you run great hazard, for the tides are so distracted amongst these banks, that it will require your utmost address to secure your ship [sic]." Kindle, "The James Bay Coastal Plain," 227, observes it is only "Near Cape Jones at the north-eastern corner of the bay [that] the plain gives way to high land, which rises near the shore from 1000 to 2000 feet above the sea between Cape Dufferin and Cape Jones. The land is low on the eastern side of James Bay with a gentle slope as far north as East Main River, where the elevation 100 miles inland is only 700 feet."

[78] A.R.M. Lower, "By River to Albany," *The Beaver* 24, no. 1 (June 1944): 19. Coats, *Geography*, 57; Morton, *History of the Canadian West,* 45, 50, 51; D.A. Chant, E.E. Lindquist, J.E.H. Martin, W.R. Allen, "Rupert River by Canoe," *The Beaver* (spring 1964): 32; the first post, Charles Fort, was constructed 1668 on the bank of the Rupert River while the *Nonsuch* was careened for the winter.

coastal plain.[79] Tide and ebb alone made a difference of at least two to six miles in the placement of the shoreline, and this changed from day to day because the tide could come in at twice its normal height, or half, depending on wind direction. Thus, "A strong wind from the sea may push the shore line inland a half mile or more from the position it occupied during a period of calm weather, while a breeze from the land may hold the flood tide far to seaward of its average position."[80] Immediately off river mouths to a distance of three miles the water might be only five to seven feet deep. Whether attempting to arrive at a trade post or leave, even by canoe, travel was only possible "for about two hours either side of high water."[81] During the ebb, seafarers therefore faced the "impossibility of either going ashore or embarking again without wading, sometimes long distances."[82] They did not normally undertake that exercise, as the bottom was soft clay and the posts lay further up their respective rivers – in the case of Albany and Moose, hidden from view by a "maze of islands."[83]

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[79] Kindle, "James Bay Coastal Plain," 230–31, also 232, A.R.M. Lower is quoted as noting that along the coast, past Albany River "the woods are about three miles back from the average high-tide mark. Between the forest and the tide mark is an open, level plain, the first mile of which is covered with scrubby willows. The other two miles support a growth of luxuriant grass … between the extremes of high and low tide a space of about three miles of soft clay mud intervenes'." See also Bell, "Commercial Importance of Hudson's Bay," 579; Coats, *Geography*, 30, who noted the east coast was "pestred [sic] with ice"; Ledingham, 10, as chief engineer for fifteen years by 1924, observed of ice that "[a]fter passing Coats Island, the bay is generally free ... on the passage between Churchill and Charlton Island, ice is very frequently met between Nelson river [sic] and Cape Henrietta Maria, and often the ice extends to the Bear Islands in James Bay"; and Catchpole and Faurer, "Ships' Log-Books, Sea Ice," 125–26.

[80] Kindle, "James Bay Coastal Plain," 230–31. See also Bell, "Commercial Importance of Hudson's Bay," 579.

[81] Lower, "By River to Albany" 19. See also Coats, *Geography*, 28.

[82] E.B. Borron, quoted in Kindle, "James Bay Coastal Plain," 231, commenting to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario, 1882.

[83] Kindle, "James Bay Coastal Plain," 234.

If the destination was Albany, masters anxious to off-load quickly and begin their return voyage anchored in five fathoms of water at Albany Road. This was an open anchorage about twenty-five miles out from the "North Sound Head" at the mouth of the *Chichewan* – after 1683 named by the HBC Albany River.[84] Similarly, Moose Road, five fathoms deep, was situated about twelve miles off the *Moosonee*, or Moose River. Despite shoals in this location, it was possible for a vessel of ten foot draught to wait for the tide and enter the 'middle channel' of the river, but, by the latter half of the eighteenth century, it appears that transport in and out to the post was handled by coastal sloops. As at Albany Road, ships that anchored in the "wild road" off Moose River were vulnerable to gales especially in the fall. By 1680, anchoring instead at Charlton Island had become standard practice for ships with cargos destined to any of the posts at the Bottom of the Bay.[85]

To 1920, there was anchorage in a sound on the east coast of Charlton Island with ten fathoms of water. Ships came in from the north and west between Tetherly/Tederlys/

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[84] Oldmixon, "History of Hudson's-Bay," 399, writes 'Chickewan,' and implies the river was known as Moose-Sebe. Alice M. Johnson, "Bayly, Charles," DCB, notes that between 1675 and 1679, Captain Charles Bayley established the first English post at Albany River. The French captured it in 1686. It was Fort Ste. Anne until 1692 when the English retook it. Coats, *Geography*, 54, 27, notes the settlement "has been thought so convenient and so commodious for trade, so secure a situation from the attempts of an enemy, that the trade here has been always so considerable as engage the Companys whole attention [sic]."

[85] Coats, *Geography*, 47, 50, 54, 57. Moose Factory, built on Hayes/Factory Island, approximately eleven miles from the river mouth, was captured several times by the French between 1686 and 1730 and renamed Fort St. Louis. The HBC only reoccupied it in 1732; Rich with Johnson, *Copy-Book of letters outward &c,* xxix, xxviii, 8, observes, "a sheltered anchorage in nine fathoms under the lee of Point Comfort had been charted by Captain Gillam in 1668 … This anchorage could be used by larger vessels bringing passengers and stores direct to the mainland … A trail led overland to Moose Factory, but one of the smaller coasting vessels was normally used for the rest of the journey"; Kindle, "The James Bay Coastal Plain," 226, notes of Charlton that "supplies arriving by sea are transferred to schooners ... capable of threading the channels about the mouth of Moose River. The difficulties of securing deep-water approaches to Moose Factory … are … many miles through depths of from one to four fathoms." Morton, *History of the Canadian West*, 80; Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse," 49; A.R. Williamson, "Voyage of the 'Discovery' 1911," part II, *The Beaver* 63, no. 1 (summer 1983): 21.

Trodely Island and Struttons/Stretons Island.[86] That the approach required care was a lesson Lucas learned on the outward bound *Prudent Mary* in 1680. Captain Nehemiah Walker again demonstrated the difficulty by grounding the inward bound *Diligence* the next year. Then in 1683, Lucas' *Expectation*, captured as an interloper and taken as a prize by Walker, was added to the list of losses at the location.[87] Although in 1679, the Company attempted to enhance the anchorage at Charlton with a permanently manned depot suitable for warehousing goods, it was of little utility during the French occupation and afterwards proved too isolated from food sources to maintain a wintering party. Subsequently, the facility served only seasonally, although by the 1900s a caretaker lived on the island year round to maintain buildings and to pilot incoming vessels to a temporary pier installed as a landing. The pier was small, "a somewhat flimsy affair," that was "held fast by anchors on the off side and to stakes and anchors buried in the sand on shore."[88] After unloading, local sloopers towed ships into the sound off Charlton,

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[86] Williamson, "Voyage of the 'Discovery'," part II, 21. The origins of the islands' names are obscure. See note 45 above, which suggests Thetherly was named for mate James Titherley who died in 1670 with Captain Nelson. John Meredith Read, *A historical inquiry concerning Henry Hudson, his friends, relatives and early life, his connection with the Muscovy company and discovery of Delaware Bay* (Albany NY: J. Munsell, 1866), 136, mentions that according to Purchas, James Skrutton or Strutton sailed with Henry Hudson.

[87] Coats, *Geography*, 58, 59, 23. Morton, *History of the Canadian West*, 82. See Rich, *History*, vol. I, 96–99, 110–13, 135, 146–54, 163, 261–62, 267, on the *Diligence*, Lucas, the *Expectation*, and Walker. Rich with Johnson, *Copy-book of letters outward &c*, xxviii, states the *Expectation* was cast off heading inward to Charlton. Rich, *Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1679–1684; Second Part, 1682–84* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1946), 330, describes the *Expectation* as being captured in Hudson Strait, but see, 280–81, 284, which clarify that while "shee was unduly forcibly taken by the sayd Nehemiah Walker … somewhere within Hudsons streights upon the high seas, but some hundred of Leagues from Hudsons Bay … near Cape Charles [sic]" subsequently the captured vessel was "cast away upon or near Charlton Island" by Walker's "Chiefe Mate on board … with some other of his Company to Navigate [sic]."

[88] Ledingham, "*Nascopie* in Hudson Bay," 11. Williamson, "Voyage of the 'Discovery'," part II, 21; Williams, "Last Voyage of the Stork," 45, 46, notes that in 1908, the coastal ship SS *Inenew* "took the

where they anchored, to wait on a favourable wind. The sloopers and caretaker then dismantled the pier so that ice carried with the "swift current" along the shore of the sound would not demolish it during the off season.[89]

As at York, at Charlton sloops and longboats ferried passengers and cargo to the wharves of their respective posts – a process that could take days to accomplish. Oldmixon, having never made the journey to Hudson Bay, imagined arrival in the Bottom of the Bay in idyllic terms as a relatively pleasurable experience. He described Charlton Island as:

> a light white Sand, cover'd over with a white Moss, full of Trees, Juniper and Spruce, tho not very large. This Isle affords a beautiful Prospect to such as make it in the Spring, after a long Voyage of 3 or 4 Months, in the most dangerous Seas in the World, … To see one Day the Shoar on the *West Main* bare, the Mountains cover'd with Snow, and Nature looking like a Carcass frozen to Death; and the next to behold *Charlton* Island spread with Trees, and the Branches making as it were a green Tuft of the whole, is a Surprize, that must give the greatest Pleasure after the Fatigues of an intollerable Winter Voyage [sic].[90]

Stork in tow" to anchor, while in 1911, caretaker, W.L. Miller piloted the *Discovery*. Williams supplies a photograph showing the pier at Charlton Island, with the hulk of the *Sorine*, which ran aground in 1920, was hauled off, then beached near the depot where "ice and storm broke her up." K.G. Davies, "Nixon, John," DCB, notes Nixon objected to building a substantial post, complaining the island "was remote from trade, difficult to defend, and ice-bound longer than the mainland"; see also Coats, *Geography*, 58, 62, who avers wintering on the mainland was necessary for "every refreshment." Oldmixon, "History of Hudson's-Bay," 400, notes "The Company intended to plant a Colony at *Charlton* Island, and order'd Mr. *Sergeant* to build a Fort there [1685], and always keep some Men upon it. Warehouses were also built to receive the Furs that were brought thither from the Factories, and Conveniences were made for the Reception of such as were oblig'd to winter there. The Company always enjoyn'd their Governours to endeavour to save the great Charge they were at in sending constant Supplies of Provisions, by planting Corn and other Grain there. But alas! Tho the Climate by its Distance from the Sun, should be as warm as ours; yet for Reasons, which the Naturalists will easily give us, 'tis so cold and frosty, that it kills almost all sorts of Roots in the Ground which are sown there; and those Plantations, so often recommended by the Company, were chimerical and impracticable [sic: italics in source]."

[89] Williams, "Last Voyage of the Stork," 45. Ledingham, "*Nascopie* in Hudson Bay," 11. Williamson, "Voyage of the 'Discovery'," part II, 22. On the problem of ice at Charlton Island see Rich, "Appendix A," *Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company ... First Part*, 282.

[90] Oldmixon, "History of Hudson's-Bay," 379–80.

Canadian historian Arthur M. Lower, who ventured to James Bay in 1914, made observations that suggest "bulldog" flies and other insects may have tempered the enthusiasm of new arrivals, commenting "I thought I had seen mosquitoes pretty bad in the muskegs to the south, but I discovered that all my notions about them were elementary. I can recommend James Bay as the terrestrial paradise of the mosquito."[91] Certainly, Captain David Herd had qualified his remark, quoted at the opening of this chapter, about feeling relieved on arrival – while he allowed he was "always glad to get there," Herd added that "the appearance of the country is so unfavourable" that he did not leave the ship and was quite "glad to get away again."[92]

Geographer John Alwin argued in 1978 that, when it came to trading in Hudson Bay, the physical environment had a "dominant effect … on the human geography of the HBC," and further that "There is a striking continuity with, rather than modification of, natural patterns."[93] Almost three centuries earlier, in 1682, bayside governor John Nixon had put forward a similar argument, explaining to the London Committee "the navigation into this place is diverce from others, so that it must be observed and the harbours observed and the country and the natives observed [sic]," if trade was to be conducted effectively.[94] Couched in both sets of observations is an acknowledgement that management of ocean going technology was central to commanding space – taking

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[91] Lower, "By River to Albany," 19. Thomas Gorst, cited in Oldmixon, "History of Hudson's-Bay," 390, in his journal – which Oldmixon apparently possessed, and which Gorst had begun in 1670 – he likewise complained that the "Musketoes are extreamly troublesome [sic]."

[92] David Herd, quoted in *Report from the Select Committee*, (1858), 258, see also 256.

[93] Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse," 8.

[94] John Nixon, "Report to the Governor and Committee by John Nixon, 1682," *Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company … First Part*, 276.

advantage of natural courses, and circumventing whatever impediments they might pose. From 1508 to 1920, mariners in Hudson Bay proved resourceful and determined – both in the sense of being subject to limits set by natural and material circumstance and in the sense of being motivated to navigate them successfully. Most of the sailors who contributed to historical process figure as anonymous actors in historiography, though historical records and enduring place names attest to their existence and activity. One intriguing example of sailors' determination to register their presence in Hudson Bay is found in Sloop's Cove, Port Churchill. Rocks along the lichen covered granite shore bear more than twenty names chiselled by HBC seafarers between 1740 and 1780. The most readily recognizable is probably that of Samuel Hearne, carved while he served as slooper. The others supply "a cross-section of maritime Churchill": sailors, mates, captains, harpooners, shipwrights, and carpenters.[95] Hudson Bay, to the Bottom of the Bay, was in many respects a seafarers' 'country.' Although it was a water-washed space, from 1508 to 1920 mariners left marks in HBC history that were indelible enough to remain traceable in the historical record: sailors built landward posts, on sites that they chose, and they serviced those posts. Their work saw values added to Company ledgers on both sides of the Atlantic. In addition, as active observers, who named, charted, and laid claim to courses and features traversed, they laid the foundations for contributions by successive generations of maritime workers.

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[95] Oliver Fuller, "The Mariners at Sloop Cove," *The Beaver* 43, no. 1 (summer 1963): 44–53, describes the careers of John Horner, Richard Camm, John Paterson, John Hulme, William Davisson, James Walker, John Marley, John Kelley, John Groat, Robert Fowler, John Douslen, John Irvin, George Holt, Robert Smith, Alexander Menzies, George Taylor, James Wood, Robert Lloyd, Richard Johnson, and William Story. See also, photo, in Richard Glover, "Samuel Hearne: Explorer and Naturalist," *Manitoba Pageant* 4, no. 3 (April 1959) <http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/pageant/04/hearne.shtml> (accessed 9 October 2007).

Chapter Nine

Making 'The Best of the Way' Home[1]

As previous chapters have shown, the ocean arc of the HBC was not a simple context for human activity. Its geographical breadth ensured variety. Clearly, the work demanded of sailors changed according to their location along its course. By examining the voyage to London for what it was in terms of a spatially delineated, seasonally variable route, this chapter illustrates that the working conditions sailors faced in the successively encountered locales that their workplaces traversed also underwent seasonal changes. A ship bound homeward on an HBC return voyage did not merely repeat, in reverse order, a passage already sailed.

Timing was of critical importance to home voyages. As was the case for the

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[1] HBCA, C.7/175, "Sailing Orders and Instructions," (2 copies) n.d., the phrasing and typesetting suggest these copies were issued some time after the mid-eighteenth century; see also, extract, in "By Ship of Sail to Hudson Bay, 1723," *The Beaver* 3, no. 10 (July 1923): 381, and sailing orders to Captain George Spurrell, dated 17 May 1723, instructing he "make ye best of your waye to England" and "So soon as you shall receive your dispatches to depart, you're to make ye best of your waye to London, but in case you should be forced into any part of Great Britain, or Ireland, by extremity of weather, in such Case you are to send us a Letter by ye Post, with a Short account of your Cargoe, and ye success of your Voyage, & upon your Arrival with us, to deliver in your own journal, as also your Chief, and Second Mates [sic.]." William Barr, "The Eighteenth Century Trade between Ships of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Hudson Strait Inuit," *Arctic* 47, no. 3 (September 1944): 235, supplies a similar quote, but states 18 May 1738 was the first year for which sailing orders survive.

Nonsuch of 1668, the first HBC ships to voyage to Hudson Bay overwintered out of necessity.[2] On early voyages, the range of tasks to be accomplished bayside precluded setting out on the return before the onset of autumn ice formation. By 1672, to assure that fur-laden ships returned to England as quickly as possible – thereby lessening the expense of both chartering a ship and hiring seamen – the HBC had begun stationing coastal vessels in the Bay.[3] By 1680, there was a depot at Charlton Island. Coastal vessels – including barques, frigates, and schooners as well as sloops – linked bayside posts to each other and to arriving transatlantic ships.[4] This 'shuttle service,' originally suggested by sea-going governor Charles Bayly, meant transoceanic ships could off- and on-load cargos in approximately two weeks, leaving to the coastal service the final distribution of

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[2] See Appendix A, this thesis, *Wivenhoe*, and *Prince Rupert* [I], 1670; *Prince Rupert* [I], *Messenger* (alias *Shaftesbury* pink), and *Imploy* (*Employ*), 1672; *Prince Rupert* [I], and *Shaftesbury* (alias *Messenger* dogger), 1674.

[3] See John Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse: Hudson's Bay Company Transport, 1670–1821," Ph.D. diss. (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1978), 48; Michael F. Dove, "Voyages to Rupert's Land: The Hudson's Bay Company's Maritime Component, 1670–1770," in *Selected Papers of Rupert's Land Colloquium 2002,* compiled by David G. Malaher (Winnipeg: Centre for Rupert's Land Studies, University of Winnipeg, 2002), 23. Arthur S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870–71, Being a History of Rupert's Land (The Hudson's Bay Company Territory) and of the North-West Territory (Including the Pacific Slope* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1939), 73, also 76–77, observes, "The Committee chafed at having their capital locked up and at paying interest on it" for voyages that, by 1673 had proven to last as long as two years. Ian K. Steele, *The English Atlantic 1675–1740: An Exploration of Communication and Community* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 89, notes that in 1713, James Knight, at Albany, calculated that wintering "was three thousand Pounds out of ye Compies Way one with another, by hireing a Ship to come hither, and so many Mens Victuals & Wages as they must pay [sic]."

[4] See for examples, Appendix A, this thesis, which indicates that the first coastal vessel was a shallop constructed bayside in 1670; in 1672 the *Imploy* barque arrived for local service; in 1678 the *Prince Rupert* [I], a twelve gun 'full-rigged' frigate; in 1680 the yacht *Colleton,* and the sloop *Hayes*; in 1682 the *Albemarle* frigate, the *Craven* pink, and a 'Greenland shallop' arrived, while a barque was built bayside for service at Chichichaun/Albany River. E.E., Rich, ed., with A.M. Johnson, *Copy-book of letters outward &c: begins 29th May, 1680, ends 5 July, 1687* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1948), 9, 44, notes that in 1680 Governor Nixon was sent planks from England to make repairs and build additional small vessels, the Committee commenting: "it being of great moment that wee have Small Craft enough to attend our several Factories and to run from place to place," and that "Wee put a great value upon our Small Vessells in the Country, And therefore Expect your more than Ordinary care for their preservation [sic]." See also C. Harding, "Bucking the Ice-Floes in Late Summer Trip From York to Severn: Adventurous Voyage of the 'York Fort' on Hudson Bay," *The Beaver* 1, no. 1 (October 1920): 16–17.

goods to bayside posts.[5]

For transatlantic HBC sailors, a typical stay at a bayside port began, on arriving off the mouth of a river, with the firing of guns in a prearranged code that signalled the beginning of ship time – a period of intense activity both aboard ship and at the post situated further upriver.[6] If all was well, the factory gun fired an appropriate answer. Delivering the 'packet' – the London Committee directives and letters for the year – was usually the first order of business. Weather permitting, either Company representatives

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[5] Morton, *History of the Canadian West,* 80; Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse," 40. See also J. Williams, "Last Voyage of the Stork," 45; HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements, 1719–1929; and, for example, C.1/411, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1802, 27 August–10 September; C.1/414, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1803, 15 August–4 September; C.1/415, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1804, 6 August–28 August; C.1/417, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1806, 10 August–17 August, 19 August–30 August, after the initial arrival at Churchill, then sailed to York from where the return voyage began; C.1/419, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1807, 5 September–25 September, stayed in the vicinity of Moose; C.1/1021, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1751, 25 July–2 August, ca. 4 August–10 August, after the initial arrival at Albany Road, sailed for "Mouse River" [sic: Moose] from where the return voyage began; C.1/1022, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1752, 23 July–12 August; C.1/1023, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1753, 28 August–2 September, 4 September–10 September, after the initial arrival at Albany Road, sailed to Moose River, arriving at the "outer Buoy" and anchoring in "Ship Hole," from where the return voyage began; C.1/1026, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1756, 16 September–26 September; C.1/1027, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1757, 11 August–1 September, anchored at Albany, then sailed to Moose; C.1/1028, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1758, 15 September–2 October vessel damaged, but repaired at Moose and sailed on return voyage; C.1/1029, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1759, ca. 26 August was at Albany road, continued to Moose, but left almost immediately. Rich, "Instructions to Governor Nixon," 15 May 1682, *Letters Outward, First Part*, 40 n.36, indicates that as early as 1682 the Committee had determined on a brief stay in port – Nixon was instructed to send the vessels homeward within the time specified "weither they have ladeing or no ladeing [sic]." Note: archived pages of the HBC ship's logs are inconsistently marked with page and folio numbers according to different systems assigned at various times in the past. As the numbers may or may not account for blank and facing pages, the systems tend become less helpful for marking references with each successive page of a log. As much as possible, therefore, footnotes in this dissertation refer to log entries by the page's date. As the nautical day began and ended at noon, the page designated 20 September at sea might begin with an entry made at noon on 19 September.

[6] See HBCA, B.3/a/3, Albany Post Journal, Anthony Beale, "Six Dayes Remarks of of Albany Roavor beginning Sept ye 20th 1711 [sic]," 25 September; Isaac Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers: A Narrative of Seven Years in the Service of the Hudson's Bay Company during 1867–1874, On the Great Buffalo Plains with Historical and Biographical notes and comment* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1913), 94, notes that in addition to the cannon being "fired at intervals during the day" to alert York Fort of the Ship's arrival, there were also "rockets and blue lights set off after dusk, a lantern also hoisted to the mizzen peak"; Margaret Arnett MacLeod, ed., "Introduction," *The Letters of Letitia Hargrave* (Toronto : Champlain Society, 1947), xxxvii, lviii, lix, lx, see also 58; Richard I. Ruggles, "The West of Canada in 1763: Imagination and Reality," *Canadian Geographer* 15, no. 4 (1971): 252–53.

from shore would arrive alongside by a sloop, or a ship's boat would be sent to the factory. Particularly during the early years of the trade, when ships' captains were members of the posts' governing councils, it was common practice for captains to go ashore and confer with the factor while a pilot from the post – often the resident schooner master – took the helm to sail the vessel to its mooring.[7]

Once moored, in weather that ranged from "fine" and "middling good," to "strong gales and thick disagreeable," sailors saw to securing the ship and disembarking passengers, as well as any livestock destined for the Bay – as opposed to live animals kept aboard for the captain's table. The cargo of supplies sent outward was also unloaded into factory sloops for offloading onto a wharf, preparatory to being stored in a warehouse. Seeing to cargo and company business took precedence. Passengers, therefore, were sometimes required to wait several days before disembarking.[8] If the outward voyage had included encounters with ice that had damaged a ship below its

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[7] See HBCA, B.3/a/3, Albany Post Journal, 1711–1712, 26 September; C.1/1021, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1751, 26 July; C.1023, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1753, 28 August; C.1/1029, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1759, 26 August; C.1/411, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1802, 28 August; C.414 Ship's Log, *King George*, 1803, 15 August; C.1/417, *King George*, 1807, 19 August; C.1/419, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1807, 5 September; Edith I. Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company: Work, Discipline, and Conflict in the Hudson's Bay Company, 1770–1879* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1997), 25, 33–34, 101.

[8] Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 68; Hargrave, *Letters,* 42, 47, 56, reports Captain Herd had "a large stock of little pigs a goat & 2 kids" as well as chickens on board; see also HBCA, C.1/417, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1806, 31 August; C.1/411, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1802, 28 August–ca.10 September; C.1/1022, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1752, 23 July–11 August, notes that two horses that had made the crossing were unloaded at Churchill; C.1/1023, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 6 September; and Franklin Remington, "York Factory to London 1888," *The Beaver* 23, no. 2 (September 1943): 19. Richard Glover, "Introduction," in *Letters from Hudson Bay, 1703–40*, ed. K.G. Davies, with A.M. Johnson (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1965), xxi, observes, "It may surprise some readers of these letters to see how many cattle were kept, notably at Albany in James Bay." LAC, Thomas Douglas, 5th Earl of Selkirk Fonds, Microfilm A.27, Selkirk Papers, vol. I, John McLeod, letter, "Port York Hudsons Bay 27th Sept 1811" (Canadian Library Association Ottawa, 1950), 149, reports, "We after a Traversing tedious passage of 61 days arrived at this remote Place … Since we came to Anker here the 24th Inst we were kept on board the ship till this evening [sic]"; see also Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 101; and Robert M. Ballantyne, *Hudson's Bay, or, Every-day life in the wilds of North America during six years' residence in the territories of the honourable Hudson's Bay Company* (Edinburgh : W. Blackwood, 1848), 18.

water line, sailors emptied the entire vessel to careen it – have it "hauld on shore [sic]" and "hove down" on its side.[9] If the outward journey had been delayed – as in 1758 when the *Seahorse* did not arrive at Moose until 15 September – a crew could expect to be "kept working all night" at unloading and reloading.[10] Reloading involved taking on a cargo of fur bales, along with a supply of firewood and fresh water. On at least one occasion, indigenous livestock – two live moose – were also loaded for the home journey. Because furs were lightweight, sailors ballasted return ships with tons of "shingle" – rocks, boulders, and sand – from the shore.[11] Passengers embarked, and, once the year's packet of letters to the London Committee was on board, vessels were free to begin a return voyage.

While the engagement in port was, of course, extended if a ship was to overwinter, it might also be prolonged in order to wait for another vessel to square away its cargo and clear space at a pier, or to wait for a consort – either necessarily because

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[9] HBCA, B.42/a/32, Fort Churchill Post Journal, 1748–49, "A Journal of the most Remarkable Transactions and Occurrances at Prince of Wales's Fort by Joseph Isbister Chief Factor Commencing 17 August 1748, Ending 1st August 1749 [sic]"; also B.3/a/6, Albany Post Journal, [Anthony Beale?],"Journall of a Voyage anno 1714 without a name, Albany Fort," 27–28 [July?]; H.M.S. Cotter, "The Ship 'Prince of Wales': 1850, Full Rigged Ship in Hudson's [sic] Bay; 1934, New Zealand Coal Hulk," *The Beaver* 13, no. 4 (March 1934): 43, notes that in 1884, "the *Prince of Wales* was beset for over three weeks, and when she arrived her sides, instead of being black, were scraped white with the shearing ice." A.R. Williamson, "Voyage of the 'Discovery' 1911," part II, *The Beaver* 62, no. 4 (spring 1983): 21, notes that in 1911, crews also took time to practice "Lifeboat drill and mustering of gear in the boats … as required by the merchant Shipping Acts."

[10] HBCA, C.1/1028, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1758, 15 September–2 October; see also Cotter, "Ship 'Prince of Wales'," 2, who notes that in 1883 the *Prince of Wales* left London 10 June but, due to a "notable" amount ice in Hudson Strait, did not arrive at Moose until 20 September, and that "In a hundred and fifty years the ship had arrived only twice at a later date than the twentieth of September."

[11] Williamson, "Voyage of the 'Discovery'," part II, 24. See also Dove, "Voyage to Rupert's Land," 22–23. See R. Glover, "Moses Norton (ca. late 1720s–1773)," *Arctic* 35, no. 3 (September 1982): 440, on the moose; Hargrave, *Letters*, 79, 169, mentions "2 young buffaloes" at York destined for an ocean voyage.

England was at war, or conveniently because circumstances allowed. In 1908, for instance, the *Discovery* had already completed ballasting and loading, and "was about to leave on her homeward voyage to England," when the *Stork* arrived. Their respective captains, John G. Ford and Norman J. Freakley, decided to sail home in company, so while the former waited for the latter, Ford's crew turned to "bending a winter suit of sails."[12] While in port, the sailors had occasion to venture ashore on forays related to activities such as gathering ballast, "watering ship," and provisioning.[13] If time allowed, their captain might grant additional time ashore. A.R. Williamson, seaman aboard the SS *Discovery* in 1911, recounted that when free of duty in the evenings and on a Sunday "rest day" – otherwise known as "the sailors' 'dhobie' day" – the crew passed time by exploring Charlton Island and making the acquaintance of people stationed bayside.[14] Opportunities for free time while in Hudson Bay were subject to restriction, however,

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[12] Williams, "Last Voyage of the Stork," 45. Williamson, "Voyage of the 'Discovery'," 24. See also HBCA, C.1/414, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1803, which waited for the *Ceres*; C.1/419, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1807, waited for the *Eddystone* while anchored off Moose; and Remington, "York Factory to London," 19.

[13] Williamson, "Voyage of the 'Discovery'," part II, 23. Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse," 70, notes "critical turn-around time was often delayed by the need to provide the London-bound ship with dunnage" – usually of split poplar that was stowed among and beneath cargo to prevent shifting and water damage. He notes as well that although "there was an effort" to have the tons of ballast required "ready before the ship's arrival, this was not always possible."

[14] Williamson, "Voyage of the 'Discovery'," part II, 22. See Peter Kemp, ed., "Up Funnel, Down Screw," *The Oxford Companion to Ships & the Sea* (New York: Oxford University Press), 902. As noted elsewhere in this dissertation, to 1920, HBC steamers were not faster than HBC sailing ships. The steamers carried and used sail as much as possible, and the removal of bulwarks to supply cargo space left them too weak to handle vibrations from engines running at any more than half speed. Thus, free time ashore was not determined by technology. J. Ledingham, "Sealing from S.S. Nascopie," *The Beaver* 5, no. 2 (March 1925): 74. Ledingham was chief engineer before and after the ship was sold as a sealing vessel out of St. John's Newfoundland. He notes of Newfoundland sealers that they were "very strict in their observance of Sundays at Sea; I have seen a ship stopped at midnight Saturday and not started again till midnight Sunday." See also Richard Henry Dana, *Two Years Before the Mast: A Personal Narrative* (1840; new edition, Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1868), 15, also 17, on Sunday rest days and American crews.

because captains expected sailing conditions to worsen with each passing day.

Experienced sailors appreciated as well that Hudson and James Bays, Hudson Strait, and the North Atlantic were different bodies of water in September and October than they had been in June and July due to seasonal changes in weather patterns. Ice, however, could be a factor at any time. Colder temperatures in any given year might delay the melting of summer ice, leaving "Much ice in sight" at a port on arrival.[15] Although summer sea ice usually had dissipated in Hudson Bay by August, occasionally remnants remained to as late as September.[16] Autumn ice could begin forming in James Bay in late September or early October and it was certain to obstruct the Bottom of the Bay and the estuaries of rivers in Hudson Bay by November. Although Hudson Bay did not appear ever to freeze over entirely, freeze-up near the shore was usually well under way by late November, and Churchill Harbour was generally icebound from December to May.[17]

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[15] HBCA, C.1/415, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1804, 19 August.

[16] See, "Pseudo-iceberg from Foxe Basin near Churchill in mid-April," photograph, in A.D. Bajkov, "The Ice Conditions of Hudson Bay," *The Beaver* (March 1941): 17.

[17] Steele, *English Atlantic*, 88, observes, "winter ice was usually gone by the beginning of July," but allows that "rafted ice," wind driven remnants that gathered against shorelines "sometimes as high as 30 feet," could remain "for another month." See also John Hudspeth, "Journal During Summer in Hudson's [sic] Bay And of the Voyage home to England," *Journals of John Maule Hudspeth: Hudson's Bay and the Voyage home to England, 1816*, University of Tasmania Library Special and Rare Materials Collection, Australia (unpublished), 7.RS1900/D33 <http://eprints.utas.edu.au/7152/2/ rs_2_2%287%29_John_ Hudspeth_Journal_1816.pdf> (accessed 7 October 2008), 24–28, 1 September–14 September, for a description of conditions in 1816. Bajkov, "The Ice Conditions of Hudson Bay," 16–19, states "In the worst winters, the large fields of ice are formed south of Churchill, where they probably extend some fifty miles to the northeast of York Factory. James Bay, due to its shallowness and low salinity, is usually completely frozen over during the second part of each winter. North of Churchill along the western coast of the Bay, ice occurs for only a few miles from the shore. … There is usually a certain amount of floating ice in the Bay during the winter, but this … offers no obstacle to navigation during the first part of the winter at least"; A.J.W. Catchpole, D.W. Moodie, and D. Milton, "Freeze-up and Break-up of Estuaries on Hudson Bay in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *Canadian Geographer* 20, no. 3 (28 June 2008): 279–97,

Sailors who had left Gravesend in May and June were undoubtedly different by September as well, having worked at physically demanding tasks in close company for months on a limited diet. It is reasonable to expect that they sought a swift departure – to end this particular round of work, but as well because both the Bay area and the North Atlantic were prone to "heavy gales … in the fall."[18] With as little delay as possible, then, HBC ships "up-anchored" from bayside berths on the West Main, from Charlton Island, and, by the mid-eighteenth century, occasionally from ports of call such as Richmond House on the East Main.[19] Sailing was always dependent on wind and tide, however. As

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esp. 288, analyze data from post journals kept at Moose Factory, Fort Albany, York Factory, Churchill Factory, and Fort Prince of Wales. They note, "Although the journals often provide a plethora of historical description of ice and water conditions, they do not contain dates of freezing and breaking in any direct form." Rather, comments refer to various aspects of processes that "pertained to a partial ice coverage," and subsequently "a complete ice cover." The study supplies mean dates of first partial freezing at the posts – given as days after December 31 – from which it is possible to supply a rough indication as to the mean date: Churchill Factory 272 [ca. 29 September]; Fort Prince of Wales 273 [ca. 30 September]; York Factory 270 [ca. 27 September]; Fort Albany 282 [ca. 9 October]; Moose Factory 281[ca. 8 October]. Mean dates of first breaking up of ice at the posts are: Churchill Factory 168 [ca. 17 June]; Fort Prince of Wales 168 [ca. 17 June]; York Factory 139 [ca. 19 May]; Fort Albany 129 [ca. 9 May]; Moose Factory 126 [ca. 6 May]. Depending on the general weather pattern over any given year, dates could vary by as much as 26 days earlier and 31 days later.

[18] Williams, "Last Voyage of the Stork," 45; see also HBCA, C.1/417, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1806, 3 September; C.1/1021, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1751, 11–12 August. Steele, *English Atlantic*, 88.

[19] Remington, "York Factory to London," 19. Glover, "Introduction," *Letters from Hudson Bay*, xlii, notes the dubious status of the East Main trade by 1703. Mariners such as Anthony Beale and Henry Kelsey continued to winter ships there and probably built houses ashore. But no East Main base had any "regularly appointed officer and ... permanent complement." It was "merely the normal wintering place of whatever ship [and crew] was attached to the fort at Albany." K.G. Davies, ed., with A.M. Johnson. *Northern Quebec and Labrador Journals and Correspondence, 1819–35* (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1963), xvii, xix–xx, note that in 1744 Thomas Mitchell and John Langland sailed two sloops along the East Main coast, entering Big River/Fort George River, Great Whale River, and Little Whale River. They succeeded in entering the 'great salt lake,' known locally as Winipeg [sic], and later designated by the HBC Richmond Gulf and the Gulf of Hazard for the rough water at its entrance. In 1749 Mitchell, with Captain William Coats, sailed much of the East Main to "promote a larger importation of Whalebone, Oil, Skins, Furrs and other goods and some Mines and Minerals of Worth and Value [sic]." Despite incursions into HBC territory before the Treaty of Utrecht, traders out of France and New France had no posts north of Rupert River. The HBC was alarmed at NWC activity the shores of James Bay in 1803 and responded by opening a post at Fort George River. T.H. Manning, "Explorations on the East Coast of Hudson Bay," *The Geographical Journal* 109, no. 1/3 (January–March 1947): 59, 62, avers that Captain William Coats made

Joseph Oman, first mate of the *King George* recorded in 1802, sailors had to wait on their favourable combination. Ship's apprentice J. Williams, aboard the *Stork* in 1908, noted the same: after being towed out from Carlton Island by a gasoline-powered vessel, "A week passed before a favourable wind arrived.[20]

Once under sail, ships' crews would sound their way out of the shallowest stretches of water. Excepting those departing from the East Main, their ships then sailed a course overall east and northeast for Southampton Island and the western end of Hudson Strait. As mentioned above, Hudson Bay was reputed to be at its worst in the fall – ships "rolled and pitched" as a matter of course.[21] In some instances, sailors appear to have been remarkably adept at dealing with the eventuality of storm damage. In mid September 1718, for example, the *Hudson's Bay* left Port Nelson only to run aground in a violent storm, "receiving such damage from 'grinding against the stones' that she made twelve inches of water in two hours." Yet the crew returned the vessel to York, patched the hull, and set sail again "in a little over a week."[22] Likewise in 1916, Captain George Edmund Mack of the *Nascopie* reported that while at Chesterfield Inlet, during a night of "one of the worst south-easterly gales I have seen" in the Bay:

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the first recorded HBC visit to the East Main of Hudson Bay in 1749, erecting Richmond Fort on Richmond Gulf that year. The post was moved to Great Whale River in 1756, where it remained. Albert Peter Low named Port Harrison, on Cape Dufferin, in 1901. The Reveillon Frères established a post there in 1909.

[20] HBCA, C.1/411, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1802, 15 September; Williams, "Last Voyage of the Stork," 45. Wlliamson, "Voyage of the 'Discover'," part II, 21–22, 25, indicates HBC sail/steam vessels still had to take contrary and/or high winds into account and departures might be delayed.

[21] Remington, "York Factory to London," 19. See also, HBCA, C.1/419, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1807, fos. 49a-49b. Steele, *English Atlantic*, 89.

[22] Oliver Warner, "Voyaging to York Factory," *The Beaver* 37, no. 3 (winter 1957): 22.

> the coast boat in which Edward Hall was to sail to Baker Lake to establish a post had been blown high and dry on some boulders. To Hall's credit he got her off and repaired and sailed her the two hundred miles up to Baker Lake and established a post that fall.[23]

Ships leaving from Charlton Island perhaps had the worst of it, faced as they were with approximately eight hundred miles of what Mack characterized as "a beast of a sea ... breaking like a veritable hell hole"[24] For his part, Williams recalled of his voyage:

> as is usual in this part of the country at this time of year, the wind veered suddenly and in a few hours a howling wind was raging from the northwest ... accompanied by snow that made it impossible to carry much sail. During three days of tacking against this she made only a few miles, and finally heavy fog was encountered and low temperatures which indicated that ice was not far distant.[25]

Snow showers, common on homeward voyages, could last for days at a time. Alternately, snow could be interspersed with hail or rain. Captain William Coats warned that after mid September, "hard frosts" might prevent the working of the ships, because, once wet, "blocks are locks, and ropes are bolts, and sails can neither be taken in nor left out."[26] In

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[23] G. Edmund Mack, "Breaking the Ice for the Allies," *The Beaver* 18, no. 3 (December 1938): 24. G. Edmund Mack, "H.B.S.S. Pelican Ends Historic Career: Former British Man o' War Which Subsequently Served H.B.C. for Twenty Years in Arctic Seas Now Being Broken Up," *The Beaver* 2, no. 5 (February 1922): 15, notes that in 1920, after losing two propeller blades in a collision with ice, the ship put in to Lake Harbour, where the ship's carpenter made a wooden blade that allowed the *Pelican* to finish the voyage, although in St. John's it was determined that any further repairs would exceed the ship's value.

[24] "An Old H.B.C. Skipper (The Late Captain William Barfield)," *The Beaver* 4, no. 7 (April 1924): 260, gives the distance as eight hundred and twenty miles. Mack, "Breaking Ice," 24, gives the distance as six hundred miles. See also Charles H.M. Gordon, "Sailing the Hoodoo Ship on Hudson Bay," *The Beaver* (October 1923): 9–11, for a description of sailing in difficult conditions in James Bay, 1893.

[25] Williams, "Last Voyage of the Stork," 45; see also Mack, "Breaking Ice," 24.

[26] William Coats quoted in Steele, *English Atlantic,* 88. See Christopher Middleton, "Observations on the Weather, in a Voyage to Hudson's Bay in North-America, in the Year 1730, by Mr. Christopher Middleton. Communicated by the Same," *Philosophical Transactions (1683–1775)* 37 (1731–1732): 78, 14

October 1714 David Vaughan, master of the sloop *Eastmain*, had been forced to cast that vessel away – fortunately "without loss of life" – after it became "so coated with ice during a heavy storm that it was feared she would sink from the weight of it."[27]

To compound difficulties, approaching Hudson Strait meant the loss of reliable compass readings. Frederick Remington, who worked his way to London in the "fo'c'stle" of the *Prince Rupert* in 1888, recalled that near the western entrance to the Strait the compass needle pointed "continually in one direction, and that direction not the magnetic north no matter which way the ship turned."[28] Approaching the strait might mean renewed encounters with sea ice that, having drifted down from Foxe Channel over the summer, had caught up in the channels between the islands and "as far as the eye could see."[29] According to Williams, the *Stork* tacked "back and forth across the Bay to locate any opening through the ice."[30] In 1890, the *Prince Rupert*, which had departed from Churchill for London in October, also ran into ice off Mansel Island – literally. Captain William Barfield reported that on collision, the ship sprang a leak, "and all hands were called to the pumps. The temperature was falling steadily, and for many hours the

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September–17 September; and Christopher Middleton, "Observations made of Latitude, Variations of the Magnetic Needle, and Weather, by Capt. Christopher Middleton, in a Voyage from London to Hudson's-Bay, Anno 1735," *Philosophical Transactions (1683–1775)* 39 (1735–1736): 277, 13 September.

[27] K.G.Davies, ed., with A.M. Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay 1703–40* (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1965), 39 n. 1, note that the London Committee ordered the sloop to sail from Albany to York, that the crew might help "to build and fortifye That Place [sic]."

[28] Remington, "York Factory to London," 20.

[29] Ibid., 19. HBCA, C.1/411, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1802, 26 September, apparently well into the Strait by this date, the ship's log did not mention ice. Steele, *English Atlantic*, 89, notes the strait, "was usually open until the middle of October." See also Mack, "Breaking Ice," 24.

[30] Williams, "Last Voyage of the Stork," 45.

men continued to pump, unable to get enough time to feed."[31] When the ice forming on the deck reached a thickness of two feet, the ship made instead for Charlton to winter. Barfield was not the only captain to decide to turn back and winter in the Bottom of the Bay rather than risk freezing into the ice in north-eastern Hudson Bay. If ice in the Bay was too heavy, Hudson Strait, though reputedly "never frozen over," was not, therefore, always navigable.[32] In 1911, the problem was not ice, but blinding snow that made determining a course into the strait hazardous.[33] If sailors were unlucky, the ice at the western entrance would prove impregnable, or contending with the weather would prove too difficult, and they would fail to complete a homeward crossing of the Bay. If sailors were lucky, they might accomplish the crossing relatively swiftly. In 1751, for example, the *Seahorse* sailed from Moose to Mansel Island in just under a week. If luck held, HBC sailors would find open ice, and there would be sun "bright and warm and a fair wind" to speed them into and through Hudson Strait.[34]

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[31] "Old H.B.C. Skipper," 260.

[32] Joseph Robson, quoted in Charles N. Bell, "Navigation of Hudson Bay and Straits," *MHS Transactions* series 1, no. 7 (read 10 May, 1883) <http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/transactions/1/hudsonnavigation.shtml> (accessed 23 March 2006); Robert Bell, quoted in Ernest J. Chambers, ed., *Canada's Fertile Northland: A Glimpse of the Enormous Resources of Part of the Unexplored Regions of the Dominion, Evidence heard before a Select Committee of the Senate of Canada during the Parliamentary Session of 1906–1907, and the Report based thereon* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1907), 118, testified that he had "never heard that the strait was frozen across in winter." He argued, "There is ice there, but always more or less open water with it, at all times." See Williams, "Last Voyage of the Stork," 45; A.J.W. Catchpole and Marcia-Anne Faurer, "Ships' Log-Books, Sea Ice and the Cold Summer of 1816 in Hudson Bay and Its Approaches," *Arctic* 38, no. 2 (June 1985): 123, report: "the voyage of 1815 was truncated by Hudson Strait pack ice, which prevented the return of the ships *Eddystone* and *Hadlow* through Hudson Strait into the Atlantic Ocean. Faced with the prospect of overwintering in the Bay, both vessels sailed to the comparatively safe anchorage of Strutton Sound in James Bay and were to remain there, ice-bound, until 12 August of the following year."

[33] Williamson, "Voyage of the 'Discovery'," 26–27; see also Mack, "Breaking Ice," 25.

[34] Remington, "York Factory to London," 20. See, HBCA, C.1/411, Ship's Log, *King George*,

Within Hudson Strait in late summer and early autumn, HBC sailors were prepared to meet "a confused sea" in conditions that included "stiff" and "strong gales," with "cloudy" weather, "thick" with rain, snow, and fog in all its varieties, for days at a time.[35] Every voyage was different, however. A crew might be "much troubled with contrary winds, so that we lay beating from side to side about nine days in the Straits"; encounter only light winds; or be becalmed.[36] Typically, the passage from the western to the eastern entrance took ships from one to two weeks to complete. In 1806, however, Captain John Turner of the *King George* recorded a passage from Cary Swan's Nest and Mansel Islands to the Button Islands of three days.[37]

The flow of ice from Foxe Basin meant Hudson Strait was "practically never clear."[38] Nevertheless, after travelling the strait at various times of year between 1897 and 1907, Albert Peter Low believed that "ordinary" vessels were in no real danger, because "In the midsummer months it gets warm and more easily broken. The cementing material is practically gone from it. You can just run into it and it breaks to pieces, and

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1802, 21 September; C.1/419, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1807, 7 October; also C.1/1021, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1751, 10–16 August; C.1/1027, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1757.

[35] HBCA, C.1/414, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1803, 20 September; C.1/1028, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1758, 19 October; C.1/417, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1806, 4 September, 5 September; C.1/1027, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1757, William Norton's log refers to sea condition more often than most, in a greater variety of terms.

[36] William Wales, "Journal of a Voyage, made by order of the Royal Society, to Churchill River, on the North-west Coast of Hudson's Bay; of Thirteen Months Residence in that Country, and of the Voyage back to England; in the Years 1768 and 1769," *Philosophical Transactions (1683–1775)* 60 (1770): 132–33; HBCA, C.1/1028, Ship's Log, *Sea Horse*, 1758, 19 October.

[37] HBCA, C.1/417, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1806, 5–8 September. HBCA, C.1/1028, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1758, 2–19 October. W. Gillies Ross "Distribution, Migration, and Depletion of Bowhead Whales in Hudson Bay, 1860–1915," *Arctic and Alpine Research* 6, no. 1 (winter 1974): 87.

[38] "The New Route from England to Eastern Asia, and the Hudson Bay Route," *Science* 10, no. 23 (8 July 1887): 15, 17.

you see four times as much as you did before."[39] Along with small ice, HBC ships' crews were also likely to find "Icebergs of all sizes and shapes."[40] William Wales observed that on the home journey of 1768 "we did not see twenty islands the whole time, and these none of them very large."[41] Yet, according to ship's surgeon John Birbeck Nevins, on the way out of the Strait in 1843 the ship encountered large islands. Nevins reported:

> It is exceedingly dangerous to be very near one in the autumn; for, when they have had the heat and washing of the summer seas, they become worn away, and at length break into two or more pieces, which roll over time after time, until at length they are settled. If the ice-berg has been deep, its bottom striking the bottom or side of the ship as it rolled over, would be likely to damage it materially, even if it did not burst it or upset it. I never saw a large iceberg fall in two, but I have seen many small ones; and several large ones which were so far split, that the first heavy wave must have broken them in pieces. One of the most surprising things about them is their hardness. We were sailing slowly past a very large one, which came down to the water's edge, almost like a wall, and from which we were distant about two hundred yards. The captain desired that one of the guns should be loaded with a ball weighing twelve pounds, and when fired the ball struck it fairly, made a little dint in it, and fell off into the water.[42]

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[39] Albert P. Low, evidence, in *Canada's Fertile Northland*, 112. See also LAC, item no. PA-038220, "SS *Diana* lifted out of the ice off Big Island, Hudson Strait, 1897," photograph, A.P. Low; A.P. Low, "Geographical Work of the Geological Survey of Canada, 1900–1905," *The Geographical Journal* 28, no. 3 (September 1906): 277–79; "Expedition to Hudson Bay and Northward," *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society* 37, no. 7 (1905): 408–11; John A. Cormie, "The Hudson Bay Route," *Geographical Review* 4, no. 1 (July 1917): 33.

[40] Remington, "York Factory to London," 20. See also HBCA, C.1/1021, Ship's Log, *Seahorse* 1751, 17–30 August; C.1/417, Ships' Logs, *King George*, 1806, 7 September.

[41] Wales, "Journal of a Voyage," 132–33.

[42] J. Birbeck Nevins, *A narrative of two voyages to Hudson's Bay: with traditions of the North American Indians* (London: Printed for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1847), 7–8; see also Thomas M'Keevor, *A voyage to Hudson's Bay, during the summer of 1812: containing a particular account of the icebergs and other phenomena which present themselves in those regions: also, a description of the Esquimeaux and North American Indians, their manners, customs, dress, language, &c. &c. &c.* (London: Printed for Sir Richard Phillips and Co., 1819), 11, for a similar account; Hudspeth, "Journal during Summer in Hudson's Bay," 30–31, 18–20 September 1816, describes many Isles of Ice "of prodigious size" and "grotesque and curious forms"; H.M.S. Cotter, "Some Famous Hudson's [sic] Bay Captains and Ships," part I, *The Beaver* 1, no. 7 (April 1921): 2, recounts Captain Bishop's telling of "the narrowest escape he ever had" aboard the *Prince Rupert* when an iceberg lost its equilibrium in 1872.

Landmarks along the south shore that had been cited in ship's logs on the outward journey were noted again on the home journey – in a variety of spellings – including: "Carry Swans Nefs" [sic: Ness, a contraction from Nest]; Mansel/Mansfield Island; "Digs" [the Digges Island Group] ; Cape "Walingham"/"Wolsinghom"/ Wolstenholme; and the "Is of Chas" [Charles Island].[43] Rather than retracing the outward path to the Bay and crossing to the north shore at Charles Island, homeward HBC ships normally stayed a course along the south shore. Logs for this part of the passage therefore recorded additional landmarks such as "False Charles" a promontory, further along that "in very hazy wether [sic]," was sometimes "taken to be Cape Charles … from its likeness."[44] The shorelines of the strait visually fell away from a ship after this point, so that the next distinct landform sighted was the island of Amocomancka/Amocomanko – called Akpatok by the 1800s – in the mouth of Ungava Bay, "a great bay" that was "of 50 leagues from east to west."[45] There were two other islands, jointly designated the Green

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[43] HBCA, C.1/417, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1806, 3 September, 5 September. See David L. McKeand, "The Eastern Arctic Patrol," 14 March 1940. Empire Club of Canada, Texts since 1903. Address published in *The Empire Club of Canada Speeches 1939–1940* (Toronto: Empire Club of Canada, 1940) <http://www.empireclubfoundation.com/details.asp?FT=yes&SpeechID=920> (accessed 16 October 2007), who notes that "Cape Wolstenholme is easily distinguished from other highlands of northern Quebec" and adds HBC coastal vessels, as well as non-HBC ships, dropped anchor near Wolstenholme "in Eric Cove where Hudson took on water in 1610. The government patrol ship N. B. McLean uses the same stream every summer. It was here that Mr. Ralph Parsons, Fur Trade Commissioner of the Hudson's Bay Company, opened the first trading post on Hudson Strait on the 13th of August, 1909, almost 240 years after the Company was incorporated and opened its first post in James Bay."

[44] William Coats, *The Geography of Hudson's Bay: being the remarks of Captain W. Coats, in many voyages to that locality, between the years 1727 and 1751*, ed. John Barrow (London: Hakluyt Society, 1852), 16, see also13–15, which indicate early HBC transatlantic ships did not visit Lake Harbour on the North Shore of Hudson Strait. McKeand, "The Eastern Arctic Patrol," notes that Lake Harbour was "a rendezvous for whalers and is one of the safest anchorages to be found in the Eastern Arctic." As of 1911, there was "a Royal Canadian Mounted Police detachment, Hudson's Bay Company trading post … and an Anglican Mission" at the location.

[45] Coats, *Geography*, 13, 14, n.1 and n.3, observes the Green islands were known individually as

Islands, that transatlantic sailors knew to lie within Ungava Bay. They did not normally see these, however – just as, after 1829, many HBC sailors knew of a port at Fort Chimo/ Kuujjuaq only by hearsay, because their transatlantic ships did not visit locations within Ungava Bay.

Commonly, before 1884, it was from the Buttons Island group off Cape Chidley, at the eastern entrance to Ungava Bay that longitude for the ocean crossing was set. Along with the islands, the strong rippling of converging currents and tide marked the passage out of the eastern end of Hudson Strait. Although it was frequently more experienced than seen, this overflow served to signal the transition to the Labrador Sea portion of the Atlantic Ocean, whether or not landmarks were visible.[46]

Homeward ocean crossings generally took from about from four to six weeks or about half the time required for the outward voyages. HBC ship captains had two basic options for charting their return. The first was to sail for Orkney and retrace the north

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Plain Island and Grass Island, but that HBC ships "seldom go or come" near them. Manning, "Explorations," explains that Fort Chimo was located near the mouth of the Koksoak River, in the vicinity of Kuujjuaq in northern Quebec. Davies and Johnson, *Northern Quebec and Labrador Journals*, xvii, xxxvii– xxxix, lix, discuss Moravian activity at Chimo from 1810–1814. They note as well that "Chimo's situation made it a far from ordinary Company post; it was not one in a network of stations, mutually supporting each other, and in regular communication. … Approach from the sea was impossible for most of the year, and even during the short season of open water in Hudson Strait no Company sloop would ever touch at the post unless specially sent, while the ocean-going Company ships passing through the Strait each summer took great care to avoid the dangerous tidal races of Ungava Bay."

[46] See Coats, *Geography*, 16; and, for example, Middleton, "Observations on the Weather … 1730," 78, 16 September; also Middleton, "Observations made of the Latitude … 1735," 276, 1 September, 9 September, 13 September, 18 September, who sets longitude as 0° from Moose River, from Mansfield Island, and from Diggs Island to the vicinity of Resolution Island, where he resets it to 58° 40' from London for the ocean crossing; also HBCA C.1/421, Ships' Logs, *King George*, 1809, 15 October; C.1/1021, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1751; C.1/1022, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1752; C.1/1026, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1756, 7 October.

about route.[47] The second was to head south and east from Resolution for the Scilly Islands off Lands End, Cornwall, at the western end of the English Channel – the west about route. Between 1508 and 1920, warfare seems to have determined captains' choices more than any natural conditions in the North Atlantic. Once across the Labrador Sea, ice was no longer a concern, but on either course, weather might include sleet and squalls, snow and rain. Sailors invariably encountered heavy seas at some point on the homeward journey regardless of route. Traversing the Labrador Sea and 'Stormy Forties' below Cape Farewell could prove a difficult introduction to the Atlantic, as Remington reported in 1888:

> For twenty-one consecutive days an intermittent gale raged and roared from the southeast. This was a dead head wind. Light loaded as we were, we tacked backwards and forwards over towards Greenland and back, drifting northwards towards Davis Straits. The seas were mountainous, the sky a dull dirty grey, and the nights inky black.[48]

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[47] See Coats, *Geography*, 8. Steele, *English Atlantic*, 90; Dove, "Voyages to Rupert's Land," 7, notes that "By mid-century, Company vessels could consistently reach Hudson Bay from London in 8 weeks and make the return journey in 4, whereas a century earlier it had taken 12 out and 6 back." Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 97, states "A run of fourteen days from York to Land's End was not uncommon and I have heard of it being done in ten days." See also HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements, 1719–1929; Morton, *History of the Canadian West*, 51, 54, notes that the *Nonsuch*, "Leaving Charles Fort in the warmth of June, … arrived at the Downs on 9th October," and arrived in the Thames, "shortly thereafter." E.E. Rich, *The History of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1670–1870*, vol. 1 (New York, Macmillan, c. 1958), 97, notes that "The ice was clear, and the *Rupert* was got off … with the *Albermarle* in convoy, on 9 August 1681. They arrived at Falmouth early in October"; HBCA, C.1/1026, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1726, took from 7 October, from the vicinity of Resolution, to reach Cairstone Harbour, Stromness, on 30 October; C.1/1028, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1758, despite 'wallowing,' made Orkney on the 11 November, having left Resolution on 19 October; C.1/421, Ships' Logs, *King George*, 1809, crossed from Button's to Orkney between 2 October and 21 October.

[48] Remington, "York Factory to London," 20. See Wales, "Journal of a Voyage," 132–33; HBCA, C.1/419, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1807, 8–9 October; C.1/1021, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1751; C.1/1022, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1752; C.1/1026, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 17 October; C.1/421, Ships' Logs, *King George*, 1809, 2–4 October, 10 October, 15 October; HBCA, C.1/414 , Ship's Log, *King George*, 1804, 29 September; C.1/419, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1807, 9–10 October, reported "strong sea from the NE", and "Strong Head Sea."

Whatever troubles a crew had experienced previously on their voyage, passing into the open ocean might well lead the less experienced among passengers and crew to remark, as Remington did, that "Then our troubles began."[49] Certainly, notations in HBC logbooks indicate that the North Atlantic in the autumn months lived up to the designation 'high seas' in more than the ordinary sense. John Morley, mate of the *Seahorse* in 1758, for example, commented on meeting a "great swell" from "ESE" that left the ship "rowling much in ye trough of ye Sea [sic]."[50] The comment is notable because, while detailed references to wind and weather abound, normally keepers of HBC logs made few mentions of wave action on the Atlantic. When they did so, particularly on the earlier HBC voyages homeward, it was often because great seas made figuring a longitudinal position difficult. Depending on direction, wave action might hinder or speed a ship along its course at a rate that left HBC mariners guessing.[51]

HBC captains appear to have chosen a homeward course via the Orkney Islands only when necessary and for specific reasons. Between 1740 and 1890, one reason was to drop off returning servants who had engaged there. The other reason was to conform to a Company directive that was standard in its sailing orders during wartime or in times when the outbreak of war was rumoured. In the latter case, the directive would instruct the captain to put into Stromness on his return to gather information on "the state of

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[49] Remington, "York Factory to London," 20.

[50] HBCA, C.1/1028, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1758, 19 October11 November.

[51] Coats, *Geography*, 11; see also HBCA C.1/415, fo. 44a, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1804, ca. 16 September; HBCA, C.1/1029, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1759, 3 October. References to the sea's volume were also included in logs in instances where vessels carrying furs 'shipped' a lot of water – meaning waves broke over the deck and water leaked into the hold.

things."[52] If war had already broken out, the directive would order HBC ships to seek a naval escort on approaching England, and, if one was not encountered at sea, the ships were to wait in Cairstone Roads, along with other merchant vessels, to join with a convoy.[53]

Given that it was difficult to know by reckoning exactly where a ship lay with respect to its intended destination, a ship's complement kept watch for any sign that an approach to land might be immanent. Mates entered sightings of sails into the ship's logs – an increase in the frequency was an indication of a port coming into range. Based on calculations of the course sailed, lookouts would scan the horizon for expected landmarks such as the Stack, Barra, and Rona Islands. Once abreast of Hoy, arrival followed a standard routine: a local pilot would take the vessel to Stromness where Orkney-bound passengers and discharged seamen disembarked. In wartime, the ship and remaining crew then waited for word about when a naval vessel might escort a convoy to the London

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[52] Steele, *English Atlantic*, 89. Warner, "Voyaging to York Factory," 20.

[53] HBCA C.7, Ships' Miscellaneous Papers. The London Committee issued instructions to captains at the beginning of voyages outlining destinations and purposes, the conditions aboard ship to be maintained, and expectations regarding such things as trading with natives, meeting with an enemy, and heading 'home.' Hans Rollmann with Heather Russell, transcript, "Brief Account of the Vessel Employed in the Service of the Mission on the Coast of Labrador ... from the Year 1770 to the Present Time," *Periodical Accounts* 21, 75–83, 120–33, E-text, Moravian, Lives and Narratives of the Labrador Missionaries, Religion, Society and Culture in Newfoundland and Labrador, The Newfoundland and Labrador Pages of Dr. Hans Rollman, Department of Religious Studies, Memorial University of Newfoundland <http://www.mun.ca/rels/morav/texts/ship.html> (accessed 19 March 2006), describe one non-HBC vessel's joining with HBC ships in convoy. On reaching the Orkneys in 1797, the *Harmony* "was mercifully preserved from capture on her passage home. Having sailed from Hopedale on the 22nd of September, she reached Stromness, in the Orkneys, on the 10th of October. Here she found the Apollo frigate, Captain Manley, destined to convoy the Hudson's Bay ships home. Two of the latter arrived on the 11th at Stromness, but the third being still missing, and not arriving up to the 25th, the Apollo proceeded in quest of her; and, after some days, fell in with a French frigate, cruising for the Hudson's Bay ships, which she attacked and compelled to strike. This frigate had been discovered by the HARMONY, in a moonlight night, some days previous to her arrival at Stromness, a few miles to the south; and it is to be considered as a merciful interposition of God's providence, that she was not perceived by the enemy and captured. During the Apollo's absence, the third ship arrived; and, on the 23rd of November, the whole convoy left Stromness, and reached the Thames in safety."

River. The wait was variable – sometimes a message to prepare to depart arrived in a matter of hours, sometimes it was several weeks before a convoy was organized.[54]

From Stromness, convoyed ships sailed to Yarmouth Roads to secure a pilot for passage through the London River's estuary. The same landmarks noted on the outward voyage marked the return passage through the North Sea. Nevertheless, as had been the case in Hudson Bay and on the North Atlantic, conditions had changed by the time of the home voyage. One of the most obvious indications of change was that the sailors were contending with snowfall as often as they had dealt with fog and rain while sailing outward. If winds were "foul," ships could be as easily lost on the shoals that marked this "most dangerous coast" as they might be in Hudson Bay or Strait.[55] The passage from Stromness through the North Sea to the Nore Light in the estuary of the London River

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[54] See, HBCA, C.1/414, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1803, 2 October, 6 October, 9 October; C.1/419, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1807, 16 October, 19 October; C.1/421, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1809, 18 October, for examples of encounters with ships at sea; also C.1/411,Ship's Log, *King George*, 1802, 11–13 October; Coats, *Geography*, 7; also HBCA, C.1/414, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1803, 2–26 October, from 9–26 October the ship waited at Stromness to be escorted by the "Ciffone Frigate" [sic.: *Chiffone*]. It was not until 14 November that a convoy of merchantmen departed; C.1/415, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1804, 24 September–22 October; C.1/416, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1805, 6 October–2 November; C.1/417, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1806, 20 September–7 November, waited in the harbour from 20 September to 12 October, when a gun brig came in and anchored. It was not until the 18 October that Captain Turner received notice that Captain Trollop [George Trollop Esq.] of HM Brig *Electra* would be the escort. Turner's consort, the *Prince of Wales* arrived on the 2 November. Finally, on the 7 November they set sail in convoy; C.1/419, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1807, 20 October; C.1/421, Ships' Logs, *King George*, 1809, 19–21 October; C.1/419, Ship's log, *King George*, 1807, 20 October, waited from 20 October for arrival of *Prince of Wales* on 1 November. On 3 November Captain James of HMS *Nile* signalled that the convoy would be under his command. On 6 November they prepared to sail, but, due to hail and rain, did not depart until the 8 November; C.1/421, Ships' Logs, *King George*, 1809, 21 October–14 November, on arrival Captain John Turner was informed by Captain Henry Hanwell senior, of the HBC consort *Prince of Wales* that they were to meet with HMS "Sloop *Snake* Thos. Young Esqr. Commander" at Longhope, Walls Island. The HBC ships left almost immediately and then waited at Longhope to 14 November; C.1/1028, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 11–12 November, in 1758 *Seahorse* was in the harbour only 24 hours.

[55] See, for example, HBCA, C.1/421, Ships' Logs, *King George*, 1809, 15 November; C.1/417, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1806, 7–13 November. Hudspeth, "Journal during Summer in Hudson's Bay," 38, 40, 24 October, 30–31 October 1816, witnessed the distress of two ships off Yarmouth that had been sailing in company, and passed the wreck of another that was lost nearby during the same storm.

would take no more than a week if there were no delays at Yarmouth. At the Nore, the route sailed on this 'north about' passage converged with that followed on a 'west about' passage.[56]

In the early years of HBC voyaging, the Scilly route homeward displayed disadvantages, and proved to be as dangerous homeward as outward.[57] One disadvantage – from a Company perspective – was the number of ports along the route into which ships might put without London Committee knowledge. In 1673, for example, the *Nonsuch* ketch and the *Messenger* dogger returned from wintering in Hudson Bay during wartime.[58] Captains Zachary Gillam in the former and Robert Morris in the latter had sailed from Resolution to the west coast of Ireland then on to Portsmouth in the Channel where, they later told the London Committee, they put in for safety. The ships next entered Plymouth harbour, ostensibly for the same reason. The Committee discovered, however, that the two captains had engaged in trade on their own behalf. Though a small amount of private trade was common practice among sailors of England's merchant marine, the London Committee considered it an illicit activity.[59] Subsequently, on the

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[56] See, for example, HBCA, C.1/421, Ships' Logs, *King George*, 1809, 15–18 November; C.1/417, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1806, 7–13 November; also, C.1/419, Ships' Logs, *King George*, 1807, 13 November.

[57] See Chapter Five, this thesis, 104–5; Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse," 54.

[58] The Third Anglo-Dutch War/*Derde Engels-Nederlandse Oorlog*, pitted England against the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands from 1672–1674.

[59] See Janet J. Ewald, "Crossers of the Sea: Slaves, Freedmen, and Other Migrants in the Northwestern Indian Ocean, c. 1750–1914," *The American Historical Review* 105, no. 1 (February 2000): 72, who notes that across oceans, "sailors … were also traders. Exercising customary rights to cargo space, they peddled goods from one port to another." HBCA, C.7/175, "Sailing Orders and Instructions," (n.d.), however, directs the captain that "We strictly enjoin you, during your stay in the country, not to suffer or permit any article of trade (being the produce of out Settlements there), to be put on board our ship but what shall be mentioned in the bill of lading, and consigned to the Company, after having been carefully

strength of the HBC charter, Company members and servants were required to swear an oath to forgo all such trade.[60] As an extra measure to ensure servant compliance, the London Committee created the position of waiter to search ships for contraband when in port.[61] Waiter effectiveness, however, depended on knowing when and where a ship put into port, which was easier to ascertain on the north about route, where Stromness was the only first port of call an HBC ship was likely to make.

One danger of the west about route was that the Scilly Islands were a notorious haunt of privateers. In 1696, Captain William Allen, returning in HMS *Bonaventure*, from the "successful, though temporary," recapturing of York Fort, died off the Scillies in a sea battle with a privateer out of France. The HBC captains in convoy, Michael Grimington Senior of the *Dering* and Nicholas Smithsend of the *Hudson's Bay*, managed

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inspected and examined by the Officer in charge of the Factory from whence they were put on board; and you are likewise not permitted any chests, trunks, boxes, or parcels, whatever, belonging to any passengers returning home, or to any of the officers, sailors, or others or [sic: on] our said ship, to be put on board the same, until they have been inspected and examined as aforesaid. And after your departure from [blank] Factory, you are not to suffer any furs, or other articles of trade (being the produce of the Company's settlements), to be removed from our said ship, or landed in nay port or place whatever, until you shall arrive at the Port Of London, and shall have made a just and full entry of your whole cargo at the Custom-House there; and we charge you to be very particular in the making of proper entry of any packages of returned articles that may be on board your ship."

[60] Morton, *History of the Canadian West,* 73. See also Peir [sic] Esprit Radisson, "To the Right honourable Sr John Somers Knight Lord Keeper of the Great Seale of England," 22 May 1694, quoted in Grace Lee Nute, ed., "Two Documents from Radisson's Suit Against the Company," *The Beaver* 15, no. 3 (December 1935): 41, 44, who complained that furs "which your Orator [Radisson] shipped on his owne accompt and for his owne use which your Orator may very reasonably Clayme as his owne in regard the Company had noe title thereto they being the produce of the French Commoditys that were brought from france [sic] when your Orator sett out from thence in orser to setle the french Factorys there … and your Orator being the onely person that seised them therefore the same ought to belong to him [sic]." Nute notes that although the suit was settled in his favour – his salary, gratuity and stock in the Company were restored – the HBC retained ownership of the furs and the profit under dispute.

[61] Ann M. Carlos and Stephen Nicholas, "Managing the Manager: An Application of the Principal Agent Model to the Hudson's Bay Company," *Oxford Economic Papers*, n.s., 45, no. 2 (April 1993): 251.

to escape.[62]

The foregoing problems notwithstanding, by 1723 the London Committee's orders and instructions to captains in times of peace either included such directives as "You are also to come West about home, & so up ye Channel," or left the determination of the route homeward to the discretion of its captains.[63] In some respects, heading "straight across the Atlantic to Land's End and up the English Channel and Thames to London" was less complicated than going north about and afforded a "comparatively quick passage to England."[64] The waters north of Scotland, reputed to be more dangerous by November, could be avoided and extra time would not be spent waiting to secure and drop off pilots or to compete for access to dockside facilities in the crowded close of Stromness. In good sailing conditions, with a fair wind and a minimum amount of tacking, a ship travelling at a rate that reached as high as nine knots could accomplish the passage from the Chidleys to the Scillies in about two weeks.[65]

Contrary to popular assumptions about the prevailing winds of the North Atlantic, at no time of year was there any guarantee that HBC ships would find winds blowing

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[62] Warner, "Voyaging to York Factory," 20; Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse," 54. See also George Woodley, *A View of the Present State of the Scilly Islands: Exhibiting Their Vast Importance to the British Empire; the Improvements of which They are Susceptible; and a Particular Account of the Means Lately Adopted for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Inhabitants, by the Establishment and Extension of Their Fisheries* (London: n.p., 1822), 9, 14–15; Patrick Pringle, *Jolly Roger: The Story of the Great Age of Piracy* (Courier Dover Publications, 2001), 25–26, 28, 41; Rich, *History*, vol.1, 237–339; Warner, "Voyage to York," 20.

[63] "By Ship of Sail to Hudson Bay, 1723," 381.

[64] Williams, "Last Voyage of the Stork," 45.

[65] Alwin. "Mode, Pattern and Pulse," 55. See HBCA, C.1/1021, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1751; C.1/1022, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1752, took just over a week to cross and arrive in the vicinity of Scilly – where the longitudinal meridian was adjusted; C.1/411, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1802, 30 September–14 October, longitude was kept track of from Hoyshead, while yet the ship does do not appear to have stopped in Orkney.

across the surface of the ocean to be fair and from the west. As Captain Coats observed, the wind was "a fickle lady that no well-bred seaman will trust to."[66] William Wales recorded in his journal "very rough, and contrary winds" in 1769, with which the crew were "troubled almost all the way."[67] HBC ship logs also show variability in wind direction. While North West winds were common in Hudson Bay and associated waters, there were winds "around the compass" reported in those waters, the Atlantic Ocean, the North Sea and the Channel.[68]

Even if a fair wind blew across the Atlantic, it did not ensure good visibility – a problem when approaching the "violent" tides and rocky shores of Britain.[69] In 1888 for example, Remington reported having been at sea for some forty days, without a clear indication of longitude. Sailing "at a sharp gait," the crew apparently knew their destination was in the offing – Remington recounted that they were "cheerful and congratulating themselves that, as they expressed it, their lady friends in London now had a line on the ship and were hauling them fast to port." It came as some surprise,

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[66] Coats, *Geography*, 10. Steele, *The English Atlantic*, 89, for example, assumes "westerlies in pursuit" to be a constant, but see Chapter Five, this thesis, 106 and n.40; also Robert De C. Ward, "The Prevailing Winds of the United States," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 6 (1916): 100, 101, who notes that regardless of upper atmosphere activity, "local influences of the changing seasonal pressures" over continents and oceans "greatly" modify surface patterns, so that "*easterly* winds are of frequent occurrence throughout the belt of our prevailing *westerlies*. Many persons, indeed, especially along or near our northern Atlantic coast, find it difficult to believe that out prevailing winds are really from the west" [italics in source].

[67] Wales, "Journal of a Voyage," 132.

[68] See, for example, Middleton, "Observations on the Weather … 1730," 78, 2–8 October; Middleton, "Observations made of the Latitude … 1735," 278, 22–23 September, 27 September–3 October; and Hudspeth "Journal during Summer in Hudson's Bay," 34–35, 5–10 October 1816, for reports of persistent winds from easterly directions; and HBCA, C. 1/415, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1804, 21 October.

[69] Coats, *Geography*, 5.

nevertheless, that a lifting of the fog revealed "straight ahead and almost on top of us … a lighthouse sitting on top of a huge cliff of rock that rose straight out of the water." The ship was successfully brought about, but Remington averred, "not before you could have chucked the proverbial ship's biscuit ashore from after the rail."[70]

Voyages via Scilly also faced the possibility of delay due to encountering headwinds in the narrow expanse of the Channel. If, as was the case in 1843, a captain found there was nothing to be gained by "beating back and forth," he might take a pilot on board to enter the nearest harbour and wait.[71] From the latter years of the nineteenth century, a captain presented with poor weather, or a congested shipping lane, had the option of securing the services of a steam tug and having his ship towed. [72] Progress from "the Start of Land," along the Channel to as far as Dover and the South Foreland of Kent, was marked in HBC ships' logs according to "the looming of the Land," with bearings taken from locations such as Lizard Point on Cape Cornwall, the Bill of Portland off Weymouth, and Peverell Point, near Swanage. If a ship made the passage over a twenty-four hour stretch, landward locations were visible at night by virtue of lighthouses such as the Runnel Stone, the Eddystone, and the Dungeness Light. From Dover HBC ships would run for the Downs in which they anchored to pick up a pilot to navigate the estuary and the remainder of the journey.[73]

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[70] Remington, "York Factory to London," 20, adds "the realization that with any kind of luck in two days we would be in London Town gave everybody a fit of dry inebriation."

[71] Wales, "Journal of a Voyage," 134.

[72] Remington, "York Factory to London," 21.

[73] See HBCA, C.1/412, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1802, mate John Oman also lists Dunnose, and

If the estuary presented no problems, an HBC ship might reach Gravesend within twenty-four hours of arriving at the Nore Light from either Yarmouth on a north about route, or the Downs on the west about.[74] Entry into the London River, however, could be delayed.[75] In addition to weather, tide, and heavy sea-going traffic, during wartime naval vessels might stop entire convoys to search for impressible crew.[76] Occasionally ships faced quarantine. On 16 November 1806, for example, John Davison, a mate aboard the *King George*, recorded that the vessel was detained after a "a Boat on the Bill of Health Station came alongside and Asksed [sic] us not to go above Hob Haven. But anchor there." At Old Haven "as pr order to Ride Quarantine," the crew "hoisted the yellow flag," in company with ship's consort the *Prince of Wales*.[77] The ships were kept waiting

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Fairleigh; C.1/1021, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1751, indicates a ship might pick up a pilot in the Dover Road to take them into the Downs.

[74] See HBCA, C.1/412, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1802; C.1/414, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1803.

[75] See, for example, Hudspeth, "Journal during Summer in Hudson's Bay," 40–41, 2–4 November 1816.

[76] HBCA, C.1/415, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1804, 26 November.

[77] HBCA, C.1/418, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1806, 17 November, and 16 November; see also Hudspeth, "Journal during Summer in Hudson's Bay," 40–41, 2–4 November 1816. Phil Nelson, "Quarantine Flag," Flags of the World <http://flagspot.net/flags/xf~q.html> (accessed 22 September 2008), notes "An English Decree dated 1799 prescribes the size of the quarantine flag as 'six breadths of bunting', which means six times the size of an ordinary flag. The 'London Gazette' from 6 April 1805 published a Decree prescribing in detail the quarantine moorage, limited by yellow buoys topped with a yellow flag. The Decree from 10 October 1806, however, prescribed an 'eight breadths of bunting yellow and black flag'." See David A. Koplow, *Smallpox: The Fight to Eradicate a Global Scourge* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 21, the quarantine may have been designed to deal with smallpox, the eradication of which was being promoted by 1806 in London. "Quarantine," Ports and disease, Port Cities, London <http://www.portcities.org.uk/london/server/show/ConNarrative.99/chapterId/2195/Ports-and-disease.html> (accessed 20 September 2008), notes that the Port of London first used quarantine to "keep out plague after the Black Death hit Europe," and that subsequently it was used "for many other diseases" – usually because a ship was "known to be carrying disease or coming from a port where an epidemic had broken out." Jared M. Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1997), 78, reports a smallpox epidemic in Figi in 1806 that had apparently been introduced by sailors.

four days before being allowed to continue up river.[78] Such a wait would not have been pleasant, partly because 'home' was so close, but also, regardless of work that may have gone into cleaning the ship while at port in Hudson Bay or Orkney, the crew's quarters would have remained "cramped" and more or less "filthy," sometimes overrun with rats and "plentiful and playful" bedbugs.[79] It is unlikely as well that the "stench of stale air" below decks would have been alleviated by fresh breezes wafting over the river.[80] The water, "an opaque pale brown fluid," carried sewage, garbage, and, all too frequently, drowned "River Waifs" – all of which gave off "abominable stenches."[81]

Once abreast of Gravesend, captains delivered their packets as quickly as possible

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[78] HBCA, C.1/417, and C.1/818, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1806, the date of leaving quarantine is not clear, the mate, John Davison reports leaving on the 20th, the captain, John Turner – whose dates are not always ordered in a consistent chronological pattern – reports leaving on the 21st. C.1/419, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1807, 14 November, reports that "at noon abreast the buoy of the Nore The wind at NNE moderate breeze & cloudy but fair … the Quarantine boat came alongside but allow'd the ship to pafs [sic: pass]."

[79] Richard Finnie, "Farewell Voyages: Bernier and the 'Arctic'," *The Beaver* (summer 1974): 47; HBCA, C.1/1027, p. 21, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1757, ca. 20 August.

[80] Finnie, "Farewell Voyages," 47.

[81] Walter Thornbury, "The River Thames (continued)," chap. 38 in *Old and New London*, vol. 3 (1878), 300–11, British History Online <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=45154> (accessed 23 September 2008), quotes "A correspondent in a weekly journal" as asserting "Rarely a day passes but some poor struggling wretch goes down into those mysterious depths beneath that shining, glittering surface, never to rise again, or, if to rise, only to find a brief resting-place in one of the grim, foul little 'dead-houses' – scarcely less repulsive –dotted here and there among the dense population along the shores on either side of the great silent highway. Of course they are not all found, but within the London portion of the river Thames – between Chelsea and Barking, that is – there are on an average three or four of these poor waifs of humanity picked up every week." Thornbury notes as well "the report of the Medical Officer of Health, submitted to the Corporation of London towards the close of 1874," from which "it appears that during the month of September of that year 2,083 vessels had been inspected in the river and the docks between Vauxhall and Woolwich, 366 of which required cleansing, 93 sick sailors had been found afloat and referred to the Seamen's Hospital at Greenwich, and of 19 samples of drinking water taken from vessels in various parts of the port for purposes of analysis, seven were found unfit for human consumption." See also King Edward III (1357), and M. Faraday (7 July 1855), quoted in "The Great Stink," Where Thames Smooth Waters Glide <http://thames.me.uk/s00065.htm> (accessed 23 September 2008), which adds "In June 1858 the smell from the River Thames was so bad journalists described it as 'the Great Stink.' ... Benjamin Disraeli described the river as 'a Stygian pool reeking with ineffable and unbearable horror'."

to a representative of the London Committee, perhaps hiring a tilt boat or taking the long ferry to London.[82] Performing this duty sometimes had to wait, however, on the boarding of a ship by agents of the Customs House of London. Based on information provided by a captain, the customs agents prepared entries – detailing the goods and ship coming into the London docks – which they forwarded to the Customs House.[83] At various times customs agents also served in a variety of other capacities, from acting as a special press gang on behalf of the navy, to serving as police officers and coastguard. Completing their tour of a vessel could take several hours; paperwork regarding duty owed on imported items, longer still. It was only after the duties were paid and Customs House officials issued receipts that a cargo could be lawfully unloaded.[84]

As waiting for a ship's clearances could take any number of days, HBC sailors would not put their ship in at Gravesend, rather they would see the vessel to a mooring further up the London River, closer to the Custom House and the HBC London office. After waiting on the tide at locations such as Woolwich Reach, just up from Gravesend,

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[82] See, for example, Hudspeth, "Journal during Summer in Hudson's Bay," 41, 4 November 1816.

[83] HBCA, C.7/175, "Sailing Orders and Instructions," (n.d.), directs the captain that "You are, on no account, to communicate any of the Company's affairs, or deliver any writing or journal of your proceedings to any person whatever, except the Governor and Committee, and their Secretary," and that "As you have entered into a bond at the Custom-House for the due delivery of the excisable goods of [blank] Factory, you are hereby required to take care that proper certificates be signed by the Officer in charge at that place, in order to allow you to make full proof thereof on your return"; see also n. 86 below.

[84] See HBCA, C.1/1021, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1751, 14 September, Captain Jonathan Fowler "anchor'd a little below Gravesend. got three Custom house officers on board att midnight got under way & turn'd up the river [sic: punctuation in source]"; G. Graham Dixon, "Notes on the Records of the Customs House, London," *The English Historical Review* 34, no. 133 (January 1919): 72; "The Customs Service," Port Cities, London <http://www.portcities.org.uk/london/server/show/ConNarrative.145/chapterId/2993/The-Customs-Service.html> (accessed 20 September 2008); also Abbott Payson Usher, "The Growth of English Shipping 1572–1922," *The quarterly Journal of Economics* 42, no. 3 (May 1928): 468, on custom house records from 1628.

ships finally "moor'd in safety" just below London Bridge at locations that changed with the port's development over time. Those recorded in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century HBC logs include "Wopping" [sic: Wapping] Docks, Ratcliff Cross Pier, "abreast of Hall stairs," the "West India Dock," or at the "So. Quay" of the London Dock.[85] Here, crew would "unbend the sails," and, assuming the captain had duly cleared their "chests, trunks, boxes, &c.," he would issue each crewmember a letter of credit, to be cashed at the HBC London Office. Sailors then took their leave – with, perhaps, "Good-byes all around to everybody … and a promise to meet certain choice spirits … later at one of their dance halls."[86] Before following their paths down lanes that, according to HBC lore, were paved with the ballast of ships such as he commanded, the captain would sign off his log.[87] He might close the tables of observations with a perfunctory "End this voyage," or add an editorial comment along the lines of Jonathan

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[85] HBCA, C. 1/1021, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1751, 14 September; C.1/1022, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1752, p. 51, "Monday Sept 21th. or October the 2th. new style"; C.1/1026, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1756, 10 November; C.1/412, fo. 60a, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1802; C.1/414, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1803, 26 November; 415, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1804, 26 November; C.1/417, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1806, 23 November; C.1/418, Ship's Log, *King George*, 23 November; C.1/419, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1807, 14 November, 16 November; C.1/421, Ships' Logs, *King George*, 1809, 23 November; C.1/422, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1809, 23 November; Williamson, "Voyage of the 'Discovery'," part II, 29.

[86] HBCA, C.7/175, "Sailing Orders and Instructions," (n.d.), directs the captain "You are not to suffer any of your officers, sailors, or passengers in your ship, or any other person, to carry on shore in any part of Great Britain, or put on board any vessel, any chests, trunks, boxes, &c., whatever, until such time as you shall have reported our ship," and stipulates further, "that you may be enabled effectually to comply with the orders and conditions aforesaid, we hereby empower you to open, search, and examine any chests, trunks, boxes, packages, or parcels whatever, belonging to any of your men or passengers homeward-bound (though they may have previously passed the inspection and examination of the Officer in charge of the Factory from which they may have been put on board); and also to search every part of your ship in or about which you may suspect that any furs or goods, the produce of the Company's settlements, may be concealed. And if any such Furs or goods be found in any chests, trunks, or boxes &C., or anywhere in or about the ship you are to seize and take the same for the benefit of the Company, and make a return to the Committee of such things so taken and seized, and of the several persons, by name, in whose custody or power you found the same, or whom you may suspect to have concealed the same in or about the ship." C.1/412, fo. 60a, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1802. Remington, "York Factory to London," 21.

[87] See MacLeod, "Introduction," *Letters*, xxix.

Fowler's observation of 1753: "so ends a Dangerous voyage." Alternately, after a voyage troubled by pestilence and death, decks awash in great gales, and mutinous uprisings against naval impressment – such as occurred on the *Seahorse* in 1757 – a captain might conclude with relief, as William Norton did: "se End our Voyage Thanks be to God: Aman: Aman [sic, punctuation in source]."[88]

As notations in HBC ships' logs such as Captain Norton's reveal, there was a greater range of activity aboard HBC ships than is implied when sea voyages, reduced and abstracted, are conceived as connecting vectors between distant landward points. Geographically and economically speaking, HBC voyages may be reduced to a linear description of communication as linkage: arrival at a port in Hudson Bay completed the linkage; communication was commercially successful on arriving home.[89] Culturally speaking, the voyage as link formulation highlights differences between ports at widely separated locations equally well: as a homeport, London was distinguished by sights, smells, and norms that were distinctly a 'world away' from those of Hudson Bay. This and foregoing chapters demonstrate, however, that materially and socially speaking, the voyage was a richer experience than abstract conceptions imply. Variety marked HBC voyaging. Sailors who traversed the ocean arc in HBC ships spent an extended length of time observing seascape, marking landscape, and encountering nature during their production of value added. The production took place in an oceanic space marked by distinct features across its breath. That distinctiveness ensured that there was nothing

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[88] HBCA, C.1/419, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1807; C.1/421, Ships' Logs, *King George*, 1809; C.1/412, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1802; C.1/414, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1803; C.1/1029, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1759.

[89] Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse," 4.

simple about HBC sailors' activity and experience as agents of communication between shores.

Chapter Ten

Constructed Contexts: Ships as Workplaces

This chapter moves the examination of seafaring and Hudson Bay away from a description of the ocean arc as a geographical place towards consideration of HBC ships as contained spaces of social interaction, presenting evidence to support the argument that just as the natural environment was a distinctive context for activity, so was the artificial environment aboard ship. The two were directly related. From well before the period 1508 to 1920, geographical placement and climate trends had combined to determine the features of the ocean sea traversed by HBC ships. In turn, the natural features of the HBC ocean arc determined seafaring activity across its breadth. Admittedly, this ocean voyaging was shaped by a complex combination of human ambitions, at scales ranging from the individual – whether sailor or prince – to merchant collectives and national polities. Ambition coupled with ignorance could be debilitating, even deadly along a route – take the deaths of Captain Robert Newland and mate James Titherley, at Port Nelson in 1670 for example – as could extremes of ambition expressed as warfare. Conversely, ambition coupled with experience could lead to success – as the

record of voyages completed by HBC captains compared to those lost demonstrates.[1] However, by their experience, successful mariners had gained a working appreciation of seemingly timeless natural features specific to the routes they followed. Ultimately, the disposition of currents, winds, and navigable channels largely determined the contours of the ocean arc travelled by HBC ships – on routes that varied little for hundreds of years. Of the natural features with which sailors had to contend, one in particular distinguished voyages to Hudson Bay from merchant voyages elsewhere. HBC ships, and the nature of work and character of life aboard them, were marked by a concern with "this prodigious thing we call ice."[2]

Seafarers to Hudson Bay embarked on an experience that was in many respects unusual. After sailing on the *Prince Rupert* in 1842 and 1843, surgeon John Birbeck Nevins commented, "A summer voyage to this place is not quite so easy or pleasant as an excursion up the Rhine, or down the Danube." Among other things, he observed, "the crew must be supplied with an extra supply of winter clothing to guard against the cold."[3]

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[1] See Chapter Seven, this thesis, 141, 167; and Isaac Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers: A Narrative of Seven Years in the Service of the Hudson's Bay Company during 1867–1874, On the Great Buffalo Plains with Historical and Biographical notes and comment* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1913), 97. Harriet Cowan, quoted in W.J. Healy, *Women of Red River, Being a Book Written from the Recollections of Women Surviving from the Red River Era* (Winnipeg: Women's Canadian Club, 1923), 43, recalled that Captain James of the *Ocean Nymph* was "a skilful navigator. He used to say, 'I takes my ship out, and I brings my ship in'."

[2] Luke Foxe, quoted in A.R. Williamson, "Voyage of the 'Discovery' 1911," part I, *The Beaver* 62, no. 4 (spring 1983): 18. See also William Coats, *The Geography of Hudson's Bay: being the remarks of Captain W. Coats, in many voyages to that locality, between the years 1727 and 1751*, ed. John Barrow (London: Hakluyt Society, 1852), 23, on the change in work on approaching ice. He advised: "Your ice gear is to be made ready, ruther chains and ruther takles reeved, lighter tacks and sheets for your sails … whatever will make your ship handy [sic]."

[3] J. Birbeck Nevins, *A narrative of two voyages to Hudson's Bay: with traditions of the North American Indians* (London: Printed for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1847), 1; see also LAC, Thomas Douglas, 5th Earl of Selkirk Fonds, Microfilm A.27, Selkirk Papers, vol. I, B.H. Edwards,

Although HBC ship's logs do not mention attire, photographs of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century crews indicate that while in ice, sailors performed their tasks in clothes more commonly associated with peoples native to the North than with traditional representations of the quintessential 'Jack Tar.'[4] Captain Barfield and crew of the *Prince Rupert*, forced to winter at Charlton Island in 1890, benefitted from being equipped with tools and materials for tailoring and shoemaking, "a fair supply" of literature, and a fully stocked medicine chest – although, before the crew secured sufficient fresh provisions, two members died of scurvy.[5]

A century earlier, Captain Coats had included, in his guide for mariners who would make the journey to the Bay, a list of necessary supplies beyond what was standard for

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letter, Sligo, 20 April 1812 (Canadian Library Association Ottawa, 1950), 302, who comments on the necessity of securing a vessel "well found, and amply provided with a sufficiency of Stores, and necessaries for the Voyage" including an "abundance of good and Wholesome provisions of all Kinds, suitable to the Voyage, and the Climate."

[4] See Richard Henry Dana, *Two Years Before the Mast: A Personal Narrative* (1840; new edition, Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1868), 2; and Jesse Lemisch, "Jack Tar in the Streets: Merchant Seamen in the Politics of Revolutionary America," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 25, no. 3 (July 1968): 371–72, who describe sailors' attire; also Franklin Remington, "York Factory to London, 1888," *The Beaver* 23, no. 2 (September 1943): 19, who notes "Before sailing we had gone native to the extent of equipping ourselves with Eskimo boots and fur shirts, called *koolitaks*, as ... the sea wind was cold and penetrating"; Don Blair, "Summer Voyage in Hudson Bay," *The Beaver* 34, no. 2 (autumn 1954): 33; Don Blair, "On Board the Fort Hearne," *The Beaver* 35, no. 2 (autumn 1955): 25, 30, for photos of pilots, stevedores and deck hands on later HBC ships in Inuit parkas; also George Comer, "First Mate Mr. Hayward and crew members in front of covered whaleboat, west coast of Hudson Bay, Canada, 1897–1899," glass negative, Mystic Seaport, The Museum of America and the Sea <http://mobius.mysticseaport.org/detail.php?type=related&kv=169203&t=objects> (accessed 4 October 2008); Northwest Territories Archives, item no. N-1988-041: 0345, "Scotty Gall at Cambridge Bay," photograph <http://*www.kitikmeotheritage.ca/Angulalk/hudsons/scottyg/scotty.htm*> (accessed 6 December 2008), Gall was captain of the *Aklavik* by 1937; Natural Resources Canada, item 2906, "Crew of the Neptune at Hudson Bay," photograph, 1903 <http://www.imagescanada.ca/r1-115-e.php?sk= 654&kwq= hudson+bay&kwf= TRUE& interval=6> (accessed 8 Oct. 2008); and Natural Resources Canada, item 2917, "Black squad of the Neptune, Hudson Bay," photograph, A.P. Low, 1903 <http://www.imagescanada.ca/r1-115-e.php?sk=408&kwq=hudson+bay&kwf=TRUE& interval=6> (accessed 8 October 2008); Richard Finnie, "Trading into the North-West Passage," photograph, *The Beaver* 17, no. 3 (December 1937): 48, showing crew of the *Aklavik*.

[5] "An Old H.B.C. Skipper (The Late Captain William Barfield)," *The Beaver* 4, no. 7 (April 1924): 260. See also Jody F. Decker, "Scurvy at York: A Dread Affliction Lingered at the Bay," *The Beaver* 69, no. 1 (February/March 1989): 42–48.

outfitting a voyage out of London:

> After your ship is well fitted with stores and provisions, according to your number of men, you must add about one fourth more than the usual allowance in other voyages, provide a stock of ice gear, viz., six ice hooks for mooring, and four or six lesser ones for warping, which will be found extremely useful; four ice ropes of thirty or forty fathom each, your buoy ropes, and four whale lines of 2½ inches, with what helps may be made beside; twelve ice poles, twelve handspikes extrodinary [sic], one dozen long-mouthed wood axes, two or three broad-mouthed chizzells fitted on poles, six boat hooks. I have made upwards of twenty voyages without a small ice-boat, yet I do not deny the use of them.[6]

Frederick Schwatka's advice with respect to outfitting vessels for northern voyaging, proffered in 1884, indicates that the advent of fuelled vessels did not alter the need to consider the special demands that ice presented. In fact, sea captains of long experience in HBC voyaging had been arguing for years that no "greater facilities would arise from the use of steamers in that sea than from the use of sailing vessels."[7] Captain David Herd, for example, testified in 1857 to a select committee of the British parliament investigating HBC operations that while a steam ship "might succeed very well in one year ... taking the average number of years, I think myself that a sailing vessel is far preferable." He averred HBC Northern voyaging through ice was different from Arctic expeditions undertaken with steamships, arguing:

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[6] Coats, *Geography*, 18; see also Thomas M'Keevor, *A voyage to Hudson's Bay, during the summer of 1812: containing a particular account of the icebergs and other phenomena which present themselves in those regions: also, a description of the Esquimeaux and North American Indians, their manners, customs, dress, language, &c. &c. &c.* (London: Sir Richard Phillips and Co., 1819), 13 July; and Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 87.

[7] Great Britain, Parliament, House of Commons, Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, *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: HMSO, 1858), 258. See also "Seeking A Shorter Route; Can Hudson Straits Be Navigated By Steamships? Efforts To Secure Better Transportation Facilities From The Northwest To Europe," *New York Times* (25 May 1885): 2.

> The Arctic Expeditions were carried to a certain distance; but we must get to the other side, and get back again in time before the season sets in. If we met with any accident to our machinery where could we go to get it repaired; we should lose our voyage.[8]

Schwataka's remarks twenty-seven years later indicate that the likelihood of collision, damage, and a ship taking in water, still had to be taken into account. He counseled, for instance, "Sailer or steamer, the pipes for pumping should be much more capacious than usual, and there should be a system of them reaching to every part of the vessel; for the pumps may be needed the most when the vessel is careened on her beam, or at some unusual angle fore and aft."[9]

The above comments on equipping alone indicate that, because of time spent in ice, a HBC transatlantic vessel was a workplace in which tasks performed by sailors departed from the North Atlantic norm for merchant vessels. Nevertheless, ships' logs and journal entries confirm that from the beginning to the end of a voyage, HBC sailors were, like their counterparts on other merchant ships that carried sail, daily "employd [sic] about the rigging and other necessary work."[10] Depending on their location on the HBC ocean arc and whether they were underway or at anchor in a port at either of its ends, they might be "tarring, greasing, oiling, varnishing, painting, scraping, and scrubbing ... watching at night, steering, reefing, furling, bracing, making and setting sail,

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[8] David Herd, quoted in *Report from the Select Committee*, 258. See also "S.S. Pelican," *The Beaver* 9, no. 1 (June 1929): 215; and J. Ledingham "Northward Bound," *The Beaver* 10, no. 3 (December 1930): 113, on difficulties with propellers in ice.

[9] Frederick Schwatka, "An Arctic Vessel and Her Equipment," *Science* 3, no. 64 (April 1884): 511.

[10] HBCA, C.1/413, Ship's Log, *King George* 1802, 21–22 June.

and pulling, hauling, and climbing in every direction," all to "keep the ship right side up in a gale of wind with nothing but ropes and canvas."[11] Alternately, at rest, they might be "making plait for rigging", "making Points &c." and "Black[ing] the ship's Wales round," in preparation for the next bout of buffeting by the elements.[12] Yet, for sailors on the HBC ocean arc, the range of duties increased on nearing ice. Harriet Cowan, passenger aboard the *Prince Rupert* in 1865, reported that, in expectation, sailors "got out fenders and long poles with spikes, and ice anchors, too, for mooring the ship to the ice when that was necessary."[13] Conning became an all important duty. While officers might be stationed with "the captain at the bulkhead off steerage and chief mate on the forecastle," they might also take to the "ice bridge" positioned "right across the middle of the ship" and "rigged up high so that ice could be seen farther off." Additionally, sailors raised a crow's nest – "a light cask, or any similar object ... for the look-out man aloft to shelter himself in," which was "hoisted to the top of the main mast."[14] J. Williams, apprentice on the Stork in 1908, commented:

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[11] Dana, *Two Years Before the Mast*, 16–17, see also 15–18. J. Williams, "The Last Voyage of the Stork," *The Beaver* 19, No. 2 (September 1939): 45.

[12] HBCA, C.1/420, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1808, 27 and 31 October; C.1/413 *King George*, 1802, 21–22 June. See also Eric W. Sager, *Seafaring Labour: The Merchant Marine of Atlantic Canada, 1820–1914* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 58–66, 85–86, 88–89, 91–93, 106–14, 12–34, for a description of work and the division of labour aboard ship.

[13] Cowan, quoted in Healy, *Women of Red River*, 190–92.

[14] Thomas McCliesh, letter, York Fort, 16 Aug. 1727, in *Letters from Hudson Bay 1703–40,* ed. K.G. Davies, with A.M. Johnson (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1965), 126. Williams, "Last Voyage of the Stork," 45. Cowan, quoted Healy, *Women of Red River*, 191. W. Parker Snow, "Voyage in Search of Sir John Franklin," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 2, no. 11 (April 1851): 590, also 591, explains that in large ships the crow's nest was "generally at the topmast head. In smaller vessels, however, it is necessary to have it as high up as possible, in order to give from it a greater scope of vision than could be attained lower down. Consequently, in the *Prince Albert,* it was close to the fore-truck, that is, completely at the mast-head. In our case, it was a long, narrow, but *light* cask, having at the lower part of it

> It's no picnic sailing a square-rigged vessel into Hudson Bay. If it was all sunrise and sunset, squalls and calm, it would be easy. But there's fog, and there's ice – miles of it. And, as often as not, fog and ice together. Then the fog lifts, the temperature drops, a blizzard howls down out of the northwest and frozen tackle has to be hammered continuously to keep it clear for any sudden handling of the ship which may be necessary.[15]

Will Murrell, second mate of the *King George* reported that at 2:00 pm. on 30 July 1802, while the ship was halted in ice near its consorts the *Prince of Wales* and *Ceres*, the crews transferred provisions such as bread and redistributed cargo such as "Country Tobacco" between the ships.[16] By 10:00 pm., the sailors were "traversing" the ships – alternately pulling them along channels and through closed ice with hooks, poles, and ropes; "Rowing and towing to get into clear water" with boats; and sailing where open ice permitted.[17] The crews kept at it through the night. By 8:00 am. the next morning, after "Backing and pulling through heavy Ice," all three ships "Brought to" and grappled to the same piece of ice, waiting, drifting for several days in ice, rain, and "hard frost," and working about the ship until circumstances changed.[18]

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a trap, acting like a valve, whereby any one could enter; and was open at the upper part. In length it was about four feet, so that a person on the look-out had no part of himself exposed to the weather but his head and shoulders. In the interior of it was a small seat ... and a spyglass, well secured. To reach this, a rope ladder was affixed to the bottom ... called the 'Jacob's Ladder' [italics in source]."

[15] Williams, "The Last Voyage of the Stork," 44.

[16] HBCA, C.1/413, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1802, 30–31 July; also C.1/411, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1802, 30–31 July; C.1/417, *King George*, 1807, 26 July; c.1/419 20 August.

[17] HBCA, C.1/413 Ship's Log, *King George*, 1802, 30–31 July, also 18 August. See, George Comer, lantern slide, item 5042, Comer Collection, Mystic Seaport <http://www.cthistoryonline.org> (accessed 6 December 2008), showing the crew of the *A.T. Gifford* traversing ice in Hudson Bay, ca. 1907–1912.

[18] HBCA, C.1/413, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1802, 4 August; also C.1/411, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1802, 4 August; C.1/412 Ship's Log, *King George*, 1802, 4 August.

For HBC sailors, the ice of the North American portion of their ocean arc was a primary determinant not only of what their work would involve, but the pacing of work routines, and the time frame of their voyages. It was not possible to enter Hudson Strait any earlier than HBC ships did so. Ships could not clear the Strait and cross the Bay any faster than ice would allow. The pacing of work during ship time in Hudson Bay reflected an overriding concern with ice formation: it was counter-productive to extend a bayside stay any longer than necessary – foolhardy to attempt to leave any later than 20 September. Whether brought about by accident or design, any delay might spell a protracted and uncomfortable stay.[19] Company mariners of long experience, such as Captain Herd, were of the opinion that whether a HBC transatlantic vessel relied exclusively on sail technology or had auxiliary engines made but little difference – an opinion born out by the HBC record, "Book of Ships' Movements, 1719–1929."[20] When asked by the select committee of 1857, "would not a steamer, being quicker, enable you to go there and back again in less time?" Herd insisted, "It would depend upon the state of the ice."[21] Clearly, it would also depend on mariners who had practical knowledge of

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[19] See Thomas McKenzie, quoted in William Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay and Cumberland Gulf in the Steamship 'Diana' under the Command of William Wakeham, Marine and Fisheries Canada in the year 1897* (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, 1898), 54; Coats, *Geography*, 18, 19; Margaret Arnett MacLeod, ed., "Introduction," *The Letters of Letitia Hargrave* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1947), lix; also John Maule Hudspeth, *Journals of John Maule Hudspeth: Hudson's Bay and the Voyage home to England, 1816*, 6.RS1899/D32, and 7.RS1900/D33, University of Tasmania Library Special and Rare Materials Collection, Australia (Unpublished) UTAS ePrint <http://eprints.utas.edu.au/7152/> (accessed 6 October 2008), for a description of overwintering 1815–1816 during which fourteen crewmembers of the *Eddystone* and *Hadlow* died, both captains also had scurvy, but with the spring health improved on eating "Dandelion, a kind of wild celery, and a wild pea which grows about Struttons [Island] in great abundance."

[20] HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements, 1719–1929.

[21] Viscount Goderich and D. Herd, quoted in *Report from the Select Committee*, 258. See Chapter Four, this thesis, 77 n.8; and Chapter Five, this thesis, 99 n.18. The reasons for the longevity of sail

tools such as those listed above, and expertise in techniques for coping with ice in its various forms. For the HBC London Committee, whose concern was with meeting schedules to make a profit, such expertise was critical.[22] Far less so was technology that meant holds needed to carry cargo, labourers, and provisions be filled instead with coal.[23]

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technology in the HBC fleet fall outside the purview of this thesis, as I do not examine the deliberations of the London Committee. See Menahem Blondheim, "Discovering 'The Significance of Communication': Harold Adams Innis as Social Constructivist," *Canadian Journal of Communication* 29, no. 2 (2004): 123, whose remarks suggest such an examination might be interesting. One reason for HBC conservatism with respect to communication technology, for example, may have resided in its 'monopoly of knowledge.' Blondheim notes, "By transplanting the economic concept of monopoly to the field of communications – to knowledge artifacts and skills – Innis elegantly buttressed his media determinism. When certain media or their knowledge products dominate society's communication environment, the peculiar dynamics of oligopoly amplify and perpetuate the dominance of those media and the bodies of knowledge associated with them. Such a monopoly blocks the emergence of alternatives and ultimately enhances the effects of the privileged medium and knowledge skills on society and on its political, social, and cultural profile."

[22] See Schwatka, "An Arctic Vessel and Her Equipment," 505. J. Flatman, "Cultural biographies, cognitive landscapes and dirty old bits of boat: 'theory' in maritime archaeology," *The International Journal of Nautical Archeology* 32, no. 2 (2003): 148–49, notes "throughout history an experienced sailor has had unique and highly sought-after skills capable of placing him or her at the top of the labour market, getting leverage with employers as regards wages, hours and conditions of work." Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse," 132–33, observes HBC sailors and servants: "contracted for several years at a time, and before their contract was to expire, those wishing to remain in the service sent their resolves to London for consideration. Increasing numbers held out for higher wages, refusing to serve unless their sometimes exorbitant demands were met. The Company maintained the practice of rewarding servants with experience, and tried to adhere to guidelines. ... With increasing regularity in the late 1770's and 1780's, Company servants held out for wages beyond the current guidelines." David Featherstone, "Spatial relations and the materialities of political conflict: the construction of entangled political identities in the London and Newcastle Port Strikes of 1768," *Geoforum* 35, no. 6 (November 2004): 702; and David Featherstone, "Atlantic networks, antagonisms and the formation of subaltern political identities," *Social & Cultural Geography* 6, no. 3 (June 2005): 396, notes "During the May of 1768 amidst sailors' strikes which brought the port of London to a stop, an official from the Hudson Bay Company wrote the Home Office. He noted that the company 'had three ships and a Brigantine fitting out their respective voyages' and expressed concern at their delay due to the ongoing sailor's disputes. The 'difficulty of the voyage' was 'so critical' that it 'could not by any means be effected unless the ships are permitted to depart from London about 20th of May'. Delay in disembarking threatened further 'danger … to the Trade in these parts in case the Indians should be disappointed in their expected supplies'. The Company was forced to give in to the sailors' demands for a wage of forty shillings a month 'for fear of losing their voyage'. ... These sailors were able to exploit the companies' precarious situation within the constraints posed by tides, winds and seasons. The forms of 'long-distance control' constructed by the Hudson's Bay Company depended on negotiating these powerful non-human forces." See also Williamson, "Voyage of the 'Discovery' 1911," part I, 12–14, on negotiating wages and signing on for a voyage that year. Also "Arctic Mariner," *The Beaver* 25, no. 3 (December 1945): 46, which observes "When a ship makes as many as twenty-five voyages – each thousands of miles long – through the ice-choked waters of the Arctic without a single mishap, that's a record to be proud of. The Company which operates that ship certainly takes pride in it, and is no less proud of the man who has been chiefly responsible for establishing that record." Also Alan

The design of the transoceanic workplace – HBC ships – reflected the Committee's concern with features specific to the ocean arc. The Company had "many notable vessels built specially to their order."[24] Though meant to withstand ice voyaging, these ships displayed accoutrements common to vessels of similarly accomplished merchant adventuring concerns, in keeping with nautical fashions of their times. Through to the nineteenth century, for example, transatlantic HBC sailing ships featured "highly decorative" figureheads such as that carried by the *Prince of Wales*, from 1850–1889. It was described as "a work of art, beautifully carved and represented the Prince [later King Edward VII] dressed in man-o' war fashion."[25] Whatever the class of a vessel, it was recognizable as part of the HBC fleet by virtue of its colouring. The drift-rails of the forecastles and poop decks, along with the bulwarks of the quarterdecks were painted "a distinguishing shade of royal blue," and when possible, HBC sailors maintained the black paint of the hulls during voyages.[26] To the late 1800s, like other merchant vessels, HBC ships carried guns for use against privateers. The guns were small, however, nothing larger than a twelve pounder, and in practice these served principally for "incessant saluting and

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Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," *The Beaver* 50, no. 1 (summer 1970): 7, on the "complex skills" and 'forgotten secrets' of past master mariners.

[23] See Richard Finnie, "Farewell Voyages: Bernier and the 'Arctic'," *The Beaver* 54, no. 1 (summer 1974): 46, 48–49.

[24] H.M.S. Cotter, "The Ship 'Prince of Wales': 1850, Full Rigged Ship in Hudson's Bay; 1934, New Zealand Coal Hulk," *The Beaver* 13, no. 4 (March 1934): 42. Schwatka, "An Arctic Vessel and Her Equipment," 505, notes "The subject of ice-navigation embraces the construction of ships for this peculiar employment, or the altering for it of those that have seen less severe service."

[25] Oliver Warner, "Voyaging to York Factory," *The Beaver* 37, no. 3 (winter 1957): 18, referring to the *Prince Rupert,* 1769. Cotter, "Ship 'Prince of Wales'," 42.

[26] Warner, "Voyaging to York Factory," 18; Cotter, "Ship 'Prince of Wales'," 43.

gun-signals," particularly in Hudson Strait where consorts signalled position and status in fog and ice.[27] Vessels carried guns into the twentieth century – the *Pelican*, in service from 1877 to 1920, and the *Nascopie*, from 1911 to 1947, fired them on German submarines during the Great War.[28] In addition to the usual signal flags, HBC ships also displayed the "Company's arms – 'the house flag' – at the mainmast head," a red ensign with white HBC initialling.[29] Although the ships served primarily as cargo carriers, the cabins that served as captains' quarters and passengers' berths were finished to appear "very comfortable," with "superb teakwood planking," polished brass fittings, and "innumerable copper fastenings"[30] These were not, however, spacious apartments.[31] Compared to contemporary

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[27] Warner "Voyaging to York Factory," 18.

[28] G. Edmund Mack, "H.B.S.S. Pelican Ends Historic Career: Former British Man o' War Which Subsequently Served H.B.C. for Twenty Years in Arctic Seas Now Being Broken Up," *The Beaver* 2, no. 5 (February 1922): 13–14; G. Edmund Mack, "Nascopie Downs Submarine," *The Beaver* 19, no. 1 (June 1939): 21.

[29] Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 80. See, photograph, "Images of the West," courtesy of the Glenbow Collection, The Applied History Research Group, University of Calgary <http://www.ucalgary.ca/applied_history/tutor/calgary/imagewest.html> (accessed 4 October 2008), showing the HBC flag. Remington, "York Factory to London," 21, remarks elements of display in the London Offices of 1888 as well: "What would have been office boys with us were elderly dignified men dressed in the Hudson's bay Company livery – knee breeches, tail coats, striped coloured waistcoats made up … of HBC colours."

[30] Hargrave, *Letters*, 23; HBCA, E.12/5, Isobel G. Finlayson, "My Notebook," Journal, 1840, 15; and Harriet Cown, quoted in Healy, *Women of Red River*, 189, describe the *Prince Rupert*. Basil Lubbock, "The Days of the Tea Clippers," *The Beaver* 8, no. 3 (December 1928): 106, describes the *Titania*, a HBC ship from 1885–1893, admired for "her beauty, her sea-going qualities, and, of course, her many fine sailing performances." Mack, "H.B.S.S. Pelican Ends Historic Career," 15, notes the *Pelican's* "teakwood and brass" was used to make "massive inkwells for officials of the Company" when it was broken up in 1920.

[31] See photo, in C.P. Wilson, "Nascopi: The Story of Ship," *The Beaver* 27, no. 2 (September 1947): 10, showing the captain's table aboard the S.S. *Nascopie*; also Arthur Herman, *To Rule the Waves: How the British Navy Shaped the Modern World* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2005), 302, 321, 326, on ships' dimensions and descriptions of interior space. Cook's "so-called great cabin" on the *Endeavour*, for example, was "only 14 by 18 feet, and had to serve as office and public dining room as well as sleeping quarters." Bligh's cabin in the *Bounty* was a "tiny six- by seven foot." Robert M. Ballantyne, *Hudson's Bay, or, Every-day life in the wilds of North America during six years' residence in the territories of the honourable Hudson's Bay Company* (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood, 1848), 9, reports the cabin of the *Prince*

ships, such as East Indiamen of 499 to 1,200 tons burthen, HBC sailing ships were small. The earliest vessels were one- and two-masted ketches, brig/briganteen-rigged frigates, and "roomy" pinks with "rotund" hulls, ranging from about fifty to 100 tons burthen.[32] Later the Company used larger, ship-rigged frigates, three-masted barque/barquentines, and barque-rigged ex-whaling vessels with auxiliary steam engines.[33] At most, however, these carried "only a few hundred tons" to 1912 when the Company had its first fully steam-powered ship for travel to Hudson Bay built to specification – the two-masted *Nascopie*.[34] At about 3,000 tons dead weight, this ship too was dwarfed by contemporary ocean-going vessels. Like preceding HBC ships, it was also relatively shallow in draught to ensure manoeuvrability and functionality. What principally set HBC vessels apart was not their comparatively diminutive dimensions, however, but the fact that, structurally, because of ice, the ships were purposely given a "massive" construction in combination with a set of "most unusual lines."[35]

Rupert [VI] of 1841 was twelve feet by ten feet. See also J.S.C. Abbott, "Ocean Life," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 5, no. 25 (June 1852): 61–66.

[32] Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 8, 17–18, "Company Sailing Ships," *The Beaver* 22, no. 2 (September 1942): 24–28; Alice M. Johnson, "Early Ships in Hudson's Bay," *The Beaver* 26, no. 1 (June 1946): 10–13; also Appendix A, this thesis, and Appendix C.

[33] See, photo, in H.M.S. Cotter, "Some Famous Hudson's Bay Captains and Ships," part I, *The Beaver* 1, no. 7 (April 1921): 3, of HBC barque, the *Lady Head*, in service to 1903 and holder of the record for fastest completed voyage to 1920.

[34] See "Still Trading into Hudson Bay," *The Beaver* 13, no. 2 (September 1933): 33. Also, G. Edmund Mack, "Ninth Annual Voyage, H.B.S.S. 'Nascopie' into 'The Bay'," photograph, *The Beaver* 1, no. 3 (December 1920): 2, of the *Nascopie* in ice off Wolstenholme.

[35] Cotter, "Famous Hudson's Bay Captains and Ships," part II, *The Beaver* 1, no. 9 (Jun e1921): 32, referring to the *Erik*. Cotter, "Ship 'Prince of Wales'," 44. See J. Ledingham, "Sealing from S.S. Nascopie," *The Beaver* 5, no. 2 (March 1925): 74; *Nascopie*, Appendix B, this thesis. D. Gittens, "Titanic's Dimensions," 2006 <http://users.senet.com.au/~gittins/dimensions.html> (accessed 27 September 2008), gives the deadweight of the Titanic, for example, as "13,550 tons (Typically including about 6,000 tons of

Aside from having to navigate shallow waters with numerous uncharted reefs, HBC ships had to withstand punishing blows in encounters with ice. Obviously, this meant paying particular attention to the hulls. Schwatka observed that by 1888 it had become clear that when it came to voyaging in ice, "iron ships are inferior to their weaker but more elastic wooden compeers."[36] To the 1920s – excepting the *Nascopie*, which, incidentally, sank after breaching the hull on a reef in 1947 – the HBC relied on wooden hulled transatlantic ships.[37] These were "oak hulled, strongly beamed" with ribs as much as "a foot square at the keel and 'tween decks, tapering to 12" x 8" at the main deck."[38] Additionally, the vessels were diagonally braced with struts known as 'ice beams,' and might have bulkheads of three inch planks installed for "extra rigidity."[39] These and other aspects of ship design and construction were common to the sealing and whaling industries. As on whaling ships, ice sheathing augmented the four-inch oak planking that lined the hull. The sheathing took various forms. It might be of "not caulked oak" that extended "from the keel half way to the deck," above which there would be "2 ¾" thick greenheart

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coal)." See also Frank T. Bullen, "The Way of the Ship," *The Century; a popular quarterly* 58, no. 5 (September 1889): 738–42, on the advantages of small ships over large vessels for North Atlantic voyaging.

[36] Schwatka, "An Arctic Vessel and Her Equipment," 506.

[37] Alex. A. Parsons, "Our Great Sealing Industry, And the Men and Methods Employed from Time to Time in Its Prosecution," *The Newfoundland Quarterly* 14, no. 4 (April 1915): 8–9. C.P. Wilson, "Nascopie: The Story of a Ship," *The Beaver* 27, no. 2 (September 1947): 11, describes the *Nascopie*'s sinking off Beacon Island at Cape Dorset harbour, 1947.

[38] G.A. Cuthbertson, "The 'Erik's' Saga," *The Beaver* 16, no. 1 (June 1936): 52. W.G. Crisp, "Amundsen's Maud," *The Beaver* 35, no. 1 (summer 1955): 47, the *Maud* became the HBC *Baymaud.*

[39] Crisp, "Amundsen's Maud," 47; Williamson, "Voyage of the 'Discovery'," part I, 15, notes that "the removal of the orlop deck and divisional bulkheads between decks to provide a clear hold for cargo had reduced the lateral strength of the vessel so much that to run her the main engine at full speed would subject the wooden barque's hull and fastenings to an unwise degree of stress and strain." Consequently, the fastest the ship could travel in safety "in favourable conditions" when under steam was five knots.

… to above the water-line"; or a ship might be "close timbered with double planking of teak and greenheart," or sheathed solely with greenheart (*Nectranda Rodicei*), or ironwood (*Mesua Nagaha*), to a thickness of three inches.[40] The sides, "double where they are most exposed," were therefore fifteen and even twenty-four inches thick from just above the waterline down to the keel.[41] In addition, "very thick, strong caseings [sic] of wood, called ice-chocks," rode in front of the bows. The chocks, Nevins observed, while commenting on the *Prince Rupert*, "add to her strength, though, it must be confessed, they diminish her beauty."[42] Ships' bows, which featured eight to fifteen feet of solid oak, were further protected by "massive iron plates," as were their sterns.[43] HBC barque-rigged ships with auxiliary engines, such as the *Erik*, like their whaling counterparts, had rudders and propellers that could be hauled on deck in case of damage.[44]

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[40] Ibid.; Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 67; Cotter, "Famous Hudson's Bay Captains and Ships," part II, 32; "Company Sailing Ships 1668–1928," *The Beaver* 22, no. 2 (1942): 28. W.J.M. Rankine and William J. Millar, *A Manuel of Machinery and Millwork* (C. Griffin & Company, 1883), 470; J.R.J., "Notes on Articles Contributed to the Museums of the Royal Gardens, Kew, from the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 1886," *Bulletin of Miscellaneous Information (Royal Gardens, Kew)* 1887, no. 9 (1887): 15. Schwatka, "An Arctic Vessel and Her Equipment," 506, 507, observes that copper sheathing on hulls "is of little or no use" in ice– it was too easily torn away and "planking in their vulnerable parts ... makes ordinary metal sheathing of but little importance." He adds, "wooden sheathing varies considerably in arctic vessels as to the parts of the ships that are plated, the thickness and amount, and kinds of hard or soft wood planking." E.E. Rich, ed., *Letters Outward 1688–96* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1948), 332, indicates that as early as 1693 the HBC removed copper sheathing from ships it purchased. M'Keevor, *Voyage to Hudson's Bay*, 7, reports the bottom of the *Robert Taylor*, a chartered vessel, was sheathed with copper that was torn off in places by contact with ice.

[41] Nevins, *Narrative of Two Voyages*, 1. Cotter, "Ship 'Prince of Wales'," 42. Finnie, "Farewell Voyages," 45.

[42] Nevins, *Narrative of Two Voyages*, 1; see also Ballantyne, *Hudson's Bay*, 15.

[43] Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 67; Cotter, "Famous Hudson's Bay Captains and Ships," part II, 33; Cotter, "Ship 'Prince of Wales'," 42. Finnie, "Farewell Voyages," 45; see also William Kennedy, *A short narrative of the second voyage of the Prince Albert, in search of Sir John Franklin* (London: W.H. Dalton, 1853), 28, on the fitting out of the *Prince Albert* in Aberdeen.

[44] "Company Sailing Ships 1668–1928," *The Beaver* 22, no. 2 (September 1942): 28.

The unusual lines of HBC ships were due to the "rounded, barrel-like bilge" that they displayed. Such "egg-shaped" hulls where also common to whalers, and when squeezed by ice, rose "like an orange pip squeezed between the fingers" and so escaped being crushed.[45] While this design allowed vessels to withstand a great deal of punishment, it did not make for a particularly stable ride. Such ships "rolled heavily" in stormy seas, creating problems not only for passengers with sensitive stomachs, but, as sailor A.R. Williamson pointed out, for all onboard, "especially for stokers trying to shovel coal into the boiler furnaces – and for the cook struggling to keep his balance and prepare meals."[46] And, sturdy and useful though a ship such as the *Ocean Nymph* might be in ascending shallow rivers such as the Hayes, it was apparently disparaged as a "flat-bottomed tub, which made about as much leeway as headway with the wind abeam," and "wholly a roller."[47] Likewise, the "superabundance of heavy timber put into their hulls" did nothing to increase the speed of HBC ocean-going vessels.[48] The foregoing descriptions show that ice, directly and indirectly, had an effect on the length of a voyage and could significantly

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[45] Finnie, "Farewell Voyages," 45. See also Schwatka, "An Arctic Vessel and Her Equipment," 507, who comments "The ease with which a ship can be lifted is, of course, a direct function of her size and weight. ... the general principle that a vessel should be as small as possible ... Again: a small ship is more readily handled in the tortuous channels through which she is often compelled to thread her way while working in floes just sufficiently open to allow progress." See also, photo, "SS *Erik* in St. John's harbour, Newfoundland, 1901." Maritime History Archive, Virtual Exhibits, Job Photograph Collection <http:// www.mun.ca/mha/job/larger_version.php?img=pf315_197&galleryID=v2> (accessed 20 October 2008).

[46] Williamson, "Voyage of the 'Discovery'," part I, 16; also Cowan quoted in Healy, *Women of Red River*, 190. See also Hargrave, *Letters*, 56, for terse comments – "Ship pitching so we could not dress" and, "Never knew what sailing was before." Finlayson, "Notebook," 33, notes that the ship's rolling sent everyone to their berths "for the gale was so heavy that the sailors found it almost impossible to keep their footing on the deck, and one poor fellow had a fall and was very seriously injured"; also Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 90; Ballantyne, *Hudson's Bay,* 2, 7, 15.

[47] Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 95, 101–2.

[48] Cotter, "Ship 'Prince of Wales'," 42.

extend the amount of time sailors spent in "narrow confines" with their working cohorts and other people aboard.[49]

From 1670 to 1920, the space aboard HBC transatlantic ships was principally a work place, and a crowded one at that. Given rigging, longboats, and stores, there was not a great deal of free space available.[50] Smaller vessels of 120 to 130 tons – for example the frigate *Mary* [IV], and the pink *Hudson's Bay* [V], built for the Company in 1737 – reached only fifty-five feet end to end along the keel, and twenty-one feet side to side at the widest point. The depth of hold was at most nine and one half feet, while the height of the space between decks ranged from three feet nine inches to four feet. In addition to the machinery found on merchant ships sailing elsewhere, HBC vessels carried extra gear for ice voyaging, extra materials for making repairs or ensuring survival – such as supplementary sets of sails, a supply of wood, spare coal – and extra provisions for the same. Holds were packed with ballast, cargo, and livestock, while decks stored more, including "great quarters of fine Orkney beef [that] were drawn high up on the masts and fastened there."[51] Private consignments of goods augmented HBC cargo outward and furs homeward. In some instances, such additional shipments were substantial. In 1708, Richard Staunton,

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[49] Williamson, "Voyage of the 'Discovery'," part I, 22. See also W.T. Larmour, review, *Clear Lands and Icy Seas* by Theodora C. Stanwell-Fletcher, *The Beaver* 38, no. 2 (autumn 1958): 56, and comments on passengers in close company.

[50] See, photograph, SS *Pelican,* from the bow across the deck by Frederick W. Berchem, Montreal, 1920, McCord Museum <http://www.mccord-museum.qc.ca/scripts/viewobject. php?Lang=1&section=196&accessnumber=MP-1984.126.59&imageID=251848& pageMulti=1> (accessed 5 December 2008).

[51] Cowan, quoted in Healy, *Women of Red River*, 191, explains further, "The surface became hardened by the wind and sun, and beneath it the meat kept perfectly fresh during the voyage." Healy, 193, reports, "The average cargo of the Prince Rupert in the 1860's included about sixty tons of gunpowder, with bullets and shot in proportion for large and small game. The next most important article was twine or fishing nets ... Of tea and tobacco large quantities were brought every year."

serving as cooper and steward on the *Hudson's Bay* [II], but headed to Albany for service ashore, took aboard thirty gallons of brandy, one hundredweight of sugar, and fifty-six pounds of cheese on his own account.[52] In 1846, the *Prince Rupert* carried consignments for thirty-nine individuals – many of whom lived at Red River Settlement. In 1854, among other things, John Ballenden's package included a "bulky" bathtub, "Harp, & Piano." The next year his order included for his two daughters: nine dresses of silk, satin, wool, and cotton, and two skirts; twelve chemisettes, two petticoats, and two corsets; two capes, a mantle, and a "Lynx boa"; three bonnets and a dozen night caps; fourteen pairs of gloves, eleven pairs of boots and shoes, and two dozen pairs of stockings; two dozen handkerchiefs, "some Neck Ties of Ribbon and Velvet, a Drawing Album published every month, since last July," and "A silver drinking cup and spoon." For himself, Ballenden listed: two coats, two vests, and two pairs of trousers – all "In the fashion most used"; two pairs of boots, and three each of "open front woolen slips," drawers, and neck ties. For his household: "From the Best Fish market," a hundred weight of salt, a "Firkin [fifty-six pounds] cured Loch Fyne herrings," and "A small supply of Marmalade ... in stout jars"; six pairs of sheets, a dozen table napkins and a dozen towels "all articles ... safely secured from damp and secured properly."[53] In and amongst bales, chests, and barrels of HBC

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[52] See HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books, 1845–1915; Rich, *History*, vol. I, 376–83, 387–88, 398, 428, 429, 559–64, 625; Davies and Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 5–7, 10, 15–19, 23–29, 30–31, 114–15, 134, 189, 243–44, 249, 259, 285, 311, 318*n*, 341. A horse was lost when the *Mary* went down in 1736. In 1705 *Hudson's Bay* [II] carried 400 gallons of rum to the Bay. At York in 1728 Thomas McCliesh seized some brandy aboard the *Mary*: "the said brandy not being mentioned in the note sent by your honours." His action angered John Watteridge who would not sign on to serve so was sent home. McCliesh added, "I have likewise seized two casks of brandy ... all which brandy I have delivered to Captain Spurrill, and to keep same till he arrives in England." See also *Report from the Select Committee*, 62, 80, 257, 279.

[53] Healy, *Women of Red River*, 194–98.

goods, private consignments, and ships' gear, captains and crews lived and worked.[54]

Even on the earliest voyages and smallest ships – such as the *Eaglet* and the *Nonsuch* of only fifty-four and forty-three tons respectively in 1668 – there could be a dozen crewmembers, exclusive of the master. The *Wivenhoe* of 1669, at 100 tons had a crew of twenty-five. The standard size of a HBC transatlantic ship's complement during peacetime appears to have hovered upwards of eighteen to twenty-six hands until 1920, regardless of vessel size or type – a generous allotment compared to other similarly small merchant vessels of the North Atlantic.[55] During wartime, a ship's complement might increase dramatically: in 1803, for instance the *King George* [III] carried twenty-two officers and seamen exclusive of the captain, while in 1804 there were thirty-six.[56] The stations represented among the crew of HBC ships appear more varied than usual for

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[54] Dick Wilson, "Below Decks: Seamen and Landsmen aboard Hudson's Bay Company Vessels in the Pacific Northwest 1821–1850." In *Papers of the 1994 Rupert's Land Colloquium*, ed. Ian MacLaren, Michael Payne, and Heather Hollason (Winnipeg: Centre for Rupert's Land Studies, 1997), 28–29, describes the largest HBC ships plying the Northwest Coast trade from 1821–1850 as "barques, which were a mere 103 feet long. The living area for the seaman was the 'focs'l,' located in the bow, forward of the foremast. For the larger ships, 12 crewmen might occupy a focs'l that was roughly 25 feet wide, 16 feet long, and 5½ feet high ... The bunks, ladder, foremast, the carrick bitt timbers, knight head timbers, and cat davit timbers limited an individual's space in the focs'l even further." He notes the space was perpetually damp, and "dark, with the only light provided by a tallow candle or a small tin holding a cotton wick over which was poured fat rendered in the galley. The timbers, planking, decks, and bulkheads that formed the limits of the space were always covered with a black carbon residue."

[55] On ships' tonnage see Appendix A, this thesis. See, for example, HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books, 1845–1915, and Rich, *History*, vol. I, which indicate that, exclusive of the captain: the *Diligence* of 1681 had 22 crew; *Hudson's Bay* [I], 1697, had about 18; *Union*, 1714, had 20; *Seahorse* [I], 1740, had 20; *Mary* [IV] and *Hudson's Bay* [V], 1754, each had 18; *King George* [III], 1803, had 22; *Prince of Wales* [I], 1811, had 32; *Eddystone*, 1811, had 28; *Prince Rupert* and *Prince Albert*, through the 1840s, averaged 20; *Prince of Wales* and *Prince Arthur*, through the 1850s–1870s, had from 19 to 26; see also Sager, *Seafaring Labour*, 107–9.

[56] HBCA, C.1/414, Ships' Log, *King George*, 1803, fos. 1b, 2a, 2b; C.1/415, Ships' Log, *King George*, 1804, fos. 2a-4b, list 38 passengers aboard for the outward voyage.

vessels of similar size serving northern North American ports on the Eastern Seaboard.[57] Aside from the master and his servant, HBC sailing ships carried a first, second, and sometimes third mate. During wartime especially, there were as many as two second masters, and there might be prisoners as well.[58] At war or peace, in addition to a cook, assistant cook, steward, and boatswain with a boatswain's mate, typically a HBC ship would have a surgeon, carpenter, and gunner with gunner's mate. There were AB (able-bodied) and OS (ordinary) seaman as well as apprentices and ship's boys aboard. Ships, including steam vessels, carried a sailmaker/"taylor" [sic], and often a cooper.[59] HBC steam/sail vessels also carried first and second engineers, with assistant engineers, and first, second, and sometimes third firemen.[60] One reason for the relative surplus of workers on HBC ships might have been the Company's desire to have a continual supply of mariners well versed in ice voyaging. The system would also have ensured that a HBC captain looking to hire crew could draw on a relatively large number of seamen already familiar with working in each other's company. By the early 1900s, according to writer and journalist Henry Major Tomlinson, the HBC had a reputation for selective hiring:

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[57] See Sager, "Table 5: Ranks of Sailors signing on at Departure, St. John's-Registered Sailing Vessels, 1863–99," *Seafaring Labour*, 107, who lists on vessels under 250 tons: Master, First mate, Second mate, Bosun, Cook, Steward, Carpenter, Able seaman, Ordinary seaman, Boy, Apprentice. In "Table 6: Distribution by Rank, Saint John Fleet, 1863–1914," 109, Sager lists in addition: Sailmaker, Stowaway, First, second or third engineer, Fireman or Fireman/trimmer, and notes that because only "a few vessels carried a second master or extra master," he did not include the station in his list.

[58] See, for example, Rich, *History*, vol. I, 237, who notes that after Iberville captured the sixty-ton *Huband* in 1688, he put as many as thirty prisoners from the *Mary* of London aboard.

[59] HBCA, C.1/415, Ship's Log, King George, 1804, 4b.

[60] See HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books, 1845–1915; also Rich, *History*, vol. I, 254–56, 263–64, 276–89, 302, 315, 325, 329, 336–37, 350–52, 358–59, who notes that in 1689 Leonard Edgecombe of the *Hudson's Bay* [I] had 4 'Blue Coat boys' as apprentices aboard, and that Edward Thompson formerly a HBC employee at Moose, was aboard the *Furnace* as surgeon in 1741.

Joseph Conrad, for example, confessed he was not able to secure a berth, "for the H.B.C. is ... most careful and particular."[61]

HBC ships also carried various passengers – including labourers and artisans for bayside posts, as well as Company officers, and members of HBC servants' families. The *Prince Rupert* [I], for example, though of only seventy-five tons, carried Captain Power, thirteen crew, and sixteen passengers to the Bay in 1681. The *King George* [III] of 1803, at over three times the capacity, carried as passengers supplementary to its official complement of twenty-two crew: two coopers, two tailors, a boatbuilder, a blacksmith, and fifteen sailors – all of whom were due wages for the voyage. Additionally, there were passengers aboard who received no extra wages, including a factory chief, a sloop master, boat builder, armorer, cooper, and two "inland" men, a tailor, sawyer, bricklayer, fifteen labourers, and four sailors. All told there were some sixty-two people housed about the ship. From the Company's earliest voyages to 1920, it appears that most passengers aboard ship, as HBC servants – whatever their landward station – were bound by their contracts to serve as supplementary crew. [62]

That the division of labour aboard ship divided a ship's space has been well established within maritime historiography: throughout the merchant marine, rank

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[61] H.M. Tomlinson, *Out of Soundings* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1931), 191. See Wilson, "Below Decks," 29, who notes transfers of seamen between HBC vessels "were made without much ceremony" and that "Flexibility in crew assignments ... served as the safety valve" to diffuse interpersonal conflict.

[62] HBCA, C.1/414, Ships' Log, *King George*, 1803, fos. 1b, 2a, 2b. Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 74–75; Edith I. Burley, *Servants of the Company: Work, Discipline, and Conflict in the Hudson's Bay Company, 1770–1879* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1997), 26–27.

conferred separate workstations and living quarters.[63] HBC ships were no different.[64] Nevertheless, sailors as workers, and HBC personnel tasked as sailors, necessarily mingled with people not of their station, confined as quarters were aboard ship. Observation, contact, and social interaction – even if limited – was unavoidable. For example, though deck hands were not allowed freedom of the poop deck or captain's stateroom, they were there when scrubbing the decks. Officers and crew performed many of their work activities apart, and observed regular social activities such as dining, conversation, and entertainment separately. They worked in concert, however, when challenged by the sea. There were also singular social occasions, such funerals at sea, in which everyone participated.[65] At all times, most activity aboard ship could be heard, and no doubt heard about if not directly observed, by officers, crew, and passengers alike.[66]

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[63] Sager, *Seafaring Labour*, 6–8, 87–93, observes, "in designing sailing ships, builders were designing enclosed spaces that would constrain relations between everybody who lived and worked there. The sailing ship ... assumed a division of labour and a social hierarchy," which "reflected the military division of labour in naval vessels"; see also Marcus Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirate and the Anglo-American World, 1700–1750* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 83–96; Christopher McKee, review of *Shipboard Life and Organization, 1731–1815* by Brian Lavery, *The Journal of Military History* 63, no. 4 (October 1999): 967–69; Edward Ward, *The Wooden World Dissected: In the Character of a Ship of War, As Also the Character of All the Officers, From the Captain to the Common Sailor* (1707; London: James Graham, 1795), 9–12, 17–50, 44–58, 61–66; Dana, *Two Years Before the Mast*, 11–14, 23, 37; and Remington, "York Factory to London," 19, 20.

[64] Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 74, reported, for example, that the *Prince Rupert* [VII] "had a raised poop aft and a topgallant forecastle forward, where the officers aft and the boatswain and carpenter forward were accommodated. There were also berths for the second mate, a midshipman, and a passenger in the 'half deck,' immediately in front of the poop, while the crew and steerage passengers had quarters in the steerage forward. The cook's galley was a little deckhouse before the mainmast." Cowan, quoted in Healy, *Women of Red River,* 190, reported accommodation aboard the *Prince Rupert* was a "delightful contrast" to the *Ocean Nymph*, as there were berths for cabin, as well as steerage, passengers aft in the captain's quarters.

[65] See Cowan, quoted in Healy, *Women of Red River*, 190; Dana, *Two Years Before the Mast*, 40.

[66] Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea*, 88, 95, notes "One of the central features of seafaring work was its social visibility. Work was a public activity, so public in fact that any seaman, even

Depending on the mix of personalities, a variety of more or less pleasant social outcomes might ensue from bouts of close contact that lasted weeks and months over the thousands of miles traversed in even the quickest crossings performed by HBC ships. Concern with ice determined the size of ships and spaces aboard, the number of workers housed in those spaces, and the length of time during which other people were confined in the sailors' workplace. To some extent, therefore, the presence of ice also determined the social dynamic. Yet, it was the people aboard ships who determined what their reaction to their circumstances would be. Appreciating the material context of voyages is necessary for understanding conditions aboard HBC transatlantic ships. Understanding the distinctive features of a HBC voyage also requires knowing something about the people constrained in company within that context. As the remaining chapters show, the distinctive features of the voyage, the distinctive features of the ship as a workplace, and the variety of people constrained aboard ship in each other's company, all combined to produce a distinct social dynamic and an opportunity for individuals to reconsider, react to, and perhaps reconfigure personal and social behaviours.

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when off duty, knew what work was being done, and by whom, by the distinctive yell each tar gave during his various exertions."

Chapter Eleven

Opportunities in Transit: HBC Ships as Sites of Social Process

Eric W. Sager has argued that a ship at sea was "a fragment of the society that created it," but observed as well that "The seaman worked in a place of infinite variety." Thus, he allowed, the seaborne "workplace as a community" was one in which "workplace relationships [were] highly variable."[1] Following Sager, with this chapter I argue that, as a container of human activity, the community aboard HBC ships was a context as worthy of consideration as the natural and technological contexts of a transatlantic voyage.[2] Socially,

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[1] Eric W. Sager, *Seafaring Labour: The Merchant Marine of Atlantic Canada, 1820–1914* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 104, 240, 222, 8, also 44.

[2] James W. Carey, *Communication As Culture: Essays on Media and Society* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989; Reprint, New York: Routledge, 1992), 18–19, in establishing a connection between community and communication, suggests that community can be understood as an "ordered, meaningful" world that "serves as a control and container for human action." See Allan Pred, "Social Reproduction and the Time Geography of Everyday Life," *Geografiska Annaler,* ser. B, 63, no. 1 (1981): 7, 10, and comments on alterations and adjustments made at the individual level that lead to societal transformation; and Ian Stuart, "All the King's Horses: The Study of Canadian Political Culture," in *Canadian Politics* 2d ed., James P. Bickerton and Alain-G. Gagnon, eds. (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1994), 79–88, which indicate that Sager's statements are more compatible with Pred's theorizing that "there is an unending dialectical process by which society produces [people] who produce, or create society," than with the "fragment homogeneity" underpinning the theoretical framework propounded by Louis Hartz in the 1960s. See Jennifer S.H. Brown, *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Families in Indian Country* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980), xvi–xvii, for a discussion of her application of Hartzian analysis in the study of HBC and NWC workplace relationships and the "social and domestic relations that developed within them" – i.e. social reproduction.

the HBC ship as a workplace was a complex nexus of alternating, intersecting paths. Social relations aboard ship reflected this complexity. This chapter recounts observations recorded in journals of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century passengers variously housed in the interstices of workspaces aboard such cargo carriers as the *Ocean Nymph*, *Prince Rupert*, and *Nascopie*, to illustrate ways in which being at sea aboard a HBC ship was a socially distinct experience.

The experience of community aboard ship varied for different individuals.[3] The comments of nineteenth-century passengers aboard transatlantic supply ships indicate that interaction aboard HBC vessels included more than the pure reproduction of the obvious, existing, and tenaciously held set of relations between captains and crews – the "hierarchy of laboring roles" adhered to by the 'insiders' of shipboard 'society.'[4] Although that set of

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[3] See John Scott and Gordon Marshall, eds., "community," *A Dictionary of Sociology*, Oxford University Press 2005, *Oxford Reference Online* [ORO] <http://www.oxfordreference.com> (accessed 14 December 2008). Community is a contested term, often loosely applied either to a place or to a collection of people, but more commonly used to define land-based social interactions than those at sea. See, for example, James Brow, "Notes on Community, Hegemony, and the Uses of the Past," *Anthropological Quarterly* 63, no. 1 (January 1990): 1–6, who limits his definition of community to meaning a subjective state: "a sense of belonging together," that "typically combines both affective and cognitive components, both a feeling of solidarity and an understanding of shared identity." By 'identity,' presumably, Brow means that the members of a group of people understand themselves to be figuratively 'all in the same boat.' Cheryl A Fury, *Tides in the Affairs of Men: The Social History of Elizabethan Seamen, 1508–1603* (Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 2002), 258, observes that in some respects "the seafaring community functioned with roughly the same dynamic, parameters, and mechanisms as the land community." For the purpose of this chapter, the term community refers to the immediately experienced sense of common circumstance of the group constrained aboard a ship, while the term society signals the larger set(s) of structured social relations brought to bear upon the group.

[4] Marcus Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirates and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700–1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 84. See also Margaret S. Creighton, "Fraternity in the American Forecastle, 1830–1870," *The New England Quarterly* 63, no. 4 (December 1990): 544–545; Margaret S. Creighton and Lisa Norling, eds., *Iron Men. Wooden Women: Gender and Seafaring in the Atlantic World, 1700–1920* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1996), viii, ix, note that "Like every specialized occupation, labor under sail evolved with its own distinctive language, rhythms, rituals, and lore. … sources suggest that the seafaring experience was shaped by the close confines, intermittent isolation, and strict hierarchy of authority of the ship; the mobility inherent in a transportation industry; and the natural dangers that were inescapably part of the

relations was dominant, there occurred also the making of new and potentially lasting contacts with ship 'outsiders.'[5] Insiders and outsiders alike had an opportunity to form new opinions about, and relations with, an ever-varying group of individuals.

Before, during and after the nineteenth century, by dint of movement, a HBC transatlantic ship was a transitional place, within a larger space of transition, by which seafarers "quit" one "part of the world" for another that was vastly different.[6] The ocean arc was a space of transition in that change from one set of conditions to another was a constant along its breadth.[7] As a workplace, the ship was transitional in the sense of being in transit – literally, because it was going and because it was conveying. It was figuratively transitional because, while aboard ship, there was an opportunity for people to observe something other than whatever conceptions of 'normal' social relations they held to exist at

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deep-sea workplace. But just how distinctive sailor and ship board societies really were, in what ways, and why, remain points of disagreement."

[5] Joe Flatman, "Cultural biographies, cognitive landscapes and dirty old bits of boat: 'theory' in maritime archaeology," *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 32, no. 2 (October 2003): 148, notes "while a hierarchical structure may have been present aboard ... vessels, this should not be automatically assumed." He cautions against "Hornblower syndrome": taking "the wealth of 19th-century accounts of naval life which survive" at face value and assuming the "worst excesses of abuse of power and hierarchy always being present on board ship." He notes "many accounts of old sailors – often ghost written – deliberately emphasized bad conditions to serve political moves in the 1820s and 1830s to end both naval impressment and corporal punishment, particularly flogging." Flatman holds that "For most of history, merchant ships in particular ... had very small crews, with little scope for class distinctions, while crews were often drawn from family members, 'lower ranks' in such circumstances frequently being of the same social class but from lower down a hierarchy of experience and maturity."

[6] William Wales, "Journal of a Voyage, made by order of the Royal Society, to Churchill River, on the North-west Coast of Hudson's Bay; of Thirteen Months Residence in that Country, and of the Voyage back to England; in the Years 1768 and 1769: By William Wales," *Philosophical Transactions (1683–1775)* 60 (1770): 132.

[7] See Katherine Barber, "transition," *The Canadian Oxford Dictionary* ORO <http://www.oxfordreference.com> (accessed 3 October 2008).

termini ashore.[8] The opportunity to experience a different social dynamic while in isolation from locations on land was temporary, intermediate, and fluid. The opportunity was fluid because behaviours and actions that people witnessed and performed changed in response to changing conditions along the course travelled. It was fluid as well because the company, in which seafarers aboard transoceanic HBC ships travelled, changed over the course of voyages. On some passages, for instance, personnel transferred between consorts while at sea. In the case of impressment, they might transfer to a naval ship. Loss of coworkers also occurred due to deaths at sea. Visitors and emissaries from other vessels, including whaling ships, Inuit umiaks, and coastal schooners might come aboard.[9] Typically, a transatlantic HBC ship's complement also changed with the direction

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[8] Barber, "transit," *Canadian Oxford Dictionary* ORO <http://www.oxfordreference.com> (accessed 3 October 2008). See Pred, "Social Reproduction," on the "*external* (corporeal action)-*internal* (mental activity and intention) *dialectic*," who argues "*as an individual traces out her physically observable daily and life paths, corporeally participating in institutional* (and independently defined) *projects, and thereby interacting with other persons and objects, she inevitably amasses internal impressions and experiences that are fundamental to her absorption of normative prescriptions and rules* … When an individual's daily path is steered through specific temporal and spatial locations as a result of involvement in, or intersection with a particular institutional project, she is confronted by environmental impulses, personal contacts, influences, and information in general, as well as emotions and feelings, that she otherwise would not have experienced internally, and her practical knowledge of the 'reasonable' and the 'unreasonable', her unarticulated sense of limits, is embellished or reinforced in a manner that otherwise would not have occurred" [italics in source].

[9] See for example, HBCA, C.1/1028, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1758, ca. 16 August; LAC, Thomas Douglas, 5th Earl of Selkirk Fonds, Microfilm A.27, Selkirk Papers, vol. I, Miles Macdonnell, letter, "Macdonnell to Lord Selkirk," York Factory, 1 Oct. 1811 (Canadian Library Association Ottawa, 1950), 43; HBCA, E.12/5-7, "My Notebook," Isobel G[raham] Finlayson Journal, 1840, 65–66. HBCA, C.1/417, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1806, 19–20 June, 10 October. HBCA, C.1/1027, Ship's Log, *Sea Horse*, 1757, ca. 30 May, beside a crossbones symbol, notes "at 3 Dyed John Sheppard our ordnery Seaman [sic]"; C.1/1028, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1758, 15 August. HBCA, B.3/a/3, Albany Post Journal, 1711, Anthony Beale "Six Dayes Remarks of of Albany Roavor beginning Sept ye 20th 1711 [sic]," 26 September, aboard the *Pery* reported that "a conniss [canoe] wilt two indians who came on board us [sic]"; B.3/a/7: Albany Post Journal, 1715–1716, Michael Grimington, "A Journall of our Wintering with the Prosperos Hoye M.G. Mas^{tr} In Comp^{y} wth y^{e} Port Nelson [sic]," 18 April, reported "Capt Belcher Letts the Indians Come Aboard of his Ship"; C.1/1027, Ship's Log, *Sea Horse*, 1757, 2 August, records a visitor from the consort *Prince Rupert*: "this day have had the Docker of Cap Spurrell on board to survey a man that was not Well [sic]"; C.1/1058, Ship's Log, *Sea Horse*, 1758, 24 July, 1 August, reports "had 22 Estusquemays on board [sic]" and "4

travelled: inevitably, some people aboard for the outward passage, including labourers and Company servants engaged for the fur trade, left the ship at the voyage's outward end. A new set of transoceanic voyagers joined the ship's company for the return.[10] During the weeks and months of a voyage, different passengers engaged with the community aboard ship differently. Some fared better than others.

For a person like passenger Letitia Hargrave, who appears from her letters to have been obsessed with finding a telling fault in the behaviour of everyone she met, the voyage to Hudson Bay could prove exhausting.[11] Instances of mingling between female passengers and crewmen aboard the *Prince Rupert* [V] in 1840 seem to have galled her especially. Miss Allen, for instance, a schoolteacher whom Hargrave deemed insufferable before the first week at sea was out, drew her censure for having taken a walk round the deck with the

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Usquemays [sic]"; Thomas M'Keevor, *A voyage to Hudson's Bay, during the summer of 1812: containing a particular account of the icebergs and other phenomena which present themselves in those regions: also, a description of the Esquimeaux and North American Indians, their manners, customs, dress, language, &c. &c. &c.* (London: Printed for Sir Richard Phillips and Co., 1819), 7–8, 38–39; Isaac Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers: A Narrative of Seven Years in the Service of the Hudson's Bay Company during 1867–1874, On the Great Buffalo Plains with Historical and Biographical notes and comment* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1913), 81, 90; Letitia Hargrave, *The Letters of Letitia Hargrave*, ed. Margaret Arnett MacLeod (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1947), 65; Finlayson, "Notebook," 42; Robert M. Ballantyne, *Hudson's Bay, or, Every-day life in the wilds of North America during six years' residence in the territories of the honourable Hudson's Bay Company* (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood, 1848), 11–12.

[10] See, for example, HBCA, C.1/414, fos. 1b, 2a, 2b, Ships' Log, *King George*, 1803, "Officers and Seamen belong to the Ship [sic]", "Passengers from Orkney for York Fort 1803", "Passengers returned from York Fort 1803"; C.1/415, fos. 2a, 2b, 3b, 4a, 4b, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1804, "A List of the Ships Company [sic]", "Men from London for York Fort and Severn", "Men from Orkney for York Fort", "Men from Orkney for Severn", "Men returned from York"; C.1/416, fos. 1b, 2a, 2b, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1805, "Ships Company 1805", "Passengers from London for Churchill", "Passengers from Orkney for Churchill", "Passengers from Orkney for York Fort", "Passengers returned from Churchill 1805", "Passengers return'd from York Fort 1805"; C.1/417, fos. 2b, 3a, 3b, 4a, 4b, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1806, "Officers and Men", "Pafsengers [sic] from London and Orkney, for York & Severn", "SR [Severn River]", "Pafsengers from London and Orkney, for Churchill 1806 [sic]", "Pafsengers returned from York & Severn 1806 [sic]", "Pafsengers return'd from Churchill 1806 [sic]"; C.1/421, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1809, "ships co 1809 [sic]", "Seamen entered on board from the *Beaver* brig this day," 17–18 September.

[11] See A.A. Ramsay, "Letters from Letitia Hargrave," part I, photograph, *The Beaver* 20, no. 1 (June 1940): 18, for a daguerreotype portrait of Hargrave.

ship's surgeon Dr. Gillespie, after which the young man was apparently subject to ongoing teasing from Mr. Boulton the first mate.[12] By the time the ship reached Stromness, Hargrave had seen to the dismissal of fellow passenger Isobel Finlayson's female cook. Initially impressed, Hargrave had described the cook as a well-educated widow of about fifty years old, pretty, cheerful, and "constantly assisting the steward." When her own maid reported that Finlayson's cook was flirting with sailors, accepting "drinks" from Boulton, and getting "tipsy," Hargrave's opinion soured.[13] She apparently did not know, or did not accept, that such drinking was widely regarded as medicinal – a "cure for seasickness."[14] By the time the ship reached Hudson Strait, Hargrave did not enjoy social contact and portrayed shipboard life as a "wretched" combination of too many people, performing tasks in too close quarters, surrounded by too much ice.[15]

Hargrave's berth was one of four bunks divided by sliding doors from the 'cuddy' of the captain's stateroom in the after cabin that served as the mess. She elected to spend much of her time sequestered in her bunk, which lay at floor level "wth a sort of ledge to keep me from rolling about." Consequently, she was subject to the "constant clack clack"

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[12] Finlayson, "Notebook," 14; Hargrave, *Letters*, 41, 45, 48–49, 52–53, describes Gillespie as "a reddish-hair long raw-looking boy … perfectly educated, he has ... done as much towards graduating as M.D. as his years will admit of." Henry Edward Boulton, chief mate of the *Prince Rupert* from 1839, is described as a "common sailor" who "is or ought to be a gent^{n}, a nephew to Gov^{r} Pelly & was a midie on the E.I.Co^{y} Service." See HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements, 1719–1920, either Henry or James S. Boulton captained the *Prince Albert* in 1841.

[13] Hargrave, *Letters*, 49, 52. Finlayson, "Notebook," 34, does not mention the incident.

[14] William Burney, quoted in Carol Bennett McQuaig, "The Voyage of the 'John Barry'," *The Beaver* 74, no. 1 (February/March 1994): 24, surgeon aboard the *John Barry* in 1825, he wrote in his journal that during the first days on the Atlantic a number of the migrant Irish women under his care were "tipsy," for that reason. Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 81, reported prescribing "pills composed of cayenne pepper and bread for the seasickness of the lady's maid, who derived some physical and, probably, more mental relief therefrom [sic]."

[15] Hargrave, *Letters*, 58.

of the mess, with "the Capn always in it."[16] In addition, Finlayson, her equally bunk-ridden roommate, reportedly "had a horror at being blown up & as there was gun powder under our cabin w^{d} not listen to the proposal of a fire. I was sure I w^{d} die of cold … in a room w^{ch} was washed 2^{ce} a week & never dry, as there was no window but the sky light.[17] Stormy seas toppled the seasick female passengers' belongings out of their berths "to the no small amusement of the officers who were assembled at breakfast." The close presence of ice made everything worse: "Nothing c^{d} be more wearing out than the never ending bump bump bumping & then rumbling [of ice] under or past us – Sleep was impossible." Periodically the ship would strike the ice with a sound "like the loudest thunder" while the collision "made her tremble from head to stern, and set all the bells ringing," and, as the *Prince Rupert* rebounded backwards, Miss Allen would scream.[18] At the end of the voyage, upon being lowered from the ship, Hargrave turned her back on the ship's company and "relieved her pent up feelings" by crying herself "sick," while praying "wherever it may be

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[16] Ibid., 19 n.3, 27 n.1, 47, 58, 59, the captain was David Herd, who "had entered the Company's service in 1834. He was chief officer of the *Prince Rupert* until 1839, when he was appointed captain.

[17] Ibid., 68. Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 76, 84, notes that on his voyage the *Prince Rupert* carried "sixty tons of gunpowder … with bullets and shot in proportion" as cargo, and that consequently "The cook's caboose on deck was the only place where a fire was allowed, except for a miserable infrequent apology in the saloon – the danger of fire, with so much gunpowder aboard, being the risk always present in the captain's mind."

[18] Hargrave, *Letters*, 67. Finlayson, "Notebook," 35–36, 39; see also John Hudspeth, "Journal During Summer in Hudson's [sic] Bay And of the Voyage home to England," *Journals of John Maule Hudspeth: Hudson's Bay and the Voyage home to England, 1816*, University of Tasmania Library Special and Rare Materials Collection, Australia (unpublished), 7.RS1900/D33 <http://eprints.utas.edu.au/7152/2/rs_2_2%287%29_John_ Hudspeth_Journal_1816.pdf> (accessed 7 October 2008), 26, 6 September, who reported that on colliding with ice: "One blow which she got against a piece of Ice lying aground made every heart to palpitate and every face turn pale, it appears as if the ship's frame was completely knocked in, so great was the crash; but the force of the blow was received above the water & the damage received will be reparable and without danger"; also Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 89; and Ballantyne, *Hudson's Bay,* 14–15, for descriptions of passenger discomfort on account of ship collisions with ice.

my lot to go I shall never [again] be shut up in a cabin with 3 ladies & servants.[19]

Hargrave serves as an extreme example of an individual 'all at sea' and out of her element aboard a ship in icy Northern waters. Adhering to her notions of propriety conceived along gendered lines – presumably inculcated by the finishing school she had attended in Argyllshire – did nothing to alleviate her physical situation or emotional outlook. Contemporary male passengers such as Robert Ballantyne aboard the *Prince Rupert* [VI] of 1841, and Isaac Cowie aboard and *Prince Rupert* [VII] of 1867, though they shared many of the physical discomforts, describe a freedom of movement, easy familiarity with passengers and crew, and overall interest in their voyages that stand in sharp contrast to Hargrave's account.[20] Both men reported engaging directly with all working ranks aboard ship – from "parading the quarter deck" with a captain and spinning yarns with a mate or boatswain, to enjoying "dogwatch entertainments" on the forward deck.[21] Gender norms doubtless combined with workplace regimens to limit the opportunities available for female passengers to interact with male crew. Local lore of Hudson Bay suggests, however, that some female passengers – perhaps even Finlayson's gregarious cook – and working men aboard ship, may well have regarded time spent in close proximity as both welcome diversions and potential opportunities to form lasting emotional bonds – precisely as First Officer Boulton had teased Dr. Gillespie. A "classic" story that apparently circulated among the Labrador district ports of Rigolet, Northwest River, and Fort Chimo,

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[19] Hargrave, *Letters*, xxxviii, 58, 59.

[20] See R.H. Cockburn, "R.M. Ballantyne (1825–1894)," photograph, *Arctic* 37, no. 1 (March 1984): 71, of Robert Michael Ballantyne.

[21] Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 78, 80, 82–85; see also Ballantyne, *Hudson's Bay*, 4, 8–9, 11–12, 16–17.

maintained:

> On the passage out [the first mate of the *Prince of Wales*] fell in love with the daughter of one of the leading residents of the fort to which she was returning; but the match was not approved of by the parents. On the day then that the *Prince of Wales* had her 'Blue Peter' at her fore-topmast head and her anchors hove short, this spritely young seaman (who must have had it pretty badly) sprang from the rail and leaped overboard, his clothes atop his head, and swam to one of the waiting vessels bound up river; he climbed aboard and took passage to the fort, where the couple were married, the Company's business meanwhile being held up and the captain in a furore.[22]

If the story had a factual basis and the ship was the second *Prince of Wales*, then the captain may have been Hargrave's captain, David James Herd, though who the first mate and the bride might be is not clear. Neither is it clear whether the story is a commentary on sailors from England and sea-going North American women actually experiencing transoceanic HBC ships as sites of social production, or whether the tale was told as an allegory, referencing the seaborne intercourse between European and North American economic interests.[23] In any case, the story augments the nineteenth-century descriptions supplied by Hargave, Ballantyne, and Cowie that present HBC ships as social spaces in

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[22] H.M.S. Cotter, "The Ship 'Prince of Wales': 1850, Full Rigged Ship in Hudson's Bay; 1934, New Zealand Coal Hulk." *The Beaver* 13, no. 4 (March 1934): 43. Henry M.S. Cotter was born at Little Whale River in 1873, and served the Company at the above named posts from 1889–1912. See Robert Watson, "'Captain' Cotter of Cumberland," *The Beaver* 9, no. 2 (September 1929): 260–61; HBCA, "Cotter, Henry Martin Stewart (b.1873) (fl.1889–1930)," Biographical Sheet; "Cotter, James Laurence (1839–1889) (fl. 1857–1889)," Biographical Sheet; and Shirlee Ann Smith, "Cotter, James Laurence", and Dennis Carter-Edwards, "Ironside, George (d. 1831)," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Online edition [DCB] <http://www. biographi.ca/EN/index.html> (accessed 5 June 2008), James L. Cotter, a notable Company man, was Henry's father. Henry's mother was Frances Symington Ironside, a granddaughter of George Ironside and Vocemassussia – also known as Isabella, who was a relative of the Prophet, Tenskwatawa.

[23] See also Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 78, who recounts that mate of the *Prince Rupert,* Mr. MacPherson, bragged of being a "ladies' man" and attempted throughout the voyage "to catch the eye of the lady's-maid." Pred, "Social Reproduction," 11, 13, esp. 14–15, 16–17, describing the role of institutional projects and personal contacts, argues decisions to marry are "inevitably finally due (except in

which adhering to prescribed norms of propriety might prove a poor compass for finding comfort.

That propriety was present aboard ships of the North Atlantic in the form of conventions of rank meant division and isolation were aspects of shipboard social life. Passenger observations on voyages along the HBC ocean arc indicate that individuals who positioned themselves at the top of a social hierarchy likely felt separate. Nevertheless, social distinction did not necessarily preclude inclusion in a vessel's community. Aboard HBC ships, a feature of shipboard relations of longstanding was apparently both operational and socially leavening – that of crew cohesiveness.[24] Numerous studies have established that from Elizabethan times, once aboard English/British and New England ships, regardless of a crewmember's antecedents, if one contributed to the success of a voyage, one 'belonged.'[25] Acceptance into a HBC ship's community conferred benefits,

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the case of a marriage contract) to an initial daily-path interaction – an interaction most likely to have been directly or indirectly brought about by the activity bundle requirements of an institutional project. Following his conception of dominant projects and the structuring of relationships, what I am calling 'social production' – the creation of interpersonal bonds – would represent instances of "social transformation" taking place at the scale of the individual who was nevertheless participating in social reproduction at the scale of the institutional project.

[24] See Sager, *Seafaring Labour,* 87, on the 'aloofness' of masters; and Joan Druett, *Hen Frigates: Passion and Peril, Nineteenth-Century Women at Sea* (New York: Touchstone, 1998), 55–56, 60–61, on the isolation faced by captains' wives who were averse to breaking with convention; also Dick Wilson, "Below Decks: Seamen and Landsmen Aboard the Hudson's Bay Company's Vessels in the Pacific Northwest 1821–50," in *Papers of the 1994 Rupert's Land Colloquium*, ed. Ian MacLaren, Michael Payne, and Heather Rollason (Winnipeg: Centre for Rupert's Land Studies, 1997), 29, on crew cohesiveness aboard HBC vessels.

[25] See, for example, Creighton, "Fraternity in the American Forecastle," 545, 549, 557, on the need to 'pull together'; also Arthur Herman, *To Rule the Waves: How the British Navy Shaped the Modern World* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2005), 78, 295. Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea*, 76, 156, 175, 247, 281, 297, while arguing for sailors' "consciousness of kind," notes "Seamen were always more content when everyone shared 'in the General Toil and Danger'." W. Jeffrey Bolster, "'Every Inch a Man': Gender in the Lives of African American Seamen, 1800–1860," in *Iron Men, Wooden Women*, 140, notes "Atlantic maritime culture … promoted … an assertive foredeck egalitarianism that to some degree diminished the divisiveness of colour. In stridently professing their equality as men, black and

including forbearance of behaviour that transgressed usual maritime custom. Hargrave, for instance, remarked on a "poor sailor who is a little deranged," taking transport home from London to Orkney and in the meantime wandering the *Prince Rupert* to inform all and sundry – including ship's officers – "With the blessing of God if you please I will take a dance." According to Hargrave, the sailor enjoyed the protection of the entire crew: "Cap^{n} & all are so attentive … as if he were the wisest among them."[26]

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white seamen questioned the salience of colour." Sager, *Seafaring Labour,* 244, argues for the existence of a type of 'craft' consciousness among seafaring labourers based on the complicated demands that keeping the ships going in the right direction within reasonable time-limits presented – especially in light of the vagaries of environmental and political conditions. People who were adept were therefore admired for their ability. See Vilhelm Aubert and Oddvar Arner, "On the Social Structure of the Ship," *Acta Sociologica* 3, no. 300 (1958): 204–5; and David Shackleton, "The Most Important Factor," *Australian Maritime Doctrine*, Sea Power Centre-Australia <http://www.navy.gov.au/Publication:Australian_ Maritime_ Doctrine> (accessed 5 December 2008), 76, 78, for more recent assertions and assessments of crew cohesion, which arises out of a "need for teamwork, the enclosed and confined nature of the shipboard environment and the long and arduous nature of maritime operations." Arni Ahronson and James E. Cameron, "The Nature and Consequences of Group Cohesion in a Military Sample," *Military Psychology* 19, no. 1 (2007): 9–10, 12, 22, note "a great deal of research indicates that group cohesion is related to other important group phenomena, including indicators of organizational functioning such as work group performance, job satisfaction, and reported well-being" and that "Group cohesion is considered to be 'a dynamic process that is reflected in the tendency for a group to stick together and remain united in the pursuit of its instrumental objectives and/or for the satisfaction of member affective needs." They found the results of their study "highlighted the importance of task cohesion (as opposed to social cohesion) in the case of job satisfaction and attraction to the group (as opposed to attraction to the task)." See also Lars Weilsthaeth, "Disaster Psychiatry: How crew react in a crisis can be a matter of life or death," *Beacon* 184, no. 1 (2005): 14, who analyzed "positive response expectation" or an individual's – particularly a sailor's – expectation that they can contribute to averting danger and securing survival. They found "that people's immediate reactions, or 'catastrophe behaviour', was largely governed by their previous experience of dangerous situations and/or training for such conditions ... Factors measured to characterise 'crisis behavior' were perceptiveness, thinking, control of feelings and behaviour, ability to cooperate and rescue efforts" constructive reactions also required other factors be in place "such as strong trust in leadership, strong group cohesion, high motivation levels." Olivia Judson, "The Selfless Gene," *The Atlantic* (October 2007): 93–94, 96, describes the tendency towards intra-group cooperation as transhistoric characteristic of human populations.

[26] Hargrave, *Letters,* 49. See also Edith I. Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company: Work, Discipline, and Conflict in the Hudson's Bay Company, 1770–1879* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1997), 74, who notes that ca. 1789, at least one HBC captain pledged to rehire HBC sailors in need of employment if previous service had left them "without a limb or otherwise infirm." See also Louis A. Zurcher, "The Sailor Aboard Ship: A Study of Role Behavior in a Total Institution," *Social Forces* 43, no. 3 (March 1965): 390, 392–94, for observations on 'informal organization' and group cohesion aboard present day naval vessels; and Creighton, "Fraternity in the American Forecastle," 537, 540, 552; also Nicholas Rodger, cited in Daniel Vickers and Vince Walsh, "Young Men and the Sea: The Sociology of

Acceptance also had its converse aspect – embodied by the 'Jonah' – a decidedly uncomfortable status for anyone so designated.[27] John Hudspeth, surgeon aboard the *Eddystone* in 1816, complained in his journal that the crew – made up of men he regarded as murderous mutineers after having overwintered with them – blamed him "for all the gales of wind that occurred during a voyage for having thrown a Cat overboard."[28] Franklin Remington described a similar instance aboard the *Prince Rupert* [VIII] in 1888:

> Day by day the ceaseless pounding and getting nowhere finally got to the crew's morale, and they began to talk about having a Jonah on board. A miserable looking Dutchman with an unkempt beard was the man they concluded was their Jonah, and the reason they gave for this was that he had eaten raw polar bear. They gave him dirty looks and he went about in a nervous state, fearful that one night he might be thrown overboard. Perhaps the return of good weather saved his life, for these fo'c'stle lads jumped quickly from one extreme to another.[29]

Hudspeth, on his earlier voyage, had noted that mercurial switches in mood were not restricted to the sailors – officers too could initiate "nonsensical" quarrels, and then behave cooperatively, as if nothing had happened.[30]

Seafaring in Eighteenth-Century Salem, Massachusetts," *Social History* 24, no. 1 (January 1999): 17–18," for comments on 'disordered cohesion' and cooperation on ships of the past and behaviours that challenge 'Hornblower syndrome' representations of custom.

[27] See "Jonah," Appendix C, this thesis. Frederic J. Masback, "Conrad's Jonahs," *College English* 22, no. 5 (February 1961): 328, 330, based on a reading of Conrad as seaman, argues that the biblical passenger, Jonah, symbolized the "nearest thing to an unforgivable sin … a violation of trust, a breaching of the solidarity which should exist between men united in a common endeavor" – which at sea is seeing ship and entire complement through mortal danger.

[28] Hudspeth, "Journal during Summer in Hudson's Bay," 24, 21 August. See also "Cat," Appendix C, this thesis, the offence was likely threatening to crew safety – not the drowning of an animal.

[29] Franklin Remington, "York Factory to London 1888," *The Beaver* 23, no. 2 (September 1943): 20; see K. Rodahl and T. Moore, "The vitamin A content and toxicity of bear and seal liver," *Biochemical Journal* 37, no. 2 (July 1943): 166–68; and Flora Beardy and Robert Coutts, *Voices from Hudson Bay: Cree Stories from York Factory* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), 39–40, 135 n.55, ingesting polar bear meat may induce illness – the liver is toxic – possibly the seaman's offence was to risk becoming useless while at sea.

For passengers, perhaps the surest means of experiencing a sense of community was to participate directly in the day-to-day work aboard ship. Some men appear to have welcomed an opportunity to earn acceptance through demonstrating physical competence, vaunting their ability to get over feeling seasick, and boasting they had "paid … footing" to the sailors by climbing aloft in the rigging.[31] John McLeod, aboard the *Edward and Ann* in 1811, hoped that he would be hired as a slooper once he arrived in Hudson Bay, noting that "during the passage I enjoyed good health *x* hearter [sic: & heartier] than ever. I stood watch & Kept a Journal during the voyage. Mr Davidson the first Mate was my daily teacher & I had the use of his Quadrant at Command."[32] Passenger Miles Macdonnell, however, stands in contrast. As the agent appointed in charge of establishing Red River Settlement for Company shareholder, Thomas Douglas, 5th Earl of Selkirk, Macdonnell was prone to behaviour throughout his career that indicated he held a high opinion of his own capability relative to others. After his voyage to the Bay in 1811, he complained to Selkirk of "unfit" sea captains, who were "above taking advice, self sufficient & stubborn," and, though Macdonnell's military background did not include nautical experience, he

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[30] Hudspeth, "Journal during Summer in Hudson's Bay," 39, 28 October; see also John Hudspeth, "Journal Continued, The conclusion of a Winter and Commencement of Summer in Hudson's Bay A.D. 1816," *Journals of John Maule Hudspeth: Hudson's Bay and the Voyage home to England, 1816*, University of Tasmania Library Special and Rare Materials Collection, Australia (Unpublished), 6.RS1899/ D32 <http://eprints.utas.edu.au/7152/1/rs_2_ 2%286%29_John_Hudspeth_Journal_1816.pdf> (accessed 8 October 2008), 4, 21–22 March.

[31] Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 85, 88–89, 90, 94; see also M'Keevor, *Voyage to Hudson's Bay*, 11; Ballantyne, *Hudson's Bay,* 13, 16–17, boasts "I had become quite a sailor, and could ascend and descend easily to the truck, without creeping through the *lubber's hole*" [italics in source]; see also Remington, "York Factory to London," 19, 20; and David Learmonth, "To Labrador by Sail," *The Beaver* 78, no. 2 (April/May 1998): 36.

[32] LAC, Selkirk Papers, John McLeod, letter, Port York, 27 September 1811, 149; see also Learmonth, "To Labrador by Sail," 36.

proposed improvements to the Company's handling of its maritime affairs.[33] His "newfangled" ideas were less than favourably received by HBC personnel involved with sea going transport.[34] It is unlikely that 'self sufficient' Captain Henry Hanwell Senior and crew aboard the *Prince of Wales* on the passage outward enjoyed Macdonnell's company – although there is no record of anyone wishing to throw him overboard.

By the nineteenth century, the status of belonging was perhaps most difficult for female passengers to achieve because, historically, the system of social acceptance was based on survival and survival in ice required considerable exertion – not something hegemonic European conventions regarding 'woman's place' encouraged.[35] For individuals such as Hargrave and Finlayson, who would not or could not be helpful aboard ship, the best option was likely to keep out of the way. Probably, the majority of passengers aboard HBC ships shared a status somewhat removed from either pariah or peer in the eyes of sailors, and that for the most part seafarers tried to avoid antagonizing shipmates – even Hargrave seems to have kept expression of personal animosity confined to her private

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[33] LAC, Selkirk Papers, Miles Macdonell, letter, Macdonell to Lord Selkirk, York Factory, 1 October 1811, 46.

[34] William Auld, quoted in John Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse: Hudson's Bay Company Transport, 1670–1821," Ph.D. diss. (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1978), 357–58; LAC, Selkirk Papers, Miles Macdonell , letter, 1 October 1811, 40–57; see also Herbert J. Mays, "Macdonnell, Miles," DCB, who characterizes Macdonnell as marked by such character faults as: "arrogance and vanity … his inability to inspire trust and loyalty among his people, his obstinacy … his unaccommodating temper, and his lack of staying power. It was these flaws, as well as his lack of shrewdness and diplomatic skill, that led to his failures. Either he never understood his situation, or worse, refused to come to grips with it."

[35] See, Lise Vogel, "A Woman's Place," *Mothers on the Job: Maternity Policy in the U.S. Workplace* (Piscataway NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1993), 9–11; and for example, Druett, *Hen Frigates,* 28, 31, on female passengers, also 39–40, 44–47, 61, which describe captains' wives who were active, wearers of practical clothing, and adept at 'working time' – making nautical observation of the ship's position. Marcus Rediker, "Liberty beneath the Jolly Roger: The lives of Anne Bonny and Mary Read, Pirates," in *Iron Men, Wooden Women*, 1–33; and Dianne Dugaw, "Female Sailors Bold: Transvestite Heroines and the Markers of Gender and Class," in *Iron Men, Wooden Women*, 34–54, suggest acceptance and belonging could extend to sailorly working women.

writings.

Passengers' accounts of voyaging also indicate that the 'infinite variety' of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century HBC ship's communities extended to people of diverse origins. Not all passengers were European. Hargrave, Ballantyne, and Cowie each refer to travel companions of North American origin. According to Hargrave, the best dressed 'lady' to share the captain's cuddy was Jane Ross: daughter of Chief Factor Donald Ross and Mary McBeath, and native to North America.[36] A respectable "young gent[as]" aboard for the same voyage was Thomas Thomas, a native-born son of Chief Factor Thomas Thomas Senior and his Cree wife Sarah.[37] Also present was Hargrave's maid, Margaret Dunnet – an "evidently most respectable" daughter of former HBC tailor John Dunnet – returning home to her birthplace and maternal relatives of Hudson's Bay.[38]

Cowie travelled in company with Alexander Christie and "Miss Mason and maid."[39] Christie was a fourth generation HBC trader. He was son of Alexander Christie Junior and Caroline Isbister, a daughter of Thomas Isbister and Mary Kennedy, who in turn was the daughter of Alexander Kennedy and wife Aggathas. Christie was also grandson of

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[36] Hargrave, *Letters*, 45, 46, 48, 52 n. 2, Jane was second child and eldest daughter. W.J. Healy, *Women of Red River, Being a Book Written from the Recollections of Women Surviving from the Red River Era* (Winnipeg: Women's Canadian Club, 1923), 173, 178; and Bruce Peel, "Hunter, James," DCB, note her mother was Mary McBeath from Scotland. Jane married James Hunter – later a Church of England Archdeacon – in 1848. Jane/Jean and James Hunter were in England 1854–1855 and in 1865. Peel adds, "The tombstone of James and Jean Hunter in Highgate Cemetery, London, bears this tribute: 'By their joint labours they gave the Bible and the Prayer Book in their native tongue to the Cree Indians of Northwest America'." See Robert Coutts, *The Road to the Rapids: Nineteenth-Century Church and Society at St. Andrew's Parish, Red River* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2000), 155, for a photograph of Jane and James after their marriage.

[37] Hargrave, *Letters*, 52 n.1. HBCA, "Thomas, Thomas Sr. (1766–1828) (fl. 1789–1815)," Biographical Sheet; Bruce Peel, "Thomas, Thomas," DCB.

[38] Hargrave, *Letters*, xxxi, 20, 52, Margaret's mother was Aboriginal, name unknown.

[39] Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 75.

Alexander Christie Senior and wife Ann Thomas, the daughter of John Thomas Senior and Margaret, "an Indian woman."[40] Both of Christie's grandmothers were women native to North America, whose Aboriginal heritage stretched back to 'time immemorial.'[41] Likewise, Mary Mason, who sailed with Christie and Cowie, was the daughter of Methodist missionary Reverend William Mason and Sophia Thomas, and so traced her Aboriginal ancestry through her maternal grandmother, the above-mentioned Sarah Thomas.[42] For his part, Ballantyne travelled with John Charles – designated as "Mr C—, a chief factor in the Company's service" – who had first sailed "on HBC Ship 'Queen Charlotte' at age 14 as an apprentice, in 1799."[43]

The ancestry of North American born seafaring companions, or of their relatives, elicited little that might be construed as racialized comment. Ballantyne made no mention for example, of Charles having married Jane Auld, daughter of Chief Factor William Auld and an Aboriginal woman who is unnamed in HBC documents.[44] Hargrave described

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[40] L.G. Thomas, "Fur Traders in Retirement," *The Beaver* 59, no. 3 (winter 1979): 16.

[41] Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 75, 489; "The Christie Family and H.B.C.: Builder of Two Fort Garrys and His Seven Descendants Gave Total of 238 Years' Service to the Company," *The Beaver* 3, no. 11 (1923): 417–19; Hartwell Bowsfield, "Christie, Alexander," DCB; HBCA, "Christie, Alexander 'C' (d. 1884) (fl. 1867–1883)", "Christie, Alexander Junior (b. 1818) (fl. 1834–1873)," and "Christie, Alexander (1783–1872)(fl.1809–1853)," Biographical Sheets, note Ann Thomas was a daughter of either John Thomas or Thomas Thomas; see also "Thomas, John Sr. (1751–1822) (fl. 1769–1814)," Biographical Sheet. Also Glenbow Archives, item no. NA-1010-38, "Lydia Christie," photograph, W. T. Portobello Bashford <http://www.imagescanada.ca/r1-115-e.php?sk=594&kwq=hudson+bay&kwf=TRUE& interval=6> (accessed 9 October 2008).

[42] Sylvia Van Kirk, *"Many Tender Ties": Women in Fur-Trade Society in Western Canada, 1670–1870* (Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer Publishing, 1980), 152.

[43] Ballantyne, *Hudson's Bay,* 7; HBCA, "Charles, John (b. ca. 1784) (fl. 1799–1843)," Biographical Sheet.

[44] HBCA, "Charles, John (b. ca. 1784) (fl. 1799–1843)," and "Auld, William (b. ca. 1770–post 1830) (fl. 1790–1830)," Biographical Sheets; J.E. Foster, "Auld, William," DCB, notes that "Little is

Thomas' countenance as "very black," and Ross' as "fierce," but while the former's mother was of North American Aboriginal descent, both parents of the latter were Scottish.[45] In light of Hargraves's personal circumstances, she may have regarded matters of their heritage to be of less concern than what, and who, they knew – as members of the HBC fur trade community – about any liaisons her new husband may have had previously with 'country' women.[46] For his part, Cowie, whose own maternal antecedents are obscure, defended the native born as "eminent and successful" in their endeavours, and "magnificently formed men and lovely women."[47]

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known of Auld's "country wife or wives." He had possibly as many as five children. Robert, Jane, and Mary appear in the parish records of the Anglican mission at the Red River settlement ... William and Wilberforce have been identified as sons who left for England in 1820."

[45] Hargrave, *Letters*, 52. Coutts, *Road to the Rapids*, 154–55, notes "It has been stated in a few publications that ... Jean Ross was Métis" – a misinterpretation of one of Letitia Hargrave's letters "in which she remarks that because of Hunter's marriage 'everyone was ... appalled'." He points out the assumption that Hunter's offence was in not marrying a white woman is mistaken. In fact, "tongues wagged" because the minister waited only eight months after the death of his first wife before remarrying.

[46] See Hargrave, *Letters*, 35; Van Kirk, "*Many Tender Ties,*" 160, 163–64; Jennifer S.H. Brown, *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980), 130.

[47] Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 66. See also HBCA, "Cowie, Isaac (b. 1848–1917) (fl. 1867–1890)", "Cowie, James (1853–1913) (fl. 1876–1911)," Biographical Sheets; Barbara A. Johnstone, "Story of a Fur Trader," *Manitoba Pageant* 4, no. 2 (January 1959) <http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/pageant/04/furtrader.shtml> (accessed 12 January 2009). Given the Cowie family's intergenerational involvement with the HBC, the lineage through Robert I. Cowie may have included one or more country wives. Isaac Cowie married a woman of Aboriginal descent – Margaret Jane Sinclair, grand-daughter of William Sinclair and Nahoway. See M. Elizabeth Arthur, "The Concept of the Good Indians: An Albany River 19th Century Managerial Perspective," *Canadian Journal of Native Studies,* 5 (1985): 69–71, who remarks that Aboriginal heritage in HBC families seldom received comment, partly because it was assumed, or 'normal', and partly because "the characteristic … was not important" – rather, the ability and willingness to work mattered to HBC record keepers. She cites Governor George Simpson's definition of 'Indian' in 1856, in which he decreed that for Company purposes "'Indian' only referred to those brought up in and continuing to live in the forest." Depending on the cultural characteristics displayed, he asserted people brought up in Hudson's Bay Company posts "should be classified as 'whites or half-breeds and not Indians'." Arthur concludes, of landward HBC policy, that the prevailing "view was not racist in the usual sense of that term. It does not fit the 'concept of a social predestination deriving from a biological and racial one'." See also Brown, *Strangers in Blood*, 193; and Norma J. Hall, "Contesting Identity: A Confrontation with Semantic Paradox in Historiography," paper presented to *Writing New Histories of*

If anything, by the nineteenth century, a North American heritage, because it implied competency in dealing with Northern conditions, seems to have served as a point of pride on HBC ships. Cowie, for instance, describes Christie as "in exuberant spirits on reaching his native shore," and confident enough of his abilities to borrow the ship's boat for a sail while the crew waited for sloops from York Factory to arrive at the newly moored *Prince Rupert*.[48] On Christie's return, the mate, John MacPherson, followed suit, but ran aground and did not arrive back until the next morning.[49] Cowie reported that the "skipper gave MacPherson a dressing-down, and Christie, who was an expert at teasing, took occasion to contrast the lubberly conduct of the mate and his men, with the fine style in which the apprentice clerk had handled the gig."[50] In published excerpts of a "Diary" of a voyage, under the penname 'Brutus,' an apprentice clerk voyaging to Hudson Bay aboard the *Nascopie*, *circa* 1920, who described himself as "one of the Arctic brotherhood – at least perspectively [sic]," made a similar comparison between himself and apprentice sailors.[51] When the ship was "held fast in a jam" in Gray Straits, between the Button Islands and Cape Chidley, the sailors took to the ice. Brutus commented,

> Their experience had not hitherto comprehended the nature of the Arctic or the Arctic floes. I thought they looked a shaky lot. Silence, however, is very golden at

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Indigeneity and Imperialism: A Workshop (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 21 May 2008), 13, who argues that there is a "critical relation between contest and identity formation: in a context where contest is absent, identity is not an issue.

[48] Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 94.

[49] HBCA, C.4/1; "McPherson, John (fl. 1865–1875)," Biographical Sheet.

[50] Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 94.

[51] Brutus, "Diary of an H.B.C. Apprentice Clerk on a Voyage to Hudson Bay," *The Beaver* (January 1922): 7, offers a clue to his identity, translating his family motto as, roughly, "Furthest North."

> times, and sympathy is a jewel. … Still, I'll covertly remark that, fashioned in northern lands as I am, I did not feel that I had yet completely lost my element.[52]

Familiarity with Northern conditions allowed the North American born to bring a distinct perspective to bear on the relation of competence to experience – one that might, in some circumstances, favour members of communities ashore in the 'unsettled wilds' of the 'North-West' over those who hailed from Britain. Nevertheless, being native to North America did not confer a single outlook, or ensure a pleasant voyage.[53] Harriet Cowan, whose grandmothers were Aboriginal women married to HBC fur traders, was raised in Red River Settlement and finished her schooling at Knox College, Galesboro, Illinois. She described her voyage out of Hudson Bay aboard the *Ocean Nymph* in 1864 with her husband, surgeon William Cowan, and their children, John, Anna, and Harriet, as "overcrowded," adding, "we really had a most uncomfortable time of it between the decks in bad weather."[54] Space was at a premium as crew members of both the *Prince of Wales*

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[52] Ibid., 8, recounts a voyage from St. John's, Newfoundland, to Montreal, then Wolstenholme, Hudson Bay.

[53] See Van Kirk, *"Many Tender Ties,"* 140–42; Jennifer Brown, "Ultimate Respectability: Fur-trade Children in the 'Civilized World" parts I and II, *The Beaver* 308, no. 3 (winter 1977): 4–10, and no. 4 (spring 1978): 48–55; Thomas, "Fur Traders in Retirement," 16, 18–20; Barry Cooper, "Alexander Kennedy Isbister, A Respectable Victorian," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 17, no. 2 (1985): 44–63; C. Shaw, "The Kennedys – An Unusual Western Family," *MHS Transactions*, series 3, no. 29 (1972–73 season) <http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/transactions/3/kennedys. shtml> (accessed 7 October 2008), for commentaries on differences, between the communities on land that voyagers encountered in Britain, and the 'unsettled wilds' of their birth.

[54] Cowan quoted in Healy, *Women of Red River*, 190, also 43, counted sixty people aboard; see also 15–52; and N.E. Allen Ronaghan, "Cowan, William," DCB. Harriet Goldsmith Cowan, née Sinclair, born 1832, was a daughter of James Sinclair and Elizabeth Bird. Irene M. Spry, "Sinclair, James," DCB. Harriet Cowan's father was a son of William Sinclair and Nahoway. HBCA, "Bird, James Sr. (ca. 1773–1856) (fl. 1788–1824)," and "Bird James Jr. (ca. 1800–1892) (fl. 1809–1851)," Biographical Sheets; and John E. Foster, "Bird, James," DCB. Harriet Cowan's mother, Elizabeth, was the daughter of HBC Chief Factor and Governor of Assiniboia, James Curtis Bird and Elizabeth Montour, a "Swampy Indian." See, "William Cowan (1818–1902)," Manitoba Historical Society, online biography

and *Prince Arthur* were also aboard – having lost the former vessel and severely damaged the latter off Mansel Island while entering Hudson Bay. The voyage was further marred by the death of a child: "a little girl, and she was buried at sea. She was the daughter of an officer of the Company who had retired and was going home to the Orkneys with his wife, who was an Indian woman, and their only child." For Cowan, however, the discomfort and danger of sea voyaging was only marginally greater than what she had experienced travelling twelve hundred miles of rivers, lakes, and "salt water," between Red River and Moose Factory via Albany in 1856 and 1863. Those trips she accomplished in company with her husband and children, by canoe, over numerous falls, rapids, and portages – likewise the similarly arduous, seven hundred mile journey to York Factory, which the family undertook prior to boarding the ship to England. Cowan was not dissuaded by the experience aboard the *Ocean Nymph* from sailing back to Hudson Bay the following spring, nor from embarking on another return voyage in order to bring her children home from England in 1870. She reported travel aboard the *Prince Rupert* [VII] to be "delightful," insisting, "Really we lived luxuriously." Evidently, unlike Hargrave and Finlayson, Cowan preferred spending time on deck to remaining cloistered behind wooden walls. While icebound in Hudson Strait she took advantage of an opportunity to take dinner aboard the *Lady Head* that was similarly stalled a mile distant. When alerted at table by the cry "The ice is moving!" Cowan managed to run back to the *Prince Rupert*, and, by means of a ladder, cross the water in "a wide crack" that had opened in the ice. Apparently unfazed, she reported "the fog [was] worse than either the storms or the ice," and was

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<http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/people/cowan_ w.shtml > (accessed 18 December 2008); and Van Kirk, *"Many Tender Ties,"* 233.

heartened by the "faint smell of spruce" that signalled arrival at York, "though the low shore line was invisible."[55]

If some North Americans who sailed out of Hudson Bay accepted ice, cold, and sparsely populated terrain as unexceptional and not overly forbidding, John Bunn's impressions of his voyage, penned in 1819 after a ten-year absence in Britain suggest not all native-born individuals were as enthralled as Cowan and Christie with approaching home shores.[56] Bunn's recorded impression bears greater resemblance to that of Ballantyne, who immortalized York as "a monstrous blot on a swampy spot, with a partial view of the frozen sea."[57] At approximately eighteen years of age, called back to the Bay from his medical studies in Edinburg by his grandfather, Dr. John McNab, Bunn voyaged to Hudson Bay as surgeon aboard the *Eddystone*. He carried a text of lectures on Natural Philosophy and used the space in the margins of its pages to record his thoughts on

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[55] Cowan quoted in Healy, *Women of Red River*, 190, 37–42, 45, 190.

[56] See Ross Mitchell, "Doctor John Bunn," *The Beaver* 18, no. 3 (December 1938): 50–51; "The Medical Pooh-Bah of Rupert's Land," *Manitoba Pageant* 6, no. 1 (September 1960) <http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/pageant/06/medicalpoohbah.shtml> (accessed 13 January 2009); Roy St. George Stubbs, *Four Recorders of Rupert's Land: A Brief Survey of the Hudson's Bay Company Courts of Rupert's Land* (Winnipeg: Peguis Publishers, 1967), 93. HBCA, "Bunn, Thomas (ca. 1765–1853) (fl. 1797–1853)," and "Bunn, Dr. John (b.ca 1800–1861) (fl. 1819–1824)," Biographical Sheets. John Bunn, born probably at Moose Factory, was son of Thomas Bunn and Sarah McNab – daughter of surgeon John McNab and Jane 'Jennie' Cook. Gail Morin, *Métis Families: A Genealogical Compendium,* 6 vols. (Orange Park FL: Quentin Publications, 2001), 218, 387–88, 421, 486, 1098; R. Harvey Fleming, ed., "Appendix B," *Minutes of the Council of the Northern Department of Rupert Land 1821–1831* (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1940), 432–33, Jane Cook was daughter of William Hemmings Cook and one of several country wives – possibly Kahnawoswamakan Agathe, a Cree woman, or Betsy Wash-e-soo E'Squaw/Agathas/ Aggathas Cocking, who in turn was the daughter Matthew Cocking and Ke-che-che-wick. See "John McNab," Material Histories: Scots and Aboriginal Peoples in the Canadian Fur Trade, Department of Anthropology, University of Aberdeen <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/materialhistories/people.php?id=7> (accessed 18 January 2009), for John Bunn's grandfather, John McNab.

[57] Cockburn, "R.M. Ballantyne," 71, notes that in the judgment of a "prominent HBC man of that long-lost world: 'Of the many books of adventure by different writers on life in the wilds, those of R.M. Ballantyne can be placed in the front rank for faithfulness of detail and correctness of observation. His descriptions of conditions are nearly perfect."

departure and arrival at either end of the crossing:

> April 29, 1819 – today I leave the University for my native country, Hudson's Bay. What is before me God knows but I think I am going to the Devil in a cold country. Farewell happiness, farewell my intellectual pleasures, farewell my Jolly Blues; in three months, I shall be among a parcel of hairy, frozen devils and thinking of days never to return.
>
> Sept. 1, 1819. Well here I am at Moose Factory as wet as a drowned rat – very little pleased with my berth. A strange pack of uncivilized Souls I have got among to be sure – they speak English some of them – but I very much wish I were either hung or back at 'Auld Reekie' with my Jolly Blues. Good-bye to happiness – where it will end I know not – but a precious kettle of fish my old Grandad has made of it.[58]

Bunn's uncertainty occasioned by transoceanic transitioning after a prolonged separation from his place of origin was not exceptional. HBC employee W.H. Sharpe, for example, wondered while sailing to England in the early 1920s "what my first impression of the Mother Land would be when I returned to it, and whether I had retained clearly those old memories. Had I, after eleven years in the land of my adoption, so completely changed that I could never again see England with the same eyes?"[59] Obviously, how an individual's antecedents might figure into their experience of a voyage was as variable as were the people involved.[60]

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[58] John Bunn, quoted in Mitchell, "Doctor John Bunn," 51, citing margin notes on page 106–7, 193, of John Playfair, *Outlines of Natural Philosophy: Being Heads of Lectures Delivered at the University of Edinburgh*, vol. I (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable and Co. ... 1814), on physics. HBCA, "Bunn, Dr. John (b.ca 1800–1861) (fl. 1819–1824)," Biographical Sheet, lists Bunn's year of birth as ca. 1800; H.C. Klassen, "Bunn, John," DCB, lists "probably" 1802. See also HBCA, "Bunn, Thomas (ca. 1765–1853) (fl. 1797–1853)," Biographical Sheet, John Bunn was cousin to Harriet Cowan by his father's marriage to Phoebe Sinclair, a daughter of William Sinclair Senior and Nahoway.

[59] W.H. Sharpe, "England After Eleven Years Absence," *The Beaver* 2, no. 10 (July 1922): 29. See also Thomas, "Fur Traders in Retirement," 14–15, 17–18, 20; Brown, *Strangers in Blood*, 187.

[60] See Edward W. Said, *Cultural and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), xxii, who

The passengers surveyed in this chapter left subjective accounts that concentrated on imparting information about their experience of seagoing transition – no doubt selectively, to fit an intended or imagined readership.[61] Sailors were not the focus of the authors' attentions, yet it is plain that maritime workers of the HBC did more than manage its oceangoing technology: sailors were social actors who impinged on passenger experience through interpersonal communication. Although this chapter recounts the comments of a handful of passengers who voyaged during less than half of the 250 years of HBC voyaging relevant to this thesis, it nonetheless affirms a central point: a wide variety of individuals, hailing from vastly different geographical origins, passed through and participated in HBC shipboard workplaces. Just as no two voyages were alike in every detail, neither were the ever-varying shipboard communities of seafarers confined in each other's company. Varying origins, expectations, and temperaments meant that on each passage, every HBC ship evinced a distinct social context. Thus, the heterogeneity of people in community at sea – including that of North American born participants – ensured seafaring activity in Hudson Bay was not socially simple. To understand sailors as active agents of complex communication, to know how and to what degree the formation of seaward community was affective, it is necessary to extend study of HBC seafaring beyond what historiography devoted to the fur trade ashore has previously implied.

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observes, "I do not believe that authors are mechanically determined by ideology, class, or economic history, but authors are, I also believe, very much in the history of their societies, shaping and shaped by that history and their social experience in different measure. Culture and the aesthetic forms it contains derive from historical experience."

[61] See Ibid., 318, Said notes, "reading and writing texts are never neutral activities: there are interests, powers, passions, pleasures entailed no matter how aesthetic or entertaining the work. ... We must take into account all sorts of spatial or geographical and rhetorical practices."

Chapter Twelve

Heterogeneity and HBC Seafarers

Preceding chapters show that foregrounding variety as a feature of HBC voyaging challenges notions about the 'routine' nature of Company shipping to the Bay. In addition to varying material conditions, sailors dealt with a complex social dynamic in their work place. This chapter attests further to multiplicity as a feature of HBC transoceanic shipping, first by recounting the varied origins of HBC sailors, pilots, and seafaring intermediaries. It then highlights, and supplies explanation for, the presence of workers native to North America aboard HBC ships, demonstrating that seafaring complicated interaction between the margins and centres of European institutional projects

Geographer J.M. Blaut has argued that from the 1500s onward, maritime activity on the North Atlantic constituted a spatial revolution that "centrated" capitalism in Europe.[1] Seafarers, as transport workers in the relations of production of the "merchant-

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[1] J.M. Blaut, *The Colonizers' Model of the World: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History* (New York: Guilford Press, 1993), 180–81. Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 9, 80–83, 220, agrees. Dating nascent English imperialism to 1150, he notes, "There were established English offshore interests in Ireland, America, the Caribbean, and Asia from the sixteenth century on." He characterizes the late eighteenth century as a time of "battle for strategic gains abroad" between France and Britain, argues consolidation of "programmatic colonial expansion" followed, and

mercantile" system, were part of the means of diffusing diverse people, including labourers, merchants, and migrants; an array of material things such as ships, commodities and produce, musical instruments, and printed texts; and a mélange of ideas pertaining to technology, economy, religion, and all aspects of the social realm. The sailors who "intimately connected" ocean ports "in a tight network of trade," which "flowed in all directions, in a constant criss-cross diffusion," were themselves diverse.[2] As Dick Wilson, historian of HBC sailors of the Pacific Slope has noted, "In the great

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classifies "Modern England before the age of Empire" as between 1800 and 1870. Citing Raymond Williams, he observes, "After 1880, there comes a 'dramatic extension of landscape and social relations': this corresponds more or less exactly with the great age of empire." Following Said, for the purpose of this thesis, imperialism is "the practice, the theory, and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan centre ruling a distant territory; 'colonialism,' which is almost always a consequence of imperialism, is the planting of a settlement in a distant territory." David Siddle, ed., "Introduction," *Migration, Mobility and Modernization*, Liverpool Studies in European Population Series (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), 1, notes that historians use the term modernization principally to signal alteration in the mode of production.

[2] Blaut, *The Colonizers' Model of the World*, 15, 55, 149 n.173, 166–73, 176–77, 203–04, credits Eric Williams with establishing that "non-Europe had played a central role in modernization itself." Frank Viviano, "China's Great Armada," *National Geographic* 208, no. 1 (July 2005), 28–53, also makes the point that in some regions, European-born workers did not predominate in maritime shipping. Marcus Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirates and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700–1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 76, 80, 156 n.7, 175, 247, 281, 297, describes crews made up of "English *and* American, as well as West Indian, African, and even Indian" [italics in source]; see also Eric W. Sager, *Seafaring Labour: The Merchant Marine of Atlantic Canada, 1820–1914* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 10–11; Laura Tabili, *"We ask for British justice": Workers and racial difference in late imperial Britain* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 2; Margaret S. Creighton and Lisa Norling, eds., *Iron Men. Wooden Women: Gender and Seafaring in the Atlantic World, 1700–1920* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1996), xiii; Jeffrey Bolster, *Black Jacks: African American seamen in the age of sail* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 2; Janet J. Ewald, "Crossers of the Sea: Slaves, Freedmen, and Other Migrants in the Northwestern Indian Ocean. c.1750–1914," *American Historical Review* 105, no.1 (2000): 69–91. Ida Altman and Reginald D. Butler, "The Contact of Cultures: Perspectives on the Quincentenary," *American Historical Review* 99, no. 2 (April 1994): 480–83, discuss the importance of recognizing an African presence in the Atlantic world, averring, "one cannot make full sense of the process and outcome of contact between cultures without a thorough understanding of all the actors involved." Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, xvi–xx, argues the imperialist worldview inhibited and continues to inhibit recognition of historical activity originating in the West's outlying regions as independently ingenious. Further, he notes of migrants to metropolises from margins, "such populations and voices have been there for some time, thanks to the globalized process set in motion by modern imperialism; to ignore or otherwise discount the overlapping experience ... the interdependence of cultural terrains in which colonizer and colonized co-existed and battled each other through projections as well as rival geographies, narratives, and histories, is to miss what is essential about the world in the past century."

green ocean, national boundaries seemed to have little meaning. The sailors of the world indiscriminately populated the fleets of all nations."[3] Using Edward W. Said's terminology, their mingling in the HBC workplace was "integrative": sailors of different geographical and cultural origins, including imperialist subjects and those subject to imperialism and colonialism, worked together aboard ship, actively learning about opportunities and weighing constraints.[4] The following pages illustrate that working aboard HBC ships was potentially as illuminating an experience as was that afforded aboard other vessels traversing the Atlantic world.

While the HBC's penchant for record keeping points to a wide range of sailor origins, additional factors including sailor mobility, systems of reporting, and loss of records leave the origins of many unclear. Presumably, on the early voyages, most sailors on HBC ships were from England. Through to 1920, sailors to Hudson Bay were, as a matter of course, contracted in London to see Company ships out of the river and employment records that list parishes of origin refer to places such as Deptford,

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[3] Dick Wilson, "Below Decks: Seamen and Landsmen Aboard the Hudson's Bay Company's Vessels in the Pacific Northwest 1821–50," in *Papers of the 1994 Rupert's Land Colloquim*, ed. Ian MacLaren, Michael Payne, and Heather Rollason (Winnipeg: Centre for Rupert's Land Studies, 1997), 34. See also Edith I. Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company: Work, Discipline, and Conflict in the Hudson's Bay Company, 1770–1879* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1997), 7.

[4] Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 6, 9, 15, 17, 242, 240, 244, 258, 259, 331, describes modern empires as "constantly expanding ... inexorably integrative ... the British empire integrated and fused things within it." He characterizes the experience of imperialism as "tangled and many sided," noting, "we have never been as aware as we now are of how oddly hybrid historical and cultural experiences are ... Far from being unitary or monolithic or autonomous things, cultures actually assume more 'foreign' elements, alterities [sic], differences, than they consciously exclude." In keeping with his characterization, seafarers may be conceived as among those on a "*voyage in*," [italics in source] who "despite their differences, ... have always overlapped one another, through unhierarchical influence, crossing, incorporation, recollection, deliberate forgetfulness, and, of course, conflict ... to live as migrants do in habitually uninhabited but nevertheless public spaces." See also David Featherstone, "Atlantic networks, antagonisms and the formation of subaltern political identities," *Social & Cultural Geography* 6, no. 3 (June 2005): 387–88, 399–400; and Allan Pred, "Social Reproduction and the Time-Geography of Everyday Life," *Geografiska Annaler,* ser. B, 63, no. 1 (1981): 9–20, on learning through social contact in a workplace.

Adelborough, and Berwick-on-Tweed. There are, however, no complete lists of Company servants – including sailors – prior to 1774. After that date, places of origin were not listed routinely until about 1790. In the early period, therefore, nothing officially distinguishes who was natively English from who was not. Even after 1790, the record base is often vague. Listing a sailor as "of" a particular location does not necessarily indicate a sailor's birthplace. It may as readily indicate the last place of residence ashore, the current location of next of kin, or the homeport of the previous voyage.[5]

As has already been mentioned, beginning in 1702 when Captain Michael Grimington Senior in the *Hudson's Bay* [II] picked up Orcadian recruits "to make up for the failure to hire sufficient men in England," additional sailors were recruited in Stromness to complete the ocean crossing.[6] Into the twentieth century, employment records of HBC sailors included numerous references to places of origin in the Orkney Islands, including Stromness, Birsay, and South Ronaldshay. The records also list boatmen from Shetland, from ports of mainland Scotland such as Peterhead, and seamen such as Jeremiah McCarthy, aboard the *Prince Rupert* [VI] in 1848, from Ireland. In addition, there were seafarers from Wales, such as ship's surgeon Thomas Thomas, in 1789, and George Henry Mead, master of the steamships *Pelican*, *Discovery*, and

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[5] See for example of sailors 'of' England, HBCA, "Napper, James (d. 1737) (fl. ca. 1716)", "Brown, Joseph (1772–1818) (fl. 1789–1816)," and "Taylor, George (b. ca. 1760) (fl. 1787–1818)," Biographical Sheets. J. Storer Clouston "Orkney and the Hudson's Bay Company," part III, *The Beaver* 17, no. 2 (September 1937): 37–39. Kenneth Morgan, "Shipping Passes and the Atlantic Trade of Bristol, 1749–1770," *William and Mary Quarterly* 46, no. 3 (July 1989): 532, explains ships' muster rolls "came into being with the establishment of the Merchant Seamen Fund for disabled seamen in 1747," and indicates the rolls recorded "Usual Place of Abode" to facilitate contact.

[6] Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company*, 68; Chapter Five, this thesis, 107-108, nn. 43, 45.

Nascopie from 1918 to 1921.[7]

The mobility of sailors meant that while in London, or in ports of the Scottish isles, mariners of ports that were more distant could also contract for HBC voyages. Thus, HBC records show sailors such as Johan Michelson, who worked his passage "on foredeck" to Moose Factory in 1852 and listed his parish of origin as Norway.[8] Frederick Hope, from Finland, sailed the Labrador coast for the Company from 1866 to 1868. In 1890, a year before cessation of the Company's "official connection" with Orkney – one that had been maintained through an onsite recruiting agent – Alfred Alexander Mitchell of St. Petersburg, Russia, entered HBC service as an engineer aboard the SS *Erik*, serving in the same capacity in 1901 aboard the SS *Pelican*.[9] Some three decades earlier, Isaac Cowie had remarked that the crew of the *Prince Rupert* [VII] included individuals who

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[7] See HBCA, "Isbister, Joseph (ca. 1710–1771) (fl. 1726–1756)", "Moar, Andrew (b. ca. 1764–1767) (fl. 1786–1836)," and "Louttit, Samuel 'A' (1809–1876) (fl. 1829–1875)," Biographical Sheets, for examples of sailors from Orkney; "Grey, Samuel (ca. 1837–1922) (fl. 1851–1884)", "M'Ritchie, Malcolm (b.ca 1810) (fl. 1840–1852)", "Gray, Alexander (1839–1910) (fl. 1871–1908)", "Rennie, John (b. ca. 1840) (fl. 1869–1875)," and "M'Carthy, Jeremiah (b. ca. 1818) (fl. 1844–1851), Biographical Sheets, for sailors from wider Scotland and Ireland; and "Mead, George Henry", "Thomas, Thomas (1766–1828) (fl. 1789–1815)," Biographical Sheets; also Bruce Peel, "Thomas, Thomas," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Online edition [DCB] <http://www.biographi.ca/EN/index.html> (accessed 2004–2008), for sailors from Wales. Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company*, 67–70, 86, citing Michael Hechter, identifies England's "Celtic Fringe of Scotland, Ireland, and Wales," as "internal colonies" that served as "sources of cannon fodder and cheap labour" in a forcibly maintained "unequal relationship ... resulting in 'a cultural division of labour' in which cultural distinctions were 'superimposed upon class lines'." She adds, "People were poor and hungry ... because they received only a small share of the fruits of their labour." See also Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 225, 236.

[8] HBCA, "Michelson, Johan," Biographical Sheet. Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company*, 85, notes that in 1814 the HBC "hired 20 Norwegians, two Danes, one Swede, and two Scandinavians of unspecified nationality." In 1853, the Company undertook "an extensive recruiting campaign in Scandinavia," among prisoners of war.

[9] HBCA, "Hope, Frederick (fl. 1862–1868)," and "Mitchell, Alfred Alexander (b. 1861) (fl. 1890)," Biographical Sheets. Clouston "Orkney and the Hudson's Bay Company," part III, 37–39. Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company*, 74, 80–81, 85, notes that in 1791 the London Committee appointed "David Geddes, in Stromness, to take charge of hiring [labourers] in the Orkneys." In 1810, the Company placed two recruiting agents "in the Hebrides, another at Glasgow, and one in Ireland." In 1818, an agent was appointed in Lewis.

had sailed to, and were originally from, places "all over the globe."[10] According to Franklin Remington of Cambridge, Massachusetts, who worked his passage from Hudson Bay to London on the *Prince Rupert* [VIII] two decades after Cowie, his shipmates "consisted of all nationalities – Dutchmen, Norwegians, English, Irish, Australians, Swedes and *–mirable dictu* – all bossed by a coal black negro from Jamaica."[11]

The variety of sailors listed on other nineteenth-century transoceanic HBC routes, as well as correspondence from eighteenth-century ships' masters, suggest that the Company recruited according to convenience: sailors were hired to meet labour needs whenever they were needed, wherever they were readily found, at all ports of call.[12]

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[10] Isaac Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers: A Narrative of Seven Years in the Service of the Hudson's Bay Company during 1867–1874, On the Great Buffalo Plains with Historical and Biographical notes and comment* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1913), 74, 83–84, mentions among sailors "a Corsican and another a deserter from the French Navy." Douglas H. Maynard, *British Pioneers in California: A Thesis* (Los Angeles: Occidental College, 1948; reprint, San Francisco: R. & E. Research Associates, 1974), 46, cites Richard Henry Dana as the source for the idea that "Crews of most ships were cosmopolitan." However, Arthur Herman, *To Rule the Waves: How the British Navy Shaped the Modern World* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2005), 78, 162–63, 240–41, 295, notes an aspect of Francis Drake's crew of the *Pelican* in 1577, that "carried implications for the future: its international flavor. Although most came from Devon like their captain, there was also a Danish gunner, two Dutchmen, and a 'black Moor'." Drake added "a Greek, another Dutchman, numerous Spanish and Portuguese sailors, as well as blacks and even a South American Indian – not to mention a series of Hispanic pilots ... along every coast, from Brazil to California." In successive centuries, English naval vessels gathered "men from anywhere, and by any means." Herman notes as well that from the early 1600s "right up until the nineteenth century ... Sailors were sailors, as far as authorities and most captains were concerned, and very few cared where a seaman came from or where he went once his temporary service on a royal ship was done." By the eighteenth century, in the case of naval ships – described as part of "the largest industrial organization in the world" – social acceptance did not mean a "true meritocracy" existed, "But it was the one profession in Georgian Britain in which men with no money or education could enter and succeed by sheer talent, and did." Laura Tabili, "'A Maritime Race': Masculinity and the Racial Division of Labor in British Merchant Ships, 1900–1939," in *Iron Men, Wooden Women*, 171, argues, "By the late nineteenth century … 'rough hewn equality' was dissipating in American ships, and it was absent if it had ever existed in British ones."

[11] Franklin Remington, "York Factory to London 1888," *The Beaver* 23, no. 2 (September 1943): 19. HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books, 1845–1915, lists among crewmembers who were advanced wages, J. Hawes 1st mate, and A.J. Davidson 2nd mate. The boatswain is not listed, but under the system of "different ship, different long splice" – meaning individual masters had their own way of organizing the crew – it is remotely possible that the bo'sun duties were undertaken by the second mate.

[12] See, for example, Joseph Colen quoted in Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company*, 74;

Thus, records of HBC shipping activity on the Pacific Slope show native-born pilots such as Chief Comcomly of Chinook, Washington Territory, in addition to sailors from the Sandwich Islands, such as Joseph Poalie Friday of "Woahoo."[13] Both Alexander John Weynton, master of the *Cowlitz* from 1846 to 1851 and John Fawcus, second mate of the *Princes Royal* in 1860, were from Jamaica.[14]

One explanation for the varied HBC workforce is that the London Committee continuously looked to hire cheap labour. Although captains and crew were more concerned that sailors demonstrate competence, both mariners and Company overseers

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Samuel Hearne, *A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort, in Hudson's Bay To The Northern Ocean 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772* (1795; reprint, ed. Richard Glover, Macmillan, 1972), lx, and Company Orders to James Knight that give him "power and authority to act and do all things relating to the said voyage, the navigation of the said ship and sloop only excepted"; James Knight, letter, York Fort, 19 September 1714, *Letters from Hudson's Bay, 1703–40*, ed. K.G. Davies with A.M. Johnson (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1965), 36–37, 36 n.3, who hired "one of Captain Harle's men [of the frigate *Union*], Nicholas Coxworthy by name, at the wages he had of him 24s. per month, for I cannot do without some to go in the boat that understands to make rafts and row fetch my timber"; William Bevan and others, letter, Moose River, 20 Aug. 1734, *Letters from Hudson's Bay,* 197, reported "The *Moose River* sloop being very weakly manned, I have entertained one Anthony Ward, a brisk and able seaman, to act as mate at two pound five shillings per month … it being necessary for the sloop's preservation."; and Remington, "York Factory to London," 18, describes decision making as to who would board a ship, or work passage to London in 1888 as "entirely up to the captain."

[13] William S. Lewis and Naojiro Murakami, eds., *Ranald MacDonald, The Narrative of his early life on the Columbia under the Hudson's Bay Company's regime; of his experiences in the Pacific Whale Fishery; and of his great Adventure to Japan; with a sketch of his later life on the Western Frontier, 1824–1894* (Spokane WA: Eastern Washington State Historical Society, 1923), 74–77 n. 46, note that in 1824 Comcomly was made "chief bar and river pilot for the company (the first on the Columbia, James Scarborough being the second [see Federal Census of Lewis County, Oregon Territory census] and wore the uniform of their service." HBCA, "Friday, Joe (fl. 1841–1857)," Biographical Sheet; Brenda Pratt, "Who is Friday Harbour Named After Anyway?" Friday Harbour & San Juan Island Web Directory <http://www.byd2.com/history/> (accessed 5 September 2008), suggests Friday worked his passages "by signing on as part of the crew", and notes "At that time in the Hawaiian Islands (or Sandwich Islands, as the British called them) jobs were scarce and commoners could not hold land. Therefore the Hudson's Bay Company found it very easy to recruit strong young men, excellent fishermen and sailors, to work for them in the Pacific Northwest." Ruth Kirk and Carmela Alexander, *Exploring Washington's Past: A Road Guide to History* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003), 402, note "By the 1830s the Hudson's Bay Company apparently had 300 to 400 Hawaiians employed as sailors, gardeners, cooks, servants, laborers, sawyers, millers, and even informants who mingled with Native Americans and reported … trade opportunities."

[14] HBCA, "Fawcus, John (b. 1836) (fl. 1860–1865)," and "Weynton, Alexander John (fl. 1846–1851)," biographical sheets.

counted familiarity with the conditions, people, and languages encountered on a route as valuable attributes. The presence aboard ships bound for Hudson Bay both of sailors who had adopted North America as their home – such as Pierre-Esprit Radisson – and of seafarers who were native to North America suggests that from the first voyages the Company associated familiarity with competence.[15] Médard Chouart, Sieur Des Groseilliers, aboard the *Nonsuch* in 1668, for instance, was not the only seafarer with direct knowledge of the continent. Captain Zachary Gillam was born in Boston, New England, while surgeon Pierre Romieux, may have been "a native of Trois Rivières, Quebec."[16]

Sailors of French heritage and North American geographical origins doubtless continued to serve aboard HBC ships in Hudson Bay well after Radisson's time, but the nature and volume of available HBC personnel records do not make distinguishing sailors on the basis of cultural markers such as language and religion easy. The Company did not

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[15] See Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company*, 94–95. Grace Lee Nute, "Radisson, Pierre-Esprit," DCB, notes that after 1675, Radisson entered the service of the French navy as "a midshipman in an expedition of Vice-Admiral d'Estrées to capture the Dutch colonies along the coast of Africa and in the Caribbean (1677–78). For this chapter in Radisson's career we have the only known letter of any length wholly written and signed by him. After initial success, the campaign ended disastrously on hidden reefs in the Caribbean. Most of the vessels were wrecked and Radisson barely escaped with his life, after losing all his possessions. Returning to France, he petitioned for relief and received a sum of money but not the position in the navy that he says he had been promised."

[16] "Groseilliers and Radisson, The First Explorers of Lake Superior and the State of Minnesota," *Magazine of Western History* 7 (November 1887): 418 n., states, "The father of Gillam came to Boston in 1634, and his son Zachary was born in 1636. He was buried in Boston, June 13, 1685, and his widow was married by a Huguenot minister to one Sylvestre. Zachary's brother Benjamin was also a sea-captain." The burial likely would have been ceremonial only – see Chapter Eight, this thesis 176. Alice M. Johnson, "Early Ships in Hudson's [sic] Bay," *The Beaver* 26, no. 1 (June 1946): 11, suggests Romieux was born in Quebec; see also E.E. Rich, ed. *Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1671–1674* (Toronto: Champlain Society for the Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1942), 41n., which identifies Romieux as "of Trois Rivieres." Maud M. Hutcheson, "Romieux, Pierre," DCB, notes that he was a "surgeon of Béziers in Languedoc," who perhaps spent as few as three years in Trois Rivières, from 1659–1661, before accompanying Radisson and Grosseilliers on their journeys to 1668. She adds, "In the Company's records he appears as Peter Romulus, 'ye French chirurgion.' He made another voyage to the Bay in 1672 and was to 'stay in the countrey' [sic]."

normally make note of either quality in their maritime workforce.[17] Nor do Company notations of Canadian or Quebec parishes of origin supply clear indications of cultural antecedents – particularly after 1821 when HBC operations officially included a Canadian component.[18] As the clerks who compiled HBC records often entered names phonetically, or copied them from sometimes barely legible sources, establishing linkages between servants lists, ships' logs, and portledge books is difficult – especially as many servants shared, or had similar given and surnames.[19] There are, therefore, sailors whose names suggest French heritage, but whose antecedents are currently unknown. Henry Lequet, for example served aboard the *Prince of Wales* [II] in 1860. That same year, Michael Roulie and R.H. Pigott were crew on the *Prince Arthur*. In 1866, James Campeau served on *Prince Rupert* [VII], and John W. Bagot served on the SS *Labrador*, which sailed for Hudson Strait out of Quebec.[20]

Aside from indicating French participation in the 'English Atlantic,' the presence

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[17] Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company*, 84–85, notes that in 1812 "the committee engaged the firm of Maitland, Garden, and Auldjo as its agent in Montreal." HBCA, "Spence, George (1874–1954) (fl. 1912–1954)," Biographical Sheet, supplies an example of occluded cultural orientation in HBC records, noting that Spence reportedly signed his piloting contracts in Cree.

[18] See, for example, Lucille H. Campey, *Les Écossais: The Pioneer Scots of Lower Canada, 1763–1855* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2006), 5, 30, 57–59, 249; and "Close of French Government Transport Work: A.M. Irvine and Staff Leave Service With Shutting of Montreal Agency; Great War Work of the H.B.C. Recalled," *The Beaver* 1, no. 8 (May 1921): 20–21.

[19] HBCA, "Biographical Sheets," <http://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/hbca/biographical/index.html> (accessed 29 Dec. 2008), notes archivists have compiled sheets providing information on employees of the HBC and NWC. Some "include the parish of origin or place of birth; positions, posts and districts in which the person served; family information ... and references to related documents." While approximately 2,547 sheets are currently available, they "have not been created for every employee."

[20] HBCA C.3/20, Portledge Books, 1845–1915; and C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements, 1719–1929, record names that indicate on the Pacific Voyages there were also sailors of French heritage, though some surnames as readily indicate Spanish or Portuguese antecedents. For example, Antonio Rosario/ Rozario served aboard the *Princess Royal* from 1862 to 1864; William "Anolis," served on the *Glaramara* in 1866.

of the above mentioned sailors suggests an ongoing North American participation due to hiring on the basis of familiarity with conditions encountered – as does the presence of Newfoundland seamen. Captain Richard Hayward Taylor, of Harbour Grace, for example, entered Company service in 1918 as captain of the *Fort York* on the voyage to and from Nelson River that year.[21] Mariners of Newfoundland, whether working at "fishing, sealing, the fur trade, or whaling," had long been expert in cold-water sailing and ice navigation because of the island's location with respect to the Labrador Current which determined natural conditions in the Labrador fishery and the seal hunt.[22] Yet, historiographical references to such North American seafarers, both as sailors and as native to North American seaboards from 1508 to 1920 – are rare. The list of those about whom at least some historians have commented includes independent whaler Captain George Comer, in Hudson Bay from 1903 to 1919, and Captain Joseph Elzéar Bernier of the Canadian Geological Survey ship *Arctic* in 1904 and 1908. Comer, like Bernier, was born in Quebec.[23] The Bartletts of Brigus, Newfoundland – particularly Robert Abram

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[21] HBCA, "Taylor, Richard Hayward (1861–1940) (fl. 1918–1930)," Biographical Sheet, served again in 1919. He captained *Fort Churchill* to James Bay in the early 1920s, the *Fort York* to 1930.

[22] Harold Adams Innis quoted in Jeff A. Webb, "The Newfoundland and Labrador Field Work of Harold Adams Innis," unpublished paper (Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2008), 13. See also Shannon Ryan, *The Ice Hunters: A History of Newfoundland Sealing to 1914* (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1994), 264–69, 271, 292, 294, and comments on the effects of "wind tide and nature" on seal hunting opportunities in Newfoundland for both landsmen and mariners, as well as conditions at sea. Joyce Macpherson, "Cold Ocean," Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage Web site (1997) <http://www.heritage.nf.ca/environment/ocean.html> (accessed 29 December 2008), notes annual water temperatures are "7–10°C lower than at corresponding latitudes on the west coasts of North America and Europe" adding, "The water of the Labrador Current is less saline (salty) than that of the main North Atlantic Ocean and thus freezes more easily. ... Arctic and sub-Arctic floes are carried by the current as far south as the Grand Bank. ... These can be an extreme hazard to shipping."

[23] See George Comer, *An Arctic whaling diary: The journals of Captain George Comer in Hudson Bay, 1903–1905,* ed. W. Gillies Ross (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984); W. Gillies Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos: Hudson Bay 1860–1915* (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975), 155, on

Bartlett, but also Samuel, Harry, John, and Moses – have had mention as mariners and sealers who sailed northwards, in and around Hudson Bay and Strait.[24] Colin Robertson Sinclair was another sealer out of Newfoundland with HBC connections, who "for six years navigated the waters of the bay and strait," and eventually captained his own ship in the China trade.[25]

Born in Rupert's Land in 1816, to HBC factor William Sinclair and country wife

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sources for George Comer; and J.E. Bernier, *Arctic Explorer: A Narrative of Sixty Years at Sea from the Logs and Yarns of Captain J.E. Bernier F.R.G.S., F.R.E.S.* (Ottawa: Le Droit, 1939); Joseph E. Bernier, *Report on the Dominion Government Expedition to the Northern Waters and Arctic Archipelago of the D.G.S. 'Arctic' in 1910* (Ottawa: Dept. of Marine and Fisheries, 1911); Richard Finnie, "Farewell Voyages: Bernier and the 'Arctic'." *The Beaver* 54, no. 1 (summer 1974): 44–54; Alan MacEachern, "Cool Customer: The Arctic Voyage of J.E. Bernier," *The Beaver* 84, no. 4 (September 2004): 30–35, for sources on Bernier. W. Gillies Ross, "George Comer (1858–1937)," *Arctic* 36, no. 3 (September 1983): 294, notes Comer was born 1858; Yolande Dorian-Robitaille, *Captain J.E. Bernier's Contribution to Canadian Sovereignty in the Arctic* (Ottawa: Dept. Of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1978), 17, notes Bernier was born in L'Islet, Quebec, 1 January 1852.

[24] See J.G. Boulton, "Northern Charting – The Hudson Bay Route," Friends of Hydrography <http://www.canfoh.org/Vignettes/Hudson%20Bay%20Route%201885-86/hudson_bay_route.htm> (accessed 14 January 2009), for a reference to Sam Bartlett in Hudson Bay, 1910; and Appedix B, this thesis, nos. 962 *Algerine*, 973 *Neptune*, 991 *Neptune*, 1020 *Erik*, 1038 *Stanley*, 1049 *Minto*, 1058 *Minto*, [unnamed vessel] 1055, 1065 *Acadia*, and 1066 *Laddie*; also Thomas E. Appleton, "*Usque Ad Mare*: A History of the Canadian Coast Guard and Marine Services," Fisheries and Oceans Canada, Canadian Coast Guard <http://www.ccg-gcc.gc.ca/usque-ad-mare/chapter04-04e.htm> (accessed 4 April 2007), notes "Sam Bartlett, who had sailed with Peary, was an uncle of Bob Bartlett"; Robert A. Bartlett, "Peary's Extended Exploration of Arctic Lands Culminating in the Attainment of the North Pole," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 82, no. 5 (29 June 1940): 935, notes his uncles Harry, John and Samuel, and cousin Moses, went north in sealing ships; Obituary, "Samuel W. Bartlett," *Geographical Journal* 48, no. 5 (November 1916): 436, mentions John Bartlett and the *Panther* of 1869; Obituary, "Samuel W. Bartlett," *Geographical Review* 2, no. 5 (November 1916): 383; Alan Cooke and Clive Holland, *The Exploration of Northern Canada, 500 to 1920: A Chronology* (Toronto: Arctic History Press, 1978), 295–297, 300–1. See also Robert A. Bartlett, *Sails Over Ice* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1934); Robert A. Bartlett, *The Last Voyage of the Karluk: Shipwreck and Rescue in the Arctic*, ed. Ralph T. Hale (St. John's NL: Flanker Press, 2007); Robert A. Bartlett, *The Log of Bob Bartlett: The True Story of Forty Years of Seafaring and Exploration* (St. John's NL: Flanker Press, 2006). See also, Harry Whitney, *Hunting With The Eskimos: The Unique Record Of A Sportsman's Year Among The Northernmost Tribe – The Big Game Hunting, The Native Life, And The Battle For Existence Through The Long Arctic Night* (New York: Century, 1910), 26, photograph, of Captain Samuel Bartlett of Brigus, aboard the SS *Erik*.

[25] A.H. de Trémaudan, *The Hudson Bay Road (1498–1915)* (London and Toronto; J.M. Dent and Sons, 1915), 63; J.A.J. McKenna, *The Hudson Bay Route: A Compilation of Facts with Conclusions* (Ottawa: Department of the Interior, 1908), 4. See, also, Harry Shave, "The Armchair at Seven Oaks," *Winnipeg Free Press* (5 Oct. 1963), for an image of Captain Colin Sinclair.

Nahoway/Margaret, Colin was an uncle of Harriet Cowan whose comments on transatlantic voyages figure in the previous chapter. Colin Sinclair's first crossing of the Atlantic aboard an HBC ship – at six years of age to complete his schooling in Orkney like his brother James – predated the voyage of Cowan's children, who were James Sinclair's grandchildren, for the same purpose, by some forty years.[26] Similarly, William Kennedy, born 1814 in Rupert's Land – brother and uncle of the previously mentioned Mary Kennedy and Alexander Christie respectively – sailed to Scotland in 1825 to complete his studies.[27] From 1838 to 1846, Kennedy served the HBC at posts in the Ungava district serviced by coastal ships. He must have gained considerable expertise as a slooper, because by 1848 he was an independent fisher and captain of a vessel on Lake Huron. His experience sailing in waters off *Petitsikapau*/Fort Nascopie and Fort Siveright on the Labrador coast, as well as off Fort Chimo, in Ungava Bay, appears to have served him well. Kennedy was commended, by "the Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland" as "one of the intelligent travellers" of Northern waters, and from 1851 to 1856 he commanded two

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[26] Manitoba Archives, MG 1 D15, "Will of William Sinclair (Fl. 1794–1818)," and MG 14 B30, file 38, "Colin Robertson Sinclair Estate, 1898–1903,"Grant of Probate 'In the Surrogate Court of the Eastern Judicial District of Manitoba re Colin Sinclair, Deceased' 31 July 1901; W.J. Healy, *Women of Red River, Being a Book Written from the Recollections of Women Surviving from the Red River Era* (Winnipeg: Women's Canadian Club, 1923), 163–66; "Capt. Colin Sinclair dies at St. John at ripe old age – was born at Oxford House in 1816 – His interesting career," obituary, [Winnipeg Newspaper], 1901; Harry Shave, "The Armchair at Seven Oaks," *Winnipeg Free Press*, 5 Oct. 1963; F.L. Jobin, ed., *City of the Rivers* (Winnipeg: Bureau of travel and Publicity, Department of Industry and Commerce, Queen's Printer), 12; Thomas H. Sinclair, quoted in *Beyond the Gates of Lower Fort Garry 1880–1982, R. M. of St. Andrew's* (St. Andrew's MB: Municipal Office of St. Andrew's, 1982), 447–48; Sylvia Van Kirk, *"Many Tender Ties": Women in Fur-Trade Society in Western Canada, 1670–1870* (Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer Publishing, 1980), 87.

[27] See Mary L. Kennedy, "Lieutenant Joseph René Bellot," *The Beaver* 18, no. 1 (June 1938): 44, photograph, of Captain Kennedy.

sailing expeditions to the Arctic in search Franklin.[28] Kennedy and Sinclair were not the only native-born of the Hudson Bay region to take up sailing. Isaac Cowie, for example, observed on arrival at York Roads that the crews aboard the schooner *Marten* and the coastal boat sent out from the fort to fetch the packet from the *Prince Rupert* included men "with the bronzed visages, brown eyes and long black hair of the North American Indians."[29] Although academic historiography acknowledges Aboriginal participation in the HBC workforce, the existence of these sailors, let alone their experience, has received virtually no attention.[30]

Previous academic studies of HBC workers indicate that from its inception, the Company employed people native to North America in ever-increasing numbers as the fur trade expanded. A point noted by Harold A. Innis, and later elaborated upon by Arthur J. Ray, is that from the formalized beginning of the enterprise in 1670, the producers of the

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[28] William Kennedy, *A short narrative of the second voyage of the Prince Albert, in search of Sir John Franklin* (London: W.H. Dalton, 1853), iii, vii. See also William Kennedy, "Report on the Return of Lady Franklin's Vessel the Prince Albert, under the Command of Mr. Wm. Kennedy, from the Arctic Regions," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 23 (1853): 122–29; "The Arctic Search," *The North American Review* 80, no. 167 (April 1855): 333; "Bellot," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 12, no. 67 (December 1855): 97; "The Polar Seas and Sir John Franklin," *Putnam's Monthly Magazine of American Literature, Science and Art* 1 no 6 (June 1853): 634. HBCA, "Kennedy, Alexander (1781–1832) (fl. 1798–1832)," Biographical Sheet; Edward C. Shaw, "Captain William Kennedy, An Extraordinary Canadian," *MHS Transactions* 27, ser. 3 (1970–1971 season); E.C. Shaw, "The Kennedys – An Unusual Western Family," *MHS Transactions* 29, ser. 3 (1972–1973 season). McKenna, *The Hudson Bay Route*, 6, notes of Kennedy's experience sailing only that, "in the autumn of 1838 he traversed the coast from Chimo River (Kaneabascon River) to George River and coasted the shore line in a York boat every year of the eight years." See also Edward Charles Shaw, "Kennedy, William," DCB; and [Edward Charles Shaw], *Captain William Kennedy* (Winnipeg: Manitoba Culture, Heritage and Recreation, Historical Resources Branch, 1985).

[29] Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 100.

[30] Shaw, "Captain William Kennedy," notes that while Kennedy was an "Extraordinary Canadian," and "one of a small group of men who promoted the expansion of Canada into the North and West of British North America," he has been "overlooked in Canadian history" and wonders, "Was it because he was part Indian? Was it because he opposed the powerful fur trade and territorial monopoly in Ruperts land? Or, has it just been happenstance?"

primary product – furs – were born in North America. In addition, according to Carol Judd, John Nicks, and Edith I. Burley, by the 1830s, of the formally contracted seasonal and permanent labour force, at least one third were people native to North America. By 1850, the proportion had risen to one half. Similarly, Glyndwr Williams has determined that by the 1860s, the North American-born filled about one third of the officer ranks of the Northern Department. Burley contends that by 1870, workers born in Rupert's Land "were in the majority there."[31] Historians D.N. Sprague and R.P. Frye, and archivists Judith Hudson Beattie and Helen M. Buss have documented what extended comments and passing references in numerous other sources attest: HBC employees native to Rupert's Land/Western Canada were familiar with Company watercraft, including inland, coastal and ocean-going vessels. Beattie and Buss estimate that at least seventeen percent of HBC crew voyaging to the Columbia District between 1820 and 1857 were native to North America. Historically, then, Northern North Americans contributed to the making of workers' history, and, as in other maritime regions, Northern transoceanic shipping was not the exclusive preserve of European-born workers.[32] It is reasonable to expect, therefore, that between 1508 and 1920, along with Sinclair, Kennedy, and the sloopers observed by

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[31] Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company*, 8. See Harold A. Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History* (1930; revised edition, 1956; reprint, with revised foreword, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), 311, 392; Arthur J. Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade: Their Role as Hunters, Trappers, and Middlemen in the Lands Southwest of Hudson Bay, 1670–1870* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974; reprint with new introduction, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998); Carol M. Judd, "Native Labour and Social Stratification in the Hudson's Bay Northern Department, 1770–1870," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 17 (1980): 310–11; and John Nicks, "Orkneymen in the HBC, 1780–1821," in *Old Trails and New Directions: Papers of the Third North American Fur Trade Conference*, ed. Carol M. Judd and Arthur J. Ray (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 123; Glyndwr Williams, "The Simpson Era," *The Beaver: Magazine of the North*, special issue (autumn 1983): 55.

[32] D.N. Sprague, and R.P. Frye, *The Genealogy of the First Metis Nation: The Development and*

Cowie, additional individuals from Hudson Bay took to the sea.

Evidence of historical precedence for Aborignal participation in transatlantic voyaging supplies both a reason to consider Aboriginal presence on board HBC ships and an explanation for that presence. Native North Americans had arrived in Europe prior to the advent of HBC voyaging. Tales of Zierik, a seaborne, colonizing Inuit, that date his arrival in Zeeland to A.D. 849, are still commemorated in Zierikzee, Netherlands – a town named for his enterprise.[33] Traditions that present Inuit and Amerindians as sea borne 'newcomer' founders of European settlement are not the norm. More common are tales of captivity, forced transportation, and exploitation. The stories are also marked by their preservation in formal documentary records devised to serve commercial and imperial interests, as invoices and as evidence for asserting rights of access or ownership when resources were contested.

Commercial records used to establish claims of ownership of resources preserve the earliest written reports of seafaring in which individuals native to northern regions of North America figure. The first report dates to England in 1500. An expedition to "Newe ffound Ile land" organized that year by Bristol merchants returned "iii men takyn [sic]," possibly members of a Beothuk band.[34] The men resided in England for several years

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Dispersal of the Red River Settlement, 1820–1900 (Winnipeg: Pemmican Publications, 1983); Judith Hudson Beattie, and Helen M. Buss, eds., *Undelivered Letters to Hudson's Bay Company Men on the Northwest Coast of America, 1830–57* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003), 13; MacDonald, *Ranald MacDonald*; Dennis F. Johnson, *Inland Armada – The York Boats of the Hudson's Bay Company* (Selkirk MB.: Lower Fort Garry Volunteer Association, 2005).

[33] William C. Sturtevant and David Beers Quinn, "This New Prey: Eskimos in Europe in 1567, 1576, and 1577," in *Indians & Europe: An Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays*, ed. Christian F. Feest (Lincoln NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 61.

[34] See K.G. Davies, ed., with A.M. Johnson, *Northern Quebec and Labrador Journals and*

perhaps in Westminster Palace under the auspices of Henry VII; otherwise, their fate is unknown.[35] Portugal similarly preserved a competing and parallel claim. After the voyage of Gaspar Corte Real in 1501, the one ship of three to complete that mission returned to port reputedly carrying the first people native to 'Labrador' to see the Iberian Peninsula. They were captive evidence of landfall having been made; were again possibly Beothuk; and perhaps numbered as many as fifty-seven individuals, but possibly as few as seven. Sold as slaves to defray the costs of the voyage, reportedly they died shortly thereafter.[36]

France also documented ownership by virtue of 'discovery.' Domagaya and Taignoagny, two 'Laurentian Iroquois' of the Gaspé region, while in company with Jacques Cartier in 1534 and 1535, voyaged to and from France as 'interpreters' to people of a 'non-Christian King.' Cartier's account notwithstanding, their subsequent forced removal to France in 1536 – along with their father, Donnacona, three additional adults, and seven young children – suggests their first voyage had not been entirely voluntary. As only one child among their group survived long enough to have been able to sail back

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Correspondence, 1819–35 (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1963), xv n.3, who observe, "The confused nomenclature of the period with regard to northern geography should be noted. The name Labrador generally referred to southern Greenland during the first half of the sixteenth century, the Atlantic coast of modern Labrador being known variously as Baccalaos, Terre Neuve (terms originally given to Newfoundland, but also applied to Labrador until Cartier's explorations showed that Newfoundland and Labrador were separated), and Terra de Corte Real."

[35] Alden T. Vaughan, *Transatlantic Encounters: American Indians in Britain, 1500–1776* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 11; Alden T. Vaughan, "Sir Walter Ralegh's Indian Interpreters, 1584–1618," *William and Mary Quarterly* 3d ser., 59, no. 2 (April 2002): 344.

[36] Davies and Johnson, *Northern Quebec and Labrador Journals*, xv; Jack D. Forbes, *Africans and Native Americans: The Language of Race and the Evolution of Red-Black Peoples* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 29; Harry Johnston, *Pioneers in Canada,* Pioneer Library Series (London: Gresham, 1912), Chapter 1, n.11. Vaughan, *Transatlantic Encounters*, 15, notes the captives may have been taken in the area of present day Maine. Additionally he notes that in 1525 Estevão Gómez captured "at least fifty-eight Indians … from Maine or Nova Scotia" and sold them as slaves in Portugal.

on Cartier's next available ship in 1541, it is doubtful that Domagaya and Taignoagny enjoyed the second journey and the re-exposure to courtly curiosity.[37]

That inhabitants of exploitable regions were curiosities, foreign enough to justify their subjugation, was a message propounded in Europe through the medium of display.[38] In 1567, a woman and child evidently taken by French Basque sailors in "Nova Terra" – suggesting Labrador – arrived in Zeeland. They toured at least as far as Antwerp and the Haque as 'spectacles' for an indeterminate period. In 1576 and 1577, Martin Frobisher transported Inuit of Baffin Island to England. The first, a male 'hostage,' who had been taken aboard the *Gabriel* with his kayak, died within weeks of landing. The following year, a second man along with a woman and her infant – known as Kalicho, Armaq and Nutaaq respectively – returned as captives aboard the *Ayde* to Bristol. Their experience in England was likewise brief, all died within months of arrival.[39] Although premature death is a feature of many stories about those destined for slavery and exhibition, some 'exotic'

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[37] Marcel Trudel, "Donnacona," DCB, relates, "On 25 March 1539 three of the Indians whom Cartier had brought back were baptized; the register does not identify them, we know only that they were males. Perhaps they were baptisms *in articulo mortis*? It was in any event towards this time that Donnacona, according to Thevet, died a Christian; and except for the little girl of ten years of age, his companions died about the same time." Innis, *Fur Trade*, 417, n.12. observes, "According to the late Professor Louis Allen of University College, the University of Toronto, these Indians, as far as could be gathered from the vocabulary left to Cartier, were not Hurons but possibly Onodagas or western Iroquoian group." See also Giles Milton, *Big Chief Elizabeth: How England's Adventurers Gambled and Won the New World* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 2000), 52–53.

[38] See Olive P. Dickason, *The Myth of the Savage: And the Beginnings of French Colonialism in the Americas* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1984), xiii, 29, 126–40, who argues "By classifying Amerindians as savages, Europeans were able to create the ideology that helped to make it possible to launch one of the greatest movements of western civilization: the colonization of overseas empires." Note also her discussion of Pope Alexander VI's bulls of 1493, of territorial rights of discovery, and of the role of commerce in instigating "open warfare" over resource access.

[39] A.J. Dyer, "Aboriginal History of Northern Canada," *Perspectives: the Journal of the Saskatchewan Council of Social Studies Teachers* (winter 1978) <http://www.usask.ca/education/ideas/tplan/sslp/aborhist.htm> (accessed 14 February 2006), also notes that "By the 1750's, there were 350

visitors survived extended encounters with the 'Old World.'[40] Squanto of Patuxet, for example, voyaged as a slave to Málágá, Spain in 1614, escaping from thence to England where he lived for two years with John Slany/Slainie, treasurer of the Newfoundland Company. Squanto then sailed for the Cuper's Cove/Cupids plantation in Newfoundland, stayed to 1618, returned to England, and arrived back in New England the following year. While the exact circumstances of Squanto's voyaging with respect to his freedom of choice are unknown, other accounts suggest not all voyagers to Europe were slaves, or perceived as irremediably 'other.'[41]

European whaling ships anchored off the pack ice between Greenland and Baffin Island, indicating that contact between European and Inuit was made on a fairly regular basis"; Sturtevant and Quinn, "This New Prey," 61, 62, 68–72, while describing Frobisher's contacts with Inuit of Baffin, state, "Greenland Eskimos were apparently not met by Europeans, after the Norse, until 1585."

[40] See Vaughan, "Sir Walter Ralegh's Indian Interpreters," 346–51, 361, 372, Mantaeo of Roanoke, and Wanchese of Croatoan, voyaged to England with Arthur Barlowe and Philip Amadas in 1584, and survived to sail home in 1585 with a fleet of ships under the command of Richard Grenville. In 1586, Manateo returned to England with Francis Drake, again surviving to return home the next year with the fleet commanded by John White. Vaughan supplies the name 'Towaye' for an American native who "accompanied Manteo back to Roanoke" in 1587. He notes that Topiawari of Guiana lived in England for twenty-two years. Milton, Big *Chief Elizabeth*, 63–77, 97–125, 150, 168–71, 176, 191, 204, 211, 215, 237, additionally notes that another captive of Roanoke was taken by Grenville to England in 1586 and lived long enough to be baptised as 'Ralegh, A Wyanditoian' in 1588, his death took place in 1589. Vaughan, *Transatlantic Encounters*, xv; Captain John Smith, quoted in Lincoln N. Kinnicut, "Plymouth's Debt to the Indians," *The Harvard Theological Review* 13, no. 4 (October 1920): 353–54. Among the Pokanoket of Patuxet/Plymouth in the first decades of the seventeenth century, Dohoday was reputed to have "lived long in England." Likewise Tantum/Tisquantum, returned alive from England to North America in 1615 after a forced sojourn of ten years.

[41] Kinnicut, "Plymouth's Debt to the Indians," 354; Lynn Geci, "Squanto and the Pilgrims: On Planting Corn 'in the manner of the Indians," in *The Invented Indian: Cultural Fictions & Government Policies*, ed. James A. Clifton (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2004), 73; Peter E. Pope, *Fish Into Wine: The Newfoundland Plantation in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, by the University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 79. See Vaughan, *Transatlantic Encounters*, 284 n.47, and n.48, and note that some accounts conflate the identities of Tantum, Tisquantum, and Squanto. Milton, *Big Chief Elizabeth*, 204, notes that Walter Raleigh arranged to have Manteo appointed as a local governor for England in North America in 1587; William Strachey, quoted in Vaughan, "Sir Walter Ralegh's Indian Interpreters," 356, 366–74, recorded that on Chesapeake Bay, native Americans and English "had peaceably lyved and intermixed" for "20. od yeares [sic]" to 1607. Vaughan notes the 1616 stay in England of Matoaka/ Pocahontas/Rebecca Rolfe and her entourage included instances where the visitors were treated as

Arrivals of people native to North America in Europe continued unabated after the date of the HBC founding.[42] While some individuals, such as an Inuit kayaker seen off the Isle of Eda, Orkney in 1682, may have viewed European shores unhappily – if, for example, their journeys were made in response to accident, or to effect an escape – increasingly North Americans arrived of their own volition.[43] Additionally, as more people native to North America survived childhood exposure to viruses that were endemic in Europe, and that were gradually becoming so in North America, the number vulnerable to succumbing to such diseases in adulthood decreased. Death, if it might be a feature of visiting Europe, was equally markedly a feature of staying in North America.[44] Mikak, a "beautiful, highly intelligent young Inuit woman" of Chateau Bay, Labrador,

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'savages,' and comments that details of the stay are missing due to the loss of records in the Great Fire. Vaughan, *Transatlantic Encounters*, xi, 95, notes Pocahontas' group included Powahatan women and girls who set out for England as part of an integrative, diplomatic gesture. While Pocahontas and several others shortly died, at least one man, Tomocomo, and two women, Elizabeth and Mary, survived as "temporary residents" before departing for Bermuda in 1621, and others may have stayed on permanently.

[42] See, for example, Russel A. Potter, "Esquimaux on Display" <http://www.ric.edu/rpotter/eskimoes.html> (accessed 5 September 2005), who notes that in 1847 "Captain John Parker brought an Eskimo couple from Cumberland Sound to the whaling port of Hull, England aboard his ship the 'Truelove.' Ostensibly brought to England to raise awareness of poor conditions in their homeland, the couple, Memiadluk and Uckaluk, were treated rather better than other such human zoo exhibits; Captain Parker placed them in the care of his ship's surgeon, who innoculated [sic] them for smallpox upon their arrival in England. Nonetheless, they were put on display in the Public Rooms beginning on 2 December, dressed in their sealskin clothes. They also appeared at the Mechanics Institute in Manchester, as well as at the lecture hall in Goodramgate, York." Potter also refers to "Tookoolito", "Ebierbing," and "Haralukjoe," who visited England in 1853, "where they met with Queen Victoria at Windsor Castle." See also Robin K. Wright, "The Travelling Exhibition of Captain Samuel Hadlock, Jr.: Eskimos in Europe, 1822–1826," in *Indians & Europe*, 215–33; J.C.H. King, "Family of Botocudos Exhibited on Bond Street in 1822," in *Indians & Europe*, 243–51; Christopher Mulvey, "Among the Sag-A-Noshes: Ojibwa and Iowa Indians with George Catlin in Europe," in *Indians & Europe*, 253–75; and Rita G. Napier, "Across the Big Water: American Indians' Perceptions of Europe and Europeans, 1887–1906," in *Indians & Europe*, 383–402.

[43] See P.J.P. Whitehead, "Earliest Extant Paintings of Greenlanders," in *Indians and Europe,* 141–59, esp. 154, who comments that Poq and Qiperoq were "fêted in Copenhagen" in 1724; and Dale Idiens, "Eskimos in Scotland: c.1682–1924," in *Indians and Europe,* 161–74.

[44] Johanna Mizgala, "First Impressions, Lasting Consequences: The 'Four Kings'," Current Exhibitions, Portrait gallery of Canada <http://www.portraits.gc.ca/009001-2101-e.html> (accessed 23

along with her son Tutauk survived a year-long residence in London, England, from 1768 to 1769 at the abode of mariner Francis Lucas of Ireland.[45] Hugh Palliser, governor of Newfoundland and Labrador, had arranged the visit in the hope that Mikak would agree to act as an intermediary between people of Labrador and trading concerns out of England. The aforementioned represent relatively well-known and documented instances of eastward transoceanic travel from North America. With *Transatlantic Encounters*, published in 2006, Alden T. Vaughan, recounted "approximately 175 Indians and Inuits [sic] who are known to have journeyed to the British Isles between about 1500, when the first documented case occurred, and 1776."[46] There was nothing particularly unusual, therefore, about those native to North America with access to HBC ships taking transport aboard them.

Examination of documents pertaining to HBC personnel reveals that along with formally recruited, sanctioned, and recorded instances of seafaring by individuals native

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August 2008). The "Four Kings of Canada," known as Theyanoguin/Hendrick Peters, E Tow Oh Koam/ Nicholas, Sa Ga Yean Qua Rah Tow/Brant, and Oh Nee Yeath Tow No Riow/John, of Canajoharie and Fort Hunter, visited Queen Anne in 1710. Apparently Brant alone suffered any ill effects, dying "shortly after his return." See also Milton W. Hammilton, "Theyanoguin," DCB; L.H. Butterfield, review of *Queen Anne's American Kings* by Richmond P. Bond, *William and Mary Quarterly* 3d ser., 10, no. 3 (July 1953): 450; Eric Hinderaker, "The 'Four Indian Kings' and the Imaginative Construction of the First British Empire," *William and Mary Quarterly* 3d ser., 53, no. 3 (July 1996): 487. George R. Hamell, "Mohawks Abroad: The 1764 Amsterdam Etching of Sychnecta," in *Indians & Europe*, 175–194; Barbara Graymont, "Thayendanegea," DCB. Sychnecta and Trosoghroga – a.k.a. Hermanus and Joseph – travelled to Bristol, London, possibly Ireland, and to Amsterdam from 1764 to1765; Brant's grandson, Thayendanegea/Joseph Brant, visited London in 1775.

[45] J. Garth Taylor, "The Two Worlds of Mikak," parts I, *The Beaver* 63, no. 3 (winter 1983): 4, 6; J. Garth Taylor, "The Two Worlds of Mikak," part II, *The Beaver* 63, no.4 (winter 1983): 18–25, suggests that although Mikak's initial capture was violent, she voyaged to England partly of her own volition with Tutauk and "a twelve-year-old orphan boy named Karpik," under the auspices of Hugh Palliser, governor of Newfoundland and Labrador. Karpik did not return but stayed with Moravians at Fulneck, Yorkshire. He died, apparently of smallpox. Kenn Harper, "Taissumani: A Day in Arctic History Oct. 1, 1795 – Mikak Dies in Nain," 30 September 2005 <http://www.nunatsiaq.com/archives/50930/opinionEditorial/columns.html> (accessed 20 October 2008).

[46] Vaughan, *Transatlantic Encounters*, xi.

to North America aboard HBC vessels, there were informal instances. Informal decision making, reflective of agency on the part of HBC servants, was commonplace and necessary given the spatial remove of the London Committee and consequent temporal lag that marked their formal directives. The HBC allowed that captains and crews were free to respond to contingency according to their own best judgment. Contingency sometimes, therefore, rendered ineffectual Committee attempts to 'order' servant behaviour.[47] That the London Committee was not privy to all arrangements made by distant individuals to board Company ships, though its members might eventually learn of such instances, is evident from what information remains of the first formal voyage in 1670. In 1708, historian John Oldmixon recounted a condensed version of Thomas Gorst's transcription of events related to him by governor and *de facto* master of the *Wivenhoe*, Charles Bayly – who had previously lived for approximately twenty-five years in North America. The whereabouts of the original transcript and its exact contents are unknown.[48] Oldmixon's account describes seven men as the first individuals of Hudson Bay to voyage any distance aboard an HBC ship. They were picked up in July 1671 by Bayly, who was exploring, via ship, the coastline from the Albany River to Cape

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[47] See, Zachariah Gillam, transcript, "The voyage of the Nonsuch, 1668," *The Beaver* 23, no. 2 (September 1943): 2, and instructions to Gillam that could not be fulfilled because William Stannard decided to turn back in the *Eaglet.* See also Innis, *Fur Trade in Canada*, 135, for a list of regulations that a reading of Company journals and correspondence reveals were more observed in the breach than acquiescence; also examples described in Burley, *Servants of the Company*, 101, 110, 123–27, 144–48, 153; and Ann M. Carlos, and Stephen Nicholas, "Managing the Manager: An Application of the Principal Agent Model to the Hudson's Bay Company," *Oxford Economic Papers,* new ser., 45, no. 2 (April 1993): 244–45, for observations on effectiveness – or lack thereof – of the management HBC structure given problems of "both incomplete information and uncertainty" due to geographical remove from day to day operations in the field.

[48] See Deidre Simmons, *Keepers of the Record: The History of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008), 22–23; Alice M. Johnson, "Gorst, Thomas," DCB; Alice M. Johnson, "Bayly (Baily, Baley), Charles," DCB.

Henrietta Maria. He had "spy'd a great Smoak [sic]," on a point of land, stood in for it, and found the men in distress. Bayly's act of transporting the group to Equon, a small river to the south, does not appear to have alleviated their situation. On arrival, they "saw the Bodies of some Indians dead on the Ground. There had been a great Mortality among them, and several were starv'd to Death for want of Food." It is not clear whether the seven men stayed on board the ship, although within a week of the incident, Bayly reportedly ordered a "*Washahoe,* or *New Severn* Indian," [italics in source] who had been acting as pilot, to be put ashore, because "he hated so much to see the Compass, that he was very troublesome to the Crew."[49] The negative interaction, in this early instance between an informally engaged pilot and a formally engaged HBC ship's crew, did not spell the end of Company captains taking on Aboriginal people as pilots. It presaged what would become a longstanding practice.[50]

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[49] John Oldmixon, "The History of Hudson's-Bay, Containing an Account of its Discovery and Settlement, the Progress of it, and the present State; of the Indians, Trade, and everything else relating to it: Being the last chapter of volume I of *The British Empire in America*, by John Oldmixon (London, 1708)," in *Documents relating to the early history of Hudson Bay*, ed. J. B. Tyrrell (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1931), 392, relates that the point where the men were found "lay in 52 Deg. 40 Min." The pilot was only further described as having two rows of teeth.

[50] Richard Glover, "Introduction," *Letters from Hudson's Bay*, lvi, in 1721, notes Henry Kelsey engaged an unnamed 'Northern Indian' pilot in the *Prosperous* hoy; see also W.B. Cameron, "Runaway Ship," *The Beaver* 28, no. 1 (June 1948): 6, for a reference to Oomeralok, an "Eskimo" pilot engaged by the HBC in 1915, known as "The King of the Belchers" – a group of islands in James Bay; See David L. McKeand, "The Eastern Arctic Patrol," 14 March 1940, Empire Club of Canada, Texts since 1903, Address published in *The Empire Club of Canada Speeches 1939–1940*, 367–83, Toronto: Empire Club of Canada, 1940 <http://www. empireclubfoundation.com/details.asp?FT= yes&SpeechID=920> (accessed 16 October 2007), 9, who notes "an Eskimo pilot and family" were taken aboard to enter Lake Harbour; and Edmund Mack, "H.B.S.S. Pelican Ends Historic Career," *The Beaver* 2, no. 5 (February 1922): 14, who refers to an "Eskimo" pilot. Aside from piloting, landing and lading trade goods, provisions, and human coordinators for the various ventures sent to the Bay required extra workers, especially if there was not a trade facility in operation bayside, a short turn around time was necessary. When wintering, in addition to securing native labour during trading time, attempts were made to induce extra workers to participate in maintaining, particularly feeding, the ship's camp through to departure the next summer. See Great Britain, Parliament, House of Commons, *Report from the Committee Appointed to Inquire into the State and Condition of the countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay, and of the trade carried on there: Together with an*

For most of the period considered in this thesis, people native to Hudson Bay and associated waters were engaged to safely pilot ships along courses not 'known' to newcomers. Newcomer understanding of the area's geography was imperfect and navigation was purported to be "very dangerous and troublesome."[51] Initial inexperience, combined with a strategy of secrecy, such as that which the HBC reputedly pursued into the eighteenth century, doubtless contributed to geographic ignorance and a need for

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appendix: Reported by Lord Strange, 24 April 1749 (London: House of Commons, 1749), 215–16, 218, for testimonies of Joseph Robson, and Richard White; "An Old HBC Skipper," *The Beaver* 4, no. 7 (April 1924): 260; John Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse: Hudson's Bay Company Transport, 1670–1821," Ph.D. diss. (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1978), 29; E.E. Rich, ed., with A.M. Johnson, *Hudson's Bay copy booke of letters, commissions, instructions outward 1688–1696* (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1957), 40 n. 36, 125; E.E. Rich, ed., *Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company, First Part, 1679–1682* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1945), 242; William Coats, *The Geography of Hudson's Bay: being the remarks of Captain W. Coats, in many voyages to that locality, between the years 1727 and 1751: with an appendix containing extracts from the log of Capt. Middleton on his voyage for the discovery of the North-west passage in H.M.S. Furnace in 1741–2*, ed. John Barrow (London: Hakluyt Society, 1852), 36, 49; also Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 23, 31, 51, 64–65. Eric Ross, *Beyond the River and the Bay: Some Observations on the State of the Canadian Northwest in 1811* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), 54; Van Kirk, "*Many Tender Ties,*" 9–10, 15, 53–74: Although Van Kirk does not address the seafaring dimension of trader's lives, she supplies a description of the "mutual dependence" and "social and economic realities of life on the Bay" for trading partners. Both natives to the country and new arrivals worked as "your Honor Servants" in a variety of capacities. See also Philip Goldring, "Inuit Economic Responses to Euro-American Contacts: Southeast Baffin Island, 1824–1940," *Historical Papers* 21, no. 1, ed. Dana Johnson, and Louise Ouellette (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association/La Société historique du Canada, 1986), 147, who observes that the interdependence of natives and newcomers of the sub-Arctic fur trade "is now generally recognized," whether their 'partnerships' were "equal or not."

[51] Captain Caruthers quoted in Great Britain, *Report from the Committee*, 1749, 230; see also Charles N. Bell, "Navigation of Hudson Bay and Straits," *Transactions* 1st ser., no. 7 (read 1883); Ernest J. Chambers, ed., *Canada's Fertile Northland: A Glimpse of the Enormous Resources of Part of the Unexplored Regions of the Dominion*, Evidence before a Select Committee of the Senate of Canada during the Parliamentary Session of 1906–7, and the Report based thereon (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1907), 119, notes "As to the preparation of reliable charts of these waters, a good deal requires to be done yet." T.H. Manning, "Explorations on the East Coast of Hudson Bay," *The Geographical Journal* 109, no. 1/3 (January–March 1947): 58–75, notes the lack of cartographic knowledge. E.G.R. Taylor, "Introduction," *Copy-book of letters outward &c: begins 29th May, 1680 ends 5 July, 1687*, ed. E.E. Rich, with A.M. Johnson (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1948), xvii–xxviii, supplies an informative discussion on HBC mapping, attitudes toward knowledge management and resultant inaccuracies. See also Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 43–44; and Richard I. Ruggles, *A Country So Interesting: The Hudson's Bay Company and Two Centuries of Mapping 1670–1870* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), 25–27, 32, 33, plates 1–3, 8a, 14, 15.

native pilots.[52] Over time, the generation of adequate sailing instructions, or charts, would have diminished the need for native pilots somewhat, as some sailors not native to the region acquired through experience sufficient expertise to pilot their vessels themselves. Nevertheless, because hydrographical information – published or otherwise – about large areas of the Bay and associated waters remained sketchy into the twentieth-century, increases in voyages of exploration, and the introduction of competitive trading, fishing, and whaling ventures at various times guaranteed an ongoing role for native, sea-savvy coastal pilots and guides.[53]

The first recorded transatlantic voyage from Hudson Bay to England entered into by Aboriginal individuals occurred in 1673 – again under arrangements negotiated by Bayly. The reference base is not clear on the identities of – or stories about – the two men who embarked with him. Only one name, 'Prince Attash,' attached to the individual aboard the *Prince Rupert* [I], remains. The anonymous man aboard the *Shaftesbury* died before reaching England. Details of Attash's stay are sparse. Sir John Kirke apparently oversaw it "most of the time," although Attash also resided with "Captain Tatum, a

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[52] See Glyndwr Williams, "The Hudson's Bay Company and Its Critics in the Eighteenth Century," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5th ser., 20 (1970): 151; and Richard I. Ruggles, "Governor Samuel Wegg, Intelligent Layman of the Royal Society, 1753–1802," *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 32, no. 2 (March 1978): 181–99.

[53] For indications of the relatively late dates at which things became 'known' cartographically see "Additions to Captain Comer's Map of Southampton Island," *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society* 45, no. 7 (1913): 516–18; Charles Camsell, Geological Survey of Canada, "The Unexplored Areas of Continental Canada," *Geographical Journal* 48, no. 3 (September 1916): 249–57; Robert J. Flaherty, "The Belcher Islands of Hudson Bay: Their Discovery and Exploration," *Geographical* Review 5, no. 6 (June 1918): 435; F.C. Goulding Smith, "The Canadian Hydrographical Survey of the Hudson Bay Route," *Geographical Journal* 87, no. 2 (February 1936): 127; and T.H. Manning, "The Foxe Basin Coasts of Baffin Island," *Geographical Journal* 101, no. 5/6 (May 1943): 225. For the perpetuation of fallacious information on nautical maps, see Alice M. Johnson, "Mythical land of Buss," *The Beaver* 22, no. 3 (December 1942): 47. See George Binney, "Hudson Bay in 1928," *Geographical Journal* 72, no. 1 (July 1929), 5; and Goulding Smith, "Canadian Hydrographical Survey," 135, on the need for native pilots.

servant of the Company." The expense – including the furnishing of an attendant and new clothes – amounted to "£86, 18s. 11d," and was borne by the HBC.[54] Described as "a very lusty man," Attash survived his visit, returning to Hudson Bay on the outward voyage of 1676.[55] If the appellation 'Prince' indicates he was not a slave, it also indicates the London Committee did not accord him a station higher than that of Company governor, Prince Rupert. HBC records do not state whether the two actually met, or in what rounds of amusement Attash might have participated. The Company ledger listing his account shows no entries that suggest he was widely exhibited as a curiosity. Historian E.E. Rich opined "No doubt he was brought over, as other chiefs were brought before and after his time, in order that, being suitably impressed, he might become a useful intermediary with his people."[56] Attash's impressions are unknown. Nevertheless, the importance of engaging people adapt at circumventing language barriers, interpreting behaviours, and enhancing cross-cultural communication for the purpose of forwarding trade was obviously an early consideration and not restricted to encounters ashore. There

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[54] E.E. Rich, *Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company 1679–1684. First Part, 1679–82* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1945), xviii, n.1, and n. 2, observes, "We do not know who Prince Attash was. He must have been an Indian chief, most likely from the 'Bottom of the Bay'; but it is useless to try to identify him" … "As is done, for instance, by A.S. Morton." Arthur S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870–71, Being a History of Rupert's Land (The Hudson's Bay Company Territory) and of the North-West Territory (Including the Pacific Slope)* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1939), 67, 79, assumes Attash in London was identical to Attash of Rupert River met by Bayly in the 1670.

[55] Rich, *Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company, First Part,* xviii n.3, 310.

[56] Ibid. Hamell, "Mohawks Abroad," 184, notes that not until 1765 did the British House of Lords pass two resolutions disseminated by the Lords of Trade: first, "the bringing from America of any of the Indians … without proper authority … may be of dangerous consequence … in the colonies"; second, "That the making a public shew of Indians, ignorant of such proceedings is unbecoming and inhuman [sic]." Wright, "Travelling Exhibition," 215–33; King, "Family of Botocudos," 243–51; Mulvey, "Among the Sag-A-Noshes," 253–75; and Napier, "Across the Big Water," 383–02, indicate the directives did not put an end to the arrival of 'Indians' or exhibitions of 'exotic others,' but presumably those on display had a greater sense of what they were doing and some determination of how things were done.

was a seaborne component to take into account.

Evidence of historical precedence for Aborignal participation in transatlantic voyaging suggests that from a Company perspective, regardless of origin, sailors were valued if they proved willing, useful, and able. Unlike the East India Company, which hired crew according to separate sets of articles, thereby distinguishing between 'European' sailors and non-European 'lascars,' the HBC took no formal steps that indicate it segmented the seagoing workforce according to origin.[57] During the Napoleonic Wars, the Company recorded such details as height and fitness of new recruits, but without any particular criteria for describing the latter. Evaluations include observations such as "stout. 'Very good both active & industrious' and 'An excellent and trustworthy man'," or "slender. 'Sober, honest and ready, active and obedient … active, spirited' [sic: punctuation in source]."[58] Terms that clearly racialized workers are absent.

The traffic on the North Atlantic HBC ocean arc comprised a two-way transatlantic path between geographically distinct landward locations on which differing social and cultural norms had developed. Recounting the heterogeneity of the Company's maritime workforce reveals that opportunity existed for individuals who were native to North America, including those of communities of the Northern Seaboard, to go to sea

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[57] See Ewald, "Crossers of the Sea," 75–76, 81, who argues that "Britain regulated maritime labor closely … the British government responded to the color consciousness affecting Britain in the late eighteenth century." She uses 'lascar' crew agreements as evidence to make the case that crew on British ships were formally "divided by both rank and race." See "lascar," *Webster's Revised Unabridged Dictionary*, online <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/lascar> (accessed 13 November 2008), defined as a Persian and Hindustan word used to designate an artillery man, a labourer, or a sailor.

[58] HBCA, "Baikie, Andrew (ca. 1784) (fl. 1804–1822)," biographical sheet, was of Orkney; "Bird, Charles (ca. 1795) (fl. 1805–1818), biographical sheet, was of "Hudson's Bay (Mitcham)," and possibly the son of James Curtis Bird of Acton, Middesex and Mitcham, Surrey, and Elisabeth Montour, a "Swampy Indian."

and work aboard seagoing vessels. HBC ships were, therefore, historically significant as transitional spaces of communication: following Pred, Blaut, and Said, the implication being that through interpersonal contact and observation in the workplace, sailors experienced a potentially integrative political-economic and socio-cultural process firsthand. Chapters Two and Three of this dissertation point out that over 1,000 vessels sailed in Hudson Bay between 1508 and 1920. If the number of sailors per vessel is estimated at between ten and twenty crewmembers, then upwards of ten to twenty thousand individuals actively participated in this process. Depending on what paths their subsequent activities followed, their participation in intercontinental communication might have had widespread, if subtle, consequences. In addressing the question of who worked aboard HBC ships, this chapter augments the argument advanced in earlier chapters that there was nothing simple about the communication advanced by seafarers transported in Company ships. It demonstrates that, in Hudson Bay as elsewhere, consideration of sailors as active agents of communication complicates depiction of the dynamic of interaction between the margins and centres of European institutional projects. North Americans were not, as nineteenth-century "centre-periphery models of the world" implied, merely passive recipients of European dissemination to the margins of empire.[59] Not only did the North American-born participate in intercontinental communication, they worked at it, sailing in company with, even commanding, sailors of

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[59] See Blaut, *Colonizer's Model of the World*, 14–21, 42, 149, 167, 176–77, 180, who explains "Diffusionism [specifically Eurocentric Diffusionism] became a fully formed scientific theory during the nineteenth century." In keeping with Blaut, the argument of this chapter does not "favour diffusion over independent invention in other contexts," but adheres to a nondiffusionist model: describing "a world in which the processes at work in any one sector are expected also to be at work in the other sectors. In essence, this model is driven by a concept of equal capability of human beings – psychological unity – in

an economically centrated Atlantic world that was integral to a geographically and culturally multiplicate ocean sea.

all cultures and regions, and from this argument it demands that any spatial inequalities in matters relating to cultural evolution, and more specifically economic development, be *explained*. Stared differently: equality is the normal condition and inequalities need to be explained"; see also J.M.S. Careless, "Limited Identities – Ten Years Later," *Manitoba History* no. 1 (1981) <http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/mb_history/01/limitedidentities.shtml> (accessed 13 January 2009).

Chapter Thirteen

Being a HBC Sailor:
Making Mutable Class, 'Race'/Culture, and Gender

What is evident at this point in the dissertation – and, if projections of climate change are accurate, should become increasingly evident in the future – is that the past was a different place from the present. Additionally, by virtue of their historically contingent experience, sailors in Hudson Bay from 1508 to 1920 were a different set of people than exists now. Yet, for analysis of experience to yield understanding, points of commonality between the past and present must be posited. Historiographically, understanding past experience requires looking for commonality in terms of essentialisms that make sense in the present, or conversely, using current essentialisms to make sense of the past as precedent to now – take such categories of analyses as class, gender, and 'race' for example.[1] If commonalities are not established, change and continuity cannot

[1] Daniel Vickers, "Beyond Jack Tar" *William and Mary Quarterly* 3d ser., 50, no. 2 (April 1993): 418, notes "Twentieth-century historians are far more preoccupied [than previous scholars] with topics such as class, race, gender, and economic policy – all of which have contemporary resonance." Margaret Creighton and Lisa Norling, eds., *Iron Men, Wooden Women: Gender and Seafaring in the Atlantic World, 1700–1920* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), vii, point out "such seemingly natural categories as gender, race, class, and age" are constructs "used to explain inequality and to assert

be assessed. This is one reason why histories are liable to revision: as constructed and imagined, historiography as a practice exposes essentialist thinking, allowing historians to critique narratives that purport a special knowledge of the 'truth.'[2] This chapter highlights the constitutive nature of historical understanding at the same time that it makes a point about the transitory nature of being a sailor. In keeping with the observations of maritime historians such as Daniel Vickers, David Alexander, and Eric W. Sager, it shows that seafaring as an occupation filled finite portions of individuals' lives, it was not a continuous state of being for a peculiar cohort of human beings.[3]

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domination in a range of political, economic, and social relationships." See, on analytic constructs, Joan Acker, "Class, Gender, and the Relations of Distribution," *Signs* 13, no. 3 (spring 1988): 473–79, on gender and class in Marxist and feminist analyses of 'women's place' in political-economic structure; Rosemary Crompton, "Class theory and gender," *The British Journal of Sociology* 40, no. 4 (1989): 565–87, on theoretical dichotomies as dualities of structure. Arguing for concentrating on agency and structuration, she points out that "one of the difficulties in making a way through ... the tangled undergrowth of debate on gender and class theory is that different contributors are working with different definitions of 'class', although this fact is not always acknowledged"; Robert Miles, "Recent Marxist theories of nationalism and the issue of racism," *British Journal of Sociology* 38, no. 1 (1987): 24–43; and Elizabeth Jameson, "Introduction," *Making Western Canada: Essays on European Colonization and Settlement*, ed. Catherine Cavanaugh and Jeremy Mouat (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1996), ix–xix, describe race and nation as interconnected and socially reproduced "ideas or categories," with histories that lend the appearance of 'natural' origin to the related ideologies of racism and nationalism; Thomas C. Holt, "Marking: Race, Race-making, and the Writing of History," *American Historical Review* 100, no. 1 (February 1995): 1–20, notes the power and tenacity of explanatory schemes in historiography; Patrick Wolfe, "Land, Labor, and Difference: Elementary Structures of Race," *American Historical Review* 106, no. 3 (June 2001): 866–905, connects constructions of race to control of access to land-based production.

[2] Thomas L. Haskell, review, "Farewell to Fallibilism: Robert Berkhofer's Beyond the Great Story and the Allure of the Postmodern," *History and Theory* 37, no. 3 (October 1998): 354, 363, describes dealing with essentialisms in 'conventional' historiography as one of the "juggling acts that we humans have always performed in trying to make sense of the past." The 'post modernist critique' decries the exercise for "masking the representational as referential." See also Joan Wallach Scott, "History in Crisis: The Other's Side of the Story," *American Historical Review* 94, no. 3 (June 1989): 680–92; Peter Burke, ed., *New Perspectives on Historical Writing* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991), 2–6, 10–11; Keith Jenkins, *Re-thinking History* (New York: Routledge, 1991); Sara Mills, *Discourse* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 29–30; Pat Hudson, *History By Numbers: An Introduction to Quantitative Approaches* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 16–18; also George E. Marcus and Michael M.J. Fischer, *Anthropology as Cultural Critique: An Experimental Moment in the Human Sciences* 2d ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 7–14.

[3] Alexander, David. "Literacy among Canadian and Foreign Seamen, 1863–1899," in *Working Men*

Whether characterized as 'iron men' or wet workers, sailors had lives complete with birth, death, and complicated biographical paths in between. Historian Sean Cadigan has observed about mariners of North America's Eastern Seaboard, "Most seafarers worked for short periods of their lives in deep-sea trades; they otherwise worked in a variety of related trades ashore, or within the contexts of much more household-like, small-scale production in fisheries or coastal trading."[4] Sailors who transitioned to working ashore in Hudson Bay worked in support of the fur trade – sometimes in occupations associated with transport, sometimes as managers of other people's labour. Regardless of career paths, having worked at sea seems to have been a defining experience for many – as a

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Who Got Wet: Proceedings of the fourth conference of the Atlantic Canada Shipping Project, July 24–July 26, 1980, ed. by Rosemary Ommer and Gerald Panting (St. John's: Maritime History Group, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1980), 32; Judith Fingard, *Jack in Port: Sailortowns of Eastern Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 4–5; Eric W. Sager, *Seafaring Labour: The Merchant Marine of Atlantic Canada, 1820–1914* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 3, 4, 6, 53–54; Vickers, "Beyond Jack Tar," 422–24, notes "as Jesse Lemisch first suggested thirty years ago ... Jack Tar as a conceptual type is a simplistic and effective tool for exploring the social relations that structured maritime life," but that "seafaring was a stage in life" and that "most mariners spent less than a decade at sea and returned to land by the age of thirty"; Daniel Vickers and Vince Walsh, *Young Men and the Sea: Yankee Seafarers in the Age of Sail* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 4; and Creighton and Norling, *Iron Men, Wooden Women*, viii–ix; Chapter Fourteen, this thesis, 361 n.42, on Richard McKay's career; also Isaac Land, "Tidal waves: the new coastal history," *Journal of Social History* (spring 2007): 741–43, on recent constructions, that, though meant to "redeem sailors from the parochial constraints of maritime historiography," nevertheless abstract 'the sailor' as an "an impressive protagonist" and "international nautical proletariat" that, "however colourful and interesting," was "so different from other people" that collectively "sailors are irrelevant to historians who do not focus on maritime historiography." He posits "the oceanic model itself", or "emphasizing the sea-going vessel" may be faulted for causing "intellectual trouble," more bothersome than worthwhile. Eric W. Sager, "Employment Contracts in Merchant Shipping: An Argument for Social Science History," in *On the Case: Explorations in Social History*, ed. Franca Iacovetta and Wendy Mitchinson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 49–64, suggests the greater difficulty is common in social history: staggering numbers of mobile people did not leave conspicuous or comprehensive paper trails of their own making.

[4] Sean T. Cadigan, "'But for the loves of the fishes': Maritime labour and ecological culture in nineteenth-century Newfoundland," in *Maritime labour: Contributions to the History of work at sea, 1500–2000,* ed. Richard Gorski (Amsterdsam: Aksant, 2007): 105. See also Glynn R. Barratt, "Whalers and Weavers," *The Beaver* 57, no. 3 (winter 1977): 54–59.

popular nineteenth-century saying put it "once a sailor, always a sailor."[5]

While being a sailor of Hudson Bay imparted some commonality of experience with coworkers, being human ensured each HBC sailor's experience was unique. The nature of surviving records means it is seldom possible to interrogate directly the feelings, ideas, and impressions of sailors about themselves, or about the people they met, because HBC sailors do not 'speak' through the medium of their own records for themselves. As previous chapters have demonstrated, it is possible, nonetheless, to arrive tangentially at an appreciation of sailors' experiences. In this chapter, I first apply two theoretical axes of analyses – class and 'race'/culture, the latter phrase defined below – to describe the political-economic and socio-cultural contexts of HBC sailors. I then examine writings about sailors as historical agents, focusing on three individuals to illustrate the ways in which the affiliations and affinities – including gender – by which sailors might be classified, or by which they may have classified themselves, were made and remade.[6]

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[5] "Recent Travels," *The Atlantic Monthly* 24, no. 141 (August 1869): 260; W. Clark Russell, "Jack's Courtships; A Sailor's Yarn of Love and Shipwreck," *Longman's Magazine* 3, no. 13 (November 1883): 2; *Nevada State Journal* (26 August 1887): 3, and *Chicago Daily Trib* (5 February 1909) D1, cited at "Re: 'Once a Dodger, Always a Dodger'," Listserv 14.4 <http://listserv.linguistlist.org/cgi bin/wa?A2= ind0505C&L=ADS-L&P=11320> (accessed 1 March 2009); Joseph Conrad, *Typhoon, and Other Stories* (Doubleday, Page and Company, 1921), 190. The phrase is double edged – in some cases it is used to suggest seafaring as an experience left indelible memories, in others that the occupation was inescapable. See also Richard Mackie "McKay, Joseph William," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Online edition [DCB] <http://www.biographi.ca/EN/index.html> (accessed 2004–2008); and Robert Watson, "'Captain' Cotter of Cumberland," *The Beaver* 9, no. 2 (September 1929): 260–61.

[6] Frank Tough, review of *Servants of the Honourable Company: Work, Discipline, and Conflict in the Hudson's Bay Company, 1770–1879*, by Edith I. Burley, *Manitoba History*, no. 37 (spring/summer 1999), 49, observes that setting such a context is an important means of avoiding "the problems of social history disconnected from political economy"; see also Robert C.H. Sweeny, "Understanding Work Historically: A reflection prompted by two recent studies of the fur trade," review of *Servants of the Honourable Company: Work, Discipline and Conflict in the Hudson's Bay Company, 1770–1879*, by Edith

To begin by addressing class: for the purpose of this thesis and following E.P. Thompson, a distinction exists between the terms 'class' and 'status.' While the latter is defined as a category determined according to hierarchical classification, class is held to be a relational, historical phenomenon with a cultural as well as an economic basis for formation.[7] In terms of political-economic theories of historical materialism, the salient relation, between the nautical workforce and the Company members who directly appropriated the value created by labour, was one that evinced paternalism. HBC structuring maintained the appropriation of value and the distribution of profit while it accommodated employee negotiations within a corporate culture that business analysts of the present have characterized as "family."[8] The Company bore the cost of "social

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I. Burley, and *Trading Beyond the Mountains: The British Fur Trade on the Pacific*, by Richard Somerset Mackie. *Labour/Le Travail* 41 (Spring 1998): 247–49.

[7] Carolyn Podruchny, "Unfair Masters and Rascally Servants? Labour Relations Among Bourgeois, Clerks and Voyageurs in the Montréal Fur Trade, 1780–1821," *Labour/Le Travail* 43 (spring 1999): 47–48, supplies a taxonomy of status among landward fur trade personnel. She notes, that regardless of scale in the HBC management hierarchy, supervisors/managers and their subordinates "accepted their positions as rulers and ruled," and subordinates "could challenge the substance and boundaries of their jobs and loyalty to their masters without contesting the fundamental power dynamics." She ascribes this to an operational hegemony: a "belief in the legitimacy of paternalism." See E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Vintage Books, 1963), 2, 9, 11, 13, 21, who handles the heterogeneity and fluidity of his subject (working people) by identifying relational spaces between human beings as the defining site of his object, to understand how 'classes' of working people became the 'working class' in England. His study is geo-culturally as well as temporally specific. It does not appear he set out to create a universally applicable 'law' about the making of class, though clearly he regarded the agency of past actors as given and determinant. His organization of evidence suggests that factors worth considering when looking at class in other contexts include communication – it is apparent that the kind of communication that was possible mattered – land as a resource, culture as a resource, and fear. These factors appear to have worked in conjunction, intersecting in non-linear relation, to facilitate the formation of an oppositional class relation.

[8] Ann M. Carlos and Stephen Nicholas, "Agency Problems in Early Chartered Companies: The Case of the Hudson's Bay Company," *The Journal of Economic History* 50, no. 4 (December 1990): 873; Ann M. Carlos and Stephen Nicholas, "Managing the Manager: An Application of the Principal Agent Model to the Hudson's Bay Company," *Oxford Economic Papers* new ser., 45, no. 2 (April 1993): 255. See also Ann M. Carlos and Stephen Nicholas, "Theory and History: Seventeenth-Century Joint-Stock Chartered Trading Companies," *The Journal of Economic History* 56, no. 4 (December 1996): 916–24; Gary Spraakman and Alison Wilkie, "The development of management accounting at the Hudson's Bay

overhead" – for example supplying food, shelter, clothing, healthcare, and communication with geographically distant family members – in return for an agreement from workers to behave as loyal servants with the best interests of the corporate "household" in mind.[9] The terms of HBC contracts classified all mariners – free and bound, from captains or ships' masters down to apprentices or boys – as servants.[10]

Despite differences of rank and status aboard ship, maritime servants of the Company belonged to a similar socio-economic 'class[ification]' by landward norms, in that there were vertical, often familial, ties that interconnected individuals of different working ranks, and, while ashore, they lived in similar enclaves where their paths crossed

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Company, 1670–1820," *Accounting History* 5 (2000): 59–84; Scott B. Stephen, "Masters and servants: the Hudson's Bay Company and its personnel, 1668–1782," Ph.D. diss. (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 2006), vii, 3–9. Burley and Stephen show that for the HBC overall, relations of authority resembled those of a sixteenth-century pre-industrial household.

[9] Tough, review of *Servants of the Honourable Company*, 49, notes that for "a transport system owned by a monopolist, the social overhead is a vital aspect of the relationship between labor and management. The provision of these social overheads by the company, and the fact that [meeting] the employee's daily needs ...[was] dependent upon the company's tools ... [or provisioning] entered into the relations of authority." See also H. Clare Pentland, *Labour and Capital in Canada, 1650–1860* (Halifax: James Lorimer & Company, 1981), 44; Edith I. Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company: Work, Discipline, and Conflict in the Hudson's Bay Company, 1770–1879* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1997), *passim*; Paul Craven and Tom Traves, "Dimensions of Paternalism: Discipline and Culture in Canadian Railway Operations in the 1850s," in *On the Job: confronting the labour process in Canada* ed. Craig Heron, Robert H. Storey (McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986), 69; Podruchny, "Unfair Masters and Rascally Servants," *passim*; and Sweeny, "Understanding Work Historically," 249.

[10] R[obert]. W[atson]. "The Indentured Apprentice," *The Beaver* 11, no. 1 (June 1931): 226–27; Carlos and Nicholas, "Agency Problems," 874; Richard I. Ruggles, "Hospital Boys of the Bay," *The Beaver* 57, no. 2 (autumn 1977): 4–11. Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company*, 55–56, notes that before and after the merger with the NWC in 1821, HBC "officers were in fact highly paid and privileged servants." Further, a Deed Poll of 1834 affirmed they were "subject to dismissal just like ordinary workers." Carlos and Nicholas, "Managing the Manager," 246–47, note managers of suspect performance were subject to recall and interrogation in London as well as disciplining by demotion, transfer, forfeiture of salary, and loss of jobs. They were also rewarded, "through salary increases, gratuities, and commendations." See also Michael J. Broyles, "'The Master's Measure:' Remunerative Patterns for Hudson's Bay Company Captains, 1726–1736," *The Northern Mariner/Le Marin du nord* 8, no. 3 (July 1998): 3, on the forfeiture of seafarers' wages by ships' captains.

socially.[11] The London Committee – "whose bread they eate and whose wages they take [sic]" – was distinctly different. Its members, deemed by royal charter the "sole Proprietors of the Country, and of the Capital employed in the Trade," were titled, wealthy, or related and socially connected to such people in the upper echelons of English society.[12] Although numbers and degrees of participation varied, typically the Committee was restricted to eight or nine individuals, all of whom resided in London, one of whom acted as governor and another as deputy governor. From 1670, the HBC Governor and Committee in London enjoyed:

> the direcion of the Voyages of and for the said Company and Provision of the Shipping and Merchandizes thereunto belonging and alsoe the sale of all merchandizes Goodes and other things returned in all or any the Voyages or Shippes of or for the said Company and the mannageing and handleing of all other business affaires and thinges belonging to the said Company [sic].[13]

To 1920, the Committee expanded the capital at their command by selling shares to

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[11] See Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company*, 2, 16, 20–29, 141; Carlos and Nicholas, "Managing the Manger," 244; and Jennifer S.H. Brown, *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980), 32–33.

[12] Spraakman and Wilkie, "The development of management accounting," 61–62. "Changes in Company's Organization," *The Beaver* 5, no. 4 (September 1925): 167. "British North America circa 1823," The Atlas of Canada website <http://atlas.nrcan.gc.ca/site/english/maps/historical/preconfederation/britishnorthamerica1823/4> (accessed 7 January 2009). See also Deidre Simmons, *Keepers of the Record: The History of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008), 13–14, 19–20; and Harold A. Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History* (1930; revised ed. 1956; reprinted, with revised foreword, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), 124, on the initial arrangement of the Committee and its early modification; E.E. Rich, *The History of the Hudson's Bay Company 1670–1870*, vol. I (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1958), 52–53; and Arthur S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870–71, Being a History of Rupert's Land (The Hudson's Bay Company Territory) and of the North-West Territory (Including the Pacific Slope)* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1939), 29, 56–57, 59–60, 62–65.

[13] Hudson's Bay Company, "Royal Charter for Incorporating The Hudson's Bay Company, A.D. 1670," (London: Hudson's Bay Company, 1949), lines 104–7.

smaller investors.[14] Despite the marked difference in privilege and power between the Committee and its servants, clear expression of consciousness, on the part of the HBC maritime workforce, of class existing as a separation between capital and labour – an apprehension that might serve in historical analysis as a marker of change – was remarkably absent. Thus, while industrialization and consciousness of class became a reason for conflict on numerous fronts in England in the nineteenth century, the HBC remained somewhat of an anomalous anachronism in terms of corporate structuring and industrial history. It officially retained its chartered monopoly status to 1870, and its master/servant approach to management beyond 1920. Historians E.E. Rich and Edith I. Burley have shown that "'subpolitical' traditions," analogous to the "right to riot in resistance to oppression" – such as mutinies to avoid naval impressment, and petitions to protest unsafe conditions, or to demand changes in provisioning – were evident.[15] In practice, between 1670 and 1920, the HBC master/servant relation "was not stable but in

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[14] See Chapter Four, this thesis, 80–81 n.18 Adam Smith, quoted in Ann M. Carlos and Stephen Nicholas, "Agency Problems," 854, characterized "the directors of such companies" – meaning charter companies that enjoyed monopolies of access for resource extraction – as "the managers rather of other people's money than their own."

[15] Thompson, *Making of the English Working Class*, 52, 59. Rich, *History*, vol. I, 279–81, 287, 315, 377, 437–38, 567–70, 602, 618; Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company*, 22, 84, 101, 112, 118, 130, 135–36, 138, 144–45, 147, 153–54, 174–75, 177, 179, 187–88, 190–92, 199, 203–7, 215–17, 223–25, 238. See also HBCA, Search File, Ships, Misc., Compensation, 1689, "Petition of Seamen", "The Committees Answer to the Same Petition", "Co. to Gov. Marsh. (Albany) 6th June", "Coppy of the Instrument given to ye Seamen of the Dering & Hudson's Bay Friggtt [sic]"; C.1/1027, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1757, 24 October; B.42/a/36, Churchill Post Journal, 1750–1751, 19–20 August, 26 August; John Hudspeth, "Journal During Summer in Hudson's [sic] Bay And of the Voyage home to England," *Journals of John Maule Hudspeth: Hudson's Bay and the Voyage home to England, 1816*, University of Tasmania Library Special and Rare Materials Collection, Australia (unpublished), 7.RS1900/D33 <http://eprints.utas.edu.au/7152/2/rs_2_2%287%29_John_Hudspeth_ Journal_1816.pdf> (accessed 7 October 2008); Morton, *History of the Canadian West*, 28; Dick Wilson, "Below Decks: Seamen and Landsmen aboard Hudson's Bay Company Vessels in the Pacific Northwest 1821–1850," in *Papers of the 1994 Rupert's Land Colloquium*, ed. Ian MacLaren, Michael Payne, and Heather Hollason (Winnipeg: Centre for

flux."[16] Nevertheless, when viewed through Company records that track servants' behaviour while under contract, HBC sailors appear to have behaved as though they were "working people who were not part of the industrial proletariat," nor "a class-conscious, politicized stratum of workers."[17] Whatever their private thoughts and activities, or their public behaviour when not working for the HBC, the record base indicates that the ordering of mariners' hours while in Company service rested on a pre-stated, pre-understood acceptance of a working relationship replicated at all scales in the hierarchical organization. On HBC voyages between 1670 and 1920, the circumstances of maritime workers – including officers who 'owned' the labour of, and collected the remuneration due apprentices – though open to amelioration, were not of their own making.[18]

Rupert's Land Studies, 1997), 30; Fritz Pannekoek, "'Corruption' at Moose," *The Beaver: Magazine of the North* (spring 1979): 4–11.

[16] Tough, review of *Servants of the Honourable Company*, 47.

[17] Ibid., 46. Sweeny, "Understanding Work Historically," 245–47, 250, is concerned that depicting HBC master/servant relations as "unchanging, but tension-ridden," does not adequately represent historical changes. Paul Phillips, "Introduction," in Pentland, *Labour and Capital*, xviii, notes that "To [Bryan] Palmer and [Gregory] Kealy, the 1860s mark the transitional decade from the period of primitive accumulation, merchant capital and capitalist handicraft production to that of modern industry, a transition accelerated by the American Civil War. There was, however, no sharp discontinuity between the periods." See also Sager, *Seafaring Labour*, 10, 11, 245–47.

[18] See "By Ship of Sail to Hudson Bay, 1723: Extract From Sailing Orders and Instructions to Capt. Geo. Spurril, Commander of ye Hudson's Bay Fregate," *The Beaver* 3, No. 10 (July 1923): 381; HBCA, C.7/4, Ships' Miscellaneous Papers, Crew Agreement, Ann (Schooner), 1813, a printed form that sets up the responsibilities of the "Master, Seamen and Mariners" aboard ship; C.7/175, Ships' Miscellaneous Papers, "Sailing Orders and Instructions," (n.d.); Chapter Nine, this thesis, 223 n.53, 225 n.59, 233 n.86; Chapter Ten, this thesis, 255 n.62; and sources listed in n.15 above. Tough, review of *Servants of the Honourable Company*, 50, 49, notes "disruptive problems were associated with transgression of the moral economy and not a challenge to the existence of authority," the Company had "paramount economic powers ... to secure its own future and to regulate the lives of its servants"; Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company*, 157, 245, similarly observes, "the conflict that did occur rarely called into question the relations of authority upon which the company was based," describing servant disruptions as "expressions of an indifference to authority rather than overt challenges to it"; see also Podruchny, "Unfair Masters and Rascally Servants?" as cited n.7 above. Carlos and Nicholas, "Agency Problems," outline changes in strategies instituted by the London Committee in the course of re-evaluating of its position with respect to control of profit from production of value added by transport to European

To turn to 'race'/culture, the phrase, as used here, is defined in the limited sense of an artefact of human social behaviour: a product of social reproduction whereby communities create distinct and observable cultural markers of society, including traditions, languages, and material products – distinctions commonly associated with 'race' in discourses framed by, and about, nationalist and imperialist ideologies.[19] As such, the following observations on culture and contact illustrate how, in the past and in discourses about the past, North Americans who were culturally distinct from Europeans may be thought of as 'already' seafarers, communicating as workers in informal economies, prior to being formally recognized or engaging as sailors *qua* HBC sailors. For North Americans, as for Europeans, seas were sites of communication.

As established in the preceding chapter, the movement of seafarers aboard HBC ships from 1670 to 1920 was not unidirectional and neither was the seaborne transport of norms, customs, and values. HBC voyaging was predated by ventures possibly dating as far back as 1508. This circumstance, along with the existence of variety in the transitional space that was the ship, and time spent between points of contact with land, largely

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markets: cancelling "private adventures" for captains and crew by 1672; hiring workers from places other than London by 1702; declaring private trapping illegal in 1770, while raising pay and introducing a bonus system [which it dropped in 1810]; to the end of eighteenth century, requiring managers to post substantial bonds to assure that they would fulfil their contract; paying relatively high salaries to managers so that by 1810 "the opportunity cost of losing one's job was very high"; awarding commendations and gratuities that "ranged from 50 to 100 percent of salary"; imposing penalties such as reprimands, loss of posted bonds, denial of promotion while deemed 'under suspicion,' demotion, dismissal, refusal to rehire. See also Innis, *Fur Trade in Canada*, 125, on the early wage structure of HBC seafaring labour.

[19] See "culture," *Oxford English Dictionary* online [OED] <http://dictionary.oed.com> (accessed 6 January 2009), III. 5.a, 6, and esp. 7.a, also 7.b., 7.c.; This chapter, n.1, above; also Umut Özkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 25, 56, 71, 191; and D.N. Sprague, "The Cultural Bias of Metis Studies," review of *The New Peoples: On Being and Becoming Métis in North America*, edited by Jennifer Brown and Jacqueline Peterson, *Prairie Fire* 8 (summer 1987): 66–67.

interrupted and ruled out the possibility of direct transmission of binary, or oppositional socio-cultural forms across the Atlantic. Additionally, although the prosecution of trade projects between 1508 and 1920 connected landward nodal points, activity and outcomes were not confined to land. 'Pure' or dichotomized, instances of contact or confrontation between groups of different cultures – Cree and English for instance – if they occurred at all, did not necessarily take place ashore at either end of a voyage.[20] Variety aboard ship meant that nominally 'English' representatives might be culturally French, or of cultures of the Nordic regions, or of any port in the Atlantic world for that matter.[21] In addition, contrary to conventional representations of first contact, along the Northern Seaboard a variety of initial contacts among all manner of culturally informed individuals took place off shore.[22]

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[20] See Robert F. Berkhofer Jr., quoted in Neal Salisbury, "The Indians' Old World: Native Americans and the Coming of Europeans," *William and Mary Quarterly* 3d ser., 53, no. 3 (July 1996): 5, who "demonstrates that the idea of 'Indians' as a single, discrete people was an invention of Columbus and his European contemporaries that has been perpetuated into our own time without foundation in historical, cultural, or ethnographic reality"; and, for example, W.L. Morton, review of *The Diary of the Reverend Henry Budd, 1870–1875*, ed. Katherine Pettipas, *The Beaver* 56, no. 3 (winter 1976): 58, who assumes geographic 'isolation' meant sharply dichotomised contact between cultures took place in HBC territories for a prolonged period of time.

[21] See, Ida Altman, and Reginald D. Butler, "The Contact of Cultures: Perspectives on the Quincentenary," *American Historical Review* 99, no. 2 (April 1994): 480–83, for a discussion of the complexities of the contact process – particularly the presence of Africans in the Atlantic world – about which they note "one cannot make full sense of the process and outcome of contact between cultures without a thorough understanding of all the actors involved." The precise socio-cultural composition of Aboriginal social groups in Western Canada throughout the period examined is unknown. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, 4–5, 7, 11–13; Norma Jean Hall, "A Perfect Freedom: Red River as a Settler Society, 1810–1870," M.A. thesis (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 2003), 54–55; and Margaret L. Clarke, "Reconstituting the Fur Trade Community of the Assiniboine Basin, 1793–1812," M.A. thesis (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1997), 6, supply arguments that suggest movement and mixing of peoples was a constant, and heterogeneity was as common to groups in North America as it was in Europe.

[22] See, for example, Peter C. Mancall, and James H. Merrell, eds., *American Encounters: Natives and Newcomers from European Contact to Indian Removal* (New York: Routledge, 2000), and note that while the process of contact is a theme, first contact is an assumed event. See, for example, Salisbury, "The Indians' Old World," 436, who describes first contact as "a single moment in a long history utterly

Some of these seaborne encounters were foundational to the HBC institutional trade project. For example, ships' logs and journal entries record exchanges on the water in Hudson Strait between Inuit people of Baffin Island and seafarers out from England. These confirm meetings between 'Old' and 'New' worlds well before HBC ships made land Bayside – both during the period studied and on individual transatlantic voyages.[23] Further, the journal entries affirm these offshore meetings took place between individuals who had varying degrees of prior experience encountering people from outside of their 'home' worlds. There are also records that attest to a wide variety of meetings and exchanges – including boardings – taking place virtually mid-ocean between vessels from a range of North American and European ports. While some encounters were friendly,

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detached from Europe" but leaves the event largely unexamined; also James H. Merrell, "The Indians' New World: The Catawba Experience," *William and Mary Quarterly* 3d ser., 41, no. 4 (October 1984): 538, on the importance of recognizing contact as a "subtle cultural processes" rather than abrupt events that owed occurrence to "mere physical displacements." See Arthur Barlowe, quoted in Giles Milton, *Big Chief Elizabeth: How England's Adventurers Gambled and Won the New World* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 2000), 61, who describes his shipboard encounters off what is now Cape Hatteras, North Carolina, in 1584. See, for example of depictions of contact, Charles William Jeffrey O.S.A., R.C.A., C.S.P.W.C., illustration, in H.B. Hawthorne, "Among the Indians of Canada," *The Beaver* 34, no. 1 (summer, 1954): 3, an event on land – in this instance between Cartier and the 'Huron-Iroquois.' Also LAC, Charles William Jefferys fonds <www.collectionscanada.gc.ca> , <http://mikan3.archives.ca/pam/public_mikan/index.php?fuseaction=genitem.displayItem&lang=eng&rec_nbr=104460&rec_nbr_list=104460,16578,16538,2899309,2834857,2900116,2835708,2897200,2835229, 201258> (accessed 19 October 2008), on Jeffreys' career as an artist interested in presenting historical subjects for a distinctly national historiography. CINE Focus Canada, "C.W. Jefferys: Picturing Canada," promotion piece <http://cinefocus.starprocessing.com/store.php?crn=205&rn=377&action=show_detail> (accessed 19 October 2008), describes Jefferys as "the first artist to make Canadian history leap off the page and come to life." See also William Gilbert, "Guy not Gosnold: a correction," *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 41, no. 2 (2007): 264–69, on interpreting graphic depictions of contact.

[23] See A.B. Becher, "The Voyages of Martin Frobisher," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 12 (1842): 7, 16; Milton, *Big Chief Elizabeth*, 8, on the encounter between the *Trinity* and 'a boat with savages' off Labrador in 1536; and William Barr, "The Eighteenth Century Trade between the Ships of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Hudson Strait Inuit," *Arctic* 47, no. 3 (September 1994): 236–37; Chapter Seven, this thesis, 157–58 n.48; and Thomas E. Lee, "On the Trail of the Northmen," *The Beaver* 63, no. 3 (winter 1983): 31–38. See also LAC, acc. no. 1970-188-1271, W.H. Coverdale Collection of Canadiana "The Hudson's Bay Company Ships *Prince of Wales* and *Eddystone* Bartering with the Eskimos off the Upper Savage Islands, Hudson Strait," Robert Hood, watercolour, 1819 <http://mikan3.archives.ca/pam/public_mikan/index.php?fuseaction=genitem.displayItem&lang=eng&rec_nbr=2836426&rec_nbr_list=2897331,2836426 > (accessed 9 March 2009).

some were hostile.[24] The existence of variety along the ocean arc, over time and at any given time, meant that past people negotiated a spate of differences along its course on an ongoing basis. The breadth of the ocean arc meant that some negotiations took place aboard ship well away from shore, while yet the mobility of seafarers meant that some of their negotiations took place on a shore, and sometimes many miles inland from any shore.

The fact that the North American, European, and elsewhere-born could and did meet on water establishes a point they held in common: historically, people took to the sea, they taught their children how to do so and passed on information about what to expect. From 1670 to 1920, sailors did not spring into being upon joining the HBC workforce. Individual HBC sailors – European and North American alike – each had a past path, complete with political-economic and socio-cultural contexts that occasioned their engagement. Historians have generally reduced the reasons that a person might opt to become a sailor to a combination of opportunity born of constraint and personal 'natural inclination.' In other words, no other readily available way of life provided as promising an opportunity for securing livelihood over the long-term, and, some seafarers simply liked sailing. Perhaps they enjoyed the challenge, perhaps the company: in some communities, going to sea did not sever emotional bonds with family and friends so much as reinforce them. In places where seafaring was a common occupation, sailors were able to serve with

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[24] See, for example, "Marine Disaster: A Whaling Brig Crushed by Ice," *New York Times*, dateline Boston (6 November 1863), 1, which reported that "Mr Hoxie, Second Mate, and 6 seamen, part of the crew of the whaling brig *Pavilion*, of Fair Haven," after travelling in a ship's boat from the 4 August to 25 September after abandoning their sinking ship in Hudson Strait off Resolution Island, "fell in with the British bark *Ocean Nymph*, from London for Hudson's Bay, which took them on board. On Oct. 2, the *Ocean Nymph* also fell in with the Captain's boat, and landed both boat's crews at St. John's N.F., Oct. 27." The "Third Mate's boat, with six seamen" was lost and "supposed to have foundered."

friends and relatives and follow the orders of "men they knew or knew about."[25] Spouses who went to sea avoided separation from partners. Thus, at the individual and community level, seafaring was a means of maintaining communication.[26] Arriving at a full understanding of the past contexts and reasons for the life paths of HBC sailors is difficult. Sailors, as relatively anonymous, mobile, and shifting in affiliation, resist determination as historical subjects. Their proclivities are difficult to posit because Company employment records do not afford a reliable means of classifying sailors in and of Hudson Bay according to racialized, cultural, or locational criteria that might help define basic patterns of difference and similarity – to distinguish, for example, 'Europeans' from 'North Americans.'[27] Such categorization requires relying on sources that supply information on familial origins and these too present problems – not the least of which are incompleteness

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[25] Vickers and Walsh, "Young Men and the Sea," 19. Juan Escalante de Mendoza, cited in Herman, *To Rule the Waves*, 24. See also, Rediker, "Liberty beneath the Jolly Roger," 11–15, Dugaw, "Female Sailors bold," 45–46, Haskell Springer, "The Captain's Wife at Sea," 108, 110, 112, 116–17, and Bolster, "Every Inch a Man," in *Iron Men, Wooden Women,* 139–40. Herman, *To Rule the Waves*, 24–25; David Learmonth, "To Labrador by Sail," *The Beaver* 78, no. 92 (April/May 1998): 36; Joan Druett, *Hen Frigates: Passion and Peril, Nineteenth-Century Women at Sea* (New York: Touchstone, 1998), 25. HBCA, "Barnes, George (b. ca. 1866) (fl. 1883–1885) ," Biographical Sheet, demonstrates that evaluating 'constraint' versus 'opportunity' was individualistic, noting "G. Barne's family lived at the Pewterers Hall in Lime Street where they held a stewardship, a position that was handed down from father to son. Rather than accept the position, to which he was entitled, Barnes ran away to sea."

[26] Druett, *Hen Frigates*, 23–24, 31–33; Sager, *Seafaring Labour*, 44, 47, 50–52; and Peter E. Pope, *Fish Into Wine: The Newfoundland Plantation in the Sevententh Century* (Chapel Hill : Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, by the University of North Carolina Press, 2004),79, who notes that shipping on the North Atlantic meant that "Seventeenth-century North Americans were dispersed but not disconnected, either from one another or from kin and creditors in the Old World."

[27] Allan Pred, "Place as Historically Contingent Process: Structuration and the Time-Geography of Becoming Places," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 74, no. 2 (June 1984): 280, points out that "people who participate in [historical] process … the participating individuals, without whom there is no such thing as process, are not … thingified, fragmented, and atomized [in the] manner characteristic of conventional human geography and social science. They are not … in one instance solely … producers, in another … residents, in another … consumers, in yet another … perceivers of the environment, and so on. Instead, process participants are integrated human beings. They are people whose thoughts, actions,

and ambiguity.

Such ambiguity infuses the story of Charles, "the slave," who may have been among the first individuals native to the shores of Hudson Bay to train as a sailor aboard a transatlantic HBC ship – initially, in his case, to mediate as shipboard interpreter.[28] In 1738, Richard Staunton, in charge of Moose Fort, informed the London Committee that "Upon the request of Captain Middleton I have sent your slave home, the Escomay boy, he [Middleton] saying how serviceable he will be in informing them relating to the trade in the Straits relating to the whalebone."[29] Staunton's reference may be to "a Young Eskemoe Boy" recorded as purchased at Albany Fort two years earlier at the cost of "1 lb. Brazil tobacco, 1 gallon brandy, and 1½ yards of blue broadcloth," from a group of "Albany and Moose River Indians." As reported by the Albany post journal, the child's slave status originated when a party of fifty "Indians" captured fifteen children in a raid on Inuit "of the East Main" during which five men and fifteen women were killed.[30]

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experiences, and ascription of meaning are constantly becoming through their involvement in the workings of society and its structural properties."

[28] See, Kenn Harper, "Oct. 21, 1741 – Almost Anonymous: The Death of Inuk Charles," 21 October 2005, Taissumani: A Day in Arctic History <http://www.nunatsiaq.com/archives/51028/opinionEditorial/columns.html> (accessed 18 May 2006).

[29] Richard Staunton and George Henry, letter, Moose Fort, Aug. 1738, in *Letters from Hudson Bay, 1703–40*, ed. K.G. Davies with A.M. Johnson (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1965), 270; see also *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 23 n.1, 32, 64 n.1, 83; and E.E. Rich, "Staunton, Richard," DCB. Stauton began his HBC service as cooper at York in 1694. French forces captured and transported him across the Atlantic twice, but he returned to serve at Albany to 1707 when he again crossed to England. He reengaged in 1708 as cooper and steward of the *Hudson's Bay* [II], then served landward to 1716, returning to England aboard the *Port Nelson.* The next year he returned to the Bay as James Knight's deputy, becoming Chief at Churchill by 1719. His letter of 7 September 1718 to the London Committee "is the earliest surviving letter from Churchill River." He appears to have served as chief at Churchill to 1722, then transferred to Albany. His whereabouts from 1726–1737 are not clear. In 1737 he was chief at Moose, retiring to England in 1741.

[30] Davies and Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay,* 270 n.1; HBCA, B.3/a/24, Albany Post Journal,

While according to its commercial records the Company did not officially engage directly in slave trading, comments in journals refer to other Aboriginal individuals 'entertained' in that capacity from as early as 1712.[31] Company records designate the slave boy at Moose 'Charles.' His original name is unknown. Whether he was identical to the child bought at Albany or not is also unknown. Charles apparently spent the years 1738 to 1740 voyaging to and from Hudson Bay aboard the *Hudson Bay* [V] as a *de facto* apprentice of Middleton – an educated master, having been elected fellow of the Royal Society for "contributions to the theory and practice of navigation" in 1737.[32] In 1741, Charles transferred to the *Seahorse* [I] to serve as ship's boy under Captain George Spurrell. The posting suggests Charles was advancing. Spurrell was a senior ships' master among HBC mariners. By that year he had nineteen years experience in commanding voyages to the Bay, and apparently was possessed of considerable influence and money – on retirement from the sea in 1756 he became a member of the London

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1735–1736.

[31] See Anthony Beale, letter, Albany Fort, 10 Sept 1712, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 25, who refers to "the slave" named Poet, in conjunction with London Committee "orders for to entertain two young Indians," about which he responded, "I shall be sure for to keep two [sic]"; and Anthony Beale, letter, Albany Fort, 2 Aug. 1714, for additional comments on the same; also Alice M. Johnson, "Ambassadress of Peace," *The Beaver* 32, no. 3 (December 1952): 42–45; Sylvia Van Kirk, "Thanadalthur," *The Beaver* 53, no. 4 (spring 1974): 40–45; Sylvia Van Kirk, *"Many Tender Ties": Women in Fur-Trade Society in Western Canada, 1670–1870* (Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer Publishing, 1980), 66–71, 77. Rich, *History*, vol. I, 475, 479, 484, 485, 677; Morton, *History of the Canadian West*, 43, 208; see also Pentland, *Labour and Capital*, vi, 1–3, on slavery in Canada; and K.G. Davies, *The Emergence of International Business, 1200–1800*, vol. 5, *The Royal African Company* (Taylor & Francis, 1999); HBCA, "Lake, Bibye (Sir) (d. ca. 1744) (fl. 1712–1743)," Biographical Sheet. Although Davies does not link the HBC to the RAC, Sir Bibye Lake, first Baronet, governor of the Hudson's Bay Company from 1713 to his death in 1743, was also deputy-governor of the RAC, in the slave trade from 1660–1667, and 1672–1752.

[32] Glyndwr Williams, "Middleton, Christopher," DCB.

Committee.[33] Charles' career came to an abrupt end, however. At some point, during or after the homeward crossing of his first engagement under Spurrell, he apparently died – virtually innominate, details of his death, like those of his origin, service at sea, and status as an HBC employee, left to historiographical inference.[34]

Stories about the career of one of Charles' contemporaries, Moses Norton, illustrate more concretely the problems that attempting to ascribe a fixed 'identity' may present in historiography about HBC sailors.[35] References in the historical record to Moses Norton's HBC career imply that he, along with Charles, was among the first native-born of Hudson Bay to train as HBC sailors. According to Samuel Hearne's "real" testimony regarding the "character" of his commanding officer at Churchill from 1771 to 1773, Moses Norton was an "Indian," the son of Chief Factor Richard Norton, and "born at Prince of Wales's Fort."[36] In 1744, Moses Norton apprenticed, for a term of seven years, to Spurrell, then in command of the *Prince Rupert* [II]. Judging by patterns of past

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[33] Glyndwr Williams, "Spurrell, George," DCB.

[34] Harper, "Almost Anonymous"; Davies and Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 270 n.1.

[35] The term 'identity is problematic, here I mean affiliations and affinities that might serve in ascribing a character type to a specific historical personage. See Norma J. Hall, "Contesting Identity: A Confrontation with Semantic Paradox in Historiography," paper presented to *Writing New Histories of Indigeneity and Imperialism: A Workshop* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 21 May 2008), 13, which argues that it is important to recognize conceptual differences between the past and present, noting 'identity' is a relatively new term and that "the ambiguity of identity, as word and concept, renders its explanatory value suspect." Ascribing an 'identity' to classify groups for the sake of clarity of description is an act of historiographical construction. See also James D. Fearon, "What is Identity (As We Now Use the Word)?" unpublished paper, (3 November 1999) <www.wcfia.harvard.edu/misc/initiative/identity/activities/confpapers/fearon2.pdf> (accessed 20 January 2005), 10, who notes, "Identity is a new concept and not something that people have eternally needed or sought as such. If they were trying to establish, defend, or protect their identities, they thought about what they were doing in different terms." Thus, the 'identity' of historical subjects is not 'found.' Rather, historians imagine them in ways that may have little, if anything in common with how past people perceived relations or defined associations.

[36] Samuel Hearne, *A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort, in Hudson's Bay To The Northern Ocean 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772* (1795; reprint, ed. Richard Glover, Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1972), 39 n.1.

seafaring practice in England, Moses was about eleven to fourteen years old at the time. The Company, however, did not preserve a record of his age. By way of conjecture, various historians have estimated that he was born as early as the 1720s and as late as 1735. There is not a HBC record of his parentage or place of birth – a circumstance that has led to irresolvable debate. Historians such as E.E. Rich and Richard Glover accept Hearne's testimony and assume that Moses was Richard Norton's biological son by a woman native to the area serviced by Fort Prince of Wales. Sylvia Van Kirk judges that he was not born of an Aboriginal woman. Either way, what Moses Norton's record does establish is that he was a sailor 'of' Hudson Bay. To begin with, if Richard Norton was his father – biological or adoptive – as otherwise dissenting historians agree was the case, then Moses belonged to a seafaring family.[37]

The father, Richard Norton, had also begun his HBC career through an

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[37] Sylvia Van Kirk, "Norton, Moses," DCB, lists documents pertinent to his career. There are no surviving ships' logs from before 1751. HBCA, C.1/869, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert*, 1751, Captain Spurrell's log, does not include a crew list, or refer to Norton by name. Glover. "Introduction," *Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort*, vii–viii; also Brown, *Strangers in Blood*, 25; Sylvia Van Kirk, *"Many Tender Ties,"* 10–11, explain it was common practice for HBC to engage fourteen year old boys, "and younger still," from the ranks of England's poor, for seven year terms. See also, for examples, Davies and Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 3 n.1, 33, 63, 76 n.1 The question of Moses's parentage is open to endless conjecture – see Hearne, *Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort*, ed. Glover, 39, and "Introduction," xi; Richard Glover, "Moses Norton (ca. late 1720s–1773)" *Arctic* 35, no. 3 (September 1982): 440, who asserts that Moses' mother was "a Cree woman". Van Kirk, "Norton, Moses," DCB, avers "He was definitely not an Indian"; Van Kirk, *"Many Tender Ties,"* 99, 107; Davies and Johnson, *Letters from Hudson's Bay,* 292 n; Alice M. Johnson, "Norton, Richard," DCB; Nan Shipley, *Churchill: Canada's Northern Gateway* (Toronto: Burns and MacEachern, 1974),15. Brown, *Strangers in Blood*, 17, 54, 57, 70, 155, notes that, because prior to 1770 the Company "entertained hopes of suppressing or at least discouraging" country marriages and sexual alliances, these were "unlikely to be reported." Note: There is no hard evidence that Moses was Richard's biological son – he is not mentioned in Richard's will, and nothing definitive is known of the Norton family network. There were other Norton men in the Company's service who apparently were close relatives, including James Norton at Moose; Captain William Norton who sailed HBC ships *Hudson Bay* and *Seahorse* beginning 1752 and ending 1763; and Richard Norton, letter, Churchill River, 17 Aug., 1738, *Letters from Hudson's Bay*, 249 n.1, refers to Vincent Norton, an apprentice whose "time of apprenticeship had expired," but about whom Richard observed, "having executed that office ever since he has been here and if your honours shall think proper to continue him at that wages he is willing to serve you for two years longer if not he is desirous to return home next year."

apprenticeship, at age thirteen. He had sailed to Hudson Bay aboard the *Union* frigate in 1714, experiencing the "tedious passage" described by James Knight.[38] Although subsequently his was principally a landward apprenticeship, Richard Norton's duties also took him to sea. In 1721, he sailed north, as "Lingister" [sic: interpreter] with Henry Kelsey in the *Prosperous* hoy.[39] On their return, they reported sighting bits of wreckage, possibly from the *Albany* and the *Discovery* – two vessels under Knight's command that had vanished two years earlier. In 1722, Richard Norton, accompanying John Scroggs in the *Whalebone*, again reported wreckage assumed to be from the *Albany*. By 1730, Richard Norton had served under mariner and chief factor, Thomas McCliesh at York Fort. If Norton had not already made the acquaintance of Captain William Coats, he did so that year. On 16 August, McCliesh reported to the London Committee that

> We have according to orders discharged the underwritten who are now on board the *Hannah* frigate, Captain Coats commander, ready to sail the first opportunity, vizt. Mr Richard Norton, who has behaved himself with honesty and fidelity to the best of my knowledge since he has been here.[40]

In England Richard Norton married Elizabeth, McCliesh's daughter, thus

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[38] See Johnson, "Norton, Richard," DCB; Brown, *Strangers in Blood*, 25, 33; Van Kirk, *"Many Tender Ties,"* 10–11, Richard arrived at Fort Bourbon in Sep. 1714 in time to witness its restoration to the HBC under James Knight, and its renaming as York Fort; see James Knight, letter, York Fort, 19 September 1714, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 34–35; and Chapter Eight, this thesis, 173.

[39] Glover, "Introduction," *Letters from Hudson Bay,* lvi; Henry Kelsey, *The Kelsey Papers*, ed. John Warkentin (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1994), 116; Rich, *History*, vol. I, 448, 450. Despite Committee misgivings over Knight's disappearance, Kelsey took the *Prosperous* from York to Churchill, arriving in early July, taking Norton and an unnamed 'Northern Indian' aboard. They returned 16 August.

[40] Thomas MacCliesh, letter, York Fort, 16 Aug. 1730, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 150. See Glyndwr Williams, "Scroggs, John," DCB; R.H.G. Leveson Gower, "Voyages for Discovery of the Northwest Passage," *The Beaver* 15, no. 1 (June 1936): 48, who notes Churchill was the base for Captain Scroggs who "set out for a rather fruitless voyage of exploration"; Glover, "Introduction," *Letters from Hudson Bay,* xxxviii; Rich, *History*, vol. I, 447.

becoming son-in-law to one mariner and brother-in-law to another – Captain Coats.[41] Richard returned to an appointment as chief factor at Churchill in 1731. Indications are that Elizabeth did not leave England to accompany him aboard the *Hannah,* which was commanded by their brother-law. However, another family member may have: a sailor, also named William Coats and possibly the captain's son, was aboard to work passage. Considering that Richard Norton hired on the sailor William Coats to serve at Churchill, Norton probably spent as much time with seafaring McCliesh and Coats relatives after marrying as he did with his formal spouse.

Richard sailed to England in 1735 and made the return voyage in 1736 – again apparently without his wife. He sailed back in 1741 – by some accounts, he took his son Moses to England for an education that year. Richard Norton died shortly after arrival in London in 1741. With or without his knowledge, arrangements were made for Moses Norton's apprenticeship to Spurrell – possibly to serve in the boy Charles' stead, he having died about the same time. The Nortons and Spurrells were not strangers. In 1731, Spurrel had captained the *Mary* [III] to Churchill in company with the two William Coatses and Richard Norton on the *Hannah*. Both Captain Coats and Captain Spurrell routinely sailed to Churchill, and it was Spurrell, apparently with Charles in company, who transported Richard Norton and possibly Moses, to England in 1741.[42] Beyond these

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[41] See Chapter Six, this thesis, 123.

[42] A.M. Johnson, "McCliesh, Thomas," DCB; Davies and Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 160–63, 169, letters refer to "William Coats, sailor, entertained in the room of John Maslin, sailor … for 2 years," who was sent for home by his friends." It is possible that Coats the sailor was aboard the *Mary*, under Captain Spurrell; see also, Glover, "Moses Norton," 440; Shipley, *Churchill*, 15; Van Kirk, "Norton, Moses," DCB. Davies and Johnson, Appendix B, "Ships Sailing Between England and Hudson Bay, 1670–1740," *Letters from Hudson Bay 1703–40,* 190 n.1, 191, 220, 308, 340–41, indicates that in 1732 Captain

connections, the Company seems to have suspected that more than familial closeness tied together the McClieshes, Nortons, Coatses and Spurrells. Amid general accusations "relating to spiritous liquors being brought privately out" on HBC ships, McCliesh, Richard Norton, Spurrell, and Captain Coats were, at various times, all compelled to deny knowledge of smuggling or any other "indecencies" prohibited in their contracts and those of the servants under their management.[43]

Any suspicion with respect to Richard Norton's service did not preclude Moses' integration into the Company's workforce. From existing records, it is evident that after serving aboard the *Prince Rupert* [II] to and from Hudson Bay from 1744 to

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Coats was at Churchill; in 1733 both Coats and Captain Spurrell were at Churchill; in 1734 both Coats and Spurrell were at Churchill and Spurrell went to York where he was "ordered to accommodate McCliesh 'in the best manner possible' … during the homeward voyage"; in 1735 Spurrell was at Churchill; in 1736 Spurrell was at Churchill with Coats and crew, who had lost their vessel in Hudson Strait; in 1737 Coats was at Churchill; in 1738 both Coats and Spurrell were at Churchill; in 1739, 1740 and 1741, Spurrell was at Churchill.

[43] Thomas McCliesh, letter, York Fort, 17 August 1732, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 170, 221, 224, 243, in 1732 McCliesh and others began to have to explain themselves to, and defend others from, London Committee allegations of 'illegal' communication. McCliesh wrote: "As for the carrying on a correspondence from your factories with persons in London or elsewhere, besides to the Right Honourable Governor, Deputy and the gentlemen of the Committee, is unknown to me, for I protest sincerely it is what I never was guilty of, and have strictly charged all your servants at York Fort not to be guilty for the future of the said crime, likewise caused to be read publicly in our yeard that paragraph in your general letter [sic]." In 1738, Coats and Spurrell wrote from Churchill: "we are apt to think your honours have been abused in being informed that our people have been guilty of drunkenness. it may be asserted for an undoubted truth that our people have behaved in a very sober and orderly manner, there being a particular regard to suppress all indecencies [sic]." Glyndwr Williams, "Spurrell, George," DCB, indicates that Spurrell suffered no damage to his personal reputation. Glyndwr Williams, "Coats, William," DCB, notes that in November 1751 "the London committee was informed that Coats had regularly engaged in illicit trade while in Hudson Bay, and after pleading guilty to this charge, he was dismissed. He had been treated generously by the company, with gratuities amounting to £180 over and above his normal salary in the previous two years, but … Within a few weeks Coats was dead. … Coats was a family man of some substance. He had six children, a wife whose father had been an important HBC officer in the 1720s, and three houses – two in East London and one in Durham. His … family home was on Teeside, a nursery of sailors from which three of his fellow captains came." Davies and Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 209 n.1, 210, 340, adds that "James Norton, presumably a brother of Richard Norton, had gone to Moose Fort in 1734," aboard the *Sea Horse* [I] with Captain Christopher Middleton. Apparently he was not easy to handle – "Bevan remarked in his journal on 10 March that he would 'whip and pickle him if it was not on his brothers & Govr. Macklishes Families Acct.'" He was sent back to England in 1735.

approximately 1751, Moses Norton was mate of the Churchill sloop on coastal voyages, for three years, from 1753. During this time, he served under chief factor and former HBC transoceanic and coastal mariner Joseph Isbister. Like his father, Moses then served officially in landward stations, though he continued sea voyaging. In 1760 and 1761, he sailed to and from England, and from 1761 to 1764, he captained sloops sent out from Churchill to expand trade and search for the Northwest Passage – in 1762 "discovering Baker Lake and sailing around it in a cutter."[44] In 1768, he again sailed for England. After his return in 1769, Moses instituted a black whale fishery out of Churchill, at "much effort and expense," although the Company abandoned the project in 1772, the reasons given being "the lack of skilled men, inadequate boats, and the short season."[45]

Like his father, and like his superior, Isbister, who had married Captain Middleton's daughter, Moses had a formally sanctioned wife – Sarah – who apparently lived in England. Moses was also reputed, by Samuel Hearne, to simultaneously have at least one country wife at Churchill. A woman known as Meo,See,tak,ka,pow, may have been the adoptive or biological mother of Moses' daughter, Mary 'Polly' Norton. Hearne eulogized Mary at length in his reminiscence. His portrayal of her as a woman who "would have shone with superior lustre in any other country," and the word 'wife' in the "epitaph" he wrote for her, has led to the conjecture that if she was not already Hearne's

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[44] Glover, "Introduction," *Journey to the Northern Ocean*, xii; Van Kirk, "Norton, Moses," DCB; Glover, "Moses Norton," 440–41. HBCA, "Isbister Joesph (ca. 1710–1771) (fl. 1726–1756)," Biographical Sheet; and Sylvia Van Kirk, "Ishister, Joseph," DCB.

[45] Van Kirk, "Norton, Moses," DCB.

country wife before she died, then he had intended to marry her.[46] If so, he would have perpetuated a paternalistic custom of longstanding within seafaring circles, the marrying of a superior's daughter.[47] It would also indicate that like his father's and his chief factor's personal networks, Mose Nortons' social network preserved ties with the seafaring world – in his case, notable ones. His subordinate/son-in-law Hearne was after all a sailor, having served a naval apprenticeship from age eleven or twelve, 1757–1763, during the Seven Years War, and having engaged with the HBC as a seaman. Hearne's inland mapping – "regarded as a very important contribution to geography," that "remained the only source of knowledge of much of Canada's Northland" for one hundred and thirty-nine years – was the accomplishment of a naval veteran possessing

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[46] Hearne, *Journey to the Northern Ocean*, 81–82. See Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties*, 107, 297; Brown, *Strangers in Blood*, 71. The smallpox epidemic of 1782, in compounding displacement occasioned by La Pérouse sacking both Fort Prince of Wales and York Factory, may have led to her death.

[47] Grace Lee Nute, "Radisson, Pierre-Esprit," DCB, notes that "probably 1672" seafarer Radisson also married a 'Captain's' daughter. His father-in-law was Sir John Kirke of the HBC, who had "inherited from his father, Gervase Kirke, claim to a considerable part of the north-eastern region of North America." Morton, *History of Western Canada*, 57, 65, 72–73, 77, notes John Kirke of Boston, as investor in the Company, signed the Royal Charter. Peter Pope, "Kirke, Sir David," *Oxford Companion to Canadian History* Online ORO <http://www.oxfordreference.com.qe2a-proxy.mun.ca/views/ENTRY.html?entry=t148. e846&srn=1&ssid=922829219#FIRSTHIT> (accessed 7 September 2008), notes a John Kirke was a brother of David Kirke. Great Britain, Public Record Office, William Noel Sainsbury, John William Fortescue, Cecil Headlam, Arthur Percival Newton, Kenneth Gordon Davies, *Calendar of State Papers: Colonial Series*, vol. 12, *America and the West Indies, 1685–1688* (London: H.M.S.O., 1860– [1994]), 643, item 2076, lists the petition of "Sir John Kirke, Knight to the King," in which Kirke asserts "In 1628 I and my brother captured Quebec." On the practice of marrying a superior's daughter as the subject of song, see broadsheet ballad, "The Golden Vanity, or The low lands low" (London, between 1849 and 1862), Bodleian Library *allegro* Catalogue of Ballads <http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/ballads/ballads.htm> (accessed 7 September 2008); William S. Gilbert, and Arthur Sullivan, "Never Mind The Why And Wherefore," *H.M.S. Pinafore, or The Lass that Loved a Sailor* (1878). Note: various sea shanties also refer to the captain's daughter – if her name was Charlotte, usually as a harlot, though in 'Golden Vanity' she is represented as an award or prize for service. The phrase 'captain's daughter' is also a euphemism for the cat o' nine tails, implying that the ties that bind also serve to control. Bob Thomson, "The Frightful Foggy Dew," *Folk Music Journal* 4, no. 1 (1980): 35–61, notes a similar theme in a context on land – an apprentice seduces his master's daughter.

skills learned at sea for fixing latitude and longitude.[48] Hearne also maintained friendships with seafarers such as William Wales, whom he met at Churchill. Wales, "one of the most eminent mathematicians, astronomers and navigators of the day," accompanied Captain James Cook on his second voyage around the world, 1772–1775, after having observed the transit of Venus, 1768–1769, at Prince of Wales' Fort, while it was under Moses Norton's command.[49]

Having lived bayside and having held bayside family ties for some four decades, Moses died at Churchill in 1773. His will granted, in mariner fashion, "ten Gallons of English Brandy to be equally divided amongst all hands."[50] Outwardly, on the basis of Hearne's decidedly unsympathetic portrait, Moses Norton's depiction in historiography is less than flattering. Dubbed a "notorious smuggler" by Hearne, historians likewise have impugned Norton's integrity – though engaging in private trade sets Norton with, rather than apart from, contemporary HBC mariners who cooperated with each other to avoid detection by the London Committee.[51] While Rich's history of the HBC praised Moses for "uncommon energy and perception," later historians either do not acknowledge Norton's accomplishments, decry him for failures that might well be attributed to others, or accord credit for his actions elsewhere. Yet, his exploration of the Hudson Bay coast is as noteworthy as any pursued by his contemporaries. He was not responsible for hiring whaling masters or crews that on arrival in the Bay proved inept – they were contracted

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[48] Glover, "Introduction," *Journey from Princes of Wales's Fort*, xxii, xxiii.

[49] Ibid., xlii–xliii.

[50] Hearne, *Journey from Princes of Wales's Fort*, xi n.20, 40; Van Kirk, "Norton, Moses," DCB.

[51] See Pannekoek, "'Corruption' at Moose," 5–11.

an ocean away.[52] The authority of his 'skin map' – "probably the oldest extant skin map from the Subarctic" – is as firmly established by its inscription that it was "laid down" by Moses Norton and "bro' Home by him anno 1760 [sic]" as any endorsement that attributes maps to his contemporaries.[53] He deserves some credit for having conceived, argued for, and overseen Hearne's famous journey that presaged a momentous shift in the

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[52] Van Kirk, "Norton, Moses," DCB. See also W. Gillies Ross, "Whaling in Hudson Bay, Part I. 1765 to 1772, The Marble Island whale fishery," *The Beaver* 52, no. 4 (spring 1973): 4–11; W. Gillies Ross, "Whaling in Hudson Bay, Part II, 1866–7, Whaling voyage of the Ocean Nymph," *The Beaver* 53, no.1 (summer 1973): 40–47; W. Gillies Ross, "Whaling in Hudson Bay, Part III, 1892–97, The voyages of the Perseverance, "*The Beaver* 53, no. 2 (autumn 1973): 52–59. Glover, "Moses Norton," 140, supplies a hostile portrait, Van Kirk, attributes this to the "damning character sketch of Norton written by Samuel Hearne." Bruce Sealy, ed., with Tom Chartrand, Juliette Sabot, Darlene Kemach, George Shingoose, Mark Lussier, and Sheryl Theobald, "The Sinclairs," in *Stories of the Metis* (Winnipeg: Manitoba Metis Federation Press, 1973), 19, count Norton as a success; see also Brown, *Strangers in Blood*, 71; and Edith Paterson, interview, "Canadian History is Exciting Says New Park Superintendent," *Winnipeg Free Press* ca. 1 Jul. 1961, Barbara Johnstone, a descendant of Isaac Cowie, credits Norton with fathering Nahoway, mother of Captain Colin Sinclair, although the timeline would indicate the link is impossible, and the story is at odds with the family tradition recorded in W.J. Healy, *Women of Red River, Being a Book Written from the Recollections of Women Surviving from the Red River Era* (Winnipeg: Women's Canadian Club, 1923), 160, which suggests her father was more likely a Haldane, at least one of whom served as an officer of the NWC.

[53] HBCA, G.2/8, Moses Norton, "Draught of the Northern Parts of Hudson's Bay laid Down on Indn Informn & Brot Home by Him, Anno 1760." Richard Ruggles, "Exploration From Hudson Bay," in *Concise historical atlas of Canada*, ed. William G. Dean, Conrad E. Heidenreich, Thomas F. McIlwraith, and John Warkentin, cart. Geoffrey J. Matthews, and Byron Moldofsky, *Concise Historical Atlas of Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 6, attribute the drafting of the map to Moses Norton, and describes it as "remarkably comprehensive." Richard Glover, "Moses Norton," 440, attributes the work to Idotliazee and Matonabbee, and adds, disparagingly, it "has not the slightest resemblance to the real northern Canada, but nobody then knew any better, so at least it looked impressive." Barbara Belyea, "Amerindian maps: the explorer as translator," *Journal of Historical Geography* 18, no. 3 (1992): 267–77, refutes such Eurocentric assessments; see Chapter Fifteen, this thesis, 382. David Woodward, John Brian Harley, and G. Malcolm Lewis, *The History of Cartography: Cartography in the Traditional African, American, Arctic, Australian, and Pacific Societies* (Totawa NJ: Humana Press, 1998), 137, 141, accord the map importance, and note "There is no doubt that the skin is genuine," but imply the inscription that credits its manufacture to Norton is suspect, in that the drawing might have been done by the "Chipewyans" Norton interviewed about distant inland geography – without, however, noting that Norton is also the source for the claim that an interview took place. Barbara Belyea, "Inland journeys, native maps," *Cartographica* 33, no. 2 (summer 1996): 1 <http://proquest.umi.com.qe2a-proxy.mun.ca/pqdlink?did=404658731&sid=1&Fmt=3&clientId=65114&RQT=309&VName=PQD> (accessed 30 October 2008), describes Norton as both the author of the map and as "the Metis governor at Churchill." Further she argues that "Appeal to scientific cartography as a standard by which Native map images are to be understood therefore guarantees that they will be misunderstood," and that the maps are "graphic forms representing a world view utterly different from that produced by European scientific cartography."

Company's attention inland, including credit for having pushed a reluctant Hearne to complete it. That Norton sent a gift of live moose to add to King George III's game collection in Richmond Park is a point of interest, not cause for reproach.[54]

Nevertheless, Hearne's disparaging comment that Norton lived "in open defiance of every law, human and divine"; his assertion that Norton purposely sabotaged Hearne's first two forays inland; and his allegation that Norton disciplined refractory members of his household with threats of "poison," have been interpreted by latter day commentators as meaning Norton was prone to "crazy planning," murder, and incest.[55] Past actors, however, lived with a different set of understandings than exist today and the meaning of terminology differed as well. If Norton was ill-tempered, paranoid, and prone to violent outbursts, during a period before his fatal illness might have explained such behaviour, he was not the only eighteenth-century mariner with the rank of officer said to have been so. Van Kirk, for example, notes of Joseph Isbister, that:

> being a powerful, quick-tempered man, he frequently resorted to physical force to punish those who were refractory or careless. On Christmas day, 1743, he chastized a man for 'Caballing' by knocking him down so hard he broke his leg. To another servant, who had neglected his duties while drunk, he applied six lashes with a cat-o'-nine-tails.[56]

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[54] Glover, "Moses Norton," 140. See, Chapter Nine, this thesis, 209, Norton may have been among the first, but was certainly not the last, to send live animals to Britain from Hudson Bay.

[55] Glover, "Moses Norton," 140. Ken McGoogan, "Moses Norton: Esteemed as governor of Prince of Wales Fort, Moses Norton formed an attachment his employee Samuel Hearne couldn't bring himself to name, says author Ken McGoogan," *The Beaver* 82, no. 6 (December/January 2002/2003): 51, who describes himself as "ever eager to rush into territory where professional historians fear to tread," speculates the phrase "in open defiance of every law, human and divine" is a reference to incest.

[56] Van Kirk, "Isbister, Joseph," DCB.

The threat of corporal punishment necessarily existed where prisons did not. As HBC masters and officers, on ship and ashore, like their naval counterparts were outnumbered by those in their charge, ultimately discipline devolved to threats of death. As well, terms such as Hearne applied against Norton's character were commonplace in Company parlance when describing individuals, particularly mariners, who acted according to their own inclination and engaged in private trade, smuggled alcohol, and slept where they pleased with whom they pleased – in tents outside the posts' palisades rather than the men's house inside for example.[57] To assume that rhetoric confirms event is spurious. Only one term applied by Hearne clearly distinguishes Norton from other HBC officers of his time, that of 'Indian.' The term appears to denote a statement of heritage, rather than a xenophobic slight, as Hearne openly praises other individuals so designated.

While surviving records give no indication that the question of 'race' mattered materially to Norton's career advancement, it seems to have mattered to historians. The

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[57] See, for example, HBCA, B.42/a/42, Churchill Post Journal, 1753–1754, Ferdinand Jacobs, "A Journal or Diary of ye most Remarkable Transactions Kept at Prince Wales's Foert Churchill River by Ferdinand Jacobs Chief Factor & Agent at ye Said Fort for ye Honrble. Govr. & Compy. Adeventurers of England Trading into Hudsons Bay [sic]", which reports that on 29 August 1754 "Philip Hewlet Had the Impudence to tell me the Honble Committee was a "Pack of Dam'd Lyers & Rogues. Here came Jno Savory, Rob^{rt} Lowman, Sam^{ll} Skinner & Wll^{m} Arumidgham & complained to me of ill usage they had rec'd at severall times from Mr. Squire by saying he would kick them to Bed & challenge them to go out to fight, & threatening to Make Spread Agles of them &c &c &c. Mr Wills the Surgeon says he will not stay another winter wth him, the Capt^{n}, Mr Squire, Mr Wills, Mr Walker & Mr Bane [McBean] were all present when the above said tradesmen made their complaints. Mr Squire call'd some of the people up in his defence, w^{ch} when called to answer, some of them acknowledged what the above said tradesmen had said to be true, others said they was not at those times at home, & others said they knowed nothing of it"; and B.42/a/44, Churchill River Post Journal, 1754–1755, Ferdinand Jacobs, "CR A Journal of the most remarkable Transactions and Occurrances at Prince of Wales Fort from 7th September 1754 to 13th September 1755 kept by Ferdinand Jacobs Chief Factor," for Jacob's reaction to sloop master John McBean who would not sleep in the fort or keep Jacobs informed as to his whereabouts; also Pannekoek, "'Corruption' at Moose," 5–11; Herman, *To Rule the Waves*, 85; Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company*, 171–181; W.O. Douglas, "The Wreck of the 'Finback'," Chesterfield Inlet, Chester 'Then,' History of Chesterfield Inlet <http://www.chesterfieldinlet.net/ history_comerlong.htm> (accessed 30 April 2007).

historiographical implication that Norton's example showed 'Indians' to be bad business administrators, has been somewhat displaced by a later argument that 'Indians' never were administrators of HBC business.[58] What both arguments miss is that Norton's career figures as one more example of a seafarer rising from a lowly station – including boys of beggarly origin – to become a HBC chief factor.[59] Equally significantly, if Hearne is to be accorded authority at all, then the fact that he designated Moses an 'Indian' strongly indicates that regardless of biological antecedents, by Norton's time, there were HBC sailors who were more Northern North American than not.

Historian Sylvia Van Kirk disputes Moses' North American origins citing 1794 as the date that the Committee officially stated that children born in North America to Company servants could be employed in HBC service.[60] Nevertheless, Middleton's prior recommendation that Charles be trained to serve, along with the Company's funding of Charles while apprenticing for both Middleton and Spurrell, suggests that placing children native to Hudson Bay in maritime service was an accepted practice much earlier. A formal statement of policy may only have come about when the volume of such hirings had reached levels that required the London Committee to clarify its position, or,

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[58] See Glover, "Moses Norton," 140–41; and McGoogan, for criticisms of the 'Indian' Norton. See Van Kirk, "Norton Moses," DCB, for denial of Norton's Aboriginality; also Woodward, Harley and Lewis, *History of Cartography*, 137, 141, who describe Norton only as "a Hudson's Bay Company official," so that the legitimacy of the map as an indigenous artefact hinges on whether "Chipewyans" rather than Norton drew it – his job apparently precluding Aboriginality. See also Jennifer S.H. Brown, "Isham, Charles Thomas (known in youth as Charles Price or Charles Price Isham)," DCB, who notes this son of chief factor James Isham and "an Indian woman" who became an officer of the Company, "was probably the first Hudson Bay native, however, to rise that high (the origins of Moses Norton being uncertain)," and that "his colleagues ranked him as English, without making a racial distinction."

[59] See Rich, *History*, I, 491; Richard I. Ruggles, "Hospital Boys of the Bay," 4–11.

[60] Van Kirk, "Norton, Moses," DCB.

possibly, to encourage that officers stationed ashore apply the maritime practice. An example of responsive rather than pre-emptive ruling on the part of the Committee can be taken from Norton's moose shipping incident of 1762. Moses sent the animals to England on his own initiative. A year passed before the London Committee drafted a directive stipulating posts were to "send no more livestock home."[61]

Van Kirk also points out that Moses' will named Susannah Dupeer as his mother – her name suggesting European origin.[62] As numerous instances in this dissertation attest, however, having a European-derived name does not preclude an individual from being native to North America, whether male or female. As the popular story of Isabel Gunn, also known as John Fubbister, further illustrates, in the past as well as the present, outward appearances might be deceiving. Particularly in records created to "serve the official purposes of other people ... in an institutional context," names as signifiers have the potential to confound as readily as confirm historical hypotheses.[63] For example, as examination of references pertaining to Gunn/Fubbister show, early nineteenth-century HBC lore presented names as imprecise markers of an apparently mutable construct of gender: having a man's name did not necessarily mean a working seafarer was male.

There are many versions of Gunn's story, including one related by Charles Napier Bell in 1889 in his description of the manuscript journal of Alexander Henry, a trader of the NWC, and presumably the author of the original eyewitness account of the 1807

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[61] Glover, "Moses Norton," 140.

[62] Van Kirk, "Norton, Moses," DCB.

[63] Sager, "Employment Contracts," 49. For an example of an ambiguous name see HBCA, C.3/20 Portledge Books, 1875, which lists the mate of the *Walrus* schooner as "Eliz Stephens" – presumably a contraction of Elizear, but conceivably meaning Elizabeth.

exposé of Isabel's 'true identity.' The story holds that Gunn donned the name and clothes of a man to work passage aboard the *Prince of Wales* to York Factory in 1806, and to sail from there to Albany by coastal shallop. Subsequently, as a servant of that post, she reputedly maintained her disguise, until, after having voyaged well inland as crew of a boat brigade, in the throes of childbirth she admitted to the deception. Bell avowed, "She was sent home to the Orkneys, and I am informed became, with her daughter, public characters, and were known as vagrants, under the name of the 'Norwesters'."[64]

One problem the various stories present is that although the general theme is consistent – a woman in men's garb proves a competent worker, but her supposed gender is invalidated, with unhappy consequences – significant details are not. Accounts penned after Bell, for example, describe the child as a son, named James Scarth.[65] A second problem is the story's resemblance to the various versions of contemporary and enduringly popular songs, plays, and novels about 'a brisk young sailor' who turned out

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[64] Charles N. Bell, "Henry's Journal," *MHS Transactions* no. 37, 1st ser. (read 9 May 1889), <http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/transactions/1/henrysjournal3.shtml> (accessed 15 April 2006). Barry M Gough, "Henry, Alexander," DCB, notes that journal held by the Public Archives of Canada, identified as MG 19, A13, is actually a transcript of Henry's original journal – whereabouts unknown – made by George Coventry about 1824. He notes as well that the sections of the journal published as Alexander Henry (the Younger), *New Light on the Early History of the Northwest: The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry*," ed. Elliot Coues (1897; reprint, Minneapolis: Ross & Haines, 1965), 426, is an "adulterated version." See Alexander Henry (the Younger), *The Journal of Alexander Henry The Younger 1799–1814* vol. I (Toronto: The Champlain Society, University of Toronto Press, 1988), 299–300.

[65] See HBCA, "Gunn, Isabella (1780–1861) (fl. 1806–1809)," biographical sheet; Malvina Bolus, "The son of I. Gunn," *Beaver* 51, no. 3 (winter 1971): 23–26; Sylvia Van Kirk, "Isabel Gunn," DCB; Sylvia Van Kirk, *'Many Tender Ties'*, 175–77; The date of birth is given variously: for example, as 15 December by Bell, and 29 December by Bolus. In Bell's account – which he attests is based on a viewing of Henry's journal and on interviewing persons with knowledge of the event, the infant is a girl. In some accounts the 'Orkney girl' who gave birth is anonymous, in others her Christian name is Mary, not Isabel, Isobel, or Isabella, and her surname, if mentioned, may be any variant of Gun or Fubester (possibly: Foubister, Foubester, Fowbuster, Fowbister, FFoubrester, FFoubister, Fovbister, Fowbyster, Fubbister, Fubbester, Forbister and Forbester). Likewise her masculine alias, which is not given in some 'original' accounts, if it is accepted as John Fubester, may be any variant of that name.

to be a woman intent on pursuing her lover across the seas.[66] Even the play on words associated with Isabel's story suggests invention – her child being the 'Son of a Gunn.'[67] The third problem, as with other HBC seafarers, is the record base. Where documents do exist and confirmation of Isabel's story might be expected, it is not found, the documents are not in their original state, or their contents are inconsistently reported.[68] Further,

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[66] For example, see Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: Bodlian Library Broadside Ballads, The *Allegro* Catalogue of Ballads: Firth c.12(235), "Billy Taylor," ([s.n.] [s.l.] [s.a.]) Firth c.12(330), "A new song called Canada heigho," (s.n] [s.l.] [s.a.); Harding B 10(13), "A true & lamentable balad call'd Billy Taylor, shewing the fatal effects of inconstancy," (London: Laurie & Whittle, 1804); Harding B 10(47), "Dicky Day, the cruel cobler. Or, The downfall of miss Nancy Wiggins, To the tune of: Billy Taylor was a brisk young fellow," (London: Laurie and Whittle, 1806); Harding B 11(673), "Billy Talor," *Comic songs, 2* (Workington: W. Dixon, [s.a]); Harding B 11(2545), "Canada, IO," (Manchester: J.O. Bebbington, between 1855 and 1858); Harding B11(2920), "Canada, IO," (London: H. Such, between 1849 and 1862); Harding B 11(3429), "Canada, I, O," (London: H. Such, Machine Printer and Publisher, between 1863 and 1885); Harding B 20(205), "Billy Taylor," (London: E.M.A. Hodges, between 1846 and 1854); Harding B 25(195). "Billy Taylor," (Printer: [s.n.] [s.l.], [s.a.]); Harding B 25(1100), "The life and death of Billy Taylor," (London: Jennings, between 1790 and 1840). Also Alfred Cellier, "The Old English Ballad, Billy Taylor (A.D. 1790) arranged as a Hornpipe," Sheet music (New York: Wm. A. Pond & Co., 1881); and Dianne Dugaw, *Warrior women and popular balladry, 1650–1850* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Daniel A. Cohen, ed., *The Female Marine and Related Works: Narratives of Cross-Dressing and Urban Vice in America's Early Republic* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997); David Cordingly, *Women Sailors & Sailors' Women: An Untold Maritime History* (Westminster MD: Random House Adult Trade Group, 2001). See also Stephen Scobie, *The Ballad of Isabel Gunn* (Kingston ON: Quarry Press, 1987); Anne Fleming, "Questions for Isabelle Gunn," *Prairie Fire* 15, no. 1 (spring 1994): 136–39; Audrey Callahan Thomas, *Isobel Gunn: a novel* (Toronto: Penguin Canada, 1999); Julie Wheelwright, *The Orkney Lad: The Story of Isabel Gunn*, Drama-documentary, dir. Anne Wheeler. (CTV/WTN 2001); Hudson's Bay Company, "The Orkney Lad: The Story of Isobel Gunn," Our History: People, Women <http://www.hbc.com/hbcheritage/history/people/women/isobelgunn.asp> (accessed 6 September 2006); Sigurd Towrie, "Isabel Gunn," Orkneyjar: the heritage of the Orkney islands <http:// www.orkneyjar.com/history/historicalfigures/isobelgunn.htm> (accessed 6 September 2006).

[67] See "Son of a gun," Appendix C, this thesis. See also Shirlee Anne Smith, "The Steward's Yarn," *The Beaver* 57, no. 4 (spring 1978): 20–23; H.M.S Cotter, "The Ship 'Prince of Wales': 1850, Full Rigged Ship in Hudson's Bay; 1934, New Zealand Coal Hulk." *The Beaver* 13, No. 4 (March 1934): 43; and Hudspeth, "Journal During Summer in Hudson's Bay," 14 September 1816, for additional examples of story-telling.

[68] As Bolus, "Son of I. Gunn," 24, 26, suggests, references to the story exist in HBC documents, but no official statement has been found that clearly attests to Isabel Gun adopting a disguise in places where comment would be expected, for example in the correspondence of John Hodgson, the titular Chief at Albany, or in that of Hugh Heney, Fubbister/Gunn's reputed superior, or in correspondence to and from the Governor and Committee in London to anyone who may have had direct responsibility for her presence aboard an HBC ship. HBCA, A. 16/7, fo. 59, contains a list of totalled charges made to the account of "Jno. Fubbister Labourer," from 1806 to 1810. Someone clearly altered the entry at some point after 1810 by penning in "alias Isabella Gun," and an additional amount – not included in the total – in the space reserved

'eyewitness' testimony traces back to individuals whose motives are somewhat suspect. Bell, for example, insists his sources were reputable and the story was proof that the first "white woman" to bear a child in the West was English, not French.[69] Nor do traces of Isabel Gunn's fortunes in Orkney census records support allegations that she, or her child, necessarily suffered ignominy when they returned, via HBC ship, to the Orkneys. It appears Gunn was not a 'girl' in 1806, but approximately twenty-six years old. James Scarth, baptized as her son at Albany in 1808, was living in a house with Isabel Gunn in Stromness and attending school at age fourteen. His mother also appears to have found gainful employment throughout her life. If she died a 'pauper,' she did so indoors at the

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for heading up the columns with the account holder's name; see photograph, printed in Bolus, "Son of I. Gunn," 26. For an example of inconsistent reporting see, Bolus, "Son of I. Gunn," 23–24, who notes that John Fubbister – a.k.a. Gunn – who is listed among those working their passage through Hudson Bay and Straits aboard the *Prince of Wales*, "alone gave the parish of St. Andrew's," and thus the parish is "the clue to her identification." Yet, HBCA, J.H.B., "Gunn, Isabel," Biographical Sheet, lists the parish as Orphir, Orkney, and HBCA, J.H.B., "Foubester, John (b. ca. 1783) (fl. 1806–1826)," Biographical Sheet, assigns the parish of St. Andrews to a different individual, of the same name, who came out at the same time aboard the *King George*.

[69] Bell "Henry's Journal"; also Charles Napier Bell, "The Old Forts of Winnipeg (1738–1927)," *Transaction* new ser. 3 (May 1927): 28. Bell's chief source, "The late Donald Murray," did not arrive in Red River until 1815. Similarly, the unnamed but apparently numerous Selkirk Settlers to whom "the history of this girl was well known," would not have arrived until several years after the reputed birth of James Scarth to Isabel Gunn at Pembina. See also Barry M. Gough, "Henry, Alexander" DCB; Jennifer S.H. Brown, "Hodgson, John" DCB; Mary Ellen Rowe, "Loisel, Regis (1773? –1804)," *Dictionary of Missouri Biography*, ed. Lawrence O. Christensen (Columbia, MO.: University of Missouri Press, 1999), 498; HBCA, "Heney, Hugh (fl. 1810–1813)", and "Vincent, Thomas (ca. 1776–1832) (fl. 1790–1826)," Biographical Sheets, for accounts that indicate the career paths of individuals connected to the story of Isabel Gunn – either as alleged participants in it, or as disseminators of it – collided in a tangle of competition, allegiance, and animosity. Henry, for example, though apparently on cordial terms with some HBC representatives, operated in direct opposition to HBC posts at Brandon and Pembina. John Hodgson, titular head at Albany from 1800 to 1810, but notably absent in England from 1807 to 1808, had longstanding and serious problems with competing traders aligned, through the NWC and the XY Company, with Henry. He had problems as well managing the Albany post, and was dismissed in favour of Thomas Vincent. Hugh Heney, originally with the NWC and trading in the same general area as Alexander Henry, had "quarrelled with them and was obliged to leave them." From 1809–1810, he was in England, and as master of Brandon in 1810 "Complained of treatment by the Brandon House men since his return from England." It is notable that Thomas Vincent, not McKay, was in charge of Brandon House 1806–1807; Vincent, not Hodgson, was in charge at Albany from 1807–1809; and Vincent, like Gunn and Heney returned to England in 1809. Vincent is also the source of the story where it occurs in HBC documents. In both instances, he implies Heney, because in charge, was either blind or duplicitous.

ripe old age of eighty-one, in which case the appellation indicates she had no heritable estate at the time, not that she was homeless.[70]

It seems unlikely that the versions of James Scarth's North American birth that historiography currently purports accurately reflect the path project intersections that led to its event. Evidence to support the stories about Isabel Gunn is largely circumstantial and tenuous, strong documentary links are absent. Nevertheless, Gunn, whether officially a servant or not, got to Hudson Bay somehow. Between 1508 and 1920, she and other women may well have taken advantage of mutable understandings of gender to experience the HBC ocean arc as sailors. It is undeniable that "As long as there have been ships women have sailed. They have done so as workers, wives, prostitutes, slaves, consorts and cross dressers."[71] For years that HBC ships' logs and crew lists are missing, so are passenger lists. As Committee suspicions levelled against seafaring Nortons, Coatses, and McClieshes indicate, as long as mariners kept their initiatives informal and

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[70] HBCA, "Gunn, Isabel," biographical sheet, gives her date of birth as 10 August 1780. The date and parentage are uncertain however. See, Towrie, "Isabel Gunn," who notes, "According to an article in *The Orcadian* dated 18 May 2006, Isabel was born in Tankerness on August 1, 1781, the daughter of John Fubbister and Girzal Allan. Because practically nothing is known of her time in Orkney, I have not been able to verify this date." The1821 Census of Stromness, indicates that at 41 years of age, Isabel Gunn was living with James Scarth (14 years old and attending school), and Nelly Craig (8 years old and attending school). The 1851 Census of Stromness, indicates that at 70 years of age Isabel was employed as a 'stocking knitter' and lived on "Hellyhole Street" [sic: probably Hellihole Road]. The 1861 Census of Stromness indicates that at 80 years of age she was a "stocking & mitten maker" and lived on Main Steet, South End. *The Orcadian*, (23 November 1861), 3, reports her death, 7 November 1861, at age 81.

[71] Carole Thornton, quoted in "Women and Maritime Communities," Maritime History @ Hull <http://www.hull.ac.uk/mhsc/researchandprojects/womenandmaritimecommunities.htm> (accessed 10 May 2007), in a précis of her research for "The Role of Women in North Atlantic Shipping, 1845–1905," Ph.D. diss. See also E.E. Rich, "The Colony of Rupert's Land," *The Beaver* 58, no. 1 (summer 1978): 9–12, who outlines the seafaring adventures of 'Mrs. Maurice,' who accompanied Henry Sergeant and wife as a maid servant to Chichewan/Albany River in 1683; was wounded in Dec. 1685 during the wreck of the *Success*, which was apparently caught in the Bay by ice while homeward bound; was captured by de Troyes and Iberville in 1686, put aboard the *Colleton* for York on a voyage during which twenty out of the thirty aboard died; and who apparently survived to sail home for England.

off the record, clandestine behaviour to which the Company objected, but over which it had no direct control, might take place. Historians such as Van Kirk, Jennifer S.H. Brown, and Burley have established that servant agency in the paternalistic HBC saw women present in factories ashore where they were not supposed to be.[72] Similar subterfuge may have taken place at sea. Instances, about which the Company had no direct knowledge, remain instances about which historians are without knowledge. As historian Dianne Dugaw has pointed out, stories, such as that about Gunn, were not popular in the past because they had curiosity value, but because they resonated with the actual experiences of ordinary people. The existence of the Gunn/Fubbister story suggests a past awareness that people of the Northwest were seafarers, and possibly an awareness that women were aboard HBC ships without Committee knowledge. It is also possible – as argued by Dugaw with respect to practices in other maritime contexts – that as long as a recruit showed up in the appropriate attire and proved willing and able to perform the tasks assigned, HBC ship captains did not question a sailor's gender: it was not an essential concern.[73]

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[72] Van Kirk, "*Many Tender Ties*"; Brown, *Strangers in Blood*; and Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company*, in establishing that North American women became wives of European men by marrying after the 'custom of the country,' without sanction by the HBC, or European clergy, augment what earlier historians had noted – many Aboriginal women had participated in more informal and less enduring liaisons. See Morton, *History of the Canadian West*, 82, 306, 349–351, 352, who notes that prior to 1682, "The Committee had ... heard that Indian women were debauching its servants, and consuming the provisions of the post," which suggests Aboriginal women lived as 'wives' with Company servants from an early date; and Richard Staunton, and George Henry, letter, Moose Fort, August 1738, in *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 271, who reported to the Committee that Indian women "was [sic] too common amongst the Englishmen"; also Innis, *Fur Trade in Canada*, 163.

[73] See Dianne Dugaw, "Female Sailors Bold: Transvestite Heroines and the Markers of Gender and Class," in *Iron Men, Wooden Women*, 46–47; also Adele C. Friedman, "The Broadside Ballad Virago: Emancipated Women in British Working Class Literature," *The Journal of Popular Culture* 13, no. 3 (1980): 469, who cites "the foremost student of the early broadside ballad," Hyder Rollins, as the source of the insight.

Applying categories of analysis such as gender, 'race'/culture, and class to HBC sailors reveals ambiguous 'identity' may lead to ambivalent historical standing. How people determined affiliation and affinity changed over time. Understanding the notions of generations' past is an interpretative, equivocal exercise. Consideration of sailors as active agents of communication complicates both notions of historical 'identity' and histories of contact at intercontinental as well as interpersonal scales. The complexity of the past, because incommensurable with hegemonic notions of subsequent periods, might be among the reasons that sailors' experience has not been included in (meta)narratives assigning singular trajectories to land-based groups imagined along imperial, national, or ethnically described lines of 'race'/culture.[74] The stories about ambiguous characters such as Charles, Moses Norton, and Isabel Gunn, make more sense, and such seafarers' contributions to historical process are more evident, when landward paths and seafaring contexts are understood as related rather than separate. Recounting the use these three individuals apparently made of opportunities to take to the sea illustrates how work aboard ship offered, and to some extent delivered, an escape from both socio-cultural and socio-economic confines. Charles, though he may have only exchanged one form of 'slavery' for another, by becoming a seaward apprentice moved into a position of waged labour where his origins, had he lived, would not necessarily have prevented his attaining

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[74] See Thomas L. Haskell, *Objectivity is Not Neutrality: Explanatory Schemes in History* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1998), 282, 279; this chapter, n.19 above; also Richard Daly, "Being and Becoming in a World that Won't Stand Still: The Case of the Metlakatla," *Social Analysis* 49, no. 1 (spring 2005): 21–44, on the unease that destabilizing 'identity' presents to people with vested interests in arguing political rights and recognition according to heritage as defined by state law; and Bruce Curtis, *The Politics of Population: State Formation, Statistics, and the Census of Canada, 1840–1875* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 3–4, 16–17, on population as political construct, and implications for historiography.

a position of authority over others. For Norton, seafaring social connections and work experience, combined with an intimate knowledge of the North and of Northerners, allowed him the freedom to determine the degree to which his 'household' at Fort Prince of Wales accorded with 'Native' or 'European' conventions, while following his own ideas about what achieving personal comfort and fulfilling personal ambitions might be. Gunn, whether her identity was kept secret from her immediate cohorts, only the London Committee, or perhaps only historians, had an opportunity to labour in a 'non-traditional' role that afforded better wages than were available to her otherwise. Undertaken in a paternalistic, pre-industrial workplace, seafaring with the HBC, though a transitory occupation, allowed servants some leeway in crossing gendered and racialized lines, national and cultural lines, and socio-economic status lines. As the following chapter underscores, it also allowed latitude, for individuals who crossed the boundary that the ocean sea posed to landsmen, to effect transition towards and away from North American permanence.

Chapter Fourteen

Sailors and Families: Making Western Canadian Communities

Elizabeth Jameson, Catherine Cavanaugh, and Jeremy Mouat are among historians who have argued for composing histories of continental America's West that acknowledge "Ecosystems, kin groups, economies, and people all cross[ed] those borders" that have marked modern nation states.[1] Past people, they point out, "as actors in their own lives" defined Western Canada, through "social relationships that knit the region's history," making a region of "various pasts."[2] This chapter demonstrates that between 1670 and 1920 HBC seafarers who moved between ship and shore, and from

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[1] Elizabeth Jameson, "Introduction," *Making Western Canada: Essays on European Colonization and Settlement*, ed. Catherine Cavanaugh and Jeremy Mouat (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1996), ix, also xii, xvi, adds "Defining history as the story of nation states generates remarkable ignorance of our connected pasts" and that examining "people who do not fit the stories we inherited" adds to the "diverse perspectives [that serve to] stretch the limits of older histories and their plots of inevitable progress." See also Thomas Bender, "The Boundaries and constituencies of History," *American Literary History* 18, no. 2 (summer 2006): 270–71, who notes "Lives are rarely lived within the container of the nation; they are more often lived in a doubled way. The scholarly naturalization of the nation as the exclusive form of significant human solidarity has obscured the multiscaled experience of history that is clearer to us today."

[2] Jameson, "Introduction," xi, ix; see also Catherine Cavenaugh, "Preface," in *Making Western Canada*, vii. Jeremy Mouat, "'The Past of My Place': Western Canadian Artists and the Uses of History," in *Making Western Canada*, 245–46, argues for consideration of diverse views of the past to counter " the dehumanizing homogenizing trends of an invasive global culture ... [that] is necessarily history-less: ... for its purposes the past only serves to offer some decontextualizing example or element for its cosmopolitan patchwork."

coastal to inland locations, can be included in an expanding historiography about migrants who "forged new identities and options for themselves" by creating social networks, communicating experience, and connecting diverse and dispersed communities.[3] It argues that because HBC sailors had families, seafarers mattered to the making of Western Canada as a region with a promise of continuity: a place where people could imagine that successive generations would prosper.[4]

Foregoing chapters demonstrate that maritime practices increased communication between geographically distant communities and among diverse individuals from a

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[3] Jameson, "Introduction," xiii.

[4] See Isaac Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers: A Narrative of Seven Years in the Service of the Hudson's Bay Company during 1867–1874, On the Great Buffalo Plains with Historical and Biographical notes and comment* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1913), 30, on past perceptions of Western Canada and the "infinite possibilities therein"; D.N. Sprague, review of *Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West* by Douglas Owram, *Manitoba History* 4 (1982) <http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/mb_ history/04/promiseofeden.shtml> (accessed 19 January 2009), who comments on the existence of locally generated ideas about the West and its potential prior to, and in addition to, those promoted by "the self-appointed advance-men of Canadian colonization"; also Norma Jean Hall, "A 'Perfect Freedom': Red River as a Settler Society, 1810–1870," M.A. thesis (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 2003). David Siddle, ed., "Introduction." *Migration, Mobility and Modernization*, Liverpool Studies in European Population Series (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), 1, suggests sustained movement of individuals "could not fail to have profound effects on both the sending and receiving" communities. Additionally he notes, "the experience of population mobility ... involves decision making and ... a proper understanding of migration must involve the behaviour of individuals as well as aggregates." Post colonial studies increasingly seek to include Native experience and relate it to industrialization, imperialism, and hegemonic envisioning of progress in North America. Though the focus remains squarely trained on the dominant culture, some studies using the culturalist approach that approach the problem of retrieving marginalized or silenced voices of the oppressed suggest ways in which resident North American peoples and individuals sought to relate to, and erase consciousness of, the physical and psychic violence that accompanied colonization and the imposition of normalizing notions of whiteness, nature, nativeness, and community. See Amy Kroeker, "A 'Place' through Language: Postcolonial Implications of Mennonite/s writing in Western Canada," in *Is Canada Postcolonial? Unsettling Canadian Literature*, ed. Laura F.E. Moss (Waterloo ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2003), 239–240; Sarah Carter, *Capturing Women: The Manipulation of Cultural Imagery in Canada's Prairie West* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), xiii–xvi; Patricia Jasen, *Wild Things: Nature, Culture and Tourism in Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 152; and Shari Michelle Huhndorf, *Going Native: Indians in the American Cultural Imagination* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2001), 8–14. Examining the question of why some native born individuals adopted something akin to 'subaltern' or 'bourgeoiusie' roles falls beyond the scope of this dissertation, the point of this chapter is more modest: to suggest that sailors might be examined as a source for ideas about culture, community, and what kinds of cultural continuity seemed desirable in Western Canada from 1500 to 1920.

variety of societies. Historical references affirm that there were Aboriginal seafarers in Hudson and James Bays, some of whom worked for the HBC. Although Company record keepers did not always refer to informally engaged seafarers, or clearly register the origins of those formally engaged, occasionally remarks in various sources indicate cultural distinctions. For example, among seafarers from communities on the West Main who worked in various capacities in HBC maritime service and served on voyages of exploration during the early and mid-nineteenth century, Tatanayuk/Augustus, and Ouligbuck, along with his son William/Marko, appear culturally Inuit.[5] A similar inference is reasonable, given surname and locational affiliation, for Matthew Esquinamow of Paint Hills, on the East Main at the Bottom of the Bay, who informally entered service in 1866. As of 1871, he formally engaged as a "Slooper etc." at Rupert's House and Fort George, and worked for the Company to 1922.[6] Less clearly, the surname of James Mark, born at Moose Factory in 1851, and working as "Pilot and General Service" in James Bay from 1911 to 1919, also suggests Aboriginality – the Marks being

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[5] A.J. Dyer, "Aboriginal History of Northern Canada" <http://www.usask.ca/education/ideas/tplan/sslp/aborhist.htm> (accessed 14 February 2006), notes Tatanayuk, born ca. 1795 at Roe's Welcome Sound, "is often mentioned in both the two major journals of Franklin." In 1834, Tatanayuk was at Churchill. He died mid-winter in a blizzard near Great Slave Lake after crossing the Barrens to join George Back who was organizing an expedition. HBCA, "Ouligbuck (d. 1852) (fl. 1829–1852)," Biographical Sheet; Ken McGoogan, *Fatal Passage: The Untold Story of John Rae, the Arctic Adventurer Who Discovered the Fate of Franklin* (Toronto: Harper Flamingo Books, 2001), 57; David Charles Woodman, *Strangers Among Us* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), 24, 56–57, 107, 115, note Ouligbuck/Ooligbuck/Oulybuck/Ullebuck was "attached to Franklin's expedition of 1825–27," in 1826 working with Dr. Richardson's survey party between the MacKenzie and Coppermine Rivers. He then returned to Churchill and, in 1829, was an HBC employee, killing whales, making paddles, repairing nets, and gardening over the summer. He wintered at Moose Factory then joined Nicol Finlayson in establishing Fort Chimo. He worked there to 1839 when he joined the Dease and Simpson expedition. Afterwards he served at York and Churchill. In 1846 and 1847 he and his son sailed north with Rae in the *North Pole* and the *Magnet*.

[6] HBCA, "Esquinamow, Matthew (1842–1935) (fl. 1866–1922)," Biographical Sheet. On retirement, Esquinamow was awarded a pension and a gold medal with five bars – representing thirty years, plus five additional years per bar, of service. He was married and had four children.

one of the "leading Indian families" of Moose.[7] Similarly, the cultural orientation of George Spence – born *circa* 1874, mate of the SS *Mooswa* in 1912, and "General Servant & Pilot" at York Factory to 1931 – is really only apparent when the name of his mother, Nestichio, is considered along with the notation that he was 'of' Hudson Bay. Additional clues can be found in references that indicate the *Mooswa* had an "Indian crew," supplemented at ship time by a commander, firemen, and engineers from off-loading transatlantic ships.[8] Although none of Spence's contracts survives, a notation in the Fur Trade Department Records indicates, "he signed them in Cree."[9] Such mentions of Aboriginal seafarers in HBC maritime service in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, taken together with the stories of Bayley's pilot in the seventeenth, and of Charles and Moses Norton of the eighteenth century, indicate interpersonal communication took place between individuals from different communities of the Northern Seaboard. There was learning, skill transfer, and technology transfer. Bayside communities that included

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[7] John S. Long, "Treaty No. 9 and fur trade company families: Northeastern Ontario's halfbreeds, Indians, petitioners and métis," in *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Métis in North America*, ed. Jacqueline Peterson, and Jennifer S.H. Brown (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1985), 147, 151. HBCA, "Mark, James (b.1851–1925) (fl. 1891)," Biographical Sheet. Mark was awarded a "Silver Medal and Two Bars" for his service. Although confirmed linkage is missing, in light of the small size of the local community, James was probably related to Fred Mark, who Long describes as "a school teacher, catechist and later an ordained clergyman … [who] signed the treaty [No. 9, negotiated 1905–1906] at Moose Factory, along with nine other headmen, in Cree syllabics. His beautiful flowing penmanship in the mission marriage register years before stands in sharp contradiction to the image conveyed by the treaty document." See also LAC, regimental number 1006963, Attestation Paper, 27 July 1916 <http://www.collections canada.gc.ca/databases/cef/001042-119.02-e.php?image_ url=http://data2.archives.ca/cef/ gpc010/ 479130a.gif&id_nbr=174206> (accessed 24 October 2008), which records that HBC boatman John Mark of Moose Factory enlisted with the 228th battalion in the Great War; and LAC, regimental number 100960, Attestation Paper, 25 July 1916 <http://www. collectionscanada.gc.ca/databases/cef/001042-119.02-e.php? image_url=http://data2.archives.ca/cef/gpc010/479136a.gif&id_nbr= 196061> (accessed 24 October 2008), Oliver Mark, HBC servant, enlisted in the same regiment.

[8] Appendix A, this thesis; see also J. Ledingham "An Adventure in Landing Supplies at York," *The Beaver* 3, no.3 (December 1922): 117–18.

[9] HBCA, "Spence, George (1874–1954) (fl. 1912–1954)," Biographical Sheet. Spence married in 1897, possibly to Mary Ann Wilson, and had nine children. He died at Churchill in 1954.

Aboriginal people incorporated European techniques of transport.[10] There was more than a transfer of technology or knowledge however. There were also transfers of people.

Europeans who were seafarers married into Inuit and First Nations communities.[11] Joseph Adams serves as an early example. At five years of age in 1705, by authority of the Overseer of the Poor, Adams was pensioned at "two shillings p. Week" and "bound out according to the form of Law to ye Hudsons Bay Company [sic]" by Captain Nicholson, "to serve the Company until he should become 24 years of age."[12] As a "brisk, sober, industrious man" in 1723, he was sailing aboard the coastal vessel *Diligence* for sloop master George Gunn.[13] Within a decade, Adams was governor at Albany with "an Indian mate [meaning wife] described as being of 'ye blood Royal'."[14]

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[10] See also HBCA, "Turner, Philip (1812–1882) (fl. 1823–1882)", "Turner, George (b. 1839) (fl. 1868–1902)", "Turner, Robert (1848–1907) (fl. 1863–1907)", "Miller, William L. (1868–1928) (fl. 1884–1925)", Biographical Sheets; and Peter A.C. Nichols, "Boat-building Eskimos," *The Beaver* 34, no. 1 (summer 1954): 52–55; and Chapter Twelve, this thesis, 302 n.50. See also Carol Judd and Arthur J. Ray, "Moose Factory's Maritime Heritage," report prepared for Ontario Ministry of Culture and Recreation (Amisk Heritage Planning and Research, 1982).

[11] See Jennifer S.H. Brown, *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980), 52, who notes "it is possible to document at least fifteen instances of Hudson's Bay men (typically officers) taking Indian women as mates before 1770. ... at least five of the men involved eventually married British women whose claims as legitimate wives went unquestioned. But these early alliances are tokens of the London committee's failure to achieve complete control of its men's personal lives." Also HBCA, "Cocking, Matthew (1743–1799) (fl. 1765–1782)", "Renton, William (ca. 1754–1798) (fl. 1776–1798)", "Bird, James Sr. (ca. 1773–1856) (fl. 1788–1824)"; "Charles, John (b. ca. 1784) (fl. 1799–1843)"; "McNab, John (Dr.) (ca. 1775–ca. 1820) (fl. 1779–1812)"; Pruden, John Peter (1778–1868) (fl. 1791–1837)" Biographical Sheets; and W.H. Brooks, "Pruden, John Peter," DCB.

[12] K.G. Davies ed., with A.M. Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay, 1703–40* (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1965), 3 n.1. Adam's indenture contract stipulated that at its end he would receive "2 shutes of Apparrell [sic]."

[13] Davies and Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay,* 79.

[14] Sylvia Van Kirk, *"Many Tender Ties": Women in Fur-Trade Society in Western Canada, 1670–1870* (Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer Publishing, 1980), 29. See also HBCA, "Nicholson, John (fl. 1701–1710)," Biographical Sheet.

Similarly, Joseph Isbister began as an apprentice to Captain Christopher Middleton aboard the *Hannah* and *Hudson's Bay* [IV] from 1726 to 1730, was an able seaman aboard the latter ship for five years, and then served as mate and master of the *Beaver* and the *Moose River* [II]. In 1740, he was chief factor at Albany and continued to serve in that capacity, there and at Churchill, to 1756. Although in 1748 he had formally married Judith Middleton, the daughter of his former captain, Isbister also had a country wife and family.[15] Successive seafaring servants continued the pattern of apprentices becoming chief factors and marrying into local communities.[16] Although their apprenticeship was not always aboard ship, servants such as Humphrey Marten were nevertheless familiar with working a ship's passage – he having crossed the Atlantic in 1750 aboard the *Prince Rupert* and re-crossed ten times afterwards. Marten married Pawpitch, "Daughter to the Captain of the Goose Hunters" – otherwise known as Questach/Cockeye – in 1775.[17] Notably, Marten successfully petitioned the Company to send a son, John America Marten to be educated in England "at great expense … The bill for the boy's

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[15] HBCA, "Isbister, Joseph (ca. 1710–1771) (fl. 1726–1756)," Biographical Sheet; and Sylvia Van Kirk, "Isbister, Joseph," DCB. Isbister had 'country' children as well.

[16] See, for example, HBCA, "Potts, John (d. 1764) (fl. 1738-1764", "McKay, Donald (ca. 1753–1833) (1779–1809)", and "Moore, Thomas Charles (b. 1888 – d. 1939) (fl. 1903)," Biographical Sheets; "Nelson River District," *The Beaver* 19, no. 3 (December 1939): 51; and Jennifer S.H. Brown, "Atkinson, George (d. 1792)," DCB.

[17] Brown, *Strangers in Blood*, 33, 56. Mary Houston and Tim Ball, *Eighteenth-Century Naturalists of Hudson Bay* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), 56–57. See also Peter C. Newman, *Company of Adventurers* vol. I (Markham ON.: Penguin Books, 1986), 366–72; Glyndwr Williams, "Humphrey Marten," *Hudson's Bay Miscellany, 1670–1870* (Winnipeg: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1975), 90. Marten made the transatlantic voyage in 1762, 1763, 1768, 1769, 1774, 1775, 1781, twice in 1782, 1783, and crossed 'home,' apparently for the last time, in 1786. See HBCA, "Thomas, Thomas (1766–1828) (fl. 1789–1815)," Biographical Sheet, for an additional example of a HBC seafarer with a country wife and family. He sailed as ship's surgeon in 1789 to York; in 1795, he served in that capacity home; and in 1796, was surgeon outward, after which he was master at Severn. He married Sarah and had eight children.

'maintenance and education' in 1780 was £50."[18] Marten's apprentice, William Sinclair of Orkney, followed his superior's example. Sinclair began his HBC career at about age sixteen in 1782, crossing twice that year with Marten – both having been captured within days of landing by La Pérouse and summarily transported as prisoners to Europe. Both sailed back to the Bay in 1783. When Sinclair became an HBC manager, he married Nahoway, made the transatlantic crossing at least four more times before his death in 1818, and encouraged his children to make the voyage – the one son, Colin, as previously noted, subsequently turned sailing the Bay and associated waters into a profession.[19]

There are also examples of men who did not transfer to landward service but continued working at sea while yet marrying into bayside communities. George Taylor, of Berwick-on-Tweed, entered service as seaman in 1787 and sailed to Churchill. He served there as sloop mate to 1791 and afterwards served principally as sloop and

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[18] Brown, *Strangers in Blood*, 57, notes that prior to 1771 Humphrey Marten "was asking the company to grant his son, John America Marten, a passage to England to be educated." James Isham, *James Isham's observations on Hudsons Bay, 1743, and Notes and observations on a book entitled A voyage to Hudsons Bay in the Dobbs Galley, 1749.*, ed. E.E. Rich, with A.M. Johnson (London: Champlain Society, 1949), 145, indicates children of culturally diverse unions became "pretty Numerious [sic]" around the shores of Hudson Bay well before the Company had formalized any policy regarding their existence, let alone the matter of their boarding or voyaging on HBC ships.

[19] Archives of Manitoba MG1 D15, "Will of William Sinclair, (fl. 1794–1818)"; HBCA, A.16/33, fo. 56, Governor and Committee (London Office), Officers' and servants' ledgers, York Factory District, 1790–1797; A.11/117, fo. 116d , 161, London Inward Correspondence from York Factory, 1787–1797; A.32/17, fo. 4, Governor and Committee (London Office), Servants' Contracts, 1791–1809; B/239/a/81, fo. 2, 5, Post Journal, York Factory, 1782; HBCA B.239/f/1-6, Lists of Servants, York Factory, 1783–1801, pp. 1 # 109, 25 # 97; C.1/386, Ship's Log, *King George*, 1782; C.1/1053, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1791, fo. 1d; C.1/1055, Ship's Log, *Seahorse*, 1792, fo. 1d; C.1/781, Ship's Log, *Prince of Wales*, 1814; "William Sinclair Senior," search file, 1-3; "Sinclair, William (Senior) I," Biographical Sheet; Williams, *Hudson Bay Miscellany*, 75–81; Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 110. In 1782, Sinclair arrived on the *King George*. He and Marten were among those taken prisoner and put on board one of the French ships, likely the *Sceptre*. Conditions aboard the ship were dismal: food was scarce, the rats numerous, and, according to one account, "Many people are eat up with the scurvy and otherwise unhealthy." The HBC sloop *Severn* was taken in tow. At sea, on 10 September, along with some seventeen other prisoners, "Wm. Singclear" and Marten were transferred to the *Severn*, which sailed for Stromness, arriving 15 October. Sinclair made the transatlantic voyage again in 1790, 1792, 1814 and 1815. He died in 1818. William probably married Nahoway ca. 1794 when sent inland to build. See also HBCA, "Turnor, John (b. ca. 1751) (fl. 1778–1782)," Biographical Sheet.

schooner master to 1814, first at Churchill, then at York, though he occasionally made transatlantic voyages. In 1818 he served as pilot aboard the chartered vessel, *Britannia* at York after which he apparently retired. During his service with the Company, Taylor had married an Aboriginal woman known as Jane and they had eight children.[20] In 1789, Joseph Brown, of Suffolk, "arrived at Moose Factory on the *Seahorse* after working as crew on voyage." He served at Moose to 1799, first as a sailor and later sloop's mate. Subsequently, he also served at Eastmain, becoming schooner master there in 1800, and returning to Moose in that capacity from 1813 to 1816. At some point, he married a woman known as Elizabeth, an "Indian," and they had at least three, and possibly five, children.[21]

Although the London Committee was not necessarily supportive, by the late eighteenth century, waterborne workers did not have to be officers to establish intimate

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[20] HBCA, "Taylor, George (b. ca. 1760) (fl. 1787–1818)," Biographical Sheet; Van Kirk, *"Many Tender Ties"*, 106, 268 n.34.

[21] HBCA, "Brown, Joseph (1772–1818) (fl. 1789–1816)," Biographical Sheet; also D.N. Sprague, and R.P. Frye, *The Genealogy of the First Metis Nation: The Development and Dispersal of the Red River Settlement, 1820–1900* (Winnipeg: Pemmican Publications, 1983), ID #542, and ID #541; and Warren Sinclair, "Brown, Joseph & Elizabeth (Metis)," ser. 2, M-8736-65, Warren Sinclair's Metis Genealogy collection, Glenbow Museum <http://www.glenbow.org/collections/search/findingAids/archhtm/sinclair.cfm> (accessed 19 January 2009). See also, for additional examples, HBCA, "Renton, William (ca. 1754–1798) (fl. 1776–1798)", and "Chilton, Robert Sr. (fl. 1793–1813)," and "SetteeJ," Biographical Sheets; Lewis G. Thomas, "Settee, James," DCB; Michael Payne, review of *Voyages in Search of a Northwest Passage 1741–1747,* vol. 2, *The Voyage of William Moor and Francis Smith 1746–1747*, ed. William Barr and Glyndwr Williams, *Manitoba History* 32 (autumn 1996); Brown, *Strangers in Blood*, 156; and Deidre Simmons, *Keepers of the Record: The History of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008), 309–10 n.46. According to family tradition, recounted in 1827, James Settee of Red River, a Cree Anglican clergyman, "left a personal account identifying his grandfather as the son of one 'Captain Smith,' officer at York, and an Indian girl." Settee would have been referring to Francis Smith of the *California*, a former HBC sloop captain with experience sailing north from Churchill, who commanded the *California* and wintered in 1746 at Ten Shilling Creek, York Factory, with Captain William Moor.

country connections.[22] Donald Sutherland, for example, was a tailor and bowman at York Factory from 1798 – in other words, he was a competent sailmaker and york boat crewman.[23] During his service, he married Sally Wappis/Waspir and had at least six children. Marriages between Aboriginal women and HBC crew and officers continued into the nineteenth century. Samuel Louttit of South Ronaldshay, Orkney Islands, for instance, engaged as a middleman of york boats at Rupert House from 1829 to 1835. He worked as a slooper/sailor at the same place until he retired in 1875. Loutit married a woman of the area and had at least two children. Richard Henry Bradburn of Liverpool, England, entered service in 1885 at age twenty-two as crew aboard the *Princess Royal*, then worked as a slooper at Moose Factory to 1888. In 1886, he married Alice, otherwise known as Apetakeshikow/Apetakeshequa. They had at least four children.[24] John Taylor of Orkney, entered HBC service in 1866 as sloop master at Moose after having previously sailed in the Baltic and European coasting shipping trade. From 1873 to 1903, he was "Skipper" of the *Otter* and the *Mink*. Taylor married three times, once in Scotland, a second time to Jane Hunter at Moose with whom he had a son, and finally, approximately three years after her death in 1887, to a "young Indian woman."[25]

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[22] See, for examples, HBCA, "Prince, Mark (b.ca. 1761) (fl. 1788–1826)", "Calder, Peter (1799–1852) (fl. 1826–1852)", "Wilson, Robert (a) (1799–1864) (fl. 1820–1864)", "Cromartie, John (ca. 1792–1870) (fl. 1812–1870)", "Carey, George (1858–1936) (1873–1919)", and "MonkmanJ," Biographical Sheets.

[23] See, Peter Rishenbacher, watercolour, *The Beaver* 37, no. 3 (winter 1957): 44, for depiction of york boats under sail off York Factory, 1821.

[24] HBCA, "Sutherland, Donald (1778–1872)", "Louttit, Samuel 'A' (1809–1876) (fl. 1829–1875)", "Louttit, David (1849–1902) (fl. 1865–1902)", "Bradburn, Henry (b. 1864) (fl. 1886–1889)," Biographical Sheets.

[25] HBCA, "Taylor, John A (1835–1908 (fl. 1866–1903)," Biographical Sheet.

The bayside communities that HBC seafarers married into not only had a high Aboriginal cultural component, they were also distinctly oriented towards waterborne modes of transportation. These were coastal communities that served transatlantic ports connected by trade to inland communities via waterways. Historically, sailors had contributed to their formation and continued to contribute to their constitution on an ongoing basis. By the late eighteenth century, in communities directly associated with HBC establishments, distinctions between 'Aboriginal' and 'European' were progressively blurred as native-born sons and daughters of seafarers and land-based workers matured, married, and had children of their own. Through marriage, each generation enlarged, and added complexity to, a distinctive social network – characterized by some historians of Western Canada as 'fur trade society,' and by others as 'Company families.'[26] To take one early example in which a seafarer established a family with extended connections: John McNab, ship's surgeon in 1779, 1791, 1792, and 1799, and surgeon ashore at Albany in the intervening years, eventually became chief at

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[26] See Gwen Reimer, and Jean-Philippe Chartrand, "Documenting Historic Métis in Ontario," *Ethnohistory* 51, no 3 (summer 2004): 567–607; Elizabeth M. Arthur, "The Concept of the Good Indians: An Albany River 19th Century Managerial Perspective," *Canadian Journal of Native Studies,* 5 (1985): 61–74; D.N. Sprague, "The Cultural Bias of Metis Studies," review of *The New Peoples: On Being and Becoming Métis in North America*, ed. Jennifer Brown and Jacqueline Peterson, *Prairie Fire* 8 (Summer 1987): 66–67; John S. Long, "Hannah Bay Murders of 1832," *History Workshop*, Temiskaming Abitibi Heritage Association (29 April 2000): 38–40. Also HBCA, "Moar, Alexander (A) (d. 1881) (fl. 1860–1881)," and "Moar, Alexander (B) (fl. 1871–1879)," for indications of ship-associated labour and incomplete biographies reflecting blurred cultural origins and affiliations; and "Renton, William (ca. 1754–1798) (fl. 1776–1798)", "Story, William (fl. 1757–1760)", "Stayner, Thomas (b. 27 March 1770 d. pre 1827) (fl. 1787–1801)", "Chilton, Robert Sr. (fl. 1793–1813)", "Chilton, Robert (A) (1796–1863) (fl. 1811–1863)", "Spence, John C (ca. 1798–1865) (fl. 1820–1861)", "Turner, Philip (1812–1882) (fl. 1823–1882)", "Turner, George (b. 1839) (fl. 1868–1902)", "Merriman, John (fl. 1845–1854)", "Turner, Robert (1848–1907) (fl. 1863–1907)", "Cursator, George (fl. 1878–1887)", "Oman, William Jr. (d. 1886) (fl. 1860–1866)", "Moore, Thomas Charles (b. 1888 – d. 1939) (fl. 1903)" Biographical Sheets; and K.G. Davies, ed., with A.M. Johnson, *Northern Quebec and Labrador Journals and Correspondence, 1819–35* (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1963), 6 n.1, 42, for sailors and ship-associated workers living in bayside communities of Hudson Bay and marrying into Company families.

Albany Fort, York Factory, and Fort Prince of Wales. He married Jane Cook, the daughter of another factor, William Hemmings Cook – once described as "the Father of us all" – and one of his Cree wives.[27] McNab had at least three children, two of whom are known to have married into similarly mixed-descent families whose members – including McNabs, Bunns, McKays, Robertsons, Richards, Taylors, Moars, McDonalds, Harriots, Rosses, Sinclairs, McDougalls, Truthwaites, Sutherlands, Harriots, Donaldsons, Corstans, and Thomases – maintained ties, variously, to predominantly First Nations, Inuit, French, English, and culturally blended or 'Métis' communities.[28]

Aside from establishing that seafarers contributed to the formation of

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[27] Peter Garrioch, quoted in Irene M. Spry, "Cook, William Hemmings," DCB. Spry notes "Cook's will provided an income for his 'beloved wife Mary' and bequests for four sons, seven daughters, and a granddaughter. His land was divided equally among ten of his children. It was his children and their progeny who constituted his most notable contribution to western Canada. His descendants included not only countless Cooks but also Garriochs, Budds, Settees, Calders, Wrens, and Erasmuses."

[28] "John McNab," Material Histories: Scots and Aboriginal Peoples in the Canadian Fur Trade, Department of Anthropology, University of Aberdeen <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/materialhistories/people.php?id=7> (accessed 18 January 2009); HBCA, "M'Nab, Thomas (b. ca. 1781) (fl.1797–1821)," Biographical Sheet. McNab married Mary, a "Saulteaux Indian Woman." HBCA, "Corston, William A", "Corston, John", "Bunn, Thomas (ca. 1765–1853) (fl. 1797–1853)", "Bunn, Dr. John (b. ca. 1800–1861) (fl. 1819–1824)," Biographical Sheets. Sarah McNabb married Thomas Bunn, their son was ship's surgeon, John Bunn, later the resident doctor of Red River Settlement. Irene Spry, "Cook, William Hemmings," DCB. HBCA, "Cook, William Hemmings (b. ca. 1766–1846) (fl. 1786–1819)," Biographical Sheet." William Hemmings Cook was of St. Andrew's Holborn, London. Jane Jenny Cook was born ca. 1789, her mother was possibly Kahnawoswama-kan Agathe, or Betsy Wash-e-soo E'Squaw. Sprague and Frye, *Genealogy of the First Métis Nation*, ID 947 list four wives. Gail Morin, *Métis Families A Genealogical Compendium* (Orange Park FL: Quentin Publications, 2001), 218, 387, 388, 421, 1098, lists only two wives, Mary Cocking and Kahnawoswamakan Agatha Cree. Peter Erasmus, *Buffalo Days and Nights* (Calgary: Glenbow-Alberta Institute, 1976), inside back cover, lists two wives Wash-e-soo E'Squaw/Agathas/Mary/Kitty and Mith-coo-coo-man E'Squaw/Aggathas/Agathas/Mary. One child of W.H. Cook and Wash-e-soo E'Squaw married a "Muskaigoe Cree" and their children are listed as Henry Budd, James Budd, Catherine 'Kitty' Budd, Nancy Budd and Sarah/Sally/Nehow(u)gatim/Ne-wougatim. William and Mith-coo-coo-man E'Squaw had "at least one son" and "at least four daughters." See also "Nelson River District," 51; and HBCA, "Cromartie, John (ca. 1792–1870) (fl. 1812–1870)", "Sutherland, James (1st) (ca, 1768–1806) (fl. 1787–1806)", "Moore, Thomas Charles (b. 1888 – d. 1939) (fl. 1903)", "McLeod, Frederick (fl. 1911–1956)", and "MonkmanJ," Biographical Sheet. See Norma J. Hall, "Contesting Identity: A Confrontation with Semantic Paradox in Historiography," paper presented to *Writing New Histories of Indigeneity and Imperialism: A Workshop* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 21 May 2008), on the term 'Métis' as an identifier.

communities, attesting to the familial connections between ship and shore shows seafaring experience infused more historical Western Canadian families than previous historiography has implied, and in ways not considered. Although, along with the McNabs *et al*, seafarers' surnames appear in histories of Red River and other settlements, numerous instances of connection have not had their seafaring context examined.[29] Take, for example, sailor, sloop/schooner master, William Swanson Senior: at Moose and Albany from 1812 to 1865, he commanded the *Lady Frances Simpson*, the *Otter*, and the *Beaver*. He married Anne 'Nancy' Brown, one of four daughters of HBC sailor Joseph Brown mentioned above, and had at least eight children. Anne's sister, Jane Brown, married James/Janus/John Omand of Holm Orkney, a HBC boatman at Moose Factory in 1827. Swanson and Omand became surnames conspicuous in inland settlements such as Red River, in First Nations bands, and in early settlements in British Columbia.[30] Then,

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[29] See Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 79; Barbara A. Johnstone, "Story of a Fur Trader," *Manitoba Pageant* 4, no. 2 (January 1959); HBCA, "Sutherland, James (1st) (ca. 1768–1806) (1787–1806)", "Stayner, Thomas (b. 27 March 1770 d. pre 1827) (fl. 1787–1801)", "Wood, William (fl. 1770–1780)", "Moore, Thomas (fl. 1763–1778)", "Richards, John (Captain) (fl. HBC, NWC 1782–1803)", "Cromartie, John (ca. 1792–1870) (fl. 1812–1870)", "Spence, Joseph (b. 1803) (fl. 1828–1836)", "Ramsey, John (fl. 1815–1817)", "Mannock, Francis (d. 1855) (fl. 1839–1855)", "Cowie, Isaac (1848–1917) (fl. 1867–1890) ", "Cowie, James (1853–1913) (fl. 1876–1911)", "Mead, George Henry", "Murray, Alexander (b. ca. 1860 d. 1912) (fl. 1892–1896)" Biographical Sheets; and Charles N. Bell. "Navigation of Hudson Bay and Straits,"*Transactions* 1, no. 7 (read 10 May 1883), for examples of intergenerational sailing and the HBC workforce, and indications of unexplored connections. As with other aspects of seafaring in Hudson Bay, much biographical work on individual HBC seafarers remains to be done.

[30] HBCA, A.36/3 fo. 177; "Swanson, William (A) (1794–1865) (fl. 1812–1865)", "Swanson, William B (1819–1843) (fl. 1835–1843)", "Swanson, Alexander", "Brown, Joseph", "Omand, James (b. ca. 1796–1850) (fl. 1817–1829) Biographical Sheets; Judith Hudson Beattie and Helen M. Buss, eds., *Undelivered Letters to Hudson's Bay Company Men on the Northwest Coast of America, 1830–57* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003), 326–29, 456; Sprague and Frye, *Genealogy of the First Metis Nation,* ID #542, #541, #3760; Rupert Leslie Taylor, *The Native Link: Tracing One's Roots to the Fur Trade* (Victoria, BC: Pencrest Publications, 1984); Reimer and Chartrand, "Documenting Historic Métis," 596; Gail Morin, "Index of Names Found in Manitoba Scrip," Métis, First Nations and Aboriginal Peoples <http://www.quintinpublications.com/metisindexes.html> (accessed 23 January 2009); "Omand, Saskatchewan," Saskatoon Region Gen Web Project <http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~sksaskat/Saskatoon/newlinksO.html> (accessed 23 January 2009); Metis National Council, "Omand," Métis National Council

there was William Todd of Ireland, Ship's surgeon aboard the *Prince of Wales* in 1816, *Eddystone* in 1820, *Lord Wellington* in 1821, and the *Prince Rupert* in 1843 and 1844. He married "A half caste woman" Marianne Ballantyne.[31] Both Todd and Ballantyne are names that similarly figure in Western Canadian histories. There were others: Charles Begg of Favel, Sandwick, Orkney, from 1836–1839 a boatman and slooper, married Catherine Spence, daughter of George Spence and his Cree wife Catherine. Thomas "(A)" Taylor of Orkney, sloopmaster in James Bay from 1851 to 1856, married Jennet Morrison, youngest daughter of James Morrison, blacksmith at Albany. James Taylor of Birsay Orkney, sloopmaster from 1858 in command of the schooner *Marten* to 1865 and later master aboard the *Prince of Wales* and the *Ocean Nymph*, married Anne Linklater, of York Factory.[32] Prior to becoming ancestors whose names would hint to Western Canadians of the twenty-first century of a distinctive past, members of the families of seafarers such as the foregoing led lives necessarily marked by the seasonal rounds of seafaring work. Additionally, ongoing communication between ship and shore meant communication among family members with relatives in other communities was possible. Because the HBC institutional project was principally waterborne, inter-community communication was not restricted to the Bay. Thus, seafaring connections could compensate for geographical isolation from, and consequent ignorance about, North

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Historical Online Database <http://tomcat.sunsite.ualberta.ca/MNC/explore.jsp?exploreType= alpha& &exploreValue=O> (accessed 23 January 2009), the Oman/Omand and Swanson/Swanston names continue in First Nations bands of Northern Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta, as well as in Métis communities and communities that neither aver, nor have been ascribed, markers of Aboriginality.

[31] HBCA, "Todd, William (ca. 1784–1851) (fl. 1816–1851)", "Todd, William Jr. (ca. 1823–1871) (fl. 1841–1864), Biographical Sheets.

[32]HBCA, "Begg, Charles (b. ca. 1815) (fl. 1831–1865)"; "Taylor, James (fl. 1858–1867)," Biographical Sheets.

American locations inland, places in Europe, and throughout the Atlantic world.[33]

As suggested by the comments of Harriet Cowan in a previous chapter, there were Aboriginal wives who accompanied their husbands to Europe.[34] Among the earliest on record was Ruehegan/Thu a higon, of Churchill, who as wife of sailor, slooper, and factor Charles Pilgrim, sailed out of the Bay with her husband and child in 1750 aboard the *Seahorse*. The following year James Isham, his country wife, and their son Charles Thomas/Price Isham, likewise sailed. Despite occasional objections by the London Committee, about expenses incurred, transatlantic ships continued to carry country wives to Europe. James Taylor's wife Anne Linklater, for example, appears to have accompanied him to the Orkneys, because Company ledgers indicate money was paid to her there in 1866. Alice/Apetakeshikow/Apeteshequa reportedly accompanied her husband, Richard Henry Bradburn to England in 1888 on a wedding journey, returning to Moose in 1889.[35] As foregoing mentions also indicate, children of seafarers travelled across the ocean.

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[33] See W.J. Healy, *Women of Red River, Being a Book Written from the Recollections of Women Surviving from the Red River Era* (Winnipeg: Women's Canadian Club, 1923), 20, regarding seafarer Harriet Cowan's childhood exposure to the 'eyewitness' story telling of European political events by seafarer Thomas Bunn and the newspaper subscriptions of her seafaring father James Sinclair. Such knowledge extended to communities along the coasts of Labrador and Newfoundland, see for example, "Labrador District," *The Beaver* 20 no. 3 (February 1940): 52; HBCA, "Parsons, William Ralph (1881–1956) (fl. 1900–1940)," and Baikie, Thomas (d.1913) (fl. 1858–1875)," Biographical Sheets, for references to Parson and Baikie family connections, HBC service, and maritime operations.

[34] Brown, *Strangers in Blood*, 57, notes that by the 1771, "Company ships had openly carried" native-born wives and children home to England."

[35] Ibid., 56–57; Joan Craig, "Pilgrim, Robert, HBC mariner and chief factor," DCB, notes Pilgrim "was first employed by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1730 as a steward aboard the *Hudson's Bay* (Capt. Christopher Middleton)." For five years he worked on transatlantic ships serving the James Bay factories. He was sloop master at Moose from 1735 to 1738, then again served on transatlantic voyages. From 1740 Pilgrim was appointed to the governing council of Prince of Wales Fort and "served grudgingly under Richard Norton (1740–41) and James Isham. When Isham went to England in 1745, Pilgrim was

Some children sailed in company with their parents. Mary Adams, daughter of Joseph Adams, the former apprentice, slooper, and governor of Albany listed above, was the "first known" child to be taken from Hudson Bay to Europe.[36] In 1737 as "an infant about three years and five months old," she crossed to England with her father aboard the *Seahorse*.[37] As many as three children of Joseph Isbister accompanied him to England aboard the *Seahorse* in 1756.[38] Although compiling a comprehensive list of children voyaging from Hudson Bay is possible – perhaps along the lines of that compiled for ships in Appendix A this thesis – it is beyond what is practical given the time and length constraints of this dissertation. Nevertheless, even a cursory examination of readily available sources for references to such children reveals numerous examples. There were children who accompanied parents retiring to the British Isles, children sent to Scotland

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given charge. In 1748 he was transferred to the command of Moose." Rhuhegan and child returned to Hudson Bay after Pilgrim's death. Jennifer S.H. Brown, "Isham, Charles Thomas (known in youth as Charles Price or Charles Price Isham)," DCB, notes Charles Isham returned to Hudson Bay, in Company employ, married, and had children. HBCA, "Bradburn, Henry (b. 1864) (fl. 1886–1889), Biographical Sheet, notes "Between 1888 and 1904 Alice & Richard Henry Bradburn had four children; some if not all, were likely born at Moose Factory.... Alice died in Montreal in 1956; was buried in Mount Royal Cemetery."

[36] Van Kirk, *"Many Tender Ties,"* 267 n.13.

[37] Davies and Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay* 233, n.3, note Joseph Adams "died not long after he reached London ... In his will .., he described himself as of Ratcliff in the parish of Stepney in the County of Middlesex 'Gentleman lately returned from Albany Fort in Hudson Bay'. Bequests were made to his sister Mary, the wife of Andrew Gower, sawyer, of Ratcliff; to Captain George Spurrell and his wife Judith; and to Captain Christopher Middleton and his wife Eleanor. The greater part of his estate was to be held in trust by his executors, the two captains already named, for the benefit of his natural daughter ... Mary." Brown, *Strangers in Blood*, 53, notes Mary's mother "however, remained in the Bay and was evidently still living in the vicinity of Moose or Albany Fort in James Bay in 1744."

[38] HBCA, "Isbister, Joseph," biographical sheet. From 1735–1756 Isbister was stationed bayside – although Judith Middleton, his formal wife, was apparently living in England. By 1760, he had "six small children," thus the supposition that at least three of them were born in Albany to a country wife. There is also the possibility, however, that Judith, because she was a captain's daughter, without appearing in any HBC records, had sailed to Hudson Bay to live with Isbister in which case all of the children may have been hers.

and England to broaden their education, and children of an age to conduct business with the Company on their own account. Additionally, there were offspring of seafarers, who, as adults, married and accompanied their spouses to Europe.[39]

There were also native-born children who – whether they voyaged to Europe or not – became seafarers like their fathers, uncles, cousins, or other people within their social network. Some became sailors in Hudson Bay. For example, Thomas Wiegand, born on the East Main *circa* 1802, and apparently sent to England as a child, was listed as a boatman in James Bay from 1821. As postmaster at Fort George by 1846, he was in charge of vessels such as the schooner *Robin*, and the sloop *Walrus*. He transferred to Albany as sloop master in 1854, becoming postmaster there from 1866 to his retirement in 1869. Like his father, he married into a Company family – his wife, Mary Corcoran,

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[39] See, for examples, Margaret Arnet McLeod, ed., *The Letters of Letitia Hargrave* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1947), xxxi, 45; Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 63, 68; H.M.S. Cotter, "The Ship 'Prince of Wales': 1850, Full Rigged Ship in Hudson's Bay; 1934, New Zealand Coal Hulk," *The Beaver* 13, no. 4 (March 1934): 43; Jennifer S. H. Brown, "Ultimate Respectability: Fur-Trade Children in the 'Civilized World'," part I, *The Beaver* 57, no. 3 (winter 1977): 4–10; Jennifer S.H. Brown, "Ultimate Respectability: Fur-Trade Children in the 'Civilized World'," part II, *The Beaver* 57, no. 4 (spring 1978): 48–55; L.G. Thomas, "Fur Traders in Retirement," *The Beaver* (winter 1978): 14–21; Cotter, "The Ship 'Prince of Wales'," 43; Brown, *Strangers in Blood*, 57, 124; Van Kirk, *"Many Tender Ties,"*151, 161–162; Glyndwr Willams, ed. *Andrew Graham's Observations on Hudson Bay, 1767–91* (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1969), 347–51; Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company*, 52; W.H. Brooks, "Pruden, John Peter," DCB; Carman Miller, "Clouston, Sir Edward Seaborne", DCB; Jennifer S.H. Brown, "Atkinson, George (d. 1792)," and "Atkinson, George (1777–1830)," DCB; HBCA, "Bird, Charles (ca. 1795) (fl. 1805–1818)", "Bird, James Sr. (ca. 1773–1856) (fl. 1788–1824)"; "Bunn, Dr. John (ca.1800–1861) (fl. 1819–1824)", "Charles, John (b. ca. 1784) (fl. 1799–1843)", "Chilton, Robert Sr. (fl. 1793–1813)", "Chilton, Robert (A) (1796–1863) (fl. 1811–1863)", "Clouston, James Stewart (ca. 1826–1874) (fl. 1842–1874)", "Cook, Joseph (b. ca. 1788–d. 1848) (fl. 1803–1824)", "Linklater, Andrew (b. 1807) (fl. 1828–1839)", "McNab, John (Dr.) (ca. 1755–ca. 1820) (fl. 1779–1812)", "M'Nab, Thomas (b. ca. 1781) (fl.1797–1821)", "Mannock, Francis (d. 1855) (fl. 1839–1855)", "Mowat, George (fl. 1838)", "Murray, Alexander (b. ca. 1860 d. 1912) (fl. 1892–1896)", "Nicholson, Allan 1", "Prince, Mark (b. ca. 1761) (fl. 1788–1826)", "Spence, Joseph (ca. 1772–1856) (fl. 1790–1823)", "Stayner, Thomas (b. 27 March 1770 d. pre 1827) (fl. 1787–1801)", "Sutherland, Donald (1778–1872)", "Swain, James Sr. (b. ca 1775) (fl. ca. 1791–1819)", "Swanson, William (A) (1794–1865) (fl. 1812–1865)", "Taylor, George (b. ca. 1760) (fl. 1787–1818)", "Taylor, James (fl. 1858–1867)", "Thomas, John Sr. (1751–1822) (fl. 1769–1814)", "Todd, William Jr. (ca. 1823–1871) (fl. 1841–1864)", "Vincent, Thomas (ca. 1776–1832) (fl. 1790–1826)", "Wicks, John (fl. 1820)", "Wiegand (also Wiggand), Thomas Jr. or (A) (b. ca. 1800; 1795) (fl. 1818–1869)," Biographical Sheets.

was born bayside *circa* 1821–1823. Her father, John Corcoran, and her uncle, Thomas Corcoran, originally from Crossmolina County, Mayo, Ireland, had both worked passage to Moose aboard the *Eddystone* in 1818.[40] John Brown, born at Moose in 1809, and possibly the son of schooner master Joseph Brown, was an apprentice in the Moose district from 1818 to 1825, and then a boatman and slooper at Moose from 1826 to 1843, when he retired to Red River Settlement.[41] Peter Calder, the "Native" son of James Calder and Nancy Lindsay, entered HBC service in 1826 as an apprentice. In 1835, he was a seaman/apprentice in the Columbia district. In 1836, he was at York Factory as a boatman and continued in that occupation to his death at York in 1852.[42] Gustave Udgaarden, listed as "Native, of Hudson Bay," son of Gundar Udgaarden and Harriet Turner, entered HBC service in 1884 as an apprentice slooper, and in 1889 was a slooper

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[40] HBCA, "Wiegand, Thomas Jr. or (A)," Biographical Sheet, notes his surname was also spelled 'Wiggand.' See also, LDS, online database, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints <http://www.familysearch.org/eng/default.asp> (accessed 2004–2008); and HBCA, "Corcoran, John (d. 1827) (fl. 1818–1826)", "Corcoran, Thomas (b. ca. 1794–1865) (fl. 1818–1856)", "Corcoran, Patrick (Cochrane, Cochran)," Biographical Sheets. The Corcoran brothers all appear to have married and remained in North America. By 1870 Wiegand Jr. had moved to Fort William, Algoma, Ontario, where he was making sails and bags. The 1881 census there listed him as seventy-nine, a farmer, and widower.

[41] HBCA, "Brown, John 'B' (b. 1809) (fl. 1815–1848)," and "Brown, Joseph," Biographical Sheets, note John was born ca. 1810 in Eastmain or Moose, and was an apprentice at Moose from 1819. His father, if Joseph Brown was his father, had died there in 1818. He had many nieces and nephews at Moose – the family of his sister Jane and her husband James/Janus/John Omand.

[42] HBCA, "Calder, Peter (1799–1852) (fl. 1826–1852)," Biographical Sheet. He had married Marguerite, daughter of Chief Cassino (Kaiseno), and had a son by her but apparently separated from her, marrying two additional times and having three more children. See also HBCA, "Goodwin (Goodwyn), Joseph (fl. 1866-1903)," Biographical Sheet, for an additional example; and Richard Mackie, "McKay, Joseph William," DCB, who notes McKay was born 1829 at Rupert's House, and "according to family tradition his parents had intended to send him to school in Scotland but he literally missed the boat." He was apprenticed 1844 in the Columbia District, and described himself in 1872 as having been a "Sailor, Farmer, Coal Miner, packer, Salesman, Surveyor, explorer, Fur Trader and Accountant" while in HBC service.

at Moose River, remaining in that position to 1895.[43] The native-born continued to engage with the Company into the twentieth century.[44]

As sailors were mobile, not all HBC sailors with Aboriginal mothers were born on the shores of Hudson Bay, and some served the Company in places other than those located along the HBC ocean arc to the Bay. For instance, the aforementioned Peter Calder was born on the Pacific Slope. Not coincidently, permanent and temporary transfers between the Columbia district and the Bay, of crew and their families, occurred after the amalgamation of the HBC and NWC in 1821. Robert Allan/Allen of Greenwich, Kent, is an example of a temporary transfer. He entered HBC service as seaman aboard the *Isabella* bound for Columbia in 1829. He continued sailing to and from the Pacific Slope to 1833, then in 1834 sailed to Hudson Bay aboard the *Ganymede*. He returned to London by November, then in December sailed aboard the same ship for Columbia, and continued working as a seaman on that route to 1844, when he settled with a country family at Chinook, Oregon. Similarly, William Martindale/Martindell/Martingale engaged as an apprentice aboard the *Prince of Wales* to Hudson Bay in 1838, returned to London by October, then sailed in November to Columbia aboard the *Vancouver*. He remained on that coast to the end of his career as a seaman in 1847, afterwards settling his family in Pacific County, Washington. Three of the four Swanson brothers, born on the shores of Hudson Bay – William, Joseph, and John – were similarly mobile seamen.[45]

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[43] HBCA, "Udgaarden, Gustave," and "Udgaarden, Harold (1867–1950)(fl. 1883–1932)," Biographical sheets. "M'Leod, Frederick (fl. 1911–1956)" Biographical Sheets.

[44] See, for example, HBCA, "Mark, James (b. 1851–1925) (fl. 1891)," and "Moore, Bert (b. 1906) (fl. 1927–1938)," Biographical Sheets.

William Swanson Junior and his two brothers were third generation sailors – sons of sailor William Swanson Senior, and grandsons of sailor Joseph Brown. At age sixteen William Junior was an apprentice sailor at Moose Factory. He crossed the continent by 1841 to serve as a slooper in the Thompson River District. By 1844, his brothers Joseph and John were also on the Pacific coast. Joseph initially served as an apprentice at the Company's California agency, became a boatman and a slooper there, and then a slooper at Fort Vancouver. In 1846, he left HBC service to try his prospects independently in California. Meanwhile, John Swanson had gone to the Columbia Department in 1842 as an apprentice sailor on the *Cadboro/Cadborough* and served on the coast in that capacity on the *Vancouver, Columbia,* and *Cowlitz*. In 1849, he went from seaman to second mate and served in that capacity aboard the *Beaver* to 1852. The following two years he was first mate of the *Mary Dare.* From 1856 to 1872, he was master of the *Beaver, Labouchere,* and *Enterprise*. During his sea-going HBC career, he married, had a family ashore, and in 1859 was elected to the Provincial Legislature in Victoria.[46]

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[45] HBCA, "Allen, Robert (a) (1800–1845) (fl. 1829–1944)", "Martindale, William (b. 1824– d. 1858) (fl. 1838)," Biographical Sheets. For additional examples of HBC sailor mobility, see "Monkman, Edward (fl. 1800)", "Wishart, John (b. ca. 1785) (fl. 1802–1823)", "Spence, John C (ca. 1798–1865) (fl. 1820–1861)", "Spence, Joseph (b. 1803) (fl. 1828–1836)", "McDonald, Farquhar (b. ca 1810) (fl. 1832–1839)", "Reid, James Murray (1802–1868) (fl. 1836–1853)", "Simpson, James (fl. 1838–1850)", "Mannock, Francis (d. 1855) (fl. 1839–1855)", "McCarthy, Jeremiah (b. ca 1818) (fl. 1844–1851)", "Weynton, Alexander John (fl. 1846–1851)", "Wishart, George (d. 1850) (fl. 1849–1850)", "Wishart, David Durham (fl. 1849–1855)", "Wshart, James (fl. 1849–1850)", "Watkins, George (b. ca. 1833) (fl. 1859–1861)", "McPherson, John (fl. 1865–1875)", "Main, Alexander (1833–1901) (fl. 1873–1884)", "Murray, John William (1868–1950) (fl. 1891–1932)", "Mitchell, Alfred Alexander (b. 1861) (fl. 1890)" Biographical Sheets; and Isaac Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 78.

[46] HBCA, "Swanson, William B (1819–1843) (fl. 1835–1843)", "Swanson, Joseph (b. 1821) (fl. 1835–1845)," Biographical Sheet. Beattie and Buss, *Undelivered Letters*, 326–28. In 1843, as a slooper on General charges at Vancouver, William Swanson drowned at the Dalles, Columbia River. "Death Notices", *The Victoria Daily Standard,* 1872, notes, "Oct. 21, at his residence in James Bay, Capt. John SWANSON, in service of the Hudson Bay Company for 31 years, the last vessel being the 'Enterprise'. Capt. Swanson was born near Moose Factory in Rupert's Land." 1871 "Victoria City Census, 1871," p. 98, line 32

Mobility within seafaring HBC families did not result in a unidirectional path of transit, either from 'old' to 'new' worlds or from long-settled to newly acquired posts on the trade frontier. Rather, family mobility evinced a complex circulation among, and away from, centres and peripheries of the Atlantic world.[47] Some native-born HBC deep-sea sailors – such as William Kennedy – maintained a North American 'home base' with their families while sailing across the ocean sea through Arctic, Atlantic, and Pacific waters. Others settled families in Europe. Some sailors and members of their families remained transitory to death or to old age. HBC seafarers from Europe and elsewhere further complicated the pattern of family movement, by opting to settle with their country spouses and children inland from North American coasts. From the first decades of the

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<http://www.rootsweb.com/~canbc/1871vic_cen/ name3.htm> (accessed 8 June 2006); see also Edward Mallandaine, "John Swanson," First Vancouver Island Victoria Directory and British Columbia Guide *1871* (Victoria: E. Mallandaine, 1871), 1DIR, which lists Swanson as "master str. 'Enterprise'." The name of his wife is not known, but he was survived by a son and a daughter. Leona Taylor and Dorothy Mindenhall, transcript, "Index of Historical Victoria Newspapers," Victoria's Victoria <http://www. victoriasvictoria.ca/> cached at <http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~bcvancou/vict18601861.htm> (accessed 19 May 2007), note that for the election, the only candidate was "Capt. John Swanson, of the Hudson's Bay Company steamer *Labouchere*" and "Capt. Charles E. Stuart was the only qualified voter. The return mentions that Capt. John Swanson was duly elected by a majority of one. In recording the election and the incidents in connection with it, the local paper comments:– 'This caps the climax of all elections that were ever heard of where Anglo-Saxon language is spoken'."

[47] See, for example, HBCA, "Sutherland, Donald (1778–1872) (fl. 1795–1822)," Biographical Sheet, whose daughter Isabella "married John Weir in Edinburgh and migrated to Corr. J.W. Weir, 1986–1987 Australia in 1839"; "McKay, Donald (ca. 1753–1833) (1779–1809)," Biographical Sheet, who married into a Company family bayside and had children, then retired to Scotland, remarried and had at least two more children,1809–1822, "until he emigrated to Nova Scotia." HBCA, "Hildred, George (fl. 1849–1850)," Biographical Sheet, indicates that in 1849–1850 the HBC ship *Albion* sailed from London to Sydney, Australia, then to the North West Coast. See also "Bethune, Angus (1783–1858) (fl. 1804–1841)," Biographical Sheet; Hilary Russell, "Bethune, Angus" DCB; E.A. McDougall, "Bethune, John," DCB; J.I. Cooper, "Waddens, Jean-Étienne," DCB; Peter Deslauriers, "McKenzie, Roderick," DCB; Peter Baskerville, "Bethune, Donald," DCB; Peter Ennals, "Bethune, James Gray," DCB; John Irwin Cooper, "Bethune, John," DCB; Heather MacDougall, "Bethune, Norman," DCB; Hilary Russell, "The Chinese Voyage of Angus Bethune," *The Beaver* 56, no. 4 (spring 1977): 22–31; Hilary Russell, "Bethune, Henry Norman," *The Canadian Encyclopedia Online* <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.cfm? PgNm=TCE&Params= A1ARTA0000715> (accessed 5 October 2006); Parks Canada, "Norman Bethune," Bethune Memorial House National Historic Site of Canada, History, Historic House <http://www.pc.gc.ca/ lhn-nhs/on/bethune/natcul/natcul1_e.asp.> (accessed 5 October 2006).

nineteenth century onwards, many seafarers chose to "swallow the anchor," on retiring or otherwise disengaging from Company service, and settle at Red River – just as ship's surgeon and factor, Thomas Thomas Senior, had done in 1815 with his family.[48] Charles Begg, for example – after serving variously in Hudson Bay, Red River, and Lake Superior as boatman and slooper, as well as interpreter, post master, and clerk – retired in 1867 to farm with his wife and their son, Robert Begg, in St. Andrews, and later, Mapleton, Manitoba. An equally popular choice of longer standing was to retire to settlements in Canada. Joseph Isbister, for instance, returned to the Orkneys on being recalled by the London Committee in 1756. After failing to win a position as captain of a Company ship, he migrated with his wife and six children – at least three of whom had been born at Albany – to Quebec.[49] Likewise, John Thomas Senior, who had worked passage either to or from Moose in 1769, 1789, 1790, 1800, and 1801, resigned in 1814 and migrated to Canada with a large party of relatives to settle in Vaudreuil County, Quebec.[50] John McNab had retired from Company service while in England in 1811, but

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[48] W. Nelson Francis, review of *Hakluyt's Voyages: An Epic of Discovery*, by Richard Hakluyt, *William and Mary Quarterly* 3d ser., 12, no. 3 (July 1955): 448.

[49] See HBCA, "Bird, James Sr. (ca. 1773–1856) (fl. 1788–1824)", "Calder, Peter (1799–1852) (fl. 1826–1852)", "Charles, John (b. ca. 1784) (fl. 1799–1843)", "Michelson, Johan", "MonkmanJ"; "Pruden, John Peter (1778–1868) (fl. 1791–1837)"; "Thomas. Thomas (1766–1828) (fl. 1789–1815)"; Wishart, Thomas (b. ca. 1797)", "Cromartie, John (ca. 1792–1870) (fl. 1812–1870)", "Begg, Charles (b. ca. 1815) (fl. 1831–1865)", "Isbister, Joseph," Biographical Sheets. Also Sprague and Frye, *Genealogy*; Gail Morin, *Métis Families*; and Métis National Council Historical Online Database, indices for the aforementioned.

[50] HBCA, "Thomas, John Sr. (1751–1822) (fl. 1769–1814)," Biographical Sheet, notes "When they left Moose in 1814, the group consisted of John Thomas Senior, Charles [sic], wife and child, Peter Spence, wife and three children, Thomas Knight, John Knight, Mary Knight, Henry Thomas, son of John Thomas, 3 Grandchildren of John Thomas, viz. Henry Thomas, Richard Thomas, and Richard Robins, Mrs. McNab and a son of Mr. Vincent, Chief at Albany ...; son Charles; daughter Charlotte, wife of Peter Spence and their son John; daughter Eleanor, wife of Peter Foy, grandchildren Henry and Richard Thomas, sons of Eleanor by her first marriage to Thomas Thomas; daughter Margaret, spinster, in London.; daughter Frances, wife of Andrew Stewart; daughter Ann, wife of Alexander Christie; daughter Elizabeth, wife of

by 1816 had moved to Montreal where, in 1818, he wrote the Committee requesting they arrange that "his son and family join him in Canada."[51] Other seafaring HBC families chose Ontario as a settlement destination. Thomas "(A)" Taylor sloopmaster, retired "to Canada" in 1862, and his wife Jennet appears to have moved to Ontario by 1870.[52] During the same period, Thomas Lamphier/Lamphire of Yorkshire, who served as boatman, seaman, and sloop master from 1831–1862, at Moose Factory, Sault Ste. Marie, and Lake Superior, retired to Ontario. He became the lighthouse keeper at St. Ignace/ Talbot Light, three miles from St. Ignace Island, Lake Superior, where he died in 1869. Along with his Aboriginal wife, Lamphier became the subject of a story that enriched local lore – he being one of three successive keepers to die "at, or close to the station, leading to the nickname 'Lighthouse of Doom'."[53] Some of those who retired to Ontario later moved to Manitoba, participating in successive waves of westward migration that

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James Russell and her son Richard Story Robins by a previous marriage; son Henry." The list reflects John Thomas Sr. having had at least ten children with his wife Margaret – some of whom were married at the time. One unmarried daughter, Margaret Thomas, had, at some point previously lived in London, perhaps having accompanied John Thomas there in 1789, because she 'returned' to Hudson Bay in 1792. At a later date, she sailed again to England.

[51] HBCA, "McNab, John (DR) (ca. 1755–ca. 1820) (fl. 1779–1812)", M'Nab, Thomas (b. ca. 1781) (fl.1797–1821)," Biographical Sheets, note in 1819 the Company replied that John McNab's "claims on the Company are not substantiated." The letter was addressed to The University of Edinburgh. Thus, his grandson – John Bunn – headed home from thence as ship's surgeon. Dr. John McNab presumably died in Montreal. His son Thomas McNab moved to Montreal after leaving Company service in 1821.

[52] HBCA, "Taylor, Thomas A (fl. 1851–1862)"; see also "Taylor, John A (1835–1908) (fl. 1866–1903)," Biographical Sheets. Also HBCA, "Michelson, Johan," Biographical Sheets, of Norway, who worked "on foredeck" of the *Prince Arthur* to Moose in 1857 retired "to Canada" in 1869.

[53] Andrea Gutsche, Barbara Chisholm, and Russell Floren, cited in Greg Breining, "A Path to the Past," *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, 20 August 2000; and repeated in Greg Breining, *Wild Shore: Exploring Lake Superior by Kayak* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 98–99; HBCA, "Lamphier, Thomas," Biographical Sheet; "St. Ignace Light (ON)," Lighthouse Depot <http://www.lighthousedepot.com/lite_ explorer.asp?action=display_details&LighthouseID=3319&bhcd2=1225987630> (accessed 6 November 2008).

followed the creation of the latter province.[54]

There were as well descendants of North American Aboriginal seafarers who had transitioned across the Atlantic to become virtually European, and progenitors of what were to all intents European families.[55] Thus, there were 'British' seafarers of North American Aboriginal heritage who continued to sail in distant seas. Captain Colin Sinclair and the descendants of his elder sister, Jane, supply a case in point. In 1822, Jane sailed to Sandwick, Orkney, with her husband, HBC servant James Kirkness, and their daughter, Amelia, who was approximately three years old. Jane remained in Sandwick after James' death in 1843, raising Amelia and two brothers – James W. Kirkness, and William Kirkness.[56] Of Jane's children, Amelia married seafarer Alexander Sclater/Slater in 1845. She sailed with him to live in Liverpool – at the time a "magnet of commerce and prosperity" that "attracted generations of migrants from Britain and Ireland and

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[54] See, for example, HBCA, "Taylor, John A (1835–1908 (fl. 1866–1903)," Biographical Sheet. sloopmaster and skipper, John Taylor, retired to Nipigon Ontario in 1903, moving with his family to Winnipeg in 1906 where he died in 1908.

[55] See Bruce Thorson, "The Bay Connection," *Canadian Geographic Magazine* 120, no. 7 (November/December 2000): 98; Ferenc Morton Szasz, *Scots in the North American West, 1790–1917* (Norman OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000), 68, notes, "On several occasions ... fathers renewed their connections to Scotland by returning there with their families or by sending the children overseas for a European education. The most outstanding early twentieth-century athlete on the Isle of Lewis [Aonghas Greum/Angus graham, a strongman born in 1810], for example, had an Indian mother"; Thomas, "Fur Traders in Retirement," 14–21; Barry Cooper, "Alexander Kennedy Isbister, a respectable Victorian," *Canadian Ethnic Studies/Etudes Ethniques au Canada* 17, no. 2 (1985): 44–63; Phoebe Dey, "Canadian history in Scotland: Native Studies prof finds the connection." *Folio* 36, no. 20 (18 June 1999), online publication, University of Alberta <http://www.ualberta.ca/~publicas/folio/36/20/07.html> (accessed 15 October 2003).

[56] According the the 1841 census, James W. Kirkness was born ca. 1832. William does not appear on the census. See also See Atlantic Canada Shipping Project [ACSP], Sample Crew Lists, "Kirkness, William," *Ships and Seafarers of Atlantic Canada*, CD, Maritime History Archive and the Maritime Studies Research Unit, CD Rom, which lists an able bodied seaman of that name, of Liverpool, aboard the *Atlantic King* under the command of Thomas Owens. William's reported age indicates he was born 1843. The possibility that this was Jane and James Kirkness's son is intriguing, but there is no confirmed linkage.

sometimes from further afield" – in company with her mother and possibly her brothers.[57] By the 1860s, Amelia's husband was captain of non-HBC vessels such as the *Golden Light*, *Viola,* and "the fine full-rigged ship" *Newman Hall*.[58] Mariner Benjamin Vaughan, also 'of' Liverpool, who in concert with a number of male relatives, built, brokered, owned, and sailed ships out of New Brunswick, Canada, owned these vessels.[59]

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[57] Graeme J. Milne, *Trade and Traders in Mid-Victorian Liverpool: Mercantile Business and the Making of a World Port* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), 3.

[58] "Captain Charles Graham," obituary, souvenir reprint, from *The Journal of Commerce,* Liverpool (9 December 1922). See HBCA, "Kirkness, James (ca. 1774–1843) (fl. 1797–1822)," Biographical Sheet; Archives of Manitoba, MG 14, B 30, file no. 38, "Colin Robertson Sinclair, Estate, 1898–1903"; D. Geneva Lent, *West of the Mountains: James Sinclair and the Hudson's Bay Company* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1963), 29. Roland William Saint-Clair, *The Saint-Clairs of the Isles: Being a History of the Sea-Kings of Orkney and Their Scottish Successors of the Surname of Sinclair Arranged and Annotated By Roland William Saint-Clair* (Auckland, New Zealand, 1898), 8, mentions "Jean Sinclair," born in Hudson's Bay who married James Kirkness and had two sons and a daughter. Jean died at the residence of "Mrs. Capt. Slater, of Liverpool," ca. 1894. Library at Kirkwall, Records of the Harry Churchyard, Old Portion, p. 4, grave 19. LDS, Batch C110274 sheet 0192, 0076, give the parentage of Alexander Slater and marriage date to Amelia Kirkness. See also "Slate, Sclater, etc – births & baptisms, all of Orkney," International Genealogical Index (R), 1994 edition, version 3.06 <http:www.cursiter.com/txt-exe-files/Slater.txt> (accessed 25 September 2004); transcript, 1841 Census, Sanwick, Orkney <http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.com/~relys4u/> (accessed 25 September 2004), lists both Alexander Slater's family of origin – at the address 164 "Schoolhouse", and the family – no. 113 "Kirkness" – of James and Jane/Jean Kirkness. See also *The Sailors' Magazine and Seamen's Friend* 55, no. 6 (June 1883): 188, which lists a receipt from Captain Alexander Sclater, *Newman Hall,* Liverpool, of ten dollars for "library work."

[59] See ACSP, Vessel Registry, "Newman Hall," registration no. J[St. John's NB]875027, official no. 072216, constructed Saint Martins, John County, New Brunswick, in 1875, for owner Benjamin Vaughan of Liverpool; also "Nile," no official number given, registered in 1836 as J836104, which Benjamin Vaughan owned jointly with mariners David and Thomas, and shipbuilder, Simon Vaughan. For additional ships owned and/or built by the Vaughans see registration nos. J846033 *William Carson*; J850025 *Robert A. Lewis*, official no. 032918; J853108 *David Brown,* official no. 026757, which mentions shipbuilder Silas Vaughan, and Alexander Lockhart; J857020 *Stamford*, official no. 035169, which indicates Alexander Lockhart was a merchant; J859052 *Golden Light*, official no. 007035; M[irimachi NB]853028 *Golden Light*; J866011, and J586025 *Pomona*, official no.035051; J869076 *India*, official no. 043471; J870046 *Viola* , official no. 042735; J871049 *Ontario*, official no. 042723; J872012 *Waterloo,* official no. 048749; and J874029 *Landseer*, official no. 066969. As master, Benjamin Vaughan commanded the *Viola*, *Landseer*, *E. Sutton, Rowland Hill,* and *Temple Bar*. On the latter ship, a John Slater, b.ca. 1834, of Shetland, is listed among the crew and the managing owner is William Vaughan, of St. Stephen [parish, Redditch, Birmingham]. They sailed for approximately eight months, from Glasgow to Greenock Scotland, Rio de Janiero, Brazil, and Portland Oregon, returning to Liverpool – the voyage beginning February of 1881. See also Lewis R. Fischer, "A Bridge Across the Water: Liverpool Shipbrokers and the Transfer of Eastern Canadian Sailing Vessels, 1855–1880," *The Northern Mariner/Le Marin du nord* m, no. 3 (July 1993), 49–50, 54, for discussion of the "web of personal connections"

Alexander Sclater sailed on Vaughan ships from Liverpool to such ports of the Atlantic world as: Cardiff, Wales; Quebec, Canada; New York, Philadelphia, Savannah, New Orleans, and Mobile, in the United States; Havana, West Indies; Rio de Janerio, Brazil; Montevideo, Uruguay; and Moulemein, Burma/Myanmar. Depending on the destination, Captain Slater was at sea for anywhere from three to fifteen months at a time.[60] With his wife, Amelia, he had at least eight children – William, James Kirkness, Alexander, John William, Nelson Cameron, Mary Cameron, her twin brother who died in infancy, and Alfred. According to the obituary of daughter Mary Cameron Slater's husband, mariner Captain Charles Graham, her mother Amelia had accompanied Captain Sclater on his voyages, raising their children aboard ship.[61] This continued to be a "sailing family." As the children matured, the sons became sailors, and Mary "never saw her family together as someone was always out to sea."[62]

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including "family ties" that marked vessel construction in New Brunswick and deployment of the ships in the North Atlantic shipping trade out of Liverpool. He adds the Vaughans were among "the most important [ship] brokers in Liverpool."

[60] ASCP, *Golden Light*, voyage ID J007035005, 1865; *Golden Light*, voyage ID J00703006, official no. 0070351866; *Golden Light*, voyage ID J007035007, official no. 00735, 1867; *Golden Light*, voyage ID J007035008, official no. 007035, 1868; *Golden Light*, voyage ID J007035009 1868; *Golden Light*, voyage ID J007035010, 1869, the vessel was wrecked on a voyage to the port of New York after thirty-five days sailing, which indicates an incident at or near the port; *Viola*, voyage ID J042735001, official no. 042735, vessel registration no. J870046, 1870, the ship's first voyage; *Viola*, voyage ID J42735002, 1871; *Viola*, voyage ID J42735003, 1872: Viola, voyage ID J42735004, 1873. The records give Alexander Slater's certificate of competency as Colonial, 9232, and indicate he had sailed on Vaughan ships previously.

[61] "Captain Charles Graham," *Journal of Commerce*, notes, "during one particular voyage when second officer Graham and Miss Sclater were brought very much together something more than friendship sprang up between them, and shortly after the ship's return to England the second officer and the captain's daughter were married." Archives of Manitoba, "Colin Robertson Sinclair, Estate,"

[62] Marna Temple, letter to Valerie Temple, 1986, possession of Valerie Temple, notes as well, "We always loved the story that Mum [Nina Cameron Graham] used to tell us of her mother [Mary Cameron Graham] being the surviving twin – the baby boy died – and was small enough that she would fit in a milk jug." See also ASCP, "John William Slater," Official Number 072223.

The family did see seafaring relatives with some frequency however. Jane Kirkness, as a transplanted grandmother of Hudson Bay, lived in the Sclaters' home ashore in Liverpool. It was here that Jane's brother, Captain Colin Sinclair, stayed while in port. Here he renewed, or built anew, acquaintances with nieces, nephews, their spouses, and children. In the last decades of the nineteenth century, at the close of his career as a mariner, Colin retired to Red River to live with another sister, Mary Inkster, and her family at Seven Oaks House. The home is now a museum that displays his room and possessions, including a sailors' hammock, which he installed instead of a bed. By 1912, a grandniece – the daughter of Mary Cameron Slater and Captain Charles Graham – and her fiancée, had followed Colin's lead. They sailed from Liverpool, leaving extended family behind, while yet connecting with more, to be married from "Bleak House," the home of Manitoba's first sheriff, Colin Inkster.[63] The event was noted in newspapers of Winnipeg and Liverpool, though the point highlighted was not that Red River families had transoceanic ties, but that the bride, Nina Cameron Graham, was the "first woman to be graduated in engineering from a recognized university anywhere in the world," at the University of Liverpool, that year.[64] Thus, for a century, from the early

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[63] "1637 Main Street – Colin Inkster's Bleak House, [Author] Unknown, 1874," City of Winnipeg, 1980 <www.winnipeg.ca/ppd/historic/pdf-consv/Main%201637-short.pdf> (accessed 27 January 2009); see also Frank Hall, "Seven Oaks House Opened as a Museum," *Manitoba Pageant* 4, no. 2 (January 1959); "Seven Oaks House Museum: A Manitoba Heritage" <http://www. geocities.com/ sevenoaksmuseum/> (accessed 27 January 2009); Healy, *Women of Red River*, 46, 74, 86, 90–92, 95–96, 200. Irene M. Spry, "Inkster, John," DCB; "Colin Inkster (1843–1934)," *Pioneers and Prominent People of Manitoba* (Canadian Publicity Company, 1925), online version 2007, Manitoba Historical Society <http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/people/inkster_c.shtml> (accessed 27 January 2009).

[64] Mary Bletcher, "Degree in Engineering Helped Mother of 10," *Winnipeg Free Press* (5 June 1965): 16; "First Woman Engineer," *Altamont Enterprise*, New York (ca. 1912), online digital collection, <http://historicnewspapers.guilpl.org/altamont-enterprise-1911-november-1913-december/altamont-enterprise-1911-november-1913-december%20-%200501.pdf> (accessed 27 January 2009); "A Wedding

1800s, when William Sinclair's children first sailed out of Hudson Bay, to the early 1900s, when descendants sailed back again, Company family networks had remained operational through sea-borne means of communication that ranged from written wills and letters to personal contacts maintained by seafarers.[65]

Historically, in the North and North West of North America, shipping was an aspect of life in communities associated with the HBC institutional project. Consequently, seafarers participated in a dynamic and complex social process by which communities were established, reconfigured, and preserved. From 1670 to 1920, families formed in an ongoing mingling of men, women, and children who moved in and out of Company workplaces at bayside trade posts, on ships, and points inland. Families and family members travelled by water-borne craft – including ships, york boats, and canoes – in and between North American workplaces. By way of HBC transatlantic vessels, they also travelled between North American communities and those in other regions of the

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In Winnipeg," *Winnipeg Free Press* (1912); "Family Has Fine Scholastic Record," *Winnipeg Tribune* (17 May 1946); and "Liverpool's First Woman B.Eng," *Liverpool Daily Post* (ca. 1962), newspaper clippings, autograph album of Nina Cameron Graham/Walley, possession of Norma Hall. See also "Nina Cameron Graham Prize," University of Liverpool, Committee Secretariat <http://www.liv.ac.uk/commsec/prizes_awards/nina_cameron_graham.htm> (accessed 27 January 2009).

[65] See for example, HBCA, "Cocking, Matthew (1743–1799) (fl. 1765–1782)," Biographical Sheet; "Cocking, Mathew," DCB. Cocking worked passage to York Fort in 1765. Afterwards stationed landward, he rose from clerk to master at Severn and to chief of York by 1781–1782. He sailed to England on the *King George,* just before La Pérouse arrived to capture the fort. He retired to the "Suburbs of the city of York," but "did not forget his transatlantic family ties; he secured permission from the company to send an annual remittance for 'the use of his children and their parents in Hudson's Bay.' When he died in 1799, his major legatees were English relatives, but his will provided for goods worth £6 a year to be supplied to each of his three mixed-blood daughters, the eldest to receive the full amount, the others to share their portion with their mothers. The council at York requested that part of this legacy might be 'laid out in Ginger Bread, Nuts &tc. as they have no other means of obtaining these little luxuries, with which the paternal fondness of a Father formally provided them'." See also Beattie and Buss, *Undelivered Letters*, 327–28, and the correspondence of Elizabeth Swanson/Linklater, in 1834 to her sailor brother William Swanson Junior. Also Alan Crawford, "Orcadians head to Canada for family powwow Islanders and Canada's [sic]," *The Sunday Herald*, Scotland, 30 January 2005 <http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qn4156/is_/ai_n9498715> (accessed 24 January 2009); and "John McNab," Material Histories, for examples of present-day communication between HBC family descendants.

Atlantic world. Over generations, through communication, seafarers contributed to the multiple perspectives that mark Western Canadian history. Because sailors were human beings with life paths that geographically, culturally, and socially ranged widely, they were more than ancillary to the transport of HBC goods and information. Their work generated more than value-added to cargoes of furs for the London Committee. Communication between people involved with maritime work for the Company meant sailors were embedded as deeply in the "tangled roots" of communities in Western Canada as were those HBC servants who did not work ships. Sailors were equally as "essential or indispensable" to the generation of social capital in the region: making and maintaining "networks of relationships among persons, firms, and institutions" that allowed transmission of those "associated norms of behaviour, trust, cooperation, etc., that enable a society to function effectively."[66] As seafarer Isaac Cowie proudly observed in 1913, "go where one may in all these regions the ubiquitous descendants ... may be found, many occupying leading and influential positions."[67]

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[66] Jameson, "Introduction," xvi. Alan V. Deardorff, "Social capital," Deardorff's Glossary of International Economics, 2001 <http://www-personal.umich.edu/~alandear/glossary/s.html> (accessed 27 January 2009); see also Tania Burchardt, "social capital," *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Politics*, ed. Iain McLean and Alistair McMillan, ORO <http://www.oxfordreference.com.qe2a-proxy.mun.ca/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t86.e1257> (accessed 27 January 2009); Milne, *Trade and Traders in Mid-Victorian Liverpool*, 17.

[67] Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 110.

Chapter Fifteen

Conclusion

In 1986, Carl Berger observed that written history "is not an olympian record of past activity; [rather] it reveals a good deal about the intellectual climate in which it was composed."[1] Climates change. In 2001, Kerry Abel and Ken S. Coates hinted as much in the course of introducing a collection of essays about past historiographical perspectives and present interest in expanding the scope of Northern historical inquiry. They noted that, in the 1960s, W.L. Morton had argued, "the North was central to the story of Canada," yet, they observed, "the North remains a marginal place in the nation's understanding of its past."[2] In 2004, when I began this study, it appeared to me that if – as David Neufeld, Mary-Ellen Kelm, and Shelagh D. Grant had argued – the majority of

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[1] Berger, *The Writing of Canadian History: Aspects of English-Canadian Historical Writing since 1900* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), ix.

[2] Kerry Abel, and Ken S. Coates, "Introduction: The North and the Nation," in *Northern Visions: New Perspectives in Canadian History*, ed. Kerry Abel, and Ken S. Coates (Peterborough ON: Broadview Press, 2001), 8. See also W.L. Morton, "The 'North' in Canadian History," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada,* 4th ser., 7 (1970): 40; Richard Diubaldo "The North in Canadian History: An Outline," *Fram: The Journal of Polar Studies* 1, no. 1 (1984): 187; Ken Coates, "The Rediscovery of the North: Towards a Conceptual Framework for the Study of the North/Northern Regions," *The Northern Review* 12, no. 13 (summer/winter 1994): 15–43.

past actors living and working in the North had been marginalized within historiography, then those actors living and working off Northern shores had been doubly so.[3] I conclude my study convinced that histories of Canadian development that describe the absorption of the HBC's 'plantation' in the course of the country's transcontinental completion, need not eschew examination of Northern ocean voyaging to examine "The land and its resources."[4] It is not an 'either or' proposition. As Frederick Jackson Turner cautioned in "The Significance of History" penned in 1891:

> not only is it true that no country can be understood without taking account of all the past; it is also true that we cannot select a stretch of land and say we will limit our study to this land, for local history can only be understood in the light of the history of the world. . . . Ideas, commodities even, refuse the bounds of a nation. All are inextricably connected, so that each is needed to explain the others. This is true especially in the modern world with its complex commerce and means of

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[3] David Neufield, "Parks Canada and the Commemoration of the North: History and Heritage," in *Northern Visions*, 45–76; Mary-Ellen Kelm, "Change, Continuity, Renewal: Lessons from a Decade of Historiography on the First Nations of the Territorial North," in *Northern Visions*, 77–90; Shelagh D. Grant, "Inuit History in the Next Millennium: Challenges and Rewards," in *Northern Visions*, 91–106. See also Canadian Nautical Research Society <http://cnrs-scrn.org/cnrse000.htm> (accessed 15 February 2006), and index to *The Northern Mariner/le Marin du Nord,* vols. 1–14 (1991–2004) <http://cnrs-scrn.org/tnme000.htm> (accessed 15 February 2006); The North American Society for Oceanic History <http://www.ecu.edu/nasoh/index.htm> and <http://www.ecu.edu/nasoh/nasoh%20hattendorf%20comments.htm> (accessed 15 February 2006); and Maritime History and Naval Heritage, website <http://www.cronab.demon.co.uk/marit.htm> (accessed 15 February 2006). Historians specializing in exploration or in naval history demonstrate an awareness of the Far North within their fields (which may be considered subfields of 'oceanic history'). However, the Canadian Northern Seaboard is by no means a predominant area of interest in the fields of exploration and naval history. Those historians interested in voyaging to the far North tend to research a specific explorer, vessel, or battle, or to describe patterns of accumulating knowledge about, and suzerainty over, Arctic waterways and adjacent land masses. See, for example, Peter Steele, *The Man Who Mapped the Arctic: The Intrepid Life of George Back, Franklin's Lieutenant* (Vancouver: Raincoast Books, 2003); James P. Delgado, *Arctic Workhorse: The RCMP Schooner St. Roch*, (Victoria BC.: Touchwood Editions, 2002); Jennifer Niven, *The Ice Master: The Doomed 1913 Voyage of the Karluk and the Miraculous Rescue of her Survivors* (New York: Theia, 2000). Overall, in exploration and naval histories, the 'social' and the 'cultural' are addressed at the national or biographical scale – rather than at the scale of the workplace. For observations on recent contributions to Atlantic world studies that include the North see Chapter One, this thesis, 12 n.28, n.29.

[4] Kenneth Norrie and Douglas Owram, *A History of the Canadian Economy* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Canada, 1991), 4.

intellectual connection.[5]

As the chapters of this thesis demonstrate, appreciating the cumulative effect of past commerce, communication, and ideas not only requires thinking beyond borders but beyond shorelines, and in doing so, taking the people who affected traverses of sea space into account.[6] This dissertation agrees, with previous historiography, that land loomed large in Northern seafarers' experiences. Past people who traversed the ocean sea off Rupert's Land sighted land, and were sometimes marooned, starved, or frozen to death on land. They traded for the land's abundance, and many, once landed from their ships, remained landed – ordering landward societies and positioning themselves with respect to land ownership. What this dissertation adds, however, by relating human activity on the HBC ocean arc to Western Canadian history at a social and economic level, is that the journeys of seafarers, as well as their destinations, have relevance to the history of development.

The thesis argues for accepting the maritime activity of people, not as a separate historical category, or as a related but abstract historical 'linkage', but as a lived aspect of human experience essential to history in the North. Studying the activity of maritime workers in and of the Canadian North from 1508 to 1920 contributes to better understanding historical process in Canada as a whole and the history of development in Western Canada in particular, because the North was the site of maritime ingress into the

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[5] Frederick Jackson Turner, quoted in Thomas Bender, "The Boundaries and Constituencies of History," *American Literary History* 18, no. 2 (summer 2006): 277.

[6] See Daniel Vickers and Vince Walsh, *Young Men and the Sea: Yankee Seafarers in the Age of Sail* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 2.

Canadian West.[7] Maritime activity was as crucial to forwarding and maintaining the HBC institutional project as was activity on land and on inland waterways. Afloat or ashore, whether currently engaged as workers aboard ship, acting as servants on land, or having 'swallowed the anchor,' sailors were the conveyers of complex communication that allowed intercontinental transportation, integration, and exchange of people, goods, and ideas. They were not incidental to change and continuity but harbingers and makers of these aspects of history's structure.[8]

Mariners introduced changes and made direct contributions to development throughout the Atlantic world. Sailors of Hudson Bay and associated waters, because they were mariners, directly contributed to the course of development on land in ways reflective of material realities, practicalities, and skill sets associated with their occupation. Establishing trade in Hudson Bay meant first – *circa* 1508 or before – finding, and then afterwards establishing communication with, land. From 1668, consideration of offshore conditions, safety, and navigability, by mariners such as Zachary Gillam and Charles Bayly, determined the locations of HBC ports. Bayside posts were designed and built by captains and crews of such ships as the *John and Alexander* of 1679, the *Hopwell* in 1689, and the *Success* in 1717.[9] From the voyages of Charles Bayly in 1670, coastal exploration to further the trade was undertaken by HBC crews of mariners such as: George Berley of

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[7] See Norrie and Owram, *History of the Canadian Economy* [1991], vii, who assert, "any emphasis on resource activities must be mitigated by attention to the numerous other forces that shaped Canadian economic development over the years if a full understanding of the complexities of the subject is to be achieved."

[8] See Hayden White, "The Metaphysics of Western Historiography," *Taiwan Journal of East Asian Studies* (June 2004): 10, 12, on conceptualizing history, change, and continuity.

[9] See, for example, Chapter Eight, this thesis, 182–83, 187–88 n.46, 195, 200 nn. 84, 85.

the *Albany* [II], and David Vaughan of the *Discovery*, in 1719; Thomas Mitchell of the *Eastmain* [III], and John Longland of the *Phoenix*, in 1744; and James Walker and John McBean, of the *New Churchill*, from 1751 to 1756.[10] Mariners such as Alexander Light and the crew of the *Moose*, from 1742 to 1743, also laid the groundwork for "much of our present knowledge of the natural history Canada."[11] As well, men who had trained as sailors forwarded both coastal and inland mapping that was critical to London Committee decision making. Included among these were Henry Kelsey, from 1684 to 1722, William Coats, from 1727 to 1751, and Samuel Hearne, from 1766 to 1787, whose contribution was extended by that of his protégé David Thompson, from 1784 to 1797.[12] Such direct

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[10] See R.H.G. Leveson Gower, "Voyages for Discovery of the Northwest Passage," *The Beaver* 16, no. 1 (June 1936): 45–49; HBCA, B.59/a/9, Eastmain Post Journal, 1744, Thomas Mitchell, "A Journal of Transactions on Bard ye Eastmain Sloop Thos Mitchell Commander By Gods Permission whereby whent to Discover ye Eastmain Coast In Hudsons Bay In Company with ye Phoenix Mr Jno Laynlnand Commander Begun July ye 2d 1744 when I left off in my last [sic]"; B.42/a/37, Churchill River Post Journal, 1751, James Walker, "A Journal of our proceeding in the Churchill from Churchill River to the Lattd. 64..00 North from thence Back to Churchill River Began June the 27 And Ending August the 21st. 1751 By James Walker [sic]"; B.42/a/39, Churchill River Post Journal, 1751–1752, James Walker, "A Journall of our Proceeding by God's Permission in the Churchill Sloop from Churchill to York Fort and back to Churchill again in the year 1751 – Likewise on a Northward Expedition By James Walker – Master 1752 [sic]"; B.42/a/41, Churchill River Post Journal, 1752–1753, James Walker, "A Journal of our proceedings by God's permistion in the Churchill Sloop for part of ye year 52 & part of the year 1753 [sic]"; B.42/a/42, Churchill River Post Journal, 1753–1754, Ferdinand Jacobs, "A Journal or Diary of ye most Remarkable Transactions Kept at Prince Wales's Foert Churchill River by Ferdinand Jacobs Chief Factor & Agent at ye Said Fort for ye Honrble. Govr. & Compy. Adeventurers of England Trading into Hudsons Bay [sic]"; B.42/a/43, Fort Churchill Post Journal, 1754, James Walker, "A Journal of our Preceeding in the Churchill Sloop – by James Walker 1754 [sic]"; B.42/a/45, NE Journal [illegible], 1754–1755, John [Mc] Bean, "A Journal of a voyage to York Fort 1754. Likewise a journal to the Northward or Towards the welcome [Roe's Welcome] 1755 on Board of the Churchill Sloop John Bean master from prince of wales Fort in Hudsons Bay North America [sic]"; B.42/a/47, Churchill River Post Journal, 1756, John McBean, "NE Journal of the most material Occurrances [sic] on board the Churchill Sloop from 11 July to 23d Augst. 1756 Kept by John Mcbean Master [sic]".

[11] James L. Baillie, "Naturalists on Hudson Bay," *The Beaver* 26, no. 3 (December 1946): 36–39; HBCA, B.59/a/7, Eastmain Post Journal, 1742–1743, Alexander Light, "Alex. Light Master of the Moose Sloop his Journal from ye 11 Aug 1742 to ye 20 Aug 1743 [sic]"; HBCA, "Light, Alexander, (fl. 1733)," Biographical Sheet; H.G. Deignan, "HBC and the Smithsonian," *The Beaver* 27, no. 1 (June 1947): 3; see also, Chapter Six, this thesis, 121–22, for the observations of Christopher Middleton and John Franklin.

[12] Robert Watson, "Henry Kelsey, HBC Explorer," *The Beaver* 6, no. 3 (June 1926): 100–1, notes

contributions did not cease at the end of the eighteenth century. Seafarers such as John Rae of the HBC continued to expand knowledge about the region with his voyages of 1846 and 1853, as did such non-HBC seafarers as George Comer from 1893 to 1919, and Albert Peter Low from 1886 to 1904.[13] Before and after Canada's acquisition of Rupert's Land, master mariners such as William Kennedy, David Herd, and A.R. Gordon furnished reports that were essential to decision making in central Canada regarding accessing and developing resources in the West and the North.[14] Mariner opinion served to justify

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that Kelsey travelled to the Bay aboard the *Happy Return* in 1684 in the company of Pierre Esprit Radisson; Charles Napier Bell, "The Journal of Henry Kelsey, 1691–1692: The First White Man to reach the Saskatchewan River from Hudson Bay, and the First to See the Buffalo and Grizzly Bear of the Canadian Plains – With Notes on Some Other Experiences of the Man," *MHS Transaction*, ser. 2 , no. 4 (read 24 May, 1928); K.G. Davies, "Kelsey, Henry," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* Online [DCB] <http://www.biographi.ca/EN/index.html> ; Glyndwr Williams, "Highlights: Part 4 Kelsey, Henday and the Prairies," *The Beaver* 50, no. 2 (autumn 1970): 21–27; Glyndwr Williams, "Captain Coats and the East Main," *Beaver* 43, no. 3 (winter 1963): 4–13; Tuzo Wilson, "New Light on Hearne," *The Beaver* 29, no. 1 (June 1949): 14–18; Richard G. Glover, "Sidelights on S^{L} Hearne," *The Beaver* 26, no. 4 (March 1947): 101–4 ; V.G. Hopwood, "New Light on David Thompson," *The Beaver* 37, no. 1 (summer 1957): 26–31; V.G. Hopwood, "More Light on David Thompson," *The Beaver* 37, no. 3 (autumn 1957): 58; John Nicks, "Thompson, David," DCB. See also Glyndwr Williams, "Mitchell, Thomas," DCB, for another example of mariner mapmaking.

[13] Arabus B. Cummings, "Biography of Dr. John Rae, HBC fur trader, traveller and explorer," *The Beaver* 6, no 6 [4] (March 1927): 66–67. W. Gillies Ross, "George Comer (1858–1937)," *Arctic* 36, no. 3 (September 1983): 294–95; "Off to Seek Trade In Arctic Lands; Leden Expedition sails Tomorrow for Exploration in Northern Waters. Will Deal With Natives. Plan Survey of Mineral Products and Food Supplies – Ethnologists in Party," *The New York Times* (8 July 1919): 11; W.O. Douglas, "The Wreck of the 'Finback'," Chesterfield Inlet, "Chester 'Then'," History of Chesterfield Inlet, <http://www.chesterfieldinlet.net/history_comerlong.htm> (accessed 30 April 2007); and Joe Hartwell, "The History of the USS Radnor: Radnor's Navigation Officer Lt. jg George Comer, Biography of Captain George Comer," (May 26, 2008) <http://freepages.military.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~cacunithistories/radnor.htm> (accessed 9 August 2008); "Additions to Captain Comer's Map of Southampton Island," *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society* 45, no. 7 (1913): 516–18. Hugh Stewart, "A.P. Low (1861–1942)," *Arctic*, 39, no. 3 (September 1986): 274–75; T.H. Manning, "Explorations on the East Coast of Hudson Bay," *Geographical Journal* 109, no. 1/3 (January–March 1947): 58–75. See also Lucas G. Thompson, "Modern Exploration and H.B.C.," *The Beaver* 2, no. 11 (August 1922): 6.

[14] *Captain William Kennedy* (Winnipeg: Manitoba Culture, Heritage and Recreation, Historic Resources, ca. 1985), 2; Great Britain, Parliament, House of Commons, Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, *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: HMSO, 1858), 255–58; A.R. Gordon, "Report of the Hudson's Bay Expedition, under the command of Lieut. A.R. Gordon, R.N., 1884," Canadian Government Sessional Papers 18, no. 6, 189–206.

competing proposals for routing railway traffic by way of Hudson Bay or for preserving the monopoly of access, to migrant people and transported goods, held by the metropolises of the St. Lawrence Seaway.[15] Until the advent of air transport to the Bay – beginning 1922 – volumes of sea traffic determined the placement and fortunes of communities ranged along the Northern Seaboard.[16]

Through applying Allan Pred's premise that place and the relation of an individual to place are socially constructed, and that communication is the means of social construction, this dissertation points to a range of indirect contributions by mariners as well. The appended ship list indicates there were more sailors than just an exploring few: between 1508 and 1920 there were thousands in and about Hudson Bay. They spoke, worked, and travelled their way into historical process – presented in this dissertation as a social process whereby people, by interacting and making decisions, shaped how past events happened, who was involved, and what they knew. Although mariners' knowledge was fundamental to deliberations of the HBC London Committee – and, apparently, at times jealously guarded by that body – it was widely shared among seafarers through the personal networks of sailors. In teaching one another, mariners made their world known to one another; a world in which they commemorated their presence through such means as geographical naming, inscriptions carved into rock, and

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[15] See Charles N. Bell, "Navigation of Hudson Bay and Straits." *MHS Transactions,* ser. 1, no. 7 (read 10 May 1883) <http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/transactions/1/hudsonnavigation.shtml> (accessed 23 March 2006); Kenneth Norrie, Douglas Owram, and J.C. Herbert Emery, A History of the Canadian Economy, 4th ed. (Toronto: Thomson Canada, 2008), 88–89, 168–69, 177, 182, 375–76; also Chapter Eight, this thesis, 186 n.44.

[16] George Findlay, "Airplane Visits Moose Factory," *The Beaver* 2, no. 8 (May 1922): 10, lists the first flight as 5 February 1922; see also F.H. Ellis, "Viking of the Skies," *The Beaver* 26, no. 2 (September 1946): 16–19; Frank H. Ellis, review of *Pilots of the Purple Twilight* by Philip H. Godsell, *The Beaver* 36, no 2 (autumn 1956): 58. Chapter Eight, this thesis, 184 n.41, 186.

storytelling. Sailors, by way of marriage, also made intimate interconnections that tied the worlds and histories of disparate peoples together. Their families, descendants, and neighbours were aware of possibilities beyond the shorelines that posed seeming barriers to communication between diverse politically and economically ordered societies. Sailors' descendants knew, by way of their progenitors' experiences, that seas could also be bridges. Although, by way of example, this dissertation describes the awareness of transatlantic possibilities of only some such individuals, many more biographies might be proffered as evidence, including some relatively well known in Canadian history. Take for instance John Norquay, premier of Manitoba, who worked towards realizing a port at Churchill; Dr. Henry Norman Bethune, who followed his great-grandfather's path to serve in China; Ranald McDonald, who sailed to Japan.[17] There are descendants who have carried awareness of the special properties of seas as a means of communication into the present. For instance, members of Inuit and Cree maritime communities of Hudson Bay, Hudson Strait, and James Bay, who retain vocabularies that characterize seas as "primary highway[s]" in summer and winter, with words and phrases that evince an "extraordinary understanding of sea ice."[18]

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[17] See Chapter Eight, this thesis, 186–87 n.44; Chapter Fourteen, this thesis, 364 n.47; Chapter Twelve, this thesis, 287 n.13; also Marie Leona Nichols, *Ranald MacDonald, Adventurer* (Caldwell ID: Caxton, 1940), Jo Anne Roe, *Ranald MacDonald: Pacific Rim Adventurer* (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1997), and Frederik L. Schodt, *Native American in the Land of the Shogun: Ranald MacDonald and the Opening of Japan* (Berkeley CA: Stone Bridge Press, 2003).

[18] Terry Fenge, "Ecological Change in the Hudson Bay Bioregion: A Traditional Ecological Knowledge Perspective," *Northern Perspectives* 25, no. 1 (summer 1997) <http://www.carc.org/pubs/v25no1/change.htm> (accessed 5 February 2009); Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, "Voices From the Bay" *Northern Perspectives* 25, no. 1 (summer 1997) <http://www.carc.org/pubs/v25no1/voices.htm> (accessed 5 February 2009). See also Gita J. Laidler and Pootoogoo Elee, "Human geographies of sea ice: freeze/thaw processes around Cape Dorset, Nunavut, Canada," *Polar Record* 44, no. 1 (January 2008): 51–76. The carrying forward of knowledge of sea lanes and ice navigation, and indirect contributions to

In outlining the indirect contributions of HBC sailors, the passages of this dissertation give an indication of the enormity of work that might yet be done, rather than furnish a full account. There are points raised that would benefit from deeper inquiry. For example, the periodization and discussion of place highlights the past continuity of climate, technology, and patterns of authority along the HBC ocean arc over a 250-year span. Yet, change was a constant for sailors of Hudson Bay. Given the record base, documenting specific changes and tracing political-economic, cultural, and social implications on points that are important to debates within social history and historical materialism is both possible and promising as an avenue of research. Much more could be done to study HBC policy on the recruitment of maritime labour. Any number of questions might be posed and hypotheses tested on related topics. What did people who built ocean-going technology know about making it work that we do not? At what times, on what subjects, with what political and economic implications, did knowledge change? Is it possible that because technology forwarded individual mobility, sailors were precursors to "homosocial" migrations that presaged mass migrations to North America?[19] What would a comprehensive social history of the reciprocal relation between what HBC sailors did and what was done to them look like?[20]

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development through seafarers and their progeny is also evident in histories of Newfoundland mariners such as Captain Samuel Blandford, see Shannon Ryan, "Blandford, Samuel," DCB; and "History of Bonavista Bay District, People Who Made a Difference" Newfoundland's Grand Banks Site <http://ngb.chebucto.org/Articles/settlers.shtml> (accessed 10 February 2009).

[19] Adele Perry, *On the Edge of Empire: Gender, Race, and the Making of British Columbia, 1849–1871* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), *passim*, for example, notes male migrants preceded the migration of European women as potential wives.

[20] Additional areas that could use closer study include patterns of employment of individual HBC sailors, sailors as a group, and how work related to rank – whether, for example in the case of apprentices,

Mapping the ocean sea traversed by Company ships in a way that reflects changes associated with human activity over time is another area in which work remains to be done. Although my textual description may belie it, graphic representation of the HBC ocean arc as a temporally layered becoming place represents a complex and research-intensive undertaking. As Barbara Belyea, an analyst of historical cartography in Canada, has pointed out, "mapping does not represent geographic knowledge in absolute terms, but is instead conventional and culture-specific."[21] As a historical argument that takes traversed space into account, as opposed to a geography primarily concerned with mapping that space, this dissertation does not engage directly with the problem Belyea identified. Yet, bringing closure to this project signals another beginning, in that work is underway to assess and address visual representation of the HBC ocean arc; to determine how "diverse views of the past" might be mapped without perpetuating "the dehumanizing homogenizing trends of an invasive global culture ... [that] is necessarily history-less: ... [in which] the past only serves to offer some decontextualizing example or element for its cosmopolitan patchwork."[22] In other words, to portray the spatial understandings of past sailors, not as "imperfect approximations" of our own, but as

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there was a perceptible shift from taking orphan boys to employing the native-born sons of sailors. Did sons' career progressions mirror those of their fathers, or did nineteenth-century changes to the certification of seamen spell differences? What about the movement of sailors such as Knight and Spurrell to the London Committee – was that possibility as durable as the paternalistic approach to management in the Company?

[21] Barbara Belyea, "Amerindian maps: the explorer as translator," *Journal of Historical Geography* 18, no. 3 (1992): 267–77; Chapter Thirteen, this thesis, 333 n.53; and Barbara Belyea, "Inland journeys, native maps," *Cartographica* 33, no. 2 (summer, 1996): 1.

[22] Jeremy Mouat, "'The Past of My Place': Western Canadian Artists and the Uses of History," in *Making Western Canada*, 245–46. See also Chapter One, this thesis, 20, n.48.

telling traces of the 'foreign country' to which this dissertation refers.[23]

The scope of this dissertation has been limited by practical considerations – principally of how much material could be perused and organized to meet my objective in a reasonable amount of time. It nevertheless meets my principal objective insofar as it establishes that a particular group of workers in the past – sailors – deserve recognition for having played a significant part in Canada's history. Their part was shaped by their ability to communicate – as human beings and as people with sets of skills associated with a particular occupation. Communicate they did: interacting in exchanges as individuals and as a group, with other people, with and within their material environment, and with and within social, cultural, economic, and political systems. Because they communicated, historical process was what it was, and outcomes are what they are. The Western Canadian present is not an arbitrary circumstance, but a context arising out of historical process – a process with a human dimension.[24]

The ocean arc to Hudson Bay was a distinctive natural setting with vast expanses and with features that appeared unchanging. Yet there were portions – locations that became ports for example – that changed as the direct consequence of the activity of sailors as societal agents. Knowledge of their presence, and communication of their

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[23] Thomas Haskell, "Responsibility, Convention, and the Role of Ideas in History," in *Objectivity Is Not Neutrality: Explanatory Schemes in History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 281. See also E.G.R. Taylor, "Hudson Strait and the Oblique Meridian," *Imago Mundi* 3 (1939): 49; and Appendix B, this thesis, no. 1.

[24] See Pred, "Place as Historically Contingent Process," 284, who states, "the mix of production and distribution projects occurring within a specific place will be a result of both the historical succession of investment made there as a part of wider national and international divisions of labor, and the sequence of economic structural conditions that have affected the survival and scale of those local places of capital." He describes "day-to-day variations in the details" of local production and distribution as responses to "macro-level expressions of the structuration process" and the path histories of on-site individuals.

observations on the arc's particularity in terms of the resources it accessed, ensured that change to the arc's contours would be ongoing. 'Forgotten' and marginalized in the Canadian nation's consciousness though the North and its peoples perhaps have been while the constancy of natural systems seemed ordained, that perception of continuity recently has begun to change. With the turn from the twentieth to the twenty-first century, sea ice is a matter of public interest to a degree not seen since the mid-nineteenth century. This time, however, public debate about ice, as a barrier seemingly about to be removed, does not center on whether 'man', 'his' technology, and 'daring-do' will triumph over nature. Instead, a dispersed set of points of contention center on whether new ecosystems are forming as a result of the 'pursuit of progress.'[25] Among some analysts who believe this is so, there is the question of whether these ecosystems be will compatible with ongoing development, and a corollary question – who will win the "Battle" for control of Northern sea space?[26] Will Hudson Bay at long last become Western Canada's entrepôt? Among other analysts, the most pertinent question is whether new ecosystems will be compatible with survival, not only of such markers of the North's distinctiveness as polar bears and traditional aspects of Aboriginal cultures, but also of the human species. Environmental scientists, A.J.W. Catchpole, D.W. Moodie, and D. Milton, have noted that "[c]urrent uncertainties" about climate and change "are exacerbated not only by the difficulties of projecting present trends into the future, but also by the problem of

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[25] See Chapter Four, this thesis, 75–76, 83–84.

[26] Lynn Raineault, and Julian Sher, dirs., "Battle for the Arctic," documentary, produced for DocZone, CBC-TV, broadcast 29 January 2009.

securing valid information about the past."[27] If the scramble for knowledge that is evident on the internet is taken as an indication, it remains to be seen whether the writings of historians will serve as information about precedence that might be used in decision making on the part of individuals and of states.[28] Possibly histories such as this dissertation represents will serve merely as chronicles of another "world we have lost."[29] I find it ironic that in 2009 the development that past seafarers of Hudson Bay initiated and sustained, primarily by way of wind-driven technology, may alter the place in which they did so to the point that what they knew, through experience, about the natural world – their "common place" – might lose applicability in the present for the future.[30]

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[27] A.J.W. Catchpole, D.W. Moodie, D. Milton, "Freeze-up and Break-up of Estuaries on Hudson Bay in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *Canadian Geographer* 20, no. 3 (28 June 2008): 295.

[28] Google, "history sea ice climate change Canadian north," <http://www.google.ca/search>, and EBSCO Host, Academic Search Premier <http://web.ebscohost.com.qe2a-proxy.mun.ca/ehost/results advanced?vid=15&hid=21&sid=aa809dcd-863d-4761-81b2-9f833354cf80%40sessionmgr2&bquery= (history)+and+(sea)+and+(ice)+and+(climate)+ and+(change)+and+(canadian)+and+(north)&bdata= JmRiPWFwaCZ0eXBlPTEmc2l0ZT1laG9zdC1sa XZlJnNjb3BlPXNpdGU%3d> (accessed 6 February 2009). As of the last day of writing this dissertation, a Google search for the above terms brought up over 753,000 hits, while a search of Academic papers using the same criteria yielded one – an article on Iceland; searching without the word 'history' yielded 19.

[29] James Hargrave, quoted in Sylvia Van Kirk, *'Many Tender Ties'*, 231, 242.

[30] Pred, "Place as Historically Contingent Process," 292, observes of 'common place' that it is: "the ever-becoming place. It is the ever becoming of what is scene as place and what takes place under historically specific circumstances where some institutional projects, and not others, are dominant. It is power (be)coming into play(ce) It is a process whereby an endless dialectic between practice and social structure expresses itself locally It is a process whereby the reproduction of social and cultural forms, the formation of biographies, and the transformation of nature ceaselessly become one another, at the same time that time-space specific path-project intersections and power relations continuously become one another."

Appendix A

Ship List: Indication of Seafaring Vessels in, or Voyaging to, Hudson Bay and Strait, Including Journeys into Ungava Bay, Foxe Basin, and James Bay, 1508–1920

The purpose of this list is to show the frequency, volume, and variation of water-borne transportation of the Northern Seaboard of the past. I use the term 'indication' above because at this remove in time it is impossible to state with certainty many particulars about the vessels listed.

The columns of the list demarcate vessels by the year of actual, or projected arrival, by name and, where possible, with some description. The descriptions of vessel class are rough indications only. As Oliver Warner has pointed out, "So variously were sea-terms used in earlier times, even in different parts of the same country, that it is surer to rely on such contemporary representations as may be preserved, than to base close descriptions upon definitions which may not fit the case … All that it is safe to say is that considerable variety and size of vessels appeared on the run to [Hudson Bay]."[1] A particularly problematic designation is 'brig' – some sources consulted for this list appear to use the term as a substitute brigantine, although the two were not always synonymous terms.[2]

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[1] Oliver Warner, "Voyaging to York Factory," *The Beaver* 37, no. 3 (winter, 1957): 19.

[2] See, Appendix C, this thesis and, for example, references to the *Charlotte* ca. 1668, in Samuel Hearne, *A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort, in Hudson's Bay To The Northern Ocean 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772* (1795; reprint, ed. Richard Glover, Macmillan, 1972), xi; E.E. Rich, *Hudson's Bay Company, 1670–1870* vol. 2 (New York, Macmillan, ca. 1958–1960), 46, 48, 52, 58; C.S. Mackinnon, "Hearne,

The column headed 'tons' supplies tonnage figures to aid in distinguishing similar, but separate vessels from one another. Normally tonnage describes a ship's burthen. As the amounts listed are from records devised under different systems, which may or may not have noted differences between gross, net, and registered tonnage amounts, it is not possible to use the figures as a means of comparing vessel size or capacity.[3]

The fourth column gives some indication of who organized the voyage, either as a sponsor or owner of the vessel. The fifth column indicates which of the reputed 'commanders' on the voyage appears to have been responsible, at the practical level, for managing the vessel's course over space and the crew's work over time. The sixth column includes brief remarks on the eventuality of the voyage. The symbol '⇆' indicates a round trip, completed that year. The comment 'wintered' indicates that the ship made its return voyage in the following year(s).

Numbers in the final column correspond with those of Appendix B, "Source List: Seafaring Vessels in, or Voyaging to, Hudson Bay and Strait, including Journeys into Ungava Bay, Foxe Basin, and James Bay, 1508–1920." The symbol '▪' in the final

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Samuel," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online* [DCB] *Library and Archives Canada* <http://www.biographi.ca/EN/index.html> (accessed 2004–2008).

[3] Frederic C. Lane, "Tonnages, Medieval and Modern," *The Economic History Review*, n.s., 17, no. 2 (1964): 213–33, distinguishes six kinds of tonnage and discusses the problems they present in historiography; see also Christopher J. French, "Eighteenth-Century Shipping Tonnage Measurements," *The Journal of Economic History* 33, no. 2 (June 1973): 434–43; John J. McCusker, "The Tonnage of Ships Engaged in British Colonial Trade during the Eighteenth Century," *Research in Economic History* 6 (1981): 73-105; and Lance Edwin Davis, Robert E. Gallman, and Karin Gleiter, *In Pursuit of Leviathan: Technology, Institutions, Productivity, and Profits in American Whaling,* 1816–1906 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 215 nn. 3, 4, 5, for a discussion of the 'old' and 'new' formula of calculating tonnage in the United States, before and after 1865. They point out the problems faced by anyone who would compare vessel carrying capacity across that temporal divide, and differences from the British system.

column indicates that a logbook is available through the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, while '*' indicates the vessel is listed in the Company's "Book of Ships' Movements, 1719–1929."

A number of considerations shape the content and connotation of this list. The following warrant explanation either for clarity or because discussion does not occur elsewhere in this thesis:

Ships ultimately destined for Ungava Bay and Foxe Basin are included because access to those areas required traveling through Hudson Bay and Strait, however briefly.

With two exceptions, the seafaring vessels listed below include only non-indigenous craft in that they did not conform in design or building material with construction traditional to the area. My principal reason for the exclusion of indigenous craft is the lack of a record base. To acknowledge, however, that canoes and kayaks were not the only forms of salt-water transport used by Aboriginal peoples in the area under consideration, I included references to umiaks. These were larger vessels (sixteen to forty feet long and four to eight feet in beam), used for trade purposes, and designed to carry relatively large numbers of people, including women and children. The entries should not be read as the sole instances of such craft but as a signal that unknown numbers and types of larger boats were constructed and used beyond the gaze of non-Aboriginal record keepers.

Similarly, although the list includes several other 'boats,' I have not attempted to depict the actual number of such non-indigenous craft built and utilized bayside. The

inclusions merely indicate that a variety of craft were present. With the possible exception of punts, I have listed only those which served as salt water transportation for a pilot and upwards of four crew members.

In instances where vessels, known to be distinct from one another, belonged to the same fleet and share a name, differences are signaled with a numerical designation: hence *Dering* [I] and *Dering* [II]. Such designations are specific to this list, however, and do not necessarily align with other records or past practices. In the case of the *Prince Rupert* [II] and [III], for example, the designation does not conform to that assigned in the HBCA finding aids. Some discrepancies in numbering may arise because my focus on a particular area means that some vessels in a fleet which shared a particular name, but which never ventured into the area, have been excluded. This is the case with the *Beaver*. A notable HBC vessel of that name does not figure in the numbering of this list, because it was stationed on the Columbia coast. It is also possible that numerical designations here diverge from those in other sources because various records have preserved confused, uninformed, or unintentionally misleading observations. There is, after all, the likelihood that past observers were vitally interested in their own moment, concerned with effecting intelligible, immediate communication, not with ensuring clarity in perpetuity.[4]

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[4] Davis, Gallman, and Gleiter, *Pursuit of Leviathan*, 59 n. 2: supply an anonymous plea, published in the *Whalemen's Shipping List*, 24 August 1852, that owners address the problem of multiple vessels sharing the same name: "It is always a matter of regret when two or more vessels bearing the same name are employed in the whaling business, as it frequently leads to mistakes in the reports, and especially … when they belong to the same port and cruise in the same ocean. … *Exercise your ingenuity when you name a new ship*."

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1508	?		England/Sebastian Cabot	Sebastian Cabot	reputed; wintered	1
"	?		" " "	?	" "	1
1576	*Gabriell* (*Gabriel*) barque	35	Muscovy Co. *et al*/Martin Frobisher	Christopher Hall	⇆	2
"	*Michaell* (*Michael*) barque	30	" " " "	Owen Griffyn	turned back	2
"	? pinnace	10	" " " "	?	lost	2
1577	*Aide* (*Aid, Ayde*)	180	Elizabeth I, England & Cathay Co.	Martin Frobisher	⇆	3
"	*Michaell* (*Michael*)	300	" " " "	Gilbert Yorke/James Beare	⇆	3
"	*Gabriell* (*Gabriel*) barque	30	" " " "	Edward Fenton	⇆	3
1578	*Ayde* (*Aide, Aid*)		Elizabeth I, England & Cathay Co.	Martin Frobisher/Christopher Hall	⇆	4
"	*Dionyse (Denis, Dennis)* barque	100	" " " "	C$^{apt.}$ Kendall	wreck outward	4
"	*Thomas* 'of Ipswich'		" " " "	William Tanfield	turned back	4
"	*Judith*		" " " "	Edward Fenton/Charles Jackman	⇆	4
"	*Anne Francis*		" " " "	George Best (Beast)/James Beare	⇆	4
"	*Francis* (*Frances*) 'of Foy'		" " " "	Thomas Moyles	⇆	4
"	*Moone* (*Moon*)		" " " "	C$^{apt.}$ Upcot (Upcote)	⇆	4
"	*Gabriel* (*Gabriell*) barque		" " " "	Edward Harvey	⇆	4
"	*Emanuell* 'of Bridgewater' busse		" " " "	C$^{apt.}$ Newton/James Leeche	⇆	4

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1578	*Michael* (*Michaell*)		Elizabeth I, England & Cathay Co.	Walter Kinderslie/ Bartholomew Bull	⇆	4
"	*Hopewel* (*Hopewell*)		" " " "	Henri Carewe	⇆	4
"	*Armenel* (*Emanuell*)		" " " "	Capt. Courtney	⇆	4
"	*Beare*		" " " "	Richard Philpot	⇆	4
"	*Thomas Allen* (*Allan, Alline)*		" " " "	Gilbert Yorke/M. Gibbes	⇆	4
"	*Solomon*		" " " "	Hugh Randal	⇆	4
1585	*Sunneshine* (*Sunshine*) barque	50	London and Devon Merchants	John Davis/William Eston/ Richard Pope	⇆	5
"	*Mooneshine* (*Moonelight /Moonshine*)	35	" " "	William Bruton/John Ellis	⇆	5
1586	*Mermayde* (*Mermaid*)	120	John Davis	John Davis	⇆	6
"	*North Starre* (*Northstar*) pinnace	10	" "	?	lost	6
"	*Sunneshine* (*Sunshine*) barque	50	" "	Richard Pope	turned back	6
"	*Mooneshine* (*Moonshine*)	30	" "	?	⇆	6
1587	*Elizabeth* barque		London Merchants/John Davis	John Davis	⇆	7
"	*Sunneshine* (*Sunshine*) barque		" " "	?	⇆	7
"	*Ellen (Helene)* pinnace	20	" " "	John Churchyard	⇆	7
1602	*Discovery*	70	East India Company/ George Weymouth	George Weymouth (Waymouth)	⇆	8
"	*Godspeed*	60	" " "	John Drewe (Drew)	⇆	8

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1610	*Discovery* ' bluff-bowed' barque	55	Sir Thomas Smith *et al.*	Henry Hudson/Robert Bylot (home)	wintered; mutiny	9
1612	*Resolution*	55	North West Company & Prince of Wales	C$^{apt.}$ Nelson (died)/Thomas Button	wintered; wreck	10
"	*Discovery* ' bluff-bowed' barque	55	" " " " "	John Ingram/Robert Bylot	wintered	10
1614	*Discovery* ' bluff-bowed' barque	55	North West Co./William Gibbons	William Gibbons/ Robert Bylot	turned back	11
1615	*Discovery* ' bluff-bowed' barque	55	North West Co./Robert Bylot	Robert Bylot/William Baffin	⇆	12
1619	*Enhiörningen* (*Unicorn/ Narwhal*) frigate		Christian IV, Denmark/ Jens Munk	Jens Eriksen Munk	wintered; cast off	13
"	*Lamprenen* (*Lamprey*) sloop		" " "	Jens Hendrichsen	wintered	13
1625	*Lions Whelp* pinnace		Sir John Wolstenholme *et al.*	William Hawkeridge	date disputed ⇆	14
"	? pinnace		" " " "	?	⇆	14
1631	*Charles* pinnace	80	Sir Thomas Roe *et al.*	Luke Foxe	⇆	15
"	*Henrietta Maria*	70	Bristol Merchants	Thomas James	wintered	16
1663	?		Boston Merchants/ Groseilliers, Radisson	Zachary Gillam (Zachiarah/ Zechariah Guillam)	turned back	17
1667	*Discovery* ketch		London Merchants/ George Carteret	?	did not sail	18
1668	HMS *Eaglet* 8 guns, ketch	54	Prince Rupert & London Merchants	William Stannard	turned back	19
"	*Nonsuch* 6 guns, ketch	43	" " " "	Zachary Gillam (Zachiarah/ Zechariah Guillam)	wintered	19
1669	HMS *Hadereen* (*Hadarine*) 'fly-boat' pink	138	Prince Rupert & London Merchants	?	did not sail	20
"	HMS *Wivenhoe* 8 guns ketch converted to pink	100	" " " "	William Stannard	aborted voyage?	20

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1670	HMS *Wivenhoe* ketch converted to pink	100	HBC borrowed	Robert Newland (out, died)/ Charles Bayly (home)	wintered	21
"	*Prince Rupert* [I] 'full-rigged' frigate	75	"	Zachary Gillam	"	22
"	? shallop/'hoy'	10	"	Pierre Esprit Radisson	local craft	23
1672	*Prince Rupert* [I] 'full-rigged' frigate	75	HBC	Zachary Gillam	wintered	24
"	*Messenger* (alias *Shaftesbury* pink) dogger		"	Robert Morris	"	25
"	*Imploy* (*Employ*) barque		"	Samuel Cole	local duty to 1675	26
1674	*Prince Rupert* [I] 'full-rigged' frigate	75	HBC	Zachary Gillam	wintered	27
"	*Shaftesbury* (alias *Messenger* dogger) pink		"	Thomas Shepard	"	28
1676	*Prince Rupert* [I] 'full-rigged' frigate	75	HBC	Thomas Shepard	reputed; to 'Busse Island'	29
"	*Shaftesbury* (alias *Messenger* dogger) pink		"	Joseph Thompson	⇅	30
1677	*Shaftesbury* (alias *Messenger* dogger) pink		HBC	Joseph Thompson	⇅	31
1678	*Prince Rupert* [I] 12 gun 'full-rigged' frigate	75	HBC	Richard Power	local duty to 1681	32
"	*Shaftesbury* (alias *Messenger* dogger) pink		"	Joseph Thompson	wreck (home) Scilly Islands	33
1679	*Colleton* 'yaught'/yacht	40	HBC	James Tatnum/?	turned back, Channel	34
"	HMS *John and Alexander*	178	" borrowed	Nehemiah Walker	⇅	35
1680	*Colleton* yacht/'yaught'	40	HBC	Walsall Cobbie (out)/Amos Damaresque	local duty; captured 1688	36
"	*Prudent Mary*	140	"	Richard Greenway	wreck (home) Tetherly Island	37

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1680	*Albemarle* frigate	40	HBC	Thomas Draper	wintered	38
"	*Hayes* sloop		"	?	local to 1687; prize to Quebec	39
1681	*Diligence* 'great ship'	150	HBC	Nehemiah Walker	wintered	40
1682	*Prince Rupert* [I] 'full-rigged, 3 mast' frigate	75	HBC	Zachary Gillam (died)	wintered, lost, Nelson River	41
"	*Albemarle* frigate	40	"	Ezbon Sanford (died)/William Bond/Amos Damaresque	captive; local to 1695	42
"	*Friendship* pink	120	"	Samuel Edwards	⇆	43
"	*Lucy* pink	120	"	Nicholas Reymer	⇆	44
"	*James* ketch		"	Maximilian Keech R.N.	lost outward	45
"	*Craven* pink	40	"	William Bond	local duty; captive 1686	46
"	? 'Greenland shallop'		"	?	local duty; captive 1689?	47
"	? (Chichichaun River) 'best & Strongest barke'	40	"	?	local craft	48
"	*Bachelor's Delight*	50	Boston/ Benjamin Gillam	Benjamin Gillam	captive, prize to Quebec	49
"	*St. Pierre* barque		Quebec/ de la Chesnaye *et al.*	Pierre l'Allemand?	wintered; damaged	50
"	*Ste. Anne* [I] barque		" " " " "	?	local to 1686; cast off	50
"	*Expectation* (alias *Charles*) ketch		Syndicate of Dartmouth, England	Richard Lucas	turned back	51
1683	*Diligence* 'great ship'	150	HBC	Nehemiah Walker	⇆	52
"	*George* ketch	75	" chartered	John Abraham (out)/William Bond (home)	⇆	53

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1683	*Expectation* (alias *Charles*) ketch		Charles Boone, John Phipps *et al.*	Richard Lucas	captive; wreck	54
1684	*John and Thomas* pink	120	HBC	Leonard Edgecombe	⇆	55
"	*Lucy* pink	120	" chartered	John Outlaw	⇆	56
"	*Happy Return* pink	100	" "	William Bond	⇆	57
"	?		Isle-aux-Coudres, Compagnie du Nord	La Martinière/Pierre l'Allamand (Allemant)	wintered	58
"	?		" " "	P. Moisan (Peter Moizant)	"	58
1685	*Owner's Goodwill* pink		HBC	Richard Lucas	⇆	59
"	*Success*		"	John Outlaw	lost (home), Point Comfort	60
"	*Happy Return* pink	100	" chartered	William Bond	⇆	61
"	*Perpetuana Merchant* 'petit vaisseau' pink	60	" "	Edward Hume	captive (out); prize to Quebec	62
1686	*Happy Return* pink	100	" chartered	William Bond	wreck (out), Hudson Strait	63
"	*Abraham and Robert* 'a larger ship'		" "	Robert Porten	⇆	64
1687	*Dering* [I] (alias *Edward & John/Prosperous*) pink	120	"	William Bond	⇆	65
"	*Huband* (alias *Industry*)	60	HBC	Richard Smithsend	wintered; prize to Limerick, Ireland	66
"	*John and Thomas* pink	120	" chartered	Leonard Edgecombe	⇆	67
1688	*Dering* [I] (alias *Edward & John/Prosperous*) pink	120	HBC	James Younge (Young)	wintered	68
"	*Churchill* frigate	100	"	William Bond	captured, prize to Quebec	69

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1688	*Yonge* (*Younge*) frigate	50	HBC	John Simpson	captured, prize to Quebec?	70
"	*John and Thomas* pink	120	" chartered	Leonard Edgecombe	⇆	71
"	*Mary*		John Abraham & John Outlaw	C[apt.] Groves	wreck (out), Hudson Strait	72
"	*Humphrey and Thomas* (alias *Rainbow*)	40	" " " "	Zachary Bardon	from Cork, Ireland; to Newfoundland	73
"	*Soleil d'Afrique* man-of-war		Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson	Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville	wintered	74
"	?		" " " " "	?	"	74
"	?		" " " " "	?	"	74
1689	*Hopewell*		HBC	James Young	local duty?	75
"	*Hudson's Bay* [I] (*Royal Hudson's Bay*) frigate	150	"	Leonard Edgecombe	aborted voyage, Channel	76
"	*Northwest Fox* 'little vessel' frigate	70	"	John Ford	surrender (out), Channel	77
1690	*Hudson's Bay* [I] (*Royal Hudson's Bay*) frigate	150	HBC	Leonard Edgecombe	⇆	78
"	*Prosperous* (alias *Dering* [I]) fire-ship	120	"	'Old' Michael Grimington	wintered	79
"	*Dering* [II] (alias *William*) frigate		"	James Young	"	80
"	*Ste. Anne* [II] 'merchant man'		Compagnie du Nord, Quebec	Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville	wintered?	81
"	*St. François-Xavier*		" " "	?	"	81
"	*Armes de la Compagnie*		" " "	?	"	81
1691	*Hudson's Bay* [I] (*Royal Hudson's Bay*) frigate	150	HBC	Leonard Edgecombe	⇆	82

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1691	*Loyalty*		HBC chartered	James Young	⇆	83
1692	*Hudson's Bay* [I] (*Royal Hudson's Bay*) frigate	150	HBC	'Old' Michael Grimington	wintered	84
"	*Prosperous* (alias *Dering* [I]) fire-ship	120	"	Henry Baley (Bayly) (out)/ Charles Cotesworth	local duty to 1694	85
"	*Pery* (*Perry* alias *Ephram & Jane*) frigate	100	"	Charles Cotesworth/Thomas Man	local duty to 1697	86
"	*Dering* [III] 'small, brave new ship' frigate	260	"	Leonard Edgecombe	⇆	87
"	*Ste. Anne* [II] 'merchant man'		Compagnie du Nord, Quebec	?	did not sail	88
1693	*Dering* [III] 'small, brave new ship' frigate	260	HBC	Leonard Edgecombe	⇆	89
"	*Supply* (alias *Royal Mary*)		"	James Young	⇆	90
"	*Ste. Anne* [II]		Compagnie du Nord, Quebec	?	⇆	91
1694	*Hudson's Bay* [I] (*Royal Hudson's Bay*) frigate	150	HBC	'Old' Michael Grimington	⇆	92
"	*Dering* [III] 'small, brave new ship' frigate	260	"	Henry Baley (Bayly)	⇆	93
"	*Poli* 4th rate man-of-war	400	'Private Enterprise,' New France	Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville	wintered	94
"	*Charante*, or *Salamandre* 'light' frigate	150	" " "	Josephe Le Moyne de Serigny	"	95
1695	No Known Arrivals ------	------	----------	----------	----------	---------
1696	*Hudson's Bay* [I] (*Royal Hudson's Bay*) frigate	150	HBC	'Old' Michael Grimington (out)/Nicholas Smithsend	⇆	96
"	*Dering* [III] 'small, brave new ship' frigate	260	"	Henry Baley (out)/'Old' Michael Grimington	⇆	97
"	*Knight* 'bomb-vessel' sloop/frigate	48	"	Nicolas Smithsend/Thomas Man *&c.*	local duty to 1712	98

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1696	HMS *Bonaventure* (*Bon-adventure*) man-of-war	597	British Admiralty	William Allen (killed, home)/ 'Son of William Allen'	attacked (home) ⇆	99
"	HMS *Seaford* (*Seaforth*) 6th rate man-of-war	294	" "	Capt Watkins (or possibly Capt Grange/Grainge)	⇆	100
"	*Hardi*		France	M. la Matte-Egron	presumed lost (home)	101
"	*Dragon* 'small'		"	Joseph Le Moyne de Serigny	wrecked (home)	101
1697	*Hudson'sBay* [I] (*Royal Hudson's Bay*) frigate	150	HBC	Nicholas Smithsend	surrender, wreck	102
"	*Dering* [III] 'small, brave new ship' 30 gun frigate	260	"	'Old' Michael Grimington	⇆	103
"	HMS *Owner's Love* fire-ship	217	British Admiralty	Capt. Lloyd	lost (out) Hudson Strait	104
"	HMS *Hampshire* 52 gun man-of-war	479	" "	John Fletcher (died)	sunk, near Hayes River	105
"	*Pélican* 3rd rate man-of-war		La Rochelle, Compagnie du Nord	Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville	cast off	106
"	*Palmier* 5th rate man-of-war	300	" " "	Joseph Le Moyne de Serigny	wintered	106
"	*Profond* 'storeship'	460	" " "	Pierre Dugué de Boisbriant (Pierre du Gué)	⇆	106
"	*Violent*, or *Esquimo/ Esquimeaux*		" " "	?	lost (out), Hudson Strait	106
"	*Vesp* (*Vespe, Wesp, Weesp, Wasp*)		" " "	Capt. Chatrie (Chartrie), or Pierre Dugué de Boisbriant	⇆	106
1698	*Dering* [III] 'small, brave new ship' frigate	260	HBC	'Old' Michael Grimington	⇆	107
"	*Pery* (*Perry* alias *Ephram & Jane*) frigate	100	"	Henry Baley (Bayly)	local duty to 1700	108
"	?		France/Supply Voyage	?	⇆	109
1699	*Dering* [III] 'small, brave new ship' frigate	260	HBC	'Old' Michael Grimington	⇆	110

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1699	?		France/Compagnie du Canada?	?	presumed likely	109
1700	?		France/Compagnie du Canada?	?	" "	109
1701	*Pery* (*Perry* alias *Ephram & Jane*) frigate	100	HBC	'Old' Michael Grimington	⇆	111
"	?		France/Compagnie du Canada?	?	presumed likely	109
1702	*Hudson's Bay* [II] frigate	160	HBC	'Old' Michael Grimington	wintered	112
"	*Atalante* 20 gun frigate		France/Supply Voyage	?	⇆	113
1703	?		France?	?	presumed likely	109
1704	*St. Francis Xavia* (*François Xavier*?)		France?	C$^{apt.}$ Benaud	ran aground	114
1705	*Hudson's Bay* [II] frigate	160	HBC	'Old' Michael Grimington/ 'Young' Michael Grimington	aground, wintered	115
"	?		France/Compagnie du Canada?	?	presumed likely	109
1706	*Pery* (*Perry* alias *Ephram & Jane*) frigate	100	HBC	Joseph Davis	wintered	116
"	*Phénix*?		France/Compagnie du Canada?	?	presumed likely	117
1707	?		France/Compagnie du Canada?	?	" "	109
1708	*Hudson's Bay* [II] frigate	160	HBC	'Old' Michael Grimington	⇆	118
"	*Eastmain* [I] sloop	30	"	Joseph Davis/Thomas Maclish Jr./Henry 'Kelso' Kelsey *&c.*	local duty to 1714	119
"	?		Compagnie du Canada/ Nicolas Jérémie	?	delayed; wintered Placentia, NF.	120
1709	?		Compagnie du Canada/ Nicolas Jérémie	?		120

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1710	*Hudson's Bay* [II] frigate	160	HBC	'Old' Grimington (died)/ Joseph Davis	wintered	121
1711	*Pery* (*Perry* alias *Ephram & Jane*) frigate	100	HBC	Richard Ward	wreck, Albany River; wintered, cast off	122
1712	*Hudson's Bay* [II] frigate	160	HBC	Joseph Davis	⇆	123
1713	*Hudson's Bay* [II] frigate	160	HBC	Joseph Davis	wintered	123
"	*Prosperous* sloop/hoy	40	"	Peter Clemens (Clements/ Clemmens)/John Hancock *&c.*	local duty to 1721	124
"	*Providence*		France/Compagnie du Canada	C$^{apt.}$ Rousselot	⇆	125
1714	*Port Nelson* (alias *Ormonde*) frigate	110	HBC	James Belcher (Belsher)	⇆	126
"	*Union* frigate	200	" chartered	Richard Harle (Harley)	⇆	127
1715	*Hudson's Bay* [III] frigate	150	HBC	Joseph Davis	did not land	128
"	*Port Nelson* (alias *Ormonde*) frigate	110	"	James Belcher (Belsher)	wintered	129
"	*Albany* [I] sloop		"	?	already local	130
1716	*Hudson's Bay* [III] frigate	150	HBC	Richard Ward	⇆	131
"	*Albany* [II] frigate	80	"	George Berley (Barley, Barlow)	⇆	132
"	*Albany* [III] 'fine floaty vessel' sloop	20	"	Joseph Myatt?	local craft, duty to 1723	133
1717	*Hudson's Bay* [III] frigate	150	HBC	Richard Ward	⇆	134
"	*Port Nelson* (alias *Ormonde*) frigate	110	"	James Belcher (Belsher)	⇆	135
"	*Albany* [II] frigate	80	"	George Berley (Barley, Barlow)	⇆	136

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1717	*Diligence* (alias *Sarah & Elizabeth*) sloop	28	HBC	Peter Clemens (Clements)/ George Kennedy *&c.*	local duty to 1730	137
"	*Success* (alias *Good Success*) sloop/hoy		"	James Napper/David Vaughan *&c.*	sent in frame; local duty to 1721	138
"	*Eastmain* [II] sloop		"	?	already local	139
1718	*Hudson's Bay* [III] frigate	150	HBC	Richard Ward	⇆	140
"	*Albany* [II] frigate	80	"	George Berley (Barley, Barlow)	⇆	141
"	*Mary*[I] frigate		"	James Belcher (Belsher)	⇆	142
1719	*Hudson's Bay* [III] frigate	150	HBC	Richard Ward	wreck, Cape Tatnum; wintered, refloated	143
"	*Mary*[I] frigate		"	James Belcher (Belsher)	⇆	144 *
"	*Albany* [II] frigate	80	"	George Berley (Barley, Barlow) (died)	wintered; wrecked, Marble Island	145
"	*Discovery* sloop	40	"	David Vaughan (died)	" "	145
1720	*Hannah* frigate	105	HBC	Ingram Gofton (Grofton)	⇆	146 *
"	*Mary*[I] frigate		"	James Belcher (Belsher)	⇆	147 *
1721	*Whalebone* sloop		HBC	John Scroggs/James Napper	local duty to 1725	148
"	*Hannah* frigate	105	"	Ingram Grofton (Gofton)	⇆	149
"	*Mary*[I] frigate		"	James Belcher	⇆	149
1722	*Mary*[I] frigate		HBC	James Belcher (Belsher)	⇆	150 *
"	*Hannah* frigate	105	"	Ingram Gofton (Grofton)	⇆	151

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1722	*Hudson's Bay* [IV] frigate	100	HBC	George Spurrell (Spurril)	⇅	152
"	? (Albany River) shallop		"	?	delivered for local duty	153
1723	*Mary*[I] frigate		HBC	James Belcher (Belsher)	⇅	154 *
"	*Hannah* frigate	105	"	Ingram Gofton (Grofton)	⇅	155
"	*Hudson's Bay* [IV] frigate	100	"	George Spurrell (Spurril)	⇅	156 *
"	*Beaver*[I] sloop	40	"	George Kennedy (out)/George Gunn/William Bevan	local duty to 1725	157 *
1724	*Mary*[I] frigate		HBC	James Belcher (Belsher)	wreck (home) Weston's Island	158 *
"	*Hudson's Bay* [IV] frigate	100	"	George Spurrell (Spurril)	⇅	159 *
"	*Marten* (*Martin*) [I] sloop		"	Samuel Davis/ James Napper	sent in frame; local duty to 1734	160
1725	*Hannah* frigate	105	HBC	Christopher Middleton	⇅	161 *
"	*Hudson's Bay* [IV] frigate	100	"	George Spurrell (Spurril)	⇅	162
1726	*Hannah* frigate	105	HBC	Christopher Middleton	⇅	163
"	*Hudson's Bay* [IV] frigate	100	"	George Spurrell (Spurril)	⇅	164
"	*Beaver* [I]		"	Alexander Light/Joseph Isbister *&c.*	local duty to 1742	165
"	? '*Martin* sloop tender' pinnace		"	?/James Napper	already local	166
1727	*Hannah* frigate	105	HBC	Christopher Middleton	⇅	167 *
"	*Hudson's Bay* [IV] frigate	100	"	George Spurrell (Spurril)	⇅	168 *

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1727	*Mary* [II] frigate	100	HBC	William Coats	wreck (out), Cape Farewell	169 *
1728	*Hannah* frigate	105	HBC	William Coats	⇆	170 *
"	*Hudson's Bay* [IV] frigate	100	"	Christopher Middleton	⇆	171 *
"	*Mary* [III] frigate	112	"	George Spurrell (Spurril)	⇆	172
1729	*Hannah* frigate	105	HBC	William Coats	⇆	173 *
"	*Hudson's Bay* [IV] frigate	100	"	Christopher Middleton	⇆	174
"	*Mary* [III] frigate	112	"	George Spurrell (Spurril)	⇆	175
1730	*Hannah* frigate	105	HBC	William Coats	⇆	176 *
"	*Hudson's Bay* [IV] frigate	100	"	Christopher Middleton	⇆	177 *
"	*Mary* [III] frigate	112	"	George Spurrell (Spurril)	⇆	178
"	*Moose River* [I] (alias *Churchill*) sloop		"	Richard Griffess (Griffies)/ Thos. Render, Jas. Napper *&c.*	local duty to 1750	179 *
1731	*Hannah* frigate	105	HBC	William Coats	⇆	180 *
"	*Hudson's Bay* [IV] frigate	100	"	Christopher Middleton	⇆	181
"	*Mary* [III] frigate	112	"	George Spurrell (Spurril)	⇆	182 *
"	? 'punt'		"	?	local craft	183
1732	*Hannah* frigate	105	HBC	William Coats	⇆	184 *
"	*Hudson's Bay* [IV] frigate	100	"	Christopher Middleton	⇆	185

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1732	*Mary* [III] frigate	112	HBC	George Spurrell (Spurril)	⇆	186
"	*Moose River* [II] sloop	48	"	George Green/Robert Pilgrim/ Joseph Isbister *&c.*	local duty to 1744	187
"	? '*Moose River* tender' yawl		"	?	local duty	188
"	*Musquash* [I] 'small vessel' sloop		"	?	local craft, duty to ?	189
"	*Albany* [IV?] sloop		"	?	already local	190
"	? (Churchill River) shallop		"	?	" "	191
1733	*Hannah* frigate	105	HBC	William Coats	⇆	192
"	*Hudson's Bay* [IV] frigate	100	"	Christopher Middleton	⇆	193
"	*Mary* [III] frigate	112	"	George Spurrell (Spurril)	⇆	194 *
"	*Quicohatch* 'clay boat' barge		"	?	sent in frame; local duty	195
1734	*Hudson's Bay* [IV] frigate	100	HBC	William Coats	⇆	196
"	*Mary* [III] frigate	112	"	George Spurrell (Spurril)	⇆	197 *
"	*Seahorse* [I] (*Sea Horse*) pink	170	"	Christopher Middleton	⇆	198
"	*Musquash* [II]		"	Robert Crow	sent in frame; local duty to 1737, lost	199
1735	*Hudson's Bay* [IV] frigate	100	HBC	William Coats	⇆	200 *
"	*Mary* [III] frigate	112	"	George Spurrell (Spurril)	⇆	201 *
"	*Seahorse* [I] (*Sea Horse*) pink	170	"	Christopher Middleton	⇆	202 *

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1735	? (Albany River) yawl		HBC	?	already local	203
1736	*Hudson's Bay* [IV] frigate	100	HBC	William Coats	lost (out) Hudson Strait	204 *
"	*Mary* [III] frigate	112	"	George Spurrell (Spurril)	⇅	205 *
"	*Seahorse* [I] (*Sea Horse*) pink	170	"	Christopher Middleton	⇅	206 *
1737	*Mary* [III] frigate	112	HBC	William Coats	⇅	207 *
"	*Seahorse* [I] (*Sea Horse*) pink		"	George Spurrell (Spurril)	⇅	208 *
"	*Hudson's Bay* [V] pink	129	"	Christopher Middleton	⇅	209 *
1738	*Seahorse* [I] (*Sea Horse*) pink	170	HBC	George Spurrell (Spurril)	⇅	210 *
"	*Mary* [IV] frigate	120	"	William Coats	⇅	211
"	*Hudson's Bay* [V] pink	129	"	Christopher Middleton	⇅	212 *
1739	*Seahorse* [I] (*Sea Horse*) pink	170	HBC	George Spurrell (Spurril)	⇅	213 *
"	*Mary* [IV] frigate	120	"	William Coats	⇅	214
"	*Hudson's Bay* [V] pink	129	"	Christopher Middleton	⇅	215
"	? 'Great Boat'		"	?	sent in frame; local duty	216
"	? (Albany) punt		"	?	already local craft	217
"	? (Albany) punt		"	?	" " "	217
1740	*Seahorse* [I] (*Sea Horse*) pink	170	HBC	George Spurrell (Spurril)	⇅	218 *

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1740	*Mary* [IV] frigate	120	HBC	William Coats	⇆	219 *
"	*Hudson's Bay* [V] pink	129	"	Christopher Middleton	⇆	220 *
1741	*Seahorse* [I] (*Sea Horse*) pink	170	HBC	George Spurrell (Spurril)	⇆	221 *
"	*Mary* [IV] frigate	120	"	William Coats	⇆	222 *
"	HMS *Furnace* 'bomb-vessel' ketch		British Admiralty	Christopher Middleton	wintered	223
"	HMS *Discovery* 'converted collier' pink	150	" "	William Moor	"	223
1742	*Seahorse* [I] (*Sea Horse*) pink	170	HBC	George Spurrell (Spurril)	⇆	224
"	*Mary* [IV] frigate	120	"	William Coats	⇆	225 *
1743	*Seahorse* [I] (*Sea Horse*) pink	170	HBC	George Spurrell (Spurril)	⇆	226 *
"	*Mary* [IV] frigate	120	"	William Coats	⇆	227 *
"	*Eastmain* [III] sloop		"	Thomas Mitchell	local duty to 1750?	228
1744	*Seahorse* [I] (*Sea Horse*) pink	170	HBC	John Fowler	wintered	229 *
"	*Mary* [IV] frigate	120	"	William Coats	⇆	230 *
"	*Hudson's Bay* [V] pink	129	"	Jonathan Fowler Sr.	⇆	231 *
"	*Prince Rupert* [II] frigate	193	"	George Spurrell (Spurril)	⇆	232 *
"	*Phoenix* schooner/sloop		"	John Longland	local craft	233
1745	*Mary* [IV] frigate	120	HBC	William Coats	⇆	234 *

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1745	*Hudson's Bay* [V] pink	129	HBC	Jonathan Fowler Sr.	⇅	234 *
"	*Prince Rupert* [II] frigate	193	"	George Spurrell (Spurril)	⇅	234 *
1746	*Seahorse* [I] (*Sea Horse*) pink	170	HBC	John Fowler	⇅	235 *
"	*Mary* [IV] frigate	120	"	William Coats	⇅	235 *
"	*Hudson's Bay* [V] pink	129	"	Jonathan Fowler Sr.	⇅	235 *
"	*Prince Rupert* [II] frigate	193	"	George Spurrell (Spurril)	⇅	235 *
"	*California*	140	North West Committee/ Charles Dobbs	Francis Smith	wintered	236
"	*Dobbs Galley* (*Dobbs*)	180	" " "	William Moor (Moore)	"	236
"	*Resolution* 'fitted long-boat'		" " "	?	"	236
"	? umiak		Inuit, Upper Savage Islands	?	local craft	237
"	? umiak		" " "	?	" "	237
"	? umiak		" " "	?	" "	237
"	HMS *Loo* (*Looe*)		British Admiralty	?	escort, cancelled	238
"	HMS *Shark* (*Shirk*) sloop-of-war		" "	Christopher Middleton	escort, turned back	238
1747	*Seahorse* [I] (*Sea Horse*) pink	170	HBC	John Fowler	⇅	239 *
"	*Mary* [IV] frigate	120	"	William Coats	⇅	239 *
"	*Hudson's Bay* [V] pink	129	"	Jonathan Fowler Sr.	⇅	239 *

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1747	*Prince Rupert* [II] frigate	193	HBC	George Spurrell (Spurril)	⇆	239 *
1748	*Seahorse* [I] (*Sea Horse*) pink	170	HBC	John Fowler	⇆	240 *
"	*Mary* [IV] frigate	120	"	William Coats	damaged, repaired ⇆	240 *
"	*Hudson's Bay* [V] pink	129	"	Jonathan Fowler Sr.	⇆	240 *
"	*Prince Rupert* [II] frigate	193	"	George Spurrell (Spurril)	⇆	240 *
"	*Bear* (Churchill River) sloop		"	Joseph Isbister *&c.*	already local; wrecked 1752	241
1749	*Success* [II] sloop		HBC	Thomas Mitchell /Joseph Stevens	local duty to 1768	242
"	*Whale* sloop		"	?	local duty to 1755?	243
"	*Seahorse* [I] (*Sea Horse*) pink	170	"	John Fowler	⇆	244 *
"	*Mary* [IV] frigate	120	"	William Coats	damaged, Churchill River	245
"	*Hudson's Bay* [V] pink	129	"	Jonathan Fowler Sr.	⇆	246 *
"	*Prince Rupert* [II] frigate	193	"	George Spurrell (Spurril)	⇆	247 *
"	? (Churchill River) 'cutter'		"	Joseph Isbister *&c.*	already local	248
1750	*Seahorse* [I] (*Sea Horse*) pink	170	HBC	John Fowler	⇆	249 *
"	*Hudson's Bay* [V] pink	129	"	Jonathan Fowler Sr.	⇆	250 *
"	*Prince Rupert* [II] frigate	193	"	George Spurrell (Spurril)	⇆	251 *
"	*King George* [I]		"	William Coats	⇆	251 *

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1751	*Seahorse* [I] (*Sea Horse*) pink	170	HBC	Jonathan Fowler Sr.	⇆	252 ▪ *
"	*Hudson's Bay* [V] pink	129	"	Joseph Spurrell	⇆	253 ▪ *
"	*Prince Rupert* [II] frigate	193	"	George Spurrell (Spurril)	⇆	254 ▪ *
"	*King George* [I]		"	William Coats	⇆	255 ▪ *
"	*New Churchill* (*Churchill* [II])		"	James Walker/Francis Smith/Moses Norton *&c.*	local duty to 1771?	256
1752	*Seahorse* [I] (*Sea Horse*) pink	170	HBC	Jonathan Fowler Sr.	⇆	257 ▪ *
"	*King George* [I]		"	Joseph Spurrell	⇆	258 ▪ *
"	*Prince Rupert* [II] frigate	193	"	George Spurrell (Spurril)	⇆	259 ▪ *
"	*Hudson's Bay* [V] pink	129	"	William Norton	⇆	260 ▪ *
1753	*Seahorse* [I] (*Sea Horse*) pink	170	HBC	Jonathan Fowler Sr.	⇆	261 ▪ *
"	*King George* [I]		"	Joseph Spurrell	⇆	262 ▪ *
"	*Prince Rupert* [II] frigate	193	"	George Spurrell (Spurril)	⇆	263 ▪ *
"	*Hudson's Bay* [V] pink	129	"	William Norton	⇆	264 ▪ *
"	*Argo* snow/schooner	60	Philadelphia/Benjamin Franklin *et al*	Charles Swaine (Swain)	turned back, Hudson Strait	265
1754	*Seahorse* [I] (*Sea Horse*) pink	170	HBC	Jonathan Fowler Sr.	⇆	266 ▪ *
"	*King George* [I]		"	Joseph Spurrell	⇆	267 ▪ *
"	*Prince Rupert* [II] frigate	193	"	George Spurrell (Spurril)	⇆	268 ▪ *

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1754	*Hudson's Bay* [V] pink	129	HBC	William Norton	⇆	269 ▪ *
"	*Speedwell* sloop		"	John Paterson	sent in frame, local duty to 1781?	270
"	? 'Luggage Boat' umiak		Inuit, Upper Savage Islands	?	local craft	271
"	*Argo* snow/schooner	60	Philadelphia/Benjamin Franklin *et al*	Charles Swaine (Swain)	turned back	272
1755	*Seahorse* [I] (*Sea Horse*) pink	170	HBC	Jonathan Fowler Sr.	⇆	273 ▪ *
"	*King George* [I]		"	Joseph Spurrell	⇆	274 ▪ *
"	*Prince Rupert* [II] frigate	193	"	George Spurrell (Spurril)	⇆	275 ▪ *
"	*Hudson's Bay* [V] pink	129	"	William Norton	⇆	276 ▪ *
"	? 'New' (Churchill River) cutter		"	?	arrived for local duty; sunk, recovered	277
1756	*Seahorse* [I] (*Sea Horse*) pink	170	HBC	Joseph Spurrell	⇆	278 ▪ *
"	*Prince Rupert* [II] frigate	193	"	George Spurrell (Spurril)	⇆	279 ▪ *
"	*Hudson's Bay* [V] pink	129	"	William Norton	⇆	280 ▪
"	*Prince Rupert* [III] presumed pink	170	"	Jonathan Fowler Sr.	⇆	281 *
"	*Moose* [III] (*Moose River* [III]) sloop		"	?/George Atkinson/Alexander Brand	local duty to 1786?	282
"	HMS *Hunter* sloop-of-war		British Admiralty	C$^{apt.}$ Legg	escort (home)	283
1757	*Seahorse* [I] (*Sea Horse*) pink	170	HBC	William Norton	⇆	284 ▪ *
"	*Prince Rupert* [II] frigate	193	"	Jonathan Fowler Sr.	⇆	285 ▪ *

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1757	*Hudson's Bay* [V] pink	129	HBC	Jonathan Fowler Jr.	⇆	286 *
"	*Prince Rupert* [III] presumed pink	170	"	Joseph Spurrell	⇆	287 ▪ *
"	HMS *Aldborough* man-of-war		British Admiralty	Thomas Lynn	escort (out)	288
"	HMS *Sole Bay*		" "	Robert Craig	escort (out and home)	289
1758	*Seahorse* [I] (*Sea Horse*) pink	170	HBC	William Norton	⇆	290 ▪ *
"	*Prince Rupert* [II] frigate	193	"	Jonathan Fowler Sr.	⇆	291 ▪ *
"	*Hudson's Bay* [V] pink	129	"	Jonathan Fowler Jr.	⇆	292 *
"	*Prince Rupert* [III] presumed pink	170	"	Joseph Spurrell	⇆	293 ▪ *
"	HMS *Postillion* frigate		British Admiralty	?	escort (out)	294
"	HMS *Dover* man-of-war		" "	John Bladen Tinker	escort (home)	294
1759	*Seahorse* [I] (*Sea Horse*) pink	170	HBC	William Norton	⇆	295 ▪ *
"	*Prince Rupert* [II] frigate	193	"	Jonathan Fowler Sr.	⇆	296 ▪ *
"	*Hudson's Bay* [V] pink	129	"	Jonathan Fowler Jr.	⇆	297 ▪ *
"	*Prince Rupert* [III] presumed pink	170	"	Joseph Spurrell	⇆	298 ▪ *
"	HMS *Swan* sloop		British Admiralty	Jacob Lobb	escort (out)	299
1760	*Seahorse* [I] (*Sea Horse*) pink	170	HBC	William Norton	⇆	300 ▪ *
"	*Prince Rupert* [II] frigate	193	"	Jonathan Fowler Jr.	⇆	301 ▪ *

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1760	*Prince Rupert* [III] presumed pink	170	HBC	Joseph Spurrell	⇆	302 ▪ *
"	HMS *Dolphin*		British Admiralty	Benjamin Marlow	escort (out)	303
"	HMS *Phoenix* man-of-war		" "	Christopher Bethell	escort (home)	303
1761	*Seahorse* [I] (*Sea Horse*) pink	170	HBC	Jonathan Fowler Jr.	⇆	304 ▪ *
"	*Prince Rupert* [III] presumed pink	170	"	William Norton	⇆	305 ▪ *
"	*King George* [II] 'ship' frigate	220	"	Joseph Spurrell	⇆	306 ▪ *
"	HMS *Hind* man-of-war		British Admiralty	Phillips Cosby	escort (out)	307
"	HMS *Argo* frigate		" "	Richard King	escort (home)	308
1762	*Seahorse* [I] (*Sea Horse*) pink	170	HBC	Jonathan Fowler Jr.	⇆	309 ▪ *
"	*Prince Rupert* [III] presumed pink	170	"	William Norton	⇆	310 ▪ *
"	*King George* [II] 'ship' frigate	220	"	Joseph Spurrell	⇆	311 ▪ *
"	*Strivewell* cutter		"	Moses Norton	arrived? local duty to?	312
"	HMS *Sole Bay* man-of-war		British Admiralty	John Willson (Wilson)	escort	313
1763	*Seahorse* [I] (*Sea Horse*) pink	170	HBC	Jonathan Fowler Jr.	⇆	314 ▪ *
"	*Prince Rupert* [III] presumed pink	170	"	William Norton	⇆	315 ▪ *
"	*King George* [II] 'ship' frigate	220	"	Joseph Spurrell	⇆	316 ▪ *
1764	*Seahorse* [I] (*Sea Horse*) pink	170	HBC	Joseph Richards	⇆	317 ▪ *

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1764	*Prince Rupert* [III] presumed pink	170	HBC	John Horner	⇆	318 ▪ *
"	*King George* [II] 'ship' frigate	220	"	Jonathan Fowler Jr.	⇆	319 ▪ *
"	*Eastmain* [IV] sloop		"	George Isbister/George Atkinson	local duty to 1772	320
"	*Severn* sloop		"	William Falconer/John Turnor (Turner)	local duty to 1782	321
1765	*Seahorse* [II] (*Sea Horse*) 'ship' frigate	180	HBC	John Horner	⇆	322 ▪ *
"	*Prince Rupert* [III] presumed pink	170	"	Joseph Richards	⇆	323 ▪ *
"	*King George* [II] 'ship' frigate	220	"	Jonathan Fowler Jr.	⇆	324 ▪ *
"	?		Sir Hugh Palliser, Newfoundland	?	did not sail	325
"	*Hope* schooner		Moravian Missionary Society/Jens Haven	?	turned back	326
1766	*Seahorse* [II] (*Sea Horse*) 'ship' frigate	180	HBC	John Horner	⇆	327 ▪ *
"	*Prince Rupert* [III] presumed pink	170	"	Joseph Richards	⇆	328 ▪ *
"	*King George* [II] 'ship' frigate	220	"	Jonathan Fowler Jr.	⇆	329 ▪ *
1767	*Seahorse* [II] (*Sea Horse*) 'ship' frigate	180	HBC	John Horner	⇆	330 ▪ *
"	*Prince Rupert* [III] presumed pink	170	"	Joseph Richards	⇆	331 ▪ *
"	*King George* [II] 'ship' frigate	220	"	Jonathan Fowler Jr.	⇆	332 ▪ *
1768	*Seahorse* [II] (*Sea Horse*) 'ship' frigate	180	HBC	John Horner	⇆	333 ▪ *
"	*Prince Rupert* [III] presumed pink	170	"	Joseph Richards	⇆	334 ▪ *

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1768	*King George* [II] 'ship' frigate	220	HBC	Jonathan Fowler Jr.	⇆	335 ▪ *
"	*Speedwell* [I] 'boat'		"	?	local duty to 1776?	336
"	*Fort Churchill* sloop		"	?	already local? duty to 1793?	337
1769	*Seahorse* [II] (*Sea Horse*) 'ship' frigate	180	HBC	John Horner	⇆	338 ▪ *
"	*Prince Rupert* [IV] 'ship' frigate	202	"	Joseph Richards	⇆	339 ▪ *
"	*King George* [II] 'ship' frigate	220	"	Jonathan Fowler Jr.	⇆	340 ▪ *
"	*Charlotte* brigantine	100	"	Joseph Stevens/Thomas Robinson	local duty to 1774	341
1770	*Seahorse* [II] (*Sea Horse*) 'ship' frigate	180	HBC	William Christopher	⇆	342 *
"	*Prince Rupert* [IV] 'ship' frigate	202	"	Joseph Richards	⇆	343 ▪ *
"	*King George* [II] 'ship' frigate	220	"	Jonathan Fowler Jr.	⇆	344 ▪ *
1771	*Seahorse* [II] (*Sea Horse*) 'ship' frigate	180	HBC	William Christopher	⇆	345 ▪ *
"	*Prince Rupert* [IV] 'ship' frigate	202	"	Joseph Richards	⇆	346 ▪ *
"	*King George* [II] 'ship' frigate	220	"	Jonathan Fowler Jr.	⇆	347 ▪ *
1772	*Seahorse* [II] (*Sea Horse*) 'ship' frigate	180	HBC	William Christopher	⇆	348 *
"	*Prince Rupert* [IV] 'ship' frigate	202	"	Joseph Richards	⇆	349 ▪ *
"	*King George* [II] 'ship' frigate	220	"	Jonathan Fowler Jr.	⇆	350 ▪ *
1773	*Seahorse* [II] (*Sea Horse*) 'ship' frigate	180	HBC	William Christopher	⇆	351 *

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1773	*Prince Rupert* [IV] 'ship' frigate	202	HBC	Joseph Richards	⇅	352 ▪ *
"	*King George* [II] 'ship' frigate	220	"	Jonathan Fowler Jr.	⇅	353 ▪ *
1774	*King George* [II] 'ship' frigate	220	HBC	Jonathan Fowler Jr.	⇅	354 ▪ *
"	*Seahorse* [II] (*Sea Horse*) 'ship' frigate	180	"	William Christopher	⇅	355 ▪ *
"	*Prince Rupert* [IV] 'ship' frigate	202	"	Joseph Richards	⇅	356 ▪ *
1775	*King George* [II] 'ship' frigate	220	HBC	Jonathan Fowler Jr.	⇅	357 ▪ *
"	*Seahorse* [II] (*Sea Horse*) 'ship' frigate	180	"	William Christopher	⇅	358 *
"	*Prince Rupert* [IV] 'ship' frigate	202	"	Joseph Richards	⇅	359 ▪ *
"	*Charlotte* sloop		"	?	local duty to 1781?	360 ▪
1776	*King George* [II] 'ship' frigate	220	HBC	Jonathan Fowler Jr.	⇅	361 ▪ *
"	*Seahorse* [II] (*Sea Horse*) 'ship' frigate	180	"	William Christopher	⇅	362 *
"	*Prince Rupert* [IV] 'ship' frigate	202	"	Joseph Richards	⇅	363 ▪ *
"	*Charlotte* brig		"	Joseph Tunstall	wintered	364 ▪
1777	*King George* [II] 'ship' frigate	220	HBC	Jonathan Fowler Jr.	⇅	365 ▪
"	*Seahorse* [II] (*Sea Horse*) 'ship' frigate	180	"	William Christopher	⇅	366 ▪
"	*Prince Rupert* [IV] 'ship' frigate	202	"	Joseph Richards	⇅	367 ▪
"	*Speedwell* [II] 'boat'		"	?	local craft; used upriver & inland	368

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1777	HMS *Aurora* frigate		British Admiralty	James Cumming	escort ⇆	369
"	HMS *Rattlesnake* cutter-of-war		" "	Philip Walsh	escort (home)	370
1778	*King George* [II] 'ship' frigate	220	HBC	Jonathan Fowler Jr.	⇆	371 • *
"	*Seahorse* [II] (*Sea Horse*) 'ship' frigate	180	"	William Christopher	⇆	372 • *
"	*Prince Rupert* [IV] 'ship' frigate	202	"	Joseph Richards	⇆	373 • *
"	*Charlotte* brig		"	Joseph Tunstall/George Holt	local service to 1782	374 • *
"	HMS *Merchant* 'armed brig'		British Admiralty	Harry Heron	escort (out)	375
"	HMS *Atalanta*		" "	Capt. Marshall	escort (home)	375
"	HMS *Chatham* 50 gun		" "	Capt. Allen	" "	376
"	HMS *Jason* frigate		" "	Capt. Pigot	" "	377
"	HMS *Portland* 50 gun		" "	Capt. Dumaresq	" "	378
1779	*King George* [II] 'ship' frigate	220	HBC	Jonathan Fowler Jr.	⇆	379 • *
"	*Seahorse* [II] (*Sea Horse*) 'ship' frigate	180	"	William Christopher	⇆	380 • *
"	*Prince Rupert* [IV] 'ship' frigate	202	"	Joseph Richards	⇆	381 *
"	HMS *Jason* frigate		British Admiralty	Capt. Pigot	escort (out)	382
"	HMS *Aid* 'armed ship'		" "	?	escort (home)	382
"	HMS *Syren* frigate		" "	Jacob Wheat	" "	382

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1780	*King George* [II] 'ship' frigate	220	HBC	Jonathan Fowler Jr.	⇆	383 ▪ *
"	*Seahorse* [II] (*Sea Horse*) 'ship' frigate	180	"	William Christopher	⇆	384 ▪ *
"	*Prince Rupert* [IV] 'ship' frigate	202	"	Joseph Richards	⇆	385 ▪ *
"	*Beaver* [II] sloop/brig		"	George Atkinson?	local duty to 1787	386
"	HMS *Garland*		British Admiralty	John Stanhope	escort (out)	387
"	HMS *Ranger* cutter		" "	Lt. Hood	" "	387
"	HMS *Lizard*		" "	Francis Parry	escort (home)	387
"	HMS *Ariadne*		" "	C[apt.] Squires	" "	387
1781	*King George* [III]		HBC	Jonathan Fowler Jr./ Joseph Richards	⇆	388 ▪ *
"	*Seahorse* [II] (*Sea Horse*) 'ship' frigate	180	"	William Christopher	⇆	389 ▪ *
"	*Prince Rupert* [IV] 'ship' frigate	202	"	Joseph Richards/Jonathan Fowler Jr.	⇆	390 ▪ *
"	*Gill's Endeavour*		"	?	local craft	391
"	HMS *Iphigenia* frigate		British Admiralty	Charles Hope	escort (out)	392
"	HMS *Tartar* frigate		" "	C[apt.] Sutton	" "	392
1782	*Prince Rupert* [IV] 'ship' frigate	202	HBC	William Christopher	⇆	393 ▪ *
"	*King George* [III]		"	Jonathan Fowler Jr.	⇆	394 ▪ *
"	*Seahorse* [III] (*Sea Horse*)		"	Jos. Richards (died, out, Orkney)/Henry Hanwell Sr.	⇆	395 ▪ *

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1782	*Expedition* 'bateau'		HBC	?	local craft	396
"	? 'old York Fort shallop'		"	?	already local	397
"	HMS *Daphne*		British Admiralty	Matthew Fortescue	escort (out)	398
"	HMS *Mercury* frigate		" "	C^apt. Stanhope	escort (home)	398
"	*Sceptre* '74 gun, ship of the line'		France	Jean-François Galaup, Comte de La Pérouse	⇆	399
"	*L'Astrée* 36 gun frigate		"	Paul-Antoine Fleuriot de Langle	⇆	399
"	*Engageante* 36 gun frigate		"	Marquis de La Jaille ('Caillie')	⇆	399
1783	*King George* [III]		HBC	William Christopher	⇆	400 *
"	*Prince Rupert* [IV] 'ship' frigate	202	"	Joshua Tunstall	⇆	401 ▪ *
"	*Seahorse* [III] (*Sea Horse*)		"	John Richards	⇆	402 *
"	*Severn* sloop		"	William Falconer?/James Sutherland	local duty to 1793?	403
1784	*King George* [III]		HBC	William Christopher	⇆	404 ▪ *
"	*Prince Rupert* [IV] 'ship' frigate	202	"	Joshua Tunstall	⇆	405 ▪ *
"	*Seahorse* [III] (*Sea Horse*)		"	John Richards	⇆	406 ▪ *
1785	*King George* [III]	220	HBC	William Christopher	⇆	407 ▪ *
"	*Prince Rupert* [IV] 'ship' frigate	202	"	Joshua Tunstall	⇆	408 ▪ *
"	*Seahorse* [III] (*Sea Horse*)		"	John Richards	⇆	409 ▪ *

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1786	*King George* [III]		HBC	William Christopher	⇆	410 ▪ *
"	*Prince Rupert* [IV] 'ship' frigate	202	"	Joshua Tunstall	⇆	411 ▪ *
"	*Seahorse* [III] (*Sea Horse*)		"	John Richards	⇆	412 ▪ *
1787	*King George* [III]	220	HBC	William Christopher	⇆	413 ▪ *
"	*Seahorse* [III] (*Sea Horse*)		"	Joshua Tunstall	⇆	414 ▪ *
1788	*King George* [III]	220	HBC	William Christopher	⇆	415 ▪ *
"	*Seahorse* [III] (*Sea Horse*)		"	Joshua Tunstall	⇆	416 ▪ *
"	*Prince Rupert* [IV] 'ship' frigate	202	"	C$^{apt.}$ Richards	unconfirmed voyage	417 *
"	*Beaver* [II] sloop/brig		"	John Richards	⇆	418 ▪
"	*Trial* 'wooden canoe'		"	?	local craft	419
"	*Active* 'wooden canoe'		"	?	" "	419
"	*Favourite* 'wooden canoe'		"	?	" "	419
1789	*King George* [III]	220	HBC	Joshua Tunstall	⇆	420 ▪ *
"	*Seahorse* [III] (*Sea Horse*)		"	John Richards	⇆	421 *
"	*Beaver* [II] sloop/brig		"	John Williamson	⇆	422 *
1790	*King George* [III]		HBC	John Richards	⇆	423 *
"	*Seahorse* [III] (*Sea Horse*)		"	Henry Hanwell Sr.	⇆	424 ▪ *

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1790	*Queen Charlotte*		HBC	John Turner (Turnor)	⇆	425 ▪ *
1791	*King George* [III]		HBC	John Richards	⇆	426 ▪ *
"	*Seahorse* [III] (*Sea Horse*)		"	Henry Hanwell Sr.	⇆	427 ▪ *
"	*Queen Charlotte*		"	John Turner (Turnor)	⇆	428 ▪ *
"	*Beaver* [II] sloop/brig	84	"	Charles Duncan	wintered	429 ▪
1792	*King George* [III]		HBC	John Richards	⇆	430 ▪ *
"	*Seahorse* [III] (*Sea Horse*)		"	Henry Hanwell Sr.	⇆	431 ▪ *
"	*Queen Charlotte*		"	John Turner (Turnor)	⇆	432 *
"	*Nimble* brigantine		"	Thomas Williamson	⇆	433 ▪ *
"	? 'large flat bottom boat'		"	?	sent in frame; local duty	434
1793	*King George* [III]		HBC	John Richards	⇆	435 ▪ *
"	*Prince of Wales* [I]	342	"	Henry Hanwell Sr.	⇆	436 ▪ *
"	*Queen Charlotte*		"	John Turner (Turnor)	⇆	437 ▪ *
"	*Nimble*		"	John Williamson	⇆	438 ▪ *
"	*Beaver*[II] sloop/brig		"	George Taylor	local duty to 1813	439 ▪
"	*Hope* 'large boat'		"	?	sent in frame; local duty	440
"	HMS *Active* frigate		British Admiralty	Edmund Nagle	escort (out)	441

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1793	HMS *Assurance*		British Admiralty	Velters Cornwall Berkley (Berkeley)	escort (home)	441
1794	*King George* [III]		HBC	John Richards	⇆	442 ▪ *
"	*Prince of Wales* [I]	342	"	Henry Hanwell Sr.	⇆	443 ▪ *
"	*Queen Charlotte*		"	John Turner (Turnor)	⇆	444 ▪ *
"	HMS *Aurora* frigate		British Admiralty	W. Essington	escort (out)	445
"	HMS *Greyhound* frigate		" "	Paget Bailie	escort (home)	446
"	HMS *Jason* frigate		" "	James Douglas	" "	446
"	HMS *Jupiter*		" "	Richard Fisher	" "	446
1795	*King George* [III]		HBC	John Richards	⇆	447 ▪ *
"	*Prince of Wales* [I]	342	"	Henry Hanwell Sr.	⇆	448 ▪ *
"	*Queen Charlotte*		"	John Turner (Turnor)	⇆	449 ▪ *
"	HMS *Assistance*		British Admiralty	C$^{apt.}$ Mowatt	escort (out)	450
"	HMS *Martin* sloop		" "	C$^{apt.}$ Lobb	" "	450
"	HMS *Calcutta*		" "	W. Bligh	escort (home)	450
"	HMS *Jupiter*		" "	W. Lechmere	" "	450
1796	*King George* [III]		HBC	John Richards	⇆	451 ▪ *
"	*Prince of Wales* [I]	342	"	Henry Hanwell Sr.	⇆	452 ▪ *

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1796	*Queen Charlotte*		HBC	John Turner (Turnor)	⇅	453 • *
"	HMS *L'Espion*		British Admiralty	Manly (Manley) Dixon	escort (out)	454
"	HMS *Shannon* frigate		" "	A. Fraser	escort (home)	455
1797	*King George* [III]		HBC	John Richards	⇅	456 • *
"	*Prince of Wales* [I]	342	"	Henry Hanwell Sr.	⇅	457 • *
"	*Queen Charlotte*		"	John Turner (Turnor)	⇅	458 • *
"	HMS *La Revolutionaire*		British Admiralty	C^apt. Cole	escort	459
"	HMS *Apollo* frigate		" "	C^apt. Manley	"	460
1798	*King George* [III]		HBC	John Richards	⇅	461 • *
"	*Prince of Wales* [I]	342	"	Henry Hanwell Sr.	⇅	462 • *
"	*Queen Charlotte*		"	John Turner (Turnor)	⇅	463 • *
"	HMS *Astrea* frigate		British Admiralty	C^apt. Dacres	escort (out)	464
"	HMS *Iris*		" "	G. Brisac	escort (home)	465
1799	*King George* [III]		HBC	John Richards	⇅	466 • *
"	*Prince of Wales* [I]	342	"	Henry Hanwell Sr.	⇅	467 • *
"	*Queen Charlotte*		"	John Turner (Turnor)	⇅	468 • *
"	HMS *Andromeda* frigate		British Admiralty	H. Inman	escort (out)	469

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1799	HMS *Xenophon* 'armed ship'		British Admiralty	C[apt.] Sayer	escort (out)	470
"	HMS *Latona* frigate		" "	Frank Sotheron	escort (home)	471
1800	*King George* [III]		HBC	John Richards	⇅	472 • *
"	*Prince of Wales* [I]	342	"	Henry Hanwell Sr.	⇅	473 • *
"	*Queen Charlotte*		"	John Turner (Turnor)	⇅	474 • *
"	*Eastmain* [V] schooner		"	C[apt.] [James?] Taylor	local duty to 1811	475
"	HMS *Circe* frigate		British Admiralty	J. Woolley (Woolesy)	escort (out)	476
"	HMS *Lynx* sloop-of-war		" "	Alexander Skene	escort ⇅	477
1801	*King George* [III]		HBC	Henry Hanwell Sr.	⇅	478 • *
"	*Prince of Wales* [I]	342	"	John Turner (Turnor)	⇅	479 • *
"	HMS *Driver* sloop-of-war		British Admiralty	C[apt.] Dunbar	escort (out)	480
1802	*King George* [III]		HBC	John Turner (Turnor)	⇅	481 • *
"	*Prince of Wales* [I]	342	"	Henry Hanwell Sr.	⇅	482 • *
"	*Ceres* brig	168	"	Thomas Ramsey	⇅	483 • *
1803	*King George* [III]		HBC	John Turner (Turnor)	⇅	484 • *
"	*Prince of Wales* [I]	342	"	Henry Hanwell Sr.	⇅	485 • *
"	*Ceres* brig	168	"	Thomas Ramsey	⇅	486 • *

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1803	HMS *Amaranthe* frigate		British Admiralty	Charles Worsley Boyse (Boys)	escort (out)	487
"	HMS *Phoenix* armed cutter		" "	Capt. Shirley	escort (out)	488
"	HMS *Chiffone* frigate		" "	Charles Adam	escort (home)	489
"	*Eddystone*	350	North West Company	John Richards	⇅	490
1804	*King George* [III]		HBC	John Turner (Turnor)	⇅	491 • *
"	*Prince of Wales* [I]	342	"	Henry Hanwell Sr.	⇅	492 • *
"	*Ceres* brig	168	"	Thomas Ramsey	⇅	493 • *
"	HMS *Curlieu* (*Curlew*) sloop		British Admiralty	J.M. Northey	escort (out)	494
"	HMS *Speedy* sloop		" "	James Gifford	escort (home)	495
1805	*King George* [III]		HBC	John Turner (Turnor)	⇅	496 • *
"	*Prince of Wales* [I]	342	"	Henry Hanwell Sr.	⇅	497 • *
"	? (Albany River) shallop		"	Mark Prince		498
"	HMS *Leith* armed brig		British Admiralty	George Langford	escort (out)	499
"	HMS *Railleur* sloop		" "	Capt. Collard	escort (home)	500
1806	*King George* [III]		HBC	John Turner (Turnor)	⇅	501 • *
"	*Prince of Wales* [I]		"	Henry Hanwell Sr.	⇅	502 • *
"	? 'whale boat'		"	George 'Sneppy' Atkinson	already local	503

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1806	HMS *Bellette* cutter brig		British Admiralty	Capt. Piercy	escort (out)	504
"	HMS *Electra* gun brig		" "	George Trollop	escort (home)	505
1807	*King George* [III]		HBC	John Turner (Turnor)	⇅	506 • *
"	*Prince of Wales* [I]	342	"	Henry Hanwell Sr.	⇅	507 • *
"	*Eddistone* (*Eddystone*)		"	Thomas Ramsey	⇅	508 • *
"	*Mainwaring* schooner	80	"	John Davison/George Taylor	local duty to 1820	509 • *
"	HMS *Cruizier* (*Cruiser*) sloop-of-war		British Admiralty	P. Stoddart	escort (out)	510
"	HMS *Kite* sloop		" "	Joseph James	escort (home)	511
1808	*King George* [III]		HBC	John Turner (Turnor)	⇅	512 • *
"	*Prince of Wales* [I]	342	"	Henry Hanwell Sr.	⇅	513 • *
"	*Eddistone* (*Eddystone*)		"	Thomas Ramsey	⇅	514 • *
"	HMS *Ned Elvin* sloop		British Admiralty	Richard O'Connor	escort (out)	515
"	HMS *Rover* brig cutter		" "	Francis John Nott	escort (home)	516
1809	*King George* [III]		HBC	John Turner (Turnor)	⇅	517 • *
"	*Prince of Wales* [I]	342	"	Henry Hanwell Sr.	⇅	518 • *
"	*Eddistone* (*Eddystone*)		British Government chartered/HBC	Thomas Ramsey	by Hudson Strait ⇅ to Davis Strait	519 *
"	HMS *Mercurius* brig sloop		British Admiralty	?	escort (out)	520

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1809	HMS *Calypso* brig		British Admiralty	M.B. Bradby	escort (out)	521
"	HMS *Snake* sloop		" "	?	escort (home)	522
1810	*King George* [III]		HBC	John Turner (Turnor)	⇆	523 ▪ *
"	*Prince of Wales* [I]	342	"	Henry Hanwell Sr.	⇆	524 ▪ *
"	*Eddistone* (*Eddystone*)		"	Thomas Ramsey	⇆	525 ▪ *
"	HMS *Sabine* sloop		British Admiralty	Joseph Bott	escort (out)	526
"	HMS *Clio*		" "	Thomas Folliot Baugh	escort (home)	527
"	HMS *Pandora*		" "	R. Janvarein	" "	528
1811	*Prince of Wales* [I]	342	HBC	Henry Hanwell Sr.	wintered	529 ▪ *
"	*Eddistone* (*Eddystone*)		"	Thomas Ramsey	⇆	530 ▪ *
"	*Edward and Ann*		" chartered	Thomas Gull	⇆	531 ▪
"	HMS *Starling* brig		British Admiralty	C.T. Napier	escort (out)	532
"	HMS *Strenuous* brig		" "	John Nugent	escort (home)	533
"	? 'Eskimo Shallop'		Moravian Mission/ B. Kohlmeister & G. Knoch	?	to Ungava Bay ⇆	534
1812	*Eddistone* (*Eddystone*)		HBC	Thomas Ramsey	⇆	535 ▪ *
"	*Robert Taylor*		" chartered	John Davison	⇆	536
"	*King George* (alias HBC's *King George* [III])	220	" "/Brent & Sons	John Turner (Turnor)	⇆	537 ▪ *

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1812	HMS *Tweed* sloop		British Admiralty	Thomas Edward Symonds	escort (out)	538
"	HMS *Rosamond* sloop of war		" "	D. [or C.?] Campbell	escort (home) ⇆	539
1813	*Eddistone* (*Eddystone*)		HBC	Thomas Ramsey	⇆	540 ▪ *
"	*Prince of Wales* [I]	342	"	John Turner (Turnor)	⇆	541 ▪ *
"	*Ann* schooner		"	John Lewis Neale	local duty to 1815	542
"	*Eastmain* [VI] schooner		"	?	already local?	543
"	HMS *Brazen* sloop		British Admiralty	James Stirling	escort ⇆	544
1814	*Eddistone* (*Eddystone*)		HBC	John Turner [or Thomas Ramsey?]	⇆	545 ▪ *
"	*Prince of Wales* [I]	342	"	Henry Hanwell Sr.	⇆	546 ▪ *
"	*Gipsey* (*Gypsey*) schooner		"	Thomas Alder	already local	547
"	HMS *Rosamund* sloop		British Admiralty	Edward Stopford	escort ⇆	548
"	HMS *Britannia*		" "	?	escort (home) ⇆ from York Factory	549
"	?		Moravian Missionary Society	?	to Ungava Bay	550
1815	*Eddistone* (*Eddystone*)		HBC	John Turner (Turnor)	wintered	551 *
"	*Prince of Wales* [I]	342	"	Henry Hanwell Sr.	⇆	552 ▪ *
"	? (Whale River) 'new sloop'		"	Thomas Alder	local craft	553
"	*Hadlow*		" chartered	John Davison (Davidson)	wintered	554 ▪ *

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1815	HMS *Dee* sloop		British Admiralty	J.W. Andrews	wintered	555
1816	*Prince of Wales* [I]	342	HBC	Henry Hanwell Sr.	wintered	556 ▪ *
"	*Emerald* brig		"	Benjamin Bell	"	557 ▪ *
1817	*Eddistone* (*Eddystone*)		HBC	John Davison	⇆	558 ▪ *
"	*Britannia*	362	" chartered	John Edman	wintered; destroyed, fire	559 *
1818	*Prince of Wales* [I]	342	HBC	John Davison	⇆	560 ▪ *
"	*Eddistone* (*Eddystone*)		"	Benjamin Bell	⇆	561 ▪ *
"	*Levant* brig	200	" chartered	C[apt.] Rennie	⇆	562 *
1819	*Prince of Wales* [I]	342	HBC	John Davison	⇆	563 ▪ *
"	*Eddistone* (*Eddystone*)		"	Benjamin Bell	⇆	564 ▪ *
"	*Wear* brig	210	" chartered	Thomas Thompson	wintered; home via Quebec	565
1820	*Prince of Wales* [I]	342	HBC	John Davison	⇆	566 ▪ *
"	*Eddistone* (*Eddystone*)		"	Benjamin Bell	⇆	567 ▪ *
"	*Luna*	201	" chartered	Robert Knox	home via Quebec ⇆	568
1821	*Prince of Wales* [I]	342	HBC	John Davison	⇆	569 ▪ *
"	*Eddistone* (*Eddystone*)		"	Benjamin Bell	⇆	570 ▪ *
"	*Lord Wellington* schooner		"	James Fulbister (Falbister)	⇆	571

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1821	HMS *Fury* bomb vessel	327	British Admiralty	William Edward Parry	wintered to 1823	572
"	HMS *Hecla* bomb vessel	375	" "	George Francis Lyon	wintered to 1823	573
1822	*Prince of Wales* [I]	342	HBC	John Davison	⇅	574 ▪ *
"	*Eddistone* (*Eddystone*)		"	Benjamin Bell	⇅	575 ▪ *
1823	*Prince of Wales* [I]	342	HBC	John Davison	⇅	576 ▪ *
"	*Eddistone* (*Eddystone*)		"	Benjamin Bell	⇅	577 ▪ *
1824	*Prince of Wales* [I]		HBC	John Davison	⇅	578 ▪ *
"	*Union* sloop		"	?	already local; duty to 1839	579
"	*Camden*	399	" chartered	Benjamin Bell	⇅	580 ▪ *
"	HMS *Griper* 'paltry, bluff-bowed' gun brig	180	British Admiralty	George Francis Lyon	⇅	581
1825	*Prince of Wales* [I]	342	HBC	John Davison	⇅	582 ▪ *
"	*Camden*		" chartered	Benjamin Bell	⇅	583 ▪ *
1826	*Prince of Wales* [I]	342	HBC	John Davison	⇅	584 ▪ *
"	*Camden*		" chartered	Benjamin Bell	⇅	585 ▪ *
1827	*Prince of Wales* [I]	342	HBC	John Davison	⇅	586 ▪ *
"	*Prince Rupert* [V]	322	"	Benjamin Bell	⇅	587 ▪ *
1828	*Prince of Wales* [I]	342	HBC	Henry Hanwell Jr.	⇅	588 ▪ *

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1828	*Prince Rupert* [V]	322	HBC	Benjamin Bell	⇆	589 ▪ *
"	*Beaver* [III] sloop		"	Thomas Duncan/William Swanson	local craft, duty to 1832	590
1829	*Prince of Wales* [I]	342	HBC	Henry Hanwell Jr.	⇆	591 ▪ *
"	*Prince Rupert* [V]	322	"	Benjamin Bell	⇆	592 ▪ *
"	*Montcalm* brig	215	"	Robert Royal	home via QC ⇆	593
"	*Moose* [IV] sloop		"	William Swanson	local duty to 1836?	594
1830	*Prince of Wales* [I]	342	HBC	Henry Hanwell Jr.	wintered	595 ▪ *
"	*Prince Rupert* [V]	322	"	Benjamin Bell	⇆	596 ▪ *
"	*Montcalm* brig		"	Robert Royal	home via St. Lawrence River ⇆	597
1831	*Prince Rupert* [V]	322	HBC	Benjamin Bell	⇆	598 ▪ *
"	*Camden*, or *Montcalm*?		"	Robert Royal	home via St. Lawrence River? ⇆	599 ▪ *
"	*Frances* schooner		"	William B. Philpin/James Hackland	local duty to 1849	600
"	? 'boat'		"	William Taylor	already local	601
1832	*Prince of Wales* [I]	342	HBC	Henry Hanwell Jr.	⇆	602 *
"	*Prince Rupert* [V]	322	"	Benjamin Bell	⇆	603 ▪ *
1833	*Prince of Wales* [I]	342	HBC	Henry Hanwell Jr. (out, died)/ Henry Baker (home)	wintered	604 ▪ *
"	*Prince Rupert* [V]	322	"	Benjamin Bell (out)/ John Costellow Grave (home)	"	605 *

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1834	*Ganymede* (*Gannymede*) barque	213	HBC	Robert Royal	home, then Pacific ⇆	606 ▪ *
"	*Prince George*	450	" chartered	Daniel Friend [or John Costellow Grave?]	⇆	607 *
1835	*Prince of Wales* [I]	342	HBC	Robert Royal	⇆	608 ▪ *
"	*Prince Rupert* [V]	322	"	Benjamin Bell/John Costellow Grave	from Bristol ⇆	609 ▪ *
"	*Nonpareil* 'A1' brig	144	"	William Williams	home via New Brunswick ⇆	610
"	*Esquimaux* brig	123	"	Thomas [or J.?] Duncan	to Ungava Bay ⇆	611 ▪ *
"	? '*Esquimaux* tender' whaleboat		"	?	⇆	612
1836	*Prince of Wales* [I]	342	HBC	Henry Baker	⇆	613 ▪ *
"	*Prince Rupert* [V]	322	"	John Costellow (Costello) Grave	⇆	614 ▪ *
"	*Eagle* brig	194	"	Charles Humphreys (Humphrey)	stranded; wintered	615 ▪ *
"	*Esquimaux* 'hybrid' schooner/brig	123	"	William Taylor Butterwick	cast off, Hudson Bay	616 ▪ *
"	HMS *Terror* 'vesuvius class' bomb ship	326	British Admiralty	George Back	wintered	617
1837	*Prince of Wales* [I]	342	HBC	Henry Baker	⇆	618 ▪ *
"	*Prince Rupert* [V]	322	"	John Costellow (Costello) Grave	⇆	619 ▪ *
"	*Prince George*		"	Daniel Friend	⇆	620 *
"	*Aurora*		"	C$^{apt.}$ Cooper	⇆	621 *
1838	*Prince of Wales* [I]	342	HBC	Robert Royal	⇆	622 ▪ *

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1838	*Prince Rupert* [V]	322	HBC	John Costellow (Costello) Grave	⇆	623 ▪ *
"	*Tadoussac* schooner		"	?	from Canada ⇆	624
1839	*Prince of Wales* [I]	342	HBC	Robert Royal	⇆	625 *
"	*Prince Rupert* [V]	322	"	David J. Herd	⇆	626 *
1840	*Prince of Wales* [I]	342	HBC	Robert Royal	⇆	627 *
"	*Prince Rupert* [V]	322	"	David J. Herd	⇆	628 *
"	*Marten* [II] brig		"	?	from Quebec ⇆	629
1841	*Prince of Wales* [I]	342	HBC	Robert Royal	⇆	630 *
"	*Prince Rupert* [VI] barque	303	"	David J. Herd	⇆	631 *
"	*Prince Albert* barque		"	James S. [or Henry?] Boulton	⇆	632 *
1842	*Prince Rupert* [VI] barque	303	HBC	David J. Herd	⇆	633 ▪ *
"	*Prince Albert* barque		"	Robert Royal	⇆	634 ▪ *
1843	*Prince Rupert* [VI] barque	303	HBC	David J. Herd	⇆	635 ▪ *
"	*Prince Albert* barque		"	Robert Royal	⇆	636 ▪ *
"	*Marten* [II] brig		"	John C. Mallett	out via Quebec to Ungava Bay ⇆	637 ▪ *
"	*Jane* schooner		"	?	already local; wrecked	638
"	*Prince Rupert* [VI] barque	303	"	David J. Herd	⇆	639 ▪ *

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1844	*Prince Albert* barque		HBC	Robert Royal	⇆	640 ▪ *
"	*Marten* [II] brig		"	T. Dunn	home via Quebec ⇆	641 *
1845	*Prince Rupert* [VI] barque	303	HBC	David J. Herd	⇆	642 ▪ *
"	*Prince Albert* barque		"	Robert Royal	⇆	643 ▪ *
"	*Robin* schooner		"	Thomas Wiggand (Wiegand) Jr.	already local? duty to 1850	644
1846	*Prince Rupert* [VI] barque	303	HBC	David J. Herd	⇆	645 ▪ *
"	*Prince Albert* barque		"	Robert Royal	⇆	646 ▪ *
"	*North Pole* "22 foot boat"		HBC/John Rae	?	local craft	647
"	*Magnet* "22 foot boat"		" " "	?	" "	647
"	HMS *Crocodile* 6th rate ship	500	British Government	Gower Lowe	⇆	648
"	*Blenheim* transport ship	689	" " chartered	Capt. Mallinson	⇆	649
1847	*Prince Rupert* [VI] barque	303	HBC	David J. Herd	⇆	650 ▪ *
"	*Prince Albert* barque		"	Robert Royal	⇆	651 ▪ *
"	*Westminster*	513	" chartered	Forbes Michie	home via Nova Scotia ⇆	652
1848	*Prince Rupert* [VI] barque	303	HBC	David J. Herd	⇆	653 ▪ *
"	*Prince Albert* barque		"	Robert Royal	⇆	654 ▪ *
"	*Lady Fitzherbert*		British Government chartered	Capt. Webster	⇆	655

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1848	*General Palmer* 'naval transport ship'		British Government chartered	?	⇆	655
1849	*Prince Rupert* [VI] barque	303	HBC	David J. Herd	⇆	656 ▪ *
"	*Prince Albert* barque		"	Robert Royal	⇆	657 ▪ *
"	*Letitia* schooner		"	?	local craft, retired 1852	658
"	*Graham*		" chartered	William Howard	lost in ice near Mansel Island	659
1850	*Prince Rupert* [VI] barque	303	HBC	William B. Mannock	⇆	660 ▪ *
"	*Prince Albert* barque		"	Robert Royal	⇆	661 ▪ *
"	*Prince of Wales* [II] barque	500	"	David J. Herd	⇆	662 ▪ *
"?	*Otter* brigantine		"	?/William Swanson/?	local duty to 1877	663
"	*Flora* (*Floral*) schooner		" chartered	C[apt.] May	⇆	664
"	*George* schooner	119	" "	John Midwood	⇆	664
1851	*Prince Albert* barque		HBC	Robert Royal	⇆	665 ▪ *
"	*Walrus* sloop		"	Thomas Wiggand (Wiegand) Jr.	local duty to 1857	666
"	*Prince of Wales* [II] barque	536	"	David J. Herd	⇆	667 ▪ *
1852	*Prince Albert* barque		HBC	Robert Royal	⇆	668 ▪ *
"	*Prince of Wales* [II] barque	536	"	David J. Herd	⇆	669 ▪ *
"	*Marten* (*Martine*) [III] schooner	90	"	William B. Mannock/John Hackland/James Taylor &c.	local duty to 1878?	670 ▪ *

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1852	*Lady Frances Simpson* schooner		HBC	William Swanson	local duty to 1863	671
"	*Superior* schooner	88	" chartered	Richard Sherris	home via St. ⇅ John's,Newfoundland	672
1853	*Prince Albert* barque		HBC	Robert Royal	⇅	673 • *
"	*Prince of Wales* [II] barque	536	"	David J. Herd	⇅	674 • *
"	*Prince Rupert* [VI] barque	303	"	William B. Mannock	⇅	675 • *
1854	*Prince of Wales* [II] barque	536	HBC	David J. Herd	⇅	676 • *
"	*Prince Arthur*		"	Robert Royal	⇅	677 • *
1855	*Prince of Wales* [II] barque	536	HBC	David J. Herd	⇅	678 • *
"	*Prince Arthur* barque		"	Robert Royal	⇅	679 • *
"?	*Fox* schooner		"	?/Gilbert Spence Hackland/James Taylor	local craft, duty to 1878	680
"	*John and Mary* 'A1, 12 yrs., small vessel'	103	" chartered	James Willis	⇅	681
1856	*Prince of Wales* [II] barque	536	HBC	David J. Herd	⇅	682 • *
"	*Prince Arthur* barque		"	Robert Royal	⇅	683 • *
"	*Prince Albert* (formerly of HBC) barque		" chartered	William B. Mannock	⇅	684
1857	*Prince of Wales* [II] barque	536	HBC	David J. Herd	⇅	685 • *
"	*Prince Arthur* barque		"	David Durham Wishart	⇅	686 • *
"	*Baroness*		" chartered	Charles Robert Limstrong	⇅	687

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1857	*Great Britain*	522	HBC chartered	David Wilson	from and to Montreal ⇆	688
1858	*Prince of Wales* [II] barque	536	HBC	David J. Herd	⇆	689 ▪ *
"	*Prince Arthur* barque		"	David Durham Wishart	⇆	690 ▪ *
"	*Effort*	446	" chartered	Henry McLaren	home via Montreal, lost	691
1859	*Prince of Wales* [II] barque	536	HBC	David J. Herd	⇆	692 ▪ *
"	*Prince Arthur* barque		"	David Durham Wishart	⇆	693 ▪ *
"	*Kitty* barque		"	A. Ellis	wreck (out) Hudson Strait	694
1860	*Prince of Wales* [II] barque	536	HBC	David J. Herd	⇆	695 ▪ *
"	*Prince Arthur* barque		"	David Durham Wishart	⇆	696 ▪ *
"	*Syren Queen* (*Siren Queen*)		Fairhaven, Massachusetts whaler/Gibbs & Jenney	Christopher B. Chapel (Chappell)	wintered	697
"	*Northern Light*		" " " "	Edward Chapel (Chappell)	"	698
1861	*Prince of Wales* [II] barque	536	HBC	David J. Herd	⇆	699 ▪ *
"	*Prince Arthur* barque		"	David Durham Wishart	⇆	700 ▪ *
"	*Corea* '7A1' barque/'clipper ship'	308	"	James Sennett (Sinnett)	⇆	701 *
"	*Sir Colin Campbell*		British Government chartered	C$^{apt.}$ Mason	home via Quebec ⇆	702
"	*Antelope* barque	340	New Bedford whaler/ S. Thomas & Company	George Taber (Tabor)	wintered to 1863	703
"	*Northern Light* ship	513	New Bedford whaler/ Jonathan Bourne Jr.	Jacob Taber (Tabor)	wintered	704

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1862	*Prince of Wales* [II] barque	536	HBC	David J. Herd	⇆	705 ▪ *
"	*Prince Arthur* barque		"	David Durham Wishart	⇆	706 ▪ *
"	*Black Eagle* barque		New Bedford whaler/ S. Thomas & Company	Charles E. Allen	wintered	707
"	*Ansel Gibbs* ship	319	New Bedford whaler/ Jonathan Bourne Jr.	William Washburn/C.B. Kilmer	"	708
"	*Pioneer* barque	235	New London whaler/ William & Haven	C^apt. Chappell	"	709
1863	*Prince of Wales* [II] barque	536	HBC	David J. Herd	⇆	710 ▪ *
"	*Prince Arthur* barque		"	John Disney Smythe	⇆	711 ▪ *
"	*Ocean Nymph* barque	310	"	Jas. Sinnett/James Todd (out)/John James (home)	aborted (out); winter Newfoundland	712 ▪
"	*Andrews* barque	303	New Bedford whaler/ Jonathan Bourne Jr.	Silas G. Baker	wintered	713
"	*Northern Light* ship	513	" " "	Jacob Taber (Tabor)	"	714
"	*Daniel Webster* ship	336	New Bedford whaler/ Merrill W. Sanborn	Merrill W. Sanborn	"	715
"	*William Thompson* ship	495	New Bedford whaler/ William C.N. Swift	Jacob A. Howland	⇆	716
"	*Pavillion* brig	150	Fairhaven whaler/ Damon & Judd	Ichabod Handy	lost, Hudson Bay	717
"	*George Henry* barque	303	New London whaler/ William & Haven	Christopher B. Chappell	" " "	718
"	*Active*		United States whaler	?	perhaps wintered	719
"	?		" " "	?	" "	720
"	?		" " "	?	" "	720

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1863	?		United States whaler	?	perhaps wintered	720
"	?		" " "	?	" "	720
"	?		" " "	?	" "	720
"	?		" " "	?	" "	720
"	*Queen*		British whaler	?	turned back, Hudson Strait	721
1864	*Prince of Wales* [II] barque	536	HBC	James Sinnett (out)/James Taylor (home)	aground Mansel Is.; refloated, wintered	722 ▪ *
"	*Prince Arthur* barque		"	John Disney Smythe	aground Mansel Is.; cast off	723 ▪ *
"	*Ocean Nymph* barque	310	"	James Sinnett (cancelled)/John James	⇆	724 *
"	*Orray Taft* barque	176	New Bedford whaler/ S. Thomas & Company	George Joseph Parker	wintered	725
"	*Antelope* barque	340	" " " "	George E. Tyson	wintered to 1866; lost	726
"	*Glacier* schooner	262	" " " "	George Taber (Tabor)	wintered	727
"	*Morning Star* barque	305	" " " "	Charles E. Allen	"	728
"	*Black Eagle* barque	311	" " " "	Edwin W. White	"	729
"	*Ansel Gibbs* barque/ship	319	New Bedford whaler/ Jonathan Bourne Jr.	Charles B. Kilmer	"	730
"	*Milwood* barque	254	New Bedford whaler/ Gideon Allen & Son	James O. Aveline	⇆	731
"	*Cornelia* schooner	197	New London whaler/ S. Hobson & Son	James T. Skinner	wintered	732
"	*Monticello* barque	356	New London whaler/ R.H. Chappell	E.A. Chapell	wintered	733

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1864	*Helen F.* (*Monticello* tender) schooner	108	New London whaler/ R.H. Chappell	H.Y. Chapell	wintered	734
"	*George and Mary* barque	165	New London whaler/ William H. Barns	Charles Jeffrey	"	735
"	*Isabel* schooner	95	New London whaler/ Simeon A. Chapman	Samuel H. King	⇆	736
"	*Pioneer* barque	235	New London whaler/ Williams & Haven	Ebenezer Morgan	wintered	737
"	*Oxford* brig	130	Fairhaven whaler/ Damon & Judd	John Charry	"	738
"	*Concordia* barque	265	Sag Harbor whaler/ O.R. Wade	C[apt.] Rogers	"	739
"	?		United States whaler	?	perhaps wintered	720
"	?		" " "	?	" "	720
"	?		" " "	?	" "	720
1865	*Lady Head* 'three masted, stately' barque	457	HBC	John James	⇆	740 ▪ *
"	*Prince Rupert* [VII] 'clipper' barque	491	"	Henry Bishop	⇆	741 ▪ *
"	*Andrews* barque	303	New Bedford whaler/ Jonathan Bourne Jr.	Timothy C. Packard	wintered	742
"	*Daniel Webster* ship	336	New Bedford whaler/ S. Thomas & Co.	Benjamin Kelley	"	743
"	*Milwood* barque	254	New Bedford whaler/ G. Allen & Son	Isaac Allen	"	744
"	*Franklin* schooner	119	New London whaler/ Richard H. Chappell	Sidney O. Buddington	"	745
"	?		United States whaler	?	perhaps wintered	720
"	?		" " "	?	" "	720

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1865	?		United States whaler	?	perhaps wintered	720
"	?		" " "	?	" "	720
"	?		" " "	?	" "	720
"	?		" " "	?	" "	720
"	?		" " "	?	" "	720
"	?		" " "	?	" "	720
"	?		" " "	?	" "	720
1866	*Lady Head* 'three masted, stately' barque	457	HBC	John James	⇆	746 ▪ *
"	*Prince Rupert* [VII] 'clipper' barque	491	"	Henry Bishop	⇆	747 ▪ *
"	SS *Labrador* [I] brig		"	R.B. Wood (to Quebec)/David J. Herd	via Quebec ⇆	748 ▪ *
"	*Ocean Nymph* barque	310	"	James Taylor	wintered	749 ▪ *
"	*Ansell Gibbs* barque	303	New Bedford whaler/ Jonathan Bourne Jr.	Charles B. Kilmer	wintered	750
"	*Black Eagle* barque	229	New Bedford whaler/ S. Thomas & Company	Edwin W. White	"	751
"	*Glacier* schooner	177	" " " "	Edwin A. Potter	"	752
"	*Morning Star* barque	238	" " " "	Charles E. Allen	"	753
"	*Orray Taft* barque	134	New Bedford whaler/ S. Thomas & Company	George Joseph Parker	"	754
"	*Pioneer* 'steam' barque	228	New Bedford whaler/ James D. Thompson	C$^{apt.}$ Hoxie	"	755

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1866	*George and Mary* barque	105	New London whaler/ Williams & Barnes	Horace M. Newbury	wintered	756
"	*Cornelia* schooner	148	Groton Connecticut whaler/Ebenezer Morgan	Lorenzo D. Baker	"	757
"	*Concordia* barque	217	Sag Harbor whaler/ O.R. Wade	C$^{apt.}$ Skinner	"	758
1867	*Lady Head* 'three masted, stately' barque	457	HBC	John James	⇆	759 ▪ *
"	*Prince Rupert* [VII] 'clipper' barque	491	"	Henry Bishop	⇆	760 ▪ *
"	SS *Labrador* [I] brig		"	R.B. Wood	⇆	761 ▪ *
"	*Milwood* barque	216	New Bedford whaler/ G. Allen & Son	Isaac Allen	wintered	762
"	*Andrews* (St. Andrews) barque	277	New Bedford whaler/ J. Bourne Jr.	Timothy C. Packard	wintered; lost	763
"	*Isabella* brig	192	New London whaler/ Richard H. Chappell	C$^{apt.}$ Bailey	did not arrive	764
"	?		United States whaler	?	perhaps wintered	720
"	?		" " "	?	" "	720
"	?		" " "	?	" "	720
"	?		" " "	?	" "	720
"	?		" " "	?	" "	720
"	?		" " "	?	" "	720
1868	*Lady Head* 'three masted, stately' barque	457	HBC	John James	⇆	765 ▪ *
"	*Prince Rupert* [VII] 'clipper' barque	491	"	Henry Bishop	⇆	766 ▪ *

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1868	SS *Labrador* [I] brig		HBC	R.B. Wood	⇆	767 ▪ *
"	*Ansel Gibbs* barque	303	New Bedford whaler/ Jonathan Bourne Jr.	Elanthan B. Fisher	wintered	768
"	?		United States whaler	?	perhaps wintered	720
1869	*Lady Head* 'three masted, stately' barque	457	HBC	John James	⇆	769 ▪ *
"	*Prince Rupert* [VII] 'clipper' barque	491	"	Henry Bishop	⇆	770 *
"	SS *Labrador* [I] brig		"	C$^{apt.}$ Butler (out)/C$^{apt.}$ Walker (home)	to Ungava ⇆	771 ▪ *
"	?		United States whaler	?	perhaps wintered	720
"	?		" " "	?	" "	720
1870	*Lady Head* 'three masted, stately' barque	457	HBC	John James	⇆	772 ▪ *
"	*Prince Rupert* [VII] 'clipper' barque	491	"	Henry Bishop	⇆	773 *
"	*Ocean Nymph* barque	310	"	George B. Galbraith	home via Rigolet ⇆	774 *
"	SS *Labrador* [I] brig		"	Andrew Walker (out)/John Benton (home)	⇆	775 ▪ *
"	*Plover* yawl		"	?	local craft & service	776
"	*Ansel Gibbs* barque	303	New Bedford whaler/ J. Bourne Jr.	Elanthan B. Fisher	wintered	777
"	*S.B. Howes* schooner	101	New London whaler/ Williams, Haven & Co.	C$^{apt.}$ Gardner	perhaps wintered	778
1871	*Lady Head* 'three masted, stately' barque	457	HBC	John James	⇆	779 *
"	*Prince Rupert* [VII] 'clipper' barque	491	"	Henry Bishop	⇆	780 *

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1871	*Ocean Nymph* barque	310	HBC	George B. Galbraith	wintered Sorel, QC	781
"	SS *Labrador* [I] brig		"	Alexander 'Sandy' Gray (Grey)/John Bernier (Birnie)	⇆	782 ▪ *
"	*Ansel Gibbs* barque	303	New Bedford whaler/ J. Bourne Jr.	Thomas McPherson	wintered; lost, Marble Island	783
"	*Glacier* barque		New York whaler/ Morrison & Brown	Edwin Potter, or Thomas F. Barry	wintered to 1873	784
1872	*Lady Head* 'three masted, stately' barque	457	HBC	John James	⇆	785 *
"	*Prince Rupert* [VII] 'clipper' barque	491	"	Henry Bishop	⇆	786 *
"	*Walrus* 'A1 13 yrs.' schooner	68	"	Henry William Tuggey	home 1874 via Newfoundland	787
"	SS *Labrador* [I] brig		"	Alexander 'Sandy' Gray (Grey)/?	to Ungava ⇆	788 ▪ *
"	*Orray Taft* barque		New Bedford whaler/ Andrew H. Potter	George Joseph Parker	wintered; wreck Marble Island	789
"	*Abbie Bradford* (*Bradford*) schooner	115	New Bedford whaler/ Jonathan Bourne Jr.	Robert P. Gifford	wintered	790
"	*John Atwood* schooner		Provincetown whaler/ E.E. Small	C$^{apt.}$ Fisher	⇆	791
"	?		United States whaler	?	perhaps wintered	720
1873	*Lady Head* 'three masted, stately' barque	457	HBC	Geo. B. Galbraith (out)/Henry Bishop	wintered	792 *
"	*Prince Rupert* [VII] 'clipper' barque	491	"	Henry Bishop	⇆	793 *
"	SS *Labrador* [I] brig		"	Alexander 'Sandy' Gray (Grey)	to Ungava ⇆	794 ▪ *
"	?		United States whaler	?	perhaps wintered	720
"	?		" " "	?	" "	720

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1874	*Ocean Nymph* barque	310	HBC	Henry Bishop (out)/Geo.B. Galbraith (home)	⇆	795 *
"	*Mink* schooner/brig	92	"	John Taylor/Alexander Main (out)/ Gilbert Hackland	local duty to 1903?	796 •
"	*Kayoshk* schooner		"	?	local duty to 1879?	797 •
"	SS *Labrador* [I] brig		"	Alexander 'Sandy' Gray (Grey)	to Ungava ⇆	798 *
"	*Abbie Bradford* schooner	115	New Bedford whaler/ Jonathan Bourne Jr.	Elnathan B. Fisher	wintered	799
"	*President* barque	257	" " "	Robert F. Gifford	"	800
1875	*Lady Head* 'three masted, stately' barque	457	HBC	Henry Bishop	⇆	801 *
"	*Ocean Nymph* barque	310	"	John McPherson	⇆	802 *
"	SS *Labrador* [I] brig		"	Alexander 'Sandy' Gray (Grey)/?	to Ungava ⇆	803 *
"	?		United States whaler	?	perhaps wintered	720
"	?		" " "	?	" "	720
1876	*Ocean Nymph* barque	310	HBC	John McPherson	⇆	804 *
"	*Prince of Wales* [II] barque		"	Henry Bishop	⇆	805 *
"	? 'small sailing boat'		HBC or privately owned/Rev. Peck	unnamed Inuit 'guide'	local craft	806
"	*A. Houghton* barque	219	New Bedford whaler/ John T. Richardson	James G. Sinclair	wintered; lost	807
1877	*Ocean Nymph* barque	310	HBC	John McPherson	⇆	808 *
"	*Prince of Wales* [II] barque		HBC	Henry Bishop	⇆	809 *

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1877	?		Canadian Geological Survey/Robert Bell	?	local duty	810
"	*A. Horton*		New Bedford whaler	Capt. St. Clair	wintered	811
"	*A.T. Ross* brig	197	New Bedford whaler/ F.T. Richardson	J.N. Hyatt	"	812
"	*Florence* schooner	56	New London whaler	George E. Tyson	⇆	813
"	*Era* schooner	134	New London whaler/ Haven, Williams & Co.	Sanford S. Miner	wintered	814
"	*L.P. Simmons* schooner	90	New London whaler/ Haven, Williams & Co.	J.W. Buddington	"	815
"	*Nile* barque	292	New London whaler/ Haven, Williams & Co.	John Spicer	"	816
1878	*Ocean Nymph* barque	310	HBC	John McPherson	⇆	817 *
"	*Prince of Wales* [II] barque		"	Henry Bishop	⇆	818 *
"	*Labrador*		"	Alexander Gray (Grey)	to Ungava ⇆	819 *
"	*Eöthen* 'little schooner'		NY whaler/American Geographical Society	Thomas F. Barry/'Esquimau Joe'	⇆	820
"	*A.J. Ross* brig	197	New Bedford whaler/ John T. Richardson	James G. Sinclair	lost; Roe's Welcome Hudson Bay	821
"	*Abbie Bradford* schooner	115	New Bedford whaler/ Jonathan Bourne	Elnathan B. Fisher	wintered	822
"	*Abbot Lawrence* brig	160	New Bedford whaler/ Gilbert Allen	Joseph A. Mosher	"	823
"	*Franklin* schooner	77	New Bedford whaler/ William Lewis	Erastus Church Jr.	"	824
"	*Isabella* brig	132	" " "	George S. Garvin	"	825
"	*Soowoomba* (alias *Fort Churchill*) schooner		Depot Island, Inuit whaler	Capt. Mokko (Marco)	local duty	826

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1879	*Ocean Nymph* barque	310	HBC	John McPherson	⇆	827 *
"	*Prince of Wales* [II] barque		"	Henry Bishop	⇆	828 *
"	*Labrador*		"	Alexander Gray	to Ungava ⇆	829 *
"	*Era* schooner	134	New London whaler/ C.A. Williams	John O. Spicer	wintered	830
"	*George and Mary* barque	105	New Bedford whaler/ Jonathan Bourne	Michael A. Baker	"	831
"	?		United States whaler	?	perhaps wintered	720
"	?		" " "	?	" "	720
1880	*Ocean Nymph* barque	310	HBC	John McPherson	⇆	832 *
"	*Prince of Wales* [II] barque		"	Henry Bishop	⇆	833 *
"	SS *Diana* 'steam-yacht'		"	J. Allan	to Ungava Bay ⇆	834 *
"	*Labrador*		"	Alexander Gray	to Ungava ⇆	835 *
"	*Abbie Bradford* schooner	115	New Bedford whaler/ Jonathan Bourne	William H. Murphy	wintered	836
"	*Abbot Lawrence* brig	160	New Bedford whaler/ Gilbert Allen	Joseph A. Mosher	"	837
"	*Isabella* brig	132	New Bedford whaler/ William Lewis	Benjamin C. Blossom	"	838
"	*Delia Hodgkiss*		United States whaler	?	⇆	839
1881	*Ocean Nymph* barque	310	HBC	John McPherson	⇆	840 *
"	*Prince of Wales* [II] barque		"	Henry Bishop	⇆	841 *

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1881	SS *Diana* 'steam-yacht'		HBC	James Allan	to Ungava Bay ⇆	842
"	*Labrador*		"	Alexander Gray	to Ungava Bay ⇆	843 *
"	*George and Mary* barque	105	New Bedford whaler/ Jonathan Bourne	Albert C. Sherman	wintered	844
"	*Ellen Rodman* schooner	73	New Bedford whaler/ Dean & Company	R.P. Gifford	lost, Whale Point Hudson Bay	845
"	*Roswell King* schooner	97	New London whaler/ C.A. Williams	Timothy F. Clisby	lost, North Bluff Hudson Bay	846
"	*Delia Hodgkins* schooner	95	New London whaler/ L.S. Miner	Sanford S. Miner	lost, (out) Pollock Rip No. 4	847
"	?		United States whaler	?	perhaps wintered	720
"	?		" " "	?	" "	720
1882	*Ocean Nymph* barque	310	HBC	John Hawes (Hawkes)	⇆	848 *
"	*Prince of Wales* [II] barque		"	Henry Bishop	⇆	849 *
"	SS *Diana* 'steam-yacht'		"	C.H.D. Ricks (Riches, Richie)	to Ungava Bay ⇆	850 *
"	SS *Labrador* [I] brig		"	Alexander 'Sandy' Gray (Grey)/?	to Ungava Bay via Quebec ⇆	851 *
"	*Isabella* brig	132	New Bedford whaler/ William Lewis	Benjamin C. Blossom	wintered	852
"	*Abbie Bradford* schooner	115	New Bedford whaler/ Jonathan Bourne	J. Emmons Dyer	"	853
"	?		United States whaler	?	perhaps wintered	720
1883	*Ocean Nymph* barque	310	HBC	John Hawes (Hawkes)	wintered	854 *
"	*Prince of Wales* [II] barque		"	Henry Bishop	⇆	855 *

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1883	SS *Labrador* [I] brig		HBC	James L. Dunn	to Ungava Bay ⇆	856 *
"	SS *Diana* 'steam-yacht'		"	C.H.D. Ricks /James L. Dunn	to Ungava Bay ⇆	857
"	*George and Mary* barque	105	New Bedford whaler/ Jonathan Bourne	Elnathan B. Fisher	wintered	858
"	?		United States whaler	?	perhaps wintered	720
"	?		" " "	?	" "	720
1884	*Prince of Wales* [II] barque		HBC	Henry Bishop	wintered	859 *
"	*Cam Owen* brig	302	"	Alexander Main	⇆	860 *
"	SS *Labrador* [I] brig		"	James L. Dunn	to Ungava Bay ⇆	861 *
"	SS *Diana* 'steam-yacht'		"	C.H.D. Ricks/James L. Dunn	to Ungava Bay ⇆	862
"	SS *Neptune* 'sealing ship' steam/sail	465	1st Canadian Hudson Bay Expedition/S. Rendell, NF	W. Sopp	⇆	863
"	*Abbie Bradford* schooner	115	New Bedford whaler/ Jonathan Bourne	Gilbert B. Borden	wintered	864
"	*Isabella* brig	132	New Bedford whaler/ William Lewis	Benjamin C. Blossom	wintered; lost, Hudson Strait	865
"	*Era* schooner	134	New London whaler/ C.A. Williams	Timothy F. Clisby	wintered	866
1885	*Cam Owen* brig	302	HBC	John Hawes (Hawkes)	⇆	867 *
"	SS *Labrador* [I] brig		"	James L. "Dandy" Dunn	⇆	868 *
"	SS *Diana* 'steam-yacht'		"	C.H.D. Ricks (Riches, Richie)	to Ungava Bay ⇆	869
"	*Princess Royal* 'Blackwall frigate'	583	"	William Barfield	damaged, Moose Is.	870 *

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1885	*Fox* yawl		HBC	W.H. Day/Alexander 'Sandy' Gray (Grey)	serviced Hudson Bay to 1918	871
"	CGS *Alert* (alias HMS, USN) steamer barque	700	2nd Canadian Hudson Bay Expedition	J.J. Barrie	wintered	872
"	*Wave* barque	150	New Bedford whaler	Anthony P. Benton	"	873
"	*George and Mary* barque	105	New Bedford whaler/ Jonathan Bourne	Erastus Church	"	874
"	*Alert* 'arctic steamer'		Winnipeg & Hudson Bay Railway?	Capt. Adams (resigned)/?	from Halifax ⇆	875
"	?		United States whaler	?	perhaps wintered	720
"	*Arctic*		Scotland whaler	Capt. Guy	wintered	876
1886	*Cam Owen* brig	302	HBC	John Hawes (Hawkes)	wrecked, Churchill	877 *
" ?	SS *Titania*		"	Capt. Riches	to Ungava Bay ⇆	878
"	SS *Labrador* [I] brig		"	W. Neil Shaw	⇆	879 *
"	SS *Diana* 'steam-yacht'		"	C.H.D. Ricks (Riches, Richie)	to Ungava Bay ⇆	880 *
"	*Lady Head* 'three masted, stately' barque	457	"	Henry Bishop	⇆	881 *
"	CGS *Alert* (alias HMS, USN) steamer barque	700	3rd Canadian Hudson Bay Expedition	Andrew Robertson Gordon?	wintered	882
"	*Alexander* brig		New Bedford whaler/ William Lewis	Benjamin C. Blossom	"	883
"	*Abbie Bradford* schooner	115	New Bedford whaler/ Jonathan Bourne	Gilbert B. Borden	wintered to 1888	884
"	*Palmetto* barque	215	New Bedford whaler/ Thomas Luce	J.W. Buddington	perhaps wintered	885
"	?		United States whaler	?	" "	720

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1886	SS *Active* 'wood steamer'		Dundee whaler/ Robert Kinnes	?	⇆	886
1887	SS *Labrador* [I] brig		HBC	W. Neil Shaw	⇆	887 *
"	SS *Diana* 'steam-yacht'		"	C.H.D. Ricks (Riches, Richie)	⇆	888 *
"	*Lady Head* 'three masted, stately' barque	457	"	Henry Bishop	⇆	889 *
"	*Prince Rupert* [VIII] (alias *Ixopo*) barque	327	"	William Barfield	⇆	890 *
"	*Flora* 'coast boat'		"	?	local craft & duty	891
"	*Francis Allyn* schooner		New London whaler/ May M. Foote	Joseph J. Fuller	perhaps wintered	892
"	*Wave* barque	150	New Bedford whaler/ William Lewis	A. J. Mosher	" "	893
"	*Arctic*		British whaler	?	⇆	894
1888	*Prince Rupert* [VIII] (alias *Ixopo*) barque	327	HBC	William Barfield	⇆	895 *
"	*Lady Head* 'three masted, stately' barque	457	"	Henry Bishop	⇆	896 *
"	SS *Erik* steam/sail 'bluff bowed' ship	412	"	W. Neil Shaw	⇆	897 *
"	*Era* schooner	134	New London whaler/ C.A. Williams	John O. Spicer	⇆	898
"	?		United States whaler	?	⇆	720
1889	*Prince Rupert* [VIII] (alias *Ixopo*) barque	327	HBC	William Barfield	⇆	899 *
"	*Lady Head* 'three masted, stately' barque	457	"	Henry Bishop	⇆	900 *
"	SS *Erik* steam/sail 'bluff bowed' ship	412	"	W. Neil Shaw	⇆	901 *

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1890	*Prince Rupert* [VIII] (alias *Ixopo*) barque	327	HBC	William Barfield	wintered	902 ▪ *
"	*Lady Head* 'three masted, stately' barque	457	"	Henry Bishop	⇅	903 *
"	SS *Erik* steam/sail 'bluff bowed' ship	412	"	W. Neil Shaw	⇅	904
"	*Titania* '19 yrs. AI, tea clipper' ship/barque	879	"	J.L. 'Dandy' Dunn (died)/ 'Mate' T [J?] Selby	dubious; likely to British Columbia	905 *
"	*Antarctic* schooner	101	New Bedford whaler/ Thomas Luce	Elnathan B. Fisher	⇅	906
1891	*Lady Head* 'three masted, stately' barque	457	HBC	John G. Ford	⇅	907 *
"	SS *Erik* steam/sail 'bluff bowed' ship	412	"	W. Neil Shaw/Alex. 'Sandy' Gray (Grey)	⇅	908
"	*Perseverance* barque	163	"	J.E. Milne	⇅	909 *
"	*A.R. Tucker* barque	145	New Bedford whaler/ J. & W.R. Wing	Elnathan B. Fisher	wintered	910
1892	*Lady Head* 'three masted, stately' barque	457	HBC	John G. Ford	⇅	911
"	SS *Erik* steam/sail 'bluff bowed' ship	412	"	Alexander 'Sandy' Gray (Grey)	⇅	912 *
"	*Princess* ketch/schooner	52	"	John Hawes (Hawkes)	local duty to 1896	913
"	*Perseverance* barque	179	" whaler	Alexander Murray Jr.	wintered	914 ▪
"	*Era* schooner	134	New London whaler/ C.A. Williams & Company	John O. Spicer	⇅	915
1893	*Lady Head* 'three masted, stately' barque	457	HBC	John G. Ford	⇅	916 *
"	SS *Erik* steam/sail 'bluff bowed' ship	412	"	Alexander 'Sandy' Gray (Grey)	⇅	917 *
"?	? 'Hoodoo Ship, small steamer,' with sail only		" /Rev. J. Peck	'Indian scratch crew'/William Corston	delivered, local duty	918

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1893	*Canton* barque	238	New Bedford whaler/ J. & W.R. Wing	E.B. Fisher	wintered	919
"	*A.R. Tucker* barque	145	" " " "	A.D. West	"	920
1894	*Lady Head* 'three masted, stately' barque	457	HBC	John G. Ford	⇆	921 *
"	SS *Erik* steam/sail 'bluff bowed' ship	412	"	Alexander 'Sandy' Gray (Grey)	⇆	922 *
"	*Perseverance* barque	179	" whaler	Alexander Murray Jr.	wintered to 1896	923 •
"	?		United States whaler	?	perhaps wintered	720
"	?		" " "	?	" "	720
1895	*Lady Head* 'three masted, stately' barque	457	HBC	John G. Ford	⇆	924 *
"	SS *Erik* steam/sail 'bluff bowed' ship	412	"	Alexander 'Sandy' Gray (Grey)	⇆	925 *
"	*Laperouse* 'coast boat'		"	?	local craft & duty	926
"	*Era* schooner	134	New Bedford whaler/ Thomas Luce	George Comer (Comber)	wintered	927
"	*A.R. Tucker* barque	145	New Bedford whaler/ J. & W.R. Wing	A.D. West	"	928
"	*Canton* barque	238	" " " "	William H. Poole	"	929
1896	*Lady Head* 'three masted, stately' barque	457	HBC	John G. Ford	⇆	930 *
"	SS *Erik* steam/sail 'bluff bowed' ship	412	"	Alexander 'Sandy' Gray (Grey)	⇆	931 *
"	*Desdemona* barque	237	New Bedford whaler/ Thomas Luce	M.V. Millard	lost, Whale Point Hudson Bay	932
"	*Platina* barque	214	New Bedford whaler/ J. & W.R. Wing	Thomas McKenzie	wintered	933

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1896	?		United States whaler	?	perhaps wintered	720
"	?		" " "	?	" "	720
"	?		" " "	?	" "	720
1897	*Lady Head* 'three masted, stately' barque	457	HBC	John G. Ford	⇆	934 *
"	SS *Erik* steam/sail 'bluff bowed' ship	412	"	Alexander 'Sandy' Gray (Grey)	⇆	935 *
"	*Perseverance* 'London whaler'		"	?	wintered	936 *
"	*Era* schooner	134	New Bedford whaler/ Thomas Luce	George Comer (Comber)	wintered to 1899	937
"	*Francis Allyn* schooner	106	New Bedford whaler/ Thomas Luce	A.O. Gibbons	wintered	938
"	*A.R. Tucker* barque	145	New Bedford whaler/ J. & W.R. Wing	J.W. Nichols	"	939
"	?		United States whaler	?	perhaps wintered	720
"	SS *Diana* steam/sail	275	Can. Dept. of Marine &c. /Job Bros. Newfoundland	James Joy/C[apt.] Whitley	from Halifax ⇆ (x2) from St. John's	940
"	CGS *Allé* yacht		Canadian Geological Survey/Albert Peter Low	?	⇆	941
"	? yacht		Canadian Geological Survey/Robert Bell	?	⇆	942
"	*Nimrod* steam/sail?		Newfoundland fisher/ sealer?	?	⇆	943
1898	*Lady Head* 'three masted, stately' barque	457	HBC	John G. Ford	⇆	944 *
"	SS *Erik* steam/sail 'bluff bowed' ship	412	"	Alexander 'Sandy' Gray (Grey)	⇆	945 *
"	?		United States whaler	?	perhaps wintered	720

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1898	?		United States whaler	?	perhaps wintered	720
"	?		" " "	?	" "	720
"	*Esquimaux*?		Dundee whaler/ Robert Kinnes	?	" "	946
"	? CGS 'steamer'		Canadian Geological Survey/Albert Peter Low	?	⇆	947
"	? CGS 'yacht'		" " " "	?	wintered?	947
1899	*Lady Head* 'three masted, stately' barque	457	HBC	John G. Ford	⇆	948 *
"	SS *Erik* steam/sail 'bluff bowed' ship	412	"	Alexander 'Sandy' Gray (Grey)	⇆	949 *
"	*Francis Allyn* schooner	106	New Bedford whaler/ Thomas Luce	A.O. Gibbons	wintered	950
"	?		United States whaler	?	perhaps wintered	720
"	*Polar Star*		Dundee whaler/ Robert Kinnes	?	lost	951
"	*Active*		" "	C$^{apt.}$ Murray	⇆	952
1900	*Lady Head* 'three masted, stately' barque	457	HBC	John G. Ford	⇆	953 *
"	SS *Erik* steam/sail 'bluff bowed' ship	412	"	Alexander 'Sandy' Gray (Grey)	⇆	954 *
"	*Perseverance* barque		"	A.? Gulland?	⇆	955
"	*Sir John* 'coast boat'		"	?	local craft & duty	956
"	*Era* schooner	134	New Bedford whaler/ Thomas Luce	George Comer (Comber)	wintered to 1902	957
"	?		United States whaler	?	perhaps wintered	720

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1900	*Active*		Dundee whaler/ Robert Kinnes	Capt. Murray	⇆	958
1901	*Lady Head* 'three masted, stately' barque	457	HBC	John G. Ford	⇆	959 *
"	SS *Pelican* 'one-time British gun boat'	289	"	Alexander 'Sandy' Gray (Grey)	⇆	960 *
"	*Strathcona* 'coast boat'	15	"	?	local craft & duty	961
"	*Algerine* 'cruiser'		Newfoundland	Robert Abram Bartlett	⇆	962
"	*Francis Allyn* schooner	106	New Bedford whaler/ Thomas Luce	M.F. Santos	wintered; destroyed by fire	963
"	?		United States whaler	?	perhaps wintered	720
"	*Active*		Dundee whaler/ Robert Kinnes	?	" "	964
1902	*Lady Head* 'three masted, stately' barque	457	HBC	John G. Ford	⇆	965 ▪ *
"	SS *Pelican* 'one-time British gun boat'		"	Alexander 'Sandy' Gray (Grey)	⇆	966 *
"	SS *Inenew* 'steam barge'		"	?	from ON; local to 1923	967 ▪
"	?		United States whaler	?	perhaps wintered	720
"	?		" " "	?	" "	720
"	*Active*		Dundee whaler/ Robert Kinnes	?	⇆	968
1903	*Lady Head* 'three masted, stately' barque	457	HBC	John G. Ford	aground Fort George; cast off	969 *
"	SS *Pelican* 'one-time British gun boat'		"	Alexander 'Sandy' Gray (Grey)	⇆	970 *
"	*Eldorado*		Revillon Frères Fur Company	?	wreck, Fort George	971

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1903	*Stord*		Revillon Frères Fur Company	Capt. Kearney	to Ungava Bay; wintered	972
"	CGS *Neptune* steam/sail schooner	465	Canadian Geological Survey/NWMP	Samuel 'Sam' W. Bartlett	from Halifax, wintered	973
"	*Era* steam/sail schooner	134	New Bedford whaler/ Thomas Luce	George Comer (Comber)	wintered to 1905	974
"	*Eclipse* 'steam whaler'		Dundee whaler	?	perhaps wintered	975
"	*Ernest William* ketch		" " Robert Kinnes	John Murray	local service to 1910	976
"	SS *Active*		Dundee whaler /Robert Kinnes	?	⇆	977
1904	*Stork* barque		HBC	John G. Ford	wintered	978 ▪ *
"	SS *Pelican* 'one-time British gun boat'		"	Alexander 'Sandy' Gray (Grey)	⇆	979 *
"	*Dr. A. Milne* steel hull 'coast boat'		"	?	local service	980
"	?		Revillon Frères Fur Company	?	presumed voyage	981
"	CGS *Arctic* (alias *Guss /Gauss*) barque	518	Canadian Geological Survey/NWMP	Joseph E. Bernier	wintered	982
"	SS *Erik* steam/sail 'bluff bowed' ship	412	William C. Job, St. John's Newfoundland	?	via Port Burwell ⇆	983
"	?		United States whaler	?	perhaps wintered	720
"	SS *Active*	340	Dundee whaler /Robert Kinnes	Alexander Murray	⇆	984
"	*Queen Bess*		" "	?	⇆	985
1905	SS *Discovery* (alias RRS) bargue		HBC	Alexander 'Sandy' Gray (Grey)	⇆	986 *
"	SS *Pelican* 'one-time British gun boat'		"	George Frederick Lovegrove	⇆	987 *

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1905	*D.C. McTavish* 'coast boat'		HBC	?	local craft & service	988
"	*Black Prince* 'coast boat'		"	?	" " " "	989
"	?		Revillon Frères Fur Company	?	presumed voyage	981
"	?		Moravian Missionary Society	?	to Killiniq Island ⇆	990
"	CGS *Neptune*		Canadian Government/ RNWMP	Samuel W. Bartlett	wintered; returned to St. John's	991
"	*Arlette* steamer		Canadian Survey	Commander Bowden?	⇆	992
"	? 'little shallow boat'		" "	? 'crew of Eskimo'	local craft	993
"	?		United States whaler	?	perhaps wintered	720
"	*Active* 'steamer'		Dundee whaler	Alexander Murray [II]	⇆	994
"	*Queen Bess*		" "	?	⇆	995
1906	SS *Discovery* (alias RRS) bargue		HBC	John G. Ford	⇆	996 ▪ *
"	*Stork* barque		"	Norman Edward Freakley	⇆	997 ▪ *
"	SS *Pelican* 'one-time British gun boat'		"	Alexander 'Sandy' Gray (Grey)	⇆	998 ▪ *
"	*Erik* 'coast boat'		"	?	local craft & duty	999
"	?		Revillon Frères Fur Company	?	presumed voyage	981
"	*Harmony*		Moravian Missionary Society	J.E. Jackson	to Killiniq Island ⇆	1000
"	CGS *Adventure*		Canadian Government/ RNWMP	?	⇆	1001

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1906	*McTavish*		Canadian Government/ RNWMP	?	already local; sank	1002
"	SS Rouville		RNWMP	?	'detailed for other duty'	1003
" ?	*Jeannie* schooner		"	?	local duty to 1910	1004
1906	*Era* schooner	134	New Bedford whaler/ Timothy C. Allen	George Comer (Comber)	lost (out), St. Pierre Micquelon Islands	1005
"	*Active* 'steamer'		Dundee whaler	Alexander Murray Sr. [II]	⇅	1006
"	*Queen Bess*		" "	?	⇅	1007
"	*Ernest William*		" "	?	⇅	1008
1907	SS *Discovery* (alias RRS) bargue		HBC	John G. Ford	⇅	1009 ▪ *
"	*Stork* barque		"	Norman Edward Freakley	⇅	1010 ▪ *
"	SS *Pelican* 'one-time British gun boat'		"	Alexander 'Sandy' Gray (Grey)	⇅	1011 ▪ *
"	*Pelican* 'coast boat'		"	?	local duty to 1909?	1012
"	? 'yacht'		HBC, or private/Canadian Prospecting Expedition	?	already local	1013
"	?		Revillon Frères Fur Company	?	presumed voyage	981
"	SS *Erik* steam/sail 'bluff bowed' ship	412	William C. Job, St. John's Newfoundland	?	⇅	1014
"	*A.T. Gifford* schooner	86	Stamford whaler/F.N.Monjo /Geographical Survey	George Comer (Comber)	wintered to 1909	1015
"	*Active* 'steamer'		Dundee whaler	Alexander Murray Sr. [II]	⇅	1016
1908	SS *Discovery* (alias RRS) barque		HBC	John G. Ford	⇅	1017 ▪ *

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1908	*Stork* barque		HBC	Norman Edward Freakley	aground [home]; cast off James Bay	1018 ▪ *
"	SS *Pelican* 'one-time British gun boat'		"	Alexander 'Sandy' Gray (Grey)	⇆	1019 ▪ *
"	?		Revillon Frères Fur Company	?	presumed voyage	981
"	SS *Erik* steam/sail 'bluff bowed' ship	412	Wm. C. Job Newfound-land/Peary Arctic Club	Samuel W. Bartlett	collided with iceberg ⇆	1020
"	CGS *Arctic*		Canadian Arctic Patrol	Joseph-Elzéar Bernier	from Quebec, wintered	1021
"	*MacTavish*		RNWMP	?	already local; wrecked	1022
"	?		United States whaler	?	perhaps wintered	720
"	*Active* 'steamer'		Dundee whaler	Alexander Murray Sr. [II]	⇆	1023
"	*Snowdrop* 'smallest ship in the fleet'		Dundee whaler/ Osbert Clare Forsyth-Grant	James Brown	lost outward	1024
"	*Queen Bess*		Scottish whaler	?	perhaps wintered	1025
1909	SS *Discovery* (alias RRS) barque		HBC	John G. Ford	⇆	1026 ▪ *
"	SS *Pelican* 'one-time British gun boat'		"	Arthur Cleveland Smith	⇆	1027 ▪ *
"	SS *Adventure*		Revillon Frères Fur Co./Harvey & Co. sealer	C$^{apt.}$ Crouch and C$^{apt.}$ Cross	⇆	1028
"	?		U. of Wisconsin/Charles K. & Arthur T. Leith	?	already local	1029
"	*Lorna Doone* 'small vessel'		Anglican Church/? charter	?	from St. John's Newfoundland ⇆	1030
"	?		United States whaler	?	perhaps wintered	720
"	*Active* 'steamer'		Dundee whaler	Alexander Murray Sr. [II]	⇆	1031

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1910	SS *Discovery* (alias RRS) barque		HBC	John G. Ford	⇆	1032 • *
"	SS *Pelican* 'one-time British gun boat'		"	Arthur Cleveland Smith	⇆	1033 • *
"	SS *Mooswa* 'steam tug'		"	"native" crew; George Spence1st mate	local duty to 1916	1034
"	*Cheshire Cat* 'auxiliary yacht'		"	?	local duty	1035 •
"	*Sorine* 'Danish barque'		Denmark/ HBC	Capt. Anderson	wintered, Charlton Island; local duty	1036
"	*Laddie* schooner		RNWMP	?	local duty to 1914	1037
"	CGS *Stanley* 'ice breaker'		Canada, Survey	Capt. Dalton	⇆	1038
"	*Chrissie C. Thomey* '3-masted' schooner	123	Canada, Hydrographic Exploration	Thomas "Black Tom o' Brigus" Gushue	⇆	1039
"	HMCS *Earl Grey* (alias CGS, etc.) steel steamer		Canada/ Governor General's Tour	Samuel [or W? or S.W.?] Bartlett	⇆	1040
"	?		Revillon Frères Fur Company	?	presumed voyage	981
"	*A.T. Gifford* schooner	86	Stamford whaler/ Ferdinand N. Monjo	George T. Comer (Comber)	wintered to 1912	1041
"	*Active* 'steamer'		Dundee whaler	Alexander Murray Sr. [II]	⇆	1042
1911	SS *Discovery* (alias RRS) barque		HBC	John G. Ford	⇆	1043 • *
"	SS *Pelican* 'one-time British gun boat'		"	Arthur Cleveland Smith	wintered?	1044 • *
"	*Daryl* 'thirty-foot motor launch'		"	George Ford	local duty	1045
"	*Namauk*		"		" "	1045
"	SS *Erik* steam/sail 'bluff bowed' ship	412	"	?	⇆	1046

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1911	*Beothic* (*Beothen*, alias *Georgiy Fedor*)		HBC chartered	E. Falk	wintered in St. John's Newfoundland	1047 *
"	?		Revillon Frères Fur Company	?	presumed voyage	981
"	*Stella Maris*		Anglican Church		⇆	1048
"	CGS *Minto* steamer		Canada, Department of Marine Survey	John MacPherson/Frederick Anderson/S.W. Bartlett	⇆	1049
"	SS *Burleigh* auxiliary schooner		Canada, Magnetic Survey	Thomas Butler	⇆	1050
"	*Chrissie C. Thomey* '3-masted' schooner	123	Canada Hydrographic Reconnaissance	Thomas 'Black Tom o' Brigus' Gushue	⇆	1051
"	*Nastapoka* 'thirty-six foot sailing craft'		Sir William Mackenzie/ R.J. Flaherty	?	already local	1052
"	? 'sloop'		" " "	?	"	1052
"	?		United States whaler	?	perhaps wintered	720
"	*Active* 'steamer'		Dundee whaler	Alexander Murray [II] (died)	wintered	1053
"	*Séduisante* 'two-masted ketch'		" " /Osbert Clare Forsyth-Grant	Osbert Clare Forsyth-Grant	lost	1054
"	?		Newfoundland fisher	Robert Abram Bartlett	⇆	1055
1912	SS *Nascopie* (alias RMS)	1004	HBC/Nascopie Steamship Co. Newfoundland	Arthur Cleveland Smith	from St. John's Newfoundland ⇆	1056 *
"	?		Revillon Frères Fur Company	?	presumed voyage	981
"	*Walrus* '29-foot' sloop		Ungava Bay Inuit/Sir Wm. Mackenzie/R.J. Flaherty	? Nawri and 'crew of Eskimos'	already local craft	1057
"	CGS *Minto*		Canadian Department of Marine Survey	C$^{apt.}$ Murcheson/Samuel [or W.? S.W.?] Bartlett	⇆	1058
"	*Arctic*		Canadian Hydrographic/ Magnetic Survey	Joseph Couillard		1059

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1912	*Chrissie C. Thomey* schooner		Canada/Hydrographic Exploration	H.D. Parizeau	wintered; wreck	1060
"	*Active* (*Active Dundee*)	340	Dundee whaler	?	wintered	1061
"	?		United States whaler	?	perhaps wintered	720
1913	SS *Nascopie* (alias RMS)	1004	HBC/Nascopie Steamship Co. Newfoundland	J. Meickle/C$^{apt.}$ Mack	from Montreal ⇆	1062 *
"	SS *Pelican* 'one-time British gun boat'		HBC	Arthur Cleveland Smith	⇆	1063 • *
"	*Fort Churchill* ketch	56	HBC	?	broke mooring YF	1064
"	?		Revillon Frères Fur Company	?	presumed voyage	981
"	CSS *Acadia* (alias RCN) steam, single-screw	846	Canada, Hydrographic Survey	W. Bartlett	⇆	1065
"	*Laddie* 'topsail schooner' brig	82	Sir William Mackenzie/ Robert Joseph Flaherty	Henry Bartlett	⇆	1066
"	SS *Erik* steam/sail 'bluff bowed' ship	452	American Museum of Natural History	C$^{apt.}$ Kehoe	⇆	1067
"	*A.T. Gifford* schooner	86	Stamford whaler/ F.N. Monjo	J.A. Wing	wintered	1068
"	SS *Alette* (*Arlette*?) tramp steamer		Canada, Department of Railways	C$^{apt.}$ Robertson	from Port Arthur, Texas beached, Nelson	1069
"	SS *Alcazar* tramp steamer		" " "	D.R. Davies	from Texas ⇆	1070
"	SS *Bellaventure* (*Belladventure*)	467	" " "	C$^{apt.}$ Couch?	from Halifax (x2) ⇆	1071
"	CGS *Neophite* (*Neophyte*)		" " "	?	from Halifax ⇆	1072
"	CGS *Kathleen* 'steam tug'		" " "	?	from Halifax	1073
"	SS *Sinbad* tramp steamer		" " "	?	from Montreal ⇆	1074

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1913	SS *Beothic*		Canada, Department of Railways	?	⇆	1075
"	*Port Nelson* 'suction dredge'	1155	" " "	H.B. Saunders	beached, Nelson	1076
"	? 'fine steam lighter'		" " "	?	local duty	1077
"	? barge/scow		" " "	?	sent in sections; local duty	1077
"	? barge/scow		" " "	?	" " " "	1077
"	SS *Cearense* (*Cearenz, Cerense*)	2769	" " " / J.F. O'Meara Co., NY	?	from Halifax, wreck, Nelson	1078
"	SS *Bonaventure* 'NL sealer' steam/sail	461	Can. Dept. of Rail./Steam-ship Co. Newfoundland	H.F. Hazen [engineer]/H.E Penrose?	from Halifax (x2) ⇆	1079
1914	SS *Nascopie* (alias RMS)	1004	HBC/Nascopie Steamship Co. Newfoundland	Arthur Cleveland Smith?	from Montreal ⇆	1080 *
"	*Pelican*		HBC	Arthur Cleveland Smith?	⇆	1081 *
"	*Fort York* motor schooner/ketch	64	HBC	?/Richard Hayward Taylor	local service to 1923?	1082
"	*Emelia P.*		Revillon Frères Fur Company	?	local service?	1083
"	*Village Belle* schooner		NWMP	C$^{apt.}$ Lockhart/Constable Kennedy	local service to 1916	1084
"	CGS *Sheba* 'steel tramp' steamer	3400	Canada, Department of Railways	?	(x2) ⇆	1085
"	SS *Minto* steamer		" " "	C$^{apt.}$ Reid	⇆	1086
"	*Sharon* tramp steamer		" " "	?	⇆	1087
"	? 'fine steam lighter'		" " "	?	⇆	1088
"	CG *No. 2* 'gasoline lighter'		" " "	?	from Toronto local duty	1089

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1914	SS *Bonaventure* steam/sail	461	Can. Dept. Rail./ Steam-ship Co. Newfoundland	?	to Sydney, Nova Scotia ⇆	1090
"	*Laddie* brig/'topsail schooner'	82	Canada/Charles Dawe, Bay Roberts Newfoundland	Henry Bartlett/W. Robertson	wintered; dismantled	1091
"	*Burleigh* auxiliary schooner		Canada Department of Naval Service	?	from Halifax ⇆	1092
"	CSS *Acadia* (alias RCN) steam, single-screw	452	Canada/Hydrographic Survey	William A. Robson	⇆	1093
"	*Annie E. Geede* schooner		" " "	?	⇆	1094
"	*George B. Cluett* (*Cluett/George B.*)		U.S. Geomagnetic Exped./ W.J. Peters/chartered	? 'Captain & crew from the International Grenfell Assoc.'	from Battle Harbour, Labrador ⇆	1095
"	*Active* (*Active Dundee*)	340	Dundee whaler	?	⇆	1096
"	?		United States whaler	?	perhaps wintered	720
—"—	---[total: '38 ships into --- into Hudson Bay']	----	----------	----------	----------	1097
1915	SS *Nascopie* (alias RMS)	1004	HBC/Nascopie Steamship Co. Newfoundland	George Edmund Mack	via St. John's ⇆	1098 *
"	*Nastapoka* 'thirty-six foot sailing craft'		HBC	?	local service to?	1099
"	?		Revillon Frères Fur Company	?	⇆	981
" [?]	*George B. Cluett*		American Museum of Natural History	George Comer (Comber)	⇆	1100
"	SS *Bellaventure*		Canada, Dept. of Railways /Newfoundland sealer	?	to Halifax ⇆	1101
"	SS *Adventure*	826	Canada, Dept. of Railways/ Adventure Steamship Co. NL	?	" " ⇆	1102
"	CGS *Sheba* 'steel tramp' steamer	3400	" " " "	?	" " ⇆	1103
"	*A.T. Gifford* schooner	86	Provincetown whaler /F.N. Monjo	A.O. Gibbons	lost, Hudson Bay	1104

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1915	? '6½ hp. steam/sail, full decked Peterhead'		?/J.W. Nichols	?	local?	1105
1916	SS *Nascopie* (alias RMS)	1004	HBC	George Edmund Mack	from Montreal ⇆	1106 *
"	*Albert*		Henry Toke Munn, trader	John Murray	from Peterhead	1107
"	*Bargany* 'old coal barge'		Government of Canada	?	scuttled, Port Nelson	1108
"	CGS *Sheba* 'steel tramp' steamer	3400	Canada, Department of Railways	?	(x2) ⇆	1109
"	*Durley Chine*		Canada, Department of Railways	?	(x2) ⇆	1110
1917	SS *Nascopie* (alias RMS)	1004	HBC	George Edmund Mack	U boat attack (out)⇆	1111 *
1918	SS *Nascopie* (alias RMS)	1004	HBC	Thomas Farrar Smellie	⇆	1112 *
"	SS *Discovery* (alias RRS) barque		"	George Henry Mead	from Montreal ⇆	1113 ▪ *
"	SS *Pelican* 'one-time British gun boat'		"	Arthur William Hutchison Borras	U boat attack, N. Atl.	1114 ▪
"	*Nannuk* schooner		"	Inuit "crew of six"	already local, Lake Harbour	1115
"	? 'steam tug'		Canada, Department of the Interior/F.H. Kitto	?	already local	1116
"	*Albert*		Henry Toke Munn, trader	John Murray	from Scotland; to Halifax	1117
1919	SS *Nascopie* (alias RMS)	1004	HBC	George Henry Mead/George E. Mack	Androssan via Newfoundland ⇆	1118 *
"	*Duncan* [I] 'sea going motor vessel'		RNWMP	?	local duty to?	1119
"	*Lady Borden* 'sea going motor vessel, tug'		"	W.O. Douglas	local duty to 1929	1119
"	[U]SS *Finback* schooner/yacht		New York whaler/ Christian Leden	George Comer (Comber)	wrecked, Fullerton Hudson Bay	1120

Year to/ in Bay	Vessel name/ description/rigging	tons	Sponsor/Representative/ Owner	Commander/Master/Pilot in charge	Remarks	Source list #
1920	SS *Nascopie* (alias RMS)	1004	HBC	George Henry Mead	to Savannah ⇆	1121 *
"	SS *Pelican* 'one-time British gun boat'		"	R. Bergner	from Montreal ⇆ & Newfoundland	1122 ▪ *
"	*Fort George* schooner		"	?	already local	1123
"	*Fort Charles* schooner		"	?	already local	1123
"	*Lady Byng* 'small vessel'		RCMP	?	local duty	1124
"	CGS *Lady Laurier* 'small vessel'		"	?	" "	1125
"	*Northern Messenger* 'motor yawl'		Carnegie Museum/Walter Edmund Clyde Todd	?	from Battle ⇆ Harbour, Labrador	1126
"	*Dorothy G. Snow* 'power schooner'		" " /Revillon Freres	?	⇆	1127
"	SS *Thetis* steam/sail	396	W.C. Job, Newfoundland/ D.B. MacMillan, Boston	C[apt.] Smith	from St. John's ⇆ Newfoundland	1128

Appendix B

Source List: Seafaring Vessels in, or Voyaging to, Hudson Bay and Strait, Including Journeys into Ungava Bay, Foxe Basin, and James Bay, 1508–1920

This list is not definitive in terms of supplying sources for each vessel, rather it is illustrative of evidence used to support, or qualify, the inclusion of a vessel and details of its owners, masters, and voyages as presented in Appendix A.

1 "Arctic Expeditions from England," *The Nautical Magazine and Naval Chronicle for 1845* (1845): 120–21. R.A. Skelton, "Cabot, Sebastian," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Online edition [DCB]* <http://www.biographi.ca/EN/index.html> (accessed 2004–2008). Alan Cooke, and Clive Holland, *The Exploration of Northern Canada: 500 to 1920, A Chronology* (Toronto: Arctic History Press, 1978), 18–19. E.G.R. Taylor, "Hudson Strait and the Oblique Meridian," *Imago Mundi* 3 (1939): 49, posits the existence of additional, unacknowledged early voyages to Hudson Strait. Based on a close examination, and applying latter-day mapping methods to early mariner charts, and thereby illustrating the conformance of their contours with current geographical conceptions of dimension, he deduces from that by 1580 "the Portuguese had not only entered Hudson Strait but had examined and charted Ungava Bay." See also A.H. de Trémaudan, *The Hudson Bay Road (1498–1915)* (London: J.M. Dent, 1915), 1 and n.2., who dates Portuguese voyages as taking place "between the years 1558 and 1567."

2 *Gabriell & Michaell.* Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation: Made by sea or overland to the remote and farthest distant quarters of the earth, at any time within the compasse of these 1600 yeares,* vol. I (1599; reprint of the 2d ed., edited by Edmund Goldsmid reordered with indices, new illustrations and maps: E. & G. Goldsmid, 1885), 74. "Arctic Expeditions," *Nautical Magazine,* 120–21. William Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay and Cumberland Gulf in the Steamship 'Diana' under the Command of William Wakeham, Marine and Fisheries Canada in the year 1897* (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, 1898), 47. Alan Cooke, "Frobisher, Sir Martin," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 22.

3 *Aide, Michaell & Gabriell.* Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations,* vol. I, 81–82. "Arctic Expeditions," *Nautical Magazine,* 120–21. Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay,* 48. Cooke, "Frobisher, Sir Martin," DCB. Cooke and Holland,

Exploration, 23.

4 *Ayde, Dionyse &c.* Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations,* vol. I, 174. "Arctic Expeditions," *Nautical Magazine,* 120–21. Cooke, "Frobisher, Sir Martin," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 23.

5 *Sunneshine & Moonshine.* "Arctic Expeditions," *Nautical Magazine,* 12–21. Margaret Montgomery Lardner, "Davis (Davys), John," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 24.

6 *Mermayde, North Starre &c.* "Arctic Expeditions," *Nautical Magazine,* 120–21. Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay,* 48. Lardner, "Davis (Davys), John," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 24.

7 *Elizabeth, Sunneshine & Ellen.* "Arctic Expeditions," *Nautical Magazine,* 120–21. Lardner, "Davis (Davys), John," DCB, puts Davis in the *Ellen*. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 24–25.

8 *Discovery & Godspeed.* "Arctic Expeditions," *Nautical Magazine,* 120–21. Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay,* 48. Thomas Dunbabin, "Waymouth or Weymouth ... George," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 26.

9 *Discovery.* "Arctic Expeditions," *Nautical Magazine,* 120–21. Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay,* 48. L.H. Neatby, "Hudson, Henry," and "Bylot, Robert," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 26–27.

10 *Resolution & Discovery.* "Arctic Expeditions," *Nautical Magazine,* 120–21. Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay,* 48. J.B. Tyrrell, *Documents relating to the early history of Hudson Bay* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1931), 4. Aled Eames, "Button, Sir Thomas"; Neatby, "Bylot, Robert," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 27.

11 *Discovery.* "Arctic Expeditions," *Nautical Magazine,* 120–21. Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay,* 49. Ernest S. Dodge, "Gibbons, William," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 27.

12 *Discovery.* "Arctic Expeditions," *Nautical Magazine,* 120–21. Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay,* 49. Neatby, "Bylot, Robert," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 27–28.

13 *Enhiörningen & Lamprenen.* Nora T. Corley, "Munk (Munck), Jens Eriksen," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 28.

14 *Lions Whelp &c.* "Arctic Expeditions," *Nautical Magazine,* 120–21. Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay,* 49, lists a "Captain Hawkesbury" and dates the voyage to 1616. Nora T. Corley, "Hawkeridge (Hawkridge), William," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 28.

15 *Charles.* "Arctic Expeditions," *Nautical Magazine,* 120–21. Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay,* 49. William F.E. Morley; "Fox (Foxe), Luke," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 29.

16 *Henrietta Maria.* "Arctic Expeditions," *Nautical Magazine,* 120–21. Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay,* 49. Alan Cooke, "James, Thomas," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 29.

17 "Arctic Expeditions," *Nautical Magazine,* 120–21, 127. Arthur S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870–71, Being a History of Rupert's Land (The*

Hudson's Bay Company Territory) and of the North-West Territory (Including the Pacific Slope) (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1939), 46–47. Irene M. Harper, "The First Complete Exploration of Hudson's Bay: Pierre Esprit Radisson and Medard Chouard Groseilliers," *Cambridge Historical Journal* 3, no. 1 (1929): 80–81. G. Andrew Moriarty, "Gillam, Zachariah"; Grace Lee Nute, "Radisson, Pierre-Esprit," and "Houart Des Groseilliers, Médard," DCB. Cooke and Holland, Exploration, 32.

18 *Discovery.* Alice M. Johnson, "Early Ships in Hudson's Bay," *The Beaver* 26, no. 1 (June 1946): 10. E.E. Rich, *The History of the Hudson's Bay Company 1670–1870,* vol. I (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1958), 32, 40. Alan Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," *The Beaver* 50, no. 1 (summer 1970): 7.

19 *Eaglet & Nonsuch.* HBCA, Search File, Ships, Enclosure No.1 to C.C.16127, "List of Ships sailing for Hudson Bay," includes the *Nonsuch* only. Johnson, "Early Ships in Hudson's Bay," 10–11. Rich, *History*, vol. I, 34, 36–38, 40–41, 55–56, 70. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 7. Moriarty, "Gillam, Zachariah," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 32.

20 *Hadarine & Wivenhoe.* Johnson, "Early Ships in Hudson's Bay," 11–12. Rich, *History*, vol. I, 38, 65–68, 70, 73, 139. de Trémaudan, *Hudson Bay Road*, 7, lists *Wivenhoe* as *Wavero.* Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 33.

21 *Wivenhoe.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Johnson, "Early Ships in Hudson's Bay," 12. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 8. Alice M. Johnson, "Bayly (Baily, Baley), Charles,"and "Walker, Nehemiah," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 33–34.

22 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Johnson, "Early Ships in Hudson's Bay," 12. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 8–9. Moriarty, "Gillam, Zachariah," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 33–34.

23 Rich, *History,* vol. I, 67.

24 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Johnson, "Early Ships in Hudson's Bay," 12. Moriarty, "Gillam, Zachariah," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 34.

25 *Messenger.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Johnson, "Early Ships in Hudson's Bay," 12. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 10. G. Andrews Moriarty, "Sanford, Esbon (Ezbon Sandford)," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 34.

26 *Imploy.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Johnson, "Early Ships in Hudson's Bay," 12. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 10, designates the vessel "*Employ.*" Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 34.

27 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Alice M. Johnson, "The Mythical Land of Buss," *The Beaver* 22, no. 3 (December 1942): 45. Johnson, "Early Ships in Hudson's Bay," 12–13. Moriarty, "Gillam, Zachariah," and "Sanford, Esbon (Ezbon Sandford)." Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 36.

28 *Shaftesbury.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Johnson, "Mythical Land," 45. Johnson, "Early Ships in Hudson's Bay," 12–13, observes the *Messenger* was renamed as of this year. Alice M. Johnson, "Shepard (Shepheard), Thomas," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 36.

29 *Prince Rupert.* Johnson, "Mythical Land," 44–45. Johnson, "Early Ships in Hudson's Bay," 13; and "Shepard (Shepheard), Thomas," DCB.

30 *Shaftesbury.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Maud M. Hutcheson, "Thompson, Joseph"; Johnson, "Shepard (Shepheard), Thomas," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 36.

31 *Shaftesbury.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Maud M. Hutcheson, "Cobbie, Walsal." Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 36.

32 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Johnson, "Early Ships in Hudson's Bay," 13. Rich, *History,* vol. I, 97. Maud M. Hutcheson, "Power (Powers), Richard," and "Lucas, Richard," DCB. John Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse: Hudson's Bay Company Transport, 1670–1821," Ph.D. diss. (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1978), 53. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 36.

33 *Shaftesbury.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Hutcheson, "Thompson, Joseph"; Johnson, "Shepard (Shepheard), Thomas," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 36.

34 *Colleton.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 10. Johnson, "Walker, Nehemiah," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 36.

35 *John and Alexander.* HBCA, Search File, Ships; Ships Records Finding Aid [sic], Section C (in two parts), complied 1953. Johnson, "Walker, Nehemiah"; Hutcheson, "Lucas, Richard," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 36.

36 *Colleton.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Rich, *History*, vol. I, 95. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 12. Hutcheson, "Cobbie, Walsal"; G.E. Thorman, "Outlaw, John"; and Alice M. Johnson, "Grimington, Michael," [d. 1710] DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 37.

37 *Prudent Mary.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Morton, *History of the Canadian West*, 82. Johnson, "Early Ships in Hudson's Bay," 13. Rich, *History*, vol. I, 94–95. Johnson, "Walker, Nehemiah"; Hutcheson, "Lucas, Richard," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 37.

38 *Albemarle.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Rich, *History,* vol. I, 94, 97. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 9. Maud M. Hutcheson, "Draper, Thomas"; Johnson, "Grimington, Michael," [d. 1710] DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 37.

39 *Hayes.* Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 12. Rich, *History*, vol. I, 234, 243, 252. Johnson, "Grimington, Michael," [d. 1710] DCB.

40 *Diligence.* HBCA, Search File, Ships, also includes the *Prince Rupert* this year, apparently in company with *Albany*, but this is more likely a reference to the return of the *Rupert* and *Albemarle* to London. Johnson, "Walker, Nehemiah", "Abraham, John", and "Grimington, Michael," [d. 1710] DCB. Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse," 48. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 37.

41 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Johnson, "Early Ships in Hudson's Bay," 13. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 11. Moriarty, "Gillam, Zachariah"; Maud M. Hutcheson, "Gillam, Benjamin," DCB. Cooke and Holland, Exploration, 38.

42 *Albemarle*. HBCA, Search File, Ships. Oliver Warner, "Voyaging to York Factory," *The Beaver* 37, no. 3 (winter 1957): 18. Johnson, "Early Ships in Hudson's Bay," 13. Moriarty, "Sanford, Esbon"; Alice M. Johnson, "Bond, William," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 38.

43 *Friendship.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Rich, *History*, vol. I, 99, 100. K.G. Davies ed., with A.M. Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay 1703–40* (London: Hudson's Bay

Record Society, 1965), 395. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 38.

44 *Lucy.* Rich, *History*, vol. I, 99–100. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 369. Johnson, "Grimington, Michael," [d. 1710] DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 38.

45 *James.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Rich, *History*, vol. I, 104–105. E.E. Rich, ed., *Letters Outward 1688–96* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1948), xxxi*n.*, 239*n.* Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 395.

46 *Craven.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Rich, *History*, vol. I, 100. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 12. Johnson, "Bond, William"; Thorman, "Outlaw, John"; Bernard Pothier, "Le Moyne d'Iberville (from a fief held by his father's family, near Dieppe, in the province of Normandy) et d'Ardillièrs (from a property he acquired in the province of Aunis near Rochefort), Pierre," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 38.

47 Rich, *History*, vol. I, 100. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 12.

48 Michael F. Dove, "Voyages to Rupert's Land: The Hudson's Bay Company's Maritime Component, 1670–1770," in *Selected Papers of Rupert's Land Colloquium 2002,* compiled by David G. Malaher (Winnipeg: Centre for Rupert's Land Studies, 2002), 22–23.

49 *Bachelor's Delight.* Johnson, "Early Ships in Hudson's Bay," 13. Rich, *History*, vol. I, 135–36, 138, 141, 146, 154, 156, 175, 182, 196–97, 236. Frank Hall, "York Factory Saved," *Manitoba Pageant* 14, no. 1 (autumn 1968), Manitoba Historical Society <http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/pageant/14/yorkfactory.shtml> (accessed 8 November 2006). Hutcheson, "Gillam, Benjamin"; Thorman, "Outlaw, John," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 38.

50 *St. Pierre & Ste. Anne.* Tyrrell, *Documents*, 11. F. Grenier, "Allemand, Pierre"; Nute, "Radisson, Pierre-Esprit"; Thorman, "Outlaw, John," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 38.

51 *Expectation.* Rich, *History*, vol. I, 104–5. Hutcheson, "Lucas, Richard." Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 39.

52 *Diligence.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Johnson, "Walker, Nehemiah," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 39.

53 *George.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Johnson, "Abraham, John," and "Bond, William," DCB. Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse," 46. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 39.

54 *Expectation.* Johnson, "Walker, Nehemiah," and "Abraham, John," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 39.

55 *John and Thomas.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Maud M. Hutcheson, "Edgecombe, Leonard"; Johnson, "Grimington, Michael," [d. 1710] DCB. Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse," 46–47. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 39.

56 *Lucy.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Thorman, "Outlaw, John"; and K.G. Davies, "Kelsey, Henry," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 39.

57 *Happy Return.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Tyrrell, *Documents*, 12, designates the HBC ships this year the *Happy Return*, *Success*, and *Adventure*, but the vessel names in his history accompanying the transcribed documents do not prove entirely

reliable. Johnson, "Bond, William"; and Thorman, "Outlaw, John," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 39.

58 Tyrrell, *Documents*, 13, 15–16. Edward H. Borins, "Bermen de La Martinière, Claude de"; Victor Tremblay, "Silvy, Antoine"; Grenier, "Allemand, Pierre"; Hutcheson, "Lucas, Richard"; G.E. Thorman, "Smithsend, Richard," and "Outlaw, John," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 40.

59 *Owner's Goodwill.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Hutcheson, "Lucas, Richard," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 40.

60 *Success.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 12. Thorman, "Outlaw, John," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 40.

61 *Happy Return.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 12. Johnson, "Bond, William," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 40.

62 *Perpetuana Merchant.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 12. Thorman, "Smithsend, Richard," and "Smithsend, Nicholas"; Hutcheson, "Lucas, Richard," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 40.

63 *Happy Return.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Johnson, "Bond, William,"and "Grimington, Michael," [d. 1710] DCB. Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse," 52. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 40.

64 *Abraham and Robert.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Johnson, "Bond, William," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 40.

65 *Dering.* HBCA, Search File, Ships; Ships Records Finding Aid. Warner, "Voyaging to York Factory," 18. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 11. Johnson, "Bond, William," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 41–42.

66 *Huband.* HBCA, Search File, Ships; Ships Records Finding Aid. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 12. Thorman, "Smithsend, Richard," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 41–42.

67 *John and Thomas.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Hutcheson, "Edgecomb, Leonard," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 41–42.

68 *Dering.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 12–13. Maud M. Hutcheson, "Young (Yonge), James," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 42.

69 *Churchill.* HBCA, Search File, Ships, includes a prior voyage by this ship in 1686. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 12, 13. Johnson, "Bond, William," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 42.

70 *Yonge.* HBCA, Search File, Ships, includes a prior voyage by this ship in 1686. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 11–13. Johnson, "Bond, William"; Thorman, "Outlaw, John," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 42.

71 *John and Thomas.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Hutcheson, "Edgecombe, Leonard," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 42.

72 *Mary.* Johnson, "Bond, William," and "Abraham, John"; Thorman, "Outlaw, John," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 42.

73 *Humphrey and Thomas.* Rich, *History,* vol. I, 237.

74 *Soleil d'Arique &c.* Pothier, "Le Moyne d'Iberville," DCB. Cooke and Holland, 42.

75 *Hopewell.* Davies, "Kelsey, Henry," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 43.

76 *Hudson's Bay.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Warner, "Voyaging to York Factory," 19–20. Rich, *History,* vol. I, 254–55. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 13, lists the vessel as 220 tons burden. Hutcheson, "Edgecombe, Leonard"; Johnson, "Grimington, Michael," [d. 1710] DCB online. Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse," 54.

77 *Northwest Fox.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Warner, "Voyaging to York Factory," 20. Rich, *History,* vol. I, 254–57. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 13. Hutcheson, "Edgecombe, Leonard"; Johnson, "Grimington Michael," [d. 1710] DCB. Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse," 54.

78 *Hudson's Bay.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Hutcheson, "Edgecombe, Leonard," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 44.

79 *Prosperous.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Warner, "Voyaging to York Factory," 20. Johnson, "Grimington, Michael," [d. 1710] DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 44.

80 *Dering.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Hutcheson, "Young (Yonge), James"; Johnson, "Grimington, Michael," [d. 1710] DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 44.

81 *Ste. Anne, St. François-Xavier &c.* Pothier, "Le Moyne d'Iberville," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 43–44.

82 *Hudson's Bay.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Hutcheson, "Edgecombe, Leonard," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 44.

83 *Loyalty.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Rich, *History*, vol. I, 279–80, 282. Hutcheson, "Young (Yonge), James," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 44.

84 *Hudson's Bay.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Warner, "Voyaging to York Factory," 20. Johnson, "Grimington, Michael," [d. 1710] DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 44–45.

85 *Prosperous.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Hutcheson "Baley (Bayly, Baley), Henry"; Johnson, "Grimington, Michael," [d. 1710] DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 44–45.

86 *Pery.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Rich, *History* vol. I, 287. Johnson, "Grimington, Michael," [d. 1710] DCB. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, Appendix B, "Ships Sailing Between England and Hudson Bay, 1670–1740," 335. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 44–45.

87 *Dering.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Hutcheson, "Edgecombe, Leonard," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 44–45.

88 *Ste. Anne.* Pothier, "Le Moyne d'Iberville," DCB.

89 *Dering.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Hutcheson, "Edgecombe, Leonard," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 45. J. Storer Clouston, "Orkney and the Hudson Bay Company," part II, *The Beaver* 16, no. 4 (March 1937): 43, notes that a "certain Captain Simson [sic]" sailed to Scotland for the HBC this year in order to recruit men for Company service.

90 *Supply.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Hutcheson, "Edgecombe, Leonard," DCB, notes that Edgecombe bought the *Supply* from the HBC in 1694, and was killed by pirates in 1696. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 45.

91 *Ste. Anne.* Pothier, "Le Moyne d'Iberville," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 45.

92 *Hudson's Bay.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Johnson, "Grimington, Michael," [d. 1710]; and Thorman, "Smithsend, Nicholas," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 45.

93 *Dering.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Hutcheson "Baley (Bayly, Baley), Henry," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 45.

94 *Poli.* Bernard Pothier, "Le Moyne de Serigny et de Loire, Joseph," and "Le Moyne d'Iberville"; Jacques Rousseau, "Jérémie, *dit* Lamontagne, Nicolas," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 46.

95 *Charante.* Pothier, "Le Moyne d'Iberville," and "Le Moyne de Serigny," lists the *Salamandre*; Rousseau, "Jérémie, *dit* Lamontagne, Nicolas," DCB, notes that Jérémie recorded the ship as *Charante*. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 46.

96 *Hudson's Bay.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Johnson, "Grimington, Michael," [d. 1710]; Thorman, "Smithsend, Nicholas"; and Davies, "Kelsey, Henry," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 46.

97 *Dering.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Hutcheson "Baley (Bayly, Baley), Henry"; Johnson, "Grimington, Michael," [d. 1710] DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 46.

98 *Knight.* HBCA, B.3/a/4, Albany Post Journal, 1712–1713, 1 August 1712; Search File, Ships. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 13. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, Appendix B, 336. Johnson, "Grimington, Michael," [d. 1710]; Thorman, "Smithsend, Nicholas"; Davies, "Kelsey, Henry"; and Richard Glover, "Ward, Richard," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 46.

99 *Bonaventure.* Nicolas Jérémie, *Twenty years of York Factory, 1694–1714: Jérémie's account of Hudson Strait and Bay* (Translated from the French ed. of 1720, with notes and introduction, ed. Robert Douglas, and J. N. Wallace, Ottawa: Thorburn and Abbott, 1926), 27 n.38. Henry Kelsey, *The Kelsey Papers*, ed. John Warkentin (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1994), 22. Tyrrell, *Documents*, 25. Warner, "Voyaging to York Factory," 20. Johnson, "Grimington, Michael," [d. 1710] DCB. Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse," 54. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 46.

100 *Seaford.* Jérémie, *Twenty years of York Factory,* 27 n.38. Kelsey, *Kelsey Papers*, 21. Tyrrell, *Documents*, 25. Johnson, "Grimington, Michael," [d. 1710] DCB. Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse," 54. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 46.

101 *Hardi & Dragon.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Jérémie, *Twenty years of York Factory,* 27. Pothier, "Le Moyne de Serigny," DCB.

102 *Hudson's Bay.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. J. Prest, "The Great Sea Fight of 1697," *The Beaver* 4, no 8 (May 1924): 285, notes the vessel had 32 guns. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 13. Thorman, "Smithsend, Nicholas," DCB. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, Appendix B, 335. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 47.

103 *Dering.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Prest, "Great Sea Fight," 285. Warner, "Voyaging to York Factory," 20. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 13. Johnson, "Grimington, Michael," [d. 1710] DCB. Davies with Johnson, *Letters*

from Hudson Bay, Appendix B, 335. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 47.

104 *Owner's Love.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Johnson, "Grimington, Michael," [d. 1710] DCB. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, Appendix B, 335. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 47.

105 *Hampshire.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Tyrrell, *Documents*, 26–29. Prest, "Great Sea Fight," 285. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 13. Thorman, "Smithsend, Nicholas"; Johnson, "Grimington, Michael," [d. 1710] DCB. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, Appendix B, 335. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 47.

106 *Pélican, Palmier &c.* Jérémie, *Twenty years of York Factory,* 28 and n.40, indicates there is debate about who commanded what ship. Prest, "Great Sea Fight," 284. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 13, designates the *Violent* as *Esquimo*. Pothier, "Le Moyne d'Iberville," and "Le Moyne de Serigny"; Rousseau, "Jérémie, *dit* Lamontagne, Nicolas"; W. Stanford Reid, "Dugué de Boisbriand, Pierre," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 46–47.

107 *Dering.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Johnson, "Grimington, Michael," [d. 1710]; and Davies, "Kelsey, Henry," DCB. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, Appendix B, 335. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 47–48.

108 *Pery.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay,* 21 n.1, and Appendix B, 335. Hutcheson "Baley (Bayly, Baley), Henry"; Alice M. Johnson, "Grimington, Michael," [fl. 1698–1719] DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 47–48.

109 Jérémie, *Twenty years of York Factory,* 30–31, 39–40, stationed in Hudson Bay, he apparently sailed to France in 1707 and arrived back in the Bay in 1709. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 50, observe that "the French had presumably made many voyages to Hudson Bay after the Treaty of Ryswick." Rousseau, "Jérémie, *dit* Lamontagne, Nicolas," DCB, argues that "From 1709 to 1713 we are told not a single French ship reached Hudson Bay." He is perhaps referring to Jérémie's complaint that he had "received no help from France" – though whether this means no ships, no men, or just inadequate supplies is not clear. See also Richard Glover, "Introduction," in *Letters from Hudson Bay*, ed. Davies with Johnson, lxv, and Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 51, who note that as of 1715 one French brig remained abandoned in Sloops Creek at York Fort, "broke all to pieces wth. ye ice [sic]."

110 *Dering.* HBCA, C.7/39, Ships' Miscellaneous Papers, *Dering* frigate; Search File, Ships. Johnson, "Grimington, Michael," [d. 1710] DCB. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, Appendix B, 335. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 48.

111 *Pery.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay,* Appendix B, 336. Johnson, "Grimington, Michael," [d. 1710] DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 48.

112 *Hudson's Bay.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay,* Appendix B, 336. Johnson, "Grimington, Michael," [d. 1710] DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 48.

113 *Atalante.* Rich, *History*, vol. I, 410. Jean-Michel Roche, "Dictionnaire des bâtiments de la flotte de guerre français de Colbert à nos jours: extrait de tome I

(1671–1870)" <http://www.netmarine.net/dico/tome1-a.pdf> (accessed 7 September 2007).

114 *St. Francis Xavia* [sic]. HBCA, Search File, Ships.

115 *Hudson's Bay.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay,* Appendix B, 336. Johnson, "Grimington, Michael," [d. 1710] DCB. Rich, *History*, vol. I, 380, attributes the ship running aground to 'Young' Grimington. Johnson's version suggests he may have had command while his father was ill. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 49.

116 *Pery.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay,* Appendix B, 336. Richard Glover, "Davis, Joseph"; Davies, "Kelsey, Henry," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 49.

117 *Phénix.* See Georges Cerbelaud Salagnac, "Pastore de Costebelle, Phillippe," DCB.

118 *Hudson's Bay.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay,* Appendix B, 336. Alice M. Johnson, "McCliesh, Thomas (sometimes written Macklish, Maclish, Mack Leish, and Mack Clish)"; and "Grimington, Michael," [d. 1710]; Glover, "Davis, Joseph," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 49.

119 *Eastmain.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Rich, *History*, vol. I, 453–54. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay,* 23, 39n.1, 44, 59, and Appendix B, 336, inform that the vessel was lost 1714 "in an excessive storm of wind." Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse," 56. Johnson, "McCliesh, Thomas"; Glover, "Davis, Joseph"; Ernest S. Dodge, "Vaughan, David," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 49.

120 Nicolas Jérémie, *Twenty years of York Factory*, 4. Rousseau, "Jérémie, *dit* Lamontagne, Nicolas," DCB.

121 *Hudson's Bay.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay,* Appendix B, 336. Johnson, "Grimington, Michael," [d. 1710]; Glover, "Davis, Joseph"; Ernest S. Dodge, "Berley (Barley, Barlow), George," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 49.

122 *Pery.* HBCA, B.3/a/3, Albany Post Journal, 1711, 26 and 29 September 1711, 25 March and 2 April 1712; Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay,* Appendix B, 336. Glover, "Ward, Richard"; Johnson, "Grimington, Michael," [fl. 1698–1719] DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 50.

123 *Hudson's Bay.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay,* Appendix B, 336. Glover, "Davis, Joseph." Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 50.

124 *Prosperous.* HBCA, B.3/a/6, Albany Post Journal, 1714, "Journall of a Voyage anno 1714 without a name, Albany Fort"; B.3/a/7, Albany Post Journal, 1715–1716, [Michael Grimington Jr.] "A Journall of our Wintering with the Prosperos Hoye M.G. Mastr In Compy wth ye Port Nelson [sic]"; Search File, Ships; "Napper, James," Biographical Sheet, online index <http://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/hbca/biographical/index.html> (accessed 2004–2007). Rich, *History*, vol. I, 448. Johnson, "Grimington, Michael," [fl. 1698–1719]; Davies, "Kelsey, Henry"; L.H. Neatby, "Napper, James"; Dodge, "Vaughan, David," DCB. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 23 n.2, 28, 54 n.2, 64 n.1, and Appendix B, 336, 338.

Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 50, 52–54.

125 *Providence.* Jérémie, *Twenty years of York Factory*, 11. Rich, *History*, 414. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 50.

126 *Port Nelson.* HBCA, B.3/a/6, Albany Post Journal, 1714; B.3/a/7, Albany Post Journal, 1715–1716; Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 34 n.3, and Appendix B, 337. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 50.

127 *Union.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Jérémie, *Twenty years of York Factory* 11. Tyrrell, *Documents*, 31. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 34–35 nn.2, 4, 36 n.3. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 50–51.

128 *Hudson's Bay.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 12, finds the captain's inability to locate the Hayes River understandable. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 56 n.3, Appendix B, 337. Glover, "Davis, Joseph," DCB, notes Davis was found at fault and dismissed from Company service, "a man more important for what he failed to do than for anything he did." Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 51.

129 *Port Nelson.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, Appendix B, 337. Johnson, "McCliesh, Thomas" DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 51.

130 *Albany.* See Rich, *History*, vol. I, 503, from which I have inferred the existence and name of the sloop.

131 *Hudson's Bay.* HBCA, Search File, Ships; "Napper, James," Biographical Sheet. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, Appendix B, 337. Glover, "Ward, Richard"; Neatby, "Napper, James," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 51.

132 *Albany.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 53, and Appendix B, 337. Dodge, "Berley (Barley, Barlow), George," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 51.

133 *Albany.* Thomas McCliesh, "Letter 14," Albany Fort, 20 August 1717, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 72, notes that in addition to constructing the sloop, he had "likewise built two long boats fit for any service in this country as any English built boats, which your honours formerly gave £20 a boat." HBCA, B.3/a/11, Albany Post Journal, 1722–1723; B.3/a/12, Albany Post Journal, 1723–1724, [Joseph Myatt], "Albany Fort America Anno Dom 1723: N° 3 Journal of Winds and Weather wth other observations & Accidents wch hath been acted here Commence-ing August the 13th Anno 1723 and Ends the 13th August 1724 [sic]," 27 August 1723, reports they had hauled the vessel ashore "she being very Rottne." Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse," 67 n.3.

134 *Hudson's Bay.* HBCA, B.3/a/8, Albany Post Journal, 1717, [Peter Clemens] "A Journall One Borde ye Dilligenc Sloop By Godss Assistance From Church h[o]le Towards Albany Rivor In Hudsons Bay So God Send us a Good Voige: Amen [sic]"; Search File, Ships. Tyrrell, *Documents*, 134. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, Appendix B, 337. Glover, "Ward, Richard"; Neatby, "Napper, James"; Dodge, "Vaughan, David," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 51–52.

135 *Port Nelson.* HBCA, B.3/a/8, Albany Post Journal, 1717; Search File, Ships. Tyrrell, *Documents*, 134. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, Appendix

B, 337. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 51–52.

136 *Albany.* HBCA, B.3/a/8, Albany Post Journal, 1717; Search File, Ships. Tyrrell, *Documents*, 34. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 54 n.1, and Appendix B, 337. Dodge, "Berley (Barley, Barlow), George," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 51–52.

137 *Diligence.* HBCA, B.3/a/8, Albany Post Journal, 1717; B.3/a/11, Albany Post Journal, 1722–1723; B.3/a/12, Albany Post Journal, 1723–1724. Tyrrell, *Documents*, 34. Rich, *History*, vol. I, 454. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 28 n.3, 79 and n.3, 80, 82, 146, and Appendix B 337. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 51–52.

138 *Success.* HBCA, "Napper, James," Biographical Sheet. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 11. Rich, *History*, vol. I, 448. Davies, "Kelsey, Henry," DCB; Dodge, "Vaughan, David," DCB. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 23 n.2, 59 n.6, 63–64 n.5, 68. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 52, 53.

139 *Eastmain.* Rich, *History*, vol. I, 454, 617–619.

140 *Hudson's Bay.* HBCA, "Napper, James," Biographical Sheet. Warner, "Voyaging to York Factory," 22. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, Appendix B, 337. Glover, "Ward, Richard"; Neatby, "Napper, James," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 52–53.

141 *Albany.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 54 n.1, and Appendix B, 337. Dodge, "Berley (Barley, Barlow), George," and "Vaughan, David," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 52–53.

142 *Mary.* Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 13. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, Appendix B, 337. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 52–53.

143 *Hudson's Bay.* HBCA, Search File, Ships; "Napper, James," Biographical Sheet. Rich, *History*, vol. I, 449. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 56 n.3, 73 n.1, and Appendix B, 338. Alice M. Johnson, "Bird, Thomas"; Glover, "Ward, Richard"; Neatby, "Napper, James"; Davies, "Kelsey, Henry," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 53.

144 *Mary.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements, 1719–1929; Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 74–74 and n.3, and Appendix B, 338. Johnson, "Grimington, Michael," [fl. 1698–1719] DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 53.

145 *Albany & Discovery.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. "Arctic Expeditions," *Nautical Magazine,* 120–21. Rich, *History,* 445–46. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 54 n.1, and Appendix B, 338. Dodge, "Berley (Barley, Barlow), George," and "Vaughan, David," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 53.

146 *Hannah.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 73 n.1, 86 n.2, and Appendix B, 338. Glover, "Ward, Richard," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 54.

147 *Mary.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, Appendix B, 338. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 54.

148 *Whalebone.* Search File, Ships; "Napper, James," Biographical Sheet. "Arctic

Expeditions," *Nautical Magazine,* 120–21. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 13. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 83, 84 n.2, 95 n.2, and Appendix B, 338, 339. William Barr, "The Eighteenth Century Trade between the Ships of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Hudson Strait Inuit," *Arctic* 47, no. 3 (September 1994): 237. Glydwr Williams, "Scroggs, John"; Davies, "Kelsey, Henry"; Neatby, "Napper, James," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 54–55.

149 *Hannah & Mary.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, Appendix B, 338. Glyndwr Williams, "Middleton, Christopher," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 54.

150 *Mary.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, Appendix B, 338. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 55.

151 *Hannah.* HBCA, Search File, Ships; "Napper, James," Biographical Sheet. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, Appendix B, 338. Neatby, "Napper, James," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 55.

152 *Hudson's Bay.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 78 nn. 2, 3, and Appendix B, 338. Glyndwr Williams, "Spurrell, George," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 55.

153 Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 81.

154 *Mary.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, Appendix B, 338. Neatby, "Napper, James," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 55.

155 *Hannah.* HBCA, B.3/a/12, Albany Post Journal, 1723–1724; Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, Appendix B, 338. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 55.

156 *Hudson's Bay.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Warner, "Voyaging to York Factory," 20. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, Appendix B, 338. Neatby, "Napper, James," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 55.

157 *Beaver.* HBCA, B.3/a/11, Albany Post Journal, 1722–1723; B.3/a/12, Albany Post Journal, 1723–1724; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. "By Ship of Sail to Hudson Bay, 1723: Extract from Sailing Orders and Instructions to Capt. Geo. Spurril, Commander of ye Hudson's Bay Fregate [sic]," *The Beaver* 3, no. 10 (July 1923): 381. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 90 and n.1, 115, and Appendix B, 338. Alice M. Johnson, "Bevan (Beevin, Beven), William," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 55.

158 *Mary.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 108, 109 n.1, 116, and Appendix B, 338. Rich, *History*, vol. I, 458–59, names William Coats as captain, apparently confusing the vessel with the *Mary* [II] of 1727. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 56.

159 *Hudson's Bay.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, Appendix B, 339. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 56.

160 *Marten.* Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 95 and n.1, 97, 120 n.2,

127, 178, 228 n.4. Neatby, "Napper, James," DCB.

161 *Hannah.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 108 n.3, and Appendix B, 339. Davies, "Kelsey, Henry"; Williams, "Middleton, Christopher," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 56.

162 *Hudson's Bay.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. HBCA, "Napper, James," Biographical Sheet. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, Appendix B, 339. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 56.

163 *Hannah.* HBCA, Search File, Ships; "Isbister, Joseph," Biographical Sheet. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, Appendix B, 339. Sylvia Van Kirk, "Isbister, Joseph," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 56.

164 *Hudson's Bay.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, Appendix B, 339. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 56.

165 *Beaver.* HBCA, B.59/a/1, East Main Post Journal, 1736–1737, "A Journal by Gods Permission Kept By Joseph Isbister Master of ye Beavar Sloop Trading to ye Et Maine in ye Bottom of James Bay North America Anno Domini 1736 And 1737 [sic]"; B.59/a/2 Eastmain Post Journal, 1737–1738, "A Journal by God's Permission Kept by Josph. Isbister Master of the Beavar Sloop Trading to ye Et. Maine in the Botom of Jameses Bay North America; part Anno Domminy 1737 And part Ano Dom 1738 [sic]"; B.59/a/6, Eastmain Post Journal, 1741–1742, "EM Eastmain Journal of Observations on board the Moose Sloop Alex Light Master from 7th Sept. 1741 to 9th Augst. 1742 [sic]," 7 September 1741; B.59/a/7, Eastmain Post Journal, 1742–1743, "Alex Light Master of the Moose Sloop his Journal from ye 11 Aug 1742 to ye 20 Aug 1743," 16–17 August 1742; "Light, Alexander," Biographical Sheet. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 124, 130–131, 207, 324 and n.2. Alice M. Johnson, "Render, Thomas"; Sylvia Van Kirk, "Isbister, Joseph," DCB.

166 Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 118, 171. See also Neatby, "Napper, James," DCB.

167 *Hannah.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Napper, James," and "Isbister, Joseph," Biographical Sheets. Neatby, "Napper, James," DCB. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 127, and Appendix B, 339. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 56.

168 *Hudson's Bay.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, Appendix B, 339. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 56.

169 *Mary.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 13. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 119, 126 n.2, 143, and Appendix B, 339. Glyndwr Williams, "Coats, William"; Johnson, "McCliesh, Thomas" DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 56.

170 *Hannah.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, Appendix B, 339. Johnson, "McCliesh, Thomas" DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 57.

171 *Hudson's Bay.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships;

"Isbister, Joseph," Biographical Sheet. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 130, and Appendix B, 339. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 57.

172 *Mary.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 135 n.2, and Appendix B, 339. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 13. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 57.

173 *Hannah.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 146, and Appendix B, 339. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 57.

174 *Hudson's Bay.* HBCA, Search File, Ships; "Isbister, Joseph," Biographical Sheet. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 141, and Appendix B, 339. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 57.

175 *Mary.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 139, and Appendix B, 339. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 57.

176 *Hannah.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Isbister, Joseph," Biographical Sheet. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 149, 150, and Appendix B, 339. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 57.

177 *Hudson's Bay.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 152, and Appendix B, 339. Joan Craig, "Pilgrim, Robert," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 57.

178 *Mary.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, Appendix B, 339. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 57.

179 *Moose River.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; B.59/a/1, Eastmain Post Journal, 1736–1737; B.59/a/4, Eastmain Post Journal, 1739–1740, "A Journall by Gods Permition Kept by Josph. Isbistor Master of ye Moose Sloop Freateing To ye East-Maine in the botom of Jameses Bay North America Containing part Ano 1739 And part Ano 1740 With Seven Men & one boy Under His Command [sic]"; B.59/a/5, Eastmain Post Journal, 1740–1741, [Alexander Light] "A Journall of Tranactions onboard the Moose Sloop and at Slude River Factory on the East Main in James Bay Commencing from August the 25 1740 that being the day I Gave in the Last years Journall and it is to be noted that the first four days works In the Proceeding Journall was Rcd. on board the Beavor Sloop belongin to Moose Fort [sic]"; B.59/a/6, Eastmain Post Journal; B.59/a/8 Eastmain Post Journal, 1743–1744, "Thos Mitchell Commander of the Eastmain Sloop his Journal from 8th Aug 1743 to the 3 of July 1744," 25 August, and 6 September 1743; B.42/a/32, Fort Churchill Post Journal, 1748–1749, 6–7 September 1748, and 1 August 1749; B.42/a/33, Fort Churchill Post Journal, 1748–1749 "A Journal of the Remarks at Prince of Wales's Fort pr Jno. Marley 1748 [sic]," 17 August 1748, and "A Journal of an Intended Voyage (by Gods permission) kept on board the Churchill Sloop from Churchill in Hudson Bay to Moose Fort In James.s Bay, John Marley Master Commencing Thursday Sept. 8 1748 [sic]"; B.42/a/36, Fort Churchill Post Journal, 1750–1751, 25 September 1750; Search File, ships; "Light, Alexander," and "Napper, James," Biographical Sheets. Rich, *History*, vol. I, 558–61, 574, 625. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 165, 153 n.2, note the London Committee described the vessel as

small and newly built in 1730, see also 241, and Appendix B, 339. Neatby, "Napper, James"; Alice M. Johnson,"Render, Thomas," indicates this "new sloop" was renamed *Churchill* in 1732; Glyndwr Williams, "Smith, Francis," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 57–61, 63–64, 67, indicate that the *Churchill* (formerly the *Moose River* [I]) sloop sailed from London in 1736.

180 *Hannah.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements, notes the journal was kept by George West; Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 158, and Appendix B, 340. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 57.

181 *Hudson's Bay.* HBCA, Search File, Ships; "Isbister, Joseph," Biographical Sheet. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 164, and Appendix B, 340. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 57.

182 *Mary.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 157, and Appendix B, 340. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 57.

183 See Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 172, which indicates a punt had been requested but not sent, while a similarly small boat had been built of local wood at the East Main.

184 *Hannah.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 174, and Appendix B, 340. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 58.

185 *Hudson's Bay.* HBCA, Search File, Ships; "Isbister, Joseph," Biographical Sheet. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 171, 174, and Appendix B, 340. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 58.

186 *Mary.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 168, 177, and Appendix B, 340. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 58.

187 *Moose River.* HBCA, B.42/a/33 Fort Churchill Post Journal, 1748–1749; Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 165 nn.3, 4, 324 n.2, and Appendix B, 339. Craig, "Pilgrim, Robert"; Sylvia Van Kirk, "Isbister, Joseph," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 58.

188 Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 165 n.3.

189 *Musquash.* Rich, *History,* vol. I, 558. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, lviii, 211, 218. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 59–60, indicate a vessel of the same name sailed from London in 1736, but see entry 199 below.

190 *Albany.* Rich, *History*, vol. I, 558.

191 Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 177.

192 *Hannah.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, Appendix B, 340. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 58.

193 *Hudson's Bay.* HBCA, Search File, Ships; "Isbister, Joseph," Biographical Sheet. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, Appendix B, 340. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 58.

194 *Mary.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Light, Alexander," Biographical Sheet. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, Appendix B, 340. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 58.

195 *Quicohatch.* Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 187 and n.2.

196 *Hudson's Bay.* HBCA, Search File, Ships; "Isbister, Joseph," Biographical Sheet. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, Appendix B, 340. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 59.

197 *Mary.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements, notes the journal was kept by J. Garrett; Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 190, and Appendix B, 340. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 59.

198 *Seahorse.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 13. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 193 and n.2, and Appendix B, 340. Williams, "Middleton, Christopher," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 59.

199 *Musquash.* Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 228 n.4, note "Work on setting up this vessel began at Churchill on 1 August 1734 and in the following spring she began operations under the name of *Musquash*, She replaced the *Martin* which was broken up during season 1734–35," see also 241–42. Neatby, "Napper, James," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 59–60, indicate a vessel of the same name sailed from London in 1736.

200 *Hudson's Bay.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Isbister, Joseph," Biographical Sheet. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 205, and Appendix B, 340. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 59.

201 *Mary.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 201, and Appendix B, 340. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 59.

202 *Seahorse.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 204, and Appendix B, 340. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 59.

203 Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 222–23.

204 *Hudson's Bay.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 78 n.3, 220 and n.1, and Appendix B, 341. Warner, "Voyaging to York Factory," 22. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 59.

205 *Mary.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 210, and Appendix B, 340. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 59.

206 *Seahorse.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; B.59/a/1, Eastmain Post Journal, 1736–1737, 15 August 1736; Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 222, and Appendix B, 340. Cooke and Holland, Exploration, 59.

207 *Mary.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Light, Alexander," Biographical Sheet. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 228–29 n.6, and Appendix B, 341. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 60.

208 *Seahorse.* HBCA, B.59/a/1, Eastmain Post Journal, 1736–1737, 7 August 1737; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, Appendix B, 341. Williams, "Smith, Francis," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 60.

209 *Hudson's Bay.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships.

Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 13. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 225 n.3, 230, and Appendix B, 341. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 60.

210 *Seahorse.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 243, 249, 259, and Appendix B, 341. Barr, "The Eighteenth Century Trade," 237. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 60.

211 *Mary.* HBCA, Search File, Ships, lists two vessels of this name for this year, *Mary* [III] and [IV]. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 13. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 242–43, 249, 259, and Appendix B, 341. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 60.

212 *Hudson's Bay.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 264, and Appendix B, 341. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 60.

213 *Seahorse.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 272, 307, and Appendix B, 341. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 61.

214 *Mary.* Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 285, and Appendix B, 341. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 61.

215 *Hudson's Bay.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 272, 307, and Appendix B, 341. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 61.

216 Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 218 and n.4, indicates the frames had been sent out in 1735 for a vessel of the same dimensions as the *Musquash* [II], but apparently the new vessel was not finished until 1739.

217 Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, 289.

218 *Seahorse.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson's Bay*, Appendix B, 341. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 61.

219 *Mary.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson's Bay*, 311, and Appendix B, 341. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 61.

220 *Hudson's Bay.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Letters from Hudson's Bay*, 323, and Appendix B, 341. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 61.

221 *Seahorse.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 61.

222 *Mary.* HBCA, B.59/a/6, Eastmain Post Journal, 1741–1742, 8 September 1741; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 61.

223 *Furnace & Discovery.* Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay,* 49. Morton, *History of the Canadian West,* 209–10. Glyndwr Williams, "Moor, William," and "Middleton, Christopher," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 61–62.

224 *Seahorse.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 62.

225 *Mary.* HBCA, B.59/a/6, Eastmain Post Journal, 1741–1742; B.59/a/7, Eastmain

Post Journal, 1742–1743, 13 August 1742; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 62.

226 *Seahorse.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 62.

227 *Mary.* HBCA, B.59/a/7, Eastmain Post Journal, 1742–1743, 9–10 August 1743; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Light, Alexander," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 62.

228 *Eastmain.* HBCA, B.59/a/8, Eastmain Post Journal, 1743–1744; B.59/a/9, Eastmain Post Journal, 1744, "A Journal of Transactions on Bord ye Eastmain Sloop Thos Mitchell Commander By Gods Permission whereby whent to Discover ye Eastmain Coast In Hudsons Bay In Company with ye Phoenix Mr Jno Laynlnand Commander Begun July ye 2d 1744 when I left off in my last [sic]"; Search File, Ships. Rich, *History*, vol. I, 548. Glyndwr Williams, "Mitchell, Thomas," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 64, 67.

229 *Seahorse.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Rich, *History*, vol. I, 537. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 64.

230 *Mary.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 63.

231 *Hudson's Bay.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements, notes the journal was kept by William Mules; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 63.

232 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 13. Barr, "Eighteenth Century Trade," 238. Sylvia Van Kirk; "Norton, Moses," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 63.

233 *Phoenix.* B.59/a/9 Eastmain Post Journal, 1744. Rich, *History*, vol. I, 543, 548. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 11. Glyndwr Williams, "Longland, John," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 64.

234 *Mary, Hudson's Bay &c.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 64–65.

235 *Seahorse, Mary &c.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 65.

236 *California, Dobbs Galley &c.* "Arctic Expeditions," *Nautical Magazine,* 120–21. Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay,* 52. Warner, "Voyaging to York Factory," 20. Barr, "Eighteenth Century Trade," 238–39. Robert Coutts, "Buried on the Bay: The Sloop Creek Schooner at York Factory and Hudson's Bay Company Marine Transport, 1878–1915," *Papers presented at the Rupert's Land Colloquium, Edmonton, 1994* (Winnipeg: Centre for Rupert's Land Studies, 1994), 321–22. Williams, "Moor, William," and "Smith, Francis," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 65.

237 Barr, "Eighteenth Century Trade," 239.

238 *Loo & Shark.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Warner, "Voyaging to York Factory," 20–21.

239 *Seahorse, Mary &c.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 65.

240 *Seahorse, Mary &c.* HBCA B.42/a/32, Churchill Post Journal, 1748–1749; C.4/1,

Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 66.

241 *Bear.* HBCA, B.42/a/32, Churchill Post Journal, 1748–1749, 22 August, and 6 September 1748, and 14–15 July, 20 July 1749; B.42/a/38, Churchill Post Journal, 1751–1752, 22 August 1751; B.42/a/40, Churchill Post Journal, 1752–1753, 15 August, 17–18 August, 25–26 August, 28 August, and 26 September, 28 September, 1752; B.42/a/41, Churchill Post Journal, 1752–1753, [James Walker] "A Journal of our proceedings by God's permistion in the Churchill Sloop for part of ye year 52 & part of the year 1753," 16 September 1752.

242 *Success.* K.G. Davies, ed., with A.M. Johnson, *Northern Quebec and Labrador Journals and Correspondence 1819–35* (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1963), xx. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 66–67, 81–83.

243 *Whale.* HBCA, B.42/a/41, Churchill Post Journal, 1752–1753, 23 August 1753.

244 *Seahorse.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 66.

245 *Mary.* HBCA, B.42/a/32: Fort Churchill Post Journal, 1748–1749, 17 August, 19–20 August, 22 August, 25 August, 27–28 August, and 6 September 1748; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 66.

246 *Hudson's Bay.* HBCA, B.42/a/32, Post Journal, Fort Churchill, 1748–49, 26 July 1749; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 66.

247 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 66.

248 HBCA, B.42/a/32, Churchill Post Journal, 1748–1749, 14–15 July, and 20 July 1749; B.42/a/38, Churchill Post Journal, 1751–1752, 22 August 1751.

249 *Seahorse.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Craig, "Pilgrim, Robert," DCB; Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 67.

250 *Hudson's Bay.* HBCA, B.42/a/36, Churchill River Post Journal, 1750–1751, 17–20 August, and 23 August 1750; B.42/a/37, "A Journal of our proceeding in the Churchill from Churchill River to the Lattd. 64..00 North from thence Back to Churchill River Began June the 27 And Ending August the 21st. 1751 By James Walker [sic]," specifically "Remarks &c on board the Churchill Sloop from the time the Hudsons bay Sail'd for England to her being Lay'd up [sic]"; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 67.

251 *Prince Rupert & King George.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 67.

252 *Seahorse.* HBCA, C.1/1021, Ship's Logs, *Seahorse*, 1751; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Fowler, Jonathan Sr.," Biographical Sheet. H.M.S. Cotter, "Famous H.B.C. Captains and Ships," part II, *The Beaver* 1, no 9 (June 1921): 32. Jennifer S.H. Brown, "Atkinson, George," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 68.

253 *Hudson's Bay.* HBCA, C.1/346, Ship's Logs, *Hudson's Bay*, 1751; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; B.42/a/36, Churchill Post Journal, 1750–1751, 26 July 1751; B.42/a/38, Churchill Post Journal, 1751–1752, 22–23 August 1751; Search File,

Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 68.

254 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/869, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert*, 1751; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 68.

255 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/360-361, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1751–1752; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 68.

256 *New Churchill.* HBCA, B.42/a/37, Churchill Post Journal, 1751, 13 and 17 September 1751; B.42/a/38, Churchill Post Journal, 1751–1752; B.42/a/39, Churchill Post Journal, 1751–1752, "A Journall of our Proceeding by God's Permission in the Churchill Sloop from Churchill to York Fort and back to Churchill again in the year 1751 – Likewise on a Northward Expedition By James Walker – Master 1752 [sic]," fo. 10a, ca. 8 September 1751; B.42/a/40, Churchill Post Journal, 1752–1753, 29 and 31 August 1752, and 30 April, 2 September 1753; B.42/a/41, Churchill Post Journal, 1752–1753; B.42/a/42, Churchill Post Journal, 1753–1754, 2 and 4 September 1754; B.42/a/43, Churchill Post Journal, 1754, "A Journal of our Preceeding in the Churchill Sloop – by James Walker 1754 [sic]"; B.42/a/45, Churchill Post Journal, 1754–1755, "A Journal of a voyage to York Fort 1754. Likewise a journal to the Northward or Towards the welcome 1755 on Board of the Churchill Sloop John Bean master from prince of wales Fort in Hudsons Bay North America [sic]"; B.42/a/47, Churchill Post Journal, 1756, "NE Journal of the most material Occurrances on board the Churchill Sloop from 11 July to 23^{d} Aug$^{st.}$ 1756 Kept by John M^{c}bean Master [sic]"; "Holt, George," Biographical Sheets. Sylvia Van Kirk; "Norton, Moses," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 68–71, 73–75, 77–83, do not distinguish between the 'old' and 'new' *Churchill* sloops.

257 *Seahorse.* HBCA, B.42/a/40, Churchill Post Journal, 1752–1753, 10 August 1752; B.42/a/41, Churchill Post Journal, 1752–1753, 11 August 1752; C.1/1022, Ship's Logs, *Seahorse*, 1752; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Fowler, Jonathan Sr.," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 69.

258 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/361-364, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1752–1755; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 69.

259 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/870-877, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert*, 1752–1760; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 69.

260 *Hudson's Bay.* HBCA, C.1/347-353, Ship's Logs, *Hudson's Bay*, 1752–1759; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 69.

261 *Seahorse.* HBCA, C.1/1023, Ship's Logs, *Seahorse*, 1753; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Fowler, Jonathan Sr.," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 70.

262 *King George.* HBCA, B.42/a/40, Churchill Post Journal, 1752–1753, 22 August 1753; B.42/a/42, Churchill Post Journal, 1753–1754, 12 September 1753; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 70.

263 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, B.42/a/40, Churchill Post Journal, 1752–1753, 2 September

1753; B.42/a/42, Churchill Post Journal, 1753–1754, 5 and 12 September 1753; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 70.

264 *Hudson's Bay.* HBCA, C.1/347-352, Ship's Logs, *Hudson's Bay*, 1752–1759; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 70.

265 *Argo.* HBCA, C.1/1023, Ship's Logs, *Seahorse*, 1753, on 14 July, near Davis Strait the crew of the *Seahorse* made out the sails of a schooner with which they "spoke" on 17 July and learned that the captain's name was Swane and that "he came from Philadelpia & was bound upon a discovery" with what appeared to be "a bout 18 men upon Deck [sic]." The schooner remained in company for several days while they grappled with heavy ice. Henry E. Bryant, "Notes on an Early American Arctic Expedition," *Geographical Journal* 33, no. 1 (January 1909): 72–75. Howard Nicholas Eavenson, "Appendix 21: Two Early Works on Arctic Exploration by an Anonymous Author," *Map Maker & Indian Traders: An Account of John Patten, Trader, Arctic Explorer, and Map Make; Charles Swaine, Author, Trader, Public Official, and Arctic explorer; Theodorus Swaine Drage, Clerk, Trader, and Anglican Priest* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1949), 167–168, 174, 176. Maude M. Hutcheson, "Pattin, John," DCB online. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 70–71, note that Elijah Goff, having travelled aboard the *Hope* on a Moravian Missionary Society venture to Labrador in 1753, reported to Charles Swain that they were joined for a time by John Taylor, who had sailed from Rhode Island aboard a sloop of about 35 tons. Taylor was apparently intent on searching the Labrador coast for a Northwest Passage. Swain in turn had met up with the HBC vessels from London at the mouth of Hudson Strait, but neither he nor they reported encountering Taylor.

266 *Seahorse.* HBCA, B.42/a/42, Churchill Post Journal, 1753–1754, 26 August 1754; B.42/a/44, Churchill Post Journal, 1754–1755, 7 September 1754; C.1/1024, Ship's Logs, *Seahorse*, 1754; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Fowler, Jonathan Sr.," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 71.

267 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/361-364, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1752–1755; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 71.

268 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/870-877, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert*, 1752–1760; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 71.

269 *Hudson's Bay.* HBCA, C.1/347-352, Ship's Logs, *Hudson's Bay*, 1752–1759; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 71.

270 *Speedwell.* HBCA, B.42/a/42, Churchill Post Journal, 1753–1754, 6 September 1754; B.42/a/44, Churchill Post Journal, 1754–1755, 7 September 1754, 25 July, 4 August, 8–14 August, 16 August, 18 August, 1–2 September, 6 September, and 9 September 1755; B.42/a/45 Churchill Post Journal, 1754–1755, 12–14 July 1754, and 12 September 1755; B.42/a/46, Churchill Post Journal, 1755–1756, 15 September, 20 September, 22–24 September, 26–27 September, 29–30 September,

8 October 1755, and 30 April, 1 August 1756; Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse," 185.

271 Barr, "Eighteenth Century Trade," 239.

272 *Argo.* Bryant, "Notes on an Early American Arctic Expedition," 72–75. Eavenson, "Two Early Works," 175–76. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 72.

273 *Seahorse.* HBCA, C.1/1025, Ship's Logs, *Seahorse*, 1755; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Fowler, Jonathan Sr.," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 72.

274 *King George.* HBCA, B.42/a/46, Churchill Post Journal, 1755–1756, 14 September, and 17 September 1755; C.1/361-364, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1752–1755; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 72.

275 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/870-877, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert*, 1752–1760; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 72.

276 *Hudson's Bay.* HBCA, C.1/347-352, Ship's Logs, *Hudson's Bay*, 1752–1759; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 72.

277 HBCA, B.42/a/46, Churchill Post Journal, 1755–1756, 17 September, 24–27 September, and 29 September 1755.

278 *Seahorse.* HBCA, C.1/1021-1029, Ship's Logs, *Seahorse*, 1751–1759; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 73.

279 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/870-877, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert (I)*, 1752–1760; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; B.42/a/46, Churchill Post Journal, 1755–1756, 19 August 1756; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 73.

280 *Hudson's Bay.* HBCA, C.1/347-352, Ship's Logs, *Hudson's Bay*, 1752–1759; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 73.

281 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, B.42/a/46, Churchill Post Journal, 1755–1756, 2 Aug.1756; C.1/878, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert (II)*, 1756; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Fowler, Jonathan Sr.," and "Fowler, Jonathan Jr.," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 73.

282 *Moose.* HBCA, C.1/1025, Ship's Logs, *Seahorse*, 1755, indicates the 'new' Moose sloop went out the year before 1756, and further notes "the new sloop sailed for Albany Mr Lougland spar'd Mr Stevenson his mate we thinking him best Acuainted in Albany River [sic]," but it is not entirely clear whether this is a reference to the *Moose* or some other sloop; "Stephens, Joseph," Biographical Sheet. Davies with Johnson, *Northern Quebec and Labrador Journals*, xxv. Jennifer S.H. Brown, "Atkinson, George," DCB.

283 *Hunter.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid.

284 *Seahorse.* HBCA, C.1/1021-1029, Ship's Logs, *Seahorse*, 1751–1759; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 74.

285 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/874, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert (1)*, 1757; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Fowler, Jonathan Sr.," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 74.

286 *Hudson's Bay.* HBCA, C.1/347-352, Ship's Logs, *Hudson's Bay*, 1752–1759; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships, indicates there is no log for this year; "Fowler, Jonathan Jr.," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 74.

287 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/878-879, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert (II)*, 1756–1757; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 74.

288 *Aldborough.* HBCA, C.1/1027, Ship's Log *Sea Horse*, 1757, 22 May 1757; Ships Records Finding Aid. "Aldborough," Michael Phillips, "Ships of the Old Navy," the Age of Nelson <http://www.ageofnelson.org/MichaelPhillips/info.php?ref=0102> (accessed 21 October 2007).

289 *Sole Bay.* HBCA, C.1/1027, Ship's Log *Sea Horse*, 1757, 25 June 1757; Ships Records Finding Aid. See also John Robson, "James Cook in the Navy: July to September 1757" <http://www.captaincooksociety.com/ccsu9065.htm> (accessed 21 October 2007), who indicates the vessel was being used for general coastal duties and reconnaissance, including the prevention of smuggling. Craig was given command of the vessel on 1 February of this year and was replaced by James Cook on 2 August. Under Cook, the vessel "made her way up the east coast calling at Stonehaven (Stoneham) and Peterhead (Buchan Ness) before heading to the small islet of Copinsay on the eastern edge of Orkney. She continued further north via Fair Isle to be at Lerwick in Shetland on 9 August. This was the northern limit of the patrol and *Solebay* next called at Stromness on mainland Orkney on 19 August. Cook's log finishes on 7 September by which time he was back in Leith."

290 *Seahorse.* HBCA, C.1/1021-1029, Ship's Logs, *Seahorse*, 1751–1759; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements, indicates William Norton was "ill so kept no Journal" and lists John Barley as its author; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 75.

291 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/875, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert (I)*, 1758; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Fowler, Jonathan Sr.," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 75.

292 *Hudson's Bay.* HBCA, C.1/347-352, Ship's Logs, *Hudson's Bay*, 1752–1759; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships, indicates there is no log for this year; "Fowler, Jonathan Jr.," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 75.

293 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/880-886, *Prince Rupert (II)*, 1758–1764; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 75.

294 *Postillion & Dover.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid.

295 *Seahorse.* HBCA, C.1/1021-1029, Ship's Logs, *Seahorse*, 1751–1759; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 75–76.

296 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/876, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert (I)*, 1759; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Fowler, Jonathan Sr.," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 75–76.

297 *Hudson's Bay.* HBCA, C.1/352, Ship's Logs, *Hudson's Bay*, 1759; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Fowler, Jonathan Jr.," Biographical Sheet.

Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 75–76.

298 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/880-886, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert (II)*, 1758–1764; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 75–76.

299 *Swan.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid.

300 *Seahorse.* HBCA, C.1/1030-1034, Ship's Logs, *Seahorse*, 1760–1764; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 76.

301 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.877, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert (I)*, 1760; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Fowler, Jonathan Jr.," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 76.

302 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/880-886, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert (II)*, 1758–1764; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 76.

303 *Dolphin & Phoenix.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid.

304 *Seahorse*. HBCA, C.1/1031, Ship's Logs, *Seahorse*, 1761; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Fowler, Jonathan Jr.," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 77.

305 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/880-886, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert (II)*, 1758–1764; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 77.

306 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/365-369, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1761–1765; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Warner, "Voyaging to York Factory," 18. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 13. Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse," 61. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 77.

307 *Hind.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid.

308 *Argo.* Ships Records Finding Aid. Phillips, "Ships of the Old Navy," describes King's exploits in the *Argo* this year without any mention of HBC ships, which suggests that any contact may have been accidental.

309 *Seahorse.* HBCA, C.1/1032, Ship's Logs, *Seahorse*, 1762; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Fowler, Jonathan Jr.," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 77–78.

310 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/880-886, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert*, 1758–1764; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 77–78.

311 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/365-369, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1761–1765; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 77–78.

312 *Strivewell.* Sylvia Van Kirk; "Norton, Moses," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 78.

313 *Sole Bay.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid.

314 *Seahorse.* HBCA, C.1/1033, Ship's Logs, *Seahorse*, 1763; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Fowler, Jonathan Jr.," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 78.

315 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/880-886, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert*, 1758–1764;

C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 78.

316 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/365-369, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1761–1765; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 78.

317 *Seahorse.* HBCA, C.1/1030-1034, Ship's Logs, Seahorse, 1760–1764; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 79.

318 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/880-886, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert*, 1758–1764; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 79.

319 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/368, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1764; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Fowler, Jonathan Jr.," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 79.

320 *Eastmain.* Jennifer S.H. Brown, "Atkinson, George," DCB.

321 *Severn.* HBCA, "Falconer, William", "Turner, John," and "Sinclair, William 1st," Biographical Sheets. John Macfie, "Severn House 1770," *The Beaver* 48, no. 4 (spring 1970): 46–47, 49.

322 *Seahorse.* HBCA, C.1/1035-1036, Ship's Logs, *Seahorse*, 1765–1766; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Warner, "Voyaging to York Factory," 18. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 13. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 80.

323 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/886-890, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert*, 1764–1768; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 80.

324 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/369, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1765; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Fowler, Jonathan Jr.," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 80.

325 Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Memorial University of Newfoundland, "(Jonathan Horsnaill for) Hugh Palliser, Order Enclosed with Report on the Newfoundland Trade and Fisheries, April 8, 1765," Colonial Office 194 Papers, vol. 16, 179 B-179v. Davies with Johnson, *Northern Quebec and Labrador Journals*, xxiv, note that in 1765 the Board of Trade in London "instructed the governor of Newfoundland to send a naval sloop 'to search and explore the great Inlet commonly known by the name of Davis's Inlet, in order to discover, whether the same has or has not any passage to Hudson's bay, or any other inclosed Sea'[sic] The order was repeated in routine fashion to successive governors, but their sloops were kept too busy policing the Newfoundland fisheries to pay much attention to it. In the years before the American War of Independence only one naval vessel ventured far north along the Labrador coast (in 1773)."

326 *Hope.* Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 80.

327 *Seahorse.* HBCA, C.1/1035-1036, Ship's Logs, *Seahorse (II)*, 1765–1766; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 81.

328 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/886-890, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert*, 1764–1768; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Hanwell, Henry Sr.,"

Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 81.

329 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/370, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1766; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Fowler, Jonathan Jr.," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 81.

330 *Seahorse.* HBCA, C.1/1037-1043, Ship's Logs, *Seahorse*, 1767–1778; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 82.

331. *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/886-890, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert*, 1764–1768; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 82.

332 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/371, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1767; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Fowler, Jonathan Jr.," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 82.

333 *Seahorse.* HBCA, C.1/1037-1043, Ship's Logs, *Seahorse*, 1767–1778; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 83.

334 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/886-890, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert*, 1764–1768; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Holt, George," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 83.

335 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/372, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1768; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Fowler, Jonathan Jr.," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 83.

336 *Speedwell.* Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 83.

337 *Fort Churchill.* HBCA, "Irvine, John (d. 1771)," and "Sutherland, James (1st)," Biographical Sheets; as well "Taylor, George," and "Irvine, John Sr.," Biographical Sheets, identify a sloop *Churchill*, which may or may not be the same vessel.

338 *Seahorse.* HBCA, C.1/1037-1043, Ship's Logs, *Seahorse*, 1767–1778; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Thomas, John Sr.," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 84.

339 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/891, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert (III)*, 1769; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements, notes this is a "first voyage"; Search File, Ships. Warner, "Voyaging to York Factory," 18. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 13. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 84.

340 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/373, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1769; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Fowler, Jonathan Jr.," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 84.

341 *Charlotte.* Samuel Hearne, *A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort, in Hudson's Bay To The Northern Ocean 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772* (1795; reprint, ed. Richard Glover, Macmillan, 1972), xi, lxiii, describes the ship as a brig. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 85, 89.

342 *Seahorse.* HBCA, C.1/1037-1043, Ship's Logs, *Seahorse*, 1767–1778; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships, indicates there is no log for this year. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 86.

343 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/891-898, Ship's Logs, Prince Rupert, 1769–1775; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 86.

344 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/374, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1770; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Fowler, Jonathan Jr.," and "Holt, George," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 86.

345 *Seahorse.* HBCA, C.1/1037-1043, Ship's Logs, *Seahorse*, 1767–1778; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 88.

346 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/891-898, Ship's Logs, Prince Rupert, 1769–1775; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 88.

347 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/375, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1771; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Fowler, Jonathan Jr.," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 88.

348 *Seahorse.* HBCA, C.1/1037-1043, Ship's Logs, *Seahorse*, 1767–1778; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships, indicates there is no log for this year. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 89.

349 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/891-898, Ship's Logs, Prince Rupert, 1769–1775; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 89.

350 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/376, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1772; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Fowler, Jonathan Jr.," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 89.

351 *Seahorse.* HBCA, C.1/1037-1043, Ship's Logs, *Seahorse*, 1767–1778; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships, indicates there is no log for this year. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 90.

352 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/891-898, Ship's Logs, Prince Rupert, 1769–1775; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 90.

353 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/377, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1773; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Fowler, Jonathan Jr.," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 90.

354 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/378, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1774; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Fowler, Jonathan Jr.," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 91.

355 *Seahorse.* HBCA, C.1/1037-1043, Ship's Logs, *Seahorse*, 1767–1778; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 91.

356 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/891-898, Ship's Logs, Prince Rupert, 1769–1775; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 91.

357 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/379, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1775; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Fowler, Jonathan Jr.," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 92–93.

358 *Seahorse.* HBCA, C.1/1037-1043, Ship's Logs, *Seahorse*, 1767–1778; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships, indicates there is no log for this year. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 92–93.

359 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/898-903, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert*, 1775–1781; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland,

Exploration, 92–93.

360 *Charlotte.* HBCA, C.1/239, Ship's Logs, *Charlotte*, 1775; Ships Records Finding Aid, notes that the *Charlotte* sloop was left at Churchill to substitute for the *Charlotte* brig which returned to England.

361 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/380, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1776; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Fowler, Jonathan Jr.," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 94.

362 *Seahorse.* HBCA, C.1/1037-1043, Ship's Logs, *Seahorse*, 1767–1778; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships, indicates there is no log for this year. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 94.

363 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/898-903, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert*, 1775–1781; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 94.

364 *Charlotte.* HBCA, C.1/239-240, Ship's Logs, *Charlotte*, 1775–1778.

365 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/381, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1777; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Fowler, Jonathan Jr.," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 96.

366 *Seahorse.* HBCA, C.1/1037-1043, Ship's Logs, *Seahorse*, 1767–1778; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 96.

367 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/898-903, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert*, 1775–1781; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 96.

368 *Speedwell.* John Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse," 180–81

369 *Aurora.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid. See also "Aurora," Phillips, "Ships of the Old Navy."

370 *Rattlesnake,* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid.

371 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/382-384, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1778–1780; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Fowler, Jonathan Jr.," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 97.

372 *Seahorse.* HBCA, C.1/1034-1046, Ship's Logs, *Seahorse*, 1778–1781; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 97.

373 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/898-903, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert*, 1775–1781; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 97.

374 *Charlotte.* HBCA, C.1/239-240, Ship's Logs, *Charlotte*, 1775–1778; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Holt, George," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 97.

375 *Merchant & Atalanta.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid.

376 *Chatham.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid. See also Jonathan R. Dull, *The French Navy and American Independence: A Study of Arms and Diplomacy, 1774–1787* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975), 370, 373.

377 *Jason.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid.

378 *Portland.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid. See also Dull, *French Navy and American Independence,* 366, 370, 373.

379 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/383, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1779; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Fowler, Jonathan Jr.," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 98.

380 *Seahorse.* HBCA, C.1/1034-1046, Ship's Logs, *Seahorse*, 1778–1781; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Holt, George," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 98.

381 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/898-903, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert*, 1775–1781; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships, indicates there is no log for this year. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 98.

382 *Jason, Aid &c.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid.

383 *King George.* HBCA. C.1/384, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1780; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Fowler, Jonathan Jr.," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 99–100.

384 *Seahorse.* HBCA, C.1/1034-1046, Ship's Logs, *Seahorse*, 1778–1781; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 99–100.

385 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/898-903, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert*, 1775–1781; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 99–100.

386 *Beaver.* Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 14.

387 *Garland, Ranger &c.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid.

388 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/385-387, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1781–1784; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Hanwell, Henry Sr.," Biographical Sheet. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 13, indicates the vessel was newly built and first launched this year. A.G.E. Jones, *The Greenland and Davis Strait Trade, 1740–1865, from Lloyd's Register of Shipping and The Register of the Society of Merchants, Ship-Owners and Underwriters* (England: Bluntisham Books for the author, 1996), 10, implies that in 1781 an HBC ship of this name destined for Hudson Bay was 220 tons, twenty years old, and classified as 'E1.' Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 100.

389 *Sea Horse.* HBCA, C.1/1034-1046, Ship's Logs, *Seahorse*, 1778–1781; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 100.

390 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/903, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert*, 1781; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Fowler, Jonathan Jr.," Biographical Sheet. Jones, *Greenland and Davis Strait Trade*, 11, implies that in 1781 an HBC ship of this name was 210 tons, 13 years old, and classified as 'E1.' Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 100.

391 *Gill's Endeavour.* Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse," 185.

392 *Iphigenia* and *Tartar.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid.

393 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/904-908, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert*, 1782–1786; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. R. Glover, "La Perouse on Hudson Bay," *The Beaver* 30, no. 4 (March 1951): 46 n.6. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 101.

394 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/386, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1782; C.4/1, Book of

Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Fowler, Jonathan Jr.", "Sinclair, William 1st," and "Cocking, Matthew," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 101.

395 *Seahorse.* HBCA, C.1/1047, Ship's Logs, *Seahorse*, 1782; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Richards, John (Captain)," and "Hanwell, Henry Sr.," Biographical Sheets. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 13. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 101.

396 *Expedition.* Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse," 186.

397 Glyndwr Williams, ed., *Hudson's Bay Miscellany 1670–1870* (Winnipeg: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1975), 87, 93.

398 *Daphne* and *Mercury.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid.

399 *Sceptre, L'Astrée &c.* Glover, "La Perouse on Hudson Bay," 43–44. Étienne Taillemite, "Galaup, Jean-Françoise de, Comte de LaPérouse," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 101.

400 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/385-387, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1781–1784; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships, indicates there is no log for this year. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 102.

401 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/904-908, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert*, 1782–1786; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 102.

402 *Seahorse.* HBCA, C. 4/1 Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Richards, John (Captain)," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 102.

403 *Severn.* HBCA, Search File, Ships, 19 n.74, notes "A sloop sailed between York and Severn for many years after the first sloop named *Severn* was launched in 1764, but it is difficult to trace the movements of the sloop from year to year and to ascertain how long the same sloop was in service along this stretch of coast"; "Sutherland, James (1st)," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 102.

404 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/387-393, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1784–1791; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 103.

405 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/904-908, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert*, 1782–1786; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 103.

406 *Seahorse.* HBCA, C.1/1048-1053, Ship's Logs, Seahorse, 1784–1790; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Richards, John (Captain)," and "Hanwell, Henry Sr.," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 103.

407 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/387-393, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1784–1791; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships.

408 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/904-908, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert*, 1782–1786; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 103.

409 *Seahorse.* HBCA, C.1/1048-1053, Ship's Logs, Seahorse, 1784–1790; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Richards, John (Captain)," and

"Hanwell, Henry Sr.," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 103.

410 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/387-393, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1784–1791; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 106.

411 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/904-908, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert*, 1782–1786; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Taylor, George," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 106.

412 *Seahorse.* HBCA, C.1/1048-1053, Ship's Logs, Seahorse, 1784–1790; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Richards, John (Captain)", "Taylor, George," and "Hanwell, Henry Sr.," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 106.

413 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/387-393, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1784–1791; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 107.

414 *Seahorse.* HBCA, C.1/1048-1053, Ship's Logs, Seahorse, 1784–1790; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Hanwell, Henry Sr.," and "Stayner, Thomas," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 107.

415 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/387-393, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1784–1791; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 107.

416 *Seahorse.* HBCA, C.1/1048-1053, Ship's Logs, Seahorse, 1784–1790; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Hanwell, Henry Sr.," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 107.

417 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements, has an entry for the vessel, listing "[illegible] Richards" as master.

418 *Beaver.* HBCA, C.1/203, Ship's Logs, *Beaver* sloop, 1788; Search File, Ships; Ships Records Finding Aid; "Richards, John (Captain)," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 107.

419 *Trial, Active &c.* Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse," 169–70.

420 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/387-393, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1784–1791; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Hanwell, Henry Sr.," and "Thomas, Thomas Sr.," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 108.

421 *Seahorse.* HBCA, C.1/1048-1053, Ship's Logs, Seahorse, 1784–1790; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships, indicates there is no log for this year; "Richards, John (Captain)", "Brown, Joseph," and "Thomas, John Sr.," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 108.

422 *Beaver.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 14. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 108.

423 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/387-393, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1784–1791; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships, indicates there is no log for this year; "Richards, John (Captain)," and "Thomas, John Sr.," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 110.

424 *Seahorse.* HBCA, C.1/1053-1055, Ship's Logs, *Seahorse*, 1790–1791; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Hanwell, Henry Sr.," and "Sinclair,

William 1st," Biographical Sheets. Warner, "Voyaging to York Factory," 21. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 110.

425 *Queen Charlotte.* HBCA, C.1/1001-1007, Ship's Logs, *Queen Charlotte*, 1790–1795; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 13. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 110.

426 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/393-399, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1791–1795; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Richards, John (Captain)," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 111.

427 *Seahorse.* HBCA, C.1/1053-1055, Ship's Logs, *Seahorse*, 1790–1792; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Hanwell, Henry Sr.", "Stayner, Thomas", "Swain, James", "Pruden, John Peter," and "Sinclair, William 1st," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 111.

428 *Queen Charlotte.* HBCA, C.1/1001-1007, Ship's Logs, *Queen Charlotte*, 1790–1795; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 111.

429 *Beaver.* HBCA, C.1/204-206, Ship's Logs, *Beaver*, 1791–1793; C.7/13, Ships' Miscellaneous Papers, *Beaver* brig, 1792–1812; "Taylor, George," Biographical Sheet. "Arctic Expeditions," *Nautical Magazine,* 120–21, 130. Barry M. Gough, "Duncan, Charles," DCB. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 14. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 112.

430 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/393-399, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1791–1795; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Richards, John (Captain)," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 113.

431 *Seahorse.* HBCA, C.1/1053-1055, Ship's Logs, Seahorse, 1790–1792; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 113.

432 *Queen Charlotte.* HBCA, C.1/1001-1007, Ship's Logs, *Queen Charlotte*, 1790–1795; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships, indicates there is no log for this year. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 113.

433 *Nimble.* HBCA, C.1/611-612, Ship's Logs, *Nimble*, 1792–1793; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Stayner, Thomas," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 113.

434 Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse," 249.

435 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/393-399, Ship's Logs, 1791–1795; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Richards, John (Captain)," and "Prince, Mark," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 116.

436 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/736-737, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1793–1794; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Hanwell, Henry Sr.," and "Monkman, James (Monckman, Munckman)," Biographical Sheets. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 13. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 116.

437 *Queen Charlotte.* HBCA, C.1/1001-1007, Ship's Logs, *Queen Charlotte*, 1790–1795; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 116.

438 *Nimble.* HBCA, C.1/611-612, Ship's Logs, *Nimble*, 1792–1793; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 116.

439 *Beaver.* HBCA, C.1/204-206, Ship's Logs, *Beaver*, 1791–1793; C.7/13, Ships' Miscellaneous Papers, *Beaver* (Brig), 1792–1812, Indents, 1804–1807, 1810, and E. Taylor, "Report on the state of the Brig Beaver," 14 August 1812; Ships Records Finding Aid; "Taylor. George" and "Monkman, James (Monckman, Munckman)," Biographical Sheets. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 14. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 116.

440 *Hope.* Alwin, "Mode, Pattern and Pulse," 250–51.

441 *Active & Assurance.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid.

442 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/393-399, Ship's Logs, 1791–1795; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Richards, John (Captain)", "Prince, Mark," and "McKay, Donald," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 117.

443 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/737-742, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1794–1796; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Hanwell, Henry Sr.," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 117.

444 *Queen Charlotte.* HBCA, C.1/1001-1007, Ship's Logs, *Queen Charlotte*, 1790–1795; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Davison, John (Captain)," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 117.

445 *Aurora.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid. "Aurora," Interactive Database based on *Steel's Original and Correct List of the Royal Navy* (1794) <http://www.nelsonsnavy.freesurf.fr/> (accessed 25 September 2007), indicates there was an *Aurora,* 6th rate ship of 28 guns, stationed in the Bristol Channel.

446 *Greyhound, Jason &c.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid.

447 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/393-399, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1791–1795; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Richards, John (Captain)," and "Thomas, Thomas Sr.," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 118.

448 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.736-749, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1793–1800; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Hanwell, Henry Sr.," and "McKay, Donald," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 118.

449 *Queen Charlotte.* HBCA, C.1/1007-1013, Ship's Logs, *Queen Charlotte*, 1795–1797; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 118.

450 *Assistance, Martin &c.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid.

451 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/400-405, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1796–1798; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Richards, John (Captain)," and "Thomas, Thomas Sr.," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 119.

452 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.736-749, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1793–1800; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Hanwell, Henry Sr.," and "Davison, John (Captain)," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 119.

453 *Queen Charlotte.* HBCA, C.1/1007-1013, Ship's Logs, *Queen Charlotte*, 1795–1797; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Stayner, Thomas," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 119.

454 *L'Espion.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid. "L'Espion," Royal Navy 1794, Alphabetical list of Ships <http://home.gci.net/~stall/shiplst1.htm> (accessed 16

October 2007), indicates that according to Steele's List a vessel of this name was captured from France in 1793.

455 *Shannon.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid. Paul Benyon, "Shannon," Naval Database, Index of 19th Century Naval Vessels <http://www.pbenyon.plus.com/18-1900/Index.html> (accessed 25 September 2007), indicates a 5th rate frigate of this name armed with 32 guns was in service from 1796 to 1802.

456 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/400-405, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1796–1798; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Richards, John (Captain)," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 119.

457 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/743-748, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1797–1800; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Hanwell, Henry Sr.", "Davison, John (Captain)," and "Bunn, Thomas Sr.," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 119.

458 *Queen Charlotte.* HBCA, C.1/1013-1019, Ship's Logs, *Queen Charlotte*, 1797–1800; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 119.

459 *La Revolutionaire.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid. Phillips, "Ships of the Old Navy," indicates a ship of this name was captured from the French in 1794.

460 *Apollo.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid.

461 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/400-405, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1796–1798; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Richards, John (Captain)," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 120.

462 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/736-749, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1793–1800; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Hanwell, Henry Sr.," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 120.

463 *Queen Charlotte.* HBCA, C.1/1013-1019, Ship's Logs, *Queen Charlotte*, 1797–1800; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 120.

464 *Astrea.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid. Phillips, "Ships of the Old Navy," lists a 5th rate vessel of this name.

465 *Iris.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid.

466 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/406-411, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1799–1802; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Richards, John (Captain)," and "McKay, Donald," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 120.

467 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/736-749, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1793–1800; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Hanwell, Henry Sr.," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 120.

468 *Queen Charlotte.* HBCA, C.1/1013-1019, Ship's Logs, *Queen Charlotte*, 1797–1800; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Charles, John," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 120.

469 *Andromeda.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid. Phillips, "Ships of the Old Navy," notes Inman took over from William Taylor who had "served on the coast of Scotland, at Newfoundland, at Halifax and in the Channel" in this vessel 1795–1799.

470 *Xenophone.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid. Phillips, "Ships of the Old Navy," notes the vessel was "Purchased in 1798, ex Xenophon, a north-country built ship of 334 tons. She resembled, in form, the description of a vessel recommended by Capt. Cook as best suited for voyages of discovery."

471 *Latona.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid. Phillips, "Ships of the Old Navy."

472 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/406-411, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1799–1802; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Richards, John (Captain)", "Davison, John (Captain)," and "Thomas, John Sr.," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 122.

473 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/748-753, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1800–1802; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Hanwell, Henry Sr.," and "Monkman (Monckman, Munkman), Edward," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 122.

474 *Queen Charlotte.* HBCA, C.1/1019, Ship's Logs, *Queen Charlotte*, 1800; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 122.

475 *Eastmain.* HBCA, C.1/409, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1 June–23 September 1800; Ships Records Finding Aid. Library and Archives Canada [LAC], Selkirk Papers, vol. I, Microfilm A.27 (Canadian Library Association Ottawa, 1950), "Miles Macdonell to William Auld," 25 December 1811, 107.

476 *Circe.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid. "Circe," Naval Database, Index, indicates a 6th rate ship, 28 guns, of this name was stationed with the North Sea Fleet 1793–1799. See also Michael Phillips, "Ships of the Old Navy."

477 *Lynx.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid. "Lynx," Naval Database, Index, lists a sloop, 18 guns, of this name. Michael Phillips, "Ships of the Old Navy."

478 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/410, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1801; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Hanwell, Henry Sr.," and "Stayner, Thomas," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 123.

479 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/748-753, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1800–1802; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Thomas, John Sr.," and "Davison, John (Captain)," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 123.

480 *Driver.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid. "Driver," Naval Database, Index, lists a sloop, 16 guns, of this name. Phillips, "Ships of the Old Navy."

481 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/411-417, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1802–1806; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 123.

482 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/754-759, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1802–1804; C.1/4, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Hanwell, Henry Sr.," and "Davison, John (Captain)," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 123.

483 *Ceres.* HBCA, C.1/235, Ship's Logs, *Ceres*, 1802; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 14. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 123.

484 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/411-417, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1802–1806; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Taylor, George," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 124.

485 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/753-777 Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1802–1811; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Hanwell, Henry Sr.," and "Davison, John (Captain)," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 124.

486 *Ceres.* HBCA, C.1/236-238, Ship's Logs, *Ceres*, 1803–1804; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; Ships Records Finding Aid. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 124.

487 *Amaranthe.* HBCA, C.1/414 Ship's Logs, *King George* (III) 1803; Ships Records Finding Aid. Phillips, "Ships of the Old Navy."

488 *Phoenix.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid.

489 *Chiffone.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid; "Monkman (Monckman, Munkman), Edward," Biographical Sheet. Naval Database, Index, indicates a French frigate, 36 guns, of this name was captured in 1801 and put to British naval service under the same name.

490 *Eddystone.* HBCA, "Richards, John (Captain)," Biographical Sheet. LAC, Selkirk Papers, 22–25. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 125.

491 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/411-417, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1802–1806; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 126.

492 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/760-765, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1804–1806; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Hanwell, Henry Sr.", "Moar, Andrew," and "Davison, John (Captain)," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 126.

493 *Ceres.* HBCA, C.1/236-238, Ship's Logs, *Ceres*, 1803–1804; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 14, observes the vessel was sold in 1806. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 126.

494 *Curlieu.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid.

495 *Speedy.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid. Naval Database, Index, includes a sloop of this name with 16 guns.

496 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/416, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1805; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 127–28.

497 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/753-777, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1802–1811; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Hanwell, Henry Sr.", "Moar, Andrew," and "Davison, John (Captain)," Biographical Sheets. Cotter, "Famous H.B.C. Captains," part II, 32. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 127–28.

498 HBCA, "Prince, Mark," Biographical Sheet.

499 *Leith.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid. Naval Database, Index, lists a ship, 16 guns, of this name stationed with the North Sea Convoy.

500 *Railleur.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid. Naval Database, Index, lists the sloop as armed with 16 guns, and stationed in the Downs as of May 1805.

501 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/417, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1806; C.4/1, Book of

Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Davison, John (Captain)," and "Cook, Joseph," Biographical Sheets. Warner, "Voyaging to York Factory," 21. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 129.

502 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/765-770, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1806–1808; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Hanwell, Henry Sr.," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 129.

503 HBCA, B.59/b/24, Eastmain Post Journals, Correspondence Books, 1806, 45–46.

504 *Bellette.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid.

505 *Electra.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid. Naval Database, Index, lists a brig sloop of this name under George Trollope and armed with 16 guns.

506 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/417-422, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1806–1809; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; C.1/419; Search File, Ships; "Thomas, John Sr.," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 130.

507 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/753-777, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1802–1811; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Hanwell, Henry Sr.," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 130.

508 *Eddistone.* HBCA, C.1/289, and C.1/290-295, Ship's Logs, *Eddistone*, 1807, and 1807–1811; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 130.

509 *Mainwaring.* HBCA, C.1/453, Ship's Logs, *Mainwaring*, 1807; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Davison, John," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 130.

510 *Cruizier.* HBCA, C.1/419, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1807; Ships Records Finding Aid. Naval Database, Index, lists a sloop of this name armed with 18 guns and present "at the siege and bombardment of Copenhagen 15 Aug–20 Oct 1807."

511 *Kite.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid. Naval Database, Index, lists a sloop of this name armed with 16 guns and "22 Aug 1807 present at the siege and bombardment of Copenhagen."

512 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/420, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1808; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; C.1/420; Search File, Ships; "Pruden, John Peter," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 131.

513 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/770-776, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1808–1810; C.1/420, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1808; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Hanwell, Henry Sr.," and "Thomas, John Sr.," Biographical Sheets. Glyndwr Williams, "Atkinson, George (known as Sneppy until about 1790)," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 131.

514 *Eddistone.* HBCA, C.1/290-295, Ship's Logs, *Eddystone*, 1807–1811; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; C.1/420; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 131.

515 *Ned Elvin.* HBCA, C.1/420, Ship's Logs, *King George* (III), 1808; Ships Records Finding Aid.

516 *Rover.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid. Naval Database, Index, lists a brig sloop of this name armed with 18 guns.

517 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/417-422, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1806–1809; C.4/1,

Book of Ships' Movements; C.421; Search File, Ships; "McNab, John (Dr.)," and "Pruden, John Peter," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 131–32.

518 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/753-777, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1802–1811; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; C.1/421, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1809; Search File, Ships; "Hanwell, Henry Sr.," and "Cook, Joseph," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 131–32.

519 *Eddystone.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements, lists the vessel as on "Transport Service." Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 132.

520 *Mercurius.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid. Naval Database, Index, lists a brig sloop of this name armed with 16 guns.

521. *Calypso.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid. Naval Database, Index, lists a brig-sloop of this name armed with 18 guns.

522 *Snake.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid. Naval Database, Index, lists a sloop of this name armed with 18 guns.

523 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/423-425, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1810–1812; C.1/4, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 132.

524 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/776-781, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1810–1814; C.1/4, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Hanwell, Henry Sr.," and "Vincent, Thomas," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 132.

525 *Eddistone.* HBCA, C.1/290-295, Ship's Logs, *Eddystone*, 1807–1811; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; Ships Records Finding Aid. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 132.

526 *Sabine.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid. Naval Database, Index, lists a brig sloop of this name armed with 18 guns.

527 *Clio.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid. Naval Database, Index, lists a sloop of this name armed with 18 guns.

528 *Pandora.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid. Naval Database, Index, lists a brig sloop of this name armed with 18 guns.

529 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, B.42/b/57, Churchill Correspondence Book, 1811–1812, fo. 16; A.11/118, London Inward Correspondence from York Factory, fo. 33Ad; C.1/753–777, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1802–1811; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Hanwell, Henry Sr.," and "McNab, John (Dr.)," Biographical Sheets. LAC, Selkirk Papers, vol. I, "Miles Macdonell to the Earl of Selkirk," 1 October 1811, 43. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 134.

530 *Eddistone.* HBCA, C.1/294-300, Ship's Logs, *Eddystone*, 1807–1811; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; Ships Records Finding Aid. LAC, Selkirk Papers, vol. I, "Miles Macdonell to the Earl of Selkirk," 1 October 1811, 43. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 134.

531 *Edward and Anne.* HBCA, C.1/323, Ship's Logs, *Edward and Anne*, 1811; "Cook, Joseph," Biographical Sheet. LAC, Selkirk Papers, vol. I, "Miles Macdonell to the Earl of Selkirk," 1 October 1811, 40–57. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 134.

532 *Starling.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid. Naval Database, Index, lists a gun

brig, 12 guns, and from "Yarmouth 7 Jul 1811 Sailed with the North ships."

533 *Strenuous.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid, also lists the *Rosamond* sailing under D. Campbell, but this appears to be a misprint. Naval Database, Index, lists a gun brig *Strenuous* armed with 12 guns.

534 Davies with Johnson, *Northern Quebec and Labrador Journals*, xxxvi. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 133.

535 *Eddistone.* HBCA, C.1/295-300, Ship's Logs, *Eddystone*, 1811–1814; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 134.

536 *Robert Taylor.* Morton, *History of the Canadian West*, 550. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 134.

537 *King George.* HBCA, C.1/423-425, Ship's Logs, *King George*, 1810–1813; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships, notes "It would appear that the ship *King George*, chartered by the Company in 1812 from Messrs. Daniel and Samuel Brent and Sons, was the *King George* [III] … sold to Messrs. Daniel and Samuel Brent and Sons in 1810. In 1813 the owners offered to sell the *King George* to the Company, but the Committee declined"; "Wishart, Peter," Biographical Sheet. Morton, *History of the Canadian West*, 550. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 134.

538 *Tweed.* Naval Database, Index, lists a ship sloop of this name armed with 18 guns, "Yarmouth 7 Jul 1812 Arrived from the Orkney Islands, where she parted with the Hudson's Bay ships and sailed for the Downs." See also Frank Galgay, and Michael McCarthy, Shipwrecks of Newfoundland and Labrador, vol. II (St. John's NL: Harry Cuff, 1987), who describe her wreck in Shoal Bay near Bay Bulls, 5 Nov. 1813.

539 *Rosamond.* Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 134. Naval Database, Index, list a 5th rate vessel of the name, armed with 36 guns, "Portsmouth 25 Jun 1812 Sailed with convoy, for Quebec. Portsmouth 30 Sep 1812 Arrived from the Downs. Deal 30 Sep 1812 Sailed for Portsmouth."

540 *Eddistone.* HBCA, C.1/295-300, Ship's Logs, *Eddystone*, 1811–1814; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Wiegand, Thomas Jr. or (A)," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 134–35.

541 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/776-781, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1810–1814; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Cook, Joseph," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 134–35.

542 *Ann.* HBCA, C.7/4, Ships' Miscellaneous Papers, *Ann* (schooner) 1813–1815.

543 *Eastmain.* HBCA, "Taylor, George," and "Corrigal, James," Biographical Sheets.

544 *Brazen.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid. Naval Database, Index, lists a 6th rate vessel of the name armed with 26 guns. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 134–35.

545 *Eddistone.* HBCA, C.1/300-304, Ship's Logs, *Eddystone*, 1814–1817; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 135.

546 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/781-787, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1814–1818; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Hanwell, Henry Sr.," and "Sinclair, William 1st," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 135.

547 *Gipsey.* HBCA, B.372/a/1, Thomas Alder, "Whale River Journal, 1814/15," 9 July 1814. John Hudspeth, *Journals of John Maule Hudspeth: Hudson's Bay and the*

Voyage home to England, 1816, 7.RS1900/D33, University of Tasmania Library Special and Rare Materials Collection, Australia (Unpublished) UTAS ePrint <http://eprints.utas.edu.au/7152/> (accessed 6 October 2008), 15 July 1816.

548 *Rosamund.* E. Chappell, *Narrative of a voyage to Hudson's Bay in His Majesty's Ship Rosamond, containing some account of the north eastern coast of America and of the tribes inhabiting that remote region* (London: J. Mawman, 1817). HBCA, Search File, Ships; Ships Records Finding Aid. Barr, "Eighteenth Century Trade," 239. Naval Database, Index, see note 539 above. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 135.

549 *Britannia.* HBCA, Search File, Ships; Ships Records Finding Aid.

550 Davies with Johnson, *Northern Quebec and Labrador Journals*, xxxvi, xxxviii, xxxix.

551 *Eddistone.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Ramsey, John," Biographical Sheet. Cotter, "Famous H.B.C. Captains," part II, 32. Edith I. Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company: Work, Discipline, and Conflict in the Hudson's Bay Company, 1770–1879* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1997), 215–17. A.J.W. Catchpole, and Marcia-Anne Faurer, "Ships' Log-Books, Sea Ice and the Cold Summer of 1816 in Hudson Bay and Its Approaches," *Arctic* 38, no. 2 (June 1985): 126. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 136.

552 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/781-787, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1814–1818; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Hanwell, Henry Sr.," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 136.

553 HBCA, B.372/a/1, Great Whale River Post Journal, 1814–1815, 1 October 1814.

554 *Hadlow.* HBCA, C.1/345, Ship's Logs, *Hadlow*, 1815–1816; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Davison, John," Biographical Sheet. Cotter, "Famous H.B.C. Captains," part II, 32. Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company*, 215–17. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 136.

555 *Dee.* HBCA, Search File, Ships; Ships Records Finding Aid. Naval Database, Index, lists a 6th rate vessel of the name armed with 20 guns. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 136.

556 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/781-787, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1814–1818; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Hanwell, Henry Sr.", "Wishart, Peter," and "Todd, William," Biographical Sheets. Catchpole and Faurer, "Ships' Log-Books, Sea Ice," 137.

557 *Emerald.* HBCA, C.1/324, Ship's Logs, *Emerald*, 1816–1817; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; C.7/51, Ships' Miscellaneous Papers, *Emerald* brig, 1816–1817; Search File, Ships. Catchpole and Faurer, "Ships' Log-Books, Sea Ice," 123, 126. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 137.

558 *Eddistone.* HBCA, C.1/304-310, Ship's Logs, *Eddystone*, 1817–1819; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Davison, John," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 138.

559 *Britannia.* HBCA, Search File Ships; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Taylor, George," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 138.

560 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/781-787, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1814–1818;

C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Davison, John," Biographical Sheet. Shirlee Anne Smith, "Williams, William," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 139.

561 *Eddistone.* HBCA, C.1/304-310, Ship's Logs, *Eddystone*, 1817–1819; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 139.

562 *Levant.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements, lists the vessel but no other details. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 139.

563 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/788-793, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1819–1820; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Swain, James," and "Wishart, Thomas," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 142.

564 *Eddistone.* HBCA, C.1/310-316, Ship's Logs, *Eddistone*, 1819–1821; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 142.

565 *Wear.* Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 142.

566 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/793-798, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1820–1822; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Sinclair (Sinclear, Hary or Harry), Henry," and "Lillie, Daniel," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 144.

567 *Eddystone.* HBCA, C.1/310-316, Ship's Logs, *Eddistone*, 1819–1821; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Todd, William," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 144.

568 *Luna.* Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 144.

569 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/793-798, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1820–1822; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements. Warner, "Voyaging to York Factory," 22. Catchpole and Faurer, "Ships' Log–Books, Sea Ice," 146.

570 *Eddistone.* HBCA, C.1.316-322, Ship's Logs, *Eddystone*, 1821–1823; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements. Warner, "Voyaging to York Factory," 22. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 146.

571 *Lord Wellington.* HBCA, "Todd, William," Biographical Sheet. Warner, "Voyaging to York Factory," 22. Catchpole and Faurer, "Ships' Log-Books, Sea Ice," 124. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 146.

572 *Fury.* William Edward Parry, *Journal of a Second Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage From the Atlantic to the Pacific, Performed in the Years 1821–22–23, In His Majesty's Ships Fury and Hecla* ... (New York: E. Duyckinck, G. Long, Collins & Co., Collins & Hannay, W.B. Gilley, and Henry I. Megarey, 1824), xv, indicates the *Nautilus*, a transport vessel, was to accompany the *Fury* and *Hecla* across the Atlantic and Davis Strait before returning home. Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay,* 52. Barr, "Eighteenth Century Trade," 239. Naval Database, Index, lists the vessel as "Bomb, later converted to a ship of Discovery; Armament 8 later reduced to 4." Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 147.

573 *Hecla.* Parry, *Journal of a Second Voyage.* Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay,* 52. Barr, "Eighteenth Century Trade," 239. Naval Database, Index, lists her as "Vessel of exploration; late Bomb; Armament 6 (1x13 mortar, 1x10 mortar, 8x24pdr, 2x6pdr.)." Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 147.

574 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/799-804, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1822–1824;

C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Sutherland, Donald," and "Wicks, John," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 148.

575 *Eddistone.* HBCA, C.1/316-322, Ship's Logs, *Eddystone*, 1821–1823; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Sinclair (also Sinclear, Hary or Harry), Henry," and "Simpson, Alexander," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 148.

576 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/799-804, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1822–1824; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Sutherland, Donald," and "Wicks, John," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 148.

577 *Eddistone.* HBCA, C.1/322, Ship's Logs, *Eddistone*, 1823; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 148.

578 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/804-810, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1824–1826; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Sutherland, Donald," and "Pruden, John Peter," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 149.

579 *Union.* HBCA, "Lamphier, Thomas", "Brown, John (B)," and "Bunn, John (Dr.)," Biographical Sheets. Davies with A.M. Johnson, *Northern Quebec and Labrador Journals*, liii.

580 *Camden.* HBCA, C.1/223, and C.1/224-230, Ship's Logs, *Camden*, 1824, and 1824–1826; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 149.

581 *Griper.* "Arctic Expeditions," *Nautical Magazine,* 120–21, 132–33. Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay,* 53. Barr, "Eighteenth Century Trade," 239. Naval Database, Index, lists the vessels as a gun-brig of 182 tons and notes "St. John's, Newfoundland 18 Aug 1824 Reported to have arrived Hudson's Straits." Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 149–50.

582 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/804-810, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1824–1826; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Pruden, John Peter," and "Charles, John." Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 151.

583 *Camden.* HBCA, C.1/224-230, Ship's Logs, *Camden*, 1824–1826; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 151.

584 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/810-816, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1826–1828; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Charles, John," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 153.

585 *Camden.* HBCA, C.1/230-232, Ship's Logs, *Camden*, 1826–1831; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Vincent, Thomas," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 153.

586 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/810-816, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1826–1828; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 153.

587 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/909, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert*, 1827; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 13. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 153.

588. *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/816-821, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1828–1831; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Blackey, James," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 153–154.

589 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/909-915, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert*, 1827–1829;

C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 153–54.

590 *Beaver.* HBCA, "Swanson, William," Biographical Sheet. Davies with Johnson, *Northern Quebec and Labrador Journals*, lii–liii, lvii, lx–lxi, lxiv–lxv, lxix, lxviii, lxxviii.

591 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/816-821, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1828–1831; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 154.

592 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/916-921, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert*, 1829–1831; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 154.

593 *Montcalm.* Davies with Johnson, *Northern Quebec and Labrador*, lviii, lxiii, lxxviii. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 154.

594 *Moose.* HBCA, "Swanson, William," Biographical Sheet.

595 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/822-827, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1830–1835; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 157.

596 *Prince Rupert,* HBCA, C.1/916-921, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert*, 1829–1831; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 157.

597 *Montcalm.* Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 157.

598 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/916-921 and C.1/922-926, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert*, 1829–1831 and 1831–1834; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 157.

599 *Camden.* HBCA, Search File, Ships, suggests this is the *Camden*, citing C.1/230-232, Ship's Logs, *Camden*, 1826–1831; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements, puts Robert Royal aboard the *Camden* this year. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 157, name the *Montcalm* and indicate it sailed directly to London.

600 *Frances.* HBCA, C.1/332a-332b, Ship's Logs, *Frances*, 1836–1837, 1843.

601 Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 158.

602 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/822-827, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1830–1835; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships, indicates there is no log for this year. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*,158.

603 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/922-926, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert*, 1831–1834; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "McDonald, Farquar," Biographical Sheet. Shirlee A. Smith, "The Steward's Yarn," *The Beaver* 57, no. 4 (spring 1978): 21. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 158.

604 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/822-827, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1830–1835; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Humphreys, Charles," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 159.

605 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/922-926, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert*, 1831–1834; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements, indicates there is no log for this year. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 159.

606 *Ganymede.* HBCA, C.1/335-338, Ship's Logs, *Ganymede*, 1834–1837; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Ships Records Finding Aid; "Allan, Robert," Biographical Sheet. Davies with Johnson, *Northern Quebec and Labrador Journals*, lxix, lxxviii. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 160.

607 *Prince George.* HBCA, C.1/735, Ship's Logs, *Prince George*, 1834; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements, lists "D. Friend"; Ships Records Finding Aid, lists John

Costellow Grave as master. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 160.

608 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/828-833, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1835–1837; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Humphreys, Charles," and "Blackey, James," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 161–62.

609 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/927-931, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert*, 1835–1837; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements, lists "J.C. Grave" as master; "Herd, David J.," and "Spence, John (C)," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 161–62, lists John C. Grave.

610 *Nonpareil.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Shirlee Anne Smith, "Williams, William," DCB, may be describing the career of someone other than the captain. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 161–62.

611 *Esquimaux.* HBCA. C.1/325-326, Ship's Logs, *Esquimaux*, 1835–1836; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; C.7/54, *Esquimaux,* Miscellaneous Papers, 1835; Ships Records Finding Aid, describes the vessel as built for the Ungava trade, but abandoned in 1836 as unmanageable after her rudder was damaged, and notes "master: None identified." Davies, with Johnson. *Northern Quebec and Labrador Journals*, lxii, note the vessel was newly built in 1835, and her command given to Mr. Thomas Duncan, formerly of the *Beaver* sloop. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 161–62, identify J. Duncan as master.

612 HBCA, C.1/325-326, Ship's Logs, *Esquimaux*, 1835–1836; C.7/54, *Esquimaux,* Miscellaneous Papers, 1835. Davies, with Johnson. *Northern Quebec and Labrador Journals*, 241*n*.

613 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/828-833, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1835–1837; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Spence, Peter (b)", "Moar, Andrew", "Reid, James Murray," and "Corstan, William (A)," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 163.

614 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/927-931, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert*, 1835–1837; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Herd, David J.," and "Spence, John (C)," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 163.

615 *Eagle.* HBCA, C.1/284-288, Ship's Logs, *Eagle*, 1833–1837; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; Ships Records Finding Aid; "Humphreys, Charles", "Spence, Peter (b)," and "Barton, George William," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 163.

616 *Esquimaux.* HBCA, C.1/326, Ship's Logs, *Esquimaux*, 1836; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships. Davies with Johnson, *Northern Quebec and Labrador*, lxxii. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 163.

617 *Terror.* Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay,* 53. Naval Database, Index, lists the vessel as "late bomb" and notes "Portsmouth 21 May 1836 it is reported that having been strengthened during her preparation for the search for ice-bound whaling vessels in the northern seas, for which she was never used, the Terror is now to be used as a vessel of discovery to survey the coast of North America from Cape Turnagain to Victoria Headland, under Captain Black." Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 163.

618 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/833-835, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1837–1838;

C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Reid, James Murray," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 164.

619 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/932-933, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert*, 1837–1838; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Herd, David J.," and "Spence, John (C)," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 164.

620 *Prince George.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 164.

621 *Aurora.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 164.

622 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Martindale, William", "Blackey, James," and "Reid, James Murray," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 165.

623 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/932-933, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert*, 1837–1838; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Herd, David J.," and "Spence, John (C)," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 165.

624 *Tadoussac.* HBCA, "Kennedy, William," Biographical Sheet.

625 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Blackey, James," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 166.

626 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Herd, David J.", "Reid, James Murray", "McDonald, Farquar," and "Mannock, Francis," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 166.

627 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Blackey, James," and "Reid, James Murray," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 167.

628 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Herd, David J.," and "Mannock, Francis," Biographical Sheets. Margaret Arnett MacLeod, ed., *The Letters of Letitia Hargrave* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1947), xxxv. Warner, "Voyaging to York Factory," 21. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 167.

629 *Marten.* Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 168.

630 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Blackey, James," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 169–170.

631 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Herd, David J.," Biographical Sheet. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 13. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 169–170.

632 *Prince Albert.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Mannock, Francis," and "Reid, James Murray," Biographical Sheets. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 13. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 169–70.

633 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/934-937, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert*, 1842; C.4/1; Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Herd, David J.", Nevins, John Birbeck," and "Reid, James Murray," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 170.

634 *Prince Albert.* HBCA, C.1/667, Ship's Logs, *Prince Albert*, 1842; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements, 1719–1929; "Blackey, James," and "Mannock, Francis," Biographical Sheets. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 13. Cooke and Holland,

Exploration, 170.

635 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/938-943, Ship's Logs, *Prince* Rupert, 1843–1844; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Herd, David J.", "Reid, James Murray," and "Todd, William," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 172.

636 *Prince Albert.* HBCA, C.1/667-672, and C.1/672–676, Ship's Logs, *Prince Albert*, 1842–1843, and 1843–1845; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Nevins, John Birbeck", "Blackey, James", "Mowat, George," and "Mannock, Francis," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 172.

637 *Marten.* HBCA, C.1/454-455, Ship's Logs, *Marten*, 1843; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 172.

638 *Jane.* MacLeod, *Letters of Letitia Hargrave*, lxxxii–lxxxiii.

639 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/944-950, Ship's Logs, *Prince* Rupert, 1844–1846; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Herd, David J.," and "Reid, James Murray," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 173.

640 *Prince Albert.* HBCA, C.1/672-676, Ship's Logs, *Prince Albert*, 1843–1845; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Blackey, James," and "Mannock, Francis," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 173.

641 *Marten.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 173.

642 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/944-950, Ship's Logs, *Prince* Rupert, 1844–1846; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Herd, David J.," and "Reid, James Murray," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 173.

643 *Prince Albert.* HBCA, C.1/667-682, Ship's Logs, *Prince Albert*, 1845–1847; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Blackey, James," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 173.

644 *Robin.* HBCA, "Wiegand, Thomas Jr. or (A)," and "Corston, William (a)," Biographical Sheets, the latter mentions a schooner *Robin* at Moose Factory in 1836.

645 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/950-956, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert*, 1846–1848; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; C.6/1, Freight Books, 1844–1875; "Herd, David J.," and "Reid, James Murray," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 175.

646 *Prince Albert.* HBCA, C.1/667-682, Ship's Logs, *Prince Albert*, 1845–1847; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; C.6/1, Freight Books, 1844–1875; "Blackey, James," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 175.

647 *North Pole & Magnet.* MacLeod, *Letters of Letitia Hargrave*, lxxxix. Ken McGoogan, *Fatal Passage: The Untold Story of John Rae, the Arctic Adventurer Who Discovered the Fate of Franklin* (Toronto: Harper Flamingo Books, 2001), 52, 55.

648 *Crocodile.* "Sketches by Lieutenant George E. Finlay, 6th Regiment, 1846–1848," *Manitoba Pageant* 12, no. 1 (spring 1969) <http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/pageant/

12/finlaysketches.shtml#01> (accessed 23 October 2007). MacLeod, *Letters of Letitia Hargrave*, cii. Naval Database, Index, lists a 6th rate vessel of this name armed with 28 guns. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 176.

649 *Blenheim.* HBCA, Search File, Ships; "Sketches by Lieutenant George E. Finlay." MacLeod, *Letters of Letitia Hargrave*, cii. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 176.

650 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/950-956, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert*, 1846–1848; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Herd, David J.," and "Reid, James Murray," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 176.

651 *Prince Albert.* HBCA, C.1/682-688, Ship's Logs, *Prince Albert*, 1847–1849; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Blackey, James," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 176.

652 *Westminster.* MacLeod, *Letters of Letitia Hargrave*, cvii. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 176.

653 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/956-962, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert*, 1848–1850; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Herd, David J.", "McCarthy, Jeremiah", "Yates, James," and "Reid, James Murray," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 178.

654 *Prince Albert.* HBCA, C.1/682-688, Ship's Logs, *Prince Albert*, 1847–1849; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Blackey, James," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 178.

655 *Lady Fitzhebert & General Palmer.* MacLeod, *Letters of Letitia Hargrave*, cxvii–cxviii. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 176.

656 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/956-962, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert*, 1848–1850; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Herd, David J.," and "Reid, James Murray," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 180.

657 *Prince Albert.* HBCA, C.1/682-688, Ship's Logs, *Prince Albert*, 1847–1849; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Blackey, James," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 180.

658 *Letitia.* HBCA, Search File, Ships, notes the schooner was attached to York Factory. MacLeod, *Letters of Letitia Hargrave*, cxxvi.

659 *Graham.* HBCA, Search File, Ships, notes that the vessel's story is found in A.6/28, Governor and Committee (London Office) Records, fo. 70-70d. MacLeod, *Letters of Letitia Hargrave*, cxxvi–cxxviii. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 180.

660 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/963-964, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert*, 1850–1853; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Simpson, James," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 183.

661 *Prince Albert.* HBCA, C.1/689-695, Ship's Logs, *Prince Albert*, 1850–1852; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Blackey, James," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 183.

662 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/836-840, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1850–1851; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Herd, David J.," Biographical Sheet. James McDougall, transcription, "Young Apprentice," *The*

Beaver 32, no. 1 (June 1952): 8, allows the ship is "a large full rigged ship of about 1200 tons burden mounting eight guns (12 pounders) although she is pierced for fourteen." H.M.S. Cotter, "The Ship 'Prince of Wales': 1850, Full Rigged Ship in Hudson's Bay; 1934, New Zealand Coal Hulk," *The Beaver* (March 1934): 42–44. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 183.

663 *Otter.* HBCA, C.1/625, Ship's Logs, *Otter*, 1852–1855; Search File, Ships; "Taylor, John (A)," and "Swanson, William," Biographical Sheets. H.M.S. Cotter, "Company Sailing Ships," *The Beaver* 14, no. 2 (September 1934): 32.

664 *Flora & George.* MacLeod, *Letters of Letitia Hargrave*, cxxxiii. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 183.

665 *Prince Albert.* HBCA, C.1/689-695, Ship's Logs, *Prince Albert*, 1850–1852; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Blackey, James," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 188.

666 *Walrus.* HBCA, "Wiegand, Thomas Jr. or (A)," Biographical Sheet.

667 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/840-847, Ship's Logs, *Prince of* Wales, 1851–1855; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Herd, David J.," and "Reid, James Murray," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 188.

668 *Prince Albert.* HBCA, C.1/695-700, Ship's Logs, *Prince Albert*, 1852–1854; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Blackey, James," Biographical Sheet. C*ooke* and Holland, *Exploration*, 195.

669 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/840-847, Ship's Logs, *Prince of* Wales, 1851–1855; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Herd, David J.," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 195.

670 *Marten.* HBCA, C.1/456-458, Ship's Logs, *Marten* schooner, 1852–1868; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements, 1719–1929; Ships Records Finding Aid, lists Henry William Tuggey as master, 1865–1866; "Taylor, James," Biographical Sheet. Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 101, lists the captain as Tuckee. Charles N. Bell, "Navigation of Hudson Bay and Straits," *MHS Transactions* ser. 1, no. 7 (read 10 May 1883) <http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/transactions/1/hudsonnavigation.shtml> (accessed 23 March 2006), designates the vessel *Martine.* Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 152. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 195.

671 *Lady Frances Simpson.* HBCA, Ships Records Finding Aid; "Swanson, William," Biographical Sheet.

672 *Superior.* Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 195.

673 *Prince Albert.* HBCA, C.1/695-700, Ship's Logs, *Prince Albert*, 1852–1854; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Blackey, James," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 201.

674 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/840-847, Ship's Logs, *Prince of* Wales, 1851–1855; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Herd, David J.," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 201.

675 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/963-964, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert*, 1850–1853; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements. Cooke and Holland,

Exploration, 201.

676 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/840-847, Ship's Logs, *Prince of* Wales, 1851–1855; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Herd, David J.," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 209.

677 *Prince Arthur.* HBCA, C.1/703-706, Ship's Logs, *Prince Arthur*, 1854–1855; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Blackey, James," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 209.

678 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/863-868, and C.847-853, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1850–1873, and 1855–1859; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Herd, David J.," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 211.

679 *Prince Arthur.* HBCA, C.1/706-712, Ship's Logs, *Prince Arthur*, 1855–1857; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Ships Records Finding Aid, lists Thomas Clouston as second mate; "Blackey, James," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 211.

680 *Fox.* HBCA, C.1/463, Ship's Logs, *Mink* schooner, includes the *Fox* log by James Taylor, 1878; Ships records Finding Aid, notes the vessel was built at Moose; "Hackland, Gilbert Spence," Biographical Sheet.

681 *John and Mary.* HBCA, C.7/71, Ships' Miscellaneous Papers, *John and Mary* Charter; Search File, Ships.

682 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/863-868, and C.847-853, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1850–1873, and 1855–1859; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Herd, David J.," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 212.

683 *Prince Arthur.* HBCA, C.1/706-712, Ship's Logs, *Prince Arthur*, 1855–1857; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Ships Records Finding Aid, lists John Login Sinclair as second mate; "Blackey, James," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 212.

684 *Prince Albert.* HBCA, Search File, Ships, notes the vessel was chartered from a Captain Sheperd, who bought her from the HBC this year, and that she returned to London in ballast.

685 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/863-868, and C.847-853, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1850–1873, and 1855–1859; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Herd, David J.," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 212.

686 *Prince Arthur.* HBCA, C.1/712-718, Ship's Logs, *Prince Arthur*, 1857–1859; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Wishart, David Durham", "Blackey, James," and "Michelson (Micholson), John," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 212.

687 *Baroness.* Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 212.

688 *Great Britain.* HBCA, Search File, Ships.

689 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/863-868, and C.847-853, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1850–1873, and 1855–1859; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Herd, David J.," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland,

Exploration, 214.

690 *Prince Arthur.* HBCA, C.1/712-718, Ship's Logs, *Prince Arthur*, 1857–1859; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Blackey, James," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 214.

691 *Effort.* HBCA, Search File, Ships; Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 214.

692 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1850–1873, and 1855–1859; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Herd, David J.," and "Watkins, George," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 215.

693 *Prince Arthur.* HBCA, C.718-724, Ship's Logs, *Prince Arthur*, 1859–1861; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 215.

694 *Kitty.* HBCA, Search File, Ships; Ships Records Finding Aid. Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay,* 44, relates the story of the wreck, the killing of crew members, and subsequent 'hauntings.' Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 215.

695 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/854-860, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1860–1867; C.3/8, Portledge Book, 1860–1871; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Search File, Ships; "Herd, David J.," and "Aitcheson, James," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 217.

696 *Prince Arthur.* HBCA, C.718-724, Ship's Logs, *Prince Arthur*, 1859–1861; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 217.

697 *Syren Queen.* Alexander Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery: from its earliest inception to the year 1876* (1878; reprint, New York: Argosy-Antiquarian, 1964), 578–79, lists the declared destination as Davis's Strait. "Chapel, Christopher B.," Connecticut Ship Database, 1789–1939, Mystic Seaport: The Museum of America and the Sea, G.W. Blunt White Library, online <http://www.mysticseaport.org/Library/initiative/CuSearch.cfm> (accessed: 17 January 2007), supplies alternate spellings. W. Gillies Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos: Hudson Bay 1860–1915* (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975), 37, 40, 49. Randall R. Reeves and Susan E. Cosens, "Historical Population Characteristics of Bowhead Whales (*Balaena mysticetus*) in Hudson Bay," *Arctic* 56, no. 3 (September 2003): 290. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 219–20.

698 *Northern Light.* Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 578–79, lists the declared destination as Davis's Strait. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 37, 40, 49. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 219–20.

699 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/854-860, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1860–1867; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Herd, David J.," and "Watkins, George," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 220.

700 *Prince Arthur.* HBCA, C.1/724-730, Ship's Logs, *Prince Arthur*, 1861–1863; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 220.

701 *Corea.* HBCA, C.1/255; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Ships Records Finding Aid; "Sinnett (Sennett), James," Biographical

Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 220.

702 *Sir Colin Campbell.* HBCA, Search File, Ships, notes the vessel's rudder was damaged by ice while sailing through Hudson Strait, but that it succeeded in returning to Quebec.

703 *Antelope.* Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 580–81. Kenneth R. Martin, "Life and Death at Marble Island, 1864–73," *The Beaver* 58, no. 4 (spring 1979): 48. Reeves and Cosens, "Historical Population Characteristics," 290. KWM Catalogue of Logbooks and Journals, New Bedford Whaling Museum, Research Library, Kendall Institute, online <http://www.whalingmuseum.org/kendall/search.php> (accessed: 25 January 2007), lists the "keeper" of the logs as George Joseph Parker, and Charles H. Wilbur.

704 *Northern Light.* Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 582–83. Bell, "Navigation of Hudson Bay and Straits." Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 152.

705 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/854–860, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1860–1867; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Herd, David J.," Biographical Sheet. James McDougall, "Young Apprentice," parts I & II, *The Beaver* 32, no. 1 & 2 (June 1952): 8, (September 1952): 10. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 221.

706 *Prince Arthur.* HBCA, C.1/724-730, Ship's Logs, *Prince Arthur*, 1861–1863; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; McDougall, "Young Apprentice," parts I & II, 8 & 10. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 221.

707 *Black Eagle.* Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay,* 58–59. Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 584–85, lists the vessel as declared for Cumberland Inlet. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 49, 152, puts her at Depot Island for the winter. Reeves and Cosens, "Historical Population Characteristics," 290, agree with Ross. KWM Catalogue of Logbooks, lists the destination as Hudson Bay.

708 *Ansel Gibbs.* Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 584–85, lists William Washburn as master. Reeves and Cosens, "Historical Population Characteristics," 290, list the master as C.B. Kilmer. KWM Catalogue of Logbooks, lists Washburn.

709 *Pioneer.* Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 590–91.

710 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/854-860, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1860–1867; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Herd, David J.," Biographical Sheet. Warner, "Voyaging to York Factory," 21. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 222.

711 *Prince Arthur.* HBCA, C.1/730-734, Ship's Logs, Prince Arthur, 1863–1864; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements. Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay,* 58. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 222.

712 *Ocean Nymph.* HBCA, C.1/616, Ship's Logs, *Ocean Nymph*, 1863–1864; C.3/20, Portledge Books; "Sinnett (Sennett), James," Biographical Sheet. Warner, "Voyaging to York Factory," 19. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 222.

713 *Andrews.* Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 592–93. Bell, "Navigation." Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos,* 151. KWM Catalogue of Logbooks.

714 *Northern Light.* Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 592–93. Bell,

"Navigation."

715 *Daniel Webster.* Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 592–93. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 43, 49, 51, 152. Reeves and Cosens, "Historical Population Characteristics," 290. KWM Catalogue of Logbooks.

716 *William Thompson.* Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay,* 58. Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 594–95.

717 *Pavillion.* Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay,* 58. Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 594–95, notes the vessel was crushed by ice "seven men lost; survivors suffered severely from cold and exposure."

718 *George Henry.* Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay,* 58, 68. Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 596–97. "Chapel, Christopher B.," and "George Henry (Bark)," Connecticut Ship Database.

719 *Active.* Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay,* 57–58.

720 The inclusion of additional, unnamed whalers is based on Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 220; Clive Holland, *Arctic exploration and development, c. 500 B.C. to 1915: an encyclopedia* (New York: Garland, 1994), *passim*; and Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 21, 23, particularly 37 Table 1, and 144n. 3.

721 *Queen.* Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay,* 58.

722 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.1/854-860, Ship's Logs, *Prince of Wales*, 1860–1867; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Sinnett (Sennett), James," Biographical Sheet. Bell, "Navigation." Cotter, "The Ship 'Prince of Wales'," 42. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 223.

723 *Prince Arthur.* HBCA, C.1/730-734, Ship's Logs, Prince Arthur, 1863–1864; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements. Bell, "Navigation." Cotter, "The Ship 'Prince of Wales'," 42–43. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 223.

724 *Ocean Nymph.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Sinnett (Sennett), James," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 223.

725 *Orray Taft.* Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 598–99. Martin, "Life and Death at Marble Island," 48–49. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 47, 51, 152. Reeves and Cosens, "Historical Population Characteristics," 287. KWM Catalogue of Logbooks, lists George J. Parker as "keeper."

726 *Antelope.* Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 596–97, notes the vessel was "Lost in Cumberland inlet 1866; sent home 375 whale, 1,500 pounds bone." Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 49, 51, 152. Reeves and Cosens, "Historical Population Characteristics," 290. KWM Catalogue of Logbooks. See also "Tyson, George E.," Connecticut Ship Database.

727 *Glacier.* Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 598–99. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 51, 152. Reeves and Cosens, "Historical Population Characteristics," 287.

728 *Morning Star.* Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 598–99. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 152. Reeves and Cosens, "Historical Population Characteristics," 290. KWM Catalogue of Logbooks, lists the "keeper" as Charles E. Allen. See also "Allen, Charles E.," Connecticut Ship Database.

729 *Black Eagle.* Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 596–97. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 40, 49, 152. Reeves and Cosens, "Historical Population Characteristics," 290. KWM Catalogue of Logbooks, lists the "keeper" as James Fisher.

730 *Ansel Gibbs.* Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 596–97. Martin, "Life and Death at Marble Island," 51. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 44, 151. Reeves and Cosens, "Historical Population Characteristics," 290. KWM Catalogue of Logbooks, lists the "keeper" as Elnathan B. Fisher.

731 *Milwood.* Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 598–99. See also "Allen, Gideon," Connecticut Ship Database.

732 *Cornelia.* Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 600–1. Reeves and Cosens, "Historical Population Characteristics," 287. KWM Catalogue of Logbooks, lists the "keeper" as George N. Bailey. See also "Bailey, George N.," and "Skinner, James T.," Connecticut Ship Database.

733 *Monticello.* Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 602–3. "Helen F.", "Chapell, R. H.," and "Chapell, Richard H.," Connecticut Ship Database.

734 *Helen F.* Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 600–1, lists the master as H.Y. Chapell. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 43. "*Helen F.* (Schooner)," Connecticut Ship Database, indicates this may have been Henry G. Chapel. There appears to be a network of Hudson Bay whalers associated with this schooner.

735 *George and Mary.* Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 600–1. "George & Mary", "Jeffrey, Charles," and "Barns, William H.," Connecticut Ship Database.

736 *Isabel.* Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 600–1. See "Isabel (Schooner)", "Samuel H. King," and "Chapman, Simeon A.," Connecticut Ship Database.

737 *Pioneer.* Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 602–3. See "Morgan, Ebenezer," and "Pioneer (Bark)," Connecticut Ship Database.

738 *Oxford.* Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 600–1. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 152.

739 *Concordia.* Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 602–3. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 43, 51, 152.

740 *Lady Head.* HBCA, C.1/437, Ships' Log, *Lady Head*, 1865; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements. H.M.S. Cotter, "Some Famous H.B.C. Captains and Ships," part I, *The Beaver* 1, no. 7 (April 1921): 4. Cotter, "Company Sailing Ships," 32. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 152. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 225.

741 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/965-968, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert*, 1865–1866; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "McPherson, John," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 225.

742 *Andrews.* Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 602–3. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos,* 151.

743 *Daniel Webster.* Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 602–3.

744 *Milwood.* Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 604–5.

745 *Franklin.* Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 608–9. "Franklin (Schooner)", "Chapell, Richard H.," and "Buddington, Sidney O.," Connecticut Ship Database.

746 *Lady Head.* HBCA, C.1/438-442, Ship's Logs, *Lady Head*,1866–1870; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 152. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 226.

747 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/968-973, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert*, 1866–1868; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "McPherson, John," and "Aitcheson, James," Biographical Sheets, in the latter source the vessel is designated *Prince Regent*, 1866–1873. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 226.

748 *Labrador.* HBCA, C.1/427-429, Ship's Logs, *Labrador*, 1866–1867; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 226.

749 *Ocean Nymph.* HBCA, C.1/617-619, Ships' Log, *Ocean Nymph*, 1866–1867; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Taylor, James," Biographical Sheet. Martin, "Life and Death at Marble Island," 51–52. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 47, 52, 152. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 226.

750 *Ansel Gibbs.* Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 608–9. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos,* 151. Reeves and Cosens, "Historical Population Characteristics," 290. KWM Catalogue of Logbooks, lists the "keeper" as Elnathan B. Fisher.

751 *Black Eagle.* Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 610–11. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 40, 49, 52, 152.

752 *Glacier.* Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 610–11. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 49, 52, 152.

753 *Morning Star.* Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 610–11.

754 *Orray Taft.* Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 610–11. Martin, "Life and Death at Marble Island," 48. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 47, 152. Reeves and Cosens, "Historical Population Characteristics," 290. KWM Catalogue of Logbooks.

755 *Pioneer.* Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 610–11. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 43, reports the vessel as being of New London.

756 *George and Mary.* Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 616–17. "George & Mary", "Newbury, Horace M.," and "Barns, William H.," Connecticut Ship Database.

757 *Cornelia.* Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 616–17. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 40. "Cornelia (Schooner)", "Baker, Lorenzo D.," and "Morgan, Ebenezer," Connecticut Ship Database.

758 *Concordia.* Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 616–17.

759 *Lady Head.* HBCA, C.1/438-442, Ship's Logs, *Lady Head*, 1866–1870; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 152. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 227.

760 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/968-973, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert*, 1866–1868; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Armit, David",

"McPherson, John," and "Aitcheson, James," Biographical Sheets. Isaac Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers: A Narrative of Seven Years in the Service of the Hudson's Bay Company during 1867–1874, On the Great Buffalo Plains with Historical and biographical notes and comment* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1913), 74–75. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 227.

761 *Labrador.* HBCA, C.1/427-429, Ship's Logs, *Labrador*, 1866–1867; C.3/20, Portledge Books C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 227.

762 *Milwood.* Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 618–19. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 152. Reeves and Cosens, "Historical Population Characteristics," 290.

763 *Andrews.* Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 616–17, notes the vessel was "Lost at Harrison's Point, Cumberland Inlet, November 14, 1867." Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 90–91, describes meeting the whaling barque *St. Andrews* in Hudson Strait. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos,* 151. Reeves and Cosens, "Historical Population Characteristics," 290. KWM Catalogue, lists the "keeper" as George D. Nye for three days.

764 *Isabella.* Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 622–23. Reeves and Cosens, "Historical Population Characteristics," 290. See also "Bailey, George N.," and "Isabella (Schooner)," Connecticut Ship Database.

765 *Lady Head.* HBCA, C.1/438-442, Ship's Logs, *Lady Head*, 1866–1870; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements, 1719–1929. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 152. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 229.

766 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/968-973, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert*, 1866–1868; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "McPherson, John," and "Aitcheson, James," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 229.

767 *Labrador.* HBCA, C.1/430-434, Ship's Logs, *Labrador*, 1867–1870; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 229.

768 *Ansel Gibbs.* Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 624–25. Bell, "Navigation." Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 43, 152. Reeves and Cosens, "Historical Population Characteristics," 287. KWM Catalogue of Logbooks, lists the "keeper" as Elnathan B. Fisher. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 230.

769 *Lady Head.* HBCA, C.1/438-442, Ship's Logs, *Lady Head*, 1866–1870; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements, 1719–1929. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 152. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 230–31.

770 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, B.3/20 Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "McPherson, John," and "Aitcheson, James," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 230–31.

771 *Labrador.* HBCA, C.1/430-434, Ship's Logs, *Labrador*, 1867–1870; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; see also "Rennie, John," Biographical Sheet.

772 *Lady Head.* HBCA, C.1/442, Ships' Log, *Lady Head*, 1870; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 152. Cooke

and Holland, *Exploration*, 231.

773 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "McPherson, John," and "Aitcheson, James," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 231.

774 *Ocean Nymph.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 231.

775 *Labrador.* HBCA, C.1/430-434, Ship's Logs, *Labrador*, 1867–1870; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements, has an entry for the vessel but it is not clearly distinguishable from that of the *Ocean Nymph* which it follows. Although Greenland and Rigolet appear to have been visited, there does not seem to be an entry for Ungava; see also "Rennie, John," Biographical Sheet.

776 *Plover.* Cotter, "Company Sailing Ships," 32.

777 *Ansel Gibbs.* Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 636–37. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 152.

778 *S.B. Howes.* Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 638–39, notes the vessel was "Lost in Cumberland Inlet 1873." See "S. B. Howes," and "Gardner, Henry," [of East Lyme, CT.] Connecticut Ship Database.

779 *Lady Head.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "McPherson, John," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 232.

780 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Aitcheson, James," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 232.

781 *Ocean Nymph.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements, has an entry for the vessel but it is not clear that it is for 1871. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 232.

782 *Labrador.* HBCA, C.1/435, Ship's Logs, *Labrador*, 1871; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements, indicates the ship went to Greenland, Rigolet and Montreal this year but may not have entered Hudson Strait; C.7/80, Bill of Lading, S.S. *Labrador*, 28 July 1871; "Gray, Alexander," Biographical Sheet.

783 *Ansel Gibbs.* Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 638–39, notes the ship was lost 19 October 1872 and that "Fifteen of the crew died of scurvy." Martin, "Life and Death at Marble Island," 48–56. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 152. Reeves and Cosens, "Historical Population Characteristics," 290.

784 *Glacier.* Martin, "Life and Death at Marble Island," 53, lists Edwin Potter as 'skipper.' Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 44, 152. Reeves and Cosens, "Historical Population Characteristics," 287.

785 *Lady Head.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Turner (Turnor), Philip," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 233.

786 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "McPherson, John," and "Aitcheson, James," Biographical Sheets. Cotter, "Famous H.B.C. Captains," part I, 2. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 233.

787 *Walrus.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; "Main, Alexander," Biographical Sheet. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 14, notes that the vessel was wrecked at

George Island, Labrador in 1876. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 233.

788 *Labrador.* HBCA, C.1/435-36, Ship's Logs, *Labrador*, 1871–1873; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Gray, Alexander," and "Rennie, John," Biographical Sheets. Cotter, "Famous H.B.C. Captains," part II, 32–33.

789 *Orray Taft.* Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 644–45, notes the vessel was lost 14 September 1872. Martin, "Life and Death at Marble Island," 48–56. Reeves and Cosens, "Historical Population Characteristics," 290. KWM Catalogue of Logbooks, lists the "keeper" as George Joseph Parker.

790 *Abbie Bradford.* Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 642–43. Martin, "Life and Death at Marble Island," 53. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 151.

791 *John Atwood.* Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 644–45, notes the vessel was "formerly a freighter."

792 *Lady Head.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; C.4/2, Arrival of Ships in London, 1820–1891. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 237.

793 *Prince Rupert,* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "McPherson, John," and "Aitcheson, James," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 237.

794 *Labrador.* HBCA, C.1/436, Ship's Logs, *Labrador*, 1873; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Gray, Alexander," and "Rennie, John," Biographical Sheets.

795 *Ocean Nymph.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Aitcheson, James," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 237.

796 *Mink.* HBCA, C.1/463, Ship's Logs, *Mink*, 1874–1878; C.3/20, Portledge Books; "Main, Alexander," and "Taylor, John (A)," Biographical Sheets. Cotter, "Company Sailing Ships," 33, gives the vessel's construction date as 1877, and lists Taylor as 'Tailor.' Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 14, writes that *Mink* was built in 1874. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 152. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 237, list the vessel as crossing to Hudson Bay three years earlier.

797 *Kayoshk.* HBCA, C.1/356-359, Ship's Logs, *Kayosk*, 1874–1879.

798 *Labrador.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Gray, Alexander", "Rennie, John," and "Kean, Robert," Biographical Sheets.

799 *Abbie Bradford.* Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 648–49, notes "First mate and boat's crew lost in the ice September 5, 1874." Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 151. Reeves and Cosens, "Historical Population Characteristics," 290. KWM Catalogue of Logbooks, lists the "keeper" as Joseph A. Mosher.

800 *President.* Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 648–49. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 152.

801 *Lady Head.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Aitcheson, James," Biographical Sheet. Bell, "Navigation." Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 238.

802 *Ocean Nymph.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships'

Movements; "McPherson, John," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 238.

803 *Labrador.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Gray, Alexander", "Rennie, John," and "Kean, Robert," Biographical Sheets.

804 *Ocean Nymph.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "McPherson, John," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 239.

805 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Aitcheson, James," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 239.

806 Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 241.

807 *A. Houghton.* Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 654–55; Reginald B. Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels Sailing from American Ports: A Continuation of Alexander Starbuck's 'History of the American Whale Fishery,' 1876–1928* (New Bedford: Old Dartmouth Historical Society, and Whaling Museum, 1959), 3. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos,* 151. Reeves and Cosens, "Historical Population Characteristics," 290. KWM Catalogue of Logbooks.

808 *Ocean Nymph.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "McPherson, John," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 241.

809 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Aitcheson, James," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 241.

810 Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 242.

811 *A. Horton.* Bell, "Navigation."

812 *A.T. Ross.* Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 5.

813 *Florence.* "Tyson, George E.," Connecticut Ship Database.

814 *Era.* Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay,* 59. Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 6. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 49. "Era (Schooner)", "Miner, Sanford S.", "Havens, Henry P.," and "Williams, C.A.," Connecticut Ship Database.

815 *L.P. Simmons.* Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 6. See also "Buddington, James W.," Connecticut Ship Database.

816 *Nile.* Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay,* 59. Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 6. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 51. See also "Spicer, John O.," Connecticut Ship Database.

817 *Ocean Nymph.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "McPherson, John," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 243.

818 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Aitcheson, James," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 243.

819 *Labrador.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements.

820 *Eöthen.* William H. Gilder, *Schwatka's Search: Sledging in the Arctic in Quest of*

the Franklin Records, produced by Charles Aldarondo, Charles Franks *et al*, Project Gutenburg EBook #6594, ed. 10, 2004 <http://gutenburg.net> Chapter I, paragraphs 1–2. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 243.

821 *A.J. Ross.* Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 6. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos,* 151. Reeves and Cosens, "Historical Population Characteristics," 290. KWM Catalogue of Logbooks.

822 *Abbie Bradford.* Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 6. Bell, "Navigation." C.G.L.B., review of *Arctic Harpooner: A Voyage on the Schooner Abbie Bradford, 1878–1879*, by Robert Ferguson, ed. Leslie Dalyrymple Stair, *The Geographical Journal* 91, no 5 (May, 1938): 486–87. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 52, 151. Reeves and Cosens, "Historical Population Characteristics," 287. KWM Catalogue of Logbooks, lists the "keeper" as E.B. Fisher.

823 *Abbot Lawrence.* Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 6. Reeves and Cosens, "Historical Population Characteristics," 290.

824 *Franklin.* Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 7. KWM Catalogue of Logbooks. See also "Church, Erastus," Connecticut Ship Database.

825 *Isabella.* Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 7. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 152.

826 *Soowoomba*. Ross, Whaling and Eskimos, 93.

827 *Ocean Nymph.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "McPherson, John," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 244.

828 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Aitcheson, James," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 244.

829 *Labrador.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements.

830 *Era.* Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay,* 59. Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 9. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 43. "Era (Schooner)", "Spicer, John O.," and "Williams, C.A.," Connecticut Ship Database. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 244.

831 *George and Mary.* Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 8. Bell, "Navigation." Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 152. Reeves and Cosens, "Historical Population Characteristics," 290. KWM Catalogue of Logbooks. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 243.

832 *Ocean Nymph.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "McPherson, John," Biographical Sheet. Bell, "Navigation." Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 244.

833 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 244.

834 *Diana.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements, has an entry for the vessel, but no data; Ships Records Finding Aid, describes the *Diana* as a screw steamer, full-rigged and three masted, with an iron frame, planked, built by Stephens & Sons of Glasgow, bought and refitted with a new boiler by the HBC in 1869.

835 *Labrador.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements.

836 *Abbie Bradford.* Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 9. Ross, *Whaling and*

Eskimos, 151. Reeves and Cosens, "Historical Population Characteristics," 290. KWM Catalogue of Logbooks.

837 *Abbot Lawrence.* Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 9, notes the vessel was probably on a sealing voyage and was condemned in Newfoundland. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 151. Reeves and Cosens, "Historical Population Characteristics," 290. KWM Catalogue of Logbooks, dates the voyage as 1880–1881.

838 *Isabella.* Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 10. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 152. Reeves and Cosens, "Historical Population Characteristics," 290. KWM Catalogue of Logbooks, lists the "keeper" as Philip H. Cook.

839 *Delia Hodgkiss.* Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay,* 60.

840 *Ocean Nymph.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.41, Book of Ships' Movements, 1719–1929; "McPherson, John," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 245.

841 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Aitcheson, James," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 245.

842 *Diana.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; Ships Records Finding Aid.

843 *Labrador.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements.

844 *George and Mary.* Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 11. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 152. Reeves and Cosens, "Historical Population Characteristics," 290.

845 *Ellen Rodman.* Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 11.

846 *Roswell King.* Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 13.

847 *Delia Hodgkins.* Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 13. "Delia Hodgkins (Schooner)," and "Miner, Sanford S.," Connecticut Ship Database.

848 *Ocean Nymph.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 246.

849 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Aitcheson, James," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 246.

850 *Diana.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Ships Records Finding Aid; "Lovegrove, George Frederick," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 246.

851 *Labrador.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Gray, Alexander," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 246.

852 *Isabella.* Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 13. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 152. Reeves and Cosens, "Historical Population Characteristics," 290. KWM Catalogue of Logbooks, lists the "keeper" as John C. Freeman.

853 *Abbie Bradford.* Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 13. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 151. Reeves and Cosens, "Historical Population Characteristics," 287. KWM Catalogue of Logbooks.

854 *Ocean Nymph.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; C.4/2, Arrival of Ships in London; *Prince Rupert.* Cotter, "Famous H.B.C. Captains," part I, 4. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 249–50.

855 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; C.4/2, Arrival of Ships in London; "Barnes, George," and "Aitcheson,

James," Biographical Sheets. Cotter, "Famous H.B.C. Captains," Part I, 3–4. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 249–50.

856 *Labrador.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; C.4/2, Arrival of Ships in London. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 249–50.

857 *Diana.* HBCA, C.4/2, Arrival of Ships in London. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 249–50.

858 *George and Mary.* Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 14. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 152. Reeves and Cosens, "Historical Population Characteristics," 290.

859 *Prince of Wales.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; C.4/2, Arrival of Ships in London; "Barnes, George," and "Aitcheson, James," Biographical Sheets. Cotter, "Famous H.B.C. Captains," part I, 4. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 252.

860 *Cam Owen.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; C.4/2, Arrival of Ships in London; Ships Records Finding Aid, notes the vessel was built in Prince Edward Island, 1884 by William Walsh, sold to the HBC for £2,800 and wrecked in a heavy gale in 1886; "Main, Alexander," and "Lovegrove, George Frederick," Biographical Sheets. H.M.S Cotter, "The Great Labrador Gale, 1885," *The Beaver* 12, no. 2 (September 1932): 83, notes that in 1885 the *Cam Owen* "got a tidy dusting [of wind] crossing Davis straits, but subsequently arrived home safely." Atlantic Canada Shipping Project [ACSP], *Ships and Seafarers of Atlantic Canada.* CD, 1998, Vessel Registry, "Cam Owen," Official Number 085792, indicates the singled decked, two masted brig was built by John McDougall in Dundas, Prince Edward Island, 1883, for merchant William Welsh of Charlottetown and sold in London, 1884. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 252.

861 *Labrador.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; C.4/2, Ship Arrivals in London; "Kean, Robert," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 252.

862 *Diana.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/2, Ship Arrivals in London. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 252.

863 *Neptune.* Canadian Senate, *The Senate of Canada Report of the Special Committee Appointed to Report on the Navigability and Fishery Resources of Hudson Bay and Strait* (Ottawa: Thomas Mulvey, 1920), 55. Howard A. Fleming, *Canada's Arctic Outlet: A History of the Hudson Bay Railway* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1957), 24. Thomas E. Appleton, "*Usque Ad Mare*: A History of the Canadian Coast Guard and Marine Services," Fisheries and Oceans Canada, Canadian Coast Guard <http://www.ccg-gcc.gc.ca/usque-ad-mare/chapter04-04e.htm> (accessed 4 April 2007). Naboth Winsor, *Stalwart Men and Sturdy Ships: A History of the Seal Fishery by the Sealers of Bonavista Bay North, Newfoundland* (Gander NL: Oral History Job Development Project, 1986), 55. "Neptune," ACSP, Vessel Registry, Official Number 066753, indicates the double decked, three masted steam/sail sealer was constructed at Dundee for the Avalon Steam Ship Company in 1873; owned from 1885–1888 by merchant Stephen Rendell; acquired again c.1885/1888 by Avalon; and lost at sea in 1943. See also Maritime History Archive, "Job Family Fonds, 1818–1964," Holdings and

Collections, Finding Aid, indexed at <http://www.mun.ca/mha/holdings/findingaids/job.php> (accessed 17 May 2007), 6.31–6.37, 6.50, 1888–1907, which lists the Avalon Steamship Company and *Neptune*. Friends of Hydrography, "People", "Lieutenant Andrew R. Gordon, R.N.," Canadian Hydrographic Association <http:www.canfoh.org/> (accessed 22 May 2007). Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 252.

864 *Abbie Bradford.* Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 16. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 151. Reeves and Cosens, "Historical Population Characteristics," 290. KWM Catalogue of Logbooks.

865 *Isabella.* Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay,* 60. Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 16.

866 *Era.* Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay,* 60, 62, 67, suggests the voyage began in 1885 and wintered to 1886, but may be referring to spring of the second year of a wintering voyage. "Clisby, Timothy F.," and "Era (Schooner)," Connecticut Ship Database, lists Clisby as master of the *Era* from 1884–1887.

867 *Cam Owen.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; C.4/2, Ship Arrivals in London. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 254.

868 *Labrador.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Kean, Robert," Biographical Sheet. Cotter, "Great Labrador Gale," 83. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 254.

869 *Diana.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/2, Ship Arrivals in London; Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 254.

870 *Princess Royal.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements, has two entries for the vessel, the first inserted in entries for 1885 with no data, the second with complete details for 1885 but appearing with vessels of 1887; "Bradburn, Henry," Biographical Sheet. Cotter, "Great Labrador Gale,"83–84. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 254.

871 *Fox.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; Ships Records Finding Aid.

872 *Alert.* Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay,* 63. Fleming, *Canada's Arctic Outlet*, 24; Appleton, "*Usque Ad Mare*." Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 254.

873 *Wave.* Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 18, puts a vessel and captain of the same name, in the Pacific for this year. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 153, puts her in Hudson Bay. Reeves and Cosens, "Historical Population Characteristics," 287, agree with Ross. KWM Catalogue of Logbooks, lists the "keeper" as Edmund F. Kelly.

874 *George and Mary.* Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 18. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 52, 152. Reeves and Cosens, "Historical Population Characteristics," 290. KWM Catalogue of Logbooks.

875. *Alert.* "The Alert in Hudson Bay," *The New York Times* (31 May 1885), 6. Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay,* 74, describes a small brig of the same name which annually ran supplies from Aberdeen to at least 1897.

876 *Arctic.* Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay,* 63–64. Malcolm Archibald, "The Worst of People: Greenland in Fact and Fiction," 2005 <http://

www.textualities.net/writers/features-a-g/archibaldm01.php> (accessed 28 October 2007), claims the *Esquimaux* from Dundee also overwintered in Hudson Bay this year "and a number of Inuit women moved in."

877 *Cam Owen.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; C.4/2, Ships Arrivals in London; "Lovegrove, George Frederick," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 255.

878 *Titania.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books.

879 *Labrador.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; C.4/2, Ship Arrivals in London; "Kean, Robert," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 255.

880 *Diana.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; C.4/2, Ship Arrivals in London. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 255.

881 *Lady Head.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; C.4/2, Ship Arrivals in London; Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 255, identify the ship as the *Lady Head* [II].

882 *Alert.* A.H. Markham, "Hudson's Bay and Hudson's Strait as a Navigable Channel," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography,* n.s., 10, no. 9 (September 1888): 549. Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay*, 3, 79. Fleming, *Canada's Arctic Outlet*, 24. Appleton, "*Usque Ad Mare.*" Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 255–56.

883 *Alexander.* Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 19. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos,* 52, 151. Reeves and Cosens, "Historical Population Characteristics," 290. KWM Catalogue of Logbooks, lists the "keeper" as John C. Freeman.

884 *Abbie Bradford.* Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 19, notes the vessel was condemned in Brazil in 1888. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 151. Reeves and Cosens, "Historical Population Characteristics," 287. KWM Catalogue of Logbooks, lists William H. Morton, Thomas B. Macomber, and G.B. Borden as "keeper."

885 *Palmetto.* Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 19.

886 *Active.* Norman Watson, *The Dundee Whalers* (East Linton, Scotland: Tuckwell Press, 2003), 92.

887 *Labrador.* HBCA. C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; C.4/2, Ship Arrivals in London. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 257.

888 *Diana.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; C.4/2, Ship Arrivals in London; "Lovegrove, George Frederick," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 257.

889 *Lady Head.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; C.4/2, Ship Arrivals. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 257.

890 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; C.4/2, Ship Arrivals in London. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 257.

891 *Flora.* HBCA, Search File, Ships.

892 *Francis Allyn.* "Fuller, Joseph J.", "Francis Allyn," and "Foote, Mary M.," Connecticut Ship Database.

893 *Wave.* Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 21, notes the vessel was condemned at St. Helena.

894 *Arctic.* Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 43, 152.

895 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; C.4/2, Ship Arrivals in London. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 260.

896 *Lady Head.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; C.4/2, Ship Arrivals in London.

897 *Erik.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; C.4/2, Ship Arrivals in London. Cotter, "Company Sailing Ships," 32. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 17. G.A. Cuthbertson, "The 'Erik's' Saga," *The Beaver* 16, no. 1 (June 1936): 52–55, notes the whaler was built at Dundee in 1865, and sold to the HBC in 1882, asserting that the vessel "in the same year steamed into Hudson Bay." *Erik* is described as sold to Messrs. James Baird Company Limited, St. John's Newfoundland, for use in the seal fishery in 1902. In 1918 her captain and crew were captured by German "groszer" U-156. Winsor, *Stalwart Men and Sturdy Ships*, 41, notes *Erik* sank "70 miles North-West by West from Gallantry Head Light, St. Pierre, Miquelon." ACSP, Vessel Registry, "Erik," Official Number 052665, indicates she was owned by merchant William C. Job of St. John's, Newfoundland, from 1901–1909, followed by the Erik Steamship Company Limited, St. John's Newfoundland to 1918. Coutts, "Buried on the Bay," 325. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 260.

898 *Era.* Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 23. See also "Spicer, John O.," and "Era (Schooner)," Connecticut Ship Database.

899 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; C.4/2, Ship Arrivals in London. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 261.

900 *Lady Head.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books, indicates that the *Lady Head* was bound for Moose Factory; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements, indicates she went to Victoria; C.4/2, Ship Arrivals in London, lists Moose as the destination. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 261.

901 *Erik.* HBCA C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; C.4/2, Ship Arrivals in London. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 261.

902 *Prince Rupert.* HBCA, C.1/974, Ship's Logs, *Prince Rupert*, 1890–1891; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; C.4/2, Ship Arrivals in London. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 263.

903 *Lady Head.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books, indicates that the *Lady Head* sailed to Moose Factory; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements, indicates she sailed to Victoria; C.4/2, Ship Arrivals in London, also lists Moose. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 263.

904 *Erik.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/2, Ship Arrivals in London; "Kean, Robert," and "Mitchell, Alfred Alexander," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 263.

905 *Titania.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books indicates the *Titania* sailed to Victoria Island, British Columbia; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements, details dates on which the vessel apparently visited York, Charlton Island, and Moose River. Likewise these records show her as having been simultaneously at Moose and Victoria in 1991. See also Cotter, "Company Sailing Ships," 32. Cameron, "Ships of Three

Centuries," 16.

906 *Antarctic.* Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 25, notes the vessel was condemned in 1892. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 152. Reeves and Cosens, "Historical Population Characteristics," 290. KWM Catalogue of Logbooks, lists the "keeper" as S.S. Miner.

907 *Lady Head.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books indicates the *Lady Head* sailed to Moose Factory; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements, details dates she rounded the Horn, arrived at, and then left Victoria, and arrived home. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 263.

908 *Erik.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; "Gray, Alexander", "Mitchell, Alfred Alexander," and "Kean, Robert," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 263.

909 *Perseverance.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Murray, John William," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 263.

910 *A.R. Tucker.* Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 26. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 152. Reeves and Cosens, "Historical Population Characteristics," 290.

911 *Lady Head.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements, appears to have an entry but is virtually illegible. Cotter, "Company Sailing Ships," 33. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 264.

912 *Erik.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements, has an entry that is barely legible; "Gray, Alexander", "Mitchell, Alfred Alexander," and "Kean, Robert," Biographical Sheets. Cotter, "Famous H.B.C. Captains," part II, 32. Cotter, "Company Sailing Ships," 33. Warner, "Voyaging to York Factory," 21, 23. Coutts, "Buried on the Bay," 325, 329, 330. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 264.

913 *Princess.* HBCA, C.1/974, Ship's Logs, *Princess*, August 1895. Coutts, "Buried on the Bay," 325, 327–32. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 264.

914 *Perseverance.* HBCA, C.1/664–666, Ship's Logs, *Perseverance*, 1892–1897; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements, may have an entry, but it is virtually illegible; "Murray Alexander," and "Murray. John William," Biographical Sheets. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 152. Coutts, "Buried on the Bay," 330.

915 *Era.* Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 28. See also "Spicer, John O.," and "Era (Schooner)," Connecticut Ship Database.

916 *Lady Head.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 267.

917 *Erik.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements, the entry is barely legible; "Gray, Alexander", "Mitchell, Alfred Alexander," and "Kean, Robert," biographical sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 267.

918 Charles H.M. Gordon, "Sailing the Hoodoo Ship on Hudson Bay," *The Beaver* 4, no. 1 (October 1923): 8–12.

919 *Canton.* Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 29. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 152.

920 *A.R. Tucker.* Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 29. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 152. Reeves and Cosens, "Historical Population Characteristics," 290.

921 *Lady Head.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements.

Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 268.

922 *Erik.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Gray, Alexander", "Mitchell, Alfred Alexander," and "Kean, Robert," Biographical Sheets. H.M.S. Cotter, "Famous H.B.C. Captains and Ships," part III, *The Beaver* 1, no. 10 (July 1921): 23–24. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 268.

923 *Perseverance.* HBCA, C.1/664-666, Ship's Logs, *Perseverance*, 1892–1897; "Murray, Alexander," and "Murray, John William," Biographical Sheets. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 51, 152.

924 *Lady Head.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 272.

925 *Erik.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Gray, Alexander", "Murray, John William", "Mitchell, Alfred Alexander," and "Kean, Robert," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 272.

926 *Laperouse.* Coutts, "Buried on the Bay," 324.

927 *Era.* Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 31. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 152. Reeves and Cosens, "Historical Population Characteristics," 287. KWM Catalogue of Logbooks. "Era" and "Comer. George," Connecticut Ship Database. Dorothy Harley Eber, "Meliki (Melichi; originally named Aussar)," DCB. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 314.

928 *A.R. Tucker.* Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 31. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 52, 152. Reeves and Cosens, "Historical Population Characteristics," 290.

929 *Canton.* Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 31. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 49, 152. Reeves and Cosens, "Historical Population Characteristics," 287. KWM Catalogue of Logbooks.

930 *Lady Head.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 272.

931 *Erik.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Gray, Alexander", "Lovegrove, George Frederick", "Murray, John William", "Mitchell, Alfred Alexander," and "Kean, Robert," Biographical Sheets. Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay,* 66, designates the vessel "*Eric.*" Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 272.

932 *Desdemona.* Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay,* 56. Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 32.

933 *Platina.* Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay,* 54, 66. Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 32. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 44, 152. Reeves and Cosens, "Historical Population Characteristics," 287.

934 *Lady Head.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 273.

935 *Erik.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Gray, Alexander", "Lovegrove, George Frederick", "Mitchell, Alfred Alexander," and "Kean, Robert," Biographical Sheets. Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay,* 23, 28, 42. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 273.

936 *Perseverance.* HBCA, C.1/664-666, Ship's Logs, *Perseverance*, 1892–1897. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 152.

937 *Era.* Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 32. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 49, 51–52, 152. Reeves and Cosens, "Historical Population Characteristics," 290. KWM Catalogue of Logbooks. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 314.

938 *Francis Allyn.* Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 32. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 152.

939 *A.R. Tucker.* Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 32. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 152. Reeves and Cosens, "Historical Population Characteristics," 290.

940 *Diana.* Canadian Senate, *Report on the Navigability and Fishery*, 13–14, 51. Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay,* 3, 4, 18–19, notes that the vessel, owned by Job Brothers, Newfoundland, was originally built 1879, and rebuilt 1892. Winsor, *Stalwart Men and Sturdy Ships*, 37, notes it was originally known as *Hector*. ACSP, Vessel Registry, "Hector," and "Diana," Official Number 059082. Appleton, "*Usque Ad Mare*." Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 274.

941 *Allé.* Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay,* 18–19, 27–28, 40, indicates there were two yachts, one handled by Albert Peter Low and the other by Robert Bell. A steam launch carried on deck is mentioned as well. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 274, name only Low's yacht.

942 Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay,* 35, 41, 43, refers to Bell's yacht.

943 *Nimrod.* Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay*, 24, 42; and 4, 22, 28, 62, 76, indicates unknown numbers of Newfoundland fishermen frequented the "great cod fishing resources," situated off Port Burwell, the Button Islands, and Sir Terence O'Brien's Harbour, Cape Chidley. See also John J. Evans, ed., "Brief Sketch of Captain George Barbour," *Newfoundland Quarterly* 14, no. 1 (July 1914): 34. Insufficient detail is supplied for vessel identification in Wakeham's report. Winsor, *Stalwart Men and Sturdy Ships*, 57, supplies one possible, though not certain, match for the vessel. ACSP, Vessel Registry, "Nimrod," Official Number 055047, describes the steam/sail vessel noted in Winsor as owned by Thomas R. Job and William Grosfield, operating out of Liverpool. The schooners, Official Number 101333 owned by merchant Edwin Duder of St. John's, and 071946, owned by merchant Robert Stewart of Harbour Grace, Conception Bay, also qualify as potential matches.

944 *Lady Head.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Freakley, Norman Edward," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 278.

945 *Erik.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Gray, Alexander", "Lovegrove, George Frederick", "Mitchell, Alfred Alexander," and "Kean, Robert," Biographical Sheets. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 278, 280.

946 *Esquimaux.* Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay,* 74, mentions this vessel as whaling in 1897, although it is not clear when she had arrived.

947 T. H. Manning, "Explorations on the East Coast of Hudson Bay," *Geographical Journal* 109, no. 1/3 (January–March 1947): 62. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 280.

948 *Lady Head.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements;

"Freakley, Norman Edward," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 285.

949 *Erik.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Gray, Alexander", "Lovegrove, George Frederick", "Mitchell, Alfred Alexander," and "Kean, Robert," Biographical Sheets. Warner, "Voyaging to York Factory," 22. Coutts, "Buried on the Bay," 331. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 285.

950 *Francis Allyn.* Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 34. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 52, 152.

951 *Polar Star.* Watson, *Dundee Whalers*, 143. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 152.

952 *Active.* Watson, *Dundee Whalers*, 92, 143. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 151. See also Manning, "Explorations on the East Coast of Hudson Bay," 61.

953 *Lady Head.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Freakley, Norman Edward," and "Smith, Arthur Cleveland," Biographical Sheets. Cotter, "Famous H.B.C. Captains," part I, 4. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 286.

954 *Erik.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Gray, Alexander", "Mitchell, Alfred Alexander", "Lovegrove, George Frederick," and "Kean, Robert," Biographical Sheets. Warner, "Voyaging to York Factory," 21, notes the vessel grounded off Cape Tatnam this year, was sold on its return, and in 1918 was sunk by a German submarine. Cotter, "Company Sailing Ships," 32, notes it was sold in 1902 to "Newfoundland seal fishery interests." Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 17, adds that the submarine that sank her "did not survive either." Coutts, "Buried on the Bay," 325, names James A. Farquhar Ltd. as its purchasers in 1901. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 286.

955 *Perseverance.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books.

956 *Sir John.* Coutts, "Buried on the Bay," 323–24.

957 *Era.* Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 35, notes Comer returned with musk ox, bear, fox, wolf, and wolverine pelts. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 43–44, 52, 152. Reeves and Cosens, "Historical Population Characteristics," 287. KWM Catalogue of Logbooks, lists the "keeper" as Ben F. Sparks. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 314.

958 *Active.* Watson, *Dundee Whalers*, 144. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 44, 151.

959 *Lady Head.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Freakley, Norman Edward," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 289.

960 *Pelican.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Gray, Alexander", "Lovegrove, George Frederick", "Mitchell, Alfred Alexander," and "Kean, Robert," Biographical Sheets. Cotter, "Company Sailing Ships," 33. Cotter, "Famous H.B.C. Captains," part I, 3. Cotter, "Famous H.B.C. Captains," part II, 32. Edmund Mack, "H.B. SS. 'Pelican' Ends Historic Career," *The Beaver* 2, no. 5 (February 1922): 13–15, notes the 'composite screw steamer' was launched in 1877, purchased by the HBC in 1900, and broken up at St. John's, Newfoundland in 1920. "S.S. Pelican," *The Beaver* 9, no. 1 (June 1929): 215, avers she was purchased 1901, sold for breaking up in Sydney, Nova Scotia, 1921. Coutts, "Buried on the Bay," 325. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 289.

961 *Strathcona.* Coutts, "Buried in the Bay," 323.

962 *Algerine.* "'Bob' Bartlett Back to the Arctic to Hunt Big Game: Peary's Skipper, Tired of Civilization, Is Taking an Expedition to a Sportsman's Paradise in the Polar Regions," *New York Times* (14 May 1911), SM11. "Robert Abram 'Bob' Bartlett," Dartmouth College Library, Finding Aids Index for the Rauner Special Collections Library <http://ead.dartmouth.edu/html/stem193.html> (accessed 3 November 2007).

963 *Francis Allyn.* Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 35. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 47.

964 *Active.* J.F. Tocher, "Note on some Measurements of Eskimo of Southampton Island," *Man* 2 (1903): 165. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 151.

965 *Lady Head.* HBCA, C.1/443, Ships' Log, *Lady Head*, 1902; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Freakley, Norman Edward," Biographical Sheet. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 152. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 292.

966 *Pelican.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Gray, Alexander", "Lovegrove, George Frederick," and "Kean, Robert," Biographical Sheets. "S.S. Pelican," *The Beaver*, 215. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 292.

967 *Inenew.* HBCA, C.1/353–354, Ship's Logs, *Inenew*, 1902–1903. J.L. Gaudet, "What Happened at Moose Factory During Summer and Fall, 1920," *The Beaver* 1, no. 4 (January 1921): 20. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 341.

968 *Active.* Watson, *Dundee Whalers*, 101. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 151.

969 *Lady Head.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Freakley, Norman Edward," Biographical Sheet. Cotter, "Company Sailing Ships," 32. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 294.

970 *Pelican.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Gray, Alexander", "Lovegrove, George Frederick", "Smith, Arthur Cleveland," and "Kean, Robert," Biographical Sheets. "S.S. Pelican," *The Beaver*, 215. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 294.

971 *Eldorado.* William C. Jones, *A Fur Trader's Photographs: A.A. Chesterfield in the District of Ungava, 1901–4* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985), 88–89. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 294.

972 *Stord.* Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 297

973 *Neptune.* W. Gillies Ross, "Canadian Sovereignty in the Arctic: The *Neptune* Expedition of 1903–1904," *Arctic* 29, no. 2 (June 1976): 87–104, notes the vessel was "a Newfoundland sealer … wooden-hulled but strengthened for ice navigation, schooner rigged with auxiliary power." Kenn Haycock, and Peter Attrell, "Royal Canadian Mounted Police Marine Service Historical Review," Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Canada, 7 June 2007 <http://members.shaw.ca/rcmpwcmd/Historical_Data.pdf> (accessed: 27 May 2007), 4. "Trailblazer: Albert Peter Low, 1861–1942," Natural Resources Canada, 21 July 2007 <http://www.nrcan.gc.ca/com/deptmini/traipion/albertpeterlow-eng.php> (accessed 31 October 2007). Martin, "Life and Death at Marble Island," 49. Appleton, "*Usque Ad Mare.*" See

also Robert A. Bartlett, "Peary's Extended Exploration of Arctic Lands Culminating in the Attainment of the North Pole," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 82, no. 5 (29 June 1940): 935. Obituary, "Samuel W. Bartlett," *Geographical Journal* 48, no. 5 (November 1916): 436. Obituary, "Samuel W. Bartlett," *Geographical Review* 2, no. 5 (November 1916): 383. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 295–297, 300–301.

974 *Era.* Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 36. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 152; "Canadian Sovereignty," 91–94; and "The Annual Catch of Greenland (Bowhead) Whales in Waters North of Canada 1719–1915: A Preliminary Compilation," *Arctic* 32, no. 2 (June 1979): 108. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 296, 314.

975 *Eclipse.* Ross, "Annual Catch of Greenland (Bowhead) Whales," 107; see also "Canadian Sovereignty," 96.

976 *Ernest William.* Watson, *Dundee Whalers*, 60, 92, 101, 102, suggests that John Murray was master aboard the *Active* in 1903, but transferred to the *Ernest William* to winter. Ross, "Canadian Sovereignty," 96. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 295.

977 *Active.* Watson, *Dundee Whalers*, 60, 92, 101. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 151; and "Canadian Sovereignty," 96.

978 *Stork.* HBCA, C.1/1056–1059, Ship's Logs, *Stork*, 1904–1908; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements, lists John G. Ford as master. Canadian Senate, *Report on the Navigability and Fishery*, 36. Cotter, "Famous H.B.C. Captains," part II, 32, lists Norman Freakley as captain. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 301–2.

979 *Pelican.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Gray, Alexander," "Lovegrove, George Frederick," and "Smith, Arthur Cleveland," Biographical Sheets. "S.S. Pelican," *The Beaver*, 215. David Learmonth, "To Labrador by Sail," *The Beaver* 78, no. 92 (April/May 1998): 35–38. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 301–2.

980 *Dr. A. Milne.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Coutts, "Buried on the Bay," 323.

981 Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 297, note that after 1903 the Revillon Frères For Company acquired "three more ships … *Violet*, *Adventure*, and a smaller steamer" to service their posts on Hudson Bay.

982 *Arctic.* Canadian Senate, *Report on the Navigability and Fishery*, 39. Richard Finnie, "Farewell Voyages: Bernier and the 'Arctic'," *The Beaver* 54, no. 1 (summer 1974): 45, describes the vessel as "a barquentine, a three-masted, top-sail wooden vessel with her foremast square-rigged." Haycock and Attrell, "Royal Canadian Mounted Police," 4. Appleton, "*Usque Ad Mare*." Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 297, 302.

983 *Erik.* Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 296.

984 *Active.* Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 151.

985 *Queen Bess.* Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 153; see also "Canadian Sovereignty," 96.

986 *Discovery.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Ships Records Finding Aid; "Gray, Alexander," and "Smith, Arthur Cleveland," Biographical Sheets. Cotter, "Famous H.B.C. Captains," part II, 32; and "Company

Sailing Ships," 33. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 17–18, identifies the vessel as the steamer commonly known as 'Scott's *Discovery*' and kept at a permanent mooring in King's Reach on the Thames as a tourist attraction. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 302.

987 *Pelican.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Lovegrove, George Frederick," Biographical Sheet. "S.S. Pelican," *The Beaver*, 215. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 302, 304.

988 *D.C. McTavish.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Coutts, "Buried on the Bay," 323.

989 *Black Prince.* HBCA, Search File, Ships. Coutts, "Buried on the Bay," 323.

990 Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 304.

991 *Neptune.* Obituary, "Samuel W. Bartlett," *Geographical Journal*, 436. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 305–6.

992 *Arlette.* Canadian Senate, *Report on the Navigability and Fishery*, 58.

993 Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 305.

994 *Active.* Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 43, 151.

995 *Queen Bess.* Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 153.

996 *Discovery.* HBCA, C.1/267-280, Ship's Logs, *Discovery*, 1906–1919; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Ships Records Finding Aid; "Lovegrove, George Frederick," Biographical Sheet. Cotter, "Company Sailing Ships," 33, notes the vessel was "seriously nipped in the ice" this year. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 152. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 306–7.

997 *Stork.* HBCA, C.1/1056–1059, Ship's Logs, *Stork*, 1904–1908; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Freakley, Norman Edward," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 306–7.

998 *Pelican.* HBCA, C.1/627–631, Ship's Logs, *Pelican*, 1906–1913; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Gray, Alexander", "Smith, Arthur Cleveland", and "Shanks, John Muir," Biographical Sheets. "S.S. Pelican," *The Beaver*, 215. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 152. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 306–7.

999 *Erik.* HBCA, Search File, Ships.

1000 *Harmony.* Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 308.

1001 *Adventure.* Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 307.

1002 *McTavish.* Haycock and Attrell, "Royal Canadian Mounted Police," 4, 12.

1003 *Rouville.* Haycock and Attrell, "Royal Canadian Mounted Police," 4, 12.

1004 *Jeannie.* Haycock and Attrell, "Royal Canadian Mounted Police," 12.

1005 *Era.* Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 39. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 52. See Canadian Senate, *Report on the Navigability and Fishery*, 40, for alternate spelling 'Comber.'

1006 *Active.* Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 151.

1007 *Queen Bess.* Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 153.

1008 *Ernest William.* Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 151.

1009 *Discovery.* HBCA, C.1/267-280, Ship's Logs, *Discovery*, 1906–1919; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements, 1719–1929; Ships Records Finding Aid; "Lovegrove, George Frederick," Biographical Sheet. Ross, *Whaling*

and Eskimos, 152. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 311.

1010 *Stork.* HBCA, C.1/1056-1059, Ship's Logs, *Stork*, 1904–1908; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Freakley, Norman Edward," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 311.

1011 *Pelican.* HBCA, C.1/627-631, Ship's Logs, *Pelican*, 1906–1913; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Gray, Alexander", "Smith, Arthur Cleveland," and "Shanks, John Muir," Biographical Sheets. "S.S. Pelican," *The Beaver*, 215. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 152. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 311.

1012 *Pelican.* HBCA, Search File, Ships.

1013 HBCA, "Smellie, Thomas Farrar," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 311.

1014 *Erik.* Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 311.

1015 *A.T. Gifford.* Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 39. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 152. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 314.

1016 *Active.* Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 151.

1017 *Discovery.* HBCA, C.1/267-280, Ship's Logs, *Discovery*, 1906–1919; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Ships Records Finding Aid; "Lovegrove, George Frederick," Biographical Sheet. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 152. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 314–15.

1018 *Stork.* HBCA, C.1/1059, Ships' Log, *Stork*, 1908; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Freakley, Norman Edward," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 314–15.

1019 *Pelican.* HBCA, C.1/627–631, Ship's Logs, *Pelican*, 1906–1913; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Gray, Alexander", "Smith, Arthur Cleveland," and "Shanks, John Muir," Biographical Sheets. "S.S. Pelican," *The Beaver*, 215. Cotter, "Famous H.B.C. Captains," part 3, 23. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 314–15.

1020 *Erik.* "News From Peary's Ship.; Captain of the Erik Writes That Fog Delayed Arctic Explorer," *The New York Times* (9 Oct. 1908), 1. Obituary, "Samuel W. Bartlett," *Geographical Journal*, 436. Obituary, "Samuel W. Bartlett," *Geographical Review*, 383. Robert E. Peary, R.A. Harris, "Peary Arctic Club Expedition to the North Pole, 1908–9," *Geographical Journal* 36, no. 2 (August 1910): 129, 130; see also George Nares, R.F. Scott, R.E. Peary, R.A. Bartlett, "Peary Arctic Club Expedition to the North Pole, 1908–9: Discussion," 144–48.

1021 *Arctic.* Finnie, "Farewell Voyages," 45. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 316.

1022 *MacTavish.* Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 316–17.

1023 *Active.* Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 151.

1024 *Snowdrop.* Watson, *Dundee Whalers*, 125, 127–28, 146. "Starving Eskimo Eats Child; Others of Tribe Attack Him, but He Escapes to Wilderness," *New York Times* (4 October 1909), 20, dateline St. John's Newfoundland, 3 Oct, asserts that the *Snowdrop* was accompanied by the *Paradox* which was likewise lost in the ice and that the latter's crew was picked up by the *Pelican,* taken to Churchill, and were then returned to St. John's aboard the *Adventure* "on her regular Fall trip."

1025 *Queen Bess.* Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 153.

1026 *Discovery.* HBCA, C.1/267-280, Ship's Logs, *Discovery*, 1906–1919; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Ships Records Finding Aid; "Lovegrove, George Frederick," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 319.

1027 *Pelican.* HBCA, C.1/627-631, Ship's Logs, *Pelican*, 1906–1913; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Smith, Arthur Cleveland," and "Shanks, John Muir," Biographical Sheets. "S.S. Pelican," *The Beaver*, 215. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 320.

1028 *Adventure.* Musée McCord, photo, "Hudson Bay Co. and Revillon Freres pilots aboard steamer 'S.S. Adventure,' Fort Chimo (Kuujjuaq), Ungava Bay, 1909," <http://www.mccord-museum.qc.ca/scripts/viewobject.php?Lang=1&section=false&accessnumber=M2000.113.6.222&imageID=233341&pageMulti=1> (accessed 7 July 2007), assumes this as an HBC vessel, but also mentions Harvey and Company; see also "Arctic Adventures – Hugh Peck," same site <http://www.mccord-museum.qc.ca/scripts/viewobject.php?section=18&Lang=1&tourID=GE_P3_5_EN&seqNumber=21> (accessed 7 July 2007), which clearly identifies this as a Revillon Frères steamer, naming the captains. J.K. Hiller. "The 20th Century Seal Fishery," Society, Economy and Culture, Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage website <http://www.heritage.nf.ca/society/20th_seal.html> (accessed 7 July 2007), notes that Harvey and Company of St. John's, Newfoundland purchased the *Adventure* in 1905.

1029 Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 321.

1030 *Lorna Doone.* Kenn Harper, "Taissumani: A Day in Arctic History Dec. 21, 1913 – Church at Lake Harbour Opens," *Nunatsiaq News,* 15 Dec. 2006 <http://www.nunatsiaq.com/archives/61222/opinionEditorial/columns.html> (accessed 27 October 2007). Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 321–22.

1031 *Active.* Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 151.

1032 *Discovery.* HBCA, C.1/267-280, Ship's Logs, *Discovery*, 1906–1919; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Ships Records Finding Aid; "Lovegrove, George Frederick," Biographical Sheet. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 152. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 322–23.

1033 *Pelican.* HBCA, C.1/627-631, Ship's Logs, *Pelican*, 1906–1913; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Smith, Arthur Cleveland", "Mack, George Edmund," and "Shanks, John Muir," Biographical Sheets. "S.S. Pelican," *The Beaver*, 215. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 152. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 322–23.

1034 *Mooswa.* HBCA, "Spence, George," Biographical Sheet. Coutts, "Buried on the Bay," 324. Edmund G. Mack, "Breaking the Ice for the Allies," *The Beaver* 18, no. 3 (1938): 24, notes the vessel was wrecked in a storm at York Factory, 1916.

1035 *Cheshire Cat.* HBCA, C.1/241, Ship's Logs, *Cheshire Cat*, 1910; C.7/26, Ships' Miscellaneous Papers, *Cheshire Cat*, 1910.

1036 *Sorine.* J. Williams, "The Last Voyage of the Stork." *The Beaver* 19, no. 2 (September 1939): 46. "Historic Photos – The Inuit" <http://dbooth.applesbc.org/

historicphotos/Inuit.html> (accessed 15 January 2007), suggests the vessel was sold to the HBC. See also "The wreck of the barque 'Sorine', Charlton Island, NU, 1920" <http://www. muse-mccord.qc.ca/en/collection/artifacts/MP-1984.126.72& section=196> (accessed 14 October 2007), which depicts "a one time trader for the H.B.C."

1037 *Laddie.* Haycock and Attrell, "Royal Canadian Mounted," 12.

1038 *Stanley.* R.J. Fraser, "Early Canadian Icebreakers," *Arctic* 16, no. 1 (March 1963): 4. Friends of Hydrography, "People", "Capt. S.W. ('Bob') Bartlett", "Capt. Dalton", "Capt. Irving Brock Miles, (Lieutenant, R.N.)", "Major Stearns", "Dr. Marcellinus, M.D.", "Prof. Louis Vescot King," and "Captain Frederick Anderson, M.E.I.C," Canadian Hydrographic Association <http:www.canfoh.org/> (accessed 22 May 2007).

1039 *Chrissie C. Thomey.* Fraser, "Early Canadian Icebreakers," 2; and R.J. Fraser, "Sketch of Hydrographic Field Service – Mr. R.J. Fraser – 1907–1926," Friends of Hydrography, Canadian Hydrographic Association <http://www.canfoh.org/ Vignettes/vigniettes.htm> (accessed 17 May 2007). Friends of Hydrography, "Ships," and "People", "Capt. Thomas Gushue," Canadian Hydrographic Association. "Chrissie C. Thomey," ACSP, Vessel Registry, Official Number 127672, indicates the schooner was built at Burgeo, Newfoundland, by merchant Robert Moulton in 1908, and sold to Canada in 1911.

1040 *Earl Grey.* Fleming, *Canada's Arctic Outlet*, 67–68. Fraser, "Early Canadian Icebreakers," 2, 6, notes the vessel was purchased by Russia ca. 1914 and renamed in succession *Kanada, III International* and *Fedor Litke*. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 323.

1041 *A.T. Gifford.* Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 41. "We Deny Canada's Hudson Bay Claim: Washington Notifies Masters of Ships That They Need Not Pay for Licenses, issue is not yet raised, but crisis may come at any time – question will be referred to Hague if arbitration fails," *The New York Times* (30 June 1910), 5. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 44, 151. See also "Monjo, Ferdinand Nicholas," Connecticut Ship Database.

1042 *Active.* Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 151.

1043 *Discovery.* HBCA, C.1/267-280, Ship's Logs, *Discovery*, 1906–1919; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Ships Records Finding Aid. A.R. Williamson, "Voyage of the 'Discovery' 1911," Part II, *The Beaver* 63, no. 1 (summer 1983): 12. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 152. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 325.

1044 *Pelican.* HBCA, C.1/627-631, Ship's Logs, *Pelican*, 1906–1913; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Smith, Arthur Cleveland", "Mack, George Edmund," and "Shanks, John Muir," Biographical Sheets. "S.S. Pelican," *Beaver*, 215. Canadian Senate, *Report on the Navigability and Fishery*, 13. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 322, 325.

1045 *Daryl & Namauk.* Mack, "H.B.S.S. 'Pelican'," 14. John T. Rowland, "Mystery at Eric Cove," *The Beaver* 30, no. 3 (December 1950): 6–7, notes the "30-foot yawl" that "depended chiefly upon her motor for propulsion … a heavy-duty kerosene

engine of the hot bulb variety." The vessel was purchased, and sailed, in 1911 from the Grenfell Mission, southern Labrador. See photo, *The Beaver* 21, no. 3 (December 1941): 55.

1046 *Erik.* Fraser, "Sketch of Hydrographic Field." Friends of Hydrography, "People", "Charles McGreevey, C.E.," Canadian Hydrographic Association.

1047 *Beothic.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements. Canadian Senate, *Report on the Navigability and Fishery*, 13. Williamson, "Voyage of the 'Discovery'," Part II, 21, describes the ship as "a sealing vessel, registered and owned in St. John's Newfoundland." See ACSP, Official number 127687, which had a registered tonnage of 471, was owned by the Thetis Steamship Company of St. Johns, and sold to Russia in 1916. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 325.

1048 *Stella Maris.* Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 322. "Capt. George Barbour," History of Bonavista Bay District, People Who Made a Difference, Newfoundland's Grand Banks Genealogical & Historical Data <http://ngb.chebucto.org/Articles/settlers.shtml> (accessed 1 November 2007). See also Evans, "Brief Sketch of Captain George Barbour," *Newfoundland Quarterly*, 34.

1049 *Minto.* Canadian Senate, *Report on the Navigability and Fishery*, 13, 15. Fraser, "Early Canadian Icebreakers," 4; and "Sketch of Hydrographic Field Service." Friends of Hydrography, "People", "Capt. John MacPherson", "Joseph Ferguson", "Captain Frederick Anderson, M.E.I.C," and "Capt. S.W. ('Bob') Bartlett," Canadian Hydrographic Association.

1050 *Burleigh.* Canadian Senate, *Report on the Navigability and Fishery*, 13. de Trémaudan, *Hudson Bay Road*, 49. Fraser, "Sketch of Hydrographic Field ." Friends of Hydrography, "Ships"; and "People", "Capt. Thomas Butler," and "W.E.W. Jackson," Canadian Hydrographic Association.

1051 *Chrissie C. Thomey.* Canadian Senate, *Report on the Navigability and Fishery*, 13. Fraser, "Sketch of Hydrographic Field." Friends of Hydrography, "Ships"; and "People", "Capt. Thomas Gushue," Canadian Hydrographic Association.

1052 *Nastapoka.* Robert J. Flaherty, "The Belcher Islands of Hudson Bay: Their Discovery and Exploration," *Geographical Review,* 5 no. 6 (June 1918): 450. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 326–27.

1053 *Active.* Flaherty, "Belcher Islands," 455. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 151.

1054 *Séduisante*. Watson, *Dundee Whalers*, 128, 147, 150. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 153.

1055 "'Bob' Bartlett Back to the Arctic," *New York Times*, SM11. Claude Bélanger, "Bartlett, Robert (Abram)," Newfoundland Biography (1497–2004), Newfoundland History, 2004 <http://faculty.marianopolis.edu/c.belanger/nfldhistory/Newfoundland%20biographies%20A-D.htm> (accessed: June 05, 2007): observes that "Bartlett became a naturalized American citizen in 1911."

1056 *Nascopie.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Smith, Arthur Cleveland", "Mack, George Edmund," and "Freakley, Norman Edward," Biographical Sheets. Canadian Senate, *Report on the Navigability and Fishery*, 39, gives her tonnage as 2,600. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 18. Coutts, "Buried on the Bay," 325. Winsor, *Stalwart Men and Sturdy Ships*, 54,

notes the vessel was used as a sealer from 1912–1915 and 1920–1930. "Nascopie," ACSP, Vessel Registry, Official Number 129922, indicates the double decked and two masted steamer was built at Newcastle in 1912 for the Nascopie Steamship Company of Newfoundland. Hudson's Bay Company, website <http://www.hbc.com/hbcheritage/history/timeline/hbc/> (accessed 9 May 2007), notes the HBC arranged for the *Nascopie* to be built in 1911, and together with Job Brothers of St. John's, Newfoundland, formed the Nascopie Steamship Company Ltd, to own and operate her. "Nascopie," ACSP, Vessel Registry, Official Number, 129922. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 328–29.

1057 *Walrus.* Robert J. Flaherty, "Two Traverses across Ungava Peninsula, Labrador," *The Geographical Review* 6, no. 2 (August 1918): 126. See also Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 327.

1058 *Minto.* Canadian Senate, *Report on the Navigability and Fishery*, 16. Friends of Hydrography, "People", "Capt. Murcheson", "Capt. S.W. ('Bob') Bartlett", "E.B. MacColl", "Lieutenant John Harry Knight, R.N. (Ret'd)", "A.M. Lacey", "Horace Heatherington Lawson", "Dr. Goodwin," and "Joseph Ferguson," Canadian Hydrographic Association.

1059 *Arctic.* Finnie, "Farewell Voyages," 45. Friends of Hydrography, "People", "Capt. Joseph Couillard", "John Koenig," and "W.E.W. Jackson," Canadian Hydrographic Association.

1060 *Chrissie. C. Thomey.* Fraser, "Sketch of Hydrographic Field Service." Friends of Hydrography, "Ships," Canadian Hydrographic Association. BCGNIS Query Results, "Parizeau, Mount," BCGNIS Geographical Name Details <http://srmwww.gov.bc.ca/bcgn-bin/bcg10?name=30426> (accessed 28 October 2007).

1061 *Active.* Flaherty, "Belcher," 455. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 51, 151.

1062 *Nascopie.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements. Canadian Senate, *Report on the Navigability and Fishery*, 8. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 331–333.

1063 *Pelican.* HBCA, C.1/627-631, Ship's Logs, *Pelican*, 1906–1913; C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; C.1/631–663, Ship's Logs, *Pelican*, 1913–1920; "Smith, Arthur Cleveland," Biographical Sheet. "S.S. Pelican," *The Beaver*, 215. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 152. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 331, 332.

1064 *Fort Churchill.* Coutts, "Buried on the Bay," 324, describes a motorized schooner of this name in the Bay "a few years" after 1910.

1065 *Acadia.* Friends of Hydrography, "Ships"; and "People", "Capt. S.W. ('Bob') Bartlett", "Lloyd C. Prittie", "H.M. Tweed", "Alfred Perkins", "George Robinson", "E.B. MacColl", "R.L. Fortier," and "Captain Frederick Anderson, M.E.I.C," Canadian Hydrographic Association.

1066 *Laddie.* Flaherty, "Belcher Islands," 443, describes the vessel as "purchased from Sam Bartlett, the well-known Arctic navigator of Brigus Newfoundland. Captain H. Bartlett was put in command." Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 333.

1067 *Erik.* Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 334.

1068 *A.T. Gifford.* Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 43. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 152.

1069 *Alette.* Canadian Senate, *Report on the Navigability and Fishery*, 16, 29, 37. Fleming, *Canada's Arctic Outlet*, 73. David Malaher, "Port Nelson and the Hudson Bay Railway," *Manitoba History* no. 8 (Autumn, 1984) <http://www.mhs.mb.a/ocs/mb_history/08/hudsonbayrailway.shtml> (accessed 12 February 2007).

1070 *Alcazer.* Canadian Senate, *Report on the Navigability and Fishery*, 13, 24, 37. Malaher, "Port Nelson."

1071 *Bellaventure.* Canadian Senate, *Report on the Navigability and Fishery*, 14. Malaher, "Port Nelson." Fraser, "Early Canadian Icebreakers," 5, notes the vessel, formerly of Newfoundland, was renamed the *Alexandr Sibiryakov* after purchase by Russia ca. 1914. Winsor, *Stalwart Men and Sturdy Ships*, 32. "Bellaventure," ACSP, Vessel Registry, Official Number 127684, indicates the vessel was built in Scotland for the Bellaventure Steamship Company of St. John's Newfoundland in 1908.

1072 *Neophite.* Malaher, "Port Nelson ." Macfie, "Fort Severn, 1770," 47 notes the vessel was lost at the mouth of the Severn River.

1073 *Kathleen.* Canadian Senate, *Report on the Navigability and Fishery*, 8.

1074 *Sinbad.* LAC, R1191-26-7-E, Department of Marine, Ship's Logs, 1909–1914. Canadian Senate, *Report on the Navigability and Fishery*, 29, 37.

1075 *Beothic.* Canadian Senate, *Report on the Navigability and Fishery*, 21. Fraser, "Early Canadian Icebreakers," 5, notes the vessel was a former Newfoundland sealing steamer, renamed the *Georgiy Fedor* after purchase by Russia ca. 1914. "Beothic," ACSP, Vessel Registry, Official Number 127687, indicates the steam/sail vessel was constructed in Scotland, 1909. She is recorded as what appears to be a Canadian/Newfoundland vessel, sold to Russia in 1916.

1076 *Port Nelson.* LAC, R1191-26-7-E, Ship's Logs. Fleming, *Canada's Arctic Outlet*, 74. Malaher, "Port Nelson ."

1077 de Trémaudan, *Hudson Bay Road*, 102.

1078 *Cearense.* Canadian Senate, *Report on the Navigability and Fishery*, 73. Malaher, "Port Nelson."

1079 *Bonaventure.* Canadian Senate, *Report on the Navigability and Fishery*, 21. Malaher, "Port Nelson." Fraser, "Early Canadian Icebreakers," 4, notes the vessel, formerly of Newfoundland, was renamed *Vladimir Rusanov* after purchase by Russia. "Bonaventure," ACSP, Vessel Registry, Official Number 127685, lists a Canadian/Newfoundland steam/sail vessel of the same name constructed in Glasgow, 1908, with a single deck and two masts, and sold to Russia in 1916.

1080 *Nascopie.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements, lists Arthur Cleveland Smith as master from 22 June to 16 October, but he is also listed as master of the *Pelican* this year; "Smith, Arthur Cleveland," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 338.

1081 *Pelican.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements, lists Arthur Cleveland Smith as master from 12 June to 11 October, but he is also listed as master of the *Nascopie* this year; "Smith, Arthur Cleveland," Biographical Sheet "S.S. Pelican," *The Beaver*, 215. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 152.

1082 *Fort York.* HBCA, C.7/58; Ships Records Finding Aid, notes "Near Severn she was

deliberately run aground to protect 'life and property' during hurricane force winds, and declared a total wreck"; "Taylor, Richard Hayward," Biographical Sheet. Coutts, "Buried on the Bay," 324, 331. Macfie, "Fort Severn, 1770," 47.

1083 *Emelia P.* A.R.M. Lower, "By River to Albany," *The Beaver* (June 1944): 19, supplies a photograph. Lower also claims that in 1914 his former canoe with a newly arrived outboard motor attached constituted "the first piece of gasoline transport in that part of the world."

1084 *Village Belle.* LAC, Archives Search, "Port Nelson" Date: 1910s <http://search-recherche.collectionscanada.ca/archives/search.jsp? Language=eng> (accessed October 10 2007). Haycock and Attrell, "Royal Canadian Mounted Police," 4, 12.

1085 *Sheba.* Canadian Senate, *Report on the Navigability and Fishery*, 37, 51, 54. LAC, R1191-26-7-E, Ship's Logs. de Trémaudan, *Hudson Bay Road*, 239, also mentions a fisheries department schooner under a Captain Coma.

1086 *Minto.* Canadian Senate, *Report on the Navigability and Fishery*, 18.

1087 *Sharon.* Canadian Senate, *Report on the Navigability and Fishery*, 37, 51.

1088 de Trémaudan, *Hudson Bay Road*, 240.

1089 LAC, R1191-26-7-E, Ship's Logs. de Trémaudan, *The Hudson Bay Road*, 240.

1090 *Bonaventure.* Canadian Senate, *Report on the Navigability and Fishery*, 17. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 339.

1091 *Laddie.* Flaherty, "Belcher Islands," 450. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 333. "Laddie," ACSP, Vessel Registry, Official Number, 101315, indicates a single decked, two masted schooner of that name was built and owned by merchant Robert Scott, at Fogo, Notre Dame Bay, Newfoundland in 1893, registered as a brig, but abandoned at sea in 1899. Yet one year later, a vessel with the same official number, place and year of construction is listed as a schooner owned by merchant Charles Dawe of Bay Roberts, Conception Bay, who was also apparently her builder. She is recorded as broken up in Hudson Bay, 1916.

1092 *Burleigh.* Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 339.

1093 *Acadia.* Friends of Hydrography, "People", "Capt. William A. Robson," and "Captain Frederick Anderson, M.E.I.C," Canadian Hydrographic Association.

1094 *Annie E. Geede.* Fraser, "Sketch of Hydrographic Field Service."

1095 *George B. Cluett.* Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 338. See also "George B. Cluett," ACSP, Vessel Registry, Official Number, 141687, for a later vessel of the same name also owned by the International Grenfell Association Ltd, St. John's, Newfoundland.

1096 *Active.* Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos,* 151.

1097 Canadian Senate, *Report on the Navigability and Fishery*, 53.

1098 *Nascopie.* HBCA, C.3/20, Portledge Books; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Mack, George Edmund," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 332, 341.

1099 *Nastapoka.* Flaherty, "Belcher Islands," 450. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 333.

1100 *George B. Cluett.* Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 335.

1101 *Bellaventure.* Canadian Senate, *Report on the Navigability and Fishery*, 29, 36.

1102 *Adventure.* Canadian Senate, *Report on the Navigability and Fishery*, 29, 36.

Winsor, *Stalwart Men and Sturdy Ships*, 29, credits the vessel's design with introducing "another great revolution" in northern ships, averring "she could crush the ice with her own weight." She was sold to Russia 1915–1916. "Adventure," ACSP, Vessel Registry, Official Number 121430, notes the single decked, two masted, steam/sail vessel was built in Dundee.

1103 *Sheba.* Canadian Senate, *Report on the Navigability and Fishery*, 29, 36, 51. Malaher, "Port Nelson."

1104 *A.T. Gifford.* Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 44. Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 40. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 220.

1105 J.W. Nichols, "Shipwreck in the Straits," *The Beaver* 25, no. 4 (March 1946): 17–19.

1106 *Nascopie.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Mack, George Edmund," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 342.

1107 *Albert.* Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 343.

1108 *Bargany.* Malaher, "Port Nelson."

1109 *Sheba.* Canadian Senate, *Report on the Navigability and Fishery*, 37, 51.

1110 *Durley Chine.* Canadian Senate, *Report on the Navigability and Fishery*, 37, 51.

1111 *Nascopie.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Mack, George Edmund," Biographical Sheet. Canadian Senate, *Report on the Navigability and Fishery*, 8. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 18. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 344–45.

1112 *Nascopie.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 345–46.

1113 *Discovery.* HBCA, C.1/267-280, Ship's Logs, *Discovery*, 1906–1919; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; Ships Records Finding Aid; "Mead, George Henry," Biographical Sheet. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 345–46.

1114 *Pelican.* HBCA, C.1/637, Ship's Logs, *Pelican*, 1918; "Borras, Arthur William Hutchison," Biographical Sheet. "S.S. Pelican," *Beaver*, 215. Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," 18.

1115 *Nannuk.* S.J. Stewart, "Coats Island," *The Beaver* 15, no. 3 (December 1935): 38.

1116 Fleming, *Canada's Arctic Outlet*, 78.

1117 *Albert.* Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 344.

1118 *Nascopie.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Mead, George Henry," Biographical Sheet. Cotter, "Famous H.B.C. Captains," Part I, 3. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 346.

1119 *Duncan & Lady Borden.* Haycock and Attrell, "Royal Canadian Mounted Police," 5, 12. Mack, "Breaking the Ice," 25, recollects transporting the "R.N.W.M.P. motor boat *Lady Borden*" to Chesterfield Inlet in 1916, to be manned by a "native" crew.

1120 *Finback.* Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 146n. 10, 152. See Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels,* 44. "Off to Seek Trade In Arctic Lands; Leden Expedition sails Tomorrow for Exploration in Northern Waters. Will Deal With Natives. Plan Survey of Mineral Products and Food Supplies – Ethnologists in Party," *The New York Times* (8 July 1919): 11. W.O. Douglas, "The Wreck of the 'Finback'," Chesterfield Inlet, "Chester 'Then'," History of Chesterfield Inlet <http://www.

chesterfieldinlet.net/history_comerlong.htm> (accessed: 30 April 2007). W. Gillies Ross, "George Comer (1858–1937)," *Arctic* 36, no. 3 (September 1983): 295. Joe Hartwell, "The History of the USS Radnor: Radnor's Navigation Officer Lt. jg George Comer, Biography of Captain George Comer," (May 26, 2008) <http:// freepages.military.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~cacunithistories/radnor.htm> (accessed 9 August 2008).

1121 *Nascopie.* HBCA, C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements; "Mead, George Henry," Biographical Sheet. Cotter, "Famous H.B.C. Captains," Part I, 3. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 346.

1122 *Pelican.* HBCA, C.1/627-633, Ships' Log, *Pelican*, 1920; C.4/1, Book of Ships' Movements. Cotter, "Company Sailing Ships," 33, notes that "in 1920 *Pelican* had to be beached at Lake Harbour, Baffin Land," prior to being sold. "S.S. Pelican," *Beaver*, 215. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 346–47.

1123 *Fort George & Fort Charles.* Gaudet, "What Happened at Moose," 20.

1124 *Lady Byng.* Haycock and Attrell, "Royal Canadian Mounted Police," 6.

1125 *Lady Laurier.* Haycock and Attrell, "Royal Canadian Mounted Police," 6. See also LAC, PA-207002, photo, "CGS Lady Laurier, 1902–1960."

1126 *Northern Messenger.* Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 347–48.

1127 *Dorothy G. Snow.* "Dorothy G. Snow alias Maria Sonya," Schooners: Workhorses of the Sea, Nova Scotia Archives & Records management online <http://www. gov.ns.ca/nsarm/virtual/schooners/archives.asp?ID=59> (accessed 29 October 2007), supplies a photo and describes a "98-ton Bluenose-type vessel built by Joseph McGill at Shelburne in 1911. She was owned by Captain Joseph Snow, was captained by his brother William, and was named for his daughter Dorothy Greeley Snow. She was renamed the *Maria Sonya* and wrecked near Bermuda in December 1959." See also Margaret L'Ecuyer, "Hudson's Bay Company Port Burwell: Post Journals, Port Burwell, Labrador District, 1 June 1921 to 31 December 1921," 14 August 1921 <http://www.pinetreeline.org/photos/resolu/hbc/hbc-1.html> (29 October 2007). Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 348.

1128 *Thetis.* Winsor, *Stalwart Men and Sturdy Ships*, 64, describes a vessel of the same name, construction place and date, and history of residency in Newfoundland. Her captain from 1917–1924 is given as William C. Winsor of Bonivista. "Back From Hudson's Bay," *The St. John's Daily News*, Saturday, 18 September 1920, lists a 'Captain Smith' as master for a voyage, sponsored by Lamson & Hublin of Montreal and Boston, which had lasted four months. "Thetis," ACSP, Vessel Registry, Official Number 082739. Cooke and Holland, *Exploration*, 348.

Appendix C

Glossary

Terms and Concepts from Historical Materialism and Human Geography:

Agency: "The proposition that human beings think about the intentional actions they perform and the resources they need to achieve their ends." The general claim for human agency holds that human beings act independently to make choices and impose those choices on the world. In doing so, human beings are 'active agents' – as opposed to passive subjects of either natural forces, or of the determining constraints of social structures. Ann M. Carlos and Stephen Nicolas supply another sense in which agency is a theme within this dissertation, noting "The origins of the term lie in the legal and commercial distinction between principal and agent, in which the latter is granted the capacity to act autonomously on behalf of the former. An agent in this sense may sign contracts or manage property autonomously, while still bound to serve the interests of a principal. The nature of such relationships continues to be a subject of considerable interest in sociology, economics, and political science, where it draws strongly on rational choice models of individual and firm behavior and is generally referred to as agency theory." Allan Pred regards human agency as intrinsic to communication, and therefore to project and process.[1]

Biography: an individual's lived history. From Allan Pred, who relates biography to an individual's 'path,' in that "each of the actions and events consecutively occurring between birth and death of an individual has both temporal and spatial attributes. Thus, the biography of a person is ever on the move with her and can be conceptualized … as an unbroken, continuous path through time-space."[2]

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[1] "agency," *Dictionary of the Social Sciences*, ed. Craig Calhoun, Oxford University Press 2002, *Oxford Reference Online* [ORO] <http://www.oxfordreference.com> (accessed 14 November 2008); see also "agency," *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Archaeology*, ed. Timothy Darvill, ORO. Ann M. Carlos and Stephen Nicholas, ""Managing the Manager: An Application of the Principal Agent Model to the Hudson's Bay Company," *Oxford Economic Papers,* n.s., 45, no. 2 (April 1993); Allan Pred, "Social Reproduction and the Time-Geography of Everyday Life," *Geografiska Annaler,* ser B, 63, no. 1 (1981): 18; Allan Pred, "Place as Historically Contingent Process: Structuration and the Time-Geography of Becoming Places," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 74, no. 2 (June 1984): 285.

[2] Pred, "Social Reproduction," 9.

Construct: "Anything constructed, esp. by the mind; hence *spec.*, a concept specially devised to be part of a theory."[3]

Dialectic: theoretically, "the existence or working of opposing forces, tendencies, etc."[4]

Experience: E.P. Thompson presents experience as a category of historical analysis – albeit an "imperfect" one – that provides a "way of handling ... social being's impingement upon social consciousness." Thompson's definition of experience is broad: roughly 'lived history.' He notes that, "it comprises the mental and emotional response, whether of an individual or a group, to many inter-related events or to many repetitions of the same kind of event" and considers its limits to be less important than "the manner of its arrival" which is predicated on "the dialogue between social being and social consciousness."[5]

Historical Materialism: an approach to the study of society and economics, derived from what Marx described as the "materialist conception of history." Historical materialism as an explanatory system looks for the causes of developments and changes in the means by which human societies collectively survive, taking into consideration everything that co-exists with the economic base of society – including ideas. E.P. Thompson states that historical materialism "offers to study social process in its totality; that is, it offers to do this when it appears, not as another 'sectoral' history – as economic, political, intellectual history, as history of labour, or as 'social history' defined as yet another sector – but as a total history of society, in which all other sectoral histories are convened. It offers to show in what determinate ways each activity was related to the other, the logic of this process and the rationality of its causation."[6]

Historiographer: a history writer who may or may not be trained in historiology as a historian.[7]

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[3] "construct," Oxford English Dictionary Online [OED] <http://dictionary.oed.com> (accessed 28 August 2008), as in "1.b. *gen.*"

[4] "dialectic," OED, as in " b. In ... general use."

[5] E.P. Thompson, *The Poverty of Theory and Other Essays* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1978), 7, 8, 32–33.

[6] Karl Marx, *Preface to A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* [1859] <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1859/critique-pol-economy/preface.htm> (accessed 14 November 2008). Thompson, *Poverty of Theory*

[7] See "historiography," *A Dictionary of Sociology*, ed. John Scott and Gordon Marshall, ORO; also Penelope J. Corfield, "How to get Back," review of *Why History Matters* by John Tosh, *The Curse of History* by Jeremy Black, *Making History Now and Then* by David Cannadine, and *The Historians'*

Institutional Project: a project pursued by an institution. According to Pred, institutional projects that are dominant within a geographical area, such as that of the HBC, have a "place-specific impact … on the daily paths of participants, their imprint upon the landscape, and the power relations out of which they come and to which they contribute."[8]

Location: "a particular position within space" which might be arbitrarily determined according to a mathematical grid system and known as "absolute location," or determined relative to the location of one or more other places, in which case it is subject to variation and is known as "relative location."[9]

Ocean arc: signifies a continuous, travelled, watery plain over which ships sail as though on a 'path.' It serves to highlight the existence of a 'place-space dialectic' at sea. For the purpose of this thesis, the term also serves: a) to acknowledge that prior to the advent of technology that allowed the kind of mapping that is taken for granted today, mariners understood the routes they sailed differently than in the present; b) to signify oceanic spaces of human activity – specifically that of sailors following a route with ships.[10]

Ocean sea: for the purpose of this thesis, the term is used to underscore the coextensive actuality of maritime space, and to acknowledge the circumfluent aspect of the planet's hydrosphere. It signifies 'space' in the sense outlined below.[11]

Path: Allan Pred sets out the premise that "each of the actions and events consecutively occurring between birth and death of an individual has both temporal and spatial attributes. Thus, the biography of a person is ever on the move with her and can be conceptualized … as an unbroken, continuous path through time-space." Pred explains how individual paths give rise to biography formation – meaning a lived history, congruent with what Thompson described as experience – "as a reflection of the elements of the structuration process in place." Institutional projects also have paths.[12]

Paradox by Charles Hoffer, History, Times Literary Supplement, *New York Times* (21 November 2008): 22.

[8] Pred, "Place as Historically Contingent Process;" 292.

[9] William Norton, *Human Geography* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1992) 48.

[10] See Martin W. Lewis, "Dividing the Ocean Sea," *Geographical Review* 89, no. 2 (April 1999): 204.

[11] Ibid., 188–214, esp. 199, 203.

[12] Pred, "Social Reproduction," 5, 9. Thompson, *Poverty of Theory*, 7, 8, 32–33.

Place: derived from a humanistic strand of geographical inquiry of the 1970s and "typically understood as a distinctive (and bounded) location defined by the lived experiences of people" See for example, Yi-Fu Tuan, and his suggestion that "place does not have any particular scale associated with it, but is created and maintained through the 'fields of care' that result from peoples emotional attachment ... his work alerted geographers to the sensual, aesthetic and emotional dimensions of space." See also Edward Relf, who suggested that "it is important to move beyond the idealisation of an objective analysis of space to strive for a more human-centred and empathetic understanding of the lived experience of place." Pred describes place "not as something that stands on its own, but as a phenomenon that is part of the becoming of individual consciousness" and argues for "describing behavior and biography in time and space," through analysis of place. Areal study, therefore, may serve as a means of understanding the conditions, conjunctions and consequences that gave rise to historical process.[13]

Process: "a series of changes with some sort of unity, or unifying principle, to it. Hence 'process' is to 'change', or 'event', rather as 'syndrome' is to 'symptom'."[14]

Processual: In the social sciences: "Relating to or involving a process rather than discrete events."[15]

Region: an abstractly constructed classification of a land mass, whereby large areas are divided into "smaller areas that exhibit a degree of unity"; regions are "human landscapes that reflect their occupancy and that differ from other landscapes."[16]

Region process: a "region process … transcending time" is the theoretical 'making' of a region, observable in the historical record as changes in naming and the shifting of boundaries. Geographers also refer to such changes as "temporally layered" and indicative of the process of "becoming place." Thus, between 1508 and 1920, such geographically and temporally nonspecific designations as the 'Northwest,' and such temporally finite – if geographically mutable – designations as 'Rupert's Land' eventually gave way to 'Western Canada.'[17]

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[13] David Atkinson, ed., *Cultural Geography: A Critical Dictionary of Key Ideas* (I.B. Tauris, 2005), 41–42. Pred, "Social Reproduction," 5. See also Norton, *Human Geography*, 49.

[14] Roger Teichmann, "process," *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy*, ORO.

[15] "processual," OED, as in "2. a."

[16] Norton, *Human Geography*, 2.

[17] Kathleen E. Braden, "Region, Semple, and Structuration," *Geographical Review* 82, no. 3 (July 1992): 239; see also Thomas Bender, "The Boundaries and Constituencies of History," *American Literary History* 18, no. 2 (summer, 2006): 268.

Space: "sets of distances" which can be measured "in terms of time and money" and differently conceived according to "physical, time, economic, cognitive and social" concepts. Marxists and materialist accounts written by geographers of the 1970s that explored relations of domination and resistance conceived space as: "socially produced and consumed." For example, Henri Lefebvre, and his 'philosophy of the everyday,' described space as "'made up' through a three-way dialectic between perceived, conceived and lived space. Here, place emerges as a particular form of space, one that is created through acts of naming as well as through distinctive activities and imaginings associated with particular social spaces."[18]

The above conceptions of place and space were devised and adopted by theorists dissatisfied with existing 'empirico-physical' or 'spatial science' conceptions that suggested "the world was essentially a blank canvas, and, rather than playing an active role in shaping social life, formed a surface on which social relations were played out." Place and space form a dialectic: "place is often equated with security and enclosure"; "space is associated with freedom and mobility." In cultural geography, place and space "are made and remade through networks that involve people, practices, languages and representations. Hence, we might usefully conceive of both space and place as constantly becoming, in process and unavoidably caught up in power relations."[19]

Social: refers to what is sometimes designated 'the social,' a contraction of 'the social world of human beings,' or 'human society.'[20]

Social reproduction: is "that which must take place in the lifeworld – cultural reproduction, social integration, socialization," or "the processes by which societies reproduce their social structures and social institutions." The term has purchase in social history because the Marxist view of ideology as an instrument of social reproduction – achieved through what Antonio Gramsci described as hegemony – has been an important touchstone for historical theories about 'the social.' For the purpose of this thesis, social reproduction occurs by way of the process theorized by Allan Pred.[21]

Society: "the agglomeration of existing institutions, the *activities* (practices, or modes of

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[18] Norton, *Human Geography*, 49, 325–33, 349. Atkinson, *Cultural Geography*, 41–42, 47.

[19] Atkinson, *Cultural Geography*, 41–42, 47.

[20] See Lorne Tepperman, and R. Jack Richardson, *An Introduction to Sociology: The Social World* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1991).

[21] See Ellsworth R. Fuhrman, "social studies of science," in *Science, Technology, and Society*, ed. Sal Restivo, ORO; "social reproduction," *The Oxford Dictionary of Sports Science and Medicine*, ORO; Pred, "Social Reproduction," 5–20.

behavior) associated with those institutions, the people participating in those activities, and the structural relations occurring between those people and institutions, and between institutions."[22]

Structure: a contraction of 'social structure,' the term refers "to any recurring pattern of social behaviour; or, more specifically, to the ordered interrelationships between the different elements of a social system or society. Structure is generally agreed to be one of the most important but also most elusive concepts in the social sciences ... Unlike the structure of a building or an organism, a social structure is not directly visible. It is evidenced in the observable movements and actions of individuals, but it cannot be reduced to these. The core institutional norms and meanings are cultural phenomena that exist only as shared ideas and representations in the minds of individuals. For this reason, socialization into a culture is central to the maintenance of a social structure. Writers on structuration have emphasized that social structure is carried and has its effects because it is embodied in individuals through their socialization and provides them with dispositions and tendencies to act in particular, structured ways. Thus, a recent discussion has emphasized that the concept of social structure must be seen as resting upon this 'embodied structure' ... Some structural theories have emphasized the determining capacity of social structure as against human agency. Talcott Parsons, for example, has been criticized for overemphasizing socialization in a common cultural system and, therefore, depicting human actors as lacking in any freedom or autonomy. They are seen as passively acting out the roles into which they have been socialized. This is not, however, inherent in a structural approach. Marxism, for example, recognizes clashes and contradictions between elements of social structures, and active human agency is essential in resolving these contradictions."[23]

Structuration: "A concept devised by, and central to, the sociological theory developed by the British social theorist Anthony Giddens. Structuration theory is a social ontology, defining what sorts of things exist in the world, rather than setting out laws of development or suggesting clear hypotheses about what actually happens. It tells us what we are looking at when we study society rather than how a particular society actually works. Giddens criticizes and rejects theories such as functionalism and evolutionary theory, which he regards as closed systems, insisting that social phenomena and events are always contingent and open-ended. He attempts to transcend the traditional division in sociology between action and structure by focusing on 'social practices' which, he argues, produce and are produced by structures. Structures, for Giddens, are not something external to social actors but are rules and resources produced and reproduced by actors in

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[22] Pred, "Social Reproduction," 6.

[23] "structure," *Dictionary of Sociology*, ORO.

their practices. He also emphasizes the importance of time and space for social theory and social analysis: his historical sociology then explores the different ways in which societies bind these together." Allan Pred regards people as "fundamental," to the social reproduction of structuration – where structure is understood as the spoken and unspoken, but ultimately binding norms, or rules, and events of interaction that are generated by the interrelation of parts of an organized whole in a given time and space. In other words, "people both create and in turn are socialized by societal structures," which comprise a 'system of rules' that both enable and constrain.[24]

Time: George Frank observes that "The events whose course historiography is constructing carry two dates: the date of their real occurrence and the date of their actual reconstruction. Events that carry two dates cannot be ordered unambiguously in one-dimensional time. A good deal of historiography consists in reviewing, criticising and correcting former historiography. Since historiography has no immediate access to the process it describes, the course of known history is epistemologically encapsulated in the evolution of historiography. This encapsulation means that known history is a process embedded in another process. The processes reconstructed and the process of reconstruction run in different times. An evolution consisting of different processes running in different times is inconceivable in a one-dimensional continuum of instants. Historiography is working with a concept of time that is mainly narrative, relying on the grammar of tense rather than on formalisation, this heavy epistemological implication has rarely been accounted for" – particularly by non-historians.[25]

Value added: refers to the additional value of a commodity over the cost of commodities used to produce it from the previous stage of production. HBC profit depended on a financial surplus generated by value added through the transoceanic transport of furs.[26]

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[24] "structuration," *Dictionary of Sociology*, ORO; Braden, "Region, Semple, and Structuration," 239.

[25] Georg Franck, "Time, Actuality, Novelty and History: Some Facets of a Phenomenon Still Awaiting Comprehension," in *Life and Motion of Socio-Economic Units,* ed . Andrew U. Frank, Jonathan Raper and Jean-Paul Cheyan (London: Taylor & Francis, 2001), 111–23.

[26] See Eric W. Sager, *Seafaring Labour: The Merchant Marine of Atlantic Canada, 1820–1914* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 9; J.M. Blaut, *The Colonizer's Model of the World: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History* (New York: Guilford Press, 1993), 169.

Seafaring Terminology:

Barque/Bark: originally "a general name given to small ships: it is however peculiarly appropriated by seamen to those which carry three masts without a mizen top-sail. Our northern mariners, who are trained in the coal-trade, apply this distinction to a broad-sterned ship, which carries no ornamental figure on the stem or prow." Later barques used in the grain trade could be very large, four and five-masted, with square sails on all but the mizzen [back] mast which was 'fore-and-aft rigged', meaning it carried angular, as opposed to square sails.[27]

Barquentine/Barkentine: a term variously, and inconsistently, applied to late nineteenth-century three or four masted vessels, rigged with square sails on the foremast alone, the others being 'fore-and-aft rigged' [carrying angular sails].[28]

Bayside: adjective meaning "on or near the shore of a bay."[29]

Bend: to fix, fasten, tie.[30]

Beset: closely surrounded by ice.[31]

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[27] William Falconer, "William Falconer's Dictionary of the Marine" <http://southseas.nla.gov.au/refs/falc/0113.html> (accessed 6 November 2007). Peter Kemp, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Ships and the Sea* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 61–62. See also Jenny Bennett and Veres Laszlo, *Sailing Rigs: An Illustrated Guide* (Annapolis MA.: Naval Institute Press, 2005), 7.

[28] See Bennett and Laszlo, *Sailing Rigs*, 7, 33–37.

[29] "bayside," OED.

[30] Darcy Lever, *The Young Sea Officers Sheet Anchor; or, a key to the leading of rigging, and to practical seamanship* [1808], transcribed by Lars Bruzelius, A Maritime Dictionary: Or, An Explanation of the most usual Sea-Terms, digested into Alphabetical Order <http://www.bruzelius.info/Nautica/Etymology/English/Lever (1808).html> (accessed 8 February 2009); William Mountaine, *The Seaman's Vade-Mecum, and Defensive War by Sea: Containing the Proportions of Rigging, Masts and Yards Weight of Anchors, Sizes and Weight of Cables and Cordage, List of the Navy. The Exercise of the Small Arms, Bayonet, Granadoes and Great-Guns, Duty of Officers, &c. also Shewing how to prepare a Merchant-Ship for a close Fight. Chasing; ... Defensive-Fighting; ... Naval Fortification; ... An Essay on Naval Book-keeping* [1756], transcribed by Lars Bruzelius, A Maritime Dictionary: Or, An Explanation of the most usual Sea-Terms, digested into Alphabetical Order <http://www.bruzelius.info/Nautica/Etymology/English/Mountaine(1756)_pi.html> (accessed 8 February 2009). Also Kemp, *Oxford Companion to Ships*, 78.

[31] William Edward Parry, *Journal of a Second Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage From the Atlantic to the Pacific, Performed in the Years 1821–22–23, In His Majesty's Ships Fury and Hecla* ... (New York: E. Duyckinck, G. Long, Collins & Co., Collins & Hannay, W.B. Gilley, and Henry I. Megarey, 1824), xiv; Nathaniel Bowditch, *The American Practical Navigator: An Epitome of Navigation*, [1821] 1995 ed. online (Bethesda MA.: National Imagery and mapping Agency, 1995) <http://www.irbs.com/bowditch/> (accessed 10 March 2008).

Berth/Birth: "A sleeping place. A ship's station at anchor, or alongside a quay."[32]

Blink: optical phenomenon that looks like a white to pale yellow bright patch in the sky and indicates snow over land (white, 'land-blink' or 'snow blink'), or a large expanse of sea ice (yellowish, 'ice-blink'), in its direction.[33]

Blue Peter: signal flag meaning 'all aboard.'[34]

Boats: "Small Vessels – those belonging to Ships are – the *Long Boat*, the *Launch*, the *Cutter*, the *Yawl*, and the *Jolly Boat*."[35] Usually open, meaning without a deck.

Boatswain: "The Officer who has the charge of the Cordage, Boats, Rigging, &c," and supervises the work of the deck crew.[36]

Bows: "The round part of the Ship forward."[37]

Bowsprit: "A Mast projecting over the Stem" [front] of the ship.[38]

Brig/Brigantine: Willaim Falconer's *Universal Dictionary of the Marine* of 1780, covers both terms with the following: "a merchant-ship with two masts. This term is not universally confined to vessels of a particular construction, or which are masted and rigged in a method different from all others. It is variously applied, by the mariners of different European nations, to a peculiar sort of vessel of their own marine. ... Among English seamen, this vessel is distinguished by having her main-sail set nearly in the plane of her keel; whereas the main-sails of larger ships are hung athwart, or at right angles with the ship's length, and fastened to a yard

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[32] Charles Burney, "Vocabulary of Sea Terms," *The Young Seaman's Manual and Rigger's Guide*, 1876/1901, transcribed by Lars Bruzelius <http://www.bruzelius.info/Nautica/Etymology/English/Burney(1901)_dict.htm> (accessed 8 February 2009); Lever: *The Young Sea Officers Sheet Anchor*; Kemp, *Oxford Companion to Ships*, 80.

[33] Parry, *Journal of a Second Voyage*; William Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay and Cumberland Gulf in the Steamship 'Diana' under the Command of William Wakeham, Marine and Fisheries Canada in the year 1897* (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, 1898), 5–6; Bowditch, *American Practical Navigator*.

[34] Jim Croft, "Meanings of International Maritime Signal Flags," Australian National Botanic Gardens <http://www.anbg.gov.au/flags/signal-meaning.html> (accessed 12 February 2009).

[35] Lever: *The Young Sea Officers Sheet Anchor*; Kemp, *Oxford Companion to Ships*, 92.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid. Kemp, *Oxford Companion to Ships*, 102–3, uses the term 'spar' rather than 'mast.'

which hangs parallel to the deck: but in a brig, the foremost edge of the main-sail is fastened in different places to hoops which encircle the main-mast, and slide up and down it as the sail is hoisted or lowered: it is extended by a gaff above, and by a boom below." Later, brig and brigantine took on distinct meanings. The *Oxford English Dictionary*, supplies citations from 1720 to 1854 to define brig as a vessel: "(a.) originally identical with the *brigantine* (of which word *brig* was a colloquial abbreviation); but, while the full name has remained with the unchanged brigantine, the shortened name has accompanied the modifications which have subsequently been made in rig, so that a *brig* is now (b.) A vessel with two masts square-rigged like a ship's fore- and main-masts, but carrying also on her main-mast a lower fore-and-aft sail with a gaff and boom. A brig differs from a *snow* in having no try-sail mast, and in lowering her gaff to furl the sail. Merchant snows are often called 'brigs'. This vessel was probably developed from the brigantine by the men-of-war brigs, so as to obtain greater sail-power." In American usage, a brigantine was referred to as a "hermaphrodite brig."[39]

Bulk-heads: "Partitions in the Ship."[40]

Bulwark: "The raised woodwork running along the sides of a vessel above the level of the deck."[41]

Cape Fly-away: an illusion "on the horizon, mistaken for land, which disappears as the ship approaches."[42]

Careen: "To heave a vessel down upon her side by purchases upon the masts. To lie over, when sailing on the wind."[43]

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[39] "brig," OED, "1.a." See also Kemp, *Oxford Companion to Ships*, 109.

[40] Lever, *The Young Sea Officers Sheet Anchor.* Also Kemp, *Oxford Companion to Ships*, 117.

[41] "bulwark," OED, "3."

[42] William Falconer, An Universal Dictionary of the Marine: *Or, A Copious Explanation of the Technical Terms and Phrases Employed in the Construction, Equipment, Furniture, Machinery, Movements, and Military Operations of a Ship*, new ed., corrected (London: T. Cadell, 1780), online, South Seas, Web Academic Resource, 2004 <http://southseas.nla.gov.au/refs/falc/title.html> (accessed 7 January 2008); W.H. Smyth, *The Sailor's Word Book: An Alphabetical Digest of Nautical Terms, Including Some More Especially Military and Scientific, But Useful to Seamen; As Well As Archaisms of Early Voyagers, etc. revised*, ed. E. Belcher (Glasgow and Edinburgh: Blackie and Son, 1867), 159, 310.

[43] R.H. Dana, *The Seaman's Friend: Containing a Treatise on Practical Seamanship, with Plates; A Dictionary of Sea Terms; Customs and Usages of the Merchant Service; Laws Relating to the Practical Duties of Master and Mariners*, 6th ed. (Boston: Thomas Groom & Co., 1851) online <http://www.hmssurprise.org/Resources/DanaSFLex.html> (accessed 23 September 2008); also Burney, "Vocabulary of Sea Terms." Kemp, *Oxford Companion to Ships*, 139.

Cat: the arrangement of rope or chain and block or pulley – if more than one pulley, the 'tackle' -- by which a ship's anchor was raised to the cathead [a projecting piece of timber at the bow of a ship] in preparation for either stowing or letting go; also abbreviation of cat-o'-nine tails.[44]

Cat-o'-nine tails: instrument for flogging seamen made of nine lengths of braided cord with three knots in each, ending in a larger rope that served as handle.[45]

Clear water: portion of sea without ice.[46]

Conn/Con/Cond/Cun: "derived from the Anglo-Saxon *conne, connan*, to know, or be skilful. The pilot of old was skilful, and later the master was selected to conn the ship in action." To "cun" a ship is "To direct the Helm's-man how to steer" – hence 'conning' a ship through ice from atop a mast.[47]

Dead Reckoning: "Determining the position of a vessel by adding to the last fix the ship's course and speed for a given time"[48]

Deadweight "A ship may be designed to carry a specified weight of cargo, plus such necessary supplies as fuel, lubricating oil, crew, and the crew's life support). These combine to form a total known as deadweight."[49]

Departure: "the last position on a chart, when a ship is leaving land, fixed from observations of shore stations. Thus a ship, when starting on a voyage takes her departure not from the port from which she sails but from the position where the last bearings of points ashore intersect on the chart." "The point at which reckoning of a voyage begins. It is usually established by bearings of prominent

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[44] Dana, *The Seaman's Friend*; Kemp, *Oxford Companion to Ships*, 144–45. See also Alan H. Hartley, "Sandahl, Middle English Sea Terms, vol. 1–2," Maritime History Citations for the OED <http://www.d.umn.edu/~ahartley/Sandahl _v.1-2.html> (accessed 8 February, 2009); and Burney, "Vocabulary of Sea Terms." Kemp, *Oxford Companion to Ships*, 144–45.

[45] Robert McKenna, *The Dictionary of Nautical Literacy* (Camden ME.: International Marine, 2001), 61; Kemp, *Oxford Companion to Ships*, 147; Burney, "Vocabulary of Sea Terms." Kemp, *Oxford Companion to Ships*, 147.

[46] Parry, *Journal of a Second Voyage.*

[47] Smyth, *Sailor's Word Book*, 209; Lever: *The Young Sea Officers Sheet Anchor.* Kemp, *Oxford Companion to Ships*, 193.

[48] Bowditch, *American Practical Navigator*; also Burney, "Vocabulary of Sea Terms." Kemp, *Oxford Companion to Ships*, 234.

[49] "deadweight," *Encyclopedia Britannica,* online <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/ topic/54313/deadweight > (accessed 12 September 2007). Kemp, *Oxford Companion to Ships*, 235.

landmarks as the vessel clears a harbor and proceeds to sea. When a navigator establishes this point, he is said to take departure."[50]

Dhobie/dobie/dhobi: "laundry," (Royal Canadian Navy), "To wash clothing or linen. Origin from Indian sub-continent where a Dhobi is a washerman." 'Dhobie day' was often a Sunday, customarily the sailor's rest day, when clothes could be washed and mended.[51]

Dogger: "two-masted fishing vessel ... somewhat resembling a ketch, used in the North Sea deep sea fisheries: formerly applied to English craft as well as those of other nations, but now practically restricted to Dutch fishing vessels (though out of use in Holland itself). In the 17th and 18th c. they frequently acted as privateers."[52]

Drift-rail: general name for the outer rail on the upper decks of a ship, though various sections of rail had specific names.[53]

Engineer: in steamships of the early 1800s, an engine keeper, with "no marine specific qualifications or formal training ... usually employed on the recommendation of boiler makers and engine works ashore." By 1862, engineers were certified and training included time at sea.[54]

Fenders: "Pieces of rope or wood, or a quantity of cork, covered with canvas or worked over with rope, hung over a ship to protect her sides ... A boat's fenders are usually made of leather, and stuffed with oakum."[55]

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[50] Bowditch, *American Practical Navigator.* Kemp, *Oxford Companion to Ships*, 240.

[51] A.R. Williamson, "Voyage of the 'Discovery' 1911," part II, *The Beaver* 63, no. 1 (summer 1983): 22; Peter H. Spectre, *The Mariner's Book of Days 2008* (Sheridan House, 2007), 74; Fraser, "Nautical terms and Slang," Blue Star on the Web <http://www.bluestarline.org/nautical_terms_1.htm> (accessed 12 September 2008).

[52] "dogger," OED, "1."

[53] See Peter Goodwin, *The Construction and Fitting of the English Man of War, 1650–1850* (Naval Institute Press, 1987), 57; and Franke, *Technological Dictionary Containing the Technical Terms used in Manufactures and Arts, Building, Civil and Naval Architecture, Military, Civil and Mechanical Engineering, Artillary, Navigation, Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, Chemistry and Minerology etc.* vol. II (New York: Westerman and Company, 1885), 167–68.

[54] *K. Hamblin*, "Challenging the Old Order: Exploring the rise of the engineer in commercial shipping in Britain, Germany and France since 1830," unpublished paper, Economic History Society, Exeter University, ca. 2007 <www.ehs.org.uk/ehs/conference2007/Assets/HamblinNRID.doc> (accessed 13 February 2009), 6; see also Frank T. Bullen, *The Men of the Merchant Service : Being the Polity of the Mercantile Marine for 'Longshore Readers* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1900), 305–16.

[55] Burney, "Vocabulary of Sea Terms."

Fireman: crew tasked with shoveling coal into the boiler of a steam engine.[56]

Fo'c'sle/Forecastle/Fore Castle: "A short Deck in the fore part of the Ship"; "In a merchant ship it signifies the place forward, where the crew live."[57]

Frame: "A built-up rib of a wooden vessel."[58]

Frigate: "a vessel of larger size."[59]

Full-rigged ship: a vessels with three or more masts each carrying at least three, and sometimes four courses of square sails.[60]

Grapple: "to hook or hold fast to."[61]

High Seas: "those parts of the sea not under the sovereignty of adjacent states. Claims have at times been made to exclusive dominion over large areas of the sea as well as over wide margins ... The action and reaction of the interests of navigation, however, have brought states to adopt a limitation first enunciated by Bynkershoek in the formula 'terrae dominium finitur ubi finitur armorum vis.' Thenceforward cannon-shot range became the determining factor in the fixation of the margin of sea afterwards known as 'territoral waters'(q.v.). With the exception of these territorial waters, bays of certain dimensions and inland waters surrounded by territory of the same state, and serving only as a means of access to ports of the state by whose territory they are surrounded, and some waters allowed by immemorial usage to rank as territorial, all seas and oceans form part of the high sea. The usage of the high sea is free to all the nations of the world, subject only to such restrictions as result from respect for the equal rights of others, and to those which nations may contract with each other to observe."[62]

Hold: "the very lower Apartment or Division in the Bottom of the Ship ... where

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[56] Bullen, *The Men of the Merchant Service*, 317–27.

[57] Lever: *The Young Sea Officers Sheet Anchor*; Burney, "Vocabulary of Sea Terms." Kemp, *Oxford Companion to Ships*, 320.

[58] Richard M. Van Gaasbeek, *Wooden Boat and Ship Building: The Fundamental Principles and Practical Methods Described in Detail* (Chicago: Frederick J. Drake & Company, 1941), 213.

[59] "frigate," OED, 2.

[60] See Bennett and Laszlo, *Sailing Rig*, 7–12.

[61] Burney, "Vocabulary of Sea Terms."

[62] "High Seas," Classic Encyclopedia. Based on *Encyclopedia Britannica* 1911 <http://www.1911encyclopedia.org/High_Seas> (8 February 2009). Kemp, *Oxford Companion to Ships*, 388.

all Goods, Stores, &c. lie."[63]

Hoy: "A small vessel, usually rigged as a sloop, and employed in carrying passengers and goods, particularly in short distances on the sea-coast."[64]

Ice: Bay-ice: new formed ice on the sea surface.
Bay-floe: newly formed floe of ice.
Bight: also 'bay': an indentation in an ice floe.
Black sheet: thin, snow-free ice that is dark in appearance, easily confused with open water at night, commonly found between older ice pans.
Bore: to enter ice under sail [or steam] and force a ship through, separating the ice in the process.
Butting: also 'ramming', or 'backing': running a ship at ice to bore through.
Calf: an underwater ice tongue which breaks loose and rises to the surface "with violence."
Calving: ice forming a 'calf.'
Closed-ice: densely concentrated pack ice composed of floes mostly in contact.
Collar ice: rigid ice firmly frozen to a shore.
Decker: 'rafter' at a pressure ridge (Newfoundland).
Dock: either a small naturally occurring bight, or a square space cut in a floe sufficient to shelter a ship "from the danger of external pressure."
Field: very thick and extremely large sheet of ice -- seeming to extend almost to the horizon.
Floe: a field whose limits are clearly visible.
Growler: also 'large ice': piece of ice broken from an iceberg or old floe ice, washed and rounded to differing degrees.
Hole: also 'pool of water', or 'swatch': small space of 'clear water' in an otherwise ice-covered sea.
Hummocky ice: ice piled unevenly to form a continuous body of thick ice.
Land-ice: also 'land-floe': either floes frozen to land, or heavy masses of ice grounded near the shore.
Lead: channel through ice. To 'take the right lead' is to follow a channel to more navigable sea. A 'blind lead' terminates against solid ice.
Lolly: new, loose ice.
Nip: to be pressed by ice.
Nipping: ice that begins to close due to wind or currents, preventing passage.
Open-ice: "Pack ice in which the concentration is 4/10 to 6/10, with many leads … and the floes generally not in contact with one another."
Pack-ice: also 'ice pack': a large expanse of solid ice made up of separate masses of ice lying close together and impossible to pass.

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[63] Mountaine, *The Seaman's Vade-Mecum.* Kemp, *Oxford Companion to Ships*, 391.

[64] "hoy," OED.

Packed ice: small pieces held close together by larger ice, or currents.
Pan: an ice mass small enough to be moved by a ship.
Pancake-ice: new ice, formed of numberless rounded patches of 'sludge,' so that the sea surface appears paved.
Patch: a smaller variety of pack-ice, around which open water is visible.
Porridge ice: small, finely ground ice.
Pressure ridge: ridge of ice thrown up by rafting ice.
Rafting: the edges of two pans meeting with force break off and rise on top (as 'rafters'), or drop under the pans.
Running abroad: ice which opens out or 'slacks away' and becomes navigable.
Sailing-ice: masses of ice separate enough that a ship can sail among them.
Sally: an operation in which the sailors run from side to side onboard a ship, causing a ship to roll and thereby free it from young ice.
Sish: new, young ice in thin sheets.
Slack ice: masses of ice separate enough that a ship can be worked through.
Slacking: ice that is beginning to open and become navigable.
Slatches: large pools of open water in ice.
Slew: to force a ship against a piece of ice well off centre, causing it to swing aside.
Slob: floating snow, freezing into ice.
Sludge: ice of a honey-like consistency that does little to impede a ship, but that tends to solidify into a 'bay-floe.'
Stream: long, narrow and generally continuous collection of loose ice.
Tongue: underwater ice projecting from an iceberg or floe, differing from a 'calf' in remaining fixed to the larger body.
Track: to follow along the edge of an ice pack.
Waking: directly following the path of another ship through ice.
Wash: also 'rote' (Newfoundland): sound of the sea breaking on ice.
Young-ice: similar to 'bay-ice,' but more recently formed.[65]

Jacob's Ladder: "A ladder made of rope, with wooden bars for steps."[66]

Jonah: named for Jonah of the Old Testament, a bringer of bad luck to a ship.[67]

Ketch: a vessel with two masts, 'fore and aft rigged' – meaning it carried angular, rather than square sails.[68]

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[65] Bowditch, *American Practical Navigator*. William Coats, *The Geography of Hudson's Bay: being the remarks of Captain W. Coats, in many voyages to that locality, between the years 1727 and 1751*, ed. John Barrow (London: Hakluyt Society, 1852), 21; Parry, *Journal of a Second Voyage*, xiv. Schwatka. William Wakeham, *Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay*, 5–6.

[66] Burney, "Vocabulary of Sea Terms." Kemp, *Oxford Companion to Ships*, 424.

[67] Kemp, *Oxford Companion to Ships*, 434.

Land Sky: also 'land blink': dark streaks or patches of greyness in the sky above the horizon, not as dark as 'water sky,' but might be confused with a 'blink' caused by 'black ice.'[69]

Landward: on, or towards land.[70]

Leeward: "with the Wind, or on that Point towards which the Wind blows" – hence lee-shore.[71]

Lighter: "A large flat bottomed boat, used for conveying stores from the dockyard to the ships."[72]

Mizen/Mizzen: "has several Words peculiar to it. The *Mizen-mast* is that which is abaft, or nearest to the Stern [back] of the Ship; and from thence, every thing belonging to that Mast is distinguished accordingly, as are all the other Masts, and their Rigging, *&c.* So therefore the Mizen-sail is called the Mizen."[73]

Oakum: fibrous material "for caulking the seams of a deck, &c."[74]

Offing: "to the Sea-ward from the Land; as, when a Ship, or a Fleet, is said to *lie in the Offing*, it means, that they from whom that Expression has come, were in a Ship which lay in Harbour, or were near the Shore, when the others were to the Seaward of them."[75]

Orlop deck: lowest deck in a ship.[76]

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[68] Ibid., 447.

[69] Coats, *Geography*, 21; Thomas M'Keevor, *A voyage to Hudson's Bay, during the summer of 1812 : containing a particular account of the icebergs and other phenomena which present themselves in those region : also, a description of the Esquimeaux and North American Indians, their manners, customs, dress, language, &c. &c. &c.* (London : Printed for Sir Richard Phillips and Co., 1819), 5n; Bowditch, *American Practical Navigator.*

[70] "landward," OED, "1.b.," and "2."

[71] Mountaine, *Seaman's Vade-Mecum.* Kemp, *Oxford Companion to Ships*, 473.

[72] Burney, "Vocabulary of Sea Terms."

[73] Mountaine, *Seaman's Vade-Mecum.* See also Kemp, *Oxford Companion to Ships*, 552.

[74] Ibid. Kemp, *Oxford Companion to Ships*, 610.

[75] Mountaine, *Seaman's Vade-Mecum*; Burney, "Vocabulary of Sea Terms." See also Kemp, *Oxford Companion to Ships*, 614.

[76] Kemp, *Oxford Companion to Ships*, 618.

Pink: a "square-rigged ship with a narrow and overhanging stern."[77]

Pinnace: a small two-masted sailing vessel with square sails; also large "fast oared boats."[78]

Plain/Plane Sailing: "straightforward and easy. The origin of the term arose from the plane charts of the 16th century which were drawn on the assumption that the earth was flat, even though by then all navigators knew it was not."[79]

Points/Reef-points: "short lengths of small rope" secured to a sail and used to 'reef' or gather up the sail to reduce the amount exposed to wind.[80]

Poop deck: short deck at the stern of a ship, the roof of the captain's cabin.[81]

Quarantine: "All communications cut off from any ship, boat, or shore that has any sickness on board, as fever."[82]

Quarter deck: section of upper deck between the mainmast [middle] and mizen mast [back], just in front of the captains cabin and the poop deck.[83]

Reach: "the Distance between any two Points of Land, that lie in a right-line from each other."[84]

Rigging:"all the ropes, wires, or chains used in ships and smaller vessels to support the masts, raise, and position sails.[85]

Road: "any Place near the Land, where Ships may ride at Anchor; from whence a Ship so

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[77] Ibid., 648.

[78] Arthur Herman, *To Rule the Waves: How the British Navy Shaped the Modern World* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2005), 8; Burney, "Vocabulary of Sea Terms"; Kemp, *Oxford Companion to Ships*, 649.

[79] Kemp, *Oxford Companion to Ships*, 652.

[80] Ibid., 696.

[81] Kemp, *Oxford Companion to Ships*, 659.

[82] Burney, "Vocabulary of Sea Terms." Kemp, *Oxford Companion to Ships*, 677.

[83] Kemp, *Oxford Companion to Ships*, 679.

[84] Mountaine, *Seaman's Vade-Mecum.* See also Kemp, *Oxford Companion to Ships*, 695.

[85] Kemp, *Oxford Companion to Ships*, 707.

riding, is call'd a *Roader*" [italics in source].[86]

Schooner: a vessel with at least two masts, usually not rigged with square sails.[87]

Scuttle: To scuttle a ship is "To make holes in her bottom to sink her."[88]

Seamen: AB – 'Able-bodied ~' were "able to perform all the duties of a seaman."
OS/OD – 'Ordinary ~' were subordinate to an AB.[89]

Seaward: towards the sea.[90]

Shallop: a sloop, or large boat with one or more masts carrying fore-and-aft (angular) sails.[91]

Sloop: single mast vessel carrying angular sails.[92]

'Son of a Gun': mildly pejorative phrase for a male child conceived, or born, aboard ship in the relative seclusion of the space between cannons on a ship's gun deck.[93]

Sound: "to try with a Line, or other Thing, how deep the Water is."[94]

'Swallow the Anchor': to leave seafaring and live ashore.[95]

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[86] Ibid.

[87] Kemp, *Oxford Companion to Ships*, 759.

[88] Lever: *The Young Sea Officers Sheet Anchor*. See also Kemp, *Oxford Companion to Ships*, 763–64.

[89] Kemp, *Oxford Companion to Ships*, 1, 617; McKenna, *Dictionary of Nautical Literacy*, 272.

[90] J.W. Carlin, ed., "Seaward," *A Naval Encyclopædia: Comprising a Dictionary of Nautical Words and Phrases; Biographical Notices, and Records of Naval Officers; Special Articles of Naval Art and Science* (Philadelphia: L. R. Hamersly & Co., 1880), 728.

[91] "shallop," OED, 1; see also Daniel Vickers and Vince Walsh, *Young Men and the Sea: Yankee Seafarers in the Age of Sail* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 15.

[92] Kemp, *Oxford Companion to Ships*, 809.

[93] Evan Morris, "Word Detective" <http://www.word-detective.com/092403. html> (accessed 6 May 2008); Kemp, *Oxford Companion to Ships*, 816.

[94] Mountaine, *Seaman's Vade-Mecum.* Kemp, *Oxford Companion to Ships*, 816.

[95] W. Nelson Francis, review of *Hakluyt's Voyages: An Epic of Discovery*, by Richard Hakluyt, *The William and Mary Quarterly* 12, no. 3, 3d series (July 1955): 448.

Tack: to tack is "the operation of bringing a sailing vessel head to the wind and across it so as to bring the wind on the opposite side of the vessel. During this manouevre the vessel is said to be in stays or staying, or coming about. When a sailing vessel wishes to make up to windward, she can only do so by tacking, crossing the wind continuously to make a series of legs, of which the net distance gained is to windward."[96]

Tilt Boat: a passenger vessel with a large canvas cover to protected passengers and cargo from the elements. It also featured two small masts "rigged with spritsails, a sailing rig that is still used by Thames sailing barges today."[97]

Tramp steamer: a merchant vessel without a regular route and subject to diverting as needed.[98]

Wales: also called bends, "strongest Planks in the Ship's sides, on the broadest Part."[99]

Warp: "to carry [a vessel] against the Wind, by means of carrying out an Anchor in the Boat, and dropping it; then to hawl upon it and so carry out another Anchor, after the Ship is come up to the first Anchor. [100]

Watch: "A division of the Ship's company who keep the Deck for a certain time. One is called the *starboard*, and the other the *larboard Watch*" [italics in source], "on deck and below alternately."
Middle watch: "The watch between midnight and 4 a.m."
Morning watch: 4 am. to 8 am.
Forenoon watch: 8 am. to noon
Afternoon watch: noon to 4 pm.
Dog watch: "Two half watches of two hours each, from 4 to 6, and from 6 to 8, in the evening."
First watch: "The portion of the crew on deck duty from 8 p.m. to midnight."[101]

Water-sky: optical phenomenon that looks like a dark, or bluish patch in the sky and

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[96] Kemp, *Oxford Companion to Ships*, 853.

[97] "Gravesend tilt boat (SLR0360)," Ship Models, National Maritime Museum <http://www.nmm.ac.uk/collections/explore/object.cfm?ID=SLR0360> (accessed 18 February 2009).

[98] Kemp, *Oxford Companion to Ships*, 885.

[99] Lever: *The Young Sea Officers Sheet Anchor.* Kemp, *Oxford Companion to Ships*, 923.

[100] Mountaine, *Seaman's Vade-Mecum.* Kemp, *Oxford Companion to Ships*, 924–25.

[101] Lever: *The Young Sea Officers Sheet Anchor*; Burney, "Vocabulary of Sea Terms." Kemp, *Oxford Companion to Ships*, 926.

indicates 'clear water' in its direction.[102]

Wear: to wear is "the operation of bringing a sailing ship onto the other tack by bringing the wind around the stern as opposed to tacking when the wind is brought round the bow. It has been suggested that the word originated from veer, which has a similar meaning, but the term to wear a ship is the earlier of the two. In the past tense, a ship is wore, not worn."[103]

Wind: Fair ~ "A wind which aids a craft in making progress in a desired direction." Foul ~ "The wind heading a ship, so as to prevent her laying her course."[104]

York boat: a large boat, about thirty-six feet long, eight feet wide, and three or four feet feet deep. Both ends were pointed and 'raked' – "They leaned out, that is, forward and backward four feet from the end of the keel. This made it easier to push them off rocks and shoals." York boat crews were made up of six middlemen at the oars, a bowman, and steersman. "The oars, or sweeps, were very large, and to balance them the oarsman was placed on the opposite side of the boat to that on which the oar lock was. He stood up to push the oar forward and sat down as he pulled his stroke." The boats had a removable mast that carried a single square sail.[105] According to HBC lore, Chief Factor William Sinclair, oldest brother of Captain Colin Sinclair, standardized their design.

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[102] Parry, *Journal of a Second Voyage*, xiv; Wakeham, , 5–6; Bowditch, *American Practical Navigator*.

[103] Kemp, Oxford Companion to Ships, 929.

[104] Bowditch, *American Practical Navigator*; Burney, "Vocabulary of Sea Terms."

[105] W.L. Morton, "The York Boat," *Manitoba Pageant* (January 1957), Manitoba Historical Society <http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/pageant/02/yorkboat.shtml> (accessed 11 February 2009). "The York Boat," *The Beaver* 11, no. 2 (September 1931): 281–82.

Appendix D

Reference Maps

The computer-generated maps included in this appendix, devised by cartographer Charles Conway of the Geographic Information Sciences Laboratory, Department of Geography, Memorial University of Newfoundland, are general reference guides only.[1] The first map indicates an area of the North Atlantic that roughly corresponds to what I have designated the HBC ocean arc. The second lays out locations with place names variously used over time within Hudson Strait. The third map shows bayside locations in Hudson and James Bays.

Along with challenges of scale and readability, which precluded detailed representation of all geographical features mentioned in the dissertation, constructing an 'accurate' graphic representation of the HBC sailors' world is problematic. Confirming locations 1508–1920 is challenging, given that the charts and pilot books of HBC master mariners have not survived. Existing ships' logs contain only written annotations of place names and latitudinal and longitudinal observations. The former show great variation in spelling and legibility, the latter are not consistent because determination of longitudinal meridians varied. Different methods of determining latitude likewise gave different results. Navigators often relied on 'dead reckoning' – which they as often noted in the margins of their logs was their best guess only. In addition, understandings about precise historical locations differed among seafarers, while knowledge about geographical

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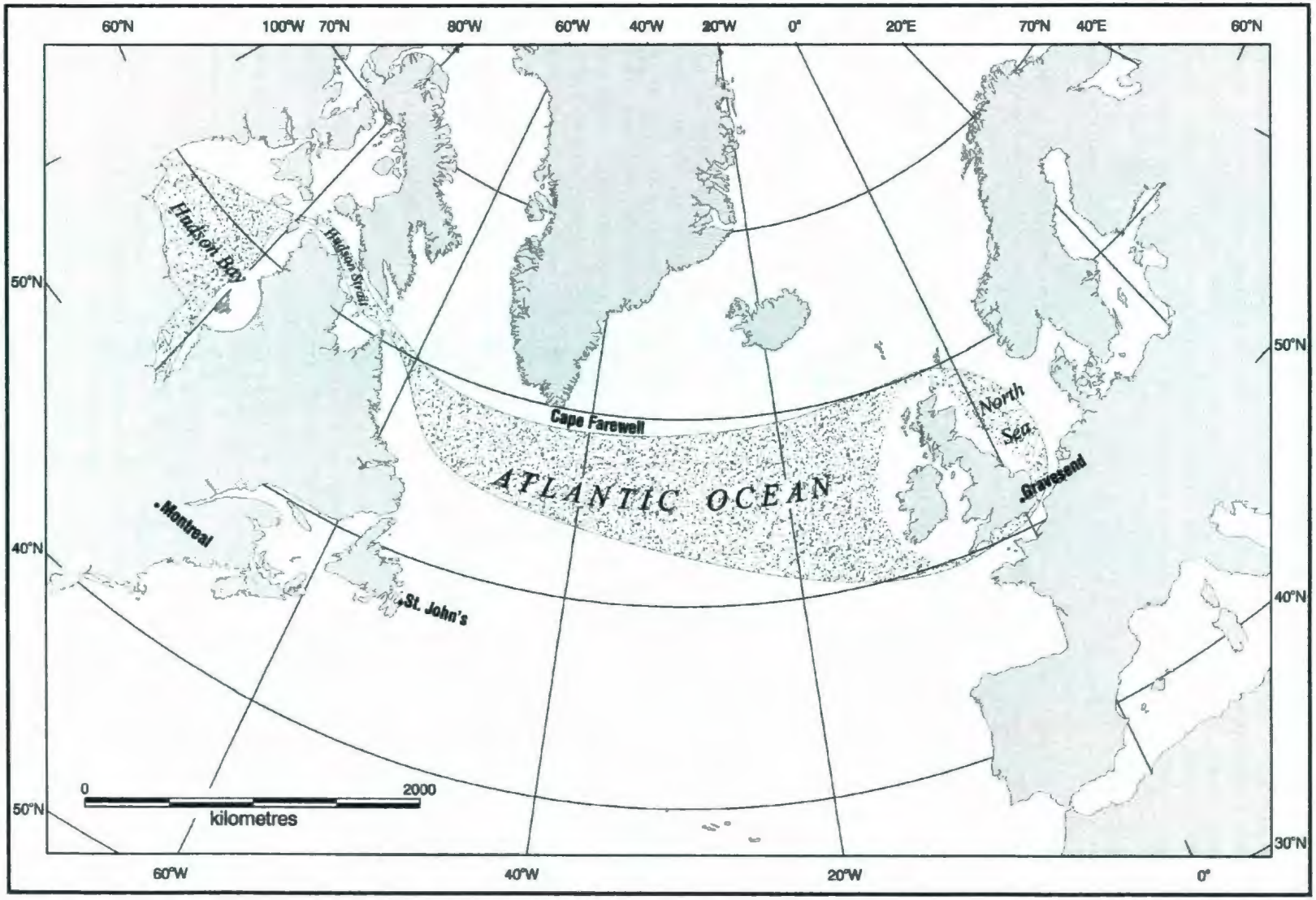
[1] See remarks Chapter One, this thesis, 20 n.48; Chapter Four, this thesis, 79–80, and n.16.

contours changed over time – see for example the map of Hudson Strait and 'Bell Island,' which is now known to be a peninsula. In many instances the cartographical contours Hudson and James Bays represented on early maps hardly resemble those that cartographers show today. The same problem exists with respect to the estuary of the London River, the Downs, and Yarmouth Roads, because channels that cut through silt and sand continually shift. The 'London Docks' also altered, as did boundaries of London itself. Then there are locations such as Buss Island that were reported all about the ocean but that probably never existed. There is also the problem of naming locations in a way that takes past diversity and the politics of naming into account. Lastly, that perspective is culturally determined also needs to be considered: seeming distortions in old maps actually point to differences between the ways the world was understood by people confined to the planet's surface, and those of the present who are accustomed to travelling by air and viewing satellite images. In a thesis that takes multiplicity of perspective to be a point that must be acknowledged, maps that do not also reflect variety, variability, and past perception are in many respects antithetical. The maps that follow are therefore merely sketches that bring problems to light and point to the need to consider more closely the differences between past and present spatial understandings and methods of communicating geographical knowledge over time.


60°N
100°W
70°N
80°W
60°W
40°W
20°W
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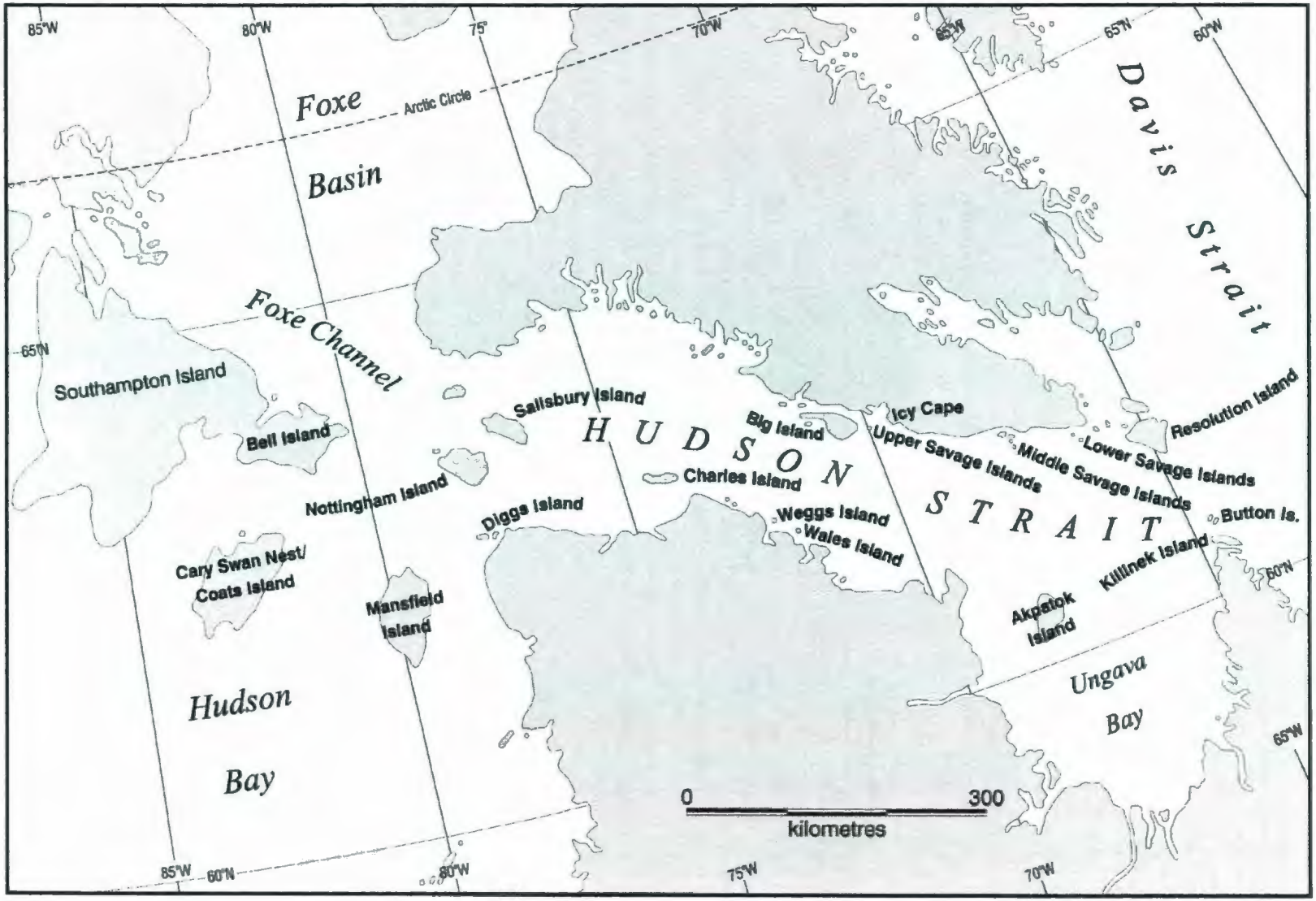
20°E
70°N
40°E
60°N
50°N
40°N
30°N
Hudson Bay
Hudson Strait
Cape Farewell
North Sea
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Montreal
St. John's
Gravesend
0
2000
kilometres


85°W
80°W
75°
70°W
65°W
60°W
Foxe
Basin
Arctic Circle
Davis Strait
Foxe Channel
65°N
Southampton Island
Bell Island
Salisbury Island
HUDSON
STRAIT
Big Island
Icy Cape
Upper Savage Islands
Middle Savage Islands
Lower Savage Islands
Resolution Island
Button Is.
Killinek Island
Charles Island
Nottingham Island
Digges Island
Weggs Island
Wales Island
Cary Swan Nest/
Coats Island
Mansfield
Island
Akpatok
Island
60°N
Hudson
Bay
Ungava
Bay
65°W
0
300
kilometres
85°W
60°N
80°W
75°W
70°W

105°W
100°W
95°W
90°W
85°W
80°W
75°W
70°W
65°W
60°W
65°N
60°N
55°N
Southampton Island
Coats Island
Wolstenholme
Mansel Island
Chesterfield Inlet
(Igluigaarjuk)
Cape Chidley
Port Burwell
Ungava Bay
Cape Smith
HUDSON BAY
Fort Chimo
(Fort Good Hope/Kuujjuaq
Port Harrison
Fort Churchill
(Fort Prince of Wales)
Fort Richmond
(Umiujaq)
Little Whale River
Great Whale River (Kuujjuarapik)
Belcher Islands
York Factory
(Port Nelson)
Severn
Cape Henrietta-Maria
Cape Jones
(Pointe Louis-XIV)
James Bay
Fort George
(Big River/Great River/
Shayseppy/Keeshay/Chisasibi)
Eastmain
Charlton Island
Albany Roads
Charles Fort
(Rupert House/Waskaganish)
Moosonee
Moose Factory
Viners/
Aldmiaki Island
0
200
kilometres

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C.4/1 Book of Ships' Movements, 1719–1929.

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