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## Acculturation between the Indian and European Fur Traders in Hudson Bay 1668-1821

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ACCULTURATION BETWEEN THE INDIAN AND  
EUROPEAN FUR TRADERS IN HUDSON BAY  
1668-1821

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A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of History  
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of  
Master of Arts

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by

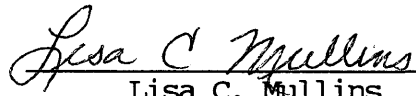
Lisa C. Mullins

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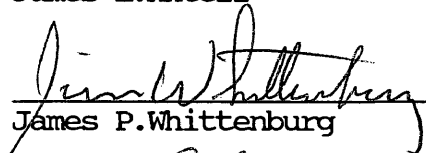
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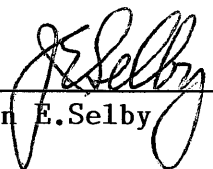
Master of Arts

  
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ACCULTURATION BETWEEN THE INDIAN AND  
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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to examine the acculturation experienced by both the European fur traders of the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, and the Indian natives of the Hudson Bay region in Canada during the period 1668-1821.

From the earliest days of contact between the Indian traders of Hudson Bay and the European traders, each group had an impact on the other's culture. Each group underwent some alteration of its original beliefs, practices, and social structure as a result of increased contact with an alien culture.

Neither society remained untouched by the interaction with, mutual dependence on, and mutual exploitation of the other culture that characterized the trade. This study will examine the cultural integration experienced by each society and the impact they had on each other.

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ACCULTURATION BETWEEN THE INDIAN AND  
EUROPEAN FUR TRADERS IN HUDSON BAY  
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The country, soil, and climate in which we live, have always a powerful effect upon the state of society, and the movements and comforts of every individual, he must conform himself to the circumstances under which he is placed.<sup>1</sup>

David Thompson, 1784

From the earliest days of contact between the Indians of Hudson Bay and the European fur traders, each group had an impact on the other's culture. Beginning in 1668, when Medard Chouart Groseilliers traded with a small band of Crees, until the amalgamation of the North West Company with the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821, both the Indians and the Europeans were profoundly affected by the introduction of a large-scale trading enterprise in the Bay. Each group underwent some alteration of its original beliefs, practices, and social structure as a result of increased contact with an alien culture.

The circumstances of the Hudson Bay fur trade affected both the European and Indian trader societies. Neither society remained untouched by the interaction with, mutual dependence on, and mutual exploitation of the other culture that characterized the trade. Each group experienced some degree of cultural integration. How and to what extent the individuals and societies as a whole accommodated to change has often been debated. The proliferation of studies examining the influence of the European traders on Indian

society has minimized the equally powerful effect the native cultures exerted on the Bay's community of European traders. This study will examine the cultural integration experienced by each society and the impact they had on each other.

It is an accepted theory that "sources of anxiety create a climate open to change."<sup>2</sup> Six sources of anxiety known to create a "climate open to change" have been isolated by anthropologists: fear of death or destruction; disease; disturbance of food supply; difference in power between one group; imitating others at same scale; and ridicule.<sup>3</sup> The conditions of power and changing circumstances of the trade meant that these sources of anxiety were a reality for both trader and Indian at one time or another.

Both societies of traders experienced anxiety as a result of two or more of these sources. Thus the Indian and the European traders were open to change. Both were introduced to new ideas, beliefs, customs, traits, artifacts, and cultures. It is not surprising, then, that both groups experienced some degree of cultural integration resulting from contact with an alien culture in a climate open to change. In some cases, the group simply borrowed an item from the other culture without undergoing a personality change and at other times they did. However, at all times both groups had the CHOICE to make a change or not. Neither was forced to make a change. This study will examine both the circumstances and the choices both groups made as a result of their participation in the fur trade with a foreign culture.



## THE HUDSONS BAY AREA

Hudson Bay is located in northern Canada. The region includes James Bay and the Albany, Rupert, Eastmain, Hayes, Nelson, and Moose rivers. The entire region is surrounded by the Canadian Shield, a harsh subarctic terrain, characterized by a coniferous boreal forest and treeless tundra.<sup>4</sup> Cold temperatures, an abundance of snow, and short summers and springs are typical of the climate. Big game, such as caribou and moose, inhabit the area as well as smaller game, such as beaver, hare, marten, ptarmigan, lynx, otter, and fox.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Crees, Assiniboines, Ojibwas, and Montagnais were the principal inhabitants of the region. Farther to the north lived the Inuit, enemies of the other Indian groups. During the winter the Indians lived in small hunting groups that were often isolated from the other Indian bands. In the summer these small bands usually gathered with other bands at hunting places located along the banks of the area's rivers and lakes. At these summer rendezvous, the Indians traded everything from food to wives.<sup>5</sup>

These subarctic inhabitants subsisted mainly on big game such as caribou and moose. They supplemented their diet with smaller mammals, such as beaver, porcupine, and rabbit. Fish was also an important staple, especially for those bands living near the Bay and its tributaries. Roots, seeds, and greens were often hard to acquire while berries were more readily available.<sup>6</sup> The harsh winters often made it hard to find game to hunt, thus famines were not uncommon.

## HISTORY OF THE FUR TRADE IN HUDSONS BAY

In September 1668 a band of Cree Indians traded their furs with Medard Chouart Groseilliers, a representative of a London-based fur trading company, in exchange for European metal goods and other items.<sup>7</sup> Groseillier's maiden voyage to the Hudson Bay was a trial to determine whether a successful fur trading enterprise could be supported in the region. His arrival in London in 1669 with a profitable cargo of furs confirmed that a large-scale venture could prove profitable. The group of merchants and aristocrats who had invested in Groseilliers' voyage approached the king and requested a charter for their company. In 1670 King Charles II granted these investors a charter giving them exclusive trading rights in the Hudson Bay area and, thus, the Hudson's Bay Company was born.<sup>8</sup>

During Groseilliers' voyage, he had established a post on the Rupert River where he and the crew of his ship, the Nonesuch, had wintered and named it honor of King Charles. After obtaining the charter for their company, the HBC retained Charles Fort on the Rupert and it became the first HBC post in North America. In 1670 the newly chartered company sent out its first company ship. The ship and crew sailed to James Bay, where the crew traded with the local Indians, and then returned to London rather than remain at the fort. It was not until 1672 that a year-round staff was maintained at Charles Fort.<sup>9</sup>

In 1673 a second fort was established at the mouth of the Moose River in James Bay and took its name from that river.<sup>10</sup>

Six years later, a post was built on the Albany River and christened Albany Fort. By the close of the 1670s the company had established a ring of forts along the bottom of James Bay at the mouths of the three major rivers that drained into the Bay.<sup>11</sup> York Fort was built at the mouth of the Hayes River in 1684, and the company continued to expand its posts throughout the eighteenth century.<sup>12</sup>

Until 1713 the English company was unable to establish a monopoly of the fur trade in the Bay. The French had continued to extend their own fur trade and by the end of the seventeenth century had begun to encroach upon the area claimed exclusively by the HBC. Skirmishes frequently occurred between the French and English as each sought control of the Bay's fur trade.<sup>13</sup> In 1697 the French defeated the HBC ships off the mouth of the Nelson River and both parties signed the Treaty of Ryswick, giving the French possession of all the Bay settlements (except Fort Albany) for seventeen years.<sup>14</sup> This meant that the English lost all of their established posts to the French. However, in 1713, the French signed the Treaty of Utrecht, returning all settlements on the Bay to the English and, once again, Hudson Bay became a British possession.<sup>15</sup>

In 1731 Prince of Wales Fort was established at the mouth of the Churchill River. Eleven years later Henley House was constructed at the junction of the Albany and Kenogami Rivers. Beginning in 1768 the HBC began facing competition for the Indian furs from a group of "pedlars" based in Montreal. These pedlars began using the name North West Company in 1776 and established a supply base at Grand Portage, on the western end of Lake Superior. During the 1780s and 1790s both fur trade companies competed against

each other to establish inland posts to trade with the Indians.<sup>16</sup> Competition between the HBC and the NWC remained fierce until 1821 when the NWC was amalgamated into the HBC.

The HBC and the NWC had two very different governing bodies and policies. The HBC was governed by a board of trustees comprised of investors living in London, far removed from daily life on the Bay. Many of the policies set by the board conflicted with the reality of Bay life. The employees had no real share in the company's profits, instead earning a wage and keep. In the beginning the HBC's trading procedure required that the traders remain at the posts on the Bay, content to wait for the Indians to come to them rather than seeking out Indians to trade.<sup>17</sup>

In contrast the NWC was comprised of a group of independent traders who pooled their resources together. Many of the traders shared in the profits of the company or profited by keeping a share of their own trading profits. Policies were made by officers living in the Bay region who had first-hand knowledge of day-to-day life on the Bay. Traders were encouraged to journey inland to the Indians, rather than wait for their Indian partners to come to them.<sup>18</sup>

The distinct trading practices and policies of the two companies influenced the relations their respective traders had with the Indians. In some cases, the NWC experienced greater cultural integration as a result of their greater contact with the Indians on a daily basis, than did the HBC traders, who remained isolated at their forts waiting for the Indians.

## TRADITIONS AND CHANGES: ACCULTURATION AMONG THE INDIANS

Little did the small band of Cree who traded with Groseilliers realize what changes were to occur in their little corner of the world. The introduction of a large-scale fur trading enterprise around Hudson Bay, the contact with a foreign culture, and the exposure to new technology had a profound effect on the traditional lifestyles and practices of the Bay's native inhabitants—just as it did on the traders.

The HBC did not introduce trading to the Indians of the Bay; rather, the trading system was already firmly entrenched when the HBC arrived on the scene. For the native peoples, trading was a traditional activity with a dual purpose: the procurement of goods not readily available and the strengthening of relationships with other Indian groups.<sup>19</sup> It served both a social and an economic role in their lives.

Most of the trading occurred in the summer when "upland" Indians living in the hinterland arrived at the shores of the Bay and its tributaries, the traditional home of the coastal Indians, who later became known as the "Homeguard." The Indians traded everything from food to crafts to women at these summer rendezvous. The Cree, Assinboine, Ojibwa, Chipewyan, and Montagnais bands often traded hunting, fishing, cooking, and clothing items as well as

food. Trading was a highly ritualized activity governed by specific ceremonies, such as the exchange of presents and the smoking of the calumet.<sup>20</sup> Each group traded something that they considered of little importance for an item the other deemed valuable. Thus, each trading partner gained from the exchange.

Because this type of trading was so entrenched when the HBC began trading with the native groups, the fur trading company discovered that they were expected to trade in the traditional manner, including participation in the trading ceremonies. Both the Indian and the European trader exploited the other for their own gain, whether technological, economic, or social. Each traded items they considered of little value, for those they desired. For the Indians, it was the furs that they deemed of little consequence; for the traders, it was metal goods and other European objects.<sup>21</sup>

Although they knew the HBC coveted the beaver furs, the Indians did not limit their trapping and trading only to this type of fur. Rather they traded other animal furs as well as animal meat for the novel metal goods, woolen cloth, and blankets. And, despite the introduction of these strange foreign objects into their lives, Indian participation in the trade was limited. At first they regarded European items as luxuries and were uninterested in acquiring substantial quantities of these goods. The Indians brought in only enough furs to obtain the items they desired and no more.<sup>22</sup> Samuel Hearne noted that the Indians "never give themselves the trouble to acquire what they can do well enough without. Indeed, those who take no concern at all about procuring furs, have generally an opportunity of providing themselves with all their real

wants from their more industrious countrymen, in exchange for provisions, and ready-dressed skins for clothing."<sup>23</sup> Thomas Mitchell of Eastmain House also remarked upon this in a 1741 journal entry: " I Canot find that anything will in duse Long Shore Indiens to cetch many furs more then what will Trade them a kettel hatchit or Ice Chezel when they are in want of them, Som have the ambition to provide for Som bandy & Som of our clothing."<sup>24</sup>

The Indians did not transform their culture by concentrating on the acquisition of large quantities of European goods; rather they obtained only necessary goods or luxuries in limited quantities. They continued to discriminate between those goods they regarded as utilitarian, such as iron kettles, and those they perceived as luxuries, such as brandy and tobacco. Even as late as 1824, the Indians continued to use traditional items as George Simpson noted:

Our Iron Works are not as yet come in general use among them; they have no occasion for Hatchets to fell timber as their shores are covered with Drift Wood which they split with Wedges; in hollowing trunks of trees for Canoes or in making boards for their Houses they use a sharp edged flint Stone which answers every purpose, indeed some of their workmanship with this tool is ingenious and well finished.<sup>25</sup>

Complete reliance on European goods did not take place until well into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and even then it was tempered. Not all Indian groups readily adopted European goods. George Simpson made this observation in his journal: "Passed a Lodge of Indians part of the Kettle Fall Tribe they appeared more wretched than any I had seen on the East side of the Mountains not having a

single article of British Manufacture in their possession but a Gun & Beaver Trap."<sup>26</sup> Tribes living near the posts were more likely to use European items extensively than those living in the hinterlands, mostly because they had access to the novel objects. Yet even those Indians who relied on European goods continued to discriminate between items they regarded as utilitarian and objects they perceived as luxuries. These Indians provided for their needs before acquiring luxuries.<sup>27</sup>

The HBC tried various methods to persuade the Indians to bring in more furs. The traders increased the number of European goods exchanged for furs, hoping to elicit more furs, but found that it actually decreased the number of furs brought in because the Indians could acquire a respectable number of goods while expending less effort hunting beaver. Considering the high value the Indians placed on their leisure time and the lower value placed on acquiring goods, it is not surprising that the HBC plan backfired. George Simpson commented on this in his journal: "Indians cannot be prevailed on to exert themselves in hunting; they are very independent of us requiring but few of our supplies and it is not until absolutely in need of an essential article or an article of finery such as Guns & beads that they will take the trouble of hunting."<sup>28</sup> And later Simpson wrote: "Cloth blanket and Iron Works they rarely purchase and they merely take the trouble of looking after a few Beaver ( which is considered a wonderful exertion) in order to supply themselves with Tobacco Beads Guns and Ammo."<sup>29</sup>

Realizing the futility of offering large quantities of goods for few furs, the HBC began searching for other ways to



increase the trade of furs. Shortly after the fur trade began, the HBC inaugurated a trading captain system in an attempt to guarantee or, at the very least, to increase the participation of the Indians in the trade.

Within each group of trading Indians who came to the post, the HBC recognized one hunter as "captain," largely on the basis of the man's reputation as an influential leader within his band.<sup>30</sup> Usually the designated captain was a respected hunter within the band. Larger groups of Indians often had more than one captain. To distinguish them and as a symbol of the HBC's regard for them, each captain received a suit of clothing similar to the uniform worn by the HBC company officers. In addition, the captain received presents of tobacco, brandy, and other European goods from the HBC officers. For his part, the captain was expected to bring his hunting band to that HBC post each year to trade their furs.<sup>31</sup> One Eastmain factor received the following instructions in 1767:

When a leader comes to trade with You if you think his goods will amount to 500 Made Beaver Give Him a Captains Coat, Hat, Shirt and other things as usual...a Man that brings You 300 Made Beaver give Him a Lieutenants Coat with other things as usual and any one that brings 150 Made Beaver or near ought to have a plain Coat, with Tobacco and Brandy given Him in proportion to the Goodness of his Goods...<sup>32</sup>

However, the HBC often had to maintain some Indian leaders as captains despite their disappointing fur returns or inability to bring in other bands to trade. The HBC feared that if a captain lost his position, he would use his influence with the band and might

persuade them to trade elsewhere, maybe even with the Company's biggest rival, the French. Shewescome, a trading captain, was regarded by the postmaster at Richmond Fort as an "Idle Lazey Fellow," yet Shewescome maintained his position as captain because "he has so Great a Sway Over the Natives here I am Obliged to be very kind to him, for what he says is a Law wth them."<sup>33</sup>

Many posts began seeking new ways to ensure that the trading captains brought in sufficient numbers of furs.<sup>34</sup> According to one company journal: "After they have traded all their goods Except a few, the Leader is admitted into the Governor's Cabbin where he recieves his present which is more or less According to the number of Canues he has brought,..."<sup>35</sup> The HBC used the gifts to encourage the trading captain to bring in more canoes of trading Indians, and thus more furs.

With the advent of the trading captain system the Indians found they were no longer able to bring in an unlimited number of furs; now in the 1760s they were required to bring in a specific number. The trading captain discovered that the band's inability to meet the quota resulted in fewer presents to distribute among his group.<sup>36</sup> The two-pronged strategy of the trading captain system, coupled with this fur quota was part of the HBC's master plan to create a specific volume of furs that would serve as a base for their fur trading enterprise in the Bay. With the fur quota, the HBC hoped to regularize the amount of trapping done by the Indians. The Indians found that they needed to alter their traditional hunting practices by expending more time and effort to obtain the

required number of furs. But for many Indians the incentive of acquiring more European goods was not enough to induce them either to hunt more animals than they could use or to forsake a larger percentage of their leisure time. Thus, neither increased the Indians' participation to the degree that the HBC hoped.

As with other institutions established by the HBC, the trading captain system did alter some aspects of Indian life. For many bands, lifetime leadership positions were uncommon, perhaps even revolutionary. Indian groups were loosely knit bands which acknowledged one man as leader. This leader gained his position through a combination of personality, strength, tradition, expertise, and prowess. However, the position was not a guaranteed life-long role. It was not uncommon for another man exhibiting greater strength, wisdom, or leadership to achieve prominence, eventually taking over the role of acknowledged leader. According to Samuel Hearne, the "value of a man among those people, is always proportioned to his abilities in hunting."<sup>37</sup> By contrast, the trading captains maintained their positions for life.<sup>38</sup> Often they capitalized on their access to European goods to maintain their influence within the band.<sup>39</sup> As the only Indians guaranteed large quantities of European goods, the captains used these gifts to enhance or maintain their position by distributing them among band members.<sup>40</sup> Of course, this strategy only worked with those Indians interested in acquiring European goods.

The influence of the trading captains should not be overemphasized. There were other leaders, such as the conjuror or shaman, who played a much more vital role in the lives of the

Indians. Gaining and maintaining power through expertise and achievement, these leaders were esteemed by their bands and wielded much more influence than did the trading captains. Also, unlike European culture, the Indian bands had different leaders for various activities, and when the band participated in these activities the influence of those leaders acknowledged to be the best grew. Many leaders found that their influence or prominence was seasonal. For example, the hunting leader's influence was widely acknowledged during the hunting season, but waned when the trading season began and another leader gained prominence. Commenting on the authority and influence of the trading captains, Samuel Hearne noted in 1776 that "the authority of these great men, when absent from the Company's Factory, never extends beyond their own family; and the trifling respect which is shown them by their countrymen during their residence at the Factory proceeds only from motives of interest."<sup>41</sup> Obviously, the trading captains selected by the European traders did not garner the same respect as did other Indian leaders who gained their positions through achievement and prowess.

The trading captain system also altered Indian life by attempting to instill in the Indians a sense of loyalty to the HBC posts. By elevating a member of an Indian band to a position of influence with the English traders and presenting him with gifts of European goods to be distributed among the band members, the HBC hoped to entice the Indians into trading solely with the Hudson's Bay Company. The HBC officers reasoned that the Indians would be less likely to abandon the HBC posts for French posts if the Indians realized that they would suffer a loss of presents and items of

quality by not supporting the English. The HBC emphasized their plan when they instructed the postmaster of Eastmain House in 1767 that "You are by Presents of Brandy, Tobacco, Knives, Beads, etc. & by kind usage to draw the natives to trade with You."<sup>42</sup>

They also hoped that by drawing a group of Indians to the posts they would create a loyal following of Indian bands who would act as allies in any skirmishes with the French. During the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the French and English engaged in a number of skirmishes that threatened to seriously disrupt the fur trade. Both the English and the French sought to augment their small numbers by gaining Indian allies who would support them in their battles against the other.<sup>43</sup> By enlisting the aid of the Indians, both nations hoped to strengthen their positions and to obtain a monopoly of the trade for themselves by destroying their competitors.

This involvement in imperial affairs was revolutionary for the Bay Indians. With the outbreak of hostilities between the French and English, the Indians found themselves sustaining greater contact with the Europeans as well as fighting against other Indian bands for a cause that did not intimately affect them. Thus, the fur trade and its intrigues had drawn the Indians into hostilities for an abstract cause that did not have a significant impact upon their own lives.

The French presence in the area and the English desire to retain the Indian trade allowed the native inhabitants to manipulate their position to their advantage by playing the French and English traders against each other in order to obtain the maximum benefit

for themselves. Hearne found that one Indian was willing to trade but "traded a little Dryd meat and a few Parchment Beaver with me but the greatest Part of them saves their good for the Pedlors whome they expect this way every Day."<sup>44</sup> Both the English and the French traders increased their prices, extended additional credit, increased the number of gifts presented, catered to the tastes of the Indians by providing the goods they demanded, and forgave debts in order to entice the Indians to trade at their respective posts.

The HBC also found that they needed to change their own attitude toward the Indians if they hoped to gain their loyalty and business. Andrew Graham remarked upon this in his journal: "All gentlemen that are acquainted with the natives in Hudsons Bay know that it is not altogether by giving large presents to the leaders that will gain a trade, but by an affable, kind, easy behaviour to the whole body of natives."<sup>45</sup> This was the attitude of the Canadians and French toward the Indians, and it helped draw the Indians to them. But it was not always the attitude of the HBC who sought to bring the Indians to trade with them, all the while keeping them at arm's length.

To control the fur trade with the Indians and to increase the volume of furs brought in, the HBC introduced a number of institutions. The first was a standardized accounting system based on a unit of measure known as made beaver, the equivalent of a prime beaver skin.<sup>46</sup> All furs--marten, lynx, bear, otter, fox--were assigned a value according to this standard and every fur brought in was measured against it. The Indians had never traded in this manner before. They did not understand the concept of price fluctuations

according to market value, and as such, they resisted any attempt by the HBC to alter the assigned values on the scale. For the better part of a century the scale remained at the original values.<sup>47</sup> Sometimes this benefitted the Indians because the HBC was forced to give large quantities of goods, even though the fur's actual value to the HBC had decreased because of European market conditions. On the flip side, this situation occasionally benefitted the HBC, as when beaver fell out of favor with the Europeans while the smaller furs, for which the Indians were paid lesser amounts, became popular. Andrew Graham commented on the standard of trade in his journal: "It is well known the standard of trade is always fixed, and if even any alteration is or was made in any article, it was constantly in favour of the natives....And if the trading standard was enlarged in favour of the natives, would ruin it all; for I am certain if the natives were to get any more for their furs, they would catch fewer."<sup>48</sup> However, despite the Indians' acceptance of or accommodation to this system, the Indians continued to trade with each other in a traditional manner rather than adopting this new accounting system.

The second institution introduced by the HBC was the credit system. Under this program, each Indian hunter was provided with a certain number of goods at the beginning of the hunting season which were then debited to his next hunt. The concept of credit was completely foreign to the natives, but they quickly adapted to the system. The harsh climate of the Bay area often made hunting difficult, and it was not uncommon for the natives to starve during a bad season. During these bad seasons, the Indians began

relying on the credit system to obtain foodstuffs.<sup>49</sup>

Gradually the HBC became disenchanted with the credit system because the Indians learned how to manipulate the system to their advantage. Often an Indian, who had run his credit too high at one post, would take his furs to another post where he would exchange them for more goods instead of paying off his debt at the original post.<sup>50</sup> This was easy enough to do because the distance between posts made it difficult for each HBC post to determine if credit was owed at another post. During the eighteenth century, the HBC attempted to abolish the credit system because it was difficult to manage, not to mention costly. Indian protests, fear that the Indians would take their furs to the French, and the realization that the Indians needed to be cared for during poor hunting seasons if the HBC hoped to obtain furs the following season all contributed to prolong the life of the credit system.

But the company did alter the system to protect their profits and to reduce Indian manipulation of the system. The HBC required that each Indian trade with only one post. If an Indian took his furs to another post, the factor would credit the Indian's furs to his home post.<sup>51</sup> This new restriction no longer allowed the Indians to manipulate the system as they previously had. It also limited the uplanders' and the homeguard's mobility and ability to trade because they could no longer travel as far inland to accumulate furs and to exchange them at the posts closer to their hunting grounds. The Indians were limited in the number of furs they could transport, and the freedom to trade at any post made it easier for them to exchange their furs and to transport the European goods



they received to their campgrounds.

The fur trading system also provided the Homeguard Indians with a variety of new roles. In the eighteenth century repeated hunting of the lands near the posts decreased the beaver population. The Homeguard were unable to obtain the quantities of furs they previously had, and therefore could not obtain the European goods they were accustomed to because they had fewer furs to trade. To combat the problem, many of the Homeguards began traveling into the interior to obtain furs from the uplanders.<sup>52</sup> The Homeguard traded novel European goods for the furs, thus introducing the uplander bands to these unfamiliar items.<sup>53</sup> Because the Homeguard knew the area well and because the HBC did not actively travel inland to seek out new bands to trade with, the Homeguard were able to acquire the furs they needed.

The middleman position was not a new one in Indian culture, but the degree to which the Homeguard used it was revolutionary. At this point the HBC was not sending men to trade with the uplanders, instead waiting for the band to come to the posts to trade. The Homeguard exploited their position as middlemen by capitalizing on both their knowledge of the uplanders' camps and their access to the novel European goods. They also jealously sought to guard their control of the fur trade. Commenting on the the Bay natives' neighbors, Simpson described the methods the Chinook used to maintain their trading position. Simpson noted that "through their hands nearly the whole of our Furs pass, indeed so tenacious are they of this Monopoly that their jealousy would carry them the length of pillaging or even murdering strangers who come to the

Establishment if we did not protect them. To the other tribes on the Coast they represent us as Cannibals, and every thing that is bad in order to deter them from visiting the Fort."<sup>54</sup> The Homeguard used similar tactics to guard their own position in the fur trade.

Eventually, however, following the spring breakup of the ice in the rivers, the upland Indians began embarking upon an annual voyage to the posts to trade their furs. Most Indians visited the post only once a year during July or August. For some upland bands, this annual voyage was a novelty. Previously, some of the Indian groups had seldom needed or desired to make an annual voyage downstream.<sup>55</sup>

In addition to extending the role of middlemen, the fur trading system also provided the Homeguard with a variety of new roles. The HBC introduced the concept of work-for-hire to the Homeguard, thus further altering their traditional lifestyle. Before the HBC's participation in the trade, most Indian bands relied on hunting and gathering for subsistence and fashioned their own clothing, utensils, tools, and other necessities. Independence was highly prized by the Indians. Labor duties were divided among the band members, but few Indians worked for other Indians in exchange for payment. Tasks were fairly distributed, with each Indian contributing to the well-being of the band through his work.

With the establishment of the fur trading posts, the HBC factors realized they needed the assistance of the local Indians and began contracting the Homeguard to perform services for the post. Indians were "hired" to perform work for the posts. John Potts of Richmond Fort hired four Great Whale River Indians during the winter

months of 1750 to stay near the post "to do anything I Desire Such as Fishing, Hunting partridge, making Snow Shoes."<sup>56</sup> Indians were often hired to serve as interpreters and guides, and to make snowshoes and other items needed by the company servants. The HBC also introduced the concept of commercial hunting to the Bay's inhabitants. The posts relied on the Indians to supply them with food as well as furs. The Indians traded animal meat for European goods. Henry Kelsey notes that "to day came 2 indians from the Islands that brought 6 rabbits so traded and went away."<sup>57</sup> This arrangement also allowed the Indians who were unable to trap beaver, such as the northern caribou hunters, to acquire European goods by trading their animal meat for the foreign objects.<sup>58</sup>

A more substantial group of coastal Indians participated in the semiannual goose hunt sponsored by the fur trading posts. Once in the spring and again in the fall, local Indians gathered at the post to hunt geese to provision the posts.<sup>59</sup> The post supplied the guns and ammunition, while the Indians provided their time and labor. This arrangement benefitted both parties: the company servants were assured of food for the following months and the natives received the European trade goods they desired.

However, as time progressed, the Homeguard discovered that their participation in the goose hunt was limiting their mobility and altering their traditional diet. No longer able to travel far inland, the Homeguard concentrated on hunting near the post. But this area had a low population of caribou and beaver, the preferred diet of the Homeguard.<sup>60</sup> Sometimes this restriction on the Homeguard's ability to hunt farther afield resulted in food

shortages.<sup>61</sup> It became the posts' responsibility to provide the Homeguard with provisions during a bad hunting season.<sup>62</sup> Oatmeal, flour, and other foodstuffs were given outright to the Indians and, in addition, credit was extended to them, to be repaid by the Indians' goose catch.<sup>63</sup> Thus, the Homeguard began relying upon the post for subsistence during bad seasons, while their traditional hunting and gathering activities were altered by the trading posts and their need for provisions. However, the Indians supplied the posts with more food than the traders ever gave the Indians.<sup>64</sup> The posts were a last resort for the Indians who were encountering a food shortage. But the fact that the Indians had a last resort when encountering hard times was a revolutionary experience because earlier the Indians would have starved or accommodated themselves to the lack of food.<sup>65</sup>

However, with their increasing participation in the fur trade, the Indians found that their hunting cycle was increasingly dictated by the HBC. Traditionally, the Indians hunted for food and skins whenever necessary during the year. The HBC valued the winter beaver coat over the thinner summer beaver coats that the European felters found less desirable. The HBC attempted to persuade the Indians to hunt more winter beaver by giving fewer trade goods for the summer beaver.<sup>66</sup> Eventually the Indians began to do most of the beaver trapping in the late winter and early spring when the beaver coats were at their heaviest.

Eventually these HBC policies began to affect the Indians' hunting cycles. Realizing that giving the Indians large quantities of presents for their furs decreased the number of furs

brought in, the HBC tried the opposite tack when they set up the measure of trade. Soon the Indians found that they needed to increase the number of furs brought to the posts if they hoped to acquire the desired European goods.<sup>67</sup> Despite increases in the number of furs brought to the posts, the Indians still trapped only enough to fulfill their needs—they merely adjusted their standards a little higher. Overall, the Indians altered their hunting practices enough to acquire European goods, but not enough to substantially alter their traditional way of life.<sup>68</sup> They continued to hunt other animals besides the beaver and they maintained their leisure time rather than spending all of their time hunting and trapping.

The Bay's Indian inhabitants also encountered changes in their diet that stemmed from their participation in the fur trade. Traditionally, the Indians had relied upon caribou, beaver, and hare for their diet. The continuous trapping of beaver for furs and hunting of caribou for meat to trade with the HBC resulted in a depletion of the beaver and caribou populations. Since the Indians relied upon these animals for much of their food supply, they discovered that they needed to change their diet to accommodate the shortage they now faced. The increased consumption of oatmeal supplied by the traders and other foodstuffs resulted in a much starchier diet and sometimes led to health problems because the Indians lacked the vitamins and minerals they had formerly gotten from their traditional diet.<sup>69</sup>

Of all the influences affecting the Indians' traditional way of life, perhaps the most far-reaching were not the

institutions and policies set up by the HBC, but the traders themselves. Daily contact with these men exposed the Indians to new European items, beliefs, language, foods, dress, architecture, customs--and diseases.

The increased association between the traders and the Indians had a detrimental effect on the Indian population because the Indians were exposed for the first time to European diseases such as smallpox and measles. To make matters worse, when someone did become ill from these diseases the Indians had no idea how to treat the afflicted person. Their remedies for the sickness often aggravated the situation because they were the opposite of what the cure should have been. For example, frequently Indians suffering from smallpox would sit in a steamhouse and then plunge into a cold stream, a procedure that worsened rather than cured the sickness.<sup>70</sup> Diseases such as smallpox, measles, and syphilis decimated the Indian population because the natives lacked the antibodies to resist the diseases.<sup>71</sup> Samuel Hearne noted several years after his journey of 1774 that northern Indians contracted smallpox from Southern Indians; and the disease carried off 9/10 of them particularly those who traded at Churchill Factory.<sup>72</sup>

This decrease in the Indian population had serious ramifications for Indian culture. Their culture was an oral one, dependent upon the dissemination of information from the older generation to the younger.<sup>73</sup> Ceremonies, stories, and feasts all revealed something about the Indians' culture to the band members. The loss of Indian leaders, warriors, and elders through disease broke the chain by which the history and traditions of their culture

were passed on to the next generation. Thus, the Indians often lost an important part of their culture. Ultimately, they lost connection with their past and were forced to recreate their history and traditions as best they could. However, this cultural void also made them more open to new ideas and elements as they sought to create or recreate their cultural identity.

The decrease in the Indian population severely reduced the number of Indians who could provide for the band. In each band, a number of hunters provided meat for the whole band while Indian women gathered other foodstuffs. The women prepared the food including the meat brought in by the hunters. Each band member contributed to the labor process. There were very few, if any, members who did not contribute in some manner, however small. The loss of men and women to disease left fewer Indians who could provide for the band. The decrease in the number of hunters seriously threatened the survival of the band. Often to ensure survival, the band was forced to join with another band or to adopt new members. As a result some bands lost their individuality and were forced to adopt the traditions and customs of other bands.

Indian men also discovered that they were losing not only their male leaders, but their women as a result of the contact with the HBC traders, but not in the same manner. Increasingly, relationships between Indian women and English traders were formed, with a large number of them culminating in sanctioned and common-law marriages. Many Indian men sought to strengthen their relationships with the traders and to gain favored status by arranging a marriage between their Indian daughters and the traders.<sup>74</sup> Often the traders

signified their commitment to the Indian women by participating in native wedding ceremonies such as the potlatch.<sup>75</sup> Marriages according to the custom of the country were quite common. Indian women were integrated into fur trade society more completely than Indian men could be. As the companion or wife of a fur trader, the Indian woman gained intimate access to the inner circles of the fur trade's life, something that an Indian man could never achieve.<sup>76</sup>

As expected, these unions between Indian women and European traders often produced offspring of mixed blood.<sup>77</sup> The mixed bloods had a unique position because they were exposed to both Indian and European society, as represented by the traders. The traders sought to expose their wives and offspring to European customs and to give their sons a place in trader society.

Many mixed bloods worked for the posts as guides, hunters, and interpreters, or in another capacity. In later years, some mixed bloods became company servants and a few served as factors at various posts. George Atkinson's son served at one HBC post and Moses Norton spent nine years in England and later became governor of Prince of Wales Fort.<sup>78</sup> Thus some Indians were able to make the transition to positions of influence within the European society of traders, while retaining their ties to their native culture.

As might be imagined, not all Indian men favored these unions between "their" women and the traders. As a result, sometimes hostility erupted between the Indian men and the traders. In 1768 traders at Henley House were murdered in a dispute over the white traders' relationships with Indian women.<sup>79</sup>

Relations between the various Indian groups in the Bay



area were also affected by the trade. Every summer the upland Indians who wished to trade their furs directly with the traders traveled to the Bay trading posts to exchange their prizes for European goods. The furs brought in by the upland Indians were often superior to those brought in by the coastal Indians. Because the HBC valued the uplanders' business, the factors treated the uplanders more favorably than they did the Homeguard. Elaborate gift-giving ceremonies took place in which the uplanders received presents of tobacco, brandy, and other items. In addition, the uplanders received more trade goods than did the Homeguard for equivalent furs.<sup>80</sup> This discrepancy in the treatment of the Homeguard may have promoted some resentment of the uplanders by the Homeguard. For whatever reason, the Homeguard often took advantage of the uplanders during the latter's stay at the posts. In the 1790s a Moose River Indian leader, Pisso, collected leather from the northern Indians who came to Moose Fort to trade and also ran a protection racket. The Moose Fort journal reveals that: "He intimates to the Indians here that it is to prevent some (which he calls bad Indians) from coming to kill them and being naturally timid they are soon imposed upon; last years I'm told it was a he Martin Skin which he collected from each of our North'rd Indians...this year it is a Deer Skin."<sup>81</sup> Other Indians belonging to the Homeguard bullied or tricked the uplanders into selling their furs to them. In this way the Homeguard were able to obtain the furs they had difficulty trapping. Postmaster Light, realizing that the Homeguard were taking advantage of the upland Indians, changed his practice of trading so that only a portion of the furs were traded at night and the rest were

deferred until morning "to keep the home Indians from Spungin' on them."<sup>82</sup>

Gradually the Indians' traditional concepts of individual property ownership and political boundaries were altered as a result of the competitive fur trade. Before contact with the European fur traders, these concepts were nonexistent or undeveloped among many Indian bands. Traditionally, sharing was an important element honored by most Bay bands. Although some items such as combs and beads were owned by individuals, private or individual ownership was not very important among the native inhabitants because most items, such as canoes and food, were shared by the band. Confronted with the novel European goods and presentation of gifts by the HBC to only one individual, some Indians began subscribing to the concepts of individual ownership of property.<sup>83</sup> The posts further defined this concept by distinguishing between the company's property and the Indians' property. Each post had rules prohibiting the Indians from entering the post's storeroom where the company's items were privately owned and not to be shared.<sup>84</sup> Even when an individual shared his gifts, hunt or catch with other members of the group, the Indians began to believe that the items being distributed were the property of that Indian and that he was under no obligation to share his bounty with the other Indians.

Another concept of ownership further defined by the fur trade was the institution of family hunting territories. Most of the fur trapping performed by local Indians was done in small family groups. Gradually over the years, it evolved that each family tended to trap in a particular region. Initially, the Indian bands did not

conceive of these hunting territories as belonging to one family, despite their honoring specific regions as a certain family's hunting area; rather the Indians retained usufruct rights to the area.<sup>85</sup> Eventually, the concept of family hunting territories began to gain acceptance among the local bands as they competed with each other to obtain furs to trade. Family hunting territories, however, were never rigidly enforced or parceled out; rather each band respected the rights claimed by another Indian group to the fur-bearing animals in a particular region. Thomas Mitchell commented upon this in 1745 in respect to the Crees: "Ever Indian hath a River or Part where ya Resorts to ye winter Season & in Som are More fish yn others. But ya Count it a Trespas to Kill anything in one anothers Leiberty for Last winter one of our Indians did not kill One Martain & I asked him ye Rason. He sade another Indian Tould him all ye martains Be Longed to him so he Sade he livd on cear & Som Rabbits."<sup>86</sup> As Mitchell details, the land itself was not important to the Indians, but the animals on that land were considered extremely valuable and the property of whoever claimed the land. The Indian claiming all the martens was exerting rights that all Indians in the region acknowledged and accepted.

Not all Indians were required to strictly observe another Indian's claim to all the animals inhabiting a certain area. La Potherie, a fur trader, described the practice of Indians living near York Factory in the eighteenth century as being less rigid than the one Mitchell's Indian adhered to: "[W]hen an Indian has discovered the lodge of a beaver, he may be sure that no one else will be so unfair as to hunt it. They put marks in the

neighbourhood, so that people may know it has already been discovered. But if, by chance, an Indian passing that way is hard-pressed by hunger, he is allowed to kill the beaver, provided that he leaves the skin, and the tail which the most delicate morsel."<sup>87</sup> Obviously the Indians near York Factory valued the beaver's skin and showed more concern about obtaining the skin to trade than they did over the loss of some of their food supply, revealing the depth of their involvement in the trade and their desire to receive the valuable items that their claim to the land could provide them with.

Although the Indians had some concept of family hunting territories during the initial phases of the fur trade, as the beaver and other fur-bearing animal populations dwindled, intense competition for furs further developed and defined the system of territories. The Indians began to realize that the seemingly endless supply of furs to be trapped was decreasing as a result of overtrapping, natural fluctuations in the animal populations and environmental factors. Therefore they sought some way of maintaining a steady supply of furs for themselves, and claiming a particular area for their own use seemed to provide the perfect solution. Each Indian band could claim a certain area and its animal resources and have other Indians respect their right to it, thus providing them with a source of furs and food.<sup>88</sup> Before the advent of the HBC trade, however, access to a steady source of furs was not as important as it later became, nor was there a shortage of furs. Thus the fur trade helped extend the concept of family hunting

territories by creating a lesser supply of furs and by providing more reason to obtain the furs.

The Indians were not the only ones affected by the onslaught of an alien culture and its attendant beliefs, customs, and practices. The European traders of both the NWC and HBC were profoundly affected as well.

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## ACCULTURATION AMONG THE EUROPEAN TRADERS

The fur-trading companies conducted business with their Indian trading partners in two ways: by establishing posts at strategic points to which the various Indian groups brought their furs; and by sending their own men into the hinterland to establish trading relations with the natives of that area. As was the case with the native Indian groups, the traders' relations with the Indians and the extent of their acculturation was profoundly affected by the method of trading in which they participated. It is not surprising that men who lived among the Indians experienced a greater degree of acculturation than those men who resided at the forts, just as the Indians living near the posts experienced more acculturation than those Indian groups living in the hinterlands. The HBC during this period tended to remain in their posts by the bay.<sup>1</sup> In contrast, the NWC traveled to the Indians. Eventually as the competition with the NWC grew fiercer, the HBC adopted the same trading method. Thus, the degree of contact was an important factor in the acculturation process.

The men who remained at the company posts had limited contact with the Indians' daily life. However, their lack of integration into native life did not negate the influence the Bay's natives had on the company's servants and policies. Company officers and servants discovered that their unfamiliarity with the alien

environment of the Bay area increased their dependence on the local Indians. To survive in this wilderness, the company traders were forced to adopt various native customs and implements and to rely on their Indian trading partners.

Lack of adequate food provisions was an extremely distressing reality for both the Indian and European inhabitants of the Bay. Each post was supplied with European provisions of salted meat, flour, oatmeal, and molasses, but these provisions were expected to last until the next shipment arrived--a year hence. These foodstuffs were rapidly depleted and did not meet the total nutritional needs of the traders. Lacking the knowledge and technology to secure game and fish in a frozen environment, the men became dependent on local Indians to provide the posts with adequate food supplies. Daniel Harmon remarked on this in his diary entry for February 7, 1802: "During the last three days, we have subsisted on tallow and dried cherries. This evening, my men returned from Alexandria, with their sledges loaded with buffaloe meat; and the sight of it, was truly reviving. Had this favour been withheld from us a few days longer, we must have all miserably perished by famine."<sup>2</sup> Nor was this an isolated incident for Harmon and his men. "Our whole stock of provisions in the fort, for ten persons, consists of five salmon, only. It is impossible, at this season, to take fish out of this lake or river, unless the salmon from the sea, soon make their appearance, our condition will be deplorable," Harmon noted on August 2, 1811.<sup>3</sup>

Eventually, the HBC, as did the NWC, gathered a group of

Indians around its posts who were responsible for meeting the traders' food needs. Semiannual goose hunts were held in the spring and in the fall to develop a food surplus. Native groups living close to the fort were outfitted with guns and ammunition in return for their catch.<sup>4</sup> The policy of relying on Homeguard Indians to supply the posts with adequate supplies helped the men to survive in an alien environment.

Once the traders received the food from the Indians, they had to preserve it. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, salt was generally used to preserve perishables. However in the frozen environment of the Bay, salt was not always in abundance. The traders began relying on the Indians to teach them native methods of food preservation. One method was to cut meat into thin strips and put it either in the sun or over a slow fire to dry. The meat was then pounded until it made a coarse powder.<sup>5</sup> This powder, known as pemmican, was a food staple for the Indians because of its portability on long trips when there was little room to carry necessary provisions. It soon became a staple for the traders as Harmon noted in his diary entry for August 3, 1800:

As a substitute for bread, we now make use of what the Natives call pimican, which consists of lean meat, dried and pounded fine, and then mixed with melted fat. This compound is put into bags, made of the skins of the buffaloe, &c. and when cold, it becomes a solid body. If kept in a dry place, it will continue good for years....Pimican is very palatable, nourishing and

healthy food; and on it, our voyagers subsist, while traveling in this country. Sometimes we add to the two above named ingredients, sugar or dried berries, which we procure from the Natives and the taste of it is thus very much improved.<sup>6</sup>

The traders began relying on pemmican as a food source as much as the Indians did, and with good reason. Harmon noted on August 27, 1801 that "all the provision which we now have in the fort, consists of only about fifteen pounds of pemmican; and when we shall be able to add to our supply, God only knows. All our dependence is on our hunters."<sup>7</sup> Voyagers such as Samuel Hearne relied on pemmican because it was "very portable and palatable," much the same reasons the Indians held it in great esteem.<sup>8</sup>

The traders who traveled inland to trade with the Indians or who explored the new country accompanied by Indians had more exposure to Indian life than did their fort-bound brethren. These traders sampled Indian delicacies and learned Indian cooking methods. The traders found that the natives often lacked iron kettles because these cooking utensils were too bulky to transport and were often unobtainable. Thus, the Indians relied on traditional cooking utensils and methods.

Peter Fidler discovered that the Indian band he was traveling with always ate their meat roasted "for want of a Kettle to boil it in."<sup>9</sup> To Hearne's disgust, he and his companions were forced to eat their food raw because they often lacked materials to build a fire. However, when they did have a fire, Hearne noticed

that the Indian women cooked without "iron kettles using a birch rind kettle into which heated stones are dropped."<sup>10</sup> George Simpson commented that "their Cooking Kettles are Baskets made of the inner skin or rind of a small shrub which is twisted into a stout thread or cord and wove so close as to hold Water and the contents are cooked by casting in from time to time heated stones so as to keep the Water constantly boiling."<sup>11</sup> Thus the traders were able to learn how to cook in the open without resorting to European metalwares.

The traders also took a liking to Indian delicacies and often used Indian cooking methods to create these delicacies. Samuel Hearne mused that "as such favourable opportunities for indulging the appetite happen but seldom, we did not neglect any art, in dressing our food, which the most refined skill of Indian cookery has been able to invent. These consist chiefly of boiling, broiling, and roasting, but also of a dish called beeatee, which is most delicious. It is made with the blood, a good quantity of fat shredded small, some of the tenderest flesh, and the heart and the lungs torn into small shivers. All of this is put in the deer's stomach and roasted by being suspended before the fire."<sup>12</sup> Nor was this the only native dish that Hearne relished. "The young calves, fawns, and beavers, &c. taken out of the bellies of their mothers, are reckoned most delicate food," Hearne remarked, "and I am not the only European who heartily joins in pronouncing them the greatest dainties that can be eaten. Many gentlemen who have served with me at Churchill, as well as at York Fort, and the inland settlements will readily agree with me in asserting, that no one who ever got

the better of prejudice so far as to taste of those young animals, but has immediately become excessively fond of them; and the same may be said of young geese, ducks, &c. in the shell. In fact, it is almost become a proverb in the Northern settlements that whoever wishes to know what is good, must live with the Indians."<sup>13</sup>

Both the traders at the post and those journeying into the hinterland discovered that they needed to learn how to live off the land. Most company men carried guns and ammunition with them to use in hunting game. However the length of the journey and the inability to acquire additional supplies forced the traders to conserve their ammunition. Sometimes, this European method of hunting did not always prove fruitful as Alexander Henry discovered:

In going down the side of a lofty hill, I saw a herd of red-deer approaching. Desirous of killing one of them for food, I hid myself in the bushes, and on a large one coming near, presented my piece, which missed fire, on account of the priming having been wetted. The animals walked along without taking the least alarm; and, having re-loaded my gun, I followed them, and presented a second time. But, now, a disaster of the heaviest kind had befallen me; for, on attempting to fire, I found that I had I lost the cock. I had previously lost the screw by which it was fastened to the lock; and to prevent this from being lost also, I had tied it in its place, with a leather string: the lock, to prevent its catching in the bows, I had carried under my molton coate.<sup>14</sup>

Henry's experience with a nonfunctional gun mimicked that of the



natives who encountered this problem often. In the hinterlands there were no gunsmiths to repair it and the Indians' unfamiliarity with the object and its construction hindered them from repairing it themselves. Thus, they continued to rely on traditional hunting methods because of the unreliability of European methods. If they did not, they would go hungry, just as Henry did. The deer pound was one well-proven hunting method as Hearne discovered. In order to secure food provisions, the Bay men had to adopt native hunting and fishing practices. Usually the leader of the native band was responsible for supplying his people with food, but often other Indians were expected to add to the food supply. And many of the traders discovered that they were expected to provide for themselves as the Indians did.

The Bay men soon realized that the most fruitful means of procuring food was to follow the example of the natives as David Thompson discovered.

An old Chepawyan Indian came to me, I told him I had five 5 holes in the ice, and for these two days had caught nothing. He shook his head, left me and went about one hundred yards westward of me, we were about five miles from land he then looked at all the land within his sight, shifted his place until all his marks coincided, he then pierched a hole thro' the ice, put down his angling tackle, and in about an hours time brought up a fine trout of full thirty pounds....he asked to see my bait which I showed to him, it was like his, he noticed that it was not greased, he showed his bair which was

well-greased, and taking out a little bag, a piece of grease with which he greased the bait twice a day; he told me I must do the same. He remarked to me that I came too soon, and staid too late...that about noon was the best time;... I followed the Chepawyan's advice, and was more successful.<sup>15</sup>

Hearne observed that the Indians would cast a fishing line into a hole cut in the ice as Thompson did or cast nets under the ice. The latter proved very successful:

In order to set a net under the ice, the Indians first stretch it out full length near where it is to be set; then they cut a series of holes in the ice at a distance of ten to twelve feet apart, along the whole length of the net. A line is then passed under the ice by means of a long, light pole, which can reach from one hole to the next. The net is tied to the end of the line and is drawn under. Finally the free end of the line is brought over the ice, and tied to the other end of the net so that line and net together form an unbroken circlet. In order to search such a net, the two end holes are broken open, the line is verred away by one person and net hauled from under the ice by another.

The fishing net was "always composed of small throngs cut from raw deerskins."<sup>16</sup>

The deer pound was another fruitful hunting method used

by the Indians, as Hearne discovered during his journey to the Coppermine River:

When the Indians wish to build such a pound they first find a main deer path, preferably where it crosses a lake or other opening. The pound is then constructed by enclosing a circular space with a strong fence made of brushy trees. I have seen some that were a mile round, and am informed that others are even bigger. The door is no larger than a common gate, and the inside of the pound is so crowded with small counterhedges as to resemble a maze. In every opening of these is set a snare made with throngs of deer-skin, and each snare is usually made fast to a living tree or, if these are not plentiful, to a log of such size that the deer cannot drag it far. The pound having been prepared, a row of small brushwood is stuck up in the snow on each side of the door and continued out on the open space, where neither stick nor stump besides is to be seen; which makes the brushwood yet more distinctly observed. These pieces of brushwood are placed at fifteen or twenty yards apart, and in such a manner as to form two sides of a long acute angle growing gradually wider as the distance from the pound increases. Sometimes the arms of the angle extend as far as two or three miles.<sup>17</sup>

The deer were then driven into the maze and hunted.

Nor was this the only hunting method Hearne learned from the Indians. He also learned how to trap smaller animals as the Indians would. "I also built some traps and caught a few marten," he noted in 1770. "These marten were trapped by means of a few logs so arranged that when the animal attempted to take away the bait he pulled down a small post that supported weight of logs."<sup>18</sup> He also "snared some partridges by making little hedges projecting at right angles from a small island, leaving openings provided with snares, for the partridges to pass through."<sup>19</sup>

Hearne noted that "such an easy way of procuring a comfortable maintenance is wonderfully well adapted to the support of the aged and the infirm, but is too apt to occasion an habitual indulgence in the young, for those who indulge in this indolent method of procuring food can have small interest in procuring furs for the trade. On the other hand, those Indians who do not get their livelihood so easily, generally procure sufficient furs to purchase ammunition and other European goods."<sup>20</sup>

Unsuitable clothing was another worry facing company servants. European woven clothing proved inadequate against the harsh cold of the Bay that lasted for nine months out of the year. Woven cloth caught on bushes and brambles and was soon torn apart. Since the cloth degenerated into this condition quite rapidly, the traders found that their clothing no longer provided much warmth against the elements. Peter Fidler was one trader who recognized the necessity of wearing traditional Indian clothing:

"I got from him [an Indian] a Deer Skin robe with the Hair on

to make me a coat which I did very soon having very frequently been near perishing by the Cold when we pitched along for want of such a useful piece of clothing."<sup>21</sup>

The company men soon adopted native fur apparel because it was warmer and more easily obtained. The typical winter clothing of the traders consisted of an "outer coat made of moose skin; deerskin breeches; stockings Indian fashion, shoes are as the natives; with a piece of leather or cloth sewed round the quarters which wrap round the instep the snowshoes are the same as those of the Indians."<sup>22</sup> Thus, the company servants replaced one of their distinctively European characteristics, their dress, with that of the native culture. And the majority of traders living with the Indians were indistinguishable by their choice of dress from their traveling companions.

To acquire the proper clothing suitable to the Subarctic, the traders either had to obtain it from the Indians or to make it from the furs brought in by the Indians. Although the natives generously provided the traders with leather and skins, the HBC men discovered that they were expected to fashion their own clothing. Fashioning clothing from the furs and hides often proved difficult unless the traders used Indian sewing implements. Fidler quickly realized this when he attempted to make a pair of trousers out of tent leather: "Finished making my Leather Trousers which is a very great acquisition to me [I] broke all my needles in making them the leather being so stiff & hard & went to work in the Indian manner with an awl & Sinnews before I completed them having at first only 4 needles."<sup>23</sup>

By observing and listening the traders also learned other important skills and gained valuable knowledge such as how to skin animals, how to tan leather, and when to hunt fur bearing animals to ensure that the animals' coat was at its heaviest.

Travel between posts was especially difficult for the traders because they lacked the proper conveyances to traverse the snow and ice-covered terrain. English ships and boats were useless in navigating the narrow, ice-covered rivers of the Canadian Shield, and the traders found that to travel along these treacherous waterways they had to adopt native modes of water transportation. Indian canoes and dugouts were pressed into company service. However, Indian men had to man these frail craft and instruct the traders in their proper use because the traders' lacked the expertise to navigate the canoes. Samuel Hearne noted in his journal that the company had " very great dependence...on the natives at present for canoes as well as their assistance in getting men and goods up."<sup>24</sup> Some traders learned from the Indians how to navigate the canoes themselves but it was not easy. Samuel Hearne describes the difficulties in maneuvering these canoes which, though of common size, were "too small to carry more than two persons; one of whom always lies down at full length for fear of making the canoe top heavy, and the other sits on his heels and paddles."<sup>25</sup> Once learned, however, the ability to paddle an Indian canoe would prove to be invaluable.

After the problem of river navigation was solved the company men discovered that their transportation problems were not

over. English footgear proved a hinderance in navigating the snowy landscape. Company servants found that native technology had overcome this difficulty. Local Indians had created framed and webbed snowshoes that made walking across the snow much easier. Soon the traders were outfitted with native snowshoes. After growing dependent on this item, company officers began regularly contracting the natives to make snowshoes for the posts.<sup>26</sup> Some posts, however, made their own snowshoes after acquiring the materials from the Indians. Andrew Graham wrote that "for tent skins, shoe leather, canoes, birch-rind, snow shoe frames, or any such like goods for factory service, and which we cannot do without, we give in return, powder, shot, awls, needles, and such like trifles."<sup>27</sup> Other posts sought to employ local inhabitants to perform services for the post. John Potts of Richmond Fort hired four Great Whale River Indians during the winter months of 1750 to stay near the post "to do anything I Desire Such as Fishing, Hunting Partridge, makeing Snowshoes."<sup>28</sup>

Traders journeying in the hinterland discovered that they needed to learn how to construct various types of conveyances, such as rafts, canoes, sleds, and snowshoes. Hearne noted in his journal that after stopping to rest during a particularly arduous trip, he "went to work immediately in making snow-shoe frames and sledges."<sup>29</sup> He recognized that on such a long journey small portable canoes were a necessity because "it would be impossible for one to carry them [a large canoe], which they are often obligated to do."<sup>30</sup>

The traders needed to erect shelters when traveling in the hinterland. Learning how to construct various types of portable shelters was an important piece of knowledge the company traders needed to acquire from the natives. Initially, after landing in the Bay, the traders made shelters from the sailcloth of their ships. Then they constructed more permanent shelters from logs or stones. However, neither of these options was available to the voyageurs. The majority of Indian dwellings were made of skins or bark. These building materials were either carried on the journey or were readily available in the areas where the Indians chose to camp.

Graham noted that "when abroad they (the traders) make use of log tents or skin-tents exactly like the Indians."<sup>31</sup> However these traders were expected to be wise in the customs of the country. Samuel Hearne discovered this when the Indian guide he engaged brought the materials to construct a shelter for himself and his wife, but neglected to inform Hearne or his companions and the members of his band that they would need to bring these items with them because the area they were traveling in did not have the materials readily available.<sup>32</sup>

Many traders realized they needed to acquired knowledge about living off the land from the Indians if they hoped to survive in the harsh terrain. Hearne berated one Indian guide for behaving "both negligently and ungenerously" in not making him "acquainted with the nature of pitching tents on the barren ground."<sup>33</sup> After becoming integrated into the daily lives of the natives, many



traders began to realize the necessity of adopting Indian ways and objects.

In addition to learning how to navigate the terrain, to live off the land, and to shelter themselves along the way, the traders also needed to develop the ability to make their way to their destination points. David Thompson understood the importance of this ability and hoped to develop it. He admired the "tact of the Indian in being able to guide himself through the darkest pine forests to exactly the place he intended to go."<sup>34</sup> Thompson was "anxious to acquire this knowledge, and often being in company with them, sometimes for several months, I paid attention to what they pointed out to me."<sup>35</sup> Thompson's concentration on learning this skill proved successful for he eventually became "almost equal to some of them."<sup>36</sup>

Alexander Henry (the elder) also found this skill invaluable when he became separated from the band he was traveling with and needed to determine where they were. After spending two days and two nights lost in the woods, he awoke and finally remembered "the lessons which I had received from my Indian friend, for the very purpose of being useful to me, in difficulties of this kind. These were, that generally speaking the tops of pine-trees lean toward the rising of the sun; the moss grows toward the roots of trees, on the side which faces the north; and that the limbs of trees are most numerous, and largest, on that which faces the south."<sup>37</sup> To find his way back to his band members, "my eyes were now employed upon the trees. When their tops leaned different ways,

I looked to the moss, or to the branches; and by connecting one with another, I found the means of travelling with some degree of confidence."<sup>38</sup>

One of the difficulties the traders faced was the inability to communicate effectively with the natives in the Bay area. At first communication was negligible because neither culture was familiar with the other's language. Although some Indians knew English, the company servants quickly realized that this number was few and that not every Indian band had a member who spoke English. HBC men needed to learn the various Indian languages if they hoped to establish adequate communication with their fur suppliers. To learn the languages, local Indians acted as instructors and traders lived among the Indians to learn the languages. Once able to communicate effectively in the various Indian dialects, the HBC men conducted a more profitable trade with the Bay's inhabitants.

Knowledge of Indian dialects was essential for company servants living among the Indians. Roaming traders discovered that their ability to understand native culture was dependent on their command of the local inhabitant's dialect. The inability to communicate with their traveling companions created a multitude of problems and sometimes endangered their own lives. Often when the company trader found himself in a precarious situation, the natives would yell instructions at him. If the trader could not comprehend what was being said, he was forced to depend on his own limited knowledge to extricate himself from the situation. As would be expected, constant exposure to the natives' languages allowed some

traders to gain a deep understanding of the language that other traders might not achieve. Peter Fidler noted this to be the case in his journal: "This night dreamed in the Chepawyan Language the first time and I appeared to have a more extensive command of words when asleep than when awake being so long & not hearing any thing else spoken but the Jepwyan."<sup>39</sup>

The traders exposure to Indian culture extended to native medicine. The traders journeying in the hinterland could not afford to carry large supplies of European medicine with them. And their isolation from trading posts forced the traders to depend on their own limited knowledge of medicine, or to turn to the Indians for treatment. In some cases, the traders' ailments were new to them but familiar to their Indian traveling companions. The traders found that their only option was to put themselves in the care of an Indian shaman or submit to native cures. Alexander Graham discovered that some cures were similar to those employed by European medicine men: "I permitted one of them to bleed me after this manner when I was with the natives on the Company's duty, being much afflicted with the headache and dizziness, and found benefit by it."<sup>40</sup> James Isham commented that the Indians had two remedies in particular that worked wonders on any wound, "water and turpentine, they washing the wound Clean and applying this Bolsome."<sup>41</sup> Hearne's experience with native cures proved very helpful later in his life. While traveling with Robert Longmore, Longmore's toes became frozen and Hearne found it necessary to lay open Longmore's toes only to find that he had

"not the least thing to apply to it, except the inner Rind of the Larch Tree Root which is generally used among the Natives to stop or Prevent a Mortification."<sup>42</sup> David Thompson noted that snow blindness could be cured only "by the application of the steam of boiling water as hot as they could bear it, this is the Indian mode of cure, and the only efficient cure yet known".<sup>43</sup> Thus the traders discovered that their knowledge of native cures proved beneficial when European remedies were ineffective or unknown.

The traders of both the Hudson Bay Company and the Northwest Company adopted policies to promote trade with the Indians thus increasing their own profits. But these policies often had to be altered to accommodate the changing circumstances of the trade. The HBC was forced to make significant changes in its policies if it hoped to continue or to promote the trade with the Indians. The NWC's policies were more flexible and, thus, they did not need to make as many changes to "official" policy.

The European partners did not introduce the concept of trading to the Bay's inhabitants. Long before they arrived on the scene, the Indians had developed their own trading system. Some Indians saw the trade with the Europeans as another means to extend their middleman positions. But as the traders discovered, if they wished to trade with the Indians for furs they needed to trade within the existing trade structure. This meant that the HBC was forced to reevaluate their position from one of plain economics to one combining economic and social aspects.

The most important example of this is the gift-giving ceremony that all Indians considered essential to the trade. Most Indian societies were bound by a system of reciprocity. Traditionally, when meeting members of a different tribe or band Indian groups engaged in a ceremony of gift-giving. This ceremony consisted of an exchange of gifts between leaders as a sign of friendship and high regard for each other. The ceremony most often culminated in the smoking of the calumet as an expression of their hopes for peace.

The traders soon discovered that they were expected to adhere to the trading system already in place, including the gift-giving ceremony and the smoking of the calumet. When Indians came to the post to trade, the chief factor presented the band's leader with tobacco, brandy, and oatmeal in exchange for furs, gifts, foods, and native items. The factor then smoked the calumet with the Indian leader to cement the alliance between the post and the Indian band.<sup>44</sup>

When traveling in the hinterland, the traders took large quantities of goods to present to the bands they met as a token of friendship. Failure to participate in native ceremonies could provoke hostility, as Daniel Harmon learned from one of his Indian companions:

Immediately after our arrival, the principal chief of the village sent his son, to invite me and my interpreter to his tent. As soon as we had entered it, and were seated, the respectable old Chief caused meat and berries, and the best of

everything which he had to be set before us. Before we had eaten much, we were sent for to another tent, where we received similar treatment; and from this, we were invited to another; and so on....At all these, we ate a little, and smoked our pipes, for, my interpreter informed me, they would be greatly affronted, and think we despised them, if we refused to taste of every thing which was set before us.<sup>45</sup>

Andrew Graham participated in enough smoking of the calumet ceremonies to recognize the subtleties underlying them:

The Calumet being lighted, the Indian leader points it towards the sun-rising, sun-setting, also to the zenith and nadir. Every man takes a certain number of whiffs as fixed by the owner of the pipe. The Factor in his turn lights his Calumet with equal ceremony; then speeches are made by both parties and at the end of each, the monosyllable HO! (which is expressive of thanks) is pronounced.... If the leader takes his Calumet away, depend upon it he does not intend to trade with me next year; but to go somewhere else. It may properly be called the American's Great Seal.<sup>46</sup>

The traders' participation in this ceremony was evidence of their increasing adoption of native customs because the Europeans did not have a similar ceremony.

The traders were forced to accommodate official policies to the needs and demands of the natives. The harsh climate often made it difficult for even the natives to procure adequate food supplies. To aid the Indians and to ensure native participation in

the fur trade, the HBC inaugurated a system of "trusting." Under this system, Indians could obtain necessary items such as ammunition, guns, metal goods and other on a credit basis, with the natives' next supply of furs serving as repayment of the debt. The company realized that failure to adjust its policies to the needs of the Indians would result in a loss of a major portion of its fur trade: the Indians would begin trading with the French, NWC, and other groups. As it was, the Indians learned how to manipulate the system by running credit up at one post and then taking his furs to another post to acquire more goods rather than paying off the debt at the original post. The HBC gradually grew disenchanted with the credit system, but they gained too much from it to abolish the system.

Indian demands for specific trading goods dictated the HBC's inventory to a large extent. Posts began requesting gunsmiths for their stations to repair the guns and damaged metal goods brought in by the Indians. Cheap trade goods were discontinued in favor of the well-made quality goods that the Indians requested. These quality goods were one of the drawing points that the HBC had over the other traders, because the discriminating Indians preferred the English goods to the other traders' cheaper items.

Relationships between Indian women and the traders were fostered by the native custom demanding that men "exchange a night's lodging with each other's wives" because it was "esteemed by them as one of the strongest ties of friendship."<sup>47</sup> By refusing to take part in this ritual, many men antagonized the Indians on whom they were

dependent. Many traders felt that it was to their benefit to disobey company policy in this regard. Philip Turnor describes the dilemma facing many company postmasters:

Masters of most of Your Honors Inland settlements...  
 would Labour under many difficulties was they not to keep a  
 Woman as above half the Indians that came to the House would  
 offer the master their Wife the refusal of which would give  
 great offence to both the man and his wife...by keeping a  
 Woman it makes one short ready answer... and very few Indians  
 make that offer when they know the Master keeps a Woman.<sup>48</sup>

Needless to say, despite company regulations, some officials and other company servants had native wives.

Indian women presented a conflict for the HBC officials and servants. Initially HBC policy prohibited any fraternizing with the natives, including women. This policy was designed to protect the post from any hostile Indian attacks provoked by disputes with the Indians. Gradually the company realized that this regulation was unenforcable and needed to be adjusted to reflect the present situation. Andrew Graham commented on the situation in his journal: "The Company permit no European women to be brought within their territories; and forbid any natives to be harboured in the settlements. This latter has never been obeyed."<sup>49</sup>

It was common knowledge that a number of postmasters had native wives, and other company servants were known to keep native women. Hearne remarked upon this in his journal when discussing the geneology of one of the HBC factors:



Moses Norton was the son of Mr. Richard Norton, a former Governor, and of a Southern Indian woman. He was born at Prince of Wales Fort, though he subsequently spent nine years in school in England....He kept, for his own use, five or six of the finest Indian girls which he could select, but notwithstanding his own uncommon propensity to the fair sex, he took every means in his power to prevent the other Europeans from having intercourse with the women of the country; for which purpose he proceeded to the most ridiculous lengths.<sup>50</sup>

Nor were the Nortons the only officials of the HBC to have Indian wives as Daniel Harmon noted in his diary on December 24, 1800: "Yesterday, I went to see the fort of the Hudson Bay Company, which is situated about nine miles down this river and is in charge of a Mr. Sutherland. He has a woman of this country, for a wife, who, I was pleased to find, could speak the English language, tolerably well. I understand, also, that she can both read and write it, which she learned to do at Hudson's Bay, where the company have a school."<sup>51</sup>

In contrast, the NWC had no policy against officials having native wives. As with the HBC men, the traders were often pressured by the Indians to take an Indian wife. Harmon finally gave in as he wrote on October 10: "This day, a Canadian's daughter... was offered to me; and after mature consideration, concerning the step which I ought to take, I have finally concluded to accept of her, as it is customary for all gentlemen who remain for any length

of time, in this part of the world....Her mother is of the tribe of the Snare Indians, whose country lies along the Rocky Mountain."<sup>52</sup>

Among the traders, it was not uncommon for them to participate in an Indian wedding ceremony when taking a wife. Harmon writes:

This evening, Mons. Mayotte took a woman of this country for a wife, or rather concubine. All the ceremonies attending such an event, are the following. When a person is desirous of taking one of the daughters of the Natives, as a companion, he makes a present to the parents of the damsel, of such articles as he supposes will be most acceptable; Should the parents accept the articles offered, the girl remains at the fort with her suitor, and is clothed in the Canadian fashion.<sup>53</sup>

In addition to the diplomatic problems presented by native women, the company men also had to contend with their natural feelings toward their Indian wives and women. It is not surprising that the HBC found its policy against fraternizing difficult to enforce, especially considering the ban they had on all white women inhabiting the area.

These liaisons between native women and European men often produced offspring, who became a part of both cultures. These offspring, known as metis, were exposed to both societies and developed the ability to move between the two. As might be expected, the traders often sought to expose their offspring to European culture and society. Daniel Harmon was one such father: "Tomorrow I shall leave for McLeod's Lake. I shall take with me my little son

George, who was three years old last December, for the purpose of sending him to my friends in the United States, in order that he may receive an English education."<sup>54</sup> Harmon also showed his interest in exposing young metis to European culture on one of his trips to visit Mr. A. N. McLeod's: "Mr. A.N. MacLeod has a son here named Alexander, who is nearly five years of age, and whose Mother is of the tribe of the Rapid Indians. In my leisure time, I am teaching him the rudiments of the English language."<sup>55</sup>

The metis' unique position and access to both societies enabled them to further the acculturation process by transmitting different elements of each culture to the other. Some metis later became company servants and even, as in the case of George Atkinson's son, postmasters.

Most of the traders established strong familial ties with their Indian women and children. A large portion of the traders chose to remain at Hudson Bay with their families rather than return to Britain when their tour of service was over. Others took their families back to England with them.

Constant interaction between the traders and Indians led in many cases to a richer understanding of Indian culture, beliefs, and traditions. In some cases this reinforced their original impressions of the Indians. Samuel Hearne became convinced that his initial impression of native culture as barbaric was correct. Throughout this journal Hearne discussed various Indian practices as strange and inhumane in comparison with European customs.<sup>56</sup> Yet he adopted Indian dress, medicinal remedies, tracking methods, modes of

transportation, food preparation methods, and a taste for Indian delicacies.

But in contrast to Hearne, men such as David Thompson began questioning the ethnocentric attitude of Europeans toward Indian cultures. During one philosophical moment, Thompson recorded his musings about European and Indian beliefs: "The question arises, by what means do the wild geese make such long journeys with such precision of place; the wise, and learned, civilized man answers, by Instinct, but what is Instinct; a property of mind that has never been defined. The Indian believes that geese are directed by the Manito, who has the care of them. Which of the two are right."<sup>57</sup> Obviously Thompson's experiences among the Bay's native cultures precipitated an intense reaction and resulted in a reappraisal of the validity of traditionally held concepts of European enlightenment and superiority.

Daniel Harmon noted that in some cases European society was found wanting when compared to the natives' culture: "During several days that we remained with these people, we were treated with more REAL politness, than is commonly shown to strangers, in the civilized part of the world."<sup>58</sup>

Andrew Graham's dealings with the Indians caused him to reevaluate traditional concepts of Indian and European societies. He acknowledged that there were important lessons to be learned from Indian societies by noting "in short we endeavour to imitate the customs of the natives who are inured to the climate."<sup>59</sup> Graham also

began to perceive them as being more alike perhaps with the natives being more humane:

They have a strong attachment to their native country and friends;....thus we see the emotions of nature are confined to no particular region of people; but found alike in Europe, and in America, in the savage, and the polite citizen; and perhaps the former possesses them in a purer and greater degree than the latter, because unsullied by pride, envy, disgust, and petulance, which frequently harden the heart of man, and render it unfit to receive the impresssions of the delicate feelings of humanity.<sup>60</sup>

Graham had come to believe that the natives of the Bay were not inferior, savage creatures but humane people with a great deal in common with Europeans.

The interaction between the HBC and NWC traders and the Cree, Objibwa, and Montagnais bands exerted a profound influence on both cultures. The Indians' involvement in the fur trade resulted in economic, social, demographic, and political changes in their traditional lifestyle. However, this did not constitute a wholesale transformation of native culture. European items, concepts, and institutions were incorporated into the Indians' traditional life, while time-honored beliefs, organizations, and ideas were maintained. The Indians adapted themselves to the "circumstances under which (they were) placed"—but they did not abandon their

The European traders also adapted to the circumstances they found themselves in. Both consciously and unconsciously the traders adopted various elements of traditional Indian culture. New hunting, fishing, and cooking methods were learned, traditional European clothing was replaced with more practical Indian gear, native remedies were used to cure ailing men, and different forms of transportation and shelter were constructed.

However the most important changes were in European beliefs, attitudes, and practices. Many traders gained a greater appreciation of native beliefs, customs, and rituals--even adopting or participating in them. Often this new understanding produced a new attitude toward the Indians. Rather than perceiving the natives as inferior, the traders began to realize the merits of their native partners and often began questioning the supposed superiority of European society.

The adoption of native artifacts and methods and the adjustment of company policies to meet the needs and demands of the Indians reveals that the natives were not the only ones who altered their society as a result of the interaction with a new culture. Rather both societies experienced some degree of acculturation and cultural integration.

Footnotes Chapter 2

- 1 Francis and Morantz, Partners in Fur, 25, 106-110.
- 2 Harmon, Journal of Voyages, 60.
- 3 Ibid, 170.
- 4 Francis and Morantz, Partners, 84.
- 5 Tyrrell, Hearne's Journey, 89.
- 6 Harmon, Journal of Voyages, 22.
- 7 Ibid, 56.
- 8 Mowat, Hearne's Coppermine Journey, 28.
- 9 Tyrrell, Hearne and Turnor Journals, 511.
- 10 Mowat, Hearne's Coppermine Journey, 255.
- 11 Merk, Simpson's Journal, 103.
- 12 Mowat, Hearne's Coppermine Journey, 70.
- 13 Tyrrell, Hearne's Journey, 307.
- 14 James Bain, ed., Alexander Henry, Travels and Adventures in  
Canada and the Indian Territories Between 1760-1776  
(Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1969), 133.
- 15 J.B. Tyrrell, David Thompson's Narrative , 158-159.
- 16 Mowat, Hearne's Coppermine Journey, 9.
- 17 Ibid, 41.
- 18 Ibid, 12.
- 19 Ibid, 12-13.
- 20 Ibid, 42.
- 21 Tyrrell, Hearne and Turnor Journals, 540.
- 22 Williams, Graham's Observations, 297.
- 23 Tyrrell, Hearne and Turnor Journals, 531.
- 24 Ibid, 171.

- 25 Ibid, 91.
- 26 Francis and Morantz, Partners, 67.
- 27 Williams, Graham's Observations, 280.
- 28 Francis and Morantz, Partners, 67.
- 29 Tyrrell, Hearne's Journey, 102.
- 30 Ibid, 91.
- 31 Williams, Graham's Observations, 293.
- 32 Tyrrell, Hearne's Journey, 14
- 33 Tyrrell, Hearne's Journey, 82.
- 34 Tyrrell, David Thompson's Narrative, 105-106.
- 35 Ibid, 105-106.
- 36 Ibid, 105-106.
- 37 Bain, Henry's Adventures, 132.
- 38 Ibid, 132.
- 39 Tyrrell, Hearne and Turnor Journals, 543.
- 40 Williams, Graham's Observations, 163.
- 41 E.E. Rich, ed., James Isham's Observations on Hudson's Bay,  
1743 (Toronto: Hudson Bay Record Society, 1949), 96.
- 42 Tyrrell, Hearne and Turnor Journals, 139.
- 43 Tyrrell, Thompson's Narrative, 52.
- 44 Francis and Morantz, Partners, 46.
- 45 Harmon, Journal of Voyages, 42-43.
- 46 Williams, Graham's Observations, 205.
- 47 Tyrrell, Hearne's Journey, 160.
- 48 Tyrrell, Hearne and Turnor Journals, 275.



- 49 Williams, Graham's Observations, 299.
- 50 Mowat, Hearne's Coppermine Journey, 36.
- 51 Harmon, Journal of Voyages, 39.
- 52 Ibid, 118.
- 53 Ibid, 23.
- 54 Ibid, 165.
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- 56 Tyrrell, Hearne's Journey, 139.
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