

**The Lakes (Sinixt) of British Columbia:
Historical Narrative 1811-1846**

by

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The Historical Record: Contact (1811) to 1846

Fur trade began during the first European exploration of the North Atlantic coast, by the late 16th century. Deer hide, and other furs, especially beaver and muskrat were valuable in European markets for shoes, hats and other clothing. In the 17th and 18th centuries French and British traders moved into the Great Lakes basin and the shores of Hudson's Bay. On the Pacific coast sea otters were an early casualty to traders working for the Russians and trading with Chinese. The Columbia River Basin was rich with wildlife and by the 19th early century extensive operations were being carried out there.¹

David Thompson

When the United States refused to let the North West Company continue trade within its borders, the company moved further west. David Thompson, a surveyor and fur trader, who had worked for the Hudson's Bay Company, moved to the North West Company in 1797. As early as 1801 the Northwest Company had begun plans to extend its trading operations beyond the Rockies to the Pacific Northwest. In 1807 Thompson "crossed the Rockies and reached the headwaters of the Columbia," making possible a regular trade route for brigades to deliver goods from the Pacific Northwest.²

¹Lewis, William S. and Paul C. Phillips. *The Journal of John Work, A chief-trader of the Hudson's Bay Co. During his expedition from Vancouver to the Flatheads and Blackfeet of the Pacific Northwest*. Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1923, pp. 15-16.

²Rich, E. E. *History of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1670-1870*, 2 vols. London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1960, p. 236.

Lewis, William S. and Paul C. Phillips. *The Journal of John Work, A chief-trader of the Hudson's Bay Co. During his expedition from Vancouver to the Flatheads and Blackfeet of the Pacific Northwest*. Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1923, pp. 21-22.

Thompson had noted the relative mild weather to the west of the mountains, and he believed the Columbia River was the only navigable river that could take him to the Pacific Ocean, but he made no attempt to undertake that journey in 1808 or 1809. By 1810, however, Thompson was aware that Americans with the American Fur Company had reached the Northwest coast overland, and thus his company needed a route to the coast in order to compete in the Northwest. Thompson sent Finan McDonald and Jaco Finlay to build a trading post near the location of today's Spokane, Washington. This became Spokane House. Later in the year he traveled to the Athabasca River and crossed over the divide at Athabasca Pass to reach the junction of the Canoe River, the Columbia River and the Wood River, a location that came to be known as Boat Encampment. He reached the Columbia by January 26, 1811. But he turned back and built a cabin at Boat Encampment. In the spring he moved down to Kullyspell House, then Saleesh House, and from there to Spokane House and Kettle Falls on June 18, 1811, thus avoiding Lakes territory.³

Belyea, Barbara (edited and with an "Introduction" by.). *Columbia Journals: David Thompson*, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994, pp. ix-xi.

³Rich, E. E. *History of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1670-1870*, 2 vols. London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1960, pp. 236-237, 239 and map following 248.

Roe, Joann. "David Thompson's Columbia River," *Columbia: The Magazine of Northwest History*, Winter, 2010-11, p. 28.

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), p. 331.



Rich, 1960, detail of map following 248, showing the route of Thompson between January and June, 1811.

At Kettle Falls, Thompson said that the annual salmon run had begun only five days earlier, and that fishing had now begun at the great fishery.⁴ He described the lodges and village of the “Ilthkoyape Falls” Indians, who are today known as the Colville Tribe.⁵ And he described in some detail the methods used to catch fish at the falls, first using spears and then baskets. Indians from several other tribes were gathered there, “as a kind of general rendezvous for News, Trade and settling disputes, in which these Villagers acted as Arbitrators as they never join any war party.” His next comments are puzzling and probably the result of poor translation and communication.

Anxious to acquire a knowledge of the Country, it’s soil, forests and animals I spent a day conversing with them; and learned that this Village was the highest up the River, than no Indians hunted more than a few miles above them, that all the rest of this River to it’s source, except a few Kootenaes had no natives on it...

This was likely a failure by Thompson to understand the Colville were saying they had no villages further up the river, and only hunted as far as their territory to the north.⁶

At Kettle Falls he constructed a cedar canoe and acquired the services of two San Poil Indians as guides and interpreters and on July 3, set off down the Columbia River with a two

⁴Nisbet, Jack. *Sources of the River: Tracking David Thompson Across Western North America*. Seattle: Sasquatch Books, 1994, pp. 183-185.

⁵The “Ilthkoyape Indians” or “Kettle Falls Indians” were the Colville, today one of the twelve Confederated Colville Tribes. The Salish name the Colville Indians use for themselves has been spelled many ways including “Skoyelpi,” “Sxoielpi,” “Scheulpi,” and Sxoié’lp”.

⁶Glover, Richard. *David Thompson’s Narrative, 1784-1812*. Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1962, pp. 336-337.

Nisbet, Jack. *Sources of the River: Tracking David Thompson Across Western North America*. Seattle: Sasquatch Books, 1994, pp.183-185.

Iroquois hunters and five French Canadians. He reached the mouth of the Columbia on July 15, 1811 and found the Astorians (Pacific Fur Company) already there and building a fort.

Thompson's brigade turned around with accompanied by a large party of the Astorians and went back up the Columbia. At the Dalles, Thompson's lighter and faster crew forged ahead of the Astorians, collected furs at Spokane House, and then eventually returned, on the 28th of August, to Kettle Falls, which the voyageurs called La Chaudière [boiler], "because of the boiling appearance of the water." Thompson called them "Ilthkoyape Falls" from a Salish word meaning kettle (basket used as kettle) and net—the Indians fished with nets and kettles.⁷

When he had reached the mouth of the Snake River, Thompson had raised a British flag and drafted a document claiming the territory north of that place as British territory. A few days after Thompson planted his flag at the Indian village at the mouth of the Snake, Astorian fur trader Alexander Ross reported that as his party reached the mouth of the Snake River, "Early in the morning what did we see flying triumphantly in the air at the confluence of the two great branches but a British Flag, hoisted in the middle of the Indian Camp, planted there by Mr. Thompson as he passed, with a written paper, laying claim to the country north of the forks, as

⁷Josephy, 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.

Hopwood, Victor G. (ed.) *Thompson: Travels in Western North America, 1784-1812*. Toronto: Macmillan, 1971, p. 311.

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*. In his journal he said he arrived at Kettle Falls on the 20th, while in the *Narrative* he said the 28th. The latter date is used in the view that he had time to correct his journal when he drafted his *Narrative*.

British Territory.”⁸ Ross’s party also initiated the construction of a trading post at the confluence of the Okanogan and Columbias Rivers.

Thompson said that when he arrived at the Ilthkoyape [Colville] village he found “a number of Ookanawgan [Okanogan] Indians and eight Men of the Spokane tribe,” who sang and danced for the fur trader and his party and gave them presents of berries and dried salmon. While Thompson’s men struggled to find good cedar for the canoe he wanted to use to go north on the Columbia, they were visited by representatives of several tribes, wanting guns, axes and knives, but having nothing to trade but small amounts of dried salmon.⁹ It is an indication of the early interest the regional tribes had in the newcomers that they would travel so far to meet them and see first-hand their trade goods.

At about this time Finnan McDonald, a Scottish-born clerk, who was likely at the time in charge of Kullyspell House for the North West Company, led a party of six up the Columbia River from Kettle Falls, through the Arrow Lakes and as far as a few miles beyond Revelstoke. He returned to the falls on August 27. McDonald, thus was very likely the first European to travel through Lakes territory, but we have little record of the journey.¹⁰

⁸Ross, Alexander. (Edited by Milo Milton Quaife). *Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River*. R. R. Donnelly & Sons Company: Chicago, 1923, p. 138. The map shows the general lay of the land and little else.

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.”

⁹Glover, Richard. *David Thompson’s Narrative, 1784-1812*. Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1962, pp. 334 and 380n.

Hopwood, Victor G. (ed.) *Thompson: Travels in Western North America, 1784-1812*. Toronto: Macmillan, 1971, p. 311.

¹⁰Glover, Richard. *David Thompson’s Narrative, 1784-1812*. Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1962, p. 380, note 1.

Bond, Rowland. *The Original Northwester, David Thompson, and the Native Tribes of North America*. Nine Mile Falls, Washington: Spokane House Enterprises, 1970-71, p. 159.

On September 2, 1811, Thompson set out to ascend the Columbia River from Kettle Falls, saying many of the Indians were also going upriver to hunt and fish. He passed through Arrow Lakes and, leaving his canoe behind at Boat Encampment, crossed Athabaska Pass and reached the North West Company's Henry House, where he exchanged furs for goods.¹¹ Unfortunately the two pages of Thompson's diary that would have described his ascent through the Arrow Lakes are missing, and with them his account of this voyage.¹² After exchanging furs for goods, Thompson and his party re-crossed the pass and descended the Columbia through the Arrow Lakes. We do have his account of the return voyage.

In 1865 Walter Moberly was engaged in an exploration of the Columbia River Basin between the Okanagan Lakes and the Rocky Mountains. Up river from the head of Upper Arrow Lake Moberly said he found

a very old blaze on a fir tree. In black figures as clear as on the day they were written, were the latitude and longitude, signed with the name of Mr. Thompson, astronomer and explorer for the Hudson

Bilsland, William Winstanley. "A History of Revelstoke and the 'Big Bend,'" Master's Thesis for University of British Columbia, Department of History; April, 1955, p. 9.

Belyea, Barbara (edited and with an "Introduction" by.). *Columbia Journals: David Thompson*, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994, p. 171.

Meyers, J. A. "Finan McDonald—explorer, fur trader and legislator," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 13 (July, 1922), p. 200.

¹¹Josephy, 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. 332-333.

Belyea, Barbara (edited and with an "Introduction" by.). *Columbia Journals: David Thompson*, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994, p. 171, here the dates agree.

¹²Hopwood, Victor G. (ed.) *Thompson: Travels in Western North America, 1784-1812*. Toronto: Macmillan, 1971, p. 311.

Glover, Richard. *David Thompson's Narrative, 1784-1812*. Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1962, p. 381.

Bay Company....¹³

Although he did not name the tribe of the Indians he encountered along the Arrow Lake shore south of the Little Dalles (just south of today's Revelstoke), they were certainly Lakes.

On the 24th [of October] we passed the two Narrows, called Dalles, below the second the River expanded, with slack current, all which for near half a mile was covered with snow, mixed with water, through which we had to force our way with the Poles, but it became so compact, that we had to carry the last three hundred yards. It was cold work, the snow on the shore being full two feet deep; an Indian and his family came to us, he had been working Beaver, when the Snow became too deep; we enquired if the Snow was more than usual, he said he did not know, as he had never left the Village at this season, but now many of them would leave it to hunt furs [sic], to trade with us. The next day we had to carry four hundred yards on account of the snow covering the River; we came to some families who had fresh Salmon, but they were very poor, necessity made them eatable: all this day the Snow as we descended the River became less, and on the 27th there was none on the shores, and very little in the woods, flocks of Geese were

¹³Moberly, Walter. *The Rocks and rivers of British Columbia*. Collingwood, Australia: Trieste Publishing, 2017 (facsimile, originally published London: Blacklock & Co., 1885, p. 43. Moberly said he had lost his original notes and was not sure of the date on the tree. He added that his own "latitude agreed" with Thompson's but his longitude was "slightly different."

Bisland, William Winstanley. "A History of Revelstoke and the 'Big Bend,'" Master's Thesis for University of British Columbia, Department of History; April, 1955, p. 10, reported Moberly's find.

about us and a few Ducks, to us all most agreeable.¹⁴

Thompson arrived back at Kettle Falls on October 30. Insofar as it sheds light on the Lakes Tribe, Thompson's account is notable because it indicates that in 1811 the regional tribes were already well aware of the goods, including guns, axes and knives, implements that would greatly enhance their normal subsistence activities. When Thompson encountered the Lakes Indians during his descent of the Columbia from Boat Encampment, the Lakes man said it was the first time he had been out hunting during this season, but that he was hunting beaver in order to trade with the Europeans. It is an indication of how important the Lakes believed it was to obtain European implements in order to enhance their subsistence practices, and of an early adjustment of their subsistence activities in order to engage in such trade.

While Thompson had been engaged in exploring the Columbia River and the Arrow Lakes region, the Astorians under the direction of David Stuart were struggling up the Columbia River. In his book *Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River* fur trapper Alexander Ross, who accompanied Stuart, described reaching the mouth of the Snake River in August, 1811. There he reported the following on August 14, "Early in the morning what did we see flying triumphantly in the air at the confluence of the two great branches but a British Flag, hoisted in the middle of the Indian Camp, planted there by Mr. Thompson as he passed, with a written paper, laying claim to the country north of the forks, as British Territory."¹⁵ Stuart's

¹⁴Glover, Richard. *David Thompson's Narrative, 1784-1812*. Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1962, p. 385.

Hopwood, Victor G. (ed.) *Thompson: Travels in Western North America, 1784-1812*. Toronto: Macmillan, 1971, p. 313.

¹⁵Ross, Alexander. (edited by Milo Milton Quaife). *Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River*. R. R. Donnelley & Sons Company: Chicago, 1923 (first published 1849), p. 138.

party finally reached the mouth of the Okanogan River on August 31, 1811. There they constructed the first building of what would become Fort Okanogan. Alexander Ross was, as Clerk, left in charge of the building through the winter. This fort served as the principal fur trading post for the Okanogan, Methow and other tribes near the mouth of the Okanogan River until the Oregon Treaty of 1846.¹⁶ Ross would remain in the region until the 1820s.

With the War of 1812 underway, in 1813 Pacific Fur Company agreed to sell its assets, including Fort Okanogan, to the North West Company. Alexander Ross was then hired by the North West Company and kept on to run Fort Okanogan.¹⁷ The North West Company now had Spokane House to trade with the Spokane, Coeur d'Alene and neighboring tribes; and Fort Okanogan to trade with the Okanogan and Thompson to the north.

Gabriel Franchere

Gabriel Franchere also worked for the Pacific Fur Company, but refused to go to work for the North West Company. He joined a large group of the Astorians in ten canoes headed up the Columbia in the spring of 1814.¹⁸ During the journey up the Columbia, in May, 1814, Franchere described an encounter with a group of Indians that were certainly Lakes on the banks of Upper Arrow Lake near its head.

¹⁶Anglin, Ron, *Forgotten Trails: Historical Sources of the Columbia's Big Bend Country* (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1995), p. 44-55.

¹⁷Keith, H. Lloyd. *Fort Okanogan: "A Dull and Dreary Place," Key to the Thompson River District in the Fur Trade, 1811-1860*. Okanogan County Historical Society: Okanogan, Washington; 2008, p. 15.

Sibley, Mike. *A History of Fort Okanogan*. Michael J. Sibley and Heritage Productions: Oroville, Washington, 2005, p. 8.

¹⁸Russell, Carl P. "Gabriel Franchere," *The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West*, Volume I. Spokane: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2000 (first published 1965), p.283.

Toward evening we met natives, camped on the bank of the river: they gave us a letter from which we learned that Mr. [Finnan] M'Donald and his party had passed there on the 4th. The women at this camp were busy spinning the coarse wool of the mountain sheep: they had blankets or mantles, woven or platted of the same material, with a heavy fringe all round: I would gladly have purchased one or these, but as we were to carry all our baggage on our backs across the mountains, was forced to relinquish the idea. Having bought of these savages some pieces of dried venison, we pursued our journey. The country began to be ascending, the stream was very rapid; and we made that day little progress.¹⁹

That these Indians had both dried venison and wool of mountain sheep is an indication of the importance of hunting for their subsistence.

Ross Cox

Ross Cox also began with the Astorians but switched allegiance to the North West

¹⁹Thwaites, Ruben Gold (ed.). "Narrative of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast of American in the Years 1811, 1812, 1813, and 1814... by Gabriel Franchère," *Early Western Travels: 1748-1846*, Vol. VI. Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1904, p. 349.

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, p. 157. In his handwritten journal Franchere originally said the meat purchased was "dried moose meat," but in the published version he apparently changed it to "dried venison." He added other details in the published version of his journal.

Company. He replaced Alexander Ross at Fort Okanogan in 1816.²⁰ After traveling up and down the Columbia a number of times, Cox described the tribes of Indians along the Columbia, up river from Yakama country. He described the Okanogan around Fort Okanogan and then the San Poil. He traveled up the Spokane River into Spokane country and to Coeur d'Alene further east. Going back to the Columbia he next described the Colville, whom he calls the "Chaudières or Kettle Indians." Then he described, upriver from the Colville,

A small tribe exists on the upper lakes of the Columbia, which wanders about in straggling parties of three, four, or five each. They appear to be timid in approaching white people, but are not unfriendly. They have no horses, are poor hunters, go nearly naked, and subsist principally on fish.²¹

Almost all other accounts identify the Lakes as some of the best hunters in the region, in contrast to what Cox said.

The fur trappers' brigades were by now going up and down the river to exchange goods in the spring and in the fall. On April 16, 1817, Cox and a large group left Astoria and headed up the Columbia River, intending to eventually reach Montreal. They reached Fort Okanogan on the 8th of May and left the next day. On the 14th they reached Kettle Falls and traveled upstream. Cox's group camped at the mouth of the Kettle River, which he called *la Rivière de Beliers*, which he said was named because of mountain sheep having been killed near there by our

²⁰Sibley, Mike. *A History of Fort Okanogan*. Michael J. Sibley and Heritage Productions: Oroville, Washington, 2005, p. 9.

Peltier, Jerome. "Ross Cox," *The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West*, Volume VII, Arthur H. Clark Company: Glendale, California, 1969, p. 75.

²¹Cox, Ross. *The Columbia River*. (Edited and with an introduction by Edgar I. Stewart and Jane R. Stewart.) Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957, pp. 229, 233-235, and 260-265.

hunters “some years before.” They then passed the mouth of the Kootenai River, which Cox said upstream ran through Kootenay territory. On the 17th they reached Lower Arrow Lake. At the head of Lower Arrow Lake they met a few Indians.

They appeared to be very poor, and brought about a dozen beaver skins to trade, which we told them we could not purchase, as we were obliged to cross the mountains, but that our party, going downwards in the autumn, would stop a few days with them, and trade all the skins they had. They were rather disappointed; but a little tobacco, and some trifling presents, sent them away in good humour.

He said they encountered no Indians along Upper Arrow Lake.²²

As the party approached Boat Encampment, seven of their party were sent back to Spokane House because of ill health. They lost their canoe in rapid about forty miles north of today’s Revelstoke, a place which came to be known *Les Dalles des Morts*.and resorted to cannibalism as the men died one by one. Eventually, Indians in a canoe on Upper Arrow Lake found the one survivor and took him to Kettle Falls. The Indians also found the “mangled” bodies of other members of the party and thought they had been murdered. The trapper was sent to Canada for trial. Cox said that “Only one Indian attended” but because the testimony against the surviving trapper “was merely circumstantial and unsupported by corroborating evidence, he

²²Cox, Ross. *The Columbia River*. (Edited and with an introduction by Edgar I. Stewart and Jane R. Stewart.) Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957, pp. 272-275. Cox may have used the word “poor” to indicate the native people had few articles of European manufacture.

was acquitted.”²³

David Thompson produced a map in 1818 with a great many interesting and accurate geographical details, but it did not locate Indian tribes in the Lakes region.²⁴ Three years later Alexander Ross produced an important map, which did locate the Indian tribes. He located the “Sin Natch Eggs” [Sinixt] on the Arrow Lakes. In a note on the map, Ross said that the position of the Indian tribes “may be relied upon, as pretty correct...”²⁵

On June 1, 1821, after urging from the British government, the North West Company merged with the Hudson’s Bay Company, which then took over operation of the Columbia District, and in it Fort Okanogan and Spokane House.²⁶

John Mac Leod

Thompson’s comments in 1811 suggested that the Lakes were already anticipating trading with the North West Company. Undoubtedly, they traded furs with the Astorians, the North West Company and the Hudson’s Bay Company over the ensuing ten years, but there is little record of the transactions during this period. In 1823 Finnan MacDonald, a Clerk at Spokane House, recorded transactions with what he called “Kettle Falls Indians.” They came in

²³Cox, Ross. *The Columbia River*. (Edited and with an introduction by Edgar I. Stewart and Jane R. Stewart.) Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957, pp. 278-279, quoted at 279.

²⁴Wheat, 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.

²⁵Wheat, 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. 108-111 and map following 106. The original map is located in the British Museum.

²⁶Keith, H. Lloyd. *Fort Okanogan: “A Dull and Dreary Place,” Key to the Thompson River District in the Fur Trade, 1811-1860*. Okanogan County Historical Society: Okanogan, Washington; 2008, p. 28.

on February 2nd and traded “a good many beaver skins” over the course of several days. On the 9th, as the Indians prepared to leave, he provided gifts to several of them, including “the Little Chief of the Lakes,” who received a shirt, gunpowder and balls, which indicates the Lakes had acquired firearms by that time.²⁷ But the Lakes’ territory was far from Spokane House and the Hudson’s Bay Company traders there were not familiar with the tribe. At about the same time, Chief Trader John Mac Leod also combined the Lakes with the Colville, calling them the Kettle Falls Indians.

The Kettle Fall Indians may be said to inhabit the Banks of the Columbia from the Rocky Mountain Portage down to the Spokane River from the best information I have received are supposed to amount to four hundred families.²⁸

John Work, 1823

John Work was born in Ireland in 1792. He joined the Hudson’s Bay Company in June, 1814 and in 1823 was assigned to the Columbia Department. In 1821 when the Northwest Company merged with the Hudson’s Bay Company, the Columbia Department became part of the latter company and York Factory the headquarters of the company in North America. Work first went to Spokane House and then Fort George (Astoria).²⁹ In October of 1823 Work traveled down the Columbia and through the Arrow Lakes. He described camps at the head of Upper

²⁷MacDonald, Finnan. “Spokane District Journal,” 1822-1823, Hudson’s Bay Company Archives, B208/a/1 fos. 1 and 22d.

²⁸Mac Leod, John. “Spokane House Report, 1822/23,” B.208/3/1, Hudson’s Bay Company Archives.

²⁹Work, John. *The Snake Country Expedition of 1830-1831* (edited by F. D. Haines, Jr.). Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971, pp. xx-xxi.

Arrow Lake, at the Narrows, and “three or four lodges” on Lower Arrow Lake. In his unpublished journal he wrote about the camp at the head of Upper Arrow Lake.

Where we encamped we found two lodges of Indians, containing two men and some women and children. These are the first Natives we have seen in [sic] this side of the mountain. The children were quite naked, & the men had no clothing except a robe or blanket of skin which they had wrapt about them, the women were better covered, and had their hair ornamented with beads. They had scarcely any European articles of cloathing [sic] about them. One of the lodges was of oblong form and constructed with poles and the external covering cedar bark, this appeared to be not only a dwelling but also a kind of store [storage place] as considerable quantities of dried salmon and other articles were deposited here. The other lodge was of a circular form composed of poles covered with kind of mats made of bullrushes [possibly meaning cattails or tules] sewed together. Their utensils and vessels were made of birch bark, some of skin and some of small roots of trees platted together. They had a number of small dogs. Some beaver skins were traded from them, also a few dried salmon & a little dried meat, some very good nuts were also got from them. The meat was not well cured and the salmon were very poor. These people use birch bark canoes which are of a different

construction from those in [sic] the other side of the mountains.

Work traded with the Lakes he found at the Narrows and with Indians in canoes in Lower Arrow Lake.³⁰

George Simpson, 1824-1825

George Simpson joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1820 and after its 1821 merger with the North West Company was made Governor of the company's Canadian affairs.³¹ In October, 1824, Simpson travelled down the Columbia and passed a lodge of Indians just above Upper Arrow Lake. He called them the "Kettle Falls Tribe," also apparently believing that the Lakes and Colville were of the same tribe. He said they were poor, apparently making that judgment on the basis of whether they owned anything of European manufacture.

...not having a single article of British Manufacture in their possession but a Gun & Beaver Trap; they were not sufficiently numerous to enable us to form any correct opinion of their disposition or habits. Encamped within a League of the first Lake.

Simpson's 1824 party also passed "several Indian Canoes" on Upper Arrow Lake and then reached Lower Arrow Lake the following day, where he said the Indians were collecting salmon

³⁰Work, John. Journal, July 18th-October 28th, 1823, York Factory to Spokane House. (Typescript A/B/40/W89.1A in Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria), p. 40-42.

³¹Thrapp, Dan L. *Encyclopedia of Frontier Biography*, Volume III. Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1988, p. 1311.

Davidson, Gordon Charles. *The North West Company*. University of California Press: Berkeley, 1918 (University of California Publications in History, Volume VII), p. 165 (on merger)

along the shores.³²

In 1825 Simpson again came down the Columbia from Boat Encampment, past Kettle Falls and on to Fort Okanogan. At Spokane House he met the traders there and planned moving it to Kettle Falls in an effort to better organize the work. He traveled back to Kettle Falls and consulted with the chief of a village about a mile above the place where the brigades had to portage around the falls. The chief assured him the fort would be protected. Simpson then chose the site for what would become Fort Colville.³³ Afterwards he went back up the river and passed through Arrow Lakes.³⁴ With the construction of Fort Colville, there was now a Hudson's Bay Company post at Kettle Falls, a location where the Lakes came in large numbers each year, thus greatly facilitating their trade with the company. Although he had earlier suggested the Lakes and Colville were one tribe, in a list of tribes "inhabiting the Banks of the Columbia from the Cascades Portage to the Rocky Mountain," Simpson listed them separately and called the Lake the "Sinachicks," who were located on the "Lakes of Main River."³⁵

³²Merk, Frederick (editor and introduction). *Fur Trade and Empire: George Simpson's Journal Entitled Remarks Connected with the Fur Trade in the Course of a Voyage from York Factory to Fort George and Back to York Factory 1824-25*. Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1968, p. 40.

³³Oliphant, J. Orin. "Old Fort Colville," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XVI, No. 1 (January, 1982), p. 29.

³⁴Rich, E. E. *History of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1670-1870*, 2 vols. London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1960, p. 460.

Merk, Frederick (editor and introduction). *Fur Trade and Empire: George Simpson's Journal Entitled Remarks Connected with the Fur Trade in the Course of a Voyage from York Factory to Fort George and Back to York Factory 1824-25*. Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1968, pp. 138-139.

³⁵Merk, Frederick (editor and introduction). *Fur Trade and Empire: George Simpson's Journal Entitled Remarks Connected with the Fur Trade in the Course of a Voyage from York Factory to Fort George and Back to York Factory 1824-25*. Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1968, p. 169.

Pash, Joseph J. *History of the Immaculate Conception Parish in the Colville Valley*. Colville: Rev. Joseph Pash, 1962, pp. 14-15, noted that the post was established on what came to be known as "Marcus Flats."

Fort Colville, 1825

Fort Colville was named for Andrew Colville, former London Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company. As soon as it was constructed and operating, Spokane House was closed. As the construction of Fort Colville was proceeding, in 1825, the London Governor and Council of the Hudson's Bay Company wrote to George Simpson with instructions on how to deal with the Indians.

The attention of Government is directed to the proceedings both of the Russians and Americans relative to that Country, and in the mean time we wish our former instructions to be attended to, and that every exertion should be used to obtain the good will and Confidence of the Natives in all countries to the West of the Rocky Mountains particularly on the Columbia. Every assurance should be given there that our object is confined to carrying on a Trade which must be beneficial to them, and that we have no desire to possess or cultivate their lands beyond the little Garden at the Trading houses.³⁶

This policy is in stark contrast to the policy later followed by the United States, which was intended to acquire and settle on the Indians' territory.

³⁶Governor and Council of HBC in London to George Simpson, March 11, 1825, Hudson's Bay Company Archives A.6/21, Folio 35.

"The Story of the Colville Mission," ("probably by Father George Weibel"). Gonzaga University Archives, p. 1.

Oliphant, J. Orin. "Old Fort Colville," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XVI, No. 1 (January, 19825), pp. 36-37.

Alexander Ross, 1825

In the spring of 1825, Alexander Ross again traveled up the Columbia, about to depart the Hudson's Bay Company in order to settle in Winnipeg. When he reached Kettle Falls he described it as "a great rendezvous for the natives during the salmon or summer season..."³⁷ As Simpson had reported, Ross noted that the location for Fort Colvile had been marked, and that the post was about to be built near the falls. His party then continued up the Columbia past the mouth of the Pend Oreille and then reached the mouth of the Kootenay River. Ross said there was an unoccupied Indian camp on the north shore of the Kootenay where it empties into the Columbia and that on the south shore was "one of those delightful spots which man, in these wilds, is prone to admire..." He continued that the mouth of the Kootenay was

...rendered still more remarkable by a dike of round stones, which runs up obliquely against the main stream, on the west side, for more than one hundred yards in length, resembling the foundation of a wall; it is nearly as high as the surface of the water, and is clearly seen at low water. On the opposite or east side is a similar range, of less extent. These are evidently the work of man, and not destitute of ingenuity; we supposed them to be a contrivance for the purpose of catching fish at low water: they are something similar to those used by the Snakes [Indians] during the salmon season. At the upper end both ranges incline to the centre of the

³⁷Ross, 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. 161.

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.

river, where they nearly meet.³⁸

Ross then reached Lower Arrow Lake where he noted pictographs along the banks done in ochre and described, at a certain point [near the mouth of today's Cayuse Creek], a place where

...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. The natives understand these signs, and can tell, on examining the arrows, to which tribe they belong.³⁹

At the upper end of Lower Arrow Lake they came upon two Indians, one elderly and one about 20 years of age and "suffering from a wound in the breast." The older Indian said the younger one was his son, whose wife had gone off with another man causing him to shoot himself "in a fit of rage." It is apparent that the Lakes had firearms by this point, because Ross explained,

The wound was from a gun loaded with shot, which, as far as we could judge, had penetrated almost through the body; but from what I have already seen of wounds amongst Indians, I think it possible he might recover.⁴⁰

Ross also described a Lakes canoe.

At the water's edge we saw and examined a birch-rind

³⁸Ross, 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, pp. 162-165, quoted at 164-165.

³⁹Ross, 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.

⁴⁰Ross, 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. 169.

canoe of rather singular construction, such as I had never seen in any other part of the country, but used by the natives here; for I saw several of the same make when I passed this place two years ago [1823]. Both stem and stern, instead of being raised up in a gentle and regular curve, as is customary elsewhere, lie flat on the surface of the water, and terminate in a point resembling a sturgeon's snout; the upper part is covered, except a space in the middle; its length is 22 feet from point to point, and the whole bottom between these points is a dead level. Such craft must prove exceedingly awkward in rough water; and there is often a heavy swell in these lakes.⁴¹

The party reached Upper Arrow Lake, but stopped as a result of a snowstorm, where he encountered another Indian.

Just as we encamped a stout elderly savage emerged from the rocks behind us. He appeared at first rather surprised, shy, and reserved; but soon recovering his presence of mind, became talkative, and gave us much information respecting the country, beaver and other animals, roads and distances; also some account of himself and the Indians of the place.

“My father,” said he, “was a Kootanais chief; but, in consequence of wars with the Blackfeet, who often visited his

⁴¹Ross, 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, pp. 169-170.

lands, he and a part of his people emigrated to this country about thirty years ago. I am now a chief of that band, and head of all the Indians here. We number about two hundred, and call ourselves Sinatcheggs, the name of the country; and here we have lived ever since. I have been across the land on the west, as far as the Sawthlelum-takut, or Oakanagan Lake, which lies due west from this, and can be travelled on foot in six days. I and several of my people have likewise been to the She-whaps, which lies in a northwest direction from this; but the road leading to the latter place strikes off two days' journey from this, and it takes eight days' travel to accomplish it. We have no horses in our lands, nor is the country suitable for them; we make all our journeys on foot. This part is well stocked with beaver and other kind of furs, and we have in consequence often wished for a trader among us. The lakes abound with sturgeon and other fish; so that we live well, and are at peace with all men."

Here the old man concluded his remarks, and told us that his people were then living about two miles up the river, where they were employed in hunting wild animals and catching fish; that his stumbling upon us was the effect of mere chance, he being at the time in pursuit of a wounded moose deer; but, on seeing the whites, he abandoned the pursuit, and came to our camp. We gave

the sachem of the Sinatcheggs an axe, a knife, and some tobacco,
and he took his departure highly gratified with his reception.⁴²

Elsewhere Ross described the “Sinatcheggs” as a tribe, which he indicated was small.⁴³ As noted above, Ross’ map from 1821 identifies the “Sin natch eggs Nation” located on the Arrow Lakes.⁴⁴

John Work, 1826

Under Work’s supervision construction of Fort Colville was completed in 1826 and was operating in the same year. Potatoes were planted in the spring of 1826, and in ensuing years many other crops were sown. With a Hudson’s Bay Company factory (trading post) now so much closer and accessible to the Lakes hunters, the company hoped the fur trade with the Tribe could dramatically increase. Hudson’s Bay Company employee John Dease wrote in 1826, saying,

...I am in hopes that when at Kettle Falls, the Indians there and
about the Lakes will become more industrious as their supplies can
be got without leaving their hunting grounds so far to come for the

⁴²Ross, 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, pp. 170-172, quoted at 171-172.

⁴³Ross, 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. 190.

⁴⁴Wheat, 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.

purposes of trade...⁴⁵

William Kittson, 1826

In September of the same year, William Kittson, then Clerk at the Kootenay Post,⁴⁶ wrote to John Dease describing his trip down the Kootenay River. On September 2, along the river above Bonnington Falls he said he found

...a rock with a cave in it where the natives make on their return from war on the Kettle Fall Indians sacrifices to a Spirit as they say residing there.⁴⁷

It is interesting that this Kootenay shrine is similar rocky nook with arrows in it which gave rise to the name for Arrow Lakes.

The Kittson party then traveled down the Kootenay River, passed Lower Bonnington Falls, and reached the mouth of the Slocan River, where he explained that it was at that

Discharge of a small rapid River, where the Columbia Lake Indians make a barrier for salmon...⁴⁸

⁴⁵Dease to Governor, April 7, 1826, handwritten transcription, Barbara Lane Papers.
Lewis, William S. and Paul C. Phillips. *The Journal of John Work, A chief-trader of the Hudson's Bay Co. During his expedition from Vancouver to the Flatheads and Blackfeet of the Pacific Northwest*. Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1923, p. 60.

Oliphant, J. Orin. "Old Fort Colville," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XVI, No. 1 (January, 1982), pp. 29, 31 and 33. Dease had been Chief Trader at Fort Nez Percés and arrived at Kettle Falls to help with building in September, 1825.

⁴⁶Cline, Gloria Griffen. "William Kittson," *The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West...* (ed. LeRoy R. Hafen), Volume IX. Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1972, p. 249.

⁴⁷Kittson, William to John Dease, September 5, 1826. Hudson's Bay Company Archives, D.4/120, fo. 11 to 12d.

⁴⁸Kittson, William to John Dease, September 5, 1826. Hudson's Bay Company Archives, D.4/120, fo. 11. Kittson, William to John Dease, September 5, 1826, handwritten transcript, Barbara Lane Papers.

This letter not only provides the first documentary evidence of the Lakes use of the Slocan River, but also provides strong evidence for the location of the boundary between the Kootenay and the Lakes. Archaeologist Gordon W. Mohs pointed out that the location of this weir was also a winter habitation site.⁴⁹

Aemilius Simpson, 1826

A month later, in October, 1826, Aemilius Simpson, a naval officer working for the Hudson's Bay Company, came down the Columbia through the Arrow Lakes. As they passed down Upper Arrow Lake, on October 18, 1826, Simpson reported

We passed a few of the Lake Indians who were engaged in fishing Salmon, the most miserable looking fish I ever beheld being in the last stage of existence—after having continued their ascent from the Sea this great distance they become so reduced that they hardly bear any resemblance to what they were & must prove but an indifferent article of food, but it is what these poor people principally depend upon for their subsistence and the consequence is they [are] as miserable like as their food. Their mode of fishing is with a Spear, a man stands erect in a small canoe with his spear in readiness, and on seeing a fish running along the bottom in the

⁴⁹Mohs, Gordon W. "Prehistoric Settlement Patterns in the Columbia/Lakes Region of Southeastern British Columbia and Northeast Washington," December 1982, pp. 19-20.

Turnbull, Christopher J. "Archaeology and Ethnohistory on the Arrow Lakes, Southeastern British Columbia," Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Archaeology, The University of Calgary, March 30, 1973, p. 119, first identified the location of the Lakes weir from Kittson's September 5, 1826 letter.

shallow water he immediately darts it at the fish, and they are so expert that they seldom miss.⁵⁰

Simpson also described “Arrow Rock.” On October 19, he said,

The Communication between the Lakes is a continuation of River for about 6 Leagues on entering the Arrow Lake it runs to the SW and gradually turns to the SE & on passing the Arrow Rock, a remarkable cliff on the left—it turns to the ESE and SE. The Arrow Rock so named on account of a round Hole in its face full of arrows, said to have been fired at it by Indians when practicing the Bow & Arrow before a war excursion.⁵¹

On October 20 they reached Fort Colvile and he described the Indians gathered at nearby Kettle Falls.⁵²

David Douglas, 1826

Scottish naturalist David Douglas spent several years in the Pacific Northwest collecting plant samples for the London Horticultural Society during the 1820s and 1830s. During Douglas’ 1826-27 travels, he passed through Sinixt territory. Traveling with John Work and a Brigade of some fifty-four men, Douglas arrived at new Fort Colvile in the spring of 1826 and

⁵⁰Simpson, Aemilius. “Journal of a Voyage Across the Continent of North America in 1825,” Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, B.223/a/3, folios 1-50.

⁵¹Simpson, Aemilius. “Journal of a Voyage Across the Continent of North America in 1825,” Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, B.223/a/3, folios 1-50.

⁵²Simpson, Aemilius. “Journal of a Voyage Across the Continent of North America in 1825,” Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, B.223/a/3, folios 1-50.

described Kettle Falls, which had been an important fishery and trade center for many generations⁵³ He reached Kettle Falls again on August 5, 1826. The river was so high that John Dease at the post convinced an Indian to guide Douglas cross country to Fort Edmontonton. On the 17th of August, 1826, Douglas described a conflict between the Kootenays and the Lakes at Fort Colvile.

A party of twenty-one men and two females belong to the Cootanie tribe, whose lands lay on the shores of the small lake called Cootanie Lake, the source of the Columbia, and that small neck of land at the head-waters of McGillivray's River [Kootenay River]. An old quarrel of nine years' standing existing between them and the tribes on the Columbia lakes, sixty miles above this place, who are here at present at the salmon fishing at the Falls, gave Mr. Dease and every other person much uneasiness. The parties met stark naked in our camp, painted, some red, black, white, and yellow, with their bows strung, and such as had muskets and ammunition were charged. War-caps of calumet-eagle feathers were the only particle of dress they had on. As one was in the act of letting the arrow from his bow, aiming at a chief of the other party, Mr. Dease fortunately brought him a blow on the nose which stunned him. The arrow grazed the skin and passed along the rib

⁵³Edgerton, Ralph P. "Ranald MacDonald (1824-1894), Adventurer," *The Pacific Northwesterner*, Vol. 13, No 1 (Winter 1969), pp, 1-12 (reprinted online by HistoryLink.org.).

Nisbet, Jack. *The Collector: David Douglas and the Natural History of the Northwest*. Seattle: Sasquatch Books, 2009, pp. 80-81 and quoted at 81.

opposite the heart without doing much injury. The whole day was spent in clamour and haranguing, and as we were not too sure what might be the result, we were prepared for the worst. Mr. D. proposed that they should make peace to-morrow, and that it would be much better they should go to each other's lands as friends than butchering each other like dogs. His advice, they said they should follow; that they would come early in the morning. The Wolf, being one of the principals on one side, told me he cannot go to-morrow, as the peace is to be made, which could not be well done without his presence.

The following day a peace was established between the two tribes and presents exchanged. Shortly thereafter, Douglas left for Okanogan, "distant 250 miles north-west of this place."⁵⁴

In April, 1827, Douglas again set out for Fort Colvile. He arrived at Kettle Falls on April 12th. While there Archibald McDonald showed him skins of a mountain goat ("*Mouton Blanche*") and also

...a pair of Black-tailed Deer, male and female, likewise in a good state. The former killed on the high mountains twenty miles higher up the river, during the late snows, by the Indians on snowshoes, with their bows. The latter abounds in all the mountainous country in this neighbourhood and is killed abundantly in the same manner.

⁵⁴Douglas, David. *Journal Kept by David Douglas During His travels in North America*. London: William Wesley and Son, 1914, pp. 166-169, 203, 206-207, quoted at 206-207.

On the 18th of April he set out upstream with Edward Ermatinger, “a most agreeable young man who goes to Hudson’s Bay with us and seven men...,” and a Hudson’s Bay Company Express. Ermatinger was born on the Island of Elba and educated in England, learning French, Latin, Italian, and becoming proficient on the flute and violin. He began work for the Hudson’s Bay Company at the age of twenty-one. On the evening of the 18th, Douglas reported that “Mr. Ermatinger, during the time of boiling the kettle, favoured me with some airs on the flute, which he plays with great skill.”⁵⁵

As they moved north Douglas noticed that characteristics of the flora and fauna changed from that further south. On the 20th they passed the mouth of the Kootenay River and then reached Lower Arrow Lake. Shortly after dark an Indian with two children came into the camp and “sold a small piece of venison and a few small trout, 10 to 14 inches long, of good quality, and some small suckers, so common in the lower parts of the river.” He said there were sturgeon in the lake, but the Indians did not fish for them.⁵⁶

The following day Douglas said

At seven passed a camp of Indians, consisting of three families,
from whom three pair of snowshoes...were purchased. Reindeer

⁵⁵Ermatinger, Edward. “Edward Ermatinger’s York Factory Express Journal...1827-28,” Edited by C. O. Ermatinger and James White. *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 3rd Ser., 6 (1912), pp. 67-68.

Douglas, David. *Journal Kept by David Douglas During His travels in North America*. London: William Wesley and Son, 1914, quoted at 246.

⁵⁶Douglas, David. *Journal Kept by David Douglas During His travels in North America*. London: William Wesley and Son, 1914, pp. 247-249, quoted at 249.

Ermatinger, Edward. “Edward Ermatinger’s York Factory Express Journal...1827-28,” Edited by C. O. Ermatinger and James White. *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 3rd Ser., 6 (1912), p. 76, said they traded dried meat for the fish and “small piece of cabris.” “Cabris” is French for antelope, or pronghorn, so Ermatinger probably meant venison, deer meat.

(Cariboux of the voyageurs) it would appear are found in abundance in the mountains: not fewer than a hundred skins were in this lodge. They are killed readily during the deep snow with the bow.⁵⁷

A little later the same day, the 21st of April, they reached the head of the lake and put ashore at about 11:00 am.

Here were four Indians gathering from the pines a species of lichen, of which they make a sort of bread-cake in times of scarcity. In their camp were horns of Black-tailed deer and one pair of Red, or stag, the first I have seen since I left the coast.⁵⁸

They then continued up the Columbia and reached Upper Arrow Lake, where he remarked on the canoes of the Indians there.

The canoes of the natives here are different in form from any I have seen before; the under part is made of the fine bark of *Pinus canadensis*, and about 1 foot from the gunwale of birch-bark,

⁵⁷Douglas, David. *Journal Kept by David Douglas During His travels in North America*. London: William Wesley and Son, 1914, pp. 247-249, quoted at 249.

Ermatinger, Edward. "Edward Ermatinger's York Factory Express Journal...1827-28," Edited by C. O. Ermatinger and James White. *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 3rd Ser., 6 (1912), p. 77, called the snowshoes by the term used by the voyageurs, "pas d'ours," literally meaning bear's paws, for the founded ends.

McKelvey, Susan Delano. *Botanical Exploration of the Trans-Mississippi West, 1790-1850*, Corvallis, Oregon: Oregon State University Press, p. 321.

Nisbet, Jack. *The Collector: David Douglas and the Natural History of the Northwest*. Seattle: Sasquatch Books, 2009, pp.147-148.

Work, John. "The Journal of John Work," edited by T. C. Elliott, *Washington Historical Quarterly* 6 (1915): pp. 26-27 and 47-48.

⁵⁸Douglas, David. *Journal Kept by David Douglas During His travels in North America*. London: William Wesley and Son, 1914, p. 250.

sewed with the roots of *Thuya*, and the seams neatly gummed with resin from the pine. They are 10 to 14 feet long, terminating at both ends sharply and are bent inwards so much at the mouth that a man of middle size has some difficulty in placing himself in them. One that will carry six persons and their provisions may be carried on the shoulder with little trouble.⁵⁹

On the 22nd of April they continued up Upper Arrow Lake. At the head of the lake they again put ashore and camped near three Indian lodges. Douglas described trading with the Lakes there.⁶⁰ He also described a supply of the wool of “mouton blanche” [literally white sheep, but probably meaning mountain goat wool] among the Lakes he encountered.⁶¹ Douglas described trading with the Lakes.

I purchased of them a little dried reindeer [caribou]—meat and a little black bear, of which we have just made a comfortable supper. They seem to live comfortably, many skins of Black-tailed, Rein, and Red deer being in their possession. I purchased a little wool of the *Mouton Blanche* as a specimen of the quality of the wool; gave seven balls and the same number of charges of powder for it.

⁵⁹Douglas, David. *Journal Kept by David Douglas During His travels in North America*. London: William Wesley and Son, 1914, p. 251.

⁶⁰Douglas, David. *Journal Kept by David Douglas During His travels in North America*. London: William Wesley and Son, 1914, pp. 250-251.

⁶¹Bouchard, Randall T. And Dorothy I. D. Kennedy. “Indian Land Use and Occupancy in the Franklin D. Roosevelt Lake Area of Washington State.” Report prepared for the Colville Confederated Tribes, Washington, and the United States Bureau of Reclamation, Seattle, Washington, 1984, p. 103.

He then added “(Get a pair of stockings made of it.)”⁶²

The following day, as they continued up the river above Upper Arrow Lake, he reported purchasing fish, “grey and red suckers, and white mullet, the latter of fine quality,” from an Indian woman. When the party reached the “Dalles des Morts,” Douglas described in his journal fate of the 1817 party described by Ross Cox. On the 26th they reached Boat Encampment and he said he now believed his “wanderings on the Columbia and through the various parts west of the Rocky Mountains to be over...”⁶³

John Dease, 1827

On April 16, 1827, John Dease wrote a report on the Colville area and attempted to answer questions put to him by John McLoughlin, who, from Fort George (Astoria), presided over the entire Columbia District. Dease was asked to identify the limits of territory of the tribes that he dealt with at Fort Colville. Dease said that it was difficult for him to define exactly where the boundaries of the tribes were because they traveled about so much hunting. But he did say that the Columbia River below the mouth of the Snake River forms “a kind of Boundary Line

⁶²Douglas, David. *Journal Kept by David Douglas During His travels in North America*. London: William Wesley and Son, 1914. April 20, 1827, p. 251.

Ermatinger, Edward. “Edward Ermatinger’s York Factory Express Journal...1827-28,” Edited by C. O. Ermatinger and James White. *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 3rd Ser., 6 (1912), p. 77, said they also purchased another pair of snowshoes.

Nisbet, Jack. *The Collector: David Douglas and the Natural History of the Northwest*. Seattle: Sasquatch Books, 2009, pp.148-149.

⁶³Douglas, David. *Journal Kept by David Douglas During His travels in North America*. London: William Wesley and Son, 1914, pp. 251 and 253-254.

Ermatinger, Edward. “Edward Ermatinger’s York Factory Express Journal...1827-28,” Edited by C. O. Ermatinger and James White. *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 3rd Ser., 6 (1912), p. 77, reported they also acquired dried salmon in exchange for ammunition.

between the Indians hereabouts and those of Okinagan.”⁶⁴ In answer to a query about fur-bearing animals, he said,

...The animals hunted for Food are Deer of different species,
Mountain Goat, & Baffaloe, Beaver, Otters, Martens, Fishers,
Muskrats etc.

He said that the advantages of the district to the department were that the trade was cheap, the traders gave out no credit and took in furs that might otherwise have gone to the Americans in the Snake country.

Our intercourse with the Surrounding Tribes by supplying them with their principal wants had attracted them to us and in case of opposition will give us an advantage over them [the Americans], providing They don't undersell us.

As to disadvantages, he added

Indians lazy, addicted to gambling[,] there [sic] wants [are] few and those they will hardly exert themselves to procure by Hunting.⁶⁵

Dease was asked to identify the tribes in the region and to provide an estimate of the number of Indians. It is unclear whether he was to estimate total population, or, perhaps, just the number of

⁶⁴Dease, John. “Report of Collvile [sic] District,” Apri 16, 1827, and Mr. Dease’s answers to queries put by John McLoughlin. Hudson’s Bay Company Archives 3.45/eli 1827 (transcription by Barbara Lane), provides the quotation.

Holmes, Kenneth L. “John McLoughlin,” *The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West...* (ed. LeRoy R. Hafen), Volume VIII. Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1971, pp. 241-242

⁶⁵Dease, John. “Report of Collvile [sic] District,” Apri 16, 1827, and Mr. Dease’s answers to queries put by John McLoughlin. Hudson’s Bay Company Archives 3.45/eli 1827 [handwritten transcript by Barbara Lane.].

men the fort dealt with. He gave the number thirty-four with the “Columbia Lake Indians, and also provided numbers for Kettle Fall Indians [Colville], Grand Rapid Indians and San Poils. He continued

These 4 tribes inhabit the Country from above Col^o Lakes to St.

Poil River below what’s called Spokane Forks.⁶⁶

Anthropologist Verne F. Ray concluded that Dease was only counting men, and that as a result the number should be multiplied by five for a more accurate total of one hundred seventy.⁶⁷

Joshua Pilcher, 1829

Joshua Pilcher, an American fur-trader, wrote to Secretary of War J. H. Eaton after visiting Fort Colvile in September 1829. He reported there were a total of about twenty-seven men at the post. Sixty to seventy acres of land were under cultivation in various crops and the post also had cattle, hogs and horses. He said, “This spot, as I have said, is the principal depot for the mountain trade.” He also mentioned a trading post on the McGilvray [Kootenay] River. Pilcher stayed at the post for twenty days and eventually joined a company express to Winnipeg.⁶⁸

⁶⁶Dease, John. “Report of Collvile [sic] District,” Apri 16, 1827, and Mr. Dease’s answers to queries put by John McLoughlin. Hudson’s Bay Company Archives 3.45/eli 1827 [handwritten transcript by Barbara Lane.].

⁶⁷Ray, Verne. “Population of Petitioner Bands,” November 20, 1952, Indian Claims Commission–Docket No. 181, Colville, et al. v. U. S., Petitioners’ Exhibit No. 530; National Archives.

⁶⁸United States. Senate Document 39, 2nd Session, 21st Congress, pp. 9-10, quoted at 9.
Oliphant, J. Orin. “Old Fort Colville,” *Washington Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XVI, No. 1 (January, 19825), pp. 38-39.

John Work, 1829-1830

In 1830, John Work, who had married a Spokane woman, was made Chief Trader, and head of what was called the Snake River Brigade. His work had been centered around Fort Colville since 1826, and now he was Chief Trader, in charge of the fort.⁶⁹ In 1829 he had answered a set of questions submitted to him regarding the Indians that traded with Fort Colville. The questions were included in an 1828 pamphlet sent out by the Hudson's Bay Company, titled "Queries connected with the Natural History of the Honorable Hudson's Bay Company's Territory and the Indian Territories of British North America," and included all manner of queries regarding the tribes. In his answers he said the Lakes Indians were known as the "Sinaeteht" in the Spokan language. Work said there were 34 men, 38 women, 25 boys, 41 girls, for a total of 138.⁷⁰ Ray questioned these numbers, also, saying that the ratio of children to adults was impossible and that the total must have been higher.⁷¹ Regarding language, Work stated,

The Lake, Kettle fall, Sinapoilish, Spokan, Pendant

⁶⁹Reeder, Ray M. "John Work," *Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West...* (ed. LeRoy R. Hafen), Volume II. Spokane, Washington: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2001 (first published 1965), p. 369.

Rich, E. E. *History of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1670-1870*, 2 vols. London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1960, p. 599.

Lewis, William S. and Paul C. Phillips. *The Journal of John Work, A chief-trader of the Hudson's Bay Co. During his expedition from Vancouver to the Flatheads and Blackfeet of the Pacific Northwest*. Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1923, p. 55.

Work, John. *The Snake Country Expedition of 1830-1831* (edited by F. D. Haines, Jr.). Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971, p. xxi-xxii.

⁷⁰Work, John. "Answers to Queries on Natural History," 1829, Hudson's Bay Company Archives, B45/e/2/1829.

Hudson's Bay Company. "Queries Connected with the Natural History of the Hudson's Bay Company Territory," [1828]. Hudson's Bay Company Archives; PP 2035.

⁷¹Ray, Verne. "Population of Petitioner Bands," November 20, 1952, Indian Claims Commission—Docket No. 181, Colville, et al. v. U. S., Petitioners' Exhibit No. 530; National Archives.

d’Orielle and Flat Head Indians speak all the same language, at least any dissimilarity in it can only be considered as a provincial difference. Their names and customs are also nearly the same, any difference that may exist arising principally from situation and causes connected with it.⁷²

In answer to a question regarding whether the Indians were increasing or decreasing in numbers, Work responded,

From their own account, decreasing, and very considerably too, for which they assign no other cause but that they grow sick and die. Immense numbers of them were swept off by a dreadful visitation of the smallpox, that, from the appearance of some individuals that bear marks of the disease, may have happened fifty or sixty years ago. The same disease committed a second ravage, but less destructive than the first about ten years afterwards. They also suffer severely sometimes from famine.⁷³

In fact, there was a terrible epidemic in 1782-1783 and another in the 1790s.⁷⁴

Work said that the tribes had acquired kettles, axes and knives from Europeans. They also had acquired firearms and metal arrowheads, though they still made bows and arrows and

⁷²Work, John. “Answers to Queries on Natural History,” 1829, Hudson’s Bay Company Archives, B.45/e/2 fos. 1, 1d, 2d, 3, 3d, 4, 6, 11d, 12d.

⁷³Work, John. “Answers to Queries on Natural History,” 1829, Hudson’s Bay Company Archives, B.45/e/2 fos. 1, 1d, 2d, 3, 3d, 4, 6, 11d, 12d.

⁷⁴See for instance:
Mooney, James. “The Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico,” *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, Volume 80, Number 7, 1928, pp. 13-14.

arrowheads in the traditional manner. He said

They exchange furs, provisions and other articles, for arms ammunition, axes, kettles, knives, woolen goods, trinkets etc with the Europeans. And with the neighboring tribes a barter is carried on with articles as are wanted by the one and can be spared by the other.

By 1829 the Indians in the Colvile District had begun using iron adzes to construct dugout canoes.⁷⁵

In further discussing trade among the Indians, Work said,

A full grown beaver skin is the standard by which every thing is valued in their intercourse with Europeans.–In transactions among themselves, they reckon by the fathom of Suttaalchin,) a kind of small white shells about an inch long, used as beads) thus such an article will be valued at so many fathoms.⁷⁶

In April, 1830, Work drafted “Some information relative to the Colville District,” which included additional valuable information about the Lakes. Like Dease, Work said boundaries were difficult to describe, but he did attempt to define the Colvile District.

Like most divisions of the Indian Country, the exact extent

⁷⁵Freisinger, Michael A. “Phase I. Report of the Boundary Archaeological Survey, September 25, 1978-June 1, 1979.” Permit No. 1978-27, p. 71, who also reported recovering a dugout canoe in Lakes territory along the Kettle River that was constructed using an iron adze. He estimated the canoe to have been constructed in about 1875.

⁷⁶Work, John. “Answers to Queries on Natural History,” 1829, Hudson’s Bay Company Archives, B.45/e/2 fos. 1, 1d, 2d, 3, 3d, 4, 6, 11d, 12d.

Work, John. “Answers to Queries on Natural History,” 1829, Hudson’s Bay Company Archives, handwritten transcription, Barbara Lane Papers.

and boundaries of Colvile District are difficult to determine. It may, however, be considered as extending from the Rocky Mountains at the Athabasca & Kootany portages, which form its northern extremity, to towards the Western Sources of the Missouri and the Upper part of the Salmon River which may be [reckoned?] its East & Southern limits, a distance in length of probably not less than 380 miles. And from the high grounds that separate the [rivulets?] which fall into the Okanagan river and upper of Thompson's River, from the Streams which discharge themselves into the upper parts of the Columbia river which form its Western boundary to the borders of the Blackfeet lands where it terminates to the East and N. E. making it in breadth perhaps about 280 miles.⁷⁷

Work reported that the Columbia and Kootenay Rivers were navigable and said he submitted a "rude sketch" with the report, showing the relative location of the tribes. In discussing the region of the tribes in immediate contract with the Colvile District traders, he said,

This extensive tract of country is inhabited and frequented by the following tribes of Indians. 1 The Lake Indians or Sinaeteht, 2 Kettle Fall Indians or Whyelpi [Colville], 3 Sinapoilish [San Poil], 4 Spokans, 5 Awl hearts, or Scheechiees [Coeur d'Alene], 6 Earring Indians or Callespelleems [Kalispel], 7

⁷⁷Work, J[ohn]. "Some information relative to the Colville District," April, 1830, Manuscript B.45/e/3, Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg.

Flat Heads or Aselish, 8 Kootanies or Callesouilh.

The Lake Indians inhabited the Columbia from or above the Athabasca portage to the White goat river or little Dalls not far above Kettle falls, and the small streams that fall into it. This is generally a rugged hilly country, covered with woods. Black tail & common long tail chivexeau, Rein deer [caribou], White mountain goats & some Elk with several smaller animals are found here. The river in the summer season abounds with salmon & trout, Sturgeon and other fish of a smaller size are also found in it but the latter are little sought after by the Natives. Beaver are still pretty numerous in this part of the country.

The Kettle Fall Indians are divided into two tribes, the Whyelpie and Sneelameen, they occupy the Columbia from the Little Dalls above mentioned, to near the junction of the Spokan with the Spokan [sic, Columbia] and a little river Whyelpishet'', that falls into the Columbia from the N.W. just above the Kettle Falls. The description of the Lake Indian country is applicable to this except that as we descend the Columbia the hills become less abrupt and are in places free of wood, No rein deer, Elk, or Mountain goats are to be found here, Beaver are also less numerous than nearer the Rocky Mountains, owing to the country having been more hunted.

He next described the San Poil, Spokane, Coeur d'Alene, Flathead, Kalespel, and Kootanai. He provided a table listing the name of the tribe, the name they are known as by the traders, population and chiefs.⁷⁸

Work stated that the Lakes name for themselves was "Sinaeteht," and he again provided the population of the tribe at 138. He said their principal chief was called "Quilis chunshui." and unlike the Colville, Spokane, Coeur d'Alene Kalispel, and Kootenay, they did not have divisions among the tribe. In this report Work said that all of these tribes but the Kootenay and the Coeur d'Alene spoke the same language, and their customs were also similar. Of horses, Work stated that the Lake, Colville, and Kootenay "and the Earring Sinahaughquins, have few or no horses and travel either in canoes or by land..."⁷⁹

Work complained that the Colville Indians were indolent, perhaps meaning they were not bringing in enough fur to his liking. He explained where the trading was done.

There are three establishments in the District, Colvile House and the Flat Head & Kootany posts, the two latter are only kept up in the winter, but the former is permanent and is the head quarters.⁸⁰

⁷⁸Work, John. "Some information relative to Colvile District," April, 1830. Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba; Winnipeg, Manitoba. B.45/e/3 fos. 1-11.

⁷⁹Work, John. "Some information relative to Colvile District," April, 1830. Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba; Winnipeg, Manitoba. B.45/e/3 fos. 1-11.

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. 287, transcribed Work's name for the Sinixt chief as "Quilischeenshue."

⁸⁰Work, John. "Some information relative to Colvile District," April, 1830. Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba; Winnipeg, Manitoba. B.45/e/3 fos. 1-11.

He then listed the returns from 1823 to 1829. Castorum is the name given to the exudate from the castor sacs of the mature North American Beaver *Castor canadensis*. It was used for perfume and medicine in the 19th century. Fishers are related to martens and are largely extinct due to over-hunting.

Colville District Returns 1823-1829

ITEM	1823	1824	1825	1826	1827	1828	1829
beaverskins	4220	3469	3304	3088	3740	2798	3297
beaver cuttings						36	20
Black bear				4	18	20	34
brown bear				10	25	12	25
Grizzly					10	6	18
badgers						3	
castorum	4 ½	60	48	44	73	48	64
Fishers	134	189	147	76	108	147	305
foxes	60	87	83	14	48	48	107
Lynx			2		1	1	19
martens	12	4213 5	141	190	230	299	330
musquash [muskrat]	2693	7809	6635	5518	5691	7157	5592
otters	186	167	177	107	142	199	217
wolves				2	5	17	
wolverines				3	2	4	12

Work explained further, that

But few Bears appear on the above list, they are
nevertheless pretty numerous through many parts of the District,
the same is the case with wolves and some other animals.

Formerly the Indians were not encouraged to hunt any animals but

Beaver and Otters.⁸¹

The men at the Colvile post also acquired their meat from the tribes. Work observed:

The quantity of fresh meat and wild fowl that can be obtained from the Natives at Colvile seldom more than barely suffices for the Officers' mess and is frequently not enough. As the Indians most deprive themselves to give it they are paid a little dearer for it than at the other posts. During the salmon season a sufficiency of fresh fish may be generally obtained to maintain all the people of the establishment.

He added that elk and mule deer were becoming more scarce.⁸²

According to Work, the Lakes, Colville, San Poil, Spokane, Coeur d'Alene traded at Fort Colvile, and occasionally in summer, the Nez Perce, Kootenay, and "Earring Indians" Work provided a table showing what trade was concluded with the various tribes in 1827 and 1828. The following table, taken from Work, shows what trade was concluded with the Lakes in 1827-1828.⁸³

⁸¹Work, John. "Some information relative to Colvile District," April, 1830. Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba; Winnipeg, Manitoba. B.45/e/3 fos. 1-11.

⁸²Work, John. "Some information relative to Colvile District," April, 1830. Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba; Winnipeg, Manitoba. B.45/e/3 fos. 1-11.

⁸³Work, John. "Some information relative to Colvile District," April, 1830. Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba; Winnipeg, Manitoba. B.45/e/3 fos. 1-11.

Lakes Trade with Fort Colvile in 1827 and 1828

ITEM	1827	1828
Beaver skins	281	336
Black bears	5	3
brown bears	2	5
Grizzly bears	5	1
pairs of Castorum	60	107 ½
fishers	13	9
foxes	1	5
martens	72	157
minks	13	33
musquash (muskrat)	76	188
otters	15	28
wolverines		1
colts		1
Rein deer (caribou)	1	
Elk skins	5	
Chivreu ⁸⁴	22	8
Rein deer skins	2	2
[Indian leather] leggins	2	
Chiv: skin pants	1	
pack saddles		1
fresh venison (lbs)	235	94
fresh beaver	2	5
beaver tails	8	6
ducks	1	
swans	1	
roots & berries kegs	3/4	2

⁸⁴ A “chevreau” is a kid goat, so he probably is referring to the mountain goat.

Francis Heron, 1830-31

Francis Heron succeeded Work as Chief Trader at Fort Colvile.⁸⁵ His journal for the years 1830 and 1831 contains a wealth of detail relative to the Lakes Tribe. On April 25th, 1830, Heron reported that “some Indians are supposed to have stolen horses for food. Three Nez Perces horses, and one of ours are missing.” The next day he said that an Indian was sent for and brought in by canoe.

[He] was put in irons for killing and eating one of our horses.. He was to have got a good whipping but was pardoned on account of his Brother’s good behaviour, being no less than the little Chief of the Lakes. Traded from four Lake Indians, some furs, dressed leather and venison.⁸⁶

On April 29th, Heron reported that during the month of April, 1830, the Lakes traded furs of thirteen large beaver, nine small beaver, one black bear, three large brown bear, four fishers one lynx, eleven martens, three minks, twenty-seven muskrat, three otters, two partridges and sixteen dressed deerskins. Heron also reported that the fort traded with Lakes to acquire ten pairs of castorum.⁸⁷

On May 29th the first salmon of the season was caught and was brought to Heron, who, in return, gave the Indian some tobacco and a dram of liquor. Heron claimed to have a very good

⁸⁵Munnick, Harriet D. “Francois Rivet,” *Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West...* (ed. LeRoy R. Hafen), Volume II. Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1969, p. 241.

⁸⁶Heron, Francis. Francis Heron’s Fort Colvile Journal, 1830-1831 (copied by William Kittson between April 13th, 1830 and May 23rd, 1830). Hudson’s Bay Company Archives. B. 45/a/1, folio 3.

⁸⁷Heron, Francis. Francis Heron’s Fort Colvile Journal, 1830-1831 (copied by William Kittson between April 13th, 1830 and May 23rd, 1830). Hudson’s Bay Company Archives. B. 45/a/1, folio 3d.

standing among the Indians. He said that he had a “reputation for sanctity” that was “so great” among the Indians that beaver skins were given to him so that he would pray for them. On June 14th the third salmon of the season was brought to Heron by a Lakes Indian.⁸⁸

Heron reported that the river was so high in early June, 1830, that salmon could not be caught and that as a result the Indians were suffering from famine. When the river retreated in late June, salmon began to be caught in greater numbers.

June 26th [1830]. All the Lake Indians arrived in thirty canoes, and brought a good many beaver, most of which, for want of Goods remain unpaid for, until the arrival of the Boats. A present was made me of about 40 skins, to pray to the master of life to be charitable to them, and for which they would on no consideration take any other payment. I made a similar harangue to them as to the Kettle Indians, in regard to how they are to conduct themselves towards all men during the salmon season, to which they promised pernatural [sic] performance.⁸⁹

The arrival of the large Lakes party at that time suggests that the Tribe was aware of the salmon season and the people timed their arrival at Kettle Falls fishery to coincide with the annual salmon run. Heron reported that on June 28, “The Kettle Falls and Lake Indians commenced a grand dance which is to last three days.” He continued that he was apparently

⁸⁸Heron, Francis. Francis Heron’s Fort Colville Journal, 1830-1831 (copied by William Kittson between April 13th, 1830 and May 23rd, 1830). Hudson’s Bay Company Archives. B. 45/a/1, folios 6, 7d and 8.

⁸⁹Heron, Francis. Francis Heron’s Fort Colville Journal, 1830-1831 (copied by William Kittson between April 13th, 1830 and May 23rd, 1830). Hudson’s Bay Company Archives. B. 45/a/1, folios 8 and 8d.

asked to see them begin the ceremony, “and my compliance with their request seemed to give general satisfaction.” During the month of June, Heron reported the Lakes Indians traded eighteen large beaver skins, 1 small beaver skin, three large black bear skins, one small black bear skin, two large brown bear skins, 2 small brown bear skins, 2 large grizzly bear skins, forty-one castorums, two lynx skins, four marten skins, and one otter skin.⁹⁰

On July 1 it was reported that the Columbia River was down, but that the Indians could not yet use baskets to catch the salmon. As a consequence, they were unable to feed all of themselves, Heron said, but nevertheless provided amply for the traders. On July 2, he said that a party of Okanogan arrived at Kettle Falls, “partly for the purpose of trade, but principally to pass a few days amusing themselves with the Indians of the Falls.”⁹¹

On July 7th Heron reported that the oldest Indians said they had never seen so many salmon in the river as they were seeing this season. Heron continued to proselytize the Indians, giving religious instruction, which he said was enough to turn them into “perfect saints.” Salmon fishing with baskets was now in full swing and on July 14th he reported the Indians were capturing “upwards of two hundred salmon some days in their basket, but seldom less than one hundred.”⁹²

In late July Indians from “all the different tribes begin to pour in to trade, so that we have

⁹⁰Heron, Francis. Francis Heron’s Fort Colville Journal, 1830-1831 (copied by William Kittson between April 13th, 1830 and May 23rd, 1830). Hudson’s Bay Company Archives. B. 45/a/1, folio 9.

Ruby, Robert H. And John A. Brown. *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of the Pacific Northwest*. University of Oklahoma Press: Norman and London, 1986, pp. 188-189..

⁹¹Heron, Francis. Francis Heron’s Fort Colville Journal, 1830-1831 (copied by William Kittson between April 13th, 1830 and May 23rd, 1830). Hudson’s Bay Company Archives. B. 45/a/1, folios 9d.

⁹²Heron, Francis. Francis Heron’s Fort Colville Journal, 1830-1831 (copied by William Kittson between April 13th, 1830 and May 23rd, 1830). Hudson’s Bay Company Archives. B. 45/a/1, folios 10 and 10d.

our hands full.” In the month of July the Lakes Indians traded one large beaver skin, one small beaver skin, three large black bear and four small black bear skins, three grizzly bear skins, three pairs of castor, three fishers, and three marten skins.⁹³

The traders at Fort Colvile were constantly trying to influence the Indians to undertake more trapping and hunting, an obvious financial incentive of the Hudson’s Bay Company. In August it was reported that the Indians were moving off to hunting grounds. On August 18th, Heron said,

Got the Lake Indians, who have as usual passed most of the summer at the Falls, to set out to their lands, so as to commence their Beaver hunts at an earlier period than they were accustomed to do, having remained here doing nothing till late in the season.

Although he said that they were doing nothing, he also said the Indians were catching huge amounts of salmon that were “uncommonly abundant.” On the 21st of August, 1830, he reported more Lakes had gone off “to their lands.”⁹⁴

For a period of time beginning at this point, journal entries seem to have been made by William Kittson. In August he reported that the Lakes Indians had traded one hundred large beaver skins, fourteen small beaver skins, six black bearskins, three brown bearskins, six grizzly skins, six pair of castor, nineteen marten skins, one muskrat skin and seven hundred twelve dried salmon. On September 4th, he reported that the fort had 3,200 pounds of salmon stored

⁹³Heron, Francis. Francis Heron’s Fort Colvile Journal, 1830-1831 (copied by William Kittson between April 13th, 1830 and May 23rd, 1830). Hudson’s Bay Company Archives. B. 45/a/1, folios 11d and 12.

⁹⁴Heron, Francis. Francis Heron’s Fort Colvile Journal, 1830-1831 (copied by William Kittson between April 13th, 1830 and May 23rd, 1830). Hudson’s Bay Company Archives. B. 45/a/1, folios 13 and 13d.

already.⁹⁵

September 8th, Kittson reported that the Okanogan had left to return toward home, but on the 19th, he reported an Okanogan had stolen a mare. A San Poil brought the mare back on the 27th, at which time Kittson said the San Poil “played the same trick to the Okinagan thief as he did to us.”⁹⁶

In September, 1830, Lakes Indians traded seven large beaver skins, four small beaver skins, one black bear, two brown bear, one grizzly bear, five pair of castorum, one muskrat, five hundred thirty-one pounds of salmon.⁹⁷

On October 21st, fifty-four men arrive by canoe, the York Express. When, in October, a trader was sent to the Kootenays to trade, he was asked “to procure as much good dressed leather...as you can...,” but not insofar as it hindered acquiring furs. He was told,

It will be therefore be proper to make the Natives fully understand that furs are the primary consideration, and everything else (though wanted) only secondary.

Nevertheless, he was to acquire “three packs of Elk Skins and Three of Chev [possibly mountain goat (“Chèvre,”) or deer (“Chevreuil”): Skins,” for use at the post.⁹⁸ No furs were reported

⁹⁵Heron, Francis. Francis Heron’s Fort Colville Journal, 1830-1831 (copied by William Kittson between April 13th, 1830 and May 23rd, 1830). Hudson’s Bay Company Archives. B. 45/a/1, folios 14d, 15 and 15d.

⁹⁶Heron, Francis. Francis Heron’s Fort Colville Journal, 1830-1831 (copied by William Kittson between April 13th, 1830 and May 23rd, 1830). Hudson’s Bay Company Archives. B. 45/a/1, folios 16, 16d and 17d.

⁹⁷Heron, Francis. Francis Heron’s Fort Colville Journal, 1830-1831 (copied by William Kittson between April 13th, 1830 and May 23rd, 1830). Hudson’s Bay Company Archives. B. 45/a/1, folio 18.

⁹⁸Heron, Francis. Francis Heron’s Fort Colville Journal, 1830-1831 (copied by William Kittson between April 13th, 1830 and May 23rd, 1830). Hudson’s Bay Company Archives. B. 45/a/1, folio 20d.

traded to the post by the Lakes during the month of October, 1830.⁹⁹

In November 1, Heron resumed making entries in the Colvile post journal, again referring to the preaching he was doing to the Indians. Toward the end of November, Lakes again arrived to trade with the Hudson's Bay Company post.

November 26th. A party of Lake Indians arrived, who say they have amongst them about 100 Beaver skins, besides other furs.

November 29th...occupied all day trading with the Lake Indians.

November 30th. Still occupied trading with the Lake Indians.¹⁰⁰

In November Heron reported that the Lakes Indians had traded ninety-six large beaver skins, thirty small beaver skins, two large black bear, four black bear cubs, two large brown bear, three grizzly bear, seven grizzly bear cub, twenty-five pair of castorum, one red fox, nine lynx, five martens, two mincks, eighty-two muskrats, five otters, one and a half mule deer meat, two mule deer skins, one wolf skin, and two wolverine skins.¹⁰¹

On December 3rd, Heron reported Lakes Indians again traded at the Fort and also provided an indication that the party of Lakes might be considering a stay near the post through the winter.

Dec. 4th. The Lake Indians had made up their minds to pass the winter here, but after much persuasion I have succeeded in getting

⁹⁹Heron, Francis. Francis Heron's Fort Colvile Journal, 1830-1831 (copied by William Kittson between April 13th, 1830 and May 23rd, 1830). Hudson's Bay Company Archives. B. 45/a/1, folio 22d.

¹⁰⁰Heron, Francis. Francis Heron's Fort Colvile Journal, 1830-1831 (copied by William Kittson between April 13th, 1830 and May 23rd, 1830). Hudson's Bay Company Archives. B. 45/a/1, folios 22d, and 24d.

¹⁰¹Heron, Francis. Francis Heron's Fort Colvile Journal, 1830-1831 (copied by William Kittson between April 13th, 1830 and May 23rd, 1830). Hudson's Bay Company Archives. B. 45/a/1, folio 25.

them to consent to return to their lands after they have gone through a religious dance of three days.

Heron complained that instead of wintering near the post, they should be out engaging in the chase and trapping furs to trade with the company.¹⁰²

On December 16, 1830, Heron reported that

A party of Okinagans arrived with only a little venison, and about a dozen skins in peltries [undressed furs, or bundles of undressed furs] –though the party amount to about forty men, they are the most perfectly useless Indians I have ever seen, for nothing will induce them to be industrious. What is worse they will neither kill the beaver which are in tolerable plenty in their lands, nor allow other Indians to do so.¹⁰³

On December 17, Heron reported that the severe weather had detained the Lakes at the post, “as they cannot ascend the river in their bark Canoes.”

These with all the Kettle and Okinagan Indians upon the point keep the fort constantly crowded and though they are most friendly and well disposed yet still they are an annoyance in as much as every door they see open they try to enter to warm themselves, and

¹⁰²Heron, Francis. Francis Heron’s Fort Colville Journal, 1830-1831 (copied by William Kittson between April 13th, 1830 and May 23rd, 1830). Hudson’s Bay Company Archives. B. 45/a/1, folio 25d.

¹⁰³Heron, Francis. Francis Heron’s Fort Colville Journal, 1830-1831 (copied by William Kittson between April 13th, 1830 and May 23rd, 1830). Hudson’s Bay Company Archives. B. 45/a/1, folio 26d.

are incessant in their demand for tobacco to smoke.¹⁰⁴

On December 21, Heron reported that, “the Okinagan Indians we have at length got off to their lands, and with them some Lake Indians for a time.” That winter he reported considerable sickness among the Indians that wintered around the post. On Christmas day he provided small gifts to chiefs and head men of the tribes at the post. But sickness continued, and on the 28th he said, “The sickness amongst the Indians, seems to be gaining ground, for constant demands are made upon me for medicines from every quarter.”¹⁰⁵

In December he said trade was low, because of the weather and lack of “exertion” of the Indians. Nevertheless, the Lakes Indians traded to the post eleven large beaver, eleven small beaver, one large black bear, three black bear cubs, two large grizzly bear, thirty-eight pair of castorum, one fisher, six lynx, two martens, sixty-five muskrats, one otter, one and one half the meat of mule deer.¹⁰⁶

On January 12, 1831, Heron reported that some Indians were asking for food, but he thought they were just tired of salmon and wanted potatoes that they knew the post had stored.

Our best beaver hunters the Lake Indians are forced to remain on the ground owing to the severity of the season, and the want of food, they having cured no salmon last summer, to these on account of their worth and necessities we are obliged to support

¹⁰⁴Heron, Francis. Francis Heron’s Fort Colvile Journal, 1830-1831 (copied by William Kittson between April 13th, 1830 and May 23rd, 1830). Hudson’s Bay Company Archives. B. 45/a/1, folio 26d.

¹⁰⁵Heron, Francis. Francis Heron’s Fort Colvile Journal, 1830-1831 (copied by William Kittson between April 13th, 1830 and May 23rd, 1830). Hudson’s Bay Company Archives. B. 45/a/1, folio 27 and 27d.

¹⁰⁶Heron, Francis. Francis Heron’s Fort Colvile Journal, 1830-1831 (copied by William Kittson between April 13th, 1830 and May 23rd, 1830). Hudson’s Bay Company Archives. B. 45/a/1, folio 27.

almost entirely on potatoes which fortunately happened to be an abundant crop with us last season otherwise these Indians, and our large stock of swine would have suffered severely.

It is interesting that he called the Lakes “our best beaver hunters.” Although he said they cured no salmon, a short while later he reported trading for large amounts of salmon from the Lakes Indians.¹⁰⁷

Throughout January Heron reported disease and deaths among the Indians. Some Indians were so hungry they were trading mats for potatoes, even frozen potatoes. On January 20, Heron said,

We are doing nothing in the way of Trade, the Indians being mostly all confined to their tents by sickness, nakedness, and deep snow.

Finally, on the 28th, Heron reported some success in getting the Lakes to trap and hunt.

Fitted out a number of Lake Indians with ammunition and Traps.

They are to start in the course of a day or two for their lands.

On the 30th of January, he reported that “The little Lake Chief and his followers set out for the Lakes to hunt.” In January Lakes Indians traded one large beaver, one grizzly bear, three fishers, three red foxes, three lynx, three martens, one mink, twenty muskrats, one otter, and two wolves.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷Heron, Francis. Francis Heron’s Fort Colville Journal, 1830-1831 (copied by William Kittson between April 13th, 1830 and May 23rd, 1830). Hudson’s Bay Company Archives. B. 45/a/1, folio 28d.

¹⁰⁸Heron, Francis. Francis Heron’s Fort Colville Journal, 1830-1831 (copied by William Kittson between April 13th, 1830 and May 23rd, 1830). Hudson’s Bay Company Archives. B. 45/a/1, folios 29, 29d and 30.

On February 21, he reported two Lakes Indians “arrived with a little meat & two or three skins in furs.” On February 24, 1831, “Three Lake Indians arrived with a little venison, which they traded for ammunition.” Heron called the trade in February, “wretched,” and reported that during the month Lakes Indians traded the hides of one grizzly bear cub, one fisher, three lynx, in addition to one hundred pounds of venison, although on March 4, he said “Fresh venison is now the only trade going on and it is lean, and ill tasted mostly [run] or killed by dogs.”¹⁰⁹

On March 9, a Lakes Indian “arrived with a little meat, a Fisher, & a Fox...” On the 27th “Some Lake Indians arrived with some meat, not knowing it to be Sunday.” March trade with the Lakes included two large beaver, one fisher, one red fox, eighteen muskrat, two mule deer skins, one hundred thirty pounds of dried salmon, and one hundred fifty pounds of venison.¹¹⁰

The Heron journal of 1830-1831 provides a remarkable look into the trading relationship between the Lakes and the Hudson’s Bay Company. It also appears to indicate a significant change in Lakes subsistence patterns, for the first time providing evidence that the Lakes wintered at the post instead of their normal villages to the north. It also shows that the post regarded them as some of the best hunters in the region. During the year period between April, 1830, and April, 1831, the Lakes traded the following pelts and furs.

¹⁰⁹Heron, Francis. Francis Heron’s Fort Colvile Journal, 1830-1831 (copied by William Kittson between April 13th, 1830 and May 23rd, 1830). Hudson’s Bay Company Archives. B. 45/a/1, folios 32, 32d, 33 and 33d.

¹¹⁰Heron, Francis. Francis Heron’s Fort Colvile Journal, 1830-1831 (copied by William Kittson between April 13th, 1830 and May 23rd, 1830). Hudson’s Bay Company Archives. B. 45/a/1, folios 34, 35 and 35d.

Lakes Trade with Fort Colvile: April 13, 1830 to April 13, 1831

ITEM	AMOUNT
large beaver	248
small beaver	69
Black bear	22
brown bear	14
Grizzly	24
fisher	9
lynx	24
marten	44
mink	6
muskrat	214
otter	11
partridges	2
dressed deerskin	16
Castorum (pairs of castor sacs of the mature North American Beaver)	125
dried salmon (pounds)	1,373
red fox	5
Mule deer (in form of meat)	3
Mule deer meat in pounds	250
Mule deer skin	4
wolf	3
wolverine	2
Saddle blanket (buffalo?)	1

Thus the Hudson's Bay Company at this post traded with the Lakes Indians for hundreds of skins and more than sixteen hundred pounds of dried salmon and mule deer meat.

From the Indians' point of view, the trade was also very beneficial. Disease had decimated their population and communal hunting had become much more difficult Bouchard and Kennedy point out that metal arrowheads and guns made hunting far more efficient.

By 1833 guns and ammunition were the most desired trade goods at Fort Colville...and gifts of the latter were regularly given to induce the Indians to return to their hunting grounds.¹¹¹

Duncan Finlayson and Ranald MacDonald, ca. 1831

Duncan Finlayson joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1815. He was posted in the Columbia region in 1831.¹¹² Kate Johnson published a history of Nakusp in 1951. In that book she reported that in "about" 1830 a Hudson's Bay Company party led by Finlayson "camped on the shores of the Arrow Lake, below a huge cliff." Referring to an unidentified document, Johnson continued her account of the Finlayson trip.

About one hundred feet above up the face of the cliff were noticed hundreds of Arrows which had been shot into three large cavities in the rock. Finlayson fired many shots and brought down many of the arrows. The belief is that Indians had fought a big battle at that point years before and the victors having no immediate use for the shafts, shot them into the rocks. Early explorers seeing the arrows

¹¹¹Bouchard, Randall T. And Dorothy I. D. Kennedy. "Indian Land Use and Occupancy in the Franklin D. Roosevelt Lake Area of Washington State." Report prepared for the Colville Confederated Tribes, Washington, and the United States Bureau of Reclamation, Seattle, Washington, 1984, p. 104.

¹¹²Watson, Bruce McIntyre. *Lives Lived West of the Divide: A Biographical Dictionary of Fur Traders Working West of the Rockies, 1793-1858*, Volume 1. Kelowna, British Columbia: Centre for Social, Spatial, and Economic Justice, University of British Columbia, 2010, pp. 376-377.

apparently found a name for the lakes.

Johnson's account may have been taken from the account written out by Ranald MacDonald. If so, MacDonald was probably a boy when he accompanied Finlayson through the Arrow Lakes. Ranald MacDonald was the son of Chief Trader Archibald MacDonald and MacDonald's wife, a daughter of a Chinook chief. Ranald MacDonald is famous today for his early visit to Japan. Growing up in the Northwest in the 1830s and 1840s, MacDonald later recalled Arrow Rock, as he saw it traveling up the Arrow Lakes.

I recollect the boats were right under a high & perpendicular wall of rock & the arrows embedded in holes or hollows some 30 or 40 feet above us in the boat, if I recollect right there were two or three such holes. Mr. Finlayson (Duncan) asked me in chinook if I wanted the arrows. I told or I answered yes, he then took up his short gun (a double barrel) & fired bringing a number of them down broken, they were picked up by the men and given to me but before doing so I remember they were examined by them being old voyageurs and men of experience on Indian arrows, took great interest to endeavor to know the question by what tribe or nation were those arrows made...but experts as they were they had to give it up, they could not solve it satisfactorily. I recollect there was something said of a large war party of the Lake Indians, or Upper Columbia River Indians invading the Kootenays or Mountaneurs, had defeated the Mountaneurs & had captured a large quantity

arrows and having no further need of them expended them in these holes to commemorate the accation [sic] I am sure the spot is at the lower lake.

In her 1951 history of Nakusp Kate Johnson said an early riverboat captain had substantiated the story, “saying he knew the place well and described it as being about seven miles above the outlet of the lower lake on the east side.”¹¹³

Nathaniel Jarvis Wyeth, 1833

Nathaniel Jarvis Wyeth made two trips overland from Boston to the Columbia River between 1832 and 1834. During one trip he reached Fort Colvile. In 1832 Wyeth left Boston and was eventually able to make it to Fort Vancouver with the assistance the Sublette brothers. One historian said of Wyeth’s group, “A more naive group never essayed the trail west than the score who set out with Nathaniel Wyeth on his first venture in 1832.”¹¹⁴ In February, 1833, Wyeth left Fort Vancouver with another experienced fur trader, HBC employee Edward Ermatinger, who led the Wyeth party up the Columbia. They made it as far as the Spokane River, where Indians told Wyeth that the road from the abandoned Spokane House to Fort Colvile was “impassable from snow.” Ermatinger and Wyeth took the trail anyway, and

¹¹³Johnson, Kate. *Pioneer Days of Nakusp and the Arrow Lakes*. Nakusp, B. C.: 1951, pp. 1-2, quoted at 2. Tuthill, Jo. “Courtney Meade Walker,” *The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West...* (ed. LeRoy R. Hafen), Volume III. Spokane, Washington: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2001 (first published 1966), p. 353, places a Duncan Finlayson in the Northwest working for the Hudson’s Bay Company in 1836.

¹¹⁴Munnick, Harriet D. “Solomon Howard Smith,” *Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West...* (ed. LeRoy R. Hafen), Volume VI. Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1968, p. 399.

Wyeth, John B. “Oregon; or a short History of a Long Journey from the Atlantic Ocean to the Region of the Pacific, by Land....,” in *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846* (edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites), Arthur H. Clark Company: Cleveland, Ohio, 1905; pp. 17-106. John B. Wyeth parted company with Nathaniel prior to the latter’s visit to Fort Colvile and did not write about the Hudson’s Bay Company post.

reached Fort Colville by March 12, 1833. The relations between the tribes and the company can be inferred from his description of the post. A United States government document reported that when he

...was at this post, its picketed walls were down and repairing; its defenses appeared no other than those commonly used against Indians; a chief trader and about 15 men were then posted at this place.

There is no indication that he went north from Fort Colville and unfortunately there is little in his journal or correspondence about the Indians in the area of the Fort.¹¹⁵ Although Wyeth failed in his attempt to establish a fur trade business, he did manage to collect some plant samples and eventually he was considered one of those who made possible the vast use of the Oregon Trail by American emigrants with oxen-pulled carts, “which was to help destroy the fur trade while gaining Oregon for the United States.”¹¹⁶

That both Pilcher’s letter (1829) and Wyeth’s letter were published in the United States

¹¹⁵McKelvey, Susan Delano. *Botanical Exploration of the Trans-Mississippi West, 1790-1850*, Corvallis, Oregon: Oregon State University Press, pp. 508-513.

Oliphant, J. Orin. “Old Fort Colville,” *Washington Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XVI, No. 1 (January, 1982), p. 39.

United States. House Supplemental Report 101, 3rd Session, 25th Congress, Appendix I, p. 20, provides the quotation.

Munnick, Harriet D. “Solomon Howard Smith,” *Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West...* (ed. LeRoy R. Hafen), Volume VI. Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1968, pp. 399-402.

Sampson, William R. “Nathaniel Jarvis Wyeth,” *Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West...* (ed. LeRoy R. Hafen), Volume V., Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1968, pp. 381-401.

Wyeth, Nathaniel Jarvis. *The Correspondence and Journals of Captain Nathaniel J. Wyeth, 1831-6: A Record of Two Expeditions for the Occupation of the Oregon Country, with Maps, Introduction and Index*. University Press: Eugene, Oregon, 1899; pp. 56-68, reproduces a transcript of another letter written by Wyeth to George Simpson of the Hudson’s Bay Company and proposing a rather unlikely business alliance.

¹¹⁶Sampson, William R. “Nathaniel Jarvis Wyeth,” *Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West...* (ed. LeRoy R. Hafen), Volume V., Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1968, p. 401.

Congressional Serial Set indicate the importance in which the Americans placed on Fort Colvile and the trade there.

Archibald McDonald, 1837

The crops of the company at Fort Colvile continued to increase in the 1830s. Archibald McDonald was at the fort from 1836 to 1843 or '44. While he was there the Hudson's Bay Company had at least 2,000 acres of land under cultivation. His son, Ranald McDonald, son, reported that in January, 1837, there were "upwards of 5,000 bushels of grain" that had been produced at the fort, and another 7,000 bushels of potatoes that year.¹¹⁷

Samuel Parker, 1837

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

While at Fort Colvile in 1837, he said

A missionary located here would have easy access to the Spokein, Sapwell, Sintou-too-oulish, Kettle Falls, Lake, Coeur d'Aléne and Pondera Indians.

¹¹⁷Oliphant, J. Orin. "Old Fort Colville," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XVI, No. 1 (January, 1925), pp. 39-40.

Parker said that Fort Colvile was well-stockaded, but “so friendly have the natives always been, that no wars have ever occurred among them.”¹¹⁸ 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.

Calling them the Kettle Falls Indians, he placed the Colvilles at Fort Colvile. The Okanogans, he said, were located around Fort Okanogan and west of the San Poil.¹¹⁹

John McLoughlin, 1837

In 1834 the Hudson’s Bay Company exported 57,393 beaver pelts, of which approximately 21,000 came from the Columbia River country. In 1837 the Hudson’s Bay Company exported 26,735 beaver pelts from the Pacific Northwest, but numbers declined after 1837, dropping to only 17,290 in 1845.¹²⁰ The dramatically declining game population would have a substantial affect on Lakes subsistence. In the Colvile District the Lakes were the best trappers and hunters in the region. It may be that the Fort Colvile company employees had come to take their skills for granted, because in 1837 John McLoughlin, presiding over the region from Fort George (today’s Astoria), discovered the Lakes had to pay more for European goods at Fort

¹¹⁸Parker, 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.

¹¹⁹Parker, 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.

¹²⁰Lewis, William S. and Paul C. Phillips. *The Journal of John Work, A chief-trader of the Hudson’s Bay Co. During his expedition from Vancouver to the Flatheads and Blackfeet of the Pacific Northwest*. Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1923, p. 47.

Colville than did other tribes. McLoughlin stopped this practice and ordered post manager Archibald McDonald to have all tribes pay the same, higher rates paid by the Lakes.¹²¹

Blanchet and Demers, 1838-1840

In April, 1838, the Reverend Francis Norbert Blanchet was placed in charge of the Catholic Mission of Oregon and directed to convert the Indians in this vast territory. In May he and Rev. Modeste Demers set out from Montreal. On October 14, 1838, they departed from Boat Encampment at the Columbia's Big Bend. They were traveling with a Hudson's Bay Company brigade, which gave them free passage, and expected to have four boats waiting there for them, but there were only two, so it was decided that a third of the party would wait at Boat Encampment until one boat could return for the rest. At the time, the Hudson's Bay Company was constructing a trading post on the shore at what was then the head of Upper Arrow Lake, and called House of the Lakes, McKay's House, or Fort of the Lakes. Anthropologist David Chance has located this post near today's Arrowhead opposite Galena Bay. Fort of the Lakes was also called McKay House for John McKay, who was the "postmaster" there.¹²²

¹²¹Chance, David H. "Influences of the Hudson's Bay Company on the Native Cultures of the Colville District," *Northwest Anthropological Research Notes* 7(1, Pt.2); *Memoir 2*, Moscow, Idaho, 1973, p. 47 and 56.

¹²²Bagley, Clarence B. *Early Catholic Missions in Old Oregon*. Seattle: Lowman & Hanford Company, 1932, pp. 23-25.

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. 77, citing:

Chance, David H. "Influences of the Hudson's Bay Company on the Native Cultures of the Colville District," *Northwest Anthropological Research Notes* 7(1, Pt.2); *Memoir 2*, Moscow, Idaho, 1973, pp. 3, who called it "an ephemeral post."

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. 44.

"The Story of the Colville Mission," ("probably by Father George Weibel"). Gonzaga University Archives, p. 2.

Pash, Joseph J. *History of the Immaculate Conception Parish in the Colville Valley*. Colville: Rev. Joseph

The two missionaries set off down the Columbia and through a succession of rapids. An account of trip published later by Blanchet included the following information.

The distance from Big Bend to the House of the Lakes is 165 miles, which were run in ten hours; two hours on the 14th, six on the 15th, and two on the 16th of October.

They safely passed the dangerous rapid known as the “Dalles des Morts [Dalles of the Dead],” on the 15th.

The boats were no sooner arrived at the House of the Lakes than one of them was unloaded, and sent back to the relief of the party left behind. The House of the Lakes being still in construction, the missionaries encamped as usual under their tents.¹²³

The two missionaries would spend eighteen days at the House of the Lakes,¹²⁴ conducting the first Catholic missionary work in the region.

Pash, 1962, p. 1.

Layman, William D. *River of Memory: The Everlasting Columbia*. Collectors' Edition. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006, p. 106. Eileen Delahanty Pearks said there was a Sinixt village located near Arrowhead that was called “*kwespits'a7* [Buffalo Robe]” by the Lakes. The village was said to be a place there trade went on with neighboring tribes like the Ktunaxa and Secwepemc. This suggests that Fort of the Lakes was constructed at a site where the Sinixt had previously entertained other visitors.

¹²³Bagley, Clarence B. *Early Catholic Missions in Old Oregon*. Seattle: Lowman & Hanford Company, 1932, p. 25.

Kowrach, Edward J. (ed.) *Historical Sketches of the Catholic Church in Oregon by Most Rev. Francis Norbert Blanchet*. Fairfield, 1983, pp. 44-45, 47, and 49-50.

Norbert Blanchet. *Historical Sketches of the Catholic Church in Oregon During the Past Forty Years (1838-1878)*; Portland, Oregon: February 7, 1878, pp. 7-9 and 16.

¹²⁴Tod, John. to James Douglas, March 1839. Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg. D.4/106 fos. 17-18, was on the same journey and referred to the House of the Lakes as “McKay's.”

The first week was spent in prayer, celebration of the Mass, teaching the Indians, singing canticles and evening exercises. The Indians of the Lakes soon came to visit the priests, anxious as they were to see and hear the *Blackgowns* so often spoken of by the Canadians. They were found to be of a mild, peaceable character and well disposed to receive the words of salvation. They being the first sheep of the vast fold entrusted to their care, the missionaries took pleasure in instructing them, speaking of God, of the creation, of the fall of angels and man, and of the Redemption by the Son of God. The Indians listened with attention, assisting at Mass with awe; and before the return of the boat, they brought their children (17) to be baptized, regretting not to have the same happiness to make their hearts good. It was painful to the missionaries to leave them unbaptized.¹²⁵

The Catholic missionaries entered the names of at least thirteen Lakes who had been baptized, including Marguerite, “natural child of Plitchouegge Chief of the Indians of the Lakes and of Kwildimalkes a woman of the country...,” and also Josephte and Isabelle, both children of the Plitchouege, Chief of the Lakes. They also baptized a child of John McKay, who was listed as “Post master of Fort of the Lakes.”¹²⁶

¹²⁵Bagley, Clarence B. *Early Catholic Missions in Old Oregon*. Seattle: Lowman & Hanford Company, 1932, p. 25. The Chief of the Lakes’ name is spelled two different ways in the record.

¹²⁶Catholic Church Records. 1972. *Catholic Church Records of the Pacific Northwest: Vancouver*. Vol. 1. Translated by Mikell De Lores Wormell Warner. Annotated by Harriet Duncan Munnick. St. Paul’s Ore.: French Prairie Press, 1972, pp.13-15.

In 1839 Demers provided a description of the Lakes in a letter to a Catholic official in Quebec. Under the heading “Lake House,” Demers said,

The first savages we saw are called *Lake Indians*. These first of the large fold committed to our care correspond well to the description given us of them by the Canadians, who had been for some time telling them of their own chiefs—the black robes—and had given them the hope that some of them would arrive and give them a knowledge of the Master of life, He who made them, “*Kaekouten tshouten*.” We can easily imagine with what joy they received those chiefs for whom they had been so long waiting. For 17 days we remained at the House of the Lakes and labored in this new vineyard, which promised from the very beginning of our visit to bear abundant fruit. After the first instruction...those who had little children hastened to bring them for Baptism, “to have their hearts made good.” They regretted that they, themselves, could not receive the same happiness.

Demers continued that the Lakes hoped a priest could come among them soon.¹²⁷

In 1865 Walter Moberly described seeing a “large wooden cross” near the head of Upper Arrow Lake. He believed it had been erected at the site of the burial of victims of the 1817

¹²⁷Bagley, Clarence B. *Early Catholic Missions in Old Oregon*. Seattle: Lowman & Hanford Company, 1932, p. 48.

Kowrach, Edward J. (ed.) *Historical Sketches of the Catholic Church in Oregon by Most Rev. Francis Norbert Blanchet*. Fairfield, 1983, p. 66, provides the same quotation.

drowning.¹²⁸ It is likely he was seeing the cross erected by Demers and Blanchet in 1838 at Fort of the Lakes. An 1897 photograph taken near Arrowhead showed the supposed cross erected by Blanchet and Demers in 1838. When the railroad came through the area during the period from 1898 to 1900, apparently the cross and graveyard there were lost.¹²⁹

Unfortunately, the boat carrying the rest of the group down from the Big Bend capsized at the dangerous Dalles and twelve of the twenty-six lost their lives. Two of those lost were English gardeners sent to collect plants in the New World. Demers blamed one of them, Robert Wallace, for causing the boat to capsize. The missionaries sent a boat down to Fort Colville to replenish their provisions.

The express boat which had left for Colville on the 16th had returned; the one sent for by an Indian express had also arrived with provisions; there were then two good boats. All being ready and the missionaries bidding adieu to the good Indians of the lakes, the caravan left on November 3rd the House of the Lakes, where the last ten days of sojourning had been so sorrowful, and reached Colville [Fort Colville] on the 6th.¹³⁰

Demers described their arrival at Fort Colville in a letter.

¹²⁸Moberly, Walter. *The Rocks and rivers of British Columbia*. Collingwood, Australia: Trieste Publishing, 2017 (facsimile, originally published London: Blacklock & Co., 1885, p. 42.

¹²⁹English, Cathy to Edward J. Kowrach. January 7, 1985, enclosing a clipping with the photograph.

¹³⁰Bagley, Clarence B. *Early Catholic Missions in Old Oregon*. Seattle: Lowman & Hanford Company, 1932, p. 26-27, quoted at 27.

McKelvey, Susan Delano. *Botanical Exploration of the Trans-Mississippi West, 1790-1850*, Corvallis, Oregon: Oregon State University Press, p. 797 and 797n.

Tod, John. to James Douglas, March 1839. Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg. D.4/106 fos. 17-18, provided another description of the drownings.

Hardly did the natives perceive the barge in which we were, than they all, men, women and children, hastened to the shore with joy depicted in their countenances, to bid us welcome. It was not without emotion that we saw this demonstration of their pleasure.¹³¹

Fort Colville was prosperous when the missionaries first arrived in 1838 and one Catholic report stated that

Unlike most Indian Missions, which as a rule had to face wilderness conditions at their inception—[Fort Colville], as a missionary center, began at a favorable spot on the great transcontinental route of the Hudson's Bay Company's fur trade, which linked the St. Lawrence with the Oregon country.¹³²

Demers and Blanchet had spent over two weeks with the Lakes. At Fort Colville they met other tribes. Word of their arrival had already spread and at the fort they were said to have met chiefs of the Colville, San Poil, Spokane, Wenatchi and Okanogan along with some of their people.¹³³ Demers concluded that

The five tribes mentioned above, the *Lake Indians* and the *Flat Heads*, of whom we shall speak later, speak languages so

¹³¹“The Story of the Colville Mission,” (“probably by Father George Weibel”). Gonzaga University Archives, p. 2.

¹³²“The Story of the Colville Mission,” (“probably by Father George Weibel”). Gonzaga University Archives, p. 1.

¹³³Pash, Joseph J. *History of the Immaculate Conception Parish in the Colville Valley*. Colville: Rev. Joseph Pash, 1962, p. 3.

similar that they readily understand each other; it would be enough to know one of these languages to speak them all. The *Lake Indians* and the *Chaudiers* [Colville] are the most numerous of all.¹³⁴

After visiting Fort Colville, Demers and Blanchet continued down the Columbia. Under the heading “Okanagan” Demers briefly described their twenty-four hour stay there, and said that they “became acquainted with the Indians who frequented it...”¹³⁵

The priests promised to return to the area and in 1839 Demers accompanied a fur brigade as far as Walla Walla and then used an Indian guide to take him to Fort Colville, where he preached for thirty-three days before going downstream to Fort Okanagan. He again reached Fort Colville in 1840.¹³⁶ While at Fort Colville, Demers reported that he had baptized the Chief of the Lakes.

This 18 August, 1840, we priest undersigned have baptized
Grégoire, aged about 40 years Chief of the Lakes. Godfather
Joachim Hubert who has not known how to sign.

¹³⁴Bagley, 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.

¹³⁵Schoenberg, Wilfred P. *A History of the Catholic Church in the Pacific Northwest, 1743-1983*. Washington, D. C.: The Pastoral Press, 1987, pp. 47 and 56.

“The Story of the Colville Mission,” (“probably by Father George Weibel”). Gonzaga University Archives, p. 2-3.

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

¹³⁶Schoenberg, Wilfred P. *A History of the Catholic Church in the Pacific Northwest, 1743-1983*. Washington, D. C.: The Pastoral Press, 1987, pp. 47 and 56.

“The Story of the Colville Mission,” (“probably by Father George Weibel”). Gonzaga University Archives, p. 2-3.

They also baptized a Lakes woman named Marie, “aged about 30 years, woman of the Lakes,” and then married Grégoire Kessoulih, Chief of the Lakes with Marie.¹³⁷

Thus began a long period of close contact between Catholic missionaries and the Lakes. Blanchet and Demers came first, but were soon followed by many others, especially Father Pierre-Jean De Smet.

Pierre-Jean de Smet, 1840-1846

De Smet was a Belgian Jesuit priest (1801-1873) who had entered the seminary at an early age and arrived in the United States in 1821. In 1827 he was ordained a priest with the assignment of doing missionary work among Native Americans. In 1838 he was sent to establish a mission among the Potawatomi. His first expedition to the Northwest came in 1840. In 1841 he was sent to establish a Flathead Mission and purchased seeds and supplies from Fort Colville. Demers and Blanchet were French Canadian missionaries. De Smet was Jesuit. In 1841 with De Smet working at the mission, it was transferred to the Jesuits. One authority said of De Smet, “Like Caesar of old he came, he saw and determined to conquer.”¹³⁸

De Smet energetically raised funds in Europe to pay for the missions in the Northwest. He was said to have crossed the Atlantic nineteen times. Partly to document the missions’ work and partly to help raise funds, De Smet published numerous accounts of his work and travels

¹³⁷Warner, Mikell de Lores Wormell (trans.) and Harriet 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.

¹³⁸“The Story of the Colville Mission,” (“probably by Father George Weibel”). Gonzaga University Archives, p. 4, 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-xvii.

among the tribes. He also drafted a number of maps of the Northwest. In 1842 both De Smet and Demers traveled to Fort Colville, where they discussed the missionary efforts and it was determined that De Smet should go immediately to Europe in order to raise funds for the mission.¹³⁹ It was probably during the same trip that De Smet determined to visit the Okanogan, “who were desirous to meet a priest.” In May he took the Chief of the Colville and an interpreter with him and after a long trip by mule, finally reached Okanogan country. He rendezvoused with Okanogans at Okanogan Lake. It took him three days to travel back “over mountains and dense forests” to Fort Colville.¹⁴⁰

One of the first of DeSmet’s books was published in 1843 and used to raise funds for the missions. In this book he described the history of the Rocky Mountain Mission, and said that in addition to the Flatheads, he had he visited

...other tribes, the Koetenays, the Pointed-Hearts [Coeur d’Alene],
the Cauldrons [Colville], the Okinaganes and the Kalispels,
baptized their children and aged persons—their joy was beyond
description.¹⁴¹

In 1844 De Smet returned to the Northwest, first arriving at Fort Vancouver. During the next two years he again traveled throughout the upper Columbia Plateau country. In 1845, de Smet visited Kettle Falls where eight to nine hundred Indians were gathered to fish for salmon.

¹³⁹“The Story of the Colville Mission,” (“probably by Father George Weibel”). Gonzaga University Archives, p. 5.

¹⁴⁰Chittenden, 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 I, p. 380-384.

¹⁴¹De 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.

He established the Colville Mission of St. Paul near the fort and had a small chapel built. The French-Canadian fur men called the Lakes Tribe the *gens des lacs* (or ‘peoples of the lakes’).” After meeting with Lakes Indians at Kettle Falls, de Smet took a trip into Lakes country. Historian Edward J. Kowrach described his actions.

Having met the Lake Indians (Gens de lac) at Kettle Falls Father De Smet made a short excursion north to the Lake country, to their tribal grounds. He here established St. Peter’s Mission Station. Later this station was visited by Father Nobili and then by a priest from St. Ignatius at the Kalispells.¹⁴²

De Smet said, in a letter written August 7, 1845, from Kalispel Bay,

I gave the name of St. Paul to the *Shuyelphi* [Colville] nation, and placed under the care of St. Peter the tribe inhabiting the shores of the great Columbia lakes, whither Father Hoecken is about to repair, to continue instructing and baptizing their adults My presence among the Indians did not interrupt their fine and abundant fishery.¹⁴³

¹⁴²De 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.

¹⁴³De 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. 108.

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 I, p. 482.

De Smet went on to describe the fishery at Kettle Falls in some detail and to say that Fathers Adrian Hoecken and Anthony Ravalli, stationed at the St. Ignatius Mission to the Kalispels, were visiting both the mission at Fort Colville and St. Peter Station among the Lakes.¹⁴⁴

In the early 1840s a “sub-mission,” or “station,” was established if the missionaries found the Indians there “especially promising.”

It served as a rendezvous for public prayer, and for sporadic visitation from the central mission.

St. Peter’s Station for the Lakes was likely organized under the Colville or “Kettle Mission.”¹⁴⁵

The new missions, and stations where priests went periodically, allowed the missionaries to expand their efforts. Another Catholic priest working in the Northwest, Father Joseph Joset wrote in October, 1845, mentioning efforts they hoped to make to the Lower Kootenay, Upper Pend d’Oreilles, and Lakes people (*Gens du lac*).¹⁴⁶

In the late spring of 1846 de Smet was part of a party that crossed the mountains from east to west to reach Boat Encampment. De Smet wrote to his superior on May 10, 1846, from

¹⁴⁴De 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. 109-111.

“The Story of the Colville Mission,” (“probably by Father George Weibel”). Gonzaga University Archives, pp. 6-9, noted that Father John Nobili arrived at St. Paul in 1846 and worked there until 1848, at which time Hoecken returned.

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 I, p. 483.

¹⁴⁵Burns, Robert Ignatius. *The Jesuits and the Indian Wars of the Northwest*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966, p. 52.

¹⁴⁶Garraghan, Gilbert J. *The Jesuits of the Middle United States*. Volume II. New York: America Press, 1938, pp. 335, 339 and 339n. Garraghan thought the Lakes were part of the Colville.

Killoren, John J. *“Come, Blackrobe”: De Smet and the Indian Tragedy*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994, p. 85, also misreads De Smet and thinks St. Peter’s was for the Okanagan.

See also:

Raufer, Sister Maria Ilma, O.P., *Black Robes and Indians on the Last Frontier: Introduction of Catholicism into the Colville Country*. Bruce Publishing company: Milwaukee, 1966, pp. 64-67.

Boat Encampment. He described crossing the Athabasca Mountains to reach Boat Encampment. During his journey over the mountains, he described meeting a few days earlier a Hudson's Bay Company group which included Edward Ermatinger, and "Captains Ward and Vavasour." De Smet reported that:

Fifteen Indians of the Kettle-Fall tribe accompanied him [Ermatinger]. Many of them had scaled the mountains with one hundred and fifty pounds weight upon their backs. The worthy Capt. Ward spoke many things in praise of them.

From the text it seems the Sxoielpi, or Kettle Falls Indians, as de Smet described them, were helping Ermatinger's Hudson's Bay Company group of trappers go over the mountains—although it is not altogether clear which direction Ermatinger was going, it seems he was heading the opposite direction and had hired the porters near Fort Colvile.¹⁴⁷

In 1846 de Smet descended from Boat Encampment through the Arrow Lakes and traveled on to Fort Colvile. In a letter dated May 29, 1846, from St. Paul's Station on his way to Fort Colvile, De Smet described his party descending south from the Boat Encampment. They passed the "Dalle of the Dead" where twelve had died in 1838. In the evening of the 11th of May, 1846 they had camped near the head of Upper Arrow Lake at St. Peter's Station. De Smet said that

Twenty Indian families, belonging to the station of St.

Peter, were found encamped on the borders of the lake. I gladly

¹⁴⁷De 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. 203-206, quoted at 204-205. It is entirely possible that the Indians hired by Ermatinger were actually Sinixt and not Sxoielpi.

accepted their invitation to visit them. It was the meeting of a father with his children, after ten months of absence and dangers. I dare say the joy was mutually sincere. The greater part of the tribe had been converted during the past year, at Kettle Falls. These families were absent at that time.¹⁴⁸

This is a very interesting comment by De Smet. If there were twenty families at St. Peter's Station and the greater part of the tribe was absent because they had already been baptized, it has a bearing on population estimates for the period. De Smet does not indicate whether he means core families or extended families, but in either case a total of more than one hundred would be relatively conservative. In that case, the total number of Lakes could easily total several hundred people. In an 1838-1839 unpublished fragment, DeSmet described 500 Arrow Lakes Indians.¹⁴⁹

De Smet said that the Lakes' Chief, Gregoire, had been converted by Blanchet in 1838 (actually, Gregoire's children were baptized in 1838, but Gregoire was not baptized until 1840). That, of course, could have influenced many other tribal members to consider baptism. Another influential action by the missionaries may also have responsible for baptisms. De Smet reported that at Kettle Falls the Jesuits vaccinated the Indians who had been converted, but not those who were unconverted (including some who were said to claim the vaccine was Jesuit poison) and as a result hundreds of the latter were "swept away. This contrast, of course, had the effect of

¹⁴⁸De 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. 216.

¹⁴⁹Chittenden, 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 III, p. 1005. He also noted that the Okanogan were a different nation and identified them far west of the Arrow Lakes Indians.

increasing the influence of the missionaries.”¹⁵⁰

De Smet called the Lakes Indians a tribe, but said they were part of the Kettle Falls nation. His description of them being poor is at odds with many other observations.

The tribe of these lake Indians are a part of the Kettle Fall nation. They are very poor, and subsist principally on fish and wild roots. As soon as we shall have more means at our disposal, we will supply them with implements of husbandry and with various seeds and roots, which I have no doubt, will thrive in their country; this will be a great assistance to these destitute people. The second lake is about six miles distant from the first. It is of about the same length, but less wide. We passed under a perpendicular rock, where we beheld an innumerable number of arrows sticking out of the fissures. The Indians, when they ascend the lake, have a custom of lodging each an arrow into these crevices. The origin and cause of the custom is unknown to me. This is the reason why the first voyageurs called these lakes the Arrow Lakes.

The mouth of the river McGilvray or Flatbow [Kootenay River] is near the outlet of the Lower Lake. It presents a beautiful situation for the establishment of a future reduction or mission and

¹⁵⁰Chittenden, 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. 548-549.

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 IV, p. 1235.

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. 216.

I have already marked out a site for the construction of a church.¹⁵¹

Some of de Smet's books were published in other countries, including France. In *Voyages aux Montagnes Rocheuses et séjour chez les Tribus Indiennes de L'Orégon*, first published in Paris in 1850, De Smet said "Les Sauvages des Lacs" were "résident sur le Lac-aux-flèches." [The Lakes Indians were resident in the Arrow Lakes].¹⁵² In an 1873 revised-edition of the same work, De Smet listed "d'un grand nombre de tribus sauvages," including "les Chaudières, les Sinpoils, les Kootenays, [and] les Gens-du-lac..." He also said that while at Fort Colvile, where he was well entertained and fed, he had many conferences with the chief of the Colville, who he said was intelligent and who invited him to evangelize among his people.¹⁵³

De Smet produced quite a number of maps during the 1840s and 1850s. Carl I. Wheat, in Volume III of his *1540-1861 Mapping the Transmississippi West*, reproduces and/or discusses eight different maps drawn by De Smet created between 1846 and 1851. An 1847 map seems to have been produced at the time he wrote *Oregon Missions and Travels over the Rocky Mountains in 1845-46*. On an 1846 French map reproduced by Wheat, De Smet depicted Kettle Falls and Fort Colvile. Next to Upper Arrow Lake, he also located "Station de St. Pierre des Lac." In the Ghent edition of the book are two additional maps, one showing the sources of the

¹⁵¹Chittenden, 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.

¹⁵²Bancroft, Hubert Howe. *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft*, Volume I, The Native Races Volume I, Wild Races; San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Company, Publishers, 1883, p. 314.

¹⁵³De Smet, Le R. P. *Voyages aux Montagnes Rocheuses et séjour chez les Tribus Indiennes de L'Orégon*. Nouvelle Édition. Paris: H. Repos Cie, Éditeurs, 1873, pp. 259-260.

Columbia River.¹⁵⁴

Wheat also reproduced an 1851 De Smet map showing the Indian tribes between the Missouri River and the confluence of the Snake and Columbia Rivers east to west, and from the Canadian Border to the southern border of New Mexico. He drew this map for the United States Indian Office. Wheat said the original “is impossible to reproduce,” but did reproduce a tracing of the map done ca. 1927, and archived with the United States Court of Claims. Wheat called this map “one of the greatest maps of the West ever constructed.” On this map de Smet shows the Okanogan boundaries (which incorrectly include the San Poil and Nespelem) abutting with the territory of the Kettle Falls Indians. He shows the Kettle Falls Indians around Kettle Falls, but this map only goes to the international border and does not show the Canadian tribes.¹⁵⁵

Another De Smet map, located in the archives of Washington State University, and produced in about 1845, locates the “Lakes of the Columbia” [Arrow Lakes], the “Gens des Lacs” [Lakes People] and St. Pierre Station. The Okanogan, Colville and San Poil tribes are also located, as well as many others. The archival map is dated ca. 1841, but must have been made after the summer of 1845 because that is when St. Peter Station was established.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁴Wheat, Carl I. *1540-1861 Mapping the Transmississippi West*, Volume Three, “From the Mexican War to the Boundary Surveys, 1846-1854.” San Francisco: The Institute of Historical Cartography, 1958, pp. 44-45 and plates 537, 538 and 539.

¹⁵⁵Wheat, Carl I. *1540-1861 Mapping the Transmississippi West*, Volume Three, “From the Mexican War to the Boundary Surveys, 1846-1854.” San Francisco: The Institute of Historical Cartography, 1958, pp. 129-130, 305 and Plate 709.

¹⁵⁶Goetzmann, William H. *Looking at the Land of Promise: Pioneer Images of the Pacific Northwest*. Pullman, Washington: Washington State University Press, 1988, p. xiv.

Johnson, Kate. *Pioneer Days of Nakuşp and the Arrow Lakes*. Nakuşp, B. C.: 1951, pp. 81 and 94, reports a trading outpost in the same general area, and called Frosthall, from the name of a clerk there.

Bouchard, Randy and Dorothy Kennedy. “Lakes Indian Ethnography and History,” Report prepared for the B. C. Heritage Conservation Branch, Victoria; August, 1985, pp. 89-91, describe Frosthall Creek.

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. 44 also references Frosthall being very close to St.

Another map by De Smet, located in the Jesuit Archives for the Missouri Province in St. Louis, Missouri, and titled “Map of Northern Rocky Mountains and Plateau,” has on it Station “St. Pierre” and “Gens du Lacs de la Col^o,” both located next to Upper Arrow Lake.¹⁵⁷

Charles Wilkes, 1841

During the same period that De Smet and the Catholic missionaries were making inroads among the Lakes (as well as making them known through publications throughout the world), the first American expedition reached the southern tip of Lakes territory. The first official United States expedition to reach Fort Colville and Lakes territory was in 1841 under Charles Wilkes. The party reached Fort Colville in mid-June of 1841. Wilkes provided an extensive description of the fort and the Indians in its vicinity. He said the post had one hundred thirty acres under cultivation, growing wheat, beans, barley and potatoes. He said salmon season had not yet begun, but described the manner in which the Colville caught salmon with baskets. The post’s agricultural pursuits were important, Wilkes said.¹⁵⁸

The cultivation of crops is here the principal object of attention, for

Peter’s Station.

¹⁵⁷Peterson, Jacqueline with Laura Peers. *Sacred Encounters: Father De Smet and the Indians of the Rocky Mountains*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993, pp. 118-119.

De Smet, Pierre-Jean. Map of Northern Rocky Mountains and Plateau. Jesuit Archives, Missouri Province, St. Louis; DeSmetiana Collection, Nos. IX C8, Map #13, is the location of the original.

De Smet, Pierre-Jean. Map of northwestern U. S. and southwestern Canada, from 90° to 121° W. Between 35° and 45° N. Bancroft Library, Map 12 (N), 1851a B. This 1851 map of the northwestern United States and southwestern Canada shows the geography of the region but does not appear to show many if any of the tribes. The map shows the Columbia Lakes and the Okanogan and Okanogan Lakes. It shows Fort Okanogan, the [Little?] Dalles a bit upriver from the fort. Kettle Falls is also shown. Flat Bow Lake is Kootenai Lake.

¹⁵⁸Wilkes, Charles. *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition, During the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, under the Command of Charles Wilkes, U. S. N.* Vol. IV. Philadelphia: C. Sherman, 1844; from the Smithsonian Institution Libraries Digital Collection, pp. 468 and 471-473.

the whole of the northern posts depend upon Colville for supplies of provisions.

They also had by this point in time, one hundred ninety-six head of cattle and ninety horses.¹⁵⁹

At the time he was there, in June, he said there were resident at the falls one hundred fifty Indians at the Colville village. But when the salmon were running he estimated there were almost one thousand Indian people there. Wilkes called them all Spokane, or Flathead, apparently combining all the Salish people together under one name.¹⁶⁰ Horatio Hale, a linguist with the Wilkes expedition, also called all of the Salish people Flatheads, but did identify the Okanogan, Kalispel and Colville as separate and independent tribes who spoke Salish.¹⁶¹

By Wilkes' account, it seems that by 1841 trapping and trading of furs had significantly declined.

At Colville, the number of beaver-skins purchased is but small, and the packs which accrue annually from it and its two outposts, Koutanie and Flathead, with the purchases made by a person who travels through the Flathead country, amount only to forty, including the bear and wolf skins. Mustkrats, martens, and foxes, are the kinds most numerous in this neighbourhood. The

¹⁵⁹Wilkes, Charles. *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition, During the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, under the Command of Charles Wilkes, U. S. N.* Vol. IV. Philadelphia: C. Sherman, 1844; from the Smithsonian Institution Libraries Digital Collection, p. 473.

¹⁶⁰Wilkes, Charles. *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition, During the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, under the Command of Charles Wilkes, U. S. N.* Vol. IV. Philadelphia: C. Sherman, 1844; from the Smithsonian Institution Libraries Digital Collection, pp. 474-475.

¹⁶¹Hale, 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, p. 205.

outposts above-mentioned are in charge of a Canadian trader, who receives his outfit from Colville.¹⁶²

Although the Wilkes expedition did not reach the Arrow Lakes, maps accompanying the expedition volumes located Fort Colville, Fort Okanogan, and the Arrow Lakes (not labeled).¹⁶³ Archaeologist David Chance reported that Hale was informed that “the husband usually joined the tribe to which his wife belonged, because the woman did most for family support.” Chance believes Hale was told this at Fort Colville.¹⁶⁴

Various Botanists, 1841-1844

A number of early botanists reached the southernmost portion of Lakes territory in the 1840s. William Dunlop Brackenridge was part of the 1841 Wilkes expedition and after reaching Fort Colville described the surrounding agricultural land and flour mill.¹⁶⁵ German botanist Karl Andreas Geyer reached Fort Colville, traveling overland through the snow from Coeur d’Alene in December, 1843. He said that Chief-factor Macdonald was then there, having just returned with

¹⁶²Wilkes, Charles. *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition, During the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, under the Command of Charles Wilkes, U. S. N.* Vol. IV. Philadelphia: C. Sherman, 1844; from the Smithsonian Institution Libraries Digital Collection, p. 479.

¹⁶³Hale, 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, plate 457.

Lakin, Ruth. *Kettle River Country* (Colville, Wash.: Statesman Examiner, Inc., 1976, p. 19.

¹⁶⁴Chance, David H. “Influences of the Hudson’s Bay Company on the Native Cultures of the Colville District,” *Northwest Anthropological Research Notes* 7(1, Pt.2); *Memoir* 2, Moscow, Idaho, 1973, pp. 22-23.

¹⁶⁵Sperlin, O. B. (Ed.) “Documents: Our First Horticulturist—The Brackenridge Journal,” *The Washington Historical Quarterly*. Vol. XXII, No. 1 (January, 1931), pp. 47-49.

McKelvey, Susan Delano. *Botanical Exploration of the Trans-Mississippi West, 1790-1850*, Corvallis, Oregon: Oregon State University Press, pp. 687 and 697.

a brigade that had gone up the Columbia from Fort Vancouver.¹⁶⁶ In 1844 British botanist Joseph Burke traveled on the upper Columbia and passed the Little Dalles on about October 15. His party reached Fort Colville on the 18th and portaged around Kettle Falls on the 19th. By the 24th they were at the mouth of the Okanogan he had traveled back down the Columbia to the mouth of the Okanogan.¹⁶⁷

The Oregon Treaty of 1846

The land west of the Rocky Mountains between the southern tip of today's state of Alaska (then Russian territory) and, roughly, the southern border of today's state of Oregon had been in dispute between Great Britain and the United States for decades. In 1846 the two nations reached an agreement, making the 49th parallel the boundary between the British possessions and the United States as far as the west coast (all of Vancouver Island remained under Great Britain). With this treaty much of the Hudson's Bay Company's Columbia Department was now in the United States. Under the treaty, the Hudson's Bay Company was guaranteed compensation for its land and property, i.e. their trading posts and forts and the contents of those outposts.¹⁶⁸ However, it would be many years before an agreement on the value was reached between Great Britain and the United States. Historians William S. Lewis and Paul C. Phillips have asserted that the Oregon Treaty of 1846 had a huge impact on the company. In 1834 the company took in

¹⁶⁶Geyer, Karl Andreas. "Notes on the vegetation and general character of the Missouri and Oregon territories, made during a botanical journey from the state of Missouri, across the south-pass of the Rocky Mountains, to the Pacific, during the years 1843 and 1844, by Charles A. Geyer," *London Journal of Botany*, Vol. V., pp. 291-298 and 512-513.

¹⁶⁷McKelvey, Susan Delano. *Botanical Exploration of the Trans-Mississippi West, 1790-1850*, Corvallis, Oregon: Oregon State University Press, pp. 797-798.

¹⁶⁸United States. Senate Document 476, 1st Session, 29th Congress, pp. 2-3.

nearly 60,000 pelts, of which more than a third came from the Columbia Basin. By 1848 those numbers had declined to a little over 17,000.

Although the Hudson's Bay Company was able to drive out American fur traders from the Columbia basin it was to fall before a new American invasion. Missionaries came to convert the Indians and they were followed by large numbers of settlers who proposed to occupy the land. Their efforts led to destruction of the game and furthered the decline of the fur trade. The treaty of 1846 put an end to the Hudson's Bay Company's control of the fur trade of the Northwest.¹⁶⁹

[Preliminary] Conclusions

Documentary records created between the years 1811 and 1846 provide valuable evidence regarding the Sinixt Tribe and its territory during the period. The evidence suggests that at the time of British sovereignty over the Arrow Lakes region, the Sinixt held exclusive use and occupancy over the area, engaged in hunting, fishing, and gathering plants.

¹⁶⁹Lewis, William S. and Paul C. Phillips. *The Journal of John Work, A chief-trader of the Hudson's Bay Co. During his expedition from Vancouver to the Flatheads and Blackfeet of the Pacific Northwest.* Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1923, p.47.

Stanley, George F. G. (ed. and "Introduction") *Mapping the Frontier: Charles Wilson's Diary of the Survey of the 49th Parallel, 1858-1862, While Secretary of the British Boundary Commission.* Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1970, pp. 7-8.