Indian-European Trade Relations in the Lower Saskatchewan River Region to 1840.

Manitoba Studies in Native History II

by Paul C. Thistle

1986. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press[1]

Related Work by Paul C. Thistle Available On-Line:

- 2007. "The Twatt Family, 1780-1840: Amerindian, Ethnic Category, or Ethnic Group Identity?" in *The Western Metis: Profile of a People*. Patrick C. Douad ed. Regina: University of Regina & Canadian Plains Research Center [in PDF pp. 80-96; reprint of 1997 Prairie Forum 22 (2): 193-212 article]
- 1993. "Dependence and Control: Indian-European Trade Relations in the Post-Kelsey Era" in *Three Hundred Prairie Years: Henry Kelsey's Inland Country of Good Report*. Henry Epp ed. Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center and Saskatchewan Archaeological Society.
- 1994. "Images of Native People Associated with the Kelsey Event." *Native Studies Review* 9 no. 1, 33-50 Native images & Kelsey (Thistle 1994).

Reviews of *Indian-European Trade Relations* (Thistle 1986):

- Jaqueline Peterson, *Minnesota History*, Fall 1987: 288-9; cited as "an exemplary piece of ethnohistorical scholarship" https://www.google.com/url?q=http://collections.mnhs.org/MNHistoryMagazine/articles/50/v50i07p287-296.pdf&sa=U&ei=9x3EVMKfJIf8yQTPoYGgBA&ved=0CAUQFjAA&client=internal-uds-cse&usg=AFQjCNFoaF1sg8LJ9LOGZPUyvlBseXdfAQ
- Gratien Allaire, *Réview d'Histoire de l'Amérique Francaise*, 1988, 42 (1):119-21 [in French] http://www.erudite.orghttp://www.erudit.org/revue/haf/1988/v42/n1/304667ar.pdf
- Shepard Krech III, *Native Studies Review*, 1987 3 (2) 152-5
- Jennifer S.H. Brown, *Dawson & Hind Quarterly*, Winter 1987/1988, 25-6
- David Reed, *Plains Anthropologist*, 1988, 33 (119): 130-132
- Daniel Chevirer, *Recherches Amérindiennes au Québec*, 1988, XVII (3): 97-8 [in French]
- John E. Foster, *Canadian Historical Review*, March 1988: 99-100
- Raymond J. DeMalle, *Social/Cultural Anthropology*, April 1988: 187
- A. Blair Stonechild, *American Indian Quarterly*, 1988, 12 (3): 272-3
- Cornelius J. Jaenen, *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 1988, 23 (1 & 2): 243-7
- Frank Tough, Musk Ox, 1988, 36: 66-79 [most critical review along with 3 other northern fur trade books]
- Frits Pannekoek, *Prairie Forum*, 1989-1990, 14 (1) -15 (2)
- Charles Bishop, *Ethnohistory*, 1990, 37 (2): 203-6
- Michael Payne, *Musk Ox*, 1991, 38: 80-1

---

[1] This book was awarded the 1988 Regional History Prize by the Canadian Historical Association, cited as "a careful analysis. . .an exemplary ethnohistorical study which reflects a deep understanding of both the peoples and geography of the region. . .a persuasively argued study that should serve as a model for others" and the 1987 Margaret McWilliams Medal for Scholarly Book by the Manitoba Historical Society, stating it "demonstrated a mastery of the literature."

The Masters thesis from which this book was developed received the 1983 Interdisciplinary Approach to History Award from the University of Manitoba.

Indian-European Trade Relations

in the Lower Saskatchewan River Region to 1840

Paul C. Thistle

This study examines the development of trade relations between Hudson's Bay Company traders and the Cree of the lower Saskatchewan River region of Cumberland House and The Pas. It begins with the initial contact between Indian and European in the mid-seventeenth century, and it ends in 1840 with the arrival of the first native lay preacher to The Pas, which brought to a close the period of exclusive fur-trade contact.

Drawing on records from the Hudson's Bay Company Archives and on available ethnographic studies of the Western Woods Cree, Paul C. Thistle refutes the idea of rapid European domination of the fur trade. Throughout the nearly 200 years covered by the study, the Cree continued to impose their own strategic, logistic, social, political and economic conditions on the relationship. Far from being completely dependent on the fur trade, the Cree consistently showed that they were able to withdraw from the trade to follow their own priorities. In adapting to changes in their environment, the Cree can be seen to have followed a traditional strategy based on the principle of ''least effort'' and a philosophy referred to as the ''Zen road to affluence.''

Paul C. Thistle brings a fresh perspective to the study of trade relations in a region of significant historical importance.

Jacket illustration: Interior of the Warrior's tent in the Pasquia Hills, sketched on 31 March 1820 by Lieutenant Robert Hood of the Franklin expedition. Colour plate appears in *Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea in the Years 1819, 20, 21, 22* by Sir John Franklin (1823). Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections, University of Manitoba.

Paul C. Thistle is curator of the Sam Waller Little Northern Museum in The Pas, Manitoba.

Manitoba Studies in Native History

I The New Peoples:
Being and Becoming Métis in North America
Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer S.H. Brown, editors
A path-breaking collection of essays by twelve leading scholars, this volume explores the intermingling of European and native American peoples, creating new peoples, new ethnicities, and new nationalities.
"...a benchmark of scholarship on the subject and a much-needed source of information and definition." *Minnesota History*

II Indian-European Trade Relations in the Lower Saskatchewan River Region to 1840
Paul C. Thistle

The University of Manitoba Press ISBN 0-88755-105-X

MANITOBA STUDIES IN NATIVE HISTORY

Manitoba Studies in Native History publishes new scholarly interpretations of the historical experience of native peoples in the western interior of North America. The series is under the editorial direction of a board representative of the scholarly and native communites of Manitoba.

I *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Métis in North America,* edited by Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer S.H. Brown.

II *Indian-European Trade Relations in the Lower Saskatchewan River Region to 1840,* by Paul C. Thistle.

MANITOBA STUDIES IN NATIVE HISTORY II

Indian-European Trade Relations in the Lower Saskatchewan River Region to 1840

PAUL C. THISTLE

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA PRESS

Winnipeg, Manitoba, R3T 2N2
Printed in Canada

Illustration on jacket and frontispiece: Interior of the Warrior's tent in the Pasquia Hills, sketched on 31 March 1820 by Lieutenant Robert Hood of the Franklin expedition. Colour plate appears in *Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea in the Years 1819, 20, 21, 22* by Sir John Franklin (1823). Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Special Collections, University of Manitoba.

Canadian Cataloguing in Publication Data.
Thistle, Paul Clifford,
Indian-European trade relations in the
Lower Saskatchewan River region to 1840

(Manitoba studies in native history,
ISSN 0826-9416 ; 2)
Bibliography: p.
Includes index.
ISBN 0-88755-105-X

1. Fur trade - Manitoba - The Pas Region - History. 2. Indians of North America - Manitoba - The Pas Region - Commerce - History. 3. Cree Indians - Commerce - History. 4. Hudson's Bay Company - History
I. Title. II Series.
HD9944.C23M35 1986 380.1'439 C86-091312-0

This series is published with the financial support of the people of Manitoba, the Honourable Judy Wasylycia-Leis, Minister of Culture, Heritage and Recreation. The publication of this volume was also assisted by a grant from the Canada Council.

In memory of my dad, W. Calvin Thistle, 1924–1986.

Contents

Preface

Several factors inspired this study. First was the realization that very little had been written about the early history of the area between Cumberland House and The Pas – a region of significant historical depth and importance. For example, teachers in The Pas attempting to develop a native studies curriculum found little information available on the Cree people of the region. This lack is also noted by Heye Museum ethnologist James G.E. Smith and confirmed by the comparatively small number of references in June Helm's major new handbook on the Indians of the subarctic.[1] On the other hand, there exists a good deal of primary source material on this region in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives. Quite simply, more ethnohistorical work needed to be done.

The second factor is related to the recent trend to re-examine the nature of Indian relations with non-Indians. Much of the past historical work on this subject has been criticized for the poor quality of its scholarship and its inattention to Indian initiatives and perspectives.[2] Although there have been a number of excellent studies on the fur trade and attendant Indian-European relations published in the past decade, the subject has not been exhausted. In concert with the trend to re-evaluate previous interpretations of these relationships, this study is an attempt to inject an awareness of Indian culture and of cultural processes into the analysis. This approach raises questions which require that the common assumptions of Indian *dependence* and *rapid culture change* be challenged. Another source of dissatisfaction with the previous literature dealing with Indian-European relations is the lack of serious consideration given to the processes involved

in initial contact situations.[3] Too often, the focus has been on later contact relations, the characteristics of which have been uncritically attributed to the initial contact setting. In fact, as social scientists have discovered, initial cross-cultural contact is not necessarily governed by the same processes which operate in later times.[4] In short, there is a need for early fur-trade relations to be examined in light of the anthropological findings concerning cross-cultural relations. As Sylvia Van Kirk has recommended in her outline of the recent trends in fur-trade history, scholars must undertake more intensive investigation of Indian-trader social relations as such, beyond histories written in the economic tradition of the past.[5] This study attempts to provide the new approaches and perspectives required for this re-examination.

The third factor motivating this study was a conviction that at least some of the current misunderstandings and conflicts betwen Indians and non-Indians in the Cumberland House–The Pas region can be attributed to a lack of knowledge about the origins and development of relations between the two groups. Although awareness of this history may be lacking at the community level, contemporary interethnic relations do not occur in an historical vacuum. A basic premise of this study, therefore, is that we cannot understand these continuing relations without first comprehending the patterns of initial contact and adjustment – without first establishing an historical and a cultural context for the current relationship.

In sum, this study is an attempt to provide a window on the available resources on the history of the Cree in the area and to promote an analytical approach based on modern historical methods and social theory in order to better interpret the early stages of the cross-cultural relationship.

The study focuses on fur-trade relations between the Western Woods Cree[6] Indians and Hudson's Bay Company traders along the lower Saskatchewan River in the Cumberland House–The Pas region from first contact until 1840. In that year the Church Missionary Society established native lay preacher Henry Budd at The Pas – thus introducing important new acculturative forces and effectively ending the exclusive fur-trade contact period. Moreover, subsequent mission work and later government relations have already received attention from historians.[7] The data for this study have been extracted from Hudson's Bay Company documents including a nearly complete set of journals from the Cumberland House post beginning in 1774 through 1840, as well as York Factory journals

and various published diaries and correspondence. The approach to these materials is not limited to that of traditional history, but rather can be best described as "ethnohistory." Both historians and social scientists have been calling for a combination of perspectives, methods and theories in an interdisciplinary approach for many years. Indeed, anthropologists have always used documents and historians have always employed sociological assumptions, however naively on both sides. What is required for a successful blending of the two approaches, beyond attention to the scholarly techniques of historiographical criticism, is analysis using a comparative anthropological view including theory on intergroup relations and culture change as well as data from descriptive ethnography. In this study, therefore, it is taken as axiomatic that traditional historical and modern social scientific approaches must be combined in order to produce a more complete picture of the past than is possible using either one in isolation.[8]

I wish to acknowledge the valuable assistance offered to me during the preparation of this publication. I hope that the end product reflects in some small way the high quality of these influences. Of course, I alone am responsible for any and all of its shortcomings. First thank yous are due to the members of the committee overseeing the preparation of an earlier version of this study,[9] Professors Jean Friesen and D. Bruce Sealey, and my thesis advisor, Professor David Stymeist. Thanks also go to Katherine Pettipas for her previous work on the history and ethnology of the region and for her initial encouragement to follow the interdisciplinary route; to my good friend Alan Dinson for his consistently sympathetic ear and for the time taken out of a busy schedule to make editorial comments; and to Janet Polsom, who deserves credit for interpreting the convolutions and typing earlier drafts of the manuscript. I am indebted to Carol Dahlstrom, editor at the University of Manitoba Press, for her meticulous editorial work which challenged me to clarify my writing into a more consistent and readable form. In particular, I must express my deep gratitude to Professor Gerald Friesen, whose enthusiasm for my work and invaluable editorial comments are in large measure responsible for the appearance of this study in its published form. As many historians have done in the past, I gratefully acknowledge the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, for the opportunity to consult and to quote their truly remarkable collection of documents. In addition, I wish to thank the University of Manitoba for providing a graduate fellowship which

enabled me to finance the initial research project resulting in this publication. Finally, I must acknowledge the source of the original idea for this study, which came about as a result of a conversation with two friends in The Pas, Edwin Jebb and Gerri Stowman. To one and all I express my deepest appreciation.

The effort represented by this study is dedicated to my students in The Pas from both sides of the River in the hope that one day the River will no longer be perceived as a significant social boundary.

Paul C. Thistle
The Pas
March 1986

Early contact: 1611–1773

1

It is doubtful that any Cree actually witnessed the reefing of Henry Hudson's sails or heard the keel of his English jolly boat grate on the James Bay beach in the fall of 1610. Nevertheless, the suggestion by several scholars that the Hudson Bay Lowland was not occupied by the Cree prior to the arrival of the Hudson's Bay Company [HBC], is contradicted by the following obscure account. A Cree hunter did happen upon Hudson's landfall in the spring of 1611.[1] Expedition survivor Abacuck Pricket reported that the Cree hunter who arrived at Hudson's camp found himself the centre of much attention. Upon being given a knife, a looking-glass and a handful of buttons, the hunter left, making signs that he would soon return. Showing himself to be no stranger to the process of trade, he brought back two deer and two beaver skins. Pricket reported the following transaction: "He had a scrip under his arme,* out of which hee drew those things which the Master had given him. Hee tooke the Knife and laid it upon one of the Beaver skinnes and his Glasses and Buttons upon the other, and so gave them to the Master, who received them, and the Savage took those things which the Master had given him, and put them up into his scrip againe." The bargaining then began in earnest: "Then the Master shewed him an Hatchet, for which hee would have given the Master one of his Deere skinnes, but our Master would have

* Following the approach of the eminent ethnohistorian Harold Hickerson, all of the archaic forms of language, punctuation, capitalization, spelling and grammar have been retained in passages quoted directly from the original. The only exception is the modernization of the script letter "S." The constant use of "sic" would be unnecessarily distracting and adds nothing to an understanding of the passage once it is accepted that the original form is being adhered to.

them both, and so hee had, although not willingly."[2] Over one hundred and thirty years later, Andrew Graham, then HBC factor at Severn River, found that the Oupeeshepaw Nation of Cree were still relating the story of this first encounter with Europeans on Hudson Bay. Contrary to the assumptions of some early scholars that, once set adrift, Hudson was probably "massacred" by the Cree (as he might have been by the Eskimo encountered by the mutineers),[3] it was more likely nature, and not the James Bay natives, which ended Hudson's life. This interpretation is strengthened by Pierre Esprit Radisson and HBC Governor Charles Bayly's discovery in 1670 of what they assumed to be Hudson's last camp on the Mosse-cebee (or Moose) River without any signs of violence.[4]

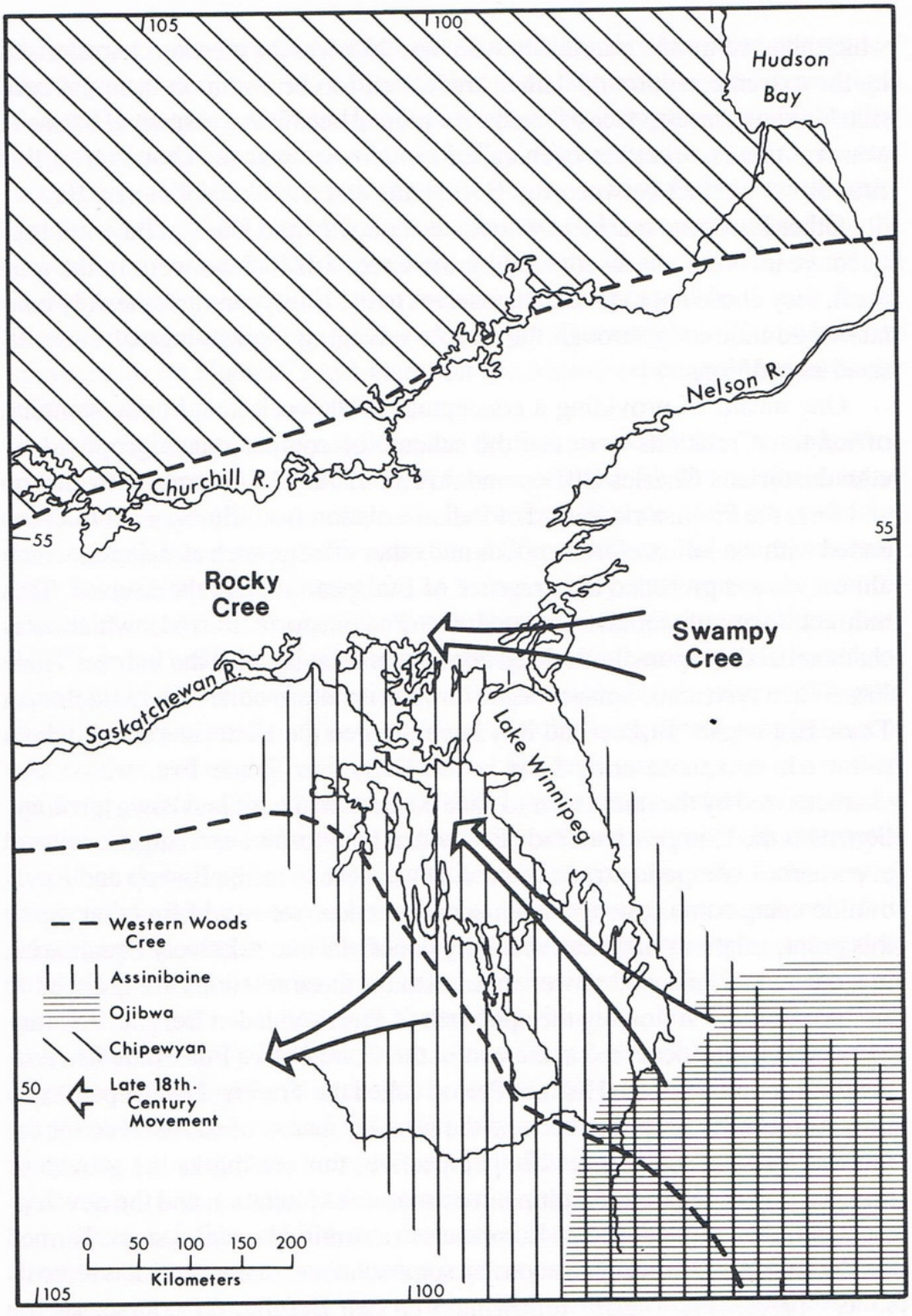
Although many sources indicate that the first mention of the Cree in historic documents occurred in the *Jesuit Relations* of 1640–41, the brief encounter with Hudson in 1611 was more likely the first episode of direct contact of natives with Europeans on the margins of Cree territory. The event is instructive because it revealed the Cree as being already well versed in the processes of interethnic trade. Contrary to the opinions of some scholars, there was in fact a wide-ranging system of aboriginal trade as a model of conduct. Nor were the Cree easily deprived of their valuable furs in return for worthless "beads and trinkets" as the current popular interpretation of Indians as defenseless and exploited would have it.[5] For instance, the price of a musket never approached the value of a mythical pile of beaver skins as tall as the gun itself, but was rather closer to ten "made beaver" [MB].[6] The interpretation that aboriginal trade was limited, and that consequently Indians were innocent neophytes soon to be exploited by European traders not only fails to take into account the solid achaeological evidence demonstrating widespread trade in pre-contact times, but it also demeans the intelligence of the Cree and ignores their real power in the trading situation. The Cree hunter who encountered Henry Hudson had realized immediately that a return for the European goods was in order and, contrary to views of the "Indians-as-exploited" school, he had little difficulty in establishing an understanding about the value of these items to him.[7] The haggling that occurred indicated that each trader perceived his position as one of strength.[8]

Those scholars who hold that initial contact relations tended to be "subsocial," since the parties tended not to regard or treat each other as human, also are not correct when we examine Hudson's encounter with the Cree hunter, who evidently had little difficulty in placing Hudson in a category

which allowed fruitful transaction with him. Nor was the meeting characterized by the extreme caution of "silent trade" said to be common in initial contact.[9] In short, face-to-face exchange for mutual benefit in a context of balanced power – that is, what has been called *symbiosis* – was the character of this first direct contact between the Europeans and the Cree of James Bay.

Other European mariners who made their way into Hudson Bay in subsequent years were not discovered by the Cree.[10] If Indians were in the area at all, they chose not to reveal themselves to the Europeans and the only contact came indirectly through the Cree's salvaging the leavings of these ill-fated expeditions.

One means of providing a conceptual framework to aid understanding of fur-trade relations is to use the scheme of contact stages proposed by ethnohistorians Charles Bishop and Arthur J. Ray.[11] According to Bishop and Ray, the Prehistoric Period of Indian isolation from European influences ended with the influx of trade goods and other effects, such as disease, which almost always preceded the presence of European traders themselves. This indirect form of contact initiated the Protohistoric Period, which was characterized by sporadic, isolated contacts in what is called the Indirect Trade Era. When systematic contact began through an intermediary, the Middleman Trade Era began. Bishop and Ray have divided the Historic Period, which followed, into three eras. First is the Early Fur Trade Era, which was characterized by the initial face-to-face contacts in the Indians' own territory. Second is the Competitive Trade Era, when face-to-face exchanges occurred at numerous competing trade centres. If we were to refine Bishop and Ray's outline using some concepts from social science, we would find that, up to this point, relations had been mutually beneficial and relatively equalitarian in a context of balanced power. In my study, these relations are referred to as "symbiotic," following the approach of Pierre Van den Berghe.[12] A fundamental change occurred at the end of the Competitive Fur Trade Era during the third phase of the Historic Period called the Trading Post Dependency Era. At this time, trapping became the primary means of subsistence for the Indians. From a social scientific perspective, this era marks the growth of unequal power relations resulting in economic exploitation and the development of Indian dependence on Europeans in a stratified social system. Termed the "domination" order of relations by some scholars, in my study it is referred to as "parasitism," again following Van den Berghe. Of course, such a framework cannot be applied rigidly. In practice, factors such as simple



Map 1. Approximate tribal locations, 1700–1800. (Map by Carolyn Trottier.)

geographic isolation resulted in considerable differences in assigning particular sets of relations and dates to these categories. For example the West Main Cree experienced the Early Fur Trade Era much earlier than the Western Woods Cree did. In addition, recent fur-trade scholarship indicates that Indian responses to contact with European traders were highly variable, even individualistic.[13]

In the inland region to the west of Hudson and James Bays, the evidence for indirect contact in the Protohistoric Period is slight and circumstantial indeed. However, Arthur J. Ray asserts that the importance of this period has been seriously underestimated in the archaeological analysis west of Hudson Bay. Possible evidence indicating contact in the Indirect Era is revealed in the appearance of a new style of plain-surfaced ceramics which may have been influenced by awareness of European metal containers.[14]

Evidence of contact in the Middleman Trade Era on the lower reaches of the Saskatchewan River is also meagre. Although an obscure reference was made by Champlain in 1613,[15] it is not until the 1640s that more solid, though still second-hand, evidence of Cree living between Lake Superior and the "Northern Sea" (that is, James Bay) appear in the *Jesuit Relations*. This information came to the Jesuits through the Nipissings, who in fact were obstructing direct contact between the French and Cree in order to protect their own interests as middlemen.[16]

The Western Woods Cree made their first face-to-face contacts not with Englishmen on the shores of Hudson Bay, but with French *coureurs de bois* groping their way westward, along the Great Lakes watershed. According to the *Jesuit Relations*, in 1656, two unnamed young men had returned from exploration and trade among the Kiristinon (or Cree). As fur-trade historian E.E. Rich has explained, one of these men was Médard Chouart, Sieur des Groseilliers, a Jesuit-servant-turned-trader. He had been sent in 1654 to the upper Great Lakes and travelled as far as Green Bay where he met some Cree. These Indians informed des Groseilliers of a "North Sea," where ships arrived directly from Europe.[17] In this Indian-supplied intelligence detailing Hudson's and later explorers' appearances, we see the germ of an idea which eventually led to the establishment of one of the longest-lasting European institutions encountered by the Cree – the Hudson's Bay Company. Before the formation of the company, however, French interests had probed well into Cree territory. Although there is evidence that the reported journey of Radisson and des Groseilliers to the Cree of the James Bay area in 1659–60

is nothing but a myth,[18] we must not assume that these two *coureurs* were the only ones travelling in the *pays d'en haut* ("up country," or, the North-west) at this time. They were merely the most famous.

In addition, the Cree were also beginning to make their own trading forays to the French trading establishment at Michilimackinac, and by 1670 they had extended their expeditions as far as Montreal. Indeed, by 1659–60 the Cree had already sent an envoy to the Jesuits proposing missionary visits in order to help establish an alliance with the French. In the following year Fathers Dablon and Druillettes complied with the request, and by 1666 Jesuit Father Claude Allouez reported that missionaries and Cree understood each other well enough for religious instruction to be attempted.[19]

The Cree encountered the two most famous *coureurs* again when Radisson and des Groseilliers returned to the country south of Lake Superior in 1661. At this time, a pattern which later became commonplace in the lower Saskatchewan River region began to develop. Gifts were distributed by the French and the Indians in turn supplied more provisions than the French could consume.[20] Radisson somewhat grandiloquently asserted that these gifts "gave us authority among the Whole nation. . . . Amongst such a rawish kind of people a gift is much, and bestowed, and liberality much esteemed."[21] Indeed, gift exchange was the primary method of achieving peaceful relations in band societies such as the Cree's,[22] and Europeans had soon learned to adapt to this practice. Their supply of trade goods and a secure fort gave the *coureurs* at least a sense of power over their hosts. Radisson and des Groseilliers reportedly saw themselves as unopposed "Caesars" – even "gods of the earth" – claiming supernatural powers over life and death. These self-confessed "demi-gods" believed that the local Indians were suitably cowed by their assumed greatness. Little matter to Radisson that they would have been ravaged by famine that winter had they not received provisions from their Indian hosts.[23] This inability to secure basic survival needs must have somewhat undermined their image among the Indians. University of Ottawa historian Cornelius Jaenen has written extensively on the mutual perceptions of Indians and French in eastern Canada.[24] He has found that Indians did not immediately accept the idea of European superiority based on technological advancement and apparent wealth as has been assumed in much of the literature on Indian – non-Indian contact. In fact, the Western Woods Cree in the lower Saskatchewan River area laughed at European presumptions of pre-eminence.

New groups of "Christinos" (variant of the term *Cree*) encountered

Radisson and des Groseilliers as they moved north of Lake Superior in the spring of 1662. These "Christinos" were in the habit of wintering inland, but returned to the lake to fish each spring. On this occasion, it was the Indians who brought gifts to the *coureurs* in order to persuade them to allow the Cree to accompany the expedition back to Montreal. However, after encountering a small party of hostile Iroquois, the Cree decided to go no further, despite entreaties by Radisson and des Grosielliers.[25] In this action we see that the Cree were quite able to resist the blandishments of traders when their own interests lay in other directions. The numbers of *coureurs* travelling among the Cree west of Hudson Bay increased substantially over the next three decades. By 1688 the Sovereign Council of New France reported that "there was hardly a band of Indians [in the Lake Superior area] that did not have some French *coureurs de bois* among them." In 1680 at least eight hundred *coureurs* were said to have been in Indian country.[26]

By the early decades of the eighteenth century, the Cree had already been successful in entangling the French in their alliance system. The traders had become so caught up in relations with the Cree that French military commander-cum-entrepreneur Pierre Gaultier de la Vérendrye – much against his better judgement – was persuaded to allow his eldest son to join a Cree war party against the Dakota (or Sioux) in 1734. The son, Jean Baptiste, was subsequently killed in the conflict. Two years later, the Cree persuaded de la Vérendrye to send his son Pierre to travel with them to the north end of Lake Winnipeg. Also at the urging of the Cree, another of de la Vérendrye's sons, Louis-Joseph (known as le chevalier), returned to the mouth of the Poskiac (Saskatchewan) River in 1739 and constructed Fort Bourbon there in 1741 on an unknown location on the shores of Cedar Lake. By 1742, Louis-Joseph had been guided as far west as the forks of the Saskatchewan River.[27]

The French were next attracted to build a post near the southwest shore of Cedar Lake (probably on Fort Island) in 1743. This was the site of the annual grand council of the Cree at the intersection of the north-south travel route between Moose Lake and Lake Winnipegosis and the east-west passage along the Saskatchewan. This was the first Fort Paskoyac which was abandoned in 1749, to be later re-occupied and re-named as the second Fort Bourbon. Drawn farther west to another important Indian rendezvous, Pierre de la Vérendrye (fils) ordered the construction of a second Fort Paskoyac near the confluence of the Pasquia, Carrot and Saskatchewan Rivers (present

day The Pas) and it was occupied by Lieutenant Joseph Claude Boucher de Niverville in the fall of 1750.[28] Apart from the officially sanctioned thrusts of the de la Vérendryes into the lower Saskatchewan region during the 1740s, however, independent *coureurs de bois* had already been reported on the Saskatchewan-Nelson River drainage system between 1727 and 1732.[29]

Although direct contact with the Western Woods Cree on the Lower Saskatchewan had become well established in the third and fourth decades of the 1700s, many so-called trading posts were nothing more than seasonally or irregularly occupied shacks. For example, de la Vérendrye reported that the first Fort Paskoyac had to be abandoned during the winter due to the difficulties encountered by the French in securing adequate provisions.[30] Until the mid-eighteenth century, therefore, the French presence confronting the Western Woods Cree in the region was actually an erratic and thus limited one. However, with up to eight hundred *coureurs* in the *pays d'en haut*, much more contact was occurring then that merely occasioned by the official activities of the chartered French concern, the *Compagnie du Nord* of de la Vérendrye and his successors.

During this time of French infiltration, the Cree's northern flank on Hudson Bay had remained relatively undisturbed until 1668, when, under the impetus of the two disaffected French *coureurs,* Radisson and des Groseilliers, British vessels again made their appearance on Hudson Bay. Contrary to the beliefs of some historians who are misinformed, Radisson did not reach James Bay in 1668.[31] The Cree encountered only des Groseilliers and those English sailors aboard the ketch Nonsuch. Again, as they had done with Hudson, the James Bay Cree welcomed the traders and provided indispensable help in finding a secure berth for the Nonsuch in the Rupert River and in establishing Charles Fort. A contemporary account of the expedition indicated that, despite Nonsuch Captain Gillam's complaints of petty thievery, "they report the natives bee civill and Beaver is very plenty."[32] During the next decade of contact on Hudson Bay, the pattern of relations typical of later periods along the lower Saskatchewan began to develop. In his Charles Fort journal for 1670, HBC trader Thomas Gorst reported that the Cree had quickly congregated nearby, again showing themselves eager to trade. They supplied the English not only with peltries, but with much-needed food as well. HBC Governor Bayly was also soon complaining that he had been forced to pay higher prices for furs than he had originally intended.[33] It is clear that the Cree were already exploiting the competitive situation with the French who were established inland.

E.E. Rich, dean of the fur-trade historians, maintains that the Cree were already beginning to "depend" on the regular arrival of English ships as early as the 1670s. This assertion is difficult to comprehend, however, given the brief duration of Indian involvement in direct trade. As do many other scholars who claim early Indian dependence, however, Rich fails to define exactly what is meant by the term *dependence*.[34] Neither does he cite evidence, nor quantify his assertion. Therefore, as the unfolding of later events has revealed, Rich's interpretation must be questioned.

The Cree very quickly found that the HBC and their French mentors were attempting to expand their trading operations to the mouths of the major rivers on the west coast of Hudson and James Bays. Company envoys also began to visit the Cree inland in order to persuade them to come down to the newly established posts. With this goal in mind, the Cree of the Moose River were contacted by Radisson and Bayly in 1670. On this expedition the two traders also reached as far as the mouth of the Nelson River (during this time referred to as Port Nelson), but again the Cree made themselves known only through the remains of their recently occupied habitation sites. However, the next year some Cree did meet here with des Groseilliers for trade, although the French trader stayed only for the summer season.[35]

In 1682, the Cree saw Radisson return to Port Nelson, this time under French colours, meeting him as he travelled eight days up the Hayes River in search of Indians. Upon encountering nine canoe-loads of Cree, Radisson called on his experience and attempted to impress them with accounts of his past exploits, and by distributing the all-important presents. The Cree, seeming to be impressed, reciprocated with their own gifts, and thus they formally adopted the French traders. On this occasion Radisson reported that an unnamed elder made the following speech: "Young men, be not afraid. The sun is favorable to us. Our enemies shall fear us, for this is the man we have wished for ever since the days of our fathers."[36] This eagerness, coupled with a later pledge of assistance against the English and New Englanders attempting to establish themselves at Port Nelson, support the contention that alliance was a key aspect of Indian-trader relationships (although not necessarily the most important one).[37]

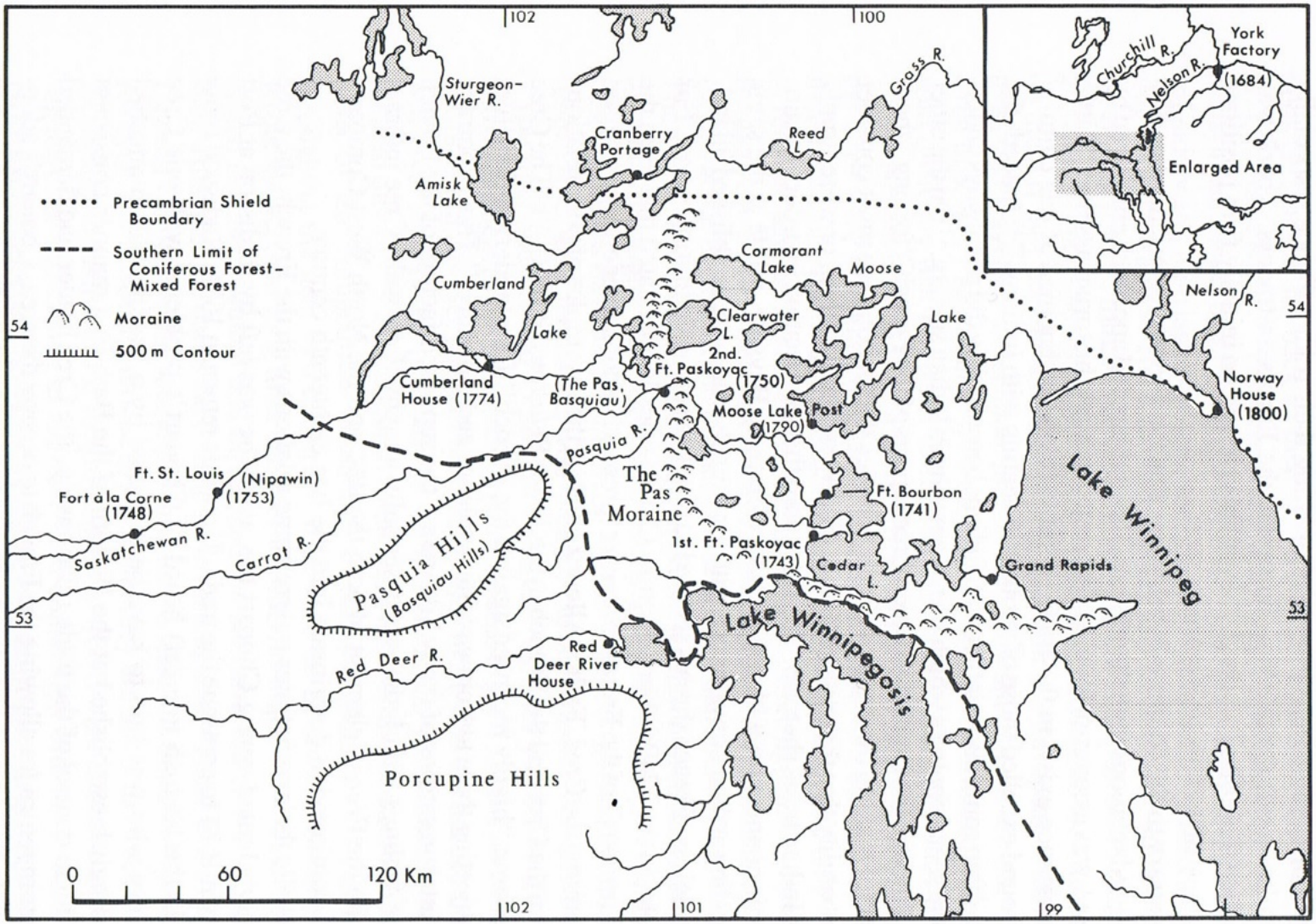
Now initiating an important phase in their interaction with non-Indians, the Cree accepted Radisson's nephew, Jean Baptiste Chouart, and another unnamed Frenchman as guests to accompany then on their travels to winter hunting grounds. This Indian strategy to secure good relations with Europeans

finds parallels as far back as their initial contact with the French along the St. Lawrence River.[38] The Cree were likely very eager to conduct the Europeans inland since, by providing indispensable services as guides, translators, defenders and marriage partners, they could thereby solidify their relationship with the traders. The Cree had quickly apprehended the advantages of serving as patron, middleman and broker[39] to the Europeans and the Indian groups they encountered further inland. The sun would indeed look favourably on them if they could establish binding ties with the European traders who lived and travelled under their protection. This attempt on the part of the Cree to solidify an alliance with the French was so determined that it was with difficulty that Radisson restrained those accompanying Chouart back to Port Nelson in 1683 from attacking his competitors' posts nearby. Already the Cree were bringing complaints against what they considered to be poor treatment at the hands of the English trading in James Bay, and they wished to retaliate against them for this at Port Nelson. There appears to have been frequent travel, or at least an effective communication system, linking Indian groups at the Bottom of the Bay and those in the hinterland of Port Nelson.[40] The Cree, however, also began to pressure Radisson and des Groseilliers to match the higher fur prices supposedly given by the English at the HBC posts on James Bay. In refusing to do so, the *coureurs* sparked the following rebuke from the Cree leader, who happened to be Radisson's adoptive father: "You men that pretend to give us our lives, will not you let us live? You know what beaver is worth, and the pains we take to get it. You style yourselves our brethren, and yet you will not give us what those who are not our brethren will give. Accept our presents, or we will come see you no more, but will go unto others."[41] This threat to trade elsewhere, combined with exaggerations of the competition, remained a common gambit of Cree traders throughout the next two centuries. If he is to be believed, Radisson (who wrote his account long after the fact in order to impress Charles II) maintained that he assaulted and threatened his adoptive father for speaking in such a manner. He dared the Cree to go to the English: "There was a necessity I should speak after this rate in this juncture, or else our trade had been ruined for ever. Submit once unto the savages and they are never to be recalled."[42] According to Radisson, his rough actions and words were effective in impressing the Cree sufficiently to maintain their connection with the French. What more likely happened, however, is that he eventually gave in to their demands. As further events in the developing relationship eventually demonstrated,

the Cree showed no hesitation in alternating their trade alliance, especially when mistreated. Quite often, however, the European traders' "bark was worse than their bite"; indeed, they often relented on initially firm positions in the face of Indian resistance.

Contrary to the commonly held view that the French experienced particularly good relations with the Indians, the highhanded approach employed by Radisson was a common one. In fact, one fur-trade historian asserts: "Little overt evidence exists in fur-trade literature to show that men of one cultural background excelled those of another in dealing with Indians."[43] Indeed, the French often came into conflict with Indians because they did not always understand the social controls which were operating in Indian society.[44] On the other hand, although the English received Cree reports of the French "forcing" them to trade by making threats to aid their enemies the Dakota, we must consider the probability that these reports were merely rationalizations, or were simply part of Indian trade rhetoric. The Cree used this explanation in order to maintain their connection with the English Company Bayside, while at the same time trading at their convenience with the French who were established inland. Nevertheless, French threats seemed to be taken seriously in some cases. For example, in the 1740s, York Factory Chief James Isham stated that even the "mere rumour" of the French *coureurs'* presence among their enemies caused panic among the Cree. Father Allouez cited further examples of poor relations between the Cree and the French in the *Jesuit Relations* of 1670–71. The Cree had become "highly incensed against the French" for plundering their furs and subjecting them to "unbearable insolence and indignity." Thus, contrary to the interpretations of many historians, the supposed facility of the French in their dealings with Indians is essentially a myth.[45] As well, Cree interaction with the French element of both the HBC and the North West Company [NWC] continued to deteriorate into the late eighteenth century.

Despite their sometimes quarrelsome relations with the French, the Cree formally adopted young Chouart too, when he was left by Radisson at Port Nelson in 1683 to continue the trade. Upon his return in 1684, Radisson (now again in the English interest) heard of Chouart's problems with one Cree adversary who was said to have been incited by a leading Indian attached to the English established at the Bottom of the Bay. In a manner consistent with Indian control of the trade relationship, the Cree hunter had demanded presents in return for allowing the French to occupy the area. Chouart's adoptive brother-in-law avenged a slight wound received by the Frenchman in



Map 2. The lower Saskatchewan River region. (Map by Carolyn Trottier.)

the ensuing argument by killing the Cree aggressor. It becomes clear from references to such incidents that the Cree took their alliance with Europeans very seriously. Chouart's injury was avenged as any attack on a kinsman would have been.[46] Europeans were obviously being tightly and deliberately integrated into the Cree sociopolitical system. Cree relations with the French element of the HBC were cemented even more closely when Chouart was persuaded by his uncle to join the English Company. The formal adoptions of Radisson and Chouart were renewed in Cree fashion by further gift exchanges, and Jean Baptiste was again sent inland to travel with his adoptive relatives.[47]

Close relations between the Cree and the HBC servants began to develop during the late 1600s as well. Perhaps the most famous in the group of "Indianized Englishmen" to emerge was Henry Kelsey. Kelsey had apparently worked alongside Radisson and Chouart, learning how to adapt to life among the Indians. Indeed, he was said to be "well beloved" among them. In 1752, Joseph Robson, a critic of the HBC, reported that Kelsey was "a very active Lad, delighting much in Indians Company, being never better pleased than when he was travelling amongst them."[48] A group of Cree (or possibly Assiniboine) conducted Kelsey inland with them in 1690 to the area of present-day The Pas and beyond. There is some question about whether Kelsey went under company orders or on his own initiative. However, there was already a well-established pattern of sending servants such as Chouart into the hinterland to encourage Indians to visit York Factory to trade. In fact, it became standard HBC policy to send their men to subsist among the Indians during the slack winter season when there was little for them to do within the stockades.[49]

Doubtless, many Western Woods Cree at what Kelsey called Dering's Point (probably Hill Island in Cedar Lake) made their contact with a European as he was being guided inland in 1690.[50] They would have encountered a slight youth recently swept up from the mean streets of London, apprenticed to the HBC only six years earlier at the age of fourteen. Carrying few if any trade goods, and travelling under the aegis of an Indian "trading captain,"[51] Kelsey probably did not cut much of an heroic figure in Indian eyes – the dominating European which is so often the interpretation in the popular account and accompanying illustrations.[52] In his own estimation, Kelsey got along well with his Indian travelling partners except that they consistently ignored his requests for them to refrain from preparing for war. He wanted them to trap beaver instead. As might be expected from

middlemen attempting to protect their trading route, however, Kelsey's Nayhaythaways (Western Woods Cree) were attacking anyone attempting to move through their territory en route to York Factory.[53] When the Indians returned Kelsey to York Factory in 1692, he was accompanied by a "bedfellow" – an unnamed Cree woman attending him as his wife. According to one account, Kelsey demanded that she be allowed to enter the fort, a practice which was against company policy. After Kelsey refused to go in himself without her, the Governor relented. Although the evidence for liaisons with Indian women was often excised from the official journals in order to make a show at least of complying with company policy, Cree women had already become the keystone in social, political and economic relations with European traders.[54]

Beginning with those such as Radisson's adoptive father, some Cree began to attach themselves more or less permanently to the company's interests in the vicinity of York Factory. This group soon came to be known as the Home Indians or the Home Guard Cree. Henry Kelsey reported from York Factory in the winter of 1694 that the Home Guard Cree were provisioning the traders in lean times. These Cree, who had probably never remained at the mouth of the Hayes and Nelson Rivers during the winter, were now staying the entire year and were resorting to the post when food was not obtainable on the land. It became apparent during this period that the Cree were beginning to treat the company establishment as part of their traditional reciprocal food-sharing system. The Cree supplied provisions to the Europeans when game was plentiful, and called on them for aid when their hunts failed, thus integrating the traders into an Indian-style food exchange pattern.[55] It is a one-sided view of this reciprocal food-sharing process which has helped to spawn the widespread interpretation that Indians soon became totally dependent on Europeans for survival.[56] It must be remembered that this food sharing – which is often interpreted as dependence – involved only a relatively small number of Cree. The inland or Western Woods Cree were not involved in such activity in the late 1600s. It is information about the Home Guard Cree, who had established themselves more or less permanently around York Factory, which has often been uncritically projected onto other less closely associated Cree. Great care must therefore be taken in generalizing from this small group. Statistics show that the Home Guard Cree were larger consumers of guns and textiles than were the inland Cree.[57] The ecology of the Hudson Bay Lowland made subsistence along the coast difficult, if not impossible,

during the winter without support of some kind. However, it is clear that the majority of Cree continued to move well inland for the winter, and they lived quite well enough on their own. Having been at York Factory since 1732, James Isham wrote in the mid 1700s that the Indians who "Keeps by the Sea side . . . are often starved and in want of food but upland Indians are Seldom put to these shifts, – having plentier of Beast of all sortts, then what is to be Gott by the Sea shore."[58] It is the Home Guard Cree group which altered its seasonal round in order to incorporate hunting provisions for the HBC post, thus precluding the traditional fall move inland. It is the Home Guard Cree, and not the Western Woods Cree, who became relatively "dependent." In any event, the flow of food was overwhelmingly in the direction of European larders.

If only on the basis of intensity of contact, therefore, we must be careful to distinguish between the Home Guard Cree and the Western Woods Cree when examining relative levels of culture change. For example, HBC critic Joseph Robson reported that the coastal Indians were very different from those inland and cited the case of traditional burial patterns, which had been dropped by the Home Guard Cree by 1746, still being followed by the inland Cree.[59]

Upon landing their furs at York Factory in 1695, the Cree were surprised to find that the English were nowhere to be found. In their place were French traders who, under Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville, had captured the post the year previous. Nicholas Jérémie, a Quebec-born trader, has given a brief account of the French tenure of Fort Bourbon (York Factory under the French) between 1694 and 1714. According to Jérémie, too, the West Main Cree were already becoming "dependent" on the Europeans. He described a period when the French traders had not enough goods to provide the Indians' basic needs: "As a result, many of them died of hunger [infanticide and homicide also reported], for they had lost their skill with the bow since Europeans had supplied them with fire-arms. They have no other resource to live on except the game they kill with guns, for they know nothing about cultivating the land and raising vegetables. Always wanderers they never stay a week in the same place."[60] Although he was probably referring to the Home Guard Cree here and not Western Woods Cree, Jérémie's report needs to be examined more closely. As late as 1755, HBC envoy Anthony Henday found that, when low on powder, the Cree easily reverted to using the bow and arrow for moose hunting. This "cultural amnesia" explanation, therefore, does not appear to be viable; and subsequent events confirm this scepticism.

Evidently the Cree accepted the French presence at Port Nelson, now renamed Fort Bourbon, willingly enough. Although Jérémie found the Cree to be "slanderous," he added that they exhibited "humanity and courtesy" and honesty, and happily lacked the vice of "oaths and swearing." As we might expect from an official report, Jérémie also insisted on the Indians' preference for the French over the "deceitful" English. The Cree did not find their relationship with the French to be entirely smooth, however. Jérémie recounted how, in July or August of 1712, several members of his small contingent who were on a hunting trip were killed by the Cree. The precipitating factor in this violence was the reluctance of the French to trade for powder and to share the good fortunes of their hunt with their trading partners. Jérémie gave the following account: "Unfortunately they camped near a party of natives who were starving and who had no powder, as I did not want to trade it, but wished to keep it as a safeguard for my own life and the lives of my men. These natives, considering themselves dared by the reckless way my men were shooting every kind of game, and feasting before their eyes without sharing anything, made a plot to kill them, and seize what they had." Seven of Jérémie's men were killed, leaving only nine men, a chaplain and a boy to hold Fort Bourbon. This caused great concern among the French about their strategic position. Jérémie continued his narrative: "We spent all the winter in the fort, not daring to go out, without food and without powder, and expecting we would all die of hunger and misery, while all the time we were in dread of seeing these murderous wretches at our gate, but they have not since appeared."[61]

Such violence tended to reinforce European perceptions of the Indians' "treacherous nature."[62] However, the true meaning of the 1712 altercation becomes clear in light of anthropological theory on reciprocity. In band societies, such as that of the Cree, trade automatically encompasses social relationships and obligations, and all exchange is a social – not merely an economic – process. In particular, the fluctuation in the flow of food serves as an important barometer of social relations. The obligation to share food is a central link in any relationship in band-level societies. Indeed, food is withheld only from enemies.[63] Having failed to carry out their social obligation to share their food surplus, the French forfeited the sociopolitical protection against "negative reciprocity." Reciprocity is a "between" relationship. Negative reciprocity is defined as an exchange in which social ties are non-existent and attempts are made to maximize gains at the partner's

expense through such exigencies as sharp dealing, subterfuge and theft, regardless of any "moral" constraint. The morality of exchange within band society is therefore "sectorally structured." That is, one is expected to treat kinsmen in a "moral" fashion; non-kin or enemies have no such protection — especially when important social obligations have been neglected.[64] Since kinship (a primary organizational structure in band society[65]) was not involved in the 1712 attack on Jérémie's men, the cross-cultural exchange itself was the only link existing between the two groups to assure peaceful relationships. The disruption of this exchange resulted in the rupturing of the social relationship inherent in trade. Therefore, by not comprehending, or by ignoring the obligation to share available food with their hungry trading partners, the French defaulted on crucial social obligations in the trade relationship. In Cree eyes, they had in fact removed themselves from the category of "trading partner" with whom one shares food, and placed themselves in the category of "enemy" with whom one does *not* share food – thus the plunder and murder.

The 1712 incident also serves to point out that, in the first decades of the eighteenth century, the Western Woods Cree continued to hold the upper hand in strategic power relations. It is clear that the Cree could attack Europeans with impunity whenever they wished. Jérémie's competitors, the HBC had also been well aware of its tenuous strategic position vis-a-vis the Cree during this era and recognized the need to placate the Indians. London Committee instructions to York Factory governor Nixon in 1682 stated: "You must allways bee carefull of your Selfe, and bee upon your Guard for your own Safety & preservation, yt Experience teaches that mild and Gentle Usage doth more obtaine upon the most Savage Natures then to much severity";[66] and to Henry Sergeant in 1687: "Care is to be taken when they come downe in considerable Numbers to Trade wth. us that you put it not into their power to surprize our forts or doe us prejudice."[67] Indeed, the English fears of Indian attack on York Factory persisted at least through 1759,[68] and the Cree used threats of attack as late as 1773 as part of their trading strategy.[69]

The Cree were not altogether happy when James Knight reassumed control at Port Nelson in 1714 on behalf of the HBC. Writing to the London Committee on 19 September, Knight stated: "One of the Indians came to me when I hoisted the Union flag: he told me he did not love to see that, he loved to see the white one, so there is many of the Indians has great friendship for the French here."[70] Again we can assume that the Cree in question was using a form of trade rhetoric in order to pressure the returning traders to be more

generous with their gifts and less stringent with the "factor's standard" (which always exceeded the "official standard" to a greater or lesser extent).[71] Upon their return, however, the HBC traders were able to maintain relatively smooth relations with the Cree for the next forty years at York Factory.

Although criticized by contemporaries for "hibernating by the edge of the frozen sea," there were serious transportation and labour-related obstacles facing the company's expansion inland. Of course, the Cree's desire to maintain their middleman position also played a role in restricting English movement into the interior. It was originally much more advantageous to both partners in the trade to have the Indians absorb the transportation costs of shipping their furs the great distances to posts on the shores of Hudson Bay. For the Western Woods Cree, it meant being able to exact high markups on goods traded to those Indians who deferred (or were intimidated by the Cree) from making the arduous journey to York Factory.[72] Eventually, however, the increasing diversion of Cree furs to the French who were establishing themselves more solidly in the York Factory hinterland, coupled with the strong urgings of the Cree, had by the mid-eighteenth century forced the company's hand. Forgetting Radisson's, Chouart's and Kelsey's travels inland, Andrew Graham, chief at York Factory, mistakenly wrote that Anthony Henday's inland excursion in 1754–55 under Cree guidance was the first such journey undertaken by the HBC.[73]

It is in Henday's inland journal that we obtain our first glimpses of the Cree as individuals. One such personage was Attickashish (or Little Deer), the leader among Henday's travelling companions. In Graham's opinion this influential trading captain was an extremely capable man who was in complete control of his own destiny.[74] When Attickashish and his party arrived at Fort Paskoyac (present-day The Pas) on 22 July 1754, Henday observed an important seasonally occupied Indian village which had attracted the French *coureurs de bois* all the way from Grand Portage on Lake Superior through the Winnipeg River and Lake system. Although Henday did not specify its exact physical location, he later described Fort Paskoyac as it stood in 1754–55: "This house is about 26 foot long, 12 foot wide, 9 foot high to the ridge, having a sloaping roof, the walls log upon log, the top covered with birch rind, it is divided into three appartments, one for trading goods, and where the Master lives; one for the men; and one for the furs &c."[75] No stockades were mentioned. It is important to note that when the French declared their intention to prevent the HBC envoy's passage, Henday reported: "At night

I went to my tent and told my leader that had charge of me, who only laughed and said they dar'd not.''[76] Obviously Attickashish and Indian leaders like him paid little heed to French pretensions to the control of movement along the Saskatchewan. In fact, his Cree guides conducted Henday away without incident. Besides providing protection from the French, Attickashish and other Cree leaders with whom Henday travelled provided other crucial services. They searched for potential new trading partners such as the Eagle Indians (Assiniboine) and the awe-inspiring Archithinue (Blackfoot); and they most certainly facilitated his initial encounters with these diverse Indian groups by handling the necessary translation work. Attickashish continued this valuable relationship with the HBC for at least the next decade.[77]

It was during his 1754–55 inland excursion that Henday also met the important Cree trading captain Wappenessew, who was influential among Indians and French alike. Wappenessew and Henday agreed to go to York Factory in the spring of 1755. Thereafter, until 1770, Wappenessew was responsible for conducting an average of twenty fur-laden canoes each year to York Factory.[78] Years later, on 26 August 1772, in a letter to the governor and the Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, Andrew Graham indicated that the European competitors continued to vie for his support. He showed that Wappenessew was well able to look out for his own best interests:

> The Canadians who have great need of his Assistance to promote their Trade & protect their Persons, tried every means to attach him to their Service, & they have succeeded. He lives in their House all the Winter, dines at Table with the Masters, & his family ar clothed with Cloth & no favor is refused. In return he induces the Indians to resort thither, he Convoys the large Canoes up & down to Michilimakinac & in great Measure prevents the numerous tribes through which they are obliged to pass, from molesting them.[79]

Here is a prime example of the importance afforded to the Cree *okima'w*[80] and of how the Europeans attempted to reinforce traditional Indian leadership patterns, thus creating new avenues for the ambitions of certain influential Cree leaders.

While he was inland among the Cree and Assiniboine in 1754 and 1755, Henday encountered two major difficulties. First, he found it impossible to persuade other Indians in the region to make the arduous journey to York Factory. From the Cree standpoint, they were much more conveniently supplied by the French at Basquiau and, as a result, they had convinced Henday that they were

"strongly attached to the French Interest." Playing one European group against the other in this manner was a primary tactic in the Cree arsenal of trading strategies. Henday's second problem was that his Cree guides eventually became exasperated with his constant remonstrations about their failure to engage in trapping. Henday's companions did make an effort to kill a few beaver but, to his disappointment, this hunt was made only to supply themselves with winter clothing and meat for ceremonial beaver feasting.[81] Henday's cajoling must have been frustrating for Attickashish and the other Cree because Henday obviously did not accept, nor perhaps even comprehend, that they engaged in the trade as middlemen – not as trappers. Through Henday's "bedfellow" he was finally made to understand, as he reported in his journal: "My tent-mates were angry with me last night for speaking so much concerning Happing, & advised me to say no more about it, for they would get more Wolves Beaver &c. from the Archithinue Natives in the spring than they can carry."[82] Indeed, according to Henday's account, rather than scrambling and scraping for a living in a hostile environment (as is the prevailing stereotype of the hunters' existence) the Western Woods Cree spent much of their time during the winter of 1754–55 smoking, feasting, drumming, dancing and conjuring.

In the spring of 1755, the Cree further demonstrated to Henday that they were totally committed to preserving their status as middlemen. In trying to persuade the leaders of 127 tents of Blackfoot to travel down to York Factory, Henday found Attickashish and his other Cree mentors less than helpful. He reported: "Altho the Indians promised the Chief Factor at York Fort to talk to them strongly on that subject, they never opened their mouths, and I have great reason to believe that they are a stoppage: for if they could be brought down to trade, the others would be obligated to trap their own furs; which at present two thirds of them do not."[83] Such evidence indicates that it was the Cree who were in control of the situation; they were not dependent dupes inextricably entangled in a European trade system.

Further evidence of this independence was revealed when the convoy of Indians on their way back to York Factory with Henday in May 1755 was waylaid at both French establishments on the Saskatchewan River – Forts la Corne and Paskoyac — where the Cree traded away many of their prime furs. Despite his best efforts, Henday could not prevent the Cree from dallying for three days at Basquiau and he lamented the French influence over the Indians. Nevertheless, it was the Cree's own interests (if not whimsy) rather than the influence of the French (or Henday's lack of it) which resulted in the ensuing "debauch" which

so disappointed the HBC envoy.[84] Henday regarded these actions as characteristic Indian untrustworthiness. Again, an anthropological approach helps to explain this Cree behaviour. One of the central foundations of band society subsistence strategy is "the principle of least effort." Very simply, this principle holds that subsistence-activity decisions are based on the most energy-efficient solution within a context of limited material desires. Anthropologist Marshal D. Sahlins has coined the phrase "the Zen road to the original affluent society" to describe this approach to life.[85] The Cree were obviously applying this principle in the new context of trade with Europeans.

Despite Henday's perception of Cree untrustworthiness, the competitive situation was such that the HBC sent servants inland almost every year after 1755. There were fifty-four such journeys between 1763 and 1774. This calculation does not include the return of Henday inland in 1756, 1758 and 1759, nor the early expeditions of other HBC men Joseph Waggoner, Joseph Smith and Isacc Batt between 1756 and 1763.[86] Henday's journey thus began an era in which the inland Cree began to experience more intensive yearly contact with the English and it ushered in a new phase in the trade relationship – the Early Fur Trade Era – characterized by face-to-face contact in Cree territory.

Although some historians claim that the traders who were sent inland by the HBC after Henday were "illiterate," records do exist in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives which are purported to be the journals of these men. Although by no means illiterate in the normal sense of the word, the journals are extremely vague and it is difficult to trace exactly where the company servants were being conducted by their Indian guides. Yet there are some significant statements about Indian-trader relations in these accounts. Besides sending his own men inland, York factory Chief James Isham reported in August 1756 that he also engaged Home Guard Cree leaders to persuade the Sturgeon Indians (probably those Cree living north-west of Cumberland Lake along the Sturgeon Weir River) to come to York Factory, since they had not been down to Hudson Bay to trade for some time. This information also gives support to the idea that the Cree were not yet dependent on the trade. Seeming to lack confidence in his first choice, ten days later Isham sent Joseph Waggoner and Joseph Smith in search of the same Sturgeon Indians. These two company servants spent the winter with the Cree in the Lake Winnipeg-Porcupine Hills area. In June 1757 more than twenty-three canoes conducted the two company servants back to York Factory.[87]

Competition for Cree trade between the French and English inland now

began to intensify – under no little stimulation from the Cree – and a pattern, which was to become familiar over the next two decades soon developed. A French trader shadowed Smith and Waggoner's Cree party with a supply of goods so as to prevent the HBC men from gaining too much favour with the Indians. The French trader even threatened the English envoys with death. We can imagine that the Cree leaders again smiled and said, "He dar'd not." As Smith reported on 9 February 1757, "the french Man that was in our Company all winter always told us he would Certainly kill us but the Inds. Said if they did or offered to do any harm to us they would kill them all."[88] Clearly, the Cree were still in firm control. Indeed, a report soon reached their party that two Frenchmen had recently been killed by the Indians. As Henday had learned earlier, French threats and presumptions of authority carried little, if any, weight with the Western Woods Cree. In one approach to the analysis of contact relations, it is argued that a major force behind the behaviour of groups in contact is their attempt to maintain, or impose on the other party, their own precontact social, cultural, political and economic order.[89] It is obvious that the Europeans did not have the power to carry out threats or to impose their own conditions on the relationship. Indeed, the French continued to labour under the threat and the reality of Cree domination. In 1758, Fort Bourbon (previously the first Fort Paskoyac) on Cedar Lake was plundered and burned.[90]

The laconic entries in Joseph Smith's journal of the next inland journey (1757–58), consisting mainly of vague generalities such as "this day moved and want west," or "lea by and smocked with the indens," tell us little about his relations with his Cree guides. The next inland journal to surface is that of Isaac Batt and George Potts, who visited the Sturgeon Indians west of Cumberland Lake in 1759. By this time, the Cree inhabiting Basquiau were finding themselves almost in a backwash of the trade, since that summer the French, under Louis-Joseph de la Vérendrye, had passed a closed Fort Paskoyac to attend the Cree rendezvous at the forks of the Saskatchewan River. The year 1760 witnessed the final withdrawal from all the French establishments in the Northwest as a consequence of the Conquest of Quebec, leaving only a few voyageurs in the pays d'en haut as a reminder of the French presence. The Cree had previously coped with a similar withdrawal. When the French were in control of York Factory between 1694 and 1714, they had abandoned most of their inland posts.[91]

By the mid-1760s, however, the Western Woods Cree were again beginning to experience a significant increase in the pace of contact. At this time,

York Factory Chief Andrew Graham contended that he began to send more men inland than had his predecessors. As well, contact from Montreal was renewed when men such as Thomas Corry, with French labour and English financial backing, began trading in the region. Graham also reported that the "trusty leaders" Attickashish, Mousinnikifsack, Capouch, and Kanapulapoetuck returned inland from York Factory in 1766 each with a company man in tow. These groups spent the winter in the parklands and on the plains west of Basquiau.[92]

In one interesting aside penned in 1766, Graham recounted the first journey of one Archithinnee (Blackfoot) Indian to York Factory. The plainsman was genuinely surprised at how much the Cree were receiving in return for their furs and the huge markup passed on.[93] Despite this realization, the Blackfoot said to Graham that his confreres would still not make the journey because of their lack of canoe skills, the great distance involved, the lack of "proper" food along the way, and indeed their very independence from European wares. In addition, it was well recognized that the Cree had very early assumed the controlling middleman position. As Governor John Nixon reported in 1682, the Cree "would be the only brokers between all strange Indians and us, and by all means kep both them and us in ignorance."[94] This tactic was eminently successful throughout the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century. For instance, company envoy William Tomison on his inland journey of 1769–70 reveals that the Cree were still receiving inflated prices for their "half-wore" guns of twenty-five to thirty MB which new at York Factory had cost them only ten MB.[95]

The Cree were expressing their control of the inland situation in other ways as well. In 1767, on his way to York through Basquiau where the French post had been abandoned for the last seven years, William Pink heard from the local Indians that Canadian ("people of Canadae," a term used by Pink) traders from Montreal and Michilimackinac were on their way to re-establish a post there. This occurrence fulfilled the Cree's earlier expectations, since they had deliberately prevented the French from burning their buildings as they withdrew during the Conquest crisis leading up to 1760, upon the expectation that other traders could eventually be more easily attracted to the area if the buildings remained.[96]

During the 1760s, more intense social relations must have been developing between the Cree and the HBC inland travellers. These envoys were spending at most one or two weeks per year in the company of their own countrymen.

For example, William Pink spent only eight days at York Factory in July 1767 before he again moved inland with what he referred to as "my Indians." In fact, these men were spending so much time with the Indians that the company began to express concerns about their servants' loyalties. Andrew Graham had reservations about the financial viability of the system of inland envoys, as well as about the characters and the motives of the men themselves. In July 1768 Ferdinand Jacobs accused his inland emissaries of complicity with the Canadian pedlars and of private trading with the Indians. In response to these concerns, Jacobs suggested that large groups of servants be sent inland in an attempt to curb the suspected abuses by more effectively imposing the company's hierarchical structure on the men.[97] Despite strict company regulations against the ordinary servants' "fraternizing" with Indians, the native lifestyle became very attractive to men such as Isbister and John Patterson, who deserted to the Indians in 1765. This desertion occurred just as two Frenchmen, Louis Primeau and Jean Baptiste Larlee, who had been living with the Indians since 1760, arrived at York Factory. The European adaptation to Cree culture was so complete that one English "renegade" was even recognized as a "trading captain" at Albany. Of course, ex-*voyageurs* had been living permanently with Indians and had been acculturating to a significant degree for many years.[98]

During the late 1760s, the Western Woods Cree were beginning to experience more intensive contact. In 1768 the Imperial government deregulated the trade in the Northwest, thus allowing a much greater influx of entrepreneurs into the territory. Traders out of Montreal via Michilimackinac such as Thomas Corry and James Finlay, with French-Canadian labour and English-Canadian financing, soon penetrated the lower Saskatchewan River area. Finlay and Corry may have been operating on Cedar Lake as early as 1766. The HBC received vague reports that the "French" (that is, Finlay) had opened a post at Basquiau in 1767. François le Blanc with a company of twelve *voyageurs* built a post farther west on the Saskatchewan in 1768, and the following year William Bruce was known to have occupied Basquiau. In addition, by 1769–70, the HBC had a total of six men wintering with Indians in the area.[99]

The pattern of the company envoy's inland contact with the Western Woods Cree was similar to that reported in 1768. The Cree traders whose families spent the summer waiting at Fort la Corne (the Upper French House) returned for them in early August 1768 accompanied by William Pink (who had also been inland the year before). Pink reported that fifty tents (as many as four hundred people) awaited them on one shore, while on the opposite side forty

tents more attended the return of their traders who were also coming up with company men. This centre, as well as Basquiau, had become an important rendezvous point for the Cree middlemen. Moving westward onto the plains from Fort la Corne, the Cree split up into hunting groups of two or three tents by mid-October and began to trap wolves. Pink's Cree group spent the winter south of the Saskatchewan River, where he observed their use of fire and pounds to hunt the buffalo. On the move eastward toward York Factory in the spring of 1769, they found that Basquiau was now again occupied by a Canadian trader, James Finlay, who was in charge of twelve *voyageurs* and three canoe-loads of goods. Two of Finlay's men were to stay the winter. However, as was the case with the French establishments in the past, these Canadian trading houses were not continuously occupied. On its way to York Factory in May 1770, Pink's Cree party found la Corne abandoned by the Canadians. Leaving their families near the post, the Cree middlemen began another yearly cycle by embarking on the journey to York Factory.[100]

During the early 1770s, the Western Woods Cree were able to manipulate the traders so that Indians became the main beneficiaries of the increased level of competition between the HBC and the Canadians. Pink lamented in March 1770: "Continyly a Sending of Tobacco to Indianes for Encouradgment for them to Carry thare Furs Down to Yorke Forte and Not for to give them to the people that comes from Mountreale."[101] In the early 1770s the HBC traders began to suspect that the competition was allowing the Indians to bring to York Factory only those furs rejected by the Canadians. As a result, Graham was "stretching every nerve to break their connection with them." In fact, the Cree were successful in persuading *both* groups of European traders that the best furs went to the competition.[102] Ferdinand Jacobs, chief at York Factory in June 1769, continued to bemoan the effects of the competition on the Indians coming to York Factory: "They are very Troublesom & Covetous the Effects of having Pedlers in the Country."[103] The term *troublesome* crops up again and again in company journals. What this actually meant of course was that Indians were merely exercising their prerogative to act in their own interests, which were not necessarily those of the company. Despite the benefits accruing to them from the Canadian competition, the Cree did not receive consistent service and supply from the Montreal traders. In late May 1770, for example, the Canadian Master at Basquiau, William Bruce, had been stranded without trade goods that year because his supply brigade had been halted by the onset of winter far short of its destination. Even so, many of the goods shipped had

been plundered by Indians along the route from Grand Portage.[104]

At this time the Cree made their first contacts with a HBC servant with whom they were to have a long association – the dour Orcadian, William Tomison. Tomison, a particularly long-serving employee, has been portrayed in the sterling stereotype commonly attributed to Orcadians in the company service.[105] A labourer who signed on in the Island community of South Ronaldshay in 1760, Tomison eventually worked his way up to the position of chief inland. It is asserted by Cumberland House journal editors E.E. Rich and A.M. Johnson that his relations with Indians were impeccable. However, according to at least one historian, he was a tactless character who earned the enmity of his fellow officers, and late in his career was said to be "universally hated" by the Indians.[106] The Cree travelling with Tomison on his first inland journey from Severn House in 1767 must have noted this peevish side to his character. On a later trip, when he was conducted as far as the Muscoutte Country (or high plains) in 1769–70, he was not able to conceal his impatience with the frequent feasting, smoking and dancing and conjuring of his hosts who were living in the Lake Winnipeg area in late August and September. This would have been especially galling to him since these Cree were in fact waiting for the arrival of Canadian traders. Indeed, Tomison himself spent a good deal of time smoking with the Indians – as much as or even more than a modern diplomat would spend at cocktail parties. This was in fact the only way traders could deal effectively with the Cree – that is, on the basis of Indian conceptions of proper social and economic relations. Even so, Tomison failed to convince them to decamp and start trapping beaver. On 1 November 1769 he reported: "They made no answer for some time but at last they told me it were a long winter and that they would See the Asinepoites Indians in the Spring and that they would trade furr with them, these Indians for the most part ar very indolent and delight in nothing but gaming and Smoaking."[107] Thus, the Cree were still very much independent middlemen, as they had demonstrated to Henday a decade and a half earlier. Whether trading at York Factory or with the Canadians, Tomison reported that "few of these Indians ever trap their owne furs."[108]

The Cree found it to their advantage to trade as much as possible with the Canadians inland despite the fact that the prices of goods were generally higher. By doing so, they were able to reduce their own transportation costs (that is, time and energy). Again, this strategy closely relates to the traditional "principle of least effort" among hunting and gathering peoples.[109] As an illustration

of this principle, the Cree frequented Thomas Corry's post on Cedar Lake which was established in 1770 and diverted much of their business away from York Factory. Corry had even succeeded in persuading the key Basquiau trading captain, Wappenessew, to abandon the English interest and serve as a "leading Indian" for his brigade to Grand Portage. Corry wrote to the HBC from his post at "River De Paw" on 2 June 1772 that Wappenessew sent his regrets for not going to York Factory that spring but instead travelled to Grand Portage on Lake Superior: "He hopes you will not Be angre with him as he has Drank so much Brandy this winter he cannot Com But must Com with me to the Grand Portage to drink two or three C[asks?]."[110] Here again, the importance of the gift (especially in the form of alcohol) in relations with the Cree is manifested. Apparently Corry had such a supply of liquor that the community was in an uproar. He continued: "I ask your Pardon for writing to you in Such a manner But you must think in what Confusion I am in with two hundred Drunken Villians about." Of course this particular situation must be seen in its wider context, since Europeans experienced their own problems with alcohol. In fact, the Indian use of liquor was not significantly different from the European practice at the time.[111]

One of the last company men sent inland during the Early Fur Trade Era to encourage the Cree to bring their furs down to York Factory was Matthew Cocking. Happily, Cocking's journal for 1772–73 is a much fuller account than those of his precursors. Far from demonstrating a "surprisingly warm side" to the Canadian traders (as HBC editor Graham would have readers believe), the Cree in Cocking's original journal appear to have been plundering them constantly.[112] The Cree traded with the so-called Pedlars, while sending to York Factory only for those goods not available inland. Cocking professed to be at a loss to explain the Cree's continued trade with the Canadians other than to give the standard explanation – "Liquor being above all perswasion with them." In fact, he had received this same rationalization from the Cree themselves.[113] However, this interpretation ignores real Cree interests and the "principle of least effort." There was obviously a significant advantage to the Cree in being supplied in their own territory. Even though prices paid for furs were lower and the selection of goods was more limited at the Canadian establishments inland, the difficulties in time and effort required made the long journey to York Factory a relatively disadvantageous one in Cree eyes. In a later appendix to his journal, Cocking noted that the Cree also justified their trade with the Canadians by emphasizing the fact that, in this trade situation, they were able

to leave supplies and ammunition obtained from the Nor'Westers with their families while making the arduous trip to York Factory. Indeed, the Cree had been pressing Cocking to persuade the HBC to establish an inland post of their own.[114] Although to Cocking the Cree again spoke much of the generous gifts and the cheap prices offered by Corry and the other Pedlars, these arguments again appear to be simply bargaining tactics.

Without question, the Western Woods Cree continued to hold the upper hand in the trade relationships during the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century. Cocking reported on the Basquiau Cree's control of their relationship with Canadian trader Thomas Corry. Foreshadowing a later show of force, the Basquiau Cree indicated

> . . . that Correy at first denied having any liquor telling them it was all expended, but they threatening to take his goods and Furrs from him by force he was obliged to relent, letting them see him take it from below the ground to satisfy them that he gave them all; three Runlets by the Natives description about fifteen gallons each. – The Indians also inform me that the Basquio Natives often take by force any thing the Pedlers are unwilling to give them; they likewise mention innumerable hardships which the Pedlers suffer from several Nations of Indians through who they pafs in coming up from the grand carrying Place –.[115]

Although we might interpret this as more fur-trade hyperbole on the part of Indian traders, later events gave an aura of authenticity to this account.

The Cree also forcefully expressed their dissatisfaction with Canadian traders at Franceway's Post on a shallow lake west of Basquiau (perhaps Lafrance Bourbonois on Saskeram Lake?). Even after sending their *puckitanassowin* (preliminary gift), the Cree had received less ammunition than they had expected from the trader. Cocking wrote on 27 March 1773:

> The Natives even threaten to take Franceway's Furrs &c. from him by force if he refuses to comply with their Demands when the[y] Paddle. This I find was the case with the Pedler Finley, who lately resided at the House where Franceway now is: He not knowing how to humour the tempers of the Natives, they took all his Furrs from him by force and intended to kill him; had not a leader (the Indian I am with) interposed, when they returned Finley his Furrs; he appeasing them by making considerable Presents. Franceway also I find is obliged some years to give even Furrs to the most troublesome to go down with the Company's Forts. also little supplies of ammunition.[116]

Canadian trader William Bruce was also plundered by the Cree and "obliged to be content with his Loss." Another group of Indians reported to Cocking

that they too had sacked a Canadian trader near Basquiau. The Cree were also able to exert their control by charging particularly high prices for supplies of country produce.[117] The Canadians – much less the more isolated HBC inland travellers – wielded little real power in Cree territory. They remained in business at the pleasure of the Cree during the mid- to late-eighteenth century.

With the influx of the Canadian traders into the hinterland of York Factory between 1765 and 1774 the Basquiau Cree in particular had been won away from the English interest. It was reported that Thomas Corry received the majority of furs from the Basquiau region. Cocking was also informed "that but few of the Basquio Natives have been at the Companys Forts for some Years serving the Pedlers as home Indians by providing Provisions, and trapping for them in the Winter."[118] The Cree held the upper hand not only in the trade transaction itself, but in the crucial transportation system as well. On his way inland in 1772, Cocking's Indian companions complained about the delays he caused them by stopping to make observations and journal entries about their progress. Indeed, on his return trip in 1773 he was prevented from doing so. Once in their own territory, however, the Cree evoked Cocking's further displeasure by being "very dilatory in proceeding; their whole delight being in indolently sitting Smoaking or Feasting. Yesterday I received invitation to no less than ten of their Feasts."[119] Cree ideas about time and perceptions of what was important obviously differed from those of the Europeans. However, it was clearly the Indian ideas which prevailed.

Cocking also made a number of observations on the relationship between the HBC servants travelling inland and the Cree. These statements spark a re-evaluation of the assertion that the company's men enjoyed exemplary relations with Indians. In 1772 for instance, the Cree hosting HBC servant Louis Primeau in the Basquiau Hill area were said to be ready to kill him. This threat occurred after their leader had died, since "when any one of them dies they suppose some person to be the cause."[120] In fact, Primeau was reluctant to go inland again in 1773 and had stated that "he was afraid they would kill [him], many of them dislike him." Even though there was a possibility that Primeau would desert to the opposition, Cocking was not overly concerned about the potential harm to the company's interests, "according to the little Esteem he seems to be in with the Natives at present."[121]

Part of the difficulty in these relationships stemmed from conflicting perceptions of the role to be assumed by the servants while travelling inland. The Cree held that these men should be trading on the spot, while the company

had other ideas. Cocking asserted: "I find the Natives consider an Englishman's going with them, as a Person sent to Collect Furrs, and not as an encouragement to them to trap &c from the Company's Servants who come with them Inland trading the chief part of the Goods they were furnished with at the Forts; and notwithstanding all I can say to the contrary, will hardly believe but I shall also collect furrs in their Season."[122] This difference of opinion must have caused some strain in the relationship when Cree expectations were not met. Cocking later summarized his thoughts on the trade system as it was being prosecuted by the HBC in the early 1770s. In his opinion, inland travellers were only trying to avoid unpleasant duties at York Factory. In addition, "they were most of them disliked; as they never endeavoured to gain the Affections of the Natives, and converted the Goods they were furnished with to the Purpose of collecting Furs for their own Emolument."[123] It is therefore clear that the relationship between the Cree and HBC travellers was not always as positive as some historians have portrayed it to be.[124] The Cree viewed lower-order servants as nothing more than slaves, and they exerted their own conditions and cultural standards on the relationship. Even within the relatively secure confines of York Factory, the records showed English traders being confronted by obstreperous, self-confident Indians. The Cree who returned Cocking to York Factory in 1773, for instance, demanded "in the most insolent manner" that brandy to be provided as gifts as well as traded. When refused, they threatened to attack the factory. The chief at York Factory had also been subject to what were claimed to be unprovoked attacks on his life in June 1771.[125] Again, these incidents showed that the Cree were not cowering or dominated labourers, but independent middlemen secure in the knowledge of their own importance and power.

Cocking's visit inland in 1773–74 was the last such temporary foray the Western Woods Cree were to experience from the HBC. The Crees' request for an inland establishment, combined with their strategy of exploiting the competitive situation in the hinterland, finally forced the HBC to establish a permanent base inland. Cumberland House was established as the company's first post situated inland from York Factory, ushering in a new phase of Cree-trader relations – the Competitive Trade Era.

Analysis of early contact

2

Up to 1773, Western Woods Cree contact with British traders had been relatively circumscribed. Only a small proportion of the Western Woods Cree travelled down to York Factory each year, and most of those who did, experienced little face-to-face contact with the English. Henry Kelsey's reports from the York Factory have shown that comparatively few Cree voyaged to York Factory to trade directly, since many sent furs with relatives and acquaintances, or relied on middlemen to undertake the arduous trip. In August 1723 Thomas McCleish wrote from York Factory that many inland Indians in fact came down to trade only once every two or three years. Those Cree who did arrive Bayside often had communication solely through the trading window. At York Factory only the "principal men," or trading captains, were allowed into the factory and the trading room itself,[1] and strict company orders at least attempted to prevent contact between Indians and lower order servants. Thus, the critical frequency and extent of face-to-face contact was in fact relatively limited.[2] Moreover, the HBC had sent a comparatively small number of servants inland, and even this became a regular policy only after 1754. Usually no more than half a dozen company men were living among the Indians in any given year. Neither were these men accompanied by large numbers of French-Canadian voyageurs as were their *Campagnie du Nord* and later NWC conterparts. We must remember that what social scientists refer to as the "demographic ratio" and the intensity of contact are key variables in the processes of contact and cultural change.[3]

A close examination of the documents dealing with the initial stage of contact between the Cree and the European traders during the Early Fur Trade

Era leads to a re-evaluation of a number of previous interpretations concerning cultural change among Indians. The first is the widespread assumption that contact soon resulted in rapid and massive change in all facets of Indian culture.[4] According to social scientists Ralph Linton and Leonard Broom, however, contact although a necessary condition for acculturation to occur is not by itself a sufficient condition for culture change. Rather, the key is motivation to change, which depends on the perception of significant advantage to be gained by someone adopting new cultural elements.[5] At this initial stage in the trade relationship there existed no real advantage for the Cree to alter their central organizational structures, beliefs or values. In his seminal work on acculturation, Linton asserts that contact itself is an important stimulus to change. However, he stresses that the extent of change depends on the key variables of "closeness," "duration" and "continuity."[6] Western Woods Cree contact with European traders during the Early Fur Trade Era was decidedly distant, brief and sporadic. Given the added significance of the overwhelming numerical superiority of the Cree in the contact situation, it is not surprising that less significant change resulted among the Cree than among the European traders living in Cree territory.[7]

Many fur-trade scholars now agree that upon early contact in the fur trade, central subarctic Indians made only minimal adjustments to their basic social organization. This is explained in theoretical terms by the assertion that unless change occurs in a culture's *core* institutions, no significant adjustment will take place.[8] The European mercantile trade system had little or no effect, for example, on such core elements in Indian society as the early cultural conditioning of children, organic maintenance, communication, primary group relations, high prestige status, territorial security or ideological certitude. On the other hand, change had occurred in areas outside the core culture such as of instrumental techniques (for example, the addition of new materials and technologies to traditional production), elements of taste and self-expression (for example, new clothing and personal decoration styles), and secondary group relations (the trade itself). Nevertheless, as predicted by social theory, such changes had little effect on the central institutions and culture of the Cree. Indeed, many anthropologists believe that innovations resulting from contact are often employed to intensify, elaborate, or complicate existing cultural patterns rather than to transform them. This view has also been adopted by several scholars studying the Indians of subarctic Canada.[9]

Even though material change normally occurs quickly in the initial stages

of contact between peoples of different cultures, it did not occur in wholesale fashion among the Cree in the century prior to 1774. In the case of the Cree in the region east of James Bay, for example, the new technology from Europe did not replace the already well-adapted tools and strategies, such as snowshoes and trapping techniques. Similarly, in the Cumberland House – The Pas area, traditional materials were still preferred for important tools. For instance, Kelsey and modern ethnographers have reported that bone hide scrapers continued to be much preferred over iron replacements, and other aboriginal equipment, such as bone fish spears and fishhooks, remained in use.[10] Furthermore, anthropologists have demonstrated that the volume of goods present in any trading situation cannot automatically be taken as a valid indication of the extent of acculturation.[11] In fact, most technological innovations adopted by Indians were modified to fit their existing perceptions and social system, and many European goods were employed in Indian culture for purposes other than those for which they were produced in Europe. For example, trade blankets were often boiled to extract the dye, or unravelled and the yarn used to weave small bags. Objects which were utilitarian in European eyes were very often used by Indians for decorative purposes.[12]

An argument is made by some scholars (such as E.E. Rich and Arthur J. Ray[13]) that what is interpreted as a considerable influx of European goods between 1675 and 1765 created considerable change in Indian lifeways in the interior. However, these historians fail to consider the *nature* of the change in light of the anthropological analysis of innovation. In reality, most of these newly adopted elements of technology were integrated to fit already existing structures of Cree society. Most, if not all, were transferred devoid of their European ideological content and assigned Indian meanings. From his field work in 1938 and 1940, Cree ethnographer Leonard Mason asserted that the "fleeting and intermittent" contact with the Europeans over two hundred years had left the aboriginal pattern of the Swampy Cree largely intact except in the material realm – even these material goods were incompletely integrated into the culture. Other anthropologists speak of "incorporative integration" of European elements into an existing sociocultural matrix. In addition, new incorporations consisted primarily of those aspects of European culture which Indians themselves valued and desired.[14] From the Indian point of view, therefore, the changes which were manifest in their culture were not as radical nor as disruptive as they might appear on the surface. Indians invested new material goods with meanings derived from their traditional world view. The

new tools were often used for traditional tasks and were distributed within traditional social frameworks. Therefore, an anthropological perspective distinguishes adaptations of new elements which are integrated into the existing system and result in minor changes outside the core culture from the more significant changes which demand real alterations within the accepting culture in order to function.[15]

Nor did all Indian groups adapt to European influences at the same rate. Despite the assumption of many scholars that rapid change was universal, careful analysis indicates that we must distinguish among different Indian groups and indeed among the Cree themselves, based on the particular circumstances of geography and variable levels of participation in the trade system. For example, in contrast to the Home Guard Cree, the Western Woods Cree adapted only the superficial aspects of a new technology, spending usually no more than a week every one or two years at York Factory. As was apparent in later periods as well, during the initial stage of contact, the majority remained essentially subsistence hunters organized in flexible hunting groups – not full-time trappers or provisions hunters. In terms of specific culture changes, Joseph Robson, who was a HBC employee in the mid-1700s, reported that the coastal Indians (that is, the Home Guard Cree at York Factory) were very different from those Cree who lived inland. For example, traditional burial practices which had been dropped by the Home Guard Indians were still being followed by the inland Cree.[16] We must take care, therefore, not to generalize about the acculturation of the Cree groups as a whole. Since much more is known about the Home Guard Cree, information about them is too often uncritically, and inappropriately, applied also to the inland or Western Woods Cree.

One of the ideas which often accompanies the assumption of rapid culture change is that the original cultural elements were quickly eroded and irretrivably forgotten, that is, the "cultural amnesia" interpretation. A contrary argument is presented in more recent studies and in the theoretical literature, to the effect that integration of European tools and technology actually acted to *intensify* traditional Indian cultural patterns and the hunting ecological adaptation.[17] The "cultural amnesia" interpretation seems to stem from the comments of traders such as Jérémie who, in the early eighteenth century, asserted that the Cree had "lost their skill with the bow" as a result of using guns. In the traders' view it was this assumed loss of traditional abilities which resulted in the shortage of food and furs to trade among the Cree. An important question, however, is, how did traders get this idea?

Was it from observation, or did it come from conversations with Indians in bargaining situations? Historical geographer Arthur J. Ray uncritically repeats a statement by Governor James Knight in the York Factory journals of 1715–16 that the Indians claimed to have lost the ability to use their bows and arrows when they got fire arms.[18] Considering the probability that it was the Home Guard Cree, and not the Western Woods Cree, who were being discussed, we must also examine the context of the statements by traders that Indians were quickly losing their culture. It appears as if such reports were often derived from Indian statements made during the trading process. Unfortunately, historians have seldom bothered to examine the significance of the context or the motivation behind Indian trade rhetoric. Assuming that they are reported accurately, such statements must be viewed in light of the common Indian trading strategy of attempting to evoke the traders' "pity." If successful evoking pity, the Indians could expect the trader to be more lenient with the trade standard and give full measure in contrast to the prevailing practice. Very early in the contact at Port Nelson in 1684, Radisson had identified the invocation of "pity" as a major gambit in the Crees' trading strategy. In James Isham's description of the trade process in the mid-1700s, the Indians typically stated: "You are hard you will not pitty me, I will not come any more." Tales of privation, starvation, warfare, difficult passages, as well as the claim that the new European technology was now absolutely necessary for their very survival, were commonly part of Indian trade rhetoric.[19] If traders did not automatically accept these accounts at face value, many historians seem to have done so. Such attempts to arouse the trader's pity were combined with other tactics, including threats to take their furs elsewhere and exaggerations of the quality of goods, quantity of gifts and high prices given for furs by the competition. We must, therefore, view all statements about the inability of Indians to survive without the new technology and the hardships of their lives which were reported during trading sessions in light of trade rhetoric and bargaining tactics. This is necessary particularly in the absence of any corroborative evidence. Ray's reliance on Knight's account of the company's re-establishing trade relations to York Factory in 1714 is not convincing, since it is distinctly possible that the Cree were attempting to force the newly arrived trader to be as generous as possible – stretching the truth to make a point – that is, to arouse the trader's "pity."

On the specific question of whether guns replaced traditional skills with the bow and arrow, Swampy Cree ethnographer Leonard Mason states: "At

one stroke the acquisition of firearms eased the Indian's constant anxiety over an adequate food supply, and the primitive bow and arrow were quickly forgotten."[20] In his important book, *The Fur Trade in the Northwest to 1857*, historian E.E. Rich also makes the following assertion concerning the situation in the mid-1700s: "The bow and arrow went out of use, and the Indian starved if he did not own a serviceable gun, powder and shot."[21] From an examination of his earlier more detailed work on the HBC, however, it is clear that this interpretation is derived from Indian rhetoric during trading sessions to the effect that they would starve if not given ammunition.[22] Although an argument might be made showing that the Home Guard Cree were dependent on firearms, it is clear that they found traditional weapons more to their liking for all but warfare. As in other facets of the trade, neither the supply nor the demand for guns was unlimited. Ray cites trade figures for the late seventeenth century which show a ratio of only one usable gun for every four to seven Indians in the population. In fact, demand for guns at York Factory actually declined after 1691.[23] Indeed, the early trade gun was not necessarily a more efficient weapon for Indian purposes. It was noisy when stealth was an asset, and it was often not sturdy enough to withstand the rigours of a taiga winter. Repair on the trail was difficult if not impossible; furthermore, it was next to impossible for Indians to transport enough powder and shot inland to last for a full year.[24] Writing about the situation in the early 1770s, Samuel Hearne contrasted the Southern Indians' (or Western Woods Cree) archery abilities with those of the Chipewyan: "The Southern Indians, though they have been much longer used to firearms, are far more expert with the bow and arrow, their original weapons."[25] Although in 1755 Anthony Henday claimed that his Cree guides were "dependent" on him for powder and shot, he also reported that they were still able to kill moose with bows and arrows easily enough.[26] As late in the Early Fur Trade Era as 1772, according to HBC servant Matthew Cocking, the inland Cree were "hoarding" their ammunition for use against their enemies in war and using bows and arrows for hunting. By the time Captain John Franklin's party visited the Cree in the Cumberland House-The Pas area in 1819-20, it is still perhaps no mere romantic anachronism that we find a bow as well as a gun in the background of Lieutenant Hood's painting of the interior of the Cree hunter's (The Warrior's) tent at the Basquiau Hill (see frontispiece). Indeed, the Cree continued to utilize bows and arrows for subsistence activities as late as the 1840s.[27] Recent scholarship on the subject, concerning other subarctic regions too, indicates that guns

never really replaced traditional Indian weapons. As several anthropologists have noted, even if a novelty is accepted, the element it replaces remains "latent" in the culture for generations.[28] Therefore, we should not assume that the Cree soon lost their traditional hunting skills – in effect suffering "cultural amnesia." To hold to this interpretation in the face of the empirical evidence, as does Charles Bishop in his recent work, is an error arising from uncritical acceptance of Indian trade rhetoric and hyperbole at face value while ignoring the quantitative data and simple logistics of the trade situation.[29]

Meanwhile, the European traders were adapting their own cultures to meet Indian expectations. Ever since HBC servants Chouart, Kelsey and Henday were sent inland, traders were acculturating a good deal through participation in such institutions as marriage *à la façon du pays* ("in the custom of the country," or "Indian-style"). The Western Woods Cree were encountering European traders who were not only marrying Indian women after the Indian custom, but were also wearing Indian clothing, depending on Indian knowledge and political skills, speaking Indian languages, living, working, trading, and travelling in the Indian manner. Also significant is the fact that the Europeans had, to a large degree, adopted Indian trade habits. Indeed, the entire North American fur-trade system was founded on principles derived from Indian social, political, geographic and economic experience. For example, the trade process itself was predicated on Indian-inspired ceremony and the central importance of gifts in their political methods. Graham and Isham have given us detailed descriptions of the formalized ceremony accompanying the trade which involved calumet ritual, oratory and gift exchange – none of which were European in origin, but rather all were central elements of Indian practice.[30]

The European traders were adopting Indian customs even in the medical realm. For instance, Andrew Graham allowed Indians to perform a surgical phlebotomy in order to successfully relieve his headache and dizziness. T.S. Drage, a member of a Northwest Passage expedition who wintered at York Factory in 1747, reported the success of a shamanistic sucking cure. As late as the middle 1830s, HBC Chief Trader John McLean was still able to report that "we are, in fact, more frequently indebted to them, than they to us, for medical advice."[31] In discussing the effect of Indian society on Europeans, A.J. Ray makes the additional interesting observation that consumer-oriented demands made by Indians concerning the type and quality of trade goods desired became a source of technological and commercial innovation in Europe. Indian demands influenced the development, production, or off-shore

acquisition of the desired trade goods,[32] and all this in the face of the fiercely defended mercantile nationalism prevailing in Europe at the time. Thus, in concert with Jaenen's findings in eastern Canada, we must begin to take greater account of European acculturation to Indian lifeways in our analysis of the contact situation.

A common assumption found in the historical literature is that fur traders were not interested in altering Indian culture through what anthropologists call directed culture change. However, there is evidence which demonstrates that European traders made deliberate attempts to change patterns in a number of areas in Cree life.[33] First and foremost, traders attempted to alter the Cree's basic ecological adaptation in order to produce more fur. The traditional big-game hunting focus of the Cree's subsistence pattern was not necessarily the best one for trapping furs. First Kelsey in 1690, then Henday in 1755 and Tomison in 1770s admonished the Cree to do more trapping. In his reconstruction of the typical formalized trading speeches in the 1740s, Isham reports the common exhortation of the traders to the Indians: "You have not Brought many martins do not be lassy, keep close to trapping in the winter."[34] During the period in the middle of the century, however, after having made fine promises to the governor at York Factory, the Western Woods Cree continued their quest for big game and almost totally ignored the hunt for fur bearers. The Cree began trapping even less as they became more involved as middlemen. In fact, the Cree demand for trade goods was limited to about a hundred MB a year – seventy for "necessaries," the remainder for luxuries – all of which could be supplied through their activities as part-time middlemen.[35] The European traders thus found themselves unable to direct this aspect of Cree adjustment to the trade situation.

The HBC traders attempted to alter leadership roles in Cree society as well. Anthropologists have described Cree leadership patterns as being temporary, situational, task-oriented and dependent on competence and prestige rather than being based on the European model of power and authority.[36] Such a flexible system met the needs of a hunting and gathering people, but not the requirements of the trading companies. The European traders therefore had to put much effort and expense into supporting certain Indian leaders (called trading captains) in order to establish a more formal economic organization than was usual in Cree society. The position of European-sponsored trading captains was first mentioned by the Jesuits in 1672 and by the English in 1683. Free trader and HBC critic Joseph Robson observed in 1752 that

at York Factory the company was creating "titular officers" among the Indians of certain rivers by making sumptuary presentations of European clothing. He asserted that these leaders were selected on the basis of their hunting skill, bravery in war and respect from the members of their band. Knowledge of trade routes, oratorical skill and the ability to deliver on promises to his fellows were also necessary qualifications.[37]

Some students of the fur trade, such as Arthur J. Ray, assert that the HBC failed in their attempt to establish a new type of political authority among Indian leaders. Others, such as Toby Morantz argue that new leadership roles were in fact successfully introduced among the Cree by the HBC system.[38] The latter group of scholars emphasize that the position of trading captain was usually held throughout the lifetime of the incumbent, and that this continuity over time was significantly different from the temporary, non-formalized leadership roles of the past. Proponents of this view, however, have offered little or no comparative evidence on the duration of traditional leadership roles. In fact, trader Ferdinand Jacobs, supported by Samuel Hearne's analysis, reported from York Factory in 1770 that, despite company efforts at bolstering the trading captain role, these leaders still had little real authority over their followers.[39] Jacobs indicated that such "principal men" often "Frankly Confessed they Could not Prevent their young men from Trading with the Pedlers it being So ready a supply brought to their tents."[40] As late as 1820, Lieutenant Hood of the Franklin expedition described a form of Western Woods Cree leadership which differed little from the traditional model.[41] Even important Cree leaders such as Wappenessew and Attickashish appear to have held positions which lacked formal power and authority as was typical of leadership in band society.

The time-honoured pattern of warfare became another target of the traders' efforts to direct culture change among the Western Woods Cree. Europeans did not understand the role of warfare in Cree society[42] and they attempted – again largely unsuccessfully – to divert them from this time-honoured pursuit to trapping. In a vein continued by HBC servants well into the eighteenth century, Henry Kelsey opposed Cree preparation for a raiding expedition in 1691: "I told y^m y^t they must not go to wars for it will not be liked by y^e governer neither would he trade with y^m if they did not cease from warring."[43] However, the Cree simply disregarded Kelsey and set off on a war expedition in spite of his threats. Such efforts at peacemaking were strongly supported by company policy. The London Committee wrote to Governor

Geyer and Council at York Factory on 17 June 1693 requesting that he vigorously attempt to dissuade the Indians from war: "Telling them what advantages they may make that the more furs they bring the more goods they will be able to purchase of us; which will enable them to live more comfortably and keep them from want in time of scarcity, & that you inculcate into them better morales than they yet understand."[44] Ironically, this statement appears immediately after a discussion of the near constant warfare in Europe at the time. In the late 1740s, de la Vérendrye also lamented his inability to dissuade the Cree from engaging in warfare. He envisioned great losses to the trade, since the Cree were carrying "more slaves than packages" of fur. Indeed, one of the main motivations for undertaking such raids was the capture of women and slaves. In 1771 Samuel Hearne indicated that Cree women were pressuring their husbands to go to war against the Northern (Chipewyan) Indians with the purpose of capturing a slave in order that "they may have the pleasure of killing it." Hearne himself reinforced this motivation by requesting that the Cree capture a slave to be raised as his domestic. Andrew Graham was sceptical of the seriousness of warfare among the Indians and insisted that it consisted of nothing more than "strolling about amongst the Archithinees and will not look after Furrs to come down with, This and this alone they call going to Warr."[45] Nevertheless, in the early 1700s York Factory traders reported the serious disruption of the trade through warfare and the attendant loss of important Indian leaders. As late as 1770, William Tomison found that he was still unable to dissuade the Indians from warring, and he blamed his lack of influence on the presence of Canadian trading houses in the interior.[46] Presumably, the less time spent on travel to York Factory, the more opportunities there were available to the Cree for raiding. It is important to note, however, as William Pink discovered during his inland journey with the Cree in 1767 and 1768, that the Indian motivation for war be viewed in terms of traditional unfocused revenge for a death or the conduct of a blood feud.[47]

In the end, company efforts at peacemaking were largely unsuccessful, since the HBC was not about to apply the ultimate (and indeed only available) sanction threatened by Kelsey – the withdrawal of trade goods. The European traders held no power over the Cree, and even the influence attached to trade goods was minimal since the Indians could easily have traded with the competition, or simply done without. As one-time employee of both the HBC and NWC Edward Umfreville wrote in 1790, "it is no more in the power

of the trader to hinder them from going to war than it is of the Governor of Michilimacina, who does all in his power annually to prevent it."[48] Although they put on a brave front, the Europeans harboured fears about the Indians because of their own weak strategic position. The 1688 instructions to Governor Geyer at Port Nelson show that "extreme caution" was recommended as company policy. As late as June and July 1759, Chief Trader Humphrey Marten was expressing fear of an Indian attack on York Factory.[49] European traders obviously could not "direct" change in the Western Woods Cree culture, nor could they control the strategic situation.

Another common interpretation in the fur-trade literature which must be questioned is the view that Indians in effect became addicted to European trade goods. Many early scholars contend that Indian consumer demand was "persistent," "cumulative," and even "insatiable." Authors of more recent works, however, tend to disagree.[50] Although the trading companies worked hard to market their goods in an attempt to alter or develop new consumer tastes among the Indians, their strategy met with little success among the Western Woods Cree of the lower Saskatchewan region. Although some historians focus on the "limited cultural background" of Indians which supposedly led to an "insatiable demand" for the manufactured products of Europe, evidence is quite clear that Cree demand for European goods remained at a constant level, that is, about one hundred MB per year. Experiments in the late 1600s with the introduction of such trade items as toys, as well as company attempts to stimulate a demand for European-made clothing, achieved little success.[51]

Cree resistance to trader manipulation of the system was also revealed when technological improvements in the 1680s resulted in the sharp reduction in demand for the Indian-worn "coat beaver." The HBC implored its traders at Port Nelson in 1689: "By your Method & standard of Trade you must let them See that Wee very much preferr Parchmt. Beavor before Coate Beavor, that soe they may bee forced to produce you lesse Coate Beavor and more Parchmt."[52] It is quite clear from the reports of York Factory Governor James Knight in 1716 and Matthew Cocking in 1772, however, that the Cree remained resistant to altering their approach to trapping and fur preparation. In fact, the company received far too much coat beaver well into the 1700s.[53] The attempt to alter the mix of furs brought in by the Indians was not an easy task, since the Cree had their own interests and priorities, which they refused to abandon.

Consistent with the maintenance of Indian priorities in fur production, and contrary to the widespread opinion of historians that Indians were soon "dominated" and "exploited" by the Europeans,[54] the Cree remained in control of trade, transportation, provisioning and strategic concerns. Indeed, as social scientists have concluded, such contact need not occasion domination by European migrants at all.[55] In terms of the process of exchange, it is clear from the descriptions of the trade ceremonies that the Indians had formalized much of the system so that it conformed to their own cultural perceptions of trade – not as purely economic, but as alliance and social exchange.[56] Graham asserted that, far from being exploited, the Indians themselves were "sly and crafty to a great degree and employ these qualities to cheat and circumvent both themselves and the Europeans." Here Indians were applying their own standards of reciprocity. The Cree became hard bargainers and militant consumers, refusing to accept substandard or inappropriate goods. York Factory journals indicated that, in addition, Indians refused to allow the company to set its own standards for deer skins, established their own rate at one MB per skin, and would not be budged from this price. Indeed, Indians "held the whip hand" in the trade as long as competition obtained.[57]

Perhaps the most important assumption which needs to be critically reexamined is that the Western Woods Cree quickly became dependent on the fur trade for their livelihood. This generalization about Indian "dependence" is a dominant theme in fur-trade literature.[58] Some scholars place the onset of dependence at the end of the eighteenth century, while others assert that the Cree had become "dependent" by 1740. Ethnohistorian Harold Hickerson maintains that dependence occurred "within a generation," while Rich says that it had happened by 1670.[59] Rich asserts that Indians trading into York Factory were "completely dependent" by 1743, and that Indians all the way to the Rockies were similarly dependent by the mid-eighteenth century. The fur traders cited by Rich, however, were obviously exaggerating their own importance. Indian eagerness to trade when goods were available did not automatically imply "dependence" or cultural amnesia. Such an interpretation is erroneous because traditional adaptations, skills and technologies continued to be implemented by the Cree throughout the period up to 1774. Quite simply, demand for European trade goods must not be equated with dependence.

There are a number of other difficulties with the early-dependence interpretation. First, it is often an extremely broad generalization made without

significant supporting evidence. Second, none of the scholars who propose this interpretation (for example Rich, Rothney, and Murphy and Steward) make a serious attempt at defining or analyzing "dependence"[60] in any qualitative, much less quantifiable, terms. Nor do they specify the critical point at which, or processes whereby, dependence developed from independence. On the other hand, there is strong evidence emerging from the study of the HBC records dealing with the Cree who lived east of James Bay which refutes the idea of wholesale dependence. It has also become clear from the work of historians studying the Chipewyan that, far from being "inextricably enmeshed" in the system, many Indian groups were able to withdraw from the fur trade when it suited their own purposes, and they were easily able to re-establish previous subsistence patterns.[61] These findings on the East Main Cree and the Chipewyan are also borne out by the following documentation on the Western Woods Cree.

Indians living inland from York Factory were clearly not dependent in 1754. In September of that year, HBC envoy Anthony Henday commented: "I smoaked with them and have done all in my power to get them to visit our forts, but I am afraid to little purpose, the living in this plentifull country, and can well do without any European support, but their chief objection is the long distance."[62] In fact, many Western Woods Cree in the Saskatchewan River delta area merely intensified traditional big-game hunting patterns in response to the trade and therefore were able to easily revert to more traditional adaptations. It is also clear that the Western Woods Cree were much less dependent than the Home Guard Cree were and that not only contemporaneous critics of the HBC, but modern historians as well, have overstated the case for Indian dependence. The key indicators of dependence are the establishment of a post in the home territory and depletion of big game, neither of which applied to the Western Woods Cree during the Early Fur Trade Era before 1774.

Far from Indian dependence on trade, it was European dependence on Indians which characterized the early contact situation. The Europeans relied on the Cree not only for guidance, transportation and translation services inland, but also for marriage partners, a supply of labour, and food for the posts on Hudson Bay. Of course, the Europeans also depended on Indians as the primary producers of fur and as the crucial middlemen in the system. It is unlikely that Chouart, Kelsey, Henday, Pink or any of the other HBC men sent inland during this period could have been successful without their

female "bedfellows" and Cree leaders such as Attickashish and Wappenessew. Especially while they were inland, the European traders were typically isolated, outnumbered and often ignorant about the country and its inhabitants.[63] HBC correspondence has shown that Indians also served as a crucial communication link between York Factory and the Bottom of the Bay. It was not only the Cree's knowledge, political skill and actual trailblazing which were crucial to the relationship, but also, as T.S. Drage reported in his account of 1746–47, the provision of the technology for travel–moccasins, snowshoes and canoes.[64]

Provisioning the posts was another central aspect in the Cree-trader relationship. James Isham's letter to the surgeon of the Dobbs Galley in 1747 makes it clear that, concerning the provision of "country produce" to the company at York Factory, "you are sensible our whole Dependence is from them."[65] This dependence on Indians for food began in 1661 when Radisson and des Groseilliers accepted much-needed provisions, and continued in 1670 when Radisson received food from the Cree at Port Nelson and Charles Fort. The records have also clearly indicated that the HBC operations east of James Bay also turned to the Cree for much of their food. HBC servants were simply not sufficiently skilled in the necessary hunting techniques to support themselves. This shortcoming gave the Cree provisioners a good deal of leverage within the relationship. From first contact through 1774 they continually manipulated the traders by threatening to starve the posts.[66]

The realization of their dependence combined with the pressure they felt to conform to Indian social norms caused the HBC to support the Indians in times of famine. By doing this, they would maintain the social connection inherent in the Cree concept of trade as well as ensure Cree loyalty in future provisioning. Henry Kelsey reported in December 1696 that Indians in a "starving condition" were receiving food from the company at York Factory.[67] For the Western Woods Cree, the long voyage to York Factory was often accompanied by hunger, and the Indians required support while at the post if they were to be encouraged to return again. Food gifts such as bread and prunes became part of the symbolic pre-trade ceremonies and the English were wise enough not to make Jérémie's mistake of refusing to share food with their trading partners. Nevertheless, the traders did complain about the Indian's lack of gratitude for this support. Andrew Graham stated: "Gratitude is utterly unknown amongst them: they receive favours and by all this can, but never think themselves under obligation to the donor. . . . There is no end to their craving."[68]

From the earliest stages of contact, European records paint a picture of the insistently demanding nature of Indian trade rhetoric.[69] In fact, Europeans often failed to understand what they saw as importunate, ungrateful behaviour on the part of the Cree. Another way of interpreting this behaviour is to understand it as an attempt to establish a lasting relationship through material exchange. As economic anthropologists have discovered, a measure of imbalance in the material flow of goods serves to sustain the ties of partnership. In Indian society, gift giving was a function of kinship, and gift exchange outside the parameters of familial relations was structured in a similar manner in order to establish a kinship-like bond between the two partners. The Cree were demanding in the relationship with traders because they perceived untold wealth among the Europeans and were imposing their conceptions of proper kin-like behaviour on the traders. In his important book, *Stone Age Economics*, Marshal D. Sahlins states the following principle: "The greater the wealth gap . . . the greater the demonstrable assistance from rich to poor that is necessary just to maintain a given degree of sociability."[70] The demanding approach of Indians can also be viewed as evidence supporting the idea that the Cree were in control of the relationship. As anthropologists Broom et al. maintain: "Usually role playing mirrors one group's image of itself in relation to the other. Consequently, among other generalized components, it contains an assertion of intergroup status and a definition of intergroup power relationships."[71] Thus, by displaying demanding behaviour, the Cree were not demonstrating their dependence, but were asserting their perception that they had control over the relationship.

There has been a good deal written about European views of Indians;[72] however, as might be expected, there are few documents which record the Indian perception of traders. Historian Cornelius Jaenen has done important work on this subject. Focusing on the attitudes of Indians in eastern Canada, he refutes A.G. Bailey's assertion that they quickly developed an inferiority complex in the face of the European technological superiority, and documents the Indians' continued feeling of pre-eminence over the Europeans.[73] The Cree living west of Hudson Bay held similar feelings of superiority. Robson (whose report was confirmed by Graham) said that the Cree viewed company servants as "slaves." Hearne maintained that both the Northern (Chipewyan) and Southern (Cree) Indians had little regard for ordinary employees. Although Europeans such as Cocking perceived the Cree as "children," the Cree held a similar view of Europeans, not only in linguistic, but also in social terms.[74]

The European traders' views of Indians were ambivalent, however. On the positive side, the Indians were praised for their stoicism, "good sense," physical health and, paradoxically, for their honesty. Surprisingly, fur traders often demonstrated a cultural relativist approach. As Andrew Graham wrote, "It would be ingenerous to tax them with that [awkward table manners] as a fault which they never had an opportunity of mending."[75] One of the most common of the Europeans' negative perceptions about Indians concerned their supposed indolent character. Another negative characteristic often associated with Indians was "improvidence."[76] Europeans were consistently critical of a lack of the "protestant work ethic" among Indians. Exasperation over the Cree's indifference to the morrow and their seemingly continual "smoking, feasting, drumming, and dancing" was never very far below the surface in the journals. Typical of these opinions is Graham's statement that Indians were "naturally indolent, and having food and raiment for the present never concern themselves for the future until all is expended."[77] Many historians, taking their cue directly from these fur traders, have stereotyped Indians as improvident – even "monumentally" so. Some anthropologists have also supported this opinion.[78]

None of the abovementioned commentators, however, seems to comprehend the Indian approach to life. The Cree were following the "Zen way to affluence," where acquisitive desires were limited and very little material wealth was necessary to create the "original affluent society." Andrew Graham stated: "They are content with little, and seldom complain when in want, They are extremely patient under hunger, thirst or other misfortunes."[79] Claude de la Potherie made a similar observation during his tenure as administrator for the French fleet at Fort Bourbon (York Factory) in 1697: "They only live to keep themselves from dying and satisfying merely the bare neccessities of nature, they find that a man can get along with very little."[80] Such a world view helps to explain the limited demand for trade goods and the lack of "market-economy" behaviour displayed by the Cree.

A good deal of comment in the fur-trade records was also stimulated by the hunting practices of the Western Woods Cree, which were disparaged by the traders as profligate. Echoing comments by several of his contemporaries, Graham stated: "They kill animals out of wantonness, alleging the more they destroy the more plentiful they grow. Several score of deer I have known killed at one time, the natives only taking the tongues, heads, hearts and feet, according as they choose; letting the carcasses go adrift in the river."

Graham attempted to explain this behaviour as follows: "But frugality and prudence in this respect are not amongst the virtues of these natives. Though to be impartial, it is just to mention that the reason of a conduct so unaccountable to Englishmen may proceed from the difficulty that would arise from conveying a stock of provisions from place to place in their migratory way of life. We ought therefore not to be rash in our censures."[81] Economic anthropologists would agree with Graham that, for hunters, "wealth is a burden."[82] It is possible that the traders' perception of this behaviour on the part of the Cree was the result of incomplete observation by the Europeans. It is doubtful that these non-Indian commentators ever strayed very far from the confines of the Hudson Bay posts. Indeed it was common for a Cree hunter to retrieve only a token of his kill and then send his women out to butcher and carry the rest of the meat home. Moreover, a subsistence pattern which exploited game species until hunting became difficult and which then adjusted to the resulting scarcity through mobility was an effective strategy for many woodland peoples with low population densities and migratory lifestyles.[83] Thus, a complete understanding of Western Woods Cree hunting practices must go beyond the evaluations of European observers to take into account Indian cultural traits.

In a recent provocative study, historian Calvin Martin concludes that Indians should not be considered as the original conservationists of a golden ecological age. With the support of several subarctic ethnologists, however, Arthur J. Ray argues contrary to Martin that this behaviour on the part of the Cree was rooted in a world view which posited that if the spirits of the slain animals were properly propitiated, there would always be enough game for the future.[84] In reality, the Cree's day-to-day, hand-to-mouth existence – an adaptation perceived as "improvidence" by Europeans – was a manifestation of the overweening "confidence" found to be characteristic of hunters and gatherers everywhere. Hunters had strong self-assurance that their knowledge of the habitat and animal behaviour, their hunting skills, the effectiveness of their dreams and "conjuring" (or magic), and above all their special spiritual relations with animals would inevitably bring success. If success was not immediate, then only the virtue of patience was necessary.[85] As was the case with most hunting peoples, therefore, the Cree were simply demonstrating supreme confidence in their future hunting prospects. As a result, they saw no need – in the absence of a scientific or ecological world view (even the naive and inconsistent one held by their European contemporaries)

– to engage in conservation practices. Their migratory lifestyle, combined with their relatively sparse population density and animistic world view, obviated the need for an ecological concept akin to what is now called conservation. Indeed, anthropologists have found that their approach to hunting produced the same effect as scientific ecology does in producing sustained yields from their habitat.[86]

On a number of counts, therefore, we must re-evaluate the conclusions of many fur-trade scholars concerning the initial stages of Indian-trader relations in the Early Fur Trade Era west of Hudson Bay. As was the case for the Cree east of James Bay, the Western Woods Cree were by no means dependent on the traders for their survival in the period up to 1774, as so many scholars have maintained. They were in fact in firm control of the relationship in economic, political, social and strategic terms. The term *dependence* should be used to describe the position of Europeans – not Indians – since it was the Europeans who relied most heavily on their Cree trading partners for survival during the Early Fur Trade Era.

Relations in the competitive fur trade era: 1774–1820

3

The next period of Indian-trader relations – the Competitive Fur Trade Era – was ushered in by the establishment of Cumberland House in the heart of Western Woods Cree territory. This move was a response by the HBC to Indian desires for a more convenient inland trading centre, combined with a competitive situation vis-a-vis Canadian interests which Indians were exploiting and indeed exaggerating. Although the Cree had expended a good deal of effort maintaining their middleman position, the establishment of a HBC post in the middle of their territory effectively ended their middleman status in their relations with the company.

Cumberland House, however, was not the first HBC trading establishment to confront the Cree deep in their own territory. The original experiment with inland posts had turned out relatively unhappily for all concerned some years earlier. Ethnohistorian Charles Bishop gives an instructive account of the unfortunate relationship which developed when, in 1743, the HBC constructed Henley House two hundred miles upriver from Fort Albany on James Bay. Here too, the Cree had pressured the HBC for an inland post to serve them in their own territory and, one might suspect, in order to stimulate direct competition between the English and Canadian trading interests. Indian rhetoric to this effect was reinforced by demonstrating an increased reluctance to travel to Albany with their furs.[1] Deteriorating relations at both Albany and Henley House ended in the destruction of the latter post in 1754 by the Cree. This action was precipitated by a breach of the reciprocal social obligations which the Cree considered fundamental in any trading situation. An important aspect of this relationship was the availability of Cree women for marriage *à la*

façon du pays in return for Indian access to post amenities. The Cree viewed such liaisons as true marriages and they expected to be treated like kinsmen in return.[2] When free entrance to the post was denied them, the Cree attacked and destroyed Henley House, killing the whole English complement. Evidently, the traders had not recognized the social obligations inherent in the Cree view of the relationship. Their blindness to this crucial aspect of the trade cost them dearly, as had Jérémie's miscalculation in 1712.

Relations at the new post in the hinterland of York Factory, on the other hand, proceeded much more smoothly. This can be partially explained by noting the different approach of the traders in charge of the expedition to establish Cumberland House in 1774. The two HBC servants now sent among the Cree, Samuel Hearne and Matthew Cocking, were experienced inland travellers. They were therefore familiar with the need to adapt themselves to Western Woods Cree culture and to work within the limitations set by Indian political, economic and strategic hegemony. For example, on his way inland in 1774, under the guidance of the "Leading Indian," Me-sin-e-kish-ac, Hearne was careful to vet his plans for establishing a post with the Cree leaders in the region. He reconnoitered the prospects for a building site in the Basquiau area, but stated that he "did not Determine to build there till [he] had consulted with the Indian Chiefs." The Cree eventually convinced Hearne to construct his post on Pine Island in Cumberland Lake (where he had been conducted originally). Hearne continued: "It is the general opinion of those Indians that that Part will be more commodious both for Drawing the Indians to trade as well as for Provisions then Basquiau, it laying in the middle between three Tribes."[3] However, this decision did not stop other Cree, such as the Grass Indians, from continuing to press Hearne to establish his post farther up the Saskatchewan, closer to their own country. Hearne has been wise to consult the local Cree, not only because of his own lack of knowledge of the country thereabouts, but also because of their obvious self-assured supremacy.

The power of the Cree was amply demonstrated soon after the establishment of Cumberland House. Fur traders occupied a very tenuous strategic position inland, as the experience of Alexander Henry the Elder illustrated. On 8 October 1775, after joining a large group of other Nor'Westers (including such experienced traders as Peter Pond, Étienne Cadotte, and Joseph and Thomas Frobisher – 130 men altogether), Henry's party was waylaid at Basquiau by Chatique (the Pelican), the headman of about thirty families of Cree. Chatique "invited" the traders to his tent and then demanded stiff tribute

in return for allowing the party to pass, saying, as Henry reported,

> . . . that we must be well aware of his power to prevent our going further; that if we passed now, he could put us all to death on our return; and that under these circumstances, he expected us to be exceedingly liberal in our presents; adding, that to avoid misunderstandings, he would inform us of what it was that he must have. . . . He went on to say that he had before now been acquainted with white men, and knew that they promised more than they performed; that with the number of men which he had, he could take the whole of our property, without our consent; and that therefore his demands ought to be regarded as very reasonable; that he was a peaceable man, and in order to avoid quarrels, – finally, that he desired us to signify our assent to his proposition, before we quitted our places.[4]

Henry's party decided that discretion was the better part of valour and acceded to Chatique's demands. As a final indignity, Chatique followed the departing traders in one canoe and, when he caught up to them, imperiously demanded one more keg of rum. This too was granted, and Chatique left the Europeans to contemplate this object lesson in dominance. Chatique's actions were another example of "negative reciprocity," in which coercion is used to extract maximum benefit from the exchange. This incident shows clearly that the Western Woods Cree were in control of the trading relationship.

Not only the Canadians, but also the HBC were aware of the Cree's upper hand in strategic relations. Humphrey Marten admitted the weakness of the company's position inland in a dispatch to the London Committee in 1778. Certainly at the outposts upstream, but also at Cumberland House itself, at times the traders could not send their men abroad for fear that the Indians would kill them.[5]

In addition to exploiting their strategic advantage, the Cree continued their long-standing strategy of playing the rival trading interests against one another in order to maximize the benefits of competition. After consulting with a group of "principal men" thirty miles south of Cranberry Portage on his way inland, Hearne reported that the Cree continued to exaggerate the generosity of his competitors: "The Pedlors by this time has to much influence, and that I ware to late in comeing. The Pedlors generosity is much talk'd of, and are said to give away great quanies of goods for nothing . . . – I cannot pretend to say anything to the Contrary at Present, but shal hereafter Endeavour to make myself better acquainted with the trooth of this very Extraordinary account."[6] In the end, Hearne found it impossible to get from the Cree what he believed to be reliable information on the actual trading

standards of the Canadians. The Cree also used the competitive situation to their own best advantage by holding back their furs from Hearne in early October 1774 to await the Canadians' arrival.

Once having convinced the HBC to establish Cumberland House, the Cree then assumed control over most facets of the trade. To begin with, Europeans had neither the knowledge, manpower, nor skill, much less a grasp of the necessary technology, to operate the crucial transportation system between inland establishments and posts on Hudson Bay. Cree guidance, labour, and paddling skills, as well as their monopoly over the construction of the indispensable canoes themselves, were all essential to the prosecution of company trading interests inland. For nearly one hundred years the Cree had been transporting their furs to York Factory. They had now become the key link in hauling the company's trade goods in the opposite direction. Indeed, Hearne had encountered much difficulty in persuading his own Orcadian servants to accompany him inland in 1774. This may in part be explained by the experience at Henley House, although the lack of salary premiums for inland service may also have been influential.[7] At any rate, Hearne was forced to depend on the Cree trading captain Me-sin-e-kish-ac and his followers to carry him inland in 1774. Me-sin-e-kish-ac was in no hurry to proceed, although we might expect that Hearne was anxious to reach his destination. However, in scenes to be repeated many times in the future, Hearne found that he was unable to avoid days which his paddlers "expended in Smoking & Drinking with their friends." In addition, even before the Cree had delivered Hearne to his destination, they began to go their respective ways, leaving him with the problem of hiring more paddlers and canoes in order to continue.[8] However, Hearne's labour troubles were minor compared to those experienced by Robert Flatt who, while travelling with another group, was "very crewily" plundered of all his goods by his guides. The Cree who were ferrying Matthew Cocking in another support column never did rendezvous with Hearne's party that year as originally planned because they conducted him far out of the way, to the Red Deer River country, where they spent the winter.[9]

Cocking's journal for his next inland journey in 1775 also recorded his frustration at the "very dilatory" progress made by his Indian tripmen. In order to get them to proceed, he was forced to give them his own gun, and even this expedient failed to produce the desired results. Cocking pointed out the dependence of the Europeans on the Cree transport by saying: "In

this manner the Natives impose upon a European when they know he cannot do without them.''[10] In his summary observations on the first year's activity at Cumberland House, Hearne asserted that, when the original expense and the ensuring demand for ''treats'' were taken into account, the Cree had received much more to transport the goods than they were actually worth.[11] It is therefore apparent from the journals of Hearne and Cocking on their expeditions to establish Cumberland House that the Cree had definitely assumed the upper hand in the key transportation element of the inland trade system.

This Indian control over the transportation of Europeans and their goods inland continued well into the following decades. Philip Turnor, Malchom Ross and Edward Umfreville echoed Cocking's earlier assessment of European dependence.[12] The Western Woods Cree continued to command high premiums for their efforts. Neither did they feel compunction about delaying or taking company servants and goods well out of the way to suit their own purposes. They exerted control over their own working conditions, for example by deciding where and when to stop en route, and often by refusing to carry all that was required of them – in some cases arbitrarily sending excess goods back to York Factory. As Hearne had discovered, Cree tripmen deserted their employers whenever they wished. However, the telling point was that company officers had no choice but to rehire the prodigal paddlers without penalty soon afterwards, and were relieved to be able to do so.[13]

With such control over the labour situation inland, Indians established a pattern that was to be repeated many times in the future. The Cree used their strong bargaining position and ''press't very harde'' to force the traders to provide ''treats'' of alcohol. In 1775, on his second trip inland to Cumberland House, Hearne discovered that he had been forced into a ''no win'' situation. If he failed to provide the treat of brandy demanded, the Indians would refuse to move – indeed they would have taken what they wanted by force, or by subterfuge as they had demonstrated their ability to do in the past. When he did give in to their demands, Hearne chafed at the time the Indians wasted nursing hangovers. In 1776 Hearne reflected on Cree control:

> The very great dependence we have on the Natives at Present for canoes as well as their assistance in getting the Men and goods up, is not only attended with a very Extraordinary expence but Yearly exposes a large quantity of goods to the greatest danger of being totally lost, witness las Year . . . [200 gallons of Brandy were stolen] . . . these losses together with their payment

not only runs away with all the Profit, but renders the Company^{s} Servants the make game and laughing stock of every trader from Canady.[14]

As Hearne was all too keenly aware, construction of the vital canoes was a task for which the HBC totally depended on the Cree. Besides being too few in number, his own men had neither the knowledge nor the skill even to collect the necessary birch bark, let alone complete the complicated construction. His men were not at all cognizant of such important survival skills, "none of them every having been further from the forts than a Wooding or hunting tent."[15] In the spring of 1775 the Cree had already begun the practice of congregating at Cumberland House, and they promised Hearne that they would build canoes for him. Even after these promises, however, and despite Hearne's assertion, "tho I have been dayly giving them every thing they ask^{d} for to Encourage them thereto," they refused to build larger models to his specifications. In fact, as soon as they had completed their own vessels, they set off for the Canadian establishment at Basquiau, leaving him only one of the half dozen canoes promised. Upon later reflection, Hearne identified this limitation on the supply of canoes to be the major impediment to the success of the company's inland trade: "The greatest obstical that is likely to Prevent the Comp^{y} from getting goods inland is the want of Proper Cannoes, to Procure which I am Much at a loss what measures to take, as I find that no Payment or Promouses can enduce the Natives to make a Sufficient Quantity."[16] Despite the fact that HBC men such as Robert Longmoor were beginning to try their own hands at canoe building by 1776, the company continued to depend primarily on the Cree for this important technology. This reliance persisted until York boats were introduced into the transportation system in 1787 and began to be used increasingly thereafter.[17] By May 1783, company servant Magnus Twatt was reported to be building canoes, while other employees were repairing old ones and fetching bark. Nevertheless, Indians continued to be required to collect materials and to build canoes until at least 1828–29. In addition, the European creations were not always serviceable. Tomison reported in 1789: "The Canoes that was build at South Branch House are so ill constructed that I had some difficulty to get the men to take them."[18]

The data on the relationship between the Western Woods Cree and the HBC traders at Cumberland House clearly establish that the Cree maintained political, economic and strategic control of the contact situation in the region.

They had persuaded the English to move inland by combining hyperbole about the Canadians' standard of trade with a "principle of least effort" strategy of patronizing the Nor'Westers despite the actual price disadvantage. Having done this, the Cree approved the location of the post, exploiting their control of the strategic situation and the seller's market for labour and canoes. They also refused to submit to European control while hauling trade goods and were able to name the price for their own goods and services. The Western Woods Cree were hardly being "forced" into "abject dependence" on the fur traders.

The Cumberland House journals have also revealed that, in the two decades following the establishment of the post, the HBC depended increasingly on the Western Woods Cree furnishing them with "country produce." Their near monopoly on the supply of game animals for food was a significant means by which the Cree exerted their control over the trade relationship. For the European traders, the early years at Cumberland House were often characterized by serious food shortages which were alleviated only by the Cree's hunting skills. In 1775 Cocking reported that two tents-full of Indians led by hunters Nee-shue-wap-pay-a-thin and Patt-e-cow-win had been provisioning the post all winter and that this pattern continued for the next six decades.[19] Such wage labour for a few hunters was in addition to that of the many Cree who traded provisions as well as fur. During his initial trip to Cumberland Lake in 1774, Samuel Hearne had found that he depended on Indian provisions, since it was impossible to transport large amounts of European food inland. Seizing the opportunity, upon Hearne's arrival at Cumberland Lake, the Cree brought fresh meat and offered to hunt geese for the Europeans, promising to bring provisions "at all Convienient opertunities dureing the Winter." Again a pattern of reciprocal food exchange was established. For example, on 4 November 1774, Hearne provided food to a man's "starving" family.[20] On 2 December the same man returned to Cumberland House with four sledloads of moose meat. The Western Woods Cree obviously had begun to utilize Cumberland House as a redistribution centre, where they could in effect "bank" food for later use. In the post journals, it often appeared as if meat, and not fur, was the primary commodity of exchange. Indeed, many Indians came to Cumberland House strictly to trade meat. By 1779, Tomison was beginning to realize that a significant number of the Cree were not trapping fur bearers at all, because they could supply all their requirements for trade goods simply by bringing in country

produce.[21] This type of adaptation to the fur trade meant that some Indians – especially those living in the immediate vicinity of Cumberland House – were *not* forced to alter their basic subsistence pattern in order to engage in the trade system. They were able to utilize, and indeed intensify, traditional exploitative patterns of big-game hunting, rather than undergo drastic cultural or ecological changes upon direct contact with the traders.

Even the Canadian traders, who in the popular account are assumed to have been much more adept than the HBC servants at the necessary survival skills, were often in great want of provisions. Such difficulties were the result of their Cree hunters' absence from the area, as was the case with the starvation of Canadian traders at Basquiau in 1778. In 1775 Hearne wrote of Canadian traders starving to death and also engaging in cannibalism. The Cree demonstrated their complete control over this situation too, by imposing their own traditional sanctions on this deviant behaviour: they killed the Canadian involved.[22]

The Cree were quick to capitalize on their advantage. The prices which they demanded for their produce were "very dear" in the traders' eyes. For example, in April 1775, Hearne reported that geese were selling at the rate of one MB each. Realizing the company's dependence on the Cree for food, York Chief Humphrey Marten warned Tomison in August 1776 against allowing Indians to know the real state of the Cumberland House larder lest "they find you in wants their demands are extravagant."[23]

The production of country provisions by the Cree remained crucial to the HBC operations inland well into the 1800s. In February 1794, the Cumberland House journal noted an attempt by Malchom Ross to establish an outpost upriver at Nipawin. It failed, as Magnus Twatt explained: "It seems the Undertaking is Proved Unsuccessful by some ill concerted Measures in the Beginning. he could not stay there for Want of a Hunter, or some other Method of Getting Wherewith to subsist on. Which it seames was out of his power at this season of the Year to Procure."[24] In January 1796, Cumberland House itself was experiencing one of the frequent poor intervals in its local fishery, and the spectre of starvation loomed before the traders. Typically, however, Indian hunters eventually brought the welcome news of moose kills.[25] Similar situations were described in the Cumberland House journals throughout the period leading up to 1840.

The Cree also used their control over the production of food to force the traders to provide alcohol. They made other demands too, that the traders

thought "extravagant." In 1777 Matthew Cocking reported that he had run out of alcohol at Cumberland House and he complained about Indian demands: "If it was not for the liquor and Tobacco We should not get a bit of Victuals to put in our mouths, but what we would have caught ourselves. . . . And I do all that lays in my Power to Please them in Moderation, But if I was for to give every thing that was in the Warehouse It would just be the same, They would still want more."[26] Indians who arrived at the post in August 1776 with a supply of meat and finding no alcohol available traded some for tobacco – as for the remainder, they "feasted it all away." The Cree's refusal to provide provisions for anything other than the luxuries of tobacco and brandy continued well into the 1800s.[27]

Such behaviour on the part of the Cree again belies the interpretation that they were soon "dependent" on the trading post. The overwhelming popularity of the luxury trade in alcohol and tobacco clearly indicated their independence from the traders for subsistence. As one Indian told Cocking in May 1777, he wished to trade only for liquor. Cocking reported that "he told me that he was not in want of any thing except that article, and if I refused to trade liquor for the whole He intended to keep them to Trade with the Pedlers as they came down."[28] Despite all Cocking's efforts, the trapper did just that, and the trader was forced to relent on his earlier determination. Alcohol, an item of no use whatever for the task of making a living, was consumable on the spot, and it became nearly the sole item of expanding demand among the Cree.[29]

The Western Woods Cree using Basquiau (present-day The Pas) as their home base played a significant role in the early Competitive Fur Trade Era. The journals recorded regular arrivals of Cree with provisions and furs. The Basquiau Cree were also described as the primary labour pool for tripmen hauling furs to York Factory each spring. In fact, Cumberland House became a rendezvous point for the Basquiau Cree as they waited for the return of their canoemen in the fall brigade. Even before he had completed the construction of Cumberland House, Hearne was receiving provisions from the Basquiau Cree. Alexander Henry's party in 1775 employed two Basquiau Cree to hunt, as did many of the Canadian traders in later years.[30] Despite their close ties to the HBC at Cumberland House, the Basquiau Cree also dealt freely with the Canadians who had a more or less permanent post on the site. In September 1776, to counter the trade with the Canadians situated at Basquiau, two HBC men, James Batt and Robert Davey, were sent with a supply

of goods to accompany the Basquiau Cree on their winter migrations.[31]

Another reason for sending these men with the Indians was to have them supported for the winter. Cocking noted in 1775 that the Cree groups were often "inclinable to take a man with them to support until spring"; and this became a common strategy to reduce the strain on the Cumberland House larder.[32] It was a practice which was also advantageous to the Cree themselves, because they acquired a source of trade goods right in their camps and an opportunity to develop useful marital-commercial relations with the traders.[33]

The Basquiau Cree had become masters at exploiting the European competition. In 1777, when two canoes-full of Nor'Westers were trading at their camp, the Cree used the presence of these Canadians as a bargaining lever in dealing with the HBC. In January 1778, Joseph Hansom recounted the ploy of one Cree, identified only as the Basquiau leader (probably Catabobinow): "He informs me that the Indians he left, has furs amongst them, and are intending to carry them to the Canadian House at Basquiau it being the nighest; but to prevent them I have sent presents and given Him encouragement to induce them to trade at this place."[34] The Cree made it known to the HBC traders that "having so many houses to go to They like to be hear and there and every where." In the Cree adaptation to the trade, the "principle of least effort" was fully operating. At this time, the Cree were also showing reluctance to serve as tripmen to take the year's furs to York Factory without receiving lavish presents. Such behaviour by the Cree forced the HBC to pay higher premiums for Indian labour and to send more and more presents their way. The Basquiau leader, Catabobinow, was the recipient of many of these presents, since he was suspected of trading on the sly with the Canadians. Presents had always been an important lubricant for Indian trade, but the Cumberland House master at this time really had little choice but to comply with what amounted to Cree demands for gifts to be distributed at their camps. These presents apparently kept Catabobinow himself relatively loyal to the company, despite the fact that he was being wooed in a similar fashion by the Canadians too, with "flattering words and presents." However, Tomison reported in May 1778, that no Basquiau Cree other than this leader had attended Cumberland House since the fall.[35] Such company-supported "trading captains" still had no more real authority over their followers than had leaders in traditional Cree culture.

Noting that none of the Basquiau Cree were building canoes in the spring of 1778, Tomison dispensed brandy, tobacco and other presents to persuade

them to help transport furs to York Factory. Nevertheless, he feared, "it will be to little purpose, as I am fully persuaded the Canadian traders make them presents to prevent them from assisting us."[36] The Cree were obviously getting "the best of both worlds." Although a number of Basquiau Cree eventually did appear to engage in the carrying trade, twenty-two bundles of furs had to be left behind. Joseph Hansom explained: "The Natives in general are not agreeable to go down as they can be supplied with their Necessaries at home by the Canadian Traders."[37] Given this fact, it appears that the Basquiau Cree who did serve as tripmen were opting for what amounted to wage labour as early as the mid-1770s. Since the long trip to York Factory was not motivated by the need for trade goods, their main reason for participating in the brigade must have been the challenge and excitement or the presents and payments they received for hauling furs. These Cree tripmen were also able to force the company to distribute the payment and accompanying presents in advance – much against the traders' preference.[38]

During the late 1770s some of the Basquiau Cree were reported by Cocking to have spent the winter "in the plain Ground," thus continuing a seasonal round which included exploitation of prairie resources recorded by Kelsey in 1691, Henday in 1755 and Cocking in 1773. Showing their adaptability to the plains, the Basquiau Cree were trading horses to the HBC at Cumberland House at least as early as 1779. The Cree had established a market for these animals because the company required horses to pack the furs collected from Indians in the region to the post – a task which the Cree trappers were refusing to do themselves.[39] Such tactics became typical of Western Woods Cree ascendancy in trade relations. Having established their control over the carriage trade to and from York Factory, by the 1780s the Cree were forcing the Europeans to bear the costs of transporting furs and provisions from Indian camps back to Cumberland House. The Basquiau and other local Cree typically arrived at Cumberland House during this period with only news of moose meat or furs available at their tents. Invariably the postmaster would send his own men out to fetch the produce. Even Indians coming from farther afield would often send a messenger ahead to ask for help in bringing their burdens the rest of the way to the post. This too was a means of exploiting the competitive situation. As one unnamed Indian stated to Cumberland House trader Magnus Twatt in August 1793, having the Europeans collect the provisions at his tent rather than bringing it himself was "in the way of the Canadians." As late as 1820, Lieutenant Hood of the Franklin expedition noted

that the Cree seldom went to the trouble of bringing their furs all the way to Cumberland House, but required the master to send his "slaves" for them.[40] The Basquiau Cree were in firm control of the trade relationship during the Competitive Fur Trade Era ending in 1821.

One significant aspect of the contact of Western Woods Cree with European traders over which the Cree had very little control was the transmission of diseases. Although Edward Ellis determined from his investigations at York Factory in 1746–47 that the "Inland Indians" had few health problems and suffered no contagious diseases, by 1772 Cocking was reporting that sickness and death among his travelling companions had delayed his expedition. But most scholars indicate that HBC records make no mention of epidemic diseases among the Western Woods Cree until 1781.[41]

The viral isolation of the Basquiau Cree came to an abrupt end on 11 December 1781. From the west came "Disagreeable News of many Indians dying." William Tomison's suspicions that the disease had advanced from the Missouri River country are confirmed by recent scholarship which traces the route of the smallpox epidemic into the Cumberland House region from the Dakota through the Assiniboine and thence to the Western Woods Cree. On 2 January 1782, four Basquiau Indians arrived who did not yet know of "the disorder that is rageing amongst the Natives." Despite precautions taken by Tomison to isolate the four while they were at the post, however, by the end of January the Cree at Basquiau had also contracted the disease and were dying in great numbers.[42]

Many Indians came to Cumberland House for relief from their illness but, although attempts were made, the Europeans could do little or nothing to help them. This situation was in stark contrast to other epidemics, one in 1824 and one in 1838, which were effectively controlled through a program sponsored by the company. Inoculations against the disease were carried out by the traders, who also instructed Indians and Métis in the techniques of vaccination.[43] Tomison found the burden of sick Indians to be so great that he was unable to send men out after furs. On 1 February 1782 he stated: "Indeed it is hard labour to keep the House in fuel and bury the dead." In the midst of this carnage, however, Tomison did manage to make a trip to Basquiau to collect 78 MB in furs from the dying and dead Indians there, "which is all that was amongst them, Except a few coats which they had for clothing." The Basquiau leader, Catabobinow, succumbed to the disease too. By mid-February it was reported that only two men, two women and

three children at Basquiau had escaped the disease, and they were in a starving condition. Determined to make the best of a deteriorating commercial situation, Tomison sent two men back to Basquiau in order to bury the dead – but first to exchange their beaver coats for duffle shrouds. Not only did the traders claim furs from their deceased Indian debtors, but they also took advantage of Cree sacrifices, collecting "19 made Beaver in Cats, which had been thrown away to the good Spirrit, that they might live."[44] Fortunately for some of the other Cree in the region, their isolation in small hunting groups during the winter saved them from the ravages of the disease. Tomison recorded in March of 1782 that groups of Indians arriving at Cumberland House from the north and the south had seen no other Indians all winter. Consequently they knew nothing of the epidemic, confirming that disease advanced most quickly along the well-travelled trade routes.

In his provocative book, *Keepers of the Game: Indian-Animal Relationships and the Fur Trade,* Calvin Martin suggests that such catastrophic epidemics were significant factors in cultural change. He asserts that the introduction of European diseases was crucial in changing the Indians' important core beliefs, particularly their religious connections with animals. In discussing the Indians of Eastern Canada, but also utilizing data from the Western Woods Cree (and even the Koyukon of Alaska), Martin argues that Indians began to overhunt animals – not as a result of economic motivations occasioned by the fur trade – but in response to epidemic diseases. These diseases are said to have corroded the Indians' perception of their spiritual relations with animals. By overhunting, he argues, the Indians were attempting to avenge themselves on animals who were thought to be the cause of the diseases. This thesis, however, does not hold in the case of the Western Woods Cree in the Cumberland House–The Pas region.

Martin's critics maintain that, among other faults, he has failed to establish a valid causal relationship between epidemic disease and overexploitation of animals. In fact, epidemic diseases rarely if ever became a factor until well *after* the Indians had depleted their territories of fur-bearing animals through intensive participation in the fur trade.[45] Despite the devastating death toll in 1781–82, there is no solid evidence to indicate that the Western Woods Cree "apostatized" from their belief in spiritual kinship with animals as Martin would predict. In fact, as early as 1767, William Pink had reported the depletion of beaver stocks in at least some areas of Cree territory: "Some Yeares a Gow heare was a great maney Beaver in this River, But now Verry few

being hunted so often."[46] Of course, this had occurred well before the smallpox epidemic of 1781–82 could have stimulated a vengeful decimation of the beaver population by the Cree. In his narrative detailing observations among the Western Woods Cree in 1786, HBC surveyor David Thompson described a Cree religion which was characterized by a strong and continuing animism which required respectful behaviour toward the individual animal carcass and the "Manito" of the species – that is, "the Keeper of the Game."[47] The relationship was not in the least "despiritualized," as Martin suggests it would have been so soon after a bout of epidemic disease.

In fact, the Cree maintained a spiritual rationalization for the disappearance of animals from the Cumberland House area long after the 1781–82 epidemic. Early in the 1790s, the depletion of fur resources did become a major issue in the Cumberland House journals penned by Magnus Twatt, yet there was no indication that the scarcity resulted from any change in Cree attitudes toward animals.[48] Even much later, in November 1819, explorer John Franklin reported that, after another epidemic, the Cumberland House Cree were indeed demoralized, yet he made no suggestion that they blamed animals for their misfortunes. The Cree continued to hold to their spiritual ideology. Indeed, there was concern among the traders that "it is generally feared that their spirits have been so much depressed by the loss of their children and relatives, that the season will be far advanced before they can be roused to any exertion in searching for animals beyond what may be necessary for their own support."[49] Such a response is hardly in keeping with Martin's revenge hypothesis. On the contrary, Cumberland House journals made numerous references to the Western Woods Cree actually abandoning the trapping of animals during periods of mourning.[50] As late as 1827 James Leith specifically reported the continuance of the Cree belief in the spiritual power of the beaver. Martin's correlation of disease, apostasy and depletion through "war on animals" therefore does not hold among the Western Woods Cree.

Despite Tomison's assertion in February of 1782 that the Basquiau Cree had *all* died in the smallpox epidemic, a small number of Basquiau Cree apparently did survive to continue supplying the post with furs and provisions and participating in the carriage trade to York Factory.[51] Nevertheless, the term *Basquiau Indians* drops out of the trader's vocabulary and is replaced by the more vague terms *Indians from the east* or *Indians from below*. It is difficult to determine whether this shift in terminology was a result of the actual disappearance of the Basquiau Cree co-residential group, or whether

it was simply a function of the markedly shorter journal entries concerning Indian activities in the 1780s. At any rate, the Swampy Cree and other groups from the east and south were moving in to replace the Basquiau Cree population on the lower Saskatchewan.

By the end of the smallpox epidemic of 1781–82, Cumberland House had become a common refuge for Cree who were too old, ill or incapacitated to keep up with their fellows on their seasonal round. Although the traders attempted to discourage it, this pattern was established soon after the creation of the post. The traders tendered such medical aid and comfort as they could. Malchom Ross reported on 28 June 1788: "At night an Indian man died being left on the plantation by his Country people, being formerly serviceable to this House, by order of M^{r} W^{m}. Tomison we have taken care of him ever since and carried him out and in as he desired, he has not been able either to stand or walk."[52] The Cree also utilized Cumberland House as a rendezvous; the men left their families at the post while they were away hunting beaver, collecting bark, or making the journey to York Factory.

Despite the benefits of having a post established in their home territory, the Western Woods Cree discovered that this was no guarantee of a constant supply of goods. Some items – especially brandy – were not always available. The Cree responded to such shortages by refusing to trade their furs and provisions until the brandy again flowed.[53] A major disruption in the flow of trade goods occurred in October of 1782 when news filtered inland that the French under Admiral Jean-François de la Pérouse had captured and destroyed both York Factory and Fort Prince of Wales (at Churchill). Even more strain than usual was then placed on Cumberland House stores since Indians such as the Missinneppee Cree, who usually frequented Fort Prince of Wales, now began to arrive at Cumberland House to trade. The failure of a supply ship to arrive from England in 1783 placed the HBC traders in an increasingly awkward position. Without a supply of goods, the attraction of Cumberland House for the Cree decreased substantially, and the social relationship which was founded on the continuance of exchange was in jeopardy. As Tomison reported at the end of December 1783, no Indians had been to the post during the previous two months and none arrived until mid-January 1784.[54] Despite his obvious predicament, and noting that the Cree were bringing in provisions but not furs, Tomison complained in his journal entry of 3 February 1784 that the Indians were "indolent in hunting Furs this year to what they used to be." He seemed to expect the Cree to adopt an alien

work ethic even when there were no rewards for such efforts. The term *indolence* as applied by the traders actually described Cree behaviour in following their own interests and priorities which were independent from those of the traders.

The conduct of the Cree when trade goods were scarce in the mid-1780s revealed that they were not yet "completely dependent" on European manufacturers and were easily able to readapt their subsistence activities (if they had ever abandoned them) to more traditional pursuits. When a Swampy River Cree, Wesepunum, brought three hundred pounds of meat and only twenty MB in furs to Cumberland House on 9 March 1784, trader William Tomison stated: "[This] is the least I ever see him bring of the latter, but without Brandy they will Kill no Furs, except what serves them for necessaries."[55] Lacking the key luxury trade commodity of alcohol, the HBC was clearly unable to entice the Western Woods Cree to engage in intensive trapping activity.

Tomison also mentioned the arrival of a group of Bungee (or Ojibwa)[56] who had been to York Factory in the summer of 1783 only to find the post destroyed. They spoke to Tomison about throwing away their furs, "not thinking to outlive the Winter for want of Ammunition." This is another obvious example of Indians' rhetorical trade hyperbole. In fact, as the accounts showed, they had survived the winter well enough to be able to collect another "good quantity of Furs to Trade" at Cumberland House the following year.[57] Their hard-luck story was obviously calculated to evoke the trader's "pity" and encourage him to be more generous. It cannot be interpreted as a statement of their dependence on the European trader as it might appear to some scholars.

The HBC traders at Cumberland House managed to pass the year 1783–84 obtaining goods from their Canadian competitors, as some (although by no means all) of their Indian customers must also have done. This is only one of the many examples of mutual aid which included an exchange of provisions, information, transportation and common courtesies between the European rivals. Such "common humanity" displayed by the Cumberland House traders toward competitors whom they now called fellow Englishmen (when the Nor'Westers were usually referred to as Frenchmen, Canadians, Pedlars, Robbers, Villains or Wolves) was not always looked on with favour by the London Committee of the HBC, especially as the trade rivalry became more intense in the 1780s. However, these occasional acts of mutual aid and solidarity continued throughout the Competitive Trade Era.[58]

The Cumberland House journals of the 1780s and 1790s on the whole,

however, indicated an intensification of the competition between the English and Canadian traders – a conflict which often had a negative effect on the Western Woods Cree. Taking into account their obvious bias, HBC sources depict the Cree relationship with Canadian traders in rather negative terms. As might be expected, the HBC traders blamed the Canadians for many ills – from causing an increase in the price of country produce to forcing the company to provide credit in order to keep their customers loyal. The Nor'Westers were also accused of lying, cheating, misusing alcohol and stealing Indian property through subterfuge and violence.[59] At the same time, however, the HBC traders were not averse to employing similar tactics. Alcohol was often used to lubricate the unwilling Indian trader (although the need to employ this practice was blamed on the Canadians). For example, Cumberland House trader Malchom Ross set out on 12 February 1789 in desperate need of provisions for the post. He soon encountered Indians and presented them with a gift of brandy, whereupon "they got drunk and traded the remainder of the Brandy for the little Provisions they had and a few Beaver skins."[60] The liberal use of this commodity meant that the HBC often ran out by the coming of spring and was forced to fall back on other forms of coercion. In late May 1790 one unnamed Indian debtor arrived at the post and, finding no alcohol in stock, slipped away with his furs, intending to take them to the Canadians. Upon discovering this, Ross embarked at 3 a.m. and "followed hard after him," eventually overtaking the truant and appropriating his furs to the Cumberland House accounts.[61]

It was the Canadians and not the English, however, who almost exclusively precipitated Indian retaliation. Although the HBC traders rarely sustained bodily harm, several Nor'Westers were killed by Indians.[62] In reporting the deaths of three Canadian traders at the hands of the Indians in 1777, Matthew Cocking stated: "The reason given for the Indians committing these cruel deeds are, that the Pedlers have traded their goods at an exhorbitant rate, particularly las Winter; The Natives having received little or nothing for their furrs and some of them have been beaten and otherwise maltreated when at the pedlers Settlement."[63] The Nor'Westers seemed only to be continuing the practices of their French predecessors. On their part, the Cree were demonstrating their power to retaliate with force against the Canadians' attempts at negative reciprocity. Nevertheless, despite the Canadians' hard dealings with the Indians, Cumberland House trader George Hudson noted in April 1787 that the Cree continued to frequent the Canadian establishments,

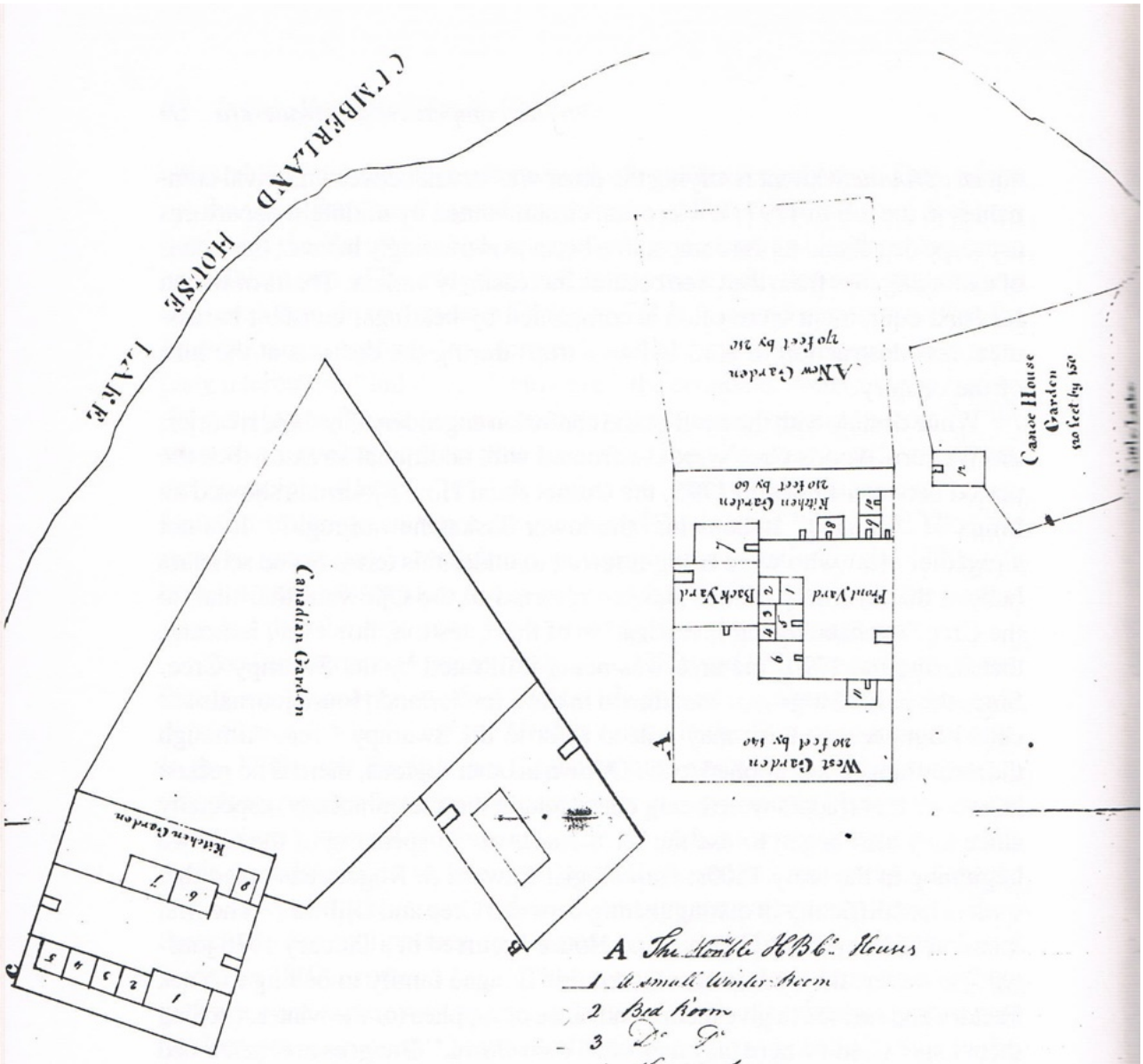
although they did so within a framework of negative reciprocity: "They inform me the Canadians have a good many Packs of Furrs, but that they deal very hard with the Natives, which makes them in general dislike them but being an Indolent sort of People, they will rather trade with those nighest to them (for less) than go to a greater Distance."[64] It is interesting to note that the English traders continued to interpret Indian self-interest in opposition to company interests as "indolence." However, the economic motivation of Indians did not always fit non-Indian concepts of economic "maximization."[65] We must also consider the Cree philosophies of the "Zen way to affluence" and the "principle of least effort," as well as the relative independence of Indians from European goods when the concept of "indolence" is raised. The Cree were so successful in exploiting the competitive situation in the 1790s that both HBC and NWC traders firmly believed that they received only the poorest furs and that the best pelts were being sold to the competition.[66]

The Cumberland House journals in the 1780s and 1790s have clearly shown that it was primarily alcohol and lavish presents, rather than "economic dependence," which kept the Cree involved in the European trade system. In the 1790s, the English and Canadian interests were constantly trying to win Cree trappers from the competition by giving presents "better than usual as much as my small stock would allow." Indians who brought in as little as six pounds of meat were given "a small present of ammunition, Tobacco and Brandy and other small Articles as encouragement to come again." Even those who brought nothing to the post were given brandy. Magnus Twatt wrote on 18 December 1792: "Ther is nothing to be got here now without giving a good deale away and but little then for this place is sherounded with Settlements upon every Quarter and their is no furrs to be killed nie to this place now it being so long hunted about heare."[67]

The Canadian strategy in this highly competitive situation was to employ men "who are continually running about with liquor &c Where they think anything is to be got." The HBC men were forced to follow suit, since they know "nothing is to be got here otherways." As late as the 1790s, the HBC was still at a disadvantage in this type of competition because they had few men capable to handling *en dérouine* contacts with Indians.[68] From an outpost of Cumberland House of 4 May 1793 Malchom Ross complained that he had only one man who could be sent among the Indians to collect furs as the Canadians did, and even he knew little of the language. Tomison repeated this complaint in 1796.[69] Although a "gentleman's agreement" not to set

out *en dérouine* without notifying the other was struck between the rival companies in the fall of 1797, it was often circumvented by midnight departures to escape detection. As the competition became increasingly intense, the means of extracting furs from the Cree became increasingly violent. Thefts of Indian furs and equipment were often accompanied by beatings, constant harassment and destruction of HBC Indian's traps during the decades at the turn of the century.[70]

While dealing with the conflict and confusion engendered by these rivalries, the Western Woods Cree were confronted with additional stresses. For the period between 1784 and 1795, the Cumberland House journals showed an influx of "Bungee" Indians into the lower Saskatchewan region. It is not altogether clear who were being referred to under this term. Some scholars believe that in HBC parlance Bungee referred to the Ojibwa rather than to the Cree. Archaeological investigation of this question, however, indicates that during the 1790s the area was being infiltrated by the Swampy Cree. Since the only new groups mentioned in the Cumberland House journals are called Bungee, the term may indeed refer to the Swampy Cree. Although the term Bungee was applied to the Ojibwa in other regions, there is no reason to believe that traders were being consistent in their terminology, especially since they also began to use the term *Saulteaux* in speaking of the Ojibwa beginning in the early 1800s. Ethnologist Edward S. Rogers has noted that traders had difficulty in distinguishing between Cree and Ojibwa.[71] The first mention of Bungees at Cumberland House occurred in a January 1778 journal. However, the traders considered this Bungee family to belong to York Factory and refused to give them an advance of supplies for the winter, "telling them to get Credit where they deposited their Furrs." Bungees are mentioned rarely after 1778, and only in connection with York Factory until 1784.[72] Their arrival in significant numbers post-dates the smallpox epidemic of 1781–82 which had decimated the Cree population in the Cumberland House and Basquiau area. It also occurred at the time when York Factory had been destroyed by the French, so it is possible that the Bungee were looking for a more secure source of trade. In his Cumberland District Report of 1815, Alexander Kennedy asserted that the Bungees had been specifically brought into the region by the Canadians in order to hunt beaver.[73] By 1787, HBC journals indicated that the Cumberland House traders were no longer resisting the movements of the Bungee into the area. In fact, they were now supplying credit in order to encourage them to winter in the region. Many of the Bungee



A The Honble HBCo Houses
1 a small Winter Room
2 Bed Room
3 Do Do
4 Loading Room
5 Guard Room or Hall
6 Mens Dwelling House
7 Store House
8 Small dwelling House
9 Cook Room
10 Stable
11 Fishermans House
12 Canoe & fish House
B A New fort the N.W. Co are building
C The N.W. Co Old Fort
1 The officers Dwelling House
2 Guide and Interpreters House
Mens House
Do Do
Blacksmiths Shop
Store
Do
8 Fish House

A plan of the adjacent HBC and NWC establishments at Cumberland House drawn by Peter Fidler around 1815. Courtesy of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg, G. 1/96.

had attached themselves to the Canadian interests and appeared even more often in the Cumberland House journals once the NWC moved its depot from Basquiau to oppose the HBC on site at Cumberland House in 1793. In 1794 the Bungees were also reported to be hunting provisions for Cumberland House itself. The journals show that by 1796 the Bungees had solidly established themselves in the Basquiau and Cedar Lake areas.[74] Although many of the Bungees had attached themselves closely to the Canadian interests, they too exploited the competitive setting. In his 1794 journal, Magnus Twatt perceived the Bungee to be more honourable in paying their debts, yet "troublesome" and demanding: "They are very Troublesome for liquor but will not give anything for it . . . they will not Trade anything for their Furrs but Cloth & Guns. as for all other articles they look for to be Given them."[75] Twatt later calculated that he had traded with one group of Bungee, in May 1794, 220 MB exclusively in brandy.

In terms of direct trade activity, Cumberland House had become almost a backwater by the 1780s. In April 1785 the post journal complained that many of the goods in the previous fall's shipment had been taken upriver, leaving Cumberland House short of necessary trade items. Magnus Twatt made the same observation in 1792. Cumberland House master Peter Fidler commented in 1797, as early in the year as 14 October that "there is not an Ice chezel, file, hatchet, or Knife here to supply an Indian." The following October a similar situation obtained.[76] Such limited inventories of trade goods caused many of the Cree to resort to other posts, or to do without, as they had done earlier, between 1782 and 1784. By the mid- to late 1790s, many of the Cumberland House Cree were frequenting the country around Nipawin and Carlton House. Some of the Cumberland House Bungee even wintered as far west as Edmonton House in 1796–97.[77]

By 1800, much of the contact with the Cree was occurring away from Cumberland House altogether, since the company was sending traders *en dérouine* to collect furs. In addition, the Carrot River area to the south developed into a busy location at this time, especially after the Canadians established a post there in 1801. The HBC's Moose Lake outpost which started up in 1790 also moved a good deal of the trade activity away from Cumberland House.[78] In fact, Tomison recorded in May 1801 that only ten families of Indians "belonging to" Cumberland House still remained in the area. Earlier he had reported that "Cheag one of the best Indians belonging to this place died last summer he was the only real Cumberland House Indian that survived

the Small Pox in 1781 he has not his fellow behind for Killing Furs & Provisions.''[79] In June 1807, news from upriver arrived about the death of Old Brassy, who ''was the only old Indian belonging to this place – & much beloved by all the other Indians here.'' It is clear that the original Cumberland House Cree population had been depleted or was shifting away from Cumberland House west to Nipawin and Carlton House and east to Moose Lake at the turn of the century.

Despite the apparent decline in the importance of fur trade in the Cumberland House–Basquiau region in the late 1790s and early 1800s, competition in the area had become increasingly frantic after the establishment of a ''new Canadian Company.'' After 1800 this upstart competitor became the XY Company of Alexander Mackenzie.[80] The Basquiau area became a major battle ground for the three trading companies. In the early 1800s the Cree found themselves so infested with traders *en dérouine* that they were forced to take evasive action in order to escape persistent hounding. Tomison reported on 19 February 1802 that two of his men returned from Basquiau, ''but had nothing Except two skins they had from one, the old and new Associations are dragging the Indians where ever they go, so that they Cannot hunt, were they ever so Inclined as the Canadian rum is never out of their tents, I cannot think of throwing goods away for nothing as two fools in a place are enough to be laughed at by Indians.''[81] Nevertheless, Tomison soon sent four men back to scour Basquiau for the few furs that remained. Even though HBC servants were constantly *en dérouine*, they often failed to convince the Cree ''to hunt as they ought to do'' since, as Tomison indicated, the Canadians were dispensing liquor in order to get them to hunt provisions. A severe drop in the fur returns from the Cree in surround areas resulted.[82] The competitive situation became so disruptive that in May 1802 Tomison reported deteriorating relations among all the Indian groups and trading companies. There was ''no trade and the Country all over is in a ferment of murder and robbery so that men were not in safety to stirr out.''[83] The ''running about'' of the European competitors after the furs of the Cree had become particularly desperate by 1820. One company would intercept another's trappers and its competitors would then retaliate by deliberately seeking out the Indians attached to its opponents.

Two additional elements in the trade relation further complicated the situation. First, Freemen, and later Mohawk trappers, were brought into the area by the Canadians. These newcomers were in a position to provide the

competing companies with alternate sources of labour, provisions, protection, social ties and fur – thus ending the Western Woods Cree's monopoly in these fields. The term *Canadian Freemen* or *Free Frenchmen* began to appear in the Cumberland House journals in late 1796. The Freemen, who were usually ex-employees of the Canadian companies, frequented the HBC establishment at Cumberland House and re-engaged from time to time with the NWC.[84] An additional complication occurred in August 1801 when fifty or sixty Mohawk Indians were brought into the area by the old NWC. Although given credit by the HBC, the Mohawks were not entirely welcome. According to Tomison, these Iroquois trappers had "dispersed all over where ever a beaver was known to be which will finish the Destruction of the Country as they leave nothing wherever they come."[85] Indicative of the size of this influx of new populations, Alexander Kennedy reported that in 1815, out of the 110 families in the Cumberland House district, fully half were recent arrivals from the York Factory, North River (Churchill River) and the Rat Country.[86]

There is little documentary evidence about how the Western Woods Cree perceived these newcomers. However, the Cree remaining in the Basquiau area seem to have developed relatively good relations with the Freemen who established themselves there. Kennedy suggested in one aside that the Cree accepted these "interlopers": "They [the Cree] claim no exclusive right to any particular spot, Indians from any other quarter may come and settle amongst them [usurp?] their priveleges and carry their hunts to whom they please without its being disrupted by them."[87] In 1823 James Leith reported that the hunting grounds of the Cumberland House Indians were nearly all taken up by "interlopers from other districts" (the Swan, Red Deer and Nelson Rivers).[88] It is this increasing intensity in the level of competition, among the trading companies and among fur producers themselves, which eventually began to weaken Cree control over the trade relationship.

One important indicator of the Cree's diminishing control over the trade relationship took place in June 1796. Peter Fidler's Cumberland House journal gave an account of the "Rough Justice" meted out by the NWC in order to avenge the death of one of their men at Isle à la Crosse. When two Swampy River Cree suspects arrived at Cumberland House to trade, the Nor'Westers attempted to arrest them. One of the men, Little Gut, was shot in his attempt to escape, and the other, Charles's Brother (or Beardy), was captured. After questioning the prisoner to no avail, the Nor'Westers attempted to frighten

him into a confession by tying him up and throwing him down beside his compatriot's corpse. Failing in this gambit, "they then made him confess everything with the rope about his Neck, which he did, and informed him of every one who was accomplices with him – he said that he was the Sole cause of the Death of the Canadian, and seemed perfectly satisfied that he deserved this ignominious Death."[89] Allowing Beardy time only to ask that the HBC care for his family, the Nor'Westers hung him on the spot. To ensure that the Indians understood the message implicit in their actions, the Nor'Westers dragged the bodies of the two dead men outside their stockade and left them there without burial. The next day it was left to HBC men to inter the two corpses. Cumberland House master Peter Fidler seemed to support the actions of the Nor'Westers even if he did not actively participate in them. He believed that the Indians "appeared very much terrified and shocked, never seeing a hearing of the like before[.] the above will be a means of deterring the furture and prevent them from [illusing?] or [talling?] any this while to come."[90] Fidler then "Gave the Indians some liquor to drown away melancholy." Such was the traders' solution to any and all difficulties.

Such "Rough Justice" at the hands of the Canadians would not have been tolerated a scarce decade earlier, when swift revenge by the relations of the slain men was the rule.[91] Perhaps the kinsmen of these two Île à la Crosse Cree did in fact retaliate at some point, but it was not recorded, or if recorded, it was not connected with the incident. On the other hand, perhaps the Cree were indeed beginning to feel helpless in the face of European power and authority – unable to impose their own conditions on the relationship as freely as they had done in the past. Unfortunately, the Cumberland House journals do not shed much light on this question.

Indeed, if not powerlessness, the Cree demonstrated remarkable restraint in accepting a continuing stream of aggression and insults from the Canadians. The Nor'Westers were constantly absconding with Indian property such as canoes, fish and furs. For example, as Tomison recounted in January 1802, one anonymous Cree trapper had his canoe and entire stock of winter supplies stolen by a Canadian trader. After returning to Cumberland House to obtain a further debt, the Indian encountered the same Nor'Wester again. This time the Nor'Wester was in distress himself, "having lost himself, and spoiled a part of his goods." Surprisingly, the Cree trapper took no revenge on the trader, and in fact, the two travelled together thereafter.[92]

Further indications of declining Cree control over the trade situation

occurred in September 1802, when Tomison was able to demonstrate his temporary independence from country produce. He told one hunter who had expressed a desire to stay and hunt geese for the company to leave the post because his services were too expensive.[93] Cumberland House by this time had extensive gardens and barley fields, a busy fishery, and it also played the role of a pemmican distribution centre. By 1819, the Franklin expedition found a thriving farm operation in place. These factors allowed an increasing measure of independence from Cree country produce. In fact, the Cree themselves were increasingly faced with starvation because of big game depletion in the area. Journal references to "starving" Indians became more and more common in the 1800s. William Tomison wrote from Cumberland House to John McNab at York Factory on 10 February 1803: "Every Indian in this quarter are starving to death, four has already through mere want, no trade nor is there any prospect of any in the Spring should the Indians survive their present Misery."[94] Food was regularly dispensed to the Indians at Cumberland House during these hard times, thus continuing the pattern of reciprocal exchange which was begun in 1774. The Cree, however, probably did not see this as a condition of dependence on the Europeans, but as a basic social concomitant of the economic relationship.

On the other hand, self-sufficiency in food continued to elude the HBC as well. The threat of starvation and lengthy periods of short rationing remained a fact of life for the traders at Cumberland House throughout the Competitive Fur Trade Era and even beyond 1821. This fact was also recognized by Franklin on his passage through the region in the second decade of the nineteenth century. He reported that salted geese, moose and buffalo meat produced by the Indians were still crucial staples for maintaining a precarious balance in the European larder.[95]

There are, unfortunately, wide gaps in the Cumberland House records between 1803 and 1806, and between 1807 and 1818. Only glimpses of this period can be obtained from accounts by Nor'Westers Daniel Harmon and Alexander Henry the Younger. There is only one HBC district report extant, and that is for the year 1815. Harmon's account indicated that the European dependence upon Indians for vital country produce persisted. This is confirmed by the Cumberland District Report for 1815. Harmon, however, was unwilling to admit his own dependence on Indian hunters. He perceived it rather as "kind Providence" that supplied the food to deliver them from the dark days of hunger. It should be noted that Harmon was among those traders

who entered the trade relationship with relatively strong religious beliefs typical of the evangelical movement in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[96] The Europeans were obviously finding it extremely difficult to accept their indebtedness to the Indians.

European traders also found it difficult to accept the Indian model of trade relations which continued to be based on the importance of gift-giving. For example, Cumberland House master Alexander Kennedy asserted in 1815 that tobacco, alcohol and ammunition were all commodities which were given away.[97] The Cree continued to expect these presents as a central part of their trade relations with the company. Nor'Wester Daniel Harmon made the following interesting observation:

> As they have brought little with them to trade, I of course give them as little, for we are at too great distance from the Civilized World to make many *Gratuities* yet the Indians were of a different opinion, and made use of some unpleasant language. However we did not come to blows, but all are preparing to go to rest, and I am persuaded nearly as good friends as civilized People and Savages generally are for that friendship seldom goes farther than *their* fondness for our property and *our* eagerness to obtain Furs – which is I am persuaded (with a few exceptions only) all the friendship that exists between the Traders and Savages of this Country.[98]

As Alexander Henry the Younger noted in 1800, the Indians maintained their superiority over the European traders: "Let no white man be so vain as to believe that an Indian really esteems him or supposes him to be his equal. No – they dispise us in their hearts, and at their outward profession of respect and friendship proceed merely from the necessity under which they labour of having intercourse with us to procure their necessaries."[99] That the Western Woods Cree continued to be contemptuous of traders was confirmed by Alexander Kennedy in 1815 and by John Franklin in 1819–20. This is the same Indian attitude of superiority which was found east of James Bay and in the rest of eastern Canada.[100] This perception on the part of Indians can be attributed to the fact that they were not yet dominated by the European traders in the early 1800s. Henry stated: "No ties, former favors, or services rendered will induce them to give up their skins for one penny less than they can get elsewhere. Gratitude is a stranger to them. Grant them a favor to-day, and to-morrow they will suppose it their due."[101] This comment indicates the prevailing Cree view that they were the dominant partner in the relationship and that they continued to manipulate the traders in order to maintain

commercial and social dominance. Henry did, however, note that the smallpox epidemic of 1781–82 greatly diminished the Basquiau Indian's "troublesome" control over the Saskatchewan trade route. He reported that the Mashquegons (Swampy Cree) and a few Saulteurs (Ojibwa) at The Pas had unsuccessfully attempted to prevent him from proceeding upriver to trade with their enemies.[102] The Basquiau Indians had obviously lost the power that Chatique demonstrated to Henry's uncle in 1775.

One of the major changes immediately apparent in the Cumberland House journals which recommenced in 1818 is the overwhelming importance of muskrats in the fur trade. Specific mention of "musquash" or "rats" as a major trade commodity began to appear in the journals only in 1802. By 1818, however, muskrats made up the vast majority of furs traded at Cumberland House. Beaver are scarcely mentioned, as the statistics of returns at the Moose Lake outpost between November 1820 and May 1821 reveal: 5,710 rats, nine marten, six fox, and four otter. This data reinforces the younger Henry's assertion that the Cumberland area had in fact been stripped of beaver by the early 1800s.[103]

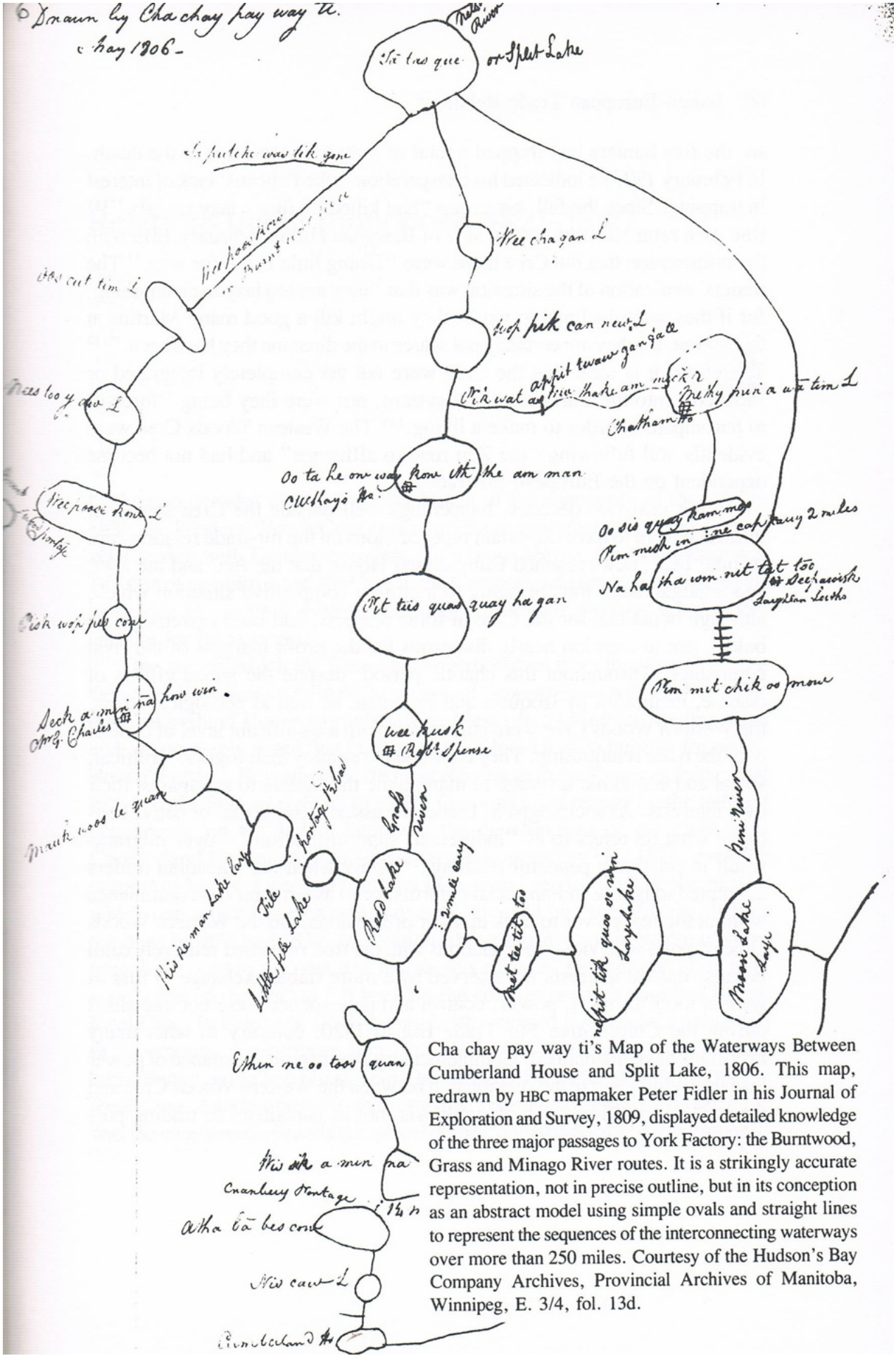
The Cumberland House journals, when they reappeared in 1818, showed that a good deal of the Cree control over the system appeared to have been eroded. In 1819 Dr. John Richardson, a member of Franklin's expedition, asserted that the Cumberland House Cree were probably more dependent on the traders for subsistence than were any other group.[104] Cree control also appeared to be on the wane as the Canadians continued to treat Indians roughly, with relative impunity. One Pelican Lake Cree, Chee ka pig, in June 1818 was "laid hold of and put in irons & and threatened to be murdered for having traded with Mr. Holmes last winter." The Nor'Westers carted him off to Grand Portage in chains, letting it be known that they were going to hang him for deserting to the HBC interest. Chee ka pig was not executed, but he was not seen again in the Cumberland House region until September. In March 1820 the Cumberland House journal cited another example of the Canadians' intimidation of a Cumberland House Indian named Buck's Head. The Nor'Westers had "on a former occasion laid hold of him and treated him very Ill for having traded with us."[105]

The HBC traders themselves were beginning to exert more control over the situation, although perhaps in a more subtle manner than the Canadians were. The master of Cumberland House now appeared to be much more effective in persuading the Cree to do his bidding. As early as 1798, Peter Fidler

began directing Indians to trap beaver in specific locations. In the 1800s, Cree trappers were often ordered away from the post to trap in certain areas, or were arbitrarily herded from place to place in order to avoid Canadian "interference."[106] No longer were the Western Woods Cree so totally disdainful of direction, as they had been in the days of Kelsey, Henday and Tomison.

At the same time, European control of the situation was far from complete. The Cree were still indispensable for hunting, seasonal labour and guiding. For example, frequent comments in the journals revealed the continuing need for Indians to conduct HBC men and other Europeans travelling through the region.[107] Indicative of the value of the wide-ranging topographical knowledge possessed by the Cree was Cha chay pay ti's 1806 map showing details of all three principal routes from Cumberland House to Split Lake on the way to York Factory. The Cree also continued to find it politically and economically feasible to act against the interests of the company through such manoeuvres as destroying European improvements on portages, or refusing the directions of traders. They persisted in making militant consumer demands for more acceptable goods and refused to trade for substandard wares.[108] As Franklin's Lieutenant Hood noted in 1820, the local Cree found it yet possible to force the Europeans to fetch their furs and provisions from their tents, even when meat supplies were relatively abundant in the Cumberland House area. The Cree also continued to manipulate the HBC traders into travelling many miles for very small amounts of fur. The Nor'Westers were often duped in similar fashion.[109] In June 1819 the Cumberland House record showed that Cree trappers such as Petis-Kitteenee were still able to force the distribution of liquor against the wishes of the traders: "We will be obliged to comply with [the Cree's wishes], although their returns are very trifling." In September 1820 Thomas Isbister noted that some Cumberland House Cree continued to resist the direction of middle-ranking company servants such as himself. They refused to follow his orders to depart from the post and they forced him to reverse his determination not to distribute their fall debt before his superior arrived.[110]

Perhaps the most important indications of the Cree's continuing independence from the European fur-trade system are the many journal references to their ignoring trapping altogether. For example, upon the death in June 1807 of Brassy, one of the oldest Cumberland House Indians, an unnamed company journalist indicated that, as Cree custom dictated, the co-residential group would "do very little this winter." He asserted that, even



Cha chay pay way ti's Map of the Waterways Between Cumberland House and Split Lake, 1806. This map, redrawn by HBC mapmaker Peter Fidler in his Journal of Exploration and Survey, 1809, displayed detailed knowledge of the three major passages to York Factory: the Burntwood, Grass and Minago River routes. It is a strikingly accurate representation, not in precise outline, but in its conception as an abstract model using simple ovals and straight lines to represent the sequences of the interconnecting waterways over more than 250 miles. Courtesy of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg, E. 3/4, fol. 13d.

so, the five hunters had trapped a total of only fifty MB prior to the death. In February 1807 he indicated his exasperation at the Pelicans' lack of interest in trapping. Since the fall, his group "had killed no furs – lazy rascals."[111] HBC men returned from the far side of Basquiau Hill in February 1819 with the information that the Cree there were "Doing little in the fur way." The traders' evaluation of the situation was that "they are too lazy to do anything, for if they were inclined to work, they might kill a good many Martins at this season, for they are certainly not scarce in the direction they have been."[112] Therefore, it is clear that the Cree were not yet completely integrated or "locked" into the European trade system, nor were they being "forced" to participate in order to make a living.[113] The Western Woods Cree were evidently still following "the Zen road to affluence" and had not become dependent on the European fur trade.

In the next two decades, happenings well outside the Cree sphere of influence were to have important repercussions on the fur-trade relationship. In June 1821, news reached Cumberland House that the HBC and the NWC had amalgamated, thus bringing to a close a competitive situation which, although beneficial for the Cree in some respects, had been extremely turbulent, not to mention nearly disastrous for the profit margins of the rival companies. Throughout this chaotic period, despite the added effects of disease, incursions by Iroquois and Freeman, as well as ecological stress, the Western Woods Cree were able to maintain a significant level of control over the trade relationship. They continued to employ their logistic, political, social and economic leverage to manipulate the traders to act against their own interests. As sociologist S. Lieberson asserts, conditions of native control – what he refers to as "indigenous superordination" – over migrants result in relatively peaceful relations.[114] Only when the Canadian traders attempted to ignore Indian social controls, or to assert their own dominance without the real power to back up their pretensions, did the Western Woods Cree respond with violence. Relations with the HBC remained relatively calm because mutual interests were served by a more stable exchange of furs as well as food. In short, power, control and dependence were not one-sided during the Competitive Fur Trade Era to 1820, contrary to what many historians have maintained. Complementary interests and a balance of power lead us to characterize the relationship between the Western Woods Cree and the HBC up to 1820 as one of symbiosis, not as parasitism or trading post dependency.

Relations under monopoly: 1821–1840

4

In the two decades after the establishment of the monopoly of the HBC in 1821, the Western Woods Cree experienced surprisingly little change in their relationship with European traders. To a large degree, the association was still one of symbiosis and the Cree in the Cumberland House–The Pas region were able to maintain relative independence in their dealings with traders and the fur-trade system.

One area in which the Cree maintained control from the very first contacts with Europeans was in the provision of "country produce." After 1821, the Cumberland House journals referred less often to Indians trading meat and, on occasion, noted that Indians were ordered to stop hunting for provisions altogether. Nevertheless, frequent references to the Cree supplying meat to the post continued right up to 1840.[1] One important reason for the reduced dependence on the Indian hunt was the development of the gardens at Cumberland House into a full-scale farming operation.[2] By 1824, even the outpost of Moose Lake had use for a plough and seeds. The bucolic picture which one might imagine was, however, marred by crop failures such as the ones in 1832 and 1839. In addition, the company's own system of shipping pemmican to the post was not always reliable. Disruptions in its food supply forced the HBC to fall back on the country produce supplied by the local Cree. In February 1827, James Leith reported that an earlier shortfall in the amount of pemmican sent from Carlton House the previous autumn had resulted in the need to increase purchases of country produce from the local Cree. Another factor in the company's decreasing reliance on the Cree was the emergence of bands composed of the "country-born" or "halfbreeds"

such as that headed by the two brothers Mansack and Willock Twatt. Having established themselves west of Cumberland House at Nipawin, this group in particular contributed significant amounts to the larder and fur returns of the post and were highly regarded by the traders as a result.[3]

Even though the market for country produce was not as secure as it had been in the past, the Cree continued to demonstrate their independence. It is clear from the Cumberland House records that, even when the post's demand increased, the Cree were not compelled by their economic circumstances to expand their efforts to supply the company with provisions. In fact, Leith stated in his report of 1826: "Both during the Winter and Spring I used every endeavour for to procure dried provisions, but as the Account will show, I am sorry to say with but little success, which I cannot attribute to the want of large animals, nor indeed does the natives do so themselves, but solely to their dislike to hard labour, they confess so."[4] Had the Cree actually been "completely dependent" or "inextricably enmeshed," such an opportunity could not have been passed up, especially when big-game animals were abundant. Obviously the Cree were not "dependent" on the company in relation to its demand for provisions in order to gain a livelihood or to obtain "necessary" trade goods.

However, the Cree still expected that the flow of food would be a reciprocal one, as it had been at the beginning of contact. Food, and the means to procure it (including nets and ammunition), were consistently provided by the HBC to Indians who requested them. By 1826, HBC supplies of potatoes and fish were also commonly being given to the Cree in order to allow them to remain trapping.[5] Only in the late 1820s, however, did Indians actually begin to work for wages paid for in food, or to purchase barley, instead of receiving fish and potatoes solely as gifts. The Indians were also allowed to glean potatoes and barley, a practice which, along with experience of labour in the post gardens, by 1827 had convinced some Cree (those at Nipawin and The Pas at least) to consider establishing their own gardens. On 15 May 1828, a group of nine hunters including the regular visitors Mestaty, Titipecappowe, Round Belly and son, as well as Chaplete (a Freeman?) and son, traded 1,675 muskrats for ammunition, tobacco, barley and potatoes, "saying they are going to make some small fields at The Pas."[6] In 1829 one Catabagetine was reported to be "making fields" at the Red Deer River and in 1839, two Cree hunters mentioned frequently in the Cumberland House journals, Papamagappo and Nuchy's Son, were given "a supply of Potatoes and Barley

for seed has they have commenced farming a little above The Pas.''[7]

Since its inception, Cumberland House had always been utilized by the Cree as a resort against hunger, where they could in effect bank food and good will against future need. During the twenty-year period between 1821 and 1840, however, references to Indian ''starvation'' became more commonplace in the journals. These reports must be treated with caution, however, since claims of starvation continued to be used as bargaining tactics or as rationalizations for quitting the trapline for more amenable pursuits not approved of by the traders. For example, Thomas Isbister suspected that it was not hunger as claimed, but the desire to ''feast on Wild Fowl'' which in May 1833 brought the Nipawin Cree in from muskrat trapping to Cumberland House where they might hunt on a major migratory bird flyway.[8] The traders usually perceived the Cree requests as ''Begging for food'' and often attempted to utilize food as a lever in order to control Indian movements. However, from the Cree standpoint, requests for food were decidedly more than mere mendicant claims on trader largesse. In November 1828, Isbister reported that the Indians made ''a great call out as is customary for something to eat.'' Indeed, Cree demands for food were often referred to as ''importunate.'' In reality, the traders were being called upon to fulfill their social obligation to share food, which in the Cree view was automatically occasioned by the trade relationship itself. For example, the ritualistic pre-trade meal of prunes and bread which had been provided in earlier times at York Factory had by the mid-1820s at Cumberland House evolved into a breakfast customarily given to the Indians before they left the post. The company made much of its providing sustenance to the Cree. Journal entries reported food gifts ''which tho' a very heavy tax upon our store. they have always received.'' This supposed generosity with food was raised as a defence at the British Parliamentary Inquiry into the affairs of the HBC in 1837. Nevertheless, the reciprocal exchange of food continued to be a central part of the social relationship which, from the Cree standpoint, was inherent in the trade system itself. The demanding character of Cree requests for food reflected their perception of the social nature of trade ties rather than dependence.[9]

Further evidence of independence from the fur-trade system after 1821 is found in a comment by Cumberland House postmaster James Lee Lewes in January 1824. He explained that variation in the availability of food resources was fundamental in determining whether the Cree would participate in the trade. He stated that ''starvation'' was ''a general complaint amongst the

greatest part of our Indians, and which greatly retards their exertions in the way of procuring Furs."[10] Indeed, some of the most significant data on Cree life found in the Cumberland House journals after 1821 concerned the continuing conflict between trapping and hunting for subsistence. In most cases, it was only by taking risks with the security of their food supply that the Cree could continue to trap. It was often only calling on the traders' obligations to share food which permitted them to continue trapping. This became particularly true after the beaver (which were important food, as well as fur, resources) became depleted and muskrat fur production became the major activity in the 1800s. Nearly every decision made by the Cree concerning the production of fur as a commodity was based on the fundamental question of the availability of sufficient food resources. However, dietary concerns always remained the primary consideration for the Cree. Traders consistently found that shortages of provisions "greatly retard[ed] their exertions in the way of procuring furs." The journals often reported that the Cree gave hunger as what traders considered an "excuse" for "doing little in the fur way."[11] Often, while "ratting," the Cree found that their Children were "always calling out for food." The basic dilemma facing the Cree was often expressed in such words as the following comment in the Cumberland House journal of 19 November 1822: "Most of the Indians are now leaving the Rat ground & pitching towards the strong woods as they say they cannot kill a sufficiency of Rats to feed themselves."[12] For the Western Woods Cree during the 1820s, this dilemma continued to be resolved by pursuing subsistence activities such as moose and goose hunting in preference to trapping.[13] The Cree who were trading at Cumberland House were clearly continuing to engage in hunting as their primary occupation. Although HBC traders spared little effort in attempting to direct them toward trapping, they rarely succeeded in doing so. It was commonly reported that "there is no Possibility in making them Hunt furs, while the Game is Plenty."[14] In November 1827, Isbister reported the failure of his attempts to convince the Cree camping at the Basquiau Hill to trap muskrats: "Notwithstanding we have pressed hard on them to consent to come and work at the rats in the Spring. but they will not agree to leaving the place where they are as it abounds with Large Animals. they Say (altho we beg to differ with them) that they will make equally good hunts in Martens, Swans, and a few rats. Where they are and not run the risk of their families Starving."[15] In March 1825, James Leith clarified the Cree's motivation: "In short the furs Amount to Almost Nothing to what I expected

from so many Indians, and they say plainly that they went where there were no furs, for to hunt Large Animals, Both on Account of finding a livelyhood, as well as on account of Clothing."[16]

In the late 1820s, the records have shown that the Western Woods Cree were still following the traditional "Zen road to affluence" and, therefore, were not yet dependent on the fur trade. The description of the Cree by Alexander Kennedy in his Cumberland District Report for 1815 obviously still applied:

> With regard to the General condition of these Indians. They are happy and contented. void of ambition their wants are few, & in a Country like this easily supplied, They take no thought or feel no care for the future, depending entirely on the chase for provisions, they live together in little parties, pitching or wandering about in the winter from one place to another in search of food seldom or never more than a fortnight in one place.[17]

This is a classic statement of the typical non-Indian perception current at the time regarding the "improvidence" believed to be characteristic of native societies. What was being described here of course was the traditional "principle of least effort." In this approach, game animals in the immediate, easily accessible area were exploited up to the point where scarcity became apparent. Migration in small, flexibly organized groups to exploit the species in other areas, or to switch to other resources with the changing of the seasons, had always been an ecologically sound strategy for woodland Indians.[18] Evidently the Western Woods Cree had still not accepted the European ideology of valuing work for its own sake. They certainly were demonstrating their ability to subsist as they had done in the past without the advantages available to them had they, in the traders' words, "only worked harder at collecting furs." Among the many capable hunters who disappointed the traders were Keshetheness and Kechemoosecappowe, who spent the winter of 1827–28 in the Red Deer River area. By late March their fur catch amounted to only seven beaver and one bear between them.[19] The prevailing atmosphere of contentment and the lifestyle unencumbered by the acquisitive desire or the absolute necessity to trap furs for a livelihood were quite well portrayed by Lieutenant Robert Hood's 1820 painting of the interior of the Warrior's tent in the Basquiau Hills (see frontispiece).

Dependence on the fur trade by definition assumes the necessity of the dependents to participate in order to subsist. If in the 1820s the Western Woods

Cree were "dependent" on trapping for a living, if they had been completely integrated into the mercantilist system, how could they afford to "leave off ratting"? It is clear that their participation in the trade system continued to be voluntary and seasonal, while subsistence hunting remained their primary adaptation. On one hand, when "game was plenty," the Cree thought little of trapping. Yet, in the opposite circumstances, they were prevented from trapping unless they called on the limited food supplies of Cumberland House. Therefore, Cree relations with HBC traders even as late as 1840 cannot be assigned to the Fur Trade Dependency Era. Europeans still did not exert political, economic, or social control over Indians, and the Cree simply did not engage in trapping as their primary subsistence pattern during this period.

During the 1820s and 1830s the HBC traders did attempt to play an increasingly dominant role in the lives of the Western Woods Cree. Although Indians in other areas of the Northwest were still exerting their strategic power over the company, an attempt by the Cree to use violence to force the Cumberland House traders to accede to their wishes now proved unsuccessful. In June 1823, after having been given rum, a group of unnamed hunters became obstreperous and staged an attack, according to the journal – "determined were they successful, to Pillage the house." The traders found themselves in a position to respond to such behaviour by following the advice of newly appointed HBC Governor, George Simpson, who wrote in 1822: "I have made it my study to examine the nature and character of the Indians and however repugnant it may be to our feelings, I am convinced they must be ruled with a rod of iron, to bring, and to keep them in a proper state of subordination."[20] What came to be known as the "club law" of the HBC was applied with vigour in this instance when Cumberland House trader F. Heron and three employees gave the miscreants "a good drubbing for their trouble." In contrast to the show of strength which might have occurred in earlier decades, after failing to intimidate the company's servants, the retreating Cree were forced to be content with venting their frustration on a company cow by cutting off a section from the end of its tail.[21]

By the late 1820s, the company was also able to resist some of the Indian consumer demands. The traders stored away goods originally rejected and traded them when no others were available. When two regular Indian clients, Opemaught and Escatty, arrived from The Pas in November of 1827, Leith commented: "We find no Difficulty now in getting the Stroud and Blankets sold to the Same Indians that refused it in the Autumn for its inferior quality.

(It is Nothing but the Scarcity of Goods, that Enables us to get Some of it offhand.'')[22] A similar situation obtained in the realm of gifts. The Cumberland House Report for 1827–28 stated: ''The Indians are now brought to the footing of neither asking or expecting any gratuities (excepting Liquor) therefore, they complain bitterly of being to sparingly supplied with absolute necessarys for their own familys use.''[23] ''Loitering on the plantation'' was no longer tolerated by the traders and Indians were often unceremoniously sent from the post. It also became more common for the Cree to be directed to a specific location in order to trap more muskrats before the trader would consent to give out their winter supplies. James Leith also mentioned his sending men out to a Cree rendezvous in March 1825 in order to get them to split up ''as when So many of them together They never do think of Endeavouring for to kill a skin.'' Congregations for goose feasting and dancing were also actively discouraged.[24]

Cree trappers were even sent out of the Cumberland House District altogether (as far away as Norway House). However, at least two men, Maske Ethinuies and The Eagle, later returned from Norway House and refused to be sent away again.[25] In most cases, however, the company attempted to discourage movement from one place to another. To the European mind, being a migratory, or ''run-about'' Indian was central to their lack of ''civilization.'' Such migrants were refused credit and told in no uncertain terms to go home. Typical of the trader response to Cree migration were the following statements: ''They was told Never to Show themselves at this place again, that they would get Nothing''; or ''He was Sharply Refused and ordered to go to Norway House where he belonged to.'' Only those with ''tickets'' (documents describing their debt status) from the traders in their home district were supplied with goods.[26] It is important to note, however, that those migrant Cree who were not given credit were still able to subsist without participating in the fur trade. For example, in September 1827, two Cree hunters, Coweutum and Opemaught, arrived at Cumberland House with their families looking for credit after having left the Split Lake country because of the depleted resources there. Leith attempted to send them back because of a lack of trading goods for the local trappers, but ''they replied that they would not return for this Season at all events. that they would be able to Pass the winter in fishing at the Paw.''[27] Other Indians were also quite able to survive the winter without being outfitted with goods on credit in the fall. Their ability to withdraw from the trading system in this manner (even after the establishment of the

HBC monopoly) again belies the interpretation that the Cree were "totally dependent" on the trade. Indeed, despite the hard line adopted by the Cumberland House traders, the Cree often persuaded the traders to relent on their initially stringent positions and to supply credit to the migrants. This capacity to do without trade goods continued to be a powerful weapon in the Cree arsenal of trade tactics well into the third and fourth decades of the nineteenth century.[28]

Another important element in the company's attempt to direct Cree participation in the fur trade under monopoly conditions was the policy of beaver conservation. The Cumberland House journals revealed, however, that as late as 1832 the Cree continued to trap beaver in opposition to the company's attempts to deter them in the name of conservation. Although they pointedly received summer beaver skins with "abuse" and minimal prices, the traders were largely unsuccessful in their efforts to promote their policy of conservation and thereby to control fur production.[29] This was so because the beaver continued to serve two important functions in Cree society besides being a profitable commodity. One was dietary, the other religious. In a September 1826 journal entry, Thomas Isbister explained that

> . . . after giving them a Dram and Tobacco to Smoke Began and told them the impropriety of Hunting the Beaver at Present and that here after every Beaver killed in the Summer should only be a half Skin to them. told them that they Should now Hunt other furs Such as rats Martains &c and allow the Beaver to increase. Otherwise they would be rendering their children Pitiefull by killing all the Beaver They replied very coolly that Beaver meat was too good to let Pass when there was any chance of killing it. and by Sacrificing Such at particular times is the preservation of the Lives of the Indians.[30]

Similar "cool replies" were given to the Cumberland House traders by various Western Woods Cree hunters on several other occasions.

Some scholars assert that there exists little or no evidence pointing to the practice of conservation efforts among Indians themselves.[31] However, the Western Woods Cree did make some attempt on their own to conserve muskrat populations. In June 1824, Petisk ke Ethinue, a Cree living in The Pas region, came to Cumberland House on his way to Basquiau Hill. The muskrat population was at a low ebb at the time, and he informed the trader "that their is a few Rats Still, But they are resolved not to molest them during the Summer, in hopes of their being allowed to Bring up their young, Will enable them to make better Hunting Next Autumn."[32] Such deliberate

action to allow the muskrat population to recover may have been a relatively new approach for the Cree, since the traditional strategy of mobility triggered by "the principle of least effort" had now been eroded by the influx of Bungee, Freemen and Iroquois, as well as by the HBC efforts to restrict trappers to their own districts.

In spite of HBC efforts to exert monopoly control, the Cree resisted trader domination and continued to wield their own power in certain key areas. In November 1822 Donald Ross revealed company desires to exert more control: "A part of Swampys 7 in number arrived from the lower end of Basquiau Hill, they inform us that they left about 8000 Musquash, gave them a little ammunition & told them that they must bring their Furs to the Fort themselves, as there would be no more men employed in hauling them to the Forts."[33] Nonetheless, even under monopoly conditions, Ross was obliged to reverse himself shortly thereafter, and company men were still compelled to "fetch" furs and provisions from the tents of the Cree. This pattern continued from the early days of the new monopoly through to 1840.[34]

The Western Woods Cree in the lower Saskatchewan River region were also successful in resisting HBC attempts to abandon the practice of trading *en dérouine*. In February 1826, company servants were sent out again to visit trappers' camps with goods and rum in order to "Scour the Whole of the Mountain du Pas." By 1827, Cumberland House trader Thomas Isbister was complaining that he did not have enough men to send out *en dérouine*. The fact that this practice continued on into the 1840s is further strong evidence that the Western Woods Cree were not totally dominated or "dependent" during the time of HBC monopoly control. According to Roderick McKenzie, recently promoted from master at Cumberland House to factor in the English River District, the "Indians" (including the Twatt Band of mixed descent) in the Nipawin area were customarily served by company shipments of trade goods to their camps. In 1837 Chief Trader John Lee Lewes attempted to put a stop to this early form of mail-order commerce, but this practice too continued at least until 1838.[35]

The long-standing necessity for the traders to deal *en dérouine* was in part a result of competition between adjacent HBC posts, a situation which the Cree hastened to exploit. This internal company rivalry enabled the Cree to continue using their strategy of threatening to trade elsewhere and, thus to maintain the "principle of least effort." For example, in 1823, Cumberland House trader Heron found himself competing for Cree furs with the HBC

post at Red Deer River and was forced to send a man *en dérouine* to ensure that the returns were not lost to his own accounts.[36] The Cree were repeatedly playing one trader against the other, even during the years of monopoly.

The Western Woods Cree continued to withdraw from the trade system when it suited their own interests. In 1837, a recurring shortage of trade goods at the Moose Lake outpost resulted in the departure of some Cree for Swan River, Norway House and Red River, where goods were thought to be more consistently available. Similar occurrences were reported in 1835. Differences of opinion between trapper and trader also resulted in the movement of the Cree between the posts, as was the case in 1837–38 with one Tepasome, who "took offense" at Cumberland House trader Charles Ross and consequently took his trade to Lac la Ronge.[37] Writing about those Cree who stayed in the Moose Lake area, John Lee Lewes stated in 1838: "I may safely state we have lost at least fifty Packs. the Indians knowing we were entirely out of Goods would not exert themselves as they otherwise would have done. for about a month in the very best hunting Season hardly killed a rat."[38] This is hardly the behaviour of dependent Indians under the total control of a monopoly.

Besides internal competition and shortages of goods, another important factor in the need for the HBC to continue to deal *en dérouine* was the Cree's clear lack of "interest" in trapping. Contrary to the company field officers' perceptions, and to the assertions made before the Parliamentary Inquiry of 1837, that the Indians were "dependent on our fire arms, ammunition, Fishing Tackle, wollens and Iron works as necessaries of life,"[39] food and good fur returns were produced without supplies of ammunition or iron tools such as muskrat spears. Indeed, the records specified that the Cree continued to use the bow and arrow for subsistence hunting and fur production until at least 1828. Other traditional tools and techniques were also employed through to 1840 and beyond. For example, metal traps were not in common use among the Indians of the subarctic until 1900.[40]

Besides their traditional hunting and trapping ability, Cree knowledge and skills were crucial to the success of the European trade enterprise. For example, Indian guides and paddlers were required for almost all travel except that along the Saskatchewan River. The HBC journals clearly showed that the collection of furs from Indians at their camps continued to depend entirely on the cooperation of knowledgeable Cree guides. The refusal of the Cree to serve in this capacity resulted in the failure of company efforts to locate

Indian camps in order to carry out *en dérouine* trade. As Isbister found in 1826, for example, "they would not undertake it at any Price," and he had to return to Cumberland House, his expedition *en dérouine* a failure.[41] Although groups such as that headed by the Freeman Joseph Constant[42] from The Pas were taking over some of the temporary seasonal wage work, the Cree Indians maintained their importance to the HBC transportation system. Collecting bark for construction of canoes was a necessary task carried out by the Cree, and they were still independent enough to refuse to bring the valuable materials all the way to Cumberland House. Canoes continued to be purchased from, and repaired by, Indians. Paddling express canoes and delivering the regular "packets," as well as accommodating special dispatches also remained in Indian hands up to 1840 and beyond. As paddlers and guides, the Cree repeatedly placed their own priorities above those of their employer – in the same way as they had earlier demonstrated their control to Cocking and Tomison. When Cree guides decided they had gone far enough, they continued to leave their European passengers stranded. Such was the case in September 1829 when Indians guiding a HBC servant (referred to only as a Mr. Grant) from York Factory to Carlton House abandoned him at Cumberland House, far short of his original destination.[43] In fact, the company's policy of reducing their own work force after 1821 necessitated employing more Indians, although (as always) they were hired only on a seasonal basis. The total complement of servants at Cumberland House during the summer months was often as low as two, three or four men. Therefore, the HBC was forced to rely on local Cree for "great assistance" with such necessary tasks as lumbering, gardening, fishing, haying and caring for the livestock. It must be noted too that many anonymous Cree women and children, who were attached more or less permanently to the traders at Cumberland House, laboured long to help support the post.[44]

The Cree were also able to force the HBC to deal in luxury goods such as alcohol against the prevailing company policy up to 1840. A plan to reduce the trade in alcohol to the Indians evoked the following evaluation from Mansack Twatt, "the principal of our upper Indians," who led the Nipawin Band of mixed-descent Freemen:[45]

> I informed him of the stoppage of Rum for the Indians having been determined on consequently none was to be brought here for the Current Outfit the information was any thing but pleasing to him, and he hesitated not in saying that the effects of this new law would be

perceivable in the amount of our Return's by next June, meaning that the Indians would not exert themselves to procure Fur's. – that it will tend to bring forth all the sulkiness of the Indian character and make them discontented there cannot be the least doubt, at least for the first Year or so, nothing less can be expected from Indians long accustomed has the Cumberland House one's have been to the use of spiritous Liquors, and who's fondness for the mad intoxicating beverage is notorious throughout the Country. finding themselves thus all at one debarred its further use and which by them is considered the only stimulus to exertion it may be supposed they will for a time become careless of all other matters and neglect their Fur hunts. Time however there is no doubt. will work its own cure and ultimately wean them from all thoughts of the [pernicious?] Article when they must again fall into their old habits of Industry and exert themselves to procure the needful necessaries they annually require for themselves and families.[46]

Although Twatt's statement might be viewed as mere trade rhetoric, his analysis must be noted, because, as a Freeman, he was exempted from the prohibition for Indians just as other concessions given to the Freemen were withheld from Indians.[47] At any rate, the Cree had already demonstrated that their interest in the fur trade was stimulated to a large degree by trade in luxury items such as tobacco and alcohol, and limited by their philosophy based on the "Zen road to affluence."

As they did in earlier periods, European traders continued to believe that the Cree were "Leasy Indolent fellows,"[48] – a view based on the peculiarly European emphasis on "work for its own sake." This perception was reinforced by the Cree's typical "lack of interest" in trapping. Their apathy toward the pursuit of furs – which according to some scholars should have been vital for their survival in the 1820s and 1830s – suggests that the Western Woods Cree were not completely integrated into the mercantilist fur-trade system in the lower Saskatchewan River region. For the traders, Cree independence – that is, the lack of the need to work at trapping – was judged as "laziness." From the Cree standpoint, however, the refusal to trap was an expression of independence from the fur trade. The Cree still found it possible to resist attempts by the HBC to direct their activities. When Indian interests lay elsewhere than on the trapline, traders were unable to prevent the Cree from proceeding as they wished. Hunting for moose and geese, maple sugaring, feasting and dancing continued to take precedence over the sustained trapping activities constantly urged on them by the company.[49] It also continued to be beyond the power of the HBC to prevent the Cree from participating in war parties and thus neglecting their traplines. For example, in May 1825,

James Leith expressed his frustration that the consistent trappers Winter Child, Stars, Puticat and at least seventeen others had joined the Meadow Indians (Plains Cree?) for an expedition against the Slaves (Slavey?). Obviously, warfare continued to be a culturally honourable pursuit. Although contrary to the interests of the traders, it resulted in "a certain kind of indifference of doing well that has seized the Natives [which] offers but a gloomy appearance for a Speedy increase [in trade]."[50] This "certain kind of indifference of doing well" was consistently manifest in the Cumberland House records between 1821 and 1840. Journal references to the Cree "doing nothing in the fur way" were common. For example, during the winter of 1826, a pair of regular clients at Cumberland House, Old Beardy and Methaskecan, were among those who had ceased trapping, and as late as 1839 the same applied to the Moose Lake Indians.[51] Even when a good stock of provisions was available – a prerequisite for success – the Cree often paid scant attention to trapping. Two Cree trappers, Puticat and Kemathweoustquen, appeared at Cumberland House with no furs at all in March 1826, and, "as they say themselves, they have been doing little but eating Since last Autumn." Many other co-residential groups had passed the winter in a similar fashion.[52] There is no better evidence that these Cree were not "inextricably enmeshed" or "totally dependent" on the fur trade.

In his Cumberland District Report of 1825, Chief Factor James Leith attributed the Cree's "lack of interest" in trapping to the company's policy of abandoning "running about amongst them so much as usual, and Likewise from the great diminution of Spiritous Liquors." He said:

> I am convinced the country taken all in a block is richer in fur bearing animals than it was four or five years ago. – Indeed I have seen it proved in many different parts of the country beyond doubt, that when they are left entirely to their own exertions (such as is their natural bent in care and liberty) that they decrease in their activity, loose all ambition for pleasing their traders and become even callous to their own wants.[53]

Thus, the Western Woods Cree had every opportunity, yet no desire – much less need – to engage in trapping as their primary subsistence activity, even though fur resources were abundant. The "Zen road to affluence" was still the operative principle for the Cree and they were clearly not yet dependent on the fur trade for their livelihood.

In summary, as evidence from the Cumberland House journals has

demonstrated, the Western Woods Cree Indians inhabiting the lower Saskatchewan River in the Cumberland House–The Pas region were able to maintain a significant degree of independence from the fur trade throughout the nearly two hundred years from protohistoric contact to 1840. Even under monopoly conditions, they were not so completely dominated, nor so deeply incorporated into the mercantilist trade system as to have no choice concerning their participation in trapping, hunting, tripping and wage labour for the HBC. Indeed, the Cree continued to control their own labour by withholding their services or withdrawing from the exchange altogether when it best suited their purposes. Thus we cannot categorize any of the period prior to 1840 in Bishop and Ray's Trading Post Dependency Era. The Cree's symbiotic relationship with the HBC was maintained through a combination of Indian-style social obligations and the stimulus of a supply of trade goods and alcohol *en dérouine*, yet it was limited by their persistent traditional adaptive strategies. The approach of the Western Woods Cree to gaining a livelihood did not match European precepts of "economizing," "profit orientation" or the "work ethic"; nor did their response to "supply and demand" forces or bargaining tactics match European expectations. Instead, the Cree's response to the new conditions in their environment – Europeans and their manufactures – was conditioned by the "principle of least effort" strategy and the "Zen road to affluence" philosophy. Both concepts are crucial to an understanding of Cree involvement in the fur trade and consequently their relations with European traders.

The findings of this study (which are confirmed by the recent work of ethnohistorians such as Toby Morantz) stand contrary to the interpretations of scholars across the ideological spectrum – from liberal historians such as E.E. Rich to Marxist scholars such as Harold Hickerson and Russ Rothney.[54] However, to those who believe that European fur traders dominated a dependent Western Woods Cree people soon after contact, we simply need quote Attickashish, "who only laughed and said they dar'd not."

Bibliographic essay

A basic premise of ethnohistory is the need to understand the cultural context of the setting under study. The following is a summary of the rather thin and fragmentary information on Cree culture.

Although no true "aboriginal baseline culture" can ever be reconstructed, a knowledge of the limited archaeological data available on the study area can be helpful to our analysis by giving insight into the immediate pre-contact culture of the Cree. Archaeological fieldwork in the region has for a number of reasons been preliminary and sporadic. Early post-glacial occupations beginning about 6,000 B.C. are dealt with in Walter Hlady's basic work, *Ten Thousand Years: Archaeology in Manitoba* (Winnipeg: Manitoba Archaeological Society, 1970) and in Leo Pettipas's monograph, *Environmental Change and Cultural Dynamics During the Paleo-Indian Period with Special Reference to Manitoba* (Winnipeg: Manitoba Department of Tourism, 1976). Gary Dixon has produced a general synopsis of the archaeological work in the area up to the mid-1970s in his *Prehistoric Northern Manitoba* (Winnipeg: Manitoba Department of Tourism, 1977). The two most detailed studies of the archaeology in the study area are William Mayer-Oakes's *Archaeological Investigations in the Grand Rapids, Manitoba, Reservoir 1961–62* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1970) and Morgan J. Tamplin's "Prehistoric Occupation and Resource Exploitation on the Saskatchewan River at The Pas, Manitoba" (University of Arizona Ph.D. dissertation, 1977). The latter two studies describe what is basically a bipolar adaptation of seasonal migration between Grand Rapids and The Pas – the two major archaeological habitation sites in the region.

Michael Kelly and Barbara Connel have focused on The Pas Moraine and its importance as a transportation corridor throughout history in their monograph, *Survey and Excavation – The Pas Moraine: 1976 Field Season. Papers in Manitoba Archaeology Final Report no. 4* (Winnipeg: Manitoba Department of Tourism, 1978). J.V. Wright has recently summarized his own previous work and that of other researchers in June Helm's (et al.) *Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 6: The Subarctic* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1981). Wright's long-held belief that particular archaeological cultures can be identified as Algonquian-speaking (or early Cree) is contentious, as is explained by Margaret Hanna in her contribution to Leo Pettipas's *Directions in Manitoba Prehistory: Papers in Honour of Chris Vickers* (Winnipeg: Manitoba Archaeological Society, 1980). Nevertheless, it is generally agreed that the Late Woodland materials referred to as Selkirk Phase are identifiably Cree remains. Woodland Cree are identified with the Clearwater Lake Phase dated between A.D. 1425 and 1685, while Swampy Cree occupation of the area is connected with the later Grass River Phase which is manifested in the study area by A.D. 1790. Other articles dealing with Cree archaeology appear in the *Manitoba Archaeological Newsletter* 8, nos. 2 and 3 (1971); *Manitoba Archaeological Quarterly* 7, no. 2 (1983); and in *Papers of the Manitoba Historical and Scientific Society*, series 3, no. 17 (1964).

The Western Woods Cree have received even less attention from ethnographers than from archaeologists. Indeed, the little information which is available tends to be derived from ethnohistorical sources and from "memory culture," which must not be accepted as traditional without reference to acculturation factors. Other than the fieldwork carried out in the late 1930s by Leonard Mason resulting in his thin monograph, *The Swampy Cree: A Study on Acculturation. National Museums of Canada Anthropological Papers no. 13* (Ottawa: Department of the Secretary of State, 1967), little research has been accomplished. No other major ethnographic work has been carried out among the Western Woods Cree until recent studies by Heye Museum ethnologist James G.E. Smith. After researching the historic records and doing fieldwork among the Cree of The Brochet – Reindeer Lake area, Smith has published his findings in the *Handbook* edited by June Helm, et al., in *Papers of the Seventh Algonquian Conference* (Ottawa: Carlton University Press, 1976), and in *Contributions to Canadian Ethnology, 1975: Mercury Series, Canadian Ethnology Service Paper no. 31* (Ottawa: National Museums of

Canada, 1975). In earlier sources, Diamond Jenness devotes only four pages in his *Indians of Canada* (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1963) specifically to the Cree, and the Rev. M. Rossignol published three brief articles on the "Cree of the Rocks" in *Primitive Man* 11, nos. 1-2, 3-4 (1938) and 12, no. 3 (1939).

Otherwise, the West Main Swampy Cree (or Coast Cree) who inhabitated the western shores of Hudson Bay are by far the best known. Anthropologist John J. Honigmann has published his findings on this group in Helm's (et al.) *Handbook* and in the journals *Anthropos* 48 (1953), *Alaska University Anthropological Papers 15* (1956) and *Anthropologica* 6 (1958). Rev. J. Trudeau has written "Culture Change Among the Swampy Cree of Winisk Ontario: Anthropological Studies no. 3" (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1967) and Alanson Skinner has published "Notes on the Eastern Cree and Northern Saulteaux" in *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 9 (1911). Studies on the Cree language have been carried out and reported by David H. Pentland, "A Historical Overview of Cree Dialects," in *Papers of the Ninth Algonquian Conference*, edited by William Cowan (Ottawa: Carlton University, 1978) and by H. Christoph Wolfart, "Boundary Maintenance in Algonquian: A Linguistic Study of Island Lake, Manitoba," *American Anthropologist* 75, no. 5 (1973), pp. 1305–23. There is also a relative abundance of information on other Cree peoples in adjacent regions and a good deal of literature on band societies in general, but we can only indirectly infer Western Woods Cree culture from the descriptions of these related groups. For example, see David G. Mandelbaum's *The Plains Cree: An Ethnographic, Historical and Comparative Study* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, University of Regina, 1979) and Robert W. Dunning's *Social and Economic Change Among the Northern Ojibwa* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959). Scholars such as Harold Hickerson, Charles Bishop and Edward S. Rogers have also published extensively on related cultures.

Recently, limited studies on the Cree have been carried out by S.R. Sharrock on relations with the Assiniboine in *Ethnohistory* 21, no. 2 (1974). Articles by D. Russell and by D. Meyer on the importance of the goose hunt to the Cree appear in *Proceedings of the Second Congress of the Canadian Ethnology Society. Mercury Series, Canadian Ethnology Service Paper no. 28* (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975). Recent published work on the Cree in the study area has tended to focus on the ethnohistorical approach, as for

example Katherine Pettipas's distillation of Drage's 1746-47 narrative which appears in the *Manitoba Archaeological Quarterly* 6 (1982) and her article "An Ethnohistory of The Pas Area, Prehistoric – 1875: A Study in Cree Adaptation," in *Directions in Manitoba Prehistory: Papers in Honour of Chris Vickers*, edited by Leo Pettipas (Winnipeg: Association of Manitoba Archaeologists and the Manitoba Archaeological Society, 1980). David Meyer has just published *The Red Earth Crees, 1860–1960. National Museum of Man Mercury Series. Canadian Ethnology Service Paper No. 100* (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1985) which outlines the development of marriage patterns in response to historical processes. An overview of the archaeological and ethnographic data on the Western Woods Cree as well as a summary of the literature dealing with the various European ethnic groups involved in the contact is available in Paul C. Thistle's "Indian-Trader Relations: An Ethnohistory of Western Woods Cree – Hudson's Bay Company Trader Contact in the Cumberland House – The Pas Region to 1840" (Master's thesis, University of Manitoba, 1983).

In conclusion, the lack of ethnographic information on the Western Woods Cree makes it very important to utilize the historic records available with an ethnohistorical approach if we are to discover more about the Cree and the cultural context of their historical development.

Notes

PREFACE

1 James G.E. Smith, "Western Woods Cree," in *Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 6: Subarctic*, ed. June Helm (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1981), p. 257. The dearth of information on the Cree in the study area (especially when compared with the amount written about other groups) is confirmed by noting the lack of references on the Western Woods Cree in the table of contents and index of Helm's recent *Handbook*.

2 James W. St. G. Walker, "The Indian in Canadian Historical Writing," *Canadian Historical Association Papers* (1971); D.F. Bibeau, "The Fur Trade Literature from *a Tribal Point of View,*" *in Rendezvous: Selected Papers of the Fourth North American Fur Trade Conference, 1981,* ed. Thomas C. Buckley (St. Paul, Mn.: North American Fur Trade Conference, 1984).

3 James Axtell, "The Ethnohistory of Early America: A Review Essay," *William and Mary Quarterly* 35 (1975), p. 131; Smith, "Western Woods Cree," p. 257; Toby Morantz, "Economic and Social Accommodations of the James Bay Inlanders to the Fur Trade," in *The Subarctic Fur Trade; Native Social and Economic Adaptations*, ed. Shepard Krech (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1984), p. 57.

4 Charles A. Bishop, "Demography, Ecology and Trade Among the Northern Ojibwa and Swampy Cree," *Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology* 3 no. 1 (1972), p. 58; E.A. Barth and D.O. Noel, "Conceptual Framework for the Analysis of Race Relations: An Evaluation," *Social Forces* 50 (1972).

5 Sylvia Van Kirk, "Fur Trade History: Some Recent Trends," in *Old Trails and New Direction: Papers of the Third North American Fur Trade Conference,* ed. Carol M. Judd and Arthur J. Ray (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), p. 164; cf Harold A. Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada,* rev. ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1956); E.E. Rich, *The Fur Trade and the Northwest to 1857* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967); Arthur J. Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade: Their Roles as Hunters, Trappers and Middlemen in the Lands Southwest of Hudson Bay 1660-1870* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974).

6 After Smith in "Western Woods Cree," this term is used here to correlate more or less with the vague references in the historic records to "Inland" or "Upland" Cree as opposed to the "Home Guard Cree," West Main or Coast Cree. In the ethnographic literature, Western Woods Cree is an inclusive term encompassing the closely related Swampy Cree, Rocky Cree and Strongwoods Cree which are self-identified as dialetical groups.

7 Katherine Pettipas, "A History of the Work of the Reverend Henry Budd Conducted under the Auspices of the Church Missionary Society, 1840-1875" (Master's thesis, University of Manitoba, 1975); S. Raby, "Indian Treaty No. 5 and The Pas Agency, Saskatchewan, N.W.T.," *Saskatchewan History* 25 (1972).

8 For further information on the methods of ethnohistory, consult the several discussions in the excellent journal *Ethnohistory*.

9 Paul C. Thistle, "Indian-Trader Relations: An Ethnohistory of Western Woods Cree – Hudson's Bay Company Trader contact in the Cumberland House – The Pas Region to 1840," (Master's thesis, University of Manitoba, 1983).

CHAPTER 1

1 Likely a "Coast" or West Main Cree as opposed to an "Inland" or Western Woods Cree; Edward S. Rogers, "Subsistence Areas of the Cree-Ojibwa of the Eastern Subarctic: A Preliminary Study," in *Contributions to Ethnology 5, Bulletin 204* (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1967), p. 83; Charles A. Bishop, "Territorial Groups Before 1821: Cree and Ojibwa," in *Handbook of North American Indians. Volume 6: Subarctic*, ed. June Helm (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1981), p. 159.

2 S. Purchas, ed., *Hakluyutis Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes* vol. 13 (New York: A.M.S. Press Ltd., 1965), p. 391.

3 Andrew Graham, *Andrew Graham's Observations on Hudson's Bay, 1769–1791*, ed. G. Williams and R. Glover (London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1969), p. 204; Purchas, *Hukluyutis Posthumus*, vol. 13, pp. 404–06.

4 Grace L. Nute, *Caesars of the Wilderness: Medart Chouart, Sieur des Groseilliers and Pierre Esprit Radisson, 1618–1760,* ed. (New York: Arno Press, 1977), p. 291.

5 Rev. M. Rossignol, "The Religion of the Saskatchewan and Western Manitoba Cree," *Primitive Man* 11, no. 3–4 (1938), p. 69, and Edward S. Rogers, *The Hunting Group – Hunting Territory Complex Among the Mistassini Indians. National Museums of Canada Bulletin no. 195* (Ottawa: Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources, 1963), p. 37, are among those who downplay the importance of aboriginal trade; but compare R. Wood, "Contrastive Features of Native North American Trade Systems," in *For The Chief: Essays in Honor of Luther S. Cressman*, ed. F.W. Voget and R.L. Stephenson (Eugene, Ore.: University of Oregon Press, 1972), p. 154 ff.; Harold Hickerson, "Fur Trade Colonialism and the North American Indian," *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 1, no. 2 (1973), pp. 18–19; and Arthur J. Ray and Donald Freeman, *"Give Us Good Measure": An Economic Analysis of Relations Between the Indians and Hudson's Bay Company Before 1763* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), p. 60. For the popular "defenseless exploited Indian" interpretation, see the 1972 National Film Board offering, "The Other Side of the Ledger: An Indian View of the Hudson's Bay Company,"

directed by Martin Defalco and Willie Dunn, and for a parallel Marxist interpretation not so popular, see G. Myers, *A History of Canadian Wealth* vol. 1, 1st Canadian ed. (Toronto: Lewis and Samuel, 1972), p. 3, and Howard Adams, *Prison of Grass: Canada From the Native Point of View* (Toronto: General Publishing, 1975), pp. 19–25 passim.

6 E.E. Rich, *Hudson's Bay Company, 1670–1870*, vol. 1 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1960), p. 594. The term *made beaver* refers to the standard unit of value in fur equivalent to one prime beaver pelt.

7 R. Paine, ed., *Patrons and Brokers in the Eastern Arctic. Newfoundland Social and Economic Papers no. 2* (St. John's: Memorial University Press, 1971), p. 11, explains the "fallacy of intrinsic worth" when dealing with individuals in a cross-cultural setting.

8 Marshal D. Sahlins, *Stone Age Economics* (Chicago: Aldine-Atherton Inc., 1972), p. 201.

9 Banton, *Race Relations*, p. 68; H.M. Blalock, *Toward a Theory of Minority Group Relations* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1967), p. 77.

10 These explorers included Button in 1612, Fox in 1631 and James in 1632.

11 Charles A. Bishop and Arthur J. Ray, "Ethnohistorical Research in the Central Subarctic: Some Conceptual and Methodological Problems," *Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology* 7 (1976), pp. 116–44.

12 Pierre Van den Berghe, *The Ethnic Phenomenon* (New York: Basic Books, 1981), p. 41.

13 Toby Morantz, "Economic and Social Accommodations of the James Bay Inlanders to the Fur Trade"; and Robert Jarvenpa and Hetty Jo Brumbach, "The Microeconomics of Southern Chipewyan Fur Trade History," in *The Subarctic Fur Trade: Native Social and Economic Adaptations*, ed. Shepard Krech (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1984), pp. 55, 147.

14 Arthur J. Ray, "Historiography and Archaeology of the Northern Fur Trade," *American Antiquity* 43, no. 1 (1978), p. 26; J.V. Wright, *Cree Culture History in the Southern Indian Lake Region. Contributions to Anthropology 7, Bulletin 232* (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1871), p. 21.

15 Charles A. Bishop, "The First Century: Adaptive Changes Among the Western James Bay Cree Between the Early Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *The Subarctic Fur Trade: Native Social and Economic Adaptations*, ed. Shepard Krech (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1984), p. 25.

16 Reuben G. Thwaites, *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionairies in New France*, 73 vols. (New York: Pagent Books, 1959), 1:32, 18:29, 21:125; Rich, *Fur Trade and the Northwest*, p. 14.

17 Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 42:14; Rich, *Fur Trade and the Northwest, p. 19*.

18 Compare the accounts of Nute, *Caesars*, p. 67, and A.T. Adams, ed., *The Explorations of Pierre Esprit Radisson* (Minneapolis: Ross and Haines Inc., 1961), pp. 1xiii, 146.

19 Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, pp. 66:107, 66:71; Innis, *Fur Trade in Canada*, p. 45.

20 Adams, *Explorations of Radisson*, pp. 124, 127; the significance of presents in relations with Indians has been examined by W.R. Jacobs, *Wilderness Politics and Indian Gifts: The North American Frontier, 1748–1763* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1950) and Bruce M. White, " 'Give Us a Little Milk': The Social and Cultural Significance of Gift Giving in the Lake Superior Fur Trade," in *Rendezvous: Selected Papers of the*

Fourth North American Fur Trade Conference, 1981, ed. Thomas C. Buckley (St. Paul, Mn.: North American Fur Trade Conference, 1984).

21 Adams, *Explorations of Radisson*, p. 129.

22 Sahlins, *Stone Age Economics*, p. 169.

23 Adams, *Explorations of Radisson*, pp. 130–01, 135.

24 Cornelius J. Jaenen, "Amerindian Views of French Culture," *Canadian Historical Review* 55 (1974); *Friend and Foe: Aspects of French-Amerindian Cultural Contact in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976); "French Attitudes Towards Native Society," in *Old Trails and New Directions: Papers of the Third North American Fur Trade Conference*, ed. Carol M. Judd and Arthur J. Ray (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980).

25 Adams, *Explorations of Radisson*, pp. 149–50.

26 J.M. Gibbon, "The Coureur de Bois and his Birthright," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 3rd series, section 2 (1936), p. 68; Innis, *Fur Trade in Canada*, pp. 42–49; Jennifer S.H. Brown, *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980), p. 5.

27 Rich, *Fur Trade and the Northwest*, pp. 88–89; L.J. Burpee, ed., *The Journals and Letters of Pierre Gaultier de Varennes de La Vérendrye and his Sons* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1927), p. 25–26; John Warkentin and Richard I. Ruggles, *Historical Atlas of Manitoba: A Selection of Facsimile Maps, Plans and Sketches From 1612 to 1969* (Winnipeg, Manitoba Historical Society, 1970), pp. 63–65; and James C. MacPherson, *Inventory of Historical and Archaeological Sites of the Pilot Land Use Planning Area* (Winnipeg: Manitoba Department of Mines and Resources, 1972), pp. 35, 36 n., 63.

28 Present-day The Pas is referred to variously in the documents as Paskoyac, Pasquayah, Pasquia and Basquiau. All are said to be corruptions of the Cree word "opa'skwe'uya'w" which means a narrow place between high banks or "wooded narrows." See Smith, "The Western Woods Cree," p. 270 and J.B. Tyrrell, *The Journals of Samuel Hearne and Philip Turnor* (New York: Greenwood Publications, 1968 [original 1934], p. 109. This sequence of events is detailed in Burpee, *Journals of de la Vérendrye*, pp. 25–32 and MacPherson, *Inventory of Historical Sites*, pp. 38–39.

29 Rich, *Fur Trade and the Northwest*, p. 87; Arthur S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870–1871. . .* , 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), p. 178.

30 Rich, *Hudson's Bay Company,* 1:516; Burpee, *Journals of de la Vérendrye*, p. 486.

31 Cf. Toby Morantz, "The Impact of the Fur Trade on Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Algonquian Social Organization: An Ethnographic – Ethnohistorical Study of the Eastern James Bay Cree From 1700–1850" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1980), p. 35; Douglas MacKay, *The Honourable Company*, rev. ed. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1966), p. 24.

32 Quoted in Arthur S. Morton, *History of the Canadian West*, p. 51, and Nute, *Caesars*, p. 118. One explanation for this behaviour is given by P. Holder, "The Fur Trade as Seen from the Indian Point of View," in *The Frontier Re-examined*, ed. J.F. McDermott (Chicago: University of Illinois Press), pp. 133–34.

33 Quoted in Nute, *Caesars*, p. 287, and Rich, *Fur Trade and the Northwest*, p. 37.

34 Rich, *Fur Trade and the Northwest*, p. 38. In this study, the term *dependence* is defined as the condition of reliance on something or someone else for maintenance and support to ensure survival, implying subjection to control or domination by another. See Krech, *Subarctic Fur Trade*, p. 138.

35 William L. Morton, *Manitoba: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), p. 12.

36 Adams, *Explorations of Radisson*, p. 170.

37 Cf. Rotstein, "Fur Trade and Empire," p. 1; Arthur J. Ray and Donald Freeman, *"Give Us Good Measure": An Economic Analysis of Relations Between Indians and the Hudson's Bay Company Before 1763* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), pp. 232–37.

38 Adams, *Explorations of Radisson*, pp. 169, 176; N. Lafleur, *La vie traditionelle du coureur de bois aux XIX^e et XX^e siècles* (Montréal: les Editions Leméac Inc., 1973), p. 30.

39 For discussions on the idea of "patron" and "broker," see Paine, *Patrons and Brokers*, pp. 5–9 and N. Dyck, "Strangers in Our Midst: An Examination of Anthropological Thought About Brokerage," in *Papers From the Fourth Annual Congress, 1977, Mercury Series. Canadian Ethnology Service Paper no. 40*, ed. R.J. Preston (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1978).

40 Adams, *Explorations of Radisson*, p. 191. This communication was probably kin-based, following D. Russell, "The Effects of the Spring Goose Hunt on the Crees in the Vicinity of York Factory and Churchill River in the 1700s," in *Proceedings of the Second Congress of the Canadian Ethnological Society, Mercury Series. Canadian Ethnology Service Paper no. 28*, vol. 2 (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975), p. 430.

41 Adams, *Explorations of Radisson*, p. 197.

42 Ibid.

43 Lewis O. Saum, *The Fur Trader and the Indian* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1965), p. 76; cf. Arthur S. Morton, *History of the Canadian West*, p. 182.

44 Jaenen, "Amerindian Views of French Culture," p. 263; Marcel Giraud, *Le Métis canadien: son rôle dans l'histoire des provinces de l'Ouest* (Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie, 1945), p. 318.

45 Ray and Freeman, "*Give Us Good Measure*," pp. 44, 179, 181–82, 189; James Isham, *James Isham's Observations on Hudson's Bay, 1743* . . . , ed. E.E. Rich and A.M. Johnson (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1949), pp. xxv, xxvi; Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 54:197; Carolyn Gilman, ed., *Where Two Worlds Meet: The Great Lakes Fur Trade* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1982), p. 3; Jaenen, "Amerindian Views of French Culture," p. 263; *Friend and Foe*, p. 9.

46 Adams, *Explorations of Radisson*, pp. 207, 214, 223–24; see also Smith, "Western Woods Cree," p. 262, and Katherine Pettipas, ed., "Historical Background: An Ethnographic Account of the Northern Cree, 1748," *Manitoba Archaeological Quarterly* 6, no. 1 (1982), p. 40.

47 Adams, *Explorations of Radisson*, pp. 230–01.

48 Quoted in Brown, *Strangers in Blood*, p. 52; see also Arthur S. Morton, *History of the Canadian West*, pp. 110–11.

49 John Nicks, "The Diary of a Young Fur Trader: The 1789–1790 Journal of Thomas Staynor," in *Essays on Western History*, ed. L.H. Thomas (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1976), p. 22.

50 Based on his research into this question, Bob Huck, Fire Control Officer with the Manitoba Department of Natural Resources in The Pas, believes that Dering's Point most likely refers to Hill Island (or possibly Devil's Drum Island in the same general area). He bases his conclusion on the distances, physical features and vegetation mentioned in Kelsey's journal. Of course, flooding of this region makes the identification doubly difficult (personal communication). For another re-assessment of Kelsey's report, see Allen Ronaghan, "Kelsey's Journal of 1691 Reconsidered," *Saskatchewan History* 37, no. 1 (1984).

51 For discussions of this role see Toby Morantz, "Northern Algonquian Concepts of Status and Leadership Reviewed: A Case Study of the Eighteenth Century Trading Captain System," *The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 19 (1982), and Arthur J. Ray, "The Factor and the Trading Captain in the Hudson's Bay Company Fur Trade Before 1763," in *Proceedings of the Second Congress of the Canadian Ethnological Society, Mercury Series. Canadian Ethnology Service Paper no. 28*, vol. 2 (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975).

52 Cf. John C. Ewers, "Fact and Fiction in the Documentary Art of the American West," in *The Frontier Re-examined*, ed. J.F. McDermott (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1967); Ronaghan, "Kelsey's Journal of 1691 Reconsidered," p. 28.

53 Henry Kelsey, *The Kelsey Papers*, ed. A.G. Doughty and C. Martin (Ottawa: Kings Printer, 1929), pp. 15–18. For a critique of this middleman blockade interpretation, see Bruce A. Cox, "Indian Middlemen and the Early Fur Trade: Reconsidering the Position of the Hudson's Bay Company's 'Trading Indians,' " in *Rendezvous: Selected Papers of the Fourth North American Fur Trade Conference, 1981*, ed. Thomas C. Buckley (St. Paul, Mn.: North American Fur Trade Conference, 1984).

54 Sylvia Van Kirk, *"Many Tender Ties": Women in Fur Trade Society*, 1670–1870 (Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer, 1980), p. 64 passim; and see also Brown, *Strangers in Blood*, for excellent studies on the role of native women.

55 Kelsey, *Kelsey Papers*, pp. 52, 55, 57–59, 62, 67. Parallelling the findings of the case of the Cree east of James Bay, however, the flow of food was overwhelmingly into European larders. See Toby Morantz, "The Fur Trade and the Cree of James Bay," in *Old Trails and New Directions: Papers of the Third North American Fur Trade Conference*, ed. Carol M. Judd and Arthur J. Ray (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), pp. 47–48, and Ray and Freeman, *"Give Us Good Measure,"* p. 41.

56 For example, Graham, *Graham's Observations*, p. 19, and Harold Hickerson, "Fur Trade Colonialism and the North American Indian," *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 1, no. 2 (1973), p. 29.

57 Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade*, pp. 80–81, 85; Krech, *Subarctic Fur Trade*, pp. xiii, 60–61, 147.

58 Isham, *Isham's Observations*, p. 81; see also Joseph Robson, *An Account of Six Years Residence in Hudson's Bay from 1733 to 1736 and 1744 to 1747*, reprint ed. (New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1965), p. 6, and Ray and Freeman, "Give us Good Measure," p. 41.

59 Robson, *Six Years Residence in Hudson's Bay*, pp. 49–50, 54.
60 Nicholas Jérémie, *Twenty Years at York Factory*, 1694–1714, ed. R. Douglas and J.N. Wallace (Ottawa: Thorburn and Abbot, 1926), p. 40. See pages 36–39ff, in this volume for a further discussion of the "cultural amnesia" and dependence questions.
61 Ibid., p. 39.
62 Cf. B.W. Sheehan, *Savagism and Civility: Indians and Englishmen in Colonial Virginia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 144.
63 G. Dalton, "Economic Theory and Primitive Society," *American Anthropologist* 63 (1961), p. 20; Paine, *Patrons and Brokers*, p. 13; Sahlins, *Stone Age Economics*, pp. 186–87; Morton H. Fried, *The Evolution of Political Society: An Essay in Political Anthropology* (New York: Random House, 1967), p. 73
64 See Sahlins, *Stone Age Economics*, pp. 186–200, for a detailed discussion of the concept of "reciprocity."
65 Edward S. Rogers, "Band Organization Among the Indians of Eastern Subarctic Canada," in *Contributions to Anthropology: Band Societies, Anthropology Series no. 84, Bulletin 228*, ed. D. Damas (Ottawa; National Museums of Canada, 1969), p. 47.
66 E.E. Rich and A.M. Johnson, eds., *Letters Outward, 1679–1694* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1948), p. 39.
67 Ibid., p. 79.
68 Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg (hereinafter cited HBCA), York Factory Journal, B.239/a/46, fol. 37; see also Rich and Johnson, *Letters Outward*, p. 7.
69 HBCA. York Factory Journal B.239/a/68, fol. 43.
70 K.G. Davies and A.M. Johnson, eds., *Letters From Hudson Bay, 1703–1740* (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society 25, 1965), p. 37.
71 The formalized trading ceremony and rhetoric described by Isham, *Isham's Observations*, pp. 24 ff., and Graham, *Graham's Observations*, pp. 317 ff., is analyzed by Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade*, pp. 63–65, and E.E. Rich, "Trade Habits and Economic Motivation Among the Indians of North America," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* 26 (1960), pp. 35–38.
72 Robson, *Six Years Residence in Hudson's Bay*, p. 6; R.J. Glover, "The Difficulties of the Hudson's Bay Company's Penetration of the West," *Canadian Historical Review* 29 (1948), pp. 240–54; Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade*, pp. 61 ff.
73 HBCA. Andrew Graham's Observations on Hudson's Bay . . . E.2/4, fol. 35.
74 Ibid., fol. 36.
75 Ibid., fol. 58.
76 Ibid., fol. 38.
77 Ibid., fol. 46; HBCA. York Factory Journal B.239/a/59, fol. 114.
78 HBCA. Graham's Observations E.2/4, fol. 53; Davies and Johnson, *Letters from Hudson Bay*, p. xxix.
79 W.S. Wallace, ed., *Documents Relating to the North West Company*, reprint ed. (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), p. 40.

80 The Cree term referring to the leader of the "hunting group" or "micro-band." See Smith, "Western Woods Cree," p. 259, and Edward S. Rogers, "Leadership Among the Indians of eastern Subarctic Canada," *Anthropologica* 7 (1965), p. 270.

81 HBCA. Graham's Observations, E.2/4, fol. 39, 49. It is important to note that beaver tail was an important source of fat calories in the subarctic and that the animal also had ceremonial importance. See Morantz, "The Impact of the Fur Trade," p. 79.

82 HBCA. Graham's Observations, E.2/4, fol. 52.

83 Ibid., fol. 56–57.

84 Ibid., fol. 58.

85 M.A. Jochim, *Hunter-Gatherer Subsistence and Settlement: A Predictive Model* (New York: Academic Press, 1976), p. 17; Harvey A. Feit, "The Ethno-Ecology of the Waswanipi Cree: or How Hunters Can Manage Their Resources," in *Cultural Ecology: Readings on the Canadian Indians and Eskimos*, ed. B. Cox (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973), p. 115; R. Paine, "Animals as Capital: Comparison Among Northern Nomadic Herders and Hunters," in *Cultural Ecology: Readings on the Canadian Indians and Eskimos*, ed. B. Cox, p. 303; Sahlins, *Stone Age Economics*, pp. 1–2.

86 Arthur S. Morton, *History of the Canadian West*, pp. 252, 274; Rich, *Fur Trade and the Northwest*, pp. 127, 129.

87 HBCA. York Factory Journal B.239/a/42, fol. 3; B.239/a/43, fol. 6, 9, 10.

88 Ibid., fol. 13.

89 Lieberson, "Societal Theory of Race and Ethnic Relations," pp. 902–03; D.L. Noel, "A Theory of the Origin of Ethnic Stratification," *Social Problems* 16 (1968), p. 163.

90 Arthur S. Morton, *History of the Canadian West*, pp. 236, 253.

91 Ibid., pp. 241, 254; HBCA. York Factory Journal B.239/a/45; B.239/a/46, fol. 37; Douglas A. Birk, "The La Vérendryes," in *Where Two Worlds Meet: The Great Lakes Fur Trade*, ed. C. Gilman (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1982, p. 118.

92 Arthur S. Morton, *History of the Canadian West*, p. 268; HBCA. York Factory Journal B.239/a/59, fol. 114.

93 Ibid.; cf. Henday's explanation in HBCA. Graham's Observations E.2/4, fol. 44–48; see also Innis, *Fur Trade in Canada*, p. 153; Ray and Freeman, "*Give Us Good Measure*," p. 241.

94 Quoted in Ray and Freeman, "*Give Us Good Measure*," p. 44.

95 HBCA. York Factory Journal B.239/a/64, fol. 13; Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade*, p. 144.

96 HBCA. York Factory Journal B.239/a/56, fol. 24; Graham, *Graham's Observations*, p. 261.

97 HBCA. York Factory Journal B.239/a/57, fol. 41.

98 Arthur S. Morton, *History of the Canadian West*, p. 267; Rich, *Hudson's Bay Company*, 2:1; Graham, *Graham's Observations*, p. 291; Jaenen, "Amerindian Views of French Culture," p. 264; Brown, *Strangers in Blood*, p. xii.

99 Ernest Voorhis, *Historic Forts and Trading Posts of the French Regime and of the English Fur Trading Companies* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms Inc., 1966), p. 19; Rich, *Fur Trade and the Northwest*, pp. 136–39; Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada*, p. 189; Arthur S. Morton, *History of the Canadian West*, pp. 280–81.

100 HBCA. York Factory Journal B.239/a/63, fol. 4–24 passim.
101 Ibid., fol. 19.
102 HBCA. York Factory Journal B.239/a/66, fol. 53.
103 HBCA. York Factory Journal B.239/a/60, fol, 40A.
104 HBCA. York Factory Journal B.239/a/63, fol. 24–25.
105 See Edward Umfreville, *The Present State of Hudson's Bay. . .* , reprint ed., ed. W.S. Wallace (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1954), p. 109; E.A. Mitchell, "The Scot in the Fur Trade," in *The Scottish Tradition in Canada*, ed. W.S. Reid (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart and the Secretary of State, 1976), p. 39; but cf. Philip Goldring, "Papers on the Labour System of the Hudson's Bay Company 1821–1900," vol. 1, manuscript report no. 362 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1979), p. 171. For an overview of the literature on the Orcadians and the other European groups, see Thistle, "Indian-Trader Relations," pp. 50–70.
106 Cf. Rich and Johnson, *Cumberland House Journals, First Series*, pp. xxx, liv n.; Tyrrell, *Journals of Hearne and Turnor*, p. 518.
107 HBCA. York Factory Journal B.239/a/64, fol. 4–5, 7, 9 passim.
108 Ibid., fol. 15.
109 Ray and Freeman, "*Give Us Good Measure*," p. 197; Jochim, *Hunter-Gatherer Subsistence and Settlement*, p. 17.
110 HBCA. London Office Record A.11/115, fol. 148.
111 E.g. HBCA. York Factory Journal B.239/a/46, fol. 4; see also J.E. Foster, "The Home Guard Cree and the Hudson's Bay Company: The First Hundred Years," in *Approaches to Native History in Canada. Mercury Series History Divsion Paper no. 25*, ed. D.A. Muise (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1977), p. 54, and Frits Pannekoek, "Corruption at Moose," *The Beaver*, outfit 309, no. 4 (1979), pp. 5–6.
112 Unfortunately, the published version most widely available (in the 1908 *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*) happens to have been a copy bowdlerized by Graham, according to Rich, *Fur Trade and the Northwest*, pp. 144–45; cf. HBCA. York Factory Journal B.239/a/69, fol. 12, 36, 46.
113 Ibid., fol. 42, 43, 47.
114 Ibid., fol. 52.
115 Ibid., fol. 12.
116 Ibid., fol. 36
117 Ibid., fol. 36, 44, 53.
118 Ibid., fol. 12, 48, 52.
119 Ibid., fol. 5, 11, 48.
120 Ibid., fol. 9; cf. K. Pettipas, "Ethnographic Account of the Northern Cree," pp. 36, 40.
121 HBCA. York Factory Journal B.239/a/69, fol. 9, 46–47.
122 Ibid., fol. 11.
123 Ibid., fol. 53.
124 Rich and Johnson, *Cumberland House Journals, First Series*, p. lxxix.
125 HBCA. York Factory Journal B.239/a/68, fol. 43; B.239/a/65, fol. 41.

CHAPTER 2

1 Kelsey, *Kelsey Papers*, pp. 192–03; Davies and Johnson, *Letters From Hudson Bay*, p. 98; Graham, *Graham's Observations*, pp. 318–19. Here again, misconceptions have been perpetuated through the use by Gilman, in *Where Two Worlds Meet*, p. 53, of the ubiquitous, but inaccurate, illustration showing Indians crowding in front of a counter in the manner of a modern retail setting. Cf. Ewers, "Fact and Fiction in the Documentary Art of the American West."

2 Van Kirk, "*Many Tender Ties*," p. 14. For the importance of face-to-face contact, see Ralph Linton, *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes*, 2nd ed. (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1963), p. 495.

3 Linton, *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes*, p. 495; Leonard Broom et al., "Acculturation: An Exploratory Formulation," *American Anthropologist* 56 (1954), p. 980.

4 E.g. Innis, *Fur Trade in Canada*, p. 83, and Rich, *Fur Trade and the Northwest*, p. 7.

5 Van den Berghe, *Ethnic Phenomenon*, p. 18.

6 Linton, *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes*, p. 495.

7 Population estimates (all of which must be regarded with scepticism) for the Western Woods Cree alone range between 2,200 to 4,600 in the 1700s. At the same time the total HBC complement was no more than 200 (Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade*, pp. 106–110; Van Kirk, "*Many Tender Ties*," p. 11).

8 See D. Kaplan and R.A. Manners, *Culture Theory* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall Inc., 1972), p. 48, and R.M. Keesing and F.M. Keesing, *New Perspectives in Cultural Anthropology* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971), p. 354.

9 E.g. Morantz, "The Impact of the Fur Trade," p. 39; R.W. Dunning, *Social and Economic Change Among the Northern Ojibwa* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959), p. 5; Ray, "Historiography and Archaeology of the Northern Fur Trade," p. 32; Pettipas, "Ethnographic Account of the Northern Cree," p. 95. For a contrasting view which argues for "synthesis" as opposed to "continuity," see Bishop, "Adaptive Change Among the Western James Bay Cree," pp. 48–49 passim.

10 For general discussions of this issue, see George I. Quimby and A. Spoehr, "Acculturation in Material Culture – I," *Fieldiana Anthropology* 36, no. 6 (1951), p. 146, and Linton, *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes*, p. 485. Specifically see Daniel Francis and Toby Morantz, *Partners in Furs: A History of the Fur Trade in Eastern James Bay 1600–1870* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1983), pp. 15, 61, 63; Kelsey, *Kelsey Papers*, p. 188; Smith, "Western Woods Cree," p. 263.

11 Joan Townsend, "Mercantilism and Societal Change: An Ethnohistorical Examination of Some Essential Variables," *Ethnohistory* 22 (1975), p. 26; Ray, "Historiography and Archaeology of the Northern Fur Trade."

12 Wilcomb E. Washburn, "Symbol, Utility and Aesthetics in the Indian Fur Trade," in *Aspects of the Fur Trade: Selected Papers of the 1965 North American Fur Trade Conference*, ed. R.W. Fridley and J.D. Holinquist (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1967), pp. 50–52; Gilman, *Where Two Worlds Meet*, pp. 4, 6, 8, 106; White, Holmquist " 'Give us a Little Milk,'" p. 192.

13 Rich, *Fur Trade and the Northwest*, p. 7; Arthur J. Ray, *Indian Exploitation of the Forest-Grassland Transition Zone in Western Canada, 1650–1860: A Geographical View of Two Centuries of Culture Change* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms Inc., 1971), p. 117; Hickerson, "Fur Trade Colonialism," p. 21, but see qualification, p. 23.

14 Leonard Mason, *The Swampy Cree: A Study in Acculturation, Anthropological Papers no. 13* (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1967), pp. 68, 70-71. This interpretation, however, is disputed by Bishop and Ray, "Ethnohistorical Research in the Central Subarctic," p. 117. See also Rev. J. Trudeau, "Culture Change Among the Swampy Cree in Winisk, Ontario, Anthropology Studies no. 3" (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1967), p. 129. Cf. Charles A. Bishop, *The Northern Ojibwa and the Fur Trade: An Historical and Ecological Study* (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston), p. 19. Also see Broom "Acculturation," pp. 982, 985, and Linton, *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes*, p. 477.

15 Hickerson, "Fur Trade Colonialism," p. 23; Nancy O. Lurie, "Culture Change," in *Introduction to Cultural Anthropology: Essays in the Scope and Methods of the Science of Man*, ed. J.A. Clifton (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1968), pp. 299–300.

16 Robson, *Six Years Residence in Hudson's Bay*, pp. 40–50; Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade*, pp. 81–85.

17 E.g. Innis, *Fur Trade in Canada*, p. 18; Russ Rothney, "Mercantile Capital and the Livelihood of the Residents of the Hudson's Bay Basin: A Marxist Interpretation" (Master's thesis, University of Manitoba, 1975), p. 173; and R.F. Murphy and J.H. Steward, "Tappers and Trappers: Parallel Processes in Acculturation." *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 4 (1956), p. 337. But compare the findings of Gilman, *Where Two Worlds Meet*, p. 8; Townsend, "Mercantilism and Social Change," p. 26; R.W. Dunning, *Social and Economic Change Among the Northern Ojibwa* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959), p. 5; and June Helm, Edward S. Rogers and James G.E. Smith, "Intercultural Relations and Cultural Change in the Shield and Mackenzie Borderlands," in *Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 6: Subarctic*, ed. June Helm (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1981), p. 157.

18 Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade*, pp. 19–21; White, " 'Give Us a Little Milk,'" pp. 187, 194.

19 E.g. Ray and Freeman, "*Give Us Good Measure*," pp. 67–68; Saum, *The Fur Trader and the Indian*, p. 149; Adams, *Explorations of Radisson*, p. 218; Isham, *Isham's Observations*, p. 52.

20 Mason, *The Swampy Cree*, p. 19.

21 Rich, *Fur Trade and the Northwest*, p. 102; *Hudson's Bay Company*, 1:494.

22 *Rich, Hudson's Bay Company,* p. 1:494.

23 Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade,* pp. 13–14, 73, 75, 78; cf. Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada,* pp. 17, 338; Bishop, *The Northern Ojibwa and the Fur Trade,* p. 190.
Trade in Canada, pp. 17, 338.

24 Hickerson, "Fur Trade Colonialism," p. 23; Pettipas, "Ethnographic Account of the Northern Cree," p. 192; Morantz, "Impact of the Fur Trade," p. 71.

25 Samuel Hearne, *A Journey to the Northern Ocean*, ed. R. Glover (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd., 1958), p. 207.

26 HBCA. Graham's Observations. E.2/4, fol. 50-51.

27 HBCA. York Factory Journal B.239/a/69, fol. 20; Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/42. fol. 41; B.49/a/43, fol. 49; cf. John Franklin, *Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea in the Years 1819, 20, 21 and 22* (London: John Murray, 1823), p. 169. For the artist's description of this scene, see Robert Hood, *To the Arctic by Canoe, 1819–1821: The Journal and Paintings of Robert Hood, Midshipman with Franklin*, C. Stuart Houston, ed. (Montreal: The Arctic Institute of North America and McGill-Queen's University Press, 1956), pp. 54–55.

28 Gilman, *Where Two Worlds Meet*, p. 22; Bishop, *Northern Ojibwa and the Fur Trade*, p. 190; Linton, *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes*, pp. 480–81.

29 Bishop, "Adaptive Changes Among the Western James Bay Cree," p. 42.

30 Holder, "The Fur Trade as Seen from the Indian Point of View," p. 131; Van Kirk, "*Many Tender Ties*," p. 36; Graham, *Graham's Observations*, pp. 297, 315 ff.; Rotstein, "Fur Trade and Empire"; Rich, "Trade Habits and Economic Motivation"; Isham, *Isham's Observations*, pp. 49 ff.

31 Graham, *Graham's Observations,* p. 163; T.S. Drage, *An Account of a Voyage for the Discovery of the Northwest Passage...1746 and 1747,* 2 vols. (London: Jolliffe, Corbett, Clarke, 1748), 1:236-37; John McLean, *John McLean's Notes of a Twenty-five Years' Service in the Hudson's Bay Territory*, ed. W.S. Wallace (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), p. 315.

32 Arthur J. Ray, "Indians as Consumers in the Eighteenth Century," in *Old Trails and New Directions*, p. 268; Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada*, p. 391; see also Jaenen, *Friend and Foe*.

33 Directed culture change is here defined as the efforts of a dominant group to deliberately select certain elements of its culture for imposition on a subordinate group which in turn has no choice in selection of, nor means of integrating, the new elements. See Linton, *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes*, p. 505. Cf. Van Kirk, "*Many Tender Ties*," p. 9; Brown, *Strangers in Blood*, p. xii.

34 Isham, *Isham's Observations*, p. 54; also see Edward S. Rogers, "Changing Settlement Patterns of the Cree-Ojibwa of Northern Ontario," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 19 (1963), p. 78; Kelsey, *Kelsey Papers*, p. 16; HBCA. Graham's Observations E.2/4, fol. 56; York Factory Journal B.239/a/64, fol. 9.

35 For a discussion of the "inelastic demand" characteristic, see Ray and Freeman, "*Give Us Good Measure*," p. 162. For evidence of the Cree being middlemen as opposed to trappers, see HBCA. Graham's Observations E.2/4, fol. 52; York Factory Journal B.239/a/64:15. For an opposing view, see Cox, "Indian Middlemen and the Early Fur Trade."

36 Smith, "Western Woods Cree," p. 259; Rogers "Leadership Among the Indians of Eastern Subarctic Canada," pp. 268–70; Fried, *Evolution of Political Society*, p. 83.

37 Toby Morantz, "James Bay Trading Captains of the Eighteenth Century: New Perspectives on Algonquian Social Organization," in *Actes du huitiéme congres des Algonquinistes,* ed. W. Conan (Ottawa: Carlton University Press, 1977), p. 78; Robson, *Six Years Residence in Hudson's Bay,* p. 53; Ray, "The Factor and the Trading Captain," p. 590; Mason, *The Swampy Cree,* p. 40.

38 Cf. Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade*, p. 140; Morantz, "James Bay Trading Captains," p. 81; Rogers, "Leadership Among the Indians of Eastern Subarctic Canada," p. 38.

39 Hearne is quoted in June Helm and Eleanor B. Leacock, "The Hunting Tribes of Subarctic Canada," in *North American Indians in Historical Perspective*, ed. E.B. Leacock and N.O. Lurie (New York: Random House, 1971), p. 367; e.g. HBCA. York Factory Journal B.239/a/68, fol. 43.

40 HBCA. York Factory Journal B.239/a/60, fol. 45.

41 Hood, *To the Arctic by Canoe*, p. 195.

42 For descriptions see Smith, "Western Woods Cree," p. 260, and Pettipas, "Ethnographic Account of the Northern Cree," pp. 36–38.

43 Kelsey, *Kelsey Papers*, pp. 15, 17; see also HBCA. York Factory Journal B.239/a/69, fol. 9–10.

44 E.E. Rich and A.M. Johnson, ed., *Hudson's Bay Company Copy Booke of Letters Commissions Instructions Outward, 1688–1696*, (London: The Hudson's Bay Company Record Society 20, 1957), p. 187. For a discussion of European concepts of the difference between "savage"and "civilized" warfare see Francis Jennings, *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism and the Cant of Conquest* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1979), pp. 146 ff.

45 Burpee, *Journals of La Vérendrye*, p. 381; Hearne, *Journey to the Northern Ocean*, p. 171.

46 HBCA. York Factory Journal B.239/a/59, fol. 114; cf. Davies and Johnson, *Letters From Hudson Bay*, pp. 135, 259.

47 HBCA. York Factory Journal B.239/a/64, fol. 14, 18, 20; B.239/a/58, fol. 12, 13, 31.

48 Umfreville, *Present State Of Hudson's Bay*, p. 91.

49 Rich and Johnson, *Hudson's Bay Company Copy Booke*, p. 7; HBCA. York Factory Journal B.239/a/46, fol. 37.

50 Innis, *Fur Trade in Canada*, pp. 17, 338; Murphy and Steward, "Tappers and Trappers," p. 344; cf. Ray and Freeman, "*Give Us Good Measure*," pp. 129, 162; Rich, "Trade Habits and Economic Motivation," p. 49.

51 Graham, *Graham's Observations*, pp. 275–76; Ray, "Historiography and Archaeology of the Northern Fur Trade," p. 350; Rich and Johnson, *Hudson's Bay Copy Booke*, p. 61, 234.

52 Rich and Johnson, *Hudson's Bay Company Copy Booke*, p. 61. "Coat beaver" was the result of Indians wearing the pelt for clothing, a process which wore away the long guard hairs of the pelt, thus making felt production simpler.

53 Davies and Johnson, *Letters From Hudson Bay*, p. 38, 62; HBCA. York Factory Journal B.239/a/69, fol. 12; Ray, "Historiography and Archaeology of the Northern Fur Trade," p. 350.

54 Rich, "Trade Habits and Economic Motivation," p. 43; Bishop, *Northern Ojibwa and the Fur Trade*, p. 291; cf. Hickerson, "Fur Trade Colonialism," pp. 24, 28, 39; Rothney, "Mercantile Capital and the Livelihood of the Residents of the Hudson Bay Basin," pp. 125, 173, 202.

55 Noel, "A Theory of the Origin of Ethnic Stratification," p. 158; Lieberson, "Societal Theory of Race and Ethnic Relations," pp. 905.

56 Isham, *Isham's Observations*, pp. 84 ff.; Graham, *Graham's Observations*, pp. 315 ff.; cf. Rich, "Trade Habits and Economic Motivation"; Rotstein, "Fur Trade and Empire."

57 Graham, *Graham's Observations*, p. 153; Davies and Johnson, *Letters From Hudson Bay*, pp. 136, 310, 314; cf. Rich, "Trade Habits and Economic Motivation," p. 43; Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade*, p. 65; Ronaghan, "Kelsey's Journal of 1691 Reconsidered," p. 28.

58 Morantz, "The Fur Trade and the Cree of James Bay," p. 39; e.g. Trudeau, "Culture Change Among the Swampy Cree," p. 16; Rothney, "Mercantile Capital and the Livelihood of the Residents of the Hudson Bay Basin," pp. 62, 77; Murphy and Steward, "Tappers and Trappers," p. 336.

59 David G. Mandelbaum, *The Plains Cree: An Ethnographic, Historical, and Comparative Study, Canadian Plains Studies no. 9* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1979), p. 29; Hickerson, "Fur Trade Colonialism," p. 24; Rich, *Fur Trade and the Northwest*, pp. 35, 38, 102–03.

60 See note 34, chapter 1.

61 Francis and Morantz, *Partners in Furs*, p. 64; J. Parker, "The Fur Trade and the Chipewyan Indians," *Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology* 3 (1972), p. 48; W.A. Sloan, "The Native Response to the Extension of the European Traders into the Athabasca and MacKenzie Basin, 1770–1814," *Canadian Historical Review* 60 (1979), p. 282.

62 HBCA. Graham's Observations E.2/4, fol. 44.

63 Innis, *Fur Trade in Canada*, pp. 143, 153; Parker, "Fur Trade and the Chipewyan Indians," p. 44.

64 Rich and Johnson, *Hudson's Bay Company Copy Booke*, p. 12; Drage, *Account of a Voyage*, p. 168.

65 Isham, *Isham's Observations*, p. 295.

66 Nute, *Caesars*, pp. 137, 288; Ray and Freeman, "Give Us Good Measure," p. 41; Russell, "Effects of the Goose Hunt on the Cree," p. 422; Rich, *Hudson's Bay Company*, 1:493; Morantz, "Fur Trade and the Cree of James Bay," pp. 47–48.

67 Kelsey, *Kelsey Papers*, p. 59; see also Graham, *Graham's Observations*, p. 153; Robson, *Six Years Residence in Hudson's Bay*, p. 51.

68 Graham, *Graham's Observations*, pp. 153, 322.

69 See Cocking's evaluation, HBCA. York Factory Journal B.239/a/69, fol. 40, 45; Isham, *Isham's Observations*, pp. 49 ff., 81; Adams, *Explorations of Radisson*, p. 220.

70 Sahlins, *Stone Age Economics*, pp. 211, 302; see also Holder, "Fur Trade as Seen from the Indian Point of View," pp. 234–35; and White, " 'Give Us a Little Milk,'" pp. 186–87.

71 Broom, "Acculturation," p. 981; O. Mannoni, *Prospero and Caliban: The Psychology of Colonialization* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1964), pp. 42, 47, 61–62.

72 E.g. R.J. Surtees, "The Changing Image of the Canadian Indian: An Historical Approach," in *Approaches to Native History in Canada, Mercury Series. History Division Paper no. 25*, ed. D.A. Muise (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1977); Sheehan, *Savagism and Civility*; R. Drinnon, *Facing West: The Metaphysics of Indian-Hating and Empire Building* (New York; Meridian Books, 1980).

73 Alfred G. Bailey, *The Conflict of European and Eastern Algonkian Cultures 1504–1700: A Study in Canadian Civilization*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), pp. 111, 190; is refuted by Jaenen, "Amerindian Views of French Culture," pp. 261, 270, 290; see also Noel, "A Theory of the Origin of Ethnic Stratification," p. 59.

74 Robson, *Six Years Residence in Hudson's Bay*, p. 49; cf. Graham, *Graham's Observations*, p. 263; Hearne, *Journey to the Northern Ocean*, p. 9; Jaenen, "Amerindian Views of French Culture," pp. 271, 290. For examples of the European view of Indians as children see HBCA. York Factory Journal B.239/a/69, fol. 42–43; Drinnon, *Facing West*, p. 179.

75 Graham, *Graham's Observations*, p. 320; Drage, *Account of a Voyage*, p. 183; Jérémie, *Twenty Years at York Factory*, p. 32, Jennings, *Invasion of America*, p. 74; Saum, *The Fur Trader and the Indian*, p. 176.

76 E.g. Graham, *Graham's Observations*, p. 153; Isham, *Isham's Observations*, p. 92; HBCA. York Factory Journal B.239/a/69, fol. 11.

77 Graham, *Graham's Observations*, pp. 275–76; see also Robson, *Six Years Residence in Hudson's Bay*, pp. 29, 51; and Tomison's comments, HBCA. York Factory Journal B.239/a/64, fol. 11.

78 Rich, "Trade Habits and Economic Motivation," p. 46; Calvin Martin, *Keepers of the Game: Indian-Animal Relationships and the Fur Trade* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), p. 3; Mason, *The Swampy Cree*, p. 12.

79 Graham, *Graham's Observations*, p. 152; see also Sahlins, *Stone Age Economics*, pp. 1–2.

80 J. B. Tyrrell, ed., *Documents Relating to the Early History of Hudson Bay* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1931), p. 225; see also Dragge, *Account of a Voyage*, p. 229.

81 Graham, *Graham's Observations*, p. 154; see also Isham, *Isham's Observations*, p. 81; Drage, *Account of a Voyage*, p. 216; and Henday's comments, HBCA. Graham's Observations E.2/4, fol, 45. Perhaps a more accurate view is that when conditions allowed, all parts of the cervines killed were used, down to the very marrow; see Isham, *Isham's Observations*, pp. 155–56.

82 Sahlins, *Stone Age Economics*, p. 11.

83 Diamond Jenness, *The Indians of Canada*, 6th ed. (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1963), p. 57; J. Kay, "Wisconsin Indian Hunting Patterns, 1634–1836," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 69 (1979), p. 413; Paine, "Animals as Capital," p. 303.

84 Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade*, p. 203; cf. Martin, *Keepers of the Game*; James G.E. Smith, "Review of *Keepers of the Game* by Calvin Martin," *American Ethnologist* 7 (1979), p. 811. Martin's thesis as it relates to the Western Woods Cree is examined more closely in chapter 3 of this volume. pp. 63–64.

85 Sahlins, *Stone Age Economics*, p. 29; R.B. Lee and I. Devore, eds., *Man the Hunter* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1968), pp. 6–7.

86 Feit, "Ethno-Ecology of the Waswanipi Cree," pp. 117–18; Adrian Tanner, *Bringing Home Animals: Religious Ideology and Mode of Production of the Mistassini Cree Hunters, Social and Economic Studies no. 23* (St. John's: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1979), p. 104.

CHAPTER 3

1 Charles A. Bishop, "The Henley House Massacres," *The Beaver* 307, no. 2 (1976), pp. 36-37. See also Van Kirk, "*Many Tender Ties*," pp. 43–45.
2 Foster, "The Home Guard Cree," pp. 59–60.
3 Tyrrell, *Journals of Hearne and Turnor*, pp. 104–05, 111, 113, 117.
4 Alexander Henry, *Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories Between the Years 1760 and 1766* (Rutland, Ut.: Charles E. Tuttle), p. 260.
5 E.E. Rich and A.M. Johnson, eds., *Cumberland House Journals and the Inland Journals, 1775–1782, First Series, 1775–1779* (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1951), p. 27, 245 n.
6 Tyrrell, *Journals of Hearne and Turnor*, pp. 104–05, 119, 160.
7 Glover, "The Difficulties of the Hudson's Bay Company's Penetration of the West," p. 245; see also Goldring, *Papers on the Labour System*; and Thistle, "Indian Trader Relations," pp. 67–70.
8 Tyrrell, *Journals of Hearne and Turnor*, pp. 106.
9 Ibid., pp. 32, 120; Rich, *Fur Trade and the Northwest*, p. 151.
10 Rich and Johnson, *Cumberland House Journals, First Series*, pp. 5–6.
11 Tyrrell, *Journals of Hearne and Turnor*, p. 160.
12 Ibid., p. 250; HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/3–5, fol. 9; B.49/a/18, fol. 10; Umfreville, *Present State of Hudson's Bay*, p. 36.
13 Tyrrell, *Journals of Hearne and Turnor*, pp. 112, 113, 170, 173; Rich and Johnson, *Cumberland House Journals, First Series*, p. 65; HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/5, fol. 3, 10.
14 Tyrrell, *Journals of Hearne and Turnor*, pp. 168–69, 171, 193.
15 Ibid., p. 118.
16 Ibid., pp. 145, 150, 152, 157.
17 Rich and Johnson, *Cumberland House Journals, First Series*, pp. lxviii–lxix; HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/4, fol. 29; B.49/a/6, fol. 56; Alwin, John A., "Mode, Pattern, and Pulse: Hudson's Bay Company Transportation, 1670 to 1821" (Ph.D. diss., University of Manitoba, 1978), pp. 128, 131, 152.
18 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/13, fol. 56; B.49/a/20, fol. 60, 63; B.49/a/35, fol. 77–78; B.49/a/44, fol. 3–6; B.49/a/45, fol 2.
19 Rich and Johnson, *Cumberland House Journals, First Series*, p. 39.
20 Tyrrell, *Journals of Hearne and Turnor*, pp. 97, 115, 116. The term *starvation* cannot always be taken literally, since it referred to all degrees of hunger from the necessity of relying on non-favoured foods to a complete lack of sustenance over an extended period, according to Morantz, "Impact of the Fur Trade," p. 80. For example, in 1776, Cocking uses the phrase, "He *pretends* that they have been almost starved for want of food" (emphasis added). The traders sometimes suspected that claims of "starvation" were used as part of Indian trading rhetoric as an excuse for doing other than what the trader wished them to do (e.g. HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/4, fol. 25; B.49/a/47, fol. 18). For another qualifier on this term based on its use to gloss over the additional amount of food being provided to the traders' Indian wives and offspring, see Carol M.

Judd, "Sakie Esquawenoe, and the Foundation of a Dual-Native Tradition at Moose Factory," in *The Subarctic Fur Trade: Native Social and Economic Adaptations*, ed. Shepard Krech (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1984) p. 83; Tyrrell, *Journals of Hearne and Turnor*, pp. 127, 130, 137–38.

21 Tyrrell, *Journals of Hearne and Turnor*, pp. 180, 183; HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/7. fol. 43.

22 HBCA Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/6. fol. 36; B.49/a/4, fol. 24; Tyrrell, *Journals of Hearne and Turnor*, p. 190.

23 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/4, fol. 9; York Factory Journal B.239/a/69, fol. 53; Tyrrell, *Journals of Hearne and Turnor*, p. 147.

24 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/25a, fol. 25; see also B.49/a/25b, fol. 6.

25 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/27a, fol. 9, 10, 18; B.49/a/28, fol. 17; B.49/a/42, fol. 35; B.49/a/47, fol. 4.

26 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/4, fol. 7; see also B.49/a/29, fol.8.

27 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/4, fol. 7; see also B.49/a/20, fol. 22–23, 30; B.49/a/29, fol. 8.

28 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/4, fol. 49.

29 Ray, "Historiography and Archaeology of the Northern Fur Trade," p. 354.

30 E.g. HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/4, fol. 51; B.49/a/4, fol. 6–7; Tyrrell, *Journals of Hearne and Turnor*, pp. 108, 134; Henry, *Travels and Adventures*, p. 260.

31 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/4, fol. 19.

32 Rich and Johnson, *Cumberland House Journals, First Series*, p. 18; see also Nicks, "Diary of a Young Fur Trader," p. 22; HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/4, fol. 11, 18, 19; B.49/a/6, fol. 43.

33 Van Kirk, *"Many Tender Ties"*; and Brown, *Strangers in Blood*, detail these relations.

34 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B. 49/a/6, fol. 67.

35 Tyrrell, *Journals of Hearne and Turnor*, p. 143; HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/4, fol. 34; B.49/a/7, fol. 20, 28; B.49/a/6, fol. 64.

36 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/6, fol. 67.

37 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/7, fol. 1.

38 E.g. Ibid., fol. 11–12.

39 Ibid., fol. 32.

40 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/19, fol. 31–32; B.49/a/23, fol. 8, 11; B.49/a/25a, fol. 7, 17, 25; Hood, *To the Arctic by Canoe*, pp. 85–86.

41 Edward Ellis, *A Voyage to Hudson's Bay, by the Dobbs Galley and the California, in the Years 1746 and 1747* . . . reprint ed. (New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1969), p. 188; HBCA. York Factory Journal B.239/a/69, fol. 6; Smith, "Review of *Keepers of the Game*, by Calvin Martin," p. 811; Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade*, p. 105.

42 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/11, fol. 20 ff; Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade*, pp. 105–07; E.E. Rich and A.M. Johnson, eds., *Cumberland House Journals and Inland Journals, 1775–1782, Second Series, 1779–1782* (London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1952), pp. 224, 229, 234.

43 See HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/40, fol. 9, 10; B.49/a/49, fol. 25–27, 35; Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade*, pp. 188–90.
44 Rich and Johnson, *Cumberland House Journal, Second Series*, pp. 231, 234, 236, 239, 242.
45 E.g. Shepard Krech, ed., *Indians, Animals and the Fur Trade: A Critique of "Keepers of the Game"* (Athens, Ga.: The University of Georgia Press, 1981); Smith, "Review of *Keepers of the Game*, by Calvin Martin," pp. 810–12; Cornelius J. Jaenen, "Review of *Keepers of the Game*, by Calvin Martin," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 10 (1979), pp. 374–76; Charles A. Bishop, "Review of *Keepers of the Game*, by Calvin Martin," *American Anthropologist* 81 (1979), p. 915.
46 HBCA. York Factory Journal B.239/a/58, fol. 8, 14.
47 David Thompson, *David Thompson's Narrative of his Explorations in Western America, 1784–1812*, ed. J.B. Tyrrell (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1916), pp. 83, 85, 97, 103, 114.
48 Ibid., p. 323; HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/24, fol. 13; B.49/a/26, fol. 33
49 Franklin, *Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea*, pp. 170–01. This observation is confirmed by Hood, *To the Arctic by Canoe*, p. 49.
50 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/43, fol. 11; B.49/a/15, fol. 60; B.49/a/32b, fol. 11; B.49/a/41, fol. 31.
51 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/19, fol. 29; Rich and Johnson, *Cumberland House Journals, Second Series*, p. 238.
52 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/20, fol. 6; see also B.49/a/13, fol. 10, 52; B.49/a/4, fol. 15, 35; B.49/a/21, fol. 38.
53 E.g. HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/20, fol. 15; B.49/a/24, fol. 15.
54 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/14, fol. 19, 20; B.49/a/13, fol. 24, 62.
55 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/14, fol. 24, 63.
56 This term may in fact refer to the Swampy Cree; see p. 69, n.71, 71 this volume.
57 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/14, fol. 25.
58 Ibid., fol. 32; B.49/a/4, fol. 29; B.49/a/6, fol. 16, 36, 41; B.49/a/17, fol. 10; B.49/a/25b, fol. 6.
59 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/25a, fol. 14; B.49/a/16, fol. 3, 9; B.49/a/20, 28.
60 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/20, fol. 46
61 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/21, fol. 52.
62 Tyrrell, *Journals of Hearne and Turnor*, pp. 235–36; HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/4, fol. 45; B.49/a/7, fol. 52–53.
63 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/4, fol. 51.
64 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/17, fol. 25–25.
65 See Rich, "Trade Habits and Economic Motivation," p. 45; Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade*; Francis and Morantz, *Partners in Furs*.
66 HBCA. York Factory Journal B.239/a/66, fol. 53; Robson, *Six Years Residence in Hudson's Bay*, p. 62; see also Bishop, *Northern Ojibwa and the Fur Trade*, p. 229.
67 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/24, fol. 12, 13, 16; B.49/a/25a, fol. 19, 20.

68 Trading "*en dérouine*" was the process of carrying trade goods directly to the Indians and making the exchanges right in their camps rather than waiting for the trappers to bring their furs to the trading posts.

69 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/24, fol. 26; B.49/a/26, fol. 32–33; B.49/a/27a, fol. 21.

70 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/28; fol. 21; B.49/a/32a, fol. 5, 10; B.49/a/32b, 9.

71 The designation of "Bungee" as Ojibwa or Swampy Cree is discussed by: Dunning, *Social and Economic Change Among the Northern Ojibwa*, p. 3; Edward S. Rogers and J. Garth Taylor, "Northern Ojibwa," in *Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 6: Subarctic*, ed. June Helm (Washington: Smithsonian Institution 1981), p. 244; Walter M. Hlady, ed. *Ten Thousand Years: Archaeology in Manitoba* (Winnipeg: Manitoba Archaeological Society, 1970), pp. 96, 120; Ray, "Indian Exploitation of the Forest-Grassland Transition Zone," p. 208; Edward S. Rogers, "Changing Settlement Patterns of the Cree-Ojibwa of Northern Ontario," *Southwestern Journal or Anthropology* 19, no. 1 (1963), p. 66.

72 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/6, fol. 32; B.49/a/14, fol. 24, 25, 65.

73 HBCA. Cumberland District Report B.49/e/1, fol. 6.

74 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/27b, fol. 7; B.49/a/31, fol. 4; B.49/a/19, fol. 14–15.

75 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/25a, fol. 21, 34, 35.

76 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/28, fol. 3; B.49/a/29, fol. 10; B.49/a/24, fol. 15; B.49/a/15, fol. 24; Elliott Coues, ed., *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest: The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry . . . and of David Thompson . . . 1799–1814 . . .* , 2 vols., reprint ed. (Minneapolis: Ross and Haines, Inc., 1965), 2:475.

77 HBCA. Cumberland House Journals B.49/a/27b, fol. 7; B.49/a/28, fol. 18.

78 HBCA. Cumberland House Journals B.49/2/31, fol. 12–13, 17, 19, 25, 27; B.49/a/30, fol. 11, 12, 16.

79 Ibid., fol 2; B.49/a/31, fol. 22; B.49/a/32b, fol. 11.

80 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/27a, fol. 1; Rich, *Fur Trade and the Northwest*, pp. 191–95. Amalgamation with the old North West Company occurred in 1803–04.

81 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/31, fol. 22, 7.

82 Ibid., fol. 24, 26; HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/35, fol. 40–41.

83 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/31, fol. 28.

84 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/32b, fol. 4; B.49/a/31, fol. 18; B.49/a/27b, fol. 31.

85 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/31, fol. 31.

86 HBCA. Cumberland District Report B.49/e/1, fol. 4.

87 Ibid., fol. 5.

88 HBCA. Cumberland District Report B.49/e/2, fol. 1.

89 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/27b, fol. 4–5.

90 Ibid.
91 E.g. HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/7, fol. 52–53.
92 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/31, fol. 20–21; see also B.49/a/32a, fol. 10; B.49/a/35a, fol. 5.
93 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/32a, fol. 9.
94 Ibid., fol. 42; see also B.49/a/30, fol. 10, 14; B.49/a/32b, fol. 13, 14; Coues, *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest*, p. 476.
95 Franklin, *Narrative of a Journey to the Shore of the Polar Sea*, p. 56; see also Hood, *To the Arctic by Canoe*, p. 46; HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/35, fol. 44; B.49/a/36, fol. 31; cf. B.49/a/27a, fol. 9, 18; B.49/a/32a, fol. 6.
96 Harmon was in fact a frequent guest and card partner at the HBC post 1806–07; see Daniel W. Harmon, *Sixteen Years in the Indian Country: The Journal of Daniel Williams Harmon, 1800–1816*, ed. W.K. Lamb (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada, 1957), pp. 53–54, 69; HBCA Cumberland District Report B.49/e/1, fol. 4; Brown, *Strangers in Blood*, pp. 147–48.
97 HBCA. Cumberland District Report B.49/e/1, fol. 6.
98 Harmon, *Sixteen Years in the Indian Country*, p. 55. Harmon's use of the term *savages* here is not necessarily pejorative. See Sheehan, *Savagism and Civility*, p. 2 passim.
99 Coues, *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest*, p. 264.
100 HBCA. Cumberland District Report B.49/e/1, fol. 3; Franklin, *Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea*, p. 66; cf. Jaenen, "Amerindian Views of French Culture," Morantz, "The Fur Trade and the Cree of James Bay," p. 56; Foster, "The Home Guard Cree," p. 60; L.F.R. Masson, *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest* (New York: Antiquarian Press, 1960), pp. 263–64, 325.
101 Coues, *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest*, p. 452; see also Broom, "Acculturation," p. 981.
102 Coues, *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest*, p. 470.
103 Ibid., p. 476; HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/32a, fol. 12; B.49/a/34, fol. 30; B.49/a/36, fol. 2, 20, 36.
104 Franklin, *Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea*, pp. 51, 69.
105 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/34, fol. 3, 11; B.49/a/35, fol. 69.
106 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/28, fol. 15; B.49/a/35, fol. 53, 83; B.49/a/36, fol. 13–14, 30–31.
107 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/35, fol. 15, 19, 21, 25, 28.
108 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/31, fol. 4; B.49/a/36, fol. 11; B.49/a/30, fol. 13; B.49/a/32a, fol. 39.
109 Hood, *To the Arctic by Canoe*, pp. 85–86; HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/27a, fol. 18; B.49/a/29, fol. 17; B.49/a/35, fol. 73; B.49/a/36, fol. 29.
110 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/36, fol. 11; B.49/a/35, fol. 3.
111 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/32b, fol. 11, 12; B.49/a/34, fol. 22.
112 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/34, fol. 18, 22, 24; Cumberland District Report B.49/e/2, fol. 3.

113 Hickerson, "Fur Trade Colonialism," p. 24; Rothney, "Mercantile Capital and the Livelihood of the Residents of the Hudson Bay Basin," p. 117.
114 Lieberson, "Societal Theory of Race and Ethnic Relations," p. 905.

CHAPTER 4

1 E.g. HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/40, fol. 15, 40; B.49/a/51, fol. 21; cf. B.49/a/42, fol. 15.
2 McLean, *John McLean's Notes*, p. 134; Franklin, *Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea*, p. 56; HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/38, fol. 21, 67, 70; B.49/a/39, fol. 42; B.49/a/50, fol. 32.
3 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/42, fol. 35; B.49/a/47, fol. 4; B.49/a/49, fol. 9, 10; B.49/a/27, fol. 31; B.49/a/42, fol 1, 47.
4 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/42, fol. 50.
5 E.g. HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/37, fol. 22; B.49/a/42, fol. 24, 25, 27; B.49/a/51, fol. 23, 27, 29.
6 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/43, fol. 28, 45; see also fol. 5, 11, 14, 41. Use of the term *The Paw* or *The Pas* in company parlance begins in 1821 and became quite common by the end of that decade.
7 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/50, fol. 34; B.49/a/44, fol. 43.
8 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/47, fol. 18.
9 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/53, fol. 1; B.49/a/44, fol. 22a; B.49/a/43, fol. 42–43; Graham, *Graham's Observations*, pp. 319–20; HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/43, fol. 38; HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/49, fol. 12; Report From the Committee Appointed to Inquire into the State and Condition of the Countries Adjoining to Hudson's Bay E.18/3, fol. 54.
10 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/39, fol. 36; see also B.49/a/40, fol. 48; B.49/a/41, fol. 7.
11 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/45, fol. 21, 37, 44; B.49/a/39, fol. 36; B.49/a/47, fol. 9.
12 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/38, fol. 29.
13 E.g. HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/40, fol. 43; B.49/a/43, fol. 17.
14 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/41, fol. 44; see also B.49/a/43, fol. 17; B.49/a/44, fol. 28, 44.
15 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/42, fol. 38.
16 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/40, fol. 33.
17 HBCA. Cumberland District Report B.49/e/1, fol. 5. See also Katherine A. Pettipas, "An Ethnohistory of The Pas Area, Prehistory – 1875: A Study in Cree Adaptation," in *Directions in Manitoba Prehistory: Papers in Honour of Chris Vickers,* ed. Leo Pettipas (Winnipeg: Association of Manitoba Archaeologists and the Manitoba Archaeological Society, 1980.)
18 See Jochim, *Hunter-Gatherer Subsistence*; Kay, "Wisconsin Indian Hunting Patterns;" and Pettipas, "An Ethnohistory of The Pas Area," p. 196 passim.
19 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/43, fol. 37; see also McLean, *John McLean's Notes*, pp. 195–96, 261; Sheehan, *Savagism and Civility*, pp. 108–09.

20 F. Merk, ed., *Fur Trade and Empire: George Simpson's Journal . . . 1824–25 . . .* revised ed., (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press at Harvard University, 1968), p. lix.
21 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/39, fol. 2; cf. B.49/a/39, fol. 44.
22 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/43, fol. 22; see also B.49/a/47, fol. 10, 38, 49.
23 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/43, fol. 49.
24 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/43, fol. 17, 22; B.49/a/42, fol. 43; B.49/a/38, fol. 16, 69.
25 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/41, fol. 9.
26 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal G.49/a/43. fol. 12a, 15, 18; B.49/a/41, fol. 15, 24; see also James Axtell, *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), pp. 48–49.
27 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/43, fol. 14; see also B.49/a/42, fol. 48.
28 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/43, fol. 18; B.49/a/48, fol. 21.
29 E.g. Davies and Johnson, *Letters From Hudson Bay*, p. 62; HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/47, fol. 3; see also Arthur J. Ray, "Some Conservation Schemes of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1821–50: An Examination of the Problems of Resources Management in the Fur Trade," *Journal of Historical Geography* 1 (1975).
30 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/42, fol. 14; see also B.49/a/43, fol. 11.
31 Ray, "Conservation Schemes of the Hudson's Bay Company," p. 58; Martin, *Keepers of the Game*, p. 19.
32 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/40, fol. 3.
33 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/38, fol. 29, 42, 52, 55; B.49/a/43, fol. 23.
34 Hood, *To the Arctic by Canoe*, pp. 85–88; HBCA Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/37, fol. 21; B.49/a/38, fol. 42, 52, 55; B.49/a/39, fol. 25; B.49/a/51, fol. 26, 28.
35 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/41, fol. 27, 30; B.49/a/42, fol. 29; B.49/a/51, fol. 35; B.49/a/49, fol. 8; B.49/a/50, fol. 5–6; Cumberland House Correspondence B.49/b/3, fol. 2.
36 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/39, fol. 24, 25, 26; B.49/a/40, fol. 36.
37 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/49, fol. 14–15, 36; Cumberland House Correspondence, B.49/b/3, fol. 2.
38 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/49, fol. 37.
39 HBCA. Report from the Committee to Inquire into the State of the Countries Adjoining Hudson's Bay E.18/3, fol. 54; Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/43, fol. 48.
40 Helm, Rogers and Smith, "Intercultural Relations and Cultural Change," p. 151; HBCA Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/42, fol. 41; B.49/a/43, fol. 49.
41 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/42, fol. 37; see also B.49/a/47, fol. 11.
42 Joseph Constant, a French-Canadian who arrived around 1800, assumed authority over a large family at The Pas. The Constants were evidently quite active entrepreneurs, having interests not only in trapping, but in such enterprises as tripping, guiding, farming, and salt production. Their horse-trading activities, seed-potato exchanges and livestock-breeding operation formed only a part of their significant relationship with the HBC at Cumberland House.

In the 1830s the company began to suspect the Freemen at The Pas of engaging in their own trade with the Indians and this somewhat soured the relationship (see McLean, *John McLean Notes*, pp. 133 ff.; HBCA. Cumberland House Correspondence B.49/b/3, fol. 17, 26).

43 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/45, fol. 2, 7; B.49/a/51, fol. 19; B.49/a/40, fol. 3, 30–31; B.49/a/44, fol. 6.

44 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/38, fol. 72; B.49/a/39, fol. 4; B.49/a/40, fol. 5, 15; B.49/a/43, fol. 4, 15; B.49/a/51, fol. 2, 6.

45 These two men were the sons of long-time Orcadian servant Magnus Twatt. They had assumed leadership of the Nipawin band of half-breeds and were highly regarded for their productivity and consistency in paying their debts (see HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/42, fol. 1, 47).

46 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/51, fol. 1.

47 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/40, fol. 21–22.

48 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/40, fol. 16; B.49/a/42, fol. 50; B.49/a/47, fol. 2.

49 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/41, fol. 9; B.49/a/42, fol. 14, 23; B.49/a/43, fol. 46.

50 HBCA. Cumberland District Report B.49/e/5, fol. 1; B.49/a/40, fol. 43, 45, 47.

51 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/40, fol. 4; see also B.49/a/38, fol. 42, 63; B.49/a/42, fol. 36, 41; B.49/a/50, fol 31.

52 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/41, fol. 36, 37.

53 HBCA. Cumberland District Report B.49/e/5, fol. 1; see also B.49/e/6, fol. 1;Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/40, fol. 49–50; B.49/a/41, fol. 38; B.49/a/43, fol. 23.

54 Cf. Morantz, "Impact of the Fur Trade," pp. 70, 340; Rich, *Fur Trade in the Northwest*, pp. 24, 103; Hickerson, "Fur Trade Colonialism," pp. 24, 29, 39; Rothney, "Mercantile Capital and the Livelihood of the Residents of the Hudson Bay Basin," pp. 62, 77, 117.

References

PRIMARY SOURCES

Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg (hereinafter cited HBCA)

HBCA. Cumberland House Journals. B.49/a

HBCA. Cumberland House Correspondence, B/49/b

HBCA. Cumberland House District Reports, B/49/e

HBCA. York Factory Journals. B/239/a

HBCA. Andrew Graham's Observations on Hudson's Bay. . . . E.2/4

HBCA. Report From the Committee Appointed in Inquire Into the State and Condition of the Countries Adjoining to Hudson's Bay. . . . E.18/3

HBCA. London Office Records. A.11/115

SECONDARY SOURCES

Adams, A.T., ed. *The Explorations of Pierre Esprit Radisson.* Minneapolis: Ross and Haines Inc., 1961.

Adams, Howard. *Prison of Grass: Canada From the Native Point of View*. Toronto: General Publishing, 1975.

Alwin, John A. "Mode, Pattern, and Pulse: Hudson's Bay Company Transportation, 1670 to 1821." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Manitoba, 1978.

Axtell, James. *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1981.

_____. "The Ethnohistory of Early North America." *William and Mary Quarterly* 35 (1975):110–44.

Bailey, Alfred G. *The Conflict of European and Eastern Algonkian Cultures 1504–1700: A Study in Canadian Civilization*. Second edition (original 1937), 1969.

Banton, Michael. *Race Relations*. New York: Basic Books, 1967.

Barth, E.A., and Noel, D.C. "Conceptual Framework for the Analysis of Race Relations: An Evaluation." *Social Forces* 50 (1972):333–48.

Bibeau, Donald F. "The Fur Trade Literature from a Tribal Point of View." In *Rendezvous: Selected Papers of the Fourth North American Fur Trade Conference, 1981*, edited by Thomas C. Buckley. St. Paul, Mn.: North American Fur Trade Conference, 1984.

Birk, Douglas A. "The La Verendryes." In *Where Two Worlds Meet: The Great Lakes Fur Trade*, edited by C. Gilman. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1982.

Bishop, Charles A. "The First Century: Adaptive Changes Among the Western James Bay Cree Between the Early Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries." In *The Subarctic Fur Trade: Native Social and Economic Adaptations,* edited by Shepard Krech, Vancouver; University of British Columbia Press, 1984.

_____. "Review of *Keepers of the Game*, by Calvin Martin." *American Anthropologist* 81 (1979):914–15.

_____. "The Henley House Massacres." *The Beaver*, outfit 307, no. 2 (1976):36–41.

_____. *The Northern Ojibwa and the Fur Trade: An Historical and Ecological Study*. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974.

_____. "Demography, Ecology and Trade Among the Northern Ojibwa and Swampy Cree." *Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology* 3 (1972):58–71.

Bishop, Charles A., and Ray, Arthur J. "Ethnohistorical Research in the Central Subarctic: Some Conceptual and Methodological Problems." *Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology* 7 (1976):116–44.

Blalock, H.M. *Toward a Theory of Minority Group Relations*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1967.

Broom, Leonard; Siegel, Bernard J.; Watson, James B.; Vogt, Evon Z. "Acculturation: An Exploratory Formulation." *American Anthropologist* 56 (1954):973–1002.

Brown, Jennifer S.H. *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980.

Burpee, L.J., ed. *The Journals and Letters of Pierre Gaultier de Varennes de La Vérendrye and his Sons*. Toronto: Champlain Society, 1927.

Cohen, R. "Ethnicity: Problem and Focus in Anthropology." In *Annual Review of Anthropology*. Vol. 7, edited by B.J. Siegel. Palo Alto, Cal.: American Reviews Inc., 1978.

Coues, Elliott, ed. *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest: The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry . . . and of David Thompson . . . 1799–1814*. 2 vols. Minneapolis: Ross and Haines, Inc., 1965.

Dalton, C. "Economic Theory and Primitive Society." *American Anthropologist* 63 (1961):1–25.

Davies, K.G., and Johnson, A.M., eds. *Letters from Hudson Bay, 1703–1740*. London: Hudson's Bay Record Society 25, 1965.

Defalco, Martin, and Dunn, Willie, producers. *The Other Side of the Ledger: An Indian View of the Hudson's Bay Company*. Ottawa: National Film Board, 1972.

Drage, T.S. *An Account of a Voyage for the Discovery of the Northwest Passage...1746 and 1747*. 2 vols. London: Jolliffe, Corbett, Clarke, 1748.

Drinnon, R. *Facing West: The Metaphysics of Indian-Hating and Empire Building*. New York: Meridian Books, 1980.

Dunning, Robert W. *Social and Economic Change Among the Northern Ojibwa*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959.

Dyck, N. "Strangers in Our Midst: An Examination of Anthropological Thought about Brokerage." In *Papers from the Fourth Annual Congress. 1977. Mercury Series. Canadian Ethnology Service Paper no. 40*, edited by R.J. Preston. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1977.

Elias, P. Douglas. *Metropolis and Hinterland in Northern Manitoba*. Winnipeg: Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature. 1971.

Ellis, Edward. *A Voyage to Hudson's Bay, by the Dobbs Galley and the California, in the Years 1746 and 1747. . . .* Reprint edition (original 1748). New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1969.

Ewers, John C. "Fact and Fiction in the Documentary Art of the American West." In *The Frontier Re-examined*, edited by J.F. McDermott. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1967.

Feit, Harvey A. "The Ethno-Ecology of the Waswanipi Cree: or How Hunters Can Manage Their Resources." In *Cultural Ecology: Readings on the Canadian Indians and Eskimos*, edited by B. Cox. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973.

Foster, J.E. "The Home Guard Cree and the Hudson's Bay Company: The First Hundred Years." In *Approaches to Native History in Canada. Mercury Series. History Divison Paper no. 25*, edited by D.A. Muise. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1977.

Francis, Daniel, and Morantz, Toby. *Partners in Furs: A History of the Fur Trade in Eastern James Bay 1600–1870*. Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1983.

Franklin, John. *Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea in the Years 1819, 20, 21 and 22*. London: John Murray, 1823.

Fried, Morton H. *The Evolution of Political Society: An Essay in Political Anthropology*. New York: Random House, 1967.

Gibbon, J.M. "The Coureur de Bois and his Birthright." *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*. Third series, section 2 (1936):61–78.

Gilman, Carolyn, ed. *Where Two Worlds Meet: The Great Lakes Fur Trade*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1982.

Giraud, Marcel. *Le Métis canadien: son rôle dans l'histoire des provinces de l'Ouest*. Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie, 1945.

Glover, R.J. "The Difficulties of the Hudson's Bay Company's Penetration of the West." *Canadian Historical Review* 29 (1948):240–54.

Goldring. Philip. *Papers on the Labour System of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1821–1900. Volume 1. Manuscript Report no. 362*. Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1979.

Graham, Andrew. *Andrew Graham's Observations on Hudson's Bay. 1769–1791*, edited by G. Williams and R. Glover. London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society 27, 1969.

Harmon, Daniel W. *Sixteen Years in the Indian Country: The Journal of Daniel Williams Harmon, 1800–1816*, edited by W.K. Lamb. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd., 1957.

Hearne, Samuel. *A Journey to the Northern Ocean*, edited by R. Glover. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd., 1958.

Helm, June, and Leacock, Eleanor B. "The Hunting Tribes of Subarctic Canada." In *North American Indians in Historical Perspective*, edited by E.B. Leacock and N.O. Lurie. New York: Random House, 1971.

Helm, June; Rogers, Edward S.; and Smith, James G.E. "Intercultural Relations and Cultural Change in the Shield and Mackenzie Borderlands." In *Handbook of North American Indians. Volume 6: Subarctic*, edited by June Helm. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1981.

Henry, Alexander. *Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories Between the Years 1760 and 1776*, edited by J. Bain. Rutland, Ut.: Charles E. Tuttle, 1969.

Hickerson, Harold. "Fur Trade Colonialism and the North American Indian." *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 1, no. 2 (1973):15–44.

Hlady, Walter, ed. *Ten Thousand Years: Archaeology in Manitoba*. Altona, Mb.: Manitoba Archaeological Society.

Holder, P. "The Fur Trade as Seen from the Indian Point of View." In *The Frontier Reexamined*, edited by J. F. McDermott. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1967.

Hood, Robert. *To the Arctic by Canoe, 1819–1821: The Journal and Paintings of Robert Hood, Midshipman with Franklin*, edited by C.S. Houston. Montreal: The Arctic Institute of North America and McGill-Queen's University Press, 1974.

Innis, Harold A. *The Fur Trade in Canada*. Revised edition. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1956.

Isham, James. *James Isham's Observations on Hudson's Bay, 1743 . . .* , edited by E.E. Rich and A.M. Johnson. Toronto: Champlain Society, 1949.

Jacobs, W.R. *Wilderness Politics and Indian Gifts: The Northern Colonial Frontier, 1748–1763*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1950.

Jaenen, Cornelius J. "French Attitudes Towards Native Society." In *Old Trails and New Directions: Papers of the Third North American Fur Trade Conference*, edited by C.M. Judd and A.J. Ray. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980.

_____. "Review of *Keepers of the Game*, by Calvin Martin." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 10(1979):374–6.

_____. *Friend and Foe: Aspects of French-Amerindian Cultural Contact in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centures*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976.

_____. "Amerindian Views of French Culture." *Canadian Historical Review* 55 (1974):261–91.

Jarvenpa, Robert, and Brumback, Hetty Jo. "The Microeconomics Of Southern Chipewyan Fur Trade History." In *The Subarctic Fur Trade: Native Social and Economic Adaptations*, edited by Shepard Krech. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1984.

Jenness, Diamond. *The Indians of Canada*. Sixth edition. Ottawa: Information Canada, 1963.

Jennings, Francis. *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1979.

Jérémie, Nicholas. *Twenty Years at York Factory, 1694–1714*, edited by R. Douglas and J.N. Wallace. Ottawa: Thorburn and Abbott, 1926.

Jochim, M.A. *Hunter-Gatherer Subsistence and Settlement: A Predictive Model*. New York: Academic Press, 1976.

Judd, Carol M. "Sakie Esquawenoe and the Foundation of a Dual-Native Tradition at Moose Factory." In *The Subarctic Fur Trade: Native Social and Economic Adaptations*, edited by Shepard Krech. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1984.

Kaplan, D., and Manners, R.A. *Culture Theory*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1972.

Kay, J. "Wisconsin Indian Hunting Patterns, 1634–1836." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 69 (1979):402–18.

Keesing, R.M., and Keesing, F.M. *New Perspectives in Cultural Anthropology*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971.

Kelsey, Henry. *The Kelsey Papers*, edited by A.G. Doughty and C. Martin. Ottawa: King's Printer, 1929.

Knight, Rolf. *Indians at Work: An Informal History of Native Indian Labour in British Columbia, 1858–1930*. Vancouver: New Star Books, 1978.

Krech, Shepard, ed. *The Subarctic Fur Trade: Native Social and Economic Adaptations*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Pres, 1984.

_____. *Indians, Animals and the Fur Trade: A Critique of "Keepers of the Game."* Athens, Ga.: The University of Georgia Press, 1981.

Lafleur, N. *La vie traditionnelle du coureur de bois aux XIX^e^ et XX^e^ siècles*. Montréal: les Editions Leméac Inc., 1973.

Lee, R.B., and DeVore, I., eds. *Man the Hunter*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1968.

Lieberson, S. "A Societal Theory of Race and Ethnic Relations." *American Sociological Review* 26 (1961):902–10.

Linton, Ralph. *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes*. Second edition. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1963.

Lurie, Nancy O. "Culture Change." In *Introduction to Cultural Anthropology: Essays in the Scope and Methods of the Science of Man*, edited by J.A. Clifton. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1968.

MacKay, Douglas. *The Honourable Company*. Revised edition. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1966.

MacPherson, James C. *Inventory of Historical and Archaeological Sites of the Pilot Land Use Planning Area*. Winnipeg: Manitoba Department of Mines and Resources, 1972.

McLean, John. *John McLean's Notes of a Twenty-Five Years' Service in the Hudson's Bay Territory*, edited by W.S. Wallace. New York: Greenwood Press, 1968.

Mandelbaum, David G. *The Plains Cree: An Ethnographic, Historical, and Comparative Study. Canadian Plains Studies no. 9*. Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1979.

Mannoni, O. *Prospero and Caliban: The Psychology of Colonialization*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1964.

Martin, Calvin. *Keepers of the Game: Indian-Animal Relationships and the Fur Trade*. Berkeley: University of California press, 1978.

Mason, Leonard. *The Swampy Cree: A Study in Acculturation. Anthropological Papers no. 13*. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1967.

Masson, L.F.R., ed. *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*. New York: Antiquarian Press, 1960.

Merk, F. *Fur Trade and Empire: George Simpson's Journal . . . 1824–25 . . . revised edition* (original 1931). Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1968.

Mitchell, E.A. "The Scot in the Fur Trade." In *The Scottish Tradition in Canada*, edited by W.S. Reid. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart and the Secretary of State, 1976.

Morantz, Toby. "Economic and Social Accommodations of the James Bay Inlanders to the Fur Trade." In *The Subarctic Fur Trade: Native Social and Economic Adaptations*, edited by Shepard Krech. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1984.

_____. "Northern Algonquian Concepts of Status and Leadership Reviewed: A Case Study of the Eighteenth Century Trading Captain System." *The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 19 (1982):482–501.

_____. "The Fur Trade and the Cree of James Bay." In *Old Trails and New Directions: Papers of the Third North American Fur Trade Conference*, edited by Carol M. Judd and Arthur J. Ray. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980.

_____. "The Impact of the Fur Trade on Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Algonquian Social Organization: An Ethnographic–Ethnohistorical Study of the Eastern James Bay Cree from 1700–1850." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1980.

_____. "James Bay Trading Captains of the Eighteenth Century: New Perspectives on Algonquian Social Organization." In *Actes du huitième congres des Algonquinistes*, edited by W. Cowan. Ottawa: Carlton University Press, 1977.

Morton, Arthur S. *A History of the Canadian West to 1870–1871* . . . Second edition. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973.

Morton, William L. *Manitoba: A History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957.

Murphy, R.F., and Steward, J.H. "Tappers and Trappers: Parallel Processes in Acculturation." *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 4 (1956):335–55.

Myers, G. *A History of Canadian Wealth*. Vol. 1. First Canadian edition (original 1914). Toronto: Lewis and Samuel, 1972.

Nicks, John "The Diary of a Young Fur Trader: The 1789–1790 Journal of Thomas Staynor." In *Essays on Western History*, edited by L.H. Thomas. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1976.

Noel, D.L. "A Theory of the Origin of Ethnic Stratification." *Social Problems* 16 (1968):157–72.

Nute, Grace L. *Caesars of the Wilderness: Medart Chouart, Sieur des Groseilliers and Pierre Esprit Radisson, 1618–1760*. Second edition. New York: Arno Press, 1977.

Paine, R. "Animals as Capital: Comparison Among Northern Nomadic Herders and Hunters." In *Cultural Ecology: Readings on the Canadian Indians and Eskimos*, edited by B. Cox. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973.

Paine, R., ed. *Patrons and Brokers in the Eastern Arctic. Newfoundland Social and Economic Papers no. 2*. St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1971.

Pannekoek, Frits. "Corruption at Moose." *The Beaver*, outfit 309, no. 4 (spring):5–6.

Parker, J. "The Fur Trade and the Chipewyan Indians." *Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology* 3 (1972):43–57.

Pettipas, Katherine A. "Historical Background: An Ethnographic Account of the Northern Cree, 1748." *Manitoba Archaeological Quarterly* 6 (1982):3–40.

_____. "An Ethnohistory of The Pas Area, Prehistoric – 1875: A Study in Cree Adaptation." In *Directions in Manitoba Prehistory: Papers in Honour of Chris Vickers*, edited by L. Pettipas. Winnipeg: Association of Manitoba Archaeologists and the Manitoba Archaeological Society, 1980.

_____. "A History of the Work of the Reverend Henry Budd Conducted under the Auspices of the Church Missionary Society, 1840–1875." M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1972.

Purchas, S., ed. *Hakluyutis Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes. . . .* Vol. 13. New York: A.M.S. Press Ltd., 1965 (original 1625).

Quimby, George I., and Spoehr, A. "Acculturation in Material Culture – I." *Fieldiana Anthropology* 36 (1951):107–47.

Raby, S. "Indian Treaty No. 5 and The Pas Agency, Saskatchewan, N.W.T." *Saskatchewan History* 25, no. 3 (1972):92–114.

Ray, Arthur J. "Indians as Consumers in the Eighteenth Century." In *Old Trails and New Directions: Papers of the Third North American Fur Trade Conference*, edited by Carol M. Judd and Arthur J. Ray. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980.

_____. "Historiography and Archaeology of the Northern Fur Trade." *American Antiquity* 43, no. 1 (1978):26–34.

_____. "The Factor and the Trading Captain in the Hudson's Bay Company Fur Trade Before 1763." In *Proceedings of the Second Congress, Canadian Ethnology Society. Volume 2. Mercury Series. Canadian Ethnology Service Paper no. 28*. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975.

_____. "Some Conservation Schemes of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1821–50: An Examination of the Problems of Resource Management in the Fur Trade." *Journal of Historical Geography* 1 (1975):49–68.

_____. *Indians in the Fur Trade: Their Role as Hunters, Trappers and Middlemen in the Lands Southwest of Hudson Bay 1660–1870*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974.

_____. *Indian Exploitation of the Forest-Grassland Transition Zone in Western Canada, 1650–1860: A Geographical View of Two Centuries of Culture Change*. Ann Arbor Mich.: University Microfilms Inc., 1971.

Ray, Arthur J., and Freeman, Donald. *"Give Us Good Measure": An Economic Analysis of Relations Between the Indians and Hudson's Bay Company Before 1763*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978.

Rich, E.E. *The Fur Trade and the Northwest to 1857*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967.

_____. *Hudson's Bay Company, 1670–1870*. 2 vols. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1960.

_____. "Trade Habits and Economic Motivation Among the Indians of North America." *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* 26 (1960):35–38.

Rich E.E., and Johnson, A.M., eds. *Hudson's Bay Company Copy Booke of Letters Commissions Instructions Outward, 1688–1696*. London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society 20, 1957.

_____. *Cumberland House Journals and Inland Journals, 1775–1782. Second Series, 1779–1782*. London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society 15, 1952.

_____. *Cumberland House Journals and Inland Journals, 1775–1782. First Series, 1775–1779*. London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society 14, 1951.

_____. *Letters Outward, 1679–1694*. Toronto: Champlain Society 11, 1948.

Robson, Joseph. *An Account of Six Years Residence in Hudson's Bay from 1733 to 1736 and 1744 to 1747*. Reprint edition (original 1752). New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1965.

Rogers, Edward S. "Band Organization Among the Indians of Eastern Subarctic Canada." In *Contributions to Anthropology: Band Societies. Anthropology Series no. 84. Bulletin no. 228*. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1969.

_____. "Subsistence Areas of the Cree-Ojibwa of the Eastern Subarctic: A Preliminary Study." In *Contributions to Ethnology 5. Bulletin 204*. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1967.

_____. "Leadership Among the Indians of Eastern Subarctic Canada." *Anthropologica* 7 (1965):263–84.

_____. "Changing Settlement Patterns of the Cree–Ojibwa of Northern Ontario." *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 19, no. 1 (1963):64–83.

Rogers, Edward S., and Taylor, J. Garth. "Northern Ojibwa." In *Handbook of North American Indians. Volume 6: Subarctic*, edited by June Helm. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1981.

Ronaghan, Allen. "Kelsey's Journal of 1691 Reconsidered." *Saskatchewan History* 37, no. 1 (1984):25–31.

Rothney, Russ. "Mercantile Capital and the Livelihood of the Residents of the Hudson Bay Basin: A Marxist Interpretation." Master's thesis, University of Manitoba, 1975.

Rotstein, Abraham. "Fur Trade and Empire: An Institutional Analysis." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1967.

Russell, D. "The Effects of the Spring Goose Hunt on the Crees in the Vicinity of York Factory and Churchill River in the 1700s." In *Proceedings of the Second Congress of the Canadian Ethnological Society. Volume 2. Mercury Series, Canadian Ethnology Service Paper no. 28*. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975.

Sahlins, Marshal D. *Stone Age Economics*. Chicago: Aldine-Atherton Inc., 1972.

Saum, Lewis O. *The Fur Trader and the Indian*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1965.

Sheehan, Bernard W. *Savagism and Civility: Indians and Englishmen in Colonial Virginia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.

Sloan, W.A. "The Native Response to the Extension of the European Traders into the Athabasca and Mackenzie Basin, 1770–1814." *Canadian Historical Review* 60 (1979):281–93.

Smith, James G.E. "Western Woods Cree." In *Handbook of North American Indians. Volume 6: Subarctic*, edited by June Helm. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1981.

_____. "Review of *Keepers of the Game*, by Calvin Martin." *American Ethnologist* 7 (1979):810:12.

Stymeist, David H. *Ethnics and Indians: Social Relations in a Northwestern Ontario Town*. Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1975.

Surtees, R.J. "The Changing Image of the Canadian Indian: An Historical Approach." In *Approaches to Native History in Canada. Mercury Series, History Division Paper no. 25*, edited by D.A. Muise. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1977.

Tanner, Adrian. *Bringing Home Animals: Religious Ideology and Mode of Production of the Mistassini Cree Hunters. Social and Economic Studies no. 23*. St. John's: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1979.

Thistle, Paul C. "Indian-Trader Relations: An Ethnohistory of Western Woods Cree–Hudson's Bay Company Trader Contact in the Cumberland House–The Pas Region to 1840." Master's thesis, University of Manitoba, 1983.

Thompson, David. *David Thompson's Narrative of his Explorations in Western America, 1784–1812*, edited by J.B. Tyrrell. Toronto: Champlain Society 12, 1916.

Thwaites, Reuben G. *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Exploration of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France*. 73 vols. New York: Pageant Books, 1959.

Townsend, Joan. "Mercantilism and Societal Change: An Ethnohistorical Examination of Some Essential Variables." *Ethnohistory* 22 (1975):21–32.

Trudeau, Rev. J. "Culture Change Among the Swampy Cree of Winisk Ontario. Anthropology Studies no. 3." Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1967.

Tyrrell, J.B., ed. *The Journals of Samuel Hearne and Philip Turnor*. Reprint edition New York: Greenwood Publications, 1968.

_____. *Documents Relating to the Early History of Hudson Bay*. Toronto: The Champlain Society 18, 1931.

Umfreville, Edward. *The Present State of Hudson's Bay . . .* , edited by W.S. Wallace. Reprint edition. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1954.

Van den Berghe, Pierre L. *The Ethnic Phenomenon*. New York: Elsevier North Holland Inc., 1981.

Van Kirk, Sylvia. "Fur Trade History: Some Recent Trends." In *Old Trails and New Directions: Papers of the Third North American Fur Trade Conference*, edited by Carol M. Judd and Arthur J. Ray. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980.

_____. *"Many Tender Ties": Women in Fur Trade Society, 1670–1870*. Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer, 1980.

Voorhis, Ernest. *Historic Forts and Trading Posts of the French Regime and of the English Fur Trading Companies*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms Inc., 1966 (original 1930).

Walker, James W. St. G. "The Indian in Canadian Historical Writing." *Canadian Historical Association Papers*, 1971.

Wallace, W.S., ed. *Documents Relating to the North West Company*. Reprint edition (original 1934). New York: Greenwood Press, 1968.

Warkentin, John, and Ruggles, Richard I. *Historical Atlas of Manitoba: A Selection of Facsimile Maps, Plans and Sketches from 1612 to 1969*. Winnipeg: Manitoba Historical Society, 1970.

Washburn, Wilcomb E. "Symbol, Utility, and Aesthetics in the Indian Fur Trade." In *Aspects of the Fur Trade: Selected Papers of the 1965 North American Fur Trade Conference*, edited by R.W. Fridley and J.D. Holmquist. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1967.

White, Bruce M. " 'Give Us a Little Milk': The Social and Cultural Significance of Gift Giving in the Lake Superior Fur Trade." In *Rendezvous: Selected Papers of the Fourth North American Fur Trade Conference, 1981*, edited by Thomas C. Buckley. St. Paul, Mn.: The North American Fur Trade Conference, 1984.

Wood, R. "Contrastive Features of Native North American Trade Systems." In *For the Chief: Essays in Honor of Luther S. Cressman*, edited by F.W. Voget and R.L. Stephenson. Eugene, Ore.: University of Oregon press, 1972.

Wright, J.V. *Cree Culture History in the Southern Indian Lake Region. Contributions to Anthropology 7. Bulletin no. 232*. Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1971.

Index