

PALGRAVE STUDIES IN CULTURAL AND INTELLECTUAL HISTORY

GEOGRAPHIES OF THE ROMANTIC NORTH

Science, Antiquarianism, and Travel, 1790–1830



Angela Byrne



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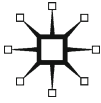
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For Mary Conway, my grandmother

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Note on Terminology and Source Material

In reference to the Scandinavian North, this book uses “the Scandinavian North” as a general term, and Sápmi when referring specifically to Saami ancestral lands. The old term, “Lapland,” is used only in direct quotations from the primary source material.

The indigenous inhabitants of North America are referred to as First Nations throughout this book. For specific groups, a gloss is provided where possible, particularly when quoted from the primary source material. The terms employed by early observers are often problematic and it is not always possible to state with certainty to which group, tribe, or band they were referring.

Until recently, foreign observers referred to Inuit as “Eskimo/*Esquimaux*,” terms no longer acceptable. This book follows the charter of the Inuit Circumpolar Council, which uses the term Inuit inclusively to cover the Inupiat, Yupik, Inuit (northeastern Canada: Nunavut, Nunavik, Nunatsiavut), Inuvialuit, Kalaallit, and Yupik peoples.

Direct quotations from contemporary sources are presented here as is, including italicization and capitalization, with the exception of the replacement of ampersands with the word “and” or “et” as appropriate. Due to the common occurrence of spelling errors in those sources, the distracting “*sic*” is not used here.

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Part I

“Most Valuable and Interesting to the Science of Our Country”: Northern Exploratory Travels

Introduction: “Ask Where’s the North?”

Ask where’s the North? at York ’tis on the Tweed;
In Scotland, at the Orcades; and there,
At Greenland, Zembla, or the Lord knows where;
No creature owns it in the first degree,
But thinks his neighbour further gone than he.¹

Introduction

This book examines British scientific and antiquarian perceptions and representations of northern regions in c. 1790–1830, building on recent studies of Romanticism and the sciences to consider their complementary roles in experiences of the north.² Particular attention is paid to climate theory and intersections of apparent opposites, such as the sciences and antiquarianism, and native and newcomer ways of knowing, to establish the bases upon which contemporary British “men of science” interacted with the north. Romantic–scientific travel accounts form a significant but heretofore largely ignored component of Romanticism in their consolidation of humanities and sciences. Traveling men of science indulged in antiquarianism and ethnology alongside cartography, meteorology, astronomy, mineralogy, and geology, providing a baseline of antiquarian and historical perspectives placed within scientific frameworks and providing the foundation for interactions with northern indigenous peoples.

In historiographical terms, this book attempts to transcend many of the assumptions of postcolonialism. Much important work was achieved within that framework, providing essential, necessary reexaminations of colonial discourses.³ However, it implies that all scientific travelers were solely interested in imperial expansion.⁴ It is hoped that this work will contribute to the revision of scientific travels by emphasizing their multifaceted approaches toward the regions in which they traveled, and by dismantling essentialized and generalized portraits of Western and other cultures. While scientific travelers

did of course provide information fundamental to the establishment and maintenance of empire, considering all scientific travel accounts as imperial discourses is simplistic. Edward Daniel Clarke's travels, for example, were undertaken independently, without state sponsorship. He traveled as part of a small company, without a retinue of experts (indeed, *he* was the expert). A dedicated astronomical and meteorological observer, Peter Fidler, provided surveys of previously unmapped regions of present-day Canada, but also filled his journals with accounts of First Nations cultures and linguistics. The multifaceted nature of these texts is acknowledged here, contributing to understandings of the impacts of imperial expansion and scientific advancement on human cultures. These impacts are evident in the challenges faced by northern communities today: climate change; debates on whaling and seal hunting; the myriad of problems associated with mining, forestry, hydroelectric, and other natural resources projects; issues relating to cultural identity rooted in the legacy of imperialism; and the need for truth and reconciliation following the violence of residential schooling and forced relocation and settlement. It remains to be seen whether the central governments with control over circumpolar regions—some of the world's most "developed" countries—possess the will to find solutions to the imperially rooted problems that continue to affect the daily lives of northern indigenous peoples.

This book also advocates a rethinking of traditional attitudes toward Romanticism. Accepted notions of "what Romanticism was" have been challenged recently, but much remains to be done to erase decades of perpetuation of too-readily accepted presumptions. Distilled definitions of Romanticism as a reaction to the Enlightenment oversimplify a complex movement expressed across aesthetic, literary, scientific, cultural, imperial, philosophical, and other lines and which developed in tandem with the later Enlightenment. Penny Fielding also argues that "terms such as 'Romanticism' and 'Enlightenment' are very closely involved with each other in the period . . . the former can rarely replace the latter."⁵ Romanticism formed a natural progression from eighteenth-century advances in scientific, geographical, and ethnological knowledge, preserving elements of the Enlightenment, particularly scientific progress, and adding to it a desire to experience the world and life more comprehensively—a new concern for the spiritual, the sensory, the subjective. The travelers studied here were simultaneously scientific, religious, Romantic, and interested

in “the people” and landscapes. Together with, in Nicolaas Rupke’s words, a “more sympathetic investigation of those past ages which the Enlightenment had treated as unenlightened or barbaric and had left in obscurity,”⁶ scientific, antiquarian, literary, and artistic concerns were married in the search for a comprehensive understanding of life in all its forms. The Romantic emphasis on “unity in nature” characterized by Alexander von Humboldt’s approach to scientific research was reflected in such works as Charles Lyell’s *Principles of Geology* (3 vols, 1830–3).⁷ Conversely, the sciences were fundamental to Coleridge’s worldview as he “worked constantly toward a system reducing ‘all knowledges into harmony,’ ” his appreciation for the sciences stemming from his belief that they “revealed and constituted relations in nature.”⁸ Noah Heringman has uncovered a “pervasive connection between scientific and literary culture” resulting in “a body of poetry obsessed with mountains, but also a geology steeped in aesthetics.”⁹ An interest in the sciences did not preclude a Romantic aesthetic or worldview, nor vice versa; if anything, they were mutually beneficial. Indeed, Romanticism appears as the culmination of the Enlightenment’s achievements—these scientific and antiquarian travelers reached a heightened, comprehensive awareness of humanity, nature, and the structures of life, encountering the earth not only in terms of scientific understanding, but also as a living thing in itself that influenced human cultures.

Romanticism was not, as formerly portrayed, a spur for travel or exploration, but one of its products, fueled simultaneously by eighteenth-century exploratory travel, scientific advances, and antiquarianism.¹⁰ In other words, a “three-fold relationship between exploration, science and literature” permeated British culture in the period and thus Romanticism “arose partly as a response in writing (travel writing, scientific writing, literary writing) to encounters with foreign people and places.”¹¹ Enlightenment imperial expansion necessitated the gathering of cartographic, linguistic, topographical, botanical, agricultural, mineralogical, zoological, ethnographic, and other forms of knowledge and its placement in centralized databases. Increasing appetites for such knowledge led to more widespread travels, the establishment of learned societies, and the diversification and specialization of scholarship. As the already-sizeable market for travel literature widened further with increasing literacy and the opening of more public libraries and reading rooms, it became more common for exploratory and scientific travelers to publish their experiences and

observations. Romantic poets drew inspiration from exploratory narratives. Northern and Arctic discourses were, then, not simply outcomes of Romanticism, but active forces in its creation; Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818) is a regularly quoted example. Samuel Hearne's story of a Tlicho ("Dogrib") tribeswoman who spent seven months in the wilderness with no human contact inspired Wordsworth's "The Complaint of a Forsaken Indian Woman" (1798).¹² Coleridge was influenced by accounts of the Cree and Dene of Hudson Bay and drew upon Arctic travelogues to construct an imagined Antarctic in "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner" (1798).¹³ Jonathan Carver's *Travels Through the Interior Parts of North America* (1778) was published in 60 editions in six languages and influenced the work of von Schiller, Wordsworth, Chateaubriand, and James Fenimore Cooper.¹⁴ The north was a hot topic in Britain, with reports of the achievements and failures of such high-profile exploratory travelers as Mackenzie and Franklin contributing to constructions of the north in the British Romantic mind.

Geographical and temporal boundaries: the Romantic north

Texts studied here are published and unpublished British travelogues of northern/sub-Arctic regions in c. 1790–1830 by antiquaries and "men of science." The common contemporary term, "men of science" is used here to avoid anachronistic use of the word "scientists." This inclusive term reflects the heterogeneity of the group; it emphasizes "the person rather than the activity undertaken... the qualities of mind and character supposedly needed for and formed by the practice of science."¹⁵ The phrase was used contemporaneously to describe the activities of those recognized as having made a contribution to the sciences: for example, William Jackson Hooker referred to the governor of Iceland as a gentleman and a "man of science" for his research on Danish history and his recognition by Danish and Norwegian learned societies, and Humphry Davy was described as such in the first line of his brother's biographical edition of his writings.¹⁶ However, it does, obviously, exclude women; see the "Note on Gender" section. It also conveniently covers the polymathism characteristic of the period. The variety of these polymaths' interests is evident in their attention to geology, meteorology, astronomy, cartography and geography, antiquities, linguistics, popular culture,

and ethnography. The loss of such rounded, open-minded, and complete perceptions of human and earth history in favor of narrower specialization and professionalization in the later nineteenth century remains problematic today.¹⁷ The dissection of the formerly natural relationship between the humanities and sciences leads many modern northern humanities scholars and social scientists to complain that scientists perceive of the Arctic as a space devoid of people, due in part to a lack of awareness arising from a need for increased interaction between disciplines.

The area covered in this book lies generally within the sub-Arctic, the southernmost extent of which is usually placed somewhere between 50°N and 70°N, depending on local climates. The focus rests here on the broad, North Atlantic region stretching from Scandinavia across to present-day Canada, territories that were the objects of British imperial desire and scientific enquiry, and that exerted considerable influence over contemporary British imperial identity formation. Here, sub-Arctic travels receive more attention than the more famous “heroic” Arctic ventures from 1818 onward. The sub-Arctic was infinitely more important in real knowledge terms than the North Pole, which has been described as “an economically and scientifically . . . useless target.”¹⁸ While to observers “there did not seem to be much time *at* the Arctic: no visible effects of chronology, no lost civilisations, no history and no myth,”¹⁹ the sub-Arctic was filled with tantalizing glimpses of living history.

“The north” has been a fluid and socioculturally contingent but important geographical, historical, and ethnological construct since classical antiquity. It was not a matter of latitudinal lines; rather, the point of reference was a set of cultural, scholarly, and imaginative constructions applied to the Nordic and Celtic fringes of Europe, the northern reaches of the British Isles, and British North America. The north was less a geographically defined region than a set of representative sociocultural, climatic, ethnographical, and historical characteristics. In the eighteenth century, the north was understood as both “physically determined” and “socially contingent.”²⁰ The designation of certain places as “northern” reflected their positions in the learned British Romantic imagination and applied to a range of geographical locations. Humphry Davy included the Norwegian coast, Sweden, Denmark, Holstein, and Hanover in his seven-week tour of 1824, considering himself “in the north” when he reached Hanover.²¹ Edward Daniel Clarke referred to Scandinavia as “this

Hyperborean corner of Europe" and counted Poland, Russia, and Sweden among "the Northern countries of *Europe*."²² William Jackson Hooker referred to "the Norwegians, the Danes, the Swedes, the Scotch, the English, the Greenlanders, etc" as Iceland's "neighbours" and counted the Scottish Highlands, Sápmi ("Lapland"), and Iceland among "the northern nations."²³ The words Thule, north, and Arctic were used interchangeably. In the classical world, the north comprised of Strabo's "Paroecantide"—northwest Gaul, the British Isles, Lower Germany, and Scandinavia.²⁴ Hooker referred to Norway and Russia as "arctic regions," even though most of their territories lie outside the Arctic circle.²⁵ Samuel Hibbert acknowledged the historical ambivalence of the term "Thule," "long a term of general application, to denote a place either in Britain, Ireland, the north of Scotland, or in regions even still farther north, which was supposed to be involved in darkness, whilst its shores were washed by a boisterous ocean."²⁶ In 2011, the United Nations included the following countries within "Northern Europe": Denmark and the Faroe Islands, Estonia, Finland and the Åland Islands, Iceland, Ireland, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway with Svalbard and Jan Meyen, Sweden, and the United Kingdom with the Channel Islands.²⁷

This book is mainly concerned with the period *c.* 1790–1830, but includes some earlier illustrative and contextual references. The period saw significant milestones in British global and northern expansion and exploration—between Cook's celebrated voyages in the Pacific (1768) and the British takeover of Quebec (1775), Samuel Hearne made his overland trek into present-day Arctic Canada in 1771–2. Peter Fidler made detailed surveys in Rupert's Land from 1792, and Alexander Mackenzie completed his seminal coast-to-coast traversal of North America in 1793. Later came Franklin's early expeditions to the Northwest Passage (1818–27), described as "the first attempts to obtain systematic and comprehensive information about British North America,"²⁸ and Ross's location of the magnetic North Pole in 1831, which put an end to much speculation and argument on its existence, character, and location.

The creation of the Romantic north began with the rediscovery and publication of Nordic and Celtic literatures in the mid-eighteenth century, fueling interest in relatively little-known northern regions. Developments in science and transportation facilitated northern travels—scientifically motivated travels such as French observations of the transit of Venus in Scandinavia and William Wales's observations of the same event on Hudson Bay in 1768–9, the early

nineteenth-century development of the northern tour, and voyages to the Northwest Passage from 1818. By the late-eighteenth century, the north was still generally considered uncivilized and wild, yet also the perfect location for scientific enquiry. In c. 1830, a rash of learned societies appeared in Britain, including the Royal Geographical Society (1830) and the British Association for the Advancement of Science (1831). By this time, the sciences had “transformed European understanding of the natural and human worlds and simultaneously transformed European modes of acting in those worlds.”²⁹ Learned societies brought together educated people with similar interests to further the pursuit of and gain public support for their interests, ushering in a new era in which state-supported exploratory travels became the norm.

The period also saw a change in British perceptions of indigenous peoples. Tim Fulford has detailed the process by which “the generic and idealized noble savages that Dryden called ‘Indians’ in *The Indian Queen* (1664) were replaced by the complex, ambivalent, detailed portraits found in Southey’s ‘Songs of the American Indians’ (1799).”³⁰ This process was stimulated by increasing knowledge of First Nations and other indigenous cultures and increasingly complex attitudes toward them; they became “complex miniatures, in British eyes, of courage and ferocity, heroism and primitivism, honour and savagery, oratory and superstition, stoicism and violence, nature and bestiality, orality and simplicity, dignity and drunkenness.”³¹ In the period preceding the development of scientific racism, Britons both mourned the loss of traditional ways of life and considered indigenous people to be at an earlier stage of development than themselves, influenced by Enlightenment stadial theory, climate theory, and the notion of the “noble savage.”

As discussed in Part II, aspects of northern cultures (particularly that of Norway) were portrayed as having preserved model elements of a lost English culture. Sweden was considered the birthplace of the Goths, fathers of the Germanic or Anglo-Saxon tribes to whom Britons owed their salvation from Rome, and early-modern Swedish liberty was recalled in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as a model from which Britain had taken its lead. The northern reaches of Britain—the Scottish Highlands and Islands, and to some extent Ireland—were viewed through a misty Ossianic aesthetic as the homeland of mythological warriors. While the deeper complexities of these perspectives are examined throughout this book, broadly

speaking, together they represented something of a positive view of the north.

Structure

This book studies interactions between metropolitan and local or traditional ways of knowing, focusing on contemporary methods of interrogating cultures and landscapes. The human and earth sciences formed key ways of achieving a fundamental understanding of the world, presenting to us a pathway into examining British perceptions of the north in the Romantic period. These appear on the surface to have been based on a series of fundamental dichotomies: antiquarianism/sciences; myth/fact; tradition/progress; intuition/science. This book reflects this, with the first half considering Romantic–scientific understandings of cultural differences, and the second scientific appreciations of northern landscapes.

Chapter 1 outlines the sociocultural contexts of these travels, examining contemporary British educational mores with particular emphasis on the teaching and learning of the geographical sciences. The influence of increasing prevalence of images of the north in print, growing scientific and imperial interest in northern regions, improved geographical knowledge, the acquisition and codification of new knowledge, and the popularity of northern-themed literatures (translations and editions of Icelandic edda, Nordic myths, Ossianic poetry) are considered.

The Nordic countries, particularly Iceland, Norway, and Sweden, presented to the British mind a strong degree of cultural uniformity, sharing an easily identifiable group of languages and a common history linked by the Vikings. Encounters with living representatives of the human past presented in northern travelogues fed contemporary learned interest in traditional cultures. These interests are considered in chapter 2 within the context of the contemporary presentation of northern cultural unity, referred to here as a “greater north.” Reflective of contemporary British concerns with imperial identities, the “greater north” expresses the interplay between the identity and unification requirements of the expanding northern reaches of the British Empire, and the fashioning of Britain as a northern nation in opposition to the southern European powers of France and Rome. Britons sought confirmation of their northern origins in Scandinavian history, culture, and landscapes, which were considered

living representations of a lost British past. This process had been in germination for some time—the Reformation freed England from association with Rome, so Tudor court historians began to concern themselves with British origins.³² Unifying tropes were employed in descriptions of the peoples, landscapes, and cultures of Northern Europe, observers seeking any common traits useful in forging connections over time and space, with connections made between the living north and the English or British past. Antiquarian interests were pursued alongside scientific interests—clues and evidence found in the landscape relating to the geological past were presented alongside more conjectural musings on the human past, used to support antiquarian and ethnological debates.

However, this discourse was complicated by the empire it attempted to support by simultaneously seeking to achieve the integration and domination of intra- and extra-European colonized peoples. Similarities were found between the First Nations, Inuit, Saami, and Gaels, distancing them from Britons “proper” with the assistance of antiquarian and scientific research. Chapter 3 examines these perceptions within the contemporary context of climate theory. From the mid-eighteenth century, the sciences were drawn upon by philosophers and natural historians to support theories connecting climate and culture—an empirical method of understanding differences between peoples. Furthermore, increased awareness of the earth and its peoples, the common traits shared between various peoples, histories, and habitats, sparked concerns for the negative impact of Western European influence on traditional cultures globally.

In chapter 4, northern artifacts collected by scientific travelers are considered representative of both these polymaths’ interests and a more general material culture of the north. Artifacts encapsulated expectations of the north for those at home unable to travel; they also verified the traveler’s observations and aided his reputation. Some artifacts were added to eclectic personal collections, while others were donated to institutions; both were accessible to the scholarly community and contributed to knowledge of the north in Romantic Britain. Acquaintances and contacts made during travel proved useful in the acquisition of specimens, artifacts, books, and manuscripts for display and consultation.

Chapter 5 introduces Part III of this book and further engages with intersections between climate and culture through an environmental-historical discussion of Romantic–scientific evaluations of landscape.³³

Modern philosophical thought on scientific appreciations of landscape is referred to as a framework within which to assess the landscape aesthetics of Romantic–scientific travelers. The complexity of Romanticism is evident in apparent dualities between the interests of science, the Romantic aesthetic and antiquarianism, which are shown to have been mutually beneficial or interdependent. The theme of conflicts—whether apparent or assumed—is studied further: between Romanticism and the sciences, myth and fact, and between polymaths’ interests in tapping natural resources and their antiquarian concerns for preserving apparently fast-disappearing vestiges of traditional cultures.

Recent studies have contributed to the historiography of metropolitan and imperial science and the peculiarities of practicing science in various locales.³⁴ Imperial agents are no longer considered the only actors in the advancement of science and knowledge-gathering. The roles of local actors are becoming increasingly recognized, revealing that “science is a collective process composed of many local activities.”³⁵ Chapter 6 examines British collection, interpretation, and integration of indigenous geographical knowledge through a case study of Peter Fidler, the most avid collector of First Nations’ maps.

Into the nineteenth century, most observatories were “concerned with both the heavens and the earth,” astronomy belonging to a group of geographical sciences including cartography, geodesy, and meteorology.³⁶ Chapter 7 outlines two case studies of native–newcomer interactions around astronomy/cosmology: Clarke’s experience of launching a balloon among the Saami and the reception of Fidler’s scientific instruments in Rupert’s Land. Particular attention is paid to the question of what these writers were trying to convey about their northern experiences by recording and disseminating these stories.

Note on gender

It is important to acknowledge the absence of women from this study. My use of the term “men of science” is not intended to be exclusivist; there simply were no women engaged in comparable activities to the men studied here in the north in the period, and the Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC) forbade the presence of Euroamerican women at Rupert’s Land posts until the 1830s.³⁷ While First Nations’ women do, of course, figure in northern narratives, they were most often

presented within fairly limited terms as helpers and facilitators,³⁸ or as a disruptive force.³⁹ Despite this, the north greatly influenced Romantic women's writing. Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* and Eleanor Anne Porden's poem *The Arctic Expeditions* (both 1818) were both inspired by contemporary northern exploratory travels. While it has been argued that Mary Wollstonecraft's *Short Residence in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark* (1796) contains elements of the Romantic natural-historical travel narrative,⁴⁰ it is not counted among the scientific and antiquarian travels discussed here due to the shadowed nature of scientific interests in the text. While Wollstonecraft was interested in the sciences and the technology of production, she had no opportunity to participate in the sciences or make observations to the same extent as the men studied here.⁴¹ Catharine Parr Traill (née Strickland, 1802–99) also deserves mention here. As a young woman in England, she published children's books until marrying and emigrating to Upper Canada with her Scottish husband, Thomas Traill, in 1832. She was one of the first women to write scientifically about British North America in *The Backwoods of Canada* (1836) and later published *Canadian Wild Flowers* (1868) and *Studies of Plant Life in Canada* (1885). Her later, more scientific texts were published too late for inclusion in this book.⁴²

One remarkable case arose in Rupert's Land in 1807. An Orcadian by birth, Isabel Gunn (alias Isabella Gunn, John Fubbister, Mary Fubbister) met long-term HBC employee John Scarth during his visit to Orkney in 1805–6. In June 1806, she enlisted in HBC service disguised as a man and under the alias John Fubbister, and boarded the ship on which Scarth was returning to Rupert's Land, becoming the first European woman to travel there. She managed to conceal her female identity until December 29, 1807, when she gave birth to a son following Christmas festivities at the North West Company's (NWC) Pembina House. She was thenceforth known as Mary Fubbister and was employed as a washerwoman at Albany Fort. While reportedly a worthy employee, the seriousness of her transgression coupled with HBC policy forbidding the presence of white women at its posts, resulted in her dismissal in September 1809. She then returned to Stromness under the name Isabel Gunn, where she is thought to have died a pauper in 1861.⁴³ Gunn's story forms the most substantial reference to any named Euroamerican woman in Fidler's journals, where she is described as having "worked at any thing and well like the rest of the men."⁴⁴ Fidler does not seem to have considered the situation

scandalous, even though he considered it worthy of note. Alexander Henry the Younger recorded his role in the events:

A very extraordinary affair ocured this morning. One of Mr Heneyes Orkney lads came over to my house, who apparently was indisposed and requested of me the favour to allow him to remain in my house for a short time. I was surpris'd at the fellow's demand however I told him to sit down and warm himself. . . I . . . was much surpris'd to find [him] extended out upon the hearth uttering the most dreadful lamentations. He stretched out his hand towards me and in a pitiful tone of voice begg'd my assistance, and requested I would take pity upon a poor helpless abandoned wretch, who was not of the sex I had every reason to suppose, but was an unfortunate Orkney Girl pregnant and actually in Childbirth. . . The man that debauched her in the Orkney two years ago, was now wintering above at the Grande Fourches. In about an hour after she was safely delivered of a fine boy, and that same day she was conveyed home to Heneyes in my Carriole, where she soon recovered.⁴⁵

The incident highlights the liminal nature of gendered identity and identities in the north, further illustrated in two examples from First Nations' communities. John Franklin recorded a story he considered "deserving of a short notice," of an indigenous woman who had left her position as a servant at a NWC post on the Columbia River and "sallied forth to join a party of her countrymen then going to war." Her courage led the men to place themselves under her command, and she later became a chief under the name of "Manlike Woman." Her extraordinary character was attributed to "the possession of supernatural power,"⁴⁶ something long associated with northern peoples. Alexander Henry the Younger provided an unusual account of a berdache, an important figure in First Nations' societies:

Berdash, a Son of the Sucrie, arrived from the Assinebone River . . . This person is a curious compound between a man and a woman. He is a man in every respect both as to members and courage but still he pretends to appear womanish and dresses as such. His walk and manner in sitting down his manners and occupation, and language are that of a woman. And all the persuasions of his Father who is a great Chief amongst the Saulteaux cannot persuade him to act like a man.⁴⁷