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**REPORT ON**

**TRADITIONAL RESOURCE USE**  
**IN**  
**FORT MCKAY**  
**AND**  
**NEIGHBOURING COMMUNITIES -**  
**ARCHIVAL SAMPLING PROGRAM**

**Submitted to:**

**Suncor Energy Inc., Oil Sands**  
**Fort McMurray, Alberta**

**April 1998**

**972-2205**

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April 22, 1998

Proj. No. 972-2205

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**RE: Final Report on Traditional Resource Use In Fort McKay and Neighbouring Communities -  
Archival Sampling Program**

Dear Martin

Attached are five copies of the Traditional Resource Use in Fort McKay and Neighbouring Communities - Archival Sampling Program.

This report summarises the archive research of Hudson's Bay Company records for the study of traditional resource use in the Regional Municipality of Wood Buffalo. Sampling was done in the records of fur trading posts located throughout the study area in period of 1783 to 1930s. The research focused on Account books, Reports on Districts and Post Journals.

If you have any additional questions about the report, please contact either Barry Potyondi at 299-5660 or me at 299-5640.

Yours very truly

**GOLDER ASSOCIATES LTD.**

*Shawn McKeown*

*for*

John R. Gulley, M.Sc., P. Biol.  
Oil Sands Project Director

attachments (5)

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report was prepared to determine the contribution that historical research among the voluminous records of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives at Winnipeg could make to a study of traditional resource use in the Regional Municipality of Wood Buffalo. The working hypothesis was that as fur trading dominated natural resource use throughout the study area since 1783, the meticulous records kept by the Hudson's Bay Company relating to fur harvests and food provisioning might shed considerable light on evolving patterns of resource consumption and land use during more than a century and a half.

Sampling was done in the records of fur trading posts located throughout the study area in the period 1783 to approximately 1930. In all, 493 linear centimeters of records were sampled. The research focused on Account Books, Reports on Districts, and Post Journals, in that order. Although many other types of records are available for many posts, they were judged to be of minimal importance to determining the nature of the trade.

The sampling revealed that the records of Fort Chipewyan are of significant value in terms of documenting traditional resource use within the Regional Municipality of Wood Buffalo. This is largely because Fort Chipewyan functioned as the administrative and trade centre of the regional study area since 1783. While incomplete, its records nonetheless permit defensible analysis of changing natural resource harvesting and use patterns over more than a 150-year period. Of less value are those of Fort McKay and Fort McMurray, which form a subset of the Fort Chipewyan data.

We wish to extend our appreciation to the staff of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives for their splendid assistance with our research and for permission to quote from their holdings.

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## **1. INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 A WORKING DEFINITION OF TRADITIONAL RESOURCE USE**

Traditional resource use is, broadly speaking, any economic or cultural activity involving natural resources that is undertaken by First Nations or Métis people based on historical knowledge and insight. It relates to both past and present, in that current activities may reflect practices that extend back hundreds of years. Such practices are based on customs handed down orally and through practical demonstration in the bush.

Each new generation tends to incorporate changes that modify traditional practices over time. Traditional knowledge and the actions that stem from it are not, therefore, static. As Peter Elias has argued effectively in "Wage Labour, Aboriginal Rights and the Cree of the Churchill River Basin, Saskatchewan," contemporary activities do not have to be identical to those of the past to be considered traditional; rather, they "need only be continuous with the past" (Elias 1990). In other words, instead of seeking identical patterns of behaviour over time, it is more productive to identify patterns that incorporate a concept that Elias calls "resiliency." By resiliency, he means that systems of traditional use are capable of absorbing change while persisting as discernible systems. For example, during the heyday of the fur trade, beaver trapping generated both subsistence and commercial returns; that is to say, a traditional food-gathering activity proved capable of absorbing change as it was transformed by external forces into a commercial activity.

Studies of traditional resource use are now widely recognized as an important tool in safeguarding locally valued components of the environment from the potentially adverse effects of development projects. Typically, such studies are undertaken as one component of an environmental impact assessment. One of the most commonly recognized limitations of environmental impact assessments is that they rarely provide an adequate framework for linking the ecological and social components of the environment. Development of an appropriate framework must take into account the perspective that aboriginal people have of the environment, where no single resource is valued more than another. Non-natives are seldom in a position to determine and understand the ecological, social, cultural, economic and spiritual significance of components of the local environment. While this oversight is easily remedied with respect to current harvesting practices through the involvement of today's practitioners of traditional ways, it is not as simple to trace the development of traditional resource uses.

Traditional resource use studies are most commonly done by interviewing local people who are knowledgeable about traditional bush lore and

practices. This approach uses standard oral history techniques to document the recent past. Data about such frequently used resources as game, fish, waterfowl and herbs, as well as about areas of long-standing cultural practices, are then mapped to establish the geographical boundaries of traditional use areas (Robinson, Garvin, Hodgson 1994). This helps to ensure that proponents of a development either avoid such areas altogether or mitigate the effects of their development on those areas. As a result, traditional resource use studies are now widely viewed as an important means of identifying and safeguarding resources that are an integral part of the local culture.

The difficulty with oral history is that it is exceedingly rare for any oral history project to be able to document incidents farther back in time than five generations. The farther back one goes, the more fragmentary, impressionistic and unreliable the information becomes. When the main subject of interest is the quantification and distribution of natural resource use, as is the case here, oral history realistically permits insight into no more than the second half of the twentieth century. This is not to challenge the methods of the oral historian; rather, it is a recognition of the limitations that naturally accompany all oral history investigations.

## **1.2 THE ADVANTAGES OF ARCHIVAL RESEARCH**

Archival documentation often provides a means of extending understanding of traditional resource use much farther into the past. Depending on the location of the study area, the time period covered by available documentation, and the completeness of those records, it is often possible to quantify patterns of natural resource use over the course of nearly two hundred years. That is the case with respect to the Regional Municipality of Wood Buffalo. The regional fur trade, which began in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and remained a profound economic force well into the twentieth century, resulted in the compilation of thousands upon thousands of pages of data on natural resource use. Indeed, it is not too much to say that the historical pattern of natural resource use within the Municipality cannot be understood thoroughly without appreciating the intensive natural resource use that underlay the regional fur trade during the past two centuries.

There are several benefits to extending understanding of traditional resource use through archival investigation. First and foremost is the recognition of cultural value that such research can offer. It is one thing to say that there continues to be value in maintaining long-standing uses of natural resources that are still applied today; it is quite another to demonstrate that such ways have a long and profoundly important past. When the longevity of lifeways is demonstrated unequivocally, which becomes possible through accurate and thorough archival documentation, that knowledge becomes the key to appreciating and thereby preserving fundamentally important aspects of the local culture.

There are many secondary benefits as well. Archival data has been used in other jurisdictions to assist in determining compensation for loss, in providing data relevant to land claims, in developing educational and interpretive programs, in identifying areas of archaeological potential, in formulating appropriate land use strategies, and even in fostering eco-tourism development. In short, archival information often enables local communities to use the lessons of the past to provide a better future. Furthermore, archival studies sometimes show that current activities that are widely believed to be "traditional" are actually activities that were introduced less than half a century ago by external influences such as Indian agents or representatives of economic development agencies. The growing of wild rice in northern Saskatchewan is a classic example of this. In short, the benefits of archival research are multiple and often pertain to much more than the subject currently under study.

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## **2. THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE FUR TRADE**

### **2.1 TRADE IN THE ATHABASCA DISTRICT**

Traditional resource use in the Regional Municipality of Wood Buffalo (the study area) cannot be understood independently of the history of the Athabasca fur trade. In the final quarter of the eighteenth century, the rivalry between the London-based Hudson's Bay Company and the Montreal-based fur traders who later formed the partnership known as the North West Company rapidly extended westward and northward from Hudson Bay and reached a dramatic and often violent climax in the area that stretched from the junction of the Clearwater and the Athabasca rivers to the shores of the Arctic Ocean. Since 1778, the commerce in furs has been the single most important factor on traditional resource use within the study area.

The Athabasca District, which has had different boundaries over the years, always encompassed the Regional Municipality of Wood Buffalo. It was first described in 1802 as taking in the basins of the Peace, Athabasca, Slave and Mackenzie rivers. Great Bear Lake lay at its north-western extremity, while the south-western corner was near what is now Beaverlodge, Alberta, in the Peace River district. Later, under the control of the Hudson's Bay Company, it assumed more modest but still significant proportions.

European penetration of the Athabasca District occurred in 1778 when a small expedition, led by an American named Peter Pond, first crossed the height of land at Methye Portage (Portage La Loche) that separated the Churchill and Mackenzie river basins, established a wintering post on the Athabasca River some 40 miles south of Lake Athabasca, and there assembled a shipment of 140 packs of high-quality furs on behalf of his trading partners. With the assistance of local natives, Pond had managed to tap the last unexploited fur field east of the Rocky Mountains, a field so rich that it soon became known as the Eldorado of the fur trade.

Each spring, large canoe brigades loaded with trade goods and provisions headed west from Montreal for the western end of Lake Superior, where they met an Athabasca brigade loaded with furs traded during the previous season. At Grand Portage, or Fort William, they exchanged trade goods for furs and returned along their respective water routes. One thousand to fifteen hundred men were involved. Athabasca was so distant from Montreal, however, and the cost of wages, trade goods, transportation, and provisioning was so high, that a number of independent and loosely-affiliated traders had to pool their capital resources in order to benefit from this attractive new trade area. The Hudson's Bay Company, on the other hand, had the advantage of being based on the western shore of Hudson Bay, making its costs of access to Athabasca significantly lower. For



approximately 40 years, the aggressive mercantilism of the Montrealers clashed with the more conservative but less expensive inroads of the British traders on the Bay to produce the greatest period of business rivalry in the entire history of the Canadian fur trade.

The trading posts built by the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, which were frequently within a few hundred yards of one another, were strung like vertebra along the spine of the Athabasca and Mackenzie rivers. Pond's Establishment, as the first post was known, was short-lived, replaced in 1783 by Fort Chipewyan on Lake Athabasca near the mouth of the Peace River. Fort Chipewyan would always be the most important post in the Athabasca District. Indeed, Fort Chipewyan was second only to Fort William as a base for extending the trade. By 1786 the orbit of the trade had expanded to include a post on the north shore of Lake Athabasca, a second on the Slave River delta at Great Slave Lake, and a third on the Peace River near where Vermilion stands today. These posts were sustained by the fishery on Lake Athabasca and by meat from buffalo that frequented the prairies along the Peace River. Much of this meat was cured with natural salt collected from surface deposits along the Salt River near the 60th parallel. Additional sustenance came from the marshy delta of the Athabasca and the Peace, where ducks, geese and swans were abundant. Buffalo, moose and deer supplemented this diet. Wild berries, eggs and occasionally birch syrup further relieved the monotonous diet of the traders.

The North West Company derived significant profits from Athabasca until 1819. Colin Robertson, a local trader who started with the North West Company and later defected to the Hudson's Bay Company, estimated that the district would return \$20,000 per annum if administered efficiently. He strongly encouraged the Hudson's Bay Company to invest heavily in Athabasca. As that occurred, and business in Athabasca turned competitive, local stocks of fur-bearing animals became so scarce that the trade itself was threatened. Only after the amalgamation of the rival fur trading concerns, which took place in 1821, was the balance gradually restored between available natural resources and commercial demand.

## **2.2 IMPACT OF THE TRADE ON ABORIGINAL PEOPLES**

Intensive economic development left an irreversible mark on the local people. Indeed, the fur trade was so attractive to the aboriginal peoples that less than a decade after traders arrived, some aboriginal people had lost the ability to survive without trade guns and ammunition. The pursuit of fur-bearing animals assumed such significant proportions that many caribou-eater Chipewyans forsook their traditional territories for a new life of trapping in the bush. More generally, aboriginal people in Athabasca incorporated the fur trade cycle into their annual movements and activities.

The importance of the trade to the natives was magnified greatly during the next five decades. Between 1821 and 1869, the Hudson's Bay Company enjoyed a virtually unchallenged monopoly of trade in the Northern Department, as Athabasca became known. According to fur trade historian H. A. Innis,

"The department became an excellent example of the economies of the monopoly in the fur trade. The personnel were efficiently organized. Expenses were eliminated in every possible direction and control of the supply of furs was adjusted to price levels. The supply of provisions and supplies was developed with reference to the lowest possible cost in the self-sufficiency of each post, of the departments, and of the organization as a whole. Goods were imported, distributed, and handled with the greatest possible economy. Seldom has there existed an instance in which monopoly control was exercised over a wide area through such a long period of history in a single industry as in the Northern department from 1821 to 1869 (Innis 1962, 286-287)."

Within this increasingly efficient business system, aboriginal peoples played several critical roles; not only did they harvest the furs on which the business depended, but they also supplied vital provisions to the posts and much of the labour for the canoe brigades. With the arrival of the 1880s, when the Hudson's Bay Company introduced steamboats to the northern rivers, aboriginal peoples came to constitute most of the boat crews and cut most of the tremendous volumes of cordwood needed to operate the steam engines. In short, during the first century of trade in Athabasca, the participation of the local aboriginal community grew steadily in importance, to the point where the Hudson's Bay Company could not have survived without their involvement and the aboriginal people could no longer return to their pre-trade way of life.

The events of the next three decades consolidated that dependence on the trade. Both Europe and North America enjoyed buoyant economies and demand for prime furs rose accordingly. Improved transportation links to the near North, with its abundant stocks of fur-bearing animals, meant increased competition in the Athabasca and Mackenzie districts. Independent traders challenged the men of the Hudson's Bay Company at every turn, with Fort Chipewyan being at the heart of this competition. As before, aboriginal people were the chief trappers, but now the independent trading companies also hired them to operate their posts throughout the near North. By the end of the third decade of the twentieth century, local people were enmeshed more than ever in the fur trade. Even today, many local people remain active in the fur trade.

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### **3. THE SAMPLING PROGRAM**

#### **3.1 THE METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH**

The purpose of the sampling program was to establish the utility of the available Hudson's Bay Company records for documentation of traditional resource use patterns in the area that now falls within the Regional Municipality of Wood Buffalo. The emphasis was on identification of records dealing with natural resources such as fur-bearing animals, game, fowl, fish, timber, and berries and herbs. The primary intent was to establish the degree to which harvests of these natural resources could be quantified over time. Second, the research established the degree to which seasonal routines involving natural resources could be described through recourse to these records. Finally, the research attempted to identify the utility of the records for identifying traditional places such as campsites, hay meadows, portages, wood sources, natural springs, pitch sources, trails, trap-lines, salt licks and burial sites.

The clear and long-lived hierarchy of trading posts in Athabasca was useful in prioritizing sampling efforts. During the first century of the trade Fort Chipewyan was the key administrative centre, or district headquarters as it was known after 1821. It oversaw subsidiary posts, called outposts, whose function turned on either the trade itself or provisioning. Beginning in the 1880s a few posts, such as Fort Smith, developed as strategic transportation centres for the new steamboat fleet. Together, these posts formed an integrated network of mercantile facilities that drained furs from the whole of the Athabasca, Peace, Slave and Mackenzie river basins.

The Hudson's Bay Company Archives at Winnipeg houses the vast majority of records pertaining to these posts. While there are many types of post records in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, three are of particular importance to this study:

##### **1. Account Books**

Those in charge of each post were obliged to maintain annual Account Books that documented their trading activities. Account Books included bills payable, bills receivable, cash accounts, inventories, Indian, servant and officers' debt books, provision shed accounts, invoices, bills of lading, standards of trade, lists of servants, and various other accounts. While Account Books have not survived for every post, when they do exist they represent the single most important means of documenting natural resource use over time. A sample from an Account Book is provided in Appendix I.

## **2. Reports on Districts**

Reports on Districts provide comments on the social and economic conditions of the district. Unlike the Account Books, they are typically narrative descriptions that include a statement about the topography of the district, the strategic advantages and disadvantages of its position, comments on individual posts within the district, the productivity of each post, local means of subsistence, the conduct of officers and men, the number and health of the aboriginal peoples, and the conditions of trade. Maps or plans are sometimes included. A sample from a Report on Districts is provided in Appendix II.

## **3. Post Journals**

The post trader or clerk typically maintained a daily record, including weather conditions, routine activities, special events, and documentation of the arrivals and departures of individual visitors and expeditions. Some journals also contain post accounts and correspondence. A sample from a Post Journal is provided in Appendix III.

The sampling program focused first on Account Books, then on Reports of Districts, and only then on Post Journals that contained some accounts. Representative data was copied from each type of record that was consulted. Samples of the data from each record type are appended.

To ensure optimal regional coverage, sampling was conducted at three different geographical levels:

### **1. Level One Sampling**

The sampling program started with the records of Fort McKay and nearby Fort McMurray, and then moved outward geographically.

### **2. Level Two Sampling**

As the Fort McKay-Fort McMurray records are very limited in terms of their number and chronological scope, the next level of sampling included the abundant sources from Fort Chipewyan. Because Fort Chipewyan was the chief administrative centre for the near North since 1788, it routinely collected data from all of the Athabasca District.

### 3. Level Three Sampling

The third level of sampling extended the study's scope to a number of small, peripheral posts in the three remaining cardinal directions, including Fort Vermilion on the west, Portage La Loche on the east, and Lac La Biche, Trout Lake and Whitefish Lake to the south and south-west.

## 3.2 FINDINGS

The findings of the sampling program are presented by post below. In each case, the nature of the records is described and their utility assessed in terms of the degree to which they can contribute to a traditional resource use study for the Regional Municipality of Wood Buffalo.

### 3.2.1 Level One Sampling

#### *Fort McKay*

Post Number: B.305  
Shelf space occupied: 17.5 cm  
Years covered by records: 1891-1911

Little is known about the origins of the Fort McKay post. It was established by the Hudson's Bay Company in the early 1890s, presumably in response to the routine presence of aboriginal peoples in the area. This is corroborated by the fact that the Fort McMurray post was closed in 1898 as a result of the better fur returns at Fort McKay.

Document Reference No.	Document Type	Years	Reel No.
B.305/a/1-3 B.305/a/4-9	Post Journals	1901-1904 1906-1911	1M1008 1MA37
B.305/b/1	Correspondence Books	1891-1905	1M1473
B.305/d/1	Account Books	1900	

Unfortunately, only one Account Book survives for Fort McKay. This provides limited data on natural resources within the accounts for individual post hunters, as the trappers and provisioners were known. For example, on December 8, 1900, the post clerk recorded that he took 82 muskrat, 14 mink and 5 skunks on trade. Data that create more of a sense of resource harvesting over time are found within the journals and correspondence. While these occasionally list the post's trade by fur type for an entire month, it is more common for them to note the arrival of furs on a daily basis. On September 18, 1906, for example, the post journal recorded that

"Manel Michel and Chripaostun [spelling?] in from hunt with 4 Moose & a Bear." Data like this are too fragmentary to support quantification of the harvest over time; rather, they permit insight into the types of animals being hunted and the seasonal routines followed by the hunters and other post people. The records also offer numerous references to certain harvesting locales such as Moose Lake, Poplar Point and Tar Island. In general, however, the extant records of Fort McKay are too limited in temporal extent and too inconsistent in format to permit rigorous analysis of natural resource use over time.

### **Fort McMurray**

Post Number: B.307

Shelf space occupied: 8.5 cm

Years covered by records: 1870-1900

Fort McMurray was founded in 1870 near the junction of the Clearwater and Athabasca rivers to serve the Athabasca Cree and Chipewyan. In 1898 it was closed in favour of Fort McKay. It reopened in 1913 and remained open despite poor returns in anticipation of it becoming the head of navigation to the North because of construction of the Alberta and Great Waterways Railway.

Document Reference No.	Document Type	Years	Reel No.
B.307/a/1-4	Post Journals NOTE: Vol. 1 contains correspondence	1877-1892	1M1009
B.307/d/1	Account Books	1870-1871	1M520
B.307/d/2-3		1871-1873	1M1473
B.307/e/1-3	Reports on Districts	1892-1897	1M1256
B.307/z/1	Miscellaneous Items	1884	Not filmed

Even though few Account Books are available for Fort McMurray, they provide the most valuable perspective on natural resource harvests. The 1870-71 Account Book, for example, itemizes and quantifies fur returns according to 15 different types, including:

- black bears
- prime beaver
- red foxes
- common beaver
- martens
- muskrats
- wolves
- dressed moose skins
- brown bears
- castoreum (pounds)
- fishers
- lynx
- minks
- otters
- wolverines

The 1870-71 accounts of individual hunters also includes occasional references to hard grease, caribou skins, sinews, dried meat, whitefish, fresh meat, birch-bark canoes, pemmican, and other natural resources or resource-based products.

The Reports on District are valuable in that they provide general comment on the abundance or scarcity of specific resources. For example, the 1892 report contains statements such as the following:

“Foxes and Lynxes increasing. Martens about the limit of increase. Beavers decreasing. Fishers and Musquash [muskrats] scarce, and other furs about the same as for some years back....Large Game is scarce and Fresh or Dried Meat is seldom issued for rations.”

Unfortunately, it is not possible to document such trends over many years.

The more abundant Post Journals are useful only to the extent that they occasionally make reference to such events as “fish [the fishery] here failed,” “cutting & hauling firewood from the Island,” and “Francois arrived with 80# bear meat.”

In sum, the value of the extant Fort McMurray documentation lies in its potential for suggesting harvesting trends within a limited geographical area during the final quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

### **3.2.2 Level Two Sampling**

#### ***Fort Chipewyan***

Post Number: B.39  
Shelf space occupied: 324 cm  
Years covered by records: 1802-1927

Fort Chipewyan was founded on the Athabasca River in 1778 and has been the administrative centre of the fur trade in the Mackenzie basin since 1788. Its records include those of Nottingham House (1802-1804) and Fort Wedderburn (1814-1820).

Document Reference No.	Document Type	Years	Reel No.
B.39/a/1-3 B.39/a/4-17 B.39/a/18-31 B.39/a/31-42 B.39/a/42-47 B.39/a/48-49 B.39/a/49-60 B.39/a/61-63 B.39/a/64 B.39/a/64-70	Post Journals	1802-1804 1804-1821 1820-1836 1834-1852 1846-1871 1871-1874 1872-1900 1900-1905 1906 1906-1927	1M21 1M22 1M23 1M24 1M25 1M998 1M999 1M1000 1MA16 1MA17
B.39/b/1-15 B.39/b/16-19 B.39/b/20 B.39/b/21-29 B.39/b/29-30 B.39/b/30-36 B.39/b/36 B.39/b/36-38 B.39/b/38-39	Correspondence Books NOTE: Some correspondence is found under post journals	1822-1860 1860-1868 1872-1876 1875-1885 1882-1885 1882-1898 1888-1898 1888-1898 1893-1903	1M176 1M177 1M1042 1M1043 1M1044 1M1045 1M1046 1M1047 1M1048
B.39/c/1 B.39/c/2	Correspondence Inward	1823-1862 1876-1897	1M270 1MB18
B.39/d/1-12 B.39/d/12-19 B.39/d/20-34 B.39/d/34-50a B.39/d/50b-61 B.39/d/62-81 B.39/d/82-102 B.39/d/103-119 B.39/d/120-135 B.39/d/136-144 B.39/d/145-153	Account Books NOTE: Some accounts are found under post journals	1817-1822 1821-1825 1825-1831 1830-1835 1834-1837 1837-1845 1844-1855 1854-1861 1860-1866 1866-1873 1871-1900	1M437 1M438 1M439 1M440 1M441 1M442 1M443 1M444 1M445 1M446 1M1357
B.39/e/1-5 B.39/e/6-10 B.39/e/11-25	Reports on Districts	1820-1823 1823-1860 1885-1897	1M776 1M777 1M1254
B.39/f/1	Lists of Servants NOTE: Some lists of servants are found under accounts	1866-1891	1M784
B.39/z/1 B.39/z/2 B.39/z/3	Miscellaneous Items	1815-1870 1871-1898 1834	1M874 Not filmed Not filmed
E.242	Private Records associated with this post are available	1823-1826	Not filmed

The records of Fort Chipewyan are unrivalled in their geographical and temporal coverage of the lands that comprise the Athabasca District. The Account Books, which extend over a period of more than three-quarters of a century, provide almost annual summaries of data by resource type. For example, the 1837-38 Book itemizes the fur harvest according to the following categories for Fort Chipewyan itself, Fort Resolution, Fort Vermilion, and Dunvegan:

- black bear (large and small)
- brown bear (large and small)
- grey bear (large and small) [grizzlies]
- beaver (large and small)



- 
- castoreum
  - silver foxes
  - black foxes
  - red foxes
  - lynxes
  - minks
  - otters
  - swan quills
  - swans
  - wolverines
  - reindeer [caribou]
  - sinews
  - fishers
  - grey foxes
  - cross foxes
  - white foxes
  - martens
  - muskrat
  - goose quills
  - swan pinions
  - wolves
  - moose skins
  - showshoe shaganappi

Accounts from other years embellish this list by adding elk, ermine, swan skins, hay, musk-oxen, rabbits, pemmican, fish, and other country resources. The Reports on Districts contain supplementary data from Fort Chipewyan's subsidiary posts. The 1885 Report, for example, notes that the Fort McMurray area is particularly rich in "Bears, Beaver, Castoreum, Fishers, Lynx, Martens, Minks and Otters, with a few Foxes, Wolves and Wolverines." Occasionally, these reports also provide sweeping statements on natural resource use, such as a summary of fur production in the period from 1858 to 1883, which was characterized by a steady reduction in the number of beaver. There is also regular mention for places like Fort McMurray of domestic garden production, a source of food which would have had an impact on demand for country produce. Finally, the Reports routinely talk about trade competition from both individuals and other companies.

The importance of the records associated with Fort Chipewyan cannot be overstated in terms of the Regional Municipality of Wood Buffalo. They make it possible to track natural resource harvests by species over nearly a century and to link those harvests, in many cases, with specific outposts within the triangle represented by Fort McMurray, Fort Vermilion, and Fort Chipewyan. In short, these records are the motherlode for documentation of resource use patterns on a regional basis.

### **3.2.3 Level Three Sampling**

#### ***Fort Vermilion***

Post Number: B.224  
Shelf space occupied: 50.5 cm  
Years covered by records: 1802-1906

Fort Vermilion, located west of the Regional Municipality of Wood Buffalo, was of central importance to the provisioning of Fort Chipewyan

and other lesser posts in the Athabasca District. Founded as a North West Company post, it operated more or less continuously after 1804.

Document Reference No.	Document Type	Years	Reel No.
B.224/a/1-7	Post Journals	1802-1840	1M148
B.224/a/8-15	NOTE: Vol. 2	1841-1871	1M149
B.224/a/16-28	contains	1875-1904	1M1025
B.224/a/29	correspondence	1904-1906	1M1026
B.224/d/1-6	Account Books	1822-1862	1M627
B.224/d/7-8	NOTE: Some accounts are found under post journals	1871-1886	1M1591
B.224/e/1-2	Reports on Districts	1822-1823	1M783
B.224/e/3-5	NOTE: Some reports are found under post journals	1892-1897	1892-1897
B.224/z/1	Miscellaneous Items	1883-1886	Not filmed

The Fort Vermilion Account Books, which are nearly continuous for about half a century after 1822, categorize and enumerate the annual resource harvest by species. In keeping with its non-Boreal Forest location and long-standing provisioning function, Vermilion's records provide more data on country resources and products such as buffalo, pemmican, hay, dried meat, salt, and babiche than do the documents associated with other posts. What is truly striking, however, is the overall uniformity between the species lists of Vermilion and other Athabasca District posts; in other words, the degree to which it is possible to conduct a regional inventory of resources over time becomes clear from these records. The Reports on District from the 1890s provide additional insight into harvesting trends, local trade competition, and the returns associated with a few minor outposts along the Peace River.

### ***Portage La Loche***

Post Number: B.167

Shelf space occupied: 87.5 cm

Years covered by records: 1834-1932

Portage La Loche, also known as Methye Portage, was founded in 1819 on the height of land that separates the Mackenzie and Churchill drainage basins. Although a minor trading post, it operated for more than a century because of its strategic location.

Document Reference No.	Document Type	Years	Reel No.
B.167/a/1-8 B.167/a/9-11	Post Journals	1872-1906 1929-1932	1M1019 1MA55
B.167/b/1	Correspondence Books	1895-1901	1M1137
B.167/c/1	Correspondence Inward	1879-1911	1MB91
B.167/d/1-2 B.167/d/3-23 B.167/d/23-35 B.167/d/35-44 B.167/d/44-52	Account Books	1869-1871 1871-1896 1894-1907 1900-1917 1877-1917	1M576 1M1562 1M1563 1M1564 1M1565
B.167/e/1-5	Reports on Districts	1889-1901	1M1258
B.167/z/1	Miscellaneous Items	1834-1870	1M891

Portage La Loche lies within the Churchill River watershed and, administratively, within the English River District of the Hudson's Bay Company. Its records were surveyed because opposition traders from the Athabasca River valley and as far south as Lac La Biche frequently harvested this area. In geographical if not strict jurisdictional terms, the post may be said to have defined the eastern extremity of the Athabasca District. The types of resources correspond closely, as one might expect given the environmental similarities, with those of Athabasca District posts.

### **Lac La Biche**

Post Number: B.104

Shelf space occupied: 4 cm

Years covered by records: 1799-1895

This post on the south branch of the Churchill River, which later became known as Lac La Biche, was founded by Peter Fidler in 1799. It closed in 1801 and did not reopen until 1817. Between 1819-20 it served as headquarters of the District, but was abandoned with the amalgamation in 1821. In 1853 it was re-established, then operated sporadically until 1885, when it began 30 years of virtually uninterrupted service.

Document Reference No.	Document Type	Years	Reel No.
B.104/a/1-2	Post Journals NOTE: These post journals contain correspondence	1799-1820	1M67
B.104/e/1-4	Reports on Districts	1889-1895	1M125

Lac La Biche was the only post of any size near the southern extremity of the Athabasca District. During the latter part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it oversaw the trading activity of several outposts, including ones to the north-east at

Heart Lake and Jack Fish Lake, and to the north-west at Whitefish Lake and Trout Lake. It also routinely competed with Portage La Loche. Its records should be considered supplemental to those from the larger posts within the Athabasca District.

### ***Trout Lake (Peace River)***

Post Number: B.358

Shelf space occupied: 0.5 cm

Years covered by the records: 1889-1895

Document Reference No.	Document Type	Years	Reel No.
B.358/e/1-2	Reports on Districts	1889, 1895	1M1259

The scant records of Trout Lake, north-east of Slave Lake, were examined as a means of capturing natural resource data along the western boundary of the Athabasca District. They will be of little assistance in developing an understanding of regional resource harvests over time.

### ***Whitefish Lake (Peace River)***

Post number: B.365

Shelf space occupied: 0.5 cm

Years covered by records: 1889, 1896

Document Reference No.	Document Type	Years	Reel No.
B.358/e/1-2	Reports on Districts	1889, 1896	1M1260

The records of Whitefish Lake, like those of Trout Lake, were examined in an attempt to determine the nature of trade along the western boundary of the Athabasca District. They are equally unimportant in defining natural resource use patterns over time.

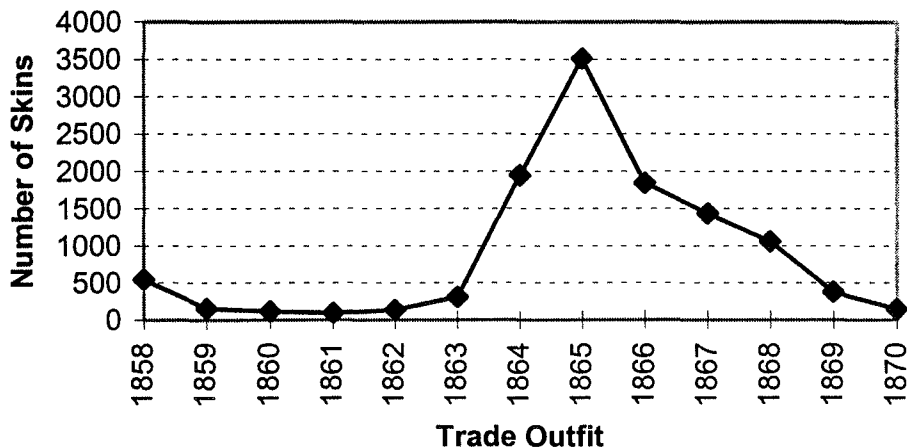
#### 4. RECOMMENDATIONS

The sampling program leaves no doubt as to the utility of Hudson's Bay Company records in determining natural resource use patterns within the Regional Municipality of Wood Buffalo since the late 18<sup>th</sup> century.

While the records of Fort McKay and Fort McMurray are clearly limited in both temporal and geographical scope, those originating from Fort Chipewyan provide significant insight into harvesting practices and land use patterns since the late eighteenth century. Records from outlying posts such as Portage La Loche, Lac La Biche and Fort Vermilion may be useful insofar as they provide confirmation that many of the same species were harvested throughout the region over time. In short, the documentation available for the posts that bound the study area is key to the study of regional traditional resource use.

The extant records are expected to be most useful with respect to the identification of harvested species and to the quantification of those harvests. The records of Fort Chipewyan make it possible to identify trends in the populations of most major wildlife populations for about a century and a half; that is, up to the time when oral history investigations first become reliable. The following chart provides an example of lynx harvests over a single generation, in this case for the period 1858 to 1870. This data was derived from Fort Chipewyan records (HBCA B39/9/153).

**Figure 1 Lynx Returns 1858-1870**



If the detailed Post Journals are consulted in addition to the Account Books, it should also be possible to identify patterns of historical land use

throughout much of the study area. Examination of the Journals would also go far toward identifying specific locations of economic or cultural importance.

Accordingly, should a more detailed record of the historic traditional uses of the area be required, it is recommended that additional archival research be undertaken on the following basis:

#### **4.1 FORT CHIPEWYAN RECORDS**

- The Fort Chipewyan records are critical to an appreciation of traditional resource patterns within the Regional Municipality of Wood Buffalo. Accordingly, it is recommended that all available data be retrieved from the extant records of Fort Chipewyan and analyzed for the period 1783 to 1930.
- Account Book data on fur returns should be analyzed by natural resource type as far as possible to provide an indication of changing population levels by species, their geographical distributions, and the uses to which those resources have been put over time. Second, data relating to trade goods should be analyzed over time to illuminate changing patterns of subsistence among the aboriginal people.
- Data from the Post Journals should be analyzed in terms of the geography of the trade, seasonal trading and provisioning routines, trading participants and their social and economic organization, changing transportation networks, trading competition, and the international fur market.
- Analysis of these data should be undertaken within the context of Fort Chipewyan's overall evolution as a trading and administrative centre in the Athabasca District since 1783. There are numerous secondary works on Fort Chipewyan that can facilitate this discussion (e.g., Parker 1987, Wuetherick 1972, Krause 1976, McCormack 1984)
- Maps, photographs and other illustrative materials that may shed light on patterns of natural resource use should be collected and integrated into the data analysis.

#### **4.2 FORT MCKAY AND FORT MCMURRAY RECORDS**

- The records of Fort McKay and Fort McMurray should be considered a valuable, if limited, subset of the Fort Chipewyan data. Looked at another way, the findings of the Fort Chipewyan research will provide the context necessary for appreciation of the more restricted Fort McKay and Fort McMurray records. It should be possible to determine, therefore, whether there were unique patterns of natural resource use associated with specific locales within the study area. It may also be

---

possible to link certain patterns of resource use to locations within the Suncor and Shell lease areas.

#### **4.3 RECORDS FROM PERIPHERAL TRADING POSTS**

- The utility, if any, of the records from peripheral posts such as Lac La Biche, Portage La Loche and Fort Vermilion cannot be determined until investigation of the Fort Chipewyan records is complete. Only then will the geographical coverage of the Fort Chipewyan records and, more importantly, the consistency of that data over time and space, be understood. Accordingly, it is necessary to reserve judgment on the utility of records from the outlying posts for now. The question should be re-visited once the Fort Chipewyan research is complete.

## 5. CLOSURE

We trust this report presents the information you require. Should any portion of the report require clarification, please do not hesitate to contact the undersigned.

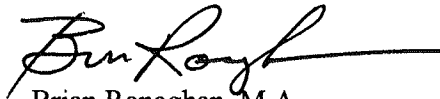
### GOLDER ASSOCIATES LTD.

Report prepared by:




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Report reviewed by:



Brian Ronaghan, M.A.  
Senior Archaeologist



 John R. Gulley, M.Sc., P.Biol.  
Oil Sands Project Director



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**APPENDIX I: A SAMPLE OF  
ACCOUNT BOOK DATA**

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY					
1	2	3	4	5	6
				2	

Reference :—

B. 39/d/ 63

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# Hudson's Bay Company.

INCORPORATED 2<sup>ND</sup> MAY 1670.

CTION B

ASS 39

B-DIVISION d

ECE 63

SCRIPTION

FORT CHIPEWYAN -  
ACCOUNT BOOK

1837 - 1838

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# Index

Norway House Dr  
 MacKenzie River Dist.  
 Northern Voy. Expedition

2.

1

2

6

Inventory - Stock on Hand 1838-

Leather Depot

15 1/2

29

Returns

31 1/2

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B.39/d/63



# Recapitulation of Returns

[illegible]

# Accounts

Outfit 1837

Vernilion	Dunrobin	Total	Page	Foot	Foot	Foot	Foot	Total	Amount
£	s	d		£	s	d	£	s	d
94	98	410	14/2	138	19	"	75	14	4
12	31	79		30	9	8	4	15	11
7	11	24	13/2	4	11	"	"	"	"
2	14	7		15	2		"	"	"
2	20	22	18/2	"	"	"	"	"	"
2	14	6		"	"	"	"	"	"
704	792	2265	34/6	704	11	"	369	1	"
770	179	1229	13/6	182	5	"	74	5	"
		12/2							
76	113	156	16/3	14	5	"	13	16	3
15	32	64	14/4	3	13	8	"	"	"
17	111	213	43/4	231	3	4	38	"	"
30	213	350	12/4	49	19	"	16	"	8
59	224	487	4/6	35	13	6	9	4	6
"	20	2/2		1	12	"	1	1	4
140	2159	4461	9/6	610	7	6	36	11	6
433	502	4139	7/9	2076	14	9	649	1	3
18	2	91	2/10	9	12	6	"	14	7
089	110	10430	10	232	10	"	152	7	6
12	9	308	14/4	166	12	"	67	15	2
"	31	600	23/6	44	14	11	"	"	"
"	3200	8574		8	10	8	7	5	1
"	16	6		1	"	6	"	2	6
57	21	745	2/6	47	"	"	37	2	6
3	12	31	10/1	6	10	"	1	10	"
				3225	16	2	1554	12	"
							2633	15	5
							3507	7	5
							10549	9	"



Atlatlasca District Account

[illegible]



Outfit 1837

· 22

Fort Chipewyan	Fort Resolution	Fort Vermilion	Fort Dunlop	Total Amount
3003 14 2	1554 12	2683 15 5	3507 7 5	10549 9 "
19 " "	13 15 "	11 5 "	9 15 "	53 15 "
16 10 "	2 12 6	" " "	7 6 "	19 10 "
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2 6 "	" " "	" " "	" " "	2 6 "
4 8 "	" " "	" " "	" " "	4 8 "
3067 7 10	1571 19 6	2695 " 5	3520 9 11	12634 17 8

## **APPENDIX II: A SAMPLE OF REPORTS ON DISTRICTS**

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY					
1	2	3	4	5	6
				2	

Reference: —

B224/e/1

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# Hudson's Bay Company.

INCORPORATED 2<sup>ND</sup> MAY 1670.

SECTION

B

CLASS

224

SUB-DIVISION

e

PIECE

1

DESCRIPTION

VERMILION FORT  
(Peace River)

REPORT on DISTRICT

1822 - 1823

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# Report of the Establishment of Fort Vile million (Race River). Athabasca Department 18<sup>th</sup> Feb.

1<sup>st</sup> Limits of the Port - Surrounded by the following Establishments -  
Fort Chipewyan to the North - Dawson to the South - Athabasca  
River & Rivière la Piche to the Eastward - Fort Macleod, Athabasca  
River & Rivière are lead to the Westward -

2<sup>nd</sup> Navigable Rivers, Lakes - means of transport &c. - On this head -  
it may be said that the only River of any note is the  
Race River upon the North side of which the Port is  
situated & by which River our means of transport is carried  
on - there are several small Rivers that fall in to the main  
River such as Little River - Kogi River from River & Big River  
but none of them are navigable except in spring with small  
Canoes - The Country abounds in very small lakes where  
wild geese are plenty spring & fall - Duck has been found in  
two of these lakes - the first being upon the South side of the  
River & about three days travelling from this where a fishing boat  
to be made in the fall until 11<sup>th</sup> when it failed - the fish  
in this lake were very small white fish - The next fish  
lake is upon the Caribou Mountains behind the lake where  
some of Colville H<sup>rs</sup> & about 3 days march from the River &  
from this about 4 days - In this lake very fine white fish are  
caught & a few Trout - if properly attended to a very great fish-  
ery may be made in the fall -

3<sup>rd</sup> Nature of the Country, Soil & Vegetable Productions -

The Country may be called pretty level & swampy covered with  
Wood & numerous small Plains - The soil generally sandy -  
The timber or wood is what is called the Pine of different  
species - Birch, Asp. Poplar & Willow - The only vegetable &  
Grain that has been cultivated to any extent is Potatoes, Turnips  
& Parsley which produce well - Onions, Cabbage, Carrots &c.  
also will come to maturity but as yet no great farming has been  
done with them -

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Reference -

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HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

1 2 3 4 5 6

4<sup>th</sup> Animals. Two of the large animals are The Moose Deer  
Belt Deer, Wood Buffalo, Black Bear & Wolf - & the small are  
the Beaver, Otter, Weasels, Fox, Lynx, Marten & Mink and  
from the above may be seen what kinds the place produces -

5<sup>th</sup> Game - The game is very scarce but considerably more  
than at the Athabasca falls -

6<sup>th</sup> The advantages of this place are very few over any other except it  
is that ground is better for our trading & being a central place  
in the Northwest being in the fur -

7<sup>th</sup> (a) The disadvantages are from the unsettled state of the country  
in large animals which renders it very difficult to procure  
Fur & Meat upon which the people of the establishment have  
been hitherto chiefly fed

8<sup>th</sup> The only other advantage from the

9<sup>th</sup> Means of subsistence - principally just Meat is what is most  
and for subsistence & health the produce of our trading has afforded  
great assistance - The Indians who are employed to hunt for  
the Post are very expensive to the Company & it is attended with  
some trouble to get them to hunt owing to their being very subject  
to illness at times when employed as Post hunters - The Post  
that may be taken on the Lake on the Canadian Mountains will  
afford great assistance if properly attended to. as yet it is not  
known whether any thing further than a fall fishing can be made  
This year owing to the great scarcity of animals & bad luck attending  
the hunters a considerable quantity of dressed provisions has been  
consumed - On regarding dressed provisions are generally served

10<sup>th</sup> Out -  
Efficiency & more than conduct & character -

Campbell in charge of the establishment for whose character refer-  
ence must be made to the report of the Senior Chief factor of  
the department as he desired work to be by men from the  
the person who under the report - Sir Robertson has been  
accomplished for the service - A very able & sound a very  
much young man with a wish to do well but very solidly

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B224/e/1

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY  
1 2 3 4 5 6  
7 8 9 10 11 12

and in the morning of pelting he is exposed by all the birds - that  
they are like all other birds much given to lying & fond of killing  
jabalous others - Their hunting grounds are very limited & they are  
sure to fall in with some birds when they go any distance & when  
they meet they are sure to loose their lives at "Pambling" which they  
are remarkably fond of -

15<sup>th</sup> - 14<sup>th</sup> The Coalition has had a very apparent effect upon  
the Indians. It has put them at a stand - not knowing what to do nor  
try to much until they receive from their leaders - and what they  
must be industrious or starve - The above cause occasioning the state  
of trade not very favorable but it is expected that it will flourish in  
a few years -

15<sup>th</sup> The suggestion to be made is - That it is thought advisable  
to remove the Post to Belvidere at a distance of about 4 days walk  
in winter before they to be near the Post Lake & Long River  
where the one half of the Indians could be dependent with for  
feeding the people of the Whaddahunt - The removal of the Post  
might lengthen the Road from May River about two days. In the  
of the latter place being whaddahunt from whence the Rhinos are brought  
a stop land but then at 300 H. it would be much easier to procure  
Portage to transport the Pack & be a great saving to the Company -

16<sup>th</sup> On other occasions all the animals & birds from the  
Journal of daily transactions -

### Extract from the Journal

16<sup>th</sup> May 16<sup>th</sup> At an early hour the Census left this for the  
Lake junction in all including 2 Light - Mr. King  
& Mr. Fox Mr. Gillmore) having the following  
Persons to accompany him. A Campbell, who is a  
Mr. Fox, who is a - (London London representative -  
of Foxon, who is a - 10<sup>th</sup> Grand - Engage  
in 100 men & 6 children - The men employed  
in putting the Post in order after the battle of  
whaddahunt - One Foxon having been all

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### **APPENDIX III: A SAMPLE OF A POST JOURNAL**





1881

Nov<sup>r</sup> 21 Monday. Louis & Gouche left  
for the lake this morning, &  
Lindain repaired a sled. A  
few sleds running good. Snow  
22 Tues. McLeod & Lindain out  
winter work. Snow  
23 Wed. Men as usual.  
Lacquit arrived from Lacfish  
Lake with the dogs he had  
kept there since last evening &  
some fish oil.  
24 Thue. A. Piche and Maurice  
started with 1 team of dogs  
to bring Lacquats dried fish  
from Lacfish Lake.  
25 Friday. Men as usual.  
Heavy snowfall.  
26 Sat. Men as usual. Snow.  
27 Sun. Mr. McLeod took out  
dogs to Saline where Mr. Shing  
out him. 130 fms. at lake.  
28 Mon. Men as usual. Snow.  
29 Tues. Men as usual. Clear.  
30 Wed. Men as usual. Lindain  
complained of his rations being  
short. He was told he could  
not get more than two mens  
allowance & standing a Rules  
of 1872.  
Grand Josie wife mending snow-  
shoes.  
Dec 1 Thue. Men as usual. McQuincy  
arrived from lake. His dogs get-  
ting worse to bring his load to the

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PACKET

1881

Dec

- 1 Sat. The caught 100 fish in one haul yesterday and now has 200 on hand. 320 of the river fish alone remain on hand.
- 2 Fri. Mr MacRulay left for the Lake this morning. Other men as usual. C. Smith and Mr. Pouché returned from Whitefish Lake with 180 dried fish from Sturgeon's cache and a deer 15 lbs which C. Smith killed on the road.
- 3 Sat. Men at usual work.
- 4 Sun. Mr MacRulay and Mr. Pouché arrived from the Lake with 120 fish being half of number caught - 10 state. MacRulay left five nets in the water for the old crew women to attend to.
- 5 Mon. MacRulay and Louis Pouché making dog whips, and mending dog sleds and harnesses. Others at usual work.
- 6 Tues. Mr. Delay and Louis left for Sackfish Lake to haul fish. McLeod and Sinclair as usual.
- 7 Wed. Men at ordinary work.
- 8 Thru. Men at ordinary work. Two of P. L. D. men with one train dog arrived with mail from Charlton this evening.
- 9 Fri. The P. L. D. men left this morning for P. L. D. Men as usual.

PACKET

1882

5

Jan 21 Sat MacShulay getting  
firewood. Lindan cattle  
keeping. Louis & Pouches  
hunting.

22 Sun. Very cold.  
Grandjose's widow & Maurice  
left the fort to rejoin their  
friends in the woods.

23 Mon. C. & Piche & Louis  
went to Swan Lake for  
fish. MacShulay fixing  
store.

24 Tuesday. MacShulay at  
same work as on 23<sup>rd</sup>

25 Wed. MacShulay cutting  
ice & getting firewood.

26 Thurs. MacShulay made  
a trap frame.

C. & Piche & Louis arrived  
with 310 fish only the rest  
of La Pense's catch having  
been stolen by a <sup>Q. L. L.</sup> <sup>Chap</sup>  
woman - probably La Pense  
himself.

27 Fri. MacShulay & Lindan  
several.

28 Sat. Louis & Pouches left  
the service promising how-  
ever to come back in time  
to go down with the pack.  
MacShulay putting ice in  
the store cellar.

29 Sunday

30 Monday. MacShulay hauling ice

Jan 30 Mon. cont<sup>d</sup> O. & Pike went  
off hunting and tracked five  
moose

31 Tues. Mac Rulay cleaning bar.  
Ly. O & Pike hunting but  
killed nothing.

Feb 1 Wed. Mac Rulay looking  
for shingle wood but found  
none. O & Pike killed a  
doe moose.

2 Thurs. Mac & Rulay, hauling  
wood and attending the  
store. O & Pike hunting.  
a Pap & a few Alutians, a Paul  
and a Churchman came  
in to trade furs and provisions  
a Paul has been killing salmon  
moose since he was last in  
and they all report moose  
and wood all to be plenty  
fuel.

3 Fri. Men trading with the  
Alutians who all left for their  
camps today.  
O & Pike doing nothing.  
a Mac Rulay started to  
trade with the Alutians at  
the lake where a Paul had  
left his provisions of lard.  
4 Sat. Mac Rulay returned  
from the lake (about 10<sup>00</sup>)  
a few of the Alutians came in for  
supplies. O & Pike hunting but

Feb 5 Sat  
6 Sun  
7 Mon  
8 Tues  
9 Wed  
10 Thurs  
11 Fri  
12 Sat  
13 Sun  
14 Mon  
15 Tues  
O & Pike  
Feb 16

March 4 Saturday. Mr. Luvall  
hauled four <sup>loads</sup> ~~bags~~ and  
Sigsbee two loads heavy  
bald.

5 Sunday. S. Macaulay  
arrived with 350 lb fresh  
meat from Adams cache.  
The reports deer tracks being  
very numerous across the  
tells & Ed & Enue.

6 Monday. Macaulay spell-  
ing. Sinclair & Macleod at  
usual work.

7 Tuesday. Macaulay clear-  
ing and hauling barky from  
the island. Macleod saw-  
ing the house and hauling  
wood. Thaw.

8 Wed. Macaulay hauled  
the rest of the barky from  
the island and after wards  
fixed two dog harness.

9 Thurs. Macaulay left this  
morning with 4 dogs to fetch  
meat from Whingsvorn's cache  
& Burns arrived this evening  
with the packet from Fort  
Chippingan bringing 5 of our  
dogs back. Diamond still there.  
The packet left after dark  
with the three C servants who  
came this morning with 9 pas-  
senger & 2 dogs for transmission  
to St. John in spring.

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1882

March 14

Tues. O. E. Macaulay came from R. & Poushie's camp with 32 lb of fresh meat.

15<sup>th</sup> Wed. Sinclair's hauler, & Ray, in Lind wood. Co. Sinclair making a hay frame. Macaulay resting.

Stole Grandiose and Charles & Piche's son came in to stay for supplies. They report fair fur hunt.

16<sup>th</sup> Thurs. A heavy & snow storm from the north. Co. & Piche finished the hay frame. Piche's men variously employed.

A. & P. came in with his own and Alex's furs to trade.

17 Friday. S. & P. arrived from A. & L. with 49 furs having left 44 at camp on route.

Co. & Piche making an old Macaulay's fishing dog sled wrappers. Sinclair & Macaulay as usual.

Cold

18 Sat. Macaulay, & P. & Co. & Piche left for A. & L. with 3 teams of dogs to bring

Mar. 18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

1882

April 3 and the Lynx Party the men  
have not been put in touch  
O. & the left to join his  
brother at each side and  
not appreciating the com-  
-ments his laziness which  
-shows grumbling dragging  
and determination not to  
-try to supply the place  
with provisions limited.  
This Indian formerly  
did well but has become  
demoralized by the getting  
-himself from successive  
-Lougheis and requires to  
be reduced to the hands  
of ordinary things of his  
tribe.

4 Tuesday. Charles & Kate  
and David Johnson who  
arrived yesterday have  
-port their hunt of get-  
-supplies left to day. The  
former has made a good  
winter hunt having now  
MB 300. The latter &  
John & George MB 100 each  
men employed as on 3d  
I have continued

5 Wednesday. Maelwa  
arrived from the lake  
to ask J. & Brown to go out  
there with goods to trade  
with Neapolahwakum

April 5.

0

7

8



- Apr 9 Sunday.  
 10 Monday. Sinclair & Bruno hauling hay to roof stable and putting furs & goods in it. Chawchin arrived to be paid for his promiscuous anti-in on the 7th.  
 11 Tuesday. Bruno pulled down old kitchen. Sinclair assisting packing up goods to be put in the stable on the bank for fear of a flood. Gut-chawing.  
 12 Wednesday. Sinclair and Bruno hauled 3 loads hay for roof of the stable and afterwards storing sundries there. Warm.  
 13 Thursday. Sinclair working at stable and various jobs. Bruno cutting fencing. Macleod arrived from the lake with 59 split and 8 fresh fish intended to ration the train of dogs, which he also brought a packet arrive for the north.  
 The white fish at the lake are poor at this time of year but there are enough assorted fish caught to feed 12 dogs and 2 men easily there. The fishery gets better the warmer the weather. It is very satisfactory to have found that the lake is capable

Successful fishery at the Green Lake

April 13 of the sp. here is rep. fish Eng. there at each fish 903. the out a help Paul believe and here. The f. 14 Fri. of Sinclair the pr. In the lake Cold by the 15 Sat. 14th a to be in the river the 14th. The lake

1882

April

12

Summer  
Fishing

13. of supplying the fort in food during the spring, at time of great scarcity here in former years. The lake is reported to swarm with fat white fish in summer and the Indian Angeliqun has been hired to fish there during the coming summer at these rates: viz - for feeding each day \$3.10 for 100 dried fish \$3.50 for each gallon oil \$2.25. & is to be supplied by the Company. If this project turn out well it will prove a mighty help to the fort.

Paul here arrived from across the Clearwater River having killed and consumed one deer one bear and two moose since he was last here.

Geese

The first geese (then) were seen this morning.

14. Friday. Bruno hauling fireing Sinclair looking after cattle on the prairie and at various jobs. Inched himself returned to the lake to assist Inge on day fishing. Cold last night but thawing heavily through the day.

15. Saturday. Men employed as on 14<sup>th</sup> and Sinclair brought in two horses to be in readiness to gather cattle should the river break. He cut the bull calf on the 14<sup>th</sup>.

The Clearwater is getting open in patches

1882

April

19

may be expected to break. Sinclair hatching earth day and night. Macaulay sowed some cabbage and cauliflower seed in little boxes to start them inside.

20

Thursday. A heavy fall of snow last night which is melting today. Bruno is busy. Sinclair as before.

21

Friday. Macaulay left for the lake taking all the dogs with him. He is on land track and using a cross staff and using brute force was shot.

Bruno cutting furrow. Sinclair as before.

22

Saturday. The prairie of Tannuail breaks broke up to day. The clean water runs getting open. Bruno cutting furrow. Sinclair hatching earth and burning prairie.

Rain this morning.

23

Sunday. Sinclair burnt some more of the prairie.

The Whaitasee River is getting open. On each side the water runs in cracks above is running on the surface of the ice and open water appears on the sand banks. A faint rumbling is to be heard up the river from which it is thought the ice is about to break up. The clean water is now quite loose at the prairie.



1882  
May

18

Thursday. R Macaulay left for the lake to hand over the dogs and fishing gear to Chuvehim and bring home all that is not required. Then Sinclair fencing field. Macleod attending to nets and helping abience. Only one fish caught to day. Snow and sleet from NW to SW to day.

19

Friday. Macleod put up fencing with Sinclair and caught three suckers and two perch. The fence round the potato field is now finished.

Blowing a strong breeze of cold NW wind to day. Calm and chilly towards evening.

20

Saturday. Macleod filling 80. R Macaulay arrived from the lake this evening. Sinclair finished the fencing and killed bucky and

21

Sunday. The cow calved yesterday - another bull calf.

22

Monday. Sinclair making wedges and nails for the fur press. Macleod fishing (3) and tying furs to day. Macaulay attending to the milking and working at customer and furs. Alvin here brought in 12 beaver.

23

Tuesday. Men tying and airing furs. Chipewyans arrived with furs.

24

Wednesday. Men as yesterday. Chipewyans left.

1882  
May

June

1892

Sep 6 Wed. cont'd.

from S. L. L. for St. Chip in  
arrived with steamboat  
machinery.

Masaulay cutting hay and  
attending to potatoes over.

Maclach & Macdonald gathering  
hay.

7<sup>th</sup> Thursday. Simon Mac-  
donald and the two sons from  
St. L. (Potatoes over) left for  
home this morning leaving the  
creek and the 2<sup>nd</sup> section home.

Masaulay & Macdonald cut-  
ting hay.

and then left for home  
the horses left by Macdonald.

8<sup>th</sup> Friday. Masaulay traveling  
with a lot of Chipewyan  
who arrived today.

Maclach & Macdonald  
working at hay.

Macdonald and Macdonald  
returned from searching for  
Maclach having followed up  
his track to here.

9<sup>th</sup> Saturday. Macdonald, the  
black, Macdonald & Macdonald  
cutting, and Masaulay &  
Macdonald gathering hay.

10 Sunday.

11 Monday. The black took  
one potato and started all  
alone for St. Chipewyan.

1892

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1884 Monday. C. Agnew left for  
 Jan 6 Jackfish Lake this forenoon  
 W. Nicolson, A. Mac Donald  
 & A. Sanver arrived from  
 Fort Chip. with the pack at this  
 afternoon - 5 days on the way  
 8 Tuesday. Nicolson & A. San  
 ver left for Fort with pack  
 this morning.  
 Mac Donald repelling.  
 Mouslatie setting snares  
 Militaire hauling hay  
 9 Wednesday. Macdonald  
 looking for juniper wood Militaire  
 cutting wood. Mouslatie as  
 on Sat  
 10 Thursday. Macdonald  
 & Mouslatie left to fetch the  
 rest of the mouse meat sold  
 by J. Black. Militaire  
 cutting wood. Hauled 4 loads  
 wood.  
 11 Friday. Militaire hauling  
 wood. Heavy snow  
 12 Saturday Militaire as on 11  
 & Mac Donald returned.  
 13 Sunday.  
 14 Monday. Mouslatie mended  
 15 Tuesday. Militaire mending  
 an ox sled. Mac Donald mending  
 horse sleds.  
 16 Tuesday. Mouslatie started  
 to the lake for fish  
 Other ones as on 14th. Snow.

1884 We  
 Jan. 16 50;  
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 24 The  
 hay.  
 sled  
 from

1884 Thursday. cont.

Jan 24 Nicholson, Fontaine, Jackson  
Jannet and Mr. Lemay  
arrived from A.L.D. with fish  
and goods for N. 1, 2, 3.

25 Friday. J. Jannet & Michel  
Lemay left for A.L.D. today.  
Militaire hauling hay.

26 Saturday. Fontaine left  
for A.L.D. Nicholson haul-  
ed 4 loads hay. Militaire  
cutting wood. Mac Donald  
and Moustato returned from  
lake with 390 fresh fish.

27 Sunday.

28 Monday. Mac Donald  
and Militaire left for the  
lake with 3 horse sleds.  
Moustato visited his Lynn  
marus and brought 3.  
Nicholson hauled 4 loads  
hay. Paul Bruce's two sons  
who arrived yesterday left  
this morning.

29 Tuesday. Nicholson & train  
started for lake with 3rd  
Bruce to visit fishing.  
Moustato getting wood.

1884

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3 Feb

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1884 Tuesday, Macdonald's haul-  
 Feb 12 ing the back the cut. Macdon-  
 ald and Moustaki hauling ice.  
 Macdonald preparing to start for  
 Fort Chipewyan tomorrow.

Wed 13 Mr. Coue started this morning (on horse)  
 for Fort Chipewyan accompanied by Mr. Macdonald.  
 Rodrick Macaulay hauled ice, John McDonald  
 and William Flett hauled birch, with dogs.

Thurs 14 Moustaki hauling birch. Grogan returned from  
 the Lake late last night and hauled hay today  
 with two men. John Flett sawing birch for ex-  
 sled runners, Rodrick thrashing barley, Angus  
 McLeod attending to the cattle and looking

Frid 15 Packet Arrived from Portage La Loche, Two sleds  
 & 3 men. one of these men Alexander Sylvestre will  
 go down with the packet to Fort Chipewyan,  
 All of the engaged servants at the same work as  
 yesterday.

Sat

16 Packet left for Fort Chipewyan, Two sleds &  
 dogs in charge of William Flett and Alexander Sylvestre,  
 the Portage men. Chas. Lawrence and Michael LeMay  
 left in the afternoon, John McDonald made  
 a new hay sled, Rodrick, Grogan & Moustaki  
 at the same occupation as yesterday.

Sun 17 Weather stormy Wind West nothing worthy  
 of note transpired.

Mon 18 Weather still stormy, R. Macaulay, thrashing.



1884 Thursday. Macdonald left  
Mar 20 for 'Lars Island' to oversee the  
cutting of 50 cords wood chie  
for steamers.

Mac Anlay cutting wood

21 Friday. Mac Anlay as on  
20th

22 Saturday Mac Anlay as on  
21st.

Old crew & family arrived

23 Sunday.

24 Monday. Mac Anlay fixing  
ice house. Mr. Led hauling  
hay.

25 Tuesday. Men as on 24th

26 Wednesday. Men as on 24th  
J. M. Donald returned having  
with the ship 50 cords  
wood at Lars Island  
Old crew left camp at noon

27 Thursday. Men as on 24th. J.  
Macdonald into & off duty.  
Ship left today

28 Friday. Men as on 27th

29 Saturday. Men as on 27th. The  
Old crew left for point for lumber

1884 Sun.  
Mar 30 day  
Cattle  
31 Mon  
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April 1 Tues  
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1884 Friday. Mr Donald putting up  
May 16 goods for O & P Beach and  
preparing outfit for Oklabawa.  
Mr. Davis, returned at 2-15 PM  
with Ducharme and outfit the  
latter having been purchased by  
him for \$500<sup>00</sup> cash. After open-  
ing out and checking these goods  
the citizens were settled with.

Saturday Mr Donald and  
Mr. Aubrey packing up traders  
goods for the Tripunyan; and  
getting off ready for trip.  
Churchman arrived with his herd  
of Othman. A Bull Bull also  
arrived with Thomas.

Sunday. Ducharme and men  
left for aasaa & Dale road  
from a line. I heard him let  
horns for trip. O & P for  
Hay House. I pay for any  
damage to animals & horses.

Monday. John Mr Donald  
& left with the trip team with  
cattle for the trip the morning  
Churchman goes with him to R.R.  
from there Louis & Donald.  
Mr. Aubrey arranging furs.  
Monstano arrived with his  
spring team - O & P & Davis.  
Mr. Davis fencing garden.

Wednesday. left for O & P  
Tuesday. Monstano & Mr. Aubrey  
packing furs. Mr. Davis finished garden

1884  
July 11

Friday! Portage on Monday missed the truck and had to make a raft to cross on, furnis books son & him in all right. Mr. Woods made up books & opened New Ledger Mr. Culey was hauling fishing nets David (Schewigian) arrived in afternoon Louis nothe will not let him stay to haymaking, - damn her. Several heavy showers.

12 Saturday David Schewigian went up river to cut Bank. Mr. Woods & Mr. Anderson cut 43 Poplar logs for Hattie stable in afternoon Mr. Ogilvie & I came with three men of his party, he is exploring the Athabasca River, and reported having lost a man in Long Rapids, killed by name. From account it appears the canoe, a Peterboro, was heavily laden in the forenoon shooting drifted & filled his partner swan ashore but owing to heavy boots & a cartridge belt round his waist he was unable to get ashore although they saw him some half-mile or more from where the accident happened. The body was not found.

13 Sunday. Fine warm day. Indian wives said the having fled when Mr. Ogilvie came, Angus laughingly saying he was going to take the country.

14 In morning I fixed, made & helped Rodrick to pack fur in afternoon coded pack what went to look at crops wrote up books. Mr. cutting logs up river Indians cutting back. Mr. Ogilvie leaves tomorrow Angus free.

15 Mr. Ogilvie left in morning forwarded by him mail to steamer. Woods Sept. 1. David cutting logs up river.

16 Wednesday Mr. Woods Rodrick David came as yesterday Paul Grace & Francois Beck came down the river Rodrick counting furs etc.

1884

July 17

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several other passengers on board going out  
Hutchinson left for En land to return  
next Summer. I went, round, to Marie & landed  
there. A. C. Brian Brother. Got the Mission stay  
here. on Lac La Piche boats

Thursday 24th July. Wapishian Cyprian & Galician  
cutting cord wood on land for Xavier & Wood  
Dor's house at last David sick, quips. Chrysostom  
to see a ter fort at night. Wind Law away to stay  
about ten days. Rained in afternoon, we were  
were cooking making hay. Saw black bear on track

Friday 25th. Came over to Fort about 9 A.M. Day  
wet from rain made some wood racks, cleared up in  
afternoon cooked day & worked a little. Indians cutting cord

Saturday 26. Rained a little in night. Cut hay in  
morning, early got up part of a stack commenced  
to rain about 3 P.M. made ladder & came over to Fort  
Two Indians cutting cord wood

Sunday 27th. Went round for walk by little river  
to see if there was any tamarac but could not find  
any came home by prairie rained in evening

Monday July 28th. Cut hay in morning began  
to rain about eleven as soon as we had scattered  
the cocks made path. boater horses at river.  
Thunderstorm in evening. Gregoire came in from  
lake with Cheurichine & Paul son, brought fish,  
very few. Chrysostom party left in morning.

Tuesday July 28 Lac La Piche Dupion boat arrived  
Two priests right sisters & 5 brothers. The father  
baptised David Gallen's child Victorine Stennette  
Marie. Rained heavily in afternoon. Sent Paul  
& son, M. M. Farlane to receive for loan a payment.

Wednesday July 29th. Pack left in morning boat for  
Lac La Piche in afternoon, men at hay cutting.

Wednesday.

whole one a  
Thursday -  
James firm  
commenced.

Friday. A  
catch fire  
from Por  
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Saturday  
burn some  
mist. I

to fort in  
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Monday. A  
after men

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came in. A  
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Gregoire M.  
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Wednesday  
fine weather

Thursday  
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all that he

1884 Monday (cont.) to look for big Bull  
Aug 18 which did not turn up with other  
cattle on Saturday morning. Bte  
Anderson went off & Joe Leisk stays  
in his place. No work done at hay a  
few slight showers.

19 Tuesday Bte. Cree left. Joe Leisk  
cutting myself & others carting rained  
in evening.

20 Psyche ran out after tracking  
the cattle he went to where they all  
turned but one which he traced  
a considerable round and again  
came to track at the little river  
I suppose the bull crossed the  
Pembina & went to pasture as that  
is where they turned homeward.

21 Thursday Joe Leisk & Psyche ran  
went off to visit Alexis Cree who  
sent in word that he would give up all  
his fur (150 beaver some beaver small  
fur if we sent out some things I  
have thought it advisable to get  
this as trader is coming down & he went  
to him last year although W. Bowie  
did otherwise last year. David & myself  
carted hay.

22 Friday Rained all day David came  
over to fort & did odd jobs ground axes etc

23 Saturday Hay cocks wet through with  
yesterday rain scattered & burned them  
before dinner when there was another  
shower David came over to fort & commenced  
to clear brush wood away.

1884  
Aug 24 In  
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