Notes

PREFACE


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


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


CHAPTER 1


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


20 Adams, *Explorations of Radisson*, pp. 124, 127; the significance of presents in relations with Indians has been examined by W.R. Jacobs, *Wilderness Politics and Indian Gifts: The North American Frontier, 1748–1763* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1950) and Bruce M. White, "‘Give Us a Little Milk’: The Social and Cultural Significance of Gift Giving in the Lake Superior Fur Trade,” in *Rendezvous: Selected Papers of the*
21 Adams, *Explorations of Radisson*, p. 129.
34 Rich, Fur Trade and the Northwest, p. 38. In this study, the term dependence is defined as the condition of reliance on something or someone else for maintenance and support to ensure survival, implying subjection to control or domination by another. See Krech, Subarctic Fur Trade, p. 138.


36 Adams, Explorations of Radisson, p. 170.


41 Adams, Explorations of Radisson, p. 197.

42 Ibid.


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

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

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


59 Robson, Six Years Residence in Hudson’s Bay, pp. 49–50, 54.
61 Ibid., p. 39.
64 See Sahlin, Stone Age Economics, pp. 186–200, for a detailed discussion of the concept of “reciprocity.”
67 Ibid., p. 79.
68 Hudson’s Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg (hereinafter cited HBCA), York Factory Journal, B.239/a/46, fol. 37; see also Rich and Johnson, Letters Outward, p. 7.
69 HBCA. York Factory Journal B.239/a/68, fol. 43.
73 HBCA. Andrew Graham’s Observations on Hudson’s Bay . . . E.2/4, fol. 35.
74 Ibid., fol. 36.
75 Ibid., fol. 58.
76 Ibid., fol. 38.
77 Ibid., fol. 46; HBCA. York Factory Journal B.239/a/59, fol. 114.
78 HBCA. Graham’s Observations E.2/4, fol. 53; Davies and Johnson, Letters from Hudson Bay, p. xxix.

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

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

Ibid., fol. 56–57.

Ibid., fol. 58.


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

Ibid., fol. 13.


Ibid., pp. 241, 254; HBCA. York Factory Journal B.239/a/45; B.239/a/46, fol. 37;


Quoted in Ray and Freeman, “Give Us Good Measure,” p. 44.

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


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


100 HBCA. York Factory Journal B.239/a/63, fol. 4–24 passim.
101 Ibid., fol. 19.
102 HBCA. York Factory Journal B.239/a/66, fol. 53.
103 HBCA. York Factory Journal B.239/a/60, fol. 40A.
107 HBCA. York Factory Journal B.239/a/64, fol. 4–5, 7, 9 passim.
108 Ibid., fol. 15.
112 Unfortunately, the published version most widely available (in the 1908 Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada) happens to have been a copy bowdlerized by Graham, according to Rich, Fur Trade and the Northwest, pp. 144–45; cf. HBCA. York Factory Journal B.239/a/69, fol. 12, 36, 46.
113 Ibid., fol. 42, 43, 47.
114 Ibid., fol. 52.
115 Ibid., fol. 12.
116 Ibid., fol. 36
117 Ibid., fol. 36, 44, 53.
118 Ibid., fol. 12, 48, 52.
119 Ibid., fol. 5, 11, 48.
120 Ibid., fol. 9; cf. K. Pettipas, “Ethnographic Account of the Northern Cree,” pp. 36, 40.
121 HBCA. York Factory Journal B.239/a/69, fol. 9, 46–47.
122 Ibid., fol. 11.
123 Ibid., fol. 53.
125 HBCA. York Factory Journal B.239/a/68, fol. 43; B.239/a/65, fol. 41.
CHAPTER 2

1 Kelsey, _Kelsey Papers_, pp. 192–03; Davies and Johnson, _Letters From Hudson Bay_, p. 98; Graham, _Graham’s Observations_, pp. 318–19. Here again, misconceptions have been perpetuated through the use by Gilman, in _Where Two Worlds Meet_, p. 53, of the ubiquitous, but inaccurate, illustration showing Indians crowding in front of a counter in the manner of a modern retail setting. Cf. Ewers, “Fact and Fiction in the Documentary Art of the American West.”

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


5 Van den Berghe, _Ethnic Phenomenon_, p. 18.

6 Linton, _Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes_, p. 495.

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


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


26 HBCA. Graham’s Observations. E.2/4, fol. 50-51.
28 Gilman, Where Two Worlds Meet, p. 22; Bishop, Northern Ojibwa and the Fur Trade, p. 190; Linton, Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes, pp. 480–81.
29 Bishop, “Adaptive Changes Among the Western James Bay Cree,” p. 42.
33 Directed culture change is here defined as the efforts of a dominant group to deliberately select certain elements of its culture for imposition on a subordinate group which in turn has no choice in selection of, nor means of integrating, the new elements. See Linton, Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes, p. 505. Cf. Van Kirk, “Many Tender Ties,” p. 9; Brown, Strangers in Blood, p. xii.
35 For a discussion of the “inelastic demand” characteristic, see Ray and Freeman, “Give Us Good Measure,” p. 162. For evidence of the Cree being middlemen as opposed to trappers, see HBCA. Graham’s Observations E.2/4, fol. 52; York Factory Journal B.239/a/64:15. For an opposing view, see Cox, “Indian Middlemen and the Early Fur Trade.”
40 HBCA. York Factory Journal B.239/a/60, fol. 45.
41 Hood, *To the Arctic by Canoe*, p. 195.
47 HBCA. York Factory Journal B.239/a/64, fol. 14, 18, 20; B.239/a/58, fol. 12, 13, 31.
52 Rich and Johnson, *Hudson’s Bay Company Copy Booke*, p. 61. “Coat beaver” was the result of Indians wearing the pelt for clothing, a process which wore away the long guard hairs of the pelt, thus making felt production simpler.
60 See note 34, chapter 1.
62 HBCA. Graham’s Observations E2/4, fol. 44.
63 Innis, *Fur Trade in Canada*, pp. 143, 153; Parker, “Fur Trade and the Chipewyan Indians,” p. 44.


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


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

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


CHAPTER 3

3 Tyrrell, Journals of Hearne and Turnor, pp. 104-05, 111, 113, 117.
4 Alexander Henry, Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories Between the Years 1760 and 1766 (Rutland, Ut.: Charles E. Tuttle), p. 260.
7 Glover, “The Difficulties of the Hudson’s Bay Company’s Penetration of the West,” p. 245; see also Goldring, Papers on the Labour System; and Thistle, “Indian Trader Relations,” pp. 67-70.
8 Tyrrell, Journals of Hearne and Turnor, pp. 106.
9 Ibid., pp. 32, 120; Rich, Fur Trade and the Northwest, p. 151.
10 Rich and Johnson, Cumberland House Journals, First Series, pp. 5-6.
11 Tyrrell, Journals of Hearne and Turnor, p. 160.
12 Ibid., p. 250; HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/3-5, fol. 9; B.49/a/18, fol. 10; Umfreville, Present State of Hudson’s Bay, p. 36.
15 Ibid., p. 118.
16 Ibid., pp. 145, 150, 152, 157.
18 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/13, fol. 56; B.49/a/20, fol. 60, 63; B.49/a/35, fol. 77-78; B.49/a/44, fol. 3-6; B.49/a/45, fol. 2.
20 Tyrrell, Journals of Hearne and Turnor, pp. 97, 115, 116. The term starvation cannot always be taken literally, since it referred to all degrees of hunger from the necessity of relying on non-favoured foods to a complete lack of sustenance over an extended period, according to Morantz, “Impact of the Fur Trade,” p. 80. For example, in 1776, Cocking uses the phrase, “He pretends that they have been almost starved for want of food” (emphasis added). The traders sometimes suspected that claims of “starvation” were used as part of Indian trading rhetoric as an excuse for doing other than what the trader wished them to do (e.g. HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/4, fol. 25; B.49/a/47, fol. 18). For another qualifier on this term based on its use to gloss over the additional amount of food being provided to the traders’ Indian wives and offspring, see Carol M.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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


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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

38 E.g. Ibid., fol. 11–12.

39 Ibid., fol. 32.

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


43 See HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/40, fol. 9, 10; B.49/a/49, fol. 25–27, 35; Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade*, pp. 188–90.
46 HBCA. York Factory Journal B.239/a/58, fol. 8, 14.
48 Ibid., p. 323; HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/24, fol. 13; B.49/a/26, fol. 33.
49 Franklin, *Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea*, pp. 170–71. This observation is confirmed by Hood, *To the Arctic by Canoe*, p. 49.
50 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/43, fol. 11; B.49/a/15, fol. 60; B.49/a/32b, fol. 11; B.49/a/41, fol. 31.
52 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/20, fol. 6; see also B.49/a/13, fol. 10, 52; B.49/a/4, fol. 15, 35; B.49/a/21, fol. 38.
53 E.g. HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/20, fol. 15; B.49/a/24, fol. 15.
54 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/14, fol. 19, 20; B.49/a/13, fol. 24, 62.
55 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/14, fol. 24, 63.
56 This term may in fact refer to the Swampy Cree; see p. 69, n.71, 71 this volume.
57 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/14, fol. 25.
58 Ibid., fol. 32; B.49/a/4, fol. 29; B.49/a/6, fol. 16, 36, 41; B.49/a/17, fol. 10; B.49/a/25b, fol. 6.
59 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/25a, fol. 14; B.49/a/16, fol. 3, 9; B.49/a/20, 28.
60 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/20, fol. 46
61 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/21, fol. 52.
63 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/4, fol. 51.
64 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/17, fol. 25–25.
67 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/24, fol. 12, 13, 16; B.49/a/25a, fol. 19, 20.
68 Trading “en dérouine” was the process of carrying trade goods directly to the Indians and making the exchanges right in their camps rather than waiting for the trappers to bring their furs to the trading posts.

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

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


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

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

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

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


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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

87 Ibid., fol. 5.

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

89 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/27b, fol. 4–5.
90 Ibid.
91 E.g. HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/7, fol. 52–53.
92 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/31, fol. 20–21; see also B.49/a/32a, fol. 10; B.49/a/35a, fol. 5.
93 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/32a, fol. 9.
94 Ibid., fol. 42; see also B.49/a/30, fol. 10, 14; B.49/a/32b, fol. 13, 14; Coues, New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest, p. 476.
95 Franklin, Narrative of a Journey to the Shore of the Polar Sea, p. 56; see also Hood, To the Arctic by Canoe, p. 46; HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/35, fol. 44; B.49/a/36, fol. 31; cf. B.49/a/27a, fol. 9, 18; B.49/a/32a, fol. 6.
97 HBCA. Cumberland District Report B.49/e/1, fol. 6.
103 Ibid., p. 476; HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/32a, fol. 12; B.49/a/34, fol. 30; B.49/a/36, fol. 2, 20, 36.
104 Franklin, Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea, pp. 51, 69.
105 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/34, fol. 3, 11; B.49/a/35, fol. 69.
107 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/35, fol. 15, 19, 21, 25, 28.
108 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/31, fol. 4; B.49/a/36, fol. 11; B.49/a/30, fol. 13; B.49/a/32a, fol. 39.
109 Hood, To the Arctic by Canoe, pp. 85–86; HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/27a, fol. 18; B.49/a/29, fol. 17; B.49/a/35, fol. 73; B.49/a/36, fol. 29.
110 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/36, fol. 11; B.49/a/35, fol. 3.
111 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/32b, fol. 11, 12; B.49/a/34, fol. 22.
112 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/34, fol. 18, 22, 24; Cumberland District Report B.49/e/2, fol. 3.


CHAPTER 4

1 E.g. HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/40, fol. 15, 40; B.49/a/51, fol. 21; cf. B.49/a/42, fol. 15.

2 McLean, John McLean’s Notes, p. 134; Franklin, Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea, p. 56; HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/38, fol. 21, 67, 70; B.49/a/39, fol. 42; B.49/a/50, fol. 32.

3 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/42, fol. 35; B.49/a/47, fol. 4; B.49/a/49, fol. 9, 10; B.49/a/27, fol. 31; B.49/a/42, fol. 1, 47.

4 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/42, fol. 50.

5 E.g. HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/37, fol. 22; B.49/a/42, fol. 24, 25, 27; B.49/a/51, fol. 23, 27, 29.

6 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/43, fol. 28, 45; see also fol. 5, 11, 14, 41. Use of the term The Paw or The Pas in company parlance begins in 1821 and became quite common by the end of that decade.

7 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/50, fol. 34; B.49/a/44, fol. 43.

8 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/47, fol. 18.

9 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/53, fol. 1; B.49/a/44, fol. 22a; B.49/a/43, fol. 42–43; Graham, Graham’s Observations, pp. 319–20; HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/43, fol. 38; HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/49, fol. 12; Report From the Committee Appointed to Inquire into the State and Condition of the Countries Adjoining to Hudson’s Bay E.18/3, fol. 54.

10 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/39, fol. 36; see also B.49/a/40, fol. 48; B.49/a/41, fol. 7.

11 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/45, fol. 21, 37, 44; B.49/a/39, fol. 36; B.49/a/47, fol. 9.

12 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/38, fol. 29.

13 E.g. HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/40, fol. 43; B.49/a/43, fol. 17.

14 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/41, fol. 44; see also B.49/a/43, fol. 17; B.49/a/44, fol. 28, 44.

15 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/42, fol. 38.

16 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/40, fol. 33.


19 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/43, fol. 37; see also McLean, John McLean’s Notes, pp. 195–96, 261; Sheehan, Savagism and Civility, pp. 108–09.
21 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/39, fol. 2; cf. B.49/a/39, fol. 44.
22 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/43, fol. 22; see also B.49/a/47, fol. 10, 38, 49.
23 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/43, fol. 49.
24 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/43, fol. 17, 22; B.49/a/42, fol. 43; B.49/a/38, fol. 16, 69.
25 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/41, fol. 9.
27 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/43, fol. 14; see also B.49/a/42, fol. 48.
28 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/43, fol. 18; B.49/a/48, fol. 21.
30 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/42, fol. 14; see also B.49/a/43, fol. 11.
32 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/40, fol. 3.
33 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/38, fol. 29, 42, 52, 55; B.49/a/43, fol. 23.
34 Hood, *To the Arctic by Canoe*, pp. 85–88; HBCA Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/37, fol. 21; B.49/a/38, fol. 42, 52, 55; B.49/a/39, fol. 25; B.49/a/51, fol. 26, 28.
35 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/41, fol. 27, 30; B.49/a/42, fol. 29; B.49/a/51, fol. 35; B.49/a/49, fol. 8; B.49/a/50, fol. 5–6; Cumberland House Correspondence B.49/b/3, fol. 2.
36 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/39, fol. 24, 25, 26; B.49/a/40, fol. 36.
37 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/49, fol. 14–15, 36; Cumberland House Correspondence, B.49/b/3, fol. 2.
38 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/49, fol. 37.
39 HBCA. Report from the Committee to Inquire into the State of the Countries Adjoining Hudson’s Bay E.18/3, fol. 54; Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/43, fol. 48.
40 Helm, Rogers and Smith, “Intercultural Relations and Cultural Change,” p. 151; HBCA Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/42, fol. 41; B.49/a/43, fol. 49.
41 HBCA. Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/42, fol. 37; see also B.49/a/47, fol. 11.
42 Joseph Constant, a French-Canadian who arrived around 1800, assumed authority over a large family at The Pas. The Constants were evidently quite active entrepreneurs, having interests not only in trapping, but in such enterprises as tripping, guiding, farming, and salt production. Their horse-trading activities, seed-potato exchanges and livestock-breeding operation formed only a part of their significant relationship with the HBC at Cumberland House.
In the 1830s the company began to suspect the Freemen at The Pas of engaging in their own trade with the Indians and this somewhat soured the relationship (see McLean, *John McLean Notes*, pp. 133 ff.; HBCA. Cumberland House Correspondence B.49/b/3, fol. 17, 26).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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