# Writing, Ritual, and Folklore: Imagining the Cultural Geography of Voyageurs

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When I was a child in a small town on the prairies, I walked to school every day. By the time I reached Grade 6, I felt as if I could walk to my elementary school blindfolded. I knew every house along the streets, every shortcut through backyards, every crack on the sidewalks. When I started junior high school, my sense of the town was altered. I had to walk in a different direction, learn a new route, new cracks in the sidewalks. My sense of the town changed even more when I began high school, and walked in yet another direction. At 16 I learned to drive, and the world around me grew exponentially. I explored the surrounding countryside on my own, ventured to the city to hang out at the malls, and made day trips to the beach. I loved the wide-open skies, the miles and miles of straight roads framed by telephone wires, the sense that you could see the earth curving away in the distance. During summer vacations, my family took long car trips to British Columbia, the Maritimes, and California, and for the first time I saw oceans, mountains, and deserts. Yet the centre of my life remained my parents' house, located roughly in the centre of the North American continent. When I moved east to Montreal to attend university, my world shifted, my ground tilted; I felt disoriented. Not only did I have to learn a new place, new routes to travel to school, and new landmarks, but also my centre of existence had shifted. The sky was different.

Now that I have lived in six different cities and dozens of different apartments and houses, I understand how important cultural geography is to defining both place and identity. My centre has shifted with each new move I make, but I still judge the size of a place in terms of my home-town and I compare vistas to the prairies. Most people's sense of identity is rooted to the land, and

all societies envision space (an unoccupied and unknown expanse) and place (an occupied and knowable location) in distinct ways.[1] In Chapter 14 of this volume, Matthew Evenden explains how distinct visions of Canada as a land of vast resources, industries, and physical features shaping its international geopolitical relations can be traced in military maps from the Cold War period. People and societies create individual and collective mental maps of their world to understand the land around them and their place in it. Their environmental history and cultural geography shapes their understandings of owning land, using land, and travelling through it.[2]

In the late 1980s Donald Worster characterized environmental history as encompassing three branches of study: natural environments of the past, human modes of production using natural resources, and human ideas about nature.[3] These branches have been growing and weaving together in the last two decades, but Worster's distinction helps us understand how different environmental histories ask completely different kinds of questions. This chapter concerns Worster's third branch, so it will not ask how ecology during the early North American fur trade differed from today, and it will not explore the effects of humans trapping some fur-bearing animals to the point of virtual extinction. Instead, this chapter asks how people working in the fur trade perceived their environment, based on the premise that perceptions of the environment influence people's identities and cultures.

The *Dictionary of Human Geography* defines cultural geography as "a subfield of human geography that focuses on the impact of human culture, both material and non-material, upon the natural environment and the human organization of space."[4] Some American scholars, known as the "Berkeley School," focus on human interventions transforming the earth's surface. Their work is inspired by geographer Carl Sauer, who explained that "cultural landscape is fashioned from a natural landscape by a culture group. Culture is the agent, the natural area the medium, the cultural landscape the result."[5] Hence, the term "landscape" differs from "environment" by focusing specifically on human impacts on land. More recently, scholars have been shifting from examinations of material changes to land to an examination of how ideas shape landscape through literature, art, and politics. This "new cultural geography" looks at how values, meanings, and attitudes are distributed spatially, and hence how landscape is socially constructed.[6] How can historians uncover people's cultural geography, both physical and metaphysical, in past times? What kind of clues about their views of land did they leave behind? In the future, a historian can try to understand my sense of place by reading this article and my other writings, by uncovering where I lived, by examining how I travelled, and, if I am alive, by interviewing me. Much of my information is amply recorded in my journals, diaries, academic writing, and in the detritus of paper and digital documents generated by modern North American societies: tax returns, telephone books, ticket stubs, reimbursement forms, insurance records, e-mail, and the Internet. Studying the distant past is not so easy. How can we understand the cultural geography of people who were not literate and did not live in a society that generated large amounts of records? It is easier to uncover information about historical figures who were literate and deemed significant by their contemporaries (and themselves). For example, it would be fairly easy to attempt a reconstruction of the cultural geography of the explorer and fur trader Simon Fraser because he wrote a lot, and published and saved his records, which are now housed in archives. But how can we discover the views of the men who paddled his canoes and transported his equipment and trade goods?

This chapter will consider how French Canadian voyageurs from the St. Lawrence valley (in present-day Quebec) who worked in the fur trade in the 18th and 19th centuries viewed and shaped their geographic world. Because voyageurs were nonliterate and left very few records of their lives, finding sources to study their cultural geography is a problem. Two major types of sources offer some information. The first are documentary records, both in manuscript and published form, written by notaries, explorers, missionaries, and officers or masters in the fur trade. The second are oral stories, passed down through occupational groups and families, many of which were recorded in the late 19th and early 20th centuries by folklorists. Both of these types of sources can be used carefully to explore how voyageurs made sense of their physical surroundings and created their own sense of place while constantly travelling.

Working in the fur trade as paddlers and porters offered male French Canadian peasants an opportunity to supplement the livelihood they made from farming. Sons, husbands, and fathers signed up to work in the fur trade either as *mangeurs de lard* (porkeaters), to transport goods via canoes between Montreal and administrative posts in the Great Lakes region in the summers, or as *hommes du nord* (northmen), to work year-round, transporting trade goods from the Great Lakes to posts far into the interior, and to trade with aboriginal peoples. Voyageurs, the collective term for workers in the Montreal trade, were hired as indentured servants and signed contracts to work for their masters for between three and five years at a time. This group of labourers developed a distinct identity and occupational subculture that first emerged in the 1720s and lasted until the 1850s, when the Montreal-based fur trade diminished. Within this subculture, porkeaters were considered as "lesser" men than northmen because they did not travel as far into the continental interior, they did not spend their winters at posts or in camps, and they had access to domesticated meat, rather than being required to eat wild meat year-round. Porkeaters were paid less than northmen, and had to submit to teasing and inferior working conditions. A small portion of the men worked their whole lives in the fur trade, some quit the service and remained in the continental interior to join aboriginal communities or to live as freemen, but the majority returned to work on their farms in the St. Lawrence valley.[7]

The main job of voyageurs was to transport trade goods and people thousands of kilometres in canoes. Fur-trade posts were spread out over the continent along rivers and lakes. Most posts were found in the boreal forests, near the habitat of beavers, whose pelts European traders valued above all other fur-bearing animals. The trade extended south along the Mississippi River to its mouth in the Gulf of Mexico, north along the Mackenzie River to its mouth in the Arctic Ocean, and west over the Rockies to the Pacific Ocean. The first part of the vast network of travel was concentrated between Montreal and the major administrative posts of the western end of Lake Superior. The journey could take between three and eight weeks depending on direction, weather, wind, and water levels. Voyageurs followed the Ottawa River to Lake Nipissing, continued along the French River to Lake Huron, and skirted the north shores of lakes Huron and Superior (Figure 4.1). At Lake Superior, porkeaters exchanged their cargo with northmen and started the journey back to Montreal, carrying the furs that would be sold in Europe. After bringing the furs out of the interior, northmen returned to their posts with European goods to trade with aboriginal peoples. Some headed south through Lake Michigan and other south-flowing rivers to connect with the

**Figure 4.1**  Map of Voyageur Cultural Geography
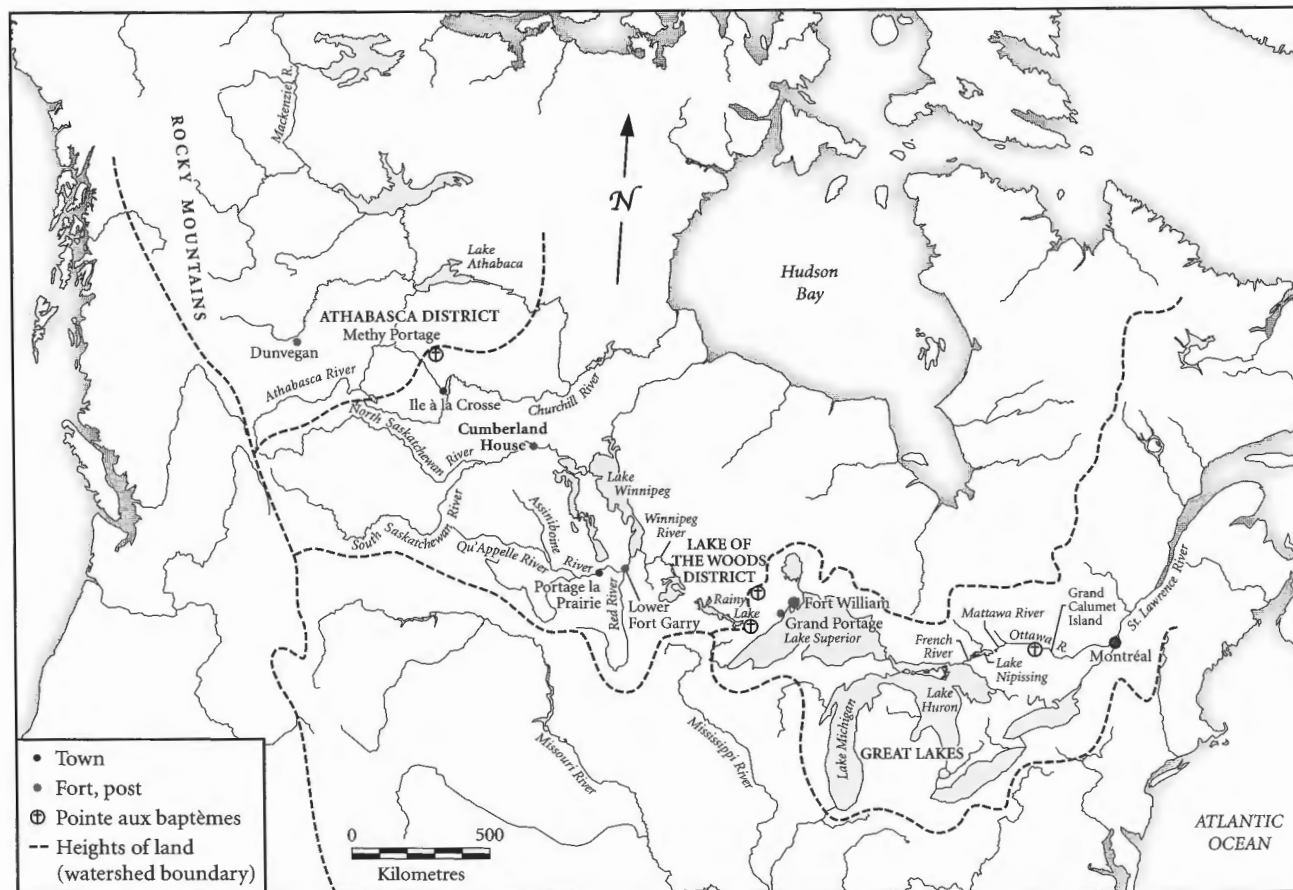


Voyageurs travelled through a complex system of rivers, streams, and lakes to transport goods and furs thousands of miles between Montreal and interior posts. Gaps in water routes were called portages, and here voyageurs had to carry their canoes and cargo over land. Shifts in continental drainage patterns, such as from the Great Lakes to Hudson Bay, were referred to as "heights of land." The *pointe aux baptèmes* mark sites where novices were ritually baptized into the profession.

Mississippi and Missouri rivers. Others headed west through the boundary waters and Lake of the Woods, and the Winnipeg River, before connecting to the Saskatchewan, Red, Assiniboine, and Qu'Apelle rivers. A smaller group then pushed north to Lake Athabasca and beyond. These Athabasca men, as they were called, had the most difficult job: they not only had to travel the farthest of all voyageurs, they also had the shortest amount of time to travel between spring thawing and winter freezing.

With all this travelling over thousands of kilometres for months at a time, one would expect voyageurs to have highly developed and particular views of landscapes. Crews often hired local aboriginal guides to help them find their way through the countless lakes, rivers, and streams, but some voyageurs became experts on travel routes and assumed the role of guide within their canoe brigade for extra pay. The financial incentive and the effort to make their difficult jobs a little easier ensured that men paid close attention to the land they travelled through. So how can we find out how voyageurs viewed this land?

## Written Sources

Literate people who travelled with voyageurs wrote about them. These included missionaries, explorers, and other travellers to the interior of the continent, but the majority were voyageurs' masters in the fur trade, usually English-speaking Protestants, who differed significantly from the French-speaking Roman Catholic voyageurs. Most of the written descriptions about voyageurs are brief and formulaic. In daily journals and company correspondence, masters recorded details of work and problems that arose in the trade. In their personal letters, journals, and narratives, they cast voyageurs in the role of exotic entertainment, commenting on their singing, joviality, strength, and perseverance.[8] A stereotype emerged of the voyageur as a merry workhorse, able to travel faster than a speeding arrow and leap over tall waterfalls in a single bound. Commentary on voyageurs by outsiders to their occupational subculture must be read carefully to extract meaningful data on voyageur history. In her book on the writings of British traders in the plateau region of the Pacific Northwest, Elizabeth Vibert describes the bias in traders' writings as a "coordinating grid" or a web of ideas and assumptions that shaped the traders' observations of aboriginal peoples. Her book identifies "the strands of inherited meaning that are woven into trader discourse." Learning about the historical and social processes in which the strands were spun helps her read the meanings of each strand and how they interact when woven together.[9] Historians usually think of discourse as both a specific act of communication (a sentence, a film, a piece of graffiti, a baptism) and as a more generalized way of thinking that provides vocabulary, expressions, and styles of communication. For example, a chicken may be described by a biologist as a source of pandemics, by a dietician as an excellent source of protein, and by a philosopher as what came before the egg. Traders' writings about voyageurs must be read for their discourses with the same degree of caution.

Even though the fur-trade masters and other travellers saw voyageurs as stereotypes and viewed them through their own cultural lenses, their writings still contain useful information if we read beyond their words.[10] One strategy for using these sources with caution is to figure out the context in which the masters were describing voyageurs. Masters sometimes varied their portraits of

voyageurs depending on their audience. For example, Alexander Mackenzie described voyageurs as loyal and obedient in his 1801 history of the fur trade because he was trying to convey the success of the trade.[11] Yet, in a letter to his cousin Roderic McKenzie, who had just become a master himself, Alexander Mackenzie warns him to "keep every thing as secret as you can from your men, otherwise those old *voyageurs* will fish all they wish out of your green hands."[12] Many travellers commented on voyageurs' actions because they saw them as part of the exotic landscape of their travels. Others were concerned with trade profits and viewed voyageurs as either obstacles or assets.

A second strategy is to read around the intentions of the recorder or to read against the grain. For example, a master might have casually mentioned that his crew canoed for 25 songs or five pipes.[13] His intention was to record the distance the crew travelled, but he also disclosed that distances were measured by voyageurs' work rituals, namely, singing while they paddled and taking regular breaks to smoke pipes. Written documents often contain multiple voices, some more faint than others. By closely reading a document we can try to amplify the faint voices to see different perspectives.

A third strategy is to read widely in these writings to discern patterns. If many people commented on voyageurs' activities or behaviours then we have confidence that they represent voyageurs' lives. However, we also have to wonder why certain incidents were reported. Sometimes events were recorded because they were deemed remarkable, much like the way news is reported today. If someone in the future were to be writing the history of early 21st-century Canadian urban society based solely upon daily television news, they may mistakenly surmise that most cars are involved in traffic accidents and that most people experience violent crime. Similarly, we must wonder whether the traders recorded only what they thought was remarkable and hence newsworthy. Did their reports characterize daily life or extraordinary events or both? Most of the mundane everyday activities were probably not recorded for the very reason that they were everyday events and not deemed remarkable enough to comment on in journals and letters. Some writers were particularly observant or particularly interested in voyageurs and hence wrote a lot; general patterns of behaviour can be inferred from these writers or from specific incidents that received a lot of attention.

Voyageurs shaped their landscape in both physical and metaphysical ways. The amount of traffic along waterways between Montreal and interior posts left ecological footprints. The frequent canoeing accidents scattered cargo and human remains in rapids and waterfalls. Few archaeologists have explored these sites (and when they do, as Peter Pope suggests in Chapter 3 of this volume, both expected and unexpected findings will raise new historical questions and lead to new interpretations).[14] In addition to archaeological remains, other ecological footprints are evident. Campfires along rocky shores have left scorch marks on rocks. In the large context of overhunting, that led to the extinction of many fur-bearing animals, voyageurs hunting and fishing for food along fur-trade routes added a pattern of localized extinctions and changes to animal and fish habitats. Unlike the Inuit described by Lyle Dick in Chapter 5 of this volume, voyageurs did not have intimate knowledge of the lands they travelled through to fine-tune their hunting and fishing to each locale's changing resources. The pemmican industry that arose to meet the needs of feeding large crews working in the trade contributed to the continental extinction of bison. Material traces of voyageurs can be uncovered by archaeological and scientific investigations.[15] But what do written sources reveal about how voyageurs viewed and shaped land?

One of the first things that historians may notice is that voyageurs imprinted themselves on the land by naming elements of landscape. They named geomorphologic features, such as rivers and portages. Master Ross Cox commented that "The Canadians, who are very fertile in baptizing remarkable places, called an island near our encampment of the 6th Gibraltar, from the rocky steepness of its shore." While travelling along the Winnipeg River, he complained that "it would be tiresome and useless to give the various names by which the Canadians distinguish[ed] those places" because there were so many of them.[16] On a trip from Pais [Pays] Plat (flat country) near Lake Superior to Portage de L'Isle in the Winnipeg River during the summer of July 1784, the crew of Edward Umfreville recorded the French names of many portages, which described their physical features, including Portage de Detour, Portage de Deux Rapids (two rapids), Portage des Grosse Roches (large rocks), Portage des Trembles (aspens), and Portage de Petite Rivière (little river).[17] Other place names that reflected the physical surroundings included Portage du Thé, named after a species of mint that grew there and was used for tea; les Terres Jaunes, which referred to the yellow banks in the Rocky Mountains; La prairie de la Vache (bison country); and Le Rocher de Miette (small rocks).[18] It is impossible to say whether voyageurs named these places themselves or translated them from aboriginal names. Other place names are obviously the French translations or renditions of aboriginal names, such as Lac Ouinipique (Lake Winnipeg).

The (re)naming of landscape features promoted a collective identity among voyageurs that reflected their history and identity. These names persisted for years and many have survived to today. Clerk George Nelson provides a detailed description of a trip between Fort William and Cumberland House in the summer of 1822, mentioning the prevailing names of many of the portages and the stories that went with them. Portage Ecarté (remote or isolated) was so named because a man had been lost in it for nearly two days and because the path through the portage was obscured by large stones. Another named Racoursi (shortcut) was so difficult that, according to Nelson, only maniacs tried to run across it. He described Petit-Portage des Chiens (small portage of dogs) as slippery and smooth, commenting that the men frequently slid on their backsides or fell on their faces while racing with their heavy packs. Portage à Jourdain was named after a guide who had broken his canoe there. Another portage where a couple of men had died was called Portage des Morts. Voyageurs called the Rainy Lake Portage "le bout des Terres" (end of the land), which was an old name that Nelson thought might have originated in the early days of French exploration, when the French traders travelled only to that point in the interior and thought that the Great Lakes were simply branches of the western sea. Portage Des Rocher à Chaurette was named for a guide who broke his canoe and lost his cargo there. At Chute à Jacqeau (Jack Falls) voyageurs customarily raced with their loads and frequently fell with them. Voyageurs raced across portages in order to appear strong and agile, bolstering their reputations, even if their actions proved dangerous. Some "fools" also raced across Portage Barrière, but were often killed. One portage on an island was named Beau-bien, after a voyageur was ordered by his bourgeois to run the rapid against his will. The canoe was swamped and sucked into an eddy; several people drowned and much property was lost.[19] Nelson commented that voyageurs "perverted" many aboriginal place names, but most of the names he listed seemed to have arisen from voyageurs' experiences.[20] The names of the portages might have served as markers for difficult portages, as well as

reminders of those men lost in the service. For example, Portage des Noyés (the drowned) marked the location where five men had died.[21] More of these names can be found in sources beyond the fur-trade documentary record. A survey of contemporary maps, as well as the recordings of folklorists, can provide a wealth of this kind of data.

# Rituals

In addition to naming, voyageurs marked points of landscape by performing rituals. Voyageur rituals were performed with a fair degree of regularity and they are easier to find in fur-trade journals and letters than many other kinds of actions. Historian Edward Muir proposes viewing rituals as both mirrors, reflecting what people think, and models, helping people articulate, strive for, and teach how they would like to be. He outlines at least three related ways in which ritual is understood. Some scholars think of ritual primarily as an enactment that creates social solidarity or forms of social identities. Others focus on ritual as a form of communication that allows people to tell stories about themselves. And yet others see ritual as a collectively created performance that constructs, maintains, and modifies society. Muir argues that rituals present both unified visions of society and discordant voices to challenge these visions. Hence he sees rituals as "inherently ambiguous in their function and meaning. They speak with many voices."[22] Let's consider rituals in all their broad and versatile forms. Rituals can create, express, teach, and remind participants of the meanings and values of their community and their identity. Rituals can form communities, bolster communal bonding, and at the same time provide a forum for the expressions of individual selfhood that challenge communal bonds. The instability and fluidity of the voyageur occupation not only made rituals of vital importance to the development of common values and working patterns among voyageurs, but also provided a site for contrary discourse. For example, races along lakes led to both fraternal bonding among men in one crew and feelings of competition and social divisiveness between different crews.

Many of these rituals were Roman Catholic. Master Daniel Harmon noted that "the Canadian Voyagers when they leave one stream to follow another have a custom of pulling off their Hats and making the sign of the Cross, and one in each Brigade if not in every Canoe repeats a short Prayer."[23] Voyageurs probably organized their appeals to the saints and their prayers according to aspects of the land, such as prayers for specific streams, rivers, lakes, islands, portages, rocks, hills, and cliffs. Every time they entered a new part of the journey, they would appeal to God and the saints for protection. The regular religious appeals meant that voyageurs both actively divided their journeys into sections marked by landscape features (which helped them keep to their course and estimate the time of their travels), and constantly invoked spiritual forces for protection.

One of the most distinct rituals performed by voyageurs was mock baptism. Baptism is one of the seven sacraments in the Roman Catholic Church and represents the entrance of a new soul into the Church.[24] Mock baptisms performed by voyageurs symbolized the rebirth of a settler into a voyageur and the joining of a new fur-trade community. These ceremonies were a strange blend of blasphemy and reverence for a Catholic ritual combined with elements of aboriginal customs.

Voyageurs performed mock baptisms at physically distinctive points along fur-trade canoe routes, points that divided the long routes into distinct physical sections. At these points, voyageurs and masters who had not yet crossed that point in their working lives were dunked in the water by the crew.[25] Usually the novice was pushed into the water and immediately rescued, but sometimes the ceremony was more elaborate and performed on the shore. In the summer of 1793, just west of Grand Portage on the shore of Lake Superior, newly hired clerk John Macdonell recorded in his journal:

> Passed the Martes, les Perches and Slept at the height of Land, where I was insti-
> tuted a *North man* by *Batême* performed by sprinkling water in my face with a
> small cedar Bow dipped in a ditch of water and accepting certain conditions such
> as not to let any new hand pass by that road without experiencing the same
> ceremony which stipulates particularly never to kiss a voyageur's wife against her
> own free will the whole being accompanied by a dozen of Gun shots fired one
> after another in an Indian manner. The intention of this Bâtême being only to
> claim a glass. I complied with the custom and gave the men . . . a two gallon keg
> as my worthy Bourgeois Mr Cuthburt Grant directed me.[26]

The mock baptism reflected voyageurs' Roman Catholic beliefs and contact with Algonquian-speakers, in that it blended emphases from both. The ceremony stipulated rules about the treatment of aboriginal women and novices, gave the young men a sense of belonging, and helped unite the crews, which was crucially important to the effectiveness and safety of the job. Occasionally voyageurs added aboriginal elements, such as tobacco offerings and cedar boughs.

I have been able to find three locations of rituals in the documentary record, and there were undoubtedly more. The first site of mock baptism took place along the Ottawa River where the bedrock of the Laurentian or Canadian Shield is first visible from the trip out of Montreal. It is located about 320 kilometres northwest of the modern city of Ottawa, where Deep River or the Rivière Creuse enters the Ottawa River at the upper end of Lac des Allumettes.[27] Here canoe brigades passed through a deep and swift part of the river, where cliffs of granite provided a significant visual marker for the entrance into a new land. After this passage, brigades stopped at a sandy point, known as "Pointe au Baptême," where canoes could be easily grounded and the crew could pause for a rest. It was the oldest and most well-established site of ritual baptism along fur-trade routes. As early as 1686, Chevalier de Troyes mentioned the practice as an established custom: "Our French have the custom of baptizing at this place those who have not passed before."[28] The "Pointe aux Baptêmes" is still marked on maps today.[29] This point separated voyageurs from habitants or peasants in the St. Lawrence valley, and it represented a point of no return to new voyageurs who may have been thinking about deserting the difficult job and returning to their farms.

The second site of baptism was about 80 kilometres west of Lake Superior, at the height of land separating the waters draining into the Great Lakes from those draining into Lake Winnipeg and Hudson Bay.[30] Two routes from the western shore of Lake Superior to Lake Winnipeg crossed this

divide, one from Grand Portage and the other from Fort William farther north. Each route had a point of baptism at the "height of land." Heights of land marked the boundaries of watersheds, and crossing them entailed a major portage to the new river system flowing in the opposite direction. The journey toward a height of land was always difficult because it was against the current, while the journey away from the point was easier because it was with the current. This height of land spanned several portages of over 300 metres, and served to separate porkeaters from northmen.[31]

The third site of ritual baptism was in the far northwest at Portage La Loche, also called Methy Portage, on the Clearwater River, which flows into the Athabasca River. The portage of 20 kilometres was located on the height of land separating the waters flowing into the Churchill River and Hudson Bay from waters draining into the Mackenzie River and Arctic Ocean.[32] The site was long recognized as one of the most difficult and beautiful portages in the north.[33] Most of it stretched over level ground, but the last 1.6 kilometres comprised a succession of eight hills, and the trail followed the edge of a steep precipice that fell about 300 metres to the plain below. Explorer John Franklin waxed poetic about the beauty and sublimity of the view. After he completed its traverse, he wrote, "I could not but feel astonished at the labourious task which the voyageurs have twice in the year to encounter at this place in conveying their stores backwards and forwards."[34] This site of baptism represented the entrance to a new state of "northness," as the change in drainage system toward the Arctic Ocean took voyageurs more quickly and easily into new northern frontiers. This point separated northmen from Athabasca men, who were considered the most experienced, talented, and toughest of all voyageurs.

Each of these sites of ritual baptism marked a striking transition, the entrance to a socially recognized "new land" or region within fur-trade country, and the beginning of a new discernible segment of the vast canoe route of the Montreal fur trade. The fur-trade country was a psychological as much as a physical space, in which these sites of ritual baptism marked symbolic passages to different worlds that became increasingly challenging and exotic as one moved north and west. The sites also represented points of no return. Once reached, the brigades were too far along in their journeys for men to desert and easily return to the safety of Montreal, Grand Portage, or Ile à la Crosse. The oldest of the sites was the closest to Montreal, and the most recent of the sites was in the farthest reaches of the northwest. The sites followed the extension of the fur trade north and west, and came to represent the expanding boundaries of the fur-trade country.

# Folklore

In addition to performing rituals, voyageurs imprinted their cultural geography on the landscape by telling stories and singing songs. One of the most remarkable of these points was a place along the Ottawa River on the shore of Grand Calumet Island, where a voyageur named Jean Cadieux was said to have perished. Each time a brigade passed the spot, voyageurs sang the song "Petit Rocher" (little rock) and told the story of Cadieux's demise. Legend has it that Cadieux composed the song on his deathbed and wrote it on bark with charcoal or carved it into a tree before he fell

into a grave he had dug for himself. (When a group of Iroquois attacked his brigade carrying furs to Montreal, all escaped down seemingly impassable rapids except for Cadieux, who fell or jumped out of the canoe. He perished while hiding in the woods from the Iroquois.) The local memory of this story has survived to the present day. A monument to Cadieux and a substantial plaque stands along the major road on Grand Calumet Island, and a white wooden cross marking his grave stands in the bush near the shore, presumably close to the original site where voyageurs commemorated him. The song "Petit Rocher" is known today in French Canada, but his story has not survived as well in popular culture, nor was it widely circulated among the literate fur traders, explorers, and travellers of the 18th and 19th centuries.

To date, I have found nine references to the story in the historical record. Four of these are found in the documentary record of literate masters or travellers. Five references are found in the collections of folklorists in the early 20th century, who were interested in recording stories passed down orally through generations of French Canadian families. These accounts are shaped by the various tellers and listeners, and have passed through the lens of recorders questing for their notion of folk or ordinary people. Stories and songs should be treated in much the same way as written evidence, and interrogated for their context and layers of meaning. But they have the added problem of being transformed from an oral state to a written one. They are torn from the context of performance, where the relationship between the teller and audience shapes the story. The transcribing of oral stories excises gestures, intonations, emphases, and verbal rhythms, all of which contain meaning. The loss of evidence in transcribed stories does not render them useless to historians, but we must keep in mind that they are fragments of a much larger picture. The remembered and the written evidence are equally problematic, but they provide a good contrast to one another, and are striking in their similarities. The earliest and briefest hint of a similar tale was made by clerk John Macdonell in 1783. While travelling down the French River towards Lake Huron, below the Grand Recollet portage, Macdonell wrote,

> After passing a narrow racy rapid named the Dalles we saw an island on which the story goes, the Iroquois in former days, say 40 or 50 years ago, tried to cut off a strong brigade of trading canoes. But upon finding themselves discovered by the French they abandoned their ambush with precipitation and the canoes pursued their route. It is said this was among the last attempts the Iroquois made in the long wars they had with the french in canada.[35]

Although Macdonell makes no reference to Jean Cadieux, and the story is not along the French River, if this was an abbreviated form of the story, the origin can be traced to the 1730s or 1740s.

A direct record of the tale being told some time around the turn of the 19th century was passed down through the family of Hyacinthe Lemaine (1856–?), who lived on Grand Calumet Island. At the age of 70 in 1926, he recounted the tale taught to him by his father, who had learned the tale from his grandmother's brother. Lemaine's father made no mention of a song but taught Lemaine the story. Folklorist Louvigny de Montigny published this version in 1954: when a canoe of French traders stopped on the shore near the falls of Calumet, Cadieux got out of the

canoe because his legs were cramped. When his crew saw Iroquois approaching, they sprang away without waiting for Cadieux. The canoe managed the incredible feat of shooting over the falls. Cadieux stayed near the spot where he disembarked and dug a hole, presumably a grave for himself. When his crew finally returned to pick him up, they found that Cadieux had died of joy at the sight of his rescuers.[36]

The first direct account of the tale in the documentary record can be found in the journals of George Nelson, who was a clerk in 1804. Like Lemaine, Nelson locates the event near Grand Calumet Island. Nelson wrote that in 1759

> a Canoe of Voyageurs returning home from 'upper Countries', whether from Mackinac or the Grand Portage, were in the act of carrying their furs & baggage to the lower end, they met a large party of Iroquois going to war: they immediately set up their frightful War yell & pursued. The Canadians ran, leaped into their Canoe & paddled off for the <u>opposite</u> side, but getting into current were carried down those awful rapids, expecting every instant to be engulfed:—every one, most naturally put up his prayers, & vowed masses for their deliverance. They were carried over safely—they did not even ship any water. The next Portage being only a few hundred yards off, they escaped & drove to Montreal with the utmost expedition. The Iroquois ran too to the lower end, & saw them arriving at the Portage; 'but observing a tall woman in white robes standing in the bow of the Canoes, immediately perceived they were under the protection of a divinity; of course pursuit would be as fruitless as impious:' they each continued their respective routes. This was certainly a miraculous escape. It was indeed in the summer & the waters <u>low</u>, yet no bark Canoe even at very low water can withstand the furious commotions. The crew said, (& it is generally believed by the Romans) there they saw a woman, they believed to be the Virgin mary, conducting the canoe. One unfortunate creature being very lame a bruised heel (une <u>foulure</u>) could not reach the Canoe in time. He hid himself in the bushes. Ten days after, a party returned from Montreal to see after him. After much research they found him dead, 'in a hole he had himself dug out with paddle'! He died from hunger disease & fright. Some say the body was not yet quite cold.[37]

Nelson's version focuses on the miraculous escape of the crew aided by the Virgin Mary rather that on the tragic fate of the poor Cadieux.

The earliest reference to the song of Jean Cadieux dates to 1810. A French Canadian named Mercier learned the song in that year, and later taught it to his nephew Ovide Soucy, who passed it on to folklorist Marius Barbeau in 1918.[38] Soucy's uncle recalled that the song had been carved into an elm tree in very large and awkward letters, at the foot of a grave where an old voyageur named "Joseph Cagyeux" had perished. While being chased by Iroquois Cadieux abandoned his crew so that they could escape unharmed. He was now portrayed as a hero.

Dr. John Bigsby, travelling with a crew of voyageurs in 1821, also located the story along the shore of Grand Calumet Island and mentioned an inscription carved into a tree over a grave.[39] When Louis-Guillaume Lévesque, French Canadian translator, author, and former participant in the 1837 rebellion, wrote about the tale in the late 1840s, he was intrigued by the site. His description is accompanied by a sketched map of the Grand Calumet rapids, showing precisely where Cadieux fell out of the boat and the tree where he carved his story.[40] At some point along the way, Jean Cadieux had fully transformed from a minor and hapless victim to a hero and martyr among voyageurs. When Samuel Bowie moved to Île du Calumet in the early 1850s, everyone in the area knew the story and song of Jean Cadieux very well, and a monument to Cadieux had been erected near the falls where he perished.[41]

By this time the story of Jean Cadieux had gotten to be so long and complex that German story-collector Georg Johann Kohl claimed that while travelling around Lake Superior, "I met with no one who knew it all by heart, though I took considerable trouble. But I heard many fragments at different places, and nearly every Voyageur knew a part of it, or was at least acquainted with its contents." In a detailed description of the story, Kohl recounted that Jean Cayeux (as Kohl called him)

> was a great Canadian Voyageur, a hunter and fur-trader, beloved by the Europeans and friendly Indians, and known through the entire country of the St. Lawrence.... With the expenditure of his final strength dug himself a Christian grave. Over the grave he erected a cross, and he cut and carved on the wood his complainte, the entire history of his tragic fate. (So, at least, my Canadians asserted. They believed they sang the very song composed by Cayeux on his death-bed, but I imagine they could only have been some short allusions to his end.) The wooden cross soon rotted away, but the copy of his complainte is saved. And the cross has been repeatedly renewed up to the present time, and the Voyageurs still know the spot exactly.[42]

This rendition is quite different than the earlier versions in its detail and its focus on the fate of a now heroic Cadieux and the fascination with his recording of the song. The most elaborate version can be found when the song was first recorded in 1863, by folklorist Jean Charles Taché, who wrote down the tale as he heard it from an old guide named Morache. Taché asserted that every time a crew passed by Grand Calumet portage, old voyageurs would tell novices the story and all enjoyed hearing it again and again. In this version (like the previous) Cadieux was an interpreter and voyageur, married to an Algonquin woman, with whom he had several children. Along with several other voyageur–aboriginal families, Cayeux lived year-round on the Ottawa River, hunting in the winter months and trading on behalf of fur merchants in the summer. They were attacked by an Iroquois war party at the moment when they were expecting a group of Odawa from *Ile des Courte-Oreille*, west of Lake Michigan. The only means of escape for the families was to run the rapids, even though no one had ever done it before. As the most capable voyageur, Cadieux remained behind along with a young Algonquin man to distract the Iroquois. They armed themselves with guns, axes, and knives

and engaged in a fierce battle with the Iroquois while the canoes escaped downriver. All prayed to Ste. Anne, mother of the Virgin Mary, helper of sailors and fishers, and patron saint of the voyageurs.[43] They said Cadieux's wife, a particularly pious woman, helped summon the Virgin Mary for guidance. The group made it safely to Lac de Deux Montagnes, just outside Montreal. Meanwhile, the battle at *Sept Chutes* (seven falls) continued fiercely, and Cadieux's young aboriginal companion was overcome. For three days and three nights the Iroquois pursued Cadieux in the forest. Cadieux continued to hide long after the Iroquois gave up pursuit. After 13 days Cadieux's companions finally found him, close to Sept Chutes, near a small hut he had constructed, half fallen into the grave he had dug for himself, holding the bark on which he had inscribed his death song, his body still warm but his soul departed. Taché says that the voyageurs "liked to pretend" that Cadieux did not know how to read or write and that his death song appeared on the bark by a miracle, but Taché is convinced that Cadieux must have known how to write. (I find it strange that the skeptical Taché did not wonder at how a frightened, starving, and dying man found the energy to compose and carve a song, regardless of his level of literacy.) Taché reported that voyageurs cried whenever they sang Cadieux's lament, and they continuously replaced the wooden cross at his grave along the Ottawa River. Even in the 1860s, voyageurs ensured that a copy of Cadieux's song written on bark was hanging from a tree near his grave.[44] By the time the famous 20th-century folklorist Marius Barbeau analyzed recorded versions of the song in 1954, the tale had been explicitly acknowledged as a true story of a real man who perished in 1709.[45]

The example of Jean Cadieux's story and song illuminates how voyageurs associated their canoe routes with their history. Voyageurs' changing views of their history are apparent in how the story changed over time. As voyageurs became more important to the fur trade, we see the position of Jean Cadieux changing from a marginal figure to a hero: voyageurs increasingly recognized their worth as skilled workers in the trade. We also see Cadieux's loyalties shifting from his crew to his aboriginal family, which reflects a trend in voyageur culture. As the fur trade moved farther into the continental interior, the labour force of northmen grew to staff new posts and transport goods the increasing distance from Montreal. More men working in the trade farther away from their French Canadian homes led to a higher rate of voyageur marriages to aboriginal women and an increase in dual-heritage children. The change in the Cadieux story reflects this shift in the preoccupations and family orientations of many voyageurs. The Cadieux example shows how it is useful to integrate different types of data, namely documentary and oral, to reconstruct the narrative of a how a story was told and to gain glimpses into the voyageurs' consciousness of their history and identity. Voyageur history and identity was not static, but changed over time to reflect the status of their jobs, the formation of families with aboriginal peoples, and their association with the place. Yet the location of Cadieux's grave and the use of the Ottawa River for transporting trade goods remained constant.

This paper has shown how documentary and orally transmitted records can reveal aspects of voyageur cultural geography. Voyageurs used canoe routes as the organizing framework for understanding the vast areas through which they travelled. They needed to learn these routes as

quickly as possible to perform their jobs, and they needed to know the dangers and advantages of all segments of the routes in order to stay safe. But the records reveal more than this. The voyageurs made the canoe routes their own by imprinting meaning on them. The most obvious way they did so was to name parts of the landscape. They also performed rituals along the journeys, and marked sites with stories and songs. These rituals, stories, and songs taught voyageurs about the routes, warned them of what was approaching, commemorated those who had perished, and enshrined aspects of their past. These meanings changed over time to reflect an evolving voyageur identity and history.

The cultural geography of voyageurs is still faintly visible today in material and cultural shadows on the landscape. The most obvious examples of the history of the fur trade are the numerous remains of stone fur-trade posts and reconstructed wooden posts that are now historic sites, such as Fort William in Thunder Bay, Ontario; Lower Fort Garry north of Winnipeg, Manitoba; and Historic Dunvegan in northwestern Alberta. Place names retain echoes of the fur-trade era, such as Portage la Prairie in Manitoba, and Ile à la Crosse in Saskatchewan. Some railway lines and highways follow the old canoe routes, and roadside plaques commemorate portages. Ecotourism companies offer guided tours of parts of fur-trade routes, such as Voyageur Adventure Tours in Samuel de Champlain Park along the Mattawa River just east of North Bay, Ontario. Although the land has been covered with asphalt and cement, houses and skyscrapers, and smog hangs in the sky, there are traces of the fur-trading past in the lakes, rivers, and streams. When I return to the prairies, to my town, to my parents' house, I think about all the people who have travelled over that land before—aboriginal peoples, voyageurs, Icelandic settlers, Ukrainian farmers—and although the buildings and people keep changing, I know that their travel routes are buried somewhere in the land, and that their cultural geography is buried somewhere in archives and memories.

## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. How do the physical and cultural worlds of voyageurs relate to one another?
2. What is cultural geography? What kind of evidence can be used to reconstruct the cultural geography of French Canadian voyageurs?
3. How will a historian in the future be able to research your cultural geography?
4. What does "reading beyond words" mean? Are there many ways to do this?
5. Describe your own "coordinating grid" or web of ideas and assumptions that shapes your observations of the world.
6. Compare the process of researching Simon Fraser's cultural geography and Jean Cadieux's.
7. What place, if any, is there for imagination in the researching and writing of environmental history?

# NOTES

1. See Steven Field and Keith H. Basso, eds., *Senses of Place* (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1996); Irwin Altman and Seth M. Low, eds., *Place Attachment* (New York: Plenum, 1992); Fritz Steele, *The Sense of Place* (Boston: CBI Publishing Company, 1981); Yi-Fu Tuan, *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974); and John Brinckerhoff Jackson, *A Sense of Place, A Sense of Time* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994).

2. There is a vast literature on the history of cultural landscapes. For some examples, see Clive H. Knowles, *Landscape History*, The Historical Association, General Studies 107 (London: The Historical Association, 1983); Michael Aston, *Interpreting the Landscape: Landscape Archaeology in Local Studies* (London: Batsford, 1985); Hilary H. Birks, et al., *The Cultural Landscape: Past, Present and Future* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1988); J. Howe and M. Wolfe, eds., *Inventing Medieval Landscapes: Senses of Place in Western Europe* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002); Kenneth Olwig, *Landscape, Nature, and the Body Politic: From Britain's Renaissance to America's New World* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002); and Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels, eds., *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

3. Donald Worster, "Doing Environmental History," *The Ends of the Earth: Perspectives on Modern Environmental History* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1988): pp. 289–307.

4. Denis E. Cosgrove, "Cultural Geography," *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, 2nd ed., R. J. Johnston, Derek Gregory, and David M. Smith, eds., 86–88 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986): p. 86.

5. Carl Sauer, "The Morphology of Landscape," John Leighly, ed., *Land and Life: A Selection from the Writings of Carl Ortwin Sauer* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, [1925] 1963): p. 343.

6. For some examples of "new cultural geography" see Marie Price and Martin Lewis, "The Reinvention of Cultural Geography," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 83 no. 1 (1993): pp. 1–17, as well as the commentaries and reply; Peter Jackson, "Berkeley and Beyond: Broadening the Horizons of Cultural Geography," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 83 no. 1 (1993): pp. 519–20; P. Philo Cloke and D. Sadler, *Approaching Human Geography: An Introduction to Contemporary Theoretical Debates* (Paul Chapman: London, 1991); and Don Mitchell, *Cultural Geography—A Critical Introduction* (London: Blackwell, 1999).

7. For an overview of voyageur history, see Carolyn Podruchny, *Making the Voyageur World: Travelers and Traders in the North American Fur Trade* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press and Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006).

8. Other documentary evidence includes the contracts voyageurs signed, called *contracts*, and church records, such as baptism, marriage, and death records. Occasionally, evidence on voyageurs can be found in court records.

9. Elizabeth Vibert, *Traders' Tales: Narratives of Cultural Encounters in the Columbia Plateau, 1807–1846* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997): pp. xii, 4, 6–7.

10. The phrase "reading beyond words" is taken from Jennifer S. H. Brown and Elizabeth Vibert, eds., *Reading Beyond Words: Contexts for Native History* (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1996), which provides a multitude of examples of how to see beyond the bias of documents produced by non-aboriginals to write about aboriginal history.

11.  Alexander Mackenzie, "A General History of the Fur Trade from Canada to the North-West," *Voyages from Montreal on the River St. Lawrence through the Continent of North America to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans in the Years 1789 and 1793 with a Preliminary Account of the Rise, Progress, and Present State of the Fur Trade of that Country* (London: R. Noble, Old Bailey, 1801): p. 52.

12.  Alexander Mackenzie to Roderic McKenzie, fall 1786 (n.d.), in Roderic McKenzie "'Reminiscences' by the Honorable Roderic McKenzie Being Chiefly a Synopsis of Letters from Sir Alexander Mackenzie," Louis R.F. Masson, ed., *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*, pp. 7–66 (New York: Antiquarian Press, [1889–1890] 1960): p. 16 (based on the correspondence between Alexander Mackenzie and Roderic McKenzie, 1786–1816, Masson Collection, MG 19 C1, vol. 32, 32A, LAC).

13.  For examples of pipes being referred to as small parts of a day's journey, see Colonel George Landmann, *Adventures and Recollections of Colonel Landmann, Late of the Corps of Royal Engineers*, 2 vols. (London: Colburn and Co., 1852): p. 1:309; Robert Michael Ballantyne, *Hudson Bay; or, Everyday Life in North America During Six Years' Residence in the Territories of the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1848): p. 76; and Anna Brownell Murphy Jameson, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*, 3 vols. (London: Saunder and Otley, 1838): p. 3:319–20. On singing, see George Heriot, *Travels Through the Canadas, Containing a Description of the Picturesque Scenery on Some of the Rivers and Lakes; with an Account of the Productions, Commerce, and Inhabitants of those Provinces* (Philadelphia: M. Carey, 1813): p. 247; Peter Grant, "The Sauteux Indians about 1804," pp. 2:307–366, *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*, p. 2:313; and Georg Johann Kohl, *Kitchi-Gami: Life Among the Lake Superior Ojibway*, Lascelles Wraxall, trans., and introduction by Robert E. Beider (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, [1859] 1985): pp. 255–56.

14.  Robert Wheeler, Walter Kenyon, Alan Woolworth, and Douglas Birk, *Voices from the Rapids: An Underwater Search for Fur Trade Artifacts, 1960–1973* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Archaeology Series no. 3, 1975).

15.  For an introduction to using material traces in landscape as historical evidence, see William J. Turkel, "Every Place is an Archive: Environmental History and the Interpretation of Physical Evidence," *Rethinking History* 10 no. 2 (June 2006): pp. 259–76.

16.  Ross Cox, *Adventures on the Columbia River, Including the Narrative of a Residence of Six Years on the Western Side of the Rocky Mountains, Among Various Tribes of Indians Hitherto Unknown: Together With a Journey Across the American Continent* (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley in 2 vols., 1831, and New York: J. & J. Harper in 1 vol., 1832): p. 278.

17.  Edward Umfreville, "Journal of a Passage in a Canoe from Pais Plat in Lake Superior to Portage de L'Isle in Rivière Ouinipique," June to July 1784, Masson Collection, MG 19 C1, vol. 55, reel C-15640, LAC, pp. 12–13, 17–19, 25.

18.  Cox, *Adventures on the Columbia River*, pp. 237, 239, 252–53.

19.  George Nelson's diary of events on a journey from Fort William to Cumberland House, July 21 to August 22, 1822; July 23, 24 and 27, 1822; August 6, 11 and 18–20, 1822; S13, Baldwin Room, Toronto Metropolitan Reference Library.

20.  Such as Derreaud's Rapid, named after a voyageur of that name who broke his canoe in it. "The Diary of John Macdonell," (June 24, 1783), Charles Gates, ed., *Five Fur Traders of the Northwest* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1965): p. 84.

21. Mackenzie, *Voyages from Montreal*, June 5, 1789, pp. 138–39.

22. Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997): pp. 5–6.

23. Daniel Williams Harmon, *Sixteen Years in Indian Country: The Journal of Daniel Williams Harmon, 1800–1816*, (May 24, 1800), W. Kaye Lamb, ed. (Toronto: Macmillan, 1957): p. 17.

24. The other six anointing of the sick are communion, confession, confirmation, marriage, ordination, and anointing of the sick.

25. For an overview of mock baptisms, see Carolyn Podruchny, "Baptizing Novices: Ritual Moments Among French Canadian Voyageurs in the Montreal Fur Trade, 1780–1821," *Canadian Historical Review* 83 no. 2 (June 2002): pp. 165–95; and Podruchny, *Making the Voyageur World*, pp. 58–64.

26. "The Diary of John Macdonell," (August 11, 1793): pp. 99–100.

27. Alexander Henry (the Elder), *Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories Between the Years 1760 and 1776* (Edmonton: M.G. Hurtig, 1969): pp. 25–26; Harmon, *Sixteen Years in Indian Country*, (April 30, 1800): pp. 11–12; Heriot, *Travels Through the Canadas*, pp. 251–52; Journal from Michilimackinac to Montreal via the French River, summer 1813, approx. July 23, 1813, Angus Mackintosh Papers, MU 1956, Box 4, Ontario Archives (OA), pp. 13–14; and Robert Seaborne Miles' Journal, 1818–1819, June 3, 1818, Hudson's Bay Company Collection, MU 139, OA, p. 6. Also see map in Eric Morse, *Fur Trade Canoe Routes of Canada/Then and Now* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969): p. 68.

28. Chevalier de Troyes, *Journal de l'Expedition du Chevalier de Troyes a la Baie d'Hudson, en 1686*, L'Abbé Ivanhoe Caron, ed. (Beauceville: La Compagnie de 'L'Éclaireur,' 1918), 15 mai 1686 (my translation). The original French is "Nos françois ont coustume de baptiser en cet endroit ceux qui n'y ont point encore passé."

29. "Chalk River," Map 1132A, Surficial Geology (Ottawa: Geological Survey of Canada, 1962).

30. Umfreville, "Journal of a Passage in a Canoe," June–July 1784, July 22, 1784, p. 25; "The Diary of John Macdonell," August 11, 1793, pp. 99–100; and Alexander Henry (the Younger), *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest: The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry* (July 24, 1800), Eliot Coues, ed. (Minneapolis: Ross and Haines, 1897): p. 1:11. Also see Grace Lee Nute, *The Voyageur's Highway: Minnesota's Borderland* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1941): pp. 48–49, and the map on p. 4; and Grace Lee Mute, *The Voyageur* (New York: Appleton, 1931): pp. 66–67.

31. *Historical Atlas of Canada, Volume 1: From the Beginning to 1800*, R. Cole Harris, ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), Plate 63. Alexander Mackenzie marks the portage over this height of land as 679 paces in Mackenzie, "A General History of the Fur Trade," p. 57.

32. George Simpson, *Journal of Occurrences in the Athabaska Department by George Simpson, 1820–1821, and report* (September 13, 1820), E.E. Rich, ed., with a foreword by Lord Tweedsmuir and an introduction by Chester Martin (Toronto: The Champlain Society and Hudson's Bay Company Record Society, 1938): pp. 36–37, as cited by Edith Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company: Work, Discipline, and Conflict in the Hudson's Bay Company, 1770–1879* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1997): pp. 131–32, n. 56; and John Henry Lefroy, "Lefroy to Isabella, McKenzie's River, Fort Simpson, April 29, 1844," *In Search of the Magnetic North: A Soldier-Surveyor's Letters from the North-West, 1843–1844*, George F.G. Stanley, ed. (Toronto: Macmillan, 1955): pp. 116–17; and "Canada: Écoulement Fluvial," *L'Atlas National du Canada*, 5th ed. (Ottawa: Environment Canada; Energy, Mines and Resources, 1993).

33. Mackenzie, *Voyages from Montreal*, pp. 89–90.

34. Captain John Franklin, *Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea in the Years 1819, 20, 21 and 22* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1824): pp. 118–20.

35. "The Diary of John Macdonell," Gates, ed., *Five Fur Traders*, p. 85.

36. "Louvigny de Montigny, study in *Transactions de la Société royale* Section I (1954), as cited by Marius Barbeau, "La Complainte de Cadieux, Coureur de Bois (ca. 1709)," *Journal of American Folklore* 67 (1954: pp. 163–83): pp. 178–79.

37. "'No. 1,' written as a reminiscence, describing a journey from Montreal to Grand Portage, and at Folle Avoine," April 27, 1802–April 1803, George Nelson's Journal, S12, Baldwin Room, Toronto Metropolitan Reference Library, pp. 11–12.

38. Marius Barbeau, "La Complainte de Cadieux," p. 178.

39. Dr. John J. Bigsby, *The Shoe and the Canoe or Pictures of Travel in the Canada*, 2 vols. (London: Chapman and Hall, 1850): pp. 1:154, 155–56.

40. Centre de recherché en civilization canadienne-française, P76/1/3, fos. 18–19, Fonds Louis-Guillaume Lévesque, Université d'Ottawa.

41. Louvigny de Monigny, study in *Transactions de la Société royale* Section I (1954) as cited by Marius Barbeau, "La Complainte de Cadieux," p. 180.

42. Kohl, *Kitchi-Gami*, pp. 261–65.

43. On Ste. Anne as the patron saint of New France, see Thérèse Beaudoin, *L'Été dans la culture Québécoise, XVII$^e$ – XIX$^e$ siècles* (Québec: Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, Documents de recherche no. 10, 1987): p. 168. On voyageurs paying homage to Ste. Anne before they set out on fur brigades, see Mackenzie, "A General History of the Fur Trade," pp. 35–36; also see Autobiographical Notes of John McDonald of Garth, 1791–1815, written in 1859, Photostat, 15 June 1791, MG 19 A17, LAC, p. 15 (original at Rare Books and Special Collections Division of McGill University Libraries MS 406 and typescript at MU 1763, OA); Henry (the Elder), *Travels and Adventures in Canada*, p. 16; Heriot, *Travels Through the Canadas*, p. 248; and "'Reminiscences' by the Honorable Roderic McKenzie Being Chiefly a Synopsis of Letter from Sir Alexander Mackenzie," p. 1:7.

44. Jean Charles Taché, *Forestiers et Voyageurs: Mœrs et Légendes Canadiennes*, Edition populair (Montréal: Libraire Saint-Joseph, 1884): pp. 164–76.

45. Barbeau, "La Complainte de Cadieux."

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