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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE NORTHERN INDIANS OF THE CENTRAL SUBARCTIC TO 1774

by

I. IRMA ECKERT

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

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Abstract

The people of the central subarctic region of Canada have been mentioned in the historical literature for centuries. As well, the early involvement of the Hudson's Bay Company along the peripheries of the region has given modern social scientists a detailed archival record which can be used in analyzing the way of life of the aboriginal population even though they were not described ethnographically at the time. This thesis presents data regarding the trade taking place at the Hudson's Bay Company fort at Churchill, Manitoba from 1717 to 1774, and relates these data to the problem of ascertaining the region of occupancy of the Chipewyan at the time of contact and their involvement in the fur trade. A preliminary analysis of the expense account records, particularly as they relate to Northern Indian (Chipewyan) involvement in the fur trade at Churchill is given. A close reading of the journals kept at Churchill has resulted in the tabulation of the numbers of Northern Indians who came to Churchill during this time period, including the months in which they came. A detailed description of the accounting system used by the Hudson's Bay Company is included.

Acknowledgement

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Of course, it would not have been possible to access the magnificent archival record of the Hudson's Bay Company without the permission of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives in the Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba. That permission, to use and to quote from the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, is gratefully acknowledged.

A total of thirteen weeks were spent in research at the Hudson's Bay Company Archives in Winnipeg in 1983. Special thanks are due to Mrs. Shirlee Ann Smith, Keeper of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, and the members of the helpful staff.

The members of my thesis committee - Dr. Clifford G. Hickey, Advisor; Dr. Henry T. Lewis, and Dr. John Foster - are much appreciated for their guidance and patience. I am especially grateful to Dr. Foster for consenting to serve on the committee at such short notice. Dr. Hickey deserves special mention for his perseverance, and for his insistence on the possibilities of data analysis that finally brought this thesis to completion. Of course, I am solely responsible for any errors in the detailed presentation of these data, if any are found.

The advice and encouragement of Mr. James Parker, who was a member of my committee until illness prevented him from continuing, is greatly appreciated.

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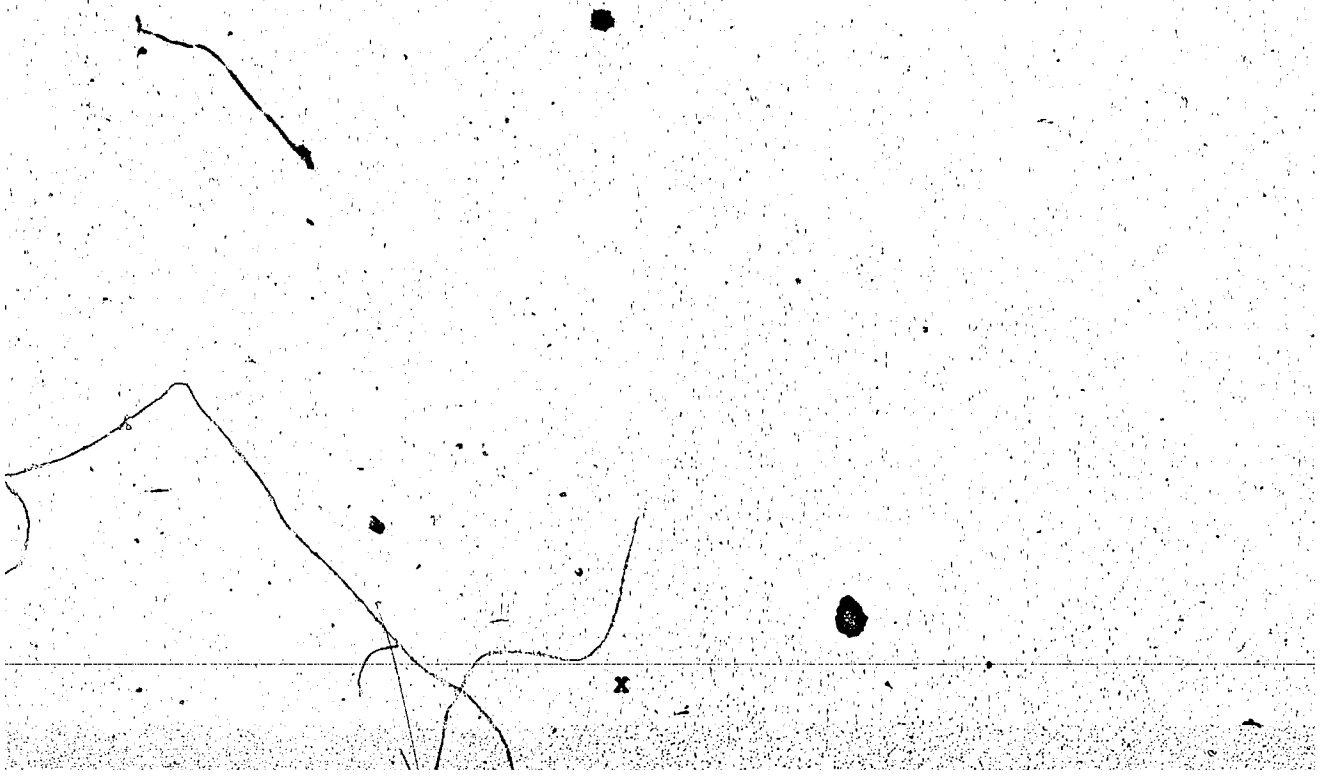

I. Introduction

The vast central interior of Canada is now largely uninhabited, particularly in the north. It was not always so. The ancestors of the aboriginal population now living in centralized communities utilized much more of the land as they exploited the available resources in order to obtain their livelihood. The lifeways of the people of the central subarctic in the prehistoric and early historic eras is not well understood. Archaeological research is expensive and difficult to carry out in this region of thousands of lakes, bogs and blackflies. While considerable work has been done, much of the region is not even surveyed.

Historical and anthropological research has been greatly affected by the fact that European explorers reached the shores of Hudson Bay long before European penetration into the interior. Thus, there are suggestions of possible contacts between aboriginal and European but the records do not offer much concrete information. There are references to the native population long before any useful description is recorded and centuries before anthropologists tried to record a reasonable ethnography. Questions as to the social organization, subsistence patterns, land use, and world view, among others, are intriguing precisely because there is a long record, even though that same record is not expansive.

The aboriginal people of the Canadian central subarctic region thus share a special place in anthropological

research with other peoples who did not record their own history but who also had a long association with Europeans who did so, even if tangentially and unevenly - and from the European point of view, of course. The peoples of Africa and Australia, while they naturally had very different resources to exploit, shared the problem of adapting to the Europeans, of influencing them and being influenced in turn. How such changes influenced culture, or, conversely, how culture changed, has long been of interest to anthropologists in general, not just Athapaskan specialists.

For the purposes of this paper, the central subarctic refers to the Canadian interior from the Mackenzie River to Hudson Bay as far north as Chesterfield Inlet and south to Cape Tatnam. The aboriginal group of most interest in this thesis is the Chipewyan, a branch of the Northern Athapaskans. The Chipewyan are commonly designated as the "Northern Indians" so often referred to in the early fur trade. If this designation is correct, then the Chipewyan are the Canadian Athapaskan group discussed in the earliest historical references.

A. Rationale

The Problem

The variable interpretations found in the literature regarding the early history of the Chipewyan served as stimuli to initiate the research undertaken for this thesis.

In particular, the literature simply does not answer the question of their prehistoric/protohistoric geographical distribution. This issue, the problem addressed in this paper, can be formulated into two questions:

1. What territory did the Chipewyan inhabit at the time of contact?
2. Did the the nature of their involvement in the fur trade include a change in territory as a response?

The divergence found in the literature is summarized in the following list of interpretations of Chipewyan territory:

- occupying the Peace River area as the home region in early historic times, with a gradual movement east and north (Birket-Smith 1930:13; VanStone 1965:6). This view seems to be based on information from Petitot (1885:48). He refers to the Chipewyan going across the Rocky Mountains with the "course of the Peace River" as their home prior to their move to the area between Great Slave Lake and Churchill River.
- living in the region between Hudson Bay and Lake Athabasca with an expansion west and northwest at the time of the fur trade (Osgood 1936:10).
- occupying the taiga/tundra ecotone area from Seal River to Great Bear Lake, with a migration south and west as a result of the fur trade (Gillespie 1975a:351; 1976:6; Smith 1976a:1, 1981a:134).
- including a considerable part of Keewatin, almost as far

north as Chesterfield Inlet (Smith and Burch 1979:79).

- occupation, prior to the eighteenth century, of the barren grounds from northeast of Great Bear Lake to southern Keewatin, followed by expansion east and southeast, reaching as far as Hudson Bay by about 1720, and later expansion to the south and southwest (Yerbury 1976:239,247,257).

Thus, the controversy concerns both the presumed area of occupation at the time of contact, as well as the range of territory at that time, and any change due to fur trade involvement. In other words, the argument concerns both the matter of ascertaining some presumed "home region," and the concept of territory in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries after generations of participating in the fur trade. Solving such a controversy has obvious problems. This study will not attempt to define a "home region" for the Chipewyan. Rather, it is understood in this paper that Chipewyan occupancy of a region could have changed prior to the arrival of Europeans in the New World.

This thesis seeks to ascertain the general region of occupancy at the time of contact as indicated in the archival record. As well, it will present information about the Northern Indian involvement in the fur trade to 1774. Such a summary of data, taken from both historical and archival sources, could then be utilized in interpreting the region of occupancy after 1774, when the Hudson's Bay Company embarked on trade in the interior, and particularly

after the North West Company and its predecessors also entered the fur trade. It could also be useful in interpreting the archaeological record of the central subarctic. Such an approach uses the historical/archival record to shed light on aboriginal life at the time of the recording. After our understanding of the early historic period has increased, then those same records can be utilized in interpreting various kinds of data, both prehistoric and later historic.

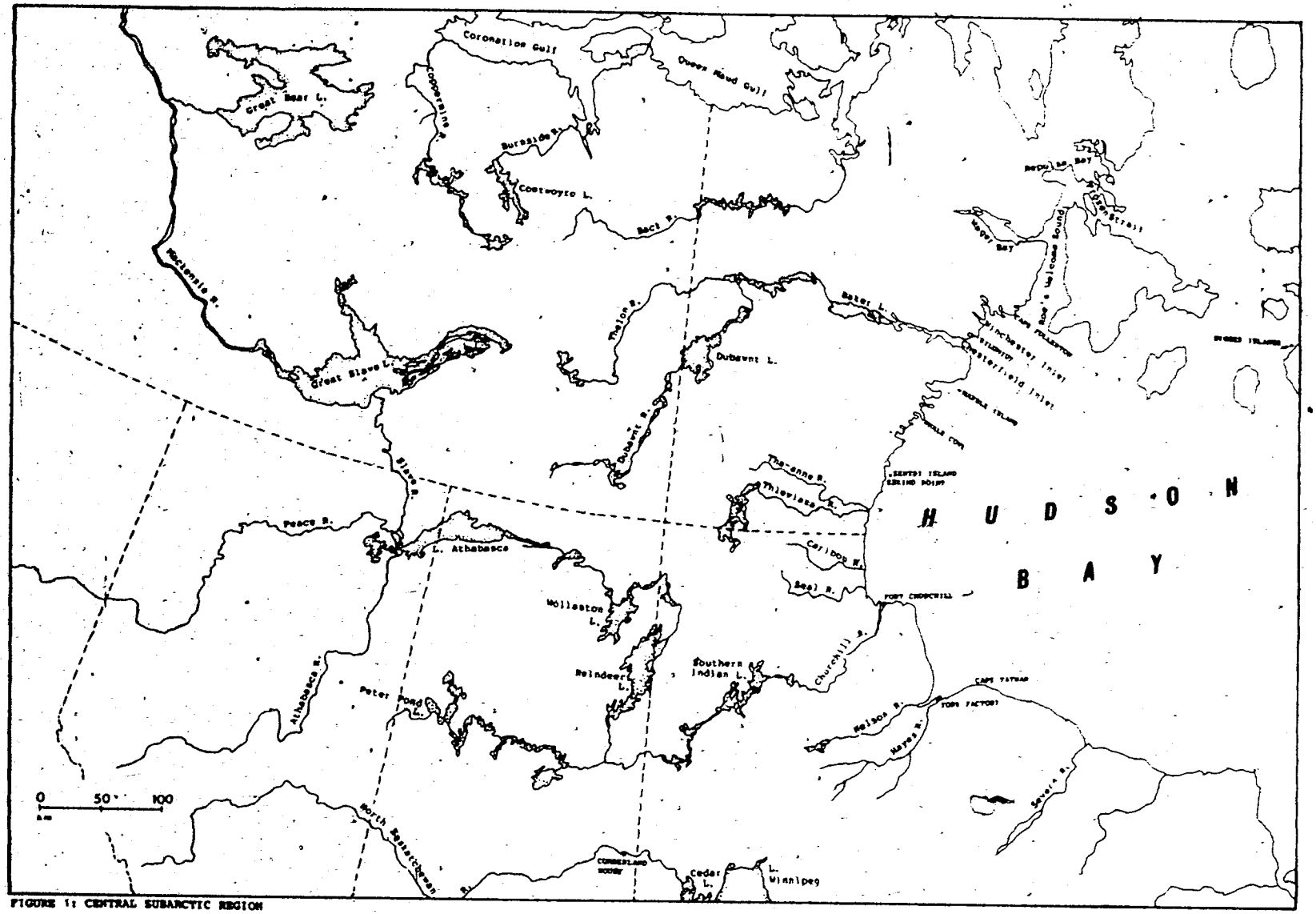

FIGURE 1: CENTRAL SUBARCTIC REGION

Scope of Research

In addition to the question of regional occupancy, other issues have received differing interpretations in the literature, particularly that of Athapaskan social organization. Such differences have been discussed by Krech (1980a, 1980b). These viewpoints are incompatible and therefore a re-assessment of the early records seemed appropriate. However, the assumption that early historic writings of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries could accurately locate people living hundreds of miles in the interior is a grand assumption indeed. Cumberland House in the interior was established in 1774 - 104 years after the Hudson's Bay Company first began to trade in Hudson Bay. Peter Pond made the first recorded trip into the northern interior to collect furs in 1778. That date is 89 years after the earliest recorded involvement of a Northern Indian with the Hudson's Bay Company at the mouth of the Churchill River. Clearly, using archival resources to answer the question of original regional occupancy presents many problems.

Nevertheless, I believed that, as some of the interpretations of these documents were recorded prior to the expansion in Athapaskan studies of the last two decades, a more recent investigation might resolve some of the apparent differences. The records of the early fur trade are found primarily in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives in Winnipeg. Reviewing these primary sources seemed

particularly in order, as previous researchers using these same primary sources sometimes arrived at alternate explanations. For example, the subject of Cree and Athapaskan occupancy of the area around Lake Athabasca has been interpreted differently by Gillespie (1975a, 1976) and Yerbury (1976, 1980). In addition, the need for research into the archival record of the trade at Churchill has been identified in the literature (Krech 1984:105,143).

As well, the major published source for the early period - *A Journey From Prince of Wales's Fort In Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean* (Glover 1958, Tyrell 1911) - describing Samuel Hearne's trips across the Northwest Territories from 1769 to 1772, was originally published in 1795, three years after his death. In this well-known work, replete with references to Northern Indians, he summarizes their involvement in the fur trade:

> The real wants of these people are few, and easily supplied; a hatchet, an ice-chisel, a file, and a knife... The deer they kill, furnishes them with food, and a variety of warm and comfortable clothing... and it must be very hard indeed, if they cannot get furrs enough in the course of two or three years, to purchase a hatchet, and such other edge-tools as are necessary for their purpose. (Glover 1958:51,52).[1]

According to Hearne, there seemed to be little desire or need for the Indians to move south and engage in extensive trapping. This explanation for the minimal involvement of the Northern Indians is given after they had

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[1] As is conventional in the discipline of history, unusual and aberrant spellings of words will not be corrected or identified as such in quotations unless the meaning is affected.

more than fifty years of exposure to that trade. Glover (1958:53) notes that this section is not found in the original report. As such, it may well reflect Hearne's observations as a factor (trader) at Churchill from 1776 to 1787. In view of this possibility, some corroboration by other, earlier sources would be useful. The details of the account books from Fort Churchill offer the data needed to assess Hearne's evaluation of Chipewyan involvement.

The research plan entailed the reading of all available accounts from the early contact period, archival and historical, that dealt directly with the problem, plus such general works as would seem to be helpful. Some of these have been published by the Hudson's Bay Record Society and the Champlain Society. Most of the books by early northern explorers were published soon after the event, and are also readily available today. However, the daily journals of life at the fort and the account books of the Hudson's Bay Company have generally not been published, nor have the Fort Churchill account books been analyzed extensively. Because the problem to be researched included the relationship between territory and Chipewyan involvement in the early fur trade, the trading records of Fort Churchill where the Northern Indians (Chipewyan) had been trading since 1717, assumed particular importance.

The volume of material soon required that a specific time-depth for research be established. The beginning date would be specified by the time of first contact. The date

for the end of research was set as the time of the expansion of Hudson's Bay Company into the interior; that is, the building of Cumberland House in 1774. This expansion took place just after Hearne's journey to the Coppermine River. It is assumed here that the availability of posts in the interior would bring a greater element of competition into the trade. The inference is made that fewer Indians would travel from central Saskatchewan and Alberta to either York Factory or Churchill if they needed to go only as far as the present western border of Manitoba to trade with the same company.

Another major alteration in fur trade patterns was the extensive expansion of the French into the western interior. This expansion took place much earlier. Posts were established on Cedar Lake and Lac des Prairies (Lake Winnipegosis?) in 1741 (Innis 1962:95; Ray 1974:56). While there had always been problems (from the Hudson's Bay Company point of view) with the free traders and French "interlopers" the "building of a house" beside waterways that led to the Hudson's Bay Company posts on the coast had a dramatic effect on the trade, particularly that at York. This paper assumes that the Northern Indians were not affected as much as Southern Indians were, as they continued to go to Churchill. Nevertheless, because other Indians probably did not go to Churchill as often as before, the Chipewyan presence there could have been more highly valued. An assessment of the changes in the fur trade at Churchill

after the French expansion is included in the study, although the French trade itself is not.

The materials researched included all the volumes in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives that comprise the Fort Churchill records - the journals, correspondence, account books - plus those same kinds of materials from York Factory for the earliest years (1688-1740). A total of 219 archival volumes were read, supplemented by published works.

Thus, the aim of this thesis is to present the information found in the archival and historical record regarding Chipewyan regional distribution and involvement in the fur trade to 1774. It is recognized here that many later events, such as the smallpox epidemic of 1781 and the amalgamation of the Northwest Company and the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821, could be of great significance in interpreting later Chipewyan territory. However, that time period is beyond the scope of this paper.

The data presented differ considerably from the usual presentation in papers dealing with the fur trade. In particular, the emphasis is on the quantity of the items traded, not on their value (in Made Beaver). [2] This approach was taken in order to gain information about the native trading population. For example, such statistics would give some representation of the new materials (metals in particular) that reached the Indians in the hinterland and that might be preserved at a site. Also, it gives some

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[2]Made Beaver is discussed in Chapter 3.

particulars about the quantity of more perishable goods (e.g., textiles) that could have been influential in altering subsistence patterns and preferences. It should be noted that these figures refer only to the quantities of goods that left the control of the Hudson's Bay Company; they do not tell us where whose items went, how they may have been altered in function and design, how many times they changed owners before being deposited and abandoned for centuries prior to excavation. Nor do these figures tell us of similar goods that may have reached the same Indians who traded at Churchill but which came from some other European source or through a wide aboriginal trading network. Thus, caution is advised in interpreting these data. Nevertheless, the tabulations of the quantity of the trade goods offered and traded does lend itself to much more specific information about Indians than do statistics dealing with their value in the Hudson's Bay Company currency - the Made Beaver.

In addition, this thesis focuses particularly on the specific information found in the detailed listings of the expense accounts, primarily because these listings often give some precise reference about Northern Indians. This approach involved much recording of small quantities of trade goods, repeated again and again, none of which could conveniently be simplified on location but had to be re-entered and standardized for computer analysis. No doubt that is a factor in the infrequent use of these details. The

same tabulation approach was followed in recording the date when Northern Indians arrived at Churchill. Such a methodology is inherently time-consuming. The results are presented here for their information value, even though the statistical analysis of these data is only preliminary at this time.

This thesis is confined to the early European contact period from 1612 to 1774, with the emphasis on 1682 to 1774, the time of the Hudson's Bay Company. Some basic concepts are presented in the Introduction, followed by a brief summary, in Chapter 2, of significant historical events. A discussion of the fur trade data is given in Chapter 3. The fur trade era is divided into three time periods:

1. prior to the establishment of Fort Churchill in 1717 (Chapter 4).
2. from 1717 until the expansion of French traders into the western interior in 1741 (Chapter 5).
3. from the time of competition with the traders in the interior (primarily French) until 1774 when the Hudson's Bay Company also decided to go into the hinterland to trade (Chapter 6).

A summary of the fur trade data is presented in Chapter 7, followed by the concluding chapter.

B. Conceptual Framework

The "early fur trade" in this paper refers to the entire time period under investigation; that is, from the time of first involvement until a major change in the trading situation occurred, namely, the venture into the interior by the Hudson's Bay Company. My interpretation of "early" follows that of Bishop and Ray (1976) in placing that time at the beginning of the historic era, but it differs in that they set the end of the period at 1763. As their critera for the next period, the "Competitive Trade Era," includes the element of competition among trade centres, 1774 seems more appropriate to the northern fur trade. That date is preferred for its relevance to Hudson's Bay Company trade expansion, although in fact a trading house in the northern interior, closer to the "home" of the Chipewyan, was not established until 1778 by Peter Pond near Lake Athabasca. That date is not desirable for an analysis focusing on Hudson's Bay Company account books, as the establishment of Cumberland House in 1774 meant that a new set of records was added to their bookkeeping system. Any tabulation of the trade at York Factory and Churchill would be affected by the trade being channelled through Cumberland House. As well, there is no way to isolate trade in furs previously reaching Churchill from that reaching York Factory, and now going to Cumberland House. Rather, 1774 marks the end of one era and the beginning of another. The new era is unsettled and marked by swift change. Further,

the fur trade records from 1774 until 1821 (when the competition for the control of the northwest trade ceased) are extremely incomplete.

The concept of territory is interwoven with the issues of ethnicity and boundary maintenance. It is possible simply to assume that territory is that area which a group uses for subsistence. But what is the group? What are the conditions of membership? Does subsistence involve only basic life support? When is a given region accepted as a region belonging to others and when is that ownership infringed upon?

When Europeans of the early contact period discussed Indian land use, they used their concept of territory/ownership and described a group as belonging to a particular region with a particular means of subsistence. The group was usually defined on the basis of language.

Anthropologists have largely maintained this approach (Barth 1969:10-11) in spite of recognizing the factors of fluid membership (e.g., Helm 1965), extensive mobility (e.g., Dawson 1976), and the difficulty in distinguishing ethnicity (e.g., Richmond 1970). It is asserted that Athapaskans have demonstrated a tendency to perceive their socio-territoriality as one of "forming units which overlap if depicted graphically" (Osgood 1936:3); or, stated differently, as "small family-linked groups closely aligned through kin ties, dialect, and shared exploitative zone". (Gillespie 1981:161). However, such fluid associations have

not prevented the discussion of Athapaskans under broad regional and language-based categories (e.g., Helm 1981a).

Why is this so? Most anthropologists would agree with Burch and Correll (1972:18) that simplification abounds and reality is distorted. Nevertheless, such an organizational scheme is practical. It is useful simply because it has been and is being used. As geographical and ethnic designations from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have largely been maintained in the anthropological and historical literature, so too have they prevailed in Athapaskan studies.

Accordingly, the definition for this study is: territory outlines the geographical area utilized by a social group to maintain life; it may overlap with the territory of other social groups. It is assumed here that the ethnic group is that unit of individuals which regards itself as a unit, and which is so regarded by others who do not belong to the group.

The ethnic group under discussion is the Chipewyan. That particular (Cree) label was not in use by Europeans until the late eighteenth century (Smith 1981b:283); Northern Indian was the usual European designation prior to that time. I use the latter term as that is the general designation found in the archival record for the time period under discussion. Continuity from historic Northern Indians to ethnographic Chipewyan is generally assumed, and is accepted by me as well. However, some discussion of the

problem of identification of the early Northern Indians is presented in Chapter 4.

The same rationale has been followed in this paper in using the term Eskimo rather than Inuit. To change all historical and archival references from Eskimo to Inuit is to assume that such references do indeed refer to the ancestors of modern Inuit. That may not be the case. As it is not the purpose of this paper to demonstrate that the historical labelling was correct, it seems advisable to continue with the label in the sources, allowing others to interpret the validity of the designation in another context.

II. Historical Framework

A. Early Exploration

Europeans entered the area of western Hudson Bay as early as 1612 with the English discovery expedition led by Thomas Button (Rundall 1849:86-88). No direct contact took place between these Europeans and aboriginal people along the western coast, although five of Button's men were killed by Eskimos with "large canoes" in the Digges Islands area. Button then crossed the Bay, overwintered at the mouth of the Nelson River (which did not freeze completely until February 16), and sailed north along the coast perhaps as far as 65° north latitude, before returning to England. There are no indications given of any native population along the coast at this time, even though Button and his men spent most of a year in the Nelson River region. Nor were any observations recorded of people along the coast to the north.

A similar conclusion has to be drawn for the expedition of 65 men and two ships from Denmark to what is now Churchill in 1619. Jens Munk and his crew gave knives and iron tools to some natives in Hudson Strait prior to crossing the Bay, but saw no one at their harbour in the mouth of the Churchill River from September of 1619 to July, 1620 (Gosch 1897:13,24,50). Most of the crew died in the course of the winter. The cause of death has usually been ascribed to scurvy, but Young (1973) has concluded that it

was probably trichinosis.

While Munk did not meet any people, there were indications of their presence in the region. The identity of the aboriginal group or groups which left its marks around Munk's *Winterhaven* cannot be ascertained with certainty. The clues to that identity are as follows (Gosch 1897:28-29,32):

- a charcoal drawing "like the half of a devil."
- many "heaps" of wooden chips in the forest, presumably cut with a "curved iron tool."
- square house structures of stone about eight feet square, with "thin flat stones and moss" at one end, and "two flat stones...standing upright, edgewise, about a foot apart; on which two stones, a flat stone is placed" at the other end of the structure.
- bone refuse indicating that the meat eaten was not "very well roasted."
- a large black dog with a muzzle made of "small cords" and with a cleft right ear.

These indications have usually been interpreted as evidence of an Eskimo population (Gillespie 1975a:361n; Gosch 1897:32; Meyer 1976:44; Yerbury 1976:241). However, the pictograph suggests a Cree presence (Burch 1978:5). Burch also concluded that the evidence did not necessarily imply that the people, whatever their cultural identity, were even Munk's contemporaries. (Nor, that the "archaeological manifestations" were all from the same time period - Clifford G. Hickey, personal communication, 1985.)

One of the ships arrived at Churchill harbour a few days after the other,

> having been under the northern land, where an open passage was supposed to exist, but there was none (Gosch 1897:24).

This statement and the map produced by Munk has been the basis for the assertion that these Europeans went as far as Chesterfield Inlet (Birket-Smith 1933:14; Gosch 1897:105-106). However, Thorkild Hansen, who led the "Jens Munk Memorial Expedition 1964", concludes that such a trip was not possible given the time involved and the nature of the coastline; rather, he suggests that the inlets on the well-known map were placed there on the basis of information from some of Munk's English crew members who had been with Button in 1612-1613 (Hansen and Seeberg 1964:f.12-14).

While Munk and his crew did not see anyone else in the western Hudson Bay region, their disastrous experience did provide European artifacts, particularly metal, to the native population. Jérémie later recorded that the items left by the Danes were used as a metal source by the Dogribs (that is, Athapaskans)[3] and Eskimos, who came after the Indians from the York Factory area accidently blew up the "house" in the summer of 1620. The ship left behind had sunk during spring breakup (Douglas and Wallace 1926:18,21). That Northern Indians occasionally travelled to Churchill in order to obtain metal is corroborated by James Knight in

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[3] The term Dogrib was apparently used to refer to Athapaskans in general and was not specific only to the ancestors of modern Dogrib Indians until the nineteenth century (Helm 1981b:303-306).

1716 (B239/a/2,f.26d)* and Samuel Hearne, published in 1795 (Glover 1958:113).

Both Knight and Hearne refer to the previous practices of the Northern Indians. Knight is relating the experience of two captured Northern Indian "boys":

> they had been at Churchill River to look for Iron out of the ship as was broke up there but they did not come very often for fear of there Enemies they had been killd Sev:ll times by there going there (B239/a/2,f.26d).

Hearne is referring to the situation prior to the advent of the Hudson's Bay Company in the area when Northern Indians "found" some iron at Churchill River.

The next European expedition into this region does not provide much more information, for again they did not see or meet anyone. Both Luke Foxe and Thomas James travelled through the northern part of Hudson Bay in 1631. James and his crew experienced stormy weather at that time, and thus recorded no information about the coast until arriving at the Nelson River where Button had overwintered (James 1740:17-24).

Luke Foxe, on the other hand, did make an extensive survey along western Hudson Bay; and published his observations (Foxe 1635). Several scholars accept Merbs' (1971) interpretation that Foxe landed at the island of Silumiut north of Chesterfield Inlet (e.g., Burch 1978:5; Meyer 1976:45). However, Meyer suggests that the iron found there was obtained by trading with other Eskimos who

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* Documentation for Hudson's Bay Company Archives material is explained in Chapter 3.

obtained it from either the Munk site or from a boat abandoned by Button. Burch, following an archaeological assessment that the iron is Norse (McCartney and Mack 1973:334,336), concludes both that the iron at Silumiut could have been manufactured before 1620, and that this gravesite may not have been in "active use" at the time of Foxe's visit.

Foxe's reference to the find of "the reliques of a birch Cannowe" (Christy 1894:332) has suggested the presence of Chipewyan or Cree to Burch (1978:6), but of Eskimo to Meyer, who explains that the Eskimo may have brought the canoe to the island as a "souvenir" (Meyer 1976:46).

The location of this find has generally been interpreted as Sentry Island (Meyer 1976:45; Clark 1977:11), or "an island some distance south of Eskimo Point" (Burch 1978:6). However, my reading of Christy (1894:330-334) indicates clearly that Sentry Island is north of the birch canoe site, and that the birch canoe was found on the mainland. The sequence of events given by Christy are as follows:

1. On August 2, Foxe anchored somewhere near an island in "latitude 61 degrees 10 minutes" interpreted by Christy to be "probably Sentry Island" (p. 331).
2. On August 3, Foxe travelled "S.W. and by W. 10 leag." to a latitude of "60 d. 22 m." and "sent a boat to the land". (p.332). It is here that the birch canoe is found.

3. On August 4, Foxe lands at an island two leagues from shore and "10 leag. S. and by W." from the previous anchorage. This island, assumed to be Egg Island by Christy (p.333) is a gravesite with "many corpses."

It is possible in the absence of Foxe's specific reference to the mainland that the landing where the birch canoe was found may have been on an island; it is definitely south of the previous island (Sentry Island) by 10 leagues. If the island of anchorage on August 2 is Sentry Island, and if the island on August 4 is Egg Island, and if Foxe's measurements are approximately accurate, then the location of the birch canoe site is approximately equidistant between the two islands; that is, somewhere near where the Tha-anne and Thlewiaza rivers empty into Hudson Bay.

The differences in the finds made at the birch canoe site and on Egg Island are worth noting. At the birch canoe site :

> Here on land the Mr. found the reliques of a birch Cannowe, the footings and hornes of Deere, both small and greate, and of fowle, an Arrowe headed with a nayle, the head beaten broad and put into a shaft of 18 inches long (Christy 1894:332).

At Egg Island, there were "ruined fragments of Cannowes" as well as "carved toys in their canoes" and evidence of a recent fire (Christy 1894:334). While a precise cultural designation cannot be made, it is significant that the canoe fragments at the gravesite on Egg Island are not specifically identified as made of birch. That Foxe found a Cree or Chipewyan canoe near the mouth of the Tha-anne and

Thlewiaza rivers some 50 kilometres north of latitude 60° is a logical interpretation.

The waters are extremely shallow along this part of the coastline (Birket-Smith 1933:107), as is readily apparent from topographical maps. Even by allowing for the effect of isostatic rebound from the seventeenth to the twentieth century, the argument could still be made that any island not far from the shore was readily accessible even by means of primitive water transportation technology. Of course, equating any island of today with the one visible as such in 1631 and identified by Foxe is problematic.

B. English and French Conflict

There is no recorded European activity in western Hudson Bay from the time of Foxe in 1631 until the formation of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1670. The newly-formed Hudson's Bay Company made some early (but unsuccessful) forays to promote their trade in the Nelson and Hayes River region. (This location is generally known as York Factory, and is so referred to in this study, although the exact locations of the various forts and their precise names varied considerably.) Their first attempt took place in 1670 under Captain Bayley (Rich 1942:210; 1948:363), followed by another in 1673 when Captain Cole and Médard Chouart Des Groseilliers spent fifteen days on the river in September but no Indians came (Rich 1942:211; 1948:364). The Hudson's Bay Company established continuity with the building of Fort

Hayes on the Nelson River in 1682, and York Factory on the north shore of the Hayes River in 1684 (Rich 1948:363-367).

Benjamin Gillam from Boston also set up a post on the Nelson River in August of 1682, while the French, under Radisson and Des Groseilliers, established Port Bourbon on the Hayes River. Both French and English remained in the area, and continued to send supply ships, until 1685. They engaged in conflicts of varying intensity and also co-operated on occasion. Trade was continued, often at two posts, during this time (Rich 1948:363-368).

A voyage was made to Churchill River in 1686 by Captain Michael Grimington and five others, arriving there on July 15 and staying eight days. They reported "an abondance of Indian Tents but saw noe Indians" (Rich 1948:340) and found two iron pieces supposedly left by a Danish or Dutch group in 1673 (but as noted in the footnote, probably by Jens Munk in 1620).

Following an apparent preliminary voyage in the fall of 1688 (B239/d/1,f.13), the Hudson's Bay Company made an unsuccessful effort to establish a fort at Churchill River in 1689. While some worked at the mouth of the river under the supervision of Thomas Savage, Henry Kelsey and the "slave boy" travelled north in an attempt to entice the northern Indians to come to Churchill to trade. This account (Doughty and Martin 1929:25-32) is part of the Dobbs collection, not part of the Hudson's Bay Company archives. However, the archives do corroborate the story by referring

to "Kelsey & ye Slave Boy going to ye Norward" (B239/d/1,f.13d).

A number of letters from the Committee in London indicate a continuing interest in expanding the company trade northwards (Rich 1957). The 1693 letter to Governor Geyer (Rich 1957:187-188) alluded to a whaling expedition in the *Albemarle* to Churchill River in 1692. It also expresses the desire of the Committee for action in the discovery of the "Bufflow River" which had been highly recommended by both French and Indian as an excellent source of beaver skins. The account books mention a voyage "to ye Norward" in 1694 by the *Albemarle* (B239/d/5,f.17d). The inadequate documentation is unfortunate but there is no doubt about the accuracy of these brief references to northern voyages. It is significant that even at this early date the Hudson's Bay Company had some awareness of a richer fur-trading region in the interior, and that they had access to French as well as Indian sources.

In 1694 d'Iberville took York Factory, lost it again to the Hudson's Bay Company in 1696, but recaptured it in 1697. The fort, and the fur trade of the area, remained in French hands until 1714 (Williams 1970:11-12).

C. Hudson's Bay Company Control

The Treaty of Utrecht of 1713 ended the French control of the area; and the Hudson's Bay Company, under the leadership of James Knight, took over the trade in the York

Factory area in September, 1714. This trading authority was expanded and consolidated for the rest of the period under discussion. A post at Churchill River was established in 1717, but there was no attempt to build an interior network of trading posts until Cumberland House was started by Samuel Hearne in 1774. Certainly, the efforts of Quebec-based traders who had set up trading posts in central Manitoba by 1741 affected trading patterns. As well, the exploration activity instigated by the well-known "Dobbs Crisis" of approximately 1740-1749, influenced Hudson's Bay Company affairs in western Hudson Bay. [5]

Most of the European exploration of northern Canada during this period was channelled through Churchill. Unfortunately, not all of this activity is well-documented, nor does what is in the historical literature necessarily render much information of value to aboriginal studies. Some events, however, will be discussed when appropriate in the following chapters. A brief summary of the highlights of European "discovery" during this time period, largely taken from Cooke and Holland (1978:52-96), follows:

1. 1715-1716: William Stewart and the Slave Woman travelled north of York Factory.
2. 1717: Fort Churchill was established by James Knight.
3. 1717-1718: Richard Norton travelled inland north of Churchill.
4. 1719: James Knight led an expedition to find the

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[5]The Dobbs Crisis is discussed in Chapter 6.

Northwest Passage; they died on Marble Island. Henry Kelsey and John Hancock sailed along the coast, perhaps past Marble Island.

5. 1722: John Scroggs and Richard Norton found Chesterfield Inlet.
6. 1737: James Napper started the sloop trade, going to Whale Cove.
7. 1742: Christopher Middleton sailed as far as Frozen Strait.
8. 1747: William Moor and Francis Smith explored Wager Bay.
9. 1761: William Christopher re-discovered Chesterfield Inlet.
10. 1762: Christopher and Moses Norton explored Baker Lake.
11. 1765: Whaling operations based on Marble Island were started by the Hudson's Bay Company.
12. 1769-1772: Samuel Hearne travelled through a considerable part of the Districts of Keewatin and Mackenzie on his way to and from the Coppermine River, reaching the Arctic Ocean.

III. Fur Trade Data: the Background

A. Hudson's Bay Company Records

The Hudson's Bay Company Archives materials read for this thesis include all the post journals from Churchill to 1774, and those from York Factory from 1688 until 1740. In addition, general works such as the Inward Correspondence letters from the Committee in London to the forts, and maps, were also used. Those volumes available in the Archives, but which have been published, were researched on the basis of the published version, after first ascertaining the reliability of the transcripts, and looking for details in illustrations or marginal notes that may have been omitted. Many of the seventeenth century minutes and letters have been published and are generally available on microfilm only. However, most of the materials used in this study, that is, the post records, were used in the original version. Nevertheless, it should be noted that this original version in most cases is itself a copy; that is, the factor (trader) and his clerk, or writer, made a presentable copy of the accounts and of the journals which was sent back to the Committee in London on the supply ship. Occasionally, these volumes include extra sheets that were obviously a record kept at the time of the activity, but almost always the "original version" is that copied version which was submitted as a report of the year's activities.

The Hudson's Bay Company developed a system of keeping records at the posts and of communicating orders and requests between the posts and London, and also among the posts. The Hudson's Bay Company Archives has developed a code which indicates the kind of record, the source of the record, and its function. For the time period under discussion, the following categories of volumes were primary references:

1. B.../a/... - a Journal of daily events and activities.
2. B.../b/... - a Correspondence Book which included copies of letters received and sent by the chief factor to and from other forts.
3. B.../d/... - an Account Book which included entries for all items classified as trade goods as well as provisions and "stores"; that is, various supplied used at the factory (fort). The account book is a record of all items that came from Europe, for which the factor was responsible, and a tally of the North American items that were received in exchange and shipped to England.

Almost all of the volumes have survived; most of the losses in the yearly records occur in the seventeenth century. Thus, the Hudson's Bay Company Archives houses documentation of the orders and policies, the financial accounts, and the reactions and reports of the workers.

The Journals

The daily Journal entries usually begin with a brief weather report. They were commonly entitled "A Journal of the Most Remarkable Transactions and Occurrances...." In addition, special "Sloop Journals" were kept by the sloop master, whenever these small ships were used in travelling along the coast. The Journals often reflect Company orders that were stressed at the time.

My intent in reading each volume was to note any remarks or observations regarding Northern Indians in particular and any aboriginal people in general. Some factors presented this information in great detail; others generalized. Thus, for some years, it is possible to know the sex and age group of almost all Indians coming to or leaving the fort on a certain day, and their reasons for doing so. For other years, there is only a cursory remark about Indians, and it may even be difficult to distinguish between Hudson's Bay Company servant activitees and Indian activities. Stability in chief factors is characteristic of Churchill. (See Appendix A.) This situation aided in formulating an assessment of the reliability of the information recorded, and in judging the empathy evident between the factor and the Indian.

In this study the Journals served primarily as a background for the year's activities at the fort, and to provide a tally of all the Northern and other Indian activity there. Unusual circumstances such as illness or

epidemics were also noted. Occasionally, the recorded interaction between the traders, as indicated in the Correspondence Books, provided insights into the Journal entries. It is recognized here that there were very few ways, if any, in which any Journal entry could be verified by the intended readers - the Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company in London.

The Account Books

The Account Books provided the quantitative data used in this study. Various researchers have published information found in the Journals (e.g., Gillespie 1975a) or utilized the Account Books intensively (e.g., Ray and Freeman 1978), but the publication of the analysis of both the Journals and Account Books in detail is still rare in Athapaskan studies. Further, Ray and Freeman base their analysis primarily on the Made Beaver totals in the Account Books. Made Beaver (MB) functioned as the Hudson's Bay Company medium of exchange. This study focuses on the items of trade and exchange, not on their MB value; the quantities given are in pounds, gallons, yards or number, not in MB.

The organization of the account books has been described in great detail by Ray (1975-76: 76). His discussion, as well as my own reading of 84 Account Books, is the basis for the summary that follows.

Records regarding items classified as trade goods form the first two parts. These are called the Journal and the

Ledger. The Journal (of the Account Books) is a collection of lists of trade goods in various categories:

1. goods remaining from the previous year.
2. goods received during this trading year, with appropriate sources and any invoice errors indicated.
3. the General Charge, or the basic inventory list.
4. the Standard of Trade; that is, the "Official Rate of exchange" (Ray 1975-76:7).
5. Men's Debts, or trade goods sold to Company employees, itemized in total and by individual, often with an English currency value indicated.
6. the expense account, in total and in detail (to be discussed below).
7. goods traded that year.
8. the Comparative Standard, or the comparison of all North American products to the standard of the value of beaver.
9. a list of furs and other exchange items received that year.
10. goods remaining in the fort at the end of the trading year.

The Ledger is essentially a balance sheet. All of the various account categories are balanced in MB, and end with a summary, in MB, of the entire trade for that year. Occasionally, the Ledger served to clarify ambiguities in the Journal, and even omissions in rare cases.

The second section of the Account Books, the "State of Provisions and Stores", is the tabulation of all items not classified as trade goods but provided by the Hudson's Bay Company for use at the fort. These were often listed under the same categories as the trade goods, e.g., General Charge, Remains. These items were grouped into the various ways in which activity was organized at the fort, such as "armourer's stores" and "cooper's stores." This section occasionally gave information regarding a European item that was given or traded but which was not classified as a trade good. A list of all European-derived foods was kept under "provisions" ; but "country food", that is, food obtained by trade or by Company servants hunting and fishing, was noted only in the post Journal. Moreover, no tabulation was found of food that was given out to Indians, such as peas or oatmeal, even in those cases where the post Journal for that year clearly indicated that this activity had taken place.

Many of the Account Books indicated a record of bills drawn by the Company employees on their wages in the last few pages of the book. During this entire period there are no records of individual Indian debt even though the practise of "trusting" the Northern Indians, or, providing trade goods in advance of receiving the furs, is recorded as early as 1748 (B42/a/32,f.5). Moreover, a letter from Kelsey in 1719 already advises against the practise and suggests that the debt be hidden in the books as "expences given to the Indians" (B239/b/1,f.13). Such a practise may, indeed,

have been common.

As noted above, expenses were broken down in two ways. First of all, trade goods that had been expended rather than traded were listed by quantity expended per item. This list is essentially a summary of the expense account. It provided a total of those goods that were considered to be overhead - expenses for which there was no return. However, as with other account categories, the label was not always correct. Trade goods that were "given," i.e., paid for services rendered by Indians or commodities brought by them, were listed in the expense account and were not even regarded as trade. This summary list was broken down into a second tabulation which served to itemize the expenses over the course of the year and also to account for why these trade goods were expended. This expense account breakdown provided the most specific information in the Account Books regarding Indian activity. The expenses were usually organized into two time periods, from August to April or May, and from April/May to August. Some factors used more categories; some noted the month and even the day. The expense account breakdown almost always included the following lists:

1. Payments to Indians and/or Company servants for overland travel. This usually involved a trip to and from York Factory, carrying letters and/or trade goods or supplies.
2. Payments to Indians for hunting geese, spring and fall.
3. Expenses involved in the goose hunts (sometimes combined

with the payments to Indians).

4. Payments to Indians and expenses involved in the winter partridge hunting. These were usually combined, and often included items given to "starved Indians" ‘ as well.

5. Payments to Indians for various goods and services. Those payments to Northern Indians were often distinguished from those to others, generally Home Indians. When Northern Indians also became Home Indians, they were not always singled out.

6. Gifts to Indians leaders and their immediate associates, usually given when the canoes arrived at the fort. Gifts that were sent to various leaders at other times during the year generally received a separate entry.

7. Payments to Company employees for unusual activity, requiring greater effort than normally, or involving unusual danger. For example, the smith who had to engage in "blowing up rocks" when Prince of Wales Fort was built received a bonus of brandy.

8. The use of trade goods, particularly needles, twine, and thread for making the fishing nets used by the fort. This usage of trade goods rather than "stores" is a variation of the use of powder and shot in hunting the country food. (The account keeping system designated

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‘Starved may well refer to suffering from cold (for examples of which see the Oxford English Dictionary), not to being in want of food. There are numerous references to Indians coming to the fort "starved" but bringing food, such as partridges (e.g., B42/a/83,f.39).

each European-derived item as either a trade good, or as provisions and stores. Once the classification was established, it was almost always maintained, even though the actual use did not agree with the classification.)

9. Clothing and other items given to Company apprentices and slaves.
10. Brandy used in the "governor's mess" and given out to the men (who also bought brandy as a trade good). It was also given to the master and men of the sloop on her voyage north along the coast and to York Factory.
11. Unusual expenses such as losses due to spoilage or those incurred in a special celebration.

Both versions of the expense account, the breakdown and the summmary list, are used in this thesis. The breakdown is useful in isolating expenses applicable to Northern Indians only, or to natives in general. This category may include some factory expenses, as the chief trader or his clerk often did not distinguish payments to Company servants from payments to Indians. Nevertheless, it is possible to isolate trade goods given/paid to Indians to some degree. This selection will be done in Chapter 7. The summary list serves as a means of checking the detailed list as well as in calculating totals. Unfortunately, the two versions do not always agree.

Statistical Analysis

The sheer quantity of data suggested the use of a computer program in analysis. The variables of year, location, account category, item, and quantity were coded for each item of trade, Indian and European. The account categories used in this analysis were the General Charge, Expense Account, Goods Traded, and Furs Received. In addition, the expense account details which applied directly to the native population (labelled "Native Expenses" in the tables) were coded with as much information as was available. These variables were season of the year, personnel involved, whether the item was a gift or payment, and the goods and services for which payment was made. Simple subtraction from the expense account total would give the quantity involved in "factory use" only.

The statistical package MIDAS was used to analyze this data using the University of Alberta computer system. It provided the means to add quantities in a given time period, list availability of certain goods over time, and to verify whether or not an item had been traded. MIDAS was used extensively to calculate totals. As well, the coding of the Native Expenses category with the added information as to cultural group, season, and goods and services paid for, allowed MIDAS to isolate items paid or given to Northern Indians. This listing was useful in amplifying the descriptions about Northern Indian arrival and activity given in the Journals. The statistical package allowed for

both a cumulative analysis of the trade and a very detailed tabulation. Except for the fact that not all years are recorded with similar precision, the expense account could be a means of isolating goods given to Northern Indians, or to isolate all expense account items that were not given to any Indians at all. However, as the nature of the record varies, these details have only been utilized to a minimal degree in this study.

It is important to note that without the coding and subsequent computer analysis of the items and quantities of trade, any discussion about the nature of the trade must rely on observations made and recorded at the time. Such comments can easily be erroneous. The Hudson's Bay Company Account Books provide a reasonably accurate source for verification of such matters as Indian preferences in trade goods, increase or decrease in fur production, availability of certain goods, etc., which were often remarked upon by the traders in their letters or reports.

Differentiating between Old Style and New Style dates was not necessary in this study. However, coding efficiency required that one calendar year be designated for the trading year of the Hudson's Bay Company which always covered two calendar years. The change in trading years was usually made in August. Some traders maintained a strict cut-off date. Others ended their trading year when they handed the books over to the supply ship captain on his return voyage. In this analysis, the second half of the

trading year was designated as the year. For example, 1721-1722 is listed as 1722 with the understanding that the trade began in August of 1721.

B. Trade Goods

The Hudson's Bay Company provided a great variety in the items it selected to induce the Indians to engage in a trading relationship. From the organization and description of these trade goods, it appears that the Company categorized them primarily according to function. Various tools, clothing items, textiles, etc., were simply listed in what was often a conventional order; and the number, pounds, gallons, or yards indicated. There apparently was no plan to provide metal replacements for all the stone and bone tools used, or in any way to serve as a supplier of all needs. Rather, the emphasis was placed in providing those items for which the indigenous population would engage in trapping for the furs that the Hudson's Bay Company wanted.

That the European-based trading activity continued and expanded upon pre-contact aboriginal trading networks would seem obvious; that the prehistoric trading relationships are only partially documented does not deny the logic of the assumption that they existed. Why and how the indigenous population of Canada decided that it was worth their while to save their old beaver clothing for the European newcomers and accept such items as knives and beads in exchange is beyond the [illegible] of this paper. The trading habit was

already established in eastern Canada well before the *Nonsuch* took its first load of goods to Hudson Bay. The choice of items selected for that shipload was no doubt influenced by the preferences of the Indians in eastern North America and the goods available through London suppliers. However, once the Company became established the stock it offered remained essentially stable throughout the early fur trade period. There were variations in color and size of items, some additions and deletions; but the basic list remained the same. Composite lists of goods offered are listed in Appendix C, D, and E.

The most obvious change in the selection offered appears to be in the clothing items listed. The greatest variety in both fabrics and clothing was offered prior to the Hudson's Bay Company conflict with the French. There was an early policy of encouraging the substitution of textiles for all fur clothing (Rich 1957:234). This policy extended even to the promotion, in 1694, of wearing "lambskin" as well as cloth (Rich 1957:234). However, there are a number of indications in the Churchill journals that the tailor also sewed clothing for trade; for example, in 1754, the tailor sewed women's caps, "present coats" for leading Indians, and children's coats (B42/a/42,f.9,14d,28d). Apparently, the tailor also sewed clothing for the trading Indians while they were at Churchill (B42/a/62,f.74d). Such evidence indicates that more clothes were available in the eighteenth century than would appear to be the case from the

trade list. This observation can be made for other items as well; some metal goods, e.g., chisels, were often made at the fort. Pipes were distributed but are not on the trade goods list. Thus, the General Charge is not an accurate list of all European goods available to the Indians.

Every item offered for trade had a value given in MB. This standard was used in documenting the trade in the records but differed from the actual trading rate. It was not a fixed price. The local factor used his judgment in perhaps giving less if the fur was inferior, or more if he wanted to encourage a particular person or group. There is no way to determine the exact standard used by a particular trader in a particular year. The traders also used "shortened measures and biased scales" (Ray and Freeman 1978:128). The formal "Standard of Trade" remained essentially the same. Occasional changes usually became the new established standard; there was very little fluctuation from year to year. As the list was copied every year, some fluctuations may be a matter of clerical error only.

Goods offered for trade were not always traded. Some items "sat on the shelf" for years (e.g., 864 crosses from 1744 until 1754), then were purchased all at once, as were these crosses, or perhaps traded only at the rate of one or two per year. The factor had some influence on the choices made as trade was conducted from the "hole in the wall" under restricted conditions, not in a general store atmosphere. It is also clear that not all items were

considered satisfactory or desirable by the customers. Numerous complaints regarding the quality of the items are found in the Journals.

C. Indian Exchange Goods

The term "exchange goods" serves to differentiate the items offered by North Americans from those offered by the Europeans. It seems apparent that the Indians of western Hudson Bay knew from the first what the Europeans wanted. A few changes were made over time, but the list of exchange goods in Tables 2, 4 and 8 are similar. These items were also listed in the Account Book and their value relative to a value of one for beaver was noted. This list is the "Comparative Standard". Again, the reality of exchange and the written record differ - the standard was not always adhered to and not all items on the list were actually received each year. Sometimes items were traded which were not on the "Comparative Standard".

The major change over time in the exchange list is the addition of non-fur items. These include goose feathers and goose quills. Note that these items were an end-product of a local activity, the spring and fall goose hunt. Castoreum was always listed, but was not a regular trade item until 1760.

Food products of various kinds were traded but became part of the expense account, not the fur receipts. The "deers flesh", hearts, tongues, fat, ducks, fish, etc. were

all paid for in trade goods, but were regarded as expenses. Non-food commodities such as tents, canoes, and "snow shoe knitting" (babiche) were also treated in the same way; but goose feathers and quills became part of the fur receipts. The criterion for classification at first appears to be that commodities exported to London were regarded as fur receipts. This is not entirely so. All moose hides made into clothing for use by the Company men and which never left Churchill were nevertheless given a MB value and included in the fur receipts; moose hides used in making tents for the men who were cutting wood and hunting partridges or geese remained in the expense account. From this example, it seems apparent that the classification was sometimes arbitrary and that once a designation had been made, it became convention. When trying to analyze the goods offered by the natives in this trading relationship, the MB value of fur receipts does not provide much information. Accordingly, this analyis uses the number of skins of each animal traded per year.

The MB value was used in the calculation of the "overplus". This overplus is a calculation of the total MB value of the fur receipts from which the total MB value of the trade goods actually traded is subtracted. The overplus is the difference. It has been described as

> that portion of the fur returns that exceeded the return that should have been expected given the quantity and MB value of the goods that had been traded...a kind of "excess" profit that was largely returned to the company every year. (Ray 1976:42)

As a profit margin may have been included in the MB value,

the overplus may be "an additional profit" above profits from the sales of the fur receipts (Ray and Freeman 1978:215). Whatever the nature of the overplus, given that there was never a calculation of all items of trade and exchange (or of an actual standard value of these items), the overplus does not provide a measure of much significance for the Indian component in the trade. The overplus was a way to calculate profit, but with built-in conventions that are more useful in the analysis of Hudson's Bay Company activity than Indian involvement. Focusing on the overplus can be compared to the modern practise of not counting non-wage earning activity in the Gross National Product. It is the assumption of this study that an emphasis on the specific items involved rather than on their European-designated values increases understanding of the trading relationship. However, a summary of the overplus statistics is included in Appendix B.

D. Indian and Company Relationships

These relationships varied. A rough categorization can be made on the basis of intensity; that is, distinguishing those Indians who were extensively involved in the fort's activities (the Home Indians), from those who came to Churchill for a brief period, usually once a year (the Trading Indians).

The general Trading Indian pattern of activity at the fort has been summarized by Ray and Freeman (1978:54-59).

Indians came to the fort in canoes, laden with furs. They would set up camp on the "plantation" and engage in trade after the usual ceremonies. They would stay for a few days (or even a week or more) before returning home.

The Home Indians were those who hunted for the factory, served as letter carriers, cleaned geese, etc. A cumulative list of goods and services obtained from Indians at Churchill is presented in Table 1.

Table 1: GOODS AND SERVICES PROVIDED BY INDIANS AT CHURCHILL

1. GOODS
   a. equipment: canoes, tents, sleds, snowshoes
   b. food stuffs: fish, various mammals and birds, in whole or part, dried and fresh
   c. supplies: shoe leather, babiche for snowshoe "knitting", fat, snares
2. SERVICES
   a. care of Company employees
   b. peacemaking
   c. encouraging others to trade
   d. making and knitting snowshoes
   e. sledmaking
   f. making Indian shoes (moccasins)
   g. travelling on Company business - mail delivery
   h. making deer "hedges" (pounds, enclosures)
   i. dressing skins
   j. hunting (mostly geese and partridges)
   k. picking and cleaning geese
   l. hauling gravel
   m. cleaning the shore and the yard
   n. making beadwork for Leading Indians
   o. sewing coats and caps for trade
   p. trimming coat beaver
   q. picking oakham
   r. dunging the garden
   s. gathering driftwood
   t. grinding oatmeal
   u. cutting and rafting wood

Source: HBCA B42/a/1-89; B42/d/1-54.

The goose hunts serve as good examples of this relationship. Home Indians were hired to hunt, pick, and clean the geese. They were then able to trade the feathers and quills as well as receive payment for the hunting. The Company also supplied the guns, shot, powder, tents, and the provisions of foodstuffs (mainly oatmeal) eaten. In addition, brandy and tobacco are almost always listed as Company expenses during the hunts. Accordingly, for this activity, the Home Indians were in effect functioning as Hudson's Bay Company employees; they were provided with food and lodging, and then paid for their work. There is a strong emphasis on using the expense account items as rewards or "encouragement." European employees were also rewarded with treats, such as extra brandy, for special activities. In both cases the chief factor seemed to be justifying his disbursement of the goods for which he was responsible when he reported these expenses. Home Indians might live at the fort for long periods or make many brief visits in one year. This behavior is an indication of the close social ties that developed, and resulted in family relationships between the Indians and Company employees (Foster 1975:59). The actual family association is not usually indicated due to Company policy of not "fraternizing" with the natives. Occasionally a factor would make an observation indicating that he did have such a relationshhip; e.g., Ferdinand Jacobs refers to his newborn son in 1756 (B42/a/48,f.4). How many of the Home Guard were relatives of Hudson's Bay Company employees is

not determinable due to this lack of reporting. However, terminology suggesting that a sizable number of Home Indians were of European/Indian genetic mix is found as early as 1757 for York Factory - "Half Bread Home Indians" (B42/b/3,f.6d).[7]

Some relationships indicate a change from the Trading to the Home category. Changes in the length of stay, and occasional specific references to a previous visit, indicate that some of the natives gradually started coming to Churchill more than once a year and staying longer when they came. Others started coming with food products rather than furs. Some seemed to come at the time of the ship's arrival, usually in August. Any such change could involve a change in territory. Obviously, those that came to Churchill very often could not travel great distances on each trip. The documentation of such changes as it applies to Northern Indians is discussed below.

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[7]This would seem to be a much earlier use of the term "halfbreed" than as discussed by Brown who indicates that this label was "first used" by the North West Company (1980:172).

IV. Northern Indians and the Fur Trade to 1717

A. Northern Indian Identification and Distribution

From Earliest Hudson's Bay Company Sources

The earliest significant information about the aboriginal inhabitants of the northwestern coast of Hudson Bay is found in the record of Henry Kelsey and the "Slave Boy" going north of Churchill in 1689.

The purpose of the trip was

> to discover & Endeavour to bring to a Commerce ye nothern Indians Inhabiting to ye Northward of Churchill river & also ye dogside Nation (Doughty and Martin 1929:25).

Note that "nothern" Indians are distinguished from the "dogside Nation." It is too facile to make an equation of northern Indians and Chipewyan for this early period. It is clear from other accounts that northern was simply a geographical not a tribal designation. For example, in 1680 Thomas Draper is warned that "those Northern Indians are more rude & barberous than those where wee are already settled"; he was to establish a fort at New Severn River * (Rich 1948:14). The same wording is used in writing to John Bridgar at Fort Nelson (York Factory) in 1682 (Rich 1948:34). Thus, Northern Indians seem to be those Indians that were north of where the Europeans were actively

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*It should be noted that while this fort was to be called Fort Churchill, it was not on the Churchill River (as assumed by Yerbury 1976:241; 1986:11) but on the Severn River (Rich 1958:228).

involved at the time; the term cannot be assumed to be synonymous with Chipewyan Indians at this time.

That the "slave boy" is a Northern Indian is implied in the context which distinguished his people from the "southern Indians" (Doughty and Martin 1929:28). (Kelsey refers to him as his "companion"; he was probably a young man, judging from the use of the term "boy" elsewhere in reference to a married man, as, for example, in "the black boy and his wife" who were visitors to Hayes River in 1696 (ibid.:60).)

While these two young men did not meet anyone on their entire journey, they found evidence of the presence of northern Indians:

> we found five targets Made of Boards six Inches wide & Sowed together till they were about 2 foot over & then cut round like ye head of a Cask so wth a string in ye middle to hang over their arm... we being near 8 Miles from ye seaside about ten o'Clock found an old Cannoe of those nothern Indians... (Doughty and Martin 1929:26).

The targets were found on their first day ashore, and the canoe two days later. These targets or shields seem similar in construction, but not in shape, to those made by Northern Indians at the time of the well-known Bloody Falls episode (Glover 1958:74). Umfreville, writing in 1790, quotes from Hearne's journal five years before that journal was published. Umfreville's account (Wallace 1954:24-26) is much-abridged, but it does include a similar description of the shields ' with the added information that they were

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'Glover's edition of Hearne's journal notes that the description of the painting of the shields (1958:97) is not

"slung on the left arm, as to be of no hindrance in loading and firing their guns" (ibid.:24). Burch has noted that such shields could indicate "Chipewyan country" (1978:7).

The exact location of their journey is difficult to assess. According to Kelsey's journal, they left Churchill River on June 17 and were dropped off by the sloop on June 27. However, the entries from the 17th to the 26th are "torn out" (Doughty and Martin 1929:25). Their landing place was evidently not far enough north, for the "slave boy" states, on July 10, that his people were too far north already, but that if they had travelled in the boat to "Buffillo River" then it would have been possible to catch up to them. Kelsey notes that they had travelled twenty leagues (about sixty miles) north of Churchill River in the boat (loc. cit.). Calculations indicate that the inland journey lasted from June 27 to July 11 and covered 151 miles; the trip back to their landing spot took from July 12 to 18, and the return from there to Churchill River lasted until July 28. The mileage designations are not always straightforward, but it would seem that the return journey covered either 225 or 231 miles. Elsewhere Kelsey states that he travelled 200 miles from Churchill River (Doughty and Martin 1929:111). Comparisons of distances travelled by similar boats during

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'(cont'd) found in the Stowe Manuscript version of Hearne's journal. Umfreville does include this description (Wallace 1954:25). This discrepancy suggests that Hearne severely edited his own journal at least twice, thus underscoring the fact that the published version contains much that reflects the content of Hearne's life for more than twenty years after the events which he describes.

the time of the Hudson's Bay Company sloop trade might be interesting but could not solve the central dilemma of the extent of their inland travel. Kelsey does state that they travelled close to the sea at least some of the time (July 3 and 5). It is significant that in Kelsey's record, his companion does not express fear of Eskimos until July 5 - after deciding to go to the seaside "for better going" (ibid.:27).

Kelsey's account clearly indicates a distinction between Northern Indians, Dogside or Dogrib Indians, and Eskimos. As well, the finding of the targets or shields and the canoe close to the coast, the geographical understanding of the slave boy regarding Buffalo River, and their travel to the north indicates that these Northern Indians utilized the region north of Churchill, even as far as the coast.

Other published material clouds the issue. A Company letter to Governor Geyer at Port Nelson in 1689 states:

> But Capt. Ford is with his Vessell with all Diligence to make a Settlemt. to the Northward, of Churchill River, and without losse of tyme to pursue, the designe Wee hope you have already begun, of Createing a Trade with the Poet Indians Wee are glad to heare there is very good wood & deepe water, in that River, and of soe great likelyhood to gett Commerce with those Northerne People, Observeing what you hint, that altho those Called the Louzy Indians have little Beavor, yett our fixing in that place may bee a Certaine means, to obtaine a trade with the Doggside Indians, a Considerable Nation & haveing great quantityes those two Nations yearely Commercing togeather (Rich 1957:58).

Instructions to Captain Ford for the same year describe the "Louzy Indians" as living nearest to the sea, but without much beaver whereas the "Doggside Nation" has lots of beaver

(ibid.:66). Clearly there was some awareness of interior groups with access to a greater quantity of fur-bearing animals than were available on the coast. That the Louzy Indians and Dogside nation traded together on a regular basis is also interesting. Although we should be hesitant to impose our modern Indian/Eskimo dichotomy on the seventeenth century, it seems logical to assume that these Louzy Indians were Chipewyan.

Why the reference to "Poet" Indians to the north? Poets, or more precisely Sinneepoets, are generally equated with Assiniboine (e.g., Ray 1974:20). These were the Stone Indians of Kelsey's interior journey of 1690 to 1692. On that journey, reference is made to both Nahathaways (Crees) and the Naywattanee Poets (Doughty and Martin 1929:8-18). John Nixon mentions "Sinny poyets" at Moose Factory in 1681 (Rich 1945:254). Perhaps the term does not necessarily apply to a group from the southern interior; or this usage may reflect territorial changes not yet well-understood; or perhaps the Company is simply repeating an unfounded rumor. The movements and terminology for Assiniboine and Cree is at issue here only insofar as their northern "border" forms the southern limit of Chipewyan territory. (As the subject of Cree and Assiniboine land use is too complex to be discussed here, the reader is referred to Smith 1976b; Smith 1981c; Bishop 1981; and Ray 1974.)

Of significance in this study are the frequent references to "the Great River which lyes to the northward

of Churchill River" (Rich 1957:65). It is also referred to in 1689 as "that River which you describe and the Indians wee heare call Deere River" (ibid.:78), and was ordered to be renamed after Sir Edward Dering. The letter to Governor Geyer at Port Nelson in 1690 mentions the "river formerly called Buffillo now dering river whence Considerable Traffick may be expected from the Northerne Indians" (ibid.:97). It is again mentioned in 1691 (ibid.:119). This river is probably the same Buffalo River referred to by the "slave boy" with Kelsey in 1689. The similarity in names and the location suggest that it may very well refer to the present Caribou River.

From Early French Sources

A number of writings are available from the French period. Silvy, Marest, and La Potherie say little about northern Indians but they do give some clarification of tribal identities as understood by the French.

Father Silvy, who accompanied de Troyes to York Factory in 1684, wrote of both *Assinipoals* and *Kris* or *Kilistinons* (Tyrell 1931:94,95). Further, he distinguishes both these Cree and Assiniboine from "the Indians along the sea coast" (ibid.:68).

Father Marest came to York Factory with the Sieur d'Iberville in 1694, and was taken to England a prisoner. He also distinguished between local, Cree, and Assiniboine Indians; identified the Cree language as both Algonkian and

similar to the local Indian dialect; related Assiniboine to the Sioux; identified the Cree and Assinboine as allies; and noted that the many Cree extend their region even to Lake Superior and Michilimackinac (ibid.:123-124). In addition, Marest writes:

> ...there are still others whose home is farther north, in an even colder climate than this, such as the Ikoviriniоucks, who are about a hundred leagues from here. But they are at war with the Indians of this country and do not trade with the fort. Farther off, the Eskimos are to be found, and alongside the Ikovirinoucks a great nation allied to them called the Alimouspigut. They are a populous nation. They have villages and extend down to the Assiniboines with whom they are almost always at war. (Tyrell 1931:127-128).

(The French uses the slightly different *Alimouspigut* and *Assineboëls* (ibid.:142).) In discussing Chipewyan synonymy, Smith notes that *ihkoiriniwak* means "louse people" in Woods Cree (Smith 1981b:283).

Thus, from these sources a rough territorial designation can be made. The local Indians were related to Cree. North of York Factory were Chipewyan (Lousy Indians), who were related to the Dogside Indians to the west. And still further north were the Eskimos. The villages of the Alimouspigut or Dogribs may well refer to large temporary gatherings similar to that noted for the Chipewyan (Smith 1976c:22; 1976d:75,86).

La Potherie was involved in the French takeover of York Factory in 1697. He wrote *Histoire de L'Amerique Septrionalle*, first published in 1716. Included in this work are two discussions, in the form of letters, about the

Indians who traded at Fort Nelson (York Factory). He discusses the customs of the *Ouenibigonhelinis* who lived along the coast (Tyrell 1931:222-237). Later in the volume he presents information about the animals of the region and the various Indian groups that came to trade. These include:

1. *Oüenibigonhelinis* - 'the people by the sea-shore'
2. *Monsaunis* - 'people of the marsh'
3. *Savanois* - 'people of the swamps'
4. *Christinaux, Kricqs* - 'Indians who live by the lakes'; 160 leagues away
5. *Migichihillinious* - 'Indians with eagles' eyes'; 200 leagues away
6. *Assiniboëls* - 'men of the rock'; 250 leagues west and north
7. *Oskquisaquamais* who live on fish
8. *Michinipicpoets* - 'men of stone of the great lake'; 300 leagues away
9. *Netaoüatscmipoets* - 'men of the dawn'; 400 leagues away
10. *Attimospiquales* - 'dog's rib'
11. *Maskegonehirinis* at war with the *côte de chiens* (ibid.:262-265;355-356).

On brief analysis, La Potherie conveyed ideas similar to the other French writers. The local people were distinguished from other Cree. The Assiniboine were described as living north as well as west. Dogribs were a familiar group.

La Potherie gave more information about the Dogribs:

> There has been no trade opened up with them yet because they dare not traverse the territory of the

> *Maskegonehirinis* with whom they are at war. There are, in their country, bulls of a huge size whose testicles smell of musk and whose skin is as fine as that of the beaver and can be used for making hats. Their horns encircle their heads like those of a ram. These people tell us of a strait at the end of which is a sea of ice that opens into the Southern Sea. (Tyrell 1931:265).

Could that last sentence be a cloudy reference to the Mackenzie River?

Much more information is derived from Jérémie's account of his twenty year stint as a trader at Fort Bourbon (York Factory) (Douglas and Wallace 1926). He presented the Dogribs as people who were at war with the *Savanois*, who did not have guns and so became slaves of those who did, and who had a copper mine in their country (ibid.:20). Regarding their territory he commented:

> Seal River extends up to the country of a nation called Dogribs... Their country is very barren, without beaver or other fur, and all they have to live on is fish and a kind of deer which we call caribou. The caribou they kill with arrows, and also take them with snares. (Douglas and Wallace 1926:20).

According to Jérémie, these Dogribs acquired their iron from the "debris of the Danish fire" (Douglas and Wallace 1926:21). He also mentioned that they would travel as much as 400 leagues, on foot, "for they never use canoes" (loc. cit.).

While we have a clear indication of Chipewyan/Dogrib distance from York Factory, and some indication of their customs and habits, we are not given a definite source for this information. Such information would be of immense value in analyzing the following quote:

> I shall not say anything positive about the conditions along the coast further north, except that our natives have told us that at the end of this bay there is a strait where one can readily see across from one side to the other. According to them there is ice there all the year round and the currents carry it sometimes to one side and sometimes to the other. Judging by appearances there is reason to believe that this arm of the sea communicates with the Western sea. And this conjecture receives support when the wind blows from the north, for then the sea pours so strongly through this strait that the water rises all over Hudson Bay, sometimes to a height of ten feet above its normal. (loc. cit.).

The body of water suggested could be Chesterfield Inlet, Wager Bay, or even Roe's Welcome Sound. Perhaps reference is being made to more than one of these. Whatever the contents of the seventeenth century interview, it clearly implies a knowledge of an area far to the north of York Factory. Was this information really derived from "our natives", or is his uncertainty evidence for another source? Were the local people familiar with the region so far north, or was Jérémie getting his information from slaves? Chipewyan or Eskimo? Jérémie later gave a very extensive discussion about lakes, rivers, and people to the south (ibid.:32-37). The reliability of his geographical knowledge about the interior of Canada will not be discussed here, but his description of Seal River being 15 leagues from the Danish (Churchill) River (ibid.:19) is accurate.

It should be noted that Jérémie's description of Dogrib territory (barren, without beaver) is similar to seventeenth century Hudson's Bay Company representations about "Louzy" Indian territory. Perhaps Jérémie used the word *plasôtez de*

Chiens to mean Chipewyan, or Dene, in a very general sense. That this confusion might stem from the Cree word for Athapaskans in general - *atimospikay* or dog rib - is suggested by J. G. E. Smith (1981b:283) and June Helm (1981b:305). Chipewyan is a Cree word for pointed skins or hides. It may be a reference to either the method of drying beaver skins (Jenness 1963:385; Glover 1962:105), or to their pointed parkas (Curtis 1928:3; Hodge 1913:95; Oswalt 1973:36). Smith notes that some modern Chipewyan believe that the Cree used the word to mean that Chipewyan had tails (1981b:283).

It seems reasonable to assume that any historical reference to Dogside or Dogrib Indians, in English or French, implies some northern Indian group. However, the implication does not necessarily refer to only the ancestors of Dogrib Indians. In the same manner, the term Northern Indians may include groups in addition to the Chipewyan. Neither term can be assumed to be exclusive.

From James Knight 1714-1717

James Knight arrived at York Factory in September, 1714, to re-establish the area for the English company. The Hudson's Bay Company built upon the trade practises of the French and the aboriginal people that had come to York Factory for a generation. Some of the French inventory was included with the new stock of goods. Knight made a number of references to conversations with and information derived

from the French traders. For example, he stated that the French had planned to build at Churchill River and to establish a whale fishery there (B239/a/1,f.6). This information helps to substantiate Jérémie's observations on the Seal River and the Dogribs, referred to above.

Who were the Indians coming to trade at York? Knight referred to the following: "Misshenipih," "Sturgeon," "Mountain," "Stone," "Great Water," "Wanisk," "Muscotay," "Uplander," "Sinnepoets," "Northern poits," "Uskee" (B239/a/1,f.35d,40d,43d; B239/a/2,f.22d,35,35d). These came to the fort, more or less regularly. As well, he made reference to Northern and Copper Indians towards the north (some of whom came to the fort), and Yellow Mettle Indians to the west (B239/a/2,f.30). Knight collected information on the "Iskemays" from Northern Indians (B239/a/2,f.31d), and he was aware of the "Cocauchee," or Crow close to the Western Sea (B239/a/2,f.58).

Some of this information was gained from slaves: men, women, and boys. These were Indians who had been sold as slaves or taken in warfare by the Indians who came to the fort. Knight spent much time in "discourse" with these informants. The most familiar of these is Thanadelthur or Slave Woman, identified as Northern, who was taken as a slave by Cree Indians and who came to York after an unsuccessful escape attempt (B239/a/1,f.25). (For a fuller discussion see Davies 1965:410-413; Van Kirk 1980:68-71.)

While some of the information is no doubt accurate, it is questionable whether Knight understood much of the local dialect. Thus, while he does indicate co-operation on the part of the regional natives, the problem of accurate language translation looms large. How are these informants from great distances understood? Discussing geographical locations with a European who had no possible knowledge of the interior of North America must have presented a communication problem. It should also be remembered that the Home Indians were those that were most intimately involved with the Hudson's Bay Company fort. These people no doubt learned considerable English in order to serve as translators, but their close association with the coastal forts probably hampered their personal acquisition of knowledge of the interior. Knight frequently refers to problems in finding a local Indian that could translate the "very difficult" Northern Indian language (B239/a/2,f.26d,30d,41).

Nevertheless, Knight used this information to prepare for the two important "peace missions" he sponsored to the Yellow Mettle and the Northern Indians. Both were undertaken primarily to promote the acquisition of valuable metals, not in order to establish peace so that the populace could busy themselves trapping furs to trade. Knight's obvious "gold fever" serves to make all his assertions, written for the Hudson's Bay Company Committee in London, suspect.

In June 1715, Knight sent William Stewart, Thanadelthur, and 25 men with their families to make peace between the Home (and Missinipi) Indians and the Northern Indians (B239/a/1,f.41-43). Various small groups returned during April. Stewart and Thanadelthur, with 10 Northern Indians, also returned on May 7, 1716 (B239/a/2,f.27). Knight presents a report of that expedition in a very long journal entry for May 7. The mission was successful in that Thanadelthur had succeeded in bringing 160 men (out of a camp of 400 people) back to Stewart and the others; the peace pipe was smoked, heads were "stroked", and young men were adopted as sons by their former adversaries. This indication of peace was especially delightful to Knight because some of the Home Indians on the peace mission had apparently killed nine of the Northern Indians just before Thanadelthur chased after her fleeing countrymen. The location of the peacemaking was somewhere in the boreal forest region, as the Home Indians and Stewart fortified their tents with palisades and loopholes while they waited for Thanadelthur to return. Apparently they feared vengeance. She was gone for 10 days.

The expedition to the Yellow Mettle Indians is of interest because these people were said to border on the country of the northern slave woman. Thanadelthur had told Knight already on December 4, 1714, about her country - a land with a large river or strait, with tides, barely freezing in some winters, with many Indians both to the west

and north, and with many fur-bearing animals and buffalo (B239/a/1,f.20).

The following June, a visiting Missinipi Indian described

> a River yt runs down into ye Other Sea beyond Churchill River head, or Missheenipeh and ye Indian Show'd me some salt & brimstone he brought from thence (B239/a/1,f.42d).

This same (presumably) large river is discussed by the "Home Indians" who were going along with William Stewart on the peace mission. Knight reported that the river has a

> Certain Gum or pitch that runs down the river in Such abundance that they cannot land but at certain places & that it is very broad & flows as much water as this does here & yt the rocks are of Divers Coulours & by Description full of Mineralls & very warm weather in those parts to what it is here (B239/a/1,f.43).

Knight's grammar and punctuation is difficult to understand, but a careful reading of the entire section (B239/a/1,f.42d-43) suggests that knowledge of this river was not uncommon among the Missinipi Indians and may have been shared by local Cree as well. The Missinipi are described as a group of Indians which "borders upon" the Northern Indians (loc. cit.). Some of the Northern Indians who returned with Stewart in 1716 told about Indians "that lyes upon the West Seas" who have Yellow Mettle and who use this metal as they do copper. These Yellow Mettle Indians, along with the Northern Indians and other Indians to the west made peace last summer, uniting against their common enemy "our Indians those Rogues that comes to trade with us and getts guns" (B239/a/2,f.28d). A later discussion tells

about

> a very Great River that comes out of the West Sea and is in the bottom of a very Great Bay allmost out of Sight of Land, where them Indians Inhabit thare brings a Yellow Mettle from thence and wares it as thay and the Copper Indians doth Copper for hoops for there heads hand cuffs and Rings made after the same form of them Copper ones as I have sent home (B239/a/2,f.30).

While presenting the result of his conversations with the Northern Indians who returned with Stewart (B239/a/2,f.31d-32), Knight recalled a discussion earlier in the spring when he talked with the "Cheif" of some "Great Water" Indians who were friends of the Indians at York and who had attacked and killed some Northern Indians. Knight asked him to draw a map of where he had been. He drew the Copper Indian area, and again referred to the large river running into the western sea (B239/a/2,f.32). Thus, this river, the western sea,and the Yellow Mettle Indians are associated.

An Indian leader by the name of Captain Swan returned on June 4, 1717, from a two year expedition to the West Sea after a successful peacemaking venture, with a boy of sixteen as a representative of the new group, and with beaver skins that Knight praised for their "Goodness & Largeness" (B239/a/3,f.53d,54d). It is noteworthy that in the account book for 1714-1715 (B239/d/7,f.7d), Knight lists trade goods given out for two expeditions:

1. to the captain of this river, 25 other Indians and Slave Woman - for their use and as presents to Northern Indians.

2. to the captain and 15 Great Water Indians "as an encouragement to go make peace with those Indians bordering on the Western Seas."

Apparently the expeditions left at about the same time but returned a year apart. It seems logical to conclude that Captain Swan is the latter captain. This conclusion has also been reached by Yerbury (1980:21).

However, when Knight mentioned the information he elicited from the Crow woman, a slave who was the wife of the leading Indian's brother whom Knight had engaged on a peace mission to the Crow, he noted that those Indians use the Yellow Mettle that is found "so Nigh the West Sea" (B239/a/2,f.58). This notation was made for September 1, 1716. Such wording implies that there is also an association between Yellow Mettle, West Sea, and Crow Indians. The region of the Crow was probably west, but southwest, not northwest of York Factory.

The interpretation of the records about Captain Swan has become an important issue. Contrary to the opinion that Cree are the original inhabitants of the Lake Athabasca region (Gillespie 1975a; Smith 1976b), Yerbury has used the account of Captain Swan as evidence of Cree expansion westward (1980:21-22). However, that interpretation implies that Stewart and Swan travelled in the same general direction in the same year, one on foot, the other by canoe. Another logical interpretation is that Stewart travelled northwest and Swan went southwest. Knight is unclear on this

issue. While his journal entries make it difficult to distinguish with certainty, the account book specifically identifies two separate peace missions.

In addition, Swan went on a second mission, returning, in 1719, with a sample of the "Gum or pitch that flows out of the Banks of that River" (B239/a/5,f.52). This comment does indeed suggest that he travelled to the Lake Athabasca region, as Neatby indicates (1969). But, such information does not necessarily imply that the destination of his first and second missions was the same. A careful reading of the report on his first trip (B239/a/3,f.54) did not find any evidence that Lake Athabasca and Great Slave Lake are the "Western Seas", as is assumed by Yerbury (1980:21). Rather, Knight reports "many Buffalo Moose & Beavor wth Bears... very high Mountainious Land & the Rivers very Deep & broad..." (B239/a/3,f.540). The problem is perhaps encapsulated in the association between the "western sea" and Crow Indians.

As indicated, the archival account is not clear. An examination of the travel routes of that period, namely, the rivers, allows for a southwestern region of destination as well as a northwestern focus. Accordingly, the travels of Captain Swan are not conclusive in documenting the pre-contact territory of any group; early European interpretations of the geography of interior North America are simply not precise. Thus, the archival data from this period does not remove the possibility that

Athapaskan-speakers (Chipewyan?) occupied the Lake Athabasca region in the protohistoric period.

Knight used terms such as "northern" and "great water" in a very general way. The regional association that becomes a part of such labelling is apparently not yet codified. For example, Knight praised the courage and stamina of the Slave Woman, asserting that if there were fifty more like her they would drive all the Northern Indians out of North America (B239/a/2,f.50). This statement, by itself, would imply that she was not a Northern Indian; yet elsewhere she is definitely called by that term by Knight. It seems that he used the term Northern Indian in a loose, geographical sense, not in a tribal sense. Similarly, Great Water simply means "big lake" - of which there are many.

Missinipi (various spellings) has been interpreted to refer to both Southern Indian Lake (Gillespie 1981:166; Warkentin and Ruggles 1970:88) and Reindeer Lake and the region between it and the Athabasca River (Ray 1974:53,70). Kenney notes that while Jérémie seems to equate the term with Lake Winnipeg, it may well refer to Southern Indian Lake which was sometimes designated Big Lake (1932:57). The river with the tar is beyond Missinipi, the big water. How far beyond and in which direction does not seem to be indicated in the archival sources.

Perhaps the confusion regarding the Great Water Indians is due to a modern desire to localize a social group. Considering the lengthy distance travelled by aboriginal

people, perhaps the Missinipi Indians were centralized around the Reindeer Lake and Southern Indian Lake region as Ray indicates (1974:20). However, various small groups could have gone to either the Lake Athabasca region or the Lake Winnipeg area, or beyond.

Knight noted elsewhere that he asked local Indians about the coast of Hudson Bay north of Churchill River. They reported an acquaintance with a low coastline and shallow sea until the land rises and water gets deeper - the region of the "Iskemays"(B239/a/2,f.28). This coastal region is presumed to be an area of occasional use by Algonkians, but is not usually regarded as Cree territory. It is reasonable to interpret their acquaintance with the Lake Athabasca region in the same manner. Nor does such familiarity preclude Chipewyan occupancy.

Summary

Records of the period prior to 1717, while not giving much direct information regarding Northern Indian territory, do clearly indicate that Northern Indians, whatever their ethnic association with modern Indian groups, were not confined entirely to the interior. To argue that Northern Indians did not come to the coast of Hudson Bay prior to 1717 is to maintain that the Northern Indians of the time prior to establishing the post at Churchill are different from the later Northern Indians who traded there. That is a possibility to be sure; clearly the historical record has

demonstrated that labelling is not precise. However, it is also not a probability. There is no need to assume that the Northern Indians of Kelsey and Knight are a different cultural group from those that came in 1718. Whether Northern Indian always means Chipewyan in 1689 or not cannot be determined, but it is clear that Northern Indian refers to a group of aboriginal people north of York Factory and different from the local people.

Knight does give some detailed information about the subsistence and technology of these people. For example, in 1716 he stated:

> those Northern Indians very rarely know what want is for provisions although they never want for cold Enough in the Winter for all the Deer and Buffolo that goes to ye Norward in th Summer comes back again in the first of the Winter to the Southward the country is very mountainous and full of great lakes where there is Plenty of all Sorts of fish especialy Large Sallmon thare by these lake Sides they Sett an Incredible Number of Deer Snares and ketch abundance of Deer in them as they walk backwards and forwards for the Conveniency of even Ground and Shelter under the hills and when they have done Crossing them to there fishing where they never fear ketching what they will so that there plenty makes them so very many But they Eat there fish and flesh most of it Raw for want of Kettles they mightily Rejoyce to think that they shall have Guns & kettles (B239/a/2,f.30).

While his remarks here may again be self-serving, the reference to fish, deer, and snares can easily be related to nineteenth century knowledge about Chipewyan lifestyles.

Khight also described Northern Indian technology:

> there is abundance of Indians in those parts as never has hadd either trade or Commerce with any people but as Usd bones beavor teeth flintstones for weapons of warr with there bows and arrows All there Knives awls handcuffs Rings bands as goes about

> there headgear of Pure Virgin Copper as they take up out a River from among the Sands in a Stream (B239/a/2,f.28).

The conclusion that Northern Indian does mean Chipewyan can easily be drawn.

Another impression from these journals is that the local Indians and their associates did engage in hostilities with the people called Northern Indians, and that some of these hostilities resulted in active warfare. The suggestion given is that the Algonkians warred upon the Athapaskans (e.g., B239/a/2,f.24,32). The evidence does allow for both hostile and peaceful relationships similar to that between Europeans, but it also does not nullify the once-prevailing idea that Cree expanded westward. (For an opposing view see Gillespie 1975a:352-354; Smith 1981c:257.) The issue is problematic.

The possibility that introduced disease may have affected the population dynamics of the area is also presented in the archival record. There are frequent references to illness in Knight's journals. Several Northern Indians, including Thanadelthur, died at the fort. Local, trading, and Northern Indians were affected by a "malignant fever" in 1717 (B42/a/3,f.32).

There are also strong indications of other groups, Dogrib and Yellowknife, present in the record from the seventeenth century. Thanadelthur corrected another Northern Indian slave woman's assertion that much copper was found in her country. Rather, she reported that she had seen only a

copper knife and dagger (B239/a/2,f.47d). In Knight's long presentation of his various "discourses" with the Northern Indians who returned with Stewart, there is a clear distinction drawn between the Copper and the Yellow Mettle Indians; further, both are distinguished from the informants (B239/a/2,f.30).

These informants stated that there were 17 rivers from Churchill River to the north, that there were no trees from the third river from Churchill until the thirteenth, that the fourteenth was the Coppermine, and that the seventeenth was the largest river. Knight interpreted this to mean that "they go round the land" as trees would not grow again towards the farthest river north (B239/a/2,f.31d). Eskimos are reported to live along the mouths of the rivers. The apparent association between the Mackenzie River and the seventeenth river is obvious. Such an interpretation could indeed mean that Northern Indian territory extended from Churchill to the Mackenzie delta, roughly along the tree line. However, it is also possible to suggest that the large river with trees is a reference to the Thelon River, in which case the Northern Indians were confined to the southern half of the area, leaving the northern section to the Dogrib and/or the Yellowknife.

Such general conclusions cannot be absolutely maintained. While there are these strong indications of subgroups, their relationship to the Northern Indians is not precisely defined. The record does indicate that the Dogrib

and Yellowknife lived further from York Factory than did the Northern Indians. However, the detailed geographical knowledge displayed by these informants may not imply occupancy, but acquaintance - and a familiarity with more northerly groups.

Stewart's account of his travels into the interior (as told by Knight) indicates that entire families travelled on this expedition. As well, a letter Stewart sent (dated October 16, 1715, and reaching Knight April 22, 1716) states that they had reached Churchill River August 28 and were now (on October 16) about 100 miles from Churchill River (B239/a/2,f.23d). Any expression of the distance Stewart and Thanadelthur travelled to reach her homeland should note that it took two months for the party to reach the Churchill River from York Factory, and one-and-one-half months to cover 100 miles. Of course, the duration of stops, the accuracy of measurement, and differences in travel conditions are not indicated. However, one cannot easily postulate the covering of a vast territory in a return trip of a little more than ten months duration. The possibility that Stewart reached the area south of Great Slave Lake seems quite remote. Perhaps northern Manitoba or northeast Saskatchewan is a more likely region of occupation for the Northern Indians met by William Stewart in the winter of 1715-1716. Of course, it is possible that the slower-moving families were left behind, allowing others to travel more quickly. If Hearne's party could travel from Churchill to

the Coppermine River and back in 19 months, it is conceivable that Stewart could make the return trip to the Great Slave Lake area in ten months.

B. The Trade

Little information regarding Northern Indians can be deduced from the trade between the Hudson's Bay Company and natives coming to York Factory prior to 1717. The Northern Indians did come to the fort, but generally as slaves. Of those that returned with Stewart in 1716, three were sent to live with Home Indians and four stayed at the fort; while all suffered due to the severe winter, four died by spring (Kenney 1932:62-63). Several were cited for their proficiency in the local (Cree) language and their usefulness as translators (loc. cit.).

In spite of a dearth of trade, this period is important for establishing the value of a more northern post. The first attempt, in 1689, to build a trading post at Churchill as well as James Knight's promotion of a northern trade by means of the William Stewart expedition of 1715 were the highlights in more than a quarter-century of fascination with the Northern Indian trade.

Codification of the goods traded by both parties in the fur trade has resulted in a number of tables throughout this thesis. All tables are a simplification of lists which were often repeated several times in any one account book. Spelling which is incorrect but nevertheless both consistent

for this period and readily identified with modern usage has been retained in the tables throughout.

Items received in trade at York Factory are given in Table 2. This summary is similar to later lists of furs received at Churchill (Tables 4 and 8). In all these tables some simplification of the list has been made by ignoring all color and age/size distinctions that are noted in the record. Again, the quantity is the number of pelts or hides traded, not their value (MB) in that trade.

KIND		YEARS: 1688-97				YEARS: 1715-17			
		NO.[1]	R[2]	TOTAL	MEAN[3]	NO.[4]	R[5]	TOTAL	MEAN[3]
bear								86	29
beaver	coat			84573	14094			11209	3736
	whole parchment			66040	11007			31004	10335
	half parchment			28713	4786			8225	2742
buffalo	northern/southern	2	2	12				400	133
castoreum*		4	5	363	61	2		458	153
catt (lynx)		2	4	8	1			524	175
deer		1		12		1		2	
	deerhooves					1		1080	
fox		5	5	63	11			92	31
martin				1715	286			3712	1237
moose		4	5	971	162			5907	1969
musquash (muskrat)		2	4	88	15	1		8	
otter				950	159			261	87
quicohatch (wolverine)								68	23
waskashush (wapiti)						2	2	69	23
wejack (fisher)						2		4	1
wenusk (groundhog)						1		6	
wolf								50	17

*pounds
[1]Number of years if less than 6.
[2]Range of years if less than 6.
[3]Mean is rounded to nearest whole number.
Mean for the time period is not calculated if range of years traded does not exceed half the total number of years.
[4]Number of years if less than 3.
[5]Range of years if less than 3.

Source: HBCA B239/d/1-9.

Table 2: INDIAN EXCHANGE GOODS AT YORK FACTORY 1688-97, 1715-17

Beaver was divided into coat, whole and half parchment. Coat beaver was the *castor gras*, that is, beaver that was worn a long time. This wear resulted in the removal of the guard hairs. Parchment beaver referred to the pelts that had not been worn. In their discussion, both Innis (1962:64-65) and Rich (1967:45-47) indicate that the categorization made in the early days of the Hudson's Bay Company was an extension of terminology established by earlier traders. The trader distinguished grades other than the whole and half parchment, using size and quality to determine the actual value of a pelt. These categories are not listed in the account books, however.

Buffalo hides were traded in 1689, 1690, 1715, and 1717. The northern/southern distinction was made in 1716. Northern buffalo were traded on the same comparative scale (1 buffalo=3 beaver) as buffalo in 1715; but in 1717, buffalo were traded on the same scale as southern buffalo in 1716 (1 buffalo=2 beaver). Any deduction as to modern species association does not seem verifiable.

The actual trade at York Factory for this time was seriously affected by the controversies with the French. The trade goods made available by the Hudson's Bay Company in the seventeenth century are given in Appendix C.

Of course, the French also traded. They may well have made their own forays both west and north. That Hudson's Bay Company goods were similar to French goods has been documented archaeologically (Christianson 1980). Both the

European suppliers and the Indian preferences would have been important in determining the trade goods list. Ray suggests that the early English trade goods list was a continuation of goods traded by the French (1980:256-257) and that consumer pressure (that is, from the Indians) influenced the type and quantity of goods offered (1980:258-267).

The trade goods lists in this study (Appendix C, D, E) have been codified into arbitrary groups which differ from the continuous listing in the account books. Note that capitalization in the various tables of trade goods throughout this paper indicates a group label which is not found in the Hudson's Bay Company records. An itemization of what is included under that arbitrary label can be found in the lists of trade goods in the appendix. For example, "BOXES" includes tin and steel tobacco boxes and painted boxes.

A comparison of the list of trade goods (Appendix C) and the actual trade (Table 3) indicates that a number of simplifications were made in the analysis, primarily by grouping similar materials. Not all similar goods were grouped in this way. The rule of thumb used was that those trade goods which might yield subsistence (and therefore possible environmental) information were kept as precise as the records allowed; those trade goods which were not related to the food quest directly were combined. Thus, knives were always differentiated; clothing was always

combined. The early records are very meagre, however. In many cases it was necessary to group many items within a category. For example, a breakdown of the quantities of various kinds of knives was sometimes given in the General Charge, but not in any other category. The coding and statistical analysis was done after the recording of the data. As a result of doing the research and gaining some knowledge regarding comments about trade goods and Indian preferences, it seemed logical to focus on small metals, i.e. tools, rather than on fabrics or luxury items such as tobacco boxes and beads.

Allowances had to be made for differences in recording practises over time. For example, while various kinds of shot were traded before 1723, they were not clearly distinguished until that year. Thus, no differentiation can be made until that year in this analysis; "shot" must be regarded as a group term, not as a reference to a particular kind of shot. The unit of measurement used is that in the record itself. Clothing is given either in number of pairs or number of items, depending on the normal use of that item; thus, 1 pair of shoes is equal to 1, not 2. When units of measurement changed over time, or differed according to the trading category, one convention was adopted and the numbers adjusted accordingly.

The trade with the Hudson's Bay Company is presented in Table 3. As indicated above, there are numerous ambiguities in these early lists, probably at least partially

attributable to being at war. Table 3 is complex, but it is nevertheless a simplification of the data. Because there are so many discrepancies, any statistical analysis of these data must be interpreted with extreme caution.

Table 3: TRADE AT YORK FACTORY 1688-97, 1715-17

GENERAL CHARGE*	TRADED		TOTAL EXPENSES*		NATIVE EXPENSES*	
	TOTAL	% of GC*	TOTAL	% of GC*	TOTAL	% of GC*
ADORNMENT						
61788 BAUBLES	10777	17.4	7686	12.4	850	1.4
1827 beads'	1387	75.9	7	.4	6	.3
97 buckles•			4	4.1	2	2.1
6566 combs	1776	27.0	64	1.0	28	.4
CLOTHING and FABRIC						
4069 blankets	758	18.6	52	1.3	28	.7
13519 CLOTHING	1897	14.0	844	6.2	129	1.0
11210 FABRIC²	4700	41.9	798	7.1	259	2.3
382 handkerchiefs•	32	8.4	33	8.6		
9364 TRIM²	46	.5	1478	15.8	238	2.5
7155 thread³			667	9.3	55	.8
CONSUMABLE GOODS						
658 ALCOHOL'•						
31952 tobacco'	11111	34.8	2517	7.9	1287	4.0
3812 vermilion³	2322	60.9	31	.8	28	.7
CONTAINERS						
5480 BOXES	1429	26.3	32	.6	1	
7408 kettles'	3310	44.7	28	.4	31	.4
206 trunks•	34	16.5	10	4.9		
CORDAGE						
4166 netlines	460	11.0	44	1.1	3	.1
6853 twine³	1015	14.8	65	.9	6	.1
GUNS and ACCESSORIES						
183846 flints	40842	22.2	5456	3.0	156	.1
6196 guns	3134	50.6	32	.5	19	.3
11874 gunworms	2503	21.1	59	.5	23	.2
384 lead'•	26	6.8	60	15.6		
5379 powder horns	1720	32.0	30	.6	14	.3
76640 powder'	34394	44.9	2345	3.1	519	.7
225223 shot'	76669	34.0	10947	4.7	2137	.9
TOOLS, BASIC						
5960 chisels	3919	65.8	21	.4	47	.8
144 files■	72	50.0				
16637 hatchets	7501	45.1	67	.4	71	.4
55726 knives	22912	53.7	356	5.8	280	.5
446 ", snowshoe	281	63.0	26	5.8	29	6.5

(continued)

Table 3 continued.

TOOLS, LARGE BLADES							
442	bayonets■	272	61.5	25	5.7	28	6.3
720	daggers•	293	40.7	2	.3		
229	lances, fish•	3	1.3				
1442	sword blades	214	14.8	11	.8	9	.6
TOOLS, OTHER							
2773	arrowheads•	2	.1				
22819	awl blades	10803	47.3	105	.5	95	.4
1392	fish hooks■			156	11.2		
13920	fire steels	3595	25.8	60	.4	69	.5
16175	needles	1776	11.0	750	4.6	30	.2
957	scissors	386	40.3	3	.3	50	5.2
3555	scrapers	1667	46.9	49	1.4	50	1.4
2383	spoons•	43	1.8	44	1.8	1	
1941	tobacco tongs	462	23.8	13	.7	4	.2
MISCELLANEOUS							
448	burning glasses•	36	8.0				
7121	looking glasses	695	9.8	8	.1	5	.1
11505	pipes•	1433	12.5				
22	spectacles•						
637	toys•	55	8.6				

* GC=General Charge i.e. total inventory
Total Expenses=summary of the list of total expenses
Native Expenses=summary of expense account breakdown, identified as applied to natives, in whole or in part
• Traded during 1688-97 only.
■ Traded during 1715-17 only.
[1] pounds
[2] yards
[3] ounces
[4] gallons
[5] skeins

Source: HBCA B239/d/1-6.

This table can be compared with the record of the trade at Churchill starting in 1717 (Tables 5 and 9). Note that Table 3 is a summary of trade from the records of only 9 trading years - 1689-92, 1694, 1697, 1715-17.

The variety of goods made available (the General Charge) was extensive. However, no alcoholic beverages or spectacles were either traded or given on the expense

account. Buckles, thread, and fish hooks were not traded either, but were on the expense account. Such data suggest the use of thread in clothing sewn at the fort, such as the "present coats" given to the Trading Captains. Some items were accepted in trade but never on the expense account: burning glasses, files, fish lances, pipes, and toys of various kinds. Handkerchiefs, lead, and trunks were both traded for and on the expense account, but never given to Indians directly. Only bayonets, beads, chisels, files, guns and vermilion were traded in quantities that reached at least 50% of the General Charge.

The expenses amounted to only a small fraction of the trade; only baubles of various kinds, fish hooks, lead and assorted kinds of trim were expended in amounts equal to even 16% of the General Charge. If the bookkeeping were entirely accurate, no "Native Expenses" entry should exceed that of the Total Expenses. This is not so, however. Two notable exceptions are chisels and scrapers. Bayonets, snowshoe knives and scissors were given/paid to Indians in greater amounts than as indicated in the list of Total Expenses. However, even these small percentages (5.2% to 6.5%) may include factory expenses [10] as well, as items given/paid to Indians are not always specifically isolated but are sometimes combined with items expended in other ways.

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[10] Factory expenses refers to all expenses incurred by the factory, i.e., the fort, in running its affairs which are included in the expense account, e.g., extra payments, in trade goods, to Company servants for unusual work.

V. Northern Indians and the Fur Trade 1717-40

A. Historical Developments

James Knight established a Hudson's Bay Company post at Churchill in the summer of 1717. The preliminary party of ten men, including one Northern Indian, which arrived at the Churchill River in June did not meet anyone but did notice "many fire places & fresh Tracks (Kenney 1932:112). According to Knight's interview with the Northern Indian man using a Northern Indian slave woman as interpreter, the people leaving this evidence as well as other signs were Northern Indians (ibid. p.115). These signs were:

> Sevll Capps & things hanging upon the Place where Their Tents were, & 3 of ye Capps is made of redd Cloth, wch he is in hopes it is some of ye Cloth as the Indians carry'd away when they went to ye Norward in the Spring (ibid. p. 114).

The identity of these Indians is unclear, but it is possible that Knight is correct in assuming them to be those Northern Indians that he sent away from York Factory a few months before. Knight also made numerous references to Eskimo in the area. He was of the opinion that they were very recent inhabitants of the housing seen at the site, and that they may h[illegible] killed the Northern Indians that were there.[1]

Richard Norton the apprentice was sent out to encourage the Northern Indians to come and trade. The Northern Indian man and woman that had been brought along from York Factory

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[1] James Knight is well-known for his florid writing style. The use of Kenney's transcription (with its added punctuation) is an attempt to help clarify the situation.

accompanied him on his travels; they left July 18, 1717 (Kenney 1932:122), only four days after Knight's arrival. Knight does not indicate how far the three travelled. Christopher Middleton, writing many years after the event, presents the apparent tradition at Churchill that Norton had travelled a considerable distance into the interior. He reported that Norton had travelled for almost a year, on land in a northwest direction, to an area without trees or shrubs, where they had to subsist on moss [12] (Middleton 1743:42). Such an interpretation has also recently been presented by Warkentin and Ruggles (1970:66):

> He (Stewart) was followed in 1717-1720 by Richard Norton who spent three years inland west and northwest of the mouth of the Churchill.

E. E. Rich, the notable Hudson's Bay Company historian, also states that Richard Norton was away from Churchill from 1718 to 1720, although he does not indicate the geographical area (1958:448).

However, the account book for 1717-1718 clearly states that Norton returned to Churchill with 13 Northern Indians "in the winter" of 1717-18 (B42/d/1,f.2d). On September 10 of 1718, Norton was again sent out to live with the Indians (Southern) to encourage them to trade at York Factory (B42/a/1,f.22d). He returned on November 5 (B42/a/1,f.29). He is mentioned as participating in hunting trips and/or going with Indians on a number of occasions the following two years (e.g., B42/a/1,f.39d,43,70d). In the spring of

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[12] Probably reindeer moss; i.e., *Cladonia* lichens.

1721, Norton was sent as a translator for the Northern Indian man who accompanied Henry Kelsey on his exploration trip north of Churchill along the coast (B42/a/1,f.136). He also acted as translator on the sloop voyage of 1722 (B42/a/3,f.51). The impression gained from reading this journal is that Richard Norton was a capable hunter and fisherman who often lived away from Churchill with Indians and who became fluent in a number of languages.

The new post was used almost immediately as a base for promoting trade even farther north. David Vaughan went "North upon Discovery" and "to trade" in June of 1718 (B42/d/1,f.3). Similar voyages were undertaken yearly to 1722. While the presence of Eskimoan people along the coast was recognized, the Hudson's Bay Company traders apparently also thought that Northern Indians could be met by travelling along shore. This idea is indicated by the sending of one Northern Indian in 1721, and two in 1722. No sloop trade activity is reported from 1722 until 1737 when two sloops were sent to promote trade with the Eskimo. The archival record indicates the probability of other voyages in 1738 and 1739. In 1740, the *Churchill* sailed north to trade but was gone for only nineteen days (B42/a/20). While there are a number of lists of trade goods stocked on the sloops leaving Churchill, the quantities traded are recorded only for 1722 and 1737. Oil, whalebone, unicorn (narwal) horns, ivory and blubber are listed as exchange items. Such products suggest trade with Eskimo groups. There are no

indications at all that Northern Indians were involved on the sloop or participated in the trade other than their presence as interpreters in 1721 and 1722.

Ethnohistorical Information

The relationships between the Northern Indians and their Southern Indian neighbors varied. There are references in 1717 to intermarriage (B239/a/3,f.45d), travelling and living together (ibid. f.38d), and to warfare (ibid. f.49,49d). In 1725 Northern Indians reported that both Eskimos and Southern Upland Indians were warring with them (B42/a/5,f.24d). These same individuals (who had arrived at Churchill on June 13) also reported that they had found a boat and several other items where the *Albany* was "lost" (loc. cit.). [1]

Such information refers not only to the relationships between the Chipewyan and other aboriginal groups, but also suggests the geographical expanse familiar to them. Taken at face value, the archival record indicates both an interior and a coastal association for the Northern Indians.

While there is much written about other visiting Indians which can be used to locate them geographically, the ambiguous picture presented does not justify definite localization. For example, the Missinipi are described as 1. occupying the area through which the Northern Indians

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[1]This frigate was Knight's ship in his search for the northern gold mine in 1719. He and his crew apparently died on Marble Island (Zacharchuk 1973).

would have to travel to return "home" (B42/d/1,f.2d).

2. travelling "4 moons" on their trip to Churchill which they reached on July 30, and not expecting to be back in their own area until midwinter (B42/a/1,f.56).
3. being the Great Water Indians on whose river there is a big lake with many Indians and much fowl (B42/a/1,f.132d,133).

Previous discussion of the term Great Water or Missinipi (see Chapter 4) indicated a probable association with Southern Indian Lake in Manitoba. These references from the Churchill journals corroborate that conclusion but also dispute it (point 2). An entry by Knight for August 18, 1717 asserts that the Great Water Indians need only four days canoe travel to reach Churchill but required 10 days and several portages to reach York Factory (Kenney 1932:165,166). At least two groups seem to be indicated here, one considerably closer to Churchill than the other.

A similar distinction is indicated for Northern Indians. The archival record for 1718-21 mentions a Northern Indian "boy" who was retained at Churchill to act as an interpreter from sometime in 1718 until April 1721. While at Churchill he learned to speak English, as well as to hunt and trap after the manner of the Southern Indians. When he returned home he was to show others how to hunt and trap in the same way (B42/a/1,f.131d). Prior to the arrival of "his countrymen" in 1721, there were many groups that came to Churchill, none of which are so identified. In particular, a

group of 23 men came in June or July each of those years. The group that was described as "countrymen" consisted of 80 people - 36 men plus women and children - who came with sleds and brought more to trade than previously; the furs were better prepared as well (B42/a/1,f.127,128). All of these individuals are identified as Northern Indians. However, there appears to be a distinction made between those who came every year and those who returned after several years. The difference was apparently based on distance from Churchill, not on language or appearance. Unfortunately the distances are not given, nor are all Northern Indians distinguished even in such a general geographical sense.

Localizing the Copper Indians is also difficult. Apparently they reported to Northern Indians that they had seen some Englishmen who had given them lots of iron (B42/a/1,f.127d). In 1721, two Copper Indian men arrived with a group of 100 Northern Indian men. Staunton was unable to distinguish them on the basis of their language or clothing. He reported, however, that the Copper Indians insisted that there were hills of copper in their country; but as the distance was great, they could not bring much copper to Churchill when travelling on land (B42/a/1,f.131d). In 1724, Copper Indians reported to Richard Norton (B42/a/4,f.30) that there was no passage to the much-sought after copper mine and that the sea was frozen. Further, the distance was so great that it would

take three winters to arrive there from Churchill. In the light of present-day understanding concerning the Coppermine River area, the increased accuracy of this report may be directly related to the fact, established later in time, that Richard Norton did not need an interpreter when talking to Northern Indians (B42/a/12,f.12).

Illness and death are frequently reported during this time period. The Northern Indians that returned with Stewart and remained at or near York Factory all died, apparently of a "malignant fever" (B239/a/3,f.32). Sickness is often mentioned in 1716 and 1717, with many Indian deaths reported (B239/a/3,f.41,56d). Three "Nations" are mentioned as suffering much loss of life - the Northern Stone, the Mountain, and the Askee or Sand Indians (ibid. f.58d). (Knight attributes these deaths, as well as many other problems, to the failure of Captain Davis to deliver the new supply of trade goods in 1716.) In 1720, when Hancock returned from his sloop voyage along the coast north of Churchill, he reported "a great Mortallity this Last Winter amongst ye Escomays" (B42/a/1,f.86). The Home Indians at York Factory suffered from smallpox in 1721, apparently for the first time [14] (B239/a/6,f.15). Numbers or percentages are not indicated in these references, but clearly the record suggests that epidemics were responsible for the

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[14] The journal entry specifically notes that "most of the Indians that have lain here all Winter have had the Small Pox...." which strongly disagrees with the usual information in the literature of smallpox first occurring in the 1781 epidemic.

deaths of many people.

Northern Indians are reported as being unfamiliar with hide preparation (B42/a/1,f.48d) and trapping (B42/a/2,f.45). Even after improvement in the stretching of beaver skins is reported, they are still criticized for excessive scraping of their parchment moose skins in 1721 (B42/a/1,f.128). The Great Water Indians are also accused of the same failing (Kenney 1932:166). It would seem likely that all aboriginal groups took some time to adjust their technologies to the requirements of the traders. Perhaps the specifications regarding moose skins were new; perhaps the Great Water Indians were also new to the fur trade.

The Northern Indian mode of travel in the early part of this time period is somewhat uncertain. While the general picture presented is that of coming to Churchill on foot, pulling sleds of furs and/or meat (e.g., B42/a/1,f.127), some early references also indicate canoe travel. In 1724, 21 Northern Indians arrived on June 15. They reported that one member of their party drowned on the way when some ice rammed his canoe (B42/a/4,f.28d). The previous year, on April 19, seven men came with "bulky" sleds. They stated that others would come when the ice was gone. This same promise was repeated by a group of 20 (men, women, and children) on May 31 (B42/a/3,f.20d,25d). Other groups did follow as promised, but their mode of transportation is not indicated. In 1721, a group of 80 who arrived with sleds on April 15 were encouraged to make canoes and to come in the

summer. This same promise was extracted from a small group of 20 who arrived on July 1 (B42/a/1,f.127,135). In view of this request the anomalous canoe death of 1724 mentioned above may be due to some Northern Indians adopting the travel mode encouraged by the traders, or it may simply be a case of reporting what one is expected to report (Indians to Richard Norton or Richard Norton to his Hudson's Bay Company superiors).

B. Trade at Churchill

The trade at Churchill Factory included other groups in addition to the Northern Indians. Occasionally, the trade of a particular group is noted, but usually only the quantity for a particular year is indicated. The goods brought by the Indians are listed in Table 4.

KIND		YEARS: 1718-40			
		NO.[1]	R[2]	TOTAL	MEAN[3]
bear	old,cub			1964	85
beaver	coat			48404	2105
	whole parchment			116380	5060
	half parchment			29684	1291
buffalo		3	4	34	
castoreum*		3	7	63	
catt (lynx)				3330	145
feathers*		15	18	4715	205
fox	various shades			925	41
jackash (mink)		3	5	64	
martin				15639	680
moose	dressed,parchment	11	19	871	38
otter		18		499	22
quicohatch (wolverine)				2701	117
waskashush (wapiti)				28	
wejack (fisher)		8	10	40	
wolf				1182	52

*pounds
[1]Number of years if less than 23.
[2]Range of years if less than 23.
[3]Mean is rounded to nearest whole number.
Mean for the time period is not calculated if range of years traded does not exceed half the total number of years.
Source: HBCA B42/d/1-20.

Table 4: INDIAN EXCHANGE GOODS 1718-40

The identification of "buffalo" is problematic. The usual interpretation has been that these were muskox (Davies 1965:67; Burch 1977:135-138; Roe 1970:856). The 34 buffalo skins traded were received in 1718(12), 1719(18), and 1721(4). In Chapter 4 it was mentioned that buffalo skins were a trade item at York Factory before 1717. This practise continued at York Factory only in the years 1719 (416 robes) and 1720 (325 robes). From 1721 to 1740 there are no buffalo skins listed on the exchange goods tally (B239/d/10-30). They are also not listed as exchange goods at Churchill after 1721 until 1768. The Northern Indians brought many sled loads of "buffalo flesh" starting in 1733, as stated previously. As muskox robes were not a good trade item for the Hudson's Bay Company (Davies 1965:67), a simple explanation to account for this trading pattern may well be that as robes became unacceptable, the Northern Indians switched to a trade in meat when a trader who was favorably inclined to this practice (Richard Norton) became chief factor. This explanation (which assumes that all uses of the term buffalo refers to muskox) does not answer the question of why other Indians do not bring this meat also. On September 12, 1718, Indians from Hayes River are recorded as travelling to Seal River to hunt moose and buffalo (B42/a/1,f.23). Such an activity seems commonplace for this time period. Frequent mention is made of the bringing of meat to the fort (or of sending for Hudson's Bay Company men to fetch the meat). It seems unusual therefore that only

Northern Indians concern themselves with bringing buffalo meat to the fort.

In 1721, the standard of trade was raised sharply. This raise was in effect until 1724 when the previous standard was again adopted. This was not a change for the Northern Indians however. They had been enticed with a more favorable standard by James Knight and this difference was continued. It was also known to the other Indians; there are a number of references to arguments over the standard of trade. Northern Indians were also aware of the discrepancy, for according to some other Indians, five of the Northern Indians travelled to York Factory, hitching a ride in the bottom of the Cree canoes, to "see the way of trade" there (B42/a/2,f.45d). This difference in trade may well have been the primary motive behind the desire of the traders to keep the Northern Indians from associating with others while trading. Many remarks suggest that the Northern Indians were given preferential treatment; in fact, other Indians were discouraged from even coming to Churchill - they were asked to trade at York Factory instead (B42/a/1,f.132d). The trade goods made available are indicated in Appendix D.

The goods available are less elaborate than those stocked at York Factory in the seventeenth century. The mocotauguns (crooked knives) were on the initial list but were not traded until 1720, when all 12 were traded. This fact could be interpreted as indicating that Northern Indians did not use this common subarctic knife (also called

a snowshoe or canoe knife), or that the mocotauguns supplied by the Hudson's Bay Company were inadequate. Roach knives were also curved but in a far different manner - on the bottom edge of the blade, not on the tip in the manner of a hook. They traded in large numbers. Mocotauguns, however, did not. For reasons unknown, the knife that is usually represented as the most common of tools is not a popular trade item at Churchill. The trade is summarized in Table 5.

Table 5: TRADE AT CHURCHILL 1718-40

GENERAL CHARGE*		TRADED		TOTAL EXPENSES*		NATIVE EXPENSES*	
		TOTAL	% of GC*	TOTAL	% of GC*	TOTAL	% of GC*
ADORNMENT							
57344	BAUBLES	15191	26.5	1223	2.1	1261	2.2
6993	beads'	1356	19.4	103	1.5	104	1.5
5197	combs	1190	22.9	19	.4	19	.4
261	feathers	83	31.8	1	.4	1	1
CLOTHING and FABRIC							
2245	blankets	603	26.9	46	2.0	53	2.4
5521	CLOTHING	766	13.9	42	.8	44	.8
18338	FABRIC²	3988	21.7	675	3.7	647	3.5
221	handkerchiefs	118	53.4				
4744	thread³	189	4.0	617	13.1	17	.4
5789	TRIM⁴	983	17.0	511	8.8	541	9.3
CONSUMABLE GOODS							
8867	ALCOHOL⁴	1697	19.1	1516	17.1	427	4.8
62227	tobacco'	18092	29.1	1792	2.9	1645	2.6
9228	vermilion³	2414	26.2	188	2.0	202	2.2
CONTAINERS							
3837	BOXES	915	23.8				
16813	kettles'	4076	24.2	137	.8	56	.3
1170	rundlets	596	50.9				
184	trunks	80	43.5				
CORDAGE							
2321	netlines	777	33.5	152	6.5		
4307	twine³	93	18.5	177	33.2	11	
597	",coarse⁴	110	18.4	198	16.8		
1117	",fine⁴	100	9.0	188	16.8		
GUNS and ACCESSORIES							
161620	flints	39070	9.5	15341	24.2	6510	.4
2705	guns'	527	19.5	24	.9	25	.9
1384	",long	586	42.3	23	1.7	20	1.4
1426	",medium	257	18.0	5	4.0	4	3.0
71	",short³	28	39.4				
6280	gunworms	1502	23.9	415	6.6	186	3.0
80771	powder'	19954	24.7	12766	15.8	4206	5.2
2820	powder horns	1084	38.4	118	4.2	32	1.1
76441	shot'	6915	9.0	7390	9.7	11745	15.4
68814	",Bristol³	17492	25.4	9828	14.3	1676	2.4
50518	",duck³	5155	10.2	15808	31.3	2088	4.1

(continued)

Table 5 continued.

12901	",goose'	1752	13.6	569	4.4		
13268	",high East India'	5730	43.2				
29935	",low East India'	10996	36.7	240	.8	206	.7
8676	",partridge'	318	3.7	4102	47.3	600	6.9
TOOLS, BASIC							
9362	chisels'[6]	3525	37.7	102	1.1	76	.8
1550	",broad	1014	65.4				
2826	",narrow	1146	40.6	78	2.8	40	1.4
2724	files	1271	46.7	1019	37.4	10	.4
4624	hatchets'[6]	1423	30.8	172	3.7	89	1.9
8909	",middling'[2]	2641	29.6	119	1.3	82	.9
3506	",small'[2]	773	22.0				
16627	knives'[6]	2327	14.0	181	1.1	191	1.1
20311	",jack	6104	30.1	273	1.3	234	1.2
20849	",large long	2061	9.9	156	.7	136	.7
18976	",large roach	3350	17.7	267	1.4	194	1.0
36	",mocotaugun'[6]	12	33.3				
3226	",small long	695	21.5				
3974	",small roach	830	20.9				.4
TOOLS, LARGE BLADES							
1185	bayonets	673	56.8	10	.8	12	1.0
3710	sword blades	107	2.9	3	.1	3	.1
TOOLS, OTHER							
20304	awl blades	5325	26.2	249	1.2	245	1.2
37127	needles	3799	10.2	470	1.3	18	
1346	scissors	341	25.3				
5270	scrapers'[6]	1259	23.9	84	1.6	86	1.6
131	",double	83	63.4				
86	",single	74	86.0				
MISCELLANEOUS							
796	burning glasses	91	11.4				
4456	fish hooks	362	8.1	100	2.2		
9443	fire steels	3146	33.3	64	.7	37	
720	spoons	84	11.7				
1227	tobacco tongs	208	17.0	39	3.2		
2085	looking glasses	566	27.1	10	.5	10	.5

* GC=General Charge i.e. total inventory
Total Expenses=summary of the list of total expenses
Native Expenses=summary of expense account breakdown, identified as applied to natives, in whole or in part

[1] pounds
[2] yards
[3] ounces
[4] gallons
[5] skeins

[6] differentiated in 1729
[7] differentiated in 1730
[8] added in 1738
[9] differentiated in 1723
[10] differentiated in 1733
[11] only for 1722, 1728, 1729.
[12] after 1723
[13] 1722 only; knives were differentiated in 1723
[14] 1715-20 only
[15] differentiated in 1739

Source: HBCA B42/d/1-20.

In all cases the quantity of trade goods available (the General Charge) easily exceeded the amount traded. Note that all categories of items were traded - a change from the previous period when some goods did not sell at all. Many items, however, were never part of the expense account. Those trade goods that were listed as expense items but not as being directly applied to Indians (fish hooks, netlines, goose shot, tobacco tongs, coarse and fine twine) were probably expended in the fishing and hunting activities of the Company servants. Many goods were approximately equally divided into the Total Expenses and Native Expenses categories, e.g., awl blades. Some, however, were much lower as Native Expenses - notably alcohol; files; flints and gunworms; needles and thread; powder; twine; and Bristol, duck and partridge shot. Again, many of these were used in hunting. The alcohol consumed was probably given as a reward or incentive to the Hudson's Bay Company employees.

The items traded at the highest rates in relationship to the amount of inventory were bayonets, broad chisels, rundlets and single scrapers - all over 50%. Files, twine,

and goose and partridge shot were expended in amounts over 30% of the General Charge. In fact, they were expended more than they were traded! This fact reflects their use for hunting at the fort, no doubt. In the Native Expenses list, only powder, shot (and partridge shot) and trim amounted to more than 5% of the General Charge. Again, the extensive use of trim in the "present coats" probably accounts for the 9.3% figure.

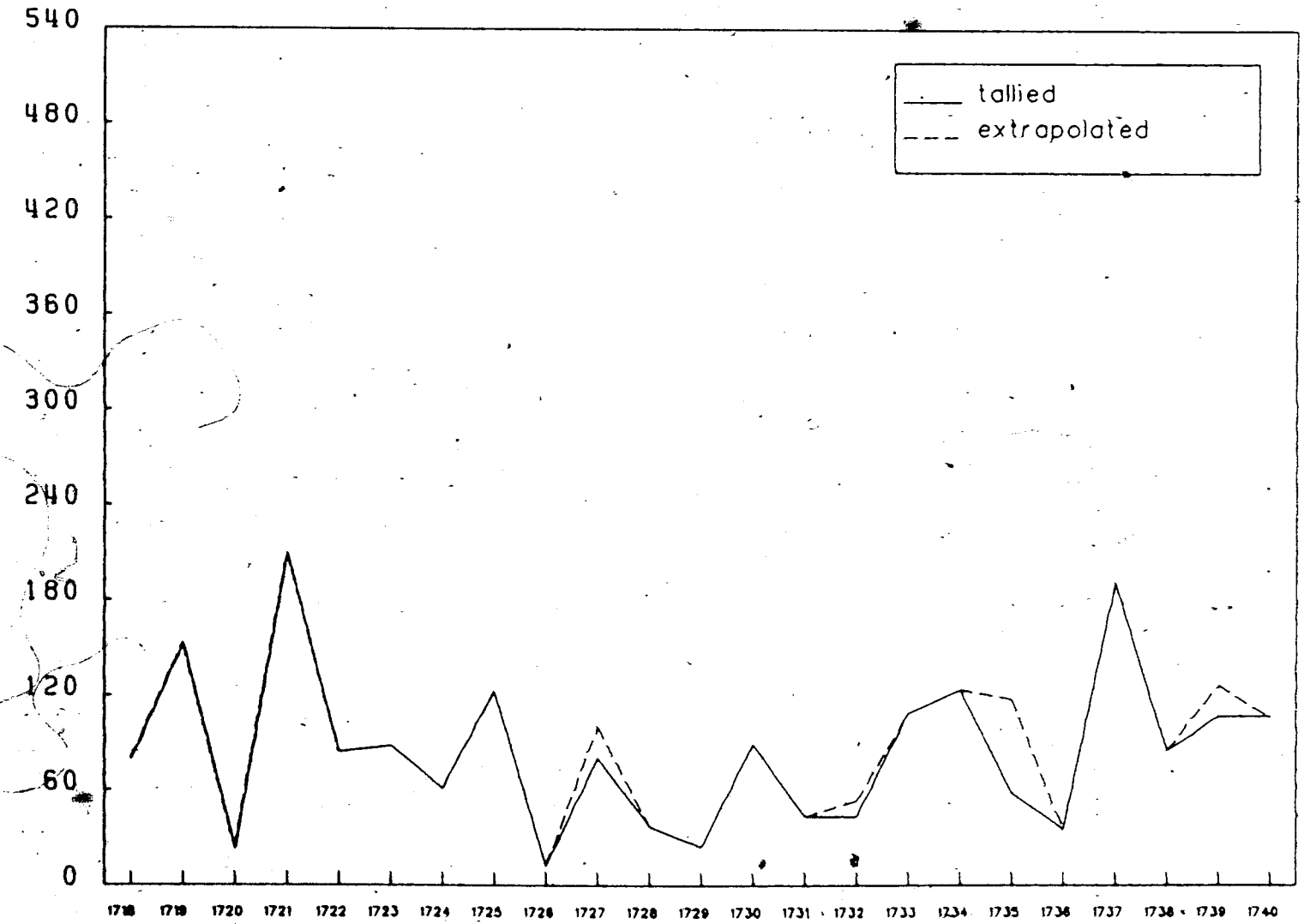

Figure 2: Number of Northern Indians to Churchill 1718–40

Northern Indians Trading at Churchill

The establishment of a trading post for Northern Indians was successful from the beginning. During the first year of operation, in addition to the 13 that returned with Richard Norton in the winter, 66 Northern Indians came sometime between April 20 and July 3, in two groups of 23 and 43 respectively. [18] As indicated in Figure 2, the total numbers varied widely during this period. These numbers are minimum numbers. They are calculated by adding all journal entries that state that Northern Indians arrived at the fort. The fact that they arrived on foot, rather than in canoes, and that Churchill was specified as a Northern Indian post with special orders applicable to their trading has no doubt contributed to this tally being kept in the daily journal entries. There are some references to "gangs" with no numbers given. On the basis of examination of all the numbers and references to gangs, a value of 20 for one gang seems to be a reasonable assumption and is used in the extrapolated totals given in Figure 2 (and listed in Table 6). As well, a family is assumed to equal five when no numbers are given in the record. This deduction was reached after calculating average family sizes over a number of years. (The years used in the calculation are given in

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[18] The Churchill journal for 1717-18 has been lost. After Knight's entry for September 13, 1717, kept in the York Factory records (B239/a/3), there are no daily journal entries for Churchill until September of 1718 (B42/a/1). Therefore, the expenses tabulation in the financial accounts section of that same volume is the only available source of information.

Chapter 7 as the journals of that period indicated total numbers more frequently.) The gender is given occasionally. Sometimes large groups of males came, traded, and left. Sometimes small groups of males acted as an advance party followed by entire families arriving in a large group. The generalization could be made that women and children are only included when specifically referred to; but due to the inconsistency in reporting, such a notion may not be accurate. As can be seen from Table 6 the usual arrival time was during the month of June.

Many of the totals listed for June were identified as being all-male groups or included a large group composed of males only. The largest of these were:

- 1721 - 102 men,
- 1725 - 104 men,
- 1727 - 80 men,
- 1734 - 86 men,
- 1737 - 150 men,
- 1740 - 80 men.

YEAR	*SEPT.	OCT.	NOV.	DEC.	JAN.	FEB.	MARCH	APRIL	MAY	JUNE	JULY	AUG.	TOTAL
1718				winter-13							summer-66		79
1719										153			153
1720										23			23
1721								88		102	20		210
1722										84			84
1723								50	20	18			88
1724										61			61
1725					19					104			123
1726										12			12
1727	(g)									80			*80
1728								4		33			37
1729								5		19			24
1730						3				86			89
1731										43			43
1732										53			53
1733										59	50		109
1734			8							116			124
1735		7						35	10	6+3g			*118
1736										25	10		35
1737			2		3	4	6			177			192
1738		12		18			5			50			85
1739			5	7				11+f		84	f		*127
1740			3							103			106

() previous August
g "gang"
f families
* extrapolated

Source: HBCA B42/a/1-20.

Table 6: NORTHERN INDIAN ARRIVAL AT CHURCHILL 1718-40

Stopovers at the fort were almost always brief. Most arrived and left on the same day; or arrived late the evening before, traded during the next day and then left. The Northern Indians did not adopt the Southern Indian pattern of rituals before trading, followed by feasting and lengthy stops at the fort.

A few Northern Indians also spent the winter at the fort. At first these were the slaves purchased from local Cree Indians. Nevertheless, already in 1720, the wording is such that slavery is no longer implied. The length of stay is as long as three years. These men and women were encouraged (by means of trade goods as presents) to stay at the fort to learn both English and the Southern Indian language as well as their hunting methods (e.g., B42/a/1,f.132).

In June, 1725, two young men (out of a group of 104 men) stayed to hunt geese for the factory. They stayed for one year, leaving with a small group of 12 in June, 1726 (B42/a/5,f.24d;B42/a/6,f.29). One returned in April, 1728, with his wife and another Northern Indian couple, to hunt geese for the fort (B42/a/8,f.22). This event can safely be stated to be the beginning of Chipewyan serving as Home Indians. However, there is no repeat of Northern Indians coming to hunt geese until 1739. There are other references to these people living at the fort, but the emphasis is on using their linguistic abilities. For example, a Northern Indian was engaged to translate for Thomas Bird, but was no

longer required after Richard Norton returned as chief factor in 1732 (B42/a/12,f.11d).

However, another indication of Northern Indians functioning as Home Indians who provide food for the Hudson's Bay Company employees is demonstrated by the common practice of bringing sled loads of "bufflers flesh" starting in 1733. The years and months when this meat was brought are:

- 1733: April
- 1735: April
- 1737: January, February, March, June
- 1738: October and November (1737), March, perhaps April
- 1739: November and December (1738), April
- 1740: November (1739).

There is an apparent trend toward a late fall/early winter trip to the fort. There are no indications that this was dry meat. In 1738, ambiguous wording may indicate either that Northern Indians are now regarded as Home Indians or that the (Southern) Home Indians are also bringing in the "buffalo" meat. The entry for April 16 states:

> this Eveng here come two Indian men from ye Northward they brougt 2 Loads of Bufflers Flesh (B42/a/18,f.22d).

The entry for April 24 states:

> here come Sevll familys of our Indian Hunters from whom I had Some buffaloes flesh, they tell me they Saw Sevll Geese fly on Saturdy Last but none Sence yt Time (B42/a/18,f.23).

As the journal for 1739 indicates that a number of Northern Indian families came in April to trade and to hunt geese, it

is not unreasonable to assume that those bringing in the "buffalo flesh" in April of 1738 were also Chipewyan.

An indication of the value of the Hudson's Bay Company goods compared to the exchange items offered by the Northern Indians is given in the following example. On November 16, 1739, 4 pounds of powder, 16 pounds of Bristol shot, 2 pounds of Brazil tobacco, 1 gallon of brandy and 8 flints were given for three sled loads of buffalo meat (B42/d/20,f.10d; B42/a/20,f.9). Translated into MB according to the standard, these three loads of meat were equivalent to 13 MB, less than the value of one gun.

It is not always possible to separate Northern Indian trade from that of other groups. However, occasional references in the journals identify their preferences. For example, in 1723 (B42/a/3,f.20d), the group of 40 that arrived on April 22 traded 270 marten skins for powder, shot and kettles. It is noted that their previous trade in kettles was minimal. In addition, they purchased five guns, as well as hatchets, chisels, "and other nececaries." Besides the martens, the other mammal specifically mentioned is the buffalo - of which they brought many skins. Note that these skins are not listed as an exchange item in 1723. The journal entry indicates that the Northern Indians had apparently been previously encouraged to bring these bulky robes. No mention is made of what happened to the robes in question. In May of the same year, 138 marten and some parchment beaver pelts were brought (ibid. f.25d).

In June, 1724 (B42/a/4,f.30), a Copper Indian brought 40 Northern Indians who had never been to Churchill before. They traded 300 marten, 15 wolf, 15 wolverine, and some beaver skins. The Hudson's Bay Company items they purchased are not indicated. The account book for the same year identifies the Copper Indian as the "Norward Leading Indian" who had wintered at Churchill (B42/d/4,f.7).

Details from the expense account as it applies to Northern Indians only are given in Table 7.

Table 7: EXPENSES RELATED TO NORTHERN INDIANS 1718-40

YEAR	RECIPIENT	KIND	REASON
1718W	I+NI+HBC	payment	encouraging
1718T	NI	gift+payment	encouraging
1719	NI	gift	
1720	NI	gift	
1721T	NI	gift	
1722T	NI	gift	
1723W	NI	gift	
1723T	NI	gift	
1724T	NI	gift	
1725W	NI	gift	encouraging
1725T	NI	payment	hunting
1726W	NI	gift	
1726T	NI	gift+payment	encouraging
1732W	NI	gift	
1735W	I+NI	payment	meat,deer hedge
1737W	I+NI	payment	meat
	NI	payment	meat
1738W	I+NI	payment	meat
1739T	NI leader	gift	
1740W	NI	payment	meat

W winter season (Aug. to April/May)
T trading season (April/May to Aug.)
I (Southern) Indians
NI Northern Indians
HBC Company servants

Source: HBCA B42/d/1-20.

Note that many trading years are not listed at all. The absence of information for some years most probably reflects the diligence of the chief trader in tabulating his expenses. There is no apparent correlation between high numbers of Northern Indians arriving at Churchill (Figure 2) and a detailed listing in the expense account (Table 7). The lack of a detailed breakdown for so many years suggests that the picture presented is far from accurate. Therefore, statistical analysis has been undertaken on a preliminary basis only. That is presented in Chapter 7.

"Encouraging" is the word used to refer to the promotion of trade by the Indians. Goods were given in advance to the Indian (a so-called Captain or Leader usually) who was to travel into the hinterland and encourage others, often described as his countrymen, to trade with the Hudson's Bay Company. The "deer hedge" refers to the making of a "surround" or pound used in hunting caribou.

The gifts given were often small amounts of a variety of trade goods. For example, in 1720 these gifts were: 3 pieces of clothing, 1 blanket, 4 yards of fabric, 6 pounds of tobacco, 1 gun, 1 pound of thread. In 1722 the gift consisted of 3 yards of fabric. In 1725 gifts were greater in kind and quantity: 2 blankets, 6 yards of fabric, 17 pounds of tobacco, 4 pounds of powder, 16 pounds of shot, 12 flints, 15 yards of trim and 36 baubles.

VI. Northern Indians and the Fur Trade 1741-74

A. Historical Developments

This time period can be characterized as one of relatively intensive interaction with Europe for the Hudson's Bay Company men based at Churchill, and therefore greater exposure to Europeans for any Northern Indians who came to the fort. This was the time of the "Dobbs Crisis" which led to exploration journeys along the western coast of Hudson Bay in 1742 by Christopher Middleton (Middleton 1743), and, in 1747, by William Moor (Drage 1748) and Francis Smith (Ellis 1748).

Arthur Dobbs, "an Irish Member of Parliament with large if eccentric views on the expansion of British trade" (Williams 1983:11), instigated the renewal of exploration for the Northwest Passage. Middleton's expedition was taken on Dobb's behalf. His two ships overwintered at Churchill before travelling north along the coast to Wager Bay, Repulse Bay and Frozen Strait (Cooke and Holland 1978:61). Middleton had taken two Northern Indians (who spoke a number of languages) and one other Indian (who could speak with the Northern Indians and understand English) with him (Middleton 1743:63,185). After his ships turned back to return to England, the Northern Indians were set ashore at "Brook Cobham," an older name for Marble Island. (For the use of both names in the eighteenth century see B42/a/58,f.18d; Middleton 1743, 'Logg Journal' in Appendix:45.) After his

return to England, Middleton engaged in a long debate with Dobbs. Much of the writing consisted of quoting from the other party's letters and pointing out errors therein. Middleton wrote:

> As to any Passage or broken Lands between the River Wager and Lat. 62°.40'. I am certain that I searched that Coast very narrowly, and stood into every Bay all along, so near, that the Indians I had on board knew all the Coast, and would have had me to set them on Shore at Cape Fullerton, for they knew their Way to Churchill, and had that Way travelled several times in the Summer, which they could not have done, had it consisted of Islands or Rivers; for they have no Canoes, neither is there any Wood to raft them over, as the Indians do to the Southward. (Dobbs 1744:113; also Middleton 1743:136,137.)

However, Middleton's strong suggestion that Northern Indian territory included the western coast of Hudson Bay at least as far as Cape Fullerton must be weighed against the assertion of some of Middleton's crew that the Northern Indians landed at Marble Island were far from home and afraid of the Eskimos (Dobbs 1744:96; Middleton 1743:189).

Both Dobbs and Middleton present some details that seem to be in agreement with historical and ethnographic information. Their geographical assertions, therefore, would seem to be useful also. However, a key argument used by Dobbs against the monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company was that it had failed to engage in exploration. Political considerations, then, also enter into the problem of reliability of these sources. A later volume by Joseph Robson (1752), who spent six years at York Factory and Churchill, should serve to clarify the matter. However, as his work is primarily a treatise against the Hudson's Bay

Company, its geographical details are also suspect. Thus, the geographical nature of the issue makes the evaluation of geographical clues in documents resulting from the "Dobbs Crisis" extemely difficult.

In his presentation of some of this historical material, Birket-Smith (1930:14) concluded that the northern extent of Chipewyan hunting trips "cannot be decided." This study must agree.

The Hudson's Bay Company became increasingly interested in northern exploration, as witnessed by William Christopher's "rediscovery" of Chesterfield Inlet in 1761, the exploration of Baker Lake in 1762 by William Christopher and Moses Norton, and the advent of Hudson's Bay Company whaling in 1765. In addition, the Company, beginning with Henday's travels to western Alberta in 1754, vigorously promoted inland trips designed to bring Indians to the coast to trade (Rich 1967:124-129). Of these, Samuel Hearne's three attempts to find the Northwest Passage, from 1769 to 1772, which culminated in his reaching the Coppermine River, is the most significant source of information pertaining to Northern Indians.

Hearne left Churchill on Nov. 7, 1769, but returned on Dec. 11. He reported that his party had been abandoned by Captain Chawchinahaw after being deprived of food and some of their ammunition and tools (Glover 1958:1-7). The expedition consisted of eight Northern Indian men, (with some of their families, including women), two Homeguard

Southern Indians, and two other Hudson's Bay Company servants plus Hearne (B42/a/77,f.7d). Hearne attempted the same trip again the following February, with Coneequese as the guide. He did not return to Churchill until Nov. 25, 1770. The trip was shortened because Hearne had broken his quadrant and so felt that it was unwise to continue. His party this time consisted of Indians only - two Homeguard Southern Indians, two Northern Indians, and one Dogrib Indian (B42/a/77,f.15d). He had met "the famous Leader" Matonabbee on his return trip. Apparently Hearne was much impressed by Matonabbee's qualities, for he describes him very favorably (Glover 1958:33-36). In addition to leadership ability, he was fluent in the language of the Southern Indians and capable of some English.

Just a few days after returning, on Dec. 7, 1770, Hearne set out again for the elusive copper mine, this time with Matonabbee as guide. The expedition consisted of about 20 Northern Indians (B42/a/80,f.22d). The context suggests that this number refers to only the adult males. Hearne did not return to Churchill until July 1, 1772. The journey of almost 19 months had indeed taken him to the Coppermine River and back. It is noteworthy that Matonabbee had predicted the excursion would take "17 or 18 months" (B42/a/80,f.23). As Hearne himself notes, Matonabbee had been there before (Glover 1958:224). From this perspective, the entire trip to the Coppermine could be interpreted as another trading excursion organized by Matonabbee.

B. Trade at Churchill

Trading data for this time period is presented in Tables 8 and 9. Table 8 presents the total quantity (in number) of the items, primarily furs, presented for trade by Indians. Again, they are labelled "exchange goods" in order to distinguish them from the European trade items.

KIND		YEARS: 1741-63				YEARS: 1764-74				1741-74
		NO.[3]	R[3]	TOTAL	MEAN[2]	NO.[3]	R[3]	TOTAL	MEAN[2]	MEAN[4]
badger		4	5	23		7	9	38	4	
bear	old, cub			1808	79			446	41	66
beaver	coat			71771	3121			37047	3368	3201
	whole parchment			123816	5383			59076	5371	5371
	half parchment			47640	2071	10		21477	2148	
buffalo						4	7	12	1	
castoreum*		5	20	66	3			869	79	
catt (lynx)	cased, split			11406	496			6963	633	540
deer		3	3	52		10	10	2206	201	
fox	various shades			3265	142			2126	193	159
feathers*				11340	493			8125	739	573
goose quills		10	19	121000	5261			132600	12055	
hare						1		12		
jackash (mink)		21		978	43			663	60	48
martin	prime, common			44865	1951			29868	2715	2198
moose	dressed, parchment	8		332	14			320	29	19
musquash (muskrat)		44	14	3419	149			5877	534	
otter				2187	95			1695	154	114
quicohatch (wolverine)				5761	251			2531	230	244
rabbit						1		30		
skunk		1		3						
squirrel						1		160		
wejack (fisher)		18	22	93	4			158	15	
wenusk (groundhog)		3	9	4		1		2		
wolf		22		4810	209			1400	127	183

*pounds
[1]Number and range of years if less than 23.
[2]Mean is rounded to nearest whole number.
[3]Mean for the time period is not calculated if range of years traded does not exceed half the total number of years.
[4]Number and range of years if less than 11.
[5]Mean calculated only if range=34 years.

Source: HBCA B42/d/21-54.

Table 8: INDIAN EXCHANGE GOODS 1741-74

The quantities of goods brought by Indians was divided at 1763 with the expectation that some useful information would result. The year 1763 was chosen because of its significance to Canadian history and because Bishop and Ray (1976) designated that year as the beginning of the "Competitive Trade Era." Note the decrease in beaver but the phenomenal increase in castoreum. Such a change suggests that the castoreum is now being saved for trade, rather than used in trapping the beaver or discarded. Table 2 in Chapter 4 indicated that many pounds of castoreum were traded before 1718, but Table 4 in Chapter 5 shows that only 63 pounds were traded from 1718-40 in spite of the thousands of beaver killed for trade. In fact, while castoreum was listed on the Comparative Standard at the rate of five pounds for one MB during the entire period starting in 1741, it was not in fact traded until 1760.

The buffalo hides were traded in 1768 (1), 1771 (2), 1773 (5), and 1774 (4). These data would indicate that buffalo are not utilized to any extent However, "buffalo flesh" was also brought:

- November 1752, 8 Northern Indians brought 700 pounds (B42/a/40,f.23,23d).
- April 1753, 14 Northern Indians brought 420 pounds (B42/a/40,f. 46d; B42/d/33,f.10d).
- February 1755, 3 Northern Indians brought 350 pounds (B42/a/44,f.20d; B42/d/35,f.8).
- May 1760, two Northern Indians brought 100 pounds

(B42/a/53,f.39; B42/d/40,f.8d).

- January 1771, 16 Northern Indians brought 70 pounds (B42/a/80,f.31bd).

The "buffalo" has usually been assumed to refer to muskox, as mentioned in Chapter 5. Muskox has the reputation of being an undesirable meat in the eyes of Hudson's Bay Company servants. However, the prevalence of the supplying of this meat indicates that the later aversion (because of its strong taste) was not a problem in the early days of the Hudson's Bay Company. According to Graham, who was chief factor at Churchill in 1774-75, thousands of pounds of frozen muskox meat were brought in early each winter as food for the men (Williams 1969:19). In fact, if the "buffalo" meat brought by the Northern Indians was indeed muskox, some of it was highly prized: Jacobs sent a hare and two buffalo tongues as a gift to his fellow trader at York Factory in 1762 (B42/b/8,f.2). For that same year, at Baker Lake, there is reference to the Eskimo there having "Stinking Bufalows flesh which was not fit for us" (B42/a/58,f.15d). This statement could imply that muskox was unsuitable meat per se, or that this particular muskox meat was spoiled and therefore unfit for eating. Burch interprets this meat to have been muskox, but he also interprets other usage of the term without the qualifier ("stinking") to also mean muskox (1977:136).

An earlier discussion written by James Isham, who was a chief trader at both Churchill and York Factory (Rich 1949),

confuses the issue. He clearly distinguished between "bufflowe" and "another beast which is not to be found to the Southward" (ibid.:155). The buffalo are described as:

> [having] Long tails, short Curl'd hair, with humps on their backs... few if these moose or Bufflow are to be seen by the Sea shore, and Seldom any Killd., to the Northward of Churchill, tho' when the English first setled in these parts, they was plenty in these parts, but process of time and Continually Dwelling upon the Spott Occation'd their travelling further in Land. (ibid.:154).

It seems that Isham was referring to bison, even though the range is much further east than usually described (see Roe 1970:286). Isham does not use the term muskox but his description of the "Northward Bufflow" (ibid.:155) sounds reasonable. He also stated that the English are not fond of the meat.

In May 1773, a far Northern Indian leader by the name of Clusenelle, brought two buffalo heads "of a different sort to what we used to have here formerly" (B42/d/53,f.49d). Does this statement mean that the previously designated buffalo were muskox and that these buffalo were bison? Or vice versa?

Several questions can be posed:

1. Were muskox still prevalent in the area between Churchill and York in the eighteenth century as they were at the time of Jérémie?
2. Even if no longer south of Churchill, why do not other Indians who also travel north bring in such meat?
3. If "buffalo" refers to bison, does this imply that wood bison once ranged more easterly, that is, closer to

Churchill, allowing for less lengthy and strenuous transport? According to Soper (1941:360), the edge of the eastern range of the wood bison was Peter Pond Lake. According to Isham (see above), they were formerly in the Churchill and York Factory area.

4. Or, could the use of bison by Northern Indians indicate that they hunted more towards the west and were also efficient transporters of hundreds of pounds of fresh or frozen meat?

Answers to these questions do not seem to be determinable by the historical/archival record. Isham's remarks are particularly confusing. His "observations" are both illustrated with drawings and full of details such as lists of words in various languages. (See Rich's (1949) published version.) Obviously, Isham was a careful observer much given to notation. His remarks are therefore particularly important.

Hearne frequently mentioned muskox in his journal, and also distinguished between muskox and bison (Glover 1958:163). He described "buffalo" to the south of Athapuscow (Great Slave) Lake (ibid.:161-164); he was clearly referring to wood bison. He also describes muskox in detail (ibid.:87-89). However, Glover notes that the Stowe Manuscript version of the journal does not include the lengthy description, and further, that it uses "buffalo" where the published version uses "muskox." The published journal still maintains the double usage in at least two

instances - in the name of a lake (ibid.:87), and in an account about killing muskox but eating buffalo (ibid.:20). His confusion is also apparent in describing the edibility of muskox as both very unpleasant (ibid.:20) and good if the animal is a calf or young heifer (ibid.:89). It is probable that he meant only to indicate that adult males had a distinct unpleasant taste. It is apparent that his editing was not completed before his death prior to publication. It would seem logical to interpret his usage of buffalo to refer to either muskox or bison. The problem centers around the inconsistency of usage by Hearne and perhaps also by others. One simply cannot always know which animal is meant. Nevertheless, Hearne specifically mentions seeing many muskox within 100 miles of Churchill (ibid.:87). That observation accents question two above.

The total numbers of items traded at Churchill are listed in Table 9.

Table 9: TRADE AT CHURCHILL 1741-74

GENERAL CHARGE*		TRADED		TOTAL EXPENSES*		NATIVE EXPENSES*	
		TOTAL	% of GC*	TOTAL	% of GC*	TOTAL	% of GC*
ADORNMENT							
224030	BAUBLES	43222	19.3	6817	3.0	6486	2.9
14633	beads'	2547	17.4	713	4.9	727	5.0
2004	collars	148	7.4	3	.1	3	.1
9139	combs	2745	30.0	575	6.3	529	5.8
1996	feathers	280	14.0	1000	50.1	937	46.9
CLOTHING and FABRIC							
7277	blankets	2150	29.5	916	12.6	811	11.1
16372	CLOTHING	2593	15.3	1972	12.0	1893	11.6
54963	FABRIC[2]	17019	31.0	9417	17.1	8600	15.6
1122	handkerchiefs	299	26.6	29	2.6	28	2.5
5289	thread[3]	144	2.7	1854	35.1		
46176	TRIM[2]	9580	20.7	13745	29.8	16067	34.8
CONSUMABLE GOODS							
30998	ALCOHOL[4]	8344	26.9	8335	26.9	3286	10.6
135366	tobacco'	39480	29.2	8410	6.2	6966	5.1
13536	vermilion[3]	3374	24.9	857	6.3	831	6.1
CONTAINERS							
13482	BOXES	1961	14.5	161	1.2	31	.2
79520	kettles'	9513	12.0	313	.4	188	.2
9384	rundlets	4510	48.1	151	1.6	3	
1778	trunks	598	33.6	59	3.3	58	3.3
CORDAGE							
7112	netlines	1873	26.3	260	3.7	26	.4
5292	twine[3],coarse	344	6.5	1896	35.8	25	.5
1802	",fine	79	4.4	274	15.2	1	.1
GUNS and ACCESSORIES							
290254	flints	74734	25.7	45975	15.8	24456	8.4
6378	guns,long	1683	26.4	367	5.8	267	4.2
3140	",medium	804	25.6	133	4.2	66	2.1
1751	",short	343	19.6	21	1.2	22	1.3
384	pistols	1	.3				
13960	gunworms	1661	11.9	1418	10.2	623	4.5
6894	powder horns	2332	33.8	596	8.6	265	3.8
142253	powder'	26460	18.6	24790	17.4	14388	10.1
120355	shot',Bristol	24048	20.0	20739	17.2	11937	9.9
100061	",duck	11040	11.0	33165	33.1	10982	11.0
18060	",goose	1568	8.7	168	.9	54	.3

(continued)

TABLE 9 CONTINUED.

99252	",low East India	24124	24.3	4927	4.3	3798	3.8
44080	",partridge	2080	4.7	23604	53.5	18714	42.5
TOOLS, BASIC							
8988	chisels,broad	2308	25.7	112	1.2	21	.2
15016	",narrow	4820	32.1	727	4.8	340	2.3
14560	files	6208	42.6	2372	16.3	521	3.6
20960	hatchets,midling	5906	28.2	815	3.9	804	3.8
10657	",small	2420	22.7	176	1.7	76	.7
438	",square-eyed	215	49.1				
1369	",trapping	398	29.1				
21480	knives,box	6329	29.5	3528	16.4	3089	14.4
26046	",jack	8334	32.0	2300	8.8	1870	7.2
2252	",large butcher	240	10.7				
23850	",large long	6419	26.9	1474	6.2	1285	5.4
19377	",large roach	7117	36.7	1009	5.2	937	4.8
1043	",large slope	108	10.4				
629	",maple	132	21.0				
920	",small butcher	96	10.4				
221	",small long	86	38.9				
5158	",small roach	1948	37.8	94	1.8	94	1.8
727	",small slope	96	13.2				
407	razors	234	57.5	48	11.8	36	8.8
TOOLS, OTHER							
47521	awl blades	8384	17.6	1121	2.4	896	1.9
50610	needles	9314	18.4	2643	5.2	790	1.6
2730	scissors	662	24.2	20	.7	6	.2
4602	scrapers,double	1230	26.7	88	1.9	24	.5
502	",single	86	17.1				
TOOLS, LARGE BLADES							
11342	bayonets	3910	34.5	72	.6	65	.6
2292	sword blades	53	2.3	1			
MISCELLANEOUS							
2087	burning glasses	505	24.2	36	1.7	20	1.0
8061	fish hooks	1219	15.1	545	6.8	154	1.9
17507	fire steels	3846	22.0	545	3.1	400	2.3
8642	looking glasses	1676	19.4	91	1.1	84	1.0
1443	spoons	170	11.8				
543	tobacco tongs	73	13.4	4	.7	4	.7

* GC=General Charge i.e. total inventory
Total Expenses=summary of the list of total expenses
Native Expenses=summary of expense account breakdown, identified as applied to natives, in whole or in part
[1] pounds
[2] yards
[3] ounces
[4] gallons
[5] skeins

Source: HBCA B42/d/21-54.

As in the previous time period, all categories in the General Charge were traded. However, only razors were traded in excess of 50% of the General Charge. Not all goods were also disbursed as expenses. Most of those were not expended at all, either for factory use or as gifts or payments to Indians. The one swordblade and thread are the exceptions. Feathers, thread, twine, and Bristol and partridge shot were expended in amounts over 30% of the General Charge. Again, this percentage is far higher than that in which they were traded. Alcohol is given out by the Company as fully as it is traded. Long guns continue to be more popular in trade than short or medium guns. The narrow ice chisels are traded more than the broad. The Northern Indians requested (June 1765) that the narrow chisels should be made with "sharp square points" (B42/a/62,f.71). Smith (1975:397-398; 1978:83) has suggested that the metal ice chisels and the twine purchased in trade made winter ice fishing an easier task. The alteration to the chisels may have promoted their use in that way.

There was a phenomenal increase in the percentage of Native Expenses during this time period. There are many items on the list that are well over 50% of the General Charge. Feathers and partridge shot are over 40%. Clearly much more was spent by the Company than in the previous period. These figures may well reflect the attempt by the Hudson's Bay Company to lure the Indians away from the influence of the "pedlars" in the interior.

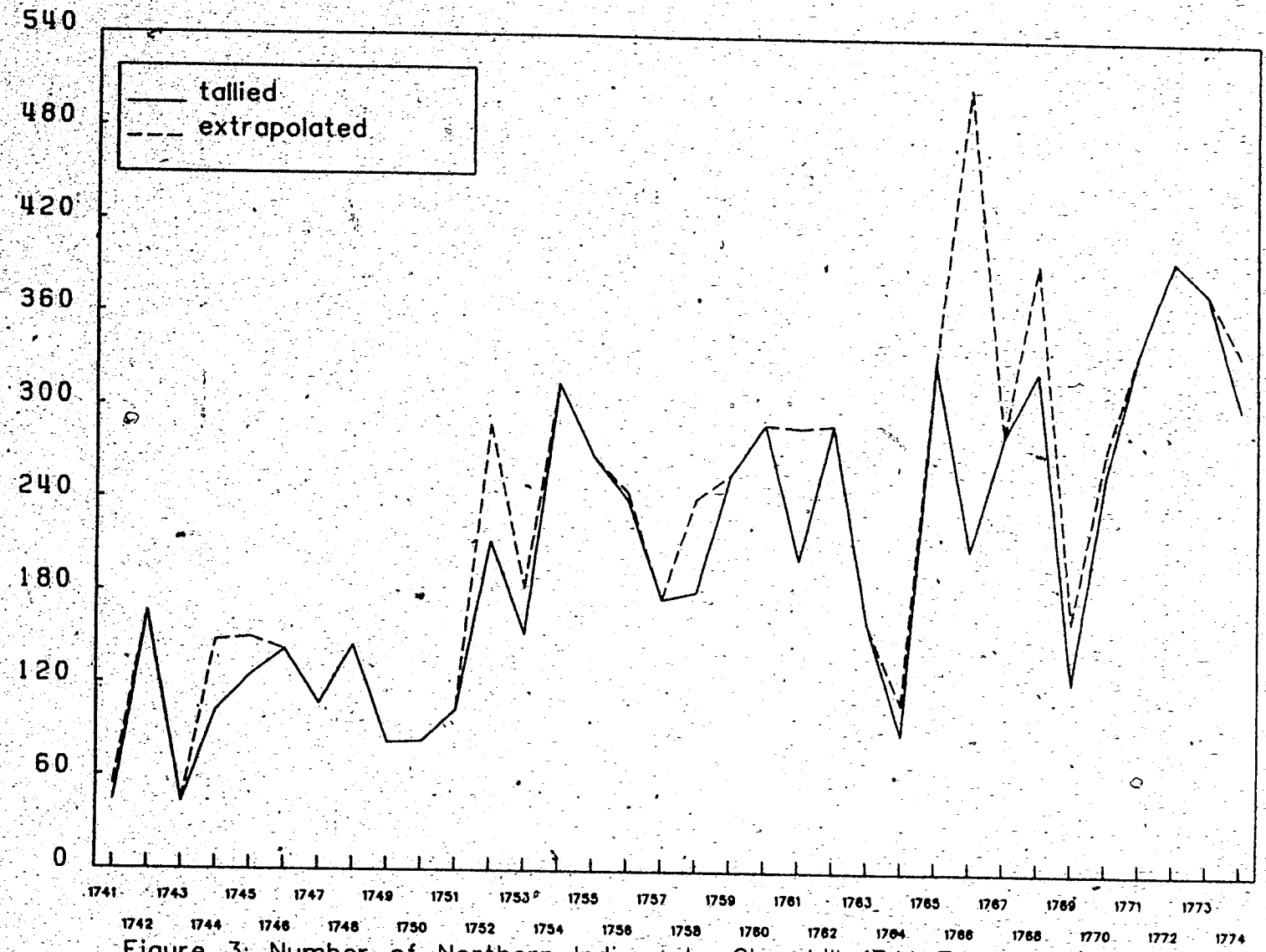

Figure 3: Number of Northern Indians to Churchill 1741–74

C. Northern Indian Activity at Churchill

The documentation of the extent of Northern Indian involvement at the Churchill trading post is summarized in Figure 3. Again, as in Figure 2, the extrapolated totals use a value of five for family size and 20 for the size of a gang when the precise number of individuals is not given. (Table 10, following, indicates the number of families or gangs involved and their month of arrival at Churchill.) Because family sizes were sometimes specifically stated, an attempt was made to calculate the average family size. This average would then be used when extrapolation was required. The year of journal entries used in the calculation of family size as well as the resulting averages are listed below:

- 1747, April 12, family of 4.
- 1765, Jan. 6, family of 10.
- 1765, March 5, family of 9.
- 1765, April 11, average of 3.75.
- 1765, April 18, average of 4.6.
- 1767, Dec. 4, average of 2.6.
- 1768, May 8, average of 3.3.
- 1769, April 13, average of 5.2.
- 1769, April 26, average of 4.5.
- 1770, Nov. 12, average of 6.
- 1771, Jan. 21, average of 8.
- 1771, Feb. 16, average of 6.

As the mean cannot be calculated with statistical accuracy, a judgment was made to use 5 although the average family size may well have been higher. The totals given in Figure 2 and in Table 10 are the same. However, Figure 2 readily shows the difference between the extrapolated number of Northern Indians coming to Churchill in a year and the "hard data." A re-assessment of family size would have a dramatic

impact on the extrapolated totals.

As indicated in regard to the previous chapter, this summary is a tabulation of references to the arrival of Northern Indians. Omissions by the recording trader are certainly possible; the numbers listed represent the minimum number. As a tally was purposely taken, we can assume reasonable accuracy. Indeed, the sum of those Northern Indians that came to trade is also likely to be more accurate than a tally of Northern Indians who served as Home Indians.

While the total number of Northern Indians given varies over time, a generalization can be made to the effect that as time progressed more Northern Indians came, and came more frequently. This interpretation is readily apparent in Table 10.

YEAR	SEPT.	OCT.	NOV.	DEC.	JAN.	FEB.	MARCH	APRIL	MAY	JUNE	JULY	AUG.	TOTAL
1741			3					2f		41			*54
1742										166			166
1743							43						43
1744			21				13	3f	6f	103			*148
1745			15	5	12			79	5f	18			*150
1746	(10)	27	2				2	39		62			142
1747			8					51		48			107
1748		8	12					20		105			145
1749		24	8					18		12	20		82
1750	(9)	12						2	1	59			83
1751	(33)		20					21		8	22		104
1752		28					13	31+f	13	52	77		*218
1753			42					37	4+6f	44	36		*183
1754			80					48	5	69	25	88	315
1755			37	14		3	5	9	27	50	101	22	268
1756			43				26+f			114	40	17	*245
1757		8	11					7	35	71		44	176
1758			54+6f					9+6f		13	68	37	*241
1759		57	62					30	13	46	40	23	257
1760	27		63						12	36	105	46	289
1761	(6)	15	73+6f			3		1	8f	21+3f	83		*287
1762	(4)		41	4	7	11	1	4	7	41	99	70	289
1763			17	21		3	19	10		14	64	13	161
1764			12					4f		31	10	36	*109
1765			78	11		10	9	74	7	62	20	59	330
1766			77	10	10				10+20f	15+40f	77	10	*509
1767			97	22				11	20	18	29	86	283
1768			94	31	4	5	8	18	27+9f+	74+4f	47	17+3f	+*395
1769			60		12		1	33	8	5	4+2g		*163
1770		40	84					43	47	12	6	27+3f	*274
1771			145		16	21	4	65	more	60		30	+341
1772			131	6	7		2	134	more	77	41		+398
1773			123	4	5	4	8	44	93		92	4+	+377
1774			122	8		5		72+	4+4f+	143+3f+	20		+*337

() previous August
f families
g "gang"
* extrapolated

Source: HBCA B42/a/21-88.

Table 10: NORTHERN INDIAN ARRIVAL AT CHURCHILL 1741-74

A comparison with Table 6 in the previous chapter shows that Northern Indians are coming to Churchill over a greater part of the year. Two important time periods are evident - November and June/July. While the summer season has the highest number of arrivals at the beginning of this time period, the number of Northern Indians arriving in the fall does increase over time. Note that while the totals are relatively high compared to the previous time period, they still fluctuate a great deal. The number/month may well include the arrival of several parties during that month. Such records were used to tally the total number/month but were not deemed significant for the analysis in this study. Nevertheless it should be noted that sometimes several small groups arrived in one month, e.g., groups of 7, 43, 27, and 26 in June of 1744; one large group of 105 arrived in June of 1748.

The usual observation made by the journal writer was similar to the following examples taken from 1747-48:

- 8 Northern Indian arrived Nov. 5, the armourer "mended" their guns, they left that night (B42/a/29,f.12).
- 45 Northern Indian arrived April 10, guns were "mended" and two days later all but two had gone; these two stayed to hunt geese (ibid. f.29-29d).
- a family of four Northern Indian arrived April 17 to hunt geese (ibid. f.30).
- on April 20, two Northern Indian came to trade and left the next morning (ibid. f.30d).

48 Northern Indians arrived June 23, traded and left "immediately" (ibid. f.38d).

Similar observations were frequently repeated in the journals. The duration of stay at the fort was usually longer during the winter season. The shorter summer duration is perhaps due to the possiblity of altercations with other Indians during the summer, or perhaps occurred because the factor was busy then and hurried the trading procedures. As well, Northern Indians who came a long distance were probably in a greater hurry to leave. It was my observation in almost all cases mentioned in the journals that the usual practise was to leave the day after arrival, or even the evening of the same day, depending on time of day of arrival and the size of the trading party.

However, others stayed longer. This was sometimes the case early in this time period. For example, in October and November of 1749, two groups of 20 and eight respectively, did not leave until three days later (B42/a/32,f.11d,13). Moreover, this practise seemed to occur more frequently over the years. In November of 1773, three out of five groups stayed for three days, including a large group of 80 (B42/a/88,f.7-7d). Even so, as the day of leaving is not precisely indicated more rigorous analysis was not undertaken. The situation in the records may well reflect the time difference between the actual leaving and the time of writing in the journal entries.

There is a definite association made between Northern Indians and the category of Home Indians. The Northern Indians were likely to be those who participated in the fall and spring goose hunt. Entire families were involved - the men hunting, the women and children picking and cleaning the geese as well as transporting the carcasses to the fort for further processing. However, the Northern Indians were reported to be inefficient goose hunters - poor marksmen who wasted ammunition (B42/b/18,f.15d).

Considerable information is given as to disease among the Northern Indians. An epidemic of "flux" (i.e., dysentery) caused many deaths in the area in 1749-50 (B42/a/32,f.25,36,162). The Churchill region experienced measles, reportedly for the first time, in 1751 (B42/a/36,f.65). In 1756 many Indians from North River (not identified as to group) died from fever and pain (B42/a/46,f.33d). Pleurisy or some related illness resulted in many deaths in the area in the winter of 1768-69. In November, 25 Northern Indians died (B42/a/74,f.13). A letter written in January stated that 30 had died and many more were sick (B42/b/15,f.3). Widespread serious illness is reported for the following winter also. There are repeated references to sickness among Home Indians, trading Indians, and Hudson's Bay Company men to the end of the journals read for this study. Epidemics and deaths in the interior were probably not recorded as accurately or as frequently by the Europeans on the coast.

The Northern Indian Trade

As noted previously, the value of the trade from Northern Indians is not usually distinguished from that of trade with others. However, there are some useful statements which give pertinent information.

For 1755 trade is reported as being very low except for that with Northern Indians, who brought the trade up to a value of 13000 MB (B42/b/1b,f.5). A similar dependency on trade with Northern Indians is reported for 1759 (B42/b/4,f.3). The 1768 trading year is also noted as being successful only because of the Northern Indian trade:

> [The Southern Indians produced only 5000 MB and were unreasonable in their demands] so that the Major part of our trade is from the northern Indns who has asserted themselves much to my Satisfaction for which they was well rewarded Our Trade at present is 12200 & odd made Beavr in which is 4400 Martins and 78 Bundles Parchment Beaver" (B42/b/14,f.82).

In 1744, Moses Norton stated in his journal:

> I have done my utmost to ingratiate myself into the good opinion of those natives, by kind and equitable dealing with them. I find they do not get above one half value for their goods. I am certain Your Honours know nothing of it. Why should there be any difference between the Southern and Northern Natives? (B42/a/88,f.20).

Perhaps this journal entry is Norton's attempt at rationalizing his failure to produce an overplus for the Company for two years. It may also indicate that the actual Standard of Trade used with Northern Indians charged them more for European goods than that paid by Southern Indians. Such a situation would be a severe change from that presented previously, in which Northern Indian traders were

favored (see Chapter 5, part 2).

Details from the expense account (Table 11) give some indication of what Northern Indians brought to trade, as well as showing some of the services they performed for the Hudson's Bay Company. Meat, fat, and leather are listed most frequently. "Travelling" refers to trips taken on behalf of the Company, usually to Eskimo Point or on the sloop. "Encouraging" meant trade promotion. The "fitting out" noted for 1771 referred to individuals being provided with goods for the goose hunting season. The 1768 entry for both Northern Indians and Eskimos was made in reference to providing instruction in trapping. The payment for "care" provided in 1772 consisted of many items paid to Matonabbee for Hearne's safe return (B42/d/52,f.13d). Unfortunately, there is no listing of what furs were used to pay for which trade goods; only occasionally are such details noted in the expense account. Again, distinguishing between Northern and Southern Indian expenses is only possible for some entries, and therefore such a tabulation is not included here.

Table 11: EXPENSES RELATED TO NORTHERN INDIANS 1741-74

YEAR	RECIPIENT	KIND	REASON
1750W	NI	payment	meat,fat,leather
1751W	NI	payment	meat,fat,leather
1753	NI	payment	meat,fat,leather
1754	NI	payment	meat,leather
1754T	NI leader	gift	
1755W	NI leader	gift	
	NI	payment	meat,sled
1758W	NI	payment	meat,fat,leather
1759W	I+NI	payment	meat,fat
1759T	NI leader	gift	
1760W	NI leader	gift	
1760T	NI	payment	meat
1761W	NI	payment	meat,leather
	NI leader	gift	
1762W	I+NI	payment	meat,fat
	NI	payment	encouraging
1763W	NI	payment	hunting,meat travelling
	I+NI	payment	meat,leather
1763	NI leader	payment	encouraging
1765W	I+NI	payment	meat
	NI leader	payment	encouraging
1765T	NI leader	gift	
	NI	payment	hunting
1766W	I+NI	payment	meat,fish,fat dressing skins
	NI leader	gift	
1766T	NI leader	gift+payment	hunting travelling
1767W	I+NI	payment	meat,fish
1767	NI	payment	meat,fish,fat
	NI leader	gift	
1768W	NI+Eskimo	gift+payment	instruction
	NI	payment	meat,leather
1769W	I+NI	gift+payment	meat
1769	NI+leader	gift+payment	hunting
1770W	NI	gift	
1770T	NI	payment	travelling peacemaking
1770	I+NI+HBC	payment	travelling
	NI leader	gift	
1771W	I+NI	payment	meat,leather fitting out
	NI+leader	gift	
1771T	NI+leader	gift+payment	peacemaking travelling
1772W	NI	payment	meat,leather
	NI leader	gift	
1772T	NI leader	payment	care

1773W	I+NI	payment	meat,fish,leather
1773T	I+NI	payment	hunting
1773	NI leader	gift	

W	winter season (Aug. to April/May)
T	trading season (April/May to Aug.)
I	(Southern) Indians
NI	Northern Indians
HBC	Company servants

Source: HBCA B42/d/21-54.

Besides furs, Northern Indians continued the practise of bringing meat for trade. This included venison or deer meat, tongues and hearts, beaver tails, buffalo flesh, and hares. Fish and fat were brought also. "Snow shoe knitting" and "leather" were additional supplies that came from local resources harvested by the Northern Indians and brought to the fort. Much meat was supplied in this way. Ferdinand Jacobs wrote in February 1756 that the Northern Indians had brought 3500 pounds of fresh deer meat (B42/b/1b,f.2). Some other examples of large amounts of venison (probably caribou) brought by Northern Indians are listed below:

- Nov. 8, 1754, 20 brought 1300 pounds.
- Nov. 17, 1754, 15 brought 1400 pounds.
- Nov. 18, 1756, 23 brought 1600 pounds.
- Nov. 21, 1757, 24 brought 1500 pounds.
- Nov. 23, 1761, 40 brought 2438 pounds.

In addition, Northern Indians were involved in the sloop trade; they traded goods from the sloop which sailed to Cape Esquemay (Eskimo Point) in July to trade with Eskimos there. Indeed, they were encouraged to hunt, take

the meat to Eskimo Point, and exchange their meat for the trade goods they would normally purchase at Churchill. This practise was initiated by Moses Norton in 1765 (B42/a/62,f.69) in order to "procure venison" as well as promote trade with the Eskimos, who were ostensibly hampered in trading by their fear of the Northern Indians. To rectify this situation, the Northern Indians were delegated to make peace. They were reportedly very pleased to be trading "So Neare there Own Countray" (B42/a/63,.f.16d).

The Kaminuriak caribou herd was no doubt the source of the meat. Indians hunting in Keewatin could have taken the meat to the coast and still continued to hunt during the same season. That Northern Indians hunted for caribou north of Churchill in the summer was also recorded in 1762 - some were said to live 18 miles north of Egg River (B42/a/58,f.4). In 1766, Northern Indian and Eskimos reportedly hunted deer (caribou) together at a large lake 50 miles west of Eskimo Point (B42/a/64,f.12d).

D. Information Regarding Northern Indian Distribution

The material presented above relates to Northern Indian activity as reported at Churchill during this time period. It does not, however, necessarily deal with the same group of people, the same society. The use of the label Northern Indian does not demonstrate that all people so labelled deemed themselves to belong to the same cultural group. There are some clear distinctions made between those who

were involved in the sloop trade and those who travelled a great distance to come and trade. Sometimes this distinction is made with the use of a defining adjective, as in "near Northern Indian" for example; but omission of the adjective may or may not be significant.

Sometimes this distinction is made in regard to their travel distance from Churchill. For example, in 1767, 80 Northern Indians, including a leader who brought a map and a sample of copper, arrived in August. They were "far" Indians and thus could not come to trade again for two or three years (B42/a/67,f.63). Idotlyazee, who is credited along with Matonabbee with drawing a map of the country north of Churchill (HBCA G.2/27; see Warkentin and Ruggles 1970:90-91), is described as "the Leader of ye Nearhand Northern Indians" (B42/a/53,f.13).

The clearest reference found which points to a distinction between those who came every few years and those who were closer is found from 1772 (B42/a/86,f.19d). In this entry, seven Northern Indians, all with only a few furs, were identified as having been at Churchill already that year, in the spring, and as likely to come again next summer. This entry is made for November 13. Clearly these Northern Indians who had the habit of coming twice per year could not be the same as those who traded every few years. However, Moses Norton sent some presents to Matonabbee via his brother who was part of this group. This matter will be discussed further in Chapter 8.

At the end of July 1761, three men and two women came as part of a group of 36 Northern Indians; these five represented a group which usually traded with Southern Indians (B42/a/55,f.45-45d) and came via land from an area with a large river without any falls (B42/b/8,f.4). Some others from the same group arrived in July 1762, this time with an account of the Beaver River Indians having killed some of their number (B42/a/56,f.42d).

There are also many references to other groups. In July 1759, 40 Northern Indians and eight Southern Indians arrived together to trade. The Southern Indians were described as:

> Strangers of a Different Tribe to any that Comes Here to trade but Returnd the 3d Day after on Acctt of one of the Southern Indians falling Lame (B42/a/52,f.42d).

This ambiguous statement by Jacobs is somewhat clarified in a letter written on August 15, which states that seven Southern Indians came "by land" with a gang of Northern Indians. Thay had been accompanied by eight "Inland Achethinnues"; but as one Southern Indian became lame, they returned with him (B42/b/4,f.5d). Jacobs further notes that both Southern and Northern Indians have promised to bring these strange Indians to Churchill, travelling by land as the Northern Indians do. This description, besides being noteworthy for the account of the relationship between the Southern and Northern Indians, is useful in regard to interpreting the modern designation of these Achethinnues Indians. Ray notes (1974:70-71) that this name has sometimes been interpreted to refer only to the Blood or the Gros

Ventre, but that J. C. Ewers has described it as a Cree term for the Sarsi as well as the Blood and Gros Ventre. The Sarsi are Athapaskan speakers (Jenness 1963:324-325). This archival reference may well substantiate their claim to a more northern region of occupation in the protohistoric period. Conversely, it could also indicate that Northern Indians ranged considerably south of the transitional zone between the boreal forest and the tundra. As well, these Northern Indians were perhaps a different band of Chipewyan from those who usually came to Churchill. To complicate this matter even further, Asch notes in his discussion on the Slavey Indians (1981:348) that Turnor in 1791 stated that Cree referred to Great Slave Lake by the same term:

> ...to the Slave Lake called by the Southern Indians (the Arch-a-thin-nu or Wau-con Sack-a-ha-gan or Slave Lake and by the Chepawyans Thlee-chaug-a Too-a or Dog Rib Lake)...(Tyrell 1934:399).

Isham again confuses the issue by referring to "Earchethinues" who never came to the coast except as slaves of the Southern Indians. He stated that:

> their Country Lyes on the back of this Land, and to the westward of Churchill River, where the Spaniards frequents those seas, at the same time does not traffick with that nation (Rich 1949:113).

Following the above description, Isham observed that trade with these people could be developed if the Company were to send some men inland to promote it. Even though the spelling is dissimilar it seems Isham's "Earchethinues" and Jacob's "Achethinnues" refers to the same group far in the western interior.

Copper Northern Indians are also mentioned - they lived close to the sea and were visited by Matonabbee who had been sent to encourage them to trade (B42/a/59,f.44d). A description of a large river with many black and white whales at its mouth was given by the wife of an Upland Indian, a "Slave by War" (B42/a/60,f.64). That same year, 1764, a Northern Indian who had not been at Churchill for three years, reported the following information to Moses Norton (B42/a/60,f.67d).

1. There were two copper mines with a large river between them close to the sea. (Norton calls it the Kiscachewan.)
2. Eskimos also use this copper for their harpoons.
3. The sun never sets there in June. He had visited a "strong tribe" called Dog Rib Indians.

Three Dog Rib Indians came to Churchill in the company of 42 Northern Indians in July 1766 (B42/a/64,f.45). Their language was described as very different from that of the Northern Indians but apparently understood, albeit with difficulty.

In the journal entry for the time when Hearne left for the copper mine(s), Matonabbee was reputed to have developed a good relationship with Dog Rib, Strong Bow We-tas-ke-ma-ga-naks, and far Copper Indians (B42/a/80,f.23d). Apparently these Indians farther from Churchill were indifferent to the trade with Europeans, as they usually used furs only for clothing and preferred

making their own ball and shot from copper rather than trading for lead shot (loc. cit).

VII. Summary of Research on Trade

A. Indian Exchange Goods

As stated above, it is possible to separate Northern Indian involvement only in part. While there is a record of some of the trade goods that were acquired by Northern Indians, there is no similar record of the furs that were received. That is, the chief factor did not separate the sources of the furs and other native commodities that he tabulated.

However, as the kind and quantity of furs is recorded, an attempt was made to establish a relationship between the furs received and the record of Northern Indians that came to Churchill in any one trading year. While sophisticated statistical analysis could have been undertaken, doing so was not considered essential for this thesis. Accordingly, a graphic presentation of the kinds of pelts traded in the greatest quantities are presented in Figures 3 through 9. These pelts are: beaver (whole parchment, coat, half parchment); martin, otter, and wolverine; bear, fox, wolf, and lynx. None of these species can be considered to be of particular significance to the Chipewyan as opposed to the Cree. As already mentioned, the one species that could be related to a more northerly region of occupation of the interior, the muskox, is almost entirely absent from the listing of furs traded. In view of the above-mentioned difficulties, the "eyeball method" of establishing

correlation was relied upon.

Furthermore, the availability of various fur-bearing animals varies depending on the fluctuation in their own biological cycle. That is, the animals are not prevalent in the forest in equal numbers over the years, but their numbers vary considerably based on their own cycle, the cycle of their primary food resource, and various climatic factors. Establishing a relationship between the trend in numbers of Northern Indians who traded at Churchill and the trend in the number of pelts traded is difficult - and properly the subject of another research study. To understand the predator-prey relationships in the food chains involved in the central subarctic biome is a complex study indeed.

In addition, the matter of native use of, adaptation to, and alteration of the faunal and floral resources needs considerable study. That the Indian population was not a passive exploiter of the environment but was actively involved in maintaining and even altering that environment by the use of fire has been documented by Lewis (1977). Unfortunately, there is no similar ethnographic work from the eighteenth century but the possibility of Indian use of fire in the early fur trade period is of significance in interpreting records of furs traded. The matter of Indian involvement in resource management is a provocative issue.

Even a cursory examination of Figures 4, 5, 6, and 7 indicates that trade in *Mustelidae* and trade in *Castor* did

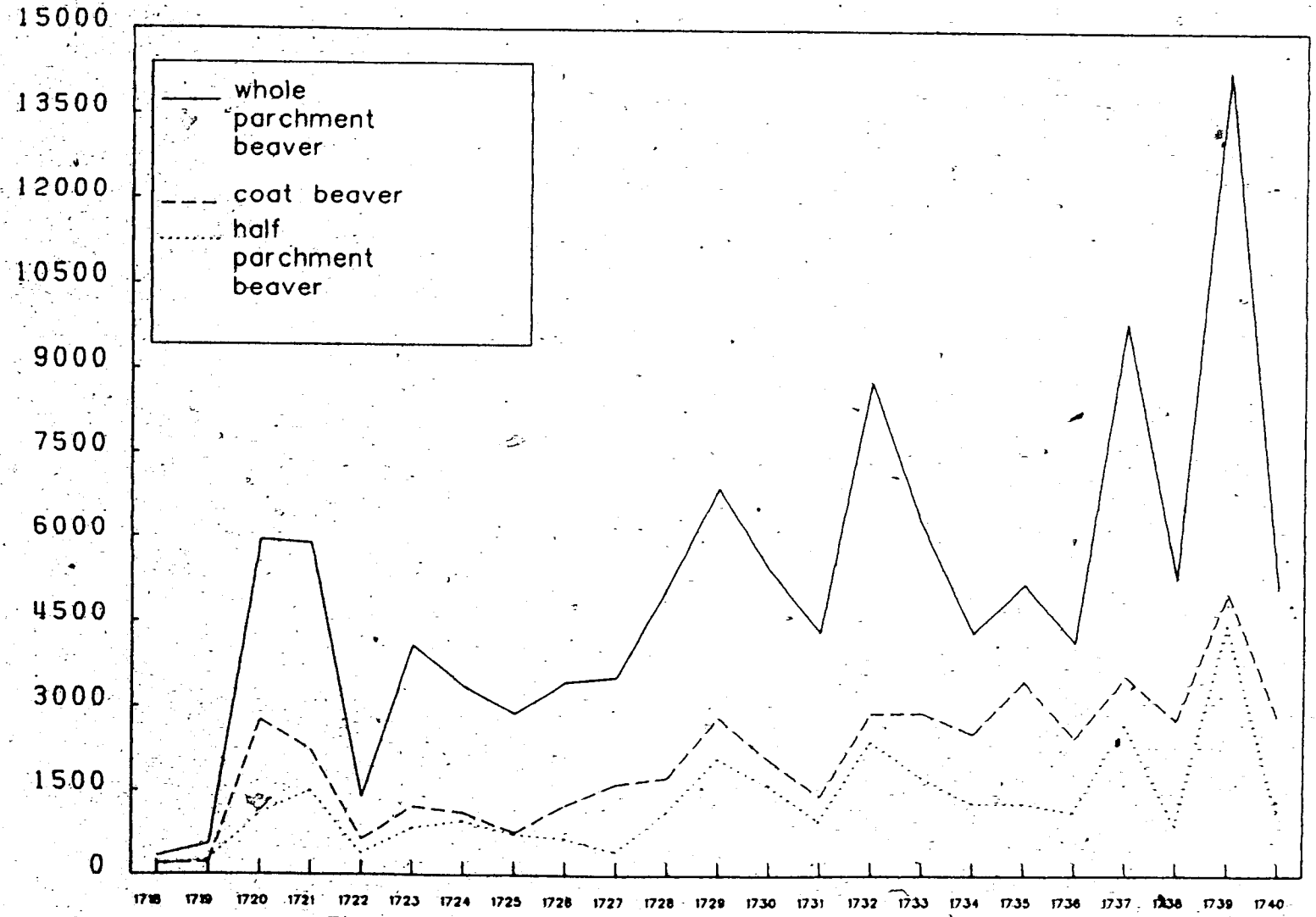

Figure 4: Number of beaver pelts 1718–40

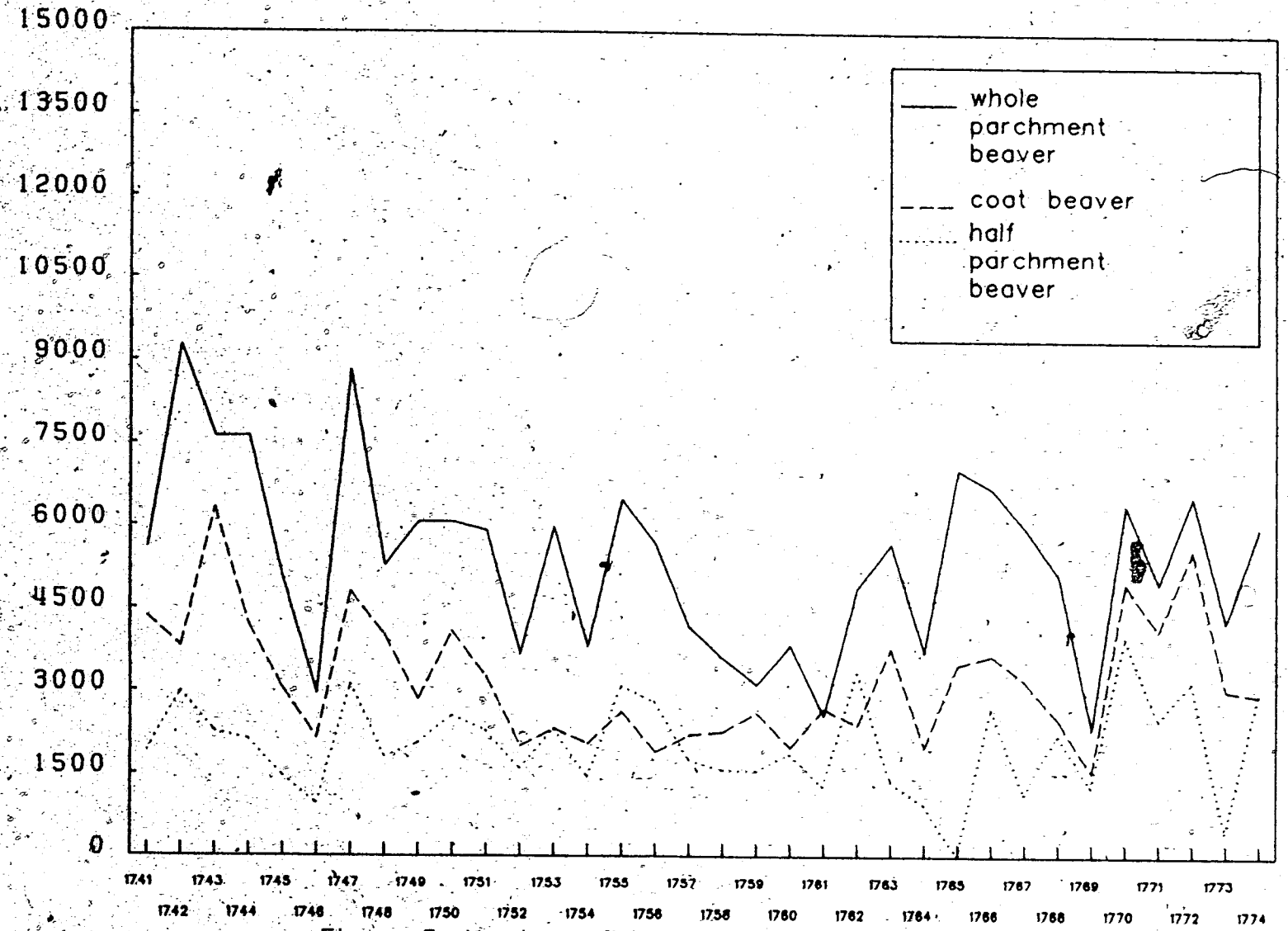

Figure 5: Number of beaver pelts 1741–74

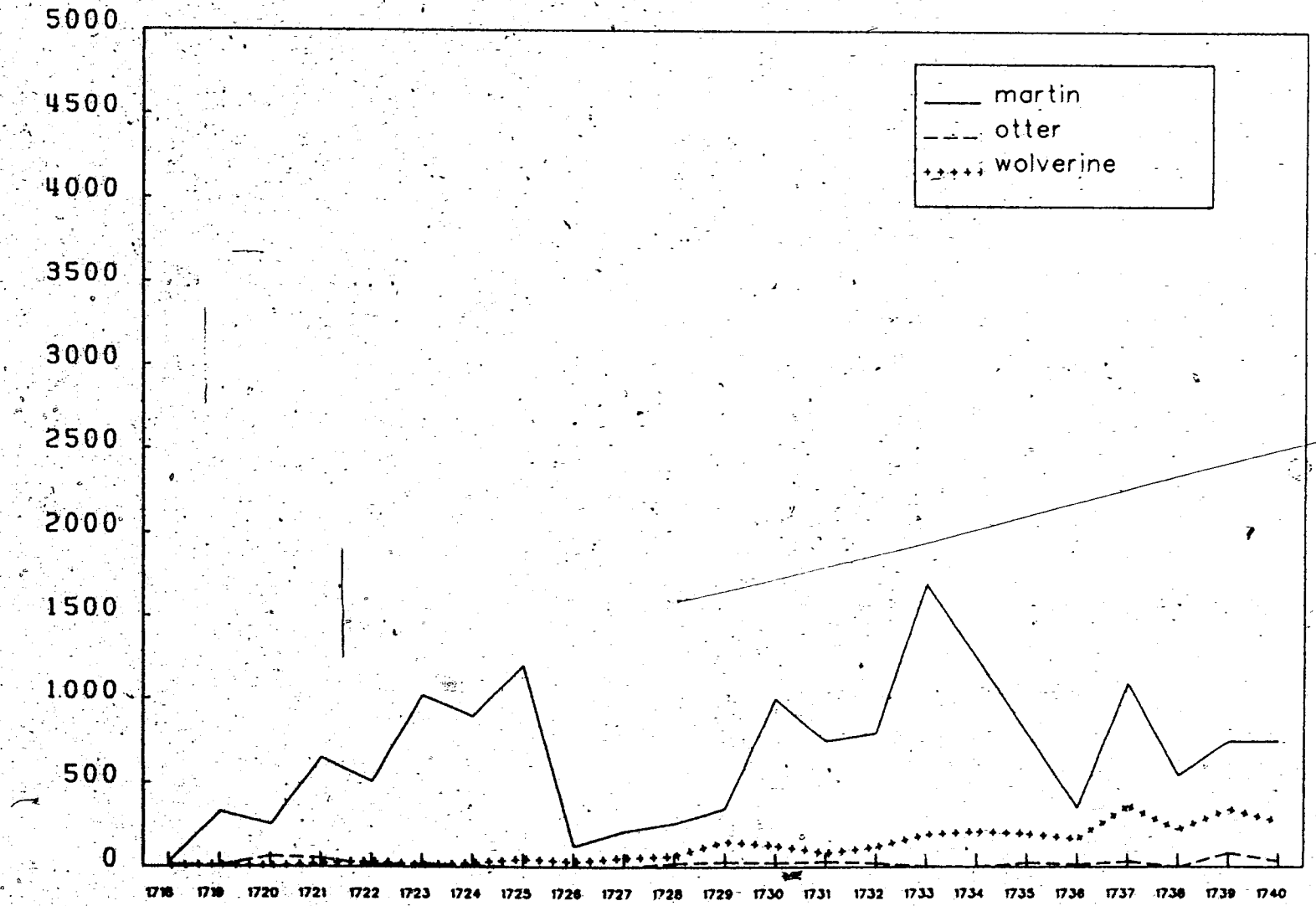

Figure 6: Trade in Mustelidae 1718–40

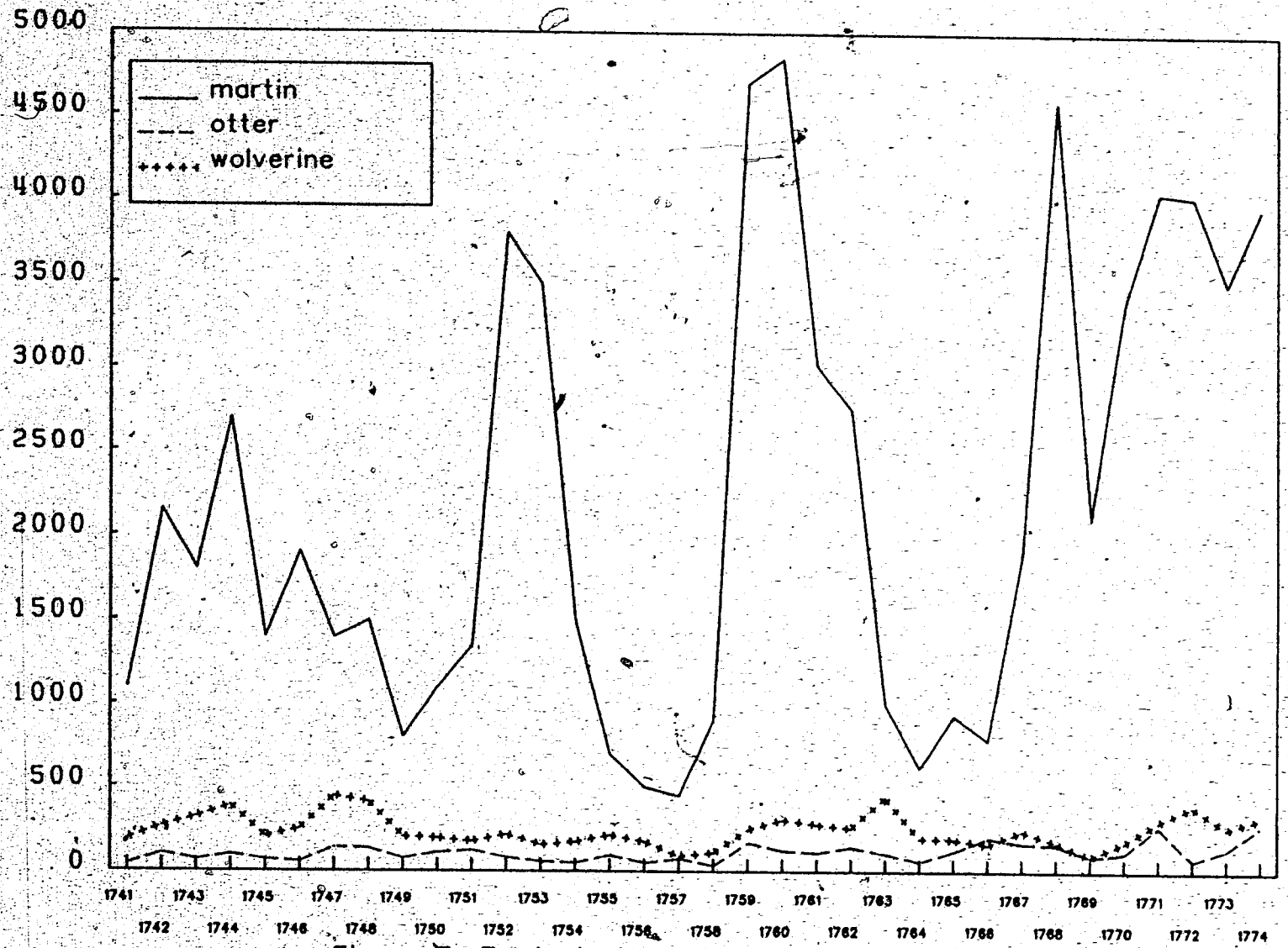

Figure 7: Trade in Mustelidae 1741–74

not follow the same pattern. Trade in the various grades of beaver pelts followed a similar pattern (with whole parchment beaver predominating). This pattern was one of escalation until 1739, followed by a gradual and continued decrease. There was considerable fluctuation over the time period but the trend is clearly one of increase until 1739 and then a decrease. This pattern contrasts remarkably with the general increase already noted in the numbers of Northern Indians who came to trade at Churchill (Figures 2 and 3).

On the other hand, trade in *Mustelidae* pelts was different. Otter and wolf pelts were traded minimally but marten pelts increased dramatically after 1741, albeit with equally dramatic periods of decrease. A probable reason for these decreases is the fluctuation in the biological cycle of martens.

However, to assume that fluctuation reflects cyclical variability but a steady trend indicates human intervention (i.e., trapping) is naive. In view of the problems involved in assessing causality, it is premature to assume that increased trade is a direct reflection of Indian involvement in the fur trade only.

Trade in bear, fox, wolf, and lynx changed after 1740, as is clearly indicated on Figures 8 and 9. Bear hides remained a low trade item, but lynx increased dramatically. Wolf and fox pelts were also brought in greater numbers, but not nearly to the extent of lynx. Is there a correlation

between any of these furs and the Northern Indian population trading at Churchill? The "eyeball method" clearly suggests there is not, as none of the species exhibit the same pattern of increase over time. It would be equally important to have comparative data for the numbers of other Indians who traded at Churchill in order to make a correlation that would be meaningful.

Is there a possible explanation for the change after 1740? The historical answer would be that the advent of the French traders into the western interior in 1741 was a primary factor in the decrease of the number of beaver pelts that were traded at Churchill after that time. In other words, the Hudson's Bay Company lost much of its trade to the new rivals. That relationship is a well-known fact of the Canadian fur trade. Of interest here is the early date for when Churchill was affected. The decrease in 1740 marked the beginning of the downward trend in the beaver trade. A slight increase in 1741, while in the same year as the French forts were established, is still early precisely because the trade records for a year are identified in this thesis only for the second half of the trading year. Thus, if a decrease is evident in 1741, as compared to 1739, that means that the "interlopers" took much of the trade already in that late spring/early summer season, which suggests that the French traders must have started from an area considerably to the west in order to arrive in the Cedar Lake region by that time of the year. Such a practise is a

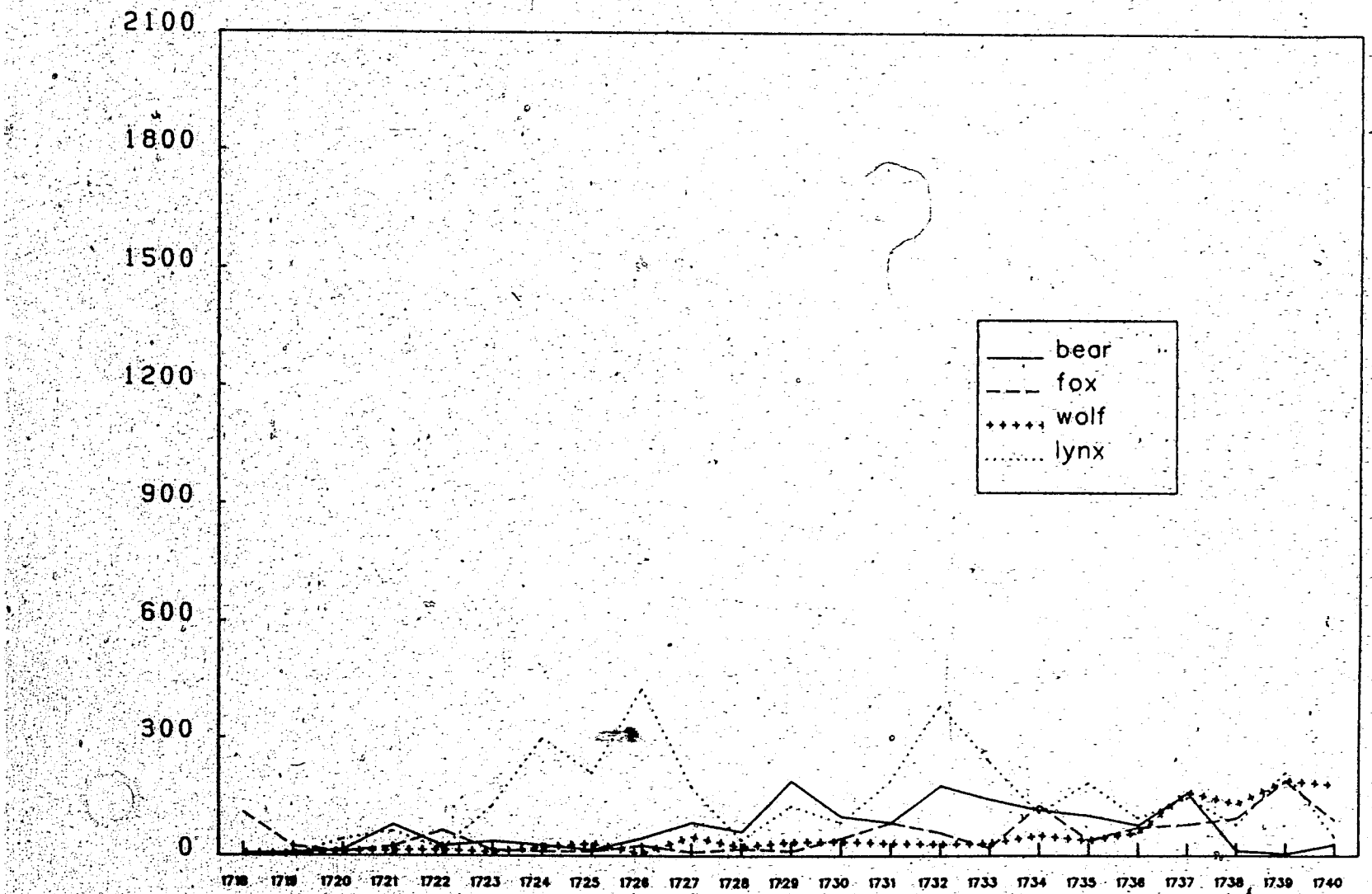

Figure 8: Trade in various furs 1718–40

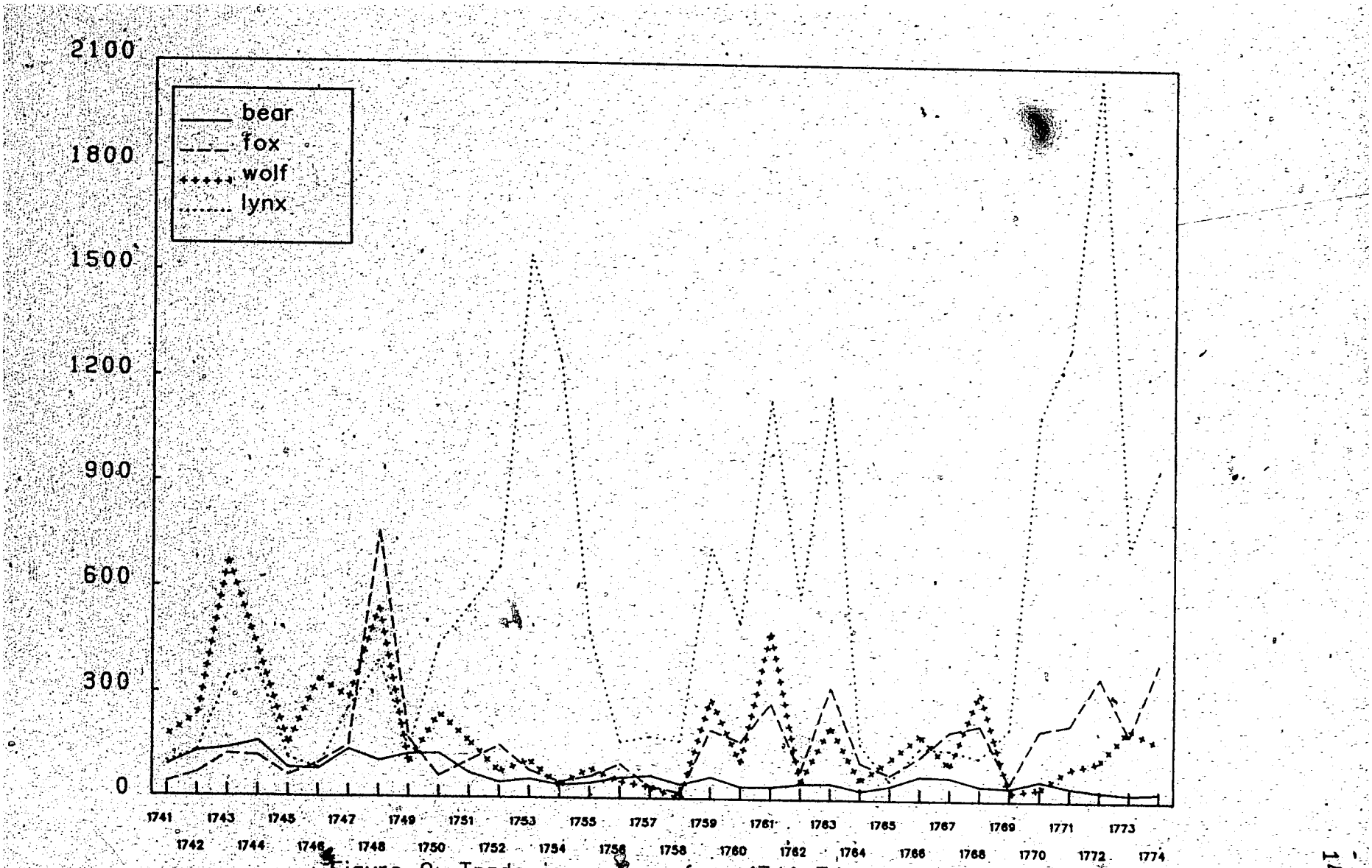

Figure 9: Trade in various furs 1741–74

precursor of the operations of the Northwest Company which, in effect, began its trading operation in the west from the western end of Lake Superior.

If the French had not yet developed this method of handling the logistics of the fur trade, then perhaps their establishment in the interior is even earlier than 1741. As well, the matter of the French effect on the Hudson's Bay Company trade could theoretically be of significance to the trade in other species, but, interestingly, it is established only in the case of the beaver pelts.

Accounting for the dramatic increase in lynx and marten for the same period in which there is a significant decrease in trade in beaver pelts is difficult. The availability of the animals themselves is certainly of importance but factors other than natural cycles must also be taken into account. The trade preferences of the Hudson's Bay Company rivals and of the Company itself could also be relevant. Does the size/weight of the pelt determine which are transported all the way to Churchill by Indians in canoes, or, conversely, which are accepted by the French who had to transport them by canoe and pack all the way to Montreal or some other eastern port? Again, the data do not lend themselves to easy interpretation for marten pelts are very small and light but lynx pelts are not. Can the variation in species traded be used to indicate the region that the traders themselves came from? Perhaps, but a great deal of biological and environmental research is needed if the

geographical region utilized in the eighteenth century by a particular fur-bearing animal is to be determined. It is important to note that, in spite of the many ambiguities, Northern Indians did increase their involvement with Churchill even if we cannot determine the kind of pelts that they brought.

B. European Trade Goods

Hearne's general statement that Northern Indians were satisfied with trading for a hatchet, chisel, file, and knife (Glover 1958:51) would be regarded as a reasonably accurate statement about Northern Indian trade based on the tables presenting that trade, which have demonstrated that small metal tools were often traded in high numbers. However, those tables do not distinguish between Northern Indians and other natives.

An attempt was made to increase the information about the trade at Churchill by consolidating the vast quantity of data and also by dealing with smaller time periods. Accordingly, all the trade goods were combined as much as possible without losing the considerable variation that was found. The goods were then grouped in the ten basic categories that were used in Tables 3, 5, and 9: adornment, clothing and fabric, consumable goods, containers, cordage, guns and accessories, basic tools, large blade tools, other tools, and miscellaneous.

These categories are arbitrary. They are based on intended function, that is, the function intended by the Europeans at the time of manufacture. Another classification could be based on the kind of material and the quantity of material. An example of such a procedure would be to group all metals by type and amount so that one could assess the quantity of new (not previously available) material that could have been utilized as is or modified by the native purchaser. Such a categorization would also be more meaningful archaeologiclly as often it is the discarded pieces that are preserved, not the entire piece. However, such an assessment is far beyond the scope of this paper. The specifications of the trade goods - their material, size, weight, method of manufacture, etc. - is a study in itself.

Therefore, in order to analyze the trade goods in some preliminary way, the categories mentioned above were adopted. They are of value in reducing the sheer quantity of data to manageable terms in categories that are readily understood.

Tables 12 through 21 present the trade in totals of the items traded and expended over time periods of three trading years in duration. The General Charge, or total inventory, is not included. The focus is on the quantity of goods traded and expended, particularly those expended on Northern Indians. There is obviously a remarkable difference between the number of items traded and the number of the same items

that were given/paid to Northern Indians. Examination of the tables shows that most of the goods were traded in greater amounts over time and also that the quantities given/paid to Northern Indians also increased over time. Note that there are four groups of years for which Northern Indian expenses were not included in the records - 1727-29, 1733-35, 1742-44, and 1745-57. That is, they were not distinguished in the records from other Indians. For those years, as well as for all others, Northern Indians were included as recipients of the goods, but the amounts specifically applied only to them were not differentiated. In fact, because Northern Indians were frequently combined with other Indians and even with the Hudson's Bay Company personnel (in addition to being specifically mentioned), the total expenses for Northern Indians in Tables 12 through 21 must be interpreted as the minimum quantities received by the Northern Indians. As noted previously, the total expenses included all the trade goods that were used or depleted but which were not traded - that is, furs were not received in exchange for them.

Table 12: TRADE IN BASIC TOOLS

YEAR	TR*	EX*	NI*	TR*	EX*	NI*
	CHISELS			HATCHETS		
1718-20	461	34	26	199	108	66
1721-23	649	13	2	711	0	2
1724-26	596	18	4	407	37	4
1727-29	873	8		748	30	
1730-32	789	17	0	869	27	0
1733-35	793	44		493	56	
1736-38	742	34	0	790	22	0
1739-41	1086	17	0	901	18	0
1742-44	1004	28		933	31	
1745-47	733	44		788	100	
1748-50	600	43	0	623	46	0
1751-53	476	48		713	59	16
1754-56	626	56	16	729	62	20
1757-59	447	51	25	508	65	20
1760-62	632	36	4	776	37	3
1763-65	383	21	2	503	15	4
1766-68	621	27	0	1263	103	25
1769-71	722	71	9	1032	162	12
1772-74	580	409	20	818	304	30
	FILES			KNIVES		
1718-20				1540	181	39
1721-23				1148	0	0
1724-26	41	0		1723	10	8
1727-29	161	494		2525	52	
1730-32	200	502	0	1723	99	3
1733-35	232	2		2319	135	
1736-38	285	21	1	2437	195	0
1739-41	481	3	0	3014	279	0
1742-44	473	14		3352	598	
1745-47	360	1855		2164	556	
1748-50	460	497	2	3116	267	0
1751-53	434	27	4	2475	298	8
1754-56	505	29	11	2162	313	40
1757-59	477	43	15	1832	280	0
1760-62	514	42	0	2238	348	30
1763-65	524	27	9	2637	383	36
1766-68	825	112	40	3382	1182	212
1769-71	647	66	14	3420	1720	268
1772-74	860	127	30	2962	2404	280

* TR=traded; EX=total expenses; NI=only Northern Indian expenses. Blanks indicate no data available.
Source: HBCA B42/d/1-54.

It is obvious from examining Table 12 that the chisels, hatchets, files and knives were popular trade items, particularly the knives. There is a general increase over time in the quantity traded and received from the expense account. Several unusual circumstances are apparent: the 409 chisels expended in 1772-74 compared to only 20 specifically expended for Northern Indians; the 1855 files expended from 1745-47 with none of these expended on only Northern Indians (the expenses for all Indians for those three years totalled only 17).

Several observations can be made.

1. Items received on the expense account were not necessarily important trade items. That is, if the goods were received for services rendered or payment for meat or gifts, it was apparently not necessary to trade for those items also.
2. Expenses for Northern Indians were a small portion of the total expenses.
3. The quantities in the expense account varied considerably over time.
4. Literally hundreds of pounds of metal reached the hinterland in the early fur trade period.
5. In interpreting the statistics, it is important to remember that actual function of this metal may have been different from intended function.

Table 13: TRADE IN GUNS AND ACCESSORIES

YEAR	TR*	EX*	NI*	TR*	EX*	NI*	TR*	EX*	NI*
	FLINTS			GUNS				POWDER (in pounds)	
1718-20	2852	1598	40	29	6	2	1395	1215	14
1721-23	1900	700	10	115	0	0	1883	697	4
1724-26	5026	1014	42	273	24	2	1792	707	20
1727-29	5976	1404		177	22		3342	1008	
1730-32	5152	1588	0	218	42	0	2785	1065	0
1733-35	5976	3024		334	88		2722	3478	
1736-38	6780	3261	20	202	123	2	2850	2762	8
1739-41	7356	3476	8	228	148	0	4186	2408	4
1742-44	7510	3474		400	192		4663	1887	
1745-47	4888	2471		49	137		3482	2589	
1748-50	738	2670	0	141	81	0	3794	1386	4
1751-53	3810	2690	56	106	106	0	1460	1604	38
1754-56	5080	3420	312	112	104	0	1807	1793	132
1757-59	3968	3232	40	136	108	0	1797	1864	103
1760-62	4710	3338	64	132	124	0	1942	1802	36
1763-65	6718	3878	174	135	149	4	1586	1764	92
1766-68	9664	4300	656	28	145	0	1136	3136	338
1769-71	10490	7636	460	52	154	20	1121	3084	237
1772-74	10210	8142	64	296	80	0	2671	3317	446
		GUNWORMS		POWDER HORNS				SHOT (in pounds)	
1718-20	103	9	1	77	2	0	4523	4602	56
1721-23	124	3	2	82	0	2	4196	2788	28
1724-26	132	7	2	76	9	2	2834	3980	80
1727-29	168	5		135	8		6655	4094	
1730-32	220	4	0	180	8	1	7541	4242	0
1733-35	213	11		207	42		7211	5787	
1736-38	229	8	0	187	21	0	8456	6876	32
1739-41	268	8	2	186	36	0	8902	7102	16
1742-44	299	28		281	47		8638	7244	
1745-47	209	23		207	42		4889	9141	
1748-50	234	17	0	197	36	0	4708	5124	16
1751-53	271	14	0	192	20	2	2764	3577	58
1754-56	273	17	0	183	38	2	4546	5414	320
1757-59	218	7	0	174	23	0	5004	5606	132
1760-62	271	16	3	202	20	0	3941	5203	22
1763-65	204	25	1	156	39	1	4198	5027	256
1766-68	266	87	0	183	87	0	4884	9572	804
1769-71	293	85	7	223	85	7	7486	12149	693
1772-74	232	199	14	288	151	0	6811	11505	860

* TR=traded; EX=total expenses; NI=only Northern Indian expenses. Blanks indicate no data available.

Source: HBCA B42/d/1-54.

Table 13 demonstrates a tendency for increased trade in guns and accessories over time. It is notable that guns, gunworms and powder horns were only infrequently given/paid to Northern Indians. The quantities traded and even listed on the total expense account are considerable however. By comparing Table 13 with Figures 2 and 3 (which show the numbers of Northern Indians coming to Churchill) an interesting correlation between the numbers of Northern Indians and the trade in guns becomes apparent. The peak years for total number of Northern Indians coming to Churchill were 1764 to 1768. The years 1766 to 1768 indicate considerable quantities of flints, powder and shot were expended on Northern Indians but no guns, gunworms and powder horns. In fact, that same three-year period indicates the highest amount over all for Northern Indian expenses for flints (but not so for the powder and shot). It is interesting that gunworms and powder horns were apparently treated similarly to the guns themselves - considered to be part of the basic purchase. The idea that powder horns were not expended for Northern Indians because they were readily made from the wood bison horns is not corroborated by the trade in the European powder horns, nor by the fact that powder horns were disbursed as expenses to other Indians. Table 13 makes clear that flints, powder and shot were frequently given/expended to Northern Indians but that the guns for which those supplies were needed had to be purchased.

Table 14: TRADE IN OTHER TOOLS

YEAR	TR*	EX*	NI*	TR*	EX*	NI*
		AWL BLADES			SCISSORS	
1718-20	377	107	66	21	0	0
1721-23	421	0	0	32	0	0
1724-26	658	0	0	43	0	0
1727-29	328	8		40	0	
1730-32	747	38	0	35	0	0
1733-35	856	18		57	0	
1736-38	1276	12	0	29	0	0
1739-41	950	84	0	106	0	0
1742-44	2050	220		108	0	
1745-47	0	58		54	0	
1748-50	218	54	0	50	0	0
1751-53	676	84	0	38	0	0
1754-56	483	24	0	39	0	0
1757-59	660	0	0	27	0	0
1760-62	544	56	0	34	0	0
1763-65	804	72	0	58	0	0
1766-68	512	152	0	70	0	0
1769-71	522	110	36	78	0	0
1772-74	1627	273	0	84	20	0
		NEEDLES			SCRAPERS	
1718-20	0	27	0	101	70	59
1721-23	302	0	0	168	0	0
1724-26	1634	12	0	305	0	0
1727-29	290	36		105	0	
1730-32	336	72	0	121	2	0
1733-35	630	114		240	12	
1736-38	289	120	0	219	0	0
1739-41	438	137	0	199	0	0
1742-44	971	374		184	0	
1745-47	339	396		167	3	
1748-50	419	294	0	111	11	0
1751-53	394	204	0	111	0	0
1754-56	264	80	0	109	0	0
1757-59	440	112	0	74	0	0
1760-62	411	115	0	119	0	0
1763-65	806	12	0	46	0	0
1766-68	1296	40	0	164	0	0
1769-71	1512	476	0	67	0	0
1772-74	2342	492	0	122	74	0

* TR=traded; EX=total expenses; NI=only Northern Indian expenses. Blanks indicate no data available.
Source: HBCA B42/d/1-54.

The trade in awl blades, scissors, scrapers, bayonets and sword blades (Tables 14 and 15) are noteworthy for the almost complete absence of expenses for Northern Indians in spite of considerable trading activity (except in sword blades). Only awl blades and needles were given/pai in any quantity. It is apparent that all of these goods, all made of various amounts of metal, were traded far more than they were expended.

Table 15: TRADE IN LARGE METAL BLADES

YEAR	TR*	EX*	NI*	TR*	EX*	NI*
	BAYONETS			SWORD BLADES		
1718-20	30	0	0	27	3	1
1721-23	10	0	1	69	0	0
1724-26	58	0	0	0	0	0
1727-29	48	0		5	0	
1730-32	119	6	0	6	0	0
1733-35	144	4		0	0	
1736-38	131	0	0	0	0	0
1739-41	133	0	0	0	0	0
1742-44	342	0		5	0	
1745-47	387	1		0	0	
1748-50	205	2	0	1	0	0
1751-53	157	0	0	1	0	0
1754-56	185	0	0	0	0	0
1757-59	183	0	0	1	0	0
1760-62	331	0	0	0	0	0
1763-65	331	0	0	3	0	0
1766-68	699	0	0	20	0	0
1769-71	480	8	4	18	0	0
1772-74	610	61	4	4	1	0

* TR=traded; EX=total expenses; NI=only Northern Indian expenses.
Blanks indicate no data available. Source: HBCA B42/d/1-54.

The trade in consumable goods (Table 16) indicates an enormous increase over the 57 years involved. Expenses in these goods also increased dramatically, particularly in alcohol and tobacco. It is noteworthy that very little alcohol was expended on Northern Indians, an observation borne out elsewhere also (Parker 1972:51). In fact, the years in which alcohol was expended in highest amounts on Northern Indians matches the years when the total number of Northern Indians coming to Churchill was also the highest - 1766-68 (see Figure 3).

Table 16: TRADE IN CONSUMABLE GOODS

YEAR	TR*	EX*	NI*	TR*	EX*	NI*
		ALCOHOL (in gallons)			VERMILION (in ounces)	
1718-20				41	11	1
1721-23	30	0	0	80	0	0
1724-26	275	112	0	296	0	0
1727-29	198	140		231	13	
1730-32	207	187	0	338	26	0
1733-35	362	389		772	55	
1736-38	377	429	0	387	48	0
1739-41	428	395	1	413	43	0
1742-44	601	442		534	74	
1745-47	600	482		336	64	
1748-50	462	311	0	329	50	0
1751-53	544	326	0	311	53	0
1754-56	410	439	0	224	40	2
1757-59	451	493	0	200	16	0
1760-62	530	527	0	304	1	0
1763-65	747	571	0	200	23	4
1766-68	855	1536	20	188	152	16
1769-71	1143	1373	16	144	148	0
1772-74	1821	1699	2	460	228	28
		TOBACCO (in pounds)				
1718-20	543	199	8			
1721-23	793	66	22			
1724-26	1627	339	73			
1727-29	2813	214				
1730-32	2828	122	12			
1733-35	3192	398				
1736-38	3435	253	5			
1739-41	4367	268	8			
1742-44	4400	555				
1745-47	7042	750				
1748-50	2605	410	1			
1751-53	2741	98	22			
1754-56	2397	539	84			
1757-59	1716	679	115			
1760-62	2197	560	33			
1763-65	2053	535	55			
1766-68	4218	927	108			
1769-71	4626	1161	56			
1772-74	3979	1829	162			

* TR=traded; EX=total expenses; NI=only Northern Indian expenses. Blanks indicate no data available.

Source: HBCA B42/d/1-54.

Cordage was never expended on only Northern Indians, even though it was a good trading category. Table 17 also shows that twine was expended much more than it was traded. That statistic is no doubt a reflection of the use of twine in the subsistence activities of the Hudson's Bay Company servants, and even in their trapping, an activity in which they also engaged. The netlines were also used by the fort in fishing. The cordage items appear to be a good example of a trade good which was of considerable importance to the Company itself.

Table 17: TRADE IN CORDAGE

YEAR	TR*	EX*	NI*	TR*	EX*	NI*
	NETLINES			TWINE (in skeins)		
1718-20	31	2	0	0	5	0
1721-23	25	3	0	45	15	0
1724-26	58	26	0	14	50	0
1727-29	85	52		34	67	
1730-32	115	31	0	51	38	0
1733-35	110	24		9	109	
1736-38	169	14	0	92	121	0
1739-41	243	16	0	75	158	0
1742-44	252	28		126	151	
1745-47	285	37		72	188	
1748-50	118	20	0	11	231	0
1751-53	131	31	0	5	159	0
1754-56	108	20	0	6	189	0
1757-59	134	0	0	13	204	0
1760-62	115	3	0	14	180	0
1763-65	175	0	0	51	115	0
1766-68	172	30	0	33	213	0
1769-71	126	41	0	18	221	0
1772-74	198	34	0	57	279	0

* TR=traded; EX=total expenses; NI=only Northern Indian expenses.
Blanks indicate no data available. Source: HBCA B42/d/1-54.

Table 18: TRADE IN FABRIC AND CLOTHING

YEAR	TR*	EX*	NI*	TR*	EX*	NI*	TR*	EX*	NI*
	BLANKETS			FABRIC (in yards)			THREAD (in ounces)		
1718-20	33	7	1	184	60	15	0	9	1
1721-23	22	0	2	254	20	10	48	0	0
1724-26	17	19	6	462	66	35	48	64	0
1727-29	81	6		439	66		8	216	
1730-32	83	2	0	557	96	2	65	50	0
1733-35	112	6		574	104		20	66	
1736-38	134	3	0	736	171	3	0	136	0
1739-41	170	3	0	1128	177	18	0	124	0
1742-44	207	10		1304	422		0	144	
1745-47	118	26		864	471		0	16	
1748-50	159	12	0	1028	310	2	0	78	0
1751-53	125	14	0	1177	397	28	0	160	0
1754-56	119	47	6	818	623	85	0	160	0
1757-59	143	66	6	850	719	43	0	160	0
1760-62	144	45	3	1094	538	34	0	176	0
1763-65	188	77	6	1584	771	30	0	240	0
1766-68	162	178	18	1955	1150	92	0	304	0
1769-71	220	169	16	1994	1448	162	0	224	0
1772-74	516	272	28	4005	2483	191	144	144	0
	CLOTHING			HANDKERCHIEFS			TRIM (in yards)		
1718-20	3	16	6				36	48	0
1721-23	23	1	0				25	0	0
1724-26	38	3	0				128	75	60
1727-29	67	2					214	80	
1730-32	86	4		8	0	0	130	100	0
1733-35	144	4	0	41	0		118	76	
1736-38	238	6		39	0	0	216	100	3
1739-41	237	14	0	31	0	0	171	72	10
1742-44	211	42		44	4		1377	710	
1745-47	118	41		13	7		609	789	
1748-50	133	88	0	3	5	0	918	583	0
1751-53	98	84	0	5	0	0	596	666	0
1754-56	171	141	2	2	0	0	483	764	6
1757-59	137	139	0	25	0	0	205	1268	0
1760-62	190	110	6	28	0	0	451	1011	0
1763-65	217	233	9	28	0	0	445	1275	0
1766-68	448	123	5	57	0	0	1102	1199	6
1769-71	305	331	16	16	0	0	479	1650	58
1772-74	499	632	53	77	13	0	2860	3790	35

* TR=traded; EX=total expenses; NI=only Northern Indian expenses. Blanks indicate no data available.

Source: HBCA B42/d/1-54.

Fabric, clothing and items of adornment (Tables 18 and 19) varied considerably in both the quantities traded and expended. Baubles as well as trim were heavily traded and expended but were only minimally expended on Northern Indians. Clearly, items for decoration, whether of metal or textile, were important in the trade. The many pounds of beads traded substantiate that assertion.

Fabrics were heavily traded and expended but not so blankets and ready-made clothing. The fabric available at this time varied in width. Blankets were not yet standardized into the readily-identifiable Hudson's Bay Company striped blankets of the nineteenth century.[1] As most of the period pertains to a time prior to the Industrial Revolution and thus well before the advances in textile manufacturing that seem commonplace today, it is difficult to evaluate the quality of the materials that were available but it is evident from Table 18 that the goods which were meant to be attached to the European clothing and fabrics were much more popular than those textiles themselves. In other words, the native population must have been dressed primarily in hides and furs for all of this period. They would thus have expended considerable energy and time in hunting and processing caribou, moose, elk, deer, etc. even while they also expanded their activities in trapping animals for furs for the trade. Replacement of hide for textiles is not indicated by these figures. It is

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[1]These were adopted in 1780 (Johnson 1956:50).

interesting to speculate whether the eventual change was brought about by better European goods, better prices for furs with a consequent increased willingness to spend time working on hides and pelts for trade as opposed to clothing, depletion of animal resources relied upon for hides, or a combination of these and even other reasons.

Table 19: TRADE IN ITEMS OF ADORNMENT

YEAR	TR*	EX*	NI*	TR*	EX*	NI*	TR*	EX*	NI*
	BAUBLES			COLLARS			FEATHERS		
1718-20	618	43	12						
1721-23	810	0	0						
1724-26	1620	144	120						
1727-29	864	120							
1730-32	1415	123	0						
1733-35	1872	217					12	0	0
1736-38	3089	408	0				16	0	
1739-41	6443	288	48				35	0	0
1742-44	5592	920		31	0		29	1	0
1745-47	1857	568		3	0		41	20	
1748-50	2086	488	0	21	3	0	12	18	
1751-53	1094	672	0	13	0	0	4	26	0
1754-56	3910	720	0	13	0	0	14	31	0
1757-59	1448	912	0	1	0	0	3	53	0
1760-62	1883	1032	0	0	0	0	0	97	2
1763-65	3833	596	0	2	0	0	0	117	3
1766-68	4407	0	0	2	0	0	45	134	7
1769-71	5681	420	38	62	0	0	70	174	2
1772-74	9891	369	0				54	146	27
							28	184	24
	BEADS (in pounds)			COMBS					
1718-20	142	31	0	71	3	1			
1721-23	132	0	0	45	0	0			
1724-26	288	0	0	113	0	0			
1727-29	138	3		172	0				
1730-32	167	10	0	203	1	0			
1733-35	149	15		184	0				
1736-38	173	23	1	169	11	1			
1739-41	236	27	0	341	8	0			
1742-44	296	22		374	61				
1745-47	135	33		179	60				
1748-50	122	12	0	328	60	0			
1751-53	171	22	6	128	42	0			
1754-56	129	17	2	124	26	0			
1757-59	126	12	0	188	36	0			
1760-62	118	31	0	174	6	0			
1763-65	232	19	2	289	27	2			
1766-68	279	112	5	291	83	8			
1769-71	425	147	10	217	69	1			
1772-74	445	280	30	345	101	0			

* TR=traded; EX=total expenses; NI=only Northern Indian expenses. Blanks indicate no data available.

Source: HBCA 942/d/1-54.

Containers were traded only in small amounts. Table 20 indicates that very few tobacco boxes were traded in comparison to the hundreds of pounds of tobacco itself (see Table 16). Rundlets (small barrels) were more popular and clearly increased in trade over time. The quantities of kettles traded suggest only a minimal trade. The kettles ranged in size from a half pint to six and a half gallons over most of this period and thus weighed several pounds each, on average. It seems obvious that the native population was not abandoning birch bark containers or the use of the paunch in cooking. Of course, a cast iron (or copper or brass) kettle could last a long time and be used for a variety of purposes. Perhaps the prevalence of cast iron for this time [1] and the weight that such a kettle represented to a highly mobile population meant that the advantages of the European technology were not utilized to a greater extent until the lighter copper kettles were made more readily available.

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[1] The lidded copper kettle commonly associated with the fur trade was not adopted by the Hudson's Bay Company until 1782 (Johnson 1956:51).

Table 20: TRADE IN CONTAINERS

YEAR	TR*	EX*	NI*	TR*	EX*	NI*
	BOXES			RUNDLETS		
1718-20						
1721-23						
1724-26	162	0	0	12	0	0
1727-29	147	0		66	0	
1730-32	154	0	0	100	0	0
1733-35	194	0		166	0	
1736-38	140	0	0	114	0	0
1739-41	180	3	0	203	0	0
1742-44	263	16		422	0	
1745-47	137	92		441	0	
1748-50	100	4	0	316	0	0
1751-53	76	0	0	247	0	0
1754-56	129	0	0	187	0	0
1757-59	143	0	0	240	0	0
1760-62	139	0	0	243	0	0
1763-65	182	0	0	385	0	0
1766-68	176	0	0	427	0	0
1769-71	307	0	0	591	2	0
1772-74	247	46	0	946	149	0
	KETTLES (in pounds)			TRUNKS		
1718-20	192	16	4			
1721-23	412	0	0			
1724-26	316	6	6			
1727-29	432	8				
1730-32	578	12	0	4	0	0
1733-35	544	8		29	0	
1736-38	701	33	1	27	0	0
1739-41	1128	56	0	28	0	0
1742-44	929	8		33	14	
1745-47	609	73		9	10	
1748-50	654	11	2	15	0	0
1751-53	626	33	0	11	2	0
1754-56	668	3	0	36	0	0
1757-59	591	0	0	47	0	0
1760-62	709	0	0	37	0	0
1763-65	808	0	0	52	0	0
1766-68	1031	32	0	100	0	0
1769-71	1190	48	13	126	1	0
1772-74	1471	103	0	124	32	0

* TR=traded; EX=total expenses; NI=only Northern Indian expenses. Blanks indicate no data available.
Source: HBCA B42/d/1-54.

None of the various items listed in Table 21 - burning glasses, looking glasses, fish hooks, fire steels, spoons, and tobacco tongs - were important in the expense account for Northern Indians. Fire steels, fish hooks and looking glasses were of some significance, but even that is minimal. These goods may have been valued more highly than other goods and therefore not replaced as frequently, but a simple comparison to the quantities of knives traded (see Table 12) indicates that even the fire steels were not in heavy demand. The number of fish hooks traded was miniscule. This situation reinforces the observation made above that much of the European technology was simply not replacing the native technology at this time. The Indians were evidently relying on other methods of fishing or using their own type of hook.

Table 21: TRADE IN MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS

YEAR	TR*	EX*	NI*	TR*	EX*	NI*	TR*	EX*	NI*
	FIRE STEELS			BURNING GLASSES			LOOKING GLASSES		
1718-20	272	4	1				48	0	0
1721-23	277	0	0				18	0	0
1724-26	256	0	0	28	0	0	66	0	0
1727-29	387	0		4	0		47	0	
1730-32	440	4	0	10	0	0	74	0	0
1733-35	404	4		10	0		94	3	
1736-38	620	15	0	29	0	0	100	7	2
1739-41	706	77	0	17	0	0	175	2	0
1742-44	856	134		41	0		173	42	
1745-47	529	138		16	1		125	11	
1748-50	472	68	0	16	2	0	111	13	0
1751-53	362	0	0	30	0	0	64	0	0
1754-56	297	0	0	39	0	0	99	0	0
1757-59	54	0	0	40	0	0	68	0	0
1760-62	2	0	0	62	0	0	70	0	0
1763-65	60	0	0	54	0	0	183	0	0
1766-68	255	0	0	58	0	0	193	0	0
1769-71	248	42	12	69	11	0	316	1	0
1772-74	495	123	0	73	22	0	218	22	0
	TOBACCO TONGS			FISH HOOKS			SPOONS		
1718-20	12	0	0						
1721-23	10	0	0	0	0	0	13	0	0
1724-26	53	0	0	40	0	0	19	0	0
1727-29	25	0		0	0		4	0	
1730-32	36	0	0	100	0	0	8	0	0
1733-35	24	39		192	0		22	0	
1736-38	36	0	0	0	100	0	14	0	0
1739-41	13	2	0	30	0	0	9	0	0
1742-44	22	0		70	180		18	0	
1745-47	6	2		0	150		24	0	
1748-50	9	0	0	20	0	0	19	0	0
1751-53	4	0	0	100	0	0	18	0	0
1754-56	2	0	0	170	0	0	25	0	0
1757-59	3	0	0	90	80	0	9	0	0
1760-62	2	0	0	100	60	0	4	0	0
1763-65	10	0	0	35	5	6	18	0	0
1766-68	2	0	0	150	0	0	16	0	0
1769-71	12	0	0	50	40	0	14	0	0
1772-74				434	30	0			

* TR=traded; EX=total expenses; NI=only Northern Indian expenses. Blanks indicate no data available.
Source: HBCA B42/d/1-54.

C. Use of the Expense Account

An attempt was made to isolate Northern Indian trade by using the detailed expense account which has been summarized under Native Expenses in Tables 3, 5, and 9. I planned to isolate Northern Indian expenses from that of other Indians and thus arrive at some percentage which could be used to extrapolate the quantity of trade by Northern Indians. This attempt was successful only in part. The details of the expense account were coded for the various populations who received these goods - Southern Indians, Northern Indians, Eskimos, and Hudson's Bay Company servants (whose expenses were combined with trade goods identified as factory expenses). The quantities of each trade good listed in this account (not all were expended as Native Expenses) were added for each population or combination of populations using that trade good. In those many cases when more than one group was identified as the recipient, a proportion of the total had to be assigned to each group involved. The proportion used was decided on the basis of the number of groups identified as users - if three groups were given, then the total was divided by three. This procedure was necessary as many entries in this list combine the recipients; eg., "spent in hunting for factory use and given to Indians for hunting" (B42/d/22,f.12d). All of these amounts were divided and added until only three categories remained - total expenses for Northern Indians, for other natives, and for the Hudson's Bay Company. The amount

calculated as expenses for the Hudson's Bay Company was then deducted, resulting in a total of expenses that were applied only to the aboriginal population - either to Northern Indians or to other Indians. '* These amounts were then compared. The resulting percentages are given in Table 22.

''Eskimos are specifically listed from the years 1764-74 but the trade goods assigned to them are combined with Indians in these tabulations.

Table 22: PERCENTAGE OF EXPENSES 1718-74

ITEM	% OF EXPENSES APPLICABLE TO NATIVES ONLY*					
	NI● 1718-40	I■	NI● 1741-63	I■	NI● 1764-74	I■
ALCOHOL	3.9	96.1	1.3	98.7	6.1	93.9
awl blades	34.2	65.9	0	100.0	11.0	89.0
BAUBLES	14.3	85.7	0	100.0	6.3	93.8
bayonets	8.3	91.7	0	100.0	15.1	84.9
beads	4.1	95.5	6.7	93.3	15.3	84.7
blankets	21.4	78.4	11.5	88.5	17.2	82.9
BOXES			0	100.0		
burning glasses			0	100.0	11.1	89.5
chisels	46.3	53.8				
",broad			0	100.0	62.5	37.5
",narrow	6.3	93.8	38.6	61.4	27.3	72.7
CLOTHING	14.4	85.4	1.7	98.3	9.4	90.6
collars			0	100.0		
combs	28.3	71.1	0	100.0	10.2	89.9
FABRIC	14.3	85.7	6.9	93.1	15.1	84.9
feathers	0	100.0	1.9	98.1	17.2	82.6
fish hooks			6.3	93.8	13.1	87.1
files	35.0	65.0	27.9	72.1	36.6	63.5
fire steels	5.6	94.4	0	100.0	42.9	57.1
flints	4.7	95.3	11.4	88.6	20.6	79.4
guns	31.6	68.4				
guns,long	10.0	90.0	3.8	96.2	16.2	83.8
",medium	0	100.0	0	100.0	10.1	89.9
",short			0	100.0	25.7	73.8
gunworms	7.2	92.8	.6	99.4	23.5	76.5
hatchets	82.2	17.1				
",middling	7.9	92.1	23.4	76.6	21.9	78.1
",small			0	100.0		
handkerchiefs			0	100.0	0	100.0
kettles	33.3	66.7	5.6	94.4	20.7	79.4
knives	81.6	18.3				
",box			5.2	94.8	22.5	77.5
",jack	6.8	93.2	0	100.0	27.0	73.0
",large long	0	100.0	9.9	90.1	15.9	84.1
",large roach	6.9	93.1	5.1	94.9	15.5	84.5
",small roach			0	100.0	0	100.0
razors					0	100.0
looking glasses	45.0	55.0	0	100.0	0	100.0
needles	36.4	63.6	0	100.0	1.9	9813
netlines			0	100.0	53.8	53.8
powder horns	19.6	80.4	6.6	93.4	17.7	82.3
powder	2.8	97.2	7.9	92.1	25.4	74.6
rundlets			0	100.0		

scissors					0	100.0
scrapers	74.7	25.5				
",double			0	100.0	0	100.0
shot	2.7	97.3				
",Bristol	13.1	86.9	16.8	83.2	32.8	67.2
",duck	.6	99.4	1.6	98.4	23.0	77.0
",goose					35.2	64.8
",low East India	18.7	81.3	23.7	76.3	43.4	56.6
",partridge	0	100.0	.3	99.7	1.6	98.4
sword blades	73.9	30.4				
thread	11.1	88.9				
tobacco	10.7	89.3	11.0	89.0	20.6	79.4
tobacco tongs			0	100.0		
TRIM	13.5	86.5	.1	99.9	5.5	94.5
trunks			0	100.0	0	100.0
twine	0	100.0				
",coarse			0	100.0	27.7	70.2
",fine					0	100.0
vermilion	5.6	94.4	2.3	97.7	15.7	84.3

*Expenses applied to factory use have been deleted. See Tables 5 and 9 for list of total expenses and Native Expenses (which may include some factory expenses also).
•Northern Indians only
▪Other Indians (includes Eskimo, 1764-74).
Source:HBCA B42/d/1-54.

Accordingly, the figures presented in Table 22 are a statistical calculation of the percentage of expenses that were used by Northern Indians. Note that these percentages are not based on the total expenses but on those expenses that were identified as applying to natives. That total (the Native Expenses of Tables 5 and 9) does include some expenses of Hudson's Bay Company servants. For example, Table 5 (in Chapter 5) shows that from 1718-40 only 427 gallons of alcohol were expended for natives but 1516 gallons are listed under total expenses. By subtracting the 427 gallons from this total, we learn that 1089 gallons were expended for factory use only. However, factory use in this

case also refers to some portion of the amount which is listed under Native Expenses. If only expenses which are actually applied to natives are to be analyzed, this amount for factory use which is hidden in the Native Expenses category had to be ascertained and then subtracted from the total. The amount (46 gallons, in this case) was generated by manipulating the data in the manner indicated above, that is, by dividing the amounts applicable to a number of groups by the number of groups. Thus, the amount assigned to each population in Table 22 is a combination of actual data and generated data. Northern Indian expenses are thus different from the expenses listed in Tables 12 through 21 which listed only those items (under Northern Indian expenses) which were specifically identified as given/paid only to Northern Indians.

The percentages were not calculated on the basis of the total expenses because the resulting figures would be improperly skewed toward the total of factory expenses. Tables 3, 5, and 9 indicate that occasionally the total Native Expenses exceed that of total expenses, which should be an impossibility. The reason for the discrepancy is that the data are derived from two different lists which unfortunately were not always reconciled accurately in the original bookkeeping. Thus, the percentages in Table 22 were calculated on the basis of total expenses applicable to natives only - all factory use has been deleted from the list of expenses before calculating the percentages. In this

way, the difference between the involvement of Northern Indians in the trade and other native involvement in the trade can be extrapolated, as the tabulation of trade goods does not include any factory use. The percentage of Northern Indian expenses calculated in this way can thus represent the percentage of trade. That will also be presented below.

Examination of Table 22 demonstrates that Hearne was correct. The chisels, files, knives, and hatchets were indeed accepted/given in the higest proportion. Eighteenth-century writers other than Hearne made similar generalizations. Isham, writing in the 1740s, '' noted that the "Indians to the Northwd. of Churchill River, toward the copper mines etc." traded primarily for powder, shot and guns, not for "finery" (Rich 1949:177). William Coats, who was the captain of a supply ship for many years, remarked that Northern Indians placed a high value on iron. In fact, as they had little powder and shot but had access to guns they "cut them up for knives and chizzells" (Barrow 1852:33, Smith and Burch 1979:83).

A number of general observations about the nature of the expenses utilized by the various populations can be made. Even within the category of Native Expenses (see Tables 5 and 9) many items were in fact spent on factory use by 33% or more:

1. flints, needles, powder, thread, twine, and various kinds of shot from 1717-40

''His other term for the Northern Indians was "wechepowuck" Indians (Rich 1949:177).

2. flints, powder horns, powder, bayonets, burning glasses, plus some guns, knives, scrapers, and various kinds of shot from 1741-63
3. netlines, partridge shot, and twine from 1764-74.

These trade goods were extensively used in the hunting and fishing that the company servants (as well as Home Indians) engaged in to provide food.

Numerous items were expended 100% for natives other than Northern Indians. Many more were expended in far greater amounts for these trading groups than for Northern Indians. In fact, this description includes most of the listings from 1741-63. The number (and percentage) of items expended on Northern Indians dropped considerably during this period.

However, a number of items were received in highest percentages by Northern Indians. These include:

1. hachets, knives, scrapers, and sword blades from 1718-40
2. broad chisels from 1764-74 (and netlines in equal percentage).

Table 22 clearly indicates that there is a considerable increase in the percentage of goods expended on Northern Indians from 1741-63 to 1764-74. These figures can be accounted for by the increased competition that the Hudson's Bay Company experienced from the French trade in the interior, and consequently the extra measures that the Company took to retain its dominance where possible. As well, the increase in the variety of trade goods

received/accepted by Northern Indians after 1763 can be inferred to indicate their increased involvement with the fort. They may also reflect the fact that Moses Norton was Chief Factor for over nine of those 11 years. As has been noted earlier, he appeared to have a good relationship with Northern Indians.

While the figures for chisels, files, hachets and knives are consistently high for Northern Indians, there is a dramatic jump in the percentage rate for netlines, fire steels; partridge, goose, and low East India shot after 1763. Those rates may be related to the greater participation of Northern Indians as Home Indians. Interestingly, the dramatic differences between the percentage of expenses in the category of broad and narrow chisels may indicate strongly that goods on the expense account were not necessarily the most desired trade items. In Chapter 6 it was mentioned that the Northern Indians preferred chisels with a sharp point. Also, narrow chisels were traded in greater numbers than broad chisels. Nevertheless, the broad chisels are expended more than twice the rate of the narrow chisels after 1763. Perhaps they were given as gifts or payment for meat because they were considered unacceptable as trade. This giving may have included actual alteration into chisels with sharper points by the smith. In other words, as alteration was required, Norton decided to alter those which did not sell well in their present state.

Which figures present a more accurate picture of reality cannot be decided on the basis of this research and preliminary analysis. The first sums presented (Tables 12 through 21) do not include all the goods given/paid to Northern Indians; Table 22 gives extrapolated totals, based on logic. It is noteworthy that there is agreement regarding a general increase over time but when this is applied to some specific item (e.g., the netlines and sword blades) then there can be a dramatic difference.

If only Tables 12 through 21 were used, the items that would be identified as particularly important to the Northern Indian trade would be: knives, flints, powder, shot, tobacco, and fabrics. To attempt to reconcile these obvious discrepancies does not seem to be a statistically valid exercise as the basic assumption regarding what is included differs greatly between the two kinds of analysis and presentation.

D. The Northern Indian Trade

In order to make the most meaningful use of these data in regard to trade, it was necessary to minimize the variation found in the record. The procedure involved ignoring the differentiation found in the trade goods themselves; and grouping the goods into broad, functional categories. By so doing, the resulting means of percentages were used to extrapolate the percentage of categories of trade goods that were traded for by Northern Indians.

Therefore, all the varieties of knives, chisels, hatchets, twine, shot, guns, and scrapers were grouped into only the one kind of trade good. Then the various trade goods were grouped into the functional categories given in Table 23 below. The mean was calculated only for the time period in which that trade item was part of the Native Expenses account. Of course, if Northern Indians did not receive any of that trade good during that time period, the value of 0 was used in calculating the mean. The mean of the means was calculated, and is the figure given in the table. This procedure reduces the effect of the frequency of 0 in calculating the mean of a combination of goods.

This method relies upon the extrapolated total of Northern Indian expenses as given in Table 22. It has already been noted that some of these extrapolations do not readily agree with the totals of expenses as listed in Tables 12 through 21 which show only the "hard" data. Nevertheless, I assumed that the extrapolated totals should be used in estimating the Northern Indian trade because they included all those goods which were given/paid to Northern Indians even though the quantity of those goods was not listed in the archival record. Table 23 is thus a means to use the data available plus the use of logical inference to arrive at some presentation of Northern Indian trade in spite of the absence of those data in the archival record.

Table 23: NORTHERN INDIAN TRADE AT CHURCHILL, 1718-74

CATEGORY	% of TRADE*	TRADE GOODS INCLUDED	
BASIC TOOLS	27.2	knives hatchets chisels files	19.1% 26.2% 30.2% 33.2%
LARGE METAL BLADES	24.3	bayonets	sword blades
GUNS and ACCESSORIES	17.8	flints gunworms powder	guns powder horns shot
CORDAGE	16.3	netlines	twine
OTHER TOOLS	15.8	scissors scrapers	awl blades needles
MISCELLANEOUS METALS	11.3	spoons fish hooks fire steels	burning glasses looking glasses tobacco tongs
FABRIC and CLOTHING	9.5	blankets FABRIC thread	CLOTHING handkerchiefs TRIM
ADORNMENT	8.7	BAUBLES collars feathers	beads combs
CONSUMABLE GOODS	8.6	ALCOHOL vermilion	tobacco
CONTAINERS	8.5	BOXES rundlets	kettles trunks

* Extrapolated on basis of % of expenses applicable to natives only.

Source: Table 22.

It is readily apparent from Table 23 that the category "Basic Tools" includes the trade goods that were traded at a higher percentage rate than any others traded for by Northern Indians. Files, chisels, hatchets, and knives were the items that a Northern Indian traded for more than any other items on the list. The 27.2% average for these four tools is higher even than the percentage of trade in the large metal blades that were expended so liberally from 1718-40 (probably as gifts to the various Northern Indian leaders that were being encouraged to trade at Churchill at that time). All items of clothing, fabrics, containers, various consumer goods, and items for decoration or adornment traded at less than 10% by Northern Indians. It is precisely these kinds of goods that were traded for at the highest rate by other Indians. (See Table 22.) The assignment of goods to a particular category may be argued but the essential pattern will remain the same. Further, this analysis indicates that the Hudson's Bay Company account books contain data that is useful in deriving information that is pertinent to the aboriginal people who traded.

Some aspects of the fur trade at Churchill indicate a different pattern from that commonly regarded as part of early Hudson's Bay Company history. The miniscule trade in mocotauguns [20] (crooked knives) presents a good example. Perhaps that is due to the tendency of subarctic Indians to

[20]The word mocotauguns is derived from the Cree word for knife.

manufacture their own from various other sources of metal such as guns or files. It may well be that mocotauguns were not supplied in large quantities in this period at other forts also. Certainly they were not at Churchill. Mocotauguns were not included in the trade goods lists at Churchill after 1720. They were not included at York Factory from 1729 to 1740. [2] To verify their availability would require an equally meticulous search of the account books from the other forts for the entire time period in question.

Of greater interest is the question of the source of the design and the use to which such a knife was put. Is the metal mocotaugun merely a technological adaptation of a prehistoric tool? Is the practise of making one's own crooked knife a continuation of previous habits? Did the increased availability of metal promote the greater use of such knives and therefore the increased use of snowshoes, sleds, canoes, etc.? The adaptation of broken metal tools for crooked knives is recorded very early. Knight notes in his journal for 1716-17 that the smith should "make mocotauguns of the Old broken fyles and these as is worn out & not fitt for use" (B239/a/3,f.48). Was his command a response to a perceived need or to a request?

Guns are also a matter of some interest. Ray notes that long guns were supplanted by short guns, early in the eighteenth century at Albany, and much later at York - in

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[2] Mocotauguns are included for the forts on the Albany and Moose rivers in the trade goods lists of 1748 (Woodward 1948:5).

fact, not until approximately 1765 (1974:73-75). Ray suggests that the long guns remained popular at York because of their increased accuracy which was important in warfare. Churchill did not experience the same dramatic switch in gun preferences. In 1766, the short and medium length guns did trade in greater numbers than the long; but this situation was again reversed in 1770, and remained so except for 1773. If medium length guns are included, then short guns are distinctly less popular than longer guns. Perhaps this preference for long guns is due to their increased accuracy. Perhaps the element of competition did remain a greater factor in the purchasing of trade goods at Churchill for a longer period of time. Suggestions are very strong throughout the literature that Northern Indians did not use the gun in hunting caribou to any great extent, primarily because the pounds and snares were much more effective. While competition and warfare could explain the preference for the long guns during some of the trading years, it is unlikely that such a situation was dominant throughout. Perhaps the longer guns provided more metal to use for other purposes.

The above paragraph is based on only the totals of the various kinds of guns that were traded. However, Table 12 indicates that there were considerable differences among the percentages expended for Northern Indians and for other natives among the three kinds of guns listed. From 1764-74, Northern Indians received a higher percentage of short guns

compared to long, the reverse of the situation indicated for other natives. If Ray is correct in suggesting that use of the long guns indicates use in warfare, the percentages given in Table 22 could be interpreted as evidence that these other Indians were doing just that. "Other Indians" refers primarily to Southern Indians or Cree. Thus, is this evidence for Cree warfare? The suggestion is strong, but it needs substantiation by comparative data from other forts where Cree dominated the trade.

However, because the results indicated on Table 23 are based on the extrapolated totals of Table 22 and differ considerably from the hard data presented in Tables 12 through 21, caution is advised in assuming that the percentages given in Table 23 actually applied.

Nevertheless, the agreement is still substantial. The suggestion is strong that trade in metals was important but trade in consumable goods, items of adornment, or containers of various kinds was not. There is a strong practical bent to the trade preferences listed. Whether this situation is an indication of the actual use of the same item according to intended function, the amount of metal available, or the trading preferences of other natives even farther in the hinterland with whom the Northern Indians traded is another question entirely.

VIII. Conclusion

This thesis has investigated the archival record in regard to Northern Indian history and Northern Indian territory at the time of contact with Europeans. An attempt has been made to present an ethnohistorical interpretation on the Northern Indians from the time of their first appearance in the writing of Europeans until 1774 with a special emphasis on what that record states about the geographical area these people occupied at that time.

The emphasis has indeed been on history. It has been a strong assumption throughout this paper that the aboriginal population of the central subarctic lived in a changing society both prehistorically and historically. In fact, much attention has been given to describing events which illustrate that the protohistoric society was not a static one. That Indian cultures changed, and that it is therefore proper to speak of Indian history, was not part of the general anthropological perspective until relatively recently (Trigger 1981:5,13). The adoption of a methodology and theoretical perspective which stresses the history of North American Indians has become influential in anthropology (for an example, see Trigger 1985). It has been the intent of this paper to present the historical and archival record in its variety and ambiguity. The generalizations made are an interpretation, based on research undertaken to date. They are not meant to be definitive statements.

The question which motivated the research undertaken for this thesis focused on the territory of the Chipewyan and their fur trade involvement. The problem lies in both the interpretation of the historical record and in the assumptions that underly that interpretation. The interpretation of any reference to an individual or group which can be assumed to refer to the Chipewyan is affected by this problem. In that the term Chipewyan is used in the earliest references, the matter of continuity of identification is important (as is the matter of accuracy of the European writer). There is simply no way to verify a reference! That situation is equally true in regard to much data pertinent to territorial questions and fur trade involvement. That our interpretation of a historical reference is what the writer intended at the time is not verifiable. Indeed, that what he wrote was correct at the time of writing also needs corroboration.

Nevertheless, the record can be used as long as it is recognized that interpretations of that record are just that - interpretations, not proof. A summary of my interpretations regarding the identification of Northern Indians, their region of occupancy at the time of contact, and their involvement in the fur trade is presented below.

This analysis could be carried further by calculating the percentage of each trade good for each year and then describing the trend in trade over time. Such a detailed description of the trade should include data from at least

one other fort in order to check the reliability of the trend. That step is necessary in order to check the "goodness of fit" between the expenses category and the traded goods. That is a matter for future research.

A. Identity

It has been demonstrated that, at the time of first usage, the term Northern Indian does not necessarily refer to Chipewyan Indians or even Athapaskan speakers. Rather, it quickly became the common term for northern Athapaskan speakers once the Hudson's Bay Company established its posts at York Factory and Churchill. The use of such a generalized geographical term to identify a specific cultural group discussed in the early fur trade should be accepted with caution.

The development of a tradition in terms of reference at western Hudson Bay posts does not necessarily imply a consistency in usage elsewhere or even at a later date. For example, Captain William Coats used the adjective "northern" both when describing (Chipewyan) Indians trading at Churchill (Barrow 1852:32-33) and those trading at Albany (ibid.:61-63). He also notes that there is a difference (ibid.:61), but does not use a different label to distinguish between them. His time of writing was approximately 1750.

Considerable emphasis has been placed on the differentiation among various designations of Northern

Indians. Reference has been made to far Northern Indians, as well as Copper, Dog Rib, etc. However, in spite of the detail in the record, it is my conclusion that precise differentiation among Athapaskan speakers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and precise association with modern Athapaskan "tribal" distinctions of these earliest references is extremely tenuous. While labelling from a later time period may be acceptable, caution is necessary for the time of the early fur trade.

In my view, the identification of the far Northern Indians cannot be determined with certainty. Are the far Northern Indians equivalent to the Yellowknife Indians? Gillespie interprets early archival references to Copper and Red Knife Indians as referring to the group known as Yellowknife in the nineteenth century (1970:61-62). She points out that Yellowknife were known as Chipewyan by Dogrib Indians, and that Chipewyan at Fort Resolution regarded the eastern Chipewyan as a "sub-group of the Chipewyan and not a distinct group" (ibid.:63). Further, historical evidence is consistent in maintaining that there was very little difference between Yellowknife and Chipewyan, or between the Copper and Northern Indians of the early period, as Gillespie also notes and illustrates (1975b:203). Nevertheless, while conceding that far Northern Indians may refer to Yellowknife Indians, it is also conceivable that some of those references may have described the ancestors to modern Dogrib, Slavey, or even Hare.

The distinctions made among Northern Indians are important in discussing territory. When first noting the many references to near and far Northern Indians, it seemed obvious that these distinctions represented a variance in the seasonal round also (Eckert 1985). Such a difference in the allocation of time over the course of a year could conceivably point to the presence of more than one group.

However, there were apparently close (genetic or assumed genetic) relationships between the members of seemingly different societies. An illustration of this situation is the matter of Matonabbee and his brother referred to in Chapter 6. These brothers certainly appeared to have a different seasonal round, and utilized different regions. But, in addition to being relatives they were acquaintances of the members of the groups involved. Thus, these representatives of the near and far Northern Indians were not strangers who happened to meet at the fort and who spoke some mutually intelligible language. Rather, they were acquaintances and/or relatives (perhaps fictive) who were living in different regions at the time. We do not know the factors which were involved in determining when a term suggesting a genetic relationship was used in Chipewyan society in the eighteenth century. One must conclude that trying to establish ethnicity by means of the use of such a term is extremely problematic.

That there was a distinction in the minds of the European writer, even though there was also a tendency to

"lump" Indian groups, is clear. The problem arises in extending the distinction made by one writer to another writer at another time. To illustrate, Gillespie notes that Hearne's comments on the political relationship between Copper and Dogrib Indians differ from her own assessment; Gillespie (1975b:205) describes the Yellowknife as dominating the Dog Rib until the 1820s, but Hearne had noted that the Dog Rib were dominant over the Yellowknife (Glover 1958:116). Perhaps Hearne was wrong. It is also possible that both the earlier (Hearne) and the later ethnohistorian (Gillespie) are correct - for different time periods; that is, at one time the Dog Rib did dominate the Yellowknife, but later the situation was reversed.

Ill treatment of individuals does not necessarily imply that people of different societies were involved. To illustrate, Hearne's journal cites a number of instances where strangers were abused and/or robbed by other Northern Indians (Glover 1958:42,176,184). The essential qualifier apparently was knowledge of or relationship to the individuals involved. Strangers could receive ill treatment. Real or ritual kin ties were important in trading relationships also. Therefore, Matonabbee's brother may well have been a brother of convenience, a trading partner. Not having such a relationship would mean that those without would not have the protection that such an association offered. Such partnerships are fairly common throughout the world, and not at all unusual among Alaskan groups (see

Burch and Correll 1972:24). Hearne's journal suggests that they were present among northern Athapaskans also.

B. Fur Trade Involvement

Hearne describes two categories of Northern Indians (Glover 1958:49-53). There were the annual traders who were hardworking but poor as they spent so much time travelling rather than hunting, and there were the others, indolent but affluent, who relied on the good life based on caribou hunting. He notes that the "deer pounds" for the hunt were at a great distance from Churchill (loc. cit.).

The middleman role so commonly portrayed for those Indians who came to the forts on the coast is also a general description of Northern Indians; e.g., B42/a/62,f.23d. Hearne has described their role in some detail (Glover 1958:114-117). His depiction of the Northern Indian traders as aggressive salesmen who exacted the highest price possible for their goods is corroborated by Moses Norton. Further, Norton was of the opinion that these traders would continue to hinder the expansion of trade with far Indians, as they wanted to maintain their economic advantage (B42/a/62,f.23-23d).

The early development of a close relationship between the Company and Northern Indians as Home Indians has been presented. As well, the emphasis on the meat trade ("buffalo" and caribou) has been described in detail. In addition, the suggestion has been made that those Indians

who travelled to Churchill only once every few years probably occupied a different region from those who came to Churchill a number of times in one year. The increase in the total number of Northern Indians who came to Churchill over time also suggests that a greater involvement in the fur trade was taking place.

These factors may also indicate that at least some of the Northern Indians changed their seasonal round and their primary area of occupation. This change cannot be documented precisely, but the hypothesis that a change in seasonal round took place as a result of the fur trade could theoretically be tested at least to some degree by extensive and intensive archaeological work in the northern Manitoba and southern Keewatin regions.

In addition, the matter of the date, duration and effects of European diseases is important. Recent research has suggested that considerable numbers of Athapaskans in the Mackenzie River area died from such diseases prior to 1829 (Krech 1983:129,131). This thesis has presented some gleanings from the archives which also show that serious diseases and epidemics were fairly common. What is not known from the research is the effect of those diseases on the population in the hinterland, but, certainly, one can argue that the peoples of the central subarctic were greatly affected well before any census or tabulation showing population statistics was undertaken.

C. Territory

Logical application of the data presented in the preceding chapters suggests that the Northern Indians regularly involved in the sloop trade on the coast differed from those who travelled into the central and northern barren grounds, to Great Slave Lake and even beyond. There is a continuous pulsation in the record of the arrival of Northern Indians at Churchill. The peaks may well indicate the arrival of those who came only occasionally, whereas the low points reflects the arrival of closer individuals. This suggestion does not preclude population exchange between groups. It is likely that marriage and kin relationships allowed for and even encouraged such movement. However, I suggest that it is unlikely that the same individuals were involved in both the coastal trade and the interior trade every year or even in alternate years.

The early exploration accounts suggest that a stimulus towards more intensive use of coastal resources may well have taken place. It seems clear that the historical literature allows for the use of Munk's abandoned resources by a number of aboriginal groups, but it does not establish a time-frame for that use. (Nor does it describe those resources, or the sequence of events after Munk abandoned them.) While Cree from York Factory may have been "first on the scene", their involvement in an explosion there (Douglas and Wallace 1926:18) [23] does not imply their continued or

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[23] See Chapter 2.

exclusive use of the new resources nor, indeed, does it shed much light on the quantity and kind of resources. The reference from Hearne suggests that there were European goods available. The Northern Indians, Cree, and Eskimo may have utilized the resources continuously - but usually at different times of the year - or sporadically, meeting only accidentally. The pattern of use is not clear. But, after Munk and his crew had wintered in Churchill harbor, the aboriginal groups in the area would have had more reason to travel there as well. Just such a reaction to European intrusion and discarding of goods has been documented for the Copper Inuit on Banks Island who utilized the resources abandoned by a British expedition from approximately 1853 when the ship was abandoned to 1890 (Hickey 1984:17,19).

There are other indications that the western coast of Hudson Bay was not foreign to Northern Indians in the early exploration record either. The birch canoe found along the coast by Luke Foxe in 1631 (discussed in Chapter 2) may suggest a Chipewyan presence. The many early references to Northern Indian knowledge of copper along the coast may not be a reference only to the Coronation Gulf region. Birket-Smith (1933:102) has pointed out that the native (Eskimo) name for Winchester Inlet means "place of copper" (McCartney 1977:13). While familiarity with such a northerly region may be discounted at first hand, the references to Northern Indians travelling north along the coast to help the Europeans search for copper may indicate such knowledge,

if not directly, then from their Eskimoan neighbors.

Some clarification of the regional occupancy indicated in the record for this early time period could perhaps be found by close examination of the maps available from this time. However, such research is another matter entirely. Nevertheless; it is worth noting here that the unpublished version of Hearne's map of his trip to the Coppermine River indicates very clearly that the "Congecathawachaga River" (apparently the Burnside River) is closer to the Arctic Ocean than the Coppermine River (HBCA G.2/10; see Warkentin and Ruggles 1970:93). Again, this knowledge is obviously derived from his informants who must have had considerable acquaintance with the area in question. The Arctic coast is apparently also an area of at least occasional use, as is the Hudson Bay coast. It is well known that caribou will on occasion frequent coastal regions. That part of the Kaminuriak caribou herd often winters on the tundra along the coast, is well-established (Spiess 1979:41,43). The exploitation of such a resource in winter must be allowed for in prehistoric and protohistoric times, even if such exploitation was engaged in only sporadically. It is reasonable to suggest that Northern Indians travelled to the caribou. The presence of caribou may have been the incentive in the past. As well, many species of birds nest in the areas mentioned. Thus, the natural resources available plus the probable availability of metal (along both coasts referred to) suggest that Northern Indians were not confined

to the interior in prehistoric times.

The matter of the extent of interior land use is more complex. One can easily accept that the transitional zone between the tundra and the boreal forest was primary, with seasonal ventures into the barrens for caribou hunting. The southern extent of land use is more difficult to hypothesize. As indicated in the previous chapters, the geographical location of many other "tribes" is also a problem. The early written record does not supply answers to the question, and later records may well reflect post-contact change. Further archaeological evidence will be necessary to demonstrate the geographical distribution of aboriginal people in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Based on the discussion above, it seems reasonable to accept that Northern Indians occupied southern Keewatin. Also, the utilization of the taiga/tundra ecotone area and the barrens as well seems to be a reasonable inference. This is in part verified by the large number of place names within the region that were collected by Tyrell when he travelled there in the 1890s (Tyrell 1911:passim). Indeed, if all the Chipewyan place names he mentions are only derived from the previous century, then the inference must be that Chipewyan Indians moved north and east in response to the fur trade. However, the obvious knowledge of the region demonstrated in Hearne's book, as well as the map he drew from information that must have been largely obtained

from his informants, indicates that a post-contact expansion was not the case. A more intensive use of the region as a result of the fur trade could be argued for, but not an expansion into a previously unused area.

Hearne described the Northern Indian territory as being bounded by the Churchill River to the south, Athapuscow Indians to the west, Dogrib and Copper Indians to the north, and Hudson Bay to the east (Glover 1958:210). He also noted earlier in his remarks that the Northern Indians did not regard moose or buffalo meat as "substantial food" (ibid.:167). Nor were they experienced in dressing the hides of these animals (ibid.:168). Those points substantiate his contention that the boreal forest habitat region for moose and bison was Athapuscow Indian country. However, both his map and his journal indicate very strongly that the Northern Indians were familiar with this area in spite of their expressed preferences for caribou. Hearne's presentation is consistent, however. In discussing the Northern Indians as middlemen, he noted that formerly

> the deerskins, and such furrs as they could extort from the Copper and Dog-ribbed Indians, composed the whole of their trade (ibid.:115).

Further, once peace was established with the Southern Indians the trade in furs increased dramatically. Hearne would probably have contended that the Northern Indians had only recently gained access to the boreal forest region with its fur-bearing animals.

D. Suggestions for Future Research

Numerous suggestions for future research can be made, from the very general to the very specific. The following discussion is based on my perception of problems and trends in the various disciplines affected by fur trade studies in the central subarctic.

The methodology used in this thesis stressed that the particularistic approach is important in fur trade research. The emphasis on the quantity of goods, not on their Made Beaver value, is of significance because of the greater emphasis on the Indian component in the trade (both as seller and as buyer). However, both the particularistic and the nomothetic approaches are important in anthropological studies (Hickey 1984:13). It is recognized here that a higher level of analysis and a greater emphasis on generalizations on the basis of these data are desirable but, unfortunately, such work is beyond the scope of this study.

The data as presented in this thesis need corroboration if they are to be applied to Athapaskans in general and if they are to be used in interpreting the archaeological record. These data give considerable information about the trade but there is no verification that such information primarily reflects Northern Indian participation in the trade. Perhaps the record at Churchill is an aberration in the fur trade. The factors of Churchill's northerly location on the far edge of the boreal forest region, its relative

inaccessability by water transport (as compared to the "easy" canoe route to York Factory), and its place at the periphery of the Hudson's Bay Company fort system around Hudson Bay, may have had a greater influence on the trade than the numbers of Northern Indians who traded there.

Establishing the characteristics of Northern Indian trade (as compared to Cree) could be substantially increased by a similar analysis of the trade at York Factory in order to establish a Cree pattern of trade. For comparison with the Churchill record, it would be even more desirable to also analyze the record for Albany or Moose Factory, which were smaller posts and not distribution centers, as was York Factory. The isolation of the goods given/paid to Cree could then be followed by comparison to the data from Churchill in order to verify what Indians other than Northern Indians were given/paid. In addition, the trade itself could be compared, again, to ascertain if the trade at Churchill was different from or similar to that of other forts where Northern Indians did not trade. Only then can the data from Churchill be presented as a pattern of Northern Indian trade. To determine such a pattern would require correlating the number of Northern Indians, their season of arrival, their duration of stay at the fort, and the size (and sex) of the groups involved with the changes over time in the trade of the goods brought by both parties, namely, the European trade goods and the Indian exchange goods. Thus, the correlation between the Northern Indian population

trading at Churchill and the trade itself at Churchill needs to be determined, and then compared to a similar analysis of the trade and the Indian population participating in that trade at another fort.

Such research is a tremendous undertaking and far beyond the bounds of this thesis. Gathering the data must be followed by analysis. That too should be more intensive. The use of correlation coefficents and regression equations is desirable and could well be undertaken if the problems of analysis were rigorously assessed prior to the recording and coding of the data so that computer manipulation could be facilitated. Of course, such analysis is only humanly possible with a computer but diligent preparation of the higly-variable data could allow for highly sophisticated analysis. The research as presented in this thesis is a necessary first-step toward understanding the problems inherent in such research and analysis.

Of course, even without such comparative research much more could be done. In particular, the zoological, botanical, and metereological studies regarding the central subarctic are crucially influential in the interpretation of the historical/archival record. It is vital that social scientists tap these resources. The fur trade at Churchill could be assessed from the point of view of the variation in the availability of the various fur-bearing species. If one is to assess the involvement of aboriginal peoples in the fur trade, it is important to also assess the quantity of

animals that were available for use in that trade. In other words, did the Indians not bring the pelts because they did not want to trap or because there were few animals to trap?

In addition, a more specific investigation of early maps, including those in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, could be of immense value in interpreting the fur trade data. These maps were often the result of information derived from native informants and as such they reflect the awareness of those informants regarding the region and give some understanding of the territories known. The problems of interpretation are huge, but an anthropological assessment of these maps could help to clarify the written descriptions that are used by ethnohistorians.

The journals from this time period could be used much more intensively in regard to the role of women in Chipewyan society, the growth and development of the numbers of Home Indians who were attached to the fort, and the prevalence and effect of disease upon the native population. The social life of the people at the fort and their relationship to those who came to trade are of value in describing the change in that trade. Again, not enough research has been undertaken on these topics to date and thus cannot be used here. However, the information available in the journals could be organized by date and changes over time could be described.

E. Conclusion

What then is the conclusion of this study regarding the territory occupied by the Chipewyan at the time of contact? Given all the qualifications that have been mentioned, the conclusion must be that the Northern Indians, including all the ethnographically listed groups that could be included in that designation, probably utilized at least the area from the coast of Hudson Bay from southern Keewatin at approximately 62° north latitude to near the Arctic coast north of Contwoyto Lake and to the Coppermine River, south towards Great Slave Lake and Lake Athabasca, and east across northern Saskatchewan and Manitoba to the coast of Hudson Bay. Such a conclusion disputes Yerbury's assertion regarding occupation of the Keewatin area prior to 1720 (1976); and accepts that of Smith and Burch (1979), albeit with some qualification regarding the northern extent of land use in Keewatin. Gillespie (1975a, 1976) and Smith (1976a, 1981a) have presented a reasonable discussion regarding occupation of the tundra/taiga ecotone region, but their insistence on Chipewyan expansion south and west into Cree territory is not accepted here. Thus, the position of this paper represents a combination of the views presented in Chapter 1.

That position, while attempting to answer the problem as presented in Chapter 1, does not deal with the key issue, however. That issue centers around the identification of the Northern Indians and the various related groups mentioned in

the literature. This matter has been dwelt on at length. It is my conclusion that these people were organized on the basis of regional groups - small, localized groups associated with a particular place (see Burch and Correll 1972).

It was the habit of the Europeans to organize these groups into tribes. They may have on occasion succeeded in grouping people who would have classified themselves in a similar manner, but there is no way of confirming the tribal identification made in this way. It seems therefore more reasonable to suggest that the regional groups noticed by ethnographers (see Smith 1981b) were a continuation of prehistoric and protohistoric groups, or perhaps represent a change in groups as territory and population size changed over time.

The argument concerning the territory of the Northern Indians is essentially a consequence of assuming that all references to Northern Indians refer to one group - the Chipewyan. If, however, one assumes that the references to Northern Indians do not necessarily refer only to Chipewyan, and that references to other groups may not necessarily refer to only Yellowknife or Dogrib, the problem is minimized. Tribal designations simply cannot be made for this period of time.

Thus, the error is in the ascription of nineteenth and twentieth century ethnicity to seventeenth and eighteenth century aboriginal groups. That northern peoples - Dene and

Inuit - switched their identity from one tribal designation to another is well-known. Surely it must be accepted that such fluidity of membership could also have been part of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries milieu. If we then assume that Northern Indian refers first of all to Athapaskan speakers of the central Canadian subarctic, we will not be caught in the erroneous interpretation of assigning a territory to a tribe that did not in fact exist. The question of which region was occupied by Chipewyan as opposed to Dogrib or Yellowknife in the seventeenth century then becomes inappropriate.

Numerous references have been made to differences of interpretation of the same archival data base. Some mention has been made to information which disputes points found in the literature; for example the first incidence of smallpox at York Factory, the extent of Richard Norton's travels into the interior, the early use of "halfbreed." As well, I have disputed some opinions generally found in the literature. Notable among these is the tendency to accept the advent of the Hudson's Bay Company as the harbinger of peace among the warring tribes. (For an example see Smith 1976c:22.) Such statements made by the Company need examination prior to their acceptance. The same must be said in regard to the gift-giving noted in the expense accounts. This study has demonstrated that much of that account was in fact expended for company use. While isolating that proportion may be difficult, it is not desirable to use the figures given as

if they represented gifts to Indians. (For an apparent contrary opinion see the use of the expense account totals in Ray and Freeman 1978:198-217.)

It is the opinion of the writer that anthropologists often use historical materials as ethnology; that is, as generalizations about people of the past. Rather, they should be regarded in an archaeological manner - as sources of data, clues, bits of information which must be interpreted anthropologically. Verification of the historical record by archaeological methods and data is essential. As change is entirely probable for the people of the central subarctic well before the European writers began their documentation, other evidence is important. Archaeological data is important for verification and expansion of the "fragmentary historic data" (Morantz 1984:74). Archaeology also needs to refrain from generalizing on the basis of little research (Trigger 1985:52).

This thesis has presented ample evidence of the need for wariness in making generalizations based on a few examples. Some logical inferences have been made on the basis of a particular data base. There is a continuing need for more multi-disciplinary research into the former lifeways of the people of the central subarctic.

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Appendix A: Chief Factors

FACTORS AT CHURCHILL AND YORK FACTORY

YEAR	YORK FACTORY	CHURCHILL FACTORY
1714-15	James Knight	
1715-16	" "	
1716-17	" "	
1717-18	Henry Kelsey	James Knight
1718-19	" "	Richard Staunton
1719-20	" "	" "
1720-21	" "	" "
1721-22	" "	" "
1722-23	Thomas Macklish	Nathaniel Bishop
1723-24	" "	Richard Norton
1724-25	" "	" "
1725-26	" "	" "
1726-27	Anthony Beale	" "
1727-28	Thomas Macklish	Anthony Beale
1728-29	" "	" "
1729-30	" "	" "
1730-31	" "	" "/Thomas Bird
1731-32	" "	Richard Norton
1732-33	" "	" "
1733-34	" "	" "
1734-35	Thomas White	" "
1735-36	" "	James Napper
1736-37	" "	Richard Norton
1737-38	James Isham	" "
1738-39	" "	" "
1739-40	" "	" "
1740-41		" "
1741-42		James Isham
1742-43		" "
1743-44		" "
1744-45		" "
1745-46		Robert Pilgrim
1746-47		" "
1747-48		" "
1748-49		Joseph Isbister
1749-50		" "
1750-51		" "
1751-52		" "
1752-53		Ferdinand Jacobs
1753-54		" "
1754-55		" "
1755-56		" "
1756-57		" "
1758-59		" "
1759-60		Moses Norton

1760-61	Ferdinand Jacobs
1761-62	" "
1762-63	Moses Norton
1763-64	" "
1764-65	" "
1765-66	" "
1766-67	" "
1767-68	" "
1768-69	John Fowler
1769-70	Moses Norton
1770-71	" "
1771-72	" "
1772-73	" "
1773-74	" "/Andrew Graham

Appendix B: Total Trade

TRADE IN MADE BEAVER

YEAR	FURS RECEIVED	GOODS TRADED	OVERPLUS
York			
1688-89	17946	15069	2877
1689-90	29332	24799	4533
1690-91	24862	19674	5187
1691-92	35027	27699	7328
1693-94	44245	28846	15399
1714-15	21078	16603	4580
1715-16	17199	11949	5311
1716-17	32095	23415	8682
Churchill			
1717-18	686	541	145
1718-19	1111	990	121
1719-20	9874	6498	3376
1720-21	9909	7083	2826
1721-22	2625	2433	192
1722-23	6493	5797	696
1723-24	5769	5138	631
1724-25	4689	4121	568
1725-26	5640	5006	635
1726-27	6169	5508	601
1727-28	7863	5846	2017
1728-29	11716	7581	4135
1729-30	9256	6125	3152
1730-31	7455	4797	2658
1731-32	14198	9428	4770
1732-33	12673	8450	4223
1733-34	9559	6378	3191
1734-35	10551	7002	3549
1735-36	8073	5283	2790
1736-37	16759	11174	5586
1737-38	10967	7303	3664
1738-39	23697	15798	7898
1739-40	9990	6609	3381
1740-41	13383	8859	4524
1741-42	16824	11407	5417
1742-43	18541	12344	6197
1743-44	16365	11665	4700
1744-45	10480	7445	3035
1745-46	7853	5239	2633
1746-47	18141	12000	6141
1747-48	13707	8981	4726
1748-49	11336	7500	3836
1749-50	13622	9069	4554
1750-51	12508	8325	4187

1751-52	8609	6403	3206
1752-53	13338	8847	4491
1753-54	9035	6000	3035
1754-55	13515	8775	4740
1755-56	10203	6867	3346
1756-57	8438	5618	2819
1757-58	8844	5956	2888
1758-59	11527	7629	3888
1759-60	10310	6863	3447
1760-61	10661	7042	3619
1761-62	13547	8976	4570
1762-63	14222	9481	4741
1763-64	8455	5772	2684
1764-65	13691	9142	4549
1765-66	14505	10509	3955
1766-67	12646	10257	2289
1767-68	12375	11764	612
1768-69	6171	5086	1086
1769-70	16606	15540	1065
1770-71	16418	16078	340
1771-72	20043	18790	1254
1772-73	14000	14000	0
1773-74	15846	15846	0

Source: HBCA B42/d/1-54; B239/d/1-30.

Appendix C: Trade Goods 1688-97

TRADE GOODS AVAILABLE AT YORK FACTORY 1688-97

ALCOHOL	brandy	English/French	
	molasses		
	spirits		
	waters	red/white	
arrowheads			
awles			
BAUBLES	bracelets,brass		
	wier handcuffs		
	buttons	pewter	coat/waistcoat
		bellmettle	coat/waistcoat
		haire	
		tin	
	hawksbells		
	jewels	horne inlaid with ivory	
		horne inlaid with mother of pearl	
		ivory	neck/nose
			breast/arm
	rings	guilt	
		with stones	
		brass	
beads			
blankets	red striped		
	Kersey woven		
	English/French		
BOXES	painted		
	tobacco	tin/steele	
buckles	brass		
burning glasses			
carpets			
chisels,ice			
CLOTHING	breeches	broadcloth	
		Kersey drawers	
		Fustian drawers	
	coates	men's	laced/plaine
		youth's	plaine
		children's	laced/plaine
		cape	
		broadcloth	
		waistcoates	Kersey/Fustian
	gloves	knit	
		wadmill	
		mittens	
	hats	men's/women's	laced/plaine
		knit capps	red
			black
	present suits	with swords/belts	

	sashes	silk	
		herba longes	
	shirts	Allejar	
		Ossenbrig	white/blue
		calico	painted/blue
		flannel shift	
	shoes	flatt	
		French fall	
		men's English	
		Irish brogues	
	sleeves	women's laced	
	stockings	knit	red/grey
		Irish	
combs	ivory		
	boxhorne		
daggers			
FABRIC	duffels	white	
	bayes		
	herba longes		
	chints		
	shalloons		
	serges	blew	
	broadcloth	various colors	
	flannel		
	Perpetuanas		
	Boysadoes	figured	
	Annobees		
	Scotch pladding		
	Kersey	narrow/broad/white	
fire steels			
flints			
guns	English	long/middle/short	
	Dutch		
	pistols		
gun worms			
handkerchiefs	Romall		
hatchets	English/French		
	small/middle/large		
kettles	brass	large/small	Guinea pans
	copper		
	tin		
launces,fish			
knives	long	small/large	
	snowshoe		
	roach	small/large	
	Jack		horne/wood/box
lead	red/black		
looking glasses			
	leather		
	tin showes		
needles			
net lines			
pipes	ivory	long/middle/short	
	wamcompaig:round/bird/fish:long/middle/short		

powder		
powder horns	1arge/small	
scissors		
scrapers		
shott	beaver	
	bristow	
	colliver	
	duck	
	swan	
	muskrat	
spectacles	traveling	
spoons	akymy	
	pewter	
	horne	
sword blades		
thread	silke	
tobacco	Brazil	
	leafe	
	roale	
tobacco tongs		
toys	catts calls	
	turkey reeds	
	whistles	
TRIM	filletting	
	lace	copper/lyvory
trunk	leather	
twine		
vermilion		

Source: HBCA B239/d/1-6.
Note: Capitals indicate an assigned group label not found in HBCA.

Appendix D: Trade Goods 1718-40

TRADE GOODS AVAILABLE AT CHURCHILL 1718-40

ALCOHOL	brandy		
	strong waters	red/white	
awl blades			
BAUBLES	hawks bells	small/large	
	buttons	pewter	
		brass	coat/waistcoat
	rings	bath	
		seal	
		stone	
	thimbles	brass	
bayonets			
beads	white	long/medium/short	
	gooseberry	large/small	
	blue	long/medium/short	
	red		
blankets	striped		
BOXES	tobacco	iron	flat/oval
		japanned	oval/square
		lined head	
		8 square	
	egg		
burning glasses			
chisels,ice	broad/narrow		
CLOTHING	gloves	yarn	
	hats,laced		
	stockings	yarn/milled	
	shirts	white/blew/coarse	
	shoes		
	sashes		
comb	ivory		
FABRIC	cloth	white/red/blue	
	duffels	red/blue	
	bays	red/blue	
	flannel		
	cottons		
feathers	red		
file	large,flat		
fire steels			
fish hooks			
flints	English		
	French		
guns	long(4')		
	medium(3.5')		
	short (3')		
gunworms			
handkerchiefs			
hatchets	midling/small		

kettles	brass	.5 pint-6.5 gallons
knives	mocotaugons	
	long	large/small
	roach	large/small
	jack	
looking glasses		book/8 square
needles	brown thread	
	glover	
	quilting	
net lines		
powder		
powder horns	0.50,0.75,1.00 pounds	
rundlets	2,3 quart	
	1,2 gallon	
scrapers	double/single	
shot	duck	
	Bristow	
	partridge	
	goose mould	
	East India	high/low
spoons	alchemy	
scissors		
sword blades		
thread		
tobacco	Brazil/leafe/roll	
tobacco tongs		
TRIM	gartering	
	worsted lace	
trunks	red leather	
twine	coarse/fine	
vermilion		

Source: HBCA B42/d/1-20.
Note: Capitals indicate an assigned group label not found in HBCA.

Appendix E: Trade Goods 1741-74

TRADE GOODS AVAILABLE AT CHURCHILL 1741-74

ALCOHOL	brandy		
	waters	red/white	
awl blades			
BAUBLES	hawks bells	small/medium/large	
	buttons	coat/waistcoat	
	medals	small/large	
	rings	plain/seal/stone	
bayonets			
beads	round	5 colors...small/medium/large	
	long	4 colors...small/medium/large	
	barley corn	6 colors	
	white flowered	red and green	
	small	round dove,sky blue	
	thimbles	brass	
	crosses		
	earrings		
	medals		
blankets			
BOXES	tobacco	iron	flat/oval
		japanned....oval/square/round	
		lined head	
	egg		
	barrell		
burning glasses			
chisels	broad	large/small	
	narrow		
CLOTHING	hats	laced	
	stockings	yarn.....red/blue/colored	
	worsted	colored	
	sashes	worsted	
	shirts	white/speckled/checked	
	shoes	pumps	
		flat	
		turned-up sole	
combs	ivory	large	
FABRIC	bays		red/blue
	cloth	white/red/blue	
		corded	red/blue
		fine	red/blue
	cotton		white
	duffell		red/blue
	flannell		
	embossed serge		
feathers		red/colored	
files	large,flat		
fire steels			

fish hooks			
flints	English/French		
guns	long(4')		
	medium(3.5')		
	short(3')		
	pistols		
gunworms			
handkerchiefs			
hatchets	midling/small		
	trapping		
	square-eyed		
kettles	0.5 pint-6.5 gallons		
knives	long	large/small	
	roach	large/small	
	jack		
	box handle		
	slope point	large/small	
	maple handle		
	butcher	large/small	
	raizors		
looking glass	gilt paper		
	book		
	8 square		
needles	brown thread		
	glover		
	quilting		
net lines			
powder			
powder horns	0.5,0.75,1.0 pounds		
rundlets	2,3 quart		
	1,2 gallon		
scrapers	double/single		
shot	duck		
	Bristow		
	partridge		
	goose mold		
	East India	low	
spoons	alchemy		
	pewter		
scissors			
sword blades			
thread			
tobacco	Brazil		
	leafe		
	roll		
tobacco tongs			
TRIM	gartering		
	worsted lace		
	worsted binding		
	orris	broad/narrow	white/yellow
trunks	red leather		small/large
twine	coarse/fine		
vermilion			

Source: HBCA B42/d/21-54.
Note: Capitals indicate an assigned group label not found in HBCA.