

Maps Showing Sinixt Territory, 1811-1846

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It is increasingly important to identify the aboriginal boundaries between the time of first European contact and British sovereignty. The Arrow Lakes Tribe (sh̓ŋay̓kstx or Sinixt) was declared extinct in Canada in 1956, but a recent court case determined a tribal member still had aboriginal rights in British Columbia.¹ A number of maps bearing on the location of the Sinixt Tribe's aboriginal territory were drafted between 1811 (date of first contact) and 1846 (date of regional sovereignty as a result of the Treaty of Oregon). These maps demonstrate that European interlopers into Sinixt territory during that period gradually became more and more aware of the extent of Sinixt territory, influence and trading capacity, until 1846, when Sinixt territory was very well known in Canada, the United States, and Europe.

David Thompson, 1813-14

David Thompson, working for the North West Company, was among the very first Europeans to visit Sinixt territory and the first to map it. As Carl I. Wheat, author of the impressive six volume history, *1540-1861 Mapping the Transmississippi West*, said, "Thompson's maps were the first that reasonably depicted the Columbia Basin."²

There has been a good deal of confusion over David Thompson's Maps and their ultimate disposition. Between 1813 and 1843 Thompson made between ten and twenty maps which included the Northwest Columbia Plateau country, perhaps even more. William E. Moreau, author of *The Writings of David Thompson*, the most thorough analysis of Thompson's *Travels*, said that Thompson "drafted hundreds of maps."³ Copies of his maps apparently were sometimes traced, and details may have been added later, to both original maps and copies. Most of Thompson's geography was excellent on all of them, but cultural detail was added as years went by. As Gabriel Franchere indicated, Thompson was more interested in topography than the fur business.⁴ Sometimes he seemed more interested in mapping, than trapping and trading. At least some of his cultural details appear to be borrowed from others.

Thompson kept extensive journals (notebooks), in which he described in detail his survey work and kept some notes on cultural events. Long after retiring, Thompson drafted several versions of a narrative of his *Travels*, including the time he spent in the northwest portion of North American continent.⁵

Thompson first reached Kettle Falls in June, 1811. In his journal, Thompson called Kettle Falls, "Ilthkoyape Falls" and described the Indians there as the Ilthkoyape Falls Indians. These people are today known as the Colville Tribe, one of the twelve Confederated Colville Tribes. The French-speaking voyageurs called Kettle Falls "La

Chaudière" [boiler], "because of the boiling appearance of the water" at the falls. Thompson called them "Ilthkoyape" Falls from a Salish word said to mean a basket used as kettle.⁶ The Salish name the Colville Indians use for themselves has been spelled many ways including "Skoyelpi," "Sxoielpi," "Scheulpi," "Sx^wy?łpx," and "Sxoie'łp^u." In his journal Thompson spent considerable time describing the gathering of tribes at Kettle Falls, the fishing for salmon at the falls and the country around the falls.

It took Thompson four and one half years to survey (he had been trained by the Hudson's Bay Company in practical astronomy and surveying) the Columbia River drainage.⁷ After he left the Northwest, in 1813-1814 Thompson prepared a detailed "Map of the North-West Territory of the Province of Canada from actual Survey during the years 1792 to 1812." In text on the map, Thompson said,

This map made for the North West [C]ompany in 1813 and 1814 and delivered to the Honorable William McGillivray when Agent[.] Embraces the Region lying between 45 and 60 degrees North Latitude and 84 and 124 degrees West Longitude comprising the Surveys and Discoveries of 20 years namely the Discovery and Survey of the Oregon Territory to the Pacific Ocean the survey of the Athabasca Lake, Slave River and Lake from which flows Mackenzies River to the Arctic Sea....⁸

Lawrence J. Burpee reproduced Thompson's 1813-14 map in his book *The Search for the Western Sea: The Story of the Exploration of North-Western America* (1908). Burpee was Ottawa Public Library librarian and a founding member of the Canadian Historical Association. The Canadian Geographical Society annually gives the Lawrence J. Burpee Medal, awarded to recognize an outstanding contribution or other achievement that greatly enhances the ability of the Society to fulfill its mission of making Canada better known on a national or international level, and/or contributes to the general advancement of geography. His papers form a Special Collection at the E. J. Prat Library, Victoria University, Ontario.⁹

Burpee also emphasized that Thompson, in addition to being the first European to explore the entire length of the Columbia River, had also discovered the headwaters of the Mississippi River in 1798. He described Thompson's production of his 1814 map.

[Thompson] ... settled at Terrebonne, where for two years he was engaged in preparing for the North West Company his great map of Western Canada. This very remarkable map, now in the possession of the Crown Lands Department at Toronto, and portions of which were [reproduced in] Dr. Coues' Henry-Thompson Journals, is on a scale of about fifteen miles to an inch. It was compiled mainly from Thompson's own observations and surveys covering a period of twenty years, but embodies also Turner's surveys

of Athabaska Lake and Slave River, Alexander Mackenzie's track through the mountains and down the Fraser as far as Alexandria, and John Stuart's survey of the Fraser down to the sea.¹⁰

J. B. Tyrrell, in his book *David Thompson's Narration of his Explorations in Western America, 1784-1812*, included what he said was a reproduction of Thompson's 1813-14 map of the Northwest. Wheat's bibliographic entry for this work suggests it is a photostatic reproduction of an original map and noted that the original of the map is now located in the Archives of Ontario.¹¹ However, both the Burpee and Coues reproductions have details not present in the Tyrrell reproduction.¹²

The map, as reproduced by Burpee and Coues, shows the upper Columbia River from Kettle Falls to the location of Boat Encampment. Thompson located North West Company trading stations (or posts) that had been established at a number of locations among other tribes, including one at the location that later became known as Boat Encampment, one among the Kalispell Indians and another among the Kootenay (now known as Ktunaxa people).

Although his map does not locate the Sinixt people, he does a reasonable job of showing the Upper Columbia River, the location of both Upper and Lower Arrow Lakes (as they would later be named) and the confluence of the Columbia with the Kettle River, the Pend Oreille River, and the Kootenay River. Arrows indicate the direction of the flow of the waters of the various rivers.¹³

Thompson did not indicate the location of tribes or tribal villages along the upper Columbia River, but he did correctly represent the topography. He named the Nelson Range of mountains that run roughly parallel to what came to be known as Lower Arrow Lake. Thompson and cartographers who followed him, indicated that the Nelson Range was practically impenetrable and created a barrier between the people living along the upper Columbia and those to the west of them. Similarly, Thompson showed ranges of mountains to the east of the Arrow Lakes and upper Columbia, mountains that also provided a barrier between the people living along the upper Columbia and today's Arrow Lakes. Coues called Thompson, "The greatest geographer of his day in British America, and maker of what was then by far its greatest map."¹⁴

Three years after Thompson submitted his 1814 map to the North West Company, the Company published a pamphlet with a map showing "The Principal Trading Stations of the North West Company." This map shows the upper Columbia River and provides a "Lakes" label where the Arrow Lakes are located. The Kootenay Indians are located considerably east of the lakes.¹⁵

David Thompson, ca. 1818

Between 1815 and 1818 Thompson made another set of maps. Wheat has ascribed the year 1818 to these maps. The title of the maps is, "The Oregon Territory from Actual Survey; corrected by Many Astronomical observations by David Thompson..." The original maps are in the British Museum.¹⁶ Two of the manuscript

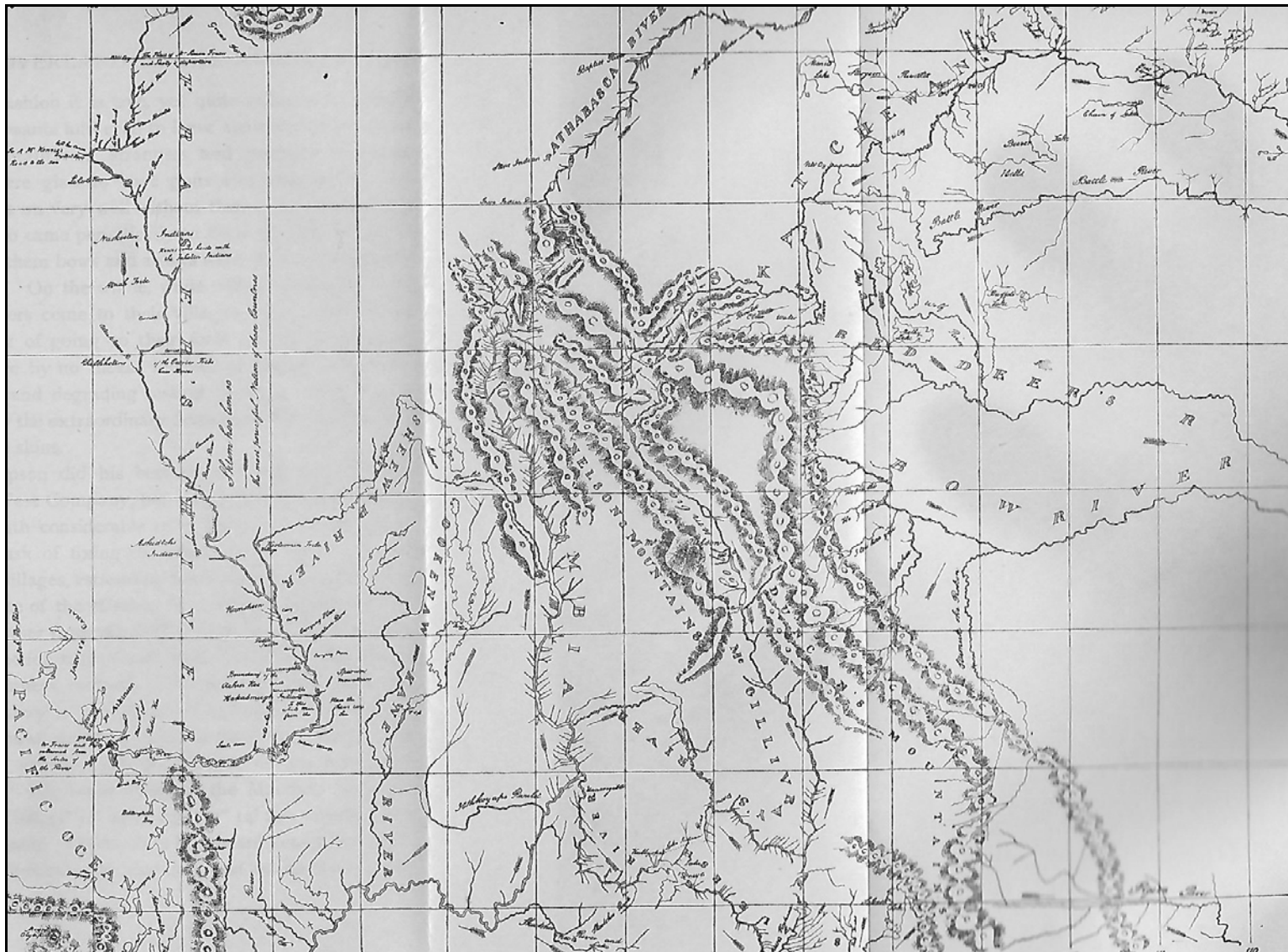


Figure 1 "An Exact Reproduction of the Western Portion of David Thompson's Manuscript Map of North-Western America, 1813-14." From Burpee, 1908, foldout map opposite p. 356.

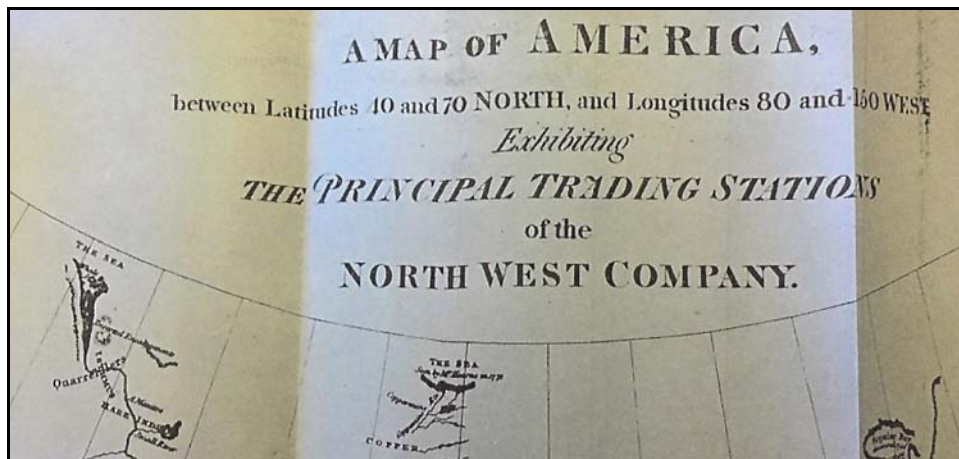


Figure 3 Detail of 1817 North West Company map. Davidson, foldout map.

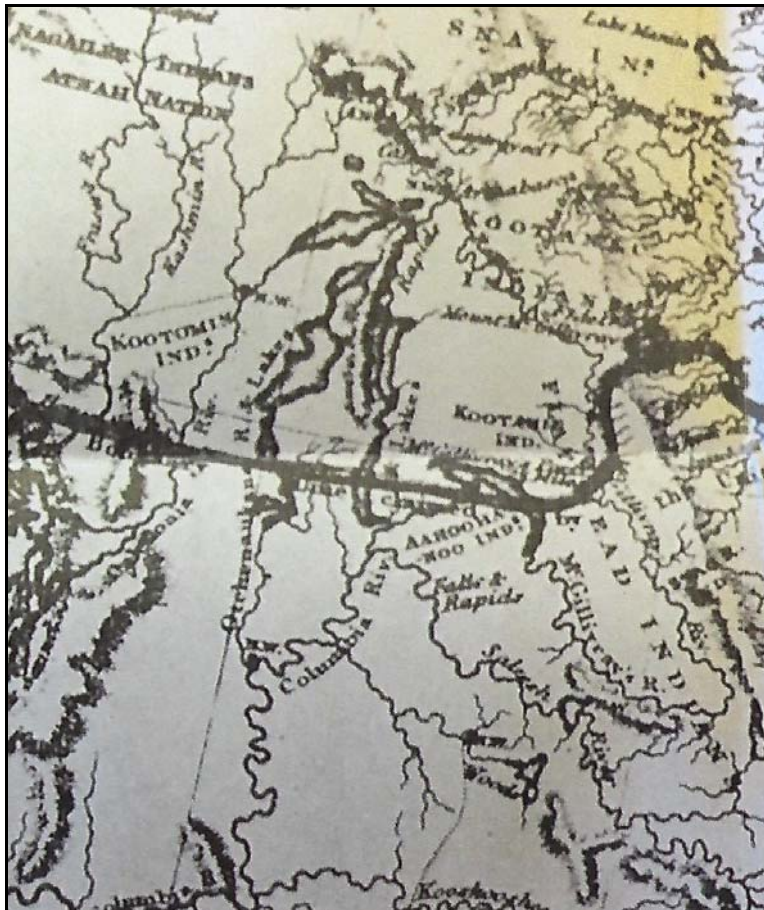


Figure 4 Detail of North West Company map of 1817 showing "Lakes" next to Arrow Lakes and faintly the "NWCo" station at Boat Encampment. Davidson, foldout map.

maps show portions of Sinixt territory. Map Number 27,363 A includes the portion of the upper Columbia, including the future location of Boat Encampment and perhaps as far south as the future location of Revelstoke. This map is also signed, “David Thompson. Astronomer and Surveyor.” This map also places the Nelson Mountain range to the west of the upper Columbia River in the area of today’s Lower Arrow Lake.

The second manuscript map in the British Library set is Map Number 27,353 B. This map includes much of Sinixt territory. The map shows what would come to be called Upper and Lower Arrow Lakes. It shows McGillivray’s River emptying into the Columbia just below Lower Arrow Lake. This is the Kootenay River on today’s maps. He also depicts the Kettle River (labeled “Ilth Koi Ape River”), and the Pend Oreille River (labeled “Saleesh River”). South of today’s international boundary, Thompson depicts the confluence of the Okanogan and the Columbia Rivers.

Although Thompson did not identify tribal lands or villages on these maps, his depiction of the general topography was accurate and allowed a later understanding of where the international boundary might be placed. In fact, on one of the five sheets Thompson referenced the Treaty of Ghent, which officially ended the War of 1812.¹⁷ His maps also correctly depict the natural topography that bounded Sinixt aboriginal territory.¹⁸

David Thompson, 1826

Another copy of Thompson’s map of the Northwest was eventually deposited in the British National Archives in Kew. Historian Jack Nisbet has ascribed the year 1826 to this map, which has considerably more information on it than either the 1813-1814 map now in the Ontario Archives or the maps now in the British Library.¹⁹

Like its predecessor, this 1826 Thompson map also shows details of the Columbia River drainage in the Arrow Lakes region (for instance: the Kettle River, labeled “Ilthkoyape Rivulet,” the North West Company station at the approximate location of the later Boat Encampment, and both Arrow Lakes). However, both this map and the Thompson map reproduced by Tyrrell have details on them that Thompson must have learned about from other sources than his own travel.

Analysis of Thompson’s maps demonstrates that cultural information on the maps did not always come from Thompson’s first-hand knowledge, and was at least sometimes acquired from others’ travels. The Thompson map now located in the British National Archives in Kew, has details on it, knowledge of which Thompson did not acquire from his own travels. For example, on one section of the map Thompson identifies “Priest’s Rapid.”²⁰ Priest’s Rapid[s] was named by Alexander Ross, then working for the American Fur Company, after Thompson went down the Columbia River from Kettle Falls to Astoria (his one and only trip down the river), and after he went back up the Columbia from Astoria to the mouth of the Snake River (near today’s Pasco, Washington), before traveling overland back to Kettle Falls.²¹

Another detail on the 1826 map also suggests the map had cultural additions added to Thompson’s maps as a result of others’ travels. One of the sheets of the 1826



Figure 5 Thompson, David. "The Oregon Territory from Actual Survey...", [1818], British Library, Add MS 27,363 A. Detail showing Kettle River, Pend Oreille River, and Okanogan River.

Thompson map shows an interesting detail on the east shore of the southern end of Lower Arrow Lake. There is a hand-written notation of “painted rocks” on the shore upriver from the confluence of the Columbia River with the Kootenay River. There is no indication in either his journals or in his later *Travels* that Thompson mentioned any painted rocks at this location. The notation on the map undoubtedly refers to the location of what was usually called “Arrow Rock.”

Alexander Ross reported that in 1825 he passed such a location. Ross said, At a point on the west side [of Lower Arrow Lake] a number of figures of men and animals have been rudely portrayed on the naked rocks with red ochre; and into a large cavity, at a considerable height above high-water mark, a number of arrows have been shot, which remain as a menace left by some distant tribe who had passed there on a warlike expedition.²²

Although Thompson did not record any indication of seeing Arrow Rock and the associated pictographs there in 1811, Ross in 1825, and virtually every other non-Indian traveler through the area between 1826 and 1850, did note the presence of Arrow Rock. These included Aemilius Simpson in 1826, Duncan Finlayson and Ranald MacDonald in 1830, A. C. Anderson in 1842 and Father Pierre-Jean de Smet in the 1840s.²³

The inference is inescapable. Thompson did not actually see Arrow Rock, yet he (or someone else) placed it on his map.²⁴

Alexander Ross 1821

Alexander Ross, a fur trapper/trader for the American Fur Company, arrived in the region in the same year as David Thompson, 1811. Thompson made one trip down the Columbia from Kettle Falls and at least three up the river from Kettle Falls to Boat Encampment. Ross was in charge of Fort Okanogan from its opening in 1811 until 1816. Between 1811 and 1825 Ross spent time on the upper Columbia River Plateau, including the most northern reaches of the Columbia River drainage. On his first trip up the Columbia Ross found a British flag raised in an Indian Camp by Thompson earlier in the year, together with a written paper, laying claim to the country for the British Empire.²⁵ Ross continued to travel throughout the upper Columbia drainage during his work for fur trappers there.

In 1821 Ross completed a map of the Columbia River drainage, from its headwaters to where it emptied into the Pacific Ocean. For business reasons, Ross had more reason to include cultural information—knowing the territory of tribes and the location of their villages could be beneficial for fur trading and for avoiding conflict.

Ross added details to his large map over the next four years. For instance, he added Fort Colvile²⁶ to the map with a note indicating the post's establishment in 1825. In 1849 he reviewed the map, particularly as to the placement of the Indian tribes he had located. He added handwritten textual notes to the map at that time.²⁷

In 1958 Carl I. Wheat reproduced a low-resolution copy of the Ross 1821 map. This may have been the first and only modern reproduction of the Ross map. But the

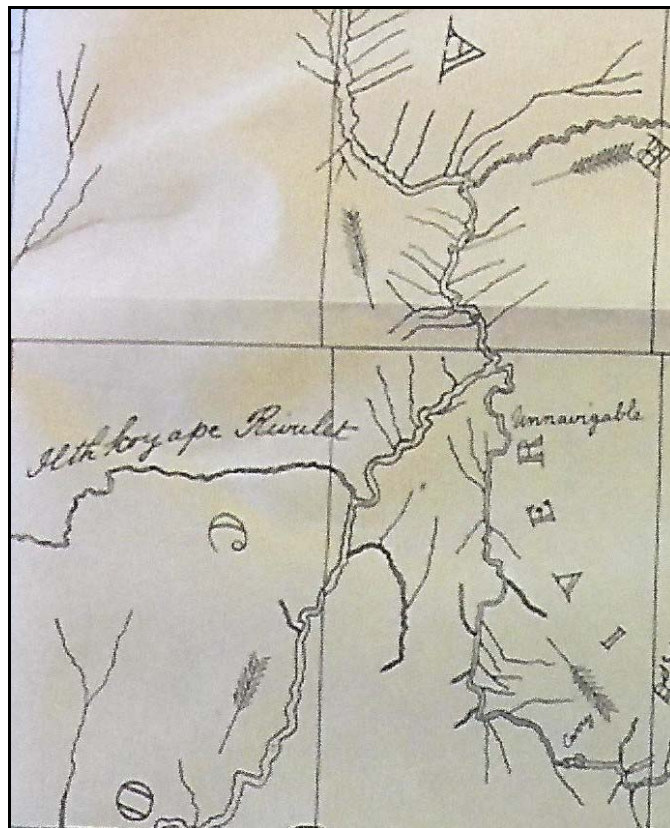


Figure 6 Detail of David Thompson's 1813-14 map showing Ilthkoyape Rivulet (Kettle River). Davidson, foldout map.

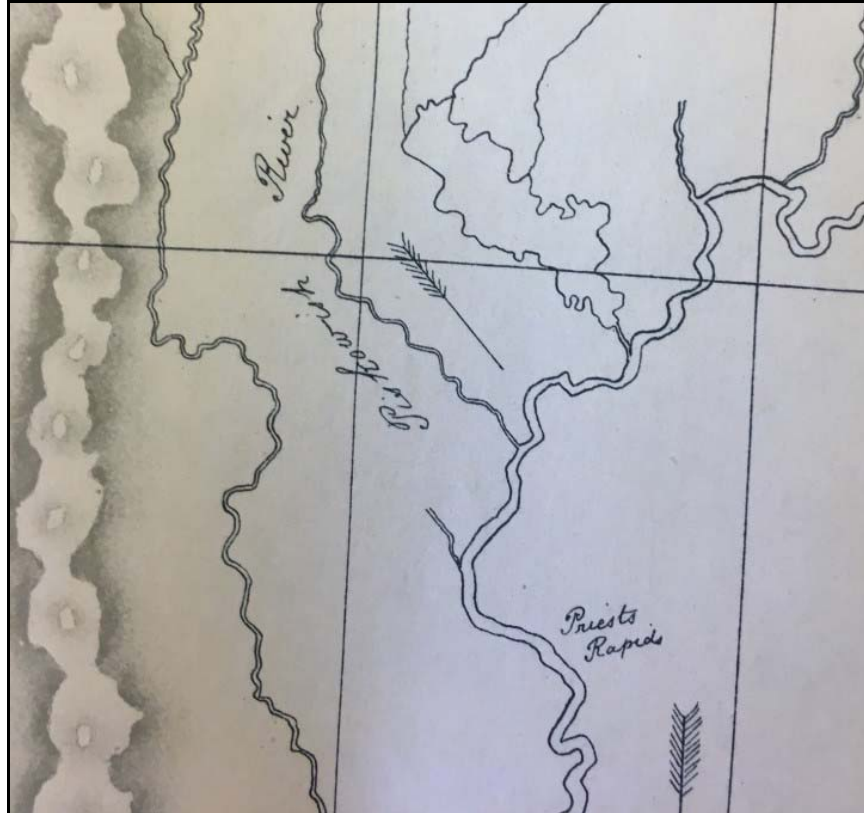


Figure 7: Tyrrell, J. B. (Ed.) *David Thompson's Narration of his Explorations in Western America, 1784-1812*. Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1916, map pocket, detail. "Priests Rapids" from David Thompson map of 1814 as reproduced in Tyrrell.

Wheat reproduction does not have sufficient resolution for the reader/researcher to see all the relevant Sinixt details, nor to transcribe any of the 1849 notes. Because the original Ross map is large, using the Wheat reproduction, the reader/researcher cannot see all of the details relating to Sinixt territory, nor all other pertinent details on the map.²⁸

An examination of the original Ross map shows detail that is much more relevant. The original Ross map, located in the British Library in London, shows both Upper and Lower Arrow Lake. Lower Arrow Lake is labeled “First Lake 42 miles.” Upper Arrow Lake is labeled “Second Lake 33 miles.” Ross shows a “Cedar grove” at the head of Upper Arrow Lake and “Sheep Country” to the east of Upper Arrow Lake, in the area of today’s Selkirk Mountains. Importantly, Ross illustrates a village at the head of Lower Arrow Lake and labeled it “Sin-natch-eggs Nation.” He showed a tributary flowing into the Columbia River just above the village, which is apparently Nakusp Creek. Above Upper Arrow Lake, Ross depicted the “Dalles des morts” where “15 persons drowned” and further above that the big bend of the Columbia and “Portage R.”²⁹

On Wheat’s reproduction of the map it is possible to make out the large lettering of “Sin Natch Eggs” across the swath of land between Upper and Lower Arrow Lakes. This type of labeling on the Ross map is used to denote tribal territory. However, on the Wheat reproduction it is impossible to make out the location of the village Ross depicted with the label “Sin-natch-eggs Nation.”³⁰ Looking at the entire map, it is certain that Ross meant the larger “Sin Natch Eggs” to show tribal territory, just as “Koottanais Country” (shown in the area of today’s Kootenay Lake) is meant to show Kootenay Country. The “She Waps” [Shuswap, today known as Secwépemc] are shown far to the west of the Columbia drainage and near the Shuswap Lake drainage.

Ross worked for an American Fur Company while Thompson was employed by the North West Company headquartered in Montreal. In 1811, when the two first met, there was friction between the companies and (by Ross’s account) the two men. Both the Americans and the British wanted to claim the Columbia drainage as a possession and to extend fur operations throughout the territory. While Thompson had been concerned with precisely mapping the topography, Ross was bent on recording details about the tribes (villages, territory) and fur trading opportunities and obstacles. Ross’s map of the Columbia River Basin shows numerous additional details in Sinixt territory. Fort Colville is shown as being established as of 1825. Kettle Falls is shown and Ross indicates the presence there of Indian lodges on both sides of the river there. The “Petit Dalles [or rapids]” is located upriver from “Fort Colville [Colvile]” and is labeled as the “narrowest part of [of the Columbia River].

The Pend d’Oreille River is also depicted and labeled also as the “Pend d’oreille or head or Callis spellum.”³¹ The “Sin who yell pe-took” is the Kettle River. Thompson had labeled it the “Ilthkoyape” River (the influence of the Ross map can be seen on the 1859 Arrowsmith map where the Kettle River is called it the “Sin-who-yel-pe or Ilthkoyape River”). Similarly, the Kootenay River is labeled the “Koottanais or McGillivray’s R” (following Thompson’s name suggestion— it was also sometimes called



Figure 8 Alexander Ross. Untitled map of the Columbia River Basin, September, 1821. Original 48 by 54 inches. British Museum, Additional Manuscript 31,358 B (P)BM. Copy from Wheat, Carl I. *1540-1861 Mapping the Transmississippi West*, Volume Two, "From Lewis and Clark to Fremont, 1804-1845." San Francisco: The Institute of Historical Cartography, 1958, page 106, map 345. The Sinixt (spelled "Sin Natch Eggs") are located in the upper left hand corner of the Ross map. North is toward the left on this map.

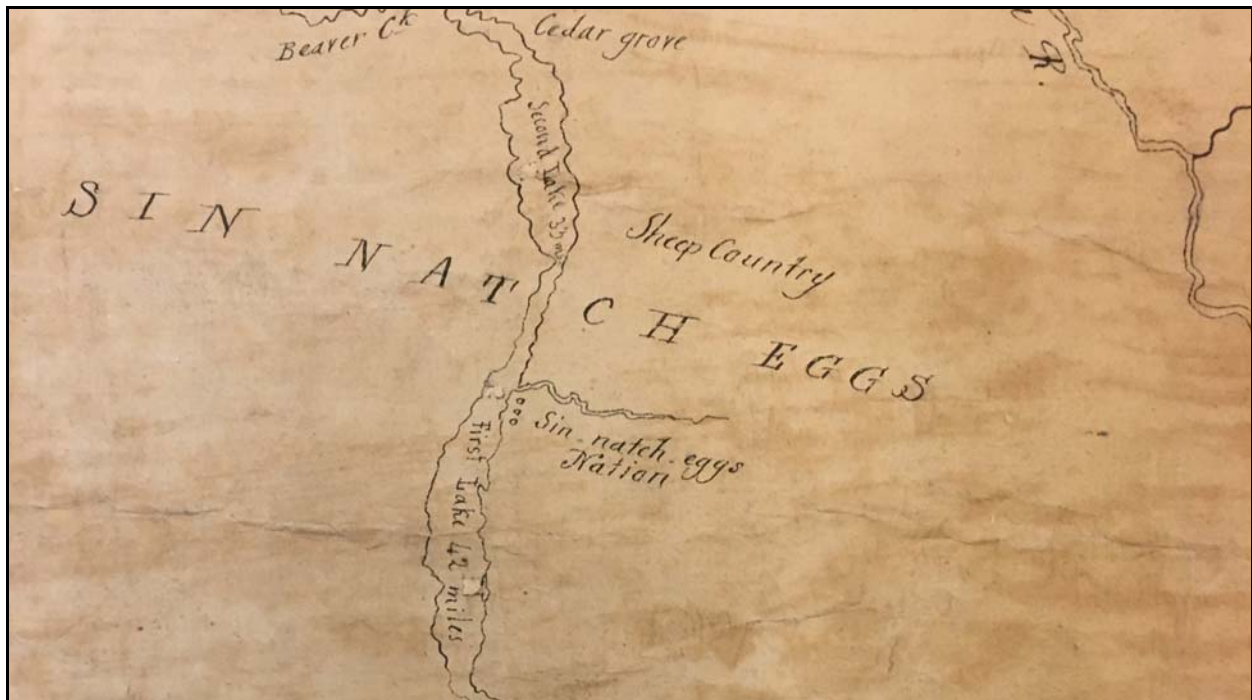


Figure 9 Ross, 1821, Detail. British Library, Add. MS 31,358 B. Detail shows Sinixt [Sin Natch Eggs] territory and village ("Sin-natch-eggs Nation"), apparently the headquarters of the Tribe. Also indicated are mountain sheep in the Selkirk Mountains and both Arrow Lakes. This detail is taken from the actual, original Ross map in the British Library.

the McGilvray or McGilvray's River). Interestingly, Ross locates the "Falls" on that river. This was Bonnington Falls, the highest point on Kootenay River where Salmon could reach, and the boundary between the Kootenay [today's Ktunaxa] and the Sinixt.³²

Most importantly, Ross clearly labels Sinixt ("Sin Natch Eggs") territory.

Text added to the map by Ross in 1849 is very important to understanding his depiction of Sinixt territory on his 1821 map. On September 1, 1849, while located in the Red River Settlement, Alexander Ross reviewed his 1821 map and wrote an extensive textual addition, titled "Remarks on the Map of Columbia." By that time he had seen the Astorians' Fort Astoria acquired by the North West Company and then the North West Company merged with the Hudson's Bay Company. In his 1849 text he lamented the fact that the location and names of tribes on the lower Columbia (near the mouth), "a country so long in possession of the whites....," were now incorrect or lost. However, he stated that his map was based on his own "travels and observations" and said the locations of the Indian tribes "may be relied upon as pretty correct..." and that the tribes were located "as they were when the whites entered the country." He concluded that it would be a worthwhile object to "correct past maps, and lay before the public such a map as would bear the test of time."³³

Ross also added a paragraph of text on the map titled "Explanation." In this paragraph he said that the tribes were all "in their proper places," confirming the locations he had used when drafting the original map. It is important to note that in 1825 Ross had made a journey into Sinixt territory and provided considerable commentary, which he later published.³⁴

In conclusion, the Ross map demonstrates that the business and governmental authorities in the region knew as of 1821 that the Sinixt occupied the territory surrounding the Arrow Lakes and that the Tribe had a major village at the head of Lower Arrow Lake. By the same date, 1821, the Hudson's Bay Company had become owner of both the Thompson maps and Ross's map. Thompson sent copies of his map to officials of both the United States and Britain. Because of Ross' notes added in 1849, his map is also evidence that at the time of the Treaty of Oregon, in 1846, when the British Empire expressed sovereignty over what would become the Province of British Columbia in Canada, Sinixt territory was well known by the government and by business interests like the Hudson's Bay Company, and had been known for at least two decades. Ross emphasized that the location of the tribes was intended to show where they were when Europeans first entered the territory.³⁵

Samuel Parker, 1838

The next important map showing Sinixt territory was by Samuel Parker in 1838.³⁶

Although the Lakes had been subjected to proselytizing by Hudson's Bay Company employees for some years, it was not until somewhat later in the 1830s that formal missionaries came among them. The first of them was the Reverend Samuel Parker, a Congregational missionary who spent three years (1835-1837) traveling through the Northwest under the aegis of the American Board of Commissioners for

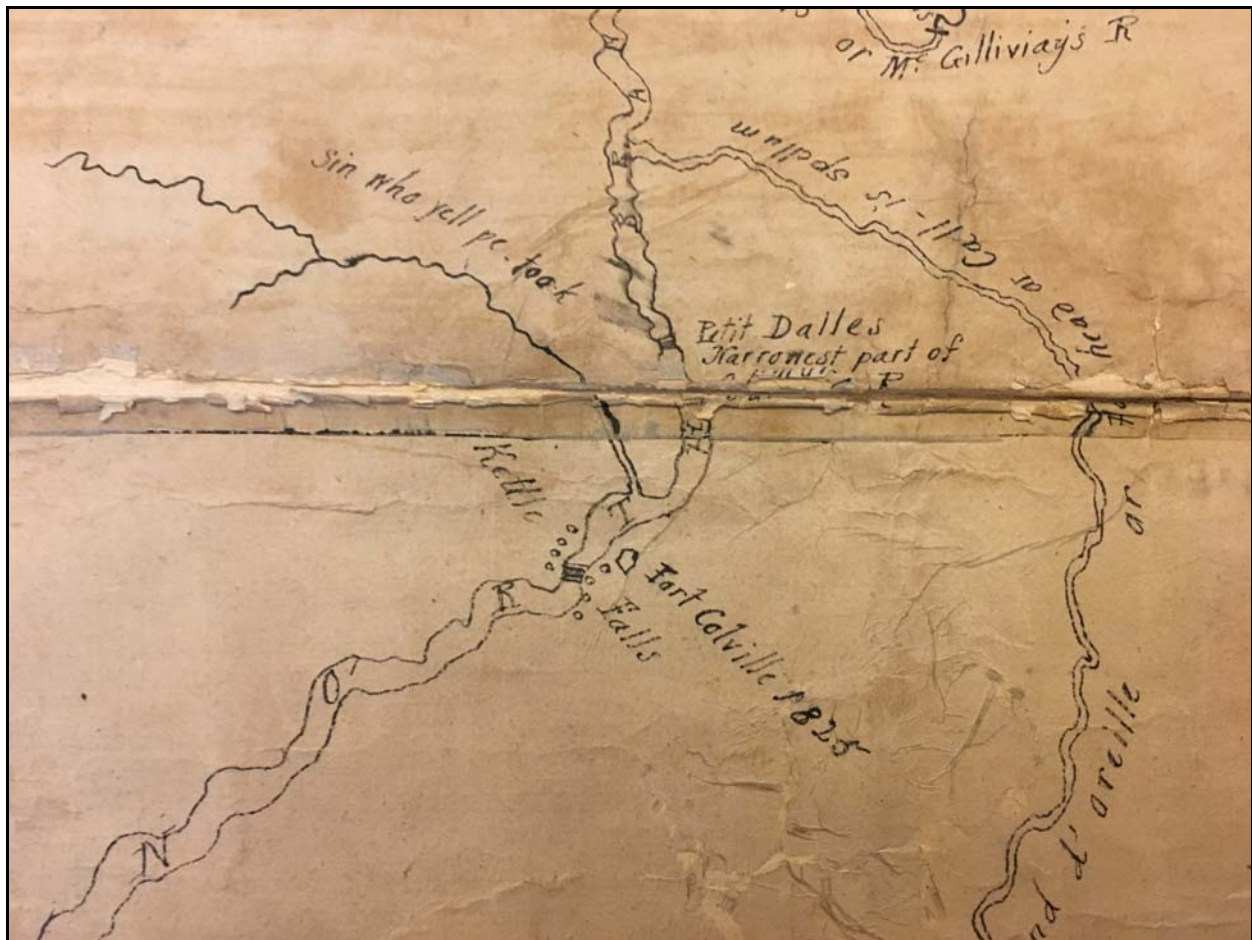


Figure 10 Ross, 1821, Detail. British Library, Add. MS 31,358 B. Detail shows Fort Colville, Indian lodges on both sides of Columbia River at Kettle Falls, the Kettle River ("Sin who yell pe-took") and other geographical features.

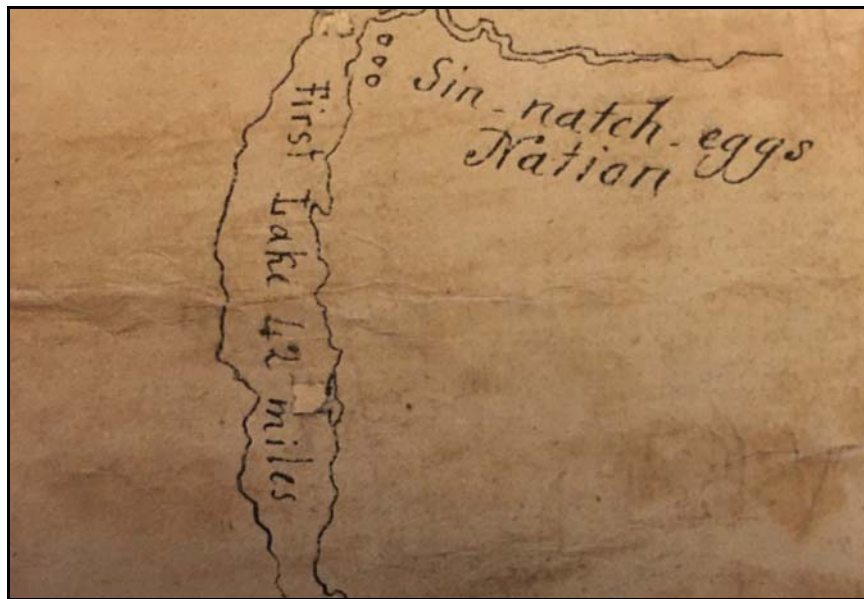


Figure 11 Ross, 1821, Detail. British Library, Add. MS 31,358 B. Detail shows Sinixt village near head of Lower Arrow Lake and designates the Tribe as a "Nation" at the time of first contact with Europeans.

Foreign Missions. His principal object was to gather information on the Indians of the region for future mission work.

Parker visited Fort Colville in 1837 and said it was well-stockaded, but “so friendly have the natives always been, that no wars have ever occurred among them.”³⁷ He also explained how the Lakes got their English name and estimated their population.

...the Lake Indians, so named from their place of residence, which is about the Arrow Lakes. They are about five hundred in number.³⁸

In 1838 Parker published a book on his missionary efforts. The book included a foldout map on which were located Fort Colville, Kettle Falls and the Arrow Lakes. The Cootanies [today’s Ktunaxa, more commonly called “Kootenays” then] were to the east of Sinixt territory and the “Okanagans” were to the west in the Okanagan River drainage.

Palmer’s map was a commercial production with accepted symbols for mountains, rivers and etc.

Charles Wilkes and James Wyld, 1841

The first official United States expedition to reach Fort Colville was in 1841 under Charles Wilkes. Wilkes provided an extensive textual description of the fort and produced a map of Oregon Territory. Cartographic historian Carl I. Wheat reproduced a copy of Wilkes’ “Map of the Oregon Territory,” saying it was influential on later maps of that portion of the northwest United States.³⁹

During the same year, 1841, James Wyld “re-published” Wilkes map with the following annotation:

The Northern part of this Map contains the latest information of the Hudson [sic] Bay Company, and the Eastern part, that of Lieutt. [sic] Fremont’s U.S.T.E. Explorations on the Eastern side of the Rocky Mountains.

The Wyld map also shows “Fort Colville,” the Arrow Lakes, and also portrays the Nelson Range of Mountains to the west of Upper and Lower Arrow Lakes.⁴⁰ The Wilkes/Wyld maps were commercially produced with accepted conventions for mountains, rivers and other topographical features.

Alexander Caufield Anderson, 1842

Alexander Caufield Anderson had a long career in the fur trade. In the 1840s he held positions for the Hudson’s Bay Company at Fort Vancouver, Fort Alexandria and Fort Colville. In 1842 A. C. Anderson drafted a map of the Upper Columbia from Fort Colville in the south to a point considerably north of Boat Encampment. Anderson made a copy of that map in 1866. His son, James Robert Anderson referenced a journal his father made in the 1840s that described portions of the area mapped.

In the general vicinity of today’s Goldstream River, Anderson shows a horse trail going west from the Columbia River. He writes on the map, “There is a horse trail

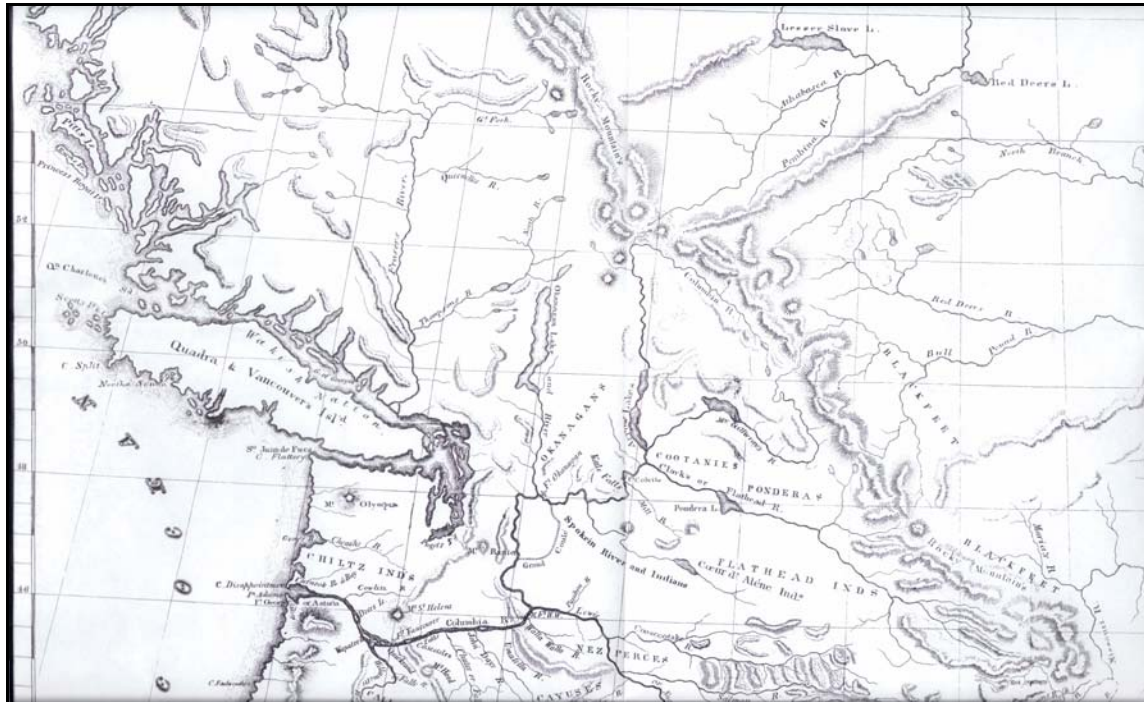


Figure 12 Parker, Samuel. "Map of Oregon Territory," 1838, from *Journal of An exploring Tour... 1835, '36, and '37*. Ross & Haines. Minneapolis, 1967 (facsimile of 1838 edition).



Figure 13 Parker, 1838, Detail. In his text he places the Lake Indians “about the Arrow Lakes.” He said the Okanangan were found around Fort Okanagan and west and northwest of the San Poil.



Figure 14 Wyld, James. "Map of the Oregon Territory by the U. S. Ex. Ex. Charles Wilkes, Esqr. Commander, 1841. G.3/397 published (lithog), Bay 67, Sh. 32, Box 3, Hudson's Bay Company Archives.

across by this pass striking the N. Branch of Thompson's R. About 45 [miles] above Kamloops." In the approximate location of today's Downey Creek, he shows a 34 ½ mile route to the west from the Columbia to the head of Shuswap Lake. The route apparently goes over today's Pettipiece Pass. At the head of Upper Arrow Lake, Anderson notes that there is "apparently" a pass going over the mountains to the east. To the west of Upper Arrow Lake Anderson shows a mountain range, and notes, "This divide continuous past the upper end of the great Okanagan Lake to the lands of the Similkameen."⁴¹

Like Archibald McDonald in 1827 (see endnote #36), Anderson shows trails to Shuswap country over passes from the Columbia north of the location of today's Revelstoke.

On Lower Arrow Lake, Anderson locates Arrow Rock. His son used A. C. Anderson's journal to provide a textual description of Arrow Rock. At the extreme southern end of his map he locates Kettle Falls and Fort Colville.⁴²

Pierre-Jean de Smet, 1846

Catholic missionaries reached Sinixt country in 1838, arriving at the Hudson's Bay Company's "House of the Lakes" (also called "Fort of the Lakes"). This was a company trading post established near the shore of Upper Arrow Lake. Francis Norbert Blanchet and Modeste Demers spent over two weeks with the Sinixt, whom they called the "Lake Indians." Demers said the Lake Indians, along with the Chaudiers (Colville) were "the most numerous of all" the tribes in the region.⁴³ Over the next two years many leading Sinixt were baptized by the Jesuit missionaries.⁴⁴

By 1842 Father Pierre-Jean de Smet was in charge of the Oregon missions, including the efforts among the Lakes (Sinixt). During the next few years he spent much time among the *gens des lacs*, or "people of the lakes," as the French-Canadian fur men called them.⁴⁵ In 1845 de Smet established a "sub-mission," or "station," among the Lakes Indians, and named it St. Peter's Station (in French: "Station St. Pierre Gens des Lacs de la Col[umbia]"). De Smet said he anticipated that a chapel would one day be constructed at the station, which was located on the east shore of Upper Arrow Lake.⁴⁶

Father de Smet wrote a number of books which spread the word of his missionary efforts, and, importantly, helped raise funds to support the missions. In 1843 he wrote *Origin, Progress and Prospects of the Catholic Mission to the Rocky Mountains*.⁴⁷ In 1845 he spent considerable time among the Lakes people and wrote about them in another book published in 1847, in which he described the establishment of St. Peter's Mission Station for the Lake Indians.⁴⁸

In 1845 de Smet had traveled up the Arrow Lakes where he established a mission station and met and described Lakes people. His *Oregon Missions and Travels over the Rocky Mountains in 1845-46*, published in 1847, included a map of the Lakes Indians country that showed his travels. The book was subsequently published in a number of different countries and languages and provided much of the world an idea of

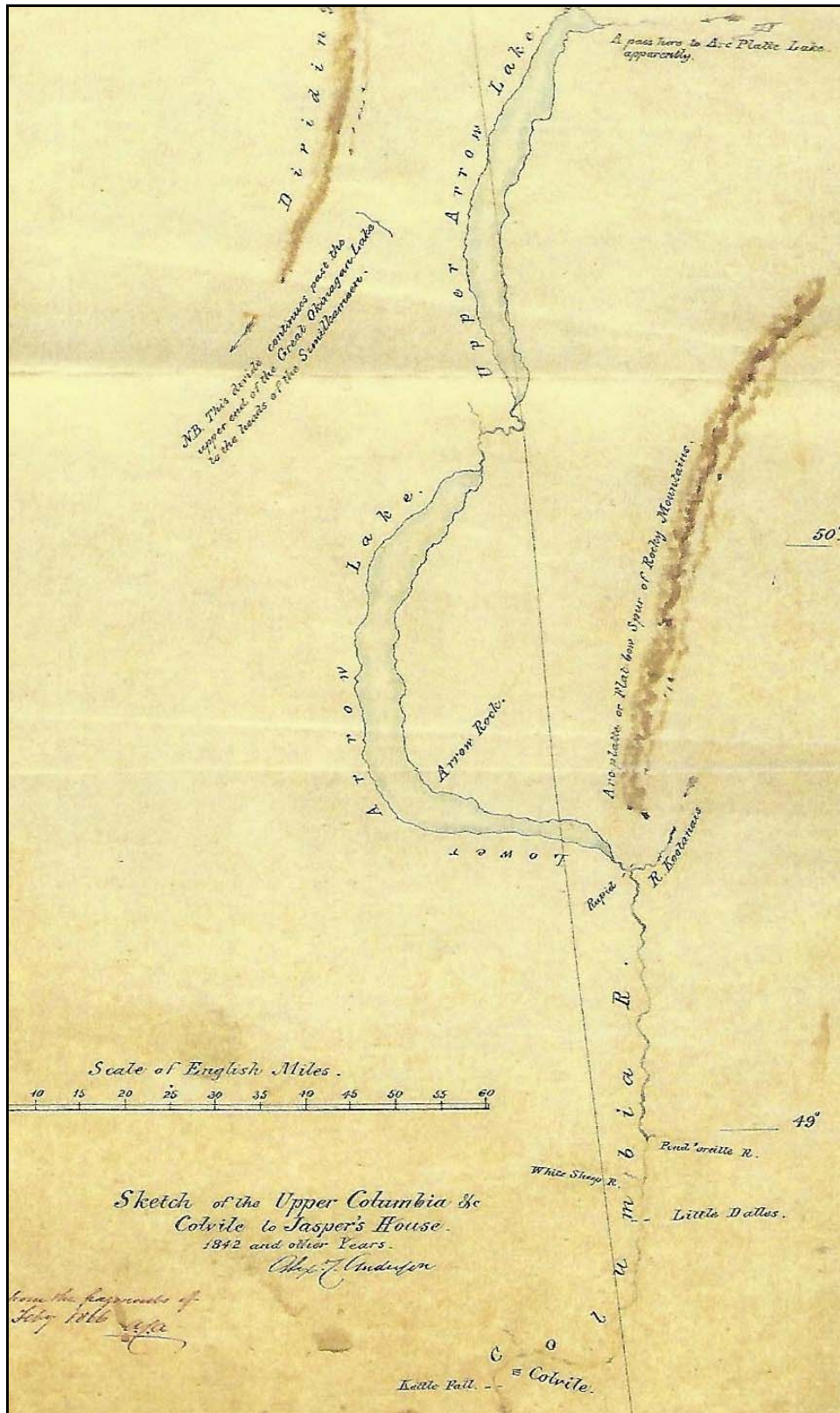


Figure 15 Detail of A. C. Anderson's sketch of the Upper Columbia in 1842. Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Map Division, CM B246/1167.

the tribes of the region and their territories, landscapes and subsistence practices. The map included in the book is titled "Oregon Territory, 1846."⁴⁹

De Smet did a series of maps which showed Sinixt territory. De Smet's original maps were hand-drawn from personal observations during his travels. While they suffered from a lack of conventional symbols for topographic features, parts of the maps were covered with his own symbols for cultural features. They contained considerable textual material that suffered from a lack of conforming textual linearity (scrawled comments in every which direction) along with a somewhat maddening lack of conventional directional alignment. With all that in mind, there is an amazing amount of unique, primary cultural information present on the de Smet maps.

The 1846 map shows St. Peter's Station on the west side of Upper Arrow Lake, which is labeled "Arrow Lake." Other mission stations are also shown located among the Okanagan (at the foot of Okanagan Lake), among the Kootenay to the east, and among the Colville (St. Paul Mission located at Kettle Falls).⁵⁰

In an early Belgian edition of the book, titled *Missions de L'Orégon et Voyages aux Montagnes-Rocheuses, aux sources de la Colombie, de l'Athabasca et du Sascatshawin; pendant l'année 1845-46*, the map is titled "Nouvelle Carte du Territoire de L'Orégon dressée par le R. P. De Smet, de la Compagnie de Jésus."⁵¹ In this Ghent edition of the book, de Smet also labeled "Station de St. Pierre de Lacs" opposite Upper Arrow Lake. In addition, he shows "stations [sub-missions]" among the Okanagan, Colville, and Kootenay. Fort Colville (misspelled "Colville") is shown. Dotted lines show a route of De Smet travel. It shows that in 1845 he traveled up the Columbia River to Kettle Falls, from there traveled to and from the foot of Okanagan Lake, and then on up the Arrow Lakes to the Big Bend (Boat Encampment).

Another map in the Ghent edition shows the Upper Columbia River and its sources.⁵² This map shows de Smet's route past Lower Arrow Lake ("1st Lac de la Colombie"), Upper Arrow Lake ("2nd Lac"), and on up towards the Big Bend of the Columbia. His route was along the east shore of the lakes. In an area near the head of Upper Arrow Lake de Smet added a drawing of a camp which includes three tepees and one tent and which has the labels "Loges de Morigreau" and "Ma Tente." This is apparently a camp he shared with French Canadian trapper Francois Morigeau. Morigeau was an early free trader (an independent trapper/trader). "Free trappers" frequently had Indian families and traveled or lived with them⁵³ and were treated differently than those under full contract with the company. They could be carried on the Hudson's Bay Company rolls, could trap where they wanted, but usually sold their furs to the company.⁵⁴ It is likely, thus, that Morigeau was trading and trapping with the Sinixt and selling the furs to the Hudson's Bay Company. It is interesting that his camp was relatively close to the location of the early trappers' Fort of the Lakes.

On September 9, 1845, de Smet wrote to his superior from the "Head of the Columbia" to describe his recent travel.⁵⁵

Further north along his route toward the sources of the Columbia River, de Smet drew a cross and added the inscription, "Croix de la Nativité, 8 Sept, 1845." In the text

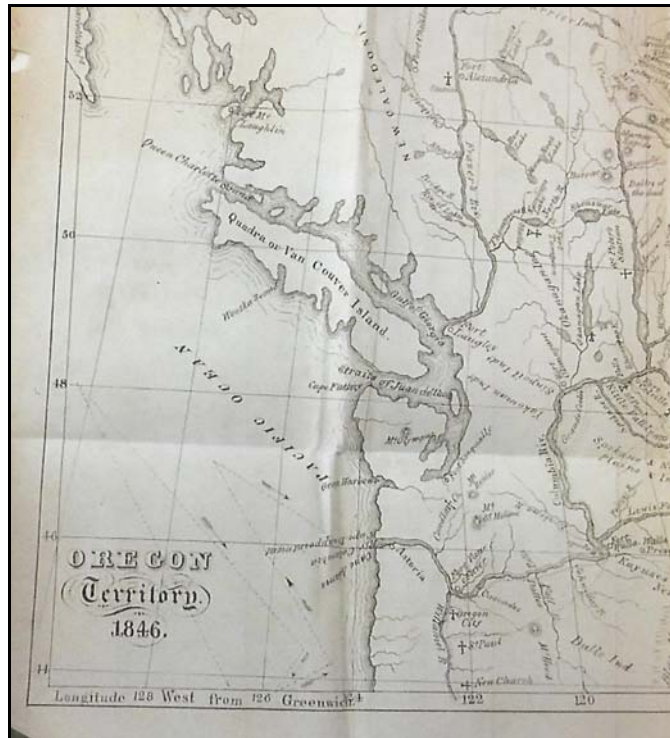


Figure 16 Detail of de Smet's 1846 map showing region surrounding the Arrow Lakes. De Smet, 1847.

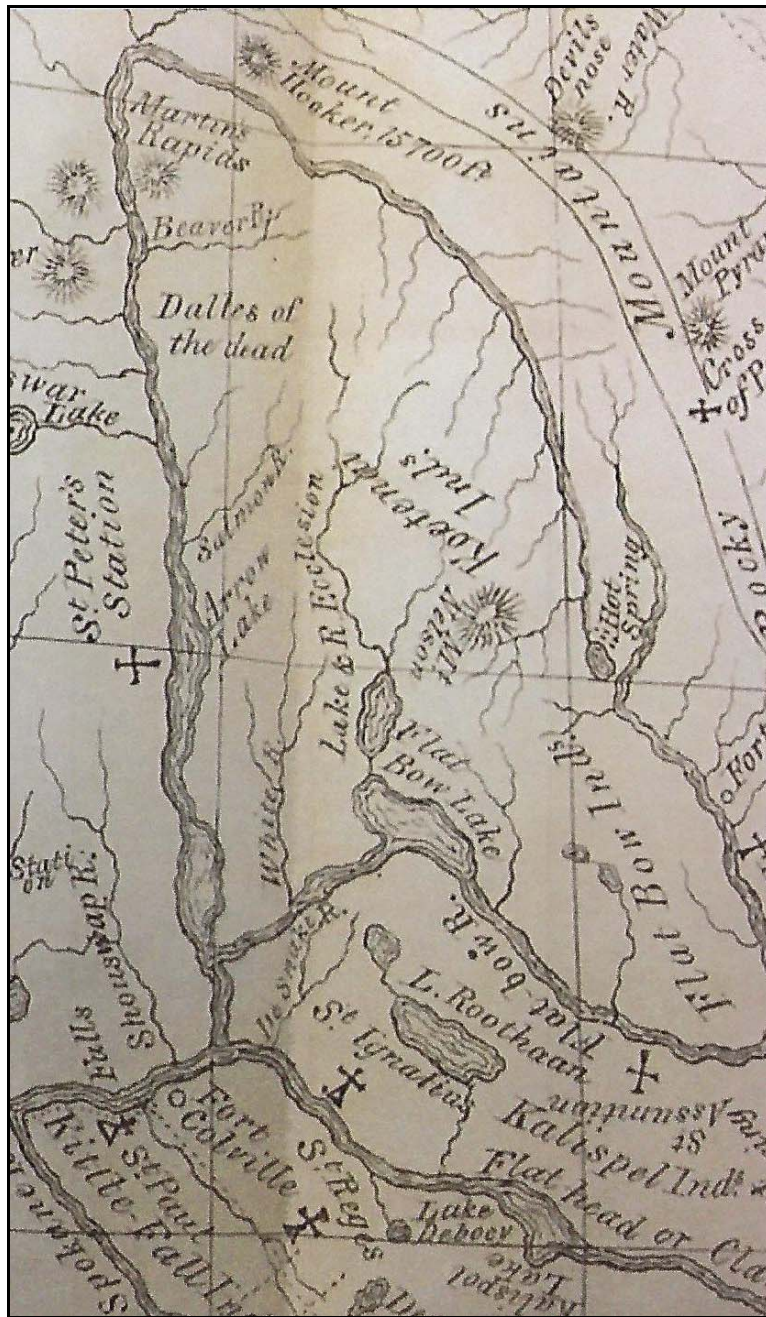


Figure 17 Detail of de Smet's 1846 published map showing St. Peter's Station and other details. De Smet, 1847.

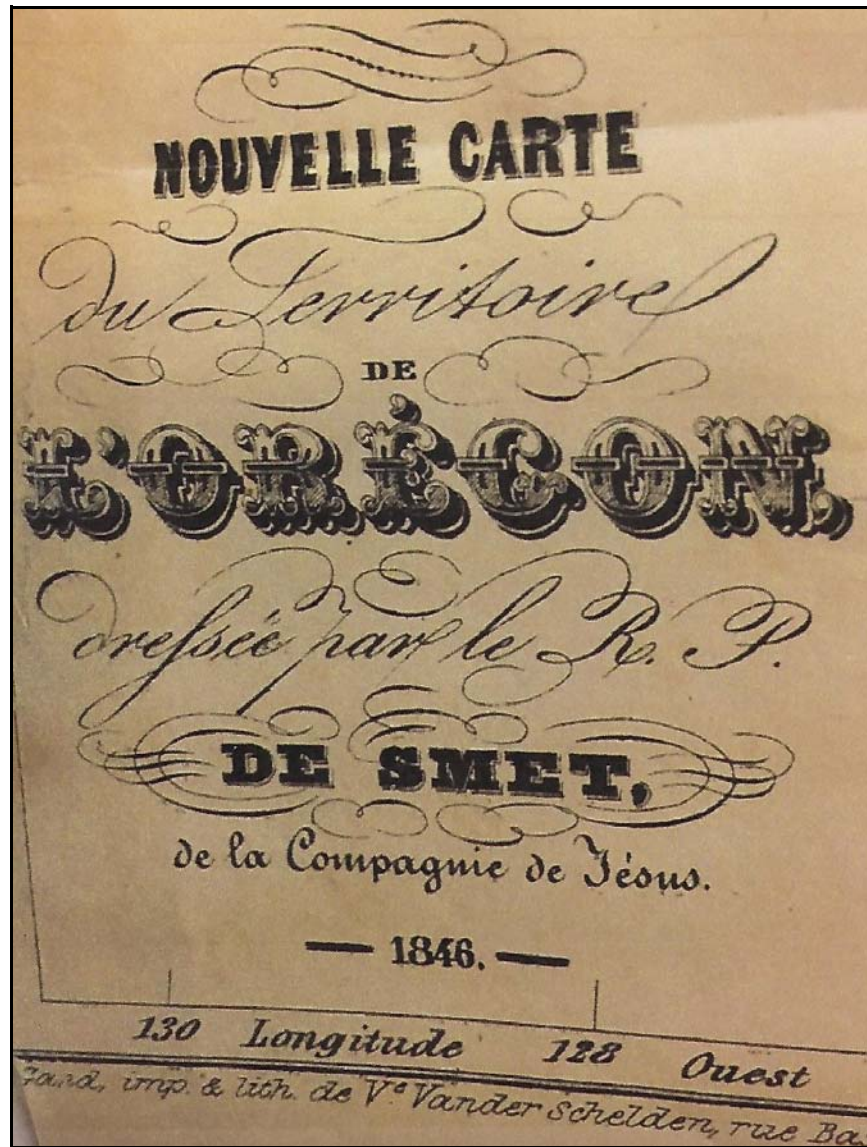


Figure 18 Detail of de Smet's 1846 map in the Ghent edition of the book.

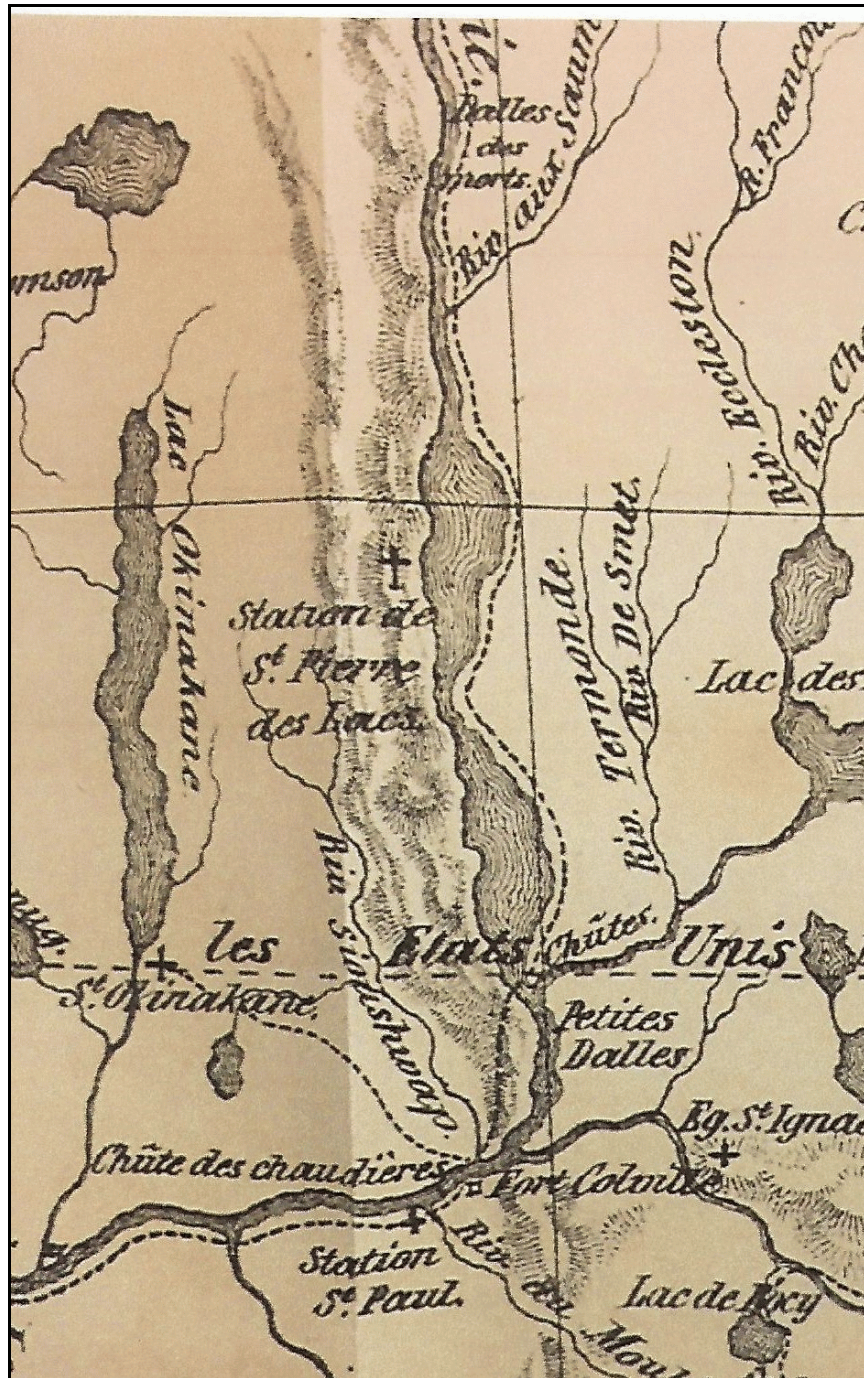


Figure 19 Detail from de Smet 1846 map (Ghent edition), showing "Station de St. Pierre des Lacs, Fort Colville [sic, Colville], and the stations established for the Okanagan and Kootenay.

of the book, he described the “feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin,” and said “a large cross was erected in the plain, which, from that time, is called the *Plain of the Nativity*.” De Smet said Morigeau was devout at the ceremony, and reported that the Canadian free-trapper traveled with three Indian families, the children of which de Smet baptized during the ceremonies.⁵⁶ Another color version of this map is found in the Jesuit Archives and Research Center in St. Louis.⁵⁷ This map, although somewhat more difficult to read (de Smet did not clearly show directions on many of his maps) also shows de Smet’s route through Morigeau’s camp to the Nativity Cross.

The Huntington Library also possesses the original manuscript map drafted by de Smet, which was the source for his maps in the various editions of his 1846 book. This map also shows “St. Peter’s Station” on the west side of Upper Arrow Lake and also locates missions and mission stations among the Colville, Kootenay and Okanogan. He locates the “Kettle Falls Indians” next to his St. Paul Station and “Fort Colville.” This manuscript map is almost certainly the source for all of de Smet’s maps showing Lakes country in 1846.

De Smet drafted another map at about this time. A purpose of this map also seems to be to locate the mission stations established by the Jesuits in the region by 1845. De Smet added a textual note that Demers had baptized a total of 436 Indian people between 1842 and 1843. This manuscript map is located in the archives of Washington State University.⁵⁸ Although the university archives has the map dated 1841, De Smet reported that he established St. Peter’s Station in 1845. Since that location is shown on the map, the map could not have been drawn prior to 1845.⁵⁹ This map also appears to show a Lakes village at the location of St. Peter’s Station. It would make sense that the station would have been established where Demers baptized a number of Lakes people, including leaders.

In the text of his 1846 book de Smet reported that in 1845 he visited Kettle Falls where eight to nine hundred Indians were gathered to fish for salmon. There he said he established his mission to the Colville people (St. Paul’s Mission) and had a small chapel built. He recalled that having met Lake Indians (Gens de lac) at Kettle Falls Father he had then made a short excursion north to the Lake country, to the Lakes tribal grounds, where he said he established a sub-mission for the Lakes, called “St. Peter’s Mission Station.”⁶⁰

The Jesuit Archives and Research Center in St. Louis houses a considerable number of manuscripts created by Father de Smet. Included in this collection are three maps that show Sinixt territory. One of his maps that the archives has is titled “Upper Althabasca River, the Columbia River Basin, the Upper Missouri, and the Great Divide”⁶¹ This map shows St. Peter’s Station located on the west side of Upper Arrow Lake where there is depicted a Sinixt village. Downstream on the Columbia near Fort Colville and today’s Kettle Falls is located a mission to the Colville Tribe. Missions and sub-missions are also located for the Kootenay to the east and the Okanogan to the west.

De Smet maps depict a chain of mountains that is placed similarly to Thompson

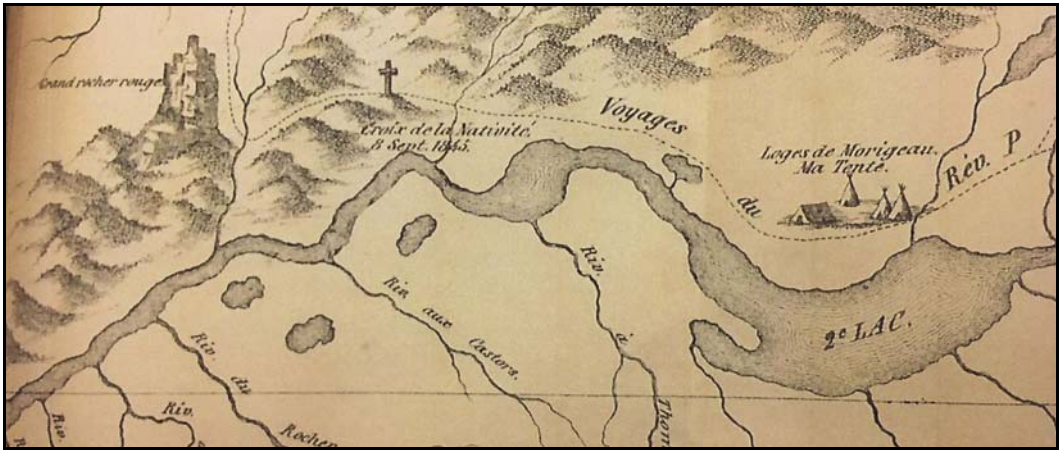


Figure 20 Detail from de Smet's 2nd 1846 map (Ghent edition), showing the camp with Morigeau and the "Croix de la Nativité, 8 Sept. 1845.

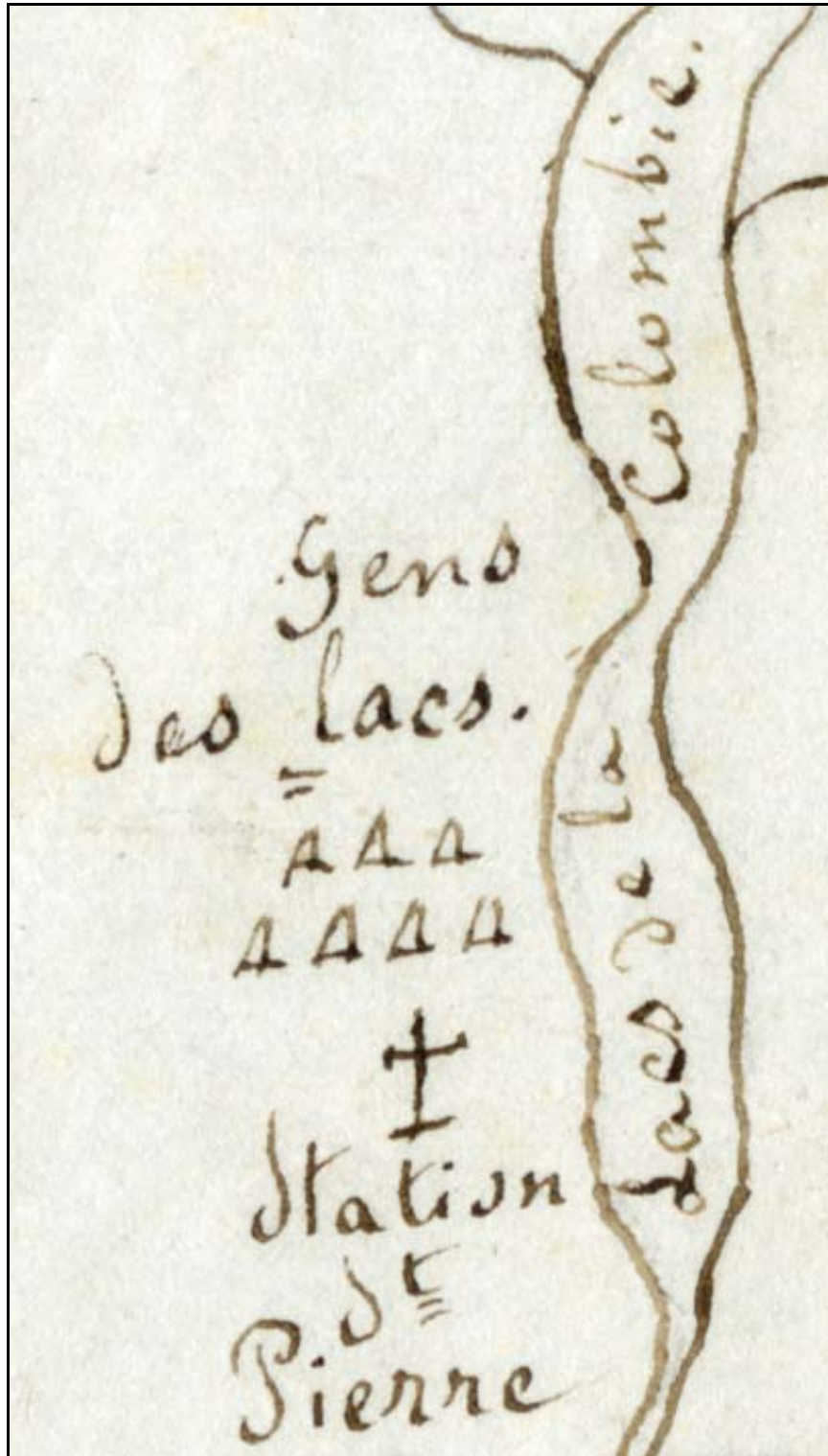


Figure 22 Detail from de Smet map ca. 1846 showing stations established by 1846, showing "Gens de lacs," tribal lodges, and "Station St. Pierre." Washington State University Manuscript.



Figure 23 De Smet, 1847, detail from Jesuit Archives & Research Center, manuscript map De Smetiana-IX-C8-13 (detail).



Figure 24 De Smet. "La Carte du Territoire de l'Oregon," 1846. Jesuit Archives & Research Center, Digital Collections & Resources. This map also shows St. Peter's Station, Fort Colville, and sub-missions to other tribes to the east and west.

and Wyld. De Smet in his French captions says this chain of mountains separates the people of Kettle Falls from the Okanogan. He shows a chain of mountains running north and south and beginning north of Upper Arrow Lake and says they are mountains associated with the Shuswaps and Carriers. There is a trail between the Okanogan and Kettle Falls, but no trail shown between either the Okanogan or the Shuswap and Sinixt territory above that location. Thus, de Smet very clearly shows geographic boundaries around the Lakes (Sinixt) territory, just as other cartographers had done since Thompson.

De Smet's "Carte des Sources de la Colombie, 1847," is described above, and also depicts a chain of mountains separating the Okanogan from the Sinixt.⁶²

Conclusions

Thanks largely to David Thompson, by 1820 the geography of the upper Columbia River drainage was well-mapped and understood. The Thompson maps in the British Library probably represent the earliest version of his maps. Cultural details were added at various times by Thompson, and perhaps by other people (especially evident on the PRO/Fort William map). Thompson's original maps locate the Nelson Mountain Range to the west of today's Arrow Lakes was clearly delineated. Some cultural information was also documented on Thompson's maps and his associated textual materials. The salmon fisheries at Kettle Falls (Thompson's "Ilthkoyape Falls") were well documented and known as important to tribes in that region of the Upper Columbia. The fur trading capabilities of the tribes in the region were also well understood. Several fur trapping stations were established by the North West Company at locations around Sinixt territory. The Kootenay were shown to the east of the Arrow Lakes and the Okanogan were located on maps to the west of the Arrow Lakes. Mountain ranges separated them from the Arrow Lakes country. Thompson provided copies of his maps to officials of both the government of Great Britain and the United States.

Thompson had great interest and ability in mapping topography. The conventions he used to show prominent topography seem to stay consistent on all of his maps. Mountain ranges are represented in the same manner, arrows show the direction in which rivers flow, and significant single mountains are symbolized in a similar, consistent manner. Cultural geography seems to be secondary to the purpose of his initial maps. Tribal villages and territories are less important than the locations of North West Company trading posts.

Alexander Ross provided detailed cultural information on his important map. He had been stationed in the Upper Columbia since 1811 and had traveled up and down the Upper Columbia River drainage. In 1821, he drafted a map locating the Sinixt (he spelled their name "Sin Natch Eggs") tribal territory on the Arrow Lakes. He also located other tribal territories in the region, in addition to the Sinixt "Nation," and located one of the Sinixt villages.

Alexander Ross, in his 1821 map, seems to have understood that the locations of tribes affected the business of trading with the tribes and with determining how tribal relations should be conducted. As time went on, Thompson seemed to understand more of this and added more cultural details. Thompson was definitely a colonialist. He was very concerned about the extent of British claims to territory, from the moment he planted his flag claiming country north of the mouth of the Snake River as British Territory, to his work with the International Boundary Commission.

All Thompson maps show his attention to accurate topography. Details which he added as a result of information from others may be less accurate. He accurately located topography that he actually observed, but was less accurate with topography he learned about from others. For example, he correctly located the mouth of the Kettle (Thompson called it Ilthkoyape) River But incorrectly located the river's headwaters.

Commercially published maps, including those of Wilkes/Wyld and of Presbyterian missionary Samuel Parker, included information on Sinixt country. Parker described the Lakes Indians in his 1838 book, which included a map showing the location of the Arrow Lakes, where he said they lived. A. C. Anderson provided a detailed map of the Arrow Lakes in 1842 (redrawn in 1866). This map shows the trails from Arrow Lakes country to the tribes to the east and west and locates Arrow Rock, which many travelers described and which gave the Arrow Lakes their name.

In 1846, the Jesuit priest Pierre-Jean de Smet drafted a series of maps showing Sinixt territory. Despite cartographic challenges, he was able to locate (and describe in accompanying text) the mission station he established for the Sinixt adjacent to a tribal village. By that time, the Hudson's Bay Company near Kettle Falls had constructed Fort Colville. The location of trading and mission stations demonstrated the importance of the Sinixt and neighboring tribes to the fur traders, who were very active among that Tribe. De Smet's maps and books were published in the Americas and throughout Europe in many editions.

The topography that dominated the Sinixt Tribe's aboriginal territory was well known. The mountain ranges separating them from neighboring tribes (Okanogan, Shuswap and Kootenay) were mapped and described. And by 1846, the territory of the Sinixt (the Arrow Lakes Tribe) was mapped and well known in Canada, the United States, and Europe.

ENDNOTES

1. On appeal before the Canadian Supreme Court: *Her Majesty the Queen v Richard Lee Desautel*, 2019 BCCA 151.
2. Wheat, Carl I. *1540-1861 Mapping the Transmississippi West*, Volume Two, "From Lewis and Clark to Fremont, 1804-1845." San Francisco: The Institute of Historical Cartography, 1958, p. 101.
3. Moreau, William E. *The Writings of David Thompson*, Volume 1: The Travels, 1850 Version. University of Washington Press: Seattle, 2009, p. xii.
4. Moreau, William E. *The Writings of David Thompson*, Volume 1: The Travels, 1850 Version. University of Washington Press: Seattle, 2009, p. xxx.
5. Moreau, William E. *The Writings of David Thompson, Volume 1: The Travels, 1850 Version*. University of Washington Press: Seattle, 2009.
Moreau, William E. *The Writings of David Thompson, Volume 2: The Travels, 1848 Version, and Associated Texts*. Toronto: The Champlain Society, 2015.
Volume 3 has not been published as of this writing.
Moreau's intensive study of Thompson's writings may answer some of the continuing questions about dates and details on Thompson maps, but a close analysis of the various maps using appropriate technology may be necessary to answer other questions.
6. Belyea, Barbara (edited and with an "Introduction" by.). *Columbia Journals: David Thompson*, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994, p. 169-170. Belyea produces a transcript of Thompson's actual journal, not his *Narrative*.
Josephy, Alvin M. Jr. "David Thompson," *The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West*, Volume III. Spokane: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2001 (first published 1966), pp. 331-333.
Glover, Richard. *David Thompson's Narrative, 1784-1812*. Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1962, p. 334, provided a proposed Salish meaning for Thompson's word "Ilthkoyape."
Hopwood, Victor G. (ed.) *Thompson: Travels in Western North America, 1784-1812*. Toronto: Macmillan, 1971, p. 311.
7. Davidson, Gordon Charles. *The North West Company*. University of California Press: Berkeley, 1918. (University of California Publications in History, Volume VII), pp. 100 and 101n.
Burpee, Lawrence J. *The Search for the Western Sea: The Story of the Exploration of North-Western America*. Toronto: The Musson Book Company, 1908, pp.

552-553.

8. Burpee, Lawrence J. *The Search for the Western Sea: The Story of the Exploration of North-Western America*. Toronto: The Musson Book Company, 1908, opposite p. 356.

This map is also reproduced by:

Coues, Elliott. *New Light on the Early History of the Greater North West, the Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry Fur Trader of the Northwest Company and of David Thompson, Official Geographer and Explorer of the same Company, 1799-1814*. Volume 3, New York: Harper, 1897, map in back pocket. Coues had earlier reproduced a portion of Thompson's 1813-14 map.

Tyrrell, J. B. (Ed.) *David Thompson's Narration of his Explorations in Western America, 1784-1812*. Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1916, of what he said was a reproduction of Thompson's 1813-14 map in map pocket.

Davidson, Gordon Charles. *The North West Company*. University of California Press: Berkeley, 1918 (University of California Publications in History, Volume VII), foldout map opposite p. cxxviii. Davidson also said he reproduced Thompson's 1813-14 map.

9. Burpee, Lawrence J. *The Search for the Western Sea: The Story of the Exploration of North-Western America*. Toronto: The Musson Book Company, 1908, opposite p. 356.

10. Burpee, Lawrence J. and Arthur G. Doughty (eds.) *The Makers of Canada: Index and Dictionary of Canadian History*. Toronto: Morang & Co., Limited; 1912, pp. 84 and 260.

Burpee, Lawrence J. *The Search for the Western Sea: The Story of the Exploration of North-Western America*. Toronto: The Musson Book Company, 1908 [1st Canadian Edition]; p. 554, provides the quotation.

Coues, Elliott. *New Light on the Early History of the Greater North West, the Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry Fur Trader of the Northwest Company and of David Thompson, Official Geographer and Explorer of the same Company, 1799-1814*. Volume 3. New York: Harper, 1897, map in back pocket. Elliott Coues was a renowned nineteenth century -historian, surgeon, and ornithologist located in the United States

11. Wheat, Carl I. *1540-1861 Mapping the Transmississippi West*, Volume Two, "From Lewis and Clark to Fremont, 1804-1845." San Francisco: The Institute of Historical Cartography, 1958, pp. 100-107 and 217.

12. For instance, on the Burpee and Coues reproductions, a "Lake Indian Trail" is shown, while the Tyrrell reproduction has only the words "Lake Indian" and no representation of a trail. A possible explanation is that Tyrrell actually copied a later version of a Thompson map, possibly the Thompson map copy located in the Kohl Collection of the Library of Congress.

13. Tyrrell, J. B. (Ed.) *David Thompson's Narration of his Explorations in Western America, 1784-1812*. Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1916, reproduction of Thompson's 1813-14 map in map pocket.

Davidson, Gordon Charles. *The North West Company*. University of California Press: Berkeley, 1918 (University of California Publications in History, Volume VII), foldout map opposite p. cxxviii.

14. Wheat, Carl I. *1540-1861 Mapping the Transmississippi West*, Volume Two, "From Lewis and Clark to Fremont, 1804-1845." San Francisco: The Institute of Historical Cartography, 1958, pp. 100-107, quoted at 102 Wheat added somewhat enigmatically "the *Prospectus* of the map, [was] printed in 1820."

Coues, Elliott. *New Light on the Early History of the Greater North West, the Manuscript Journals of alexander Henry Fur Trader of the Northwest Company and of David Thompson, Official Geographer and Explorer of the same Company, 1799-1814*. Volume 3 reproducing a portion of Thompson's 1820 map. New York: Harper, 1897, map in back pocket.

White, M. Catherine (ed.) *David Thompson's Journals Relating to Montana and Adjacent Regions, 1808-1812*. Missoula: Montana State University Press, 1950, opposite p. 222, provides a copy of what appears to be a tracing of the 1813-14 Thompson map, which also shows the Kettle River.

Burpee, L. J. *The Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. IV, June, 1923, pp. 108-109. Wheat said that this publication reproduced the 1820 prospectus map, but an examination of the article revealed no reproduction.

15. Davidson, Gordon Charles. *The North West Company*. University of California Press: Berkeley, 1918 (University of California Publications in History, Volume VII), foldout map opposite p. cxxviii. Although Kettle Falls are not labeled the area of the river is marked in that relative location as nonnavigable. Davidson reported that Thompson's map located seventy-eight trading posts of the North West Company.

16. Thompson, David. "The Oregon Territory from Actual Survey; corrected by Many Astronomical observations by David Thompson. Astronomer and Surveyor"; [1818], British Museum; Additional Manuscript 27,363 A-E.

Carl I. Wheat gave the date 1818 to two maps he said were housed at the British Museum. In his five volume work, *Mapping the Transmississippi West*, Wheat said there were two maps dated 1818 in the British Museum. He gave the manuscript numbers for the maps as 44,558A, B, C (for one of the maps) and 44,558D (for the second map, which he said had been cut off along the top). Davidson, on the other hand, lists the five maps as included in the British Library designated as "Additional Manuscript 27,363 A-E." Wheat accurately gives the title of the map as "The Oregon Territory from Actual Survey; corrected by Many Astronomical observations. by David

Thompson. Astronomer and Surveyor...” In May, 2019 the British Library had in its collection a set of five maps with the title provided by Wheat, but with the manuscript numbers provided by Davidson. They appeared to be a set compiled of one map. The British Library did not acknowledge having manuscripts with the numbers 44,558A-D. The maps actually in the collection of the British Library did not appear to have any date on them.

I personally visited the British Museum on May 7-8, 2019, viewed the Thompson maps with the numbers listed by Davidson, and was unable to call up any map listed with the numbers provided by Wheat. Wheat’s dates for the maps in the British Library seem to be arbitrary.

Historian Jack Nisbet said the British Library map was completed after 1815.

Wheat, Carl I. *1540-1861 Mapping the Transmississippi West*, Volumes One through Five (five in two parts) San Francisco: The Institute of Historical Cartography, 1958 (reprinted by Maurizio Marino, Storrs-Mansfield, Connecticut, 1995), pp. 220-221. He reproduces on two pages following p. 98, a map which he said constitutes British Museum Additional Manuscripts P44, 558A, B, and C. The map reproduced, thus, must be a composite of three sheets.

Davidson, Gordon Charles. *The North West Company*. University of California Press: Berkeley, 1918 (University of California Publications in History, Volume VII), pp. 103-104.

17. Thompson, David. “The Oregon Territory from Actual Survey; corrected by Many Astronomical observations by David Thompson. Astronomer and Surveyor”; [1818], British Museum; Additional Manuscript 27,363 E.

18. Wheat asserted that the maps showing Sinixt territory have never been reproduced. Davidson correctly identified the five 1818 Thompson maps and described generally the area which the cartography covered.

Wheat, Carl I. *1540-1861 Mapping the Transmississippi West*, Volume Two, “From Lewis and Clark to Fremont, 1804-1845.” San Francisco: The Institute of Historical Cartography, 1958, p. 221. Wheat reproduced an 1818 Thompson map (p. 98), but it is unclear which of the five maps he reproduced. Wheat described archival numbers and information that does not exist in the British Library today, but his description of the maps he said he viewed there appear to be from the same series now listed as Add MS 27,363 A-E.

Davidson, Gordon Charles Davidson, *The North West Company* (Berkeley, 1918), pp. 101-104.

10. Nisbet to Hart, email, March 3, 2020. The full citation, Mr. Nisbet provided is “David Thompson ca. 1826 ‘Map of North America from 84° West,’ National Archives of Great Britain.

Nisbet, Jack. *Mapmaker's Eye: David Thompson on the Columbia Plateau*. Pullman, Washington: Washington State University Press, 2005, pp. 135-136, who said this "bristled with information."

Jenish, D'Arcy. *Epic Wanderer: David Thompson and the Mapping of the Canadian West*. University of Nebraska Press: Lincoln, 2003, p. 9, reported that in that in this year (1826) Thompson sent a copy of his map to the British Foreign Office.

Belyea, Barbara (edited and with an "Introduction" by.). *Columbia Journals: David Thompson*, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994, p. xiii, who also said Thompson offered maps to the Foreign Office in 1826. She also reported that maps sent to the Foreign Office in 1843 were deposited in the Public Record Office (PRO) in Kew and that Thompson regarded these maps as his "best work." These PRO maps seem to have handwriting in more than one hand.

20. Thompson, David. "Map of North America from 84° West," PRO, FO 925-4622.

Nisbet, Jack. *Mapmaker's Eye: David Thompson on the Columbia Plateau*. Pullman, Washington: Washington State University Press, 2005, p. 102, reproducing a section of the Thompson map in the British National Archives.

21. Thompson was the first European to go down the Columbia River from Kettle Falls to Astoria. His party made that trip between July 3 and July 15, 1811. Thompson was working for the North West Company. Alexander Ross was part of the American group which was already at what would be called Astoria when Thompson arrived.

Thompson's party was joined by an Astorian party which included Ross and David Stuart when they all started back up the Columbia River on July 22. Thompson moved ahead of the Astorians on July 31. Thompson's party left the Columbia River at the mouth of the Snake and traveled overland to Spokane House and then back to Kettle Falls. Meanwhile, the Astorians proceeded up the Columbia.

On August 5 the Thompson party reached the mouth of the Snake River and from there took an overland route which eventually took them back to Kettle Falls (August 20). In the meantime, the Astorians proceeded up the Columbia. On August 18, the Astorians encountered an Indian religious leader near some rapids on the Columbia. Ross reported that on that day they named the rapids for the religious leader and to this day that rough water area is known as "Priest's Rapids."

Thompson was en route overland from Spokane House to Kettle Falls when Priest's Rapids was named. After the Astorians traveled upriver to the mouth of the Okanogan, Ross was left in charge of the new Fort Okanogan while Stuart explored up the Okanogan [spelled Okanagan in Canada] River. Thus, Thompson could not have heard of the naming of the rapids while he was on the Columbia River. After reaching Boat Encampment in September, 1811, he went over Athabasca Pass and from there east to Montreal, never to return to the Columbia River drainage.

Thompson must therefore have obtained the name of Priest's Rapids from some other source that originated with the Astorians. In 1813 the North West Company

acquired the assets of the Astorians, including Fort Okanogan. Between 1821 and 1849 Ross drafted a large map of the Pacific Northwest and also wrote a book about his travels, which included a description of naming the rapids.

In 1821 the North West Company was subsumed by the Hudson's Bay Company. So after 1821, the maps of the Astorians, including that of Ross, had become property of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Nisbet gives the date of the Thompson map in the PRO/British Archives collection as 1826. The precise dates on many of Thompson's maps are very unclear. Details on some copies may have been added after the original production of a map. Some maps appear to have notes in more than one hand. What can be said for certain is that he completed all his maps between 1813 and 1843.

Laura Stovel, author of *Swift River: Stories of the First People and First Travellers on the Columbia River around Revelstoke*, reports that there are rapids above Revelstoke known locally as Priest's Rapids.

22. Ross, Alexander. *The Fur Hunters of the Far West, A Narrative of Adventures in the Oregon and Rocky Mountains*, Volume II. London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1855, p. 167.

23. Bouchard, Randall T. And Dorothy I. D. Kennedy. *First Nations' Ethnography and Ethnohistory in British Columbia's Lower Kootenay/Columbia Hydropower Region*. Prepared for the Columbia Power Corporation; Castlegar, British Columbia, August 2000, p. 105. Bouchard and Kennedy provided valuable citations identifying some of the early Europeans who commented on Arrow Rock.

Bouchard, Randy and Dorothy Kennedy. "Lakes Indian Ethnography and History," Report prepared for the B. C. Heritage Conservation Branch, Victoria; August, 1985. Their work, beginning with this report, has provided extensive documentation on Sinixt history.

Watson, Bruce McIntyre. *Lives Lived West of the Divide: A Biographical Dictionary of Fur Traders Working West of the Rockies, 1793-1858*, Volume 3. Kelowna, British Columbia: Centre for Social, Spatial, and Economic Justice, University of British Columbia, 2010, p. 868.

Johnson, Kate. *Pioneer Days of Nakusp and the Arrow Lakes*. Nakusp, B. C.: 1951, pp. 1-2.

MacDonald, Ranald. Letter to Malcolm MacLeod, December 29, 1890. Provincial Archives of British Columbia, MS # A/E/M22/M14/M22.

Anderson, A. C. "Sketch of the Upper Columbia, Colvile to Jasper's House 1842 and other years," recopied from old maps in 1866. Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Map Division, CM B246/1167.

Chittenden, Hiram Martin and Alfred Talbot Richardson. *Life, Letters and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean De Smet, S. J., 1801-1873*. New York: Francis P. Harper, 1905, volume II, p. 549.

De Smet, Pierre-Jean. *Oregon Missions and Travels over the Rocky Mountains*

in 1845-46. Fairfield, Washington: Ye Galleon Press, 1978 (first published New York 1847), pp. 216-217.

24. One possible explanation is that Arrow Rock and the associated other pictographs were created between 1811 and 1825. Early observations of the pictographs included mention of an important battle between the Sinixt and another tribe (possibly Kootenay). In 1826 Aemilius Simpson mentioned war excursion a “war excursion.” In ca. 1830 Duncan Finlayson referred to a “big battle” and Ranald MacDonald referenced a “large war party” and battle, all associated with Arrow Rock. [see citations in previous endnote.]

Cox, Ross. *The Columbia River*. (Edited and with an introduction by Edgar I. Stewart and Jane R. Stewart.) Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957 (originally published 1831), pp. xxi and 332. Cox was an associate of Ross beginning in 1811. Cox visited Fort William and commented on Thompson’s map in 1817.

Franchere, Gabriel. *Journal of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast of North America*. Transcribed and Translated by Wessie Tipping Lamb, Edited by W. Kaye Lamb, Publications of the Champlain Society, Vol. 45. Toronto: Champlain Society, 1969 (originally published in French in 1820). Franchere was also associated with Ross and traveled in the region with him. He passed Priest Rapids in 1814.

Nisbet, Jack. *Mapmaker’s Eye: David Thompson on the Columbia Plateau*. Pullman, Washington: Washington State University Press, 2005, p. 138. Alexander Caufield Anderson visited Thompson in 1831 (and referred to him as “decrepit”).

Anderson, A. C. “Sketch of the Upper Columbia, Colville to Jasper’s House 1842 and other years,” recopied from old maps in 1866. Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Map Division, CM B246/1167. Anderson depicted Arrow Rock on this sketch map.

Tyrrell, J. B. (Ed.) *David Thompson’s Narration of his Explorations in Western America, 1784-1812*. Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1916, p. 555n, explains that Thompson used a survey apparently completed by Stuart and included it out of context in his own journal.

25. Ross, Alexander. (Edited by Milo Milton Quaife). *Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River*. R. R. Donnelly & Sons Company: Chicago, 1923 (first published 1849), p. 138. The map shows the general lay of the land and little else. In this book he recounted most of his time on the Columbia from 1810 to 1813. Two later books (1855 and 1856) described his later activities

Wheat, Carl I. *1540-1861 Mapping the Transmississippi West, Volume Two, “From Lewis and Clark to Fremont, 1804-1845.”* San Francisco: The Institute of Historical Cartography, 1958, pp. 107-108. Wheat also says That Ross included a “trifling” map illustrating his “adventures.”

26. Fort “Colvile,” with one “l” was the Hudson’s Bay Company Post. When the United

States later occupied the location, it renamed the outpost “Fort Colville,” with two “l’s.”

27. Ross, Alexander. Untitled Map of the Columbia River Basin. September, 1821. British Museum, Additional Manuscripts 31,358 B. Additional details to the map were added between 1821 and 1825. On July 1 and August 1, 1849, Ross added additional handwritten, signed notes. This map is 48 inches by 54 inches. Alexander Ross signed the map, saying “Drawn by Alex. Ross, September, 1821.”

28. Wheat, Carl I. *1540-1861 Mapping the Transmississippi West*, Volume Two, “From Lewis and Clark to Fremont, 1804-1845.” San Francisco: The Institute of Historical Cartography, 1958, p. 106 (Map 345).

29. Ross, Alexander. Untitled Map of the Columbia River Basin. September, 1821. British Museum, Additional Manuscripts 31,358 B.

Bouchard, Randall T. And Dorothy I. D. Kennedy. *First Nations’ Ethnography and Ethnohistory in British Columbia’s Lower Kootenay/Columbia Hydropower Region*. Prepared for the Columbia Power Corporation; Castlegar, British Columbia, August 2000, p. 48, point out that the Lakes village on the upper end of Lower Arrow Lake is only visible on the original map in London.

30. Ross, Alexander. Untitled Map of the Columbia River Basin. September, 1821. British Museum, Additional Manuscripts 31,358 B.

Wheat, Carl I. *1540-1861 Mapping the Transmississippi West*, Volume Two, “From Lewis and Clark to Fremont, 1804-1845.” San Francisco: The Institute of Historical Cartography, 1958, p. 106 (Map 345). On pp. 108-111 Wheat added commentary on the map, which he praised for its accuracy.

31. The Kalispel Tribe occupied the upper reaches of the Pend d’Oreille River.

32. Ross, Alexander. Untitled Map of the Columbia River Basin. September, 1821. British Museum, Additional Manuscripts 31,358 B.

The 1859 Arrowsmith map was produced by the Arrowsmith company under John Arrowsmith, nephew of famed British cartographer Aaron Arrowsmith, Influence of the Ross map on the Arrowsmith map can also be seen by the placement of the “Sin Natch Eggs Ind.” at the head of Lower Arrow Lake.

Bouchard, Randy and Dorothy Kennedy. “Lakes Indian Ethnography and History,” Report prepared for the B. C. Heritage Conservation Branch, Victoria; August, 1985, p. 6, point out that Caribou Creek (apparently) is named Sin natcheggs R. on the same Aerosmith map.

Bonnington Falls, as a boundary between the Kootenay (Ktunaxa) is well documented. See, for instance:

Teit, James A. “The Okanagon.” In *Forty-Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of*

American Ethnology, 1927-1928, edited by Franz Boas. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1930, 208-211, especially 210.

Teit, James. "Notes to Maps of the Pacific Northwest," 1910-1913. American Philosophical Society Archives, Philadelphia. Microfilm copy at the Provincial Archives of British Columbia, in Victoria.

Kittson, William to John Dease, September 5, 1826. Hudson's Bay Company Archives, D.4/120, fos. 11 to 12d.

Pryce, Paula. *'Keeping the Lakes' Way': Reburial and the Re-creation of a Moral World among an Invisible People*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999, p. 33.

Bouchard, Randy and Dorothy Kennedy. "Lakes Indian Ethnography and History," Report prepared for the B. C. Heritage Conservation Branch, Victoria; August, 1985, pp. 7, 10-11, 51, and 104-105.

33. Ross, Alexander. Untitled Map of the Columbia River Basin. September, 1821. British Museum, Additional Manuscripts 31,358 B. Text added September 1, 1849, and titled, "Remarks on the Map of Columbia."

34. Ross, Alexander. *Fur Hunters of the Far West: A Narrative of Adventures in the Oregon and Rocky Mountains*, Volume II. London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1855, pp. 161-165, 167, 169-172, and 190. Ross likely reviewed his map as he was composing this book.

See also:

Stewart, Edgar I. "Alexander Ross," *The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West*, Volume VI, Arthur H. Clark Company: Glendale, California, 1968, p. 397.

35. The Hudson's Bay Company, by this point in time, had possession and ownership of both the Ross and Thompson maps. Thompson had integrated information from Ross' map onto his own maps and had provided copies of those maps to officials of both the British and United States governments.

36. One earlier sketch map was created of adjacent area.

Archibald McDonald was a Hudson's Bay Company official in 1827 when he drafted a sketch map of the Thompson River District, over which he was in charge. The map did not include the territory of the Sinixt because it was outside his district, but he did locate Fort Colville and two trails from the country of the Shuswap and Okanagan to Sinixt country along the Columbia River.

McDonald, Archibald. "A Sketch of Thompson River District, 1827. HBC Journal and Letterbook, B.97/a/2 (1826-1827), Folio 40; Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Winnipeg. The trail from Okanagan country went to Kettle Falls. The Shuswap trail appears to be along the Eagle Pass route. The location of these two trails is consistent with the location of the Nelson Mountain Range first mapped by David Thompson.

Kennedy, Dorothy. "Expert Report; R. v. Desautel: The Sinixt People's Territory,

Affiliation and History,” Prepared for: Glen Thompson, Esq., Barrister and Solicitor for the BC Ministry of Justice, Legal Services Branch, Aboriginal Law Litigation; September 9, 2015, pp. 22-24.

37. Parker, Samuel, *Journal of an Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains, Under the Direction of the A. B. C. F. M. Performed in the Years 1835, '36, and '37* (Minneapolis: Ross & Haines, 1967). [Originally published 1838.], p. 291.

Little is known about Parker’s methodology for developing the map, other than it and his book were created from personal observation. According to Wheat, the book and accompanying map “had wide circulation and [the map] was a notable achievement.”

Wheat, Carl I. *1540-1861 Mapping the Transmississippi West*, Volume Two, “From Lewis and Clark to Fremont, 1804-1845.” San Francisco: The Institute of Historical Cartography, 1958, p. 166 (map 438).

38. Parker, Samuel, *Journal of an Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains, Under the Direction of the A. B. C. F. M. Performed in the Years 1835, '36, and '37* (Minneapolis: Ross & Haines, 1967). [Originally published 1838.], p. 304.

39. Hale, Horatio. *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition, During the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, under the Command of Charles Wilkes, U. S. N.* Volume 6: Ethnology and Philology. Philadelphia: C. Sherman, 1846, map facing p. 197.

Wheat, Carl I. *1540-1861 Mapping the Transmississippi West*, Volume Two, “From Lewis and Clark to Fremont, 1804-1845.” San Francisco: The Institute of Historical Cartography, 1958, pp. 177-178 and Plate 457.

40. Wyld, James. “Map of the Oregon Territory by the U. S. Ex. Ex. Charles Wilkes, Esqr. Commander, 1841. G.3/397 published (lithog), Bay 67, Sh. 32, Box 3, Hudson’s Bay Company Archives. It also appears to show Hudson’s Bay Company tribal or company jurisdictions, with all the Interior Salish tribes (including Okanogan and Sinixt) under the title “Atnah Souswap” [Shuswap], but the meaning of these designations is unclear.

41. Anderson, A. C. “Sketch of the Upper Columbia, Colvile to Jasper’s House 1842 and other years,” recopied from old maps in 1866. Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Map Division, CM B246/1167. It should be noted that there are actually two divides between the Arrow Lakes and the Similkameen Valley.

42. Anderson, A. C. “Sketch of the Upper Columbia, Colvile to Jasper’s House 1842 and other years,” recopied from old maps in 1866. Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Map Division, CM B246/1167.

Bouchard, Randall T. And Dorothy I. D. Kennedy. *First Nations’ Ethnography*

and Ethnohistory in British Columbia's Lower Kootenay/Columbia Hydropower Region. Prepared for the Columbia Power Corporation; Castlegar, British Columbia, August 2000, pp. 105.

Watson, Bruce McIntyre. *Lives Lived West of the Divide: A Biographical Dictionary of Fur Traders Working West of the Rockies, 1793-1858*, Volumes 1. Kelowna, British Columbia: Centre for Social, Spatial, and Economic Justice, University of British Columbia, 2010, pp. 152-153.

43. Bagley, Clarence B. *Early Catholic Missions in Old Oregon*. Seattle: Lowman & Hanford Company, 1932, p. 49.

Kowrach, Edward J. (ed.) *Historical Sketches of the Catholic Church in Oregon by Most Rev. Francis Norbert Blanchet*. Fairfield, 1983, p. 67.

44. Warner, Mikell de Lores Wormell (trans.) and Hariett Duncan Munnick (annotations). *Catholic Church Records of the Pacific Northwest: Vancouver Volumes I and II and Stellamaris Mission*. St. Paul, Oregon: French Prairie Press, 1972, 61st page.

45. De Smet, P. J. *New Indian Sketches*. Fairfield, Washington: Ye Galleon Press, 1985 (originally published 1863 in Boston), p. 16, provides the quotation.

De Smet, Pierre-Jean. *Oregon Missions and Travels over the Rocky Mountains in 1845-46*. Fairfield, Washington: Ye Galleon Press, 1978 (first published New York 1847), pp. xv-xvi, 49 and 105-106.

See also:

Carriker, Robert C. *Father Peter John De Smet: Jesuit in the West*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995, pp. 53, 55, 57, 59, and 97.

46. Burns, Robert Ignatius. *The Jesuits and the Indian Wars of the Northwest*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966, p. 52.

47. De Smet, Pierre-Jean. *Origin, Progress and Prospects of the Catholic Mission to the Rocky Mountains*. Fairfield, Washington: Ye Galleon Press, 1986 (originally published, Philadelphia, 1843, p. 10.

48. De Smet, Pierre-Jean. *Oregon Missions and Travels over the Rocky Mountains in 1845-46*. Fairfield, Washington: Ye Galleon Press, 1978 (first published New York 1847), pp. xv-xvi, 49 and 105-106.

See also:

De Smet, P. J. *New Indian Sketches*. Fairfield, Washington: Ye Galleon Press, 1985 (originally published 1863 in Boston), p. 16, provides the quotation.

Carriker, Robert C. *Father Peter John De Smet: Jesuit in the West*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995, pp. 53, 55, 57, 59, and 97.

49. In 1906 this entire work of de Smet, including the full map, was reprinted in one volume in the influential "Early Western Travels, 1748-1846" series published by The Arthur H. Clark Company:

Thwaites, Reuben Gold. *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846*, Volume XXIX. Cleveland, Ohio: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1906. The map is found as a foldout opposite page 115 and also includes on it St. Peter's Station, Fort Colville [sic, Colville], and [Upper] Arrow Lake.

50. De Smet, Pierre-Jean. *Oregon Missions and Travels over the Rocky Mountains in 1845-46*. Fairfield, Washington: Ye Galleon Press, 1978 (first published New York 1847). In the text (page 49), de Smet said St. Peter's Station was established "at the great Lakes of the Columbia." The foldout map is found in the Thwaites reprint.

51. De Smet, Pierre-Jean. *Missions de L'Orégon et Voyages aux Montagnes-Rocheuses, aux sources de la Colombie, de l'Athabasca et du Sascatchewan; pendant l'année 1845-46*. Gand: Chez V.^e Vander Schelden, [n.d., 1846], fold out map

52. De Smet, Pierre-Jean. *Missions de L'Orégon et Voyages aux Montagnes-Rocheuses, aux sources de la Colombie, de l'Athabasca et du Sascatchewan; pendant l'année 1845-46*. Gand: Chez V.^e Vander Schelden, [n.d., 1846], opposite page 80 is map titled, "Nouvelle Carte des Sources du Fleuve Colombie, dressée par le R. P. DeSmet, de la Compagnie de Jésus.-1846."

Many editions of de Smet's books were produced in various European countries. His 1873 French edition also contains a map showing Upper and Lower Arrow Lakes, Fort Colville and the "Schuelpi" [Colville] Indians. The location of the Okaganagan as of 1841 is portrayed on the map.

De Smet, Le R. P. *Voyages aux Montagnes Rocheuses et Séjour Chez les Tribus Indiennes de L'Orégon (Etats –Unis)*. Paris: H. Reos et C^{ie}, 1873.

53. For instance, see:

Hafen, LeRoy H. (Ed.) *The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West*, Volume III, Spokane, Washington: Arthur H. Clark Company, 2001, p. 68

Hafen, LeRoy H. (Ed.) *The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West*, Volume V, Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1968, p. 41.

Hafen, LeRoy H. (Ed.) *The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West*, Volume VI, Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1968, p. 208.

Hafen, LeRoy H. (Ed.) *The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West*, Volume X, Spokane, Washington: Arthur H. Clark Company, 2004, pp. 11 and 15.

54. Hafen, LeRoy H. (Ed.) *The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West*, Volume X, Spokane, Washington: Arthur H. Clark Company, 2004, p. 11.

Hafen, LeRoy H. (Ed.) *The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West*,

Volume VII, Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1969, p. 195.

55. De Smet, Pierre-Jean. *Oregon Missions and Travels over the Rocky Mountains in 1845-46*. Fairfield, Washington: Ye Galleon Press, 1978 (first published New York 1847), pp. 133-136. He described his interactions with “Morigeau,” whom he described as “our Canadian.” De Smet said free trapper Francois Morigeau served de Smet a meal of bear paws, roast porcupine, moose muzzle, and a soup made from “some remains of beef, buffalo, venison, beavers’ tails, hare, partridges, &c.”

Watson, Bruce McIntyre. *Lives Lived West of the Divide: A Biographical Dictionary of Fur Traders Working West of the Rockies, 1793-1858*, Volume 2. Kelowna, British Columbia: Centre for Social, Spatial, and Economic Justice, University of British Columbia, 2010, p. 702.

Chittenden, Hiram Martin and Alfred Talbot Richardson. *Life, Letters and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean De Smet, S. J., 1801-1873*. New York: Francis P. Harper, 1905, volume II, pp. 498-499.

56. De Smet, Pierre-Jean. *Oregon Missions and Travels over the Rocky Mountains in 1845-46*. Fairfield, Washington: Ye Galleon Press, 1978 (first published New York 1847), p. 135.

De Smet, Pierre-Jean. *Missions de L’Orégon et Voyages aux Montagnes-Rocheuses, aux sources de la Colombie, de l’Athabasca et du Sascatchewan; pendant l’année 1845-46*. Gand: Chez V.^e Vander Schelden, [n.d., 1846], opposite page 80 is map titled, “Nouvelle Carte des Sources du Fleuve Colombie, dressée par le R. P. DeSmet, de la Compagnie de Jésus.-1846.” It is interesting that de Smet shows three tepees in the camp where his “tente” was also located.

57. Smet, Pierre-Jean de. “Carte des Sources de la Colombie, 1847,” Jesuit Archives and Research Center, St. Louis.

58. De Smet, Pierre. “Map of the Upper Columbia River,” ca. 1841.” Washington State University Archives.

59. Goetzmann, William H. *Looking at the Land of Promise: Pioneer Images of the Pacific Northwest*. Pullman, Washington: Washington State University Press, 1988, p. xiv, reproduced a detail from the map.

60. De Smet, P. J. *New Indian Sketches*. Fairfield, Washington: Ye Galleon Press, 1985 (originally published 1863 in Boston), pp. 16. This means the map should actually be dated 1845 or later. Elsewhere in its archives, Washington State University now has this map dated as 1846, but provides no reasoning. However, since we know de Smet drafted other similar maps in 1846, that dates seems appropriate.

61. Smet, Pierre-Jean de. "Upper Athabasca River, the Columbia River Basin, the Upper Missouri, and the Great Divide." 1847, Jesuit Archives & Research Center, Digital Collections & Resources.

62. Smet, Pierre-Jean de. "Carte des Sources de la Colombie, 1847," Jesuit Archives and Research Center; Digital Collections & Resources. A third de Smet map in the St. Louis archives is titled "La Carte du Territoire de l'Oregon, 1846."