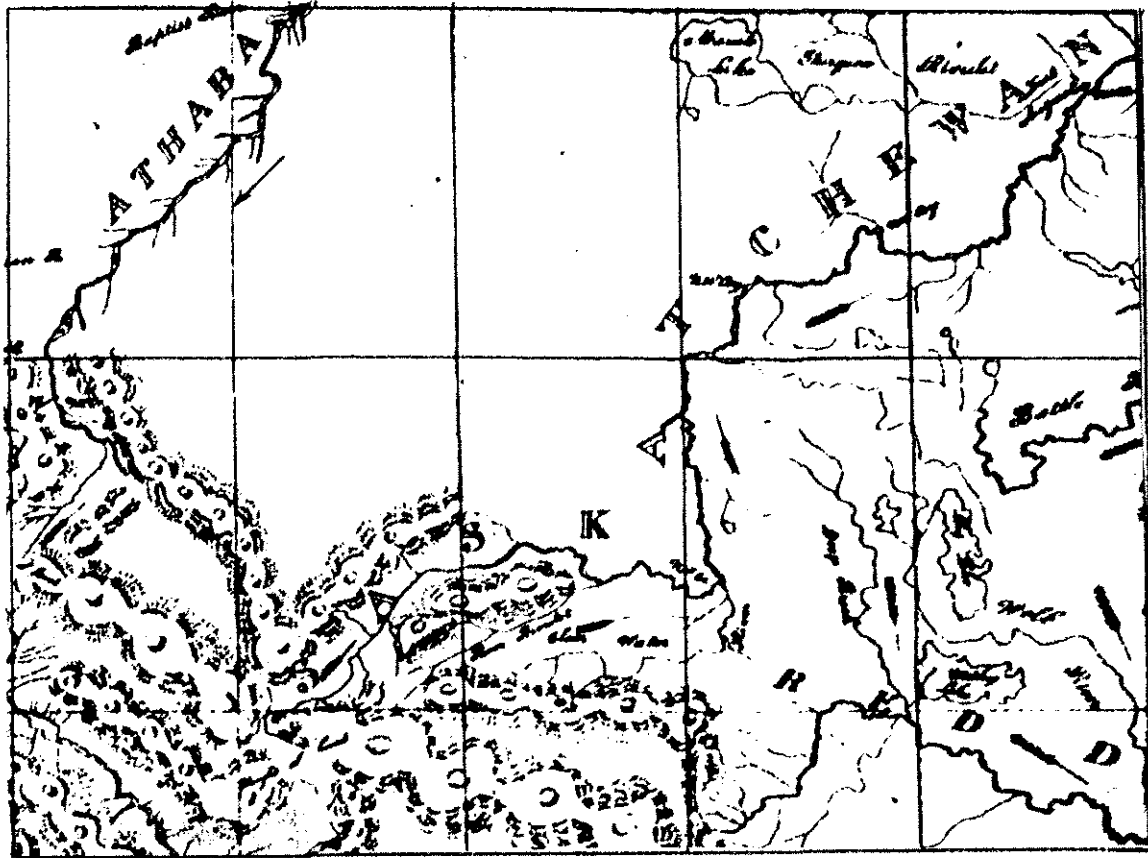


Aspects of the Life and Work of David Thompson:

With Special Reference to Rocky Mountain House



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No portraits of David Thompson are known to exist. According to one of his daughters, he is said to have strongly resembled John Bunyan. (1628-88) Thomas Sadler's portrait of Bunyan is shown above.

Introduction.

The following papers have been prepared for two main purposes:

- 1) as a contribution to on-going interpretive display planning at the Rocky Mountain National Historic Site of Canada; and
- 2) as a contribution to guide training for the public programme offered at Rocky Mountain House NHS.

The general public understanding of the place of David Thompson in Canadian history has been growing as the centennial of his historic crossing of the Rocky Mountains in 1807 draws closer. The complexity of his contribution to general Canadian history, and in particular to cartography, is not so well understood, and it is for that reason that the public programme at Rocky Mountain House has been identified as one important location where details of the David Thompson story can be told related to the general public. Because Thompson recorded so much geographic and ethnographic detail in the course of his travels and explorations as a fur trader, he is of considerable importance. Any general understanding of the way economic development unfolded in western North America during the early nineteenth century, and the of the social landscapes of those times, would be greatly diminished without his testimony. Rocky Mountain House was an important theatre of Thompson's operations, being the main centre from which he launched his transmountain explorations of the Columbia Valley.

1.

Career of David Thompson: A Brief Chronology.

1770. April 30. Born. Parish of St. John the Evangelist. Westminster, England. His parents, David and Ann Thompson, were recent immigrants to London from Wales.

1772. Feb. 28. Death of David Thompson, Sr.

1777. April, 29. David Thompson enrolled in the Grey Coat School, Westminster.

1783. Dec. The Hudson's Bay Company applies to the school for a list of candidates, suitable for service in Rupert's Land. David Thompson's name is referred to the company, as one of two boys who "had been taught navigation."

1784. May. David Thompson sails from London in the HBC's Prince Rupert and arrives at Churchill in September. Works for Samuel Hearne.

1784. June, 29. David Thompson's name is recorded as an apprentice to the HBC in the quarterly minutes of the Board of Governors.

1784-85. Winter. DT serves under Samuel Hearne.

1785. Sept. 13. Arrives at York Factory to undertake general fur trade clerk duties.

1786. June 22. Thompson travels inland to Cumberland House in a party headed by Robert Longmore and then travels further up the Saskatchewan to the Duck Lake area (Hudson House). He then assists in the construction of South Branch House on the South Saskatchewan near present day Batoche. Thompson make progress in learning the Cree language.

1787-88 Thompson remains inland serving at Manchester House and Hudson House. Thompson was then sent further south and west to explore the Bow River where he wintered with the Peigan (Blackfoot) and in particular, with Saukamappee, an aged Cree living among the Peigan. DT makes progress in learning the Blackfoot language.

1788 (Fall). Thompson has returned to Manchester House and breaks his leg in December in a sled accident. William Tomison, the officer in charge gives him good care, but swelling prevents rapid recovery

1789. (Spring) DT taken to Cumberland house for further recovery. By summer of 1789 he was partially mobile but not serviceable. Winters over at Cumberland House.

1789. (Fall). Philip Turnor, en route to the Athabasca Country arrives at Cumberland House, with a survey party, including the young Peter Fidler. Over the next few months, both Fidler and Thompson receive instruction in survey and astronomical techniques from Turnor.

1790. (Spring). Thompson had developed eye trouble as well, and was still not fully recovered enough to join the survey party en route to the Athabasca. Instead, he is sent to York Factory to finish his apprenticeship under Joseph Colen.

1790. (August) DT requests the HBC in London to provide him with survey instruments, in order that he may do survey work along the coast. These instruments he requested in lieu of a suit of clothes normally provided by the HBC to apprentices completing their indentured term of service. His request is granted and he is offered a contract for three years at 15 pounds per year.

1792. Colen commissions DT to undertake a survey of the waterways in the muskrat country between the Nelson and Churchill Rivers. This was done in order to open communications to the Athabasca country and allow the HBC to better compete with the Nor'westers of Montreal. DT winters at Sipiwesk Lake in the Burntwood River country.

1793-4. Thompson works the North Saskatchewan at Manchester House and Buckingham House where he winters. DT returns to Cumberland House in Spring of 1794, surveying those parts of the Saskatchewan River not previously mapped. Projected expedition to the Athabasca country is postponed owing to labour troubles and then by late arrival of the annual HBC ship at York Factory. DT arrives back at Reed Lake in September, 1794. DT learns that, as of May, 1794, he has been appointed HBC Surveyor at 60 pounds per year.

1795. (Spring). DT to York Factory for men and supplies. July, 18, he departs for the Athabasca but reaches only the Churchill River before winter sets in. DT winters at Duck Portage on Sisipuk Lake.

1796-97. While his colleague Malcolm Ross returned to York Factory for new supplies, Thompson travels north from Fairford House on the Reindeer River to the east end of Lake Athabasca, accompanied by two Chipewyan guides. The route is a difficult one and not destined for future use. Thompson and Ross then winter at Bedford House on the west side of Reindeer Lake.

1797. May. DT decides to join the North West Company. He walks to Alexander Fraser's NWC post on Reindeer Lake. Thompson to Grand Portage on Lake Superior for annual meeting of Wintering Partners and Agents. DT instructed to run a line of survey west along the 49th parallel west of Lake of the Woods, and following the traditional fur trade route between Lake Superior and Lake of the Woods. (According to the dictates of Jay's Treaty of 1794). Locating the proper source of the Mississippi River was an important consideration in this survey work, which, over the next ten months, took DT as far north as Swan River Manitoba, and south to the Souris country of southern Manitoba.

1798-99. DT travels the English River (Upper Churchill) and up the Beaver River to Red Deers Lake (Lac la Biche) where he winters at a new post.

1799 (Spring) DT travels overland to Fort Augustus (Edmonton) and then investigates a new route from the North Saskatchewan River to the upper Athabasca River by way of Lac la Nonne and the Pembina River. DT takes the traditional route via the Methy Portage back to Grand Portage. En route he stopped at Isle a la Crosse, where on June 10 he married Charlotte Small, mixed-

blood daughter of Patrick Small, a retired NWC Partner. Charlotte was 13 at the time.

1799-1801. DT combines duties in this period at Fort George on the North Sask. River, Rocky Mountain House and on the Peace River. At the annual meeting at Grand Portage in 1800, the NWC directed Thompson to attempt to cross the Rockies. Preliminary attempts to cross and survey routes across the Rocky Mountains in 1800 and 1801 by the upper Waters of Red Deer River (via the Ram River) and the Saskatchewan but these expeditions were not successful.

1802. Rocky Mountain House closed. The NWC gives its full attention over next few years to countering competition from disenchanted North West Company Explorer, Alexander Mackenzie, who has formed a new rival firm, the XY Company, in 1801. DT sent to the Peace River country near Lake Athabasca where the XY Company as active.

1804. Summer. DT at the new Fort William Headquarters of the NWC on Lake Superior, north of the old Grand Portage site, which was now identified as being in American territory. DT made a partner in the NWC and given two shares, valued at more than 4000 pounds sterling. The XY Company and the NWC begin to merge, ending the rivalry. DT works the Muskrat County sw of Hudson Bay. Lewis and Clark commence their American Missouri River expedition to the Pacific Northwest, following the Louisiana Purchase the year before. Lewis and Clark had in their possession a recent map produced by the Arrowsmith Firm of London, which incorporated much information drawn from the work of Thompson, Fidler and Alexander Mackenzie.

1805. Simon Fraser sent to the Athabasca country to explore Mackenzie's old northern route to the Pacific and to open up new trade in what became New Caledonia.

1806-07. John MacDonald of Garth re-opens Rocky Mountain House and invites Thompson to come and renew efforts for opening up a new trans-mountain route to the Kootenay Indian territory. Violence occurs on the Two Medicine River in Montana between Captain Lewis's party and a party of Peigans. This violence tends to orient the Peigan towards the American border area over the next year, leaving the mountain area around Rocky Mountain House relatively unattended. DT prepares to attempt another crossing via the Howse Pass on the headwaters of the North Saskatchewan. An advance party had been sent across lead by Jaco Finlay, who provided a basic map of conditions to Thompson. DT spends winter of 1806-07 preparing for his exploration and trading trip to the Kootenay. A party of Peigan led by Kootenae Appee arrives at Rocky Mountain House in early January, 1807.

1807. May 10. DT sends Finan McDonald and an advance party towards the mountains via the Howse Pass. DT travels overland with his wife and three children and others and meets McDonald on June 3 at Kootenay Plains. On June 22, the expedition reaches Howse Pass and crosses to the Columbia Valley via the Blaeberry River. In July, work commences on the construction of Kootenae House near Lake Windermere.

1808. DT instructs Finan McDonald to build a small post at Kootenay Falls. (Montana)

1809. DT. Establishes Kullyspell House at mouth of Clark Fork River and Lake Pend Oreille and Saleesh House in the vicinity of Thompson Falls. (Montana)

1810-11 Spokane House established by Finan McDonald or Jaco Finlay, at junction of Spokane River and Little Spokane River. (Washington)

1810. June. DT scheduled to go east on furlough. Arrives at Rainy Lake House in July with his family. DT Owing to the proceedings of the Annual Meeting at Fort William a few days earlier, DT receives word he had been reappointed as proprietor of the Columbia District. Word of John Jacob Astor's American Fur Company plans to mount a sea expedition to the mouth of the Columbia required DT to return and attempt to strengthen the North West Company position on the lower Columbia River by completing a survey of the entire river to its mouth. DT sends his family on to Montreal and returns to the west. DT arrives at White Mud House in Sept. 1810.

1810. Oct. 5. DT seeking to approach Rocky Mtn House in order to prepare for a crossing of Howse Pass. Learns that the Peigan have returned from their preoccupations with the Americans in the south and have blockaded the pass to fur traders in order to prevent the Kootenay from obtaining goods and arms.

Oct. 29. DT departs from the Rocky Mtn House area northwards to the Athabasca Pass, seeking an alternative way across the mountains.

Dec. 29. DT and his party depart from Brûlé Lake area on the Athabasca River and head for the summit of Athabasca Pass.

1811. Jan. 18. DT's party camps within a mile of the Columbia River near the mouth of the Canoe River.

March-May. John J. Astor's ship, Tonquin, arrives at mouth of Columbia and men erect Fort Astoria. Expedition under charge of Duncan McDougall and Robert and David Stuart.

June 19. DT at the junction of the Colville River and the Columbia. (Kettle Falls)

July 11. DT at the Dalles on the lower Columbia.

July 15. DT arrives at mouth of Columbia and Ft. Astoria. (Note: the NWC and the Pacific Fur Company of John Jacob Astor actually enjoyed a partnership arrangement. It is therefore not true that DT and his associates were preoccupied with sovereignty issues. The relatively relaxed attitude DT displayed towards his assignment to get to the mouth of the Columbia is explained by this partnership factor. However, some of the Astorians, such as Alexander Ross, appear to have been under the impression that an agreement between the NWC and the PFC had not been finalized, and that therefore, the NWC and DT were in fact competitors.).

July 22. DT set off back inland via the Columbia, accompanied for some distance by members of the Astorians. DT eventually travels back over Athabasca Pass and obtains new supplies from William Henry's Post on the upper Athabasca River. He then returns over the mountains and winters at Saleesh House

1812. Spring. DT crosses the Athabasca Pass for the last time, bound for Montreal and retirement from the fur trade.

Sept. 30. Thompson has his children baptized at the Scotch Presbyterian Church in Montreal. Oct. 30. His marriage with Charlotte is "regularized." Settles at Terrebonne, near Montreal.

1814. DT completes his great map of the northwest covering the country from Lake Superior to the Pacific. (This map hung for many years in the Great Hall at Fort William, and was later obtained by the Ontario Archives.)

1815. DT relocates to Williamstown Ont. Near Cornwall, where many other retired Nor'westers had settled. John McDonald of Garth was also in the vicinity.

1817. DT accepts appointment as astronomer to the Boundary Commission established under authority of the Treaty of Ghent (1814) in order to establish border between British and American territory in eastern part of the continent.

1820. DT made a Justice of the Peace in Glengarry County.

1822. Agreement reached on the boundary.

1822-26. DT acts as astronomer to the Boundary Survey, west of Lake Superior to Lake of the Woods.

1825-33. DT loses a considerable amount of personal savings following the bankruptcy of McGillivrays, Thain and Company. Thompson turns to a number of other enterprises associated with land and resources, but with little success. At age 63 he applies for work as a surveyor in order to provide for his family. Conducts hydrographic surveys with his son Henry.

1837. Conducts surveys of waterways between Lake Huron and the Ottawa River.

1840-43. DT has had little luck in gaining recognition and sales for his map work. British Government pays him 150 pounds for a new version of his western map, but his advice on the Oregon Boundary is ignored.

1845. DT moves in with his daughter and son-in-law in Montreal and in then in 1850 at Longueuil. Commences work on his *Narrative*.

1851. Thompson blind and parts of the *Narrative* remains unfinished, the work covering the period up to 1812.

1857. DT dies and his passing goes largely unnoticed.

1887. J.B. Tyrrell publishes his 'Brief Narrative of the Journeys of David Thompson' thus beginning the process of recovering Thompson's reputation.

1916. The Champlain Society publishes J.B. Tyrrell's edition of Thompson's *Narrative*.

Notes on David Thompson's Family.

The following is recorded in David Thompson's hand in his own family Bible.*

David Thompson, born in the Westminster Parish of St. John, April 30, 1770.

Charlotte Small, wife of David Thompson, born September 1st, 1785, at Isle à la Crosse, married to David Thompson, June 30, 1799.

Fanny Thompson, born June 10, 1801. Rocky Mountain House.

Samuel Thompson, born March 5th, 1804. Peace River Forks.

Emma Thompson, born March, 1806. Reed Lake House.

John Thompson, born August 25th, 1808. Boggy Hall, Saskatchewan.

Joshua Thompson, born March 28th, 1811. Fort Augustus.

Henry Thompson, born July 30, 1813. Terrebonne Village.

John Thompson, deceased, January 11th, 1814....

Emma Thompson, deceased January 11th, 1814...

Charlotte Thompson, born 7th July, 1815, Village of Terrebonne.

Elizabeth Thompson, born 25th April, 1817, at the Village of Williamstown, River Raisin, Glengarry.

William Thompson, born 9th November, 1819, at the Village of Williamstown...

Thomas Thompson, born July 10, 1822. Williamstown...

George Thompson, born 13th July, 1824. Williamstown...Died August 27th, Aged 7 weeks.

Mary Thompson, born April 2, 1827, at Williamstown.

Eliza Thompson, born March 4, 1829, at Williamstown.

Henry Thompson, died 23 October, 1855, aged 42, buried in Mount Royal Cemetery, Montreal.

*This material on David Thompson's family is taken from Tyrrell (1916), p. lv.

David Thompson and Rocky Mountain House: his contributions to the fur trade, cartography and ethnohistory:

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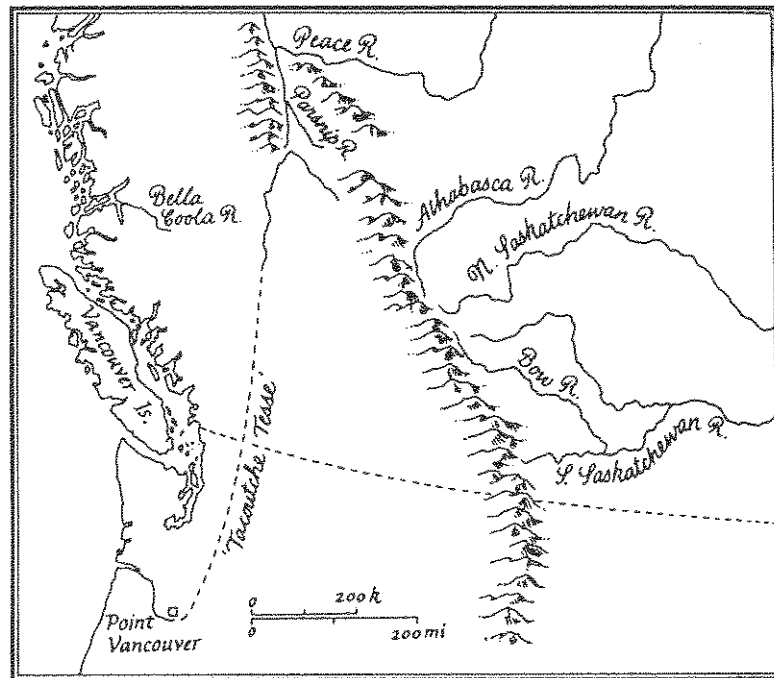
Fur trader David Thompson (1770-1857) is a significant figure in Canadian history as well as in the history of Rocky Mountain House. The Hudson's Bay Company brought Thompson out to Churchill Fort in 1784 when he was just fourteen. Having learned some rudimentary knowledge of surveying as a student, over the next thirteen years he continued to refine his knowledge of surveying and astronomy, sometimes with and sometimes without the support of his employers.¹ In 1797, two years before the establishment of Rocky Mountain House on the headwaters of the Saskatchewan River, Thompson changed his commercial affiliation, leaving the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company, in order to join the more loosely organized "Nor'westers" of Montreal. When he joined the North West Company much of his most important survey activity was still ahead of him, and much of that would take place in the lands west of the Great Divide, in country which was still largely uncharted and unfamiliar to those of European background. After 1799, the main base for Thompson's quest to explore and open up trade in the lands west of the Rockies was the North West Company establishment at Rocky Mountain House.

The Question of the Transmountain Fur Trade in 1800: Competition and the International Scene.

Before 1800, only Alexander Mackenzie, a seasoned trader of the North West Company based in the Athabasca country at Fort Chipewyan, had breached the Western Cordillera by an exploration route which brought him out to the Pacific Ocean via the Rocky Mountain Portage on the Peace River, then via the Fraser, Blackwater and Bella Coola Rivers. His achievement, while remarkable, did not greatly further the local purposes of the fur trade for Mackenzie had undertaken his venture more with a view to establishing commercial links with Russia and the orient.² His route was difficult, much of it by land, and while it had some advantages for the future New Caledonia trade; it ran too far north of the lands of the Columbia River drainage, where good fur trade possibilities also existed. In the course of his famous trip to the Pacific Coast via the Bella Coola River, he nevertheless misconstrued the relationship between the Upper Fraser River and the Lower Columbia River (or "Tacoutche Tesse") on his great map of 1801. (Map 1-1) Mackenzie, and many other Nor'westers of the 1790s, never lost sight of the idea that the real benefit of getting across the mountains involved the possibility of restructuring the fur trade into a three-cornered trade board involving North America, Europe and the long-sought Orient.³

By 1800, less globally-oriented fur traders understood that whoever negotiated a more convenient way across the mountains would benefit from the establishment of new relationships with many unknown Native groups in lands not yet exhausted by a century and a half of trapping, as was the case with many of the areas east of the mountains. This idea occurred particularly to John

Map 1-1. Alexander Mackenzie's Conjecture of the nature of the Columbia River or "Tacoutche Tesse".
After Nisbet (1994)



McDonald of Garth and his colleague, Duncan McGillivray, who had been building North West Company posts along the North Saskatchewan River throughout the 1790s. In those years they had heard stories of a tribe living west of the mountains. These were the "Cootenahas" or Kootenays, identified in an impressionistic way on maps since the mid-1780s. McDonald established Rocky Mountain House in 1799, mainly with a view to providing a trading centre for this tribe.⁴ This initiative was built upon by the senior partners of the North West Company, particularly by Simon McTavish. Alexander Mackenzie, following his departure from the North West Company in 1799, went to England to arrange publication of his *Voyages*. He had attracted considerable attention in England, and the powerful Simon McTavish, never on good terms with Mackenzie at the best of times, may have sensed the importance of mounting his own initiative for a transmountain expedition. At the Fort William meeting of 1800, the NWC partners sent Thompson to Rocky Mountain House to attempt such a crossing.⁵

At the new post on the headwaters of the North Saskatchewan River, Thompson was joined by McGillivray. With the assistance of these two seasoned traders, John McDonald attempted to establish a transmountain trade with the Kootenays who occupied lands directly across the Rocky Mountains in the upper Columbia and Kootenay River valleys. Subsequently, McDonald and his associates became the driving force which, over the next ten years, resulted in the mapping of much of this territory west of the great divide and its organization for trade.

The American purchase of Louisiana from France in 1803 introduced another element into this mix. The success of the Lewis and Clark Expedition (1804-06) in appraising the upper reaches of the Missouri River and in crossing of the mountains to the Pacific, placed the traders from the Hudson's Bay Company and Montreal into a new model of competition. The approaches of the Spaniards and Russians by sea along the North Pacific Coast was one thing, but

now there were land-based Americans capable of invading the fur lands from the south.

In the short run, not all was bleak from the standpoint of the northern traders. The Lewis and Clark expedition left in its wake a legacy of bad relations with the Blackfoot peoples owing to a violent confrontation on the Two Medicine River in the vicinity of today's Glacier National Park. The attention of the Blackfoot Confederacy was temporarily turned southward in order to safeguard their territory against American traders and explorers. This gave an opportunity to traders from both the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, to experiment with sending men across the Howse Pass at the headwaters of the North Saskatchewan River in order to consolidate trade relations with the Kootenay. As early as 1800, David Thompson sent two traders across the mountains. His own crossing had to be delayed until the spring of 1807, following which he established "Kootanae House" near Lake Windermere on the Columbia River.⁶ For the next three years he worked at establishing other posts in the Columbia River drainage of present day Montana, Idaho and Washington. These included Kullyspel House, Saleesh House, and Spokane House, thus giving the northern traders the edge in terms of establishing firm trade relations in parts of what are today Montana, Idaho and Washington.

Other international and regional factors played a role in how the fur trade influenced the final, but long and drawn out, establishment of a border between American and British territory in the Pacific North West, partially a consequence of Jay's Treaty of 1794. In 1810, Thompson headed for Montreal on a much-deserved furlough, but after reaching the company post at Rainy Lake, reports on the politics of the day caused him to revise his plans. There were several issues to deal with. First, tensions which would soon lead to the War of 1812 between

Britain and America, were already showing up on the Great Lakes. Second, the imminent plans of John Jacob Astor, fur trader based of New York, had to be considered. His new Pacific Fur Company was about to send a ship around Cape Horn and on to the mouth of the Columbia River. While Astor had partnership links with the North West Company of Montreal, it seemed prudent that David Thompson be sent back west and attempt to complete a journey by land to the mouth of the Columbia in advance of Astor and reinforce the British territorial interest in the North West Company's prior establishment of inland posts along the Columbia River. Finally, tribal tensions had been mounting again between the Blackfoot and Cree on the eastern slope of the mountains, which complicated matters at the posts on the Saskatchewan River and with respect to any transmountain trade with the Kootenay.

When Thompson returned to Rocky Mountain House from Rainy Lake in the summer of 1810 he planned to make a rapid crossing by means of Howse Pass. He found however, that members of the Blackfoot Confederacy had turned their attention northward once again and had effectively mounted a blockade against the fur traders seeking to cross the mountains by this pass or any to the south.⁷ It was at this time that the Athabasca Pass started to play a role in Thompson's calculations. For a number of years Thompson and his associate, Alexander Henry the Younger, had heard of a pass at the headwaters of the Athabasca River, and so, in late 1810, with transmountain affairs pressing from a number of directions, Thompson decided to search out this route in order to get around the blockade of the Howse Pass. While the prospect of a winter exploration and crossing was not ideal, the crossing was made in early 1811.

His opening up of a route across the Athabasca Pass became important to the fur trade. It may be noted that after 1811, the approach to access the pass from the east was not the one initiated by Thompson from Rocky Mountain

House. The approach was rather via the Churchill River - Methye Portage - Athabasca system or, after the 1821 amalgamation of the fur companies, by a variation of this route, via the North Saskatchewan River and Fort Assiniboine.

About Thompson's rush to the Pacific in 1811, much has been written.⁸ His arrival at the mouth of the Columbia River in July, after the successful landing of the Pacific Fur Company traders and the establishment of Astoria, did not seem overly problematical to Thompson, for he had already developed a series of inland posts along the upper and middle Columbia River. Trade had been good at these inland posts. After a brief and apparently cordial stay at Astoria, Thompson quickly returned to Boat Encampment where he was met by William Henry, who had brought him new trade supplies from Jasper House. Thompson then wintered with the Flatheads of Saleesh House, and the following May, he crossed over Athabasca Pass for the last time before retiring, seemingly prosperous, to Montreal, where he would continue to work on his maps, based on the vast amount of survey information he had compiled during his travels.

David Thompson and the Fur Trade of Rocky Mountain House

Rocky Mountain House was built by the Nor'westers in the fall of 1799, as was the neighbouring Acton Post, built by the Hudson's Bay Company men. For a few years at least, the motives of the traders at the two posts were somewhat different. Since the early 1790s, when the HBC's Peter Fidler had met some of the Kootenay in the Crowsnest Past, both companies had become aware of the eagerness of the transmountain Kootenay to deal directly with the European traders, rather than through intermediaries such as the Peigan.⁹ After two Kootenay Indians visited the HBC post at Edmonton House, at considerable risk to themselves, the Nor'westers at nearby Fort Augustus were quick to see an opportunity to make things easier for the Kootenay by building a post closer to their homeland, further up the Saskatchewan River. In the minds of the founders of Rocky Mountain House, John McDonald of Garth and Duncan McGillivray, the new post would not only give the Kootenay safer access by limiting their travel time through Blackfoot territory, but it would also act as a base camp from which to open up a trade route to the other side of the mountains.

While not averse to the Kootenay Trade, the HBC traders at Acton House were not equipped with either the policy or resources which would allow for an immediate transmountain exploration and trade advance. These traders therefore, displayed a greater interest in consolidating trade with the more local members of the Blackfoot confederacy and with the Stonies. Acton House provided a more convenient place of resort for these tribes, with the advantage that it also reduced friction with the Cree who tended to trade at Edmonton House or Fort Augustus to the north.¹⁰ Relations between the Cree and Blackfoot Confederacy were

becoming progressively strained, so a part of this rationale was to trade with the groups separately, as much as possible.¹¹

Thompson was soon given an opportunity to meet representatives of the transmountain Indians directly, for in 1800 the Kootenay sent a party across the mountains to the new trading post at Rocky Mountain House. The Kootenays came by a southern route across the mountains, one which eventually brought them across today's Banff country and into the upper Red Deer River area.¹² Thompson led a party out to meet the Kootenays and brought them to the post but this did not happen without considerable harassment from members of the Peigan tribe, an important group within the confederated Blackfoot-speaking plains tribes living east of the mountains. Thompson actually enjoyed good relations with the Peigans, having wintered with them in earlier years, but this trek to Rocky Mountain House by the Kootenay was fateful in terms of future inter-tribal relations. The Peigan, previously on relatively peaceful terms with the Kootenay, were now anxious to keep trade fire-arms out of the hands of this group.¹³ The tribes of the Blackfoot confederacy wished to see Rocky Mountain House prosper, but largely on the strength of a trade with their own membership. After this first visit by the Kootenay, the Peigan looked upon Thompson's transmountain ambitions with suspicion and they kept a watchful eye on the activities of the traders. In 1801 for example, Thompson had sent two traders, Le Blanc and La Gasse, back across the mountains with the Kootenay party as trade ambassadors, and they wintered for several years among them. Neither of these two men survived past 1806 owing to their having become embroiled in Blackfoot-Kootenay conflicts.¹⁴

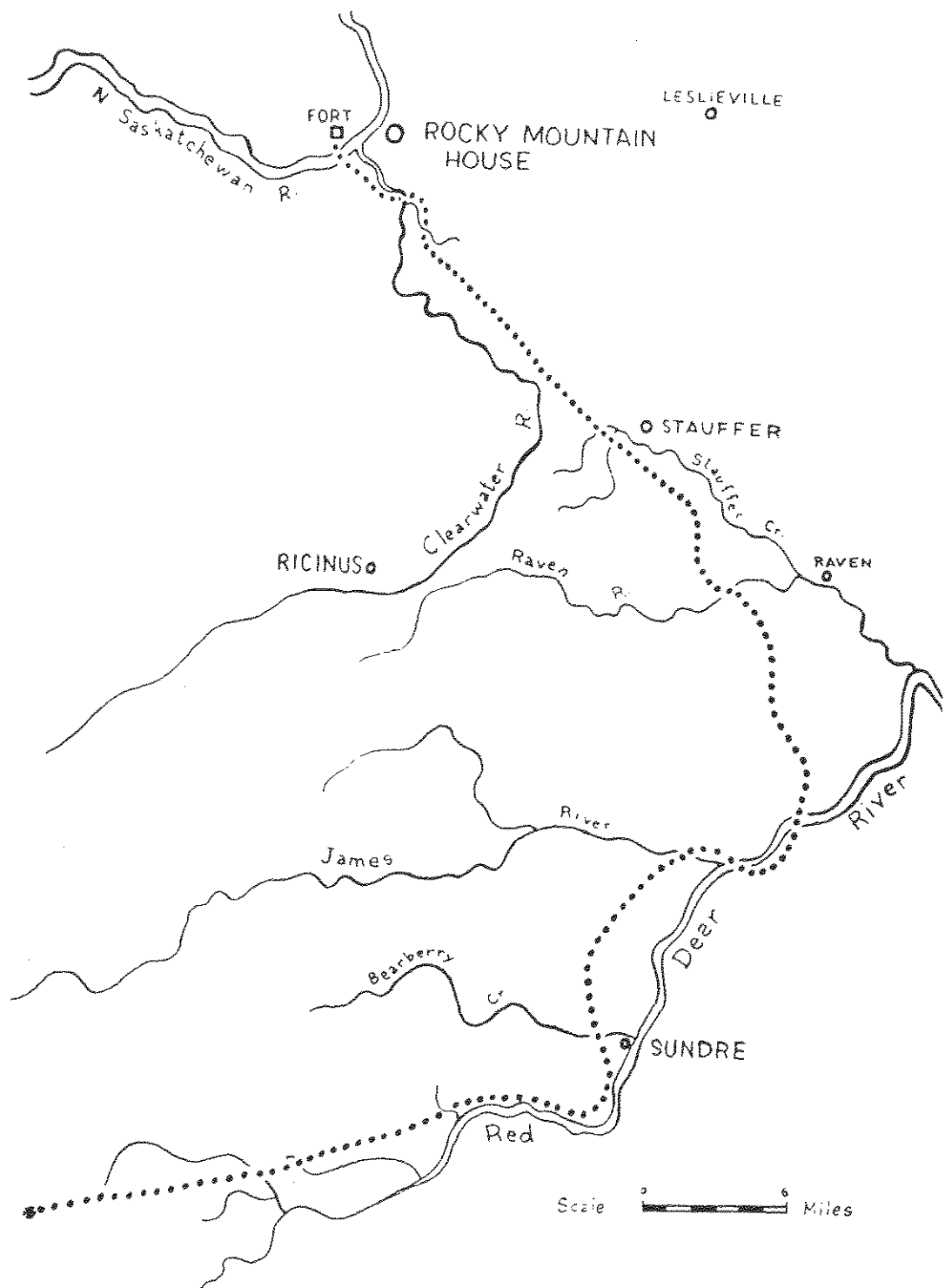
Trade at the posts for first few years was satisfactory and undoubtedly helped to smooth diplomatic relations to some extent. David Thompson had come to assist in the operation of Rocky Mountain House in 1800. As with his

associates, he had a greater interest in developing the Kootenay Trade than in the local trade. In providing an escort to some Kootenays coming to trade via the Red Deer River in 1800, he quickly learned how determined the Peigan were to maintain their position of strength.¹⁵ (Map 1-2) The following year, Thompson attempted to cross the Rockies via the upper Saskatchewan, but his guide, in taking the party up a branch of the Ram River, led the traders into a cul-de-sac and the expedition ended in failure.¹⁶

Thompson had intended to attempt the crossing the following spring, but circumstances intervened in such a way that it would be several years before this crossing could be attempted. A number of factors came into play. First, Alexander Mackenzie, following his departure from the North West Company, had formed a third party of competition, known as the XY Company. In order to meet this challenge, both the HBC and the Nor'westers had to retrench in the more traditional fur trade areas and build smaller posts in order to drive out the new competition by means of over-capitalization. This meant the closing of both Rocky Mountain House and Acton House for a period of three years. Thompson was sent to the Peace River country for the next two years. Second, in 1804 he was made a full partner of the North West Company and he had to make the long trip to the new company headquarters at Fort William to participate in the annual business meeting. Third, by 1804 there was news that the American Lewis and Clark Expedition was in progress, and hence yet another form of competition threatened.

By 1806, with the XY Company challenge resolved, the American threat suggested that a new initiative was required to cross the transmountain barrier, both by means of Mackenzie's old route via Peace River and in the more southerly reaches of the mountain chain. It was essential, in the view of the Nor'westers, that the nature of the Columbia River and its relationship with the

Map 1-2 Reconstruction of Thompson's trip along the Red Deer River from Rocky Mountain House in October 1800. After Dempsey (1965).



Fraser River be established once and for all. The nature of this relationship had been left unclear by the maps produced by Alexander Mackenzie in the 1790s.¹⁷ Over the next decade, Thompson became the central figure in clarifying the complex geography of the Columbia River drainage and its relationship with the other great rivers of the Pacific slope. In 1806, Thompson's associates sent him back to Rocky Mountain House which had been reopened by John McDonald of Garth, with a view to attempting once again a mountain crossing.

When Thompson arrived at Rocky Mountain House in October of 1806, John McDonald of Garth had prepared the ground for Thompson's exploration by earlier sending a party to re-clear the old Kootenay trail through the Howse Pass. Thompson remained at Rocky Mountain House for the winter, taking care of fur trade business and reviewing the information brought in by Jaco Finlay. Finlay had arrived back on Nov. 19, having built canoes for future use at Boat Encampment and having informed the Kootenay of Thompson's intended trip. Findlay's geographic information later appeared on a map of Peter Fidler's, who courteously included a note on the map: "Drawn by Jean Findlay, 1806". Being a good HBC man however, Fidler only indicated Acton House on his map, and not Rocky Mountain House.¹⁸ (Map 1-3).

By May 10, 1807, Thompson was ready to depart in the company of Finan McDonald and others. Moving northwest up the Saskatchewan River, the large party, which included Thompson's wife and three children, arrived at the Kootenay Plains. There, Thompson hired two Ojibwa hunters to accompany them on the crossing. On June 22, following Jaco Finlay's route established the previous summer, the party began to move over the Howse Pass.

The passage to the Columbia Valley was not without incident, but by July, beginnings had been made on the construction of "Kootanae House". After one false start at a defensively unsatisfactory location, the post was built near Lake

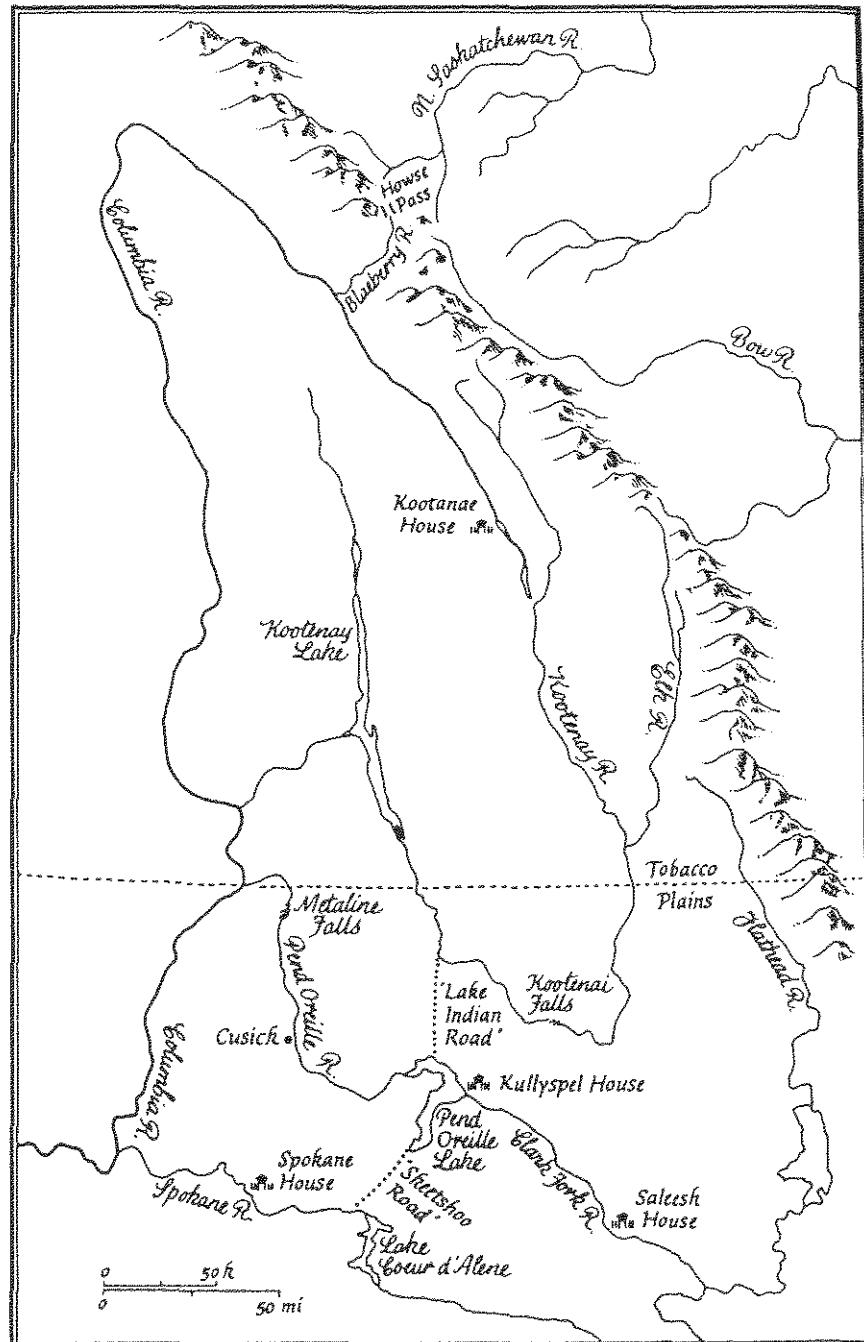
[illegible]

Windermere.¹⁹ The completion of this post was the beginning of five intense years of exploration, trading, post construction and diplomacy on the part of Thompson and his associates. (Map 1-4) Much of the information which he recorded in his efforts to clarify the nature of the Pacific Slope watersheds was quickly absorbed by American and British map makers. Even in 1804, when Lewis and Clark started their overland expedition to the mouth of the Columbia, they had in hand maps which the Arrowsmith Firm of London, had incorporated, information derived from Mackenzie, Pond, Thompson and Fidler of the Hudson's Bay Company.²⁰ Fidler, through the London Committee of the HBC, was the source of the Arrowsmith firm's quick incorporation of new data.

Thompson's connection with Rocky Mountain House was fairly minimal after 1806, most his time being spent on the Pacific Slope. Only in late 1810 did it once again play a role. This came during his attempt to explore the Columbia to its source, on the orders of his fellow partners, in an effort to head off the fur trade rivalry posed by John Jacob Astor's Pacific Fur Company of New York. The "Astorians" were known to be en route to the mouth of the Columbia by sea.

The Blackfoot Confederacy had, by 1810, become increasingly hostile to the continuance of the transmountain fur trade. In the summer of 1810, a Peigan party had recently suffered badly in an armed conflict with the Flatheads and the Confederacy now moved to block any travel by the traders across the Howse Pass. Thompson, in the vicinity of Rocky Mountain House that same summer, move cautiously, and when he learned from a Cree hunter that not only was the blockade in place above Rocky Mountain House, but that there was one on the Columbia River side as well, he began to give thought to a new route across the mountains. Thompson travelled discreetly to the north, seeking a new crossing point by the Athabasca Pass, which he accomplished in early 1811.

Map 1-4. Columbia Posts established by Thompson and his associates after 1807. After Nisbet (1994)



David Thompson and Ethnohistory

In addition to Thompson's important contribution to the cartography of the greater west, his writings have long shed light on the social history of the Native peoples of the greater west during the early years of contact with European traders.²¹ An analysis of his *Narrative* reveals a very lengthy number of contacts made with different Native groups over his years trading and exploring in western Canada and the United States. The following tribes appear in the *Narrative* as having been contacted in some manner:²²

Assiniboine	Atsina (Rapid)	Blackfoot
Blood	Calispel	Cheyenne
Chippewa (Ojibwa)	Cree	Chipeweyan
Chinook	Delaware	Flatbow
Flathead	Gros Ventre	Iroquois
Kutenai	Lillooet	Mandan
Nez Perce	Nipissing	Okanagan
Osage	Pawnee	Piegan
Pisquosh	San Poil	Sarci
Shawpatin	Shoshonean	Snake
Shuswap	Sikani	Sioux
Skaemena (Sokulk)(Yakima)	Skeetshoo	

With some of these tribes, we know that Thompson had long and lasting relationships. Some of his journals and the *Narrative*, contain important ethnographic observations on the Peigan, Cree, Flatheads, Kutenai and the Hidatsa

on the Missouri.²³ His time among others was often more fleeting, such as with the "Skaemena" - a group inhabiting lands along the middle Columbia River. Also known as the Sokulks, but they were more likely Palouse or Walla Walla.²⁴ Thompson's contemporary on the Columbia, Alexander Ross, left an account of these Indians, and stated that they referred to Thompson by the name of "Koo-Koo-Sint" which others have taken to be a version of Salish for "Star" or "Star-Man."²⁵ (See Appendix A). It was a fitting name to bestow upon Thompson and went to the heart of his main purpose in life.

The Native groups most relevant to the immediate fur trade activities of Rocky Mountain House included the tribes of the Blackfoot Confederacy, including the Sarcee, the Stoney Indians, the Cree, and the transmountain Kootenay and Flatheads. These groups started to appear in a regular way on European and Native maps in the 1780s.²⁶

Rocky Mountain House, and its neighbour, Acton House for the Hudson's Bay Company, were established in part to reduce the social friction at Fort Augustus and Edmonton House further down the Saskatchewan River. In the views of the traders, too many different tribes were frequenting these last mentioned posts. As early as 1792, Peter Fidler, of the HBC, had briefly met Kootenay Indians in the Crowsnest Pass, when he was there with the Peigans. The Kootenays were anxious for direct trade, but the Peigans were doing well, in the commercial sense, acting as "middle-men" supplying the Kootenays with trade goods obtained by them first from the European traders. The subsequent attempts by some of the Kootenays to travel to Edmonton House and Fort Augustus, were discouraged by the Peigan.²⁷ The Nor'westers were particularly interested in extending the trade to the Kootenays owing to the untapped nature of the fur supply in that part of the country, and it was primarily for that reason that Rocky

Mountain House was established in 1799. From the very start of construction however, the Blackfoot Confederacy attempted to define the post as one primarily for their own use. They would make the Kootenay no more welcome at Rocky Mountain House than at Fort Augustus. This desire to exclude the Kootenay from direct trade was also shared by the Cree of that quarter.²⁸ The representative of the Hudson's Bay Company at Acton House, on the other hand, were less interested in blazing a permanent trail across the mountains at this time, and were more content to cultivate the local trade of the Blackfoot Confederacy, the Stonies and the Cree.

The traders of both companies persevered, attempting to facilitate all groups as best they could. In 1801 for example, the Peigans and the Swampy Ground Stonies were the best customers at Rocky Mountain House.²⁹ Meanwhile, the fur traders kept their own agendas to themselves. For John McDonald of Garth, Duncan McGillivray and David Thompson, the plan was to extend the fur trade across the mountains by means of a series of new posts. After 1800 the principal traders at Rocky Mountain House became preoccupied with this objective, and to that end, Thompson sent some of his own men back across the mountains with a party of Kootenay in order to winter with them.³⁰ The following year, he himself attempted, unsuccessfully, to make the journey.³¹ It would be some years before he was to achieve this, but in the interim, the traders at Rocky Mountain House and Acton House came to know the Kootenay much better as a result of their visits or from news provided by Le Blanc and La Gasse.

David Thompson: The Biographical Problem

While evidence for these events between 1799 and 1812 are of several kinds, the richness of what can be learned from the writings of David Thompson give them a certain primacy. The story revealed by the Thompson corpus however, remained hidden for many years after Thompson's death, in relative obscurity, in 1857.³²

Joseph B. Tyrrell, a geologist attached to the Canadian Geological Survey, had much to do with the gradual reclamation of knowledge of Thompson's contribution to mapping and ethnography. Tyrrell was attached to the survey party of George M. Dawson in 1883, active at that time in mapping the front range of the Rocky Mountains in what is today southern Alberta. Both geologists were intrigued about the good quality of the map references included on the maps they were given to use in Ottawa for use in the Rocky Mountains. What was unclear to both Tyrrell and Dawson was the identity of the person who had provided the information about the mountains and river courses, so accurately set out. Tyrrell finally found some clues in the works of Hubert Bancroft. In his histories dealing with western America, Bancroft included footnotes referring to the map work of one David Thompson in the early part of the nineteenth century.³³ This lead allowed Tyrrell, with the help of retired Surveyor General of Ontario, Andrew Russell, to track the existence of Thompson's original notebooks held in the Crown Lands Department of the Ontario Government in Toronto. Through Russell as well, Tyrrell established contact with one of Thompson's daughters, Mrs. P.E. Shaw of Peterborough.³⁴ Before travelling west for the field season of 1888, he presented a public lecture on his first

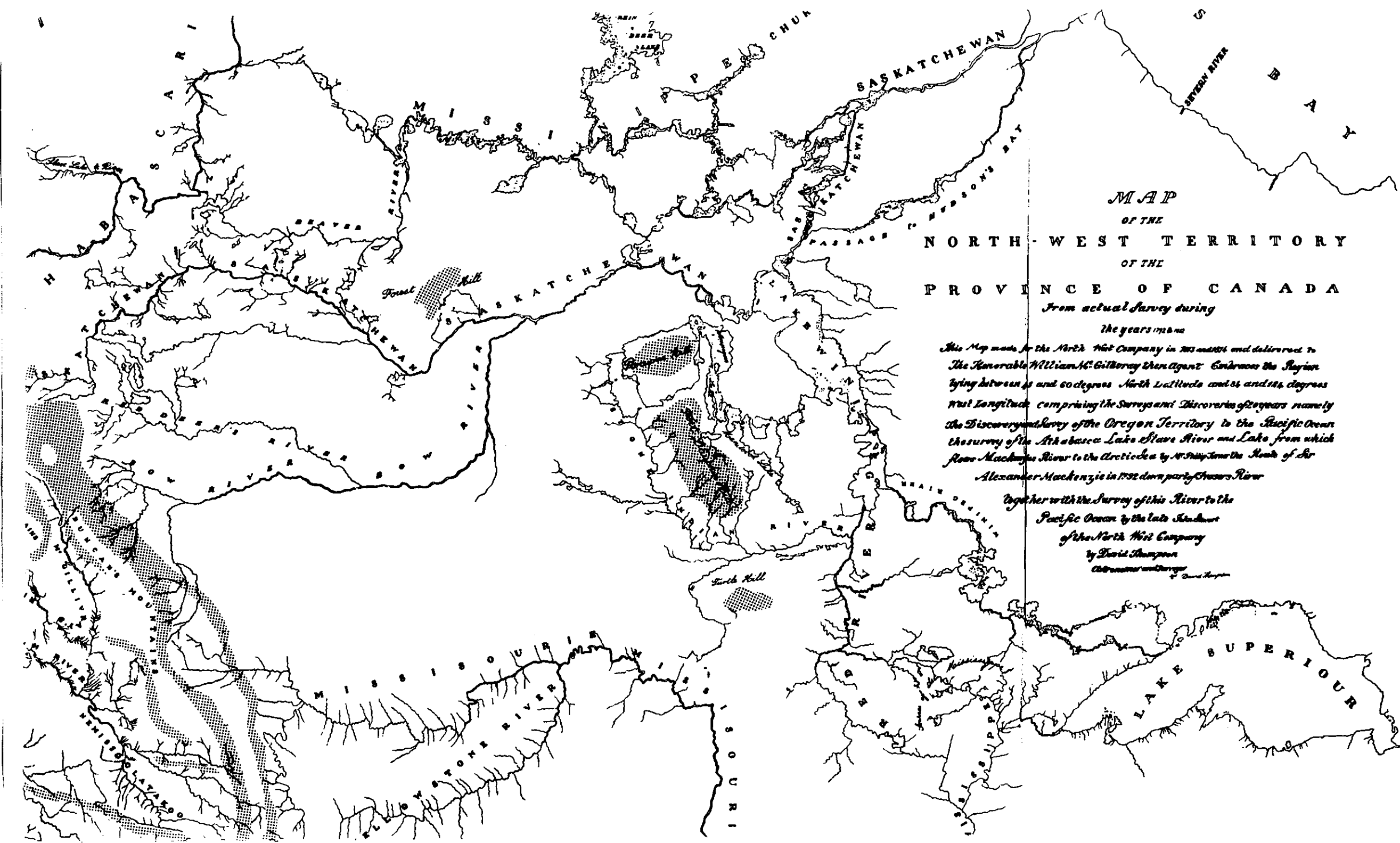
findings on Thompson.³⁵

Tyrrell's biographer has recounted how, in the summer of 1888, the geologist was stricken with typhoid while engaged in survey work in northern Manitoba. Taken to Winnipeg, his life hung in the balance for a number of weeks but to the amazement of many he survived and was sent to Toronto to recuperate.³⁶ This proved fortuitous for learning in the long run, for it gave Tyrrell a chance to again concentrate on his researches into David Thompson. Remarkable good fortune came his way when a "neighbour of his father's in Weston" told him "that he had in his home Thompson's handwritten narrative of his travels."³⁷ This was Charles Lindsay, from whom Tyrrell eventually bought the manuscript. Over time, Tyrrell prepared it for publication in 1916 through The Champlain Society. With that publishing event, it might be said that David Thompson had been rescued from historical obscurity.

Since the publication of the *Narrative* in 1916 much has been written about this wide-ranging fur trader and cartographer.³⁸ Analytical work continues to be done on his journals and new comprehensive studies are in progress.³⁹ Scrutiny of the accuracy of his pioneering survey work, often accomplished under very trying conditions, has been the enterprise of a number of scholars and organizations.⁴⁰ Subsequent research has also increased our knowledge of the nature of the close interaction between the North West Company and John Jacob Astor's New York-based Pacific Fur Company (American Fur Company) during the first decade of the nineteenth century. Earlier interest in Thompson's patriotic motives, or lack thereof, during his 1811 drive to the mouth of the Columbia River, has given way to a greater interest in the sheer magnitude of his cartographic achievement.⁴¹ He is credited with the primary documentation of some 1,200,000 square miles of northwestern America's landscape.⁴² It has also become clear that much of Thompson's information worked itself regularly, and

without much compensation or recognition, into the professional maps produced in the nineteenth century by the Arrowsmith firm of London, England.⁴³ (Map 1-5)

Map 1-5. Thompson's Map of 1814 of Western North America.



Appendix A

A Note on David Thompson's nick-name "Koo-Koo-Sint."

The idea that certain Indians called David Thompson by the name "Koo-Koo-Sint" - the "Star-Man" - originates, in part at least, with Alexander Ross of the Pacific Fur Company, (later of the North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company).⁴⁴ The original reference by Ross is in his *Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River* (1849). It is made during the course of his trip inland along the Columbia from Astoria, partially in the company of David Thompson, in the summer of 1811. On August 12, in the vicinity of the confluence of the Columbia River with the Yakima and Snake Rivers, Ross reported on a large assembly of Native peoples consisting of "Walla Wallas, The Shaw Haptens, and the Cajoueses."⁴⁵ This was the area where David Thompson had planted a Union Jack in order to suggest that lands to the north were in British Territory. Ross observed:⁴⁶

...the Indians at first seemed to hint that we could not proceed up the north branch, and rather disposed to prevent us, by saying, that Koo-Koo-Sint - meaning Mr. Thompson - had told them so...

This reference to "Koo-Koo-Sint" has come down through the standard literature, along with attempts to clarify the identity of the Native groups involved.⁴⁷ J.B. Tyrrell, in preparing his important 1916 edition of Thompson's *Narrative*, enjoyed the collaboration of T.C. Elliott, the Director of the Oregon Historical Society. Elliott prepared many of the footnotes relevant to the Columbia River portions of the *Narrative*. In considering the reference to "Koo-Koo-Sint" he was of the opinion that the local Indians were "the Sokulks" or "really Nez Perces".⁴⁸ Current scholars believe it is more likely that the Indians

encountered were Palouse or Walla Walla.⁴⁹ Elliott's idea that the group identified by Ross were Nez Perce may derive from the linguistic connection of the Walla Walla with the Nez Perce as fellow Sahaptian speakers.⁵⁰ Elliott also suggested that the term "Koo-Koo-Sint" was a "corruption of the Salish word for 'Star' and probably meant 'Star Man'."⁵¹ This suggestion finds support in Nisbet's recent study on David Thompson, who suggests that in the winter of 1809 and 1810 when Thompson established Saleesh House among the Salish-speaking Flatheads, he was known in that vicinity by that nick-name.⁵² In 1811, when Ross made his observation about the Indians on the middle Columbia, (well west of the Flathead country) he noted that this group already had fire-arms, and this may indicate contact with the Flatheads, and hence perhaps the borrowing of their term for Thompson.⁵³ General support for the Salish linguistic origin of "Koo-Koo-Sint" is to be found in the *Dictionary* prepared by the Jesuits of St. Ignatius in the Flathead country in the late 1870s. Giorda and his associates give the Salish-Flathead word for "star" as "Kukusem".⁵⁴

Endnotes

1. On Thompson's relations with his superiors in the Hudson's Bay Company such as Joseph Colen, see the discussions by Tyrrell and Glover in their respective Introductions to Thompson's *Narrative*. See Tyrrell, ed. (1916) and Glover, ed. (1962) in the Annotated Bibliography.
2. See Barry Gough, *First Across the Continent* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1997), Ch. 5.
3. Marjorie Wilkins Campbell, *The North West Company* (Vancouver: Douglas and MacIntyre, 1983), pp. 88-90; E.E. Rich, *Hudson's Bay Company, 1670-1870* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1960), Vol. 2. pp. 206-7
4. For background on these developments and the establishment of Rocky Mountain House, see Hugh Dempsey, *A History of Rocky Mountain House* in: *Canadian Historic Sites: Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History*, No. 6. National and Historic Sites Branch. (Ottawa: Dept. of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1973), pp. 8-53; Fred Stenson, *Rocky Mountain House National Historic Park* (Toronto: NC Press/Parks Canada, 1985); David Smyth, *The Fur Trade Posts at Rocky Mountain House*. Manuscript Report. National Historic Parks and Sites Branch. (Ottawa: Environment Canada, 1977); on the history of Native relations at Rocky Mountain House, see Eugene Y. Arima, *Blackfeet and Palefaces: the Pikani and Rocky Mountain House* (Ottawa: Golden Dog Press, 1995).
5. J.B. Tyrrell, 'David Thompson and the Rocky Mountains' *Canadian Historical Review* 15 (1) (1934), 39-40
6. Jack Nisbet, *Sources of the River: Tracking David Thompson Across Western North America* (Seattle: Sasquatch Books, 1994), p. 79 f.; Barbara Belyea, ed. David Thompson, *Columbia Journals* (Montreal: McGill-Queens Press, 1994), p. 35 f.
7. Nisbet (1994), pp. 168-71
8. See in particular the following: A.S. Morton, 'The North West Company's Columbian Enterprise and David Thompson' *Canadian Historical Review* 17:3 (Sept. 1936), 266-88; J.B. Tyrrell, 'David Thompson and the Columbia River' *Canadian Historical Review* 18:1 (March, 1937), 12-27; James P. Ronda, *Astoria and Empire* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), pp. 62-4.
9. See the excerpts from Peter Fidler's *Journal*, as cited in J.G. MacGregor, *Peter Fidler: Canada's Forgotten Surveyor, 1769-1822* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1966), pp. 78-9
10. Hugh A. Dempsey, 'A History of Rocky Mountain House' in: *Canadian Historic Sites. Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History*, No. 6. National Historic Sites Service (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1973), pp. 11-12
11. See J.S. Milloy, *The Plains Cree: Trade, Diplomacy and War, 1790 to 1870* (Winnipeg:

University of Manitoba Press, 1990), p. 31 f.

12. See Hugh Dempsey, 'David Thompson's Journey to the Red Deer River' *Alberta Historical Review* 13 (1965), 1-8

13. On the politics of this shift in diplomacy, see Milloy, (1990).

14. See Claude E. Schaeffer, *Le Blanc and La Gasse: Predecessors of David Thompson in the Columbia Plateau*. Studies in Plains Anthropology and History, No. 3. Browning: U.S. Department of the Interior. Indian Arts and Crafts Board. Museum of the Plains Indian, 1966.

15. See Dempsey (1965).

16. F.W. Howay, ed. 'David Thompson's Account of his First Attempt to Cross the Rockies' *Queen's Quarterly* 40 (1933), 333-56

17. See W. Kaye Lamb, ed. *The Journals and Letters of Sir Alexander Mackenzie* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), The 1789 and 1793 Map Facing p. 67.

18. This map is in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Winnipeg, and is listed as E3/4. Fos. 16D-17. See Richard Ruggles, *A Country So Interesting: The Hudson's Bay Company and Two Centuries of Mapping*. (Montreal: McGill-Queens, 1991), pp. 65-6; 201; See also, J.A. Meyers, "Jacques Raphael Finlay" *Washington Historical Quarterly* 10 (July, 1919), 163-67.

19. Jack Nisbet, *Sources of the River: Tracking David Thompson Across Western North America* (Seattle: Sasquatch Books, 1994), pp. 92-6

20. Ibid., p. 76

21. See Coues, ed. (1965), Introduction. Tyrrell, ed. (1916), Ch. 17, Ch. 22; Wood (1977).

22. See Tyrrell (1916), Index.

23. See for example, Tyrrell (1916) Part I. Ch. VI - 'Life Among the Nahathaways'; Ch. VII 'Chepawyans'; Ch. XIV 'Mandanes and Their Customs'; Ch. XVII 'Life at Cadotte's House'; Ch. XXII - Plain Indians'; Ch. XXIII 'Peegans'; Part II. Ch. IV 'Establish Trade Relations with the Saleesh Indians'; Ch. VIII 'Ilthkoyape Indians'; W. Raymond Wood, 'David Thompson at the Mandan - Hidatsa Villages, 1797-98: The Original Journals' *Ethnohistory* 24 (1977), 329-42

24. Helen H. Schuster, 'Yakima and Neighboring Groups' in: *Handbook of the North American Indians, Vol. 12: Plateau* (Washington, D.C. Smithsonian Institution, 1998), p. 349

25. Tyrrell, ed. (1916), p. 526 n.1, and see note 54.

26. See Section 3 of this report.

27. See Dempsey, (1973), p. 11

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid., p. 12

30. See Claude Schaeffer, *Le Blanc and La Gasse: two predecessors of David Thompson in the Columbia Plateau*. Browning: Museum of the Plains Indian. U.S. Department of the Interior, 1966.

31. F.W. Howay, ed. 'David Thompson's Account of this First Attempt to Cross the Rockies' *Queen's Quarterly* 40 (1933), 333-56; J.B. Tyrrell, 'David Thompson and the Rocky Mountains' *Canadian Historical Review* 15 (1) (1934), 39-45

32. For a biographical sketch, with sources, see John Nicks, 'David Thompson' *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. 8 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985).

33. J.B. Tyrrell, 'The Re-discovery of David Thompson' *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*. Third Ser. 22:2 (1928), 240-2

34. Ibid., p. 242

35. J.B. Tyrrell, 'Brief Narrative of the Journeys of David Thompson' *Proceedings of the Canadian Institute*. Toronto. 3rd Series. 6 (1887-88), 135-60.

36. Alex Inglis, *Northern Vagabond: The Life and Career of J.B. Tyrrell* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978), pp. 94-5

37. Ibid., pp. 98-99

38. See Tyrrell, ed. (1916), and Annotated Bibliography in this report.

39. See Belyea, ed. (1994). The Champlain Society of Canada is in process of bringing out a third volume on the work of Thompson. See The Champlain Society, *Ninety-first Annual Report for the Year 1998*, (Toronto: 1999), p. 3

40. See the *Transactions of the Northwest Brigade Club* IX. Special Issue: 'Navigation'. (Calgary: 1996); David Smyth, 'David Thompson's Surveying Instruments and Methods in the Northwest, 1790-1812' *Cartographica* 18 (4) (1981), 1-17; W.M. Stewart, 'David Thompson's Surveys in the North-West' *Canadian Historical Review* 17:3 (Sept. 1936), 289-303

41. On Astor's relationships with Montreal merchants, see Ronda, (1990), pp. 46-9; 278; and Haeger (1991), pp. 49-56, 118-21; on the historiography of Thompson's role in British-American politics, see Dempsey (1964). See also, H.D. Smiley, 'The Dalliance of David Thompson' *The Beaver* 303 (3) (1972), 40-47; A judicious summary of Thompson's achievements is contained in Nisbet (1996). For a review of the historiography of Thompson, see Belyea, ed. (1994), Introduction. On the importance of Thompson's map work, see the Appendix in Belyea, ed. (1994) - Maps. p. 291 f.

42. Tyrrell (1928), p. 233

43. Don W. Thompson, *Men and Meridians* (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1966), Vol. 1, p. 212; Tyrrell (1928), pp. 240-1; and see the Appendix in Belyea, ed. (1994) - Maps. p. 291 f.
44. Ross was the author of two important books on the Pacific Northwest: *Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River* (London: 1849); *The Fur Hunters of the Far West* (London: 1855).
45. Ross (1849), p. 127
46. Ibid., p. 128
47. Helen H. Schuster, 'Yakima and Neighboring Groups' in: *Handbook of the North American Indians, Vol. 12: Plateau* (Washington, D.C. Smithsonian Institution, 1998), p. 349
48. See Tyrrell (1916), p. 526 n.1 and also T.C. Elliott, ed. 'Journal of David Thompson' *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* 15 (1) (1914), 56 n.20
49. Schuster (1998), p. 349
50. John R. Swanton, *The Indian Tribes of North America*. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bull. 145 (Washington D.C. Smithsonian Institution, 1907), pp. 447-8; see also Bruce Rigsby and Noel Rude, 'Sketch of Sahaptin, a Sahaptian Language' in: *Handbook of the North American Indians: Vol. 17. Languages*. (Washington D.C. Smithsonian Institution. 1996), p. 666 f.
51. Tyrrell (1916), p. 526.n.1
52. Nisbet (1994), p. 151
53. Ross (1849), p. 127; Nisbet (1994), p. 150
54. Joseph Giorda, et al. *A Dictionary of the Kalispel or Flat-Head Indian Language*. 2 Vol. (St. Ignatius, Mont. 1877-79), Vol. 2, p. 369

Distribution of Native Peoples in the Vicinity of Rocky Mountain House: A Review.

i

Much of the literature on the history of the Canadian West concerned with the distribution of Native peoples in the post-1600 period takes for a premise a more or less continuous and complex series of east to west tribal migrations as a general response to European land pressure on the east coast and along the St. Lawrence valley.¹ Thus, for example, a large component of traditional Ojibwa (Anishinabe) history, speaks of a long series of migrations from east to west, culminating finally in the establishment of those recognized as the "Plains Ojibwa."² Another example of this argument characterizes much fur trade history literature. In this case, the argument is that fur traders based around Hudson Bay or in the St. Lawrence valley acted as agents of social and economic change amongst many Native groups. One effect of this general process was that those tribes living closest to the fixed bases of the traders gained an economic advantage over those at a further remove, and that this advantage encouraged expansion by those "home guard" tribes who quickly took on a position as "middle-men" in the fur trade regions. The expanded power of these European-affiliated tribes led to displacement of less favoured tribes to the west.³

In recent years a literature had developed which runs counter to this general argument, or at least to the notion that Native movements were the pure product of response to Europeans.⁴ There are few however, who would argue

that there have not been significant movements and realignments of Native groups over the last four hundred years. Even the Kootenay's, long considered to be a transmountain tribe, preserve some memory of an earlier period of residence, east of the mountains.⁵ In western Canada and the United States, the historical documentation of the arrival and adaptation of horse culture by peoples on the prairies is one important theme in the changing story of Native mobility.⁶

An important aspect of the history of Rocky Mountain House revolves around the Native presence in the vicinity and the roles played by diverse groups in the trade between 1799 and 1875. Compared to the distribution of peoples east and west of the Great Divide today, what can be learned of the late 18th century scene? The sources for our knowledge of this come from a number of sources: these are archaeological, cartographic, documentary, and contemporary testimony.⁷

Just as reports of the arrival of Europeans circulated in distant Native communities well before their actual appearance, so to did the existence of Native groups appear in European documents or charts well before they had been encountered in person by Europeans.⁸ The actual meaning and interpretation of cartographic inscriptions often led to inferences rather than solid conclusions. A case in point would be the information conveyed in 1754 by Hudson's Bay Company trader, Anthony Henday, when he ventured far west onto the prairies from his base at York Factory and met representative of the "Architinue" (presumably Blackfoot/Siksika) peoples), about forty miles north of present day Calgary. These people were fully mounted and were pursuing a wide-ranging and self-sufficient way of life. When Henday's observations are compared with those made by Henry Kelsey in 1691, on the eastern edge of the plains, it is clear that life had changed for prairie peoples.⁹ The people Kelsey met, the "Naywatame" poets (warriors), were without horses but may have been Blackfoot

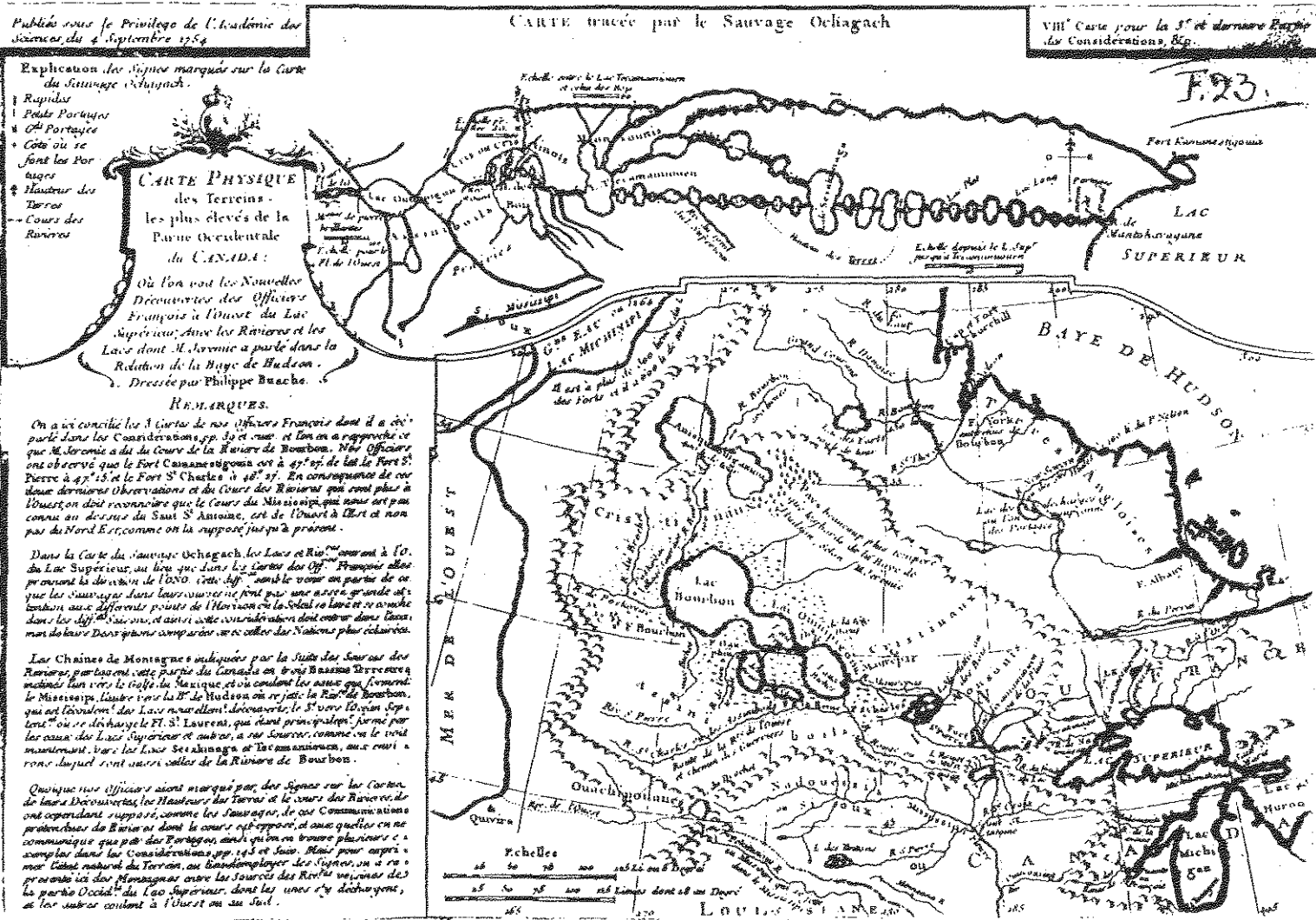
or Gros Ventres.¹⁰

Henday extended an invitation to the people he met on the far western prairies to travel to Hudson Bay to trade, an invitation which was merely taken under advisement by the leader of the Architinue. The Chief observed that Hudson Bay was far off and the his people could not paddle.¹¹ The self-sufficiency of these people gave them little reason for such a long journey into unfamiliar country where they would have to travel by unfamiliar means.

Just what the boundaries of the homeland of the "Architinue" were in the years previous to Henday's visit is unclear. Before the fall of New France in 1759, the trader and explorer from Quebec, Pierre de La Verendrye, had started to piece together much of the social and physical geography of the greater west. One of the earliest and most interesting maps from his hand was prepared around 1729 with the assistance of his Cree guide, named Auchagah. This map worked its way into a larger map which appeared in Paris in 1754.¹² (Map 2-1) It is of interest for its inclusion of clearly recognizable groups such as the Assiniboiné and Cree, and also for its remarkable outlining of the basic features of the greater West. Nothing indicating the "Architinue" appears on this map, but in 1737 there is a reference in La Verendrye's journal to a people called the "Pikaraminiouach" who inhabit the west as do the Assiniboiné.¹³ This group was identified on his map of the same year as "Hiaticheritiny", living south of the Cree. J.B. Tyrrell identified this term as Cree, meaning "slaves" or "strangers", and it might logically have identified Blackfoot peoples.¹⁴ The term "slave" was used for some time in the fur trade literature to identify the Blackfoot.

After 1760, information concerning the names and locales of many of the western tribes were quickly gathered or confirmed by "peddlers from Quebec" such as Peter Pond, who, picking up where the French Canadian bourgeois traders had left off, were moving into the areas west of Lake Superior and

Phillippe Bauche's Map of 1754. After La Verendrye et al.

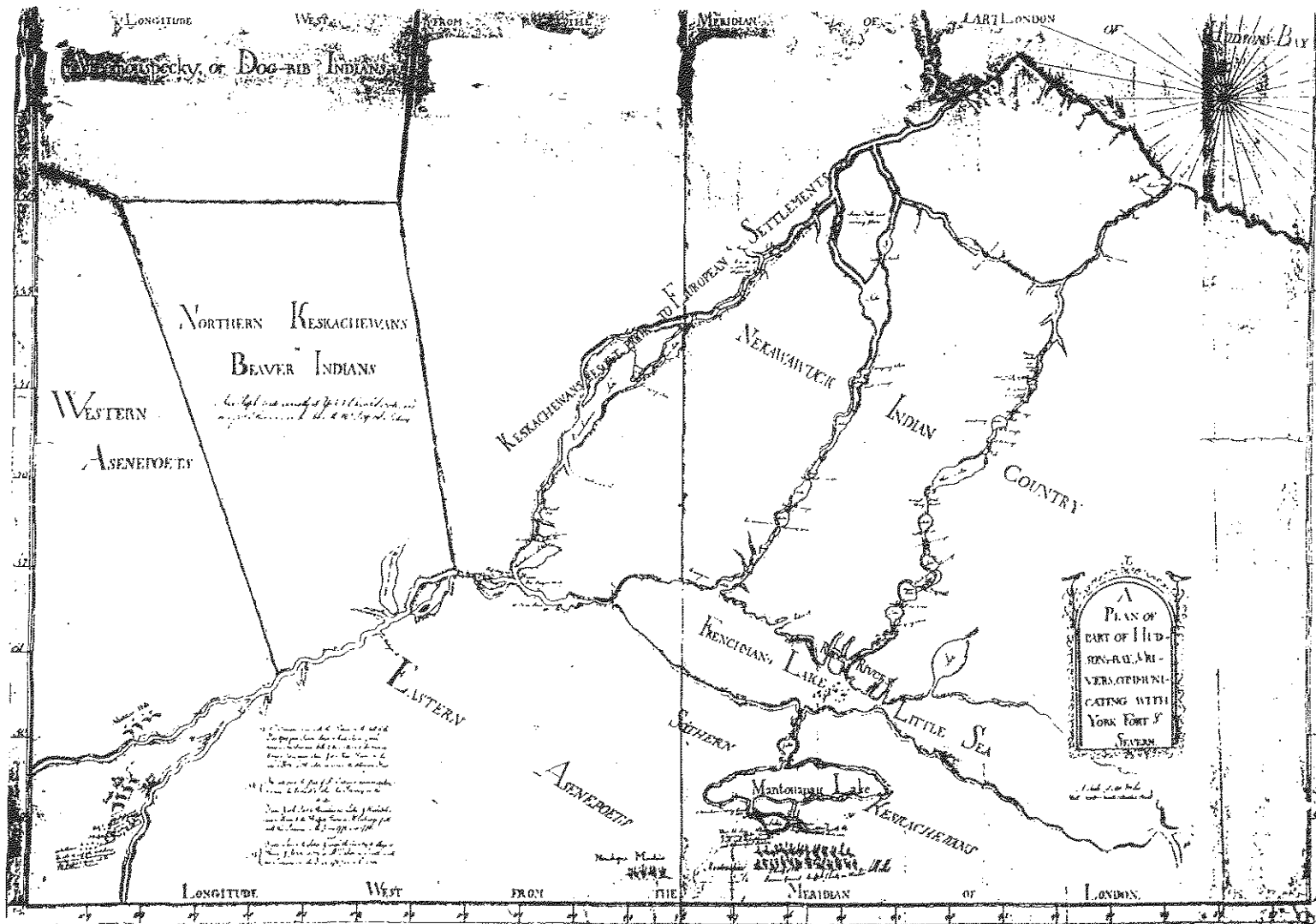


extending the fur trade into the Athabasca country.¹⁵

In 1772 Mathew Cocking, for the Hudson's Bay Company, travelled much of the same route which his associate Henday had followed, but gave a much more detailed account of people and places. Some of Cocking's information appeared on Andrew Graham's map of 1772, which provided the addition of not only tribal names but also certain significant landmarks such as the Eagle Hills.¹⁶ (Map 2-2) Pond's maps of 1785 and 1790 were significant for expanding knowledge of the Athabasca country and for their speculations on the nature of the country to the west of the mountains.¹⁷ Alexander Mackenzie then improved upon a good number of general ideas about the rivers flowing into the Pacific during his journeys of 1789 and 1793, although Mackenzie did not manage to distinguish the proper course of the Fraser from the Columbia. Mackenzie's maps (and Pond's) also included notations regarding Native tribal distributions in the vicinity of the mountains which correspond with our modern understanding of late 18th century patterns. The "Cattanahowes" or Kootenays, are clearly located. (Map 2-3).

It would remain for the great mapping and exploration activity of David Thompson and his associates to confirm and correct many of the errors in the watershed connections conveyed by the Pond and Mackenzie maps, and to give greater specificity to the nature of tribal territories. This he accomplished for all of western Canada by 1814 when he produced his corrected map of western North America.¹⁸ (Map 1-5)

Map 2-2 Andrew Graham's Map of 1772.



Map 2-3



The Contemporary Distribution of Native Peoples in the Rocky Mountain House Area.

Map 2-4 illustrates the current distribution of Reserves in west central Alberta. The distribution reflects only in a limited way the information contained on maps since the time of Peter Pond and Alexander Mackenzie. Rocky Mountain House was very much in the centre of a transition zone between Blackfoot, Cree, Stoney and Beaver- Sarcee peoples, but the subsequent manner of Native movements and population demographics since the late eighteenth century, along with the complications of the period of treaty-making, make the nature of present distributions far from self evident.

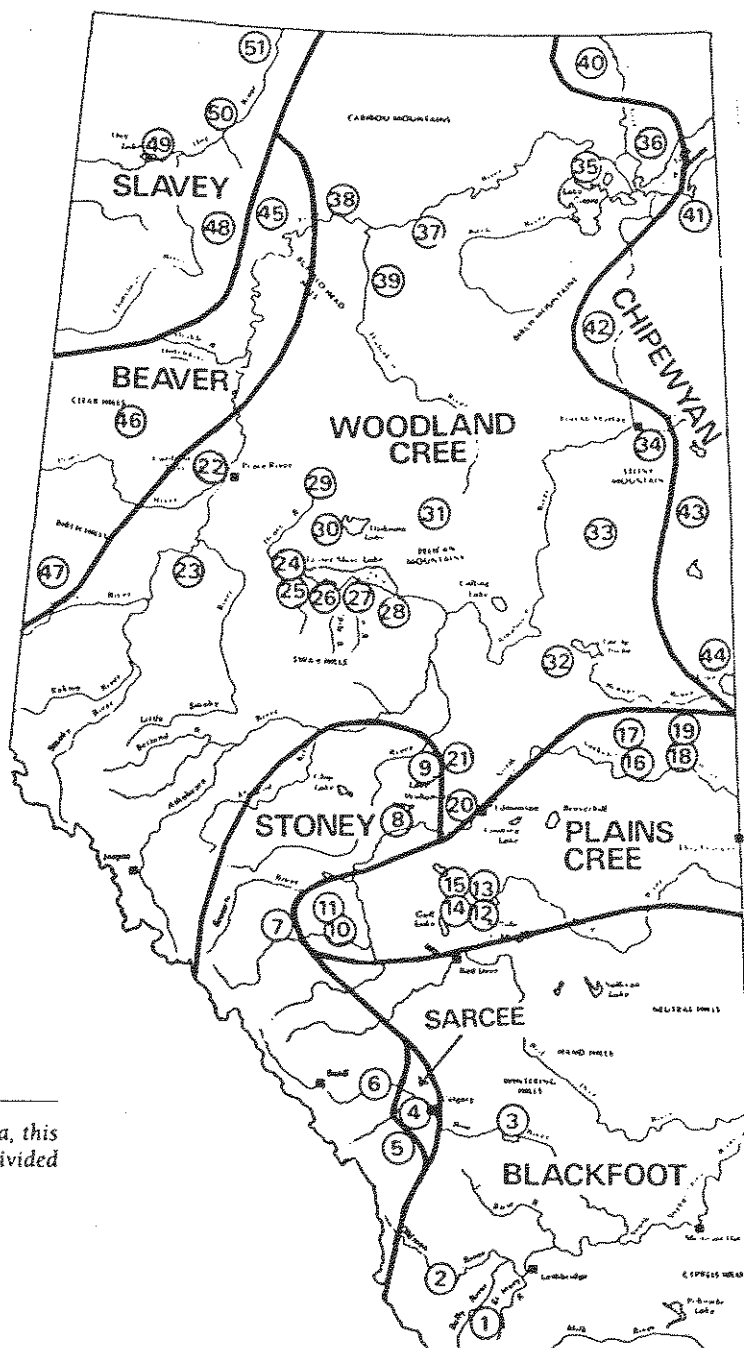
During the early fur trade period, the Athapascan-speaking Beaver Indians extended much further south, and as their European-name implies, were known as good trappers.¹⁹ Before the well-armed Woodland Cree, expanding southwestward from Hudson's Bay as the vanguard of the Hudson's Bay Company traders, displaced the Beaver back towards the Peace River country, the Sarcee had already separated from the main body of the Beaver and had started to take on more of a plains-oriented way of life. Living close to the mountains, and along the North Saskatchewan and Bow Rivers, they were excellent warriors and equestrian hunters, according to Alexander Henry the Younger, and became generally associated with the Blackfoot Confederacy.²⁰ After taking treaty in 1877, they settled on a reserve just west of Calgary (Tsuu T'ina Nation). The current reserves for the Woodland Cree on the other hand, are all well to the north of Rocky Mountain House, particularly in the Lesser Slave Lake area and along the lower Peace River.

Map 2-4 Distribution of Reserves in Contemporary Alberta
After Dempsey (1997)

- Blackfoot**
1. Blood
2. Peigan
3. Blackfoot
- Sarcee**
4. Sarcee
- Stoney**
5. Eden Valley
6. Stoney
7. Big Horn
8. Paul
9. Alexis
- Plains Cree**
10. Sunchild
11. O'Chiese*
12. Montana
13. Samson
14. Ermineskin
15. Louis Bull
16. Saddle Lake
17. Goodfish Lake
18. Frog Lake
19. Kehiwin
- Woodland Cree**
20. Enoch
21. Alexander
22. Duncan
23. Sturgeon Lake
24. Grouard
25. Sucker Creek
26. Driftpile
27. Swan River

28. Sawridge
29. Lubicon Lake
30. Whitefish Lake
31. Wabasca
32. Beaver Lake
33. Heart Lake
34. McMurray
35. Cree
36. Cree
37. Little Red River
38. Tallcree
39. Tallcree
- Chipewyan**
40. Fitz/Smith
41. Chipewyan
42. Fort McKay
43. Janvier
44. Cold Lake
- Beaver**
45. Boyer River
46. Clear Hills
47. Horse Hills
- Slavey**
48. Upper Hay River
49. Upper Hay River
50. Upper Hay River
51. Upper Hay River

*Although originally Ojibwa, this reserve is now equally divided between Cree and Ojibwa.



The territories frequented by the various tribes of the Blackfoot Confederacy (Siksika, Pikani and Kainaiwa) have, from earliest fur trade times, been identified as the lands south of the North Saskatchewan River. The current location of the reserves established as a result of Treaty 7, at Gleichen, Brocket and Cardston, reflect this traditional homeland concept. The location of Rocky Mountain House was intended to provide an outlet closer to their home territory and somewhat removed from the lands of the Cree.

West of Rocky Mountain House, the place name “Kootenay Plains” is tantalizing for invoking the memory of the Kootenay. It is generally thought that the Kootenay did at one time reside or make regular use of the prairies for bison hunting.²¹ The actual identity of the Kootenay has long been a question among anthropologists and students of language.²² In historic times the group has certainly made periodic visits to the east side of the mountains either via the Crowsnest Pass or the Howse Pass and perhaps other passes as well. Rocky Mountain House was well located with respect to the ambition to establish formal trade links with the Kootenay. In 1858, James Hector, a member of the Palliser Expedition, reported on the Kootenay Plains as follows.²³

This plain, which is 7 or miles long, and 2 to 3 wide, is called the Kootanie Plain, as at the time that the Kootanie Indians exchanged their furs with the traders of the Saskatchewan forts, before there was any communication with them from the Pacific coast, an annual mart was held at this place, to which the Kootanie Indians crossed the mountains, while the traders came from the Mountain House. This accounts for the well beaten track which runs along the valley.

As will be noted below, the contemporary Indian Reserve closest to the Kootenay Plains is not a Kootenay Reserve but a Stoney Reserve on the Big Horn River.

Plains Cree and Ojibwa Reserves.

The two reserves north of Rocky Mountain House are known as the O'Chiese and the Sunchild. These two contiguous reserves have their origins in group of non-treaty Ojibwa and Plains Cree. As with the Iroquois of the east, a substantial number of Ojibwa came west to work in the fur trade, particularly in association with the early Nor'westers, who encouraged them. As independent contractors or small bands, they took on an identity of their own, sometimes in the forest areas and sometimes as part of a plain-oriented way of life. Those who adapted to the prairies as the "Plains Sauteaux" were often closely associated with the Plains Cree.²⁴ As the crisis in the bison numbers started to become acute in the 1860s, the result of systematic sport and commercial hunting for the robe trade, many groups crowded into the "last refuge" of the Cypress Hills area in search of the still relatively abundant game.²⁵ Associated Plains Cree and Ojibwa started to frequent the Cypress Hills with greater regularity in those years, and indeed, the Cypress Hills "massacre" of 1873 involved a mix of people including associated Plains Cree and Ojibwa.²⁶

Saskatchewan-based Ojibwa under the leadership of Pawaysis and Tatwasin moved into the hills in the 1880s. After moving about the Fort Walsh area and adjacent parts of Montana, they moved towards Buffalo Lake on the upper Battle River where they joined a party of non-treaty Plains Cree. Their reception as outsiders at the Hobbema Agency south of Edmonton, caused the Ojibwa to drift further west into the Rocky Mountain House area, where settlement was still minimal. They were soon joined by their non-treaty Cree associated under Sun Child and for many years they were able to survive and maintain their non-treaty status. By 1950, two new reserves, the O'Chiese for the Ojibwa and the Sunchild for the Cree, had been established.²⁷

Big Horn Stoney Reserve.

The Stoney of western Canada are considered to be the Nakoda, one major Branch of the Sioux Nation. The other divisions are the Dakota and Lakota. The Nakoda have also been referred to as the Yanktonnais. By Europeans such as Henday, they were first described as the Assinipwat (Assinipoets) - meaning the "Stone People." These early names are clearly related to the other popular description for this group: the "Assiniboinés." By the early 1700s they appear to have long separated from the major Sioux populations in the upper and western Great Lakes region, and migrated to the western slopes of the Rocky Mountains, attracted by the good hunting and trapping. A similar migration appears to have been made by those ancestral to the Chiniki, Goodstoney and Bearspaw Bands. By the mid-nineteenth century many of these original groups had subdivided into smaller groups led by a local Chief.²⁸ For much of the nineteenth century, the Assiniboinés of the prairies were allied with the Cree.²⁹

Following the signing of the numbered treaties in Western Canada in the 1870s, the Stoney Peoples found themselves divided between those in the northern part of their range, who signed Treaty 6 in 1876, and those in the south who signed Treaty 7 in 1877.³⁰ The members of the Bearspaw, Goodstoney and Chiniki Bands, already strongly influenced by Methodist Missionaries, were confined to a reserve at Morley on the Bow River, east of Canmore. Those bands under the leadership of Paul, Alexis, and Sharphead, took lands at three different locations. Paul's band was on the shore of Lake Wabamun; Alexis's band was at Lac St. Anne; Sharphead's Band was at Pigeon Lake and later on Wolf Creek near Panoka. Following a series epidemic in 1889 and 1890, the survivors of the Sharphead band were so few that they joined the Paul and Morley Bands.³¹

The ability of the Stoney to pursue traditional lifeways after the Treaty period was better than that of many of the plains tribes who faced a shattered ecosystem with the disappearance of the bison. To do this however, the Stoney could not remain confined to their limited land bases. They had to range out on the crown lands of the mountains and foothills in order to fish and hunt. This led to an increasing number of conflicts with government authorities and settlers, in some cases on British Columbia lands across the divide. Peter Wesley, originally from the Buck Lake area near Kootenay Plains, had settled at Morley as part of the Goodstoney Band, but chaffing at the increasing restrictions led some one hundred of his people back to the Kootenay Plains, west of Rocky Mountain House, in 1892.³² There they remained, classified as “squatters” until 1947, when the 5,000 acre Big Horn Reserve was established for them.³³

Endnotes

1. The so-called 'metropolitan' thesis advanced by writers such as Creighton and Careless generally reinforces this idea. The strong developing industrial and urban imprint of the St. Lawrence corridor is seen to have, among other things, sent shock waves into the various groups of Native peoples in the east which had consequences for groups further to the north and west.
2. George Copway, *The Traditional History of the Ojibway Nation* (1850). (Toronto: Coles, 1972); William Warren, *History of the Ojibway Nation* (1855) (Minneapolis: Ross and Haines, 1957); Peter Jones, Harold Hickerson, *The Chippewa and Their Neighbours*, Rev. Ed. (Prospect Heights, Waveland Press, 1988); Laura Peers, *The Ojibwa of Western Canada, 1780-1870* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1994).
3. For the most important formulation of this thesis, See Arthur J. Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974).
4. See Dale Russell, *Eighteenth Century Western Cree and their Neighbours* Archaeological Survey of Canada. Mercury Series Paper no. 143 (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1991), pp. 1-2
5. See note 20 and 21.
6. See John C. Ewers, *The Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture*. Bureau of American Ethnology. Bull. 159 (Washington: Smithsonian Institution: 1955); F.G. Roe, *The Indian and the Horse* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1974); F.R. Secoy, *Changing Military Patterns of the Great Plains*, Introd. By J.C. Ewers (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992)
7. A recent review of the diverse forms of evidence concerning the Native presence around Rocky Mountain House is Eugene Y. Arima, *Blackfeet and Palefaces: The Pikani and Rocky Mountain House* (Ottawa: Golden Dog Press, 1995). See also David Smyth, *The Fur Trade Posts at Rocky Mountain House*. Manuscript Report. National Historic Parks and Sites Branch. (Ottawa: Environment Canada, 1976).
8. See for example, L.J. Burpee, ed. *Journals and Letters of La Verendrye and His Sons* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1927), pp. 48-53; thus, Fr. Marest, writing from York Factory in 1694 during the period of French occupation of that post, described the "Alimouspigut" - presumably the Dog Ribs (Athapaskan speaking Chipewyans) in the vicinity of Great Bear Lake, well beyond any areas visited by Europeans at that time. See J.B. Tyrrell, ed. *Documents Relating to the Early History of Hudson Bay* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1930), p. 128
9. For a thorough review of the literature and an attempt to explain the shifts in residential areas in the pre-horse period, see Jack Brink, *Dog Days in Southern Alberta*. Archaeological Survey Report No. 28. (Edmonton: Alberta Culture, 1986).
10. See L.J. Burpee, ed. 'The Journal of Anthony Henday, 1754-55' *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 3rd Ser. I (2), 307-64; Arima, (1995), pp. 8-9; the Gros Ventre (or Fall) Indians are generally considered to be the Atsina, a detached group of the Arapaho Nation, who

were Algonkian speakers.

11. Arima (1995), p. 9

12. Burpee, ed. (1927), pp. 52-3

13. Ibid.p. 248

14. Ibid., Map. 1737 (p. 116) and p. 248 n.2

15. See W.S. Wallace, *The Pedlars from Quebec and other Papers on the Nor'Westers* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1954); L.R. Masson, ed. *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*, (Quebec: De L'Imprimerie Generale. A. Cote et Cie. 1889-90), Vol. 1, pp. 1-19.

16. Richard I. Ruggles, *A Country So Interesting: The Hudson's Bay Company and Two Centuries of Mapping: 1670-1870* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 1991), p. 40, and Plate 6, p. 130.

17. Harry Duckworth, ed. *The English River Book: A North West Company Journal and Account Book of 1786* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 1990), p. xix; James P. Ronda, *Astoria and Empire* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), pp. 4-15.

18. Re the relationship between Thompson's maps and Mackenzie's see the interesting discussion in Victor G. Hopwood, 'David Thompson and his Maps' *Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Conference of the Association of Canadian Map Librarians* (1973). (Ottawa: Association of Canadian Map Librarians, 1974)

19. Hugh Dempsey, *Indian Tribes of Alberta*, Rev. ed. (Calgary: Glenbow Museum, 1997), p. 78 f.

20. See Dempsey (1997), p. 41 f. Diamond Jenness, *The Sarcee Indians of Alberta*, National Museum of Canada. Bull. No. 90 (Ottawa Department of Mines and Resources, 1938), pp. 1-9; Ray, (1974), p. 94 f.

21. Dempsey (1997), pp. 101-3

22. See H.H. Turney-High, *Ethnography of the Kutenai*. Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association. No. 56. *American Anthropologist* 43 (2) Part 2. (1941), pp. 11-14;

M.K. Foster, 'Language and the Culture History of North America' in: *Handbook of the North American Indians, Vol. 17: Languages* (Washington, D.C. Smithsonian Institution, 1996), p.81; for a recent summary of Kootenay studies and knowledge, see Bill R. Brunton, 'Kootenai' in: *Handbook of the North American Indians. Vol. 12: Plateau* (Washington D.C. Smithsonian Institution, 1998), p. 223 f.

23. Hector's Report, Sept. 15, 1858. Irene Spry, ed. *The Palliser Papers* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1968), p. 327

24. Dempsey (1997), p. 90 f. Laura Peers, *The Ojibwa of Western Canada: 1780-1870*

(Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1991), Ch. 2, Ch. 4.

25. Gordon Nelson, *The Last Refuge* (Montreal: Harvest House, 1973), p. 106 f.

26. Peers (1991), p. 201

27. Dempsey (1997), pp. 90-4

28. This sketch is based on Hugh Dempsey, *Indians of the Rocky Mountain Parks* (Calgary: Fifth House, 1998), p.13; for general background on the Sioux, see Royal B. Hassrick, *The Sioux* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964); Gontran Lavolette, *The Dakota Sioux in Canada* (Winnipeg: DLM Publications, 1991); Harold Hickerson, *The Chippewa and Their Neighbours*, Revised and Expanded ed. (Prospect Heights: Waveland Press, 1975), Ch.5 f. For a general review of Stoney history, see Chief John Snow, *These Mountains are our Sacred Places* (Toronto: Samuel Stevens, 1977).

29. John S. Milloy, *The Plains Cree: Trade, Diplomacy and War, 1790 to 1870* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1990).

30. Dempsey, (1997), pp. 51-2

31. Ibid., pp. 52-3

32. Ibid., p. 54; Snow (1977), p. 63

33. Dempsey (1997), p. 54; Snow, (1977), pp. 90-103

Sources on David Thompson: Annotated Bibliography.

Belyea, Barbara. *David Thompson's Columbia Journals*. Montreal: McGill-Queens, 1994.

An important edition of the original Thompson journals dealing with Thompson's activities west of the Great Divide. The editor's introduction discusses alleged difficulties confronting those seeking to interpret, for historical purposes, the journal materials, as opposed to the *Narrative*. There are useful appendices dealing with Thompson's maps.

Bigsby, John J. *The Shoe and Canoe, or Pictures of Travel in the Canadas*. 2 Vol. London: 1850.

Contains a good personal sketch of Thompson made during the period when the author and Thompson worked on the British Boundary Commission established after the Treaty of Ghent.

Burpee, L.J. 'Note on David Thompson' *Canadian Historical Association. Annual Report, 1923*. (Ottawa: 1923), 75-84

_____, *Search for the Western Sea*. New and Rev. ed. Toronto: MacMillan, 1935. 2 Vol. Part III. Ch.6.

This chapter is called David Thompson, Astronomer, Geographer and Explorer. It reviews many of H.H. Bancroft's errors concerning Thompson.

_____, 'Some Letters of David Thompson' *Canadian Historical Review* 4 (1923), 105-26

These letters concern Thompson's late career while involved in surveying the international boundary in eastern Canada.

Coues, Elliott, ed. *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest: The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and of David Thompson, 1799-1814*. 2 Vol. (1897). Minneapolis: Ross and Haines, 1965.

A standard reference in the literature with an important introduction on the sources by Elliot Coues. The main text is that of Alexander Henry the Younger, but owing to the parallel nature of the text with Thompson's *Journals*, unknown to most scholars at the time of preparation (1897), Coues incorporated into his editorial footnotes, information which he drew directly from Thompson's manuscript journals in the Ontario Archives.

Dempsey, Hugh, ed. 'David Thompson's Journey to the Red Deer River' *Alberta Historical Review* 13 (1965), 1-8

A reproduction of David Thompson's original journal of this trip along with commentary and editorial notes by Hugh Dempsey. The trip originated from Rocky Mountain House.

_____, 'David Thompson on the Peace River' *Alberta Historical Review* 14:1 (1966), 1-11; 14:2 (1966), 14-21; 14:4 (1966), 14-19

A reproduction of David Thompson's original Peace River Journals along with commentary and editorial notes by Hugh Dempsey.

_____, 'David Thompson Under Scrutiny' *Alberta Historical Review* 12 (1) (1964), 22-28

This is a review essay of Richard Glover's 1962 edition of Thompson's *Narrative*.

_____, 'Thompson's Journey to the Bow River' *Alberta Historical Review*, 13 (2) (1965), 7-15

Reproduces text of Thompson's trip south from Rocky Mountain House to the Calgary area on the Bow River in November, 1800.

Elliott, T.C. Ed. 'Journal of David Thompson' *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 15 (1914), 39-63; 104-25

A reproduction of David Thompson's Journal for 1811 beginning on July 3, 1811 and ending on Aug. 13, 1811. The journal covers the last stage of his trip down the Columbia River to Fort Astoria and his return up river to Spokane House. Commentary and notes are provided by the editor.

_____, 'David Thompson's Journeys in the Spokane Country' *Washington Historical Quarterly* 8 (1917) 183-87; 9 (1918), 11-16, 103-06, 169-73, 284-87; 10 (1919) 17-20.

A reproduction of David Thompson's Journals for 1811 and 1812 when he was at Spokane House on five different occasions. The Journals open in June of 1811 and close on March 29, 1812 prior to his leaving the Spokane Country for the Athabasca Pass and his final departure from the west for eastern Canada. Commentary and notes are provided by the editor.

_____ 'David Thompson's Journeys in Idaho' *Washington Historical Quarterly* 11 (1920), 97-103

A reproduction of David Thompson's Journals for the autumn of 1809 when he was at work constructing Kullyspell House on the east side of Pend Oreille Lake in today's northern Idaho. Commentary and notes are provided by the editor.

_____ 'David Thompson and Beginnings in Idaho' *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 21 (1920), 49-61

A narrative by T.C. Elliott of the same period covered in the article above in the *Washington Historical Quarterly* Vol. 11 (1920). The actual Journal entries are summarized rather than reproduced in their entirety.

_____ 'The Discovery of the Source of the Columbia River' *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 26 (1925) 23-49

A reproduction of a 'Narrative' by David Thompson of his crossing of the Howse Pass and explorations along the Columbia between May 10th and Sept. 22, 1807. This report draws upon his own Journals and was apparently located in the National Archives of Canada. Comments and notes by the editor.

_____ 'David Thompson's Journeys in the Pend Oreille Country' *Washington Historical Quarterly* 23 (1) 18-24; 23 (2) (1932), 88-93; 23(3) (1932), 173-76

Reproduces the *Journals* maintained by Thompson during 1810 while he was active on the Clark Fork River between Saleesh House and Kullyspell House. Notes and commentary by the editor.

Flandreau, Grace, *Koo-Koo-Sint, the Star Man*. St. Paul: Great Northern Railway n.d.

An illustrated pamphlet dealing with David Thompson and the Indians of the middle Columbia River-Clark Fork area.

Fuller, George, W. *A History of the Pacific Northwest*. New York: a.A. Knopf. 1931

This general history contains several pages outlining the general career of Thompson in the Pacific Northwest. A map of his movements is included.

Giorda, Joseph, et al. *A Dictionary of the Kalispel or Flat-Head Indian Language*. 2 Vol. St. Ignatius, Mont. 1877-79.

This dictionary, prepared by the Jesuits of St. Ignatius, gives the Flathead Salish term for "star" as "Kukusem".

Glover, Richard, 'The Witness of David Thompson' *Canadian Historical Review* 31(1) (1950), 1-25

A preliminary discussion of the reliability of David Thompson as a 'witness' to history, written with specific reference to Thompson's alleged views upon Samuel Hearne. Glover would take this line of analysis further in his 1962 Introduction to the new edition of Thompson's *Narrative*. See Glover, ed (1962) below.

_____, ed. *David Thompson's Narrative*. Toronto: Champlain Society, 1962.

The second release of David Thompson's *Narrative* by the Champlain Society. The Introduction by the editor provides a review of research since the 1916 edition and provides a different perspective on Thompson than that provided by Tyrrell in 1916. This edition also includes a new chapter of the *Narrative* dealing with Thompson's early career on the prairies, which had not been located in Tyrrell's time (Ch IIA). (See Hopwood (1957) and (1965).

Haeger, John Denis, *John Jacob Astor: Business and Finance in the Early Republic*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1991.

A thorough biography of the business career of John Jacob Astor. His connections with the North West Company are discussed at a number of points.

Hopwood, Victor G. 'David Thompson and his Maps' *Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Conference of the Association of Canadian Map Librarians* (1973). Ottawa: Association of Canadian Map Librarians, 1974.

A discussion of Thompson's most important maps, and an appeal to map librarians to be on the lookout for many of Thompson's missing journal entry maps.

_____, 'David Thompson's Narrative, 1784-1812' *Beaver* 294 (Winter, 1965), 55

A review of Richard Glover's 1962 edition of Thompson's *Narrative*.

_____, 'More Light on David Thompson' *Beaver* 288 (Aut. 1957), 58

Discusses the significance of the recent discovery of new materials related to David Thompson's *Narrative*.

_____, 'New Light on David Thompson' *Beaver* 288 (Summer, 1957), 26-31

Discusses the significance of the recent discovery, made by the author, of new materials related to David Thompson's *Narrative*.

_____, ed. *David Thompson's Travels in Western North America, 1784-1812*. Toronto: MacMillan, 1971.

An abbreviated version of Thompson's *Narrative*, with references to original *Journals*, brought out with notes and commentary by the editor.

Howay, F.W. ed. 'David Thompson's Account of this First Attempt to Cross the Rockies' *Queen's Quarterly* 40 (1933), 333-56

Reproduces a report of Thompson's which was suspected to exist in 1916 when Tyrrell was working on preparation of the *Narrative*, but which did not come to light until 1927. It covers the period June 6 to June 30, 1801, when Thompson made his first effort to cross the Rocky Mountains from Rocky Mountain House. Notes and commentary by the editor. Howay's suggestion that this document was actually a part of Thompson's *Narrative*, was questioned by Glover who considers it to be a working document since it was addressed to "Messrs William and Duncan M'Gillivray" the latter having died in 1808. See Glover, ed. (1962), p. xlvii.

Inglis, Alex, *Northern Vagabond: The Life and Career of J.B. Tyrrell* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978.

A good review of Tyrrell's life and work with some interesting passages on the events surrounding Tyrrell's developing interest in Thompson and the manner in which the manuscript of the *Narrative* eventually came into his hands.

Leverette, Clarke E. ed. 'David Thompson's Journal of the International Boundary Survey, 1817-1827. Western Lake Erie. (Extracts)' *Inland Seas* 44 (1) (1988), 32-45

This reproduces, with commentary, the *Journal* kept by Thompson during his work on Lake Erie.

Masson, L.R. *Les Bourgeois De La Compagnie Du Nord-Ouest*, 2 Vol. Quebec: De L'Imprimerie Generale A. Cote et Cie. 1889-1890.

Original reports and memoirs of a number of Nor'westers, contemporary with Thompson, including a memoir by John McDonald of Garth.

Morton, A.S. *A History of the Canadian West to 1870-71*. Rev ed. Lewis G. Thomas, ed. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973.

The second edition of this large and important history of the Canadian West. Much detail on the movements of traders, including Thompson, is provided. Morton and Tyrrell had significant differences of opinion on certain aspects of Thompson's career and movements.

_____, 'Did David Thompson and Duncan McGillivray Cross the Rockies in 1801?' *Canadian Historical Review* 18 (1937), 156-62

Morton's rejoinder to Tyrrell's 1937 article (see Morton, 1936) in which the author contends that Tyrrell has neglected important evidence and misinterpreted other evidence with respect to the nature of McGillivray's travels. Richard Glover, in his Introduction to the 1962 edition of the *Narrative*, comes down on the side of Tyrrell in this debate. See Glover, ed. (1962), pp. xlv-xlvii.

_____, 'The North West Company's Columbian Enterprise and David Thompson' *Canadian Historical Review* 17:3 (Sept. 1936), 266-88

An interesting and controversial piece, which gained a lengthy reply from Tyrrell. (See Tyrrell, 1937)

Nisbet, Jack, *Sources of the River: Tracking David Thompson Across Western North America* Seattle: Sasquatch Books, 1994.

A very readable account of Thompson's activities in western Canada and the United States, based on a thorough knowledge of the sources. The author alternates between sections of historical narrative and sections on his own re-tracking of many of Thompson's travels. A useful bibliography is included.

The Northwest Journal; Transactions of the Northwest Brigade Club. IX. Special Issue: Navigation. Calgary: 1996.

This issue contains several papers, all dealing with the work of David Thompson as surveyor and astronomer. Highly technical in nature.

Ronda, James P. *Astoria and Empire* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990.

A thorough and scholarly treatment of the politics of the settlement of the Pacific Slope in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Ross, Alexander, *Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River*. London: 1849.

An important memoir by a contemporary of Thompson's, one of the original Astorians. Ross is the main source of the nick-name given Thompson - "Koo-Koo-Sint." - the "Star-Man".

Ruggles, Richard I. *A Country So Interesting: The Hudson's Bay Company and Two Centuries of Mapping*. Montreal: McGill-Queens, 1991.

A comprehensive discussion and index to map activities of the HBC including references to Thompson's work.

_____, 'Hospital Boys of the Bay' *The Beaver* 308 (2)(1977), 4-11

A discussion of the role of the Charity Hospital Schools in England and their role in providing training in the nautical sciences to young men such as David Thompson.

Schaeffer, Claude E. *Le Blanc and La Gasse: Two Predecessors of David Thompson in the Columbia River Plateau*. Browning: Museum of the Plains Indian. Department of the U.S. Interior. 1966.

An account of two of Thompson's employees who, after 1801, spent several winters on the western side of the Great Divide, living with the Kootenay, prior to Thompson's crossing in 1807.

Sebert, L.M. 'David Thompson's Determination of Longitude in Western Canada' *The Canadian Surveyor* 35 (4)(1981), 405-14

A technical discussion of Thompson's lunar distance method of determining longitude

based on Thompson's records taken at Cumberland House.

Smiley, H.D. 'The Dalliance of David Thompson' *The Beaver* 303 (3) (1972), 40-47

The author explores the literature dealing with Thompson's alleged tardiness in arriving at the mouth of the Columbia River in 1811 and demonstrates that such interpretations have been rather irrelevant and presumably 'whigish' exercises in historical reconstruction. The delay, if such there was, is demonstrated to be in the nature of the tasks at hand in 1811.

Smith, Allan H. 'An Ethnohistorical Analysis of David Thompson's 1809-1811 Journeys in the Lower Pend Oreille Valley, Northwestern Washington' *Ethnohistory*, 8 (4) (1961), 309-81

A review of Thompson's Journals relating to the Pend Oreille Valley with special attention to the detailed reconstruction of his travels from Kullyspell House and the location of Native villages, with emphasis on the Pend Oreille or Calispel Indians. The discussion contains only limited comments on the actual lifeways of the Indians encountered.

Smyth, David, 'David Thompson's Surveying Instruments and Methods in the Northwest, 1790-1812' *Cartographica* 18 (4) (1981), 1-17

A valuable review of the instruments available to Thompson during his surveying activities, the state of the surveyors art during Thompson's time, Thompson's methods, and the use made of his data in map making.

Stewart, W.M. 'David Thompson's Surveys in the North-West' *Canadian Historical Review* 17:3 (Sept. 1936), 289-303

A valuable and very technical discussion of Thompson's "navigational methods, skill, and accuracy." The case study "examines Thompson's journey from Boggy Hall to the Whirlpool River, from Oct. 19, 1810 Until January 7, 1811."

Thorington, J. Monroe, *The Glittering Mountains of Canada: Old Trails of the Rockies*. Philadelphia: John Lea, 1925. Appendix E. 'David Thompson and the First Crossing of Howse Pass' pp. 284-87

The author considers the implications of Thompson's miscalculation of his valley level and the perpetuation of listings in the mountaineering literature of other mountain peaks at exaggerated heights.

Tyrrell, J.B. 'Brief Narrative of the Journeys of David Thompson' *Proceedings of the Canadian Institute. Toronto*. 3rd Series. 6 (1887-88), 135-60.

Tyrrell's first major statement and analysis of Thompson's work, written before he had gained access to Thompson's *Narrative* in its manuscript form.

_____, 'David Thompson, a great geographer' *Geographical Journal* 27 (1) (1911), 49-58

Tyrrell puts into context the contributions of David Thompson to North American geographical knowledge and reviews Thompson's contributions on a chronological basis.

_____, 'David Thompson and the Columbia River' *Canadian Historical Review* 18:1 (March, 1937), 12-27

Tyrrell's response to an article by A.S. Morton (above, 1936) in which the author takes exception to Morton's contention that Duncan McGillivray had crossed the Rocky Mountains in 1801 in the company of David Thompson.

_____, 'David Thompson and the Rocky Mountains' *Canadian Historical Review* 15 (1) (1934), 39-45

Reproduces in full the text of David Thompson's report (contained in Vol. 35 of his *Journals* in the Ontario Archives) called: 'Discoveries from the east side of the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean'. This report was used in part during the preparation of the 1916 edition of the *Narrative*, but not cited in full in that edition. It provides a summary account by Thompson of his activities west of the mountains between 1800 and 1812.

_____, 'The Re-discovery of David Thompson' *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*. Third Ser. 22:2 (1928), 233-47

An interesting review of how Tyrrell gradually came to take an interest in Thompson's work, commencing with the period when Tyrrell worked in the West as an assistant to geologist G.M. Dawson in 1883.

_____, ed. *David Thompson: Narrative of his Explorations in Western North America, 1784-1812*. Toronto: Champlain Society, 1916.

The original edition of Thompson's *Narrative*, based on Tyrrell's purchase of the original manuscript in Toronto from Charles Lindsay. Extensive notes and commentary by the editor and by T.C. Elliot. Maps and Drawings by Thompson, appended.

_____, ed. *Journals of Samuel Hearne and Philip Turnor* Toronto: Champlain Society, 1934.

The major study on the work of Hearne and Turnor, both of whom were important influences on Thompson during his Hudson's Bay Company years.

Wallace, W. Stewart, ed. *Documents Relating to the North West Company* Toronto: Champlain Society, 1934.

An important set of primary documents on the North West Company including brief biographies of many of the Nor'westers.

White, M. Catherine, *David Thompson's Journals Relating to Montana and Adjacent Regions, 1808-1812* Missoula: Montana State University Press, 1950.

Reproduces some of the main transmountain *Journals* from original sources in the Ontario Archives. Commentary, notes and appendices by the editor.

Wood, W. Raymond, 'David Thompson at the Mandan - Hidatsa Villages, 1797-98: The Original Journals'. *Ethnohistory* 24 (1977), 329-42

Reproduces material from original notebooks in the Ontario Archives dealing with the Mandan. This material was not included in the *Narrative* editions of 1916 and 1962.