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David Thompson's Writing of His *Travels*: The Genetics of an Emerging Exploration Text

by

William Edgar Moreau

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Graduate Department of English
University of Toronto

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Abstract

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Doctor of Philosophy, 1997

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This thesis is a textual study of the *Travels* of David Thompson (1770-1857). The *Travels* describes Thompson's activities as a surveyor and fur trader between 1784 and 1812 and also treats of the geography, history and Native peoples of the West; it is steadily gaining appreciation as one of the finest works in early Canadian literature.

But despite growing recognition of the *Travels'* importance, the work is still poorly understood. Composed between 1845 and 1850, it exists in multiple draft versions and was left unfinished. While it has been edited for publication three times, by J.B. Tyrrell (1916), Richard Glover (1962) and Victor Hopwood (1971), none of these editions adequately reflects the text that Thompson wrote.

The main undertaking of this thesis is to study the *Travels* manuscript itself. Using the methods of textual analysis and genetic criticism, the thesis describes the work's genesis and development, first assessing the five definable states in which the *Travels* existed during the years of composition, and then looking at the evolution of several specific areas of the text: opening passages, writings on the Cree, the versions of Thompson's 1811 journey to the Pacific, an essay on the Plains and the final material composed in 1850.

This analysis of the text's evolution casts new light on several of the critical problems that the *Travels* presents, including shifts in authorial voice, an often disjunctive structure and a perceived lack of a unity. The thesis argues that these characteristics stem from the author's dual persona of surveyor and storyteller, and from the differing, and not always complementary, narrative strategies and organizational schemes which he employed over the course of composition. The struggle to understand the essential nature of the work reflects a problem of assimilation that Thompson himself never fully resolved.

The thesis then returns to the problems of editing Thompson. It examines in detail the editions of Tyrrell, Glover and Hopwood, and concludes by considering how scholarly editing might better serve this key work.

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ONE

The Tale of the Text

The *Travels* of David Thompson (1770-1857) is gradually attaining a place of preeminence in the canon of early Canadian literature.[1] The *Travels* is valued for several qualities: its historical significance, topical breadth, literary excellence and intellectual content, and its author's sharp, empirical approach to phenomena. At the most basic level, the text is an account of some of Thompson's activities as a fur trader and surveyor with the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company in western North America. The events described in the narrative stretch from Thompson's arrival at Churchill Factory in 1784 to his retirement from the fur trade in 1812. Yet Thompson's own experiences comprise only one of the text's many elements, for he also writes extensively on the geography, natural history and Native peoples of the areas in which he worked. A rich array of topics concerned with

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[1] Thompson's text is referred to in this study as the *Travels*. Both J.B. Tyrrell and Richard Glover called it Thompson's *Narrative*, and most writers have followed this usage, but Thompson himself referred to the work in his journals as "My Travels;" I follow the practice of the author.

western North America falls under Thompson's gaze, from the smallpox epidemic of 1781-1782 to caribou migrations, and from ancient copper mines to the Sasquatch.

Beyond its historical significance, the *Travels* is a distinguished literary work. Thompson's account is not dryly descriptive, but at its best provides a vivid and revealing account of his own life and an analytical engagement with places, people and events that is suffused with a restless spirit of inquiry. Thompson applies his intellectual talents to some of the central questions of his time, such as the origin of the North American Natives and the relationship between natural history and scriptural revelation.

The recognition of Thompson's literary significance began in 1965 with the appearance of the *Literary History of Canada*, the first comprehensive survey of the nation's literary heritage and a text which greatly influenced the nascent field of Canadian literary studies. Carl Klinck wrote in his editor's introduction that the early chapters on voyagers and explorers and their writings were needed "to supply the framework, to show how the Old World grew in knowledge of the New..." (xii). Victor Hopwood, author of two of the chapters, went further by stating that "the proto-form of our still largely unwritten foundation literature is the record of our explorers, fur traders and pioneers" (19). Subsequent anthologists, critics and

literary historians have placed the writings of the explorers at the beginning of Canadian literary culture, while major anthologies of Canadian literature have typically included extracts from exploration texts. In 1993 there appeared the first anthology dedicated solely to this body of work, Germaine Warkentin's *Canadian Exploration Literature.*

Non-fictional narratives of travel and exploration hover near the centre of literary discourse, and their influence is evident in canonical texts by such writers as Defoe, Swift, Smollett, Coleridge and Conrad. In the Canadian context, exploration writing has directly informed Rudy Wiebe's *A Discovery of Strangers*, George Bowering's *Burning Water*, Margaret Atwood's short story "The Age of Lead," and poems by Bliss Carman, Lionel Kearns, Don Gutteridge and John Newlove. But only recently has travel and exploration writing been seen as literature in its own right. Post-structuralist theory in general has taught us that "non-fictional" texts employ the same rhetorical strategies and linguistic codes as "fictional" or "poetic" ones, while New Historicism in particular emphasizes the relationship between culture, history and text. Under such conditions literary study of exploration texts can flourish.

In 1967 Maurice Hodgson produced the first such appreciation of the genre as a whole, entitled "The Exploration Journal as Literature." Hodgson presented his

article as "an attempt to uncover a fresh literary genre in a field which is investigated principally by the historian or the geographer" (4), and went on to examine the work of Pierre-Esprit Radisson, Henry Kelsey, Alexander Mackenzie, Samuel Hearne and Thompson. T.D. MacLulich was the next to engage overtly in this kind of generalized study, with his 1979 article "Canadian Exploration as Literature," in which he demonstrated that exploration texts follow a set of literary conventions.

Thus the literary nature of Canadian exploration writings is no longer seriously questioned. W.J. Keith wrote in his survey *Canadian Literature in English* (1985) that "we detect the first clear signs of literary activity in English Canada in the work of travellers and explorers," and he claimed that these figures "helped indirectly but palpably to initiate a Canadian literary tradition" (13). Not only are the writings of explorers now regarded as literary works, but they are often seen as the formative texts *par excellence* of Canadian literature. In 1982 Germaine Warkentin wrote in the *Oxford Companion to Canadian Literature* that exploration texts "hold the same place in [Canadian] literary heritage as theological treatises and captivity narratives do in early American literature" (249). In the same year Donna Brown and Russell Bennett wrote in the introduction to their *Anthology of Canadian Literature in English* that Canada's early writers, including Hearne and

Thompson, "record the first stages of [the Canadian] quest for myth [and]...have become myth-makers and even mythic figures" (xii).[2]

In her 1982 *Companion* entry Warkentin had isolated Thompson, Hearne, Mackenzie, Alexander Henry and John Franklin as the foremost exploration writers, and Keith removed only the last figure from his own list of greats. Both then promoted Thompson above the others in this select crew. Keith simply stated that Thompson was "the best" of the travellers and explorers, while Warkentin contended in *Canadian Exploration Literature* that Thompson's was "the best writing, of whatever sort, in Canada before the twentieth century" (xviii). Thompson's only serious rival has been Hearne but, aside from the account of the Bloody Fall massacre, little in the *Journey to the Northern Ocean* has stirred the literary imagination or caught the eye of anthologists.

Thompson's incisive, scientific approach and vivid prose animate the entire *Travels*. Such prose has earned his text, well-known to historians for almost a century, growing appreciation as one of the finest early expressions of the Canadian experience. And yet, despite growing critical

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[2] Nor is this a peculiarly Canadian phenomenon. Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca's *La relación* (1542), the story of an eight-year odyssey through what is now the southern United States and northern Mexico, has recently been posited by Juan Bruce-Novoa as the foundation text of Mexican-American literature.

interest in the *Travels*, we have but seen this text as through a glass, darkly. This is because of the deeply flawed nature of its editions. J.B. Tyrrell, who had bought the manuscript in 1895, edited a Champlain Society edition published in 1916, entitled *David Thompson's Narrative of His Explorations in Western America, 1784-1812*. Tyrrell cut the contents of scores of manuscript pages, silently altered much of the spelling, punctuation and grammar of the original, and gave scant indication of the fact that the material was drawn from multiple manuscript drafts. The Champlain Society produced a second edition of the *Travels* in 1962, edited by Richard Glover, with the shortened title of *David Thompson's Narrative, 1784-1812*. Glover neither re-edited the text of the first edition, retaining even obvious errors of transcription, nor did he restore the contents of those pages which Tyrrell had cut. In 1971 Victor Hopwood compiled a popular edition of selections from the text, entitled *Travels in Western North America, 1784-1812*. Hopwood's was the unkindest cut of all; even less of the contents of the manuscript appeared, emendations were more intrusive and extensive, and the text was contaminated by much non-*Travels* material.

What, then, *is* the *Travels*? Thompson's manuscripts fall into two groups: his notebooks and the holograph pages of the *Travels* itself. The former number eighty-three, and are housed at the Archives of Ontario. Kept by Thompson

between 1789 and 1851, they contain such diverse items as astronomical observations, traverse tables, descriptions of water courses, daily journals, rough drafts of correspondence and journalism and miscellaneous notes on a variety of subjects. The 716 closely-written *Travels* pages are now housed in two collections in Toronto. The bulk of the manuscript is found at the University of Toronto's Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library,[3] but twenty-nine sheets became separated from the main part of the manuscript and were only discovered in 1957, at the Archives of Ontario with Thompson's notebooks.[4]

The manuscript of the *Travels* is not a clearly delineated and univocal text: Thompson's ink, handwriting and paper vary, it is apparent that he made extensive revision and rearrangement of the manuscript, some material appears in more than one version, and, while some sheets are bound, most are loose bifolias or single sheets. Most importantly, the *Travels* was left unfinished at Thompson's death.

Why, then, does the *Travels* remain problematic? Though

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[3] Toronto. University of Toronto, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library. MS 21. David Thompson Papers.

[4] Toronto. Archives of Ontario. MS 25. David Thompson Papers. Notebook 83, page 19. Hereafter, references to this collection will be made in the following format: "83:19." These two figures refer to the notebook and page numbers respectively of Thompson's notebooks. The discovery of the misplaced twenty-nine pages is described in Hopwood's two articles of 1957, "New Light on David Thompson" and "More Light on David Thompson."

the manuscript itself raises several conundrums, as I have hinted, it is not the chief source of the difficulties surrounding the work. Rather, the main problem is reflected in the bibliographical and biographical gaps that remain in the published record on Thompson; the manuscript has never been fully or accurately described, and the record of Thompson's life during the years of its composition, 1846-1850, is sketchy at best. We might expect that such information, while unpublished, might at least have informed the presentation and interpretation of the work. Such has not been the case, as my brief account of the three editions has shown, and as I will explore at greater length in chapter 10.

Several pieces of the text which have never appeared in print are of vital historical, cultural and geographical interest; these include passages on such topics as bison hunting, locusts, the igloo and the origin of the Metis. Where the published text is concerned, scores of substantive errors introduced by Tyrrell have never been recovered. For example, on page IV.8 Thompson writes that Hearne had spoken to him after a Sunday "sermon"; Tyrrell's mistranscription of the word as "service" endures not only in Glover's edition, but also in Hopwood's and in Warkentin's anthology. Finally, there is little awareness that much of the material in the editions also exists in parallel unpublished passages, which often differ significantly from those which

have appeared in print.

The effects of the existing editions have thus been grave, not only for scholarship devoted to Thompson himself, but also for the hundreds of works which have employed the *Travels* as a primary source, from Harold Adams Innis' *The Fur Trade in Canada*, to John Warkentin's *The Western Interior of Canada*, to articles in the *National Geographic* magazine. Instances in which these works have cited Thompson's original manuscript are rare indeed; instead, they derive almost exclusively from the incomplete and textually corrupt published record. Furthermore, the work of Thompson's editors has frustrated and compromised literary interpretation of the *Travels*; a text that is disjunctive, multivocal and often tentative has been offered to the public as though it were unitary and finished. There is, then, no sense in which we can consider the presentation of *Travels* to be an accomplished task, and Canadian studies are the worse off for it.

The recovery of this exceptional text involves several steps. First we need to get closer to Thompson the man, to the *Travels* manuscript itself, and to the process of composition. This study begins, then, with the origins and evolution of the text. The next step is to show how this basic information about the text and its development can yield new insights into its critical interpretation. To this end I apply this information first to several specific

areas of the narrative, and then to the work as a whole. This task demands that we defer consideration of the editions of the *Travels* themselves, which, because they have such severe limitations, are more properly understood in the context of the text's reception. We must clean the canvas of later accretions, and so return to the narrative as Thompson wrote it, and not as it has been mediated. At the same time, we cannot fully judge the quality of the editions until we have seen of what the original manuscript consists. Only when the *Travels* has been seen for what it is can we return to examine what some have made it. Accordingly, this study will culminate in a critical assessment of the three editions and a consideration of future editorial possibilities.

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At this point it is fitting to turn to the body of scholarly work on Thompson, in order to expand on some of the general points I have just raised. While Tyrrell hailed Thompson as "the greatest practical land geographer that the world has produced" (Introduction xxxii) and Hopwood as "the foundation mythmaker of the Canadian West" (Introduction 34), his contributions had been virtually forgotten by the end of his own life. Thompson and his narrative began to receive attention only in the late nineteenth century, and the existing work falls into four general categories: editions of and extracts from the *Travels*, editions of

Thompson's journals, biographies and journal articles.

In addition to the editions of Tyrrell, Glover and Hopwood already noted, passages from the *Travels* have appeared in several general surveys of Canadian literature and in such specialized works as Warkentin's *Canadian Exploration Literature*. Thompson's daily journals have been the basis for four major editions. In 1897 Elliott Coues edited those portions which relate to the journals of Alexander Henry the Younger, while subsequent editions have been devoted to particular geographical areas: between 1914 and 1932 T.C. Elliott edited material related to the American Pacific Northwest, in 1950 M. Catherine White performed the same task for journal entries relating to Montana, and in 1994 Barbara Belyea presented Thompson's journal entries on the Columbia River. Thompson's journals relating to his visit to the Mandan villages and his first attempt to cross the Rockies have also been edited for publication. While the majority of research has been bio-historical, six pieces vary from this pattern: the two articles of 1957 in which Hopwood described his discovery of missing parts of the manuscript, and four literary studies, by Hopwood, MacLulich, Germaine Warkentin and I.S. MacLaren.

Broadly speaking, this published record approaches Thompson in one of two ways. The first and most voluminous body of work uses the *Travels* as a historical and biographical primary source, while the second, more recent

body of work regards the narrative more as a literary text. I want to examine in particular how the published record treats three specific areas of prime concern to this study: bibliography of the *Travels* manuscript, the biography of Thompson's later years and literary interpretation of the narrative.

Bibliographic work on the *Travels* has usually been confined to vague generalizations. Coues, the first to write on the text, foresaw a project which still has not been performed systematically when he noted that the manuscript "would prove very valuable should it be checked...by comparison with his original journals" (xxiii). In his 1916 preface Tyrrell made the first attempt to understand the genesis of the text. He stated that the manuscript was written when Thompson was about 70 (c.1840), that Thompson used his notebooks as source material and that parts of the narrative were "written twice in somewhat different form" (Preface xv, xvii). Tyrrell only described the physical state of the manuscript when it affected his transmission of the text; for example, he indicated the loss of words due to frayed edges and the presence of certain disjunctions in content which resulted from missing pages.

Glover wrote that the *Travels* was written "largely from...journals" and that "much of the book was written twice over...two drafts of many chapters survive" (Introduction lxv-lxvi). He tentatively placed the

composition of the manuscript between 1844 and 1850, using internal evidence such as parenthetical notations and references to other works (Introduction lxvii). Glover's only real attempt to date manuscript material precisely was in reference to pages 27a-zd, Hopwood's 1957 discovery, and the evidence he used is directly dependent on Hopwood's own work.

Hopwood's introduction shows evidence of careful work with Thompson's journals and with the manuscript of the *Travels*, and he provided both a rudimentary analysis of the development of the text and an awareness, though generalized and vague, of the sequence of various draft versions. He stated that Thompson's method when writing the *Travels* was to write from journal accounts, cutting technical information while expanding observations and description of events, but unfortunately offered no illustration of this process. He also claimed that successive drafts of the work lessen description and increase narration, but again failed to offer textual or bibliographic evidence to support his assertion (Introduction 35-36).

Despite a wealth of published material on Thompson's activities in the fur trade, the biographical account for the years when the *Travels* was composed is scanty. The introductions to the editions of Tyrrell and Glover largely concern the period of time covered by the narrative. Tyrrell emphasized Thompson's strong moral character, piety,

technical skill as a surveyor and dedication to his employers, culminating in the claim that he lived "the white flower of a blameless life" (Introduction lviii). Glover wrote against Tyrrell's "beatification of a historical character" (Introduction xii), structuring his introduction around a revisionist reading of four specific episodes from Thompson's years in the West. This introduction has been the most audible salvo in a battle on Thompson's personal character that has been going on among historians for over sixty years, and Glover's accusations of cowardice and dishonesty have been tenacious.[5]

Twelve biographical studies of Thompson have been produced.[6] Three by Tyrrell are of a piece with the introduction to his edition, while the other nine derive most of their material from the editions of the *Travels*. Consequently, biographers tend to devote the most attention to Thompson's years in the West, treating the last half of

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[5] While Glover's account is the fullest expression of the case against Thompson, it has its roots in the work of the historian A.S. Morton, who had cast aspersions on Thompson's character in articles which appeared in the *Canadian Historical Review* in 1936 and 1937. Most historians who have written on Thompson since the appearance of Glover's introduction have felt compelled to respond to its accusations. An excellent summary of the debate may be found in Barbara Belyea's 1990 article "The 'Columbian Enterprise' and A.S. Morton."

[6] Chronologically, they are as follows: Tyrrell, *A Brief Narrative*; Tyrrell, *David Thompson, Explorer*; Tyrrell, *David Thompson, Canada's Greatest Geographer*; Cochrane; Morton, *David Thompson*; Hubert; Kerry Wood; Landell; James K. Smith; Nicks; Garrod; Nisbet.

his life in cursory fashion, usually in a short concluding chapter.[7]

Thompson's life after 1836 is very poorly understood; this is significant for my study because it was during these later years that he conceived of and wrote the *Travels*. Most published information for this period of Thompson's life is ultimately derived from the work of Tyrrell, whose sources included some of Thompson's descendants, most fruitfully his daughter Mary (referred to in Tyrrell's account as Mrs. George Shaw); he also made use of some of Thompson's daily journal entries. But Tyrrell used this resource selectively to paint a picture of an indigent and pathetic old man, concentrating on such details as Thompson's sale of his instruments and his coat. The twin themes of poverty and obscurity run through virtually every subsequent biographical account.[8]

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[7] Many of these texts are written in standard series formats and/or for a juvenile audience, contain little original research and make a scant contribution to scholarship. The works of John Nicks and Jack Nisbet differ from the standard derivative fare. Nicks' entry on Thompson in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* is a reasoned and succinct summary of the life drawn both from published and manuscript sources, while Nisbet's *Sources of the River*, more popular than scholarly, moves between biographical sketches of Thompson and accounts of Nisbet's own experiences in the lands through which Thompson travelled. In addition to the twelve general biographies, specialized biographical studies have been produced by Rowland Bond and Marion R. Smith.

[8] Indeed, Tyrrell's account of Thompson's sale of his coat is an index of how derivative most subsequent biographies are. Thompson recorded this incident in his journal entry of 9 February 1844: "Having nothing to

In three paragraphs devoted to Thompson's life after 1840, Hopwood noted the interest Thompson took in the Oregon Question, emphasizing less his isolation than his engagement in the political questions of the time. Hopwood provided little information on the period after 1846, merely stating that Thompson wrote his *Travels* at this time. Thompson's journal entries end in 1851, and no information about the six years that elapsed before his death in 1857 has appeared in any published record.

Thompson's early editors made general comments on the qualities of his text, but offered no sustained appreciation of its most fundamental literary characteristics. Coues called the *Travels* "a summary autobiography which Thompson wrote very late in life" (xxiii); Tyrrell read Thompson's text as "a general account of his travels and of the people and things encountered by him" (Introduction xvi); White offered the wish that it had been written "before poverty and old age took their toll" (cxlvi); while Glover distinguished it from other works by its temporal,

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maintain my family, in the evening pawned my only good Coat...& thus have the means of support for 1 Week" (AO. 83:19). This entry has been circled, presumably by Tyrrell, for in his account he noted: "[Thompson] was so poor that he had...even to pawn his coat to procure food for himself and family" (Introduction liii). This incident is pathetically embedded in later works; Charles Cochrane wrote that Thompson was "forced...even to pawn his coat in order to buy a little food" (165), James Smith that "...he was obliged to sell some of his clothing...to procure money for food" (106), and Nicks that "once he even had to pawn his coat" (883).

geographical and thematic scope and called Thompson "a first-class story teller" (Introduction lxxi).

Literary interpretation of Thompson's text began to mature with Victor Hopwood's 1968 essay "David Thompson: Mapmaker and Mythmaker," which became part of the introduction to his edition of the *Travels* and which remains the most important general treatment of the text. In his essays "The Explorer as Sage" (1976) and "Canadian Exploration as Literature" (1979), MacLulich analyzed the structure of the *Travels*, while in her 1980 profile of Thompson Germaine Warkentin first claimed the text as literature, then went on to enumerate and illustrate its defining qualities. I.S. MacLaren's 1984 essay "David Thompson's Imaginative Mapping of the Canadian Northwest" belongs to his body of work on landscape aesthetics in Canadian exploration texts. MacLaren studied Thompson's response to the landscape as recorded in the *Travels*, and showed how an imaginative and mythic view of the land is combined with a more empirical and scientific perspective. Finally, Barbara Belyea set off in a new direction in the introduction to *Columbia Journals* by linking the qualities of Thompson's journals and his narrative with their respective intended audiences.

Several key points have recurred in this body of critical discourse, and these are worthy of close attention. Critics have noted that the text is repetitive and

discursive, shifts subjects abruptly, and is frequently marked by an uneasy balance between narration and description. The *Travels* is also seen as polyphonic, as the author alternates between the expository, descriptive prose of a scientist and the vivid narration of a storyteller, slips into the voices of Native figures, undercuts his own discourse and juxtaposes Native and European modes of interpretation.

These problems of literary interpretation all centre around apparent disjunctions, which correspond to the areas of style, structure and unity. Hopwood and Warkentin have paid closest attention to the stylistic qualities of Thompson's writing, and have characterized it as combining humour and colloquial vitality with empirical, scientific clarity. Hopwood also offered a list of possible stylistic models for Thompson's writing, including the rather broad category "seventeenth and eighteenth century prose" (Introduction 21).

Two critical questions are related to stylistic disjunctions. First, there is disparity within the *Travels* itself; as Warkentin noted, Thompson "often moves with unexpected rapidity from the factual descriptiveness of the scientific observer to the colourful recreation of fur trade life..." ("David Thompson" 4). Thompson's treatment of many subjects is marked by the often jarring juxtaposition of the prose of objective exposition and subjective narration.

Second, there is the contrast between the vivid and sharp style of the *Travels* and the monotony of Thompson's journals and field notes. Comparing Thompson's journals to the *Travels*, Belyea read the latter text as "Thompson's adaptation of his professional journals for "the general reader"" (Introduction xvi), and used this distinction to explain stylistic differences between journals and narrative.

One aspect of the *Travels* that has not received as much critical attention is the multiplicity of voices present in the text. Not only is Thompson's own voice heard in a variety of stylistic modes, but on several occasions the author records the words of other figures; for example, his writings on both the 1781-1782 smallpox epidemic and the history of the Piegan nation contain long passages explicitly narrated by the fur trader Mitchell Oman and the Piegan elder Saukamappee respectively. On a more subtle level, the attentive reader can discern more sources of polyphony; at one point Thompson acknowledges his wife as a source (a reference later suppressed), and he often takes up the Cree perspective when writing of other Native groups.[9]

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[9] Thompson displays a greater affinity for the Cree than for any other Native (or non-Native) group. His admiration for their generally peaceful nature and their retention of a religious and moral system is obvious, and when he describes an Iroquois attempt to humiliate a group of Cree hunters he states "I felt for my old friends." While he refers to the Cree by their own name, "Nahathaway," he uses the Cree appellation "Chipewyan" rather than "Dene" for their northern neighbours, and his account of this

Most writers on Thompson have commented on the *Travels'* fragmentary structure, including both the narrow topical units which make up the text and the broader patterns of the work as a whole. Of the former, Hopwood remarked that the text is composed in "anecdotal units" (Introduction 25) and Warkentin that Thompson gathered material into "units which consider a single coherent problem" ("David Thompson" 4). Of the latter, Hopwood identified four broad movements based on chronology and geography. This division into chronology and geography has in turn been employed by Warkentin and MacLulich; Warkentin stated that the *Travels* is organized from youth to maturity and from east to west, MacLulich that the two movements are Thompson's "initiation into the ways of the wilderness" and a geographically-organized exposition of Native ways of life. As with style, the critics have sensed an uneasy balance between description and narration, and examination of the text's broader structure necessarily shades into the issue of its unity, which has been the most debated literary aspect of the text.[10]

The introduction to Hopwood's edition best reflects the

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latter group is strongly coloured by the Cree's own prejudices.

[10] Inconsistent library cataloguing practise reflects this generic instability. In the University of Toronto system, copies of the three editions of the *Travels* are scattered about in various nooks of the Library of Congress classification system: biographies related to the Northwest Territories 1760-1821 (F 1060.7 or FC 3212.1), description of the Canadian Northwest (F 5604) and histories of the Hudson's Bay Company (F 5622).

problem. Hopwood first called the *Travels* "a factual, comprehensive account of the land and its peoples" (Introduction 3), emphasizing the descriptive, but later termed it "an archetypal adventure story" in which the unifying strand is the "revelation of the author" (Introduction 15), emphasizing the narrative. In the end Hopwood was unable to resolve the disparity, and saw the lack of assimilation of description with narrative as a failing.

MacLulich, Warkentin and Belyea have entered the debate from different vantage points. MacLulich asserted that Thompson envisioned his text as an autobiography and "anatomy of life" and considered how Thompson would choose to structure such an account. He concluded by claiming that the text is unitary and he attempted to justify its polygeneric nature by arguing that its various strands contribute to a single authorial vision. According to MacLulich, because Thompson wanted to tell the story of his own life within the context of the land, its peoples and the history of the fur trade, he de-emphasized narrative and stressed description.[11] MacLulich would have had all digressions under strict authorial control, and so saw the

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[11] MacLulich made much the same point in his general essay "Canadian Exploration as Literature." MacLulich called the *Travels* an "odyssean" account, and stated that "an odyssean explorer must choose his own thematic focus, and must organize a mass of details in a way that is both consistent and interesting" (81).

text's organizing principle neither as unity of plot nor of subject, but rather as "unity of vision."

Warkentin's analysis was informed by a basic awareness of the textual condition of the *Travels*, and like MacLulich she sought an organizing principle behind the text. She concluded that the text is shaped fundamentally by "the passionate activity of Thompson's mind" ("David Thompson" 5) which echoed MacLulich's "unity of vision" without seeking to justify the text's polygeneric nature.

Belyea compared the *Travels* to Thompson's journals, reading the former text as written "for a popular audience more interested in adventure than discovery" (Introduction xvi). Belyea used the generic nature of the texts to explain the disparity in the styles of journals and narrative; she claimed that "the autobiographical *Narrative* assumes a continuing personal identity of the "I" who writes and the "me" who is written about...[it] presents the writer as the main textual subject" (Introduction xvi-xvii). Belyea thus privileged the autobiographical, suppressing other aspects of the text to strengthen her case.

But it remains impossible for us to assimilate fully the stylistic, structural and generic characteristics of the *Travels*. In order to understand this problem of assimilation we need to consider the study of travel and exploration writing as a genre. Philip Edwards and Mary Louise Pratt have written two of the finest and most recent

studies of the travel and exploration genre. In *The Story of the Voyage* Edwards wrote of the unresolved rival claims of "entertainment and edification" in the eighteenth-century sea narrative. On the one hand, writers attempted to make a contribution to science by including information on the geography, anthropology and natural history of their destinations, while on the other they sought to provide their readers with an exciting tale of adventure. Edwards claimed that "no writer was really able to solve the problem of serving the two masters and achieve a satisfactory balance between scientific and technical information, and entertainment for the general reader" (7). Pratt touched on the pull of both masters in her influential study *Imperial Eyes*; she first wrote about European travel writers' attempts to classify and systematize the peoples and natural systems of the places they observed (science), and later discussed the writers' use of fantastic embellishment in their accounts of the events that occurred (adventure) (29, 87-88).[12]

This problem of the proper division between science and adventure endures in published works of Canadian exploration. At one extreme is Alexander Henry's *Travels*

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[12] Indeed, the dilemma of assimilation stretches back to the beginnings of the genre in the Western tradition. Strabo prefaced his work by claiming that geography was a branch of scientific enquiry, and then went on to insert dozens of amusing anecdotes about the lands of which he wrote.

and Adventures in Canada (1809), in which incidents of adventure are central, while at the other is George Vancouver's *Voyage of Discovery* (1801), which emphasizes instead the explorer's contribution to learning. Samuel Hearne and John Franklin attempted to court both rivals, but in so doing bisected their texts into chronological narratives of adventure and descriptive appendices on scientific topics. The most telling example is that of Alexander Mackenzie; while the original account had emphasized the author's scientific goals and findings, the revisions of the ghostwriter William Combe displaced science in favour of adventure.

To return then to the *Travels*. If we want to experience the work as an adventure story, we must heighten incident and cut information, as Hopwood did in his construction of an edition. If we want to use it for scientific purposes, we must extract the relevant empirical data from the narrative, as geologists, linguists and ethnohistorians have done. But either act ruptures the text. In fact, the proper balance of information and incident was the central question that Thompson faced as he embarked on his own narrative of exploration, and the critical questions all reflect his incomplete attempt to solve this problem. But to go further in this exploration of critical issues is to anticipate the work of the thesis. Before proceeding with this work, I pause to introduce the

methodology that will be employed.

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Legend holds that Gregory composed the Sacramentary under the direct guidance of the Holy Spirit, who came to him in the form of a dove and whispered the words of the text into his ear. The writing of few works is so uncomplicated. Rather, they emerge from a web of composition, revision, emendation and editing, and the author is only one of many figures involved in the process. Knowledge of these conditions of textual production is vital in understanding the central features of any work, and so my primary task here is to determine the story of the composition of the *Travels*.

In this study I use the *Travels* manuscript and Thompson's daily journal entries to determine when and in what order Thompson wrote the text that has come down to us, and then apply this information to the various critical questions which have just been raised. Genetic criticism offers the most useful methodological framework in which to situate this exercise. Graham Falconer has defined genetic criticism as "any act of interpretation or commentary, any critical question or answer that is based directly on preparatory material or variant states of all or part of a given text, whether in manuscript or in print" (3). Falconer himself used critical problems from Zola's *Germinal* and Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* to illustrate how genetic

criticism can be employed, and while he was not the first to employ this approach he has codified its principles clearly. The mission is to unite the work of the textual scholar and the literary critic.

Of what then might a "genetic study" consist? Works which fit Falconer's definition include J.W. Beach's *The Making of the Auden Canon*, J.P. Levine's "Analysis of the Manuscripts of A *Passage to India*" and Jon Stallworthy's *Between the Lines: Yeats's Poetry in the Making*; Beach looked at changes Auden made to previously published poems when they were brought together for inclusion in his two volumes of collected poetry, Levine studied successive drafts of two key episodes of Forster's novel, and Stallworthy described the process by which Yeats's initial manuscript jottings evolved into the final published pieces.

But these genetic studies were not undertaken merely for the sake of describing the compositional process; instead, the insights gained into this process in turn explicate the text. Levine stated that "To study the MSS of E.M. Forster's *A Passage to India* is to find the novel more comprehensible: problems of plot, theme, method, and characterization are clarified" (284), while Stallworthy noted "...my own understanding of [Yeats'] poems, and my admiration for the craftsmanship of the poet, have increased immeasurably from contact with his manuscripts" (ix). Each critic drew critical conclusions about the works under

scrutiny: Beach read in Auden's excision of certain passages a change in the poet's ideology, Levine brought new perspectives to the attack in the Marabar caves, while Stallworthy used Yeats' revisions of "The Second Coming" to explain that poem's troubling image of the falcon. So, genetic studies can grant us a glimpse of the writer's method and allow us to partake vicariously in the business of composition; in the genetic story of texts lies an enhanced understanding of the characteristics these texts display.

As these three examples indicate, genetic criticism has customarily been applied to works we regard as purely literary. But genetic criticism can obviously be validly applied to any text, conventionally literary or not, which exists in more than one state. Indeed, it is especially suited to exploration texts. Whereas novelists and poets usually envision the final format of their texts from the moment they begin to write, exploration texts go through a number of incarnations before reaching (if they do at all) a finished publishable state, and these pre-texts of exploration writing offer the critic a vast textual base.

Genetic criticism (though usually unacknowledged as such) has been the dominant mode of approaching Canadian exploration and travel literature for the last ten years.[13]

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[13] There are several important bodies of work: Richard C. Davis on John Franklin: "The Reader as Writer," "Thrice-Told Tales," "Vision and Revision," "History or His/Story?"

Germaine Warkentin has referred to an increasing awareness that exploration documents are "incremental" texts which go through several stages of composition (*Canadian Exploration Literature* x), and MacLaren has proposed a four-stage process by which these texts develop: field notes/log book, journal/report, draft manuscript and publishable book-length narrative ("Samuel Hearne's" 25). These four items are not necessarily rungs on the ladder to publication, for the final exploration narrative is by no means inherent in an explorer's earlier journals and field notes, but the four stages help us especially to understand the development of texts like those of Hearne, Mackenzie and Franklin, for which both preliminary and published versions exist.

MacLaren has applied his scheme to Samuel Hearne's accounts of the massacre at Bloody Fall, that most famous of incidents in the corpus of Canadian exploration literature. MacLaren examined three documents: Hearne's field notes, a later transcription called the Stowe MS, and the published narrative, *A Journey to the Northern Ocean* (1795). MacLaren argued that, in preparing the text for the public, Hearne worked up the events surrounding the massacre, related in a cursory manner in the field notes, into a masterpiece of

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and *Sir John Franklin's Journals and Correspondence*; MacLaren on Samuel Hearne: "Samuel Hearne's Accounts,"; and MacLaren on Paul Kane: "Creating Travel Literature," "'I came to rite thare portraits'" and "Metamorphosis." In addition, Germaine Warkentin is working on the manuscripts of Pierre-Esprit Radisson and Barbara Belyea on the four manuscript versions of Anthony Henday's journals.

Gothic horror and dramatic suspense. MacLaren's examination of the accounts led him to the unavoidable conclusion that much of the account Hearne gave to the public is simply a fabrication, or, in MacLaren's terms, "an aesthetically justified lie" (32).

The focus of Richard Davis' essays on the texts of the second Franklin expedition is evident in their titles: "Vision and Revision," "Thrice-Told Tales," and "History or His/Story?" Davis compared three accounts of Franklin's 1825-1827 journey: a daily journal, a slightly altered holograph account of the journal and the published *Narrative of a Second Expedition to the Shores of the Polar Sea* (1828). He argued that Franklin manipulated his account in "a deliberate effort to win the favour of his audience," which had shifted from the Admiralty Office to the general reading public. The manipulations include a new perception of the land as "landscape" and a more condemnatory depiction of Natives. Differences in intended audience explain changes in emphasis from the "context of empirical measurement...to one of conventional landscape aesthetics" ("Vision and Revision" 27). Thus, both MacLaren and Davis used the evolution of their respective texts to show how intended audience changes a writer's emphasis.

Genetic studies can also illuminate the questions of authorship that travel and exploration texts often raise. MacLaren has shown how, in an environment in which

publishers and editors were concerned to fulfil their audience's expectations of given genres, the field notes of some eighteenth and nineteenth-century travellers and explorers were altered radically in subsequent published works. For example, he discovered that much of the draft manuscript of Paul Kane's *Wanderings of an Artist* (1859) had been written in hands other than Kane's, and that the narrative had developed "in ways...not always consonant with each other." So, MacLaren argued, Kane can no longer be regarded as the text's "author," as that term is conventionally understood ("Metamorphosis" 67).

The *Travels* is well-suited to a genetic study for a number of reasons: many parts of it exist in more than one version, and its extratextual sources are diverse, including Thompson's own journals and other works of travel and exploration. While there is no authorship dispute, neither is there a final, definitive published version of the *Travels* endorsed by the author. The unfinished and fragmentary state of the work enhances yet further the value of a genetic study; we must not only seek from whence the text came, but must also consider where it might be bound.

Because of the characteristics of Thompson's text, I find that the concept of genetic criticism as defined by Falconer must be expanded. Alterations and excisions must be examined, but the non-fictional nature and unfinished state of the text mean that attention must be paid to

external sources and to the work of Thompson's editors. For this reason I examine material outside the manuscript of the *Travels* proper and consider the work's post-authorial life (what might more properly be termed "genealogical criticism").

The challenge of undertaking a genetic study of this text is that, like Thompson, we must work both through time (looking at sources of the text and its development over the course of its composition) and across space (the relationship of parts of the text to one another and to the whole, and the comparison of contemporaneous passages). The broad content and loose structure of Thompson's text invite a bewildering number of paths of approach.

My first task is the construction of a new account of Thompson's life during the years surrounding the composition of the *Travels*. I examine such areas as Thompson's employment and domestic situation, his financial and physical condition, his literary activities and his place within Montreal society. With Thompson the biographical must precede the bibliographical, for the text cannot be fully understood without an awareness of the conditions under which it was produced. Existing biographies so emphasize the pathos of Thompson's later years that the intellectual content of the *Travels* seems not to fit with the author, and while writers on Thompson have always been careful to contextualize the events of his early life within

the history of the fur trade, they have rarely performed the same task for the years when he wrote the *Travels*. I bring forward several aspects of Thompson's later life that have received little or no attention in the published record, and this new information helps us to understand both why he began to write his narrative in the first place, and the way that it developed during the years of composition. Whereas Thompson has conventionally been understood as a historical subject, I seek here to uncover his role as a writer.

I then turn to the manuscript of the *Travels* itself. I begin by describing the extant sheets, then move on to determine the sequence of composition and the structure of the several drafts of the *Travels*. Meagre work has been done on the *Travels* manuscript, the text's compositional history or its relationships to other works. While vague statements have been made that Thompson used his journals as raw material and that parts of the text exist in multiple versions, serious study of these aspects of the text has never been undertaken.

I then select individual parts of the manuscript which reflect various aspects of the genesis and evolution of the text, including such topics as working from journals, revision of passages and insertion of new material in pre-existing drafts. These chapter studies cover the temporal range of Thompson's career in the West and his composition of the narrative, and touch on a variety of the topics with

which the *Travels* is concerned. Indeed, these individual studies are like capsules of the thesis as a whole, beginning in manuscript research and moving toward critical problems related to style, structure and unity.

My penultimate task is the application of bibliographical information and genetic insights to the three major issues that have exercised the critical energy of those who have approached the *Travels* as a literary product. Polyphonic, fragmentary and heterogeneous, the *Travels* remains elusive. Though there are notable exceptions, Thompson and his text have usually been examined either from a literary standpoint lacking historical perspective, or from an historical standpoint lacking literary perspective, while bibliographic perspective has been almost entirely absent.

Finally, I look at what has happened to the *Travels* since Thompson stopped working on it in 1850, and so return to the initial problem of mediation with which my study begins. The unfinished and fragmentary nature of the narrative has made it especially open to editorial manipulation, and I examine carefully the work of Tyrrell, Glover and Hopwood, considering especially their approach to the establishment, selection, presentation and explication of the narrative. I conclude by weighing other possible editorial approaches and by proposing some guidelines for a future inclusive edition of the text. Like the text itself,

this biography of the *Travels* moves from the writer to the reader.

The chapter division of the thesis is as follows: Chapter 2 sketches in the biographical context of Thompson's writing of the *Travels*, while chapter 3 contains a description of the extant manuscripts of the text, a summary of its compositional history and an examination of the structure of the various drafts. Chapters 4 to 8 are studies of specific issues related to Thompson's composition of his work, while chapter 9 addresses critical and interpretive issues. Chapter 10 examines the textual afterlife of the *Travels*, including the provenance of the manuscript and the three published editions, and concludes with my consideration of how the *Travels* might be more effectively edited in the future.

I envision this textual biography as a point of departure for more fruitful critical inquiry into Thompson and, by extension, into Canadian exploration texts in general. Thompson studies still await the definitive biography and the critical scholarly edition of the *Travels*, and I hope that the present study may be a resource and directional sign in the future prosecution of these two projects. Now, having placed the thesis in the context of existing scholarly work and described the methodological approach to be employed, let us travel back to Montreal of the 1840s and the setting in which Thompson's text emerged.

TWO

The Road to the *Travels*

The *Travels* is set between 1784 and 1812 in western North America, but 1840s Montreal often emerges to double the text's temporal and spatial framework. We glimpse Thompson's everyday life when he refers to a conversation with "Surgeon Howard of Montreal" on digestion (IV.208), tells of giving old camas roots to Governor Metcalfe (III.217) and mentions "The late Mr Alexander Stuart," who had died in 1840 (III.292).[14] Montreal also acts as the locus of interpretation for Thompson's western experiences; in the account of his 1798 journey down the Assiniboine River he states that "the climate is as mild as Montreal..." (IV.182) while of *Corvus corax* he writes "The British population in Canada call them Crows..." (IV.32). At times Thompson's tale of his activities is inlaid with writings on later political and social situations. For example, after writing of his 1798 stay at Red River, Thompson describes the colony's status in 1848. More subtly, Thompson's acquisition of knowledge between 1812 and 1850 supplements

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[14] These page numbers refer to the *Travels* manuscript in the University of Toronto Library. The pagination conventions of this collection are explained in chapter 3.

his pre-1812 field experience. His description of Lake Superior is informed not only by his 1798 circuit of that body of water, but also by his surveys of the 1820s; likewise, much of the material he includes on such topics as fossil remains, coal deposits and copper mines must have been collected in the 1840s. Finally, he refers to several books of North American travel published between 1812 and 1850.[15]

These characteristics of the text remind the reader of the gap between experience and recollection, events and their narration. But biographers and historians have deemphasized Thompson's post-fur trade career, and the conditions surrounding the composition of the *Travels* have received especially scant attention. The text is usually placed in the framework of the period *about which* Thompson wrote, removed both temporally and physically from that *during which* he wrote. Yet, formalist objections to the biographical and genetic fallacies aside, Thompson's life and the origins of the *Travels* deeply affect our understanding of the text. On a purely practical level, Thompson's health and financial condition explain certain

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[15] These include: Captain William Parry, *Journal of a Voyage for the Discovery of a Northwest Passage...in 1819-20* (1821); Sir John Franklin, *Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea* (1823); John McIntosh, *The Origin of the North American Indians* (1843); R.M. Ballantyne, *Hudson's Bay* (1848); and Lieutenant William Francis Lynch, *Narrative of the United States Expedition to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea* (1849).

manuscript features, such as the conservation of paper and changes in handwriting (and thus the sequentiality of drafts). To add the intentional fallacy to our sins, biographical information also reveals why Thompson began writing in the first place; the *Travels* was not inevitable, and we can trace the emergence of the several preconditions that enabled its production. Further, knowledge of Thompson's activities in 1840s Montreal can help to explain the text's most essential features. The anecdotal brilliance of many passages in the *Travels* is rooted in the oral discourse for which Thompson was renowned, while the analytical precision of other sections of the text reflect his activities as a surveyor and engineer.

My task in this chapter is to merge the tale of the text with that of Thompson's life. I begin by telling the story of the years immediately preceding the writing of the *Travels*, considering especially Thompson's employment and financial status and his position in society. This leads to an examination of how the narrative germinated: I examine Thompson's attempts to gain income from his maps and sketches and trace the steps that led up to his decision to write full-time. I conclude by recounting the main events of his life during the years of composition. While I refer to some of Thompson's letters, and to references to Thompson in the works of other writers, most of the biographical information in this chapter is drawn from Thompson's daily

journals.[16]

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In 1812 Thompson retired from active participation in the work of the North West Company. For wintering partners, "coming down" to Canada marked a shift from the uncertain and often peripatetic life of the fur trader to a more settled and domestic existence. But Thompson was not to enjoy the same ease as many of his former colleagues. He gave a brief sketch of the subsequent years in an 1842 letter to British Secretary of State Lord Stanley:

> In the year 1817, to near the close of 1827, I was the Astronomer and Surveyor, under the sixth, and seventh articles of the Treaty of Ghent... since which I have been occasionally employed in works of the improvement of the Province of Canada, a precarious livelihood, which often places me in distress. Until the year 1833 I was in easy circumstances, having a large family, I

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[16] The dates and Archives of Ontario page references of the relevant journals are as follows:

October 25, 1836 to July 31, 1837	65:1-44
August 1, 1837 to December 31, 1837	66a:1-104
January 1, 1838 to August 31, 1839	74:2-89
September 1, 1839 to December 31, 1840	76:2-59
January 1, 1841 to July 27, 1841	79:1-26
July 21, 1841 to January 8, 1842	80:4-58
January 1, 1842 to August 31, 1843	82:2-83
September 1, 1843 to July 31, 1845	83:2-76
August 1, 1845 to April 25, 1846	84:2-28
April 14, 1847 to April 2, 1850	75:9-141
April 3, 1850 to February 28, 1851	61b:1-32

The journals are cited parenthetically in the text.

> endeavoured to increase what I had, but unf[ort]unately lost all I had. (PRO. CO 42/502)

We may expand Thompson's oblique references to his "easy circumstances" and his "[endeavour] to increase" his goods. At the same time that he received steady employment on the Treaty of Ghent survey, Thompson derived a comfortable living as a landowner and justice of the peace at Williamstown in Glengarry County, Upper Canada. His financial decline began with the bankruptcy of the fur trading firm of McGillivrays, Thain and Company in 1825, and subsequent entrepreneurial endeavours, including the running of two general stores, the production of potash, and the supply of cordwood to the British Army, were resounding failures. In 1833 Thompson resumed the "precarious livelihood" of a surveyor, working in the Eastern Townships and Muskoka, and by 1836 Thompson had moved his family from Glengarry County to Montreal. Thompson was in the city for the next fourteen years, and after 1850 lived across the river at Longueuil.[17]

This was a time of rapid growth in Montreal. The city had just 18,000 inhabitants in 1821, but by 1851 this number had swelled to almost 58,000 (and well over 75,000 when

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[17] For a fuller account of Thompson's life in the 1820's and early 1830's, see Nicks' *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* entry. The exact date of the move to Monteal is unclear, as Thompson's journals for November 1834 to October 1836 have not survived. In November 1834 the Thompsons were still at Williamstown; when the extant journals resume in October 1836 they were at Montreal.

Thompson died in 1857). When Henry David Thoreau stopped there in 1850 he noted that Montreal "appeared to be growing fast like a small New York, and to be considerably Americanized" (*Yankee in Canada* 14). The city's expansion was largely due to immigration from England, Scotland and Ireland, and on his 1842 visit Charles Dickens observed newcomers "grouped in hundreds on the public wharfs about their chests and boxes" (*American Notes* 210-211). For most immigrants the wharves were merely a transfer point on the way to Upper Canada, but a large percentage stayed in Montreal, and in the late 1840s the Irish potato famine cast a new wave of people into the city. Immigration altered Montreal's linguistic balance, so that by the mid-1840s the city had an anglophone majority; the 1851 census showed that only 45% of residents were of French descent, while 32% were British and 20% Irish.

Despite (and often because of) Montreal's rapid growth, the city was often in crisis during these years. The "dreadful cholera" was depopulating Quebec when Susanna Moodie arrived there in 1832, and the subsequent two decades in Canada were punctuated by major epidemics, including typhus in 1847 and cholera in 1852. Linguistic and social tensions led to the Rebellions of 1837 and 1838, and the government's attempts to provide reparation to the Patriotes led in turn to riots over the Rebellion Losses Bill in 1849. During these latter riots Thompson recorded his distress at

the shootings of several anglophones and the burning of the Parliament Buildings.

One group of new Montrealers, small but powerful, came from the West: retired fur traders. Many of these men had shifted their concerns from fur into the emerging commodities of timber and grain, and as this trade expanded Montreal emerged as the commercial centre of Canada. But prosperity and economic growth came to a sudden halt in 1846 with the British parliament's repeal of the Canadian Corn Act and its protective tariffs, and over the next three years the value of property in Montreal dropped by fifty percent. This economic slide was halted only in 1854 with the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States.[18]

Montreal's pre-1846 economic expansion fuelled the development of railroads and canals, and in his letter to Lord Stanley Thompson alluded to his involvement in these "works of improvement." These were the most lucrative of the jobs that Thompson obtained. There were in general three sources of surveying work for him: small private jobs, municipal contracts from the Corporation of Montreal, and contracts granted by the colonial Canadian government's Board of Works.[19] Thompson enjoyed steady employment

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[18] The history of Montreal between 1820 and 1860 is treated at length in the works of Cooper, Rumilly and Vac.

[19] Thompson sometimes performed other odd jobs; in 1840 he was hired to sell off the contents of a sunken schooner at Sorel (76:40-41) and in 1844 he was called in by a brickmaker and a quarrelsome customer to measure a pile of

through 1838 and 1839, but in early 1840 he saw his work dwindle, and experienced his first serious financial problems in Montreal, lasting from May to October 1840 (at which time at least five of his ten surviving children were still dependent on him).[20]

During this crisis Thompson submitted several applications (or, as he called them, "memorials") to the Board of Works, City of Montreal and private concerns, each endorsed by prominent citizens of Montreal.[21] He got a city street-surveying job, and was steadily employed through 1841 and early 1842. Thompson then applied to Governor Bagot for a position on a canal project, but Hamilton Hartley Killaly, chairman of the Board of Works, refused to hire him. While Thompson did get a Board contract in late 1842, this was to be the last; Thompson's subsequent applications to the Board were rejected by Killaly, who

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bricks (83:23).

[20] Of the five daughters, Charlotte and Elizabeth had married, and of the five sons, Joshua and William were living away and occasionally sent money to their father. This left Fanny, Mary, Eliza, Henry and Thomas at home. Thompson seems to have had the closest relationship with Henry, who during this period was his main mapmaking assistant. Henry also appears to have suffered from alcoholism and went missing at least twice. Of Thompson's estranged eldest son Samuel there is no mention in the journals after 1838.

[21] In the space of four months Thompson applied to be director of a registry office, astronomer and surveyor to the North-East Boundary Commission, surveyor of a railroad, clerk with the Hudson's Bay Company and Montreal City Surveyor.

served until 1846.

From December 1842 until June 1844 Thompson was in dire financial need; aside from a few private jobs he had no employment income. It must have been at this time that he sensed an end to his career as a surveyor. Even were jobs plentiful, he could no longer endure the physical rigours of the field work, nor produce his reports and charts as quickly as his employers wished. He often complained of leg pains, and in January 1842 he was so slow in making up charts of the islands in Lake St. Peter that he was asked to hand over his notes to a fellow surveyor. In addition to the rheumatism in his legs, Thompson's growing list of ailments included fits of violent coughing and nervous shaking, which at times severely affected his cartography. In conveying Thompson's 1842 letter to Lord Stanley, Governor Charles Bagot enclosed a note advising against Thompson's request for employment:

> The Board of Works... have, in consideration of Mr Thompson's long professional career, availed themselves of his services, on several occasions, when they considered that his very advanced age and feeble state of body, did not prevent his being moderately efficient....Mr Thompson has [no] particular claim for permanent public employment, and I am obliged to add, that, were it otherwise, I am not aware of any, the duties of which his advanced age and present powers

would enable him adequately to fulfill.

(PRO CO 42/502)

It is difficult to characterize Thompson as other than a charity case.

In April 1843 Thompson described himself as destitute, and in May moved to smaller quarters. He soon exhausted his credit with his grocer and in the fall sold his surveying equipment. Twice in late 1843 Thompson applied for a pension from the Earl of Aberdeen, Britain's Secretary for Foreign Affairs, emphasizing that he was "now far advanced in the 74th year of his age, and...no longer capable of following his profession of Surveyor, and civil Engineer" (PRO FO 5/418). The claims were denied.

Thompson's financial crisis climaxed in early 1844. In February he began to sell off personal possessions (including his coat), in March he was sued by his landlord for unpaid rent, and in April his furniture was seized and sold. Thompson was finally rescued from penury in May, by the charity of the prominent merchant George Moffatt.[22] In June the Foreign Office paid £150 for Thompson's maps of

[22] A former partner of the North West Company, Moffatt helped to facilitate the firm's merger with the Hudson's Bay Company. By the 1840's he was one of Montreal's most prominent mercantile figures, and Thompson frequently conversed with him on various commercial issues. After Moffatt rescued Thompson from bankruptcy in May 1844 Thompson wrote "Mr Moffatt...has most generously secured me from the sad, the dreadful effects of the sale of my poor furniture. thank God, who has thus granted me a friend, when all others failed me" (83:30). See Gerald Tulchinsky's *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* entry on Moffatt.

Oregon; this money, while insufficient to pay all of the debts, did ease the financial strain. In another act of charity, in July Montreal mayor Peter McGill gave Thompson the job of surveying Alexander Mackenzie's former estate.[23]

Thompson had survived the immediate crisis, but by September 1844 was in need again, able to obtain neither position nor pension. In May 1845 he moved his family into yet smaller quarters. The rest of the year was spent in trying to sell maps, with limited success, and in contributing to the debate on the Oregon question. Aside from a brief job in early 1846, reporting on ice blockages in the St. Lawrence, Thompson was left little with which to occupy himself, let alone to gain an income.

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I have foregrounded Thompson's financial situation in this account because the desire to escape poverty was a central motivation in his decision to begin writing the *Travels* in 1846. But before moving on to the years of composition, I want to gather together some other strands of his life, beginning with his place in Monteal society. For despite his poverty, Thompson played a role in public affairs and was in contact with many powerful members of Montreal society. His connections went as high as was

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[23] During this financial crisis, Fanny and Mary left the Thompson household to move in with relatives. Thomas, who had been a surveying assistant to Thompson, left to seek employment in New York City. This left only Henry and Eliza in Montreal.

possible in this colonial society; during the first half of the decade Thompson had a series of audiences with the governors of Canada: one with Lord Sydenham (1839-1841), five with Charles Bagot (1841-1843) and seven with Charles Metcalfe (1843-1845).

Thompson was especially active in the area of boundary disputes. He offered the British Ministry information derived from his work on the Treaty of Ghent boundary survey, for use in the negotiations on the unsettled articles of the treaty; he also kept an eye on developments in Oregon, and from 1843 to 1845 he sent the Foreign Office a series of letters recommending negotiating strategies. The former dispute was settled by the 1842 Webster-Ashburton Treaty, the latter by the 1846 Treaty of Washington, and Thompson's bitterness at British handling of both sets of negotiations was to surface in the *Travels*.

Thompson also promoted works projects. For example, a plan to dredge Lake St. Peter brought his name into public prominence in 1841; articles appeared in the Montreal *Gazette* and the *Monthly Review* referring to the work that he had done and publishing his calculations and arguments in favour of the project (Thompson, "Remarks"). In the same year Thompson promoted a canal connecting Lake Huron with the Ottawa River, and Governor Metcalfe asked him to write on the project, which was never initiated. Thompson was listed in the city directories of 1840s Montreal as an

engineer, and his scientific expertise was occasionally sought by those in government; in 1842 he appeared before the legislative committee on the Beauharnois Canal and was canvassed by Surveyor General Thomas Packe for information on the geology of Canada.

That Thompson had extensive connections to the elite of 1840s Montreal is reflected in the names of those who endorsed his memorials; one included the signatures of McGill, Montreal Savings Bank founder Samuel Gerrard, and three members of parliament: Moffatt, Benjamin Holmes and Denis Viger. Thompson also associated with several of the former North West Company partners who had retired to Montreal, including James Keith, Allan McDonell, William Connolly and John George McTavish, and he met and corresponded with George Simpson, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, several times during the decade.[24]

But all of these activities and relationships return to money. However he might have framed his writings on boundaries and public works in disinterested, civic-minded

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[24] Thompson's connections were largely Tory, and he expressed the same sympathies in his journals. This is perhaps best reflected in his references to the Reform ministry of Robert Baldwin and Hippolyte LaFontaine, which ruled during 1842 and 1843. Thompson attended a meeting of the assembly at Kingston in 1842, and noted the scorn of the legislators for Governor Bagot: "At 1PM the Governor & suite arrived and prorogued the House, but no taking off of Hats, no cheering, he entered & went out as a simple individual; I deeply felt the situation to which circumstances had reduced him, not one took off his Hat" (82:43). In November 1843, when Baldwin and LaFontaine resigned, Thompson recorded the "News of the dissolution of the rascally Ministry" (83:10).

terms, they expressed more mercenary motives. His letters on the boundary disputes were accompanied by offers to sell maps and notes from his years exploring the Columbia Basin and surveying the Great Lakes, and he later based requests for pensions on the fact that he had freely offered advice to British negotiators. In the same way, Thompson's proposals for public works improvements often barely concealed attempts to gain employment on these projects, or to sell maps of the areas in question.[25]

Thompson's relationship with prominent Montreal figures was also one of supplication, and it has been seen how Moffatt and McGill came to Thompson's relief in 1844. Many pillars of the community likely signed Thompson's memorials in the hope that, if he received government employment or a pension, he would stop asking them for jobs and loans. Indeed, immediately after a memorial that Gerrard had endorsed was turned down, Thompson returned to the banker to seek a loan of £25. Gerrard refused.

Of the former fur traders, McTavish gave Thompson money to buy a new level and Conolly frequently helped Thompson look for work, but Thompson sometimes wore out his welcome with this group as well; his journal entry for September 27, 1843 reveals how he evidently offended one former associate:

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[25] When the Lake St. Peter project went ahead, Thompson's charts and maps of the area became saleable commodities. Had the government decided to embark upon the Lake Huron canal project, Thompson could likewise have marketed his 1837 charts of the Muskoka region.

> ...in the evening walked to the Mountain to the residence of Mr Allan McDonell, who kept me to 10PM. when on coming away I requested the loan of £2/10 he left me in the dark to find my way the best I could. (83:4)

Thompson had been reduced to beggary among his old associates.

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I now pause to consider Thompson's activity as a cartographer and draughtsman, for his attempts to market his maps and sketches are an important prelude to his decision to write a narrative. While Thompson had considered the commercial possibilities of writing in the early 1840s, he did not take up his literary project in a serious and sustained way until 1846; he had an existing stock of material that he would exploit first. Having been mapmaker for the North West Company, Thompson began to market this work soon after his retirement from the fur trade. His first major scheme was a proposal to publish a map of North America; in 1820 a one-page prospectus appeared, but the project never materialized, and Thompson became involved in his work for the boundary commission.

In the early 1840s Thompson tried doggedly to sell his maps; he approached individuals, governments and commercial concerns, and gave maps as security for loans. He achieved limited success. In 1841 he devised a plan to publish his

charts of Lake St. Peter and in 1843 offered copyright to his maps to London mapmaker Samuel Arrowsmith, but both schemes failed. Thompson's only major sale was that of the Oregon maps to the Foreign Office. In 1845 his efforts intensified, and he offered material to Arrowsmith, the Royal Geographical Society, the Hudson's Bay Company, the American State Department and booksellers and private individuals in three countries. Finally, funded by a donation of £10 from Governor Metcalfe, in September 1845 Thompson travelled to New York City intending to sell maps and drawings. Booksellers there expressed no interest, and told Thompson that the market was already flooded with material. Thompson's realization that his drawings were unsaleable was to emerge in a passage in the *Travels* written in 1847:

> I have...sketched off various parts of the bold, lofty scenery of the Rocky Mountains about twenty different views, part on each side of the Mountains, and also Mount Nelson, which stands alone in native grandeur, I believe the only drawings that have been made of these mountains, but North America being an obscure part of the world, especially the interior of Canada they would not pay a lithographic publication.... (III.320-321)

Clearly Thompson regarded his maps and sketches as commodities. Even in 1820, a time of financial stability, he had produced his prospectus, and by the 1840s they had

become a potential source of income at a time when the need was urgent. But an attempt in 1844 to get more money from the Foreign Office was rebuffed, and the trip to New York may have convinced him that he needed a new commodity.

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We may wonder why, after exhausting the potential of his maps and sketches, Thompson turned to writing. But when we consider Thompson's interests and activities, the composition of a narrative work seems his most natural form of creative expression. Reader, journalist, letter-writer, thinker and storyteller, he was an intellectual immersed in literary discourse. The restless pursuit of knowledge runs like a thread through Thompson's life, and his *Travels* sketch of George Hudson reveals his scorn for the intellectually torpid (27i-k).

It is not surprising, then, that Thompson read voraciously. A member of the Montreal Library, he also had his own book collection. Despite all of the other items which he pawned or which were seized, Thompson never indicated having lost a book, and when he moved he always recorded the setting up of his bookcase and organization of the volumes in his collection.

While no catalogue of his library has survived, Thompson's journals refer to several of the books he read during the 1840s. Most are narratives of travel and exploration, and Thompson was especially influenced by

Franklin's *Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea* (1823) and Captain William Edward Parry's *Journal of a Voyage for the Discovery of a Northwest Passage...in 1819-20* (1821). Other texts which intersect directly with Thompson's own career include Nicholas Biddle's *History of the Expedition Under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark* (1814), Samuel Parker's *Journal of an Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains* (1838), John C. Fremont's *Narrative of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1842* (1845), Thomas Falconer's *The Oregon Question* (1845) and R.M. Ballantyne's *Hudson's Bay* (1848).[26]

The journals also reveal Thompson's love of newspapers and periodicals. He was a regular reader of two Montreal dailies, the *Gazette* and the *Herald*, often read the Toronto *Patriot* and the *Eclectic* Magazine, and owned a run of London's *Quarterly Review*. On Sundays religious texts crowned Thompson's reading. The centrality of these works for Thompson is reflected in his journal entry for Sunday July 7, 1850: "the day, *as usual*, passed in reading the Prayers and the Scriptures" (61b:11, emphasis mine).

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[26] Other texts of travel and adventure which Thompson read during the 1840's include John Dunn Hunter's *Memoirs of a Captivity Among the Indians of North America, from Childhood to the Age of Nineteen...* (1824), George Simpson's *An Overland Journey Round the World During the Years 1841 and 1842* (1847), John Lloyd Stephens' *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas and Yucatan* (1841), William Francis Lynch's *Narrative of the United States Expedition to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea* (1849) and Horace-Bénédict de Saussure's *Voyages dans les Alpes* (1779-1795).

Thompson balanced his reading with equally extensive writing. It was as a "writer" or clerk that he first gained employment in the fur trade, and the sheer bulk of his notebooks testifies that writing was a central part of his life's work even after his official role had ceased. Most of Thompson's writing before the *Travels* was either private, as in the case of his journals, or was meant for a small and limited audience, as in his reports for his employers, correspondence and petitions.

But Thompson began contributing correspondence to newspapers almost as soon as he retired from the fur trade, and so had had a public audience for at least thirty-four years before he began the work upon which his current reputation rests. As early as January 1813 he sent an article on snowshoeing to the Montreal *Herald*, and in the early 1840s he was writing sporadically for the *Gazette*, *Herald* and *Messenger*. At this time his articles were mainly on topics of contemporary local significance, such as Montreal harbour, Lake St. Peter and Montreal's municipal institutions.

In the latter half of the decade Thompson wrote almost exclusively for the *Gazette*, often using the pseudonym "Voyageur." He was most prolific in 1848, when sixteen pieces were published, and the topics on which he wrote became more diverse. Though he still commented on contemporary issues (and in one curious piece, on Alexander

the Great), most of his pieces were drawn from his western experiences, on topics such as the polar bear, Indian languages and the Aurora Borealis, and many of these articles were published in forms very similar to their appearance in the *Travels* itself. Far from being an unknown, Thompson had a niche in Montreal's literary community.[27]

Thompson was best known as a surveyor and engineer, and much of his prose is marked by measured, scientific exposition, but he was also a storyteller of some repute. In his account of an 1820 dinner party, J.J. Bigsby recorded that Thompson kept guests entranced with his oratory:

> ...he has a very powerful mind, and a singular faculty of picture-making. He can create a wilderness and people it with warring savages, or climb the Rocky Mountains with you in a snow-storm, so clearly and palpably, that only shut your eyes and you hear the crack of the rifle, or feel the snow-flakes melt on your cheeks as he talks. (*Shoe and Canoe* I:114)

In later years Thompson continued to relate stories of his western experiences, with or without an audience. In a letter she wrote to Tyrrell, Charlotte Thompson recalled

[27] Thompson's journal entries seem to indicate that he prepared a pamphlet on the Oregon question in March 1841. On the 11th he recorded leaving a manuscript with the Montreal publisher J. Starke, and the following day he wrote "Went to Mr Starke 500 copies good print and paper, stiched, ready for sale L 7.10." (79:9). If such a work was ever published, it has not surfaced.

life with her aged father:

> In the latter part of his life, when at the age of seventy-five, he seemed to live his life over in talking to himself aloud over some anecdotes and jokes they played on each other in his travels with his companions. We would hear him laugh heartily over them with tears streaming down his cheeks.... With his thorough education and pleasing manners, his conversation was instructive, entertaining; he ha[d] a wonderful memory. (Charlotte Thompson to Tyrrell, February 13, 1889)

He may even have been writing the *Travels* itself during these times, and it should not be surprising that he reproduced in his narrative so many lively anecdotes that appear nowhere in the journals; Thompson's gift for oral discourse allowed him to preserve these tales in his head, if not on paper.

With his store of material, familiarity with the genre of the travel narrative, experience writing for the general public and storytelling skills, Thompson knew he could produce a marketable *Travels*. The final precondition is the presence of a market. Bestseller lists were not a feature of the Montreal literary scene in the 1840s, but certain items suggest the popularity of the travel genre. Of the more than 2000 English-language titles in the 1842 Montreal Library catalogue, more than one-eighth fall into the

category "Voyages and Travels," making it the third largest body of texts after "History, Antiquity and Biography" and "Novels, Romances, Tales" (*Catalogue of Books*). An 1841 advertisement for books of "Voyages and Travels" in the *Gazette* contains sixty-two titles, of which twenty concern North America, and some, such as Washington Irving's *Astoria* and *The Rocky Mountains*, intersect with Thompson's own career and concerns (Armour and Ramsay). While America might have been too obscure to permit publication of Thompson's sketches, it was evidently fertile ground for the writer.[28]

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The idea of producing and marketing a narrative had been brewing for more than twenty-five years before Thompson began serious composition. He considered writing a prose narrative as early as 1820, sought a patron for his work in 1840, and actually began a "Travels" twice, in November 1843 and October 1845, before taking up the project in earnest in

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[28] Despite the market, publication in Montreal was difficult; the items on the *Gazette* list must have been imported, for there are no records of their Canadian publication at this time. Thoreau visited Montreal on September 26, 1850, just ten days after Thompson composed the last page that he was to produce for the *Travels*; stopping in at a bookshop to inquire after works published in the city, the eminent writer was told that "there were none but schoolbooks and the like [and that] they got their books from the States" (*Yankee in Canada* 14). The difficulty of publishing in Montreal did not deter Thompson from beginning to write; he had attempted to market his maps in Canada, the United States and Great Britain, and would likely have done the same with his narrative had it been finished.

1846. The form that these precursors took, and the times at which they arose, reveal much about how the text was conceived.

The 1820 prospectus for Thompson's map of North America noted that it would be accompanied by a chart containing information on coal mines, geological features, physiographic regions, animal ranges and the Aurora Borealis. The prospectus also contained the first promise of a prose narrative: "The arduous survey, on which the Author is at present employed does not permit him to present the Public with a description of these Countries and the nations of Aborigines. This he hopes to perform as soon as time permits" (*Prospectus*).

The next reference to a "Travels" appeared in the midst of the financial crisis of mid-1840. In August Thompson delivered "a letter to the Governor to patronise the publication of [his] Travels" (76:45). Sydenham's secretary, Captain Edmund Campbell, promised to speak to him about the offer, but the Governor soon left for Upper Canada, and died the following year.

The project of a "Travels" surfaced again in Thompson's journal entries of November 25 to December 7, 1843. Thompson recorded that on November 25 he "ex[amine]d the contents of a Trunk, and separated all useless papers and selected all those that may help in the account of my Travels" (83:9). After a few days sorting and examining

papers, he spent December 6 and 7 writing (83:10). The narrative of 1843 could be that located in the back of one of his notebooks in which he had kept tables for an 1833 survey (71:37-55); here two pages of headings dated 1843 appear, followed by almost nine pages of narrative. This text contains no account of Thompson's activities themselves, but rather consists entirely of geographical description. After performing some private surveying jobs Thompson did not return to his text, but the project evidently remained in his mind, for in March 1844 Thompson wrote a rough sketch of his *Travels* for Sir James Alexander (83:22). The drafts of three promotional items contained in Thompson's notebooks show that at this point he intended to publish narrative on an installment plan (81:20-22). Two are proposals for the publication of "The Travels of David Thompson," and the third is a letter to a prospective subscriber.[29]

Thompson next worked on his narrative from October 31 to November 4, 1845 (84:11). At this time he looked over his papers and composed a description of Hudson's Bay. Again Thompson's work consisted of geographical description,

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[29] Glover claimed that these proposals were written on 17 September 1844 (Introduction lxvi). While they are contained in a book which also contains tables from a September 1844 survey, it is unlikely that they are contemporary with those tables, because at this time Thompson was busy in the field. The proposals could be related to Thompson's composition of 1843, or possibly that of 1845. By 1846 the bookseller mentioned in the proposal, Robert Mackay of Notre-Dame Street, had closed his shop.

and again he soon abandoned his project (although the few pages he composed at this time were later integrated into one of the drafts of the *Travels*). By April 1846 he still had not begun to write on a regular basis.

The projects of 1840, 1843 and 1845 surfaced at times of financial need, but Thompson was unable to proceed with any of the three. Twice he tried to secure financing before embarking on the writing project, first by courting a wealthy patron and then by seeking subscribers to whom he could sell pre-paid installments. Both of these plans failed. By 1846 Thompson had exhausted his other remunerative options, with his maps unwanted and surveying jobs unavailable. The conditions were in place that led Thompson to begin writing the *Travels* in earnest, but it would have to be done entirely on speculation.

Because of a one-year gap in Thompson's journals, it is unclear precisely when he began to write in a sustained manner. Thompson had not begun by April 1846; the journals from this time to April 1847 are now missing, and when they resume he was well into his work. Once he did settle down to writing, the *Travels* became Thompson's main activity until October 1850.

During 1847 Thompson tried vainly to gain employment and to market his maps, and he sold a number of household items, but writing preoccupied him and by late summer he already anticipated bringing the *Travels* to a close; on

August 7 he wrote "I think I must write them fair to be fit for publishing" (75:18). On August 17 Thompson applied to Simpson for a position at the King's Posts in Quebec, but when the job was offered to Thompson on September 9 he refused it:

> Recd a Letter...from Sir G Simpson, inclosing 10$ for my passage to the King's Posts but as I remain to finish my travels, I wrote a Letter of thanks & inclosed the 10$ to him. (75:22)

About this time Thompson must have made the decision that writing was to be his sole occupation, for after the application to Simpson, references to employment vanished. He worked in haste but he cannot have been entirely destitute; so impatient was he to finish his task, he gave up the assurance of steady employment over the difficult winter months.

By October Thompson recorded that he was placing "all to be fit for publication" (75:25). But the text was not completed to Thompson's satisfaction; in the winter he became ill and writing slowed, and then in early 1848 blindness interrupted his work entirely. Two references to this rupture in composition survive. Thompson, who had been blind in his right eye since 1789, reported in his journal that he awoke entirely blind on February 14 and remained so for ten days, before being treated successfully by Doctor Henry Howard, the same man with whom he had his conversation

about digestion (75:35). Howard also left an account, stating that Thompson was treated for a cataract in his left eye and a cicatrix in his right (357-358).[30]

Though Thompson gradually regained his sight, Howard forbade him to read or write by artificial light. Blindness also had a debilitating effect on Thompson's spirit; shortly after his recovery he wrote to the *Gazette* to call for the establishment of an infirmary for the deaf and blind, and he characterized the latter in pathetic terms:

> Blindness is a deplorable state of the human being. No person can look on the blind without pitying their condition....utterly defenceless, they are a burthen to themselves, and a trouble to all about them; they can add nothing to the common stock of labour and industry; shut out from the light of heaven, they can do nothing for themselves, and live by charity.

Thompson then wrote more pointedly of his own situation:

> The father of a family no longer able to provide for its wants, becomes a burthen to it.... ("In your valuable paper...")

Thompson took up his pen again in May 1848. After this point all references to publication disappeared, complaints

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[30] Thompson appeared in Howards's work as a case study, identified as "David T Esq. of Montreal." Howard wrote that Thompson's daughter had led him to the doctor's surgery. Some time after the cure, Thompson told Howard that he had seen a certain star "for the first time since he was the age of 19" (Howard 358).

of financial distress lessened, and Thompson began to write prolifically for the *Gazette* (although the journals do not indicate whether Thompson received remuneration for these pieces). Despite occasional bouts of rheumatism, Thompson also worked on the *Travels* steadily for over a year, but in July 1849 composition was interrupted for a second extended period; cholera struck almost the entire household, and in Thompson's case it was nearly fatal.

During this time Thompson and Charlotte moved frequently. In May 1849 they had settled in with their son Joshua, but were only with him a few months before Joshua's government job was transferred to Toronto. In November 1849 the Thompsons moved in with their daughter Charlotte and son-in-law W.R. Scott, and this household transferred itself to Longueuil in April 1850.

There Thompson began to write again, for the first time in almost a year. Unfortunately, he was again hampered by deteriorating eyesight, and between June and September he was able to produce only thirty-five pages. He last recorded having looked at the *Travels* on October 1, 1850, and in subsequent entries he reflected on the growing darkness of his world. On February 27, 1851 Thompson wrote that he "could hardly read large print" (61b:32), and the next day's account of blustery weather is the last journal entry that has survived. Thompson died at Longueuil on February 10, 1857.

It is clear that the *Travels* originated as a money-making project, but the financial impetus became ever weaker as composition progressed. Thompson refused the promise of employment in late 1847, publication was no longer a priority after his first experience of blindness in 1848, and by 1849 he was a dependent of his children. But Thompson continued to write far beyond the point when he needed, or could even have hoped, to improve his situation. While Thompson's financial situation was the catalyst of the *Travels*, once he began to write his motivation broadened.

As early as 1843 Thompson had been making references to his imminent demise; in a letter to Lord Aberdeen he requested a pension "for the few years (if any) of his natural life" (PRO. FO 5/402), and in 1845 he wrote to James Alexander that his maps were "soon to perish in oblivion" (PRO. FO 5/441). This fatalism may have been a motivating factor by the latter stages of composition; if he was no longer concerned about producing a marketable text, he may have wished to write one which might at least save the record of his experiences from "oblivion." Finally, we must also consider factors of which Thompson may not have been consciously aware: his abhorrence of idleness, his relentless attempt to understand the world in its variety, and his deep need, even when alone, to keep telling stories.

THREE

The Five Drafts

Genetic criticism demands the juxtaposition of variant states of a work. Clearly, before such an exercise may begin, we must establish the sequence in which the extant pieces of the work were composed. My task in this chapter is to establish a general compositional chronology for the drafts of the *Travels*, determine when individual pages were written and where they were placed as the text developed, examine the evolving topical structure of the work, and seek areas of the manuscript which are worthy of further critical attention.

The Thompsonian manuscript material presents the researcher with a complicated task. There are 716 handwritten pages, plus associated paste-ons and indices, which are identified in two collections, the University of Toronto Library and the Archives of Ontario, as belonging to the *Travels*. Certain pages are obviously meant to be sequential, and indices preserve three versions of the text, but everywhere there is evidence of revision, excision, rearrangement, integration of old pages into new drafts and cutting of pages. Some pages identified in the indices can

no longer be found, pages exist which correspond to no index and a nineteen-page hydrographic appendix floats about apparently unattached; far from being a unitary text, the *Travels* is a very fluid entity.

The David Thompson Papers at the University of Toronto's Thomas Fisher Library contain 687 pages which are identified as belonging to the *Travels*. These are kept in file folders in two manuscript boxes. While some pages are single sheets and others have been sewn together into gatherings, the vast majority consist of loose bifolias, with writing on the recto sides only. There are numerous paste-ons, and many sheets have been cut.

The University of Toronto librarians have assigned identification numbers to the pages in the collection; each is comprised of a roman and an arabic numeral. The arabic numerals for the most part represent the numbering in Thompson's own hand at the top of each page. The roman numerals are meant to correspond to what are considered to be four drafts of the text. For example, a bifolia numbered "Page 281" on 1 recto and "Page 282" on 2 recto, and identified in the collection as IV.281 and IV.282, is meant to belong to the fourth of these posited drafts. But, as we shall soon see, Thompson often reintegrated old pages into new drafts; consequently, the Thomas Fisher page numbers cannot be used securely either to date pages or to place them in the context of drafts.

For reasons that remain a mystery, twenty-nine pages became separated from the rest of the manuscript of the *Travels* and found their way to the Archives of Ontario with Thompson's notebooks. They are now housed there as part of the Archives' David Thompson Papers. These pages, numbered 27a-zd, are those which were located and identified by Hopwood in 1957, and are currently kept in a manuscript box along with other miscellaneous items by Thompson.

To determine the development of the *Travels* is a forensic mission; we have a complex assortment of mute evidence and must work backwards through time to determine how the manuscript came to be in its current state. The task is two-fold, consisting both of dating pages and determining their sequentiality. Four witnesses help in uncovering the truth about the compositional history of the text: the daily entries in Thompson's journals in the Archives of Ontario, three extant indices to the work, the physical characteristics of the manuscript sheets and the contents of the *Travels* itself. The first two witnesses are the most reliable; between them, journal entries and indices provide specific dates of composition, page references and descriptions of contents for a great deal of material in the *Travels* manuscripts. Also useful, though they can only help in constructing a broader timeline, are the latter two bodies of evidence, tied more closely to the manuscript itself.

Thompson's daily journal entries, scattered throughout the Archives of Ontario notebooks, are the most important resource in understanding his composition of the *Travels* and in dating specific pages. There are two relevant journal sequences for this investigation: April 14, 1846 to April 2, 1850 (75:9-107) and April 3, 1850 to February 28, 1851 (61b:2-32). Thompson used his journal for two primary purposes, to record weather conditions and to describe his daily activities, so he usually reported each day on the work he had accomplished on his manuscript. Most often Thompson simply indicated how many pages (or "sides") he wrote, which is of limited use to the researcher. At other times he recorded the numbers of these pages or gave a description of their contents, in which case pages can be matched to specific dates; for example, the composition of IV.264-282, Saukamappee's narrative, can be precisely placed in April 1849. Thompson also wrote of the general dynamic of his composition, stating when he commenced or completed a draft and when he examined, assorted and revised pages.

Three indices to the *Travels* have survived; one is to be found with the bulk of the manuscript at Thomas Fisher, while two are contained in Thompson's notebooks at the Archives of Ontario. The format of these three items is identical. Each is divided into two columns; on the left is a list of page numbers, and on the right a description of contents. The value of these indices is obvious. Because

all three can be dated, and because they match page numbers to contents, they provide a record of three states of the manuscript.

The index at Thomas Fisher is the oldest still extant. Thompson recorded having composed four indices before mid-1848; these were compiled in August 1847, September 1847, May 1848 and June 1848. The surviving index can be dated confidently as the last of these four. It must postdate June 22, 1848, because pages 6a-c, which Thompson indicated in his journal as having composed on this date, are main entries (not added interlinearly) on the index. By July 6, 1848 Thompson had begun composing material for a new draft. Therefore the index must be that referred to in Thompson's journal entry of June 30, 1848: "Ruled for the Index. entered all that is" (75:44). It is referred to in my discussion as Index I.

The date of the second index is harder to pinpoint. Contained in one of Thompson's notebooks at the Archives of Ontario (78:73-84), it describes all of the material that Thompson had composed before June 29, 1849, when he broke off writing his *Travels*, but does not describe material dating after the resumption of writing on June 11, 1850. From June 30 to December 5, 1849 Thompson was very ill and his journals contain no references to any work on the *Travels*. Then between December 6, 1849 and April 1, 1850 he compiled indices to his field journals and notebooks.

Although he did not explicitly mention doing the same for his *Travels*, the second index likely dates from this latter four-month time frame, when Thompson was healthy enough to do light work. It is referred to as Index II.

The third index, also housed at the Archives of Ontario, is incomplete (78:69-72). It lists contents up to page 41, and includes all of the pages composed in 1850, including IV.1-4, 9a-b and 27a-zd. This material was completed on September 16, 1850. In his journal entries for September 27 to October 1, 1850 Thompson wrote that he was examining his text, reaching page 41 on the final day. Then, on October 5 he wrote "Examined the [page] Numbers of my travels...and put them in order" (61b:21). He did not indicate that he made an index at this time, but never in the remaining five months covered by his journal did he mention having done any writing. The final incomplete index must belong to early October 1850, and is referred to as Index III.

Paper, ink, handwriting, catchwords, gatherings, cut pages and Thompson's page numbering are useful in determining the sequentiality of pages, though not necessarily in identifying dates of composition.

Thompson used many varieties of paper in his work. The *Travels* is written on both single sheets and bifolias, though the latter predominate. All paper is machine-made, and is of various shades of off-white or occasionally blue;

some is watermarked and some pre-ruled. Paper alone is generally unhelpful in determining the chronology of Thompson's composition, though large batches of paper of one type can indicate that certain pages are contemporaneous. Even in this case, paper should be used very cautiously as evidence. Pages 27a-zd, composed within a ten-week span in 1850, are comprised of four types of paper: three with watermarks of 1840, 1843 and 1847 respectively, and one unwatermarked. Thompson was often short of paper; he used whatever he could get his hands on, and his desire to conserve paper is reflected in the fact that there are few *Travels* pages which are not completely covered with writing. Watermarks are of little help in pinpointing time of composition, offering only a year before which the page could not have been composed.

The two leaves of a bifolia can be considered as a unit, composed together and in order. Likewise, if it can be shown that two pages which are now single sheets had been halves of a bifolia, this points to separation and reintegration of pages. The few stitched gatherings which survive reflect Thompson's last arrangements of manuscript pages; however, holes in the left margins of pages can sometimes indicate that certain pages had been stitched together and subsequently taken apart.

Ink's utility as evidence is akin to paper's. Thompson used a variety of types of ink, ranging from a dry jet black

to a watery russet, but different types of ink cannot be securely linked to specific periods of composition.[31] Ink may help to determine whether two pages were originally sequential; if ink is dramatically different it is unlikely that the two pages originated at the same time in the same place in the manuscript.

My analysis of palaeography is based on the writing in Thompson's journals (which can obviously be dated precisely) and on dateable pages of the *Travels* manuscript. Thompson wrote in a relatively clear and legible hand, which is not surprising in one who received his first professional training as a clerk. His writing changed somewhat over the course of his life, and during the 1840s he wrote in a copperplate style with prominent ascenders and descenders. His writing contains few ligatures, and the strokes of letters such as h, k, m, n and p are often unjoined.

In general, over the years of the composition of the *Travels* Thompson's hand evolved (or deteriorated) as letters became larger and more loosely formed and the penstroke shakier and applied with less pressure; the number of words Thompson could fit on a page also decreased. This hand can be placed in two broad categories, which I term *early* and *late*. The main differentiating feature between these periods is relative letter size; the writing between 1845

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[31] Thompson did not make his own ink; he recorded having run out of it and waiting for Henry to bring him more (75:75).

and early 1848 is generally smaller than that between mid-1848 and 1851. The dividing line between these two periods is Thompson's attack of blindness during early 1848. Thompson himself commented on the change in his hand, complaining in his journal of 1851 about the difficulty of reading "old writing" (61b:30).

Palaeography is useful in determining very general periods of composition, but it cannot be used with confidence in any matter of specific dating because of two problematic features. First, Thompson's hand varied according to the occasion of his writing; that of formal texts such as memorials exhibits larger, more carefully formed letters than that in private texts. The *Travels* hand falls between these poles, and dateable pages of the narrative can differ from contemporaneous journal entries. Second, while a general progression over several years can be seen, Thompson's handwriting in the journals sometimes changed dramatically within the space of only a few days.

Reproduced in Table 1 are representative samples of Thompson's hand, taken from journals. I have chosen three words which frequently appear: "Monday," "and" and "morning." The words display both the change in size between early and late writing, and the difficulty of pinpointing a progression *within* either of the periods. The same phenomenon can be observed in the sample manuscript pages presented in Appendix A, all of which are of known

Table 1: Evolution of Thompson's Handwriting, 1841-1851
Note: These words are taken from Thompson's journals. They are not the exact original size, but proportions are preserved. The dotted line indicates Thompson's attack of blindness.

time period	"Monday"	"and"	"morning"
February 1841			
February 1844			
October 1845			
June 1847			
January 1848			
June 1848			
December 1848			
May 1849			
January 1850			
June 1850			
February 1851			

dates of composition. The result for an analysis of the *Travels* is that the composition of pages can only be safely placed either before or after early 1848.

Catch-words link pages together. If a catch word is answered, it is likely that the two pages were originally composed sequentially; if not answered, one of the pages may have been reintegrated from elsewhere. However, catch-words can be red herrings, since they can be inaccurate (Thompson sometimes wrote incorrect catch-words even between the two leaves of a bifolia) or may have been added only after reintegration of pages. Cut pages can likewise be an indicator of rearrangement of the manuscript. If the parts of a formerly whole sheet can be matched, the process of reintegration of pages can be determined.

Finally, Thompson's page numbering provides good evidence of the page order of the drafts. In some cases, old effaced page numbers can be read, providing an indication of where the pages had been placed in previous drafts. Pages with letter suffixes can usually be taken as supplementary additions, though the time span between "original" text and supplement is often unclear.

A practical example shows how the physical characteristics of the sheets can be used in combination to understand the development of a piece of the manuscript. In the final extant draft, there are four pages, IV.9 to IV.9c, which are disjunctive in content and tone. The first and

last pages (9 and 9c) have been cut, but the pieces fit together, showing that they had been, respectively, the upper and lower halves of the same page. They are written in early handwriting and black ink. The middle two pages (9a and 9b) are a bifolia written in late handwriting and russet ink. The page numbering, cut page, handwriting and ink make it clear that Thompson cut page 9 in half and inserted pages 9a and 9b into the gap; indices II and III confirm this to be the case.

The final source of evidence is the contents of the *Travels* itself. This evidence is both external and internal. Internally, Thompson occasionally points the reader to other parts of his narrative, thus revealing the relative time of composition of the two passages. For example, during his description of Saukamappee Thompson notes "Of the information the old man gave me it will be found where I give an account of the Indians of the plains" (27u). Sharp disjunctions in content, tone, or even grammar from one page to the next can also indicate that the pages have been rearranged. Even something as subtle as the repetition of a word can indicate that something is amiss. The sentence "From whence come so suddenly these myriads of insects/on the surface of the snow, and edges of the ice; and in such myriads..." (IV.106-107) straddles two pages; further investigation shows that one was written in early 1847, the other in late 1848.

Externally, there are references to other texts and to historical situations which help to give a general compositional time frame. For example, Thompson's parenthetical note on Lieutenant William Lynch's survey of the Dead Sea, on IV.217, must have been written after early 1849, when results of the survey were first published. As in this case, evidence provided by the content of the *Travels* gives only the vaguest indication of date or sequence of composition, and is most useful in simply confirming what can be more easily established from other sources.

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Having compiled the evidence from these sources, I account for the current state of the *Travels* manuscript by proposing the existence of five drafts. I use this term advisedly, for it cannot signify the existence of discrete, hermetically-sealed narrative units. Rather, these drafts often moved fluidly into one another, as the old one was disassembled and a new one emerged; indeed, the story of the manuscript is most interesting precisely where the most reintegration, rearrangement and revision has taken place. Still, these five drafts existed at given points in the life of the *Travels*, and provide us with the most useful framework for studying the evolution of the work.

It is impractical and undesirable to describe in detail each of the manuscript's 716 pages. Instead, I tell the

story of the text's composition in a continuous narrative, and provide specific details about individual pages in the seven tables of Appendix B; a general outline of the five drafts is presented in table 1, tables 2 to 6 are devoted each to a single draft and table 7 catalogues the nineteen-page appendix. These, then, are the five drafts of the *Travels*:

Draft A: 1845-1846

This draft begins with pages I.1-12, and pages in Thompson's early hand numbered 25, 26, 27, 29 and 30 probably also originated with this draft. The first twelve pages consist of a two-page description of Hudson's Bay, followed by ten pages on Thompson's activities from 1784 to 1786. There is a seam between I.2 and I.3; subject matter, ink, and to a lesser extent handwriting changes. I.1-2 are likely the pages referred to in Thompson's journal entries for October 30 to November 4, 1845, while I.3-12 were likely composed in 1846, during the time covered by the missing journal. There is evidence on I.1-12 that Thompson made extensive additions to this initial text. On I.5 he inserted the note "see 5a to 5c," and he wrote "after 5e" in the margin of I.8. These supplementary pages have not survived.[32]

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[32] The pages now marked 5, 5a and 5b were composed in June 1848 and were designed to be integrated into draft C.

Five pages written in the early hand were integrated into draft C, but cannot have come from draft B; three were originally numbered 25 to 27 (now III.6f-6g) and two were originally numbered 29 and 30 (now IV.26-27). Many pages are missing from draft A; some may have been cut up and used as paste-ons. Thus, draft A reached at least thirty pages. At this point, Thompson seems to have made a new beginning.

Draft B: 1846 to August 7, 1847

The journals tell us that Thompson's first period of sustained composition ran from early 1846 to August 7, 1847. Thompson worked regularly until August 3, 1847, when he reported "Thank kind Providence brought my Travels to a close" (75:18). August 4-5 were employed in the compilation of an index and August 5-7 in making emendations.

Draft B is elusive, since most of it was composed during a time for which no journal survives and because the index of August 1847 is missing. The first extant pages that appear to belong to this draft are those that begin with IV.13. They must postdate draft A, because parts of IV.13-16 are an expanded version of I.8-12. At the same time, they must antedate draft C, because words which originally appeared at the top of IV.13 were crossed out in order for the page to fit with III.12 of the next draft. The twelve pages that once preceded IV.13 in draft B have been lost.

In the entries related to the composition of this

draft, the last page that Thompson referred to by number is page 255. He continued writing for a few days after this, so it is safe to assume that the block of thirty pages numbered 233 to 262 are the end of this draft. Only a handful of the extant pages of the *Travels* are unaccounted for in later indices, making the whereabouts of pages 1 to 232 is one of the riddles of the manuscript. We must move to draft C to find the solution.

Draft C: August 7, 1847 to June 17, 1848

On August 7, 1847 Thompson recorded a decision to write a "fair" copy of the text he had completed on August 3 (draft B). He spent August 9 to September 22 examining, correcting and recopying, September 28 to October 7 "arranging" the manuscript, October 8 to January 22, 1848 composing and January 26 to February 9 correcting. Then followed a long break. It was on February 10 that Thompson awoke totally blind, and he did not return to his narrative until May 14, 1848. When he did return to work he spent May 15 to 26 composing an index and May 27 to June 17 examining, correcting and recopying pages (75:18-42, numerous entries).

This timeline shows that Thompson spent only about four months actually composing new material for this draft. Having finished the 262-page draft B on August 3, he did not start composing for draft C until October 8, and by November 22 he was writing page 256 of this draft. In the journals

he only mentions having written on thirteen of the days between October 8 to November 22, and he obviously could not have written an average of twenty pages each day; one to four pages was typical of his daily output, and during October and November 1847 he was often ill and weak.

This is the solution to the riddle of what happened to the pages of draft B. Except for the head and the tail, almost every page was taken over into draft C, with some paste-ons and supplementary pages added. Thompson composed the first twelve pages fresh, as there is a seam between C's page 12 and B's page 13. Draft B material (with a few supplementary pages) was then used up to page 230, where handwriting, ink and paper again change. Then, pages 231-324 were composed for draft C. Thompson catalogued this draft in Index I, and its latter parts were published as Part II of the Champlain Society editions.

Draft D: June 19, 1848 to June 29, 1849

The correction and reexamination of draft C in June 1848 shaded into the composition of a new draft. On June 19 Thompson noted that he "put the sheets in order for final correction," and his journals record that June 20, 1848 to June 29, 1849 was a period of almost constant composition. A second major break occurred from June 30 to December 5, 1849; the journals for this period contain no references to work on *Travels* and reveal that Thompson was often gravely

ill. He then performed light work from December 6 to April 1, 1850 with the compilation of indices to his field journals and notebooks (75:42-107, numerous entries).

Because of the change in Thompson's handwriting, and because full indices exist for both drafts, the pieces of draft C which were reintegrated into draft D are quite easily located. Sixty-six pages made the journey between drafts. Fifty-four were placed at the beginning of draft D, two were inserted some nine pages later, and ten reappeared as pages 97 to 106 of the new draft. After this point, all the pages of draft D are new material, written in the same late hand and on bifolias. Thompson indicated that he wrote to page 313 (although this page has not survived), and catalogued the draft in Index II. At some point after this index had been compiled Thompson wrote two new pages to be affixed to the beginning of his text; these are noted interlinearly on the index. This draft was published almost in its entirety as Part I of Champlain Society editions.

Draft E: May 29 to October 5, 1850

On May 29, 1850 Thompson again made a decision to "correct [his] travels" and he spent June 11 to July 5 examining and correcting to page 26 of the previous draft and composing a new opening. July 6 to September 16 were spent composing pages 27a-27zd and September 27 to October 1 examining and correcting pages 28-41. On October 5 Thompson

compiled Index III, covering to page 41. Entries for October 6 to February 28, 1851 contain no references to work on *Travels* (61b:7-32, numerous entries).

Thirty-five pages were composed at this time, before Thompson had to put away the manuscript forever. So, while these do not constitute a new draft they do constitute a major block of composition and deserve to be considered as a distinct body of work. Six of the pages were published in Tyrrell; the remaining twenty-nine are the Archives of Ontario manuscript, and were published as Chapter IIa in Glover's edition.

Fragments

In addition to the pages which can be assigned to specific drafts, there are four blocks of text which are associated with, though not integrated into the *Travels*. The first of these is the nineteen-page appendix, containing information on mountains, rivers and lakes from the Pacific to the Great Lakes basin. Though Thompson catalogued this appendix at the end of Index II, journals show that it was composed in May 1847.

The remaining three blocks of text are now housed with the manuscript at Thomas Fisher; they are four pages on water, ten on Native peoples and nine on mountains. These pages appear in no index, but because they remained with the manuscript it is possible that Thompson had intended to work

them into his narrative. Indeed, Thompson had twice integrated free-standing essays on specific themes into the *Travels*; eight pages on the fauna of the Hudson Bay Lowlands were taken into draft B as 33c-k, while six pages on the Aurora Borealis became 104a-f of draft D. I return to consider the four unattached fragments in chapter 9.

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Having examined the purely material aspects of these five successive drafts of the *Travels*, I now turn to consider their content and topical structure. The structure of the *Travels* is often indicated by the text's many signposts and cross-references. Signposts are inserted when Thompson shifts from one topic to another; in draft B, for example, having written on the Hudson Bay Lowlands he informs us "I now turn to the interior country" (IV.28). These notes sometimes relate pieces of the text to one another; having described the Plains in draft D Thompson writes "I hope I have now given such a general view of the formation of the Great Plains and their eastern borders as will enable the reader readily to follow me in my travels" (IV.133).

Cross-references occur when Thompson sends the reader to another area of his text, either to a subject which has already been dealt with or to one which he intended to treat farther along the narrative road. Early in draft B he tells the reader "Other Birds and Animals I shall notice when

writing on the interior countries" (IV.23), while late in draft D he notes that he is repeating information he had already given on the Piegan.[33]

These transitional and directional notes indicate how Thompson himself conceived of the shape and dynamic movement of his text. Over the course of composition he tried to achieve an ideal organization of material within his narrative, seeking to avoid repetition and to arrange information on his life and travels, Native peoples, the land and the fur trade in a logical and coherent fashion. To prepare to see how Thompson approached this task in successive drafts of his narrative, I now summarize the contents and basic structure of the five drafts which have been established. In addition to giving a sense of the general shape of the drafts, these summaries point to critical areas meriting closer attention in individual chapter studies. Again I present general summaries in narrative form and specific details in Appendix C; figures 1 to 5 of this appendix each list the contents and page numbers of a single draft.

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[33] Another kind of self-referential comment is that in which Thompson seems to speak not to the reader, but to himself. In draft B, after having strayed away from the description of the yearly round of activities at York Factory to insert a series of stories about polar bears, Thompson frets "I must return to our occupations" (IV.19).

Draft A: 1845-1846

The scattered remains of draft A all concern bayside life. The draft opens with a description of Hudson Bay before moving through accounts of life at Churchill Factory and York Factory. Thompson is a minimal presence in these pages; his arrival at Churchill Factory and his journey from there to York Factory are the only points at which the author assumes a position of prominence. Three pages on the Inuit and two on the bayside winter climate also belong to this draft.

Draft B: 1846-1847

The first twelve pages of draft B are not extant. The surviving manuscript picks up on page 13 at York Factory; Thompson's account of life at this post runs to page 27 and concentrates on the seasonal round of bayside activity. Pages 28 to 51 concern the "Muskrat Country" (Canadian Shield) and cover such topics as trees, berries, wildlife, Native peoples and natural phenomena, concluding with a detailed account of deer.

Pages 51 to 100 describe Thompson's activities between 1796 and 1798. These include his journey to Lake Athabasca (1796), winter at Reindeer Lake (1796-1797), transfer to the North West Company (1797), journey to the Mandan Villages (1797-1798) and travels to the Mississippi and Lake Superior (1798). At times Thompson inserts topical passages into

these chronological accounts; the subjects covered include the origin of Natives, an Ojibway-Cheyenne battle and the phenomena of the Wahbino and Windigo.

Thompson abruptly breaks off the chronological movement of draft B with the statement "I shall now proceed to give a general view of the mode of carrying on the Fur Trade" (III.100). This essay takes up fourteen pages. Then follow three geographically-based sections: six pages on the Rocky Mountains, ten on the Plains and three on the Canadian Shield.

Pages 133 to 175 are on the Natives of North America, and Thompson covers the Inuit, Chipewyans, Cree, Sarcee, Stone and Piegan in varying degrees of detail. After page 175, the narrative becomes very unfocused. Other topics intrude into the survey of Natives, and in the space of thirteen pages Thompson writes on insects, the Aurora Borealis, the origin of Natives (again), coal mines, porcupines and skunks. Then, pages 188 to 193 are on the Piegan.

The basis of the narrative then shifts abruptly to Thompson's own activities. Pages 194 to 259 follow his career from 1807 to early 1812; the most focused part of this chronological section is the 1811 journey to the Pacific. The final topics covered in draft B are a Salish war council and religious beliefs of Natives west of the mountains, before the draft is suspended.

Draft C: 1847-1848

The contents and structure of draft C are largely identical to those of draft B. The draft's top and tail are different, and some supplementary material was added in the middle. The first twelve pages concern Hudson Bay, Churchill Factory, and the 1785 journey to York Factory. Significant additions in the body of the draft are on the Cree, Chipewyan and animals of the Canadian Shield.

The final thirty pages of draft B were replaced in draft C with ninety-four new pages. These concern Thompson's journeys of 1811-1812, and again the centrepiece is the journey to the Pacific. This largely chronological movement also contains some topical passages, such as those on the Ilthkoyapes and on a Piegan-Salish war. This draft brings the story of Thompson's travels to Montreal in August 1812.

Draft D: 1848-1849

Draft D opens with Thompson's 1784 voyage to Churchill Factory, which includes some words on his childhood. Like drafts B and C, this draft also concentrates on various aspects of bayside life to page 27. Pages 28 to 81 concern the Canadian Shield, which Thompson divides in two regions which he names "Muskrat Country" and "The Stony Region." This part of the draft is topically wide-ranging, including substantial material on the Cree, deer, topography, fishery,

animals, meteors and climate.

The next portion of draft D covers Thompson's activities between 1796 and 1798. This is a huge movement, stretching from pages 82 to 238 and so making up more than half of the draft. The chronological story of Thompson's activities during these years covers the same events as had the comparable movement in draft B, but here is enriched by more frequent and more detailed topical passages. These concern such subjects as the Chipewyans, the Aurora Borealis, the history of the North West Company, the Plains, "Man and the Beaver," and the Ojibway.

Thompson abandons chronology in draft D's final movement. Comprising pages 239 to 313, this portion of the text is on the western plains and forest lands. Thompson begins by writing on topics related to the fur trading posts at Red Deer's Lake and Peace River, including hunting, animals and Natives. Then follows an account of the 1781-1782 smallpox epidemic, which leads into a thirty-two page section on the Piegan, the centrepiece of which is Saukamappee's narrative. Draft D closes with assorted notes on Natives of the Plains.

Draft E: 1850

Draft E consists of three new pieces which in 1850 were worked into the initial parts of draft D. The first is a four-page section, affixed to the beginning of the draft, on

Thompson's voyage to Churchill Factory. A second, two-page piece concerning Thompson's work at Churchill Factory supplements the section on bayside life. The description of life at York Factory is then followed by the final, largest and most important new section, pages 27a-zd, which details Thompson's activities in the interior from 1786 to 1790.

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These summaries describe the five states of the *Travels*. If our goal is to understand the dynamic development of the text through the juxtaposition of these drafts, a detailed genetic study of all 716 extant pages of the *Travels* would neither be feasible nor critically useful. Instead, I have chosen to examine specific areas within the *Travels* which also reflect the broader text's development. The content, structure and bibliographic characteristics of the five drafts suggest a number of specific areas worthy of such study, and I have chosen five such areas on which to base the following chapter studies:

Beginnings

Here we consider the development of the opening parts of the text across all five drafts. The opening to the *Travels* was the most often-revised area of the narrative, and after the composition of draft C these pages were not thrown out, but were continually augmented and reorganized. This area merits study for the complexity of the manuscript

alone, but can also help to illuminate Thompson's developing conception of the generic and structural nature of his narrative. A key question is, how and why did the opening of the *Travels* change over the years 1845 to 1850?

The Cree: Content and Context

This study compares Thompson's writings on the Cree between drafts B and C and draft D. We study changes in content, and because structure begins to shift between these drafts, we also examine where the material is placed in the context of the whole narrative. The question to be answered is, how do Thompson's writings on the Cree reflect changes in content and structure between drafts?

Not Real, But True

Here we look at Thompson's use of his original 1811 field notes in composing the story of his travels on the Columbia River and stay at Astoria in both drafts B and C. Special attention is paid to changes in style, content and narrative structure as the journal is transformed into the draft B account, and then as this account is in turn altered for draft C. This will help us to understand how Thompson's story of his Columbia journey changed as it was retold.

Writing the Plains

In this study I look at Thompson's compilation of

assorted topical material related to the Plains in draft D. We examine the sources of the information that Thompson includes and at the way his reading of the land intersects with contemporary thought. From what disparate sources did Thompson draw his material, and what principles guided its assembly?

The Dark Backward and Abysm of Time

Finally we turn to pages 27a-zd of 1850's draft E, the last piece that Thompson was to compose for his narrative. Here we consider how this block of text was woven into the pre-existing draft D. The question to be answered is, how did pages 27a-zd change the *Travels* that had existed at the end of 1849?

These chapters pose diverse critical questions about the nature of Thompson's text, while covering a broad topical, temporal and bibliographical range. The subject matter covered reflects the many concerns which run through the *Travels*: Native peoples, regional geography, specific journeys and Thompson's own life, while the temporal scope runs from Thompson's arrival at Churchill Factory in 1784 to his trip to the Pacific in 1811. Likewise, the chapters cover a wide geographical range, including Hudson Bay, the Plains and the Columbia River.

I also examine various aspects of the text's

composition, including the evolution of a single area of the narrative across all five drafts, changes between single drafts and the use of extratextual material; one chapter looks at Thompson's use of his field journals and another at the place of his text within the contemporary interpretive context.

Finally, in these chapters I employ different forms of genetic criticism. In the first three chapters I use a narrow form, juxtaposing multiple states of the *Travels* manuscript (and in one case a journal). In the latter two chapters I use genetic criticism in its broader form; in chapter 7 I seek textual roots outside Thompson's writing, while in chapter 8 I examine the integration of new material into an existing narrative. These chapters examine specific pieces of Thompson's narrative, and the focus of each is sharp. In chapter 9 I again pull back to consider the *Travels* as a whole, and there situate the chapter studies in the more general context of the text's evolution. But now, let us begin where Thompson began.

FOUR

Beginnings

It is an unfortunate loss to the literature of Canadian exploration that Thompson never finished his *Travels*; if it is any consolation, he started it five times. Two reasons might explain why this is so. First, composition was seriously interrupted at least twice, and when resuming after these long breaks Thompson did not return to where he had left off, but rather went back to the beginning of the text. Draft D began shortly after Thompson had recovered from his attack of blindness, while draft E followed his bout with cholera. Second, Thompson had no written source material for his first years in North America (not having begun to keep a journal until 1789); he could not work directly from notes, and so it is logical that he would need to revise and supplement his story as the recollection of past events resurfaced in his mind in the disjointed and sporadic way that distant memories do.

But neither reason can explain *how* the opening of the *Travels* changed. These alterations consist not merely of touch-ups and the addition of information, but the substitution of entirely new points of reference and the

interruption of one authorial voice by one quite different. The *Travels* began in 1845 with an empirical, measured description of Hudson Bay, but by 1850 the opening had grown to include material on Thompson's childhood, anecdotes about his journey to North America and candid notes about the recent history of Churchill Factory, in addition to geographical data. The 1845 and 1850 texts read like the openings of two entirely different works, the former a scientific treatise and the latter a collection of adventure stories. Indeed, the genetic story of the openings is a microcosm of the development of the *Travels* as a whole, embodying the tensions between scientist and storyteller and between narration and description so apparent throughout the work.

Here I examine how the *Travels'* first pages changed across the text's five drafts. I refer primarily to twelve manuscript pages. Three of these, I.1-3, belong to draft A of the *Travels*, written in 1845-1846, and were discarded when Thompson began draft B. The other nine, IV.1-9, are from drafts C (IV.7-9), D (IV.5-6) and E (IV.1-4); as the page numbering intimates, these nine pages were all retained as the text developed, as Thompson prefixed existing openings with new material. The basis for the selection of the pages studied here is content: I consider what Thompson writes of before he begins his tenure at Churchill Factory, and by extension his North American travels, which is the

stated topic of his work.

Table 2 illustrates the evolution of the openings of the text. Four stages of composition can be isolated: 1) November 1845 to 1846, when the three draft A pages were written, 2) August-September 1847, when the opening of draft C was composed, 3) late 1849 or early 1850, when two pages were affixed to the beginning of draft D, and 4) June 1850, when four pages were added during the assembly of draft E. The fifth opening, the initial pages of Draft B, has not survived.

In this chapter I move chronologically from draft to draft, providing both a bibliographic description of the manuscript pages and an analysis of how the contents evolved during the text's composition. I conclude with a general evaluation of the development of this part of the text.

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Draft A: 1845-1846

On November 4, 1845 Thompson wrote in his journal: "Began my Travels, and finished the Description of Hudson's Bay" (84:11). Such a description can be found on the two single sheets I.1 and I.2, part of the draft A block of twelve pages. Content also marks them as part of this first draft; what Thompson wrote here was polished, rearranged and expanded in later drafts. There is a seam in the block of twelve pages between I.1-2 and I.3-12; the style of page numbering changes from cardinal to ordinal, there are 4½

Table 2: Opening Pages of the Travels, 1845-1850

Note: An asterisk represents the composition of a new page, and dotted lines trace the integration of previously composed pages into new drafts.

A:1845-46	[B]	C:Aug-Sept 1847	D:1849-50	E:June 1850
*1				
*2				
*3				
				*IV.1
				*IV.2
				*IV.3
				*IV.4
			*(1)---------	IV.5
			*(2)---------	IV.6
		*1-----------------	----------	IV.7
		*2-----------------	----------	IV.8
		*3-----------------	----------	IV.9

blank lines on the bottom of I.2. and no catchword from I.2 to I.3. The subject also changes, from the description of Hudson Bay to an account of Thompson's arrival at Churchill Factory. Handwriting, ink, paper, and binding are identical in both sections. For purposes of comparison with later versions pages I.1-3 are considered together here, but there remains a compositional gap of at least five months; having written I.1-2 in November 1845, Thompson did not resume work on his *Travels* until April 1846 at the earliest.

Draft A opens with enumerative, empirical information: the coordinates, shape, area, and tributary rivers of Hudson Bay and a description of the coastal lands from the Seal to the Rupert. Thompson then analyses the land surrounding the bay (the Hudson Bay Lowlands) as an "alluvial" and speculates on its geological origins.[34] By 1845 Hudson Bay had been described in numerous works, and the geological information contained on I.1-2 is not new.[35] But Thompson's particular talents are for analysis and assimilation; the task here is to present a systematic view

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[34] The use of the word "alluvial" as a substantive is rare. Thompson's usage here predates the first *OED* citation (to *Harper's* magazine) by twenty-one years (*OED* I:349).

[35] Works on Hudson Bay and bayside life preceding Thompson's own include exploration accounts by Jens Munck, Luke Foxe, Henry Ellis, T.S. Drage, Samuel Hearne, John Franklin and Dr. John Richardson, and more general texts by Arthur Dobbs, Joseph Robson, Edward Umfreville and R.M. Ballantyne. Recurring elements in this body of writing include exploration of the bay, Inuit and Chipewyans, the Aurora Borealis, the Hudson's Bay Company posts, polar bears, mosquitoes, fisheries and winter climate.

of the entire lowlands region, by describing its most prominent features and placing it in the context of two bounding landforms: the "granitic ridge" on the west and the boulder-strewn strand on the east. Thompson the scientist reads the land as a dynamic system caught up in ongoing geological processes; unlike most previous writers on the area, he sees it in its physiographical entirety and not simply as the land that happens to surround the Company posts.[36]

Only after he reads the land does Thompson introduce himself into it. At the top of I.3, under the heading "The author lands at Churchill Factory, Hudson's Bay," he writes: "In the month of May 1784, I embarked on the good ship Prince Rupert, and in the month of September, anchored in the entrance of Churchill River." This statement is followed by a description of the site and buildings of Churchill Factory and Thompson's lodgings, the unloading of cargo, and the departure of the *Prince Rupert*. Thompson's account of the physical lay-out of Churchill Factory is unremarkable. Of more interest are the private details that he includes in this account, such as his dismay at the

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[36] Thompson's thoughts about the origin of the lowlands area, which take up most of I.2., are emblematic of the workings of his mind. He speculates that the alluvial had been formed from soil either washed off the bay's rocky northwest shores and deposited by prevailing currents on the southwest and south shores, or carried down from the interior by the region's rivers. Thompson moves from description to analysis, seeking cause beneath effect.

spartan nature of his quarters and his feelings as he watches the ship sail away:

> While the Ship remained at anchor, from my parent and friends, appeared only a few weeks distance, but when the ship sailed, and from the top of the rocks I lost sight of her the distance became immeasurable and I bid a long and sad farewell to my noble, my sacred country, an exile for ever. (I.3)

The confessional, elegiac tone of this reflection contrasts with the very impersonal two pages which had preceded it.

Thompson made only one significant change to this section after it had been composed, excising fifty words from the passage on the geological origins of the Hudson Bay Lowlands. In doing so he removed one of two conflicting geological theories, leaving only his speculation that the alluvial lands were formed by the deposit of rivers flowing from the interior.

There is evidence throughout the *Travels* to suggest that Thompson regarded geographical information as subservient to the events and travels to be related. Many of the signposts in drafts B, C and D reflect this intention, and Thompson had clearly stated the relative importance of these two modes of discourse in the precursor "Travels" of 1843.[37] In draft A, after seeing the *Prince*

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[37] Here Thompson had written:

The Travels of the Author, being over the northern part

Rupert off from the cliffs above the factory, Thompson shifts his focus with the statement "The country, soil, and climate in which we live, always has a powerful effect upon the state of society, and the movements and comforts of every individual" (I.3), which implies that geographical discourse supports the story of the author's "movements."

But this text tells us otherwise. The first and most fully realized function of the opening of draft A is to describe the Hudson Bay Lowlands, and very little of the information given on pages I.1-2 illuminates Thompson's limited activities in the region. While the working title of Thompson's text was always the *Travels*, here the journey of the author to his destination is secondary to the destination itself. We must conclude that Thompson's geographical description is placed here as much for its own sake as for the light it casts on his own travels.

Draft B: 1846 or 1847

The first twelve pages of draft B are no longer extant. As I showed in chapter 3, when Thompson began draft C in the fall of 1847 he replaced these pages. Then, satisfied with the contents of the manuscript starting at IV.13, he began to transfer pages directly from draft B into draft C.

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of north America an obscure country, it is necessary to describe the surface of this part of north america, to the more easy understanding the descriptions of the travels in the several parts which are included in these countries. (71:53)

What were the contents of the draft B opening? Notes on pages I.1-12 reveal that Thompson made extensive additions to draft A. These supplementary pages have not survived, so when Thompson wrote the opening of draft B in 1846 or early 1847, he must have integrated material from them into the new work. In draft A Thompson had arrived at York Factory on the eighth page, while in draft B he arrives there on the still-extant thirteenth page. So, the draft B opening likely retained the form of draft A, while containing somewhat more matter.

Draft C: 1847

Like draft A, draft C begins with geographical description and takes three pages to situate Thompson in the North American context, but these parallels mask differences in authorial perspective and organization of material. The three opening pages of draft C are now identified as IV.7-9; that these pages form the opening of a new draft is apparent from what Thompson had originally written at the top of IV.7:

> The travels of David Thompson in Hudson's Bay, and the interior Countries to the Pacific Ocean 1784 a 1812 being twenty eight consecutive Years, during which for the last twenty two years regular Journals of every day were kept....(IV.7)

Again Thompson opens his narrative proper with Hudson Bay's

shape, coordinates, area and tributaries, and then describes various landscape features. While the subjects are the same, many details change. Thompson places the bay in a wider geographical context, relating it to the Atlantic Ocean, James Bay and Hudson Straits, polishes his description of the coast between the Seal and the Churchill and adds the coordinates of Churchill Factory. His treatment of the Hudson Bay Lowlands is distilled; the 557 words devoted to this area in 1845 shrink to but 112 here. The "alluvial" and "granitic ridge" are briefly noted, but removed are descriptions of the lowlands and their extent, theories about geological origin and a note on the receding sea.

Instead, much of this information is transferred elsewhere in draft C. On IV.10 Thompson tells of his winter activities at Churchill Factory; he writes that while shooting curlews near the post he had heard the splitting of one of the large rocks of the granitic ridge, then states that the pebbled land below this ridge is the ancient sea bed. So, what had been stated in general terms in draft A is here worked into the narrative through an anecdote. Likewise, on III.10, during the tale of his 1785 journey from Churchill Factory to York Factory, Thompson describes the ebb tide and the appearance of boulders on the mud flats, characterizing the alluvial as "marsh, morass, and numerous ponds of water." This information too is related

though personal experience; the appearance of tide and boulders take their place alongside the events of the sixth day of the journey.

Thompson's rearrangement of material reflects a shift from description to narration, and from an objective to a subjective perspective. What had been a general survey of the Hudson Bay Lowlands moves towards a gradual revelation of the area as it is encountered; Thompson frames his material as personal observation rather than as universal principle, and so brings the reader closer to the learning process that the author himself experienced.

In 1847 Thompson removed entirely the description of Churchill Factory and his lodgings, the unloading of cargo, and the departure of the *Prince Rupert*. Indeed, the description of the Churchill Factory had become superfluous, for later in draft C Thompson was to give a full account of life at York Factory, in which he would write "The society and occupations of the factories...are so much alike, that the description of one Factory may serve for all the others" (IV.16). More significant is the excision of his reflection on the ship's departure, for here the only reference to Thompson's mother in the *Travels* is effaced. The most curious change is the removal of any mention of Thompson's actual arrival in North America. Whereas in draft A he had told the reader how and when he had travelled from London to Churchill, in draft C Thompson is suddenly there after

having mentioned that every year a ship arrives at the post. The reader is left to infer that Thompson had been on the ship, and must refer back to the heading to determine the year.

Unlike draft A, in which Thompson had moved abruptly from geographical description to the personal narrative of his voyage and arrival, here he shifts from geography to history, writing on Fort Prince of Wales, the 1769 visit of the astronomer William Wales, the French capture of the fort in 1782 and Samuel Hearne. These last two additions are the most substantial. Thompson deploys a system of codes to discredit Hearne, never confessing personal dislike for the man, but allowing certain details of his account to speak for him. Rather than stating outright that Hearne is a poor commander, Thompson slyly implies: "...from [Hearne's] conduct Admiral De la Peyrouse judged what kind of a Commander of the Fort he had to contend with..." (IV.8). While calling Hearne neither recreant nor a sybarite, Thompson notes that he had been fired for cowardice and that he occupied the only comfortable quarters in the factory.[36]

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[36] Also, Thompson mentions Hearne's enthusiasm for "Voltaire's Dictionary" and claims that he joined the "Bucks Club" on his return to England. Voltaire's *Dictionnaire philosophique, portatif* (1764) is a key Enlightenment text considered heretical by Christians, while the "Bold Bucks" were a club of hell-raisers whom Joseph Addison described as "distinguished by [their] debauchery" (Robert J. Allen, 121). Thompson uses these references to tint his portrait of Hearne with hues of apostasy. For a critique of this account, see Glover's "The Witness of David Thompson."

The major changes between the openings of drafts A and C include redeployment of geological information about the Hudson Bay Lowlands region, removal of the personal details of Thompson's first days at Churchill Factory and addition of information about the factory's recent history. These changes move in two directions, at once more and less personal. The opening becomes more personal in its treatment of the geography of the Hudson Bay region, as landscape features are described as they are encountered and Thompson provides a subjective assessment of his first master. The opening becomes less personal in the removal of Thompson's arrival at Churchill, his reaction to his quarters and his feelings of exile.

These two movements balance the opening. Draft A had begun with a scientific, objective description of the landscape (I.1-2), before becoming personal and subjective in the account of Thompson's first days in North America (I.3). In draft C these extremes are tempered, as Thompson limits generalized geographical description while excising the most personal of details. But the conceptual framework of the opening remains the same: Thompson again opens his text with the description of a place before introducing himself into that place.

These changes from draft A (and B) to draft C represent the last major alterations that Thompson made to opening material he had already written, and what he produced in

1847 stood into the last draft; the two subsequent versions consist of prefacing this section with additional material, and this is when the balance of the text's opening changed most decisively.[39]

Draft D: late 1849 or early 1850

When in June 1848 Thompson "put the sheets [of the *Travels*] in order for final correction" (75:42) the draft C opening was at first integrated unchanged into draft D, but by the time he had completed work on the draft, two new pages had been prefixed to it. These are identified as "+2 pages of introduction" in a notation in the upper margin of the first page of Index II (78:73). The pages, IV.5-6, are a single loose bifolia of white unmarked paper and are written in the same late hand as the 1848-1849 draft and journals. The upper two-thirds of the first leaf are cut away, which likely happened when the opening to draft E was composed.

So, after having written draft D, Thompson added new material to the opening of his text. He must have sensed that his opening lacked something, and by examining what he added we should be able to discover what he perceived this to be. The one-and-a-third pages which remain contain a

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[39] One minor change was made to draft C after it was composed. To standardize riverine nomenclature, Thompson substituted "Kissiskatchewan" at the three points at which the name "Nelson" had originally appeared.

comparison of the Scottish and English landscapes, the story of a trip to an Orkney smuggler's croft, the description of a Stromness minister and his congregation, and the journey of the *Prince Rupert* to Churchill. The clipped fragment likely contained an abbreviated account of the embarkation of the ship and its voyage to the Orkney Islands, which is where the surviving manuscript opens. On the level of content, this opening corrects the omission of draft C, which had not revealed how Thompson got to North America, for here he sketches in the antecedent action of his voyage from the Old World to the New. Thompson may also have realized that his travels began not when he landed in North America, but rather when he left London. The story of Thompson's activities displaces (but does not replace) information about Hudson Bay, and so Thompson reverses the relative priority of geographical description and personal narration.

The new opening also provides the hook into the narrative that had been lacking in draft C: the trip to the smuggler's croft to buy contraband liquor wins the attention of the reader in a way that a recitation of facts about Hudson Bay simply had not. On another level, this story provides a link between the world being described and the world of the reader. Thompson blames the existence of smuggling on high tariffs, and high duties were as much an

issue in 1840s Canada as they had been in Britain in 1784.[40] In commenting on an incident that had occurred sixty-five years previously, Thompson cleverly enters a contemporary debate.

The primacy of narration over description and the presence of anecdote also mark Thompson's shift away from the voice of the scientist and towards that of the storyteller, and it is appropriate that orality is present in the new opening. In his description of the preaching of Reverend Falkner at the Stromness Kirk Thompson commends the prelate's use of the plain language appropriate to his parishioners.

Finally, the new opening tells the reader about the nature of the narrative as a whole. Thompson calls Scotland "a new world," contrasting its rocky barrenness to the beauty, verdure and oaks of England, and thus prepares the reader for what is to follow: the sequential revelation of ever newer worlds as he travels through western North America.

The new draft D opening changed the beginning of the *Travels* radically, by providing antecedent action, displacing description and the voice of the scientist with narration and that of the storyteller, and preparing the reader for the contents of *Travels*. All of these new

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[40] Because of a steady increase in duties on a broad range of items, beginning in 1688, smuggling was rampant in the British Isles by the late eighteenth century.

elements were then accentuated and augmented in the opening to draft E, in which Thompson reached still farther back into the past.

Draft E: June 1850

On May 29, 1850 Thompson recorded the decision to "correct [his] travels," which he had not worked on for almost a full year, and during mid-June he composed pages IV.1-4. Thompson's entry of June 24 shows that by then the first ten pages of the narrative existed as they now stand in the University of Toronto collection; he noted that he "corrected 4 pages 4(10)" (61b:10), which presumably indicates that the old page 4 had become the new page 10, as is the case in Index III.

As Thompson had prefixed the *Travels* with draft D's pages IV.5-6, so in 1850 he placed IV.1-4 at the beginning of the text. Pages IV.1-4 are written in the unstable late hand and russet ink of the 1850 journals and pages 27a-zd (composed between July and September 1850), while pages IV.5-6 are written in black ink more typical of Draft D. Page numbering is another clue to what happened: "6" was substituted for "2" at the top of the second page of draft D's new introduction (the top of the first page no longer exists), while draft C's pages 1 and 2 were renumbered "7" and "8." The top of IV.5 was cut away and IV.4 has 1½ blank lines at bottom; here Thompson made adjustments to connect

the narrative line.

Disjunctions in content seal the case. There is some material on IV.5 which Thompson would not have stated in the manner he does had he already written IV.1-4. For example, the sentiment of "This place was to me a new world" (IV.5) is repeated by "I could not help staring to see if [what] was before me was reality for I had never read of such a place" (IV.3) and the assertion that there was "not a tree to be seen" (IV.5) by the statement "at length [I] exclaimed I see no trees..." (IV.3). While Thompson had stated on IV.5 "I could not conceive by what means the people lived," on IV.4 he includes an account of the potash industry, noting that it gains the workers tenpence a day. Finally, a list of the places where Thompson took childhood strolls is repeated. The sentence at the end of these four new manuscript pages, "I could not help comparing this hard, wet labor for tenpence a day, where not even a whistle was heard, with the merry songs of the plough boys in England" (IV.4), masks the faultline in the text between the story of the workers (IV.4) and the reflection on the differences between Scotland and England (IV.5).

The four new pages follow the 1784 voyage of the *Prince Rupert*. They open with its departure in May, devote much attention to its anchorage in Stromness, and contain three specific incidents. In the one digression from the chronology of this section Thompson writes of his childhood

in Westminster and of his reading. The same impulses which had motivated Thompson in the composition of the new opening to draft D also guide his hand here. While Thompson augments the antecedent action and prepares the reader more fully for the contents of the *Travels*, the two most significant aspects of the new opening are a further movement towards narration and the primacy of the voice of the storyteller.

Chronological narration is apparent in the very first lines of the new opening:

> In the month of May 1784 at the Port of London I embarked in the Ship Prince Rupert belonging to the Hudsons Bay Company, as Appentice [sic] and Clerk to the said company, bound for Churchill Factory, on the west side of the bay. (IV.1)

And so Thompson followed what Conrad was to call the "waterway leading to the uttermost ends of the earth" (*Heart of Darkness* 62). In recounting his embarkation, Thompson provides a time, place of departure, means of transportation and destination--the sentence is remarkable for its immediacy. Unlike the beginnings of drafts A and C, which had set the stage for Thompson's activities through landscape description, draft E opens *in medias res*, and so the text called the *Travels* no longer defers the actual

physical travels of the author.[41] Chronology is sustained as Thompson tells of the journey to Stromness, and when the ship arrives in the Orkneys Thompson digresses, not to engage in empirical description, but rather to write of his own upbringing.

The change in the opening of the *Travels* establishes even more clearly the new point of reference established in draft D; though Thompson's text still mixes the narration of the author's travels with systematic description of the lands in which he travels, the former is further privileged over the latter. Likewise, the storyteller who had begun to emerge in the draft D opening is fully in charge of the narrative on these new pages, especially in the three anecdotes. These are two encounters on the way to Stromness, first with a Dutch smuggler and then with Scottish fishermen, and an incident between the ship's officers and a group of Orkney peasants. Each of these stories is finely crafted; Thompson renders them suspenseful and humorous, deftly sketches the traits of his characters, and includes in each a moral lesson.

Thompson himself appears in the encounter with the

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[41] During the same time that Thompson wrote these words he was reading George Simpson's *An Overland Journey Round the World During the Years 1841 and 1842* (61b:8-9). This text begins "On the morning of the 3rd of March, 1841, I started from Euston Square, by railway, for Liverpool, at a quarter past nine o'clock" (17), and like Thompson, Simpson recounts a transatlantic sea voyage and makes liberal use of anecdotes.

Scottish fishermen, where he is given the job of giving them some of the ship's biscuits. This meeting with members of another culture introduces to the *Travels* the pervasive theme of intercultural contact, and his translation of "fettels for their creels" foreshadows his mediation of the discourses of other groups for his reader. The encounter between the Orkney potash workers and the ship's officers is presented in a dramatic call-and-response format, in which the two groups wage a war of discourse through a series of threats and bluffs.

The story of the Dutch smuggler is perhaps the best of the three, and is notable especially for its archetypal characters, clever syntax and ironic voice. There are three individuated figures in the story: the Dutchman, the gunner who makes a purchase from him ("a tall handsome young man") and the ship's carpenter ("an old cruiser"), who echo the classic folk trio of trickster, naive young man and wise elder. Having bought a case of "gin" from the smuggler, the ship's crew discover to the gunner's dismay that, save for the sample bottle they had tasted, the contents are actually sea water. Thompson's syntax conveys the haste of the transaction:

> ...they were soon on board of the lugger, a case of Gin was produced, a glass tasted; approved, the dutchman was in a hurry, as he said a Revenue Cutter was cruising near hand, and he must luff off; a Guinea was

paid, the case locked, put into the boat....(IV.1)

Here Thompson is at the height of his powers as an ironist. The irony is dramatic--the Dutchman claims he is in a hurry to evade the authorities, while he actually wants to get away before the crew realizes it has been duped--and at the same time situational, as the officers, trying to outwit Inland Revenue, are in turn outwitted by the Dutch.

Thompson uses the *Prince Rupert's* anchorage at Stromness to disrupt chronology and to sketch in the antecedent information of his life in London. Thompson's digression on his childhood has three parts: a brief history of the Grey Coat School he had attended, a list of his childhood haunts and an acknowledgement of his earliest literary influences: *The Tales of the Genii, The Persian Tales, The Arabian Tales, Robinson Crusoe,* and *Gulliver's Travels.*[42] It is worth pausing over these books; their

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[42] Tyrrell and White have written on Thompson's tenure at the Grey Coat School (Tyrrell, Introduction xxiii-xxv, and White xx-xxiii), while Richard Ruggles has written on the charity schools which provided boys for the Hudson's Bay Company.

Although this was the first time in his composition of the *Travels* that Thompson had referred to his childhood, he had written on the subject in a letter of May 9, 1845 to Sir James Alexander, in which Thompson offered advice on the Oregon Question:

> In Westminster on the royal foundation I received a mathematical education for the Royal Navy. I was free in Westminster Abbey it's venerable cloisters were my play grounds. The peace of 1783, and the reduction of the navy, did not require us, and the Class had to enter into merchant service: and my lot fell to be engaged to the Hudson's Bay Company, and in September 1784 I was landed at Churchill, the most northern of

authors are among Thompson's first instructors in the art of storytelling and each work has a rich intertextual relationship to the *Travels* itself.

The Arabian Tales, more commonly known as the *Arabian Nights*, is the best-known of the three story collections mentioned. This work, drawn from the body of Arabic literature, consists of marvellous stories told over 1001 nights by Scheherezade in order to forestall death. The tales concern Eastern cultures, many convey moral lessons, and travel is a key component, especially in the voyages of Sinbad.

Though less well known, *The Persian Tales* are comparable. These stories, originally published in French in 1710-1712, are drawn from a medieval Persian manuscript; an English translation of 1714 went through thirteen editions in the eighteenth century (British Library, *ESTC*). Ambrose Philips, in his translator's introduction,

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their factories. (PRO. FO 5/441)

Elements that this letter shares with the *Travels* include attendance at the Westminster school on "royal foundation," spending time at Westminster Abbey--"venerable cloisters" becomes "venerable Abbey and it's cloisters"--and arrival at Churchill in September 1784. However, the letter states that Thompson went to the Hudson's Bay Company because of reduction in the Navy, while the *Travels* contains a history of the school and information about Thompson's favourite haunts and books. In the letter Thompson tried to impress Alexander, and in turn the Royal Geographical Society and the British government, with his mathematical abilities, in order to make his comments on his activities in the Oregon country more credible; in the *Travels* he included those aspects of his childhood which would appeal to a general reader.

emphasized the insights the stories give into foreign culture:

> The geography, the manners, the policies, the religion, and even the customs, buildings and habits of the countries, where the scene of every action lies, are all of them distinctly marked out as occasion offers. (I:x)

Like *The Arabian Nights*, many of the tales concern travel, and the text includes a long section entitled "The Singular Adventures of Aboulfaouaris, surnamed The Great Voyager." Philips also indicated the moral component of the stories:

> ...there is nothing in the whole cast of these Stories, which tends towards the corrupting of the heart, or the overthrowing of any moral or religious duties. (I:x)

The Tales of Genii, a work written pseudonymously by James Ridley from supposed Persian sources, is in fact an original work modelled on *The Arabian Nights*. First published in 1764, it went through twelve editions in thirty-five years (British Library, *ESTC*). Ridley too emphasized morality in his introduction, claiming that these tales were used by "religious teachers of Mahomet" as moral guides, and that the originals' "descriptions were lively, the tales interesting and delightful, and the morals aptly and beautifully couched, under the most entertaining images of a romantic imagination" (I:ix-x).

Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) and Jonathan

Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1726) form appropriate bookends to this five-volume collection. The former tells a tale of adventure in unknown lands, in which the protagonist must survive by becoming self-sufficient and innovative, and by overcoming spiritual torpor; the latter, though more satiric, also concerns exploration of new lands and exposition of new cultures. And both works, for all their apparent concern with foreign lands, can be taken on an allegorical level as reflections of English society.

There are rich parallels between these five works and Thompson's own. These include travel and its attendant encounter with other cultures, and an episodic and fragmentary structure, but just as important is a strong moralizing tone; while Thompson was not a dour Puritan, he did place his narrative in a moral universe. This is obvious in the sketch of Hearne, and in the three anecdotes of the 1850 opening, which each contain moral lessons of varying degrees of subtlety. Also, the critical approach that Thompson recalls he and his schoolmates using is that typical of childhood reading: "What would I do were I in the position of the characters in the story?", an approach that places the reader at the centre of the text as moral agent. Like Defoe and Swift, Thompson uses his description of other lands and cultures to reflect back upon English and Euro-American society. Thompson's placement of these five works in the opening section of his *Travels* emphasizes his

literary forebears and models, and makes these storytellers the governors of his work.

But Thompson does not abandon his scientist persona entirely. When he first gazes at the hills of Scotland, the storyteller meets the scientist and books encounter experience. Thompson had thought that he would have prior knowledge of any place that he might come to, but this illusion is shattered within Britain itself: "I could not help staring to see if [what] was before me was reality, *for I had never read of such a place*" (IV.3, emphasis mine). The storytelling impulse, prone to rhetoric and exaggeration, must be balanced by empirical observation.

The opening of draft E thus enhances those qualities that had been introduced in draft D's first pages. The three anecdotes and the five intertexts each reflect the voice of the storyteller and introduce themes of travel, intercultural contact and morality, while the immediacy of the opening sentence and the chronological account of the ship's progress further privilege narration over description. Finally, in the inclusion of information about his childhood, Thompson moves from narration of his travels alone to narration of his wider life.[43]

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[43] The opening of draft E has close affinities with the other material Thompson added in 1850. Shortly after composing IV.1-4 Thompson cut draft C's page 9 and placed the bifolium IV.9a-b into the gap. These new pages begin with a series of anecdotes about mosquitoes, but turn abruptly to Thompson's own activities during the winter of 1784-1785. Books are of central importance; Thompson

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When reading editions of the *Travels* one is struck by the disjunction of the opening pages. Thompson seems to juggle uneasily the description of Hudson Bay, the story of his voyage to North America and the deeper narrative of his own life, while style and tone shift abruptly from the candid and personal to the baldly factual. The genetic story just recounted reveals the source of these disjunctions; the opening pages as they have come down to us are in fact an amalgamation of three separate openings, written at different times and under different authorial impulses.

Thompson wanted to write an effective, engaging story, and as a storyteller knew that he had to win his reader in the first few pages of the work. Opening words are often the hardest ones for an author to write; they must strike a balance of immediacy and promise, revealing enough to catch the reader's interest while concealing enough to sustain it. At the same time, they must tell the reader about the nature of a text as a whole. The way in which the opening words of the *Travels* changed over the five years of composition shows

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recalls reading works "on history and animated nature" and copying out Hearne's *Journey to the Northern Ocean*. The concluding sentence of this section, nicely ironic, brings us back to the *Arabian Nights*: "Hudson's Bay, is certainly a country that Sinbad the Sailor never saw, as he make[s] no mention of Musketoes" (III.9b). The most substantial block of text written in 1850, pages 27a-zd, is the subject of chapter 8.

that Thompson struggled to strike an appropriate balance in the opening pages of his work. The central question for Thompson must have been: How do I get myself to Churchill in 1784 in such a way that my reader is still with me when I arrive?

Almost everything that Thompson did over a five-year period tended to transform the opening from one centring on geographical description to one telling a narrative of travel. At the same time, the voice of the storyteller took over from that of the scientist. Draft A had opened with an objective, empirical analysis of the Hudson Bay region before shifting abruptly to the story of Thompson's arrival at Churchill Factory. Draft C had also begun with geographical data, but much of the information was redeployed, from a large generalized essay to a more gradual revelation, as the author himself encounters the land. This was the first step in the shift from description to narration.

The two pages Thompson prefixed to his text in draft D marked a more significant shift in the opening of the *Travels*, with the narration of Thompson's own journey to North America placed before the description of the area into which he arrived. The text now opened as a chronological travels, narrated by the traveller. However, these two pages consist mainly of general and impersonal details of the trip, and the only specific incident related is the trip

to the smuggler's croft.

Conversely, the draft E opening relies heavily on anecdote and is centred more closely on the figure of the author. In these four new pages Thompson writes on a more personal level, describing his childhood, his role in an encounter and his reactions to the land and people of the Orkneys. Here he is resolutely the storyteller, relating three well-turned tales and using references to other books as keys to the narrative.

The opening passages of the *Travels* moved from geographical description to a connected, chronological tale of travel, then gestured in the direction of autobiography. But the key point is this: aside from the draft A and B openings, Thompson did not discard what he had written. New openings were prefixed to the existing text, for Thompson saw these openings not as incompatible, but rather as complementary. He did not want to tell of *either* the Hudson Bay Lowlands *or* his childhood, or to speak *either* as a storyteller *or* as a scientist; his narrative is one which widened as it developed, opening space for a variety of authorial voices.

FIVE

The Cree: Content and Context

Native peoples pervade the *Travels*. Thompson discusses them as generalized groups in the narrative's many ethnographic studies, individuated Natives appear in Thompson's accounts of his own activities, while the Native relationship to the land underlies much of the text's treatment of natural history. More than thirty Native groups appear in the *Travels*, from the Inuit north of Churchill Factory to the Mandans on the Missouri River, and from the Ojibway around Sault Ste. Marie to the Chinook at the mouth of the Columbia River.[44] MacLulich went so far as to claim that the details with which Thompson supplements the story of his own activities "are all designed to expound the nature of Indian life" ("Canadian Exploration as Literature" 82), which allowed the critic to argue for the essential unity of the text.

But the *Travels* is more than a handbook to North American Natives, and the variable manner in which Natives appear reflects a narrative problem that faced Thompson as

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[44] About 25% of drafts B and C is specifically devoted to Native peoples, and this figure rises to almost 40% in draft D.

he composed his text. Native life and culture touched his western experience so deeply that they would comprise a major part of his text, yet he had to find a way of integrating this material into a work that also concerned his own life, his travels, the fur trade and the lands of the West. The challenge was not overly difficult for groups which Thompson had met only once; he simply suspended the narrative's forward chronological movement to insert the anthropological information he wished to convey. So, he wrote of the Mandans in the story of his 1797-1798 stay at their villages, and of the San Poils in his account of the events of July 3, 1811, when he stopped at their encampment on his way to the Pacific.

But those groups with whom Thompson had a deeper and more long-standing relationship posed a greater challenge; these include the Chipewyans, among whom Thompson worked for two substantial periods of time, and the Piegan, whom he encountered at both ends of his fur trading career. Thompson's contact with the Cree was even more intimate and enduring; having first encountered them as the "Packet Indians" around the bayside factories, he was involved with this Native family for almost his entire career in the West. The contact did not end in 1812, for Thompson's wife, Charlotte Small, was herself the daughter of a Cree woman.[45]

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[45] Thompson was not in contact with the Cree during his activity west of the Rocky Mountains between 1806 and 1812, but even during these years he travelled east through

In this chapter I examine the evolution of Thompson's writings on the Cree. In doing so I demonstrate how he responded to the challenge of dealing with a topic that intersected so extensively and on so many levels with his western experience. I begin with a general overview of the Cree presence in the successive drafts of the *Travels*, before moving on to examine changes in four specific areas of Thompson's writings on the group. In these changes lies the story of Thompson's evolving struggle to compose a balanced and coherent narrative.

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The Cree are present only briefly in the first and last drafts of Thompson's work. In draft A, two Cree accompany Thompson on his 1785 trip from Churchill Factory to York Factory. While some of their beliefs surface in this account, as they ritually place a dead polar bear facing the sea and try to control the wind with songs, Thompson's concern is not so much with his companions as with his journey. He mentions these Natives as a group only once, stating "of the native Indians along the shores of Hudson's Bay I wish to say as little as possible" (IV.27). This is probably because Thompson saw this branch of the Cree family as degraded and not emblematic of the nation as a whole, for he never overtly identifies them as Cree.

Cree lands on several occasions. While Thompson always wrote of the "Nahathaway," I follow current convention.

Material about the Cree is also minimal in the draft E additions, which tell of events between 1786 and 1790. Individual Cree figures appear in some anecdotes, while Thompson and the Cree exile Saukamappee briefly exchange information about the group, but beyond these passing references the Cree make no strong impression on the story of these years; here Thompson is more concerned to tell of his own personal development.

The Cree are most prominent in drafts B, C and D. The first two drafts, which I consider together, contain two large sections in which the Cree are treated as the narrative's primary subject, while the group also appears elsewhere in the drafts in a more subsidiary role. Draft D devotes only one section exclusively to the Cree, but the group is present more frequently in other parts of the draft.

Drafts B and C

The Cree first surface in drafts B and C in Thompson's account of the winter activities at York Factory. Here they appear in scattered incidental references, usually in relation to natural history. Thompson notes that the Natives call the polar bear "Seepnak" and the butcher bird "Weeskaijohn," and reproduces their theory about where mosquitoes spend the winter (though he does not call them by tribal name). The reader is at last formally introduced to

the Cree about thirty-five pages into the manuscript, when Thompson turns to consider the "Muskrat Country" (the Canadian Shield).

Because of the later addition, reintegration and loss of pages, it is difficult to determine the original state of this part of the *Travels*, but Table 3 indicates in general terms how Thompson's first section dedicated to the Cree must have developed. The most useful pieces of evidence in determining the text's evolution here are page numbering, the physical state of the manuscript sheets and Index I. These items show that this section on the Cree was heavily revised as Thompson worked on drafts B and C; an initial six pages were augmented on three occasions by supplementary material, so that by the time Thompson compiled his index of draft C in June 1848, fifteen pages were specifically devoted to the Cree (though all pages were in place when Index I was compiled, pages 36 to 39d have since disappeared). When Thompson wrote these pages he numbered them 34 to 39; the three sets of supplementary pages are 34a-c, 34bb-bbb and 39a-d.[46]

Of the original six pages only 34 and 35 survive. On page 34 Thompson describes Native dress and body decoration, their way of life, relationships and reaction to death,

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[46] While the *sequence* of these additions is clear, the elapsed time between composition of the original narrative and the supplementary pages is not, and so I refer to these pages as belonging to draft "B/C."

Table 3: Pages on the Cree in Drafts B and C
Note: The exact time of the composition the three supplementary sections is not clear. Pages in bold are still extant.

B:1846	B/C:1846-1848	Index I (June 1848)
34		**34**
	34a	**34a**
	34b	**34b**
	34bb	**34bb**
	34bbb	**34bbb**
	34c	**34c**
35		**35**
36		36
37		37
38		38
39		39
	39a	39a
	39b	39b
	39c	39c
	39d	39d

while on page 35 he discusses the moral character of the Natives and their attitude to marriage. Because page 34 is now torn at the bottom, the direct link between the two pages cannot be proven, but page numbering and close affinity of content make it clear that the two were once consecutive. According to Index I, the missing pages 36 to 39 dealt with moose, lynx and wolverine hunting and the construction of leather and birch-rind tents.

Thompson does not refer to the Cree by name on pages 34 and 35; they are simply the undifferentiated "Indians" who inhabit the area in which he is active. Thompson's initial description of the Cree is clearly subservient to that of the space which they occupy; the two surviving pages provide only the most rudimentary treatment of Native character, while the four lost pages had dealt primarily with their relationship to the land.

This situation was altered radically by the addition of the three supplementary sections. Pages 34a-c are three loose sheets on which handwriting and ink are consistent. Numbering indicates that these pages are a coherent unit, but Thompson does not indicate on pages 34-35 exactly where the new material was meant to be inserted; oddly, page 34 runs to page 34a uneasily, while page 34c flows smoothly back to page 35. The contents of pages 34a-c are very different than those of pages 34-39. Whereas Thompson had not previously mentioned the Cree under a specific tribal

title, he opens the new pages by introducing them as a distinct and differentiated nation, naming them, delineating their territory and noting the features of their language. The remainder of pages 34a-c enumerate the main figures in Cree cosmology and touch briefly on religious practices.

A further two pages, 34bb and 34bbb, were added to pages 34a-c, becoming in effect a supplement to a supplement. Thompson inserted notes to himself showing where the contents of these new pages were to go; on page 34b he placed an X in his text and wrote in the margin "34bb and bbb," and at the bottom of the new page 34bbb he instructed "now turn to Page 34b." The two new pages are entirely concerned with Wisahkecahk ("Weesaukejauk" in Thompson), and most space is taken up in the telling of the Cree story of creation in which the trickster participates.[47] These pages also expand the treatment of the figures of Cree cosmology. The last supplementary section, consisting of pages 39a-d, is no longer extant. Only Index I remains to testify to its contents: "Numbers, Indian abilities, Dreams, Pah kok," and "the next world." Again, Thompson supplemented his text with material on Cree religion.

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[47] When not quoting directly I transcribe the names of the Cree supernatural beings according to current practise (Nelson 24-26, 107-115). The main figures to which I refer are as follows: Kisemanitow (benevolent creator deity), Macimanitow (evil deity), Wisahkecahk (trickster/transformer figure), Windigo (cannibalistic spirit), Pakahk (skeleton being) and Misipisiw (water lynx).

This section on the Cree unfolded over time to reveal the group's vibrant inner life. The account had begun as six pages dealing largely with the manners, appearance and material elements of Cree culture, in which the group had not even been identified. By the time Thompson had finished adding to his account it had grown to fifteen pages containing a wide variety of information about Cree religious beliefs, including cosmological figures, mythology, religious practices, belief in the afterlife and attitude to dreams.

The Cree have but a minor presence between draft B's pages 40 and 136, largely because the narrative concerns Thompson's activities outside of the group's range: his 1796 trip to Lake Athabasca and his work with the North West Company between 1797 and 1798. When the Cree do appear it is either in relation to the fur trade or to other Native groups, such as the Chipewyan. The Cree again become the primary subject of the *Travels* when Thompson turns to the western plains and forests. Here he suspends chronology as the primary organizational scheme of his narrative, and writes on the Plains before moving systematically through five Native groups of the area: Chipewyans, Cree, Sarcee, Stone and Piegan.

Of the thirty-two pages in this section on Plains Natives, fifteen concern the Cree. These pages, 136-150, were composed in June 1847 as part of draft B, and are

bifolias in which paper, ink and hand are consistent.[48] This account begins with three pages on Cree religion, and then moves on to discuss various aspects of Cree life, including weapons, material goods, hunting, marriage, games, the process of moving camp and burial customs. Other religious topics covered in this context are hunters' superstitions and beliefs about the afterlife, and there is a brief digression on the development of the Metis as a distinct people. Latter portions of drafts B and C contain little information on the Cree. They are mentioned in a few brief asides, particularly when Thompson writes of his journeys east to Rainy Lake or Fort William, but they make no significant appearance after drafts B and C diverge.

Much information that had appeared in pages 34-39d is repeated on pages 136-150. Most of the material about Cree religion is found in both sections, though often in different forms and contexts, and Thompson also returns to the topics of Cree tents and hunting. The author seems to have become aware of this repetition after he had composed the section. At four points he cut out chunks of the text; these excisions total forty lines and had perhaps contained additional cases of repeated information. Marginal notes written in the early hand also testify to Thompson's

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[48] It is unclear whether Thompson had already composed the supplements to pages 34-39 when pages 136-150 were written. Thompson notes on III.136 that he had already mentioned the Cree in his text, but does not indicate what he has said about them.

awareness of the repetitiveness of his draft; after having first mentioned the Cree on page 136 he inserted the note "whom I have already noticed," and at other points he added marginal notes reading "done," "I think done" and "to find its place" next to pieces of the narrative.

Draft D

The first parts of draft D were taken over directly from draft C, and Thompson did not begin composing fresh material in earnest until page 34. Significantly, this is precisely where the draft C section on the Cree begins; rather than transferring these pages into his new draft as well, Thompson replaced them with a new account dedicated to the group. This was assembled in July 1848 and comprises pages 36-50. Table 4 charts the development of this section; twelve of these pages are new and three were transferred from draft B/C. Later, before the making of Index II, the two supplementary pages 47a-b were added.

Bibliographically, this section is much simpler than draft B/C's pages 34-39d. The only remarkable feature is the integration of the three old pages, which were slightly adapted for their new location; two-and-a-half lines were cut from page 34 and a note was excised, and words at the bottom of page 35 were crossed out.

These pages are almost exclusively concerned with Cree religious beliefs and practices. Thompson first names the

Table 4: Pages on the Cree in Draft D

B/C:1846-1848	D:July 1848	1848-49	Index II (1849-1850)
	36		36
	37		37
34	38		38
	39		39
	40		40
	41		41
	42		42
	43		43
	44		44
	45		45
	46		46
	47		47
		47a	47a
		47b	47b
34c	48		48
35	49		49
	50		50

Cree, briefly describes their appearance and manners and states his methods of accumulating information on religion, before moving systematically through the tenets of traditional Cree faith. The account covers much of the Cree pantheon, including Kisemanitow, Macimanitow, Wisahkecahk, Pakahk, animal manitos, ghosts, astronomical divinities and nature spirits. The note on Wisahkecahk leads into a three-page account of the Cree creation story, in which he is the protagonist. Thompson concludes by describing some elements of religious practice, including divining, dancing and marriage.

These seventeen pages are the only ones in draft D which deal primarily with the Cree as a corporate group, but the nation continues to appear regularly in relation to Thompson's travels and his accounts of natural history, geography and other Native groups. This occurs most frequently between pages 51 and 82, which follow Thompson's activities in the Canadian Shield, and the Cree presence is especially strong when Thompson writes of his work at Reed Lake House. The Cree appear most prominently as hunters and trappers--the roles they filled for Thompson the fur trader. Thompson's note on the methods of stalking moose is based on Cree hunting strategies, and this section ends with accounts of the renowned Cree hunters Tapahpahtum, Wiskahoo and Apistawahshish. At times Thompson moves beyond the hunting context; in an account of the trees around Reed Lake he

describes Cree use of the versatile birch bark, in which he inserts a Wisahkecahk legend, while a note on mirages leads Thompson to mention Cree belief in manitos.

After page 82 the Cree presence is less pervasive, but the group does surface occasionally, especially when Thompson discusses neighbouring Native groups. For example, Thompson's treatment of the Chipewyans contains many comparisons to the Cree, as well as a history of the territorial shifts between the two groups. Similarly, his pages on the Ojibway contain comparative linguistic analysis, and examine the phenomenon of the Windigo from the perspective of a closely related culture. The Cree appear briefly in Thompson's account of his time at Red Deer's Lake (Lac La Biche) and Fort Augustus (pages 245-248), where some of the Native hunters in his employ were from the group. Here, for the final time in his writings, Thompson returns to the topic of Cree religion, expressing his hopes of making it into a monotheistic faith through inculturation; he records that he encouraged the Cree to stop sacrificing to the Macimanitow, to stop praying to inferior manitos and to direct all prayers to Kisemanitow. The Cree then fade from draft D.

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This survey of the Cree presence in the drafts of the *Travels* yields some clues about how the text developed. One characteristic is obvious: little forethought went into the

composition of drafts B and C. Thompson needed to supplement his original section on the Cree on three separate occasions, and much of the information that he had included in this first section reappears in the second.

When Thompson came to compose draft D, he recycled very few of the earlier pages, but he did make use of much of their content. Textual parallels indicate that Thompson referred to draft B/C's pages 34 to 39d when writing draft D's pages 36 to 50. The later draft covers many of the same topics that had appeared in the final B/C version, and at many points the phrasing of the two texts is virtually identical. But Thompson did not merely weave the patchwork pieces of his earlier draft into a new seamless cloth. Much of the information on the material conditions of Cree life was excised, and content, style and structure were altered.

Thompson seems to have made less use of draft B's pages 136 to 150; while draft D's supplementary pages 47a-b contain a revised version of a story which had originally been told on pages 137-138 of draft B, little else was taken over. Material on the Metis, Cree games and marriage customs did not reappear, and Thompson's discussion of Cree beliefs about the moon and stars took a very different form. At the same time, much of the information that had appeared in the two sections dedicated to the Cree surfaced more subtly in other parts of draft D, in the context of other topics.

The discussion so far suggests several areas which are deserving of further investigation. Repetition of information, heavy revision and shifts in content and context lead us to enquire how, as Thompson built up his body of writings on the Cree, he used that material which he had already written and why his treatment of subjects and organization of material changed. In order to respond to these questions I now turn to examine how four elements in Thompson's treatment of the Cree evolved through the drafts of the *Travels*; these are his introduction to these writings and his accounts of the Cree creation myth, a divining ceremony, and the legend of how the birch tree got its stripes.

Both accounts of Cree religion open with a statement of justification and an acknowledgement of sources. The draft D account, beginning on page 39, is clearly a direct revision of draft B/C's page 34a. In both cases Thompson claims that he gives the Cree special consideration because they occupy a large area and retain a religious and moral system, but other aspects of the two introductory statements change significantly. This is important both because these statements govern what is told about the Cree and because this is the point in the accounts at which Thompson speaks most directly to his readers.

In draft B/C Thompson states that the Cree religious system is worthy of investigation because it was "formed

independently of other creeds," and so could aid in responding to the philosophical question "'Is Man naturally a religious Being, or only the child of imitation'" (III.34a). Thompson then acknowledges the sources of the information he provides about Cree religion. He notes that he had witnessed Cree ceremonies and had lived and travelled with the Cree, before crediting the contribution of Charlotte Small:

> ...my lovely Wife is of the blood of these people, speaking their language, and well educated in the english language: which gives me a great advantage....(III.34a)

In draft D Thompson drops his enquiry on the origins of religion, but does state that the Cree are "the only Natives that have some remains of ancient times from tradition" (IV.39). More significantly, while Thompson still says that he had lived and travelled with the Cree, the reference to his wife is excised and Thompson instead emphasizes his research method:

> In the following account I have carefully avoided as their national opinions all they have learned from white men, and my knowledge was collected from old men, whom with my own age extend backwards to upwards of one hundred years ago....(IV.39)

Two voices are thus suppressed as Thompson's opening statement evolves: those of philosophical enquiry and

Charlotte Small. Whereas in draft B/C Thompson had clearly placed the Cree "creed" on a par with other faiths (including Christianity), in draft D he removes the philosophers' question and takes his account out of the context of a debate on the origins of religion. Thompson retreats from an overtly comparative study, and adds statements which unequivocally endorse Christianity. A few pages later he claims that he had made efforts to teach the Cree the basic tenets of his own faith (IV.40), while elsewhere he attempts to overlay Christian paradigms on the Cree belief system (IV.248). Still, the debate on the roots of faith is implicit in draft D in Thompson's claim that the Cree retain ancient beliefs and in his attempt to discover the group's pre-contact beliefs. While the voice of philosophical enquiry is submerged, its concerns are still present.

The removal of Charlotte Small here virtually effaces her from the entire narrative. The only other point at which her presence is implicit, in the draft C account of the 1812 return to Montreal, Thompson simply refers to his party with the pronoun "we."

It is tempting to see Thompson as dismissive of his wife's role in his acquisition of information, and indeed of the contributions of women generally. Thompson's informants in the *Travels* are always older men; in draft B "an old Indian" man tells Thompson about the bison, in draft D

another male elder gives him information about the former state of the beaver, and later in draft D appears Saukamappee's narrative. Similarly, in the draft D revision of his writings on the Cree Thompson introduces the assertion that his knowledge "was collected from old men."

But the ascription of such feelings to Thompson seems unjust, and they would be out of character for one who ensured that his children received "an equal education," regardless of their sex (Masson II.41). While women do not appear as informants, they surface in a variety of other ways, in Thompson's general writings on Native groups, as characters in stories and as figures in direct personal relationship with Thompson. It is also important to note that in the draft B/C opening Thompson does not credit Charlotte herself as a source of information. Rather, she serves as an interpreter and mediator, that role so typical of Metis women in the fur trade (Van Kirk 111).

The change made by Thompson reveals not a denigration of the role of women, but rather a sense of propriety. While the world of the fur trade was one into which women were fully integrated and in which there was little division between public and private spheres (Van Kirk 4, 53), Thompson's empirical mode of discourse in the *Travels* excluded the intimate and affective. That Charlotte Small was "lovely" had little to do with her reliability as a translator, and so Thompson chose to write her out of his

account and simply credit the ultimate source of his information.

The first statement of justification and sources had been written on one of draft B/C's supplementary pages; when Thompson transferred it to his new draft D it became the introduction to the entire section on Cree religious beliefs. The opening statement is meant to establish the points of reference and the reliability of the subsequent account; as the statement changes, Thompson removes his writings from an explicit debate on comparative religion and places the Cree faith in a position more clearly subservient to Christianity, while his removal of his wife's role as interpreter places his account on firmer empirical ground. While the draft B/C and draft D openings seem very different, the shift is essentially one of emphasis.

The Cree creation story was first added to draft B/C on the supplementary pages 34bb-bbb, as an expansion of Thompson's notes on the figure of Wisahkecahk on page 34b, and the story appears in draft D in the same context. What had appeared on two distinct sets of supplementary pages is thus stitched together.[49]

The basic shape of the flood story changes very little between drafts, and the parallels between the two versions are so close that Thompson must have had the first before

[49] The two texts of the Cree creation story are presented in the sample parallel-text edition in Appendix D.

him as he composed the second. The tale is as follows: Wisahkecahk displeases Kisemanitow by his negligent care of creation, and the great spirit floods the world, leaving only Wisahkecahk, an otter, a beaver and a muskrat afloat on the sea. Wisahkecahk decides to recreate the world and he has the three animals dive for a clod of submerged earth. The otter and the beaver each fail three times, and the muskrat fails twice before getting a small piece on his third attempt. With this Wisahkecahk remakes the world. But despite the broader structural parallels of the two accounts, the story develops significantly from one version to the next.

The most immediately apparent change is the shift from a documentary style in draft B/C to a more poetic style in draft D. For example, in the former version Thompson had written plainly that before the flood "there was a great deal of blood on the ground" (III.34bb), but in the latter draft he restates this more eloquently: "the quarrels of Men, and the animals made the ground red with blood" (IV.43). Likewise, the "sea" of draft B/C becomes the more lyrical "Keeche Gahme" of draft D.

The content of the story is fleshed out considerably. In draft B/C Wisahkecahk had offered Otter a place to sleep and Beaver and Muskrat wives, but in draft D more appropriate rewards are added; Otter is enticed with "plenty of fish to eat" (IV.44), Beaver with "a good house for

winter" (IV.44) and Muskrat with "plenty of roots to eat, with rushes and earth to make...a house" and then "a Wife, who should give him a great many children, and become more numerous than any other animal" (IV.45).

Characterization also develops. In draft B/C Thompson had only described Wisahkecahk's actions, while in draft D the trickster is invested with emotions and personality traits. After the flood Wisahkecahk "[takes] courage...musing a long time upon his sad condition" (IV.44), and is stricken with sadness when Beaver fails and the mission must fall to Muskrat. Similarly, the characters interact with each other in draft D in a way that they had not in draft B/C. Wisahkecahk not only encourages the animals in their quest, but he also plays them against one another, calling Otter "a coward of a weak heart...that the Beaver would put...to shame" (IV.44).

The changes from draft B/C to draft D do not significantly alter the basic details of the Cree creation story, but they do make it a more powerful tale. Thompson deploys his storytelling skills to enhance stylistic expression, augment the details of the story and develop character, and so transforms the piece from a field sketch to a fully worked-up canvas.

The preceding two examples illustrate some of the ways in which the account of the Cree develops from the earlier to the later draft. Fragmented and diverse pieces of text

come together in a more coherent narrative, and as this happens many of the finer details of the narrative change. Thompson the scientist strives to place his account on more empirical basis while Thompson the storyteller tries to relate it in a more vivid and effective manner. The next two examples display the same characteristics, but I want to turn now to consider not so much their content as their context, for as Thompson reassembled his text for draft D he altered not only his modes of expression but also the placement of material.

I first examine Thompson's description of the Cree divining ceremony. In draft B Thompson had written of the shaking lodge (referred to in the text as the "conjuring tent") in the second section devoted to the Cree, on pages 137-138. Thompson did not at first transfer the story to draft D, but inserted it only on the supplementary pages 47a-b, which suggests that the main draft D section was composed with reference only to the *first* draft B/C account of the Cree. The description of the construction of the lodge and the binding of the diviner (here called the "conjuror") is similar enough in the two versions to suggest a direct relationship, but again many aspects of the material evolve.

The most fundamental change is in Thompson's point of reference; in draft B the divining ceremony itself is described in a generalized manner, while in draft D Thompson

relates a specific incidence of the phenomenon, practised by a diviner named Isepesawan. The immediate context of the tale also changes; in draft B Thompson had launched abruptly into his account of the ceremony, stating only that the shaking lodge is "a feat which surprises us" (III.137), but in draft D he prepares the reader for the account by indicating that the purpose of the ceremony was to acquire knowledge of the future, and by describing the rites which were performed before the diviner entered the lodge.

In both accounts Thompson goes on to tell of a group of sceptical Scottish fur trade employees who had insisted on tying the diviner's ropes themselves (to their dismay, he still escaped). In the earlier draft Thompson had simply noted that three or four Scotsmen were present, but in the later draft he states that these figures were his own employees, and that his own fur trading business could not be transacted until the ceremony was completed. While in draft B the story is conveyed in a haphazard and generalized manner, in draft D Thompson places it both in its proper context within Cree belief and in the context of his own work as a fur trader. The phenomenon is treated as a religious ceremony rather than a surprising "feat," the unindividuated diviner becomes Isepesawan, while the anonymous Scotsmen become the author's own workers.

The Cree legend of how the birch tree got its stripes is one of that universal class of tales which explain the

physical appearance of a natural object through myth. In this case, the presence of cores on birchbark is attributed to the vengeful flogging of Wisahkecahk. In draft B/C this story had appeared on the supplementary page 34bbb, solely as an adjunct to the flood story. Thompson had recorded that after the reappearance of the earth, Wisahkecahk ordered all of the trees to appear before him; when the birch did not appear it was flogged. Consequently, Thompson had noted, when Natives see a birch tree with large cores they say that it has been severely flogged.

In draft D the story appears on page 68, outside the section dedicated to the Cree, in Thompson's catalogue of trees around Reed Lake House (where he was posted from September 1794 to June 1795). While in the earlier draft Thompson had begun with the flogging legend and moved to the physical appearance of the tree, the draft D account goes in the opposite direction; he begins by describing the tree's cores, then mentions the Natives' use of the expression "severely flogged" and concludes with the folktale.

Again, the content of Thompson's account differs little between drafts; the key change is contextual. In draft B/C the tale had appeared within an account of Cree belief, while in draft D it is subservient to an arboreal catalogue. The relationship between tree and legend is thus inverted. This legend and the story of the diviner thus reflect an important shift in Thompson's contextualization of material

about the Cree in his narrative; as we saw in chapter 4, here Thompson moves away from the general and descriptive and towards the specific and narrative. Both stories are placed more clearly in the context of Thompson's own career, and so are more fully integrated into the broader chronological narrative. At the same time, the way they are related reflects the way that Thompson himself learned about Cree belief; while he claims to have interviewed elders of the tribe, he concedes that most of his knowledge had "been gained when living and travelling with them" (IV.39).

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These four examples, and the general surveys which precede them, point to some ways in which Thompson's response to the problem of integration shifted between drafts B/C and D. The first section on the Cree in draft B/C had started out as an account of a few of the group's superficial characteristics, which with its many supplementary pages developed into a survey of Cree religious beliefs. Draft B's second section had also mixed these elements, and repeated much information that had already been provided. Thompson's placement of his sections on the Cree in drafts B and C was determined by geography; while the two sections dealt solely with the Cree, they appeared in the larger context of a general description of features of the Canadian Shield and an enumeration of the

Natives of the Plains.[50] The result had been a circular and repetitious narrative, written without a deliberate plan. Thompson obviously had not considered in advance how he was going to introduce the Cree the first time, and he seemed unsure of what he had already written when he returned to them a second time.

As we know, the first parts of draft C were taken over into draft D. That Thompson stopped taking over old pages where the first pages on the Cree had begun, suggests that he felt that the section was in need of serious revision. Indeed, with its many supplementary sections draft B/C had become an unwieldy tangle of manuscript pages. But Thompson did retain this part of draft D as a dedicated section on the Cree; he evidently still felt that it was appropriate to pause at this point in the narrative to discuss the people among whom he was to work and travel in the subsequent years.

The more significant structural change between drafts is the removal of the second section in which the Cree had appeared as the primary subject: the fourteen pages in Thompson's systematic survey of the Native groups east of the Rockies. This entire movement is absent from draft D; the Chipewyans appear before Thompson's account of his 1796

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[50] This section does contain a brief note on the development of the Plains Cree as a distinct group, in a paste-on added to this section. Aside from this, the information in pages 136-150 is applied to all Cree groups.

trip to Lake Athabasca, the Piegan surface when Thompson writes of his later fur trading activities, while the Sarcee and Stone are only mentioned when Thompson touches on his work at Red Deer's Lake and Fort Augustus.

Draft D reveals that Thompson had devised a new response to his narrative problem. While a section of the *Travels* is still devoted to Cree religion, other aspects of Cree life are conveyed as secondary narration, subservient to the story of Thompson's own work. Many topics which had been primary topics in draft B/C are shifted to a secondary level in draft D. This is most pronounced in the case of the elements of day-to-day Cree life, such as hunting, but even those parts of Cree religion that Thompson did witness openly are presented in draft D as he witnessed them; the divining ceremony and the birch tree legend appear in the context of Thompson's fur trading work, rather than as discrete religious topics. While draft D contains fewer pages devoted to the Cree as primary subject, Thompson actually included more material about this group than he had in draft B/C.

Why was a section still dedicated to the Cree as primary subject? Thompson had noted the difficulty of determining the tenets of Native religious belief, and this part of the *Travels* covers the most central and inaccessible of these beliefs. A descriptive section on the tenets of Cree religion remained necessary because, alone among the

aspects of Cree life, many of these beliefs could not be easily contained in the narrative mode.

Just as important, Thompson uses this dedicated section to contribute to the evolving discourse on Cree religion. At the time that Thompson wrote the *Travels*, little on the subject had appeared before the public. The two most important published accounts were those of Alexander Mackenzie, contained in the "General History of the Fur Trade" prefixed to his *Voyages from Montreal* (1801), and Dr. John Richardson, derived from his 1820 stay at Cumberland House and published as chapter III in John Franklin's *Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea* (1823).

Mackenzie wrote almost exclusively about the outward expression of Cree belief, including public feasts, the medicine bag, the calumet and funeral rites. Mackenzie noted only two tenets of faith per se: that the dead who lacked their grave goods could manifest themselves to the living, and that the spirits of these recently dead often hovered in fog over swamps. Richardson unearthed more information, but was candid about the difficulty of determining authentic beliefs, stating that the Cree were not inclined to discuss their faith with outsiders, and that their beliefs had no doubt been contaminated by European contact. However, Richardson was able to learn about Kisemanitow, Macimanitow and Windigo, witnessed the shaking

lodge ceremony and obtained a very sketchy version of the Cree flood story.[51]

These two men presented their writings on Cree religion as independent and primary texts; there is a clear demarcation between Mackenzie's account and the tales of his two journeys and between Richardson's and the story of the first Franklin expedition itself. So, by the time that

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[51] Many fur traders wrote accounts of Cree belief that did not reach the public until the twentieth century, including Henry Kelsey, James Isham, Andrew Graham and George Nelson. While Thompson may have known of the existence of the accounts of Isham and Graham, we can be certain only that he had access to the published record.

Writing in the 1690's, Kelsey, like Mackenzie, wrote only on the observable aspects of the faith, such as the medicine bag, calumet, divining and the singing of prophetic songs. Isham, writing in 1743, indicated that the Cree had "obscure notions of a Deity" (Isham 65) and worshipped an evil spirit from fear, but the rest of his account is superficial and obviously derived from attendance at trade meetings. Graham, as avid a collector of information as Thompson would be, opened his 1791 account with the statement that "the religious sentiments of these people [the Cree] are confused" (Graham 159), which likely reflects his own inability to uncover these sentiments. He discovered the identities of the Kisemanitow and Windigo, and in his "American Creed" wrote of belief in good and bad beings and a future state, but beyond these tenets of faith, his account too touched largely on the external manifestations of belief: the medicine bag, calumet, divining, the sweat lodge, feasting, dancing and marriage and burial customs.

George Nelson alone was able to enter fully into the rich world of Cree cosmology. His account, composed in 1823 at Lac La Ronge, includes not only the figures of Kisemanitow, Macimanitow and Windigo, but also Wisahkecahk, Misipisiw, Pakahk, and a range of animal spirits. He wrote on belief in the soul and the practise of divining, and he uncovered many of the stories from Cree myth cycles. The parallels between the accounts of Nelson and Thompson are deserving of fuller study. Unfortunately, Thompson's full writings on Cree belief are not yet easily accessible, due to the suppression of much of the draft B and C accounts in published editions.

Thompson came to write his narrative, an account of Cree religion was becoming a set-piece in discourse on the West; Thompson would then have regarded his writings as part of this emerging text, and he responded most directly to Richardson, including his own account of the shaking lodge and a fuller version of the flood story. Also, his statement of justification and acknowledgement of sources seems to speak directly to Richardson's own complaints about the difficulty of determining authentic Cree belief.

Thompson had at first conveyed information about the Cree in an almost exclusively descriptive mode, but in the process of revision he transferred a great deal of material to the chronological tale of his own activities. In draft D, only that information which could not be easily conveyed through the narrative mode, and which Thompson wanted to place in the emerging interpretive tradition, remains in the descriptive mode. In the preceding chapter we saw how the evolution of Thompson's openings to the *Travels* added an ever greater narrative quality to the text. While he did not excise the descriptive mode entirely, he displaced it with chronological narration, and the same phenomenon is apparent in his writings on the Cree. I now turn to consider what may be seen as the reverse of the narrative/descriptive dilemma: the integration of the purely chronological material of Thompson's field journals into the text of the *Travels*.

SIX

Not Real, But True

Almost 100 years after Elliott Coues called for a comparison of Thompson's journals and narrative to be carried out, the task remains unfulfilled. It is not the place of the current study to undertake such a project in its entirety, but Thompson's use of his journals is a key strand in the tale of the text. Indeed, this aspect of the *Travels'* composition is exceptionally well suited to genetic study. The journals and the *Travels* manuscript correspond to stages one and three of MacLaren's four-part scheme of travel and exploration writing, and since these texts were written at different times for different purposes and audiences, their juxtaposition can be expected to yield critical insights into questions of style, content and narrative structure. In particular, the strictly narrative and chronological nature of the journals leads us to consider how Thompson used them in a text in which he sought to blend these elements with the descriptive and topical.

Thompson's use of his journals has received little critical attention. Tyrrell asserted that these records provided much of the source material for the *Travels*, and

Glover went so far as to claim that the narrative was written "*largely* from... journals" (Introduction lxv, emphasis mine). Hopwood and Belyea have commented more specifically on the metamorphosis of journals into narrative. According to Hopwood, Thompson cut technical information and expanded observations and descriptions of events, while Belyea associated the transformation with audience and genre, arguing that the *Travels* is "Thompson's adaptation of his professional journals for the 'general reader,' that is, for a popular audience more interested in adventure than discovery" (Introduction xvi).

In composing the *Travels* Thompson relied most heavily on his daily journals when recounting the events of 1796-1798 and 1807-1812. During the first period he travelled to Lake Athabasca and the Mandan villages, surveyed the 49th parallel, explored the headwaters of the Mississippi and circled Lake Superior. The story of these travels is told twice in the *Travels*, in drafts B and D. The second period covers Thompson's career west of the Rocky Mountains, when he founded Kootenae House, expanded the fur trade and travelled to the Pacific Ocean. The story from 1807 to early 1812 is told in draft B, while draft C retells the story from June 1810 onward, and carries it forward to August 1812.[52]

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[52] Contrary to Glover's assertion, no more than half of any of Thompson's drafts can be traced to his journals. About 30-35% of draft B is drawn from this source, though

At times Thompson suspends the forward movement of time, and direct borrowing from journals, in order to supply more generalized information. In general, the later the draft, the more frequent are the topical digressions. For example, in the draft D version of the trip to Lake Athabasca, related through the medium of the daily report, Thompson uses his journals only to provide a basic narrative framework; much journal material is excised and topical information on native hunting and the moose is added. Likewise, the narration of Thompson's 1798 journey around Lake Superior is suspended for an extended and generalized description of that body of water.

In order to study Thompson's use of his journals more closely I here examine the three texts of his voyage to the

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the expansion of material covering the years 1811 and 1812 boosts this figure to 40-45% for draft C. Conversely, the inclusion of more topical, non-chronological material pushes the percentage down to 20-25% for draft D. Draft E concerns a time period, 1784 to 1790, which comes almost exclusively before that during which Thompson began to keep a daily journal.

Thompson often had multiple sources from which he could work. Several of his journals overlap, and he often recopied information derived from important journeys. For example, Thompson's notebooks contain seven items related to the journey to Lake Athabasca: in addition to three sets of astronomical observations and a set of traverse tables, there are two journals (one with courses and distances and one without) and a descriptive essay on the route.

Wood and Thiessen note the presence of two sets of journal entries for the journey to the Mandan villages, affirming one as the original the second as a fair copy (94). Belyea is more reluctant to propose the sequentiality of overlapping accounts, stating that their physical and textual state "do not allow classification into 'rough' and 'fair' copies" (Introduction xxi-xxii).

Pacific Ocean in the summer of 1811: 1) his journal (27:82-56), 2) the draft B (II.238-258) and 3) the draft C (III.251-298) accounts of the journey in the *Travels*. Bibliographically, this material is clean; there is only one set of journal entries relating to the voyage and both *Travels* accounts survive in their entirety. The commencement, progress and culmination of the journey are well-defined in time and space, and make for easy comparison of texts, while the presence of two narrative accounts yields added insights; we can see not just how Thompson altered his journals, but we can also follow these alterations in a subsequent version of the journey.

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While at Rainy Lake House in July 1810 Thompson was given orders to go to the mouth of the Columbia River, where J.J. Astor's Pacific Fur Company was planning to erect the trading post which would become known as Astoria. For reasons that still spark speculation and debate among historians, Thompson did not proceed on this journey until the following summer.[53] Leaving Ilthkoyape Falls on July 3, 1811, he travelled down the Columbia River, stopping at

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[53] Early writers on the fur trade, such as Washington Irving, asserted that Thompson was ordered on a "race to the sea" against the Astorians. Morton and Glover criticized Thompson for his failure to win this race, while Tyrrell, Catherine White and Belyea have argued that there was no race at all. For the two sides in this debate, see Morton's "The North West Company's Columbian Enterprise" and Belyea's "The 'Columbian Enterprise' and A.S. Morton."

various Native encampments, and he arrived at Astoria on July 15. He remained at the post until July 22, when he began his journey upstream. During the first week of the return journey Thompson was accompanied by a Pacific Fur Company party under David Stuart, and with difficulty the two groups avoided conflict with hostile Chinookan Natives. Thompson followed the Columbia to its junction with the Snake River, ascended this river and followed an overland path to Spokane House, where he arrived on August 13.

The journal of this trip is found in Notebook 27 in the Archives of Ontario's Thompson papers. The journal entries in this book run from July 3, 1811 to April 28, 1812; the period I consider here is that from July 3 to August 13, 1811.[54] The format and content of each daily entry remains relatively consistent throughout the journal. Each begins with the date, day of the week and a summary of weather conditions, and when travelling Thompson also records courses followed and times of arrival at and departure from encampments, and describes the passing landscape and travelling conditions. The remainder of a typical entry covers the events of the day, which usually include

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[54] The entries for this period have twice been edited for publication, by T.C. Elliott ("Journal of David Thompson") and Belyea (*Columbia Journals* 142-168). Elliott treated the journals purely as a historical resource, and made no comparisons to the *Travels*, which had not yet been published. Belyea's notes usually place Thompson's journals in the context of contemporary writings, and do not look forward to the *Travels*.

encounters with Natives, stops for meals and the taking of astronomical observations. This material is recorded in a chronological, continuous fashion.

There are some exceptions to this typical pattern. The entries for July 16-17 and 19-21, made while Thompson's party was at Astoria, are brief, consisting largely of meteorological observations.[55] By contrast, on rare occasions Thompson steps back from the continuous narration of daily events to insert descriptive or speculative passages on what he was experiencing; on July 5 he describes the dance of the Nespelim (Inspaelis) Natives,[56] while on August 5 he includes a meditation on the possible origins of the rock formations on the banks of the Columbia.

Whether the surviving journal is the original document kept by Thompson as he travelled is unclear. Elliott asserted: "This manuscript must be the complete journal written from an original notebook, and not the notebook itself; the text indicates this in several places" ("Journal of David Thompson" 41), while Belyea, who included the journal in her *Columbia Journals* volume, made no judgement

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[55] In his most cursory entry Thompson records: "July 20 & 21 Saturday & Sunday Fine weather" (27:68). Elliott explains Thompson's silence while at Astoria as a guest's courtesy to his hosts, and notes that "in all of his journals he is very reticent as to the personnel or movements of rivals or associates" ("Journal of David Thompson" 104).

[56] I employ the tribal names in current anthropological use. The names used by Thompson appear in brackets.

on the matter. Elliott's assertion can be challenged, for every supposed textual indication that the journal is a later copy can be explained by other means.[57]

If the journal *is* a later copy, Thompson's lack of foreknowledge as he journeys suggests that it is direct, and that nothing substantive was changed. The text reads like an original account; it is always in the present tense, and betrays no prior awareness of events, Native groups or geography (beyond what would have been known to Thompson from travellers who had preceded him on parts of the route, such as George Vancouver and Lewis and Clark). When returning upstream from Astoria Thompson frequently refers

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[57] Elliott does not reveal to which passages he was referring, but the following are possible sources of the assertion:

1. The heading that prefixes the journal reads: "Voyage to the Mouth of the Columbia...." This seems to imply that the account is a retrospective copy, but the heading may have been added after the journey had been completed; it is larger and written in a more formal style than the daily entries themselves, evidence which is suggestive but inconclusive.
2. On July 28, while among Chinookans at the Columbia Dalles, Thompson learns that these Natives intend to rob his party: "this was their plan as we were afterwards informed" (27:64). This appears to be an example of retrospection, but it is unclear how much elapsed time "afterwards" indicates, because Thompson goes on to write "they perhaps only wait a better opportunity," which shows that he is still among these hostile Natives.
3. On both August 1 and 2 Thompson's notes seem to indicate that he is copying from another manuscript; in writing out courses he states "this Co [course] is almost rubbed out" (27:62-63). However, as Belyea has noted, it was Thompson's practise to record his courses in pencil during the day and to copy them into the journal later, in ink (*Columbia Journals* 284).

to places he had camped and Natives he had encountered on the downstream journey, but the reverse is never the case.[56]

Thirty-six years after travelling to Astoria, Thompson wrote the story of the journey again, for draft B of the *Travels*. Thompson composed the final eighty pages of this draft in less than a month, setting down his 1807 crossing of the Rockies on July 8, 1847 and reaching the events of early 1812 on August 3; the voyage to the Pacific is told on pages II.238-258 and was written between July 25 and August 2. This block of pages consists of bifolias of uniform paper, uniformly lined, in a single ink colour and in Thompson's early hand.

In mid-October 1847, when he began to rewrite the conclusion of the *Travels* for draft C, Thompson discarded the final thirty pages of draft B, including the entire account of the voyage to the Pacific. After having given an

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[56] In addition to the journal sequence, there are three other items in Thompson's notebooks which are derived from his journey to the Pacific. Notebook 26 contains tables of the courses and distances taken on the route, while Notebook 27 contains a catalogue of furs collected and a chart of Native populations on the lower Columbia. Thompson again turned his attention to the lower Columbia when he participated in the debates over the Oregon Question in the early 1840's, during which time he made numerous maps and drawings of the area and wrote several letters.

During the interval between Thompson's voyage and the composition of the *Travels* his presence at Astoria was recorded in texts written by the former Pacific Fur Company employees Gabriel de Franchère, in 1820 and Ross Cox, in 1831. Alexander Ross, another employee of the Pacific Fur Company, published his own account of these years in 1849, even as Thompson was writing his narrative.

expanded account of his activities during the first half of 1811, Thompson spent the time between November 20 and December 31 rewriting the story of the journey, which is found on pages III.252-298. This block of pages is also written on uniform bifolias and is composed in Thompson's early hand.

In both drafts B and C the voyage to the Pacific is placed in a chronological section covering Thompson's years west of the Rocky Mountains. The voyage is anticipated by Thompson's trip to Rainy Lake House in the summer of 1810, his evasion of the Piegans in the fall and his attempts to build a canoe during the winter of 1810-1811; it is followed by Thompson's trading activities in the vicinity of Spokane House in the fall of 1811. Preparation for the journey is most overt in draft C; while recounting the events of January 10, 1811, when his party crossed the Continental Divide, Thompson states "my object was to be at the Pacific Ocean before the month of August" (III.232b).

The journey is the centrepiece of both draft B and C endings, and Thompson devoted considerable time and energy to enhancing and expanding its story. Page numbering alone shows that the volume of the material more than doubled between drafts, and the bare week that Thompson took to write the first account stretched to more than a month for the second. Thompson's decision to rewrite the ending

reveals how important he felt the tale of his voyage was.[59] Before examining Thompson's evolving treatment of specific parts of the journey, I want to sketch the general characteristics of the transformation of Thompson's field record into his narrative.

The most obvious stylistic change between the journal and the *Travels* is the shift from disjointed notes to continuous prose. While some parts of the journal are written in grammatically complete sentences, Thompson habitually leaves out first person pronouns (i.e. "Heard news of the American Ship's arrival"; 27:72) and often links clauses together by dashes. These grammatical irregularities are remedied in the *Travels*. While sentences in the journal are usually short and choppy, in the *Travels* their length is varied, and so the prose flows more smoothly. Likewise, Thompson's habit of jumping abruptly from one subject to another in the journals is tempered in the narrative with the insertion of transitional sentences.

Oddly, the present-time perspective of the journal is often retained in the narrative, even though it is obvious to the reader that the events described had occurred far in the past. In draft B, as Thompson approaches a set of

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[59] The pages of draft B contain some marginal notes indicating revisions to be made. For example, Thompson wrote "MM. Mr Ogden's Canoe" next to the passage describing the party's negotiation of the Columbia Dalles (II.247), and the anecdote of Ogden's own experiences at this location appears at this juncture in draft C (III.272).

rapids, he states "no Canoe can come up it; and I *shall not* attempt it" (II.240), while in draft C, as the party stops at yet another Native settlement, Thompson reports "our progress *will be* slow" (III.259; both emphases mine). When Thompson offers the opinion that the Sahaptin Natives would be "under the instruction of Missionaries" in "a few years hence" (III.273), it is unclear whether his temporal standpoint is 1811 or 1847.

Alterations in content occur both on the small scale of daily entries and in the context of the wider journey. In the record of individual days, Thompson removes technical data such as temperature, astronomical and course readings, and habitual daily events such as meals and setting up and breaking camp. Changes in the story of the journey as a whole tend to magnify the first two-thirds of the trip and shrink later portions. Thompson greatly expands his account of travel from Ilthkoyape Falls to the mouth of the Columbia and the first week of upstream travel, to the Columbia Dalles; he devotes special attention to the description of the tribes encountered on the way downstream and his party's interaction with hostile Natives on the way back. The rest of the return journey is handled in a more cursory fashion, while the stay at Astoria remains a narrative gap in the *Travels* as it had been in the journal.[60] Major additions

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[60] Draft B contains two self-referential passages, excised in draft C, which reveal Thompson's attitude towards the amount and type of information he provides; after his

to the account include, in draft C, a general account of the course of the Columbia, a meditation on the characteristics of river channels, a four-and-a-half page essay on rattlesnakes and two speculative passages on basalt riverbank formations. While these descriptive passages can be regarded as a digressions, each is still tied to a date in Thompson's *Travels* account.[61]

The overall structure of the journey is identical in the journal and in the two *Travels* versions; all three texts recount the story chronologically, through the medium of consecutive daily reports. But additions, excisions and alterations in content do shape the finer structural qualities of the tale. The downstream journey is marked by rising action, culminating in the climax of arrival at Astoria; this is followed by a lull while the party is at the post. The homeward journey climaxes quickly in the escape from the Chinookans at the Columbia Dalles, and this encounter is followed by a steady denouement as the party returns to Spokane House. The supplementary descriptive passages are cleverly placed so as to fill the two troughs

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arrival at Astoria he writes "I have given a plain account of the incidents of our voyage" (II.249), and then as the journey upstream begins, he indicates "I shall not notice my daily route, but only a few circumstances which may occur" (II.251).

[61] In addition to these excisions and additions, some information within specific entries is altered. This seems sometimes to occur for no apparent reason, as when details of dances are transferred from the Simpoil (San Poil) to the Methow (Smeathhowe) Natives and vice-versa.

in the plot line; at Astoria Thompson inserts his essays on the Columbia and river channels, and during the latter stages of the return journey his writings on rattlesnakes and basalt formations appear.

The transformation of Thompson's journal into his *Travels* is best understood through close examination of particular details in the texts, and so I now turn to consider some instances of this metamorphosis. The first two are specific: the addition and revision of a passage describing an encounter with the Umatilla Natives and the establishment of the Hawaiian labourer Coxe as a character. The third study is more general, examining the way in which the shifting nature of Thompson's stated intentions changes the story of the voyage as a whole. Together these studies reveal some of the ways in which Thompson transformed a disjointed, private, immediate record of a trading mission into a coherent, public, retrospective tale of adventure.

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Late on July 9 Thompson's voyage took him past the encampments of the Umatilla, a mysterious outcast Sahaptin tribe whom Lewis and Clark had encountered in October 1805 (Lewis and Clark 5:301-307, Nisbet 203). Thompson records in his journal simply that his party "Passed in all about 80 families in small straggling camps" (July 9); in draft B he expands this brief note into a 156-word description of an encounter with these people, which in turn evolves into a

227-word account in draft C.

In both drafts B and C Thompson reports that he put ashore at a group of about ten families, was approached by two fearful old men crawling on their stomachs while the other Umatillas anxiously hung back, and that he gave the men tobacco before leaving. In reworking his material from one draft to the next he both adds new material and changes several significant details.

In draft B Thompson relates only the details of the encounter itself and does not mention any other member of his party. In draft C he adds a short reflection on the meeting, writing that the group appeared to be outcasts and that they were largely idle, and he twice brings the figure of his own interpreter into the story. This man refuses to speak to the Umatillas during the encounter, and will not speak to Thompson about them afterwards.

More significant are the changes made in the content of the meeting itself. In draft B Thompson reports that, after his party had landed, the Umatillas "made two old Men...crawling on their bellies to approach," that he then "went, unarmed a few feet in advance of the men, to encourage them" (II.246). The men then crawl to him. In draft C Thompson makes the first move:

> I went forward a few paces unarmed, and sat down with a pipe and stem in my hand [;] they sent forward two very old Men, who lying flat on the ground in the most

> pitiful manner; crawling slowly, frequently lifted their heads a little as if imploring mercy. (III.268)

Thompson also changes his account of what ensued after the men had reached him; in draft B he writes that "when close to me [the pipe] was lighted, we smoked, and handed it to them, they then sat up and smoked" (II.246), while in draft C he simply states "they did not smoke with us" (III.269). Finally, Thompson changes his description of the figures behind the two men. While in draft B he writes that "all the Men and Women were a short distance behind" (II.246), in draft C he states that "close behind the men three women crawled on their knees; lifting up their hands to me, as if supplicating for their lives" (III.268-269).

As the dynamic of the encounter shifts, the contrast between Thompson and the two men is heightened. In saying that he initiated the contact with the men, Thompson's role moves from reactive to active; whereas in draft B he only responds to and encourages the tentative approach of the two men, in draft C *he* is the first to move, and in stating that he is unarmed he emphasizes his confident control of the situation. By adding the figure of the interpreter, Thompson differentiates between his own willingness to engage the group and the interpreter's fearful reticence.

By deciding in draft C that these people did not smoke with him after all, Thompson makes them unique among the groups he encounters in the course of the journey; even the

Chinookan tribes who attempt to ambush and rob him share the pipe with him beforehand. Finally, the addition of the three supplicating women adds to the eeriness and pathos of the situation. This goes beyond mere polishing of style and the supplementing of the account with new material. The facts change.

This is clearly not a case of Thompson's memory becoming ever more accurate. Thirty-six years had elapsed between the event and its narration in draft B, and only five months between draft B and draft C. If the scales of forgetfulness had not fallen from the mind's eye by the time Thompson wrote draft B, it is unlikely that he would have remembered the incident "correctly" for draft C.

Rather, the changes reflect a narrative strategy. We have seen how MacLaren and Davis attribute differences between (respectively) Hearne's and Franklin's field notes and published narratives to the different audiences for whom the two kinds of texts were intended. Davis argues that Franklin altered his account because he was writing no longer for the Admiralty, but rather for the general public. MacLaren contends that Hearne's account of the massacre at Bloody Fall changed so radically because the audience was no longer Hearne's Hudson's Bay Company employers, but rather a readership which had been trained by Gothic fiction to expect lurid details and overwrought diction. As MacLaren writes, the image of a dying girl curling about Hearne's

feet is an "aesthetically justified lie" (MacLaren 34).

In working up the encounter with the Umatillas for the *Travels*, Thompson is just as artistically mendacious, and for much the same reason. Thompson kept journals partly for his own personal record and partly to compose official reports for his employers; he wrote his narrative with the general reading public in mind, and as an accomplished storyteller he knew what would elicit response. So, here Thompson leaves the realm of reportage and enters that of literary invention. The encounter with the Umatillas goes from a passing reference in the journal to become a full and compelling narrative exercise, engaging the interest of the reader and imbuing the *Travels* with awe, horror and mystery. The cumulative effect of the changes is to make the Umatillas more pathetic, Thompson more valiant and the encounter between them more bizarre. Whether the record accurately reflects the events that occurred on July 9, 1811 is now irrelevant; literary effect becomes of paramount importance.

Sometime between July 22, when the parties of Thompson and David Stuart left Astoria, and July 31, when the groups parted ways, Thompson traded his voyageur Boulard for one of Stuart's men, a Hawaiian nicknamed Coxe.[62] Thompson makes no mention of this exchange in his journal, nor does he

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[62] Ross claimed that the exchange took place on the 31st, Thompson that it occurred on the 22nd (Ross 113-114, III.281).

indicate when his path and that of David Stuart diverged. Indeed, Coxe does not even appear in the journal until September 6 when Thompson, travelling near Spokane House, reports "Coxe very ill" (27:52).

Coxe begins to emerge in draft B. As in the journal, the exchange of personnel is not recorded, but in Thompson's account of the events of July 28, when his party stare down a group of Chinookans intent on robbing them, he reports "we were seven of us armed with Guns, and my Sandwich Islander Coxe with a long Pistol" (II.252). Though this is the sole reference to this figure in draft B, Thompson refers to Coxe with an air of familiarity, as if he had already been introduced to the reader.

In draft C Coxe becomes a full-fledged character. Before recording the departure of the two parties from Astoria on July 22, Thompson writes of the trade and provides a brief description of his new man:

> ...a powerful well made Sandwich Islander (whom we named Coxe, from his resemblance to a seaman of that name;) he spoke some english, and was anxious to acquire our language, and would act as Interpreter on our ship from England to this River. (III.281)

In a few words Thompson provides a rudimentary physical description, establishes a key personality trait and reveals Coxe's future role within the fur trade. The reader is encouraged to see Coxe as a positive figure and is prepared

for his reappearance later in the *Travels*.

In draft C Thompson expands on Coxe's participation in the encounter of July 28; after directing his men to prepare a defence, Thompson reports: "on casting my eye on Coxe, the Sandwich Islander, he had marked out his man with his large Pistol, which he held as steady as if it had been in a Vice..." (III.285-286). Here Thompson develops Coxe as a character, as the trait of undaunted fortitude is added to his eagerness to learn.

Coxe reappears a last time in draft C when Thompson writes of his travels in the valley of the Canoe River in September 1811. Here Thompson describes Coxe's reaction to the environment and climate of the western interior, noting that he is intrigued by the length of river valleys and intensely curious about snow and ice; as a Hawaiian he had encountered neither phenomenon (III.303).[63]

Thompson's portrayal of Coxe is significant for two main reasons. On one hand he represents a double of Thompson: he is inquisitive about the environment, eager to learn foreign languages and able to face danger with equanimity. More important, Thompson's changing use of this character sheds light on the development of the *Travels*. In the journal Thompson has no concern about establishing characters and situations; Coxe likely does not appear until

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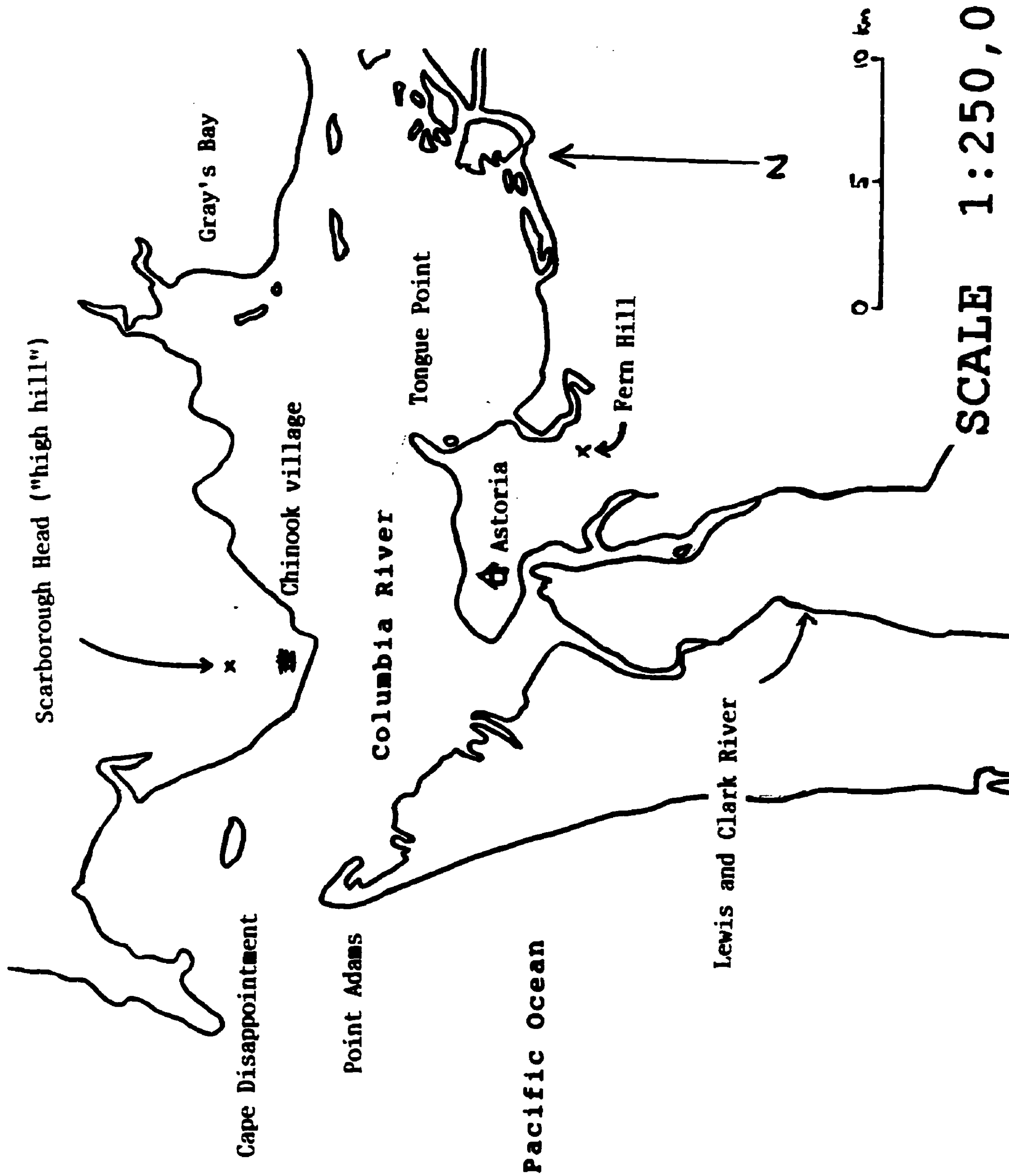
[63] Index I indicates that Thompson had also written about Coxe on the now-missing page III.302.

his illness because he had done nothing to distinguish himself from the other unindividuated voyageurs. In draft B Coxe is mentioned by name, but is not contextualized. When revising this draft Thompson must have realized that Coxe had dropped in unannounced, and so the character is introduced, described and given personality traits. In draft C Thompson considers his text as an organic whole, and so makes strategic choices about establishing recurrent characters, going beyond disjointed diurnal events to the composition of a continuous linked narrative. Again, whether Coxe was in fact a brave fighter is not the point; rather, he becomes a hook on which to hang Thompson's tale of narrow escape.

History has accorded Thompson many roles, and James K. Smith's biography is fittingly subtitled "Fur Trader, Explorer, Geographer." Thompson often deftly juggles these three functions in the *Travels*, and as we trace the story of the voyage to the Pacific from his journal through drafts B and C of the narrative we can detect subtle changes in Thompson's occupational guise. This is reflected especially in the stated intention of the voyage, the details that Thompson chooses to highlight along the way, and in his presentation of his arrival at the Pacific Ocean (see Map 1).

In his journal entry for July 3, the day of departure, Thompson indicates that the purpose of the journey is "to

Map 1: The Mouth of the Columbia River
(with places mentioned in the *Travels*)



explore [the Columbia] River, in order to open out a Passage for the Interiour Trade with the Pacific Ocean" (27:82). The stated intention in draft B appears to be virtually identical: "We were ready now to survey this River to the Pacific Ocean, and thereby open out a trade to the interior countries" (II.238).

On the surface both statements seem to emphasize the mercantile impetus behind the voyage. However a subtle (and perhaps unconscious) semantic shift occurs between the journal and draft B. While in the former Thompson writes that the river would be explored "in order" that trade can proceed, in the latter he states that through the survey trade would "thereby" be opened. The relative positions of trade and geography are reversed as the process of surveying takes precedence over the anticipated commercial result. This shift becomes obvious in draft C. On the day of departure Thompson refers to the trip as "our voyage to the Pacific Ocean," makes no mention at all of trade and adds the misleading assertion that "The River before us [was] wholly unknown to us" (III.252). No longer a mission to establish trading links, the trip is now framed purely as an exploration of uncharted territory.

These respective stated intentions govern the way that the voyage is told in the three texts. In the journal, when Thompson meets Native groups on the outbound journey he inquires about the route ahead and promises them increased

trade. That this is a business trip is reflected in Thompson's statement on July 9 that he posted a claim on behalf of the North West Company at the junction of the Columbia and Snake Rivers.

In draft B Thompson again tells the tribes of the purpose of the trip and stakes the Snake River claim. Both of these elements change in draft C. While Thompson does tell the Natives that the journey would bring them increased trade, now he also stops at their villages to ensure a safe return upstream. The introduction of this detail adds a new complexion to the journey; the mundane trade mission is imbued with an element of adventure and even peril, and its mercantile purpose is further de-emphasized in draft C by the *omission* of any reference to the erection of the Snake River claim.

Thompson's inclusion of positions of longitude and latitude also reflects the shift in emphasis. While the journals contain the sixteen geographical positions taken along the route between July 3 and August 13, in draft B none are given. In draft C seven positions are provided, but these are not the same as those recorded in the journal. Rather, Thompson gives the positions of seven points of key geographical significance: Ilthkoyape Falls (the point of departure), the source of the Columbia, Cape Disappointment (the mouth of the Columbia), Astoria, the junction of the Snake and Columbia, the start of the overland road to

Spokane House, and Spokane House itself (the point of return). Thompson justifies exclusion of the other positions taken on the journey by saying that they are "of no importance to the general reader" (III.270).

As the party reaches its destination, the journal contains several hints that the Pacific is near; Thompson hears about the arrival of the Pacific Fur Company's vessel the *Tonquin*, sees seals and measures a two-foot tidefall, and on the morning of July 15 he writes that his men shave and "arrange" themselves in preparation for arrival at Astoria. The record of the party's arrival is as follows:

> ...to Pt Tongue, but as the wind was blowing from the Sea very hard, we made a Portage of abt 100 Yds over this Tongue & again embarked, Co to the Ho S50W 1½M. At 1 Pm, thank God for our safe arrival, we came to the House of Mr Astors Company... (27:69)

Thompson makes no mention of obtaining a view of the Pacific Ocean, nor does he meditate on his arrival further than to offer thanks. Thompson's simple statement that the party came to Astoria seems anti-climactic, but it is in keeping with the pattern of the journal. Given that the reason for the voyage as it is presented in the journal is to open a passage for interior trade, arrival at the Pacific does not represent the accomplishment of a goal. The goal had been achieved in mapping the unknown parts of the river and meeting with Natives, and the culmination of this work would

be increased trading links between the North West Company and these peoples. In the journal the Pacific does not appear until the entry for July 18; on this date the Astorians take Thompson to a high hill behind the Chinook village where he enjoys "an extensive view of the Ocean & the Coast South[war]d" (27:68).

In draft B Thompson drops fewer hints that his party is drawing near to the Pacific. He omits mention of the *Tonquin's* arrival and the tidefall, but does remark on the seals and on the bad language a Chinookan chief had learned from white sailors. Still, the reader is less prepared for the arrival, which consequently has a greater effect. Unlike the journal, in draft B Thompson links his arrival at Astoria to a view of the Pacific, stating that his party "Went about eighteen miles to Tongue Point, on the left side, in view of the Pacific Ocean," before going to the trading post (II.249). The view is not emphasized unduly, and Thompson omits any record of having ascended a "high hill" or indeed of leaving the trading post at all during his stay there.

In draft C Thompson again obtains his view of the Pacific on July 15, the day of arrival, but here the vision is expanded considerably:

> ...on the 15th near noon we arrived at Tongue Point...and brought us to a full view of the Pacific Ocean; which to me was a great pleasure, but my Men

> seemed disappointed; they had been accustomed to the boundless horizon of the great Lakes of Canada, and their high rolling waves; from the Ocean they expected a more boundless view, a something beyond the power of their senses which they could not describe... (III.275)

While in draft B the Pacific had only been viewed, here it is both a source of pleasure and the occasion for a meditation on space. Thompson contrasts his educated impressions with those of his unlearned men in much the same way that he had in his account of crossing the continental divide.[64]

Details are then altered in Thompson's account of his subsequent activities while at Astoria. In the journal he writes of visiting the Chinook village and the hill on July 18, but in draft C he states "The next day [July 16] in my Canoe with my men I went to Cape Disappointment" (III.276), a site on the coast which is mentioned in neither the journal nor draft B. There is no evidence that Thompson did *not* make this journey, but it does conveniently fulfil the stated intention of the journey as recorded in draft C.

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[64] Here Thompson writes:

> ...the view now before us was an ascent of deep snow, in all appearance to the height of land between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, it was to me a most exhilirating sight, but to my uneducated men a dreadful sight, they had no scientific object in view, their feelings were of the place they were.... (III.232)

Astoria was ten kilometres inland from the ocean, and if Thompson had been engaged on a "voyage to the Pacific" it would be odd for him to stop so short of his goal.

In addition to providing closure to this single voyage, Thompson then posits his arrival at the mouth of the Columbia as the culmination of all of his surveying work in the West. After describing the appearance of the ocean, he states:

> Thus I have fully completed the survey of this part of North America from sea to sea, and by almost innumerable astronomical Observations have determined the positions of the Mountains, Lakes and Rivers, and other remarkable places of the northern part of this Continent; the Maps of all of which have been drawn, and laid down in geographical position, being now the work of twenty seven years. (III.276)

The shift from the mercantile to the geographical is completed here; Thompson stakes his claim to greatness not in the field of commerce, but in that of science, and proposes that his legacy is not the furtherance of the European mercantile project, but the expansion of human knowledge.

The rearrangement of Thompson's view of the Pacific and the insertion of his arrival at the mouth of the Columbia also create an effective literary pattern. On one hand his trip to the Pacific, framed as a quest narrative, reaches

its apex, but in a broader sense Thompson uses this moment as the climax of his *Travels* as a whole. His arrival at the Pacific finally ends the relentless movement of his work, for he can go no further west.

Changes from the journal through draft B to draft C transform the nature of both the voyage and the travel narrative. Thompson had told the story of a fairly conventional trading expedition, though not one without its dangers; this story becomes a saga of perilous exploration to the edge of the continent in the interests of learning. Whereas in the journals Thompson had to assume the persona of a trader, the *Travels* reveals the heart of a surveyor, and we may agree with Franchère that Thompson "voyageait plutôt en geographe, qu'en commerçant de pelleteries" (92).

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The three versions of Thompson's journey to Astoria confirm the statements of Hopwood and Belyea; he does cut technical information and expand the record of certain events, and he changes his private record into an account designed for a general audience. Thompson embellishes incidents, adds characterization, emphasizes the enduring act of surveying over the passing work of the fur trade and creates an effective narrative pattern, transforming what had been an unrefined mass of primary material into a suspenseful tale of travel.

While inconsistent tense and foreknowledge are

difficult to explain, the more important stylistic quality is the shift from the disjointed notes of the journal to the continuous prose of the *Travels*. In order to produce a finished and coherent publishable product, Thompson alters his work from an undigested, disjointed collection of data and observations to a connected narrative.

In selecting the content of his tale, Thompson enhances those areas that have the greatest potential as ingredients of a tale of adventure. The progress westward to the ocean, the encounter with the Umatillas, the view of the Pacific and the return through the hostile coastal Chinookan tribes are all shaped so as to heighten their rhetorical impact. Conversely, Thompson de-emphasizes those parts of the journey which are less able to inspire awe, pity or suspense, such as the stasis of the week at Astoria and the unremarkable return upstream after the Dalles.

In his manipulation of his material, within a pre-determined chronological framework, Thompson creates a dramatically effective narrative pattern. The flat-to-gently-rolling plotline of the journals becomes in the *Travels* a system of peaks and valleys; the narrative builds steadily as the party proceeds downriver, climaxes at the Pacific, dips during the stay at Astoria, quickly climaxes at the Dalles and ends in a denouement towards Spokane House. The Rocky Mountains are a fitting geographical image for the narrative shape of this story.

We also sense here the tensions between the authorial voices of scientist and storyteller, and between the narrative and descriptive modes of discourse. Thompson abandons the empirical observations, technical data and point-form notes of the scientist for the imaginative tale, colourful incidents and continuous prose of the storyteller. But the voice of the scientist and the descriptive mode do remain significant undercurrents in the *Travels* account. This voice and mode appear most strongly in the topical passages which Thompson inserted into the lulls in his story. These cannot be regarded merely as appendages to the narrative; for example, the essay on the rattlesnake (a creature which had been mentioned only once, in passing, in the journal) reaches almost 1800 words in draft C. These passages reveal Thompson at the peak of his analytical powers, as he proposes a general rule for the flow of rivers, lists the various North American species of rattlesnake and tries to explain the origin of basalt.

Furthermore, Thompson is concerned not only to narrate an engaging tale of travel, but also to add his piece to the historical and interpretive record. Thompson may have dwelt on his outbound journey not only to establish the rising action of his tale, but also because, aside from some commonalities with Lewis and Clark's experience, much of the ground he covers had not appeared in travel accounts. By contrast, one factor in his neglect of Astoria may be that

this "far famed" post had already been well enough described. He also emphasizes his activity as a surveyor and geographer, plotting the great places of the West with seven touchstone geographical positions and framing his arrival at the Pacific as the culmination of his surveying career.

But the most striking aspect of the development of the voyage to the Pacific is Thompson's quite overt invention of reality. The encounter with the Umatillas and the character of Coxe emerge from the void of the journals to become fully developed pieces of a coherent narrative, but their status as fact is dubious. Likewise, the various details of Thompson's versions of his arrival at Astoria and view of the Pacific are not always consonant with one another.

We know that Thompson did not hesitate to invent details, and a final inconsistency in his versions of the arrival at Astoria can be found in his letters and journalism. In 1842 Thompson informed Governor Bagot that he had staked a British claim at the new Pacific Fur Company post: "In 1811 I went down the Columbia to Astoria and hoisted the British Flag, and above this place allowed no other Flag" (PRO CO 42/490). Thompson repeated his assertion in an 1845 letter to Sir James Alexander, and in early 1846 he proclaimed in the Montreal *Gazette*, "...there, in front of [the Astorians, I] planted the British flag, which remained flying and undisturbed until [I] left"

("Memoranda").

The flag-raising does not appear in the works of Cox, Franchère or Ross, who surely would have remarked on it, as they were employed by the American company. Curiously, neither is the incident mentioned in Thompson's 1811 journal or in the 1847 *Travels* accounts. Not coincidentally, in the period between 1840 and 1846 Thompson's presence in the Columbia basin was used to support the British claim to Oregon. After the Treaty of Washington in June 1846, it became quite irrelevant whether Thompson had hoisted anything at Astoria.

To borrow a phrase from Alice Munro, Thompson's narrative is not real, but true. The relationship of his writings to objective reality is at times defective, but they are tendentiously linked to his version of the truth, whether this truth be his greatness as an explorer and surveyor, or the justice of British territorial claims.

We have just seen how Thompson's mission in this part of the *Travels* is not only to tell a tale of adventure, but also to contribute to an empirical understanding of the area in which this adventure unfolds, and Thompson's regional geographies are a vital part of the *Travels*. His assembly of these pieces of the text is fertile ground for genetic study; accordingly, I now turn eastward in space and forward in the compositional story to examine one of these areas in greater detail: Thompson's draft D essay on the Plains.

SEVEN

Writing the Plains

We have just seen how Thompson constructed the story of an individual journey, and these travel narratives are often juxtaposed in the *Travels* with descriptive passages on the geography of western regions. For example, the draft D accounts of Thompson's journeys to York Factory in 1785, to Lake Athabasca in 1796 and to the Mandan villages in 1797-1798 adjoin writings on the Hudson Bay Lowlands, the Canadian Shield and the Great Plains respectively.

In his study *The Western Interior of Canada*, John Warkentin wrote of the contrast between Thompson's "itineraries" of specific travels and his passages of generalized regional description (92-93). As a geographer, Warkentin privileged the latter, and extracted for publication the *Travels'* regional geographies. By contrast, the literary critic Hopwood *excised* descriptive geography from his version of the *Travels* in order to accentuate the text's narrative thrust. But Thompson retained both travel narrative and geographical description in his work, and so must have regarded the relationship of the two kinds of discourse as symbiotic.

The *Travels'* regional geographies are at the heart of Thompson's intellectual activity and are, most profoundly, sites of synthesis. Thompson combined material he had gathered during his years in the West with what he had acquired from the published interpretive record, bringing together information on landforms, resources, natural history, geology and human geography in order to compile a full portrait of a delineated geographical region. This is the work not only of an observer and researcher, but of a great analytical mind, able to discern the patterns of causation beneath a surface of diverse effects. Ultimately, Thompson's regional geographies embody his world view.

The textual development of the *Travels'* regional geographies illuminates their place and purpose within the text. Yet, the composition of these passages is not as easily understood as that of the travel accounts; whereas Thompson often referred directly to his journals when composing chronological narratives, he assembled his regional geographies from a wider array of sources. The ancestry of these parts of the text is consequently more difficult to trace.

In this chapter I use Thompson's draft D essay on the Great Plains (IV.125-133) to explore this compositional process. This passage, which John Warkentin calls "one of Thompson's greatest achievements" in the *Travels* (93), is well-suited to textual criticism. Covering the largest

geographical space of any regional analysis in Thompson's narrative, it is at the same time the most textually well-delineated, and is an exemplary instance of the author's synthesizing abilities. Most significantly, it embodies Thompson's core beliefs about the history of the earth. I begin by analyzing the structure of the Plains essay, turn to consider some of the sources that Thompson used in assembling his information, and then seek the philosophical and ideological tap root of the essay. Having made this enquiry, I conclude by returning to the central critical question these regional geographies raise: what is their place and purpose within the *Travels*?

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The draft D essay on the Great Plains follows Thompson's account of his 1797 transfer from the Hudson's Bay Company to the North West Company. He provides a brief history of the fur trade, describes his journeys through the land about the Lake of the Woods, then announces: "my travels will now extend over countries of a very different formation; these are the Great Plains..." (IV.125). The Plains essay then begins. After eight-and-a-half manuscript pages, it concludes with another first-person authorial statement: "I hope I have now given such a general view of the formation of the Great Plains and their eastern borders as will enable the reader readily to follow me in my travels" (IV.133).

These statements serve two purposes. First, they are signposts delimiting the extent of the essay; as Thompson had marked the boundaries of streets, lots and nations in his surveying career, here he marks the boundaries of a textual space, clearly envisioning these pages as a single coherent piece of his narrative. Second, they reveal Thompson's justification for the inclusion of this section; he wants his readers to understand the Plains in order that they might better appreciate his own activities in this space.

The manuscript of the Plains essay is unremarkable. Pages IV.125-133, composed in the fall of 1848, consist of bifolias written in a uniform late hand, and all but two are linked by catchwords. These pages thus reflect the bibliographical uniformity of the latter two-thirds of draft D.

The content of essay is five-fold. The first section concerns generalities; Thompson defines the term "plains," delineates their extent, calculates their surface area and names the three great river basins into which their waters are divided. The second part of the essay considers the Plains' sub-regions. Thompson begins with what he calls the "east side" of the region: that land of hills and meadows in what is now south-western Manitoba. He writes on the area's rivers and landforms, fauna, soil quality and agricultural potential. He touches but briefly on the vast tracts from

the Gulf of Mexico to the 44th parallel, moves to the Missouri basin (where he digresses on the perils of river navigation), and passes quickly over the Bow River before concluding with the land north to the 56th parallel. The third part of the essay consists of a meditation on the creative force of God in Nature, while the fourth and fifth are topical passages on coal and fossil remains respectively.

The essay bears the marks of careful planning and arrangement. Opening with a panoramic survey of the entire area, Thompson then tightens his focus on each of the Plains' sub-regions (proceeding in a geographically clockwise manner), then pulls back to reconsider contemplatively the entire area. But the essay contains some problematic aspects. Prime among these is the inconsistent coverage of the sub-regions; while Thompson provides a full account of a relatively small area on the east side of the Plains, his treatment of most other areas is cursory. He devotes less than one hundred words to the space between the Gulf of Mexico and the 44th parallel, lands which constitute almost half of the Plains' total area. This unbalanced coverage reflects Thompson's own experience, as he never travelled south of the Missouri River, but did spend much time in the hills and meadowlands of the Plains' eastern boundaries. It also supports Thompson's claim that the account of "the Great Plains and

their eastern borders" assists the reader in following the author's travels.

A second critical question is the presence of apparent digressions within the account, including the long passages on impediments to river navigation, coal and fossil remains. The former, placed in the context of the Missouri River, interrupts the account of the Plains' sub-regions, while the latter two, coming after Thompson's meditation on the formation of the Plains, seem to be afterthoughts tacked awkwardly on to the end of the piece.

These apparent inconsistencies become more explicable as we trace the ancestors of the draft D text. The most direct of these forebears is draft B. In this text Thompson's survey of the Plains evolves out of a general account of western North America, and is placed between the story of his extensive travels of 1797-1798 and his account of the Natives of the Plains. He begins with a forceful statement of justification and intent:

> The formation of a country, and it's climate controul mankind to a certain mode and manner of life, the civilized man may soften and modify what he can, but to the Indian the above is positive law, and he accordingly conforms himself. I shall therefore before I enter on the history, manners and customs of the Natives give a sketch of the formation of the northern part of this Continent, which, in some measure will

> explain the great difference there is between the Tribes of Indians.... (III.120)

Thompson follows this strong introduction with a general survey of western geography, dividing the area into the mountains, plains, northern forests and "valley of the lakes" (Canadian Shield). He then turns to consider the Plains in more depth, and over a space of two-and-a-half pages moves through six Plains-related topics: the eastern boundaries, soil depth, coal, rivers, fossil bones and salt ponds. But despite its promising opening, Thompson's discussion becomes unfocused and fragmentary, wandering somewhat incoherently from topic to topic. His account of the Plains as a physiographic region does not culminate in any general summarization, but ends abruptly as Thompson opens a discussion of animals of the Plains.[65]

Thompson's treatment of the Plains as a region in draft B does have some affinities with that in draft D. Both drafts begin with a general account of the entire region before moving on to consider specific topics, and much of the content finds its way from one draft into the next. But the draft D account differs in three important ways. First,

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[65] This part of draft B did undergo some revision. An old page 120 was removed and replaced with a bifolium with pages numbered 120-120a. Some words at the top of page 121 were excised, and a paste-on was also added, numbered as page 121b and describing the eastern borders of the Plains. As with Thompson's draft B/C writings on the Cree, these changes suggest that the section was written with little forethought.

its structure is tighter and less associative. Second, it is placed *before* rather than *after* the events of 1797-1798; in draft B the Plains appear in a general account of western regions, but in draft D they introduce Thompson's own journeys. Third, the pretext for the inclusion of geographical information changes. In draft B Thompson claims that the essay will help the reader to understand the Natives of the Plains, while in draft D he states that it is meant instead to illuminate his own travels.

Thompson also writes about the Plains in his embryonic "Travels" of 1843 (71:37-55). This text, noticed by John Warkentin as "an undated essay on the geology of Western Canada" (111), is almost purely analytical. Thompson describes the extent of the Plains, the "dip" of the land, its three watersheds and the presence of salt ponds. As a geological reading of the region this piece is masterful, but it lacks the literary effectiveness of the draft D essay. Heavily dependent on numerical figures and calculations, it lacks the elements which arouse the interest of the general reader. Still, like draft D, its treatment of the Plains' sub-regions areas is unbalanced and Thompson proposes that geographical discourse supports the travel account.

We will return to respond to the questions of unbalanced coverage, digression and intention shortly, but to begin laying the foundation for this response, let us now

turn to consider more deeply Thompson's writings on coal and fossils.

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Thompson's writings on coal grow considerably from one draft to the next. In draft B Thompson merely notes in passing that coal is deposited on the banks of the Saskatchewan River by spring runoff from the mountains (III.121). In draft D, by contrast, he assembles all of the information he has on coal into a paragraph dedicated solely to the topic. Thompson begins by stating that "Coal appears to be sparingly found in North America...The only beds of coal that have come to my knowledge are those which lie near the foot of the Rocky Mountains; the Missisouri is said to have Coal, but of this I am not sure" (IV.131). As in his general description of the Plains, Thompson again attempts to be comprehensive; he mentions not only the deposits of which he is personally aware, but also notes the possibility of deposits further south, in areas he had never visited.[66]

Thompson then moves from the general to the specific by including several pieces of information about Rocky Mountain coal. He notes again that coal can be found in the banks of the Saskatchewan, but then adds the story of a specific incident: "My Blacksmith tried this coal; and at the first

[66] Curiously, Thompson makes no mention of the vast coal reserves of Appalachia, well-known since the early eighteenth century. Despite writing that coal is scarce in "North America," he must surely mean only the Plains area.

trial it melted the rod of iron, and from the great heat it gave he had to use half charcoal; and thought the quality of the Coal superior to any brought from England" (IV.131). After stating the extent of these coal beds, Thompson notes that the name of the Smoke River is derived from natural coal fires that occur there, "which have been burning beyond the memory of the oldest Indian of that River" (IV.131).

This paragraph is remarkable for the way in which it reveals the activity of the author's mind during its composition. Thompson scans his mind for any pertinent information that he can include, which in this case is almost entirely drawn from personal experience; aside from the note on coal along the Missouri, all the material here relates to Thompson's years in the foothills of the Rocky Mountains.[67] But while Thompson opens this paragraph with a general statement and then moves on to relate specific pieces of information, he is unable to formulate a general conclusion.

Thompson's writings on fossils immediately follow those on coal and the composition of two sections form a pointed contrast. While most information about coal is drawn from personal experience, that on fossils comes largely from written sources. Thompson's account is structured on an alternating theme of fossil presence and absence; he begins

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[67] Thompson wintered at Rocky Mountain House in 1800-1801, 1801-1802 and 1806-1807, and spent November 1802 to March 1804 near the junction of the Peace and Smoke Rivers.

by stating that he could find no remains of mammoths, elephants or other large animals on the Plains, contrasting this absence with the huge number of fossils found in Siberia. He then goes on to recount where such remains *have* been found in North America (in the Alleganies, along the Ohio River, and among the Osage Indians) before relating two Native traditions about giant animals: a "fable" of the Natives of the Ohio River and the story of an "enormous Animal" in the Athabasca country. Thompson then turns to other parts of North America and back to the theme of absence, noting that remains have been found neither in Canada, about the Great Lakes, in the Arctic nor in the Rockies.[68] Thompson concludes this section by affirming that large animals must have existed only in the Alleganies, and that they must have been destroyed in the Deluge.

Thompson again attempts to assemble as much information as possible to provide a comprehensive treatment of a subject which obviously fascinates him.[69] But whereas he possesses personal information about coal, the account of

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[68] Ironically, Thompson was unaware of the abundant fossil remains of dinosaurs along the Red Deer River in present-day Alberta. These were discovered by Tyrrell himself in June 1884 (Inglis 80-81).

[69] The presence of fossil remains of large animals seems to have concerned Thompson since at least 1797. When writing of his transfer from the Hudson's Bay Company to the North West Company he notes that one of his tasks was to "enquire for fossil bones of large animals...that might throw light on the ancient state of the unknown countries I had to travel over and examine" (IV.115).

fossil remains must be written in a largely negative mode; in the first paragraph he laments "all my steady researches, and all my enquiries led to nothing" (IV.131). The only information Thompson draws from personal experience is rumours of the Athabasca beast.[70]

He turns instead to outside sources to supply the positive information about fossil remains, and this exercise reveals much about how he amasses his material. Evidence both within and outside this passage suggests some sources. One is credited; when Thompson notes the absence of fossil bones outside the Plains, he states "nor has the travels of Captain Franklin in the Arctic Regions been attended with any success on this subject" (IV.133). Thompson refers to the published accounts of Franklin's journeys more than any other works in the *Travels*, and so their appearance here is not surprising. They are texts with which he was intimately familiar.

Three topics that Thompson must have researched elsewhere include Siberian and European fossil remains, the Osage fossil, and the "fable" of the Ohio River Natives. Only of the last topic can I find no record. Siberian and European fossils had been very well documented by the middle of the nineteenth century, and it is unlikely that there was

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[70] In draft C Thompson twice mentions that belief in this strange creature was common among Natives and fur trade employees, and he even claims that he saw a giant footprint himself (III.230, III.305-307). This beast must be the same as the much-celebrated Sasquatch.

a single source for the data that Thompson provides. Indeed, the manner in which the information is given suggests that Thompson is blending many accounts; he writes of "the very numerous remains in Siberia and parts of Europe of the Elephant, Rhinocerous, and other large Animals, especially near the Rivers, and in their banks, of those countries..." (IV.131).[71]

Of the Osage fossil, Thompson writes:

> On the west side of the Mississippe only one large bone has been found, which the Natives reverenced and has given a name to two Tribes, the great, and the little, Osage Indians. This large bone several years ago, was purckased [sic] from the Natives and placed in the museum of Washington City. (IV.132)

In October 1838 and March 1840, the amateur American palaeontologist Robert Koch found deposits of fossil bones in the land of the Osage Indians (in present-day Missouri). Koch published his findings first in *The Presbyterian*, a weekly Philadelphia newspaper, and then in book form as *Description of the Missouri "Leviathan"* (Montagu). It is unlikely that Thompson read *The Presbyterian*, but as much of the editorial content of both the Montreal *Gazette* and

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[71] Shortly before writing his account of the Plains, Thompson himself contributed to the body of literature on mammoths. On August 14, 1848 a letter to the editor of the Montreal *Gazette* was published, signed by "Voyageur," recounting the discovery of the frozen remains of a mammoth in northern Siberia in 1799. Thompson credits his source as the "Petersburgh *Journal du Nord*."

Herald was reprinted from American papers he may have encountered a version of Koch's article. He may also have encountered Koch's book, which appeared in at least four editions between 1841 and 1843.[72]

In his writings on both coal and fossils Thompson attempts to synthesize diverse pieces of information in order to understand broader patterns. Both topical sections combine experiential and acquired knowledge; Thompson tells of his blacksmith burning coal at Rocky Mountain House, but also of the coal deposits of the Missouri River, recalls tales of a giant animal he had heard in the Athabasca country, but also refers to discoveries of mammoths in Siberia. The relative composition of the sections differs, but both illustrate how Thompson followed the advance of knowledge on a wide range of topics and tried to integrate this new information with his own findings.

But while we now know more about Thompson's assembly of these sections on coal and fossils, we still lack an explanation of their place in the Plains essay. Their role is hinted at by Thompson's note on the Deluge, and we must combine this reference with his writings on geology in order to gain a clearer understanding of this piece of the

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[72] Another intriguing possibility is that Thompson had actually met Koch or viewed his fossil collections in person. While Thompson was in New York in September 1845 trying to sell his maps and drawings, Koch's latest discoveries were on display at the Apollo Saloon at 410 Broadway (Montagu and Peterson).

Travels. I now turn to explore Thompson's reading of the Plains as a dynamic system, and his decision to ascribe that system to the beneficent hand of God.

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The draft D essay on the Plains contains three references to time before the historical record. In the opening sentence Thompson writes that the Plains are "supposed to be more ancient than the Stony Region and the great Valley of the Lakes" (IV.125). After having described the various sub-regions, he tries to account for differences in the depth of soil over the area:

> Those who wish to find a material cause for this apparent increasing depth of soil from south to north; are led to suppose a great flood of water from the gulph of Mexico rushed northwards along the Mountains, denuded all the south parts of it's earth, leaving sand and rounded gravel for soil; and carried the earth northward where it has settled in great depth: here is a grand cause with a great effect but how came the Rivers not to be defaced. (IV.130)

Finally, Thompson accounts for the extinction of the "great animals of North America" by appealing to the Deluge, stating that "thus the great Creator made the earth more habitable for his favourite creature Man" (IV.133). These statements can only be understood in the context of contemporary debates about the antiquity of the earth, the

origins of its geological characteristics and the difficulty of reconciling the emerging geological timeline with established Biblical chronology.

The three passages seem to reveal Thompson as sceptical about the claims of geology. For one, he refers to the Deluge as a literal and historically recent event. Furthermore, his choice of words distances him from geological hypotheses; he states that the Plains are "supposed" to antedate other parts of the continent but does not endorse this theory himself, and he refers to "those who wish to find a material cause" for the earth's current state. These statements seem to imply that Thompson believed that the Earth was created in virtually the same state that it now displays, and that the only major change came about as a result of God's direct intervention at a single moment. But if we look back at Thompson's writings on the Plains in his 1843 "Travels" and in draft B, and to statements elsewhere in draft D, another story emerges.

In the 1843 text Thompson writes that the Plains *are* a more ancient part of North America than areas to the east:

> ...[the east side of the Plains] no doubt, in ancient times was the border of the Ocean: it's many salt ponds and salt springs along the east side appear the remains of this Ocean: on the higher level of the Plains these are not found... (71:41)

He restates this belief in draft B, adding an account of the

increasing depth of soil as one travels northward:

> ...upon a view of this formation, it appeared to me, that some mighty body of water had risen from the gulph of Mexico and held its course northward, taking all the soil from the south to the north, and such it strikes every traveller. (III.121)

Whereas in draft D Thompson is tentative about the relative antiquity of the Plains and the process of soil distribution, in preceding accounts he fully endorses both. It is not likely that his belief system changed in the short space of one year. Rather, he reappraises his geological theories solely on material grounds. He finds the idea of a northward flood unsatisfactory not because it denies God's creative agency, but because it does not account for the physical appearance of the rivers.

So, far from denigrating the principles and conclusions of geology, Thompson himself practises the methods set forth by the foremost geologist of his time, Charles Lyell. Lyell posits his scientific mission in *Principles of Geology* (1833): "to reconcile the former indications of change with the evidence of gradual mutations now in progress" (3:3). Thompson's draft A reading of the Hudson Bay Lowlands shows how closely he follows this directive:

> A question may be asked how has this immense alluvial been formed, the answer from theory may be, from some torrent of water, in ancient times, from the northern

> ocean, which denuded the northern rocks and deposited what once covered them, on the west and south sides of this Bay. But the very low, uniform level mixture of water, moss, mud, and driftwood, scarcely above the level of the tide, shows it's formation seems to have been the work of ages past, as well as of the time present, caused by the flux, and reflux of the tides, throwing on the shores, the drift wood, soil &c brought down by the many rivers...within the memory of old men, in many places the land has gained from 1/4 to 1/2 a mile on the sea; for more than two miles inland of the present shore, drift wood is found in tolerable preservation, showing the line of shore was once there. (I.2)

Thompson rejects an appeal to the "grand cause with a great effect," and instead contends that material being brought downstream by the rivers had through the ages accumulated to yield the observed geological formation. Moreover, he uses the evidence of witnesses to demonstrate that this operation is still in effect.

Thompson differs from Lyell in that he includes God in the geological equation. The most succinct statement of Thompson's belief both affirms the power of the human mind to interpret the earth and ascribes creation ultimately to God:

> The Great Architect said "Let them be, and they were"

> but he has given to his creature the power to examine his works on our globe; and perhaps learn the order in which he has placed them. (IV.231)

Thompson is of that generation of Canadian scientists for whom, as Carl Berger puts it, "nature was the handiwork of God and its patterns and operations disclosed His wisdom, power and goodness" (xiii). Thompson also retains faith in the relatively brief Biblical account of time, and in one of his later notebooks he records the age of the earth from Creation to the Birth of Christ as between 4004 and 5872 years (76:65).[73]

Thompson's attempts to reconcile geology and Genesis display especially close affinities with the natural theology of William Buckland. In *Reliquiae Diluvianae* (1823) and the Bridgewater Treatise *Geology and Mineralogy with Reference to Natural Theology* (1836), Buckland tries to harmonize the Biblical account of creation with the findings

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[73] One must not be fooled by Thompson's frequent use of the word "ancient." The temporal scope of his essay on "the ancient state of man and the beaver" is a mere 370 years. Just how brief he assumes the geological timeline to be is indicated by his reflection on information he borrows from the French geologist Horace-Bénédict de Saussure:

> In the Province of Auvergne in France, there appears to have been a Lake of the size of Lake Superior the barriers of which appear to have been broken down by an earthquake, and the Lake emptied. One alluvial from a River destroyed at the same time, was computed to be nine hundred feet in height from the bottom of the Lake. The catastrophe must have happened previous to the time of Julius Caeser, for had it happened in his time, or since, the Roman historians would have noticed such an event. (IV.231)

of geology. If Thompson did not read Buckland's books themselves, he at least had access to accounts of them which appeared in the *Quarterly Review*, and Edward Copleston's review of *Reliquiae Diluvianae* in this periodical contains sentiments strikingly like Thompson's own:

> ...that system of final causes...is deeply impressed on the whole mechanism of nature; the contemplation of which disposes the mind to pious feelings, and to a thirst for that more intimate knowledge of the Creator's will which the revelation of his word has conveyed to us. (165)[74]

Thompson tries to read both the Books of God and Nature aright. Though at times he disagrees with contemporary geological theory, he always bases his disagreement on firm geological principles of observation and deduction. If he can explain a given phenomenon with reference to ongoing natural processes, this he accepts as geological history; only if he finds such an explanation impossible does he ascribe responsibility to God for creating the natural

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[74] The dates of Thompson's run of the *Quarterly Review* are not known, but it is likely that he would have subscribed during his period of financial security, perhaps from about 1812 to 1833. The periodical's review of *Reliquiae Diluvianae* appeared in April 1823. The same issue contains a review of three books of American travel, in which the reviewers, John Barrow and William Gifford, mock the "sonorous and classical" terms used to describe impediments to river navigation (5). In his account of the Missouri River Thompson himself writes that these words, "sawyer," "planter" and "snag," are "names which have been ridiculed, without offering better in their stead" (IV.128).

feature in its current state. His enquiring and synthesizing mind, as expressed in the *Travels*, constantly tries to discern how things came to be, and this fascination with process extends beyond the actions of natural forces on the earth to the diffusion of Native peoples and fluctuations in animal populations.

Thompson had a deep faith, spent every Sunday with the Bible and the Prayer Book, believed in the Christian scheme of salvation history and held that God orders and directs creation towards benevolent ends. His writings on physiography are suffused with awe for the economy, majesty and scale of creation, and this attitude ultimately unites the apparently disparate strands of material in the essay on the Plains.

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I have left a number of critical issues unresolved as this chapter has progressed, including the disjunction between Thompson's regional geographies and his narratives of specific travels, the apparent incongruity of the passages on impediments to river navigation, coal and fossil remains within the essay on the Plains, and the influence of Thompson's world view on the organization of his text. I return now to all of these issues in responding to the critical question which I posed at the outset: what is the place and purpose of regional geographies within the *Travels*?

The draft D essay, and its two forebears, the 1843 "Travels" and draft B, each contain an explicit statement of authorial intention. In the 1843 text and in draft D Thompson offers the information on the Plains as an aid in understanding his travels. Oddly, little in the draft D essay actually helps the reader to understand what follows, for Thompson later traverses only a tiny portion of the area described; he travels briefly through the eastern boundaries of the Plains and makes a trip to the Mandan villages, but then leaves the Plains to seek the source of the Mississippi and to circle Lake Superior. The topics of coal and fossils never reappear.

Conversely, in draft B Thompson claims that information on the Plains is meant to help the reader to understand the Native peoples and their way of life. One would expect Thompson to discuss climate, materials for shelter and clothing and other factors which determine a people's mode of living, but he does not. Only Thompson's account of the animals of the Plains reflects his stated intention, and little else in this section contributes directly to an understanding of the Plains Natives.

While the two stated purposes are very different, content significantly remains much the same, and in neither draft does the essay contain much that is directly pertinent to its stated purpose. Thompson tells the reader one thing with his pretext for writing about geography, and quite

another with the material that he includes. While Thompson juxtaposes regional geography with the narratives of specific travels, they are not fully integrated.

What then is the purpose of Thompson's regional geographies? A clue can be found in a statement made in the 1843 "Travels": "From the Gulph of Mexico northward the east side of these plains forms the west side of the Mississippe River to its head in Lat ----- Long ----- *this River is too well known to need a description*" (71:41, emphasis mine). What Thompson says here of the Mississippi can be applied to those areas of the Plains which had been well-described by the 1840s. Thompson has no interest in merely restating what other writers said before him. Well-acquainted with the body of literature on western North America, Thompson is aware of his own place in this interpretive context. His goals then are to convey the unknown and to correct the erroneous.

This impulse helps to explain certain characteristics of the essay, such as the unbalanced scope of Thompson's geographical coverage, his use of materials outside his own personal experience and his apparent digressions. Thompson uses the *Travels* to add to the body of knowledge on western North America and to place himself within the evolving discourse on the region. So, in his writings on coal and fossils he places his own knowledge in the context of the published record, and thus makes his own contribution to a

steadily increasing body of literature.

Thompson assembles this available information in order to develop an understanding the Plains region as a integrated geographical system. While other authors wrote about portions of the Plains (for example, Edward Umfreville on the Saskatchewan River and Alexander Mackenzie on the canoe routes of the fur traders), Thompson tries to encompass the region in its entirety, including both areas over which he had travelled innumerable times and areas he had never seen. So, despite Thompson's claim that his geographical writings are meant to aid in following his travels, the situation is rather the inverse; the travels are instead an excuse for Thompson the scientist and synthesizer to take control of the text. The essay on the Plains is not a secondary and supporting narrative, but is primary and independent.

The ideological roots of the text help us to understand why regional geography is so important to Thompson. He regards the lands of western North America not merely as the places where he had carried out his career as a fur trader, but also as distinct geographical systems placed on the earth by a beneficent God and evolving under the effects of observable geological processes. Thompson tries to grasp the Plains as a complete and dynamic entity; since coal and fossils are evidence of geological antiquity, they are not afterthoughts, but rather spring naturally from his

meditation. The writing of regional geographies is then an attempt to understand the creation and continual unfolding of the earth.

Draft D's textual precursors, extratextual source material, and nineteenth-century geological discourse help us to read Thompson's essay on the Plains, just as Thompson uses geology, coal and fossils to read Creation. Thompson combines his experiential knowledge with the written record in order to gain a deeper understanding of the two phenomena of coal and fossils, but in a broader sense, he combines the observable characteristics of the land with revelation contained in scripture in order to gain a deeper understanding of the earth.

The study carried out in this chapter is broad in scope, extending far beyond the boundaries of the *Travels* manuscript itself. In the next chapter I turn to examine how the draft E additions change the pre-1850 text. We will not be moving very far geographically, for most of draft E is set in the same Plains region, but the content, narrative form and authorial voice of the writings we now approach could not be more different from those we leave behind.

EIGHT

The Dark Backward and Abysm of Time

Thompson had to suspend composition of the *Travels* when he was stricken with cholera in July 1849, and he did not take up the manuscript again until ten months had passed. In May 1850 he examined his work, noting in his journals "[I] must now correct my Travels &c where required" (61b:7). He resumed composition on June 11 and over the next three months penned the thirty-five new pages of draft E, the last that would be produced for the work. Thompson began working from the start of his manuscript; by June 24 he had composed the four-page opening now known as IV.1-4 and on June 28 and July 2 he wrote pages IV.9a-b and squeezed them between his description of life at Churchill Factory and the account of his 1785 journey to York Factory. Thompson then began his major work of 1850: twenty-nine pages describing his activities from 1786 to 1790. These pages were inserted in a block after the old page 27, and were numbered 27a-zd.

While they now appear in three separate parts of the *Travels*, the three blocks written in 1850 have close affinities of both a bibliographical and literary nature. These last-composed parts of the narrative are at once the

most writerly and the most personal of the work. They contain evocative imagery and engaging anecdotes, and are imbued with symbolism and archetypal patterns. Thompson writes with a new candour about his fellow fur traders, and his focus is less on anthropological and physiographical matters than on the story of his own activities and personal growth.

Of the three new pieces of composition, pages 27a-zd make up the largest and most cohesive unit. This text is also the broadest temporally, following Thompson from his seventeenth to his twenty-first year, time which he spent in the western interior of North America in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company and under the direction of the company's inland master, William Tomison.

Thompson begins his new section by providing the historical context for his activities. He writes of the Hudson's Bay Company's attempts to win a greater share of the inland trade before introducing himself as the man selected to accompany Mitchell Oman to the interior in 1786. The narrative then closely follows Thompson's activities, and describes his participation in the day-to-day work of the fur trade, the building of Manchester House, his winter with the Piegan Indians in 1787-1788 and his study of the techniques of astronomical surveying under Philip Turnor. While Thompson covers all of the central biographical details within this chronological framework, some activities

receive much greater attention than others. For example, Thompson devotes ten of the twenty-nine pages to his journey to and sojourn among the Piegan, while the period from December 1788 to May 1790 is covered in little more than a page.

Some time after 1857 these twenty-nine pages became separated from the rest of the *Travels*, and they were not located and identified until 1957 (almost one hundred years to the day after Thompson's death), when Victor Hopwood found them in the Archives of Ontario. But pages 27a-zd first appeared in scholarly discourse in 1916, while the manuscript itself still lay submerged. In his edition of the *Travels* J.B. Tyrrell indicated that their contents are listed in Index III and that these pages "were not in the original manuscript as [he] obtained it," and added "It is possible that the pages were never written, though [Thompson] may have outlined their contents" (53, n2).

Hopwood announced his discovery in his two *Beaver* articles of 1957. The first is essentially a précis of the manuscript, with almost half of the text consisting of extended quotations, while the second, only a page long, adds assorted supplementary information. Hopwood's articles focus solely on the historical and biographical information that the newly discovered text provides, and contain neither a literary appreciation of the work nor an assessment of its place within the *Travels*. Glossing over the author's

retrospective manipulation of his own life story, Hopwood concluded his first article by stating that the text shows us in the young Thompson "something of the man that is...ready to emerge" (31).

Subsequent scholarly work on pages 27a-zd has been scant; like Hopwood, scholars have used the text to flesh out Thompson's biography for these years. The pages were first published as Chapter IIa of Richard Glover's 1962 edition of the *Travels*, and Glover devoted the final two pages of his introduction to the newly discovered text. First recapitulating the details of Hopwood's discovery, Glover went on to enumerate the various factual inaccuracies which occur in the chapter (lxxi-lxxii). He repeated this exercise in his footnotes to the chapter, and in one of these notes went so far as to state that an error "reveals a considerable slipping in the old man's memory" (52, n2).

Only in Hopwood's 1971 edition of the *Travels* have pages 27a-zd received any attention as a literary text. Hopwood included the pages as his chapter 2, and he wrote that "Although this chapter was probably the last portion of the *Travels* that Thompson wrote, there is no falling off in literary power. Indeed, the indications are that the previous four years' work on his travels had increased his expressive powers..." (82). Beyond the work of the three editors of the *Travels*, pages 27a-zd have been utilized only by Thompson's biographers, including John Nicks and Stan

Garrod. These writers have made no critical assessment of the manuscript or its contents; rather, they mined it only for the biographical information it yields.[75]

But the outstanding literary quality of pages 27a-zd, and the fact that they comprise the last piece of the *Travels* to be composed, make them worthy of deeper consideration. The pages suggest three lines of inquiry: 1) the sources of the text, which concerns a time before Thompson kept journals, 2) the integration of this new block of text into draft D, and 3) overlapping material between the contents of these pages and other parts of the *Travels*. The critical question that these issues all point to is: how do pages 27a-zd change the *Travels* that had existed at the end of 1849?

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I begin with manuscript description and compositional sequence. Pages 27a-zd are now housed with the David Thompson Papers at the Archives of Ontario as item MU 2981. Watermarks indicate that many of the sheets were originally bifoliate, but all have been separated and the block now consists of twenty-nine single leaves of machine-made paper. Thompson used four different kinds of paper, with watermarks

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[75] Russell Brown and Donna Bennett do not include any material from pages 27a-zd in their anthology of Canadian literature. By contrast, about one-quarter of the David Thompson selection in Germaine Warkentin's anthology *Canadian Exploration Literature* is drawn from his composition of 1850.

ranging from 1840 to 1847, but other bibliographical qualities are fairly consistent: ink is russet, and each page is ruled horizontally in pencil (there are usually between 32 and 34 lines) with the left margin ruled in ink. Handwriting, though late, is shakier and larger than that of draft D, and catchwords are included on about half of the pages. In the absence of any other evidence, these pages, consisting of continuous narrative, written on consecutively numbered pages which display many consistent features, indicate strong unity of composition.

Thompson's journals confirm this assessment: the specificity of his entries of the summer of 1850 makes the composition of this section of the *Travels* easy to date. The first entry which refers to these pages is July 6, when Thompson recorded "Wrote nearly two pages to connect my work" (61b:11). Three times during the course of composition Thompson indicated the number of the page on which he was working: 27e was written on July 9, 27n on July 23 and 27za on August 23. On September 14 he wrote that he was "coming to a close," and on the 16th recorded "Finished the early part of my Travels to York Factory 1790. Thank Heaven" (61b:19). The contents of the pages were then recorded on Thompson's Index III. While pages 27a-zd were themselves once bound together, the fact that they became separated from the rest of the *Travels* seems to indicate that they were never bound together with it.

There are no items in Thompson's extant papers to which he might have referred when composing these twenty-nine pages. Thompson began to keep journals on October 10, 1789, while he was at Cumberland House learning practical astronomy under Philip Turnor. This leaves but eight months of overlapping time between pages 27a-zd and the journals. There are, however, no corresponding passages. This time period is covered in a mere four sentences at the end of page 27zd, while Thompson's journals of this time are almost exclusively meteorological and astronomical in nature.

It seems impossible for Thompson to have had recourse to any other written or oral sources. The published record in 1850 had little to offer and the only extant documentary sources were housed in the Hudson's Bay Company records at London, and so were unavailable to Thompson. Every historical figure Thompson mentions in the twenty-nine pages had died by 1850, and so he could not have relied on personal communication. There remains but one possibility: Thompson produced the entire contents of this remarkable section from memory. We must concede to Glover the presence of factual errors, but the contents of pages 27a-zd are not the product of the slipping memory of a man in his dotage. Rather, they testify to the enduring vitality of Thompson's mind in his eighty-first year.[76]

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[76] In his 1845 autobiographical sketch written for Sir James Alexander, Thompson says of these years only "In 1788 & 9 I studied practical astronomy under Mr Philip Turnor,

The journal entries cited above indicate that Thompson regarded these pages from the outset as a narrative link to be placed at specific juncture in his text: he numbered the pages as supplements to page 27, and did so as he composed them, rather than after they were completed (he recorded the numbers of the pages in his journal *as* he was writing). The entry of July 6 envisions these pages as textual connective tissue; that of September 16 affirms that the new material fulfils this role.

Tellingly, Thompson inserted his new work between the old pages 27 and 28. In draft D, the twelve pages culminating in page 27 deal with the seasonal round of activities at the bayside trading posts, and are placed in the context of Thompson's stay at York Factory between September 1785 and July 1786. On page 28 Thompson notes "Having described what is peculiar to the wild shores of Hudson's Bay, I now turn to the interior country," and so commence fifty-four pages devoted to the animal life, climate and Native peoples of two areas of the Canadian Shield. So, Thompson did not create a new fissure in the narrative when he inserted this new block between pages 27 and 28. Furthermore, this point had already been a bibliographic seam in the narrative, as page 27 was originally composed for draft A and page 28 for draft B.

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one of the compilers of the Nautical Almanac, and for some time an assistant to the Astronomer Royal" (PRO FO 5/441).

In its state at the end of 1849, the *Travels* unfolds in roughly chronological fashion up to page 27. While the primary focus of the text is the description of bayside life rather than Thompson himself, it deals with Churchill and York Factories in the order in which he experienced them, and is linked by the story of his 1785 trip from one post to the other. At page 28 Thompson shifts geographical regions and at the same time drops the chronology of his career as an organizational principle. It is not taken up again until page 82, when he begins to recount his activities of 1796.

Aside from those parts of the *Travels* that are derived from daily journals, pages 27a-zd are the most chronologically focused in the work. Beginning with Thompson's departure from York Factory in 1786, they closely follow the course of his career, with minimal and unobtrusive digressions, until his return to the post in 1790. The new composition thus fits neatly with the preceding page 27 by picking up Thompson's story where it had been left off, and so invests his text with a stronger sense of chronology. The shift back to page 28 is more jarring, particularly because Thompson lets stand his old transitional phrase, "Having described...the wild shores of Hudson's Bay...."

While Thompson had written little of his activities between 1786 and 1790 in drafts A through D, some of the material on pages 27a-zd does parallel previously existing

parts of the *Travels*. This is virtually impossible for Thompson to avoid, as he had passed the four years in areas and among peoples he had already described extensively. The dynamic of Thompson's composition of the *Travels* yields a twist: as these pages are written late in the compositional process, but designed to be inserted early on in the text, Thompson's task is to avoid repeating what he had already written, while making it appear to the reader that he is conserving information.

Thompson meets this challenge dextrously. One major challenge is the handling of the Plains region, on which he had written so extensively in draft D (see chapter 7). On page 27p he excuses himself from this task by noting "I shall not at present attempt to describe the great plains, having had opportunities for the space of twenty years after this to traverse them in many directions and confine myself to what did not come under my future notice." His solution is essentially to split himself into two narrators: one with the accumulated experience of an entire life (in the draft D account of the Plains) and one for whom the Plains is a new and unfolding experience (in pages 27a-zd).

The strongest link between these pages and the already existing narrative is the figure of Saukamappee, and the integration of this figure into these pages thus poses an even greater challenge. In draft D the Piegan appear within the context of Thompson's long account of the Native peoples

of the Plains, as they had, though in a lesser fashion, in draft B.[77] In the latter parts of draft D, composed in late 1849, Thompson devotes over forty pages to the Piegan (IV.261-299 and 311-312), of which the majority consist of a retelling of Saukamappee's own stories. Given the great length of Saukamappee's narrative in draft D, Thompson says remarkably little of the man himself. He is introduced in one short uncontextualized paragraph which gives his name, age and a short physical description. When Saukamappee's stories conclude some thirty manuscript pages later, Thompson does not even indicate that he is resuming the narration himself, and Saukamappee is not mentioned again.

By contrast, Thompson's portrait of Saukamappee in the new pages is personal, detailed and vivid. Thompson relates his own meeting with the old man and tells of listening to his stories every evening for four months, noting "I always found something to interest me" (27t-u). After Thompson names the prominent Cree chiefs, Saukamappee, himself born a Cree, says "What a stranger I now find myself in the land of my fathers" (27t). This statement, and other little details such as Saukamappee's fondness for telling stories bring him alive as a character.

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[77] Saukamapee does not appear as a named figure in draft B, but there Thompson relates two stories that appear in Saukamappee's narrative in draft D: the anecdote of a grizzly bear attacking a Piegan youth (III.155, IV.278-279) and the description of a Piegan-Snake battle (III.163-164, IV.264-266).

Thompson is careful to identify Saukamappee as he appears in the new composition as the man whose narrative enriches draft D, indicating on page 27u that "Of the information the old man [Saukamappee] gave me it will be found where I give an account of the Indians of the plains." Saukamappee becomes one of the *Travels'* tendons, binding together disparate parts of the work, and Thompson's character sketch of Saukamappee lends added power to the elder's narrative when it finally appears. Saukamappee is no longer a mere supplier of information about the Piegan; rather he is a character with whom Thompson interacts, and about whom the reader has much information.

Another strong parallel between drafts D and E is the story of the One Pine, told in the former on pages IV.261-262 and in the latter on page 27p-q. In draft D Thompson recounts the sad tale of a Piegan man who had made offerings to a pine tree in the hopes of saving his family from smallpox; when his family died he mutilated the tree, which Thompson first saw in October 1786. In draft D the story is the hinge between Thompson's writings on smallpox and those on the Piegan, but in draft E it is placed in its proper chronological place, with the other events of 1786. There are few differences in content between the two passages, and in this case it is likely that Thompson would have simply excised the draft D account in the revision process, which did not reach page IV.261.

There are few other conjunctions between pages 27a-zd and the rest of the narrative. While some fur trade figures and geographical locations, such as Philip Turnor and Cumberland House, reappear at other points in the *Travels*, very little that is included in the new pages is repetitious. Thompson shrewdly meets the task of making his text new.

The standard genetic questions have been addressed, and I have demonstrated in a strictly material sense how pages 27a-zd are related to the rest of the *Travels*. I now turn to the more difficult task of discerning generic and stylistic relationships between the pages and the narrative into which they are inserted. Two qualities are obvious: increased emphasis on Thompson's own life as the basis for the narrative and a new confidence of literary expression.

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Chapter 4 has demonstrated how pages IV.1-4 establish Thompson's own life as the primary topic of the *Travels*, and this emphasis is sustained in pages 27a-zd.[76] Events are related in a chronological manner, and the narrative is interrupted by no anthropological or physiographical digressions. But these qualities do not make pages 27a-zd

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[76] A telling example of Thompson's new emphasis on himself is his use of the personal pronoun in pages IV.9a-b. Between pages IV.9 and III.9, seventeen manuscript pages dating from 1846 to 1848, he uses first person singular personal pronouns twelve times. On pages III.9a and III.9.b, two manuscript pages composed in 1850, he uses these pronouns nineteen times.

unique, for there are many areas of the pre-1850 narrative in which Thompson is the central figure in a chronological narrative, such as the story of his trip to the Pacific in draft C and his journey to the Mandans in draft D. Rather, it is the nature of the autobiographical material and the way in which this material is related that sets the new section apart.

In drafts A through D Thompson usually only records his fur trading and surveying activities, and he attempts to do so in an objective manner. He does write of himself and his actions, but only as they relate to his official career; information about peoples and places is usually related in an anthropological or a physiographical context respectively. By contrast, pages 27a-zd afford the reader more intimate glimpses of the author. Two instances in particular seem to serve no other purpose than to develop Thompson as a character: his broken leg and his encounter with the Devil. Of his accident, Thompson writes that it was, "by the mercy of God...the best thing that ever happened to me" (27zc), and he tells of his deliverance from emaciation by the kindness and generosity of the local Native women: "This was pure charity, for I had nothing to give them" (27zc). And rarely in the pre-1850 narrative does Thompson take the reader as deeply into his confidence as in the story of his brush with the supernatural, which concludes with a personal resolution never to gamble.

Thompson presents those he encounters not as subjects in anthropological discourse, but rather as people with whom he has a personal relationship. Saukamappee is important here not only because he provides information about Piegan history and culture, but also because he is the man with whom Thompson lodges and a figure for whom he feels admiration and respect. Tomison appears not only as a fur trader, but also as the man who behaves "with the tenderness of a father" to Thompson.

Similarly, while the pre-1850 text is filled with Thompson's personal opinions on many topics, the author is rarely a subject himself. By contrast, Thompson's narrative in pages 27a-zd is focused acutely on the self; he writes not only of his public persona as fur trader and surveyor, but also of his private (and even shadow) self, conveying his personal, subjective experience as a new world and new life open up before him.

Hopwood writes that pages 27a-zd reflect an increase in Thompson's "expressive powers," and from a purely literary perspective these pages are the finest in the *Travels*. Thompson writes in a fresh, lively and lyrical style virtually absent in the pre-1850 narrative, and the characterization of the people he encounters, descriptions of the objects he views and relation of the events which befall him reflect deliberate literary craftsmanship. Thompson's writerly faculty develops through the discipline

of years of composition; in 1850 his abilities reach their highest expression, just as his project is about to be halted forever.

Drafts A through D, while they contain fine prose, are written largely in an objective and measured tone, especially when Thompson employs the voice of the scientist. In the new composition Thompson is so much the storyteller that at times he is almost audible in his confidence and candour. Of the lethargic George Hudson, Thompson states frankly "I was sadly disappointed in him" (27k), while his description of bison meat is beautifully fresh and forthright:

> ...their flesh when boiled is so very tough that although our teeth were in good order, and well inclined to do their duty from having had twenty four hours rest, had we masticated the meat by medical rules it would have taken three hours to make our supper. As it was we gave each mouthful two or three hearty nips and swallowed it down. (27r)

Thompson's ironic, even sardonic voice, so often suppressed in earlier parts of the *Travels*, is here given full expression. When describing an incident at a Manito stone he writes "the Stone and offerings were kicked about by our tolerant people" (27c) and upon the completion of Manchester House he reports, "under such able architecs [sic] as we were, we had raised a doric building, which might suit a

painter of rustic scenery" (27f). His keen wit is reflected in his description of pemmican which "requires the powers of an Ostrich to digest" (27w).

More than any other parts of the *Travels*, the composition of 1850 lends itself to traditional, formal literary analysis. Thompson often expresses himself through simile and personification: he describes the Hudson's Bay men upon meeting a French trader as "grave and stiff as pokers" (27g) and writes of stags battling to mate with the does as "Turks" (27e); of the effects of the smallpox epidemic on the Natives, he states that "starvation stared them in the face" (27g). The pages also contain a lyricism rare in the rest of the *Travels*. The qualities of poetry can be heard in the anapestic metre of "the call of the Stag made the forest resound and be answered by other Stags" (27e), the synaesthesia of "the cooling sensation was delicious" (27za) and the imagery and rhythm of "these beautiful deer, that run with the swiftness of a Hawk on the wing..." (27za).

Pages 27a-zd are populated by a gallery of colourfully-drawn characters: nineteen are individuated, of whom fourteen are fur traders and five Natives. Aside from Thompson himself, the central figures are William Tomison and Saukamappee. Tomison's presence helps to structure the section; he appears six times, from his introduction on the first page as leader of the inland-bound fur brigades to his

nurturing of the wounded Thompson on the second last. Saukamappee is also a caregiver, hosting Thompson during the adolescent traveller's sojourn at the Piegan camp, and sharing his life story with his guest. The personal relationship between these two men is the most intimate in the *Travels*.

Thompson's characterization of the figures in pages 27a-zd is often spare but incisive, as in his simple description of the mannerisms of the French Canadian trader who visits Manchester House: "...every sentence he spoke or answer he made, was attended by a smile and a slight bow..." (27g). Thompson is supposed to have held a jealous grudge against his fellow fur trader Peter Fidler, and Glover discerns Thompson's apparent disdain in the placement of a single indefinite article; too ill to accompany Turnor to Athabasca as a surveying assistant, Thompson reports "a Mr Peter Fidler took my place" (27zd).[79]

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[79] Of course, Glover sees in the word exactly what he wants to see, and his gloss gives him the occasion to insert the typically overstated note "Taking real or imagined affronts with unforgiving bitterness was one of the unattractive facets of Thompson's character" (55n). Morton, in his *History of the Canadian West* (1939), is the first to propose that Thompson harboured such uncharitable feelings, which he ascribes to Thompson's replacement by Fidler on Turnor's survey (444).

The only hard evidence of the apparently bitter relationship that has been presented is the fact that Thompson and Fidler passed each other on the Churchill River on August 12, 1805 without speaking. This incident is first cited in Tyrrell's itinerary of Thompson's activities, included in his edition, where he writes "for some reason these old companions passed each other without speaking" (lxxxv). It is still not clear whether this was a result of

Some of Thompson's most effective characterization is achieved through the evocation of idiosyncratic speech patterns. The Indian encouraging Magnus Twatt to abandon his craft yells, "Strip strip man not be long in the canoe now man, or you will be drowned, drowned man" (27d), while Tomison looks over Thompson's worn jacket muttering, "ragged, very ragged, can't be mended, must have a new jacket..." (27x). The characters who appear in pages 27a-zd are presented not simply as flat historical personages, but are well-drawn, vibrant and fully human figures. Thompson's skills in characterization help to bring pages 27a-zd alive for the reader, and these figures both unify the text and act as reflectors for Thompson himself; the author seems no longer to be alone as his story unfolds, but is an integral member of the fluid society of the West.

Visual imagery animates pages 27a-zd, and the reader of the *Travels* finds it easier to picture the contents of these pages than any other part of the narrative. Thompson employs the entire spectrum, from Kootanae Appee's "large black eyes" (27v) to a saddle "of well tanned leather of a chocolate colour" (27w), and the frequency and detail of

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enmity, and Thompson's journal entry for the day is silent on the matter of his feelings for Fidler (16:62). What is clear is that Thompson and Fidler were in contact at other points during these years; Thompson records in his journal that he saw Fidler at Cumberland House in August 1798 (10:135), and the two wrote to one another when both were active in the Peace River country between 1802 and 1805 (Nisbet 75).

physical description shows that Thompson tried to visualize his subjects before committing them to paper.

Clothing imagery is especially pervasive. This includes both the physical description of clothing worn by figures Thompson observes, such as the green bunting on the caps of the Hudson's Bay men and the red and blue caps of their French Canadian counterparts, but also an enumeration of the clothing received by Company employees and the fondness of the Natives for long coats. Clothing plays a central role in a number of incidents in the section, including Tomison's appraisal of Thompson's jacket before he leaves to winter with the Piegan, a Native's act of stripping during the storm on Cross Lake, and the tale of Tomison's faded vest.

I have shown in chapter 3 how Thompson's handwriting changed as his vision worsened. By the time he was writing 27a-zd this deterioration was well-advanced; his contemporary journals contain many complaints about his failing sight, which indeed forced him to abandon his journals in February 1851, five months after having set the *Travels* itself aside. It is intriguing to consider Thompson's imagery in light of his physiological state. In *Milton's Blindness*, Eleanor Gertrude Brown notes that many nineteenth-century critics attributed Milton's late imagery to his blindness. These critics discerned both an increased emphasis on images related to the lost sense, such as

luminosity and colours, and also a greater sensitivity to the four remaining senses, which would have become more acute in the absence of sight (Brown 133-137).

The prominence of visual imagery in pages 27a-zd would seem to support a similar hypothesis in Thompson's case. Indeed, the strongest visual image is one of luminosity: as his party travels westward through the Plains, Thompson states that "At length the Rocky Mountains came in sight like shining white clouds in the horizon" (27q). However, at only one point in the pages is a sense other than sight prominent, in an evocative passage in which Thompson recalls sounds his party had heard while camping along the Bow River in autumn 1786: "The whistling and calls of the Red Deer echoed through the woods, and we often heard the butting of the Staghorns battling which should be lord of the herd of Does..." (27e).

It is unlikely that Thompson's blindness is the sole contributing factor in his choice of images, for while his use of visual imagery is demonstrably more extensive here than in other parts of the *Travels*, other writerly qualities are also more pervasive. Thompson's inclusion of strong visual images likely reflects both his physiological state and his deliberate attempt to recount his text in a more expressive mode.

Thompson's storytelling faculty emerges strongly in these twenty-nine pages, which bristle with incident. The

anecdotes are of many kinds. Some are told as supplements to Thompson's narration of his own activities, such as the near-drowning of Magnus Twatt and the homeguard Indian on Cross Lake (27d) and the Piegan man's attempt to rid his family of smallpox by sacrificing to the One Pine (27p-q). More often Thompson relates incidents which he himself witnessed, such as his encounter with the Devil (27k-l) and Tomison's examination of the bleached vest (27x).

These four anecdotes show the versatility of Thompson's storytelling. Each is written in a different narrative mode and has a particular flavour, from the mock-epic pathos of Cross Lake, to the tragedy of the One Pine, the mystery of the Devil, and the sly comedy of Tomison's vest. Yet the sketches, each ranging between 150 and 300 words, display almost identical narrative structures. In a short space Thompson sets the scene, introduces complicating action, builds the action to a crisis, resolves the crisis, and inserts a reflection on the tale. Each tale, so different in content and tone, is finely crafted for maximum rhetorical impact.

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Thompson's heavy use of anecdote recalls the three stories he had included in pages IV.1-4, the new opening written only a few weeks before he began pages 27a-zd. In chapter 4 I noted that the three stories in IV.1-4 can be read not only as examples of Thompson's storytelling skills,

but also as moral lessons and, more deeply, as keys to understanding the *Travels* as a text. Here the same lessons can be drawn and the same keys found. Imagery, characterization and anecdote often assume symbolic import, and we can discern here Thompson's deployment of archetypal and mythic patterns. This narrative strategy is most apparent in the character sketch of George Hudson and the description of Thompson's encounter with the Devil. These pieces of the text embody Biblical, mythic and moral paradigms, and reveal how, in these last parts of the text, Thompson begins to graft an archetypal model onto his own life story.

George Hudson appears three times in pages 27a-zd. The first time, Thompson merely identifies him as the chief factor at Cumberland House and notes, "[he] had been brought up in the same school in which I had received my education..." (27e). Hudson reappears when Thompson spends the summer of 1787 at Cumberland House under his command. Again Thompson emphasizes the parallels between his own life and that of Hudson: "[he] had been educated in the same mathematical school in which I was, and like myself bound apprentice to the Hudson Bay Company" (27i-k). Thompson goes on to express his dismay at the condition into which Hudson had allowed himself to lapse; having lost all of his education, he lives in a state of apathy.

Thompson then posits yet another parallel between

Hudson and himself. Noting that "When we left school a Hadleys quadrant and Robertson elements of navigation...were presented to each scholar," Thompson emphasizes the good care he had taken of these valuable items, then writes "I enquired if [Hudson] had his, he said they had vanished long ago" (27k). Hudson appears a final time at the end of this section, when Thompson reports, "Mr Hudson unf[ort]unately for himself, was too fond of an idle life, became dropsical, and soon died" (27zd).

Thompson is writing not merely a character sketch of George Hudson, but by using these parallels he also writes about himself. The two men had received the same education and been sent off into the world with the same items, but Hudson had squandered his gifts, and the parallel to the parable of the talents is obvious: Hudson ("too fond of an idle life") is in the place of the bad and lazy servant who buries his talents in the ground, leaving the inference that Thompson is the good and faithful servant who brings his talents back with interest (Mt 25:14-30, Lk 19:11-27).

Thompson's archetypal patterning is most apparent in his encounter with the Devil, which resounds with Biblical and folkloric echoes. In this incident, which has eluded scholarly explication, Thompson reports that while playing draughts alone he was visited by the Devil, whom he then proceeded to defeat in several games before the visitor vanished. Thompson takes as his moral a stricture against

gaming, but the mythic significance of the incident runs deeper.

In Judeo-Christian tradition, the fact that Thompson is opposed to the Devil in this incident is not surprising. The essential persona of the Devil is that of the Adversary, and indeed, the appellation Satan comes directly from the Hebrew verb "to accuse or to oppose" (Barnett). More concretely, the encounter with the Devil recalls Christ's temptation in the desert, the first incident related in the synoptic Gospels after his baptism (Mt 4:1-11, Mk 1:12-13, Lk 4:1-12). After resisting Satan, Christ begins his ministry in Galilee by calling his first disciples. The action can also be understood within the context of mythic and folkloric patterns, especially those of the Celtic peoples, which describe the appearance and disappearance of uncanny beings and the playing of games with such figures.[80] In the general paradigm of these tales, the

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[80] Two examples of games with uncanny beings are found in the Irish myth cycles. The third-century Fenian cycle contains a legend entitled "The Wooing of Étain." Eochaid, the King of Ireland, plays chess with a stranger, Midir of Brí Léith, wins four times, then loses, and must allow Midir to kiss his daughter. Midir and the king's daughter are transformed into swans, which fly away (Dillon 54-58). The Mythological Cycle contains the story of Diarmaid and Grainne. Diarmaid had taken Grainne from Fionn Mac Cumhail, and the two lovers take refuge in a cave. There they are visited by a supernatural being, who plays dice with Diarmaid. Diarmaid loses, the stranger takes Grainne as the stakes, and Diarmaid later kills the stranger (Schoepperle 417-418).

Thompson's Welsh heritage makes it entirely possible that he had intimate acquaintance with the patterns of Celtic myth. After the age of two Thompson was raised

hero must gamble with a mysterious stranger as a prelude to setting off on a series of adventures. That Thompson plays draughts with the Devil enriches the symbolism of the encounter, for the checker board represents the field of battle between good and evil (Jobes 1:317).

These Biblical and folkloric precedents lead towards a better understanding of how the encounter operates as a textual device. As Christ defeats Satan's temptation before beginning his work, and as the hero of folklore encounters the stranger before setting off on his quest, so Thompson's meeting with the Devil launches him on his own adventures.

Spatially, pages 27a-zd begin and end at York Factory; temporally they cover the four years from 1786 to 1790 in chronological fashion. There are then two patterns in operation: one is a cycle and the other a progression. Both centre on the figure of the author, in the typical narrative pattern of departure, acquisition of experience, and return. In adding pages 27a-zd to the *Travels*, Thompson invests his text with a clear heroic paradigm.

Thompson begins by journeying out into the wilderness. Here he must live among a pagan people; there are not only people who sacrifice to trees, but men like George Hudson, who has no book, "not even a bible" (27k). The hero must make his way in this world, and must deal as best he can

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solely by his mother, and had possibly heard Welsh folk tales as his mother sat at his childhood bedside.

with the various situations in which he is placed. Some characters are good examples and help the hero: Tomison nurses Thompson when he is injured, while Saukamappee tells him of the significance of the left and right hands for Natives. Other characters are bad examples or hinder the hero: George Hudson presents a fate to be avoided, while Peter Fidler displaces Thompson on a surveying party.

The wilderness of the western interior can be read symbolically as a parallel for the Biblical desert. Here Christ encountered his temptation, and so too is our hero tested. Thompson emerges from this test, the encounter with the Devil, to undertake his life's work. At the time of this encounter, Thompson had done little of note in his three years in the West. He had arrived at Fort Prince of Wales in 1784, had performed various secretarial duties, and had gone inland in 1786 to help build up the Hudson's Bay Company's interior trade. He had been active, but had done nothing extraordinary. The immediate context of the encounter, in the summer of 1787, is idleness. Thompson then moves into a phase of intense industry; he was only seventeen years old in 1787, and the encounter with the Devil can be read as his rite of passage from thoughtless boyhood to responsible adult life.

The encounter with the Devil thus marks the point at which Thompson's activities in the West are to begin in earnest. As pages 27a-zd close, Philip Turnor teaches

Thompson how to survey. This is the activity to which he will devote the rest of his life, and to which he will bring a skill and dedication unmatched in North American history. When he arrives back at his place of origin, York Factory, he is a man new made.

So, when Thompson finally comes to record the story of these four early years of his career, he places himself in the position of hero, superimposing the patterns of myth onto the patterns of his life. Having applied the Christian world view in his reading of the land, he now applies Christian paradigms to his own life. Thompson is, as Hopwood writes, the "foundation mythmaker of the Canadian West" (Introduction 34). Here he is also, in both senses of the word, the mythmaker of his own life.

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This chapter began with three genetic questions. The questions address the sources of pages 27a-zd, the integration of the new block into the existing text, and overlapping content between these pages and the rest of the *Travels*. The latter two questions ask: How do pages 27a-zd, the last that Thompson wrote, change the text into which they were inserted? An investigation of the purely genetic issues shows that the new pages were written from memory, that they accentuate the chronological basis of the narrative, and that they pick up the figure of Saukamappee, whose role grows with each draft of the narrative.

The genetic criticism used here goes beyond juxtaposition of parallel passages. Instead, we must compare the new text with those of the text *into which* it is being integrated. This investigation shows that Thompson was attempting to construct a more accomplished literary text and that he placed himself at the centre of the narrative. Finally, the significance of the narrative patterns of the section shows that Thompson brought an entirely new conception of the nature of his text to this new composition.

Pages 27a-zd are the last of the *Travels'* 716 pages to be written, and this chapter is the last of my five individual genetic studies, so bringing to a close this phase of my work. At the same time, the issues raised here look forward to the more general concerns of chapter 9: the critical issues of style, structure and the unity of the *Travels* as they are reflected in the successive drafts of the text.

NINE

At the Weaver's Loom

The five preceding chapter studies have dealt with several aspects of the *Travels*, including sources, subjects and narrative modes and the development of themes, stories, and travel accounts over the years of composition. These studies, and the more general chapters which precede them, reveal above all how diverse the *Travels* is in both content and form. So, having paused to examine minute passages and specific genetic issues, it is now fitting to gather what has been learned and return to the text as a whole.

The most basic challenges confronting Thompson as author had to do with the organization of his material. His journals and memory housed a mass of information on a broad range of subjects, and the range of the text's contents show that he tried to convey as much of this matter to his reader as possible. At the same time, variations in the *Travels'* form illustrate his struggle to find the appropriate manner of achieving this feat. This chapter studies Thompson's evolving response to this problem of assimilation, and so I begin by examining how the shifting shape of the successive drafts reflects the author's attempts to synthesize his

text's many elements. I then turn to the critical issues of style, structure and unity which were introduced in chapter 1, and which have surfaced from time to time in subsequent chapters.

To understand the general development of the *Travels* we must first return to the five drafts which were sketched in chapter 3. Whereas those summaries are merely static and descriptive, the task now is to juxtapose successive drafts in order to analyze change. Concentrating especially on the *Travels'* structure and content, I seek to explain how and why Thompson altered his text during his years of labour.

Draft A

The scanty remains of draft A are concerned entirely with the Hudson Bay Lowlands, that region surrounding Churchill and York Factories in which Thompson spent the first two years of his career. Seventeen pages of the draft survive. Pages 1-12 contain accounts of the geology and animal life of the area and a description of the yearly round of bayside life. Thompson himself appears only briefly; he describes his arrival at Churchill Factory in 1784 and his journey to York Factory in 1785. Of five other surviving pages, three concern the Inuit and two the winter climate of the area.

The organizational scheme of draft A is clearly geographical; Thompson writes about a variety of subjects

pertaining to the Hudson Bay Lowlands, including people, land, animals and industry, while giving little attention to his own story. As I have shown in chapter 4, the narration of Thompson's activities is wholly subservient to general description and specific anecdotes are few; that Thompson abandoned this draft after writing only about thirty pages likely reflects dissatisfaction with its contents.

Draft B

Draft B falls into four broad movements. The first, consisting of pages 1-51, is set in the Hudson Bay Lowlands and adjoining areas of the Canadian Shield. While Thompson does cover these geographical areas in the order in which he encountered them, chronology is not made obvious; rather, Thompson organizes material thematically, concentrating on Native peoples, natural history and the fur trade.

The second movement, stretching from pages 51-100, follows Thompson's journeys and activities between August 1796 and June 1798, and so charts his most itinerant years in the West. The few thematic digressions are brief, closely tied to the place and time of Thompson's own travels, and clearly subservient to the narrative, chronological scheme of the movement.

The third movement runs from pages 101-194. Here Thompson returns to a more descriptive mode in his treatment of the western plains and forests. Focusing especially on

Native peoples and natural history, he moves restlessly from topic to topic, and while at times he refers to specific dateable events, this section does not display a coherent chronological framework.

The final movement, pages 194-262, is again chronological, commencing in 1807 and following Thompson's journeys until early 1812, emphasizing especially his 1811 journey to the mouth of the Columbia. The movement ends with three pages on Natives, too little to make up a distinct section of the *Travels*, but again marking a reversion to a descriptive, thematic mode.

Draft B alternates between the two modes of thematic description and chronological narration. There remain no draft B passages which can be directly compared with draft A, but the two drafts do exhibit the same organizational scheme. As draft A's description of the Hudson Bay region is largely free from the narration of Thompson's activities, so too in draft B are description and narration usually kept separate. This strict division of modes allows Thompson to convey a vast array of information, including his activities from 1796-1798 and from 1807-1812, the fur trade, Natives from all parts of western North America, geology and natural history.

But draft B was not a success. Thompson himself was aware of its failings, and its haphazard organization is the subject of many journal entries and marginal notations.

Having finished the account of his travels from 1796 to 1798, he recorded on April 19, 1847 that he was "At a loss," and decided to "[take] up the Fur Trade" (75:9), with which his wide-ranging account of the Plains begins. After having exhausted this theme, he recorded on July 7 that he was again "at a loss to resume" (75:16). The following day he got by this impasse and "changed to the west side" (75:16). Similarly, the margins of many of the pages, especially those in the third movement, contain notes reading "I think already done" and "to find its place." The detrimental effect of this lack of planning is reflected in Thompson's often repetitive and disjunctive treatment of the Cree, as we have seen in chapter 5.

Even were the draft better planned, the organizational scheme remains an unsatisfactory response to Thompson's problem. The division of the text into large blocks of narration and description gives it a troubling incoherence. The reader is unprepared for the sudden shifts in mode, the suspension of the narration of Thompson's travels and the rapid movement from topic to topic, and it is easy to become disoriented and so to lose interest.

Perhaps to remedy this situation, during the composition of draft B Thompson considered separating narration and description entirely, organizing his text as a travel narrative proper followed by thematic descriptive appendices, on the model of works by such writers as Hearne

and Franklin. Many of the pages dealing with birds, animals, and climate are listed at the end of Index II, apparently indicating that they were meant to be placed after the body of the *Travels*, and Thompson suspended the composition of draft B to compose the nineteen-page appendix on North American bodies of water.

He soon had second thoughts. Thompson noted on September 8, 1847, just after beginning work on draft C, that the *Travels* should be "no Appendix, all Narrative" (75:22). The pages on birds, animals and climate were reinserted in the main text, while those on water never found their way into the *Travels* at all. Thompson had thus rejected two possible ways of separating narration from description. He moved on to consider a new method of arrangement, reflected in the additions made for draft C, but finding its greatest expression in draft D.

Draft C

We have seen how Thompson took most of draft B over into draft C, and so the structure and organizational scheme of the two drafts are similar. New material consists of opening pages 1-12, closing pages 230-324 and scattered additions to the body of the preceding draft.

Like the opening of draft A, draft C also begins with a description of Hudson Bay and an account of life at Churchill Factory. As chapter 4 demonstrates, Thompson

begins here to strike a balance between narration and description. While he still begins with a geological description of the shore areas, this passage is cut substantially, and two pieces of information that had been stated in an objective and generalized manner are transferred to later points in this opening, where they are described as Thompson himself observes them.

The closing pages of draft C carry the narrative forward to Thompson's arrival in Montreal in August 1812; as in draft B the key event here is Thompson's journey to the mouth of the Columbia in the summer of 1811 (which takes up forty-six of the ninety-four new pages). As chapter 6 shows, both draft B and C accounts display the same narrative structure, but the latter draft is more bulky owing to more detailed description of events of the journey and the insertion of several topical passages. These passages embody Thompson's new solution to his problem of assimilation. In punctuating his Columbia journey with lengthy essays on rattlesnakes, basalt formations and the river itself, Thompson retains the framework of a chronological narrative while giving his text a more thematic and descriptive character.

While making revisions from draft B to draft C between August and October 1847, Thompson frequently wrote of his desire to make the narrative more cohesive; on August 23 he noted that he had composed "a little on my travels and to

connect them" (75:20), while on October 7 he recorded "I must now place all to be fit for publication and cut down all repetitions" (75:25). Some characteristics of the new draft C material reveal the evolution in Thompson's response to his fundamental problem; the distinction between narration and description begins to blur. In the opening, a largely descriptive movement is given some of the attributes of narration, as Thompson communicates several pieces of information as he himself encounters them. In the closing, a largely narrative movement is augmented by passages of description pertinent to the travels being undertaken. In this manner the *Travels* becomes more balanced and coherent. Thompson considered that he was almost ready to submit his work to a publisher in late 1847, near the completion of draft C. That he did not do so suggests that, after some reflection, he remained unsatisfied with his text; he instead elected to rewrite the entire narrative using the organizational scheme with which he had begun to experiment.

Draft D

In general, draft D consists of an expansion and reorganization of what had been contained in the first three movements of drafts B and C; what had taken up 232 pages there now takes up 344. There are then three broad movements: 1) pages 1-81, on Hudson Bay and the "Muskrat Country," 2) pages 82-238, travels between 1796 and 1798,

and 3) pages 239-313, on the western plains and forests.

Many of the pages in the first section had been taken over from draft C, and so this is where the drafts parallel each other most closely. New material here includes the two-page introduction and twenty pages on the topography, fauna, climate and inhabitants of the area around Reed Lake. The new introduction, as I have shown in chapter 4, leads the reader into the narrative through the use of anecdote. More importantly, it substitutes a new organizational principle, for the narrative of Thompson's 1784 voyage to Churchill Factory displaces the description of Hudson Bay. This helps us to understand all of the alterations that are made in draft D; not only is the separation between description and narration further blurred, but narration begins to assume the position of primacy.

New content in this first movement of the narrative includes the rewritten section on the Cree examined in chapter 5; the new version of this section drains the account of information on the material and temporal life of the Cree, leaving only the tenets of Cree religious belief. The former information is now conveyed through Thompson's work as a fur trader, while he emphasizes that the latter material is grouped together only because it would be unlikely to emerge in the story of his activities.

Whereas in draft B the Canadian Shield had been discussed as in general and objective terms, here Thompson's

observations are centred at Reed Lake, where he had spent parts of the years 1794-1796 and 1805-1806. Information is still related thematically rather than chronologically, but descriptive passages are spiced with anecdotes which date from these years. So, Thompson's writings on such general topics as geology, vegetation and wildlife are supplemented by such specific incidents as Joseph Colen's attempt to dig a cellar, some Scottish labourers' loss of an axe to a wolverine and several of Thompson's own experiments with animals.

Greater changes occur in the second movement. The narration of the travels of 1796-1798, occupying fifty pages in draft B, is expanded to 156 pages here. Two factors swell the text. First, the actual chronological account of the travels themselves is more detailed. For example, Thompson's journey to the Mandan villages, which in both drafts B and D is a strictly chronological account of the journey, takes up five pages in the former draft and sixteen in the latter. The second factor which expands the draft's second movement is more frequent inclusion of thematic digressions. In draft B Thompson moves quickly through the events from August 1796 to October 1797; twelve pages cover Thompson's winter at Reindeer Lake with Malcolm Ross, his transfer to the North West Company and his travels in the country around the Red River. The same period of time takes up fifty-three pages in draft D, largely due to frequent

suspension of the forward chronological narrative and the insertion of material on the Chipewyans, Aurora Borealis, North West Company, Red River and Lake of the Woods, Plains and fur trade.

These topics are related to Thompson's own activities, and so represent a further integration of the narrative and the descriptive: the trip to Lake Athabasca occurs through Chipewyan territory and in the company of two men of this nation, while the winter at Reindeer Lake is notable for the frequent and brilliant appearance of the northern lights. That these thematic passages are intended as a secondary narrative illuminating the primary chronological narrative is apparent in several of Thompson's self-referential notes and by the very fact that he at times even refers to these passages as "digressions." Thus there is the justification for the description of the Plains, noted in chapter 7 "as will enable the reader better to follow me in my travels" (IV.133). If readers are to follow the figure of the author in his travels and activities, Thompson seems to say, they must see him against the historical, anthropological and geographical ground.

The third movement is altered most radically between drafts. While the first two movements have the same basic narrative shape and are swelled with supplementary information, the very structure of the third section is altered. In the ninety-four pages which comprise this

movement in draft B, Thompson moves from the history of the fur trade to the geology of the Plains, and then on to the animals and Native peoples of this region. In draft D much of this general descriptive information is transferred to the second movement and placed with the activities of Thompson which are appropriate to them.

Seventy-four pages make up the third movement of draft D. Thompson begins his treatment with a general description of the "Stoney Region," or western forest lands, and then moves on to consider two specific places in this area: Red Deer's Lake (Lac La Biche) and the forks of the Peace and Smoke Rivers. Thompson spent the winter of 1798-1799 at the former and parts of the years 1799 and 1802-1804 at the latter. Thus, his consideration of these two locations, while expressed largely in generalized terms, follows the chronological pattern of his own activities. Like his writings on Reed Lake, here specific stories are woven into the descriptive accounts.

After a brief account of the smallpox epidemic of 1781-1782, the final two-thirds of this movement are centred around the Piegan Nation, which had been covered in only twelve pages in draft B. This section is almost entirely descriptive, although Thompson notes that his first contact with the Piegan had been in 1786, and that the narrative of Saukamappee dates from this period. In this sense, the section on the Piegan ruptures the chronological flow of

draft D, but at the same time it is a good introduction to his final years in the West, when he was again in frequent contact with this group.

Draft D further collapses the distinction between thematic description and chronological narration through two complementary strategies. On the one hand, chronological passages, such as the story of Thompson's activities between 1796 and 1798, are supplemented with appropriate passages of thematic description. On the other, descriptive passages include accounts of specific, dateable incidents.

Most importantly, draft D displays the growing importance of Thompson's own activities as the *Travels'* primary structural basis. A movement which had begun quietly in the draft C additions is developed here much more fully, for all of the contents are chronologically-based, either overtly or implicitly: the narrative covers Thompson's 1784 voyage to Churchill Factory, the Hudson Bay Lowlands where he spent 1784 to 1786, the "Musk Rat Country" where he worked during the early 1790s (but also in 1805-1806), his activities between 1796 and 1798, the "Stoney Region" where he was active between 1799 and 1804, and the Piegans, with whom he was in frequent contact beginning in 1807. The essential characteristic of draft D is the movement towards Thompson's activities as the text's framework, and this represents an effective response to the problem of assimilation. The reader can follow Thompson's

career more readily, the more frequent alternation between chronology and theme sustains reader interest and lends the text a new vitality, and so the *Travels* begins to come together as a narrative with a single common structural basis.

Yet problems remain. The main drawback to this organizational scheme is that temporal gaps remain. Thompson spent many of his years in the West going over places he had already visited, and so it was difficult for him to follow his own activities and always offer something new. Thus, the years between 1786 and 1790, and between 1804 and 1807, are almost absent from draft D (of course, Thompson did not rewrite the draft C account of the years from 1807 to 1812). Conversely, some of Thompson's passages of general description are still not well integrated into the chronological story. In chapter 7 I showed how Thompson's pretext for his essay in the Plains does not account for the information that he includes in it, and this transparent pretext reflects his anxiety that parts of his narrative do not cohere. This fear is likely the reason that, when he resumed composition in 1850, Thompson did not pick up the thread where he had left off, but again returned to the beginning of his work.

Draft E

Thompson's 1850 journal entries reveal that his goal in

composing new material for the *Travels* was to achieve greater cohesion and to fill in draft D's temporal gaps. As we have just seen in chapter 8, he stated that the pages were meant "to connect my work" (61b:11), and after completing his task he recorded that he had "finished the early part of my travels to York Factory 1790" (61b:19). True to this intention, all of the thirty-five pages written in 1850 act as connective tissue in the body of the text. Pages 1-4 fill in the antecedent action which had brought Thompson at the age of fourteen to Churchill Factory, pages 9a-b sketch in autobiographical details related to his 1784-1785 stay at Churchill Factory, and pages 27a-zd carry the chronological narrative from 1786 through to 1790.

As chapter 4 has shown, the new introduction reinforces chronological narrative as the structural basis of the text. The opening also becomes much more personal; not only is Thompson's journey to Churchill Factory described, but the antecedent action of his childhood and education is added and anecdotes are used as moral lessons. Pages 27a-zd continue this movement; Thompson writes in an autobiographical and confessional mode and imbues his narrative with the archetypal patterns of myth. At the same time, these pages fill in four of draft D's missing years, 1796-1790, and so bridge the description of bayside life and the account of the "Musk Rat Country." The problem of repeating information on the Piegan and the Plains is

overcome with the splitting of the narrator into one with no experience of the West (pages 27a-zd) and one who has accumulated knowledge (draft D).

The draft E additions are written in a fresh, personal tone and display a new linguistic vitality. Clearly Thompson now regards his text as more than a chronological recounting of his activities. He not only links thematic description to chronology, but he presents this topical information subjectively. As his own presence becomes more palpable, Thompson is increasingly aware of his own moral development, his educational progress and his place in the literary context.[81]

In the draft E additions Thompson's life experience and the formation of his character become the structural basis of the *Travels*. The distinction between narration and description, blurred in draft D, is here effaced entirely, as all becomes personal narration. Draft E represents Thompson's attempt to complete definitively his project of integration, by introducing himself more forcefully into the text.

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I now return to some of the issues which have been raised by critics of Thompson. As I have summarized them in

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[81] In the new introduction Thompson lists five works which had influenced him as a child, on page 9b he notes that he copied out parts of Hearne's narrative, and in the Saskatchewan section he refers to the paucity of books in the west ("not even a bible").

chapter 1, these issues fall into the three general categories of style, structure and unity.

Critical comment on the style of the *Travels* usually centres on the text's stylistic disparity. Warkentin contrasts the vibrant colloquial prose of some parts of the text with the more measured empirical discourse of others ("David Thompson"). So, Thompson describes in clear scientific terms the process of a mosquito bite, then inserts the earthy story of a swearing tar-covered sailor beset by the insects.

In general, disjunctions in style are linked to authorial perspective and period of composition. There is a fundamental split in the *Travels* between the general, objective voice and the specific, subjective voice. The former is more closely linked to description, while the latter is usually tied to the narrative, but stylistic disjunctions can appear in both modes. When Thompson relates general facts about a topic, he usually does so in expository prose, but when he illustrates his theme with an anecdote, his writing becomes more vibrant. Conversely, when Thompson suspends his narrative of specific travels to comment generally on thematic matters, the prose often becomes measured and scientific. Style also changes through different periods of composition. Drafts A and B are written largely in the prose of scientific exposition, the draft C additions and draft D take on a slightly freer and more

colloquial style, while the draft E composition is almost conversational.

Thus we can pinpoint two general reasons for the stylistic unevenness of the *Travels*. The first is Thompson's method of alternating between the general, objective and the specific, subjective modes of discourse, and the second is the text's evolution. As pages written at various times in various contexts often end up juxtaposed with one another, the stylistic disjunctions become even more apparent. As illustrated in chapter 4, the opening pages of the text are composed of material written between 1845 and 1850; here especially the rapid alternation between conversational and expository styles is striking.

Critics have approached the issue of structure from both small-scale and large-scale perspectives. On the small-scale, the text has been viewed as a compilation of units; Hopwood calls them "anecdotal" while Warkentin writes that each considers "a single coherent problem" ("David Thompson" 4). On the large-scale, critics have attempted to define the text's overall structural features. Hopwood posits four movements, Warkentin writes that the text works simultaneously from youth to maturity and from east to west, and MacLulich says that the *Travels* is structured by a geographically-organized exposition of native ways of life.

The small-scale analysis of the *Travels* does reflect the sometimes fragmentary and disjointed aspects of parts of

the text. Thompson's narrative is often interrupted by passages which consider single topical issues, and descriptive passages often yield to well-formed anecdotes. Indeed, many parts of the text have been lifted out of context and presented as self-contained narratives. While these are indeed among the best and most memorable parts of the *Travels*, they are by no means the only form of discourse and the term "units" cannot assimilate many of the lengthier, less anecdotal and less sharply focused parts of the work.

On the structure of the *Travels* as a whole, the critics have been stuck between description and narration, between the land and peoples of the West and the life and career of Thompson. This tension thus reflects the development of the work; though it began with strict divisions between the narrative and the descriptive, these two facets of the text were progressively blended, until finally the story of Thompson's own life became the *Travels'* structural basis. Because the *Travels* is incomplete and at times combines pieces from its five drafts, the modes of narration and description still struggle against one another.

As the text has been mediated in editions, it generally traces Thompson's encounter with the West. But the text is complicated by the shifting balance between theme and chronology, by the inconsistent presence of the author, and by the variation of authorial perspective from an objective

to a subjective stance. Each critic has been caught in the same pull between narration and description that ensnared Thompson and which is reflected in the structure of the *Travels.* The critics' difficulty in finding the guiding structural principle of the text is closely related their difficulty in assigning the text a univocal identity, and so we must proceed to this critical issue of unity.

The *Travels* contains diverse matter related in diverse voices, and its unifying principle is as stubbornly evasive as those of the *Metamorphoses*, *Canterbury Tales* and *Decameron*. Hopwood, MacLulich and Warkentin have in turn tried to name the underlying quality or principle that brings the work together. In the introduction to his edition, Hopwood puts forth several claims about the unity and essential nature of the *Travels*. He writes first that the work is akin to "an archetypal adventure story," and states a few lines later that its contents constitute "an overall exposition of the geography, biology, and peoples of half a continent" (15). Hopwood goes on to discuss the strands which unite the narrative, "the primary one being the unselfconscious revelation of the central figure and narrator himself" (16). Later in his introduction, in a different context entirely, Hopwood states that the *Travels* "expresses and is unified by a vision of the qualities of human life in societies where there is no vested authority" (27).

Adventure, exposition of half a continent, revelation of the narrator, the quality of life; none of these contradict each other, and we cannot demand that a text be united by only *one* principle, but Hopwood's myriad claims do show how difficult it is to grasp the *Travels* in its totality. Warkentin perhaps responds to this conundrum best when she states simply that "it is the passionate activity of Thompson's mind that shapes his narrative" ("David Thompson" 5). Hopwood expresses the belief that chronological narrative is the dominant mode towards which Thompson was tending as he wrote his great work, and this belief informs Hopwood's own editing of the text, as will be seen in chapter 10. Aware that the *Travels* is unfinished, Hopwood posits chronology as the ultimate organizational principle that would have definitively brought the text together.

MacLulich has made the most dogged search for the *Travels'* unifying principle, in both "Canadian Exploration as Literature" and "The Explorer as Sage." In the former piece he groups Canadian exploration texts into the categories of quest, ordeal and odyssey. The quest tells of the achievement of a goal and the ordeal of escape from disaster, while the odyssey centres on "an overall view of the unknown regions [the explorer] is traversing" (75). Not surprisingly, MacLulich cites the *Travels* as an odyssean text. He argues that the incidental becomes central, and

that thematic digressions are more important than the chronological narratives beside which they stand and which they often interrupt.

Finding a thematic focus then becomes the odyssean writer's greatest challenge. MacLulich holds up two options, the story of the writer's "initiation" into the wilderness and the "nature of the native way of life," and states that Thompson follows the latter, anthropological approach. In "The Explorer as Sage" MacLulich seeks at greater length the elusive organizational principle and concludes that Thompson's solution is to "deemphasize the narrative aspects of his story and stress the two great subjects to which he had devoted his life: "the land and its peoples..." (97). For MacLulich, the *Travels* tells not the story of Thompson, but rather presents an anthropological and geographical portrait. The critic's ultimate claim, then, is that the text possesses a "unity of vision" which brings together all apparent digressions.

These readings of the *Travels'* unity reveal how Thompson's critics have grappled with the same problem of assimilation that he faced. The main problem is the narrative/descriptive dichotomy, but in addition to these two great modes Thompson's writings fall into at least five specific categories: the genres of travel and autobiography, and the disciplines of anthropology, geography and history. These categories can in turn be related back to the

narrative/ descriptive division. The travel account and the autobiography are narrative: the former follows a chronological pattern of departure, fulfilment of a task and return, while the latter provides a broader account of the author's life, covering remarkable achievements and experiences. Anthropology and geography are descriptive: one deals with societies and customs, while the other surveys particular areas, including such items as geology, climate, topography, flora and fauna. Finally, history relates the story of human activity in a certain place over a certain period of time.

Complicating matters further is the *Travels'* unfinished nature. The genetic story shows us that the balance between narrative and descriptive shifted throughout the composition of the work. Thompson's way out was to embark upon a new kind of text, but he could only compose a few pieces of it before he stopped writing altogether, leaving us with a disjunctive, hybrid manuscript.

In their respective readings of the *Travels*, Hopwood and MacLulich each privilege one mode over the other; Hopwood valorizes the narrative, MacLulich the descriptive. Each critic possesses only part of the story. Hopwood, with his greater familiarity with the manuscripts of the *Travels*, correctly sees the growing importance of narration, but plays down the continuing presence of large sections of pure description. Conversely, MacLulich, unaware of the

evolution of the text, dismisses narration entirely (including the "ordeal" narrative of the 1796 trip to Lake Athabasca and the "quest" narrative of the 1811 trip to the Pacific). Neither reading is satisfactory, for neither can resolve the problem of assimilation. Hopwood must look forward to some hypothetical future text, while MacLulich must bend the existing text out of shape. I turn now to what I believe are the roots of this dilemma.

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Thompson's reputation in life was as a surveyor and a storyteller; the man once called upon to estimate the volume of a pile of bricks was the same who kept audiences enraptured with tales of his western experiences. The *Travels* that this man wrote contains a variety of stylistic and structural characteristics, subject matter and modes of discourse, and it remains difficult to account for this narrative's most essential characteristics. Behind all of these contrasting qualities lie the two Thompsonian identities, reflected in the text's two distinct voices: the scientist and the storyteller.

The tension between these identities can be seen as early as the 1843 prospectus (81:20-22). Thompson emphasizes the work's anthropological and geographical content, but then hastens to add "this will not be a dry detail, many curious facts will for the first time be given to the public, which will interest the reader." Having

first written that the work was that of a "scientific traveller," Thompson later excised the adjective.

The work proposed in this prospectus is titled "The Travels of David Thompson," and in his journals between 1845 and 1850 Thompson always refers to his work as "my Travels." This title seems to emphasize chronological narration and to promise the story of specific journeys; that these travels are "of David Thompson" bases the text on a single personage rather than a place. But the catalogue of the Montreal Library and the Armour and Ramsay advertisement (referred to in chapter 2) show that the contemporary conception of literary classification was very broad indeed; "Travels" is the title of a category that includes not only tales of journeys, but also works devoted solely to history, geography and anthropology.[62] In this literary context Thompson's title appropriately reflects the wide variety of subject matter and forms of discourse found within the text, and he thus leaves the text open to both the scientist and the storyteller. Edification and entertainment are both accorded their place.[63]

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[62] The use of the third person could also be an attempt to lend the work an air of objectivity. Neither of the two books in the Armour and Ramsay list which follow this title formula, *The Travels and Adventures of Charles Durand* and *The Travels and Researches of Alexander Von Humboldt*, is written by its subject.

[63] Even a work as specialized as MacLaren's study of Thompson's landscape aesthetics must address this authorial dichotomy. MacLaren shows how an imaginative and mythic view of the land is combined, often uneasily, with a more

Thompson's assumed readership also straddles the scientist/storyteller divide, for the subject matter and tone of the work is so wide-ranging that it can attract almost any reader. In draft D Thompson notes that "...the age of guessing is passed away, and the traveller is expected to give his reasons for what he asserts" (IV.226). However, material intended for such a rationalistic, scientifically-minded audience is balanced by passages which would appeal to the reader in search merely of a good tale. For this reader Thompson integrates the popularly written stories he had published in the *Gazette*.

All of the critical issues which have beset readers of Thompson reflect this authorial dichotomy. The variety of stylistic expression includes empirical exposition on one hand and imagistic narration on the other. The writer who copies out temperature tables (IV.243) is the same who relates a melancholy conversation with an self-confessed murderer scant pages later (IV.247). The distinction between Thompson's two voices is not as simple as that between narration and description, but it is not difficult to see how the requirements of each mode are conducive to one of the two forms of expression. The narrative mode demands a story, in which certain sequential events lead to a resolution, while the descriptive mode demands the

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empirical and scientific perspective ("David Thompson's Imaginative Mappings").

organization of material into a comprehensive exposition of a particular subject.

As he wrote, Thompson experienced a fundamental tension between his two identities, and tried to balance their respective voices. At the outset he knew neither how he could best organize his material nor exactly what kind of a text he wanted to produce. The sharply divided organizational scheme of drafts A and B gave way to attempts at synthesis in the draft C additions and draft D. At first the voice of the scientist took precedence, but now and again the voice of the storyteller erupted. The scientific, rationalist was often undercut, as when Thompson demonstrated how the Natives ridicule and take apart the concept of "instinct" (IV.57).

The task for Thompson was to unite his identities into a single voice. He found this voice in 1850. In the draft E additions Thompson wrote about himself and about his place as he gained experiential knowledge of it, and in doing so was able to unite his two selves. The voice is that of the storyteller; the tale is that of his own intellectual and spiritual development, in the land which engaged his scientific imagination and among the people who shaped his soul. In 1850 the *Travels* was becoming a work whose like need be sought less amidst travel narratives than among spiritual biographies.

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Thompson was well aware during his work on the *Travels* that he was nearing the end of his life. He was frequently ill, his blindness worsened, and he was forced to suspend his writing for two extended periods of time. As early as 1845 we find Thompson bemoaning the fact that his maps and journals would soon "perish in oblivion," and he must have felt the same way about the material he went on to write for the *Travels* (PRO FO 5/441). In draft D Thompson wrote "of Lake Superior a volume could be written" (IV.226), and had he time he might have filled a dozen books with the material he had; because time was short there was all the more reason to try to fit everything into one master text.

Despite his efforts, the *Travels* remained unfinished. Given the general progression that I have demonstrated here, it is tempting to theorize on the nature of a finished text. Of course it is impossible to complete the narrative, but we can gather clues from several pieces of evidence.

First, there is the testimony of draft E. This indicates that Thompson saw his own life as the basis for the narrative. Had he continued in the same vein (by no means certain) would he have written more clearly on those years in the West, 1798 to 1806, which are present in the extant *Travels* in only a scattered manner? Likewise, would he have included more personal information concerning, for example, his wife and children, his supposed dislike for Peter Fidler or his departure from the Hudson's Bay Company?

Second, there are the unattached fragments in the University of Toronto collection on Natives, water and mountains. Towards the end of draft D, Thompson wrote briefly on the origin of North American Natives before telling the reader "This subject I shall pass over at present, and reserve to the end of my travels" (IV.256); here Thompson undoubtedly referred to the essay on Natives, which takes as its point of departure the question "from what other part of our world has [North America] been peopled?"[84] Thompson must have intended to integrate these pages into his text as he had already inserted the pages on the Aurora Borealis into his account of life at Reindeer Lake. Those pages on water and mountains may also have eventually found their way into the *Travels* proper.

Finally, and most intriguingly, evidence suggests that Thompson would likely have extended the temporal and geographical scope of his work, taking it beyond 1812 and bringing it east to Canada. Only draft C ends with a sense of closure, as Thompson arrives at Montreal in 1812, having completed his career in the fur trade. Both drafts B and D,

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[84] U of T. MS 21. Essay on Native Origins. 1. This ten-page essay is fascinating, cogent and quite erroneous. Gathering together Native origin stories and evidence of historical population movements, Thompson's argument builds up to the statement: "I have been thus tedious that the learned of Europe may no longer continue in the errour they have adopted, that of the peopling of America from the north of Asia by Behring's Straits" (9). Instead, Thompson argues that the Natives of North America had come from Europe and North Africa via Iceland and Greenland.

the only others for which a final page exists, end *in medias res;* in B Thompson is travelling through the Columbia Basin in 1811, while in D he had just begun to describe the Piegan-Snake war of 1807. However, Thompson's journal entry for January 22, 1848 suggests that even the resolution of draft C was not meant to be final: "closed my travels *for the present*. 324 pages. *the great Lakes to do*" (75:33, emphases mine).

The nineteen-page hydrographic appendix, compiled during the composition of draft B, supports Thompson's stated intention to continue his narrative past 1812. The first nine pages cover those areas in which the extant *Travels* is set: the Rocky Mountains, western rivers and Lake Superior. The latter ten describe the rest of the Great Lakes basin. Thompson had evidently meant to bring his narrative east to cover at least his tenure with the boundary survey, for which this area is the geographical forum (indeed, the years between 1817 and 1827 were as peripatetic for Thompson as were those from 1784 to 1812). If this was his intention in 1847, while he was composing draft B, it had apparently not changed by late 1849, after the completion of draft D, for the contents of the hydrographic appendix are entered on Index II.

But this is of course speculation, and there is a very real story to be told about what happened to the manuscript of the *Travels* after Thompson stopped working in October

1850. To this story, the final movement in the tale of the text, I now turn.

TEN

Beyond 1850

The tale of the *Travels* does not cease when Thompson lays down his pen. The end of composition is merely the beginning of another story, just as complicated, fascinating and obscure as that of the text's genesis and evolution. In the 147 years since the author set his manuscript aside, it has been inherited, lent, auctioned, sold, donated, catalogued, written on and microfilmed. Pieces have been lost and found. The text has been edited, published, explicated, extracted and abridged. My final task, then, is to tell the rest of the *Travels*' tale. In particular, I pick up the task which was necessarily deferred at the outset of this study: an examination of the way in which the manuscript of the *Travels* has been edited by J.B. Tyrrell, Richard Glover and Victor Hopwood. My account is drawn from several sources, including especially the papers of owners of the manuscript (Thompson, Charles Lindsey and J.B. Tyrrell) and the archives of the firms which have published editions of the work (the Champlain Society and Macmillan of

Canada).[85]

Thompson stopped composing new material for the *Travels* on September 16, 1850, but he continued to examine the manuscript until October 5. From this point to the cessation of his journal entries on February 27, 1851 he tried to resume work on several occasions; on November 14 and 15 he reported that darkness prevented him from writing, in early December he searched unsuccessfully for an index, and again on January 15, 1851 he looked over his manuscript (61b:19-32). The textual evidence shows that if Thompson did compose any new material it has not survived. As he was unable even to keep a journal after February 27, it is most unlikely that he wrote anything for the *Travels* after this date. This leaves a six-year gap during which Thompson had the manuscript but did little or nothing with it. He had apparently discarded a number of pages as he was composing successive drafts, and during this period he may have lost some additional pages which were never superseded and which are now missing: draft C's pages 301 and 302 and draft D's pages 305, 310 and 313.

After the deaths of Thompson and his wife in 1857 the

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[85] The collections are as follows: Charles Lindsey: Toronto. Archives of Ontario. MU 1923; J.B. Tyrrell: Toronto. University of Toronto Library. MS 26; Champlain Society: Toronto. University of Toronto Library. MS 50; Macmillan of Canada: Hamilton. McMaster University. In addition, some information is derived from George Simpson's letters in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives: Winnipeg. Provincial Archives of Manitoba.

manuscript passed to their son Joshua, then an employee of the colonial government of the United Canadas. At some point in the next five years Joshua lent the work to Charles Lindsey, editor of the Toronto *Leader* and a prominent Reformer. In July 1862 Joshua wrote to tell Lindsey that Thomas D'Arcy McGee, President of the Council in the Reform administration of John Sandfield Macdonald, had expressed a wish to see and possibly purchase the work on behalf of the government, and Joshua asked Lindsey to send the manuscript to Quebec. The terms of this letter suggest that either the two were co-owners of the work or that Lindsey was acting as Joshua's agent, for Joshua offered Lindsey a portion of the proceeds should the sale go ahead (Joshua Thompson to Lindsey, July 18, 1862). The letter also contains a hint that the two had considered and decided against publishing the *Travels*; Joshua wrote "There is no use our refusing them [the government] as there is little prospect of our publishing them [the *Travels*]." The manuscript was not bought by the government, and this may be the point at which Lindsey took possession of the work outright. He used it in 1873 when preparing his *Investigation of the Unsettled Boundaries of Ontario*.

In 1887 J.B. Tyrrell published a paper on Thompson's explorations. By a happy coincidence, Lindsey heard of Tyrrell's interest in Thompson through the geologist's father, who was a neighbour of Lindsey's in Weston (Inglis

98-99). Lindsey soon wrote to the younger Tyrrell, informing him of the existence of the manuscript and offering to loan it to him, but an 1888 letter from Tyrrell to Lindsey indicates that Lindsey still held hopes of publishing the manuscript (Tyrrell, Preface xviii and Tyrrell to Lindsey, March 17, 1888). The manuscript soon became Tyrrell's prime desideratum, and he followed its status closely; in June 1894 he noted that the manuscript was on sale at Britnell's bookshop at a price of $1700, and in February 1895 Lindsey informed Tyrrell that he had received an offer for $500 and had decided to try the market at a Boston auction. Tyrrell soon got his prize, for the *Travels* returned to Toronto unsold and in May 1895 Tyrrell bought it for a mere $400 (Tyrrell Papers box 90: files 2,9).

Tyrrell tried to have the work published almost immediately, sending the manuscript to Macmillan Publishing in New York in late May or early June 1895, and he received a prompt response asking that the text be heavily edited in order to reach a broader audience (Tyrrell Papers box 90: file 9 and Macmillan Publishers to J.B. Tyrrell, June 18, 1895). Tyrrell edited parts of the manuscript, but, busy with surveying responsibilities and other projects, he did not contact Macmillan again until 1909. This time the response was more favourable, for in 1910 a contract was signed for the production of an edition of "The

Autobiography of David Thompson." This edition was never to be completed, and Tyrrell eventually published the work, in a different form, with the Champlain Society in Toronto in 1916.

In 1939 Tyrrell gave the manuscript of the *Travels* to the University of Toronto (Thompson Papers, finding aid). Since this time it has remained with the university's collection of rare books and manuscripts and in 1973 was placed in the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, its current home. Since Tyrrell passed the *Travels* on to the university, the editions of Glover (1962) and Hopwood (1971) have been produced.

During the second half of the nineteenth century Thompson's notebooks likewise went through the hands of a series of owners or guardians. Thompson indexed his notebooks in 1849-1850, during the second major break in composition of the *Travels*, and in April 1850 he offered them to the Hudson's Bay Company, meeting with the refusal of Governor George Simpson (Simpson to Thompson, April 19, 1850). Like the manuscript of the *Travels*, the notebooks were left to Joshua Thompson, who in December 1858 tried to sell them to the government of the United Canadas (Simpson to P.M. Vankoughnet, January 29, 1859). In 1862 they were in the possession of the Canadian government, although Joshua seems to have retained ultimate ownership (Joshua Thompson to Lindsey, July 18, 1862). In 1867 H.J. Morgan

stated in his *Bibliotheca Canadensis* that the notebooks were in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, the following year they were referred to by the writer A.J. Russell,[86] and by 1872 Charles Lindsey held them, referring to them for his *Investigation*. In 1874 Joshua wrote to Lindsey asking him urgently to send the notebooks to Ottawa, as the Canadian federal government was willing to purchase them; since Lindsey also had the manuscript of the *Travels* at this time, this could be when pages 27a-zd were misplaced (Joshua Thompson to Lindsey, May 18, 1874). It is still unclear if the federal government did buy the notebooks at this time, but by 1897 they were in the possession of Ontario's Department of Lands, Forests and Mines.[87] Here they were bound and numbered and in 1905 they were transferred to the fledgling Ontario Archives, where they are still held (Thompson Papers, finding aid F 443).

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More important than the provenance of the *Travels* manuscript is how it has been used over the years since it

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[86] See Russell's *The Red River Country....* Russell compiled accounts of the west from such writers as Alexander Mackenzie, Dr. John Richardson, Henry Youle Hind and John Palliser, in addition to Thompson. The items extracted from Thompson's notebooks include surveys of the North Saskatchewan and Athabasca Rivers, extracts from his journals of 1799 and temperature tables taken at Cumberland and Dunvegan Houses.

[87] It was at this time that the manuscript was used by Elliott Coues for his *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest*.

emerged. I consider three bodies of material. I first look briefly at the scattered references made to the *Travels* before it was first published in 1916. These notices are significant because they are based on direct observation of the manuscript, without the impressions of fixity that a printed text necessarily gives. I then examine anthologies which include portions of the *Travels*, before turning to the most important body of work: the editions of the text by Tyrrell, Glover and Hopwood. I consider the editorial problems that faced these three, examining in depth the characteristics of the works they produced. I conclude by considering how the *Travels* might be edited in the future.

The *Travels* was first referred to in print in 1873 in Charles Lindsey's *Investigation*. This book includes a section of the draft D text describing Thompson's activities between 1796 and 1798, which demonstrates the extent of the land that was then under the control of the North West Company. Of the *Travels* Lindsey noted simply that "[Thompson] has left behind him a manuscript, giving an account of his travels..." (225). In March 1888 J.B. Tyrrell sent Lindsey an account of Thompson's journeys drawn from the notebooks, and in his covering letter wrote, "Such an account enlarged and completed and printed at the end of [Thompson's] Autobiography would be of great service to geographers" (Tyrrell to Lindsey, March 17, 1888).

When in 1895 Lindsey sent the *Travels* to Boston, an

auction catalogue was produced. Of all of the early accounts of the *Travels*, the catalogue's description reveals the best understanding of the complex nature and broad scope of Thompson's text. Here, as item 421, Thompson's work is referred to simply as the "Manuscript of David Thompson" and is said to consist of "600 pages of foolscap, averaging 400 words to the page" (*Catalogue of the Valuable Library*... 32). The manuscript is then referred to as a "Narrative of Travels." The description goes on to summarize Thompson's career in the West, and in doing so hints at other qualities of the text. Thompson is described as a "keen observer, [who] took note of everything relating to the country, its wild men and wild animals," and who "obtained a special insight into the character of the Indians." Thus the auction catalogue emphasizes travel, geography and anthropology as constituent parts of Thompson's text, while affirming that it does have an essentially autobiographical basis.

In his 1897 edition of the journals of Alexander Henry the Younger, *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest*, Elliott Coues made occasional use of Thompson's journals, but was also aware of the existence of the *Travels*, which he examined with Tyrrell's permission. He considered this work to be a "summary autobiography," and suggested that it might be checked "by comparison with [Thompson's] original journals" (Coues I:xxiii).

These four items reveal much about the understanding of the *Travels* in the years before it appeared in print. Lindsey had the greatest familiarity with the text; when the auction catalogue was written the manuscript had been in his possession for at least thirty-three years. Lindsey evidently understood the *Travels*' complexity and its resistance to classification, calling it simply the "Manuscript." While Lindsey came to Thompson through his text, Tyrrell came to the text through Thompson. Familiar with the man from his journals and surveying work, he was disposed to see the manuscript as Thompson's life story. In 1888 he called it an "Autobiography," and Tyrrell's view in turn affected Coues'. As he gained greater familiarity with the *Travels*, Tyrrell changed his terms of reference; while working on the text for publication, the title "Autobiography" eventually dropped out, to be replaced with the less generically restrictive "Narrative."

Tyrrell was the first to edit the *Travels* for publication, but before looking at editions I pause to examine how portions of the text have been extracted for six very different texts. The first to select from the *Travels* was Lindsey, in his 1873 *Investigation*; for Lindsey the *Travels* was "of great importance as showing exactly what extent of country was still held by that company" (225). In 1946 an incident from Thompson's 1795 trip to Lake Athabasca appeared in the young adult's book *A Pocketful of Canada*,

described as "a popular volume which reflects the spirit of Canada" (v). Titled "Mishap on the way to Lake Athabasca," it is found in a section entitled "The Bush." In 1964 John Warkentin included several of Thompson's geographical descriptions in his scholarly anthology *The Western Interior of Canada*, while in 1978 Frederik Hetmann translated Thompson's account of the Cree story of creation into German for the volume *Indianermarchen aus Kanada*, a popular selection of Native myths and legends.[88]

More recently, selections from the *Travels* have appeared in two volumes of "literature." In 1983 Russell Brown and Donna Bennett reprinted four extended passages from Thompson's draft D account of the Cree in their *Anthology of Canadian Literature in English*, and in 1994 Germaine Warkentin made extensive use of Thompson's text in *Canadian Exploration Literature*. The latter volume contains more material from Thompson than from any other figure, and selections are drawn from all areas of the *Travels*; they appear both under Thompson's own name and under that of his Piegan friend Saukamappee.

So, Thompson's text has been fruitful ground for anthologists. This is partly because it contains many self-contained narratives; these pieces can easily be detached

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[88] In 1993 this edition was translated into Italian, as *Fiabe canadesi*. Like Hearne and Franklin long before him, Thompson has at last been translated, if only piecemeal, into other major European languages.

from their context and placed in new settings. What is more astounding is the variety of forms that these settings can take. The anthologization of the *Travels* reveals how diverse and versatile a text it is; few texts can provide material for a specialized historical enquiry, a volume of "boy's own" adventures, an analysis of regional geographies, a popular selection of Native legends and the survey of a nation's finest literature.

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How is such a work to be mediated for the public? I turn now to examine the three-and-a-half editions of the *Travels* which have been produced; the three are those of Tyrrell (1916), Glover (1962) and Hopwood (1971), while the "half" is an edition which Tyrrell prepared for Macmillan in 1909-1910, but which was never to appear.

The difficulty of editing Thompson's manuscript is reflected in the fact that almost sixty years elapsed between the author's death and the first presentation of his work to the public. Publication had been projected as early as 1862, but little evidence survives of Joshua Thompson and Lindsey's plans at this time. Tyrrell's 1888 letter seems to indicate that Lindsey still wanted to publish the manuscript, and in the preface to his edition Tyrrell hints at Lindsey's reasons for abandoning his project: "Mr. Lindsey...found himself constantly hampered by a want of personal knowledge of the country described, and finally he

decided not to proceed..." (xvii-xviii).

The problems facing Thompson's editors have been made apparent in the preceding nine chapters. The manuscript is unfinished and fragmentary, there is a blurred line between what is and what is not part of the text, much subject matter appears in more than one version, Thompson made extensive revision and addition of material and the work reveals multiple and conflicting authorial intentions. Yet although the *Travels* resists a unitary critical edition, each of the three editors presented his published version in such a guise, and attempted to establish the text rather than simply reproduce an existing one. How did Thompson's three editors approach their task and arrive at the versions which appeared before the public, or, what did they consider "editing" to entail? I base my examination of their work on four editorial functions: *Establishing the Text*, *Selecting the Copy-Text*, *Presenting the Text* and *Explicating the Text*.[89]

In *Establishing the Text* the editor attempts to determine what material belongs to the *Travels*, and therefore should be considered for inclusion in the edition. In performing this task he or she must examine not only the surviving manuscript sheets, but also all available associated material, such as journal entries and indices, to

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[89] I am indebted to D.C. Greetham's writings on scholarly editing for this framework (see especially *Textual Scholarship* 347-372).

determine textual relationships and to understand the author's compositional methods. The editor must decide whether the text includes all of the manuscript pages from every draft, or only the most recent; given two accounts of a single event, is the one which has been superseded therefore no longer part of the text? Knowing of Thompson's sources and working methods, the editor must decide whether it is justifiable to consider Thompson's newspaper articles, essays and journals as *Travels* material.

When the raw material of the *Travels* has been determined, the editor must go about *Selecting the Copy-Text*. Here he or she decides what material from the established text will be included in the edition. If the editor accepts that multiple versions of the same event are both part of the text, should both appear in print or should only one appear, and what should be the basis for this selection? If the editor decides that Thompson's journalism, essays and journals can be legitimately included in the text, what material should be extracted and where should it be placed?

The editorial function of *Presenting the Text* has several components; having selected the material for inclusion, the editor must decide how it will appear in the printed edition. He or she must determine the arrangement of the selected pieces of text; should material from different drafts be placed in the order they were composed

or in the chronological order of the events they describe? The editor must decide if the material should be placed in structural divisions such as parts, chapters and paragraphs, and how these divisions should be determined and indicated. Finally, the editor must develop standard principles for the transcription of the text; should Thompson's spelling and punctuation be normalized or modernized, should variant or questionable readings be noted, and should any indication of Thompson's emendations be made?

The fourth editorial function lies in *Explicating the Text*. Here the editor must decide what ancillary material will be added to assist the reader in understanding Thompson's text. This material might include such items as an editor's introduction, footnotes, a glossary, an index, maps, figures and a bibliography. The ancillary material of the existing editions often reveals how unselfconscious Thompson's editors have been about their editorial decisions. Still we can determine their basic editorial principles, even if they are not stated outright, by examining how Thompson's text appears in the respective editions.

Tyrrell's Projected Macmillan Edition

When Tyrrell sent the manuscript to Macmillan in New York in 1895, the editors responded that "...there is altogether too much matter, the style in a number of

instances requires correction and altogether the book should be thoroughly worked over before being submitted to a publisher" (Macmillan Publishers to Tyrrell, June 18, 1895). In 1909 Tyrrell again wrote to enquire if Macmillan "would still consider the publication of this book," and this time the publisher responded by asking for the manuscript (Tyrrell Papers box 90: file 15). This correspondence culminated in the signing on August 6, 1910 of an agreement for the publication of "The Autobiography of David Thompson" (Tyrrell Papers box 90: file 31).

Tyrrell's communications with Macmillan indicate the extent to which publishers' demands affect the production of an edition, for Macmillan's complaints of excessive content and roughness of style necessitated extensive and intrusive editorial work by Tyrrell. In 1916 Tyrrell noted, not quite accurately, "My original intention was to abbreviate, and partly rewrite [the narrative], in the hope of being able to reduce it to somewhat more popular form, and with that object in view my wife assisted me until it was almost ready for the printer" (Preface xix). In fact, it seems that Macmillan's demands led Tyrrell to his abbreviation and rewriting.

Very little hard evidence of the nature of this projected edition has survived. Tyrrell wrote emendations directly onto several of the draft A, and of the initial draft D pages, but he may have realized that he was thus

damaging the integrity of the manuscript. Fortunately, he stopped doing so, but whatever material he prepared apart from the manuscript has not survived. So, almost all that we know of his editorial practice for this edition comes from these marked-up pages, and concerns presentation of the text.[90]

The alterations made to Thompson's text on these pages are extensive. First, Tyrrell places full stops at the end of clauses and changes lower-case letters to upper-case at the head of sentences. Second, he polishes Thompson's style, usually by employing simpler syntax; for example, Thompson's "my fellow clerks were in the same situation, they were not comfortable, but resigned and I had to become so" becomes "My companions, the clerks of the Hudson Bay Co., were in the same situation. Though not comfortable, they, like me, became resigned to their lot" (I.3). Other stylistic changes include changing the active to the passive voice and the cutting of circumlocutions.

The most significant changes are semantic and substantive. In fact, so much is altered that this work is just as much the editor's as it is the author's. The emendations of Thompson's meditation on the role of instinct

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[90] The editor's ink is a watery black, and his handwriting small and rounded. They are clearly distinguishable from Thompson's ink and handwriting, and match autograph letters of Tyrrell. A sample of Tyrrell's work may be seen on page I.1, reproduced in Appendix A as Figure 1.

in goose migration, found on a paste-on to draft D's page IV.15, illustrate this aspect of Tyrrell's editorial work. Thompson's original text is as follows:

> Thus the wild birds proceed from where they winter, to where they breed, through the pathless air, a distance of about two thousand seven hundred miles in a straight line; and from the place of breeding to the mouths of the Mississippe, and adjacent shores the same distance. The question arises, by what means do the wild geese make such long journeys with such precision of place; the wise, and learned, civilized man answers, by Instinct, but what is Instinct: "an unerring property of mind that has never been defined." The Indian believes the geese are directed by the Manito, who has the care of them. Which of the two is right.

The text as altered by Tyrrell reads thus:

> These birds thus proceed through the pathless air, a distance of about two thousand seven hundred miles, in a straight line; and back again an equal distance. What is that wondrous instinct by which they are enabled to do this? The Indian, in his simplicity, believes that the Geese are directed by the Manito, who has the care of them.

Tyrrell's response to Macmillan's complaints of "too much matter" is to cut the amount of text by half, while his answer to "style requires correction" is to mend the grammar

and simplify expression. Yet Tyrrell goes still further in attempting to shape this text into a "popular form," in effect excising the core of Thompson's message. Thompson had cast the conjectures of the "learned, civilized man" on equal footing with those of the Native. By contrast, Tyrrell places the Native in a subservient role; he himself uses the word "instinct" uncritically, and attributes Native belief in the power of the Manito to "simplicity."

Tyrrell's Champlain Society Edition, 1916

In March 1911 Sir Edmund Walker, President of the Champlain Society, wrote to Tyrrell expressing his interest in publishing the *Travels*, and Tyrrell himself later recorded that the society "offered to publish [the manuscript] in its original form" (Preface xix). The Champlain Society, founded in 1905, is devoted to the publication of original documents related to Canadian history in scholarly editions. It also caters to a very select and limited audience; only members and subscribing libraries receive the society's editions.

In June 1911 Tyrrell sent the society "a revised copy" of Thompson's narrative. Since this document was submitted just two months after Walker's offer had been made, this was presumably the text that Tyrrell had already prepared for Macmillan. Indeed, Tyrrell later wrote that his "original idea of the duties of an editor included revision of the

whole of Thompson's manuscript" (Tyrrell to Walker, November 25, 1912).

Walker held more conservative editorial views. In the summer 1912 he gave the *Travels* manuscript and Tyrrell's typescript of it to W. Stewart Wallace, a professor of history at the University of Toronto. Walker asked Wallace to restore Thompson's original punctuation, spelling and grammar. So, the degree to which the first Champlain edition is faithful to Thompson's manuscript is entirely due to the editorial work of Wallace, rather than to the editorially naive Tyrrell. Wallace was also asked to cut down on Tyrrell's considerable ancillary material, in order to keep the edition to one volume.[91] The *Travels* finally appeared in 1916 as *David Thompson's Narrative of his Explorations in Western North America*, volume 12 in the "Publications of the Champlain Society."

Tyrrell nowhere states how he established the text of the *Travels*, and he may not have even gone through this process self-consciously, but hints from the apparatus of the edition indicate what he considered the work to include.

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[91] The information in the preceding three paragraphs is derived from the Champlain Society Papers, box 47, file 3. Tyrrell and Wallace did not get along. In November 1912 Tyrrell complained to Walker that Wallace had been listed as the *Travels'* co-editor on a Champlain prospectus. Wallace's attempts to cut down Tyrrell's notes in order to keep the edition to a single volume earned further scorn from Tyrrell. The conflict got to the point where the two men communicated only through Walker, and in December 1914 Wallace submitted his problems with Tyrrell to the society's Editorial Committee.

In the introduction he states that he compared two drafts of much of the material in the *Travels*, in a footnote he notes the absence of pages which are listed on Index III, and many of his chapter headings are derived from the indices. These facts suggest that Tyrrell followed the indices in determining what the *Travels* consisted of, and indeed no page *not* listed on one of the three indices appears as part of the copy-text; Tyrrell took no material from draft A, the end of draft B, the journalism, unattached essays or journals into his edition.

Of his selection of material for publication, Tyrrell comments merely that much of the material "had been written twice in somewhat different form, and in each case the one that appeared to have most merit has been printed" (Preface xvii). The contents of 502 manuscript pages are reproduced in the edition. These include the latter half of the contents of Index II (draft B's pages III.194 to III.229 and the draft C ending III.230 to III.324) and almost the entire contents of Index III (six draft E pages, all but a handful of draft D's pages IV.5 to IV.313 and associated pages brought forward from drafts A, B and C, but not draft E's then-missing pages 27a-zd). Despite his claim to have compared drafts, Tyrrell never chose a draft B text over a parallel draft D one. The Index II pages follow Thompson's activities from his crossing of the mountains in 1807 to his arrival at Montreal in 1812, while the Index III pages

contain material that is set east of the mountains and which takes place between 1784 and about 1804.

The 185 pages not selected by Tyrrell consist largely of material that had been superseded during the compositional process. These include the twelve-page opening of draft A, the thirty-page conclusion of draft B and several of the 134 draft B pages which precede III.194. Tyrrell also excised nine pages of draft D itself: III.6-6c, on the igloo, and IV.104a-f, on the Aurora Borealis. These nine pages consist largely of quotations from the work of John Franklin and Dr. John Richardson, and Tyrrell may have felt that republication of these extracts would be redundant.[92]

Having chosen his copy-text, Tyrrell was faced with the various problems of presentation, such as placement, division and transcription. Tyrrell had before him two major pieces of the *Travels* manuscript which do not fit together. He could either present them in the order that Thompson composed them, placing the end of drafts B and C before draft D, or he could present them in the chronological order of the events that Thompson describes, in which case this placement would be reversed.

Tyrrell chose the latter option, and draft D is

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[92] Since draft D's final composed page (IV.313) is missing, Tyrrell also cut the sentence fragment at the bottom of IV.312, in order to give his Part I at least a semblance of closure.

presented as Part I of the edition and the end of drafts B and C as Part II. Part I ends with draft D's closing discussion of the Piegan, while Part II opens with Thompson's crossing of the Rocky Mountains in 1807. Because of the incomplete nature of the manuscript, there remains a gap of several years between parts I and II, for which there is no available material in the manuscript.

Tyrrell's decision to open Part II with a crucial moment in Thompson's career led him to omit much draft B material from the pages preceding III.194. While many of these pages had already been discarded by Thompson and their contents included in later drafts, some contain information that appears nowhere else in the manuscript, such as descriptions of the Metis, the method of collecting maple sugar and the construction of a bison pound.[93] Rather than salvage and reproduce this unique material, it is sacrificed for the sake of a clearly defined opening to Part II.

Tyrrell further subdivides the *Travels* into thirty-eight chapters, often taking his cue from transitional phrases and bibliographical seams, and each chapter is headed with a running point-form description of its contents. Tyrrell does not try to mould Thompson's text into uniform portions, and chapters vary from five to twenty-seven pages in length. The two longest movements in

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[93] Curiously, two draft B pages, III.169-170, were silently moved to a later point in the text.

the text, the draft D section on the Piegans and the draft C narrative of the journey to the Pacific, are each split into two chapters. There are very few clear indications of paragraph breaks in the manuscript; there are often longer spaces placed between some sentences and others, but Thompson very rarely indents. So, Tyrrell creates the paragraphization of the work virtually from scratch.

Of his emendations to grammar and orthography Tyrrell notes "for the convenience of the reader the liberty has been taken of altering the punctuation slightly and of introducing some capital letters" (Preface xvii). The passive voice is appropriate here; as we have seen, Tyrrell was not responsible for this work at all. But, after Wallace's work at recovering Thompson's original spelling, punctuation and grammar, subtle changes remain. For example the first sentence on page IV.1 of the manuscript is as follows:

> In the month of May 1784 at the Port of London I embarked in the Ship Prince Rupert belonging to the Hudsons Bay Company, as Appentice and Clerk to the said company, bound for Churchill Factory, on the west side of the bay.

The sentence appears in the first Champlain edition thus:

> In the month of May 1784 at the Port of London, I embarked in the ship Prince Rupert belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, as apprentice and clerk to the

> said company, bound for Churchill Factory, on the west side of the bay.

Wallace makes six changes here: punctuation is added in the form of a comma between "London" and "embarked" and the possessive apostrophe in "Hudsons," upper-case letters are changed to lower-case in the words "Ship," "Clerk" and "Appentice," and Thompson's misspelling of this last word is silently corrected. The addition of capital letters, not represented in this sample, is usually made at the beginning of sentences. Abbreviations are usually expanded and new words are occasionally added where grammar demands them; these additions are placed in square brackets. In general Wallace does not alter Thompson's often idiosyncratic spelling of many place names, such as "Mississippe" and "Kissiskatchewan."

Tyrrell includes several items to explicate the *Travels*. These include a preface, a biographical introduction, a detailed itinerary and timeline of Thompson's movements and activities between 1784 and 1812, a list of works cited, plates of sites associated with Thompson and copious footnotes scattered throughout the text. Wallace compiled the index, and he was also responsible for cutting many of Tyrrell's notes, in order to keep the edition to less than 700 pages. In addition to Tyrrell's own notes, E.A. Preble and T.C. Elliott contributed notes on the natural history and geography of

the Pacific Northwest respectively. The main purpose of Tyrrell's apparatus is to assist the reader in understanding the historical, anthropological, and especially the geographical background to Thompson's story.

Glover's Champlain Society Edition, 1962

In 1957 pages 27a-zd were found by Victor Hopwood among Thompson's notebooks, and shortly thereafter the board of the Champlain Society decided to commission a new edition of the *Travels* which would include the rediscovered material. The editorial task was given to Richard Glover, a history professor at the University of Manitoba who in 1957 had edited Hearne's *Journey to the Northern Ocean* for Macmillan of Canada. Glover's edition of the *Travels* appeared in 1962 as *David Thompson's Narrative 1784-1812*, number 40 in the Champlain Society Publications.

The presence of Tyrrell looms over this second edition. Glover himself was very conscious of this presence, and as I have shown in chapter 1, his introduction responds to Tyrrell's own, exhibiting an almost obsessive concern to correct the earlier editor's positive assessment of Thompson's character. By contrast, Glover makes no attempt to escape the shadow cast by Tyrrell's editorial work. Indeed, the most apparent difference between Tyrrell's and Glover's editions of the manuscript itself is a reduction in type size, which was probably not Glover's responsibility.

The single change in content is the addition of pages 27a-zd as Chapter IIA. Aside from this, all that appears in Tyrrell's edition is repeated in Glover's; no passages are excised and no new passages added. Tyrrell's arrangement of the text also remains unchanged. The division between Parts I and II is retained, and the added text is even called Chapter IIA in order to preserve the numbering of the succeeding Part I chapters.

Likewise, I am unable to find a single emendation to Tyrrell's paragraph division, or to Wallace's punctuation and orthography. Curiously, this is even so when it is apparent that a transcription error had been made, or that Wallace had struggled to decipher a word. For example, on page IV.173 Wallace mistranscribed Thompson's original "universal" as "invariable." That Glover also uses the word "invariable" shows that the manuscript was carelessly consulted, if it was examined at all.

So, Glover did not go through the steps of establishing the text or selecting the copy-text, and was only concerned with presentation of the twenty-nine new manuscript pages. The question of placement had been answered by Thompson himself in the page numbering and in Index III, which indicate that the twenty-nine pages are meant to be inserted after page IV.27. Glover notes that pages 27a-zd are reproduced "with minor corrections of punctuation" (Introduction lxxi). His attempt at close transcription of

the manuscript thus contrasts with the more freely emended transcription of the rest of the text, copied from Tyrrell. Yet the transcription is not as close as Glover claims, for he silently modernizes spelling (for example, "furr" in the first line of the manuscript becomes "fur" in Glover). Also, Glover's text contains over 100 transcription errors, a fact which was pointed out (not without some relish) by Hopwood in his review of the edition (55-56).

Glover's editorial mark is made almost exclusively in the area of explication. He retains Tyrrell's itinerary of Thompson's activities between 1784 and 1812, but Glover's preface, introduction and index are original. One area in which Glover does extensive work is in the text's footnotes; he adds many of his own, usually explicating historical matters and often extending the assessment of Thompson's personal character contained in his introduction. Most of Tyrrell's and Elliott's notes are retained, and sometimes expanded, while many of Preble's are removed entirely.[94]

Glover will be remembered not for his abysmal editorial work, but rather for his negative assessment of Thompson's character. It is outside the province of the present study

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[94] Some footnotes are not updated. One of Tyrrell's footnotes read "Churchill Factory is still situated in the place where it was when Thompson lived in it in 1785" (11). Glover's version of the same footnote reads "In 1916 Churchill Factory was still situated in the place where it was when Thompson lived in it in 1785" (8). It is hard to believe that it was too difficult for Glover to find out whether the structure was still standing in 1962.

to evaluate the justice of Glover's remarks, but Nisbet's *Sources of the River* and Belyea's edition of the *Columbia Journals* begin to lay the groundwork for the rehabilitation of Thompson. While neither writer systematically addresses Glover's points, their work shows that much of his introduction is based on a tissue of inferences.

Hopwood's Macmillan Edition, 1971

Victor Hopwood's edition had been in the works since the late 1950s, and after various delays and a change in publishers it finally appeared with Macmillan of Canada in 1971, as *Travels in Western North America, 1784-1812*. Unlike the Champlain Society editions, Hopwood's *Travels* was a commercial publishing venture intended for a broad audience. A total of 5000 copies were printed, 2500 each of hardcover and paperback, and the work sold for $10.95 (Macmillan Archives 259:4). The first shift from the Champlain Society editions that the reader notices is the change in the title of the work from *Narrative* to *Travels*. In employing this title Hopwood both follows Thompson's own practice and differentiates his own edition from those of Tyrrell and Glover.[95] The most forthcoming of the three editors on matters of editing, Hopwood's aim is "to produce

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[95] Hopwood himself saw his edition as a complement and supplement, rather than a replacement, for the Champlain Society editions (Victor Hopwood to W.L. Morton, September 29, 1969).

a one-volume work suitable for general publication" (Introduction 36), and in doing so he projects the *Travels* beyond its final extant state to what he sees as its intended form.

Several comments in Hopwood's edition show that he regards the *Travels* as consisting of the manuscript sheets of all five drafts. When citing material from drafts A and B that Thompson discarded, he refers to them as "early" versions of the work, and when taking writings from Thompson's journals or essays he clearly states that they do not belong to the *Travels*. But Hopwood's incorporation of this material reflects an unstated belief that the *Travels* can be opened up to encompass other writings. In theory, the *Travels* is the 716 manuscript sheets, but in practice it can be all of Thompson's written corpus.

This becomes clear when we examine what Hopwood includes in his edition. Three sources are used: the *Travels* manuscripts, Thompson's notebooks and one of his free-standing essays. The added material includes accounts of three journeys which took place in 1800-1801, two of which are drawn from Thompson's journals, and one from a manuscript in the Vancouver Public Library; also inserted is an account of a war between the Kootenay and the Salish, taken from the notebooks. The most significant substitution is the replacement of the *Travels'* brief account of the crossing of the Rockies in 1807 with an account of the same

event from the journals. Hopwood also salvages much draft B material that Thompson had discarded in the composition of draft D, including some especially vivid stories.

Much of the text that appears in Champlain Society editions is excised, and Hopwood's own estimate is that only about one-third of the matter in Glover's edition recurs here (Hopwood to W.L. Morton, September 29, 1969). For example, in his version of the narrative's opening pages, drawn originally from drafts A to E, Hopwood cuts the account of the Stromness minister Falkner, the geological description of the shores of Hudson Bay, and the long passages on the polar bear and the Inuit, and inserts the draft A passage in which Thompson bids farewell to the *Prince Rupert*. Description of lands and peoples is sacrificed for a sharper focus on Thompson's own activities. So, Hopwood does more than simply omit repetitions, but he leaves out certain features of the text entirely.

These editorial choices reflect Hopwood's beliefs about the dynamic of Thompson's composition. Hopwood writes that "had [Thompson] finished his book, he would have told the full story, [and] would have reinserted material from earlier versions of the narrative," and claims that he follows "Thompson's own procedure of eliminating repetitions and strengthening the story" (Introduction 35). In this manner Hopwood also partly conceals the text's disjunction between description and narrative; so much of the former is

simply excised.

In presenting the text Hopwood divides his chosen pieces into 10 chapters. These are mainly based on the phases of Thompson's career, and are titled in a way that emphasizes chronology; the narrative runs from Chapter 1, "Life on Hudson's Bay 1784-1786" to Chapter 10, "Final Explorations in the West 1811-1812."[96] All the selected pieces are stitched together in the chronological order of the events described. For example, chapter 8, "Exploring the Upper Columbia 1807-1810," is composed of five distinct pieces: 1) a paragraph from draft B's page III.194 setting the stage of the action; 2) journal entries from May 10-July 18 1807; 3) a large chunk of draft B, consisting of selections from pages III.195-224 and covering the period from the summer of 1807 to March 1810; 4) an essay from Thompson's notebooks about a battle between the Salish and Piegan which took place in 1809; and 5) journal entries from April 27-July 23 1810.

Again, this chronological organizational scheme reinforces Hopwood's own analysis of the structure and development of the *Travels*. He argues that the text has four broad movements, corresponding to the dynamic of Thompson's career: fur trading for the Hudson's Bay Company,

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[96] Hopwood's occasional difficulty in sustaining this chronological organizational scheme is reflected in the title of Chapter 3: "Life With the Nahathaways 1792-1793, 1794-1796, 1804-1806."

working for the North West Company east of the Rockies, exploring the upper Columbia, and voyaging to the Pacific. Hopwood groups his chapters around these divisions: chapters 1-4, 5-7, 8 and 9-10 correspond to the four movements. At the same time he sees the compositional evolution as lessening the descriptive, non-chronological aspects of the text and strengthening its narrative, chronological movement. Hopwood usually acknowledges the sources of his material in individual chapter introductions, and within these chapters ellipses indicate excised manuscript text and rows of asterisks denote a shift from one source to another.

Hopwood edits grammar and orthography much more heavily than had Wallace, and claims that his aim is to achieve "clarity and ease of reading" (Introduction 37). Words are added liberally to make Thompson's sense clear, some long sentences are broken up and spelling and punctuation are regularized according to modern conventions. Hopwood is primarily concerned to provide an accessible text, rather than one which reproduces the manuscript faithfully.

The one exception to this principle is pages 27a-zd, which appear as chapter 2 in Hopwood's edition. The introduction to this chapter gives us a glimpse into Hopwood's editorial theory: "This chapter is printed as nearly as possible as Thompson wrote it, mainly to give the reader a sample of Thompson's unedited prose, but also because there are errors in the transcription of this

chapter in the second Champlain Society edition..." (82). The latter justification is understandable, given the proprietorial feeling he must have had for his own discovery (yet why remedy this inexact transcription when no other part of the *Travels* had been transcribed accurately?). But the most important point here is Hopwood's use of the word "unedited." For him, to edit means to emend, punctuate, select, distil and rearrange a text, rather than to present it as closely as possible to its original state. The philosophy of editing that slips out here helps us to understand almost everything that Hopwood does.

Hopwood's edition contains much less scholarly apparatus than had the two Champlain editions. His explication of the text consists of an introduction, eight maps (four reproduced from Thompson), short introductions to each chapter, a very short appendix on Thompson's later years, a two-page chronology and an index. There are no footnotes.

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In his essay "The Varieties of Scholarly Editing" G. Thomas Tanselle considers the different ways in which editors might respond to the task of establishing, selecting, presenting and explicating texts. He asks certain defining questions about editions: is the edition historical or nonhistorical?; that is, is the editor's aim "to receive communications from the past?" (9). Does the

editor make alterations in the text or not, and if so, to what extent? Is the work viewed as the product of an individual writer or as a collaborative product?

Joel Myerson has argued that through the early part of this century editing was regarded as "a type of creative biographical writing (or rewriting)," in which editors were concerned not so much with textual accuracy as with the persona of the author (351); similarly, Tanselle has shown that only in the last forty to fifty years have texts traditionally regarded as history or philosophy been approached (and even then, not very widely) with the same editorial rigour as literary works ("Editing of Historical Documents" 453).

With these questions and conditions in mind, and having looked in detail at the three-and-a-half editions of the *Travels*, I now turn to examine the editorial approach that each embodies. This will help us both to understand the relative qualities of the editions and their status in respect to other, hypothetical, editions of the text, and will also lead us to consider the basic theoretical questions surrounding the act of editing.

Tyrrell's Macmillan edition would have been an example of what Tanselle calls "editing by publishing-house editors" ("Varieties" 11). As much as Tyrrell himself may have originally wanted to reproduce Thompson's manuscript with as few alterations as possible, the demands of his publisher

changed the text to such an extent that Tyrrell was no longer attempting to recover a text from the past (historical editing), but was instead "improving" it to enhance its marketability (nonhistorical editing). If the editorial treatment of Thompson's passage on goose migration is a true reflection of the qualities that would have marked the Macmillan edition, Thompson's original text would have been heavily cut, his stylistic and grammatical quirks smoothed out and his philosophical outlook skewed (see p. 263-264). Everything that is now regarded as peculiarly Thompsonian about the text would have been lost, resulting in a bland and dry narrative. One hesitates to call this product an edition, not only because it was never published, but also because Tyrrell's editorial markings on the manuscript pages comprise a rewriting of the *Travels* under no textual authority.

The work that Tyrrell did produce, his 1916 Champlain edition, is meant for the most part to be a reconstruction of the author's originally intended text (although some aspects are not consonant with this goal, as we shall see). In establishing the text Tyrrell assumed that only those pages which are on Thompson's indices can be claimed as *Travels* material, and he selected for publication the two largest and most coherent pieces of the manuscript: draft D and the last half of drafts B and C, while making no attempt to connect the two pieces. In leaving out of his edition

all pieces of drafts A through C which had been rewritten or superseded, Tyrrell endorsed Thompson's revision of his material, and so attempted to be true to the author's intention at the time of composition. A serious problem in supporting Tyrrell's edition as a reconstruction of Thompson's originally intended text is his excision of the draft B material which had preceded Thompson's crossing of the mountains, and which had never been superseded; this sin of omission makes the edition untrue to the final extant state of the work.

In presenting the *Travels* Tyrrell tried to construct what he believed were Thompson's intended structural breaks. By organizing the text into chapters and paragraphs Tyrrell only accentuated the divisions inherent in the text itself, and made the assumption that Thompson would have wanted or expected these changes to be made by his publisher. Indeed, if the *Travels* had been published during Thompson's lifetime, it would naturally have been divided into chapters with headings. So, Tyrrell did not give final authority to what exists in the manuscript, but rather to what he assumed would have happened to the manuscript in the publication process.

Tyrrell's words "original form" do not exactly describe this practice, but he was concerned to preserve many of the central qualities of Thompson's manuscript. "Perceived original intention" would thus be a more accurate

description. The text is unfinished, and Tyrrell made no attempt to finish it, only selecting its two most coherent pieces and making no attempt to stitch them together.

As we have seen, the spelling, punctuation and grammar of this edition are a special case. Walker's directive to Wallace, to recover the original state of Thompson's manuscript, reflect a very conservative understanding of editorship. The work of Wallace, then, is meant to reproduce faithfully not what would have happened at the publisher's, but what the author actually wrote (still, alteration of accidentals is endemic in Wallace's transcription). In a sense, then, the 1916 Champlain edition is a hybrid of two editorial theories.[97]

There is little more to say about Glover's 1962 Champlain edition. Dependent as it is on Tyrrell's edition, it too is a reconstruction of Thompson's originally intended text. The title page of Glover's edition heralds it as a "new edition with added material," but this is only partly true, for Glover merely reprinted Tyrrell's work, using the same text, orthography, punctuation and section, chapter and paragraph divisions, and committing the same textual errors; this is an *old* edition with added material (in the form of

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[97] It is hard not to sympathize with Tyrrell. A geologist rather than a historian or literary scholar, it seems he simply lacked the critical tools to be an editor. He was instructed by Macmillan to alter Thompson's manuscript heavily, but this emended version was then rejected by the Champlain Society.

pages 27a-zd). It is not a critical edition, but is rather a reproduction of an already existing text, with the addition of a small amount of newly-discovered material. Glover attempted to present pages 27a-zd in diplomatic transcription. Granted that there are errors of transcription, this sets the passage apart from the rest of the text, in which Tyrrell had introduced paragraphs and standardized Thompson's orthography and punctuation.

As different as Hopwood's 1971 edition is from its two predecessors, he also justified his editorial work on the basis of authorial intention. Rather than trying to reconstruct what Thompson wrote, Hopwood attempted to project a theoretical finished text. In discussing his changes to Thompson's punctuation, Hopwood notes "I have been chiefly concerned to be true to Thompson's intention," and this comment may stand for his entire editorial project. Whereas Tyrrell had tried to reproduce the extant matter of the *Travels*, and cut only those parts which he felt had been superseded or which were too ragged, Hopwood endeavoured to reconstruct a *Travels* towards which Thompson was working, cutting liberally, mixing passages from different drafts and supplementing the story with material from outside the manuscript proper. Hopwood altered Thompson's spelling and punctuation in conformity with late twentieth-century practice, and again the only exception is pages 27a-zd, which he, as Glover, presented as a diplomatic

transcription. The selection and presentation of material does achieve Hopwood's aim of producing a slimmed-down, more coherent and more readable work. The 1800-1807 gap is partially filled, thus linking what had been the Champlain parts I and II, and the *Travels'* forward narrative momentum is strengthened by the cutting of long descriptive passages. While these elisions make the text more accessible to the general public, they also render it virtually useless for students of history, geography and Native studies.

Hopwood's claim that he is fulfilling the work of Thompson himself is highly suspect; the inherent assumption is that Thompson wanted to produce a fast-paced one-volume narrative. By contrast, the bibliographical evidence shows that Thompson simply kept supplementing his text with more material, and actually excised very little. His problem was not so much deciding what to include and what to exclude, but rather where to place everything. There is, for example, no evidence that Thompson would have cut the long descriptive passages on such topics as the Great Plains which Hopwood casts off. In the end, what appears is not really the *Travels* at all, but rather a new text, the accessibility of which is achieved only at the expense of changing the nature of the extant narrative utterly. So, while Hopwood was largely successful in his attempt to fashion a connected and fast-moving book from various of Thompson's writings, his claim that he brings the *Travels*

closer to completion cannot be supported.

As Hopwood has noted, Thompson wrote in anecdotal or topical cells, and his method of assembly was often to piece together these cells into a patchwork narrative. Thompson went back several times to insert new pieces into the *Travels'* opening, composed pieces such as the essay on the Aurora Borealis and placed them into already extant sections of the manuscript, and rewrote journal entries and newspaper articles into the body of his narrative. A handful of essays now housed with the manuscript may have been intended for inclusion in the narrative, and the appendix on bodies of water seems to indicate that Thompson wanted to extend his account past 1812. Thompson's text presents an almost dizzying array of possibilities, not only to an editor wishing to complete it (an untenable proposition for a serious scholar at any rate), but even to one wishing to assemble all of its constituent fragments.

It is little surprise then that the post-1850 history of the work reflects this indeterminacy and variability. Tyrrell and Wallace's edition (and by extension Glover's) is the more conservative, providing the two most coherent pieces of the extant *Travels*. Hopwood was more willing to piece together the text himself, excising more than half of the manuscript text and grafting new material from a variety of sources. Indeed, if the editor seeks to complete the *Travels* by following Thompson's own methods, there is

license to insert almost anything written by Thompson into the text. One could be justified in using newspaper pieces, journal entries, loose essays and notes; the *Travels* can become all of Thompson's corpus of work.

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I want finally to consider how Thompson's work might be edited in future. We need not venture far from the world of the *Travels* to find possible models, for editions of other Canadian exploration manuscripts offer a very broad range of options, from the careful attempt to provide a literal transcription of all manuscript characteristics to the heavy alteration and rearrangement of the original text.

At one end of the spectrum is Arthur G. Doughty and Chester Martin's edition of the manuscript papers of Henry Kelsey, published in 1929. This text is presented, as the editors claim, "*verbatim* and *literatum* in as close an approximation to the original as was found possible" (xli). No correction whatsoever is made to Kelsey's often inconsistent spelling and capitalization, marginal and interlinear notations are reproduced and scribal contractions are not expanded. The editors also represent the appearance of the original manuscript book by indicating line and page breaks. Scribal cancellations of words and letters are indicated and interlinear notations included, making this virtually a proto-genetic edition.

Richard Davis' 1995 edition of John Franklin's journals

of his first Arctic expedition is only slightly less faithful to its source. As Davis writes in his introduction, "I have resisted the impulse to 'correct' Franklin" (cvii). Spelling and capitalization are not corrected, and while abbreviations are expanded, these expansions are underlined. However, Davis does occasionally add punctuation to clarify sense and silently removes inadvertently repeated words. Davis also attempts to show where the journals differ from the public narrative that was derived from them, so planting the seeds of future genetic study.

Next on the spectrum of editorial practice comes W. Kaye Lamb's edition of the "Journey to the Arctic" in *The Journals and Letters of Sir Alexander Mackenzie* (1970). Mackenzie's manuscript accounts of his journeys to the Arctic and to the Pacific were worked up for publication by William Combe, but of Mackenzie's original journals, only that of the Arctic voyage has survived. Nowhere does Lamb state his principles for the transcription of this manuscript, but it is apparent that some changes are made, for footnotes often indicate differences between what is printed and what Mackenzie had original written (this is usually to correct factual inaccuracies, such as misordered dates). A special feature of this edition is Lamb's interpolation of additions to the journal account made by Combe when he prepared it for publication, which appear

either in angle brackets or in footnotes. In this way Lamb juxtaposes some of Combe's editorial work with Mackenzie's original words.

At the other end of the editorial spectrum from Kelsey we can place Glyndwr Williams' edition of Andrew Graham's *Observations on Hudson's Bay* (1969) and Jennifer S.H. Brown and Robert Brightman's edition of George Nelson's writings on the Cree, *'The Orders of the Dreamed'* (1988). While each contains material from manuscript sources, neither is faithful to original spelling, punctuation, contractions or paragraph breaks. Nelson's editors state that spelling "required almost no emendation for clarity;" restated positively, then, some emendation *is* made for clarity. While most capitalization, underling and abbreviations are retained, the ampersand is changed to "and," textual breaks are added and punctuation regularized, and an attempt is made to phonemicize Cree and Ojibwa words.

Graham wrote several versions of his *Observations* between 1767 and 1791, and the limitations of the publisher meant that Williams could select only a small portion of these manuscripts for publication. As he writes in his preface, "space and commonsense forbid the printing of several versions...with their repetitions" (x). Williams selects Graham's "latest and longest" version of the work, but occasionally grafts material from earlier versions onto this text, creating a hybrid work. William's emendations to

Graham's text are the most radical of any of the editions examined here. Williams notes that he followed the editorial conventions of the Hudson's Bay Record Society, which require that spelling be modernized, punctuation altered where a change would clarify the original sense and contractions extended. All of these changes are made silently.

These editions give us a sense of the possibilities for a future edition of the *Travels*, and are especially helpful in providing models for the selection and presentation of the text. In particular, they offer means for creating inclusive texts which would preserve variant states of the manuscript; Davis includes references to Franklin's public travel narrative, Lamb presents both Mackenzie's original text and some of Combe's revisions, and Williams' edition is drawn from more than one of Graham's version of the *Observations*.

These examples also point to some especial problems of exploration texts, such as paragraphization and spelling. Many writers of Canadian exploration texts were anxious to conserve paper, a practical concern given its scarcity and high cost. The editors of both Nelson's account and Franklin's journals state that as a result neither man indicated paragraph divisions very clearly; in both cases paragraphs are added by the editors. Even though the *Travels* was not written in the field, Thompson still tried

to conserve paper, either from habit or from current necessity, and paragraph breaks are few. Still, there are many places where such breaks are natural; should an editor insert them? Many of these writers were poor or inconsistent spellers, but while Kelsey's orthography is preserved, Graham's is regularized. What, then, should an editor do with the notoriously idiosyncratic spelling of a Peter Pond or a William Clark?

To broaden the range of editorial models, and to examine some works which exhibit features similar to those of the *Travels*, we may also look at some texts which are more conventionally literary. Particularly helpful are those which exist in multiple states (the prologue to Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*), are unfinished (Dickens' *The Mystery of Edwin Drood*), have two endings (Dickens' *Great Expectations*) and in which there are significant differences between the manuscript and published versions (Crane's *The Red Badge of Courage*). What all of these pieces have in common with the *Travels*, in addition to these specific features, is a heightened resistance to univocal representation by an editor.

Chaucer's prologue to his *Legend of Good Women* has survived in two manuscripts, known as texts F and G, which contain much of the same matter, but which are verbally and structurally quite different. Scholars are still unsure of their genetic relationship. In his edition of Chaucer, F.N.

Robinson presents the F and G texts in two columns on a single page, and arranges the texts so that parallel passages correspond.

Dickens' composition of *Edwin Drood* was halted by the his death in June 1870, leaving the case forever unsolved. Attempts to solve the mystery have included analyzing evidence of the extant chapters, sifting through Dickens' notes and studying his working methods. The Oxford edition produced by Margaret Cardwell provides Dickens' own text as published after his death, his working notes and a large unintegrated fragment, leaving the reader to determine possible conclusions to the puzzle. In addition, many possible plot resolutions have been proposed and several imaginative completions of the text have been published.[98]

Dickens wrote two endings to *Great Expectations*; his editor objected to the original ending and convinced Dickens to substitute a more conventionally happy one. The book was published in 1861 with the second ending, and the original ending did not emerge until 1874, when it was transcribed as a footnote in Forster's *Life of Dickens*. The recent Oxford edition presents this novel as it was originally published, but includes Dickens' original ending as an appendix, along with many of his working notes.

In our final example, there are major differences

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[98] *Drood* has been imaginatively concluded most recently by Leon Garfield (1980) and, in a less orthodox fashion, by Carlo Frattero and Franco Lucentini (1989).

between the manuscript of Crane's *The Red Badge of Courage* and the work as it was published in 1895, and it is still unclear which changes were made of Crane's own volition and which at the insistence of his editor. In the last thirty years major scholarly editions have followed either Crane's manuscript (such as Henry Binder's) or the 1895 published work (such as Fredson Bowers' in the Virginia *Works of Stephen Crane*).

The editorial responses to the challenges posed by these works point to some of the major critical issues surrounding editing: the definition of what is text, the inclusion or exclusion of variant readings, and especially the determination and status of the author's intention. The editions of Kelsey and Franklin are quite faithful to the manuscript. William's edition of Graham, and the Oxford editions of Dickens, give certain versions of the works the status of "finished" product by presenting them as the main text; at the same time they append many of the authors' working notes, thus implying that these too are part of the wider body of the texts. The editions of Mackenzie, Chaucer and *Great Expectations* attempt to provide inclusive readings; the former two present variant versions side-by-side, thus giving primacy to neither, and while the latter's preservation of a variant ending in an appendix necessarily gives greater importance to the originally published ending, it does allow for multiplicity. By contrast, the two

editions of *The Red Badge of Courage* are exclusive, presenting one version of the novel at the expense of another, possibly equally valid version.[99]

This last point brings us to the question of authorial intention. Tyrrell, Glover and Hopwood each operated under the assumption that they knew what Thompson wanted to produce, and were each concerned to *reconstruct* what the *Travels* was meant to be, to the exclusion of any possible variant readings or interpretations. Tyrrell (and Glover) sought to present what Thompson had originally intended, excluding material that Thompson himself had discarded and dividing the text into structural units. Hopwood tried to construct what he thought Thompson would eventually have intended, had he been able to continue working on the text. The approach of each editor has hindered a full appreciation of the *Travels*, because each excluded a significant aspect of the text; Tyrrell suppressed early drafts and associated essays, while Hopwood excised almost the entire descriptive side of the work.

I believe that if the *Travels* is to be edited again, it must appear whole, and in a literal transcription of Thompson's own words. In his essay "The Editing of

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[99] Naturally, the editions also reflect their editors. Doughty and Martin were archivists, whose first concern was to represent as accurately as possible the characteristics of their manuscript. By contrast, the primary goal of the anthropologists Brown and Brightman was to convey as clearly as possible the information their manuscript contained.

Historical Documents," Tanselle argues that editors, whether they work with literary or historical material, must attempt to convey the original characteristics of manuscript material. He includes a number of justifications for this approach, but most come down to the need to bring the reader as close as possible to the writer--his act of writing, his idiosyncrasies, his state of health and of mind, his inconsistencies and even his errors.

This is especially important with a work such the *Travels*. Tanselle makes a distinction between works intended for publication and private papers. Private works necessitate strict, literal transcription, but with published works the author's manuscript must be compared to the published version, and hard editorial decisions must be made about which readings are to be preserved. Thompson's manuscript was originally intended for publication, and so, even though there was no published version, Tyrrell changed Thompson's text to be consonant with publishing conventions. But it is unclear whether Thompson still meant to publish by the time he was writing drafts D and E; the text may have slid over the boundary between public and private. There is no secure final intended form of the *Travels*, but only the state of emergence.

This emergent work is one of duality and ambiguity. A man who was a delineator of boundaries produced a text which transcends them in every way; the *Travels* is told with the

voices of the scientist and storyteller, shifts between narration and description, entertainment and edification, and straddles the line between the finished and the unfinished, and between public and private discourse. Even Thompson's predilection for commas and semi-colons over periods leaves nuances of meaning open to debate. Thompson's next editor must leave all of the *Travels*' apertures in place.

This editor, a medium coming between Thompson and the reader, must endeavour to be as transparent as possible in his or her presentation of the *Travels*. Walker's directive to Wallace to restore Thompson's original spelling, punctuation and grammar was very forward-looking for 1912, but in its execution the Champlain edition still betrays the historian's emphasis on explicating the contents of the text rather than the literary scholar's concern to represent faithfully the text itself. And Hopwood, in his presentation of Thompson's work, is almost condescending in his attempt to select, regularize and modernize for the sake of the reader.

But the most valuable aid to the reader of Thompson lies not in making the *Travels* more "readable"--this is hardly even an issue with Thompson's prose--but in allowing the reader closer to the author's original text and its process of composition. Thompson's text must finally be allowed to stand for itself.

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So how, practically, can the *Travels* be edited? I want to examine five general approaches: diplomatic transcript, variorum, genetic, parallel text and hypertext. The point of departure for each is literal transcription of the original document; these editorial options have more to do with the form of manuscript presentation, than with the actual transcription of the matter presented. I examine the characteristics of each approach through their practical application to passages from the *Travels* itself, and except in the case of hypertext, these "sample editions" are included in Appendix D, as texts I-VI. I conclude by suggesting how the most useful features of each of these approaches might be used to produce an edition of Thompson that most effectively conveys the central characteristics of the work.

The diplomatic transcript edition (text I) reproduces as many characteristics of the original manuscript as possible, including Thompson's original spelling, punctuation and lineation. Any noteworthy features of the manuscript that cannot be represented by type are mentioned in the apparatus. I apply this approach to page IV.8 and part of page IV.9, Thompson's description of the 1782 taking of Fort Prince of Wales and his sketch of Samuel Hearne, written for draft C and reintegrated into draft D. Each line is reproduced as it appears in the manuscript, so that

words such as "celebrated" (8.4-5) and "regular" (8.29-30) which straddle lines in the manuscript do so here as well. A key to line numbers is added in the right margin and Thompson's emendations to the text are detailed in the footnotes. This edition thus preserves Thompson's changes to the manuscript, but it gives primacy to the text as emended.

As we can see readily here, the idiosyncrasies of Thompson's prose are not so alienating that their accurate transcription will make the narrative unreadable, or even less accessible.[100] This approach does have some disadvantages. The lineation of Thompson's manuscript has virtually no semantic import, and so its reproduction is of questionable value, and the lack of any section breaks makes the text very wearing on the eye. Also, the presentation of a clear, final state of the text means that a reader must refer to the notes to reconstruct Thompson's unrevised prose. Finally, in my example no explication of the text's contents is made.

The variorum edition (text II) is divided into three sections: the words of the *Travels*, here presented in clear

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[100] The qualities of Thompson's original manuscript could be even better represented in a facsimile edition, but while changes in Thompson's hand do contribute to a critical understanding of the periods of the *Travels'* composition, there is no compelling reason to reproduce the entire manuscript for the reader. While it might be worthwhile to reproduce a handful of sample pages, the value of a complete facsimile edition would not be offset by its tremendous cost.

text, a catalogue of textual emendations made to the manuscript by Thompson's three editors, and a record of the editors' critical commentary on the text's contents. I apply this approach to the same section of text, pages IV.8-9, as the diplomatic transcript edition, but do not key the text to the lineation of the manuscript.

The greatest advantage of this kind of edition is that it allows for a study of the text's transmission and critical reception. All of the changes that Thompson's editors made to the text are recorded, no matter how seemingly insignificant. Points of contention such as Thompson's inaccurate account of the 1782 capture of Fort Prince of Wales and his biased portrayal of Samuel Hearne are noted, and the reader is referred to other work, such as Glover's essay "The Witness of David Thompson." At the same time, references such as "Voltaire's Dictionary" and "Bucks Club" are explained.

The key disadvantage of this approach is that it adds much editorial matter for little critical gain. Very little of the information in the second section is critically useful; of the ninety editorial changes recorded here, for example, only one is substantive: the mistranscription of "sermon" as "service" by all of Thompson's editors (IV.8.38). The variorum edition is useful in revealing to what extent Hopwood altered Thompson's punctuation and orthography, but the point is made quickly and does not

require an entire edition. Also, while this edition is inclusive of editorial changes to the manuscript, it does not record Thompson's own emendations. Finally, the information recorded in the third section would be more helpful were it synthesized by the new editor, rather than presented as it had appeared in previous editions.

The genetic edition (text III) embeds Thompson's manuscript revisions in the main text of the *Travels* by means of specialized symbols. Angle brackets indicate material he removed and arrows indicate material he added during the process of composition. Thompson's original spelling and punctuation are preserved, but his semantically insignificant lineation is not. I employ the genetic system on page IV.7 and part of IV.8, in which Thompson describes Hudson Bay. Here, for example, we can see how Thompson altered draft C's page numbers 1 and 2 to draft D's pages 7 and 8, and changed the name of the Nelson River to "Kissiskatchewan" throughout.

The advantage of this kind of edition is that it illustrates very concretely Thompson's own process of revision, providing a text that gives precedence neither to the original nor to the final reading. One of the disadvantages is that, like all genetic texts, it can be difficult to read through the brackets and arrows (what Louis Mumford has characterized as "barbed wire"). But there are not so many intra-draft revisions in the *Travels*

to make this practice overly burdensome; the advantage of representing more accurately the manuscript outweighs the disadvantage of what amounts to very little editorial "noise" on the page.[101]

The parallel-text edition (text V) juxtaposes versions of the same material from two different drafts. These are presented in facing columns in a clear text transcription. The pieces I present are Thompson's two versions of the Cree flood story (discussed in chapter 5); that written for draft B appears in the left column, and that written for draft D in the right. Each parallel element of the story is aligned (this results in the blank spaces, especially in the draft B version).

The most obvious advantage of the parallel text approach is the ease with which Thompson's inter-draft revisions can be studied; here the reader can readily see how Thompson worked up his story of the flood so as to develop characterization and enhance stylistic expression. So, this type of edition is especially useful for comparing those many parts of the *Travels* that Thompson revised directly from one draft into the next. The disadvantages are twofold; first, many parts of the *Travels* simply have no

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[101] The genetic edition can display very graphically the extent and import of the editorial work that Tyrrell did for his Macmillan edition, and to illustrate this I have reproduced in a single genetic document the passage on goose migration that he revised (text IV).

parallel, and cannot be presented in this format, and second, this approach would destroy the integrity of the earlier drafts. For example, Thompson rearranged the order of topics from draft B to draft D; were these drafts to be presented in parallel-text, draft B would have to be taken apart and rearranged opposite the comparable draft D passages. Ultimately, the parallel-text would prove too unwieldy for the *Travels*.

Computer technology now offers the possibility of a hypertext edition of the *Travels*. This edition would present all of the manuscript pages as primary text and could then encode links to other material with the HTML programming protocol. For example, the hypertext approach could link a page from Thompson's draft D essay on the Plains (discussed in chapter 7) with the draft B version and the 1843 geographical essay, an account of Thompson's manuscript revisions to the page, the text as it appears in the published versions of the work, the other geological passages in the *Travels*, and other explanatory material. If the reader wanted to learn more about the Osage fossil, for example, he or she could click on a "hot" footnote number which would call up information about Koch's discoveries and would provide bibliographic references for further research.

The prime advantage of this kind of edition is that it would replicate some of the most fundamental characteristics of the *Travels*, such as the text's pattern of associative

links; in essence, it transcends the problems of organization of material that are at the core of the text. Because material could be connected in a non-linear fashion and information from other texts could be introduced, this reader-centred edition would be the most inclusive of all. The disadvantage of hypertext is that it is still a developing medium, and an edition of the *Travels* might not yet be feasible. Also, if all of the features cited above were to be incorporated into the edition, it might take a lifetime of labour to produce.

I conclude by offering my own proposal for editing the *Travels* (text VI). This approach combines some of the most useful features of the five hypothetical editions I have just discussed, while attempting to remain feasible as a publishing venture and accessible to the general reader. I believe that in the case of a text such as the *Travels*, which was frozen in time while it was still evolving, an edition should describe the process of composition and not prescribe a preferred reading; the text must be as inclusive as possible by preserving variant drafts and intra-draft revisions and by drawing on the critical and scholarly work that has been produced on Thompson.

In establishing the text I would select every manuscript page that is currently in the University of Toronto collection, plus pages 27a-zd from the Archives of Ontario. I would include the hydrographic appendix and the

three unattached essays from the Toronto collection simply because they have remained with the manuscript itself; this fact, along with Thompson's own promise to include an appendix on the origins of Native peoples, is indication enough that they are meant to be *Travels* material. I would exclude journal material, other essays, letters and journalism from the text of the *Travels*. Because this edition would be inclusive, a "collected" *Travels*, I would select for publication all of the material established as being part of the text.

I would arrange the text in the order in which it was written: draft A, draft B, the draft C additions, draft D, and the draft E additions. In the critical apparatus I would then indicate how pages had been reintegrated and where they had been placed. Then, for example, a reader could read pages 27a-zd as a distinct unit, or as part of the revised draft D. The five drafts would be followed by the hydrographic appendix and the three unattached essays.

I would reproduce the contents of the manuscript pages in a literal transcription with some very minor changes. First, the lines would not be keyed to the relatively arbitrary line divisions in the manuscript. Thus, words that straddle line-breaks would be transcribed as whole words. If the lineation of the manuscript does have semantic significance, this would be indicated in a footnote. I would place the manuscript page numbers in the

margin, and indicate page breaks in the text with a vertical slash.

In order to overcome the visual barrier of uninterrupted, unparagraphed prose, I would break the text into topical blocks and indicate these topics with bracketed headers; the chief purpose of these signposts is to assist the reader in finding his or her way about the work. I would not introduce chapter divisions or new paragraph divisions. I believe that this approach best preserves the essential characteristics of Thompson's manuscript, while making it more accessible to the reader. Nothing substantive is removed or altered, and the only accidentals which are lost are hyphens of no semantic significance.

To this transcription I would then add the most useful features of the other types of editions. Rather than producing a parallel-text format, parallel passages would be noted in the margin; a reader could then easily find the relevant sections in the other drafts, while the integrity of these drafts would not be disrupted. Thompson's own emendations would be reproduced as in the genetic edition. In this way the reader does not have to refer to notes or appendices to reconstruct Thompson's process of revision.

Explication of the text would include a general introductory essay on the development of the text (similar to chapter 3 of the current study), and a simplified form of each draft table would be accompany each draft. Footnotes

would be placed on the text pages themselves; the notes would explain references, indicate Thompson's source material, and point to areas of critical debate. Thus much of the information that has been provided by previous editors would appear here, but unlike the variorum edition, the notes themselves would not be reproduced. I would exclude entirely the previous editors' alterations to the text itself; these are not significant enough to our current understanding of the work itself to merit their inclusion.

To illustrate how this edition might appear, I have produced a short sample extract. This piece covers Thompson's draft C account of his departure for the Pacific on July 3, 1811 and of the events of that first day of travel, which are found on pages III.252-254. I have chosen this piece of the text precisely because it reflects the typical qualities of many of the manuscript pages; there are some light emendations, the passage has a parallel in another draft, and there are a handful of points deserving of critical explication.

Thompson's words appear in literal transcription. In this case, as is usual in the manuscript, emendations are few; here they consist of four alterations (three of which mend grammatical or semantic irregularities) and four insertions, each of which mends obvious compositional slips. The transcription preserves Thompson's punctuation and spelling even when obvious errors occur, as in the word

"industrius" on III.253.

Page numbers III.252, 253 and 254 are indicated in the right margin, while the passage is divided into two topical sections, indicated by the bracketed headers "From Ilthkoyape Falls to the San Poil Village, July 3, 1811" and "At the San Poil Village, July 3, 1811." Next to each header is a cross-reference to the draft B pages which contain Thompson's earlier treatment of the same material. Finally, the footnotes explicate various aspects of the passage, providing geographical, historical, anthropological and botanical information related to Thompson's subject matter, and briefly comparing this passage to the comparable journal entry and draft B passage.

Canadian studies have been enriched during the past fifteen years by the publication of accomplished scholarly editions of several early texts. In English, the Centre for Editing Early Canadian texts has produced critical editions of ten eighteenth and nineteenth-century prose works, while Canadian Poetry Press has published editions of fifteen early long poems; in French, the scholarly editions issued by the Bibliothèque du Nouveau Monde have included such early exploration texts as Gabriel Sagard's *Grand voyage* and the works of Father Louis Hennepin.

That Thompson's *Travels* occupies a place of importance in the corpus of early Canadian literature is no longer in question, and this thesis has demonstrated the extent to

which familiarity with the manuscript of the work and the conditions of its production can aid us in appreciating it more fully. The physical state of the manuscript sheets, the presence of the various drafts, and evidence from indices and journals illuminate aspects of the work which have often troubled critics. At the same time, this thesis has shown that the *Travels* has not yet been edited satisfactorily; large parts of the work have never been published, and what has appeared has frequently been misrepresented. Accordingly, I close with the hope that we may soon see the edition that this exceptional work deserves, reflecting as fully as possible Thompson's manuscript, so bringing us closer to the author and to the great act of writing that he undertook.

Appendix A
Samples of the *Travels* Manuscript[102]

[102] All samples of the manuscript are reproduced at a ratio to the original of 1:1.6.

Figure 1: (Page I.1; Draft A, November 4, 1845)

Figure 2: (Page III.195; Draft B, July 8, 1847)

Page 195

We there builded Log Houses and strongly stockaded it
on three sides, the other side resting on the steep bank of the
River: the Logs of the House and the Stockades, Bastions &c
were of a peculiar kind of a heavy resinous Fir, with a
rough black bark. it was [illegible] grown to about twenty
feet when it threw off a head of long curly branches with
a long narrow leaf for a Fir, which was annually shed
and become from green to red color. the Stockades were
all [illegible] as well as the Logs of the Houses. At
the latter end of Autumn, and through the winter there
are plenty of Red Deer, and the Antelope, with a few
Mountain Sheep. the Goats, with their long silky hair
were difficult to hunt from their feeding on the high
est parts of the Hills* but during the Summer and
early part of Autumn very few Deer were killed, we
had very hard times and were obliged to eat several
Horses. we found the meat of the tame Horse, better than
the wild Horse. the fat was not so oily. At length the
Salmon made their appearance and for about three
weeks we lived on them at first they were in toler-
able condition, although they had come upwards
of twelve hundred miles from the sea, and several
weighed twenty five pounds but as the spawning went
on upon a gravel bank a short distance above us, they became
poor and not eatable. we preferred Horse meat. at the place
where they spawned [illegible]
often looked at them the female with her head clearing a
way the gravel and made a hole to deposit her spawn
*perhaps an inch or more, which done,
in the male then passed over it several times, when
both covered the hole well up with gravel. The Indi-
ans affirm, and there is every reason to believe them, that
not a single Salmon of the myriads that come up the
River, ever return to the sea* the shores of the River, after
the spawning season were covered with them in a half
dying state, yet even in this state, many of the Indians
eat them. At some of the Falls of the Columbia and the
Salmon's leap they go up higher, and [illegible]

Margin notes:

* and the natives relate that they are wicked kicking down stones on the [illegible]

* in depth [illegible] by a foot in length and

* these do not have nothing in them, probably from no food in fresh water

Figure 3: (Page III.311; Draft C, January 12, 1848)

Page 311

ter deep on the Basalt Hills on the south side of the Co-
lumbia through which McGillivray's the Saleesh and Spo-
kane Rivers pass in Falls and Cataracts. These Hills as
I have already noticed intercept the winds from the Pa-
cific Ocean, and receive all the Snow; which obliges all
the Animals to go to the eastward, where there is very
little snow; and which makes these countries the favor-
ite resort of the Indians and the Deer during winter. As
we were all anxious to find a place of greater security for a tra-
ding post, on the afternoon of the 20th with an Indian and one
man with three Horses we set off to examine the south Branch
of this River, the confluence of which is a few miles above the
House: when we had gone about five miles we came to the
three Tents in one of which was a fine old Indian whom
we had named Le bon Vieux; smoking with him, we ex-
plained the object of our journey; looking at our Horses
he told us they were too poor for the country of the south
Branch, which was hilly and required strong Horses.
and sent a young man to bring three of his Horses, which
he lent to us for the journey; sending ours to feed and
rest: In the afternoon of the next day we came to a few
Tents, the Men were all away hunting the Deer by surroun-
ding them, in the evening they arrived with eight deer. They
would have killed a few more if they had more men;
as they were only twenty two men and Lads; whereas
thirty men are required for this mode of hunting; and
although they had several fine active young women, they
are never employed in hunting, but restricted to what
are considered feminine duties. Having examined the
country for full thirty miles, we found the River to be
about eighty to one hundred and fifty yards in width
about three feet deep and a strong current flowing thro'
a hilly country, clothed with good short grass and fine
woods of Cypress and Fir, with Aspin in the low ground
and from the top of a Hill the country to the south east-
ward from whence the River came appeared the same

Figure 4: (Page IV.254; Draft D, March 28, 1849)

Page 254

impression on the Indians they were numerous, good
cavalry and accustomed to war, adding you yourselves
may go and take your revenge but we do not think any
of you will return. All this lowered their self conceit
and arrogance they saw plainly the natives of these
countries had no great opinion of them, and giving
up all thoughts of revenge as they were now to sepa-
rate for the winter agreed to make a feast and perform
all their dances to which the Nahathaways were
invited. The next day they all appeared in their best
dresses and the feast took place about noon of the
choice pieces of the Bison and Red Deer at which
as usual grace was said and responded to by the guests.
The feast being over the dances began by the [illegible]
and their comrades; after a few common dances they
commenced their favorite dance of the grand Calu-
met which was much admired and praised, and
they requested the Nahathaways to dance their grand
Calumet to which they replied they had no smoking
dance: this startled the [illegible], and they began their
war dance from the discovery of the enemy to the attack
and scalping of the dead and the war hoop of victory.
The Nahathaways praised them. The [illegible] being vain
proud of their national dances requested of the Nahathaways
to see their war dance and intimating they thought they had
none which was in a manner saying they were not warriors
I felt for my old friends and looking round saw the smile of
contempt on the lips of [illegible] a very [illegible] the [illegible] Chief a
fine stern warrior of about fifty years of age with whom
I had been long acquainted and whom I knew [illegible]

Figure 5: (Page III.9b; Draft E, July 2, 1850)

Page 9 b.

neither writing nor reading was required and my
only business was to amuse myself in winter grow-
ling at the cold and in the open season shooting Gulls
Ducks, Plover and Curlews and quarrelling with Muske-
toes and Sand flies — The Hudsons Bay Company annu-
ally send out three Ships to their Factories, which generally
arrive at their respective ports in the latter end of Au-
gust or the early part of September and this year (1784) the
Ship arrived as usual — When the Captain landed I was
surprised to see with him Mr John Charles a school fellow
and of the same age as myself whom I had left to be
bound out to a trade. I enquired of him what had
made him change his mind he informed me that
Shortly after my departure, from what he could learn
some maps drawn by the fur traders of Canada had
been seen by Mr Dalrymple which showed the Rivers
and Lakes for many hundred miles to the westward
of Hudsons Bay that he applied to the Company to send
out a gentleman well qualified to survey the interior
country all which they promised to do and their gentle-
man [illegible] for that purpose to go out with their ships next
year; they accordingly sent to the school to have one rea-
dy. As he was the only one of age he was placed in the mathe-
matical school and quickly [illegible] his studies for which
he had no wish to learn for three days for a few minutes
each day taught to handle Hadley's quadrant and being
shown the hour by a chalk mark on the wall his education
was completed and pronounced fit for the duties he had
to perform [illegible]
[illegible] Hudsons Bay [illegible]
[illegible]

Appendix B
Pages of the Drafts

Table 1: Draft-to-Draft Summary

Note: Bold figures represent new composition, and dotted lines indicate integration of pages into later drafts. This table does not indicate what sheets are extant, nor does it provide bibliographical details about individual pages. Please refer to Tables 2 to 7 for this information.

A	B	C	D	E
1-24				
	1-12			
				1-4
			intro	5-6
		1-6e	1-6e	7-6e
25-27	------	6f-h	6f-h	6f-h
28				
		6g-12	6g-12	6g-12
				9a-b
	13-25	13-25	13-25	13-25
29-30	26-27	26-27	26-27	26-27
				27a-zd
	28-31	28-31	28-31	28-31
		32-33k	32-33k	32-33k
			331-37	331-37
	34	34	38	38
		34a-b,bb-bbb		
			39-41	39-41
			42-47b	
		34c	48	
	35	35	49	
	36-54	36-54		
			50-96	
	55-64	55-64	97-106	
			104a-f	
			107-313	
	65-230	65-230		
		231-324		
	233-262			
28-31				

Note to Tables 2 to 7

In the following tables, each line of information represents one manuscript page. **Pages in bold represent new composition;** those in regular type are integrated from other drafts. **Dotted lines indicate a page's presence in immediately preceding and succeeding drafts.**

The abbreviations under the heading "Notes" indicate whether the page is a single sheet or part of a bifolia, whether it has been cut, and the presence of catch-words. Paste-ons are also noted. The key to these abbreviations is as follows:

s	single sheet
b1	first leaf of a bifolia, bifoliate with next page in table
b2	second leaf of a bifolia, bifoliate with preceding page in table
bX	page cut from a bifolia
bX1	page cut from a bifolia, was first leaf, was bifoliate with next page in table
bX2	page cut from a bifolia, was second leaf, was bifoliate with preceding page in table
c1	top of page cut
c2	middle of page cut
c3	bottom of page cut
cw	catch-word to next page in table
po	paste-on to preceding page in table

U of T# refers to the number with which the page is identified in the Thompson papers at the University of Toronto library. The twenty-nine pages listed in draft E without a roman numeral prefix are those housed at the Archives of Ontario. Pages in brackets are no longer extant.

Indented pages were composed later in the course of a single draft, and integrated into pre-existing text (see for example pages 34bb-bbb in draft C).

Dates of composition are taken from Thompson's journals. Those marked with an asterisk are mentioned by number in the journals. Those without are identified by subject matter or extrapolation from pages of known dates of compostion. Within each table, dates of composition are only included for new composition.

Table 2: Draft A

Page Number	Notes	U of T#	Glover	Composed
1	s cw	I.1	---	4.11.45
2	s	I.2	---	4.11.45
3	s	I.3	---	46
4	s	I.4	---	46
5	s	I.5	---	46
6	s	I.6	---	46
7	s	I.7	---	46
8	s	I.8	---	46
9	s cw	I.9	---	46
10	s cw	I.10	---	46
11	s cw	I.11	---	46
12	s cw	I.12	---	46
(13)		---		46
(14)		---		46
(15)		---		46
(16)		---		46
(17)		---		46
(18)		---		46
(19)		---		46
(20)		---		46
(21)		---		46
(22)		---		46
(23)		---		46
(24)		---		46
25------C 6f	s cw	III.6f	14-15	46
26------C 6g	s cw	III.6g	15-16	46
27------C 6h	s cw	III.6h	16	46
(28)		---		46
29------B 26	b1	IV.26	35-36	46
30------B 27	b2 c3	IV.27	36	46

Table 3: Draft B

Page Number	Notes	U of T#	Glover	Composed
(1)		**---**		**46/47**
(2)		**---**		**46/47**
(3)		**---**		**46/47**
(4)		**---**		**46/47**
(5)		**---**		**46/47**
(6)		**---**		**46/47**
(7)		**---**		**46/47**
(8)		**---**		**46/47**
(9)		**---**		**46/47**
(10)		**---**		**46/47**
(11)		**---**		**46/47**
(12)		**---**		**46/47**
13------C 13	**s cw**	**IV.13**	**23-24**	**46/47**
14------C 14	**b1 cw**	**IV.14**	**24-25**	**46/47**
15------C 15	**b2**	**IV.15**	**25-27**	**46/47**
16------C 16	**b1**	**IV.16**	**27-28**	**46/47**
17------C 17	**b2 cw**	**IV.17**	**28-29**	**46/47**
18------C 18	**b1**	**IV.18**	**29-30**	**46/47**
19------C 19	**b2 cw**	**IV.19**	**30**	**46/47**
20------C 20	**b1**	**IV.20**	**30-31**	**46/47**
21------C 21	**b2**	**IV.21**	**31-32**	**46/47**
22	**s**	**no #**	**---**	**46/47**
22---C 22	**b1 cw**	**IV.22**	**32-33**	**46/47**
23------C 23	**b2 cw**	**IV.23**	**33-34**	**46/47**
24------C 24	**s**	**IV.24**	**34**	**46/47**
25------C 25	**s**	**IV.25**	**34-35**	**46/47**
A 29-----26------C 26		IV.26	35-36	
A 30-----27------C 27		IV.27	36	
28------C 28	**s**	**IV.28**	**57-58**	**46/47**
29------C 29	**s**	**IV.29**	**58-59**	**46/47**
30------C 30	**s**	**IV.30**	**59-60**	**46/47**
31------C 31	**s**	**IV.31**	**60-61**	**46/47**
32------C 32	**b1**	**IV.32**	**61-62**	**46/47**
33------C 33	**b2**	**IV.33**	**62**	**46/47**
33a-----C 33a	**b1**	**IV.33a**	**62-63**	**46/47**
33b-----C 33b	**b2 cw**	**IV.33b**	**63-64**	**46/47**
? a------33c-----C 33c	**b1**	**IV.33c**	**64**	**46/47**
? b------33d-----C 33d	**b2 cw**	**IV.33d**	**65**	**46/47**
? c------33e-----C 33e	**b1**	**IV.33e**	**65-66**	**46/47**
? d------33f-----C 33f	**b2**	**IV.33f**	**66-67**	**46/47**
? e------33g-----C 33g	**b1 cw**	**IV.33g**	**67-68**	**46/47**
? f------33h-----C 33h	**b2 cw**	**IV.33h**	**68**	**46/47**
? g------33i-----C 33i	**b1**	**IV.33i**	**68-69**	**46/47**
? h------33k-----C 33k	**b2**[103]	**IV.33k**	**69-70**	**46/47**

[103] Pages 33c-k appear to have been composed apart from the *Travels*, then integrated into draft B. The pages were originally labelled "a-h."

34------C 34	s	IV.38	73-74	46/47
35------C 35	s	IV.49	82	46/47
(36-----C 36)		---		46/47
(37-----C 37)		---		46/47
(38-----C 38)		---		46/47
(39-----C 39)		---		46/47
(40-----C 40)		---		46/47
(41-----C 41)		---		46/47
(42-----C 42)		---		46/47
(43-----C 43)		---		46/47
(44-----C 44)		---		46/47
45------C 45	b1 cw	III.45	---	46/47
46------C 46	b2	III.46	---	46/47
(47-----C 47)		---		46/47
48------C 48	bX cw	III.48	---	46/47
49------C 49	b1	III.49	---	46/47
50------C 50	b2	III.50	---	46/47
51------C 51	bX1 c1 cw	III.51	---	46/47
52------C 52	bX2	III.52	---	46/47
(53-----C 53)		---		46/47
(54-----C 54)		---		46/47
55------C 55	s c3	IV.97	116-117	46/47
56------C 56	s c1 cw	IV.98	117-118	46/47
57------C 57	s cw	IV.99	118-119	46/47
58------C 58	s cw	IV.100	119	46/47
59------C 59	s cw	IV.101	119-121	46/47
60------C 60	s	IV.102	121-122	46/47
61------C 61	s cw	IV.103	122-123	46/47
62------C 62	s cw	IV.104	123-124	46/47
63------C 63	s cw	IV.105	124	46/47
64------C 64	s	IV.106	124-125	46/47
65------C 65	s	III.65	---	46/47
66------C 66	s c3	III.66	---	46/47
67------C 67	s cw	III.67	---	46/47
68------C 68	s cw	III.68	---	46/47
69------C 69	b1 cw	III.69	---	46/47
70------C 70	b2	III.70	---	46/47
71------C 71	s	III.71	---	46/47
72------C 72	s cw	III.72	---	46/47
73------C 73	s cw	III.73	---	46/47
74------C 74	s cw	III.74	---	46/47
(75-----C 75)		---		46/47
(76-----C 76)		---		46/47
77------C 77	s cw	III.77	---	46/47
78------C 78	s cw	III.78	---	46/47
79------C 79	s	III.79	---	46/47
80------C 80	s cw	III.80	---	46/47
81------C 81	s cw	III.81	---	46/47
82------C 82	s cw	III.82	---	46/47
83------C 83	s cw	III.83	---	46/47
84------C 84	s	III.84	---	46/47
85------C 85	s cw	III.85	---	46/47

86------C 86	s cw	III.86	---	46/47
87------C 87	b1	III.87	---	46/47
88------C 88	b2 cw	III.88	---	46/47
89------C 89	b1 cw	III.89	---	46/47
90------C 90	b2 cw	III.90	---	46/47
91------C 91	b1 cw	III.91	---	46/47
92------C 92	b2 c3	III.92	---	46/47
93------C 93	b1 c1 cw	III.93	---	46/47
94------C 94	b2 cw	III.94	---	46/47
95------C 95	b1	III.95	---	46/47
96------C 96	b2 cw	III.96	---	14.4.47
97------C 97	b1 cw	III.97	---	14.4.47
98------C 98	b2 cw	III.98	---	15.4.47
99------C 99	b1 cw	III.99	---	16.4.47
100-----C 100	b2	III.100	---	16.4.47
101-----C 101	b1 cw	III.101	---	19.4.47
102-----C 102	b2 cw	III.102	---	21.4.47
103-----C 103	b1 cw	III.103	---	22.4.47
104---- C 104	b2 cw	III.104	---	22.4.47
105-----C 105	b1 cw	III.105	---	28.4.47
106-----C 106	b2 cw	III.106	---	28.4.47
107-----C 107	b1 cw	III.107	---	29.4.47
108-----C 108	b2	III.108	---	29.4.47
(109----C 109)		---		30.4.47
(110----C 110)		---		30.4.47
(111----C 111)		---		6.47
(112----C 112)		---		6.47
(113----C 113)		---		6.47
(114)		---		6.47
115-----C 115	s	III.115	---	6.47
(116----C 116)		---		6.47
117-----C 117	b1 cw	III.117	---	6.47
118-----C 118	b2	III.118	---	6.47
(119)		---		6.47
(120)		---		6.47
121-----C 121	b1 cw	III.121	---	6.47
122-----C 122	b2 cw	III.122	---	6.47
123-----C 123	b1 cw	III.123	---	6.47
124-----C 124	b2 cw	III.124	---	6.47
125-----C 125	b1 cw	III.125	---	6.47
126-----C 126	b2 cw	III.126	---	6.47
127-----C 127	b1 cw	III.127	---	6.47
128-----C 128	b2	III.128	---	6.47
129-----C 129	b1 cw	III.129	---	6.47
130-----C 130	b2	III.130	---	6.47
131-----C 131	b1 cw	III.131	---	6.47
132-----C 132	b2 cw	III.132	---	6.47
133-----C 133	b1 cw	III.133	---	6.47
134-----C 134	b2 cw	III.134	---	6.47
135-----C 135	b1 cw	III.135	---	6.47
136-----C 136	b2	III.136	---	6.47
137-----C 137	b1 cw	III.137	---	6.47

138-----C 138	b2 cw	III.138	---	6.47
139-----C 139	b1 cw	III.139	---	6.47
140-----C 140	b2 cw	III.140	---	6.47
141-----C 141	b1 c3	III.141	---	6.47
142-----C 142	b2 cw	III.142	---	6.47
143-----C 143	b1 cw	III.143	---	6.47
144-----C 144	b2 c2 cw	III.144	---	6.47
145-----C 145	b1 cw	III.145	---	6.47
146-----C 146	b2 cw	III.146	---	6.47
147-----C 147	b1	III.147	---	6.47
148-----C 148	b2 c1 cw	III.148	---	6.47
149-----C 149	b1 cw	III.149	---	6.47
150-----C 150	b2 cw	III.150	---	6.47
151-----C 151	b1 cw	III.151	---	6.47
152-----C 152	b2 cw	III.152	---	6.47
153-----C 153	b1 cw	III.153	---	6.47
154-----C 154	b2 cw	III.154	---	6.47
155-----C 155	b1 cw	III.155	---	6.47
156-----C 156	b2 cw	III.156	---	6.47
157-----C 157	b1 cw	III.157	---	6.47
158-----C 158	b2	III.158	---	6.47
(159----C 159)		---		6.47
(160----C 160)		---		6.47
161-----C 161	s c3	III.161	---	6.47
(162----C 162)		---		6.47
163-----C 163	b1	III.163	---	6.47
164-----C 164	b2 cw	III.164	---	6.47
165-----C 165	b1 cw	III.165	---	6/7.47
166-----C 166	b2 cw	III.166	---	6/7.47
167-----C 167	b1	III.167	---	6/7.47
168-----C 168	b2 cw	III.168	---	7.47
169-----C 169	s cw	III.169	---	7.47
170-----C 170	s	III.170	---	7.47
171-----C 171	b1 cw	III.171	---	7.47
172-----C 172	b2 cw	III.172	---	7.47
173-----C 173	b1 cw	III.173	---	7.47
174-----C 174	b2 cw	III.174	---	7.47
175-----C 175	b1 cw	III.175	---	7.47
176-----C 176	b2	III.176	---	7.47
177-----C 177	b1 c2	III.177	---	7.47
178-----C 178	b2 c3	III.178	---	7.47
179-----C 179	b1 cw	III.179	---	7.47
180-----C 180	b2 cw	III.180	---	7.47
181-----C 181	b1 cw	III.181	---	7.47
182-----C 182	b2 cw	III.182	---	7.47
183-----C 183	s c3	III.183	---	5.7.47
184-----C 184	s cw	III.184	---	5.7.47
185-----C 185	b1 cw	III.185	---	5.7.47
186-----C 186	b2 cw	III.186	---	5.7.47
187-----C 187	b1 cw	III.187	---	6.7.47
188-----C 188	b2	III.188	---	6.7.47
189-----C 189	b1 cw	III.189	---	6.7.47

190-----C	190	b2 cw	III.190	---	6.7.47
191-----C	191	b1 cw	III.191	---	7.7.47
192-----C	192	b2 cw	III.192	---	7.7.47
193-----C	193	s c3	III.193	---	7.7.47
194-----C	194	s c1 cw	III.194	273	8.7.47
195-----C	195	b1 cw	III.195	273-274	8.7.47
196-----C	196	b2 cw	III.196	274-277	8.7.47
197-----C	197	b1	III.197	277-278	7.47
198-----C	198	b2	III.198	278	7.47
199-----C	199	b1 cw	III.199	278-279	7.47
200-----C	200	b2	III.200	279-281	7.47
201-----C	201	s cw	III.201	281-282	7.47
202-----C	202	s cw	III.202	282-283	7.47
203-----C	203	b1 cw	III.203	283	14.7.47
204-----C	204	b2 cw	III.204	283-284	14.7.47
205-----C	205	b1 cw	III.205	284-285	15.7.47
206-----C	206	b2 cw	III.206	285-286	15.7.47
207-----C	207	b1 cw	III.207	286-287	15.7.47
208-----C	208	b2 cw	III.208	287-288	15.7.47
209-----C	209	b1 cw	III.209	288-289	17.7.47
210-----C	210	b2 cw	III.210	289-290	17.7.47
211-----C	211	s cw	III.211	290-293	17.7.47
212-----C	212	s	III.212	293-294	17.7.47
213-----C	207a	bX1 c3[104]	III.207a	287	19.7.47
C	213	b1 c1 cw	III.213	294	19.7.47
214-----C	214	b2 cw	III.214	294-296	19.7.47
215-----C	215	b1 cw	III.215	296-297	7.47
216-----C	216	b2 cw	III.216	297	7.47
217-----C	217	b1 cw	III.217	297-299	7.47
218-----C	218	b2 cw	III.218	299	7.47
219-----C	219	b1 cw	III.219	299-301	7.47
220-----C	220	b2 cw	III.220	301-302	7.47
221-----C	221	b1 cw	III.221	302-303	7.47
222-----C	222	b2 cw	III.222	303	7.47
223-----C	223	b1	III.223	303-304	7.47
224-----C	224	b2	III.224	304-307	7.47
225-----C	225	b1 cw	III.225	307-308	7.47
226-----C	226	b2	III.226	308-309	7.47
227-----C	227	b1 cw	III.227	309-310	7.47
(228)			---		7.47
229-----C	229	bX1	III.229	318-319	7.47
230-----C	230	bX2	III.230	319-320	7.47
(231)			---		7.47
(232)			---		7.47
233		b1 cw	II.233	---	7.47
234		b2 cw	II.234	---	7.47
235		b1 cw	II.235	---	7.47
236		b2	II.236	---	7.47

[104] Thompson cut off the top half of page 213 and used it as a paste-on to page 207.

237	b1 cw	II.237	---	7.47
238	b2 cw	II.238	---	7.47
239	b1	II.239	---	7.47
240	b2 cw	II.240	---	7.47
241	b1 cw	II.241	---	7.47
242	b2 cw	II.242	---	7.47
243	b1	II.243	---	7.47
244	b2 cw	II.244	---	7.47
245	b1 cw	II.245	---	7.47
246	b2 cw	II.246	---	7.47
247	b1	II.247	---	7.47
248	b2 cw	II.248	---	7.47
249	b1 cw	II.249	---	7.47
250	b2	II.250	---	7.47
251	b1	II.251	---	7.47
252	b2 cw	II.252	---	7.47
253	b1 cw	II.253	---	7.47
254	b2 cw	II.254	---	7.47
255	b1 cw	II.255	---	*31.7.47
256	b2 cw	II.256	---	8.47
257	b1 cw	II.257	---	8.47
258	b2 cw	II.258	---	8.47
259	b1 cw	II.259	---	8.47
260	b2 cw	II.260	---	8.47
261	b1 cw	II.261	---	8.47
262	b2	II.262	---	3.8.47

Table 4: Draft C

Page Number	Notes	U of T#	Glover	Composed
1-------D 1	b1 cw	IV.7	6-7	9.8.47
2-------D 2	b2 cw	IV.8	7-8	9.8.47
3-------D 3	b1 cw	IV.9	8-9	10.8.47
4-------D 4	b2	IV.10	9-10	10.8.47
(5)		---		10.8.47
5-------D 5	b1 cw	IV.11	10-11	21.6.48
5a------D 5a	b2 c	IV.12	11	21.6.48
5b------D 5b	s	III.5b	11-12	21.6.48
6--C 6d[105]				
6-------D 6	b1	III.6	12	22.6.48
6a------D 6a	b2	III.6a	---	22.6.48
6b------D 6b	b1	III.6b	---	22.6.48
6c------D 6c	b2	III.6c	12	22.6.48
C 6--6d------D 6d	s c3	III.6d	13	10.8.47
6e------D 6e	s	III.6e	13-14	23.6.48
A 25-----6f------D 6f		III.6f	14-15	
A 26-----6g------D 6g		III.6g	15-16	
A 27-----6h------D 6h		III.6h	16	
7-------D 7	s c1 cw	III.7	16-17	10.8.47
8-------D 8	s cw	III.8	17-18	11.8.47
9-------D 9	s c3[106]	III.9	18	11.8.47
	s c1	III.9c	21	11.8.47
10------D 10	s	III.10	21-22	11.8.47
11------D 11	s cw	III.11	22-23	14.8.47
12------D 12	s	III.12	23	14.8.47
B 13-----13------D 13		IV.13	23-24	
B 14-----14------D 14		IV.14	24-25	
B 15-----15------D 15		IV.15	25-27	
B 16-----16------D 16		IV.16	27-28	
B 17-----17------D 17		IV.17	28-29	
B 18-----18------D 18		IV.18	29-30	
B 19-----19------D 19		IV.19	30	
B 20-----20------D 20		IV.20	30-31	
B 21-----21------D 21		IV.21	31-32	
B 22-----22------D 22		IV.22	32-33	
B 23-----23------D 23		IV.23	33-34	
B 24-----24------D 24		IV.24	34	
B 25-----25------D 25		IV.25	34-35	
B 26-----26------D 26		IV.26	35-36	
B 27-----27------D 27		IV.27	36	
B 28-----28------D 28		IV.28	57-58	
B 29-----29------D 29		IV.29	58-59	

[105] Draft C's original page 6 was cut and became page 6d in revision.

[106] Draft C's page 9 was cut in two during the compilation of draft E.

B 30-----30------D 30			IV.30	59-60	
B 31-----31------D 31			IV.31	60-61	
B 32-----32------D 32			IV.32	61-62	
B 33-----33------D 33			IV.33	62	
B 33a----33a-----D 33a			IV.33a	62-63	
B 33b----33b-----D 33b			IV.33b	63-64	
B 33c----33c-----D 33c			IV.33c	64	
B 33d----33d-----D 33d			IV.33d	65	
B 33e----33e-----D 33e			IV.33e	65-66	
B 33f----33f-----D 33f			IV.33f	66-67	
B 33g----33g-----D 33g			IV.33g	67-68	
B 33h----33h-----D 33h			IV.33h	68	
B 33i----33i-----D 33i			IV.33i	68-69	
B 33k----33k-----D 33k			IV.33k	69-70	
B 34-----34------D 38			IV.38	73-74	
34a	**s**		**III.34a**	**---**	**47**
34b	**s**		**III.34b**	**---**	**47**
34bb	**s**	**cw**	**III.34bb**	**---**	**47**
34bbb	**s**		**III.34bbb**	**---**	**47**
34c-----D 48	**s**	**c1**	**IV.48**	**81**	**47**
B 35-----35------D 49			IV.49	82	
(B 36----36)			---		
(B 37----37)			---		
(B 38----38)			---		
(B 39----39)			---		
(39a)			**---**		**47**
(39b)			**---**		**47**
(39c)			**---**		**47**
(39d)			**---**		**47**
(B 40----40)			---		
(B 41----41)			---		
(B 42----42)			---		
(B 43----43)			---		
(B 44----44)			---		
B 45-----45			III.45	---	
B 46-----46			III.46	---	
(B 47----47)			---		
B 48-----48			III.48	---	
B 49-----49			III.49	---	
B 50-----50			III.50	---	
B 51-----51			III.51	---	
B 52-----52			III.52	---	
(B 53----53)			---		
(B 54----54)			---		
B 55-----55------D 97			IV.97	116-117	
B 56-----56------D 98			IV.98	117-118	
B 57-----57------D 99			IV.99	118-119	
B 58-----58------D 100			IV.100	119	
B 59-----59------D 101			IV.101	119-121	
B 60-----60------D 102			IV.102	121-122	
B 61-----61------D 103			IV.103	122-123	
B 62-----62------D 104			IV.104	123-124	

B 63-----63------D 105 IV.105 124
B 64-----64------D 106 IV.106 124-125
B 65-----65 III.65 ---
(65a) **---** **47**
B 66-----66 III.66 ---
B 67-----67 III.67 ---
B 68-----68 III.68 ---
B 69-----69 III.69 ---
B 70-----70 III.70 ---
B 71-----71 III.71 ---
B 72-----72 III.72 ---
B 73-----73 III.73 ---
B 74-----74 III.74 ---
(B 75----75) ---
(B 76----76) ---
B 77-----77 III.77 ---
B 78-----78 III.78 ---
B 79-----79 III.79 ---
B 80-----80 III.80 ---
B 81-----81 III.81 ---
B 82-----82 III.82 ---
B 83-----83 III.83 ---
B 84-----84 III.84 ---
B 85-----85 III.85 ---
B 86-----86 III.86 ---
B 87-----87 III.87 ---
B 88-----88 III.88 ---
B 89-----89 III.89 ---
B 90-----90 III.90 ---
B 91-----91 III.91 ---
B 92-----92 III.92 ---
B 93-----93 III.93 ---
B 94-----94 III.94 ---
B 95-----95 III.95 ---
B 96-----96 III.96 ---
B 97-----97 III.97 ---
B 98-----98 III.98 ---
B 99-----99 III.99 ---
B 100----100 III.100 ---
B 101----101 III.101 ---
B 102----102 III.102 ---
B 103----103 III.103 ---
B 104----104 III.104 ---
B 105----105 III.105 ---
B 106----106 III.106 ---
B 107----107 III.107 ---
B 108----108 III.108 ---
(B 109---109) ---
(B 110---110) ---
(B 111---111) ---
(B 112---112) ---
(B 113---113) ---

	114	**b1 cw**	**III.114**	**---**	**47**
	114a	**b2 c3**	**III.114a**	**---**	**47**
B 115----	115		III.115	---	
	(115a)		**---**		**47**
(B 116---	116)		---		
B 117----	117		III.117	---	
B 118----	118		III.118	---	
	119	**s cw**	**III.119**	**---**	**47**
	120	**b1 cw**	**III.120**	**---**	**47**
	120a	**b2**	**III.120a**	**---**	**47**
B 121----	121		III.121	---	
	121b	**po**	**III.121b**	**---**	**47**
B 122----	122		III.122	---	
B 123----	123		III.123	---	
B 124----	124		III.124	---	
B 125----	125		III.125	---	
B 126----	126		III.126	---	
B 127----	127		III.127	---	
B 128----	128		III.128	---	
	(128a)		**---**		**47**
B 129----	129		III.129	---	
B 130----	130		III.130	---	
B 131----	131		III.131	---	
B 132----	132		III.132	---	
B 133----	133		III.133	---	
	133a	**po**	**III.133a**	**---**	**47**
B 134----	134		III.134	---	
B 135----	135		III.135	---	
	135a	**po**	**III.135a**	**---**	**47**
B 136----	136		III.136	---	
	136a	**po**	**III.136a**	**---**	**47**
B 137----	137		III.137	---	
B 138----	138		III.138	---	
B 139----	139		III.139	---	
B 140----	140		III.140	---	
B 141----	141		III.141	---	
B 142----	142		III.142	---	
B 143----	143		III.143	---	
B 144----	144		III.144	---	
B 145----	145		III.145	---	
B 146----	146		III.146	---	
B 147----	147		III.147	---	
B 148----	148		III.148	---	
B 149----	149		III.149	---	
B 150----	150		III.150	---	
B 151----	151		III.151	---	
B 152----	152		III.152	---	
B 153----	153		III.153	---	
B 154----	154		III.154	---	
B 155----	155		III.155	---	
B 156----	156		III.156	---	
B 157----	157		III.157	---	

B 158----158		III.158	---	
(B 159---159)		---		
(B 160---160)		---		
B 161----161		III.161	---	
(B 162---162)		---		
B 163----163		III.163	---	
B 164----164		III.164	---	
B 165----165		III.165	---	
B 166----166		III.166	---	
B 167----167		III.167	---	
B 168----168		III.168	---	
B 169----169		III.169	---	
B 170----170		III.170	---	
B 171----171		III.171	---	
B 172----172		III.172	---	
B 173----173		III.173	---	
B 174----174		III.174	---	
B 175----175		III.175	---	
175a	**po**	**III.175a**	**---**	**47**
B 176----176		III.176	---	
176a	**po**	**III.176a**	**---**	**47**
B 177----177		III.177	---	
B 178----178		III.178	---	
B 179----179		III.179	---	
B 180----180		III.180	---	
B 181----181		III.181	---	
B 182----182		III.182	---	
B 183----183		III.183	---	
B 184----184		III.184	---	
B 185----185		III.185	---	
B 186----186		III.186	---	
B 187----187		III.187	---	
B 188----188		III.188	---	
B 189----189		III.189	---	
B 190----190		III.190	---	
B 191----191		III.191	---	
B 192----192		III.192	---	
B 193----193		III.193	---	
B 194----194		III.194	273	
B 195----195		III.195	273-274	
B 196----196		III.196	274-277	
B 197----197		III.197	277-278	
B 198----198		III.198	278	
B 199----199		III.199	278-279	
B 200----200		III.200	279-281	
B 201----201		III.201	281-282	
B 202----202		III.202	282-283	
B 203----203		III.203	283	
B 204----204		III.204	283-284	
B 205----205		III.205	284-285	
B 206----206		III.206	285-286	
B 207----207		III.207	286-287	

B 213----207a			III.207a	287	
B 208----208			III.208	287-288	
	208a	**po**	**III.208a**	**288**	**47**
B 209----209			III.209	288-289	
B 210----210			III.210	289-290	
B 211----211			III.211	290-293	
	211a	**po**	**III.211a**	**291-292**	**8.10.47**
	211b	**po**	**III.211b**	**292**	**8.10.47**
B 212----212			III.212	293-294	
B 213----213			III.213	294	
B 214----214			III.214	294-296	
B 215----215			III.215	296-297	
B 216----216			III.216	297	
B 217----217			III.217	297-299	
B 218----218			III.218	299	
B 219----219			III.219	299-301	
B 220----220			III.220	301-302	
B 221----221			III.221	302-303	
B 222----222			III.222	303	
B 223----223			III.223	303-304	
B 224----224			III.224	304-307	
B 225----225			III.225	307-308	
B 226----226			III.226	308-309	
B 227----227			III.227	309-310	
	228	**s**	**III.228**	**310-311**	**16.10.47**
	228a	**s cw**	**III.228a**	**311-312**	**10.47**
	228b	**s cw**	**III.228b**	**312-313**	**10.47**
	228c	**s cw**	**III.228c**	**313**	**10.47**
	228d	**s cw**	**III.228d**	**313-314**	**10.47**
	228e	**s cw**	**III.228e**	**314-316**	**10.47**
	228f	**s cw**	**III.228f**	**316**	**10.47**
	228g	**s cw**	**III.228g**	**316-317**	**10.47**
	228h	**s cw**	**III.228h**	**317-318**	**20.10.47**
B 229----229			III.229	318-319	
B 230----230			III.230	319-320	
	231	**b1 cw**	**III.231**	**320**	**21.10.47**
	232	**b2 cw**	**III.232**	**320-321**	**21.10.47**
	232a	**b1**	**III.232a**	**321-322**	**47/48**
	232b	**b2**	**III.232b**	**322**	**47/48**
	233	**b1 cw**	**III.233**	**322-322**	**10.47**
	234	**b2 cw**	**III.234**	**323-325**	**47**
	235	**b1 cw**	**III.235**	**325**	**47**
	236	**b2**	**III.236**	**325-326**	**47**
	237	**b1 cw**	**III.237**	**326**	**47**
	238	**b2 cw**	**III.238**	**326-327**	**47**
	239	**b1 cw**	**III.239**	**327-328**	**47**
	240	**b2 cw**	**III.240**	**328-329**	**47**
	241	**b1 cw**	**III.241**	**329-330**	**47**
	242	**b2 cw**	**III.242**	**330**	**47**
	243	**b1**	**III.243**	**330-331**	**47**
	244	**b2**	**III.244**	**331**	**47**
	245	**b1 cw**	**III.245**	**331-332**	**47**

246	b2 cw	III.246	332-334	47
247	b1	III.247	334-335	47
248	b2 cw	III.248	335-336	47
249	b1 cw	III.249	336	47
250	b2 cw	III.250	336-337	47
251	b1	III.251	337-338	47
252	b2	III.252	339-340	47
253	b1	III.253	340-341	47
254	b2 cw	III.254	341	47
255	b1 cw	III.255	341-342	11.47
256	b2	III.256	342-343	*22.11.47
257	b1 cw	III.257	343	24.11.47
258	b2 cw	III.258	343-344	24.11.47
259	b1 cw	III.259	344-345	25.11.47
260	b2 cw	III.260	345-346	26.11.47
261	b1 cw	III.261	346	27.11.47
262	b2	III.262	346-347	27.11.47
263	b1 cw	III.263	347-348	29.11.47
264	b2 cw	III.264	348-349	29.11.47
265	b1	III.265	349	30.11.47
266	b2 cw	III.266	349-351	30.11.47
267	b1 cw	III.267	351-352	30.11.47
268	b2 cw	III.268	352	1.12.47
269	b1 cw	III.269	352-353	*1.12.47
270	b2 cw	III.270	353-354	2.12.47
271	b1 cw	III.271	354-355	2.12.47
272	b2	III.272	355-356	*2.12.47
273	b1	III.273	356-357	3.12.47
274	b2	III.274	357-358	*3.12.47
275	s cw	III.275	358-359	4.12.47
276	s	III.276	359-360	6.12.47
277	b1 cw	III.277	360-361	12.47
278	b2 cw	III.278	361-362	12.47
279	b1 cw	III.279	362-363	12.47
280	b2 cw	III.280	363-364	*9.12.47
281	b1 cw	III.281	364-366	10.12.47
282	b2 cw	III.282	366	*10.12.47
283	b1 cw	III.283	366-367	*11.12.47
284	b2	III.284	367-368	12.47
285	b1 cw	III.285	368-369	12.47
286	b2 cw	III.286	369	*20.12.47
287	b1 cw	III.287	369-370	21.12.47
288	b2	III.288	370-371	*21.12.47
289	b1 cw	III.289	371-372	23.12.47
290	b2	III.290	372-373	23.12.47
291	b1 cw	III.291	373	*23.12.47
292	b2 cw	III.292	373-374	24.12.47
293	s	III.293	374-375	*24.12.47
294	s cw	III.294	375	27.12.47
295	s cw	III.295	375-376	29.12.47
296	s cw	III.296	376-377	29.12.47
297	b1 cw	III.297	377-378	*29.12.47

298	b2 cw	III.298	378-379	1.48
299	b1 cw	III.299	379-380	1.48
300	b2	III.300	380-381	1.48
(301)		---		1.48
(302)		---		5.1.48
303	b1	III.303	381	6.1.48
304	b2 cw	III.304	381-382	*6.1.48
305	b1 cw	III.305	382-383	8.1.48
306	b2 cw	III.306	383-384	8.1.48
307	b1	III.307	384	*8.1.48
308	b2	III.308	384-385	1.48
309	b1	III.309	385-386	1.48
310	b2 cw	III.310	386-387	*12.1.48
311	b1	III.311	387-388	1.48
312	b2	III.312	388	1.48
313	b1	III.313	388-389	1.48
314	b2 cw	III.314	390	1.48
315	b1 cw	III.315	390-391	1.48
316	b2 cw	III.316	391	1.48
317	b1 cw	III.317	391-392	*17.1.48
318	b2	III.318	392-393	*18.1.48
319	b1 cw	III.319	393-394	19.1.48
320	b2 cw	III.320	394	*19.1.48
321	b1 cw	III.321	394-395	1.48
322	b2 cw	III.322	395-396	1.48
323	b1 cw	III.323	396-397	1.48
324	b2	III.324	397-398	*22.1.48

Table 5: Draft D

Page Number	Notes	U of T#	Glover	Composed
intro-----E 5	**b1 c1**	**IV.5**	**5**	**49**
intro-----E 6	**b2**	**IV.6**	**5-6**	**49**
C 1------1-------E 7		IV.7	6-7	
C 2------2-------E 8		IV.8	7-8	
C 3------3-------E 9		IV.9	8-9	
C 4------4-------E 10		IV.10	9-10	
C 5------5-------E 11		IV.11	10-11	
C 5a-----5a------E 12		IV.12	11	
C 5b-----5b------E 5b		III.5b	11-12	
C 6------6-------E 6		III.6	12	
C 6a-----6a------E 6a		III.6a	---	
C 6b-----6b------E 6b		III.6b	---	
C 6c-----6c------E 6c		III.6c	12	
C 6d-----6d------E 6d		III.6d	13	
C 6e-----6e------E 6e		III.6e	13-14	
C 6f-----6f------E 6f		III.6f	14-15	
C 6g-----6g------E 6g		III.6g	15-16	
C 6h-----6h------E 6h		III.6h	16	
C 7------7-------E 7		III.7	16-17	
C 8------8-------E 8		III.8	17-18	
C 9------9-------E 9		III.9	18	
E 9c		III.9c	21	
C 10-----10------E 10		III.10	21-22	
C 11-----11------E 11		III.11	22-23	
C 12-----12------E 12		III.12	23	
C 13-----13------E 13		IV.13	23-24	
C 14-----14------E 14		IV.14	24-25	
C 15-----15------E 15		IV.15	25-27	
C 16-----16------E 16		IV.16	27-28	
C 17-----17------E 17		IV.17	28-29	
C 18-----18------E 18		IV.18	29-30	
C 19-----19------E 19		IV.19	30	
C 20-----20------E 20		IV.20	30-31	
C 21-----21------E 21		IV.21	31-32	
C 22-----22------E 22		IV.22	32-33	
C 23-----23------E 23		IV.23	33-34	
C 24-----24------E 24		IV.24	34	
C 25-----25------E 25		IV.25	34-35	
C 26-----26------E 26		IV.26	35-36	
C 27-----27------E 27		IV.27	36	
C 28-----28------E 28		IV.28	57-58	
C 29-----29------E 29		IV.29	58-59	
C 30-----30------E 30		IV.30	59-60	
C 31-----31------E 31		IV.31	60-61	
C 32-----32------E 32		IV.32	61-62	
C 33-----33------E 33		IV.33	62	
C 33a----33a-----E 33a		IV.33a	62-63	
C 33b----33b-----E 33b		IV.33b	63-64	
C 33c----33c-----E 33c		IV.33c	64	

C 33d----33d-----E 33d		IV.33d	65	
C 33e----33e-----E 33e		IV.33e	65-66	
C 33f----33f-----E 33f		IV.33f	66-67	
C 33g----33g-----E 33g		IV.33g	67-68	
C 33h----33h-----E 33h		IV.33h	68	
C 33i----33i-----E 33i		IV.33i	68-69	
C 33k----33k-----E 33k		IV.33k	69-70	
331-----E 331	b1	IV.331	70	7.48
34------E 34	b2	IV.34	70-71	7.48
35------E 35	b1	IV.35	71	7.48
36------E 36	b2 cw	IV.36	72-73	7.48
37------E 37	s	IV.37	73	7.48
C 34-----38------E 38		IV.38	73-74	
39------E 39	s cw	IV.39	74-75	7.48
40------E 40	b1 cw	IV.40	75	7.48
41------E 41	b2	IV.41	75-76	*6.7.48
42	b1 cw	IV.42	76-77	7.48
43	b2	IV.43	77	7.48
44	b1	IV.44	77-78	7.48
45	b2	IV.45	78	7.48
46	b1 cw	IV.46	78-79	7.48
47	b2	IV.47	79-80	7.48
47a	b1 cw	IV.47a	80	49
47b	b2	IV.47b	80-81	49
C 34c----48		IV.48	81	
C 35-----49		IV.49	82	
50	b1 cw	IV.50	83	7.48
51	b2 cw	IV.51	83-84	7.48
52	s cw	IV.52	84-85	7.48
53	s	IV.53	85-86	7.48
54	s cw	IV.54	86	20.7.48
55	s cw	IV.55	86-87	7.48
56	b1 cw	IV.56	87	7.48
57	b2 cw	IV.57	87-88	7.48
58	b1	IV.58	88-89	7.48
59	b2	IV.59	89-90	7.48
60	b1 cw	IV.60	90	7.48
61	b2 cw	IV.61	90-91	7.48
62	b1 cw	IV.62	91-92	25.7.48
63	b2 cw	IV.63	92-93	7.48
64	b1 cw	IV.64	93-94	7.48
65	b2	IV.65	94	7.48
66	b1 cw	IV.66	94-95	7.48
67	b2 cw	IV.67	95-96	*26.7.48
68	b1	IV.68	96	7.48
69	b2 cw	IV.69	96-97	7.48
70	b1 cw	IV.70	97-98	7.48
71	b2 cw	IV.71	98	7.48
72	b1 cw	IV.72	98-99	29.7.48
73	b2 cw	IV.73	99-100	7.48
74	b1 cw	IV.74	100	7.48
75	b2 cw	IV.75	100-101	7.48

76	b1 cw	IV.76	101	7.48
77	b2 cw	IV.77	101-102	7.48
78	b1 cw	IV.78	102	1.8.48
79	b2 cw	IV.79	102-103	*1.8.48
80	b1 cw	IV.80	103	48
81	b2	IV.81	103-104	48
82	b1 cw	IV.82	105	48
83	b2	IV.83	105-106	48
84	b1 cw	IV.84	106-107	48
85	b2 cw	IV.85	107-108	48
86	b1 cw	IV.86	108-109	48
87	b2 cw	IV.87	109-110	48
88	b1	IV.88	110	48
89	b2 cw	IV.89	110-111	48
90	b1 cw	IV.90	111-112	48
91	b2 cw	IV.91	112	48
92	s cw	IV.92	112-113	48
93	b1 cw	IV.93	113-114	48
94	b2 cw	IV.94	114-115	48
95	b1 cw	IV.95	115	48
96	b2	IV.96	115-116	48
C 55-----97		IV.97	116-117	
C 56-----98		IV.98	117-118	
C 57-----99		IV.99	118-119	
C 58-----100		IV.100	119	
C 59-----101		IV.101	119-121	
C 60-----102		IV.102	121-122	
C 61-----103		IV.103	122-123	
C 62-----104		IV.104	123-124	
104a	b1	IV.104a	---	24.1.49
104b	b2	IV.104b	---	1.49
104c	b1	IV.104c	---	1.49
104d	b2	IV.104d	---	1.49
104e	b1	IV.104e	---	1.49
104f	b2	IV.104f	---	27.1.49
C 63-----105		IV.105	124	
C 64-----106		IV.106	124-125	
107	b1	IV.107	125-126	48
108	b2 cw	IV.108	126	48
109	b1	IV.109	126-127	48
110	b2	IV.110	127	48
111	b1	IV.111	127-128	48
112	b2	IV.112	128-129	48
113	b1	IV.113	129	48
114	b2 cw	IV.114	129-131	48
115	b1 cw	IV.115	131-132	48
116	b2 cw	IV.116	132-133	48
117	b1	IV.117	133-134	48
118	b2 cw	IV.118	134-135	48
119	b1	IV.119	135-136	48
120	b2 cw	IV.120	137	48
121	b1 cw	IV.121	137-138	48

122	b2	IV.122	138-139	48
123	b1 cw	IV.123	139-140	48
124	b2	IV.124	140-141	48
125	b1 cw	IV.125	141-142	48
126	b2 cw	IV.126	142	48
127	b1 cw	IV.127	142-143	48
128	b2 cw	IV.128	143-144	48
129	b1 cw	IV.129	144	48
130	b2 cw	IV.130	144-145	48
131	b1 cw	IV.131	145-146	48
132	b2	IV.132	146-147	48
133	b1 cw	IV.133	147-148	48
134	b2 cw	IV.134	148-149	48
135	b1 cw	IV.135	149-151	48
136	b2 cw	IV.136	151	48
137	b1 cw	IV.137	151-152	48
138	b2	IV.138	152	48
139	b1 cw	IV.139	152-153	48
140	b2 cw	IV.140	153-154	48
141	b1	IV.141	154	48
142	b2	IV.142	154-155	48
143	b1 cw	IV.143	155	48
144	b2	IV.144	155-156	48
145	b1	IV.145	156	48
146	b2	IV.146	156-157	48
147	b1	IV.147	157-158	48
148	b2 cw	IV.148	158-160	48
149	b1 cw	IV.149	160-161	48
150	b2 cw	IV.150	161-162	48
151	b1	IV.151	162	48
152	b2 cw	IV.152	162-163	48
153	b1 cw	IV.153	163	48
154	b2 cw	IV.154	163-164	48
155	b1 cw	IV.155	164-165	48
156	b2	IV.156	165	48
157	b1 cw	IV.157	165-166	48
158	b2	IV.158	166	48
159	b1 cw	IV.159	166-167	48
160	b2 cw	IV.160	167-168	48
161	b1 cw	IV.161	168	48
162	b2 cw	IV.162	168-169	48
163	b1	IV.163	169	48
164	b2 cw	IV.164	169-171	48
165	b1 cw	IV.165	171-172	48
166	b2 cw	IV.166	172	48
167	b1 cw	IV.167	172-173	48
168	b2 cw	IV.168	173	48
169	b1 cw	IV.169	173-174	48
170	b2 cw	IV.170	174-175	48
171	b1 cw	IV.171	175	48
172	b2	IV.172	175-176	48
173	b1	IV.173	176	48

174	b2 cw	IV.174	176-177	48
175	b1 cw	IV.175	177-178	48
176	b2	IV.176	178	48
177	b1 cw	IV.177	178-179	48
178	b2 cw	IV.178	179-180	48
179	b1	IV.179	180	48
180	b2 cw	IV.180	180-181	48
181	b1 cw	IV.181	181-182	48
182	b2 cw	IV.182	182-184	48
183	b1 cw	IV.183	184	48
184	b2 cw	IV.184	184-185	48
185	b1 cw	IV.185	185-186	48
186	b2	IV.186	186	48
187	b1 cw	IV.187	186-187	48
188	b2 cw	IV.188	187	48
189	b1	IV.189	187-188	48
190	b2	IV.190	188-189	48
191	b1 cw	IV.191	189-190	48
192	b2 cw	IV.192	190-191	48
193	b1 cw	IV.193	191-192	48
194	b2	IV.194	192-193	48
195	b1	IV.195	193	48
196	b2 cw	IV.196	193-194	48
197	b1 cw	IV.197	194	48
198	b2 cw	IV.198	194-195	48
199	b1 cw	IV.199	195	48
200	b2 cw	IV.200	195-196	48
201	b1	IV.201	196	48
202	b2 cw	IV.202	196-197	48
203	b1	IV.203	197-198	48
204	b2	IV.204	198	48/49
205	b1	IV.205	198-199	48/49
206	b2 cw	IV.206	199-200	48/49
207	b1	IV.207	200	48/49
208	b2 cw	IV.208	200-201	48/49
209	b1 cw	IV.209	201-202	48/49
210	b2 cw	IV.210	202-204	48/49
211	b1	IV.211	204	48/49
212	b2 cw	IV.212	204-205	48/49
213	b1	IV.213	205	48/49
214	b2 cw	IV.214	205-206	48/49
215	b1	IV.215	206-207	48/49
216	b2 cw	IV.216	207	48/49
217	b1	IV.217	207-208	48/49
218	b2	IV.218	208	48/49
219	b1 cw	IV.219	208-209	48/49
220	b2	IV.220	209-210	48/49
221	b1 cw	IV.221	210	48/49
222	b2 cw	IV.222	210-211	48/49
223	b1	IV.223	211	48/49
224	b2 cw	IV.224	211-212	49
225	b1 cw	IV.225	212	49

226	b2	IV.226	212-213	49
227	b1	IV.227	213-214	49
228	b2 cw	IV.228	214	49
229	b1 cw	IV.229	214-215	49
230	b2	IV.230	215	49
231	b1	IV.231	215-216	49
232	b2 cw	IV.232	216	49
233	b1 cw	IV.233	216-217	49
234	b2 cw	IV.234	217-218	49
235	b1 cw	IV.235	218	49
236	b2 cw	IV.236	218-219	49
237	b1 cw	IV.237	219	49
238	b2	IV.238	219-220	49
239	b1 cw	IV.239	221	49
240	b2	IV.240	221-222	49
241	b1	IV.241	222-223	49
242	b2 cw	IV.242	223-224	7.3.49
243	b1 cw	IV.243	224-225	3.49
244	b2	IV.244	225	3.49
245	b1 cw	IV.245	225-226	3.49
246	b2 cw	IV.246	226-227	3.49
247	b1 cw	IV.247	227	3.49
248	b2	IV.248	227-228	3.49
249	b1	IV.249	228-229	3.49
250	b2 cw	IV.250	229	3.49
251	b1 cw	IV.251	229-230	*27.3.49
252	b2 cw	IV.252	230-231	28.3.49
253	b1 cw	IV.253	231	*28.3.49
254	b2 cw	IV.254	231-232	3.49
255	b1	IV.255	232-233	3.49
256	b2 cw	IV.256	233-234	3.49
257	b1	IV.257	234-235	3.49
258	b2 cw	IV.258	235-236	2.4.49
259	b1 cw	IV.259	236	*2.4.49
260	b2 cw	IV.260	236-237	5.4.49
261	b1 cw	IV.261	237-238	5.4.49
262	b2	IV.262	238	9.4.49
263	b1 cw	IV.263	239-240	9.4.49
264	b2	IV.264	240-241	10.4.49
265	b1	IV.265	241	10.4.49
266	b2	IV.266	241-242	11.4.49
267	b1 cw	IV.267	242	11.4.49
268	b2 cw	IV.268	242-243	12.4.49
269	b1 cw	IV.269	243	12.4.49
270	b2 cw	IV.270	243-244	13.4.49
271	b1 cw	IV.271	244-245	13.4.49
272	b2 cw	IV.272	245	*13.4.49
273	b1 cw	IV.273	245-246	14.4.49
274	b2 cw	IV.274	246	*14.4.49
275	b1	IV.275	246-247	16.4.49
276	b2	IV.276	247-248	16.4.49
277	b1 cw	IV.277	248	*16.4.49

278	b2 cw	IV.278	248-249	18.4.49
279	b1 cw	IV.279	249	18.4.49
280	b2	IV.280	249-250	*18.4.49
281	b1	IV.281	250-251	19.4.49
282	b2 cw	IV.282	251-252	*19.4.49
283	b1 cw	IV.283	252-253	*21.4.49
284	b2	IV.284	253-254	24.4.49
285	b1	IV.285	254	24.4.49
286	b2 cw	IV.286	254-255	*24.4.49
287	b1	IV.287	255	25.4.49
288	b2 cw	IV.288	255-256	25.4.49
289	b1	IV.289	256	*25.4.49
290	b2 cw	IV.290	256-257	*26.4.49
291	b1 cw	IV.291	257-258	*27.4.49
292	b2 cw	IV.292	258	30.4.49
293	b1 cw	IV.293	258-259	30.4.49
294	b2	IV.294	259	*30.4.49
295	b1	IV.295	259-261	1.5.49
296	b2 cw	IV.296	261	1.5.49
297	b1	IV.297	261-262	*1.5.49
298	b2	IV.298	262	3.5.49
299	b1 cw	IV.299	262-263	3.5.49
300	b2 cw	IV.300	263	3.5.49
301	b1	IV.301	263-264	*3.5.49
302	b2	IV.302	264-265	5.5.49
303	b1 cw	IV.303	265	*5.5.49
304	b2	IV.304	265-266	9.6.49
(305)		---		9.6.49
306	bX2? cw	IV.306	266	14.6.49
307	b1 cw	IV.307	266-267	14.6.49
308	b2 cw	IV.308	267-268	14.6.49
309	s	IV.309	268	6.49
(310)		---		6.49
311	s cw	IV.311	268-269	6.49
312	s	IV.312	269-270	6.49
(313)		---		*29.6.49

Table 6: Draft E

Page Number	Notes	U of T#	Glover	Composed
1	**b1**	**IV.1**	**3**	**6.50**
2	**b2**	**IV.2**	**3-4**	**6.50**
3	**b1 cw**	**IV.3**	**4-5**	**6.50**
4	**b2**	**IV.4**	**5**	**6.50**
D intro--5		IV.5	5	
D intro--6		IV.6	5-6	
D 1------7		IV.7	6-7	
D 2------8		IV.8	7-8	
D 3------9		IV.9	8-9	
D 4------10		IV.10	9-10	
D 5------11		IV.11	10-11	
D 5a-----12		IV.12	11	
D 5b-----5b		III.5b	11-12	
D 6------6		III.6	12	
D 6a-----6a		III.6a	---	
D 6b-----6b		III.6b	---	
D 6c-----6c		III.6c	12	
D 6d-----6d		III.6d	13	
D 6e-----6e		III.6e	13-14	
D 6f-----6f		III.6f	14-15	
D 6g-----6g		III.6g	15-16	
D 6h-----6h		III.6h	16	
D 7------7		III.7	16-17	
D 8------8		III.8	17-18	
D 9------9		III.9	18	
9a	**b1 cw**	**III.9a**	**18-19**	**28.6.50**
9b	**b2**	**III.9b**	**19-20**	**2.7.50**
D 9------9c		III.9c	21	
D 10-----10		III.10	21-22	
D 11-----11		III.11	22-23	
D 12-----12		III.12	23	
D 13-----13		IV.13	23-24	
D 14-----14		IV.14	24-25	
D 15-----15		IV.15	25-27	
D 16-----16		IV.16	27-28	
D 17-----17		IV.17	28-29	
D 18-----18		IV.18	29-30	
D 19-----19		IV.19	30	
D 20-----20		IV.20	30-31	
D 21-----21		IV.21	31-32	
D 22-----22		IV.22	32-33	
D 23-----23		IV.23	33-34	
D 24-----24		IV.24	34	
D 25-----25		IV.25	34-35	
D 26-----26		IV.26	35-36	
D 27-----27		IV.27	36	
27a	**bX1 cw**	**27a**	**37-38**	**6.7.50**
27b	**bX2 cw**	**27b**	**38**	**6.7.50**
27c	**bX1**	**27c**	**38-39**	**8.7.50**

27d	**bX2**	**27d**	**39**	**8.7.50**
27e	**bX1**	**27e**	**39-40**	***9.7.50**
27f	**bX2**	**27f**	**40**	**7.50**
27g	**bX1**	**27g**	**40-41**	**7.50**
27h	**bX2**	**27h**	**41-42**	**7.50**
27i	**bX1**	**27i**	**42-43**	**7.50**
27k	**bX2 cw**	**27k**	**43**	**7.50**
27l	**bX1 cw**	**27l**	**43-44**	**7.50**
27m	**bX2 cw**	**27m**	**44-45**	**7.50**
27n	**bX1 cw**	**27n**	**45-46**	***23.7.50**
27o	**bX2 cw**	**27o**	**46**	**7.50**
27p	**bX1 cw**	**27p**	**46-47**	**7.50**
27q	**bX2**	**27q**	**47**	**7.50**
27r	**bX1 cw**	**27r**	**47-48**	**8.50**
27s	**bX2**	**27s**	**48-49**	**8.50**
27t	**bX1**	**27t**	**49**	**8.50**
27u	**bX2**	**27u**	**49-50**	**8.50**
27v	**bX1**	**27v**	**50**	**8.50**
27w	**bX2 cw**	**27w**	**50-51**	**8.50**
27x	**s cw**	**27x**	**51-52**	**8.50**
27y	**s cw**	**27y**	**52**	**8.50**
27z	**bX1 cw**	**27z**	**52-53**	**23.8.50**
27za	**bX2**	**27za**	**53-54**	***23.8.50**
27zb	**bX1**	**27zb**	**54**	**13.9.50**
27zc	**bX2**	**27zc**	**54-55**	**14.9.50**
27zd	**s**	**27zd**	**55-56**	***16.9.50**
D 28-----28		IV.28	57-58	
D 29-----29		IV.29	58-59	
D 30-----30		IV.30	59-60	
D 31-----31		IV.31	60-61	
D 32-----32		IV.32	61-62	
D 33-----33		IV.33	62	
D 33a----33a		IV.33a	62-63	
D 33b----33b		IV.33b	63-64	
D 33c----33c		IV.33c	64	
D 33d----33d		IV.33d	65	
D 33e----33e		IV.33e	65-66	
D 33f----33f		IV.33f	66-67	
D 33g----33g		IV.33g	67-68	
D 33h----33h		IV.33h	68	
D 33i----33i		IV.33i	68-69	
D 33k----33k		IV.33k	69-70	
D 33l----33l		IV.33l	70	
D 34-----34		IV.34	70-71	
D 35-----35		IV.35	71	
D 36-----36		IV.36	72-73	
D 37-----37		IV.37	73	
D 38-----38		IV.38	73-74	
D 39-----39		IV.39	74-75	
D 40-----40		IV.40	75	
D 41-----41		IV.41	75-76	

Table 7: Hydrographic Appendix

Page Number	Notes	U of T#	Glover	Composed
1	**s**	**App.1**	**---**	**3.5.47**
2	**s cw**	**App.2**	**---**	**3.5.47**
3	**s cw**	**App.3**	**---**	**6.5.47**
4	**s**	**App.4**	**---**	**6.5.47**
5	**s**	**App.5**	**---**	**8.5.47**
6	**s**	**App.6**	**---**	**8.5.47**
7	**s cw**	**App.7**	**---**	**8.5.47**
8	**s**	**App.8**	**---**	**10.5.47**
9	**s cw**	**App.9**	**---**	**10.5.47**
10	**s cw**	**App.10**	**---**	**11.5.47**
11	**s cw**	**App.11**	**---**	**11.5.47**
12	**s cw**	**App.12**	**---**	**12.5.47**
13	**b1 cw**	**App.13**	**---**	**12.5.47**
14	**b2 cw**	**App.14**	**---**	**13.5.47**
15	**b1 cw**	**App.15**	**---**	**13.5.47**
16	**b2 cw**	**App.16**	**---**	**13.5.47**
17	**b1 cw**	**App.17**	**---**	**13.5.47**
18	**b2 cw**	**App.18**	**---**	**14.5.47**
19	**s**	**App.19**	**---**	**14.5.47**

Appendix C
Topical Structure of the Drafts

Note to Figures 1 to 5

Each of these figures lists the contents of a draft of the *Travels*. Headings and subheadings indicate the primary and subsidiary relationship of topics. For example, in draft A Thompson's discussion of partridges occurs within the context of his description of winter hunting and trapping, which in turn is part of his account of activities at York Factory. Page numbers are placed in round brackets after each item listed.

The information on these pages is taken from the manuscript of the *Travels*, and in the case of non-extant pages, from the description of the text's contents found on the indices. Where information from indices has been used it is placed in square brackets.

Because drafts C and E consist of heavy reuse of material from immediately preceding drafts, only new material is listed in figures 3 and 5.

Figure 1: Draft A

- Hudson's Bay (1-2)
- Churchill Factory (3-5)
  - Thompson's Arrival, 1784 (3)
  - Onset of Winter (4)
  - Polar Bear (4-5)
- York Factory (5-12)
  - Journey to York Factory, 1785 (5-8)
  - Layout and Organization of the Factory (8)
  - Arrival of Annual Ship (8-9)
  - Activities (9-12)
    - Autumn Bird Hunting (9)
    - Winter Hunting and Trapping (9-12)
      - Hare (10)
      - Partridges (11-12)
      - Grouse (12)

[pages 13-24 not extant]

- Inuit (25-27)
  - Material Possessions (25-27)
  - Conduct (27)

[page 28 not extant]

- Winter Climate (29-30)
  - Rime (29)
  - Snow Blindness (29)
- Natives at Factories (30)

[no pages after 30 extant]

Figure 2: Draft B

[pages 1-12 not extant]

York Factory (13-27)
- Birds (13-16)
  - Geese (13-15)
  - Various Birds (15-16)
- Seasonal Round of Activity (16-27)
  - Grouse Hunting (16-17)
  - Polar Bears (17-19)
  - Rabbit Hunting (19-20)
  - Birds (20-23)
    - Grouse (20-22)
    - Various Birds (22-23)
  - Fox, Traps, Guns (24)
  - Activities, summer to December (25)
  - Winter Climate (26-27)

"Muskrat Country" (28-51)
- Extent (28)
- Trees (28-30)
- Berries (30-31)
- Fish (31-32)
- Birds (32-33e)
- Animals (33f-34)
  - Anecdote of Marten Trapper (33g-h)
- Cree (34-39)
  - Dress (34)
  - Morals, Marriage (35)
  - [Hunting (36)]
    - [Animals (37-38)]
  - [Tents (38-39)]
- [Natural Phenomena (40-44)]
  - [Meteors (40)]
  - [Mirages (41-43)]
  - [Astronomy (43)]
  - [Thompson's Reputation as Astronomer (44)]
- Deer (45-51)
  - Moose Deer (45-47)
  - Reindeer (48-51)

Thompson's Activities, 1796-1798 (51-100)
- Journey to Lake Athabasca, 1796 (51-59)
- Winter at Reindeer Lake, 1796-1797 (59-64)
- Transfer to the North West Company, 1797 (65)
- Origin of Natives (66)
- Ojibway-Cheyenne Battle (67-69)
- Wild Rice (69-70)
- Mandans (70-80)
  - Journey to the Mandan Villages, 1797-1798 (70-74)
  - Mandans (75-80)

Hugh McCracken's Expedition (81-82)
Journey to St. Mary's Falls, February-May 1798 (82-100)
To Chaboillez's House (82-85)
Quality of Soil, Agricultural Prospects (85-86)
To Cadotte's House (86-87)
Wahbino (87-89)
To Sucre's House (89-90)
Windigo (90-92)
To the Mississippi (93-96)
Spear Fishing (93-94)
Maple Sugar (95-96)
Animals (96-97)
To Lake Superior (96-98)
Lake Superior (98-100)

The Fur Trade (101-113)
Early French Period (101-102)
Trade Routes (102-105)
Beaver (105-113)
Ancient State of Beaver (106-107)

[pages 109-116, 119-120 not extant]

[Geology of Rocky Mountains (114-118)]

Plains (120-130)
Extent, Geology (120-122)
Animals (122-130)
Bison (123-126)
Red Deer (126-127)
Wolves, Antelope (127-128)
Badger, Mouse, Squirrel, Moose (129-130)

Great Chain of Lakes (130-132)

Natives of North America (132-164)
Inuit (132-133)
Chipewyans (133-136)
Cree (136-151)
Sarcee (151)
Stone (151-152)
Blackfoot Confederacy (152-175)
Three Branches (152)
Horses (152-155)
Bear Hunting (155-156)
Piegan Beliefs (156-158)
[Smallpox (159-161)]
Piegan Conduct of War (163-174)
Piegan-Snake Warfare (163-165)
Native Number Systems (166-167)
Piegan-Spanish Warfare (167-168)
Salish Morality (168-170)

        Piegan-Salish Warfare (170-171)
        Piegan Delay of Thompson, 1811 (171-173)
        Piegan Massacre of Snake, 1812 (173-174)
    Piegan Attitude to Death (175)

Horseflies and Mosquitoes (176-177)

Comparative Survey of Natives of North America (177-182)
    Physical Appearance (177)
    Languages, Origins, Belief in Immortality (179-181)

Coal Mines (182-183)

Porcupine (183-185)
Skunk (186-188)

Piegans (188-193)

Agricultural Prospects of Plains (193)

Thompson's Activities, 1807-1812 (194-262)
    Kootanae House, 1807-1808 (195-200)
    Journeys, 1808 (200-208)
    Kootanae House, 1808-1809 (209-211)
    Journeys, 1809 (212-219)
    Saleesh House, 1809-1810 (220)
    Journeys, 1810-January 1811 (221-230)
    [pages 231-232 not extant]
    Activities, February 20 to July 2, 1811 (233-238)
    Journey to Pacific, July 3 to August 13, 1811 (238-258)
        To Pacific, July 3 to 14 (238-249)
        At Astoria, July 14 to 22 (249-251)
        Return Journey, Jul 22 to Aug 10 (251-258)
    Activities, August 14, 1811 to January 29, 1812 (258-259)

Salish War Council (259-260)
Religious Beliefs of Natives West of Mountains (261-262)

Figure 3: Draft C

Hudson's Bay (1-12)
    Hudson's Bay (1)
    Churchill Factory (2-5b)
        Surrender to French, 1782 (2)
        Polar Bear (5-5b)
        Inuit (6-6h)
        Beluga (7)
        Mosquitoes (8)
    Journey to York Factory, 1785 (9-12)

[pages 13-34 as in draft B]

    Cree (34a-c)

[pages 35-227 as in draft B]

Journeys, 1810-1812 (228-324)
    Activities, June 16, 1810 to June 18, 1811 (228-247)
    Ilthkoyopes (247-251)
    Astoria, July 3 to August 10, 1811 (252-297)
        Journey to Astoria, July 3 to 14 (252-276)
        At Astoria, July 14 to 22 (276-281)
        Return from Astoria, Jul 22 to Aug 10 (281-297)
    Journeys, August 10 to December 16, 1811 (298-312)
    Piegan/Salish War (313-320)
    Journey to Montreal, March 13 to August, 1812 (321-324)

Figure 4: Draft D

- Voyage to Churchill Factory (new introduction)
    - Thompson's Childhood

- Hudson's Bay (1-12)
    - Hudson's Bay (1)
    - Churchill Factory (2-5b)
        - Surrender to French, 1782 (2)
        - Polar Bear (5-5b)
        - Inuit (6-6h)
        - Beluga (7)
        - Mosquitoes (8)
    - York Factory (9-27)
        - Journey to York Factory, 1785 (9-12)
        - Birds (13-16)
            - Geese (13-15)
            - Various Birds (15-16)
        - Seasonal Round of Activity (16-27)
            - Grouse Hunting (16-17)
            - Polar Bears (17-19)
            - Rabbit Hunting (19-20)
            - Birds (20-23)
                - Grouse (20-22)
                - Various Birds (22-23)
            - Fox, Traps, Guns (24)
            - Activities, summer to December (25)
            - Winter Climate (26-27)

- Canadian Shield (28-81)
    - "Muskrat Country" (28-51)
        - Extent (28)
        - Trees (28-30)
        - Berries (30-31)
        - Fish (31-32)
        - Birds (32-33e)
        - Animals (33f-35)
            - Anecdote of Marten Trapper (33g-h)
            - Wolverine (331)
            - Wolf (34-35)
        - Cree (36-50)
        - Deer (50-58)
        - Relationship Between Natives and Thompson (58-61)
    - "The Stony Region" (61-81)
        - Topography (61)
        - Natives (62)
        - History (63)
        - Fishery (64-65)
        - Animals (66-68)
        - Canoes, Trees (69-70)
        - Meteors (71-73)
        - Climate (73-76)

- Three Cree Hunters (76-81)
  - Tapahpahtum (76-79)
  - Wiskahoo (79-80)
  - Apistawahshish (80-81)

- Thompson's Activities, 1796-1798 (82-238)
  - Chipewyans (82-85)
  - Journey to Lake Athabasca, 1796 (85-101)
  - Winter at Reindeer Lake, 1796-1797 (101-107)
    - Aurora Borealis (104a-f)
  - Chipewyans (107-114)
  - North West Company (114-120)
    - Thompson's Transfer and Contract (114-116)
    - History of the NWC (116-120)
  - Travels, 1797 (120)
  - Country Around Lake of the Woods (120-124)
  - Plains (124-133)
    - Extent, Rivers, Soil (125-130)
    - Coal (131)
    - Fossils (131-133)
  - Travels, 1797 (133-136)
  - Man and the Beaver (136-147)
  - At McDonnell's House, 1797 (147-148)
  - Mandans, 1797-1798 (148-179)
    - Journey to Mandan Villages (148-164)
    - At the Mandan Villages (164-177)
    - Return Journey (177-179)
  - At McDonnell's House, 1798 (179-181)
  - Journey of Survey, February 26 to April 9, 1798 (181-203)
    - At Cadotte's House (192-203)
      - Ojibway (192-203)
        - Wahbino (192-196)
        - Weetego (196-198)
        - Ojibway/Cheyenne War (198-202)
        - Ojibway Language (203)
  - The Mississippi (203-226)
    - Journey to River, April 9 to May 7, 1798 (203-220)
    - Course of the Mississippi (220-226)
  - Lake Superior (226-238)
    - Description (226-232)
    - Journey Around Lake, May 12 to June 7, 1798 (232-238)

- Western Plains and Forests (239-313)
  - "Stoney Region" (239-241)
  - Western Forests (242-259)
    - Natives (242-243)
    - Red Deer's Lake (243-248)
      - Climate (243)
      - Animals (244)
      - Natives (245-248)

Peace River (249-256)
Climate (249)
Hunting (249-253)
Native Relationships (253-256)
Fur Trade in Western Lands (256-259)
Smallpox Epidemic, 1781-1782 (257-261)
Mitchell Oman's Account (257-259)

Piegan (261-293)
Journey to the Piegan Camp, 1787 (261-262)
Natives of the Plains (263-264)
Three Piegans (264-284)
Saukamappee (264-282)
Saukamappee's Narrative (264-282)
Sakatow (282-283)
Kootanae Appee (283-284)
Characteristics of Piegans (284-291)
Poonokow (291-293)
Natives of the Plains (300-309)
Beliefs (300-303)
Population (306-307)
Horse Theft (307-309)
Piegan/Snake War (311-312)

Figure 5: Draft E

Voyage to Churchill Factory (1-6)
    London to Stromness (1-2)
    Thompson's Childhood (3)
    Orkney Islands (4-6)
    Arrival at Churchill Factory (6)

[pages 7-9 as in draft D]

Activities, 1784-1785 (9a-b)

[pages 10-27 as in draft D]

Activities in Interior, 1786-1790 (27a-zd)
    Beginnings of HBC Inland Trade (27a)
    York Factory to Manchester House, 1786 (27b-f)
        Magnus Twatt on Cross Lake (27d)
    Manchester House, 1786-1787 (27f-i)
        Neighbours (27f-g)
        History of Fur Trade (27g-h)
        Cree (27h)
    Cumberland House, Summer 1787 (27i-l)
        Encounter with the Devil (27k-l)
    Cumberland House to Manchester House, 1787 (27m)
    Mission to the Piegan, 1787-1788 (27n-x)
        To the Piegan Camp (27n-r)
            The One Pine (27p-q)
        At the Piegan Camp (27r-x)
            Saukamappee (27s-u)
            Kootanae Appee (27u-w)
        Return to Manchester House (27x)
    Hudson's House, summer 1788 (27x-zc)
    Manchester House, 1788-1790 (27zc-zd)
        Broken Leg (27zc)
        Learning Practical Astronomy (27zd)
    Manchester House to York Factory (27zd)

[pages 28-41 as in draft D]

Appendix D
Editorial Approaches

Text I: DIPLOMATIC TRANSCRIPT EDITION IV.8.1-IV.9.3

Page 8.
of the River, for Ships; and this was the only place a ship could
come to. (It was at this Fort that Mr Wales. the Astronomer observ
ed the Transit of Venus over the sun in 1769) In the War with
the United States; and with France; in the year 1782 the celebra 5
=ted Navigator De la Peyrouse was sent from France, with
one Ship of seventy four Guns, and two Frigates to take and
destroy the Forts of the Hudson's Bay Company; In the
month of August these Vessels anchored in the Bay, about
four miles north of the Fort: and the next day sent a Boat, 10
well manned, to sound the River; at this time the Fort was
under the command of the well known traveller Mr Samuel
Hearne; who had been in the naval service, he allowed the
french Boat to sound the River to their satisfaction; without
firing a single shot at them; from this conduct Admiral De la
Peyrouse 15
judged what kind of a Commander of the Fort he had to contend
with; accordingly next day, on the narrow isthmus of sand
and rock of a full mile in length which leads to the Fort, he landed
four hundred
men, who marched direct on the Fort, with only small arms,
the Men in the Fort begged of Mr Hearne to allow them to mow down the
French 20
Troops with the heavy guns loaded with grape shot, which he
absolutely refused; and as they approached, he ordered the
gates to be opened, and went out to meet them, and surrendered
at discretion; all the goods, stores, with a large quantity of va=
luable Furrs fell into their hands, the Fort was destroyed 25
and burnt, but the stone walls of the Fort were of such
solid masonry, the fire scarcely injured them The french Com
mander declared, that had his sounding Boat been fired
at, he would not have thought of attacking such a strong
Fort, so late in the season, when there was not time for a re- 30
gular siege. Mr Hearne was received with cold politeness, and
looked upon with contempt by the french Officers. (Note. Mr

---

1 **Page 8.**] **8.** altered from **2**
8 **In**] **I** altered from **i**
13 **who**] **o** altered from **a**
15 **Admiral**] added interlinearly
18 **of a full mile in length**] added interlinearly
20 **in the Fort**] added interlinearly
20 **the** (second)] altered from **these**
20 **French**] added interlinearly
27 **The**] **T** altered from **t**
32 **by the french Officers**] added interlinearly

Samuel Hearne was
a handsome man of six feet in height; of a ruddy complexion
and remarkably well made, enjoying good health; as soon
as the Hudson's Bay Company could do without his services 35
they dismissed him for cowardice: Under him I served my first
year; It was customary of a Sunday for a Sermon to be read to
the Men, which was done in his room, the only comfortable
one in the Factory; one Sunday, after the sermon, Mr Jefferson
the reader and myself staid a few minutes on orders, he then 40
took Voltaire's Dictionary, and said to us, here is my belief,

Page 9.

and I have no other: In the autumn of 1785, he returned to England, became a member of the Buck's Club; and in two years was bu ried):)

---

35 **services**] altered from **serives**
36 **Under**] **U** altered from **u**
1 **Page 9.**] **9** altered from **3**
2 **In**] **I** altered from **i**

Text II: VARIORUM EDITION
IV.8.4-IV.9.3

In the War with the United States; and with France; in
the year 1782 the celebrated Navigator De la Peyrouse was
sent from France, with one Ship of seventy four Guns, and
two Frigates to take and destroy the Forts of the

----

1 War] war TYR, GLO, HOP
1 States;] States, TYR, GLO
States HOP
1 France;] France, HOP
2 1782] 1782, HOP
2 Navigator] navigator HOP
2 De] de HOP
2 Perouse] Pérouse HOP
3 Ship] ship HOP
3 seventy four] seventy-four HOP
3 Guns,] guns HOP
4 Frigates] frigates HOP
4 Forts] forts HOP

----

2 De la Peyrouse]
TYRRELL: Admiral de la Pérouse was not only one of the most famous admirals of the French Navy, but he was also one of France's greatest geographers. After destroying Forts York and Churchill on Hudson Bay in 1782, he started on a voyage round the world, and was last heard from in 1788 from Botany Bay.
GLOVER: Jean-François de Galoup, Comte de La Pérouse, was never an admiral. Born in 1741 he entered the French naval forces at an early age and was badly wounded on board the *Formidable* in the severe defeat handed to the Brest fleet by Admiral Hawke at Quiberon Bay in 1759. In the War of American Independence he served mainly in West Indian waters, was promoted captain in 1780 and was commanding the *Astrée* frigate, of 36 guns, at the time of de Grasse's defeat and capture by Rodney in the battle of the Twelfth of April, 1782. De Grasse's successor, Vaudreuil, then appointed him to command the *Sceptre*, of 74 guns, and with the frigates *Astrée* and *Engageante* to undertake the raid in Hudson Bay here referred to. After destroying Prince of Wales's Fort and York Fort he returned to France in the autumn of 1782. In 1785 he was appointed to command a voyage of discovery round the world which ended in his shipwreck and the massacre of his crews at the island of Vanikoro in 1788.
WARKENTIN: For the capture of Fort Prince of Wales by Jean-François de Galoup, Comte de La Pérouse see UMFREVILLE, HEARNE [selections in Warkentin's anthology].

Hudson's Bay Company; In the month of August these
Vessels anchored in the Bay, about four miles north of
the Fort: and the next day sent a Boat, well manned, to
sound the River; at this time the Fort was under the
command of the well known traveller Mr Samuel Hearne; who 5
had been in the naval service, he allowed the french Boat
to sound the River to their satisfaction; without firing
a single shot at them; from this conduct Admiral De la
Peyrouse judged what kind of a Commander of the Fort he
had to contend with; accordingly next day, on the narrow 10
isthmus of sand and rock of a full mile in length which

----

1 Company;] Company. TYR, GLO, HOP
2 Vessels] vessels TYR, GLO, HOP
3 Fort:] Fort; TYR, GLO
fort, HOP
3 Boat,] boat TYR, GLO, HOP
3 manned,] manned HOP
4 River;] river. HOP
4 at] At HOP
4 Fort] fort HOP
5 well known] well-known HOP
5 Hearne;] Hearne, HOP
6 service,] service. TYR, GLO, HOP
6 he] He TYR, GLO, HOP
6 french] French HOP
6 Boat] boat HOP
7 River] river HOP
7 satisfaction;] satisfaction, HOP
8 them;] them. HOP
8 from] From HOP
8 De] de HOP
8 Perouse] Pérouse HOP
9 Commander] commander HOP
9 Fort] fort HOP

----

5 Samuel Hearne]
TYRRELL: Samuel Hearne sailed from Churchill for England in the ship *Sea Horse* in August, 1787, and died in England in November, 1792, at the age of forty-seven. A sketch of his life and character will be found in Samuel Hearne's *Journey*, edited by J.B. Tyrrell, pp. 1-23.
GLOVER: For a detailed examination of the errors and distortions of fact which Thompson commits in this extraordinary account of Hearne, see R. Glover, "The Witness of David Thompson", *Canadian Historical Review* (1950), pp. 25-38.
WARKENTIN: Thompson's contempt for Hearne is apparent in the early pages of his narrative, and its justice has been debated; they seem to have been of very different temperments.

leads to the Fort, he landed four hundred men, who
marched direct on the Fort, with only small arms, the Men
in the Fort begged of Mr Hearne to allow them to mow down
the French Troops with the heavy guns loaded with grape
shot, which he absolutely refused; and as they 5
approached, he ordered the gates to be opened, and went
out to meet them, and surrendered at discretion; all the
goods, stores, with a large quantity of valuable Furrs
fell into their hands, the Fort was destroyed and burnt,
but the stone walls of the Fort were of such solid 10
masonry, the fire scarcely injured them The french
Commander declared, that had his sounding Boat been fired
at, he would not have thought of attacking such a strong
Fort, so late in the season, when there was not time for
a regular siege. Mr Hearne was received with cold 15
politeness, and looked upon with contempt by the french
Officers. (Note. Mr Samuel Hearne was a handsome man of
six feet in height; of a ruddy complexion and remarkably
well made, enjoying good health; as soon as the Hudson's
Bay Company could do without his services they dismissed 20

----

1 Fort] fort HOP
2 Fort,] Fort TYR, GLO
fort HOP
2 arms,] arms. TYR, GLO, HOP
2 the] The TYR, GLO, HOP
2 Men] men TYR, GLO, HOP
3 Fort] fort HOP
4 Troops] troops HOP
6 approached,] approached TYR, GLO, HOP
7 discretion;] discretion. HOP
7 all] All HOP
8 Furrs] furs HOP
9 hands,] hands. TYR, GLO, HOP
9 the] The TYR, GLO, HOP
9 burnt,] burnt; TYR, GLO
10 Fort] fort HOP
11 masonry, the] masonry [that] the TYR, GLO
masonry the HOP
11 them] them. TYR, GLO, HOP
11 french] French HOP
12 Commander] commander HOP
12 declared,] declared HOP
12 Boat] boat HOP
14 Fort,] Fort TYR, GLO
fort HOP
16 politeness,] politeness HOP
16 french] French HOP
17 Officers] officers HOP
17 (Note.] {removed in HOP}
18 height;] height, TYR, GLO, HOP
20 services] services, HOP

him for cowardice: Under him I served my first year; It
was customary of a Sunday for a Sermon to be read to the
Men, which was done in his room, the only comfortable one
in the Factory; one Sunday, after the sermon, Mr
Jefferson the reader and myself staid a few minutes on 5
orders, he then took Voltaire's Dictionary, and said to
us, here is my belief, and I have no other: In the autumn
of 1785, he returned to England, became a member of the
Buck's Club; and in two years was buried):)

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1 cowardice:] cowardice. TYR, GLO, HOP
1 year;] year. TYR, GLO, HOP
2 Sermon] sermon HOP
3 Men] men HOP
4 Factory;] factory. HOP
4 one] One HOP
4 Sunday,] Sunday HOP
4 sermon,] service, TYR, GLO
service HOP
5 staid] stayed HOP
6 orders,] orders; HOP
6 Dictionary] dictionary HOP
7 here] "Here HOP
7 belief,] belief HOP
7 other:] other. TYR, GLO
other." HOP
7 autumn] Autumn TYR, GLO
8 1785,] 1785 TYR, GLO, HOP
9 Buck's] Bucks TYR, GLO
9 buried):)] buried:) TYR, GLO
buried. HOP

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5 Mr. Jefferson]
TYRRELL and GLOVER: Jefferson was second in command at Churchill during the latter part of Samuel Hearne's régime; and after Hearne's departure he was for a year or two in command of the post.
WARKENTIN: Hearne's second-in-command at Fort Prince of Wales.
6 Voltaire's Dictionary]
WARKENTIN: François Marie Arouet de Voltaire (1694-1778), *Dictionnaire philosophique portatif* (1764). Thompson's objections to Hearne's views can be guessed from the subtitle added to the English translation published in 1765, 'containing a refutation of such passages as are in any way exceptionable in regard to religion'.
9 Bucks Club]
WARKENTIN: One of the gentlemen's clubs of London, some of which originated in early eighteenth-century societies of rakes and free-thinkers.

Text III: GENETIC EDITION
IV.7.1-IV.8.3

key:
↑ ↓ Thompson's addition
< > Thompson's cancellation

Page <1> ↑7.↓

<The travels of David Thompson in Hudson's Bay, and the interior Countries to the Pacific Ocean 1784 a 1812 being twenty eight consecutive years during which for the last twenty two years regular Journals of every day were kept:> and are now in his possession.

Hudson's Bay ↑including Jame's Bay↓ may be said to be an inland sea, connected to the Atlantic Ocean, by Hudson's Straits: it is in the form of a Horse Shoe; and in Latitude extends from 52 degrees to 60 degrees north; and from 70 degrees to <100> ↑95↓ degrees west of Greenwich in the northern part; and covers an area of about 192,770 square statute miles: On it's west side it receives Seal, Churchill, <Nelson> (the <Saskatchewan> ↑Kissiskatchewan↓) Hayes, <Sev> ↑Sev↓ern, Albany, and Moose Rivers; On the east side, Ruperts and several other Rivers, the names of which are unknown as they come from barren, desolate, countries. From Seal River leading south to Churchill River, about thirty six miles, the country is of granite rock, along the Bay shore of which is a narrow strip↑e↓ of marsh land, apparently the alluvial of Seal River. The granitic rocks which bounds the sea coast from far to the north <was> ↑ward↓ have their southern termination at Churchill River; in Latitude 58°.47 North Longitude 94°.3 West, then form↑s↓ a retiring line from the sea shore; for 150 miles to the <Nelson> ↑Kissiskatchewan↓ River, up which the first granite is found at the distance of one hundred and thirty five miles, ↑being↓ the borders of the most eastern Lakes: and this distance appears to be wholly alluvial; and <appears> to be of much ↑the same↓ width all along the Bay side; these alluvials especially of the <Nelson> ↑Kissiskatchewan↓ and Hayes's Rivers have <steep> high steep banks of earth and gravel intermixed, from ten to forty feet; the gravel and small stones are all rounded by the action of water; the Rivers passing through this alluvial have a very rapid current with ↑several↓ Falls. Churchill River where it enters the Sea, is a noble stream of about one and a half mile in width; on the south side it is bounded ↑by↓ a low point of rock and sand; on the north side by a low neck of sand, with rock appearing through it; at the extremity of which the point <became> ↑is↓ about an acre in width, on which was erected about ↑the year↓ 1745 a regular, well constructed Fort of Granite; having about

thirty cannon of six to eighteen pound shot. there was no approach to it but by the narrow ↑isthmus↓ of sand. the water was too shoal for three fourths of a mile to the middle of

Page <2> ↑8.↓

of the River, for Ships; and this was the only place a ship could come to. (It was at this Fort that Mr Wales. the Astronomer observed the Transit of Venus over the Sun in 1769)

Text IV: GENETIC EDITION OF TYRRELL'S REVISION
IV.15 Paste-On

key:
↑___↓ Thompson's addition
<___> Thompson's cancellation
↑ ↓ Tyrrell's addition
< > Tyrrell's cancellation

The different species of Geese on the east side of the ↑Rocky↓ Mountains pass the winter in the mild climate of the Floridas, the mouths of the Mississippe, and around the Gulph of Mexico <,> ↑.↓ <f> ↑F↓rom these shores <the wild> ↑both↓ Geese and Swans proceed to the northward as far as <the> Latitude <of> 67 <to> ↑and↓ 69 north; where they have the benefit of ↑the↓ <Sun's> lightand heat ↑of the sun↓ for the twenty four hours for incubation <,> ↑.↓ <and> ↑They↓ rarely breed ↑when↓ under ↑less than↓ twenty hours of Sun light. <Thus> <t> ↑T↓he↑se↓ <wild> birds ↑thus↓ proceed ↑through the pathless air↓ from where they winter, to where they breed, <through the pathless air,> a distance of about two thousand seven hundred miles ↑,↓ in a straight line; and <from the place of breeding to the mouths of the Mississippe, and adjacent shores the same> ↑back again an equal↓ distance. <The question arises, by what means do the wild geese make such long journeys with such precision of place; the wise, and learned, civilized man answers, by Instinct, but what is Instinct, ↑"an unerring↓ <a> property of Mind that has never been defined. ↑"↓> ↑What is that wondrous instinct by which they are enabled to do this?> The Indian <says> ↑, in his simplicity, believes that↓ the Geese are directed by the manito, who has the care of them. <Which of the two is right.>

Text V: PARALLEL-TEXT EDITION
III.34bb-bbb and IV.43-46

III.34bb-bbb	IV.43-46
They have a faint idea of the deluge which is related in stores.	They have some tradition of the Deluge, as may be seen from the following account related by the old men.
The great Spirit made mankind, and all the animals: and gave them in care to Wee sauk e jauk (the Flatterer)	After the Great Spirit made mankind, and all the animals, he told Wee sark e jauk to take care of them and teach them how to live, and not to eat of bad roots; that would hurt and kill them;
but he soon became careless, and left mankind and the animals to do as they pleased, and led them wrong; so that blood was on the ground, which displeased the Great Spirit,	but he did not mind the Great Spirit; became careless and incited them to pleasure, mankind and the animals all did as they pleased; quarreled and shed much blood; with which the Great Spirit was displeased;
And he threatened Wee sauk e jauk to take them all from him if he did not take better care of them and lead them right but he did not believe the Great Spirit, and continued as careless as before, so that there was a great deal of blood on the ground;	he threatened Wee sark e jauk that if he did not keep the ground clean he would take every thing from him and make him miserable but he did not believe the Great Spirit and in a short time became more careless; and the quarrels of Men, and the animals made the ground red with blood, and so far from taking care of them, he incited them to do, and live badly;
the Great Spirit now became angry and made the water rise day after day, until no ground could be seen;	this made the Great Spirit very angry and he told Wee sark e jauk that he would take every thing from him, and wash the ground clean; but still he did not believe: until the Rivers and Lakes rose very high and overflowed the ground for it was always raining; and the Keeche Gahme (the Sea) came on the land,

and all mankind and all the animals were drowned, except the Beaver, the Otter, and the Musk Rat, and of these only one of each remained alive, with their heads resting on the thigh of Wee sauk e jauk; who was now sitting on the water, crying for the great loss of mankind and the animals;

some say the Great Spirit had pity on him, and gave him power to renovate every thing, on condition that it should be from old materials; all of which were buried under water; and to what depth he did not know: his first care was to make the ground, for which he must get some of the old ground; but how to procure this he was at a loss, as he could not dive but must remain on the surface of the water.

and every man and animal were drowned except one Otter, one Beaver and one Musk Rat. We sark e jauk tried to stop the sea, but it was too strong for him, and he sat on the water crying for his loss, the Otter, the Beaver and the Musk Rat rested their heads on one of his thighs.

When the rain ceased, and the Sea went away, he took courage, but did not dare to speak to the Great Spirit.

After musing a long time on his sad condition he thought if he could get a bit of the old ground he could make a little island of it, for he has the power of extending, but not of creating any thing; and as he had not the power of diving under the water, and did not know the depth to the old ground he was at a loss what to do.

Some say the Great Spirit took pity on him, and gave him the power to renovate every thing, provided he made use of the old materials, all of which lay buried under water to an unknown depth. In this sad state, as he sat floating on the water, he told the three animals that they must starve unless he could get a bit of the old ground from under the water of which he would make a fine Island for them

to procure a piece of the old ground he flattered the Otter, as the strongest and most active to dive down to the old ground and bring up a bit of it and he would make ground for him to sleep on;

three times the Otter dived, and the third time came up much exhausted, but had not reached the old ground;

We sauk e jauk, called him a coward, with a weak heart:

he now turned to the Beaver, of a strong make, and persevering heart,

twice the Beaver went down, and came up without success, and disheartened; he let him repose, and flattering him, promised if he brought up a bit of earth to make a Wife for him;

thus encouraged, he dived the third time, and came up almost drowned, but no earth:
he was now at a loss what to do.

then addressing himself to the Otter, and praising him for his courage, strength, and activity and promising him plenty of fish to eat, he perswaded the Otter to dive, and bring up a bit of earth;
the Otter came up without having reached the ground; by praises he got the Otter to make two more attempts, but without success, and was so much exhausted, he could do no more.
Wee sark e jauk called him a coward of a weak heart, and that the Beaver would put him to shame:
then speaking to the Beaver praised his strength and wisdom and promised to make him a good house for winter, and telling him to dive straight down
the Beaver made two attempts without success, and came up so tired that Wee sark e jauk had to let him repose a long time, then promising him a wife if he brought up a bit of earth told him to try a third time;
to obtain a wife, he boldly went down, and staid so long, that he came up almost lifeless.
Wee sark e jauk was now very sad, for what the active Otter, and strong Beaver could not do, he had little hopes the Musk Rat could do; but this was his only rescourse:

the Musk Rat remained but
he was small and weak,
after sitting some time
hopeless, he spoke to the
Musk Rat, flattered him, to
give him a Wife, and plenty
of Roots,

the Musk Rat was perswaded,
and dived direct down, he
staid longer than the Otter
and the Beaver, but came up
without success;
he dived the second time,
and came up faint, but no
earth; Wee sauk e jauk
smelled his paws and found
they had touched the
ground; this he showed to
the Musk Rat, and repeating
his promises,

the Musk Rat went down the
third time, and staid so
long, that he was afraid he
was drowned, at length he
saw some bubbles on the
water, he put his long arm
down, and brought up the
Musk Rat with a bit of
earth between his forepaws
and his breast,

this he seized, and now
from it commenced making
more ground, and soon had
an island to sit on and lie
on with the animals.

He now praised the Musk Rat
and promised him plenty of
roots to eat, with rushes
and earth to make himself a
house; the Otter and the
Beaver he said were fools,
and lost themselves, and he
would find the ground, if
he went straight down.

after reposing, he went
down a second time, and
staid a long time, on
coming up, Wee sark e jauk,
examined his fore paws and
found they had the smell of
earth, and showing this to
the Musk Rat, promised to
make him a Wife, who should
give him a great many
children, and become more
numerous than any other
animal, and telling him to
have a strong heart; and go
direct down,
the Musk Rat went down the
third time, and staid so
long, that Wee sark e jauk
feared he was drowned: at
length seeing some bubbles
come up, he put down his
long arm and brought up the
Musk Rat, almost dead; but
to his great joy with a bit
of earth between his fore
paws and breast,
this he seized, and in a
short time extended it to a
little island, on which
they all reposed.

the Great Spirit now caused the water to go away, and Wee sauk a jauk got the Grass and the Trees to grow, the Birds and Animals to live, but he had no more power over them.

Some say, Wee sark e jauk procured a bit of wood, from which he made the Trees, and from bones, he made the animals; but the greater number deny this, and say, the Great Spirit made the rivers take the water to the Keeche gahma of bad water (the salt sea) and then renovated Mankind, the Animals, and the Trees; in proof of which, the Great Spirit deprived him of all authority over Mankind and the animals, and that he has since had only the power to flatter and deceive.

Text VI: PROPOSED EDITION
III.252-254

[From Ilthkoyape Falls to the San Poil Village, July 3, 1811] **{II.238-239}**

III.252 Having prepared ourselves, and every thing about us as well as circumstances permitted, and half a Horse for our support, we got ready for our voyage to the Pacific Ocean. the River before us wholly unknown to us, and all information only a day's journey of Rapids direct before us; by Observations I found the Latitude of these, the Ilth koy ape Falls to be 48°.38'.7" N Longitude 117°.48'.49" west, and the Variation 20 degrees East.[1] The names of my men were Michel Bourdeaux, Pierre Pareil, Joseph Coté, Michel Boulard, Francois Gregoire; with Charles and Iagnace, two good Iroquois Indians, and two Simpoil Natives for Interpreters.[2] <and> ↑we↓ placed the Horses in the care of the Chief of the Village. After praying the Almighty to protect and prosper us on our voyage to the Ocean, early on the third of July[3] we embarked and descended the River for near seventy miles, and in the

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[1] Ilthkoyape Falls is today known as Kettle Falls, and is located at 48°36'N, 118°13'W.

[2] Barbara Belyea has unearthed some information about these men from Thompson's journals. Boulard, Pareil and Côté were engaged at Boggy Hall in October 1810, Charles and Ignace en route to Saleesh House in May 1811, Grégoire at Saleesh House and Bourdeaux at Kettle Falls. See: *Columbia Journals*. 264-265.

[3] Thompson's journal entry for this day can be found at AO. MS 25. 27:82-80. The contents of the journal entry, draft B account and the present account are similar, although emphasis shifts and certain details change from text to text. In both *Travels* drafts Thompson preserves most elements of the journal's description of his departure from Ilthkoyape Falls, his course, the nature of the country and the speeches at the San Poil village, while the account of the dance is cut by over 75% in draft B and 60% in draft C. Many of the changes in specific details are inexplicable; for example, Thompson's introduction to the women's dance changes from "My men wished to see them dance" in the journal to "they now gave us a dance" in draft B to "the Chief now proposed they should all dance" here.

evening came to the Village of the Simpoil Indians.[4] In the above distance we had several strong Rapids which required all our skill and activity at one of which we had to carry every thing for near three fourths of a mile, the water is high in the River, the current very strong, with many small whirlpools and eddies, but not dangerous. At fifty six miles we passed the junction of the Spokane River, which ↑comes↓ from the south eastward by a long series of unnavigable Falls: the whole of this day the country has a pleasing appearance, in places thinly wooded, but the greater part meadow of short grass, very fine for sheep. the grounds high and dry; above and below the Spokane River the banks were often of perpendicular Rock, of trap and basalt of a black grey color, in places reddish, these banks had a curious appearance to the height of about three hundred and fifty feet. they retired from the River by a perpendicular step of twenty to thirty feet; then a level table of ten to twenty feet; from which rose another steep step, and level table to the top of the bank. | The width of the River may be estimated **III.253** at about five hundred yards, deep, and a rapid current.

[At the San Poil Village, July 3, 1811] {II.239-240}

Having pitched our tents, by my two Simpoil Natives I sent for the Chiefs of the Village; to come and smoke, they came, and the men followed in single file, and all sat down round the tent; the Chief made a short speech, saying he was glad to see us, and then made a present of two half dried Salmon, and about half a bushel of Roots of two kinds, the one called Ka mass a white root of a slight bitter taste which becomes a favorite, and is agreeable to the stomach;[5] the other is a kind of small onion, which is dug <of> ↑out↓ of the ground near the surface in a soft rich soil of loam, then washed and baked in a smothered heat, when from white, they become of a rich dark brown and very sweet. they are nourishing, but eaten too freely without moss bread are apt to loosen the bowels, and these two served for the rough bread and cheese of the country. I have already remarked this bread is made from the long black moss

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[4] Thompson's "Simpoil" Indians are known to anthropologists as the San Poil. They belonged to the Salishan language family, and the village Thompson visited was located about one kilometer up the Sanpoil River from its junction with the Columbia.

[5] This is the camas root, *Camassia*, which Thompson had referred to as the *eetoowoy* in his journal.

like hair that grow↑s↓ on the red Fir Trees Four pipes were now lighted and the smoking injoyed as a feast. the Chief made a long speech in a loud singing voice, and each sentence responded ↑to↓ by the others by Oy, Oy; the Speech being ended and interpreted to us, was thanks for ↑our↓ arrival, and hoping we would bring to them Guns, Ammunition, Axes, Knives, Awls, and not to forget Steels and Flints with many other articles, they were able and willing to hunt, and would be able to pay for every thing they wanted, but at present they had only their hands to procure food and clothing, and much more to the same purpose, all too true. I then explained to them my object to know how this River was to the sea, and if good, very large Canoes with Goods of all kinds ↑would arrive↓, by which they would be supplied with Clothing and all they wanted if they were industrius hunters. The two Simpoil Indians were now called upon to tell them all the News they had collected; at the end of every three, or four, sentences, <he> ↑they↓ stopped and the Chief repeated the same aloud, so that all could hear and was | answered by Oy Oy. we noticed that the News whether **III.254** good or bad, was pronounced in the same tone of voice, smoking for the present being over; permission was asked for the Women to come and see us, which being accorded they soon came with their children, and made us a present of Roots and Berries; and sat down around the Men. smoking commenced for a short time, each Man took three hearty whiffs as the calumets passed, but the Women were allowed only one whiff which they made a long whiff. The Chief now proposed they should all dance; to this we assented; the Men formed two slightly curved lines with the women close behind them; they had no instruments and the only music was the song of a man painted Red and Black, his hair stuck full of Feathers. his voice was strong and good, but had few notes; during the song which lasted about eight minutes, the dancers moved very slowly forward with an easy motion, and without changing their position danced back to the place they had left. at the end of the song, each person sat down in the place where the song left them: the Chief made a speech of about two minutes; the Song commenced and the dance, and in this manner continued for about an hour when they ended and they retired to their Lodges; and left us to our repose, which we much wanted.

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