

**University of Alberta**

Re-Conceptualizing the Traditional Economy:  
Indigenous Peoples' Participation in the Nineteenth Century  
Fur Trade in Canada and Whaling Industry in New Zealand

by

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Comparative Indigenous Economic History

Department of Rural Economy and the Faculty of Native Studies

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Spring 2011

Edmonton, Alberta

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# **Re-Conceptualizing the Traditional Economy: Indigenous Peoples' Participation in the Nineteenth Century Fur Trade in Canada and Whaling Industry in New Zealand**

## **Abstract**

Contemporary resource use on Indigenous lands is not often well understood by the general public. In particular, there is a perception that “traditional” and commercial resource use are mutually exclusive, and therefore there is often an assumption that Indigenous communities are abandoning their traditional economy when they participate in the commercial sector of the larger regional economy. This perceived tension between traditional and commercial resource use is caused in part by a limited understanding of the participation of Indigenous peoples in commercial industries historically and the subsequent process of the commercialization of some aspects of Indigenous peoples' pre-contact economies.

This dissertation examines the seasonal cycle of activities and the patterns of consumption and production of the Indigenous peoples who participated in the fur trade at Ile a la Crosse in northwestern Saskatchewan and the whaling industry at the Otakou shore station in southern New Zealand. A systematic analysis of the daily journals and accounting records kept by company employees in these two regions demonstrate that participation in these industries allowed the Indigenous economies to be transformed from pre-contact times. While this participation did not completely subsume the Indigenous economies, the changes that were made created a need for the Indigenous people to continue accessing the European-style goods that had been incorporated into their livelihoods, a need that was exacerbated as local resources declined as a result of over-use.

Thus, there is a need to re-conceptualize what is generally thought of as the “traditional economy.” The traditional economy in contemporary Indigenous communities is often perceived as an Indigenous approach to resource use that

has changed little, except perhaps in the technology used, from pre-contact times. This dissertation, however, clearly demonstrates that participation in commercial industries historically encouraged the adaptation of Indigenous economies in response to changing opportunities and circumstances. It becomes clear then that the so-called “traditional economy” of today, is an Indigenous economy that has already been shaped and influenced by participation in historical commercial economies. Understanding the adaptability of Indigenous economies has important implications for economic development initiatives in Indigenous communities today.

## Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisory committee – Frank Tough, Naomi Krogman and Jane Samson – for their insightful comments, support, and overall assistance in the completion of this dissertation.

I am grateful for the assistance of the staff and archivists at the Hocken Library in Dunedin, New Zealand, the Mitchell Library in Sydney, Australia and the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington, New Zealand. Their knowledge and friendly assistance allowed me to navigate the archives efficiently and effectively, and made my time in New Zealand and Australia thoroughly enjoyable. I long to return to these countries and spend more time exploring.

The research for this dissertation, particularly the tedious data entry of the Hudson's Bay Company Indian ledgers, would not have been possible without the support and assistance of many of the staff and student researchers working at the Métis Archival Project. In particular, I would like to thank Magdalena Jordan, Maria Peeters, Christine Martin and Kaylee Linden for their assistance in data entry and verification. Without their help, this research would have taken even longer. However, the support and assistance of Meika Taylor, Darlene Bouvier, Shane Nightingale, Kirsten Lindquist, Katy Dimmer and all of the others was much appreciated as well.

I would not have survived the process of data entry, verification, cleaning, coding, analyzing and writing without the support, encouragement and friendship of everyone in the PhD support group. I owe a debt of gratitude to you all – Emily Snyder, Val Napoleon, Shalene Jobin, Tracy Bear-Coon, Hadley Friedland, Sarah Hamill, Val Knaga, Jessica Kolopenuk and JD Cruikshanks – as you kept me going when I thought I might go mad.

The insightful comments on my Findings chapter by the Research Group on Indigenous Politics and Theory (Val Napoleon, Isabel Altamirano-Jimenez, Robert Nichols, Jodi Stonehouse and Emily Snyder) was greatly appreciated. The summary of my results and trying to explain what all of the analysis actually meant is much stronger and clearer as a result of your comments and questions.

Finally, none of this would have been possible without the love and support of numerous family and friends, both those in Canada and those in New Zealand: Stan, Lorraine and Mike Parker, of course, but also Emily Snyder, Erin McGregor, Meika Taylor, Nathalie Kermoal, Darlene Bouvier, Nalani Wilson, David Haines, and others too numerous to mention.

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## **Chapter 1: Introduction – The Traditional Economy in Indigenous Communities**

Contemporary resource use and management on Indigenous lands is not often well understood by the general public. In particular, there is a common perception that “traditional” and commercial resource use are incompatible and mutually exclusive, and therefore there is often an assumption that Indigenous communities are abandoning their “traditional economy” when they express desire to participate in the commercial sector of the larger regional economy.<sup>1</sup> This perceived tension between traditional and commercial resource use is caused in part by a limited understanding of the participation of Indigenous peoples in commercial industries historically and the subsequent process of the commercialization of some aspects of Indigenous peoples’ pre-contact economies. In some cases, such as in the Canadian fur trade, this process began as early as the seventeenth century. The limited understanding of how Indigenous peoples’ participation in historical commercial industries affected their pre-contact economies has led to a general acceptance of the idea of a dual economy in contemporary Indigenous communities that has in turn influenced economic development models proposed for these communities.

The dual economy model suggests that Indigenous communities participate in both “traditional” sectors (predominantly seen as subsistence use of natural resources throughout their traditional territories) and modern sectors (predominantly seen as wage labour and government transfer payments) of the regional economy. Although there is recognition that participation in the modern sectors can assist in participation in the traditional sectors (by providing cash to purchase necessary

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<sup>1</sup> The concept of the “traditional economy” is often perceived as an Indigenous approach to resource use that has changed little, except perhaps in the technology used, from pre-contact times. This perception of the traditional economy is problematic and will be discussed in greater detail later.



technology and supplies), there is an assumption that there are few links between the traditional and modern sectors. Moreover, there is an assumption that participation in the modern sector is viewed as desirable by Indigenous peoples and that participation in the traditional sector is used to support individuals and their families until they can move more fully into the modern sector. Economic development schemes, then, tend to focus on job creation, education, and skill development.<sup>2</sup>

Although accepted by many government organizations and agencies, some Aboriginal organizations, and some academics in Canada, the dual economy model lacks an appreciation of the historical processes that shaped the contemporary situation and does not adequately address the linkages between sectors in the economy and the societal structures that Indigenous communities face. Many

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<sup>2</sup> Peter Douglas Elias, "Models of aboriginal communities in Canada's north," *International Journal of Social Economics* Vol. 24, no. 11 (1997), 1244-1245. A number of authors have written case studies about northern Canadian Indigenous communities using this theoretical model; see for example, Michael Asch, "The Dene Economy," in *Dene Nation: the colony within*, ed. Mel Watkins (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), 47-61; Peter J. George and Richard J. Preston, "'Going in Between': The Impact of European Technology on the Work Patterns of the West Main Cree of Northern Ontario," *The Journal of Economic History* Vol. 47, no. 2 (1987) 447-460; Jack C. Stabler, "Dualism and Development in the Northwest Territories," *Economic Development and Cultural Change* Vol. 37, no. 4 (1989), 805-839. Even articles that do not explicitly assume a dual economy approach still advocate job creation and participation in the global economy using Indigenous values as the best approach for economic development in Indigenous communities in Canada; see for example, Robert B. Anderson and Robert J. Giberson, "Aboriginal Entrepreneurship and Economic Development in Canada: Thoughts on Current Theory and Practice," *International Research in the Business Disciplines* Vol. 4 (2004) 141-167. Similar approaches can be seen in New Zealand literature concerning Maori economic development; see for example, Howard H. Frederick and Ella Henry, "Innovation and Entrepreneurship Amongst Pakeha and Maori in New Zealand," *International Research in the Business Disciplines* Vol. 4 (2004) 115-140; John Whitehead and Barbara Annesley, *The Context for Maori Economic Development, A background paper for the 2005 Hui Taumata* (Wellington: New Zealand Treasury, 2005); Pyar Ali Memon and Ross Cullen, "Fishery Policies and their Impact on the New Zealand Maori," *Marine Resource Economics* Vol. 7 (1992) 153-167; Frank Scrimgeour and Catherine Iremonger, "Maori Sustainable Economic Development in New Zealand: Indigenous Practices for the Quadruple Bottom Line," paper presented at AARES – 48<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference of the Australian Agricultural and Resource Economics Society, Melbourne, Australia, 10-13 February 2004 (available on-line at: <http://wms-soros.mngt.waikato.ac.nz/NR/rdonlyres/ey2hdf2xv2drol33nprno2nobuuxdjklaozylq3k5zrronxr7rz2r4yn5p3lzdxf322gshyjuccpas2qtip7xuamahd/Maori+Sustainable+Economic+Development+in+New+Zealand.pdf>).

academics, although fewer government organizations and agencies, use the political economy model to explain contemporary Indigenous economies. This model focuses on the underdevelopment of Indigenous communities that has resulted from the processes of class capitalism and the interactions of the core and the periphery in the larger global economy. Economic development strategies that use this model as the basis focus on self-government and the ability of Indigenous communities to regain control over natural resources in their territory.<sup>3</sup> While this model has a much stronger understanding of the larger regional, national and global processes at play in the economy, both historical and contemporary, it does not always address specifically the details and the intricacies of local economies and the interplay of traditional and modern sectors of local economies.

Perhaps a more useful model for understanding contemporary Indigenous economies that can account for historical processes, change over time and the connections between the core and periphery is what some have called the mixed economy model. While similar to the dual economy model in that it recognizes both traditional and modern sectors, the mixed economy model does not view the modern sector as more desirable or superior and, even more importantly, attempts to account for the connections and links between the traditional and modern sectors. Specifically, the mixed economy model strives to understand all components of the local economy – domestic production (what the dual economy model labels the traditional sector), commodity production, employment, business enterprise, and

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<sup>3</sup> Elias, "Models of aboriginal communities," 1246-1248. For some examples of the use of the political economy model in economic development schemes see, J. Goodman-Draper, "The development of underdevelopment at Akwesasne: cultural and economic subversion," *American Journal of Economics and Society* Vol. 53, no. 1 (1994), 41-56; J. Loxley, "Manitoba: the dynamics of North-South relationships," in *Developing America's Northern Frontier*, ed. T. Lane (Lanham: University Press of America, 1987), 63-89; M. Watkins, "As equal partners: recognizing aboriginal rights to self-determination," *This Magazine* Vol. 24, no. 3 (1990), 26-28.

government transfer payments – and how all of these components work together and support each other. Development projects based on this model generally focus on the importance of land and resources to both subsistence and commercial use, and try to find ways to support both sustainably.<sup>4</sup>

Usher, Duhaime and Searles provided a particularly clear description of this mixed economy model and how it functions in contemporary arctic Indigenous communities in Canada.<sup>5</sup> As the authors explained, while policy-makers and social scientists assumed that the “traditional economy” of northern Indigenous communities would slowly die out and Indigenous peoples would move into the modern economy after World War II (the dual economy model described previously), what instead persisted in these Indigenous communities was a mixed, subsistence-based economy that integrated both the market and the subsistence sectors of the regional economy. Moreover, this mixed, subsistence-based economy persists even today. While the dual economy model assumes that northern Indigenous communities are divided between individuals who already have a secure position in the modern, wage labour economy and those who continue practicing the traditional economy while waiting for a place in the modern economy, Usher, Duhaime and

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4 Elias, “Models of aboriginal communities,” 1248-1249. For some examples of studies using the mixed economy model, see B.A. Cox, “Prospects for the northern native economy,” *Polar Record* Vol. 22, no. 139 (1985), 393-400; K.D. Feldman, “Subsistence beluga whale hunting in Alaska: a view from Eschsholtz Bay,” in *Contemporary Alaskan Native Economies*, ed. S.J. Langdon (Lanham: University Press of America, 1986), 153-172; M. Nowak, “Sea mammals in a mixed economy: a southwestern Alaska case,” *Arctic Anthropology* Vol. 25, no. 2 (1988), 44-51; J.S. Petterson, “Subsistence continuity and economic abundance in the north,” in *Developing America’s Northern Frontier*, ed. T. Lane (Lanham: University Press of America, 1987), 91-106; D.P. Ross and P.J. Usher, *From the Roots Up: Economic Development as if Community Mattered* (Croton-on-Hudson, New York: The Bootstrap Press, 1986); E.A. Smith, *Inujjuamiut Foraging Strategies: Evolutionary Ecology of an Arctic Hunting Economy* (Hawthorne, NY: Aldine de Gruyter, 1991); Robert J. Wolfe and Robert J. Walker, “Subsistence Economies in Alaska: Productivity, Geography, and Development Impacts,” *Arctic Anthropology* Vol. 24, no. 2 (1987), 56-81.

5 Peter J. Usher, Gérard Duhaime and Edmund Searles, “The Household as an Economic Unit in Arctic Aboriginal Communities, and its Measurement by Means of a Comprehensive Survey,” *Social Indicators Research* Vol. 61, no. 2 (2003), 175-202.

Searles instead demonstrated that the subsistence and market spheres of the regional economy are actually integrated at the level of the household, and not divided at the community level. The household acts as the unit of production and consumption, unlike industrial economies where it is usually the firms that produce while the households consume.<sup>6</sup>

Understood in this way, it is clear that the “traditional” or subsistence sector does not exist separately from the market sector. Instead, these sectors are combined at the individual, household and village level, and “people move between subsistence and market activities, depending on opportunities and preference.”<sup>7</sup> As long as harvesting activities are not disrupted, wage employment will not displace harvesting allowing people a greater choice in activities and diet. The economic and social relationships between households are guided by kinship principles, which in turn influence concepts of property, tenure and resource control. The importance of kinship in these mixed, subsistence-based economies is one of the key factors that distinguish them from market-based economies.<sup>8</sup> Thus, instead of being individually oriented like most market-based economies, mixed, subsistence-based economies are oriented toward system maintenance; as Usher, Duhaime and Searles explain, “Security and well-being are achieved through cooperative production, wide distribution, and mutual aid, each organized by kinship.”<sup>9</sup>

What is clear in this model is that the modern economy in northern Indigenous communities is not a combination of traditional and modern sectors that are tenuously linked, and forces individuals to choose between them, as the dual

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6 Usher, Duhaime and Searles, “Household as an Economic Unit,” 176-177.

7 Usher, Duhaime and Searles, “Household as an Economic Unit,” 177.

8 Usher, Duhaime and Searles, “Household as an Economic Unit,” 178-179.

9 Usher, Duhaime and Searles, “Household as an Economic Unit,” 179.

economy model proposes. Instead, the modern economy is a mixed, subsistence-based economy that has distinctive features that are “neither ‘traditionally’ aboriginal nor like those prevailing in adjacent non-aboriginal communities.”<sup>10</sup> Part of the importance of this model is that it allows for an historical perspective to understand how the modern mixed, subsistence-based economy came to be, and perhaps more importantly, it reflects that what is often considered the “traditional” economy is an Indigenous economy that has already been modified from pre-contact times.

The purpose of this dissertation is to examine, through a comparative case study, the influence of participation in historical resource extraction industries (in this case, the fur trade and the whaling industry) on the Indigenous economy, and how this participation altered the Indigenous economy in order to allow Indigenous peoples to take advantage of changing circumstances and opportunities. Through an analysis of the seasonal cycles of activities and the patterns of consumption and production of Indigenous peoples participating in these industries in the nineteenth century, an understanding of at least some of the changes that were made to the Indigenous economies can be appreciated. A comparative study of two different colonies in the British Empire, Canada and New Zealand, allows for a more comprehensive understanding of the influences of participation in resource extraction industries on Indigenous economies by allowing for an analysis of the similarities and differences in the experiences of the Indigenous peoples in these colonies.

The dissertation begins with a literature review that reveals the gaps in the existing fur trade and whaling industry literature, in particular focusing on

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<sup>10</sup> Usher, Duhaime and Searles, “Household as an Economic Unit,” 177.

the limited economic analyses of these industries that focus on the impact of the industries on Indigenous economies. After a discussion of the methodological approach to the research undertaken for the dissertation, a general context of the fur trade and whaling industry is provided, followed by a more detailed and specific context of the fur trade as conducted at the Hudson's Bay Company's Ile a la Crosse post in northern Saskatchewan and the whaling industry as conducted at the Otakou whaling station in southern New Zealand. The seasonal cycle of activities at Ile a la Crosse and Otakou are then analyzed over time, followed by an analysis of the patterns of consumption and production at Ile a la Crosse and Otakou over time. Finally, the findings and results of the analysis are presented, and a discussion of how this dissertation contributes to a more nuanced understanding of the traditional economy, colonization and dispossession concludes the dissertation.

In particular, the research for this dissertation calls into question the commonly-held idea that the so-called "traditional economy" that exists in contemporary Indigenous communities is a vestige of a pre-contact economy. Instead, this research suggests that even by the nineteenth century, the Indigenous economy had been transformed by participation in resource extraction industries (the fur trade or the whaling industry). Thus, an understanding of contemporary Indigenous economies as mixed, subsistence-based economies (such as that presented by Usher, Duhaime and Searles) more accurately reflects historical processes in Canada and New Zealand. How Indigenous economies are understood today has serious implications for the direction of economic development in these communities. The continued acceptance of the dual economy model by government and industry, and the underlying assumptions that the "traditional economy"

remains separate from the regional economy and that the “traditional economy” will eventually give way to the market sector, has not only placed the focus of economic development on job creation, education and training, it has influenced the government’s approach to Indigenous rights and policies.

In Canada specifically, the lack of appreciation of the effect of the fur trade on Indigenous peoples’ economies, resource use and resource management has resulted in a limited understanding of subsequent Indian policy. Ray has convincingly demonstrated how the structure of the fur trade under the Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC) laid the groundwork for the development of the modern welfare system in the Canadian north,<sup>11</sup> and Tough has suggested that because treaty rights sustained a fur-producing Indigenous population for the HBC, “an empirical and conceptual reconstruction of the nature of the economic relations between traders and Natives is a vital context for understanding the meaning of Treaty and Aboriginal rights.”<sup>12</sup>

Moreover, the persistence of the dual economy model has influenced current trends in resource development in both Canada and New Zealand. For example, it is commonly perceived that Indigenous peoples must choose between engaging in traditional activities or in resource extraction on their lands as a result of the inflexible production schedules of resource industries and environmental impacts of resource development; thus, there is a perception that traditional land use and resource development is incompatible and mutually exclusive.<sup>13</sup> Legal concepts,

11 Arthur J. Ray, *The Canadian Fur Trade in the Industrial Age* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 30-49, 199-221; Arthur J. Ray, “Periodic Shortages, Native Welfare, and the Hudson’s Bay Company 1670-1930,” in *The Subarctic Fur Trade: Native Social and Economic Advantages*, ed. Shepard Krech III (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1984), 1-20.

12 Frank Tough, “From the ‘Original Affluent Society’ to the ‘Unjust Society’: A Review Essay on Native Economic History in Canada,” *Journal of Aboriginal Economic Development* Vol. 4, no. 2 (2005), 40.

13 F. McShane and L. Danielson, “The Mining Minerals and Sustainable Development Project and Indigenous Peoples,” *Cultural Survival Quarterly* Vol. 25, no. 1 (2001), 46-47. There are some authors, however, that challenge this view, arguing that Indigenous values can be incorporated

such as the duty to consult, have developed to protect lands and resources that are important to Indigenous communities in Canada, and this protection has led to the general acceptance of traditional land use (TLU) and harvest studies as a standardized means to identify and address potential negative impacts of resource development on the so-called “traditional economy” and on Indigenous lands. While TLU and harvest studies can be an effective way to identify visually and quantitatively the continued importance of the subsistence sector in many Indigenous communities, David Natcher has identified a number of problems with TLU studies, including the financial and technical constraints faced by Indigenous communities trying to conduct these studies, the lack of historical and cultural context of TLU maps, and the continued acceptance of conventional, non-Indigenous land use planning and resource management models.<sup>14</sup> TLU and harvest studies generally over-emphasize the work of men (particularly hunting, fishing and trapping), identify only subsistence-based activities as meaningful, do not generally appreciate the historical, cultural and spiritual context of land and resource use, and equate Indigenous rights to the use and occupancy of land and resources.

This dissertation provides historical depth and context to what is perceived as the traditional economy in contemporary Indigenous communities and challenges the assumption that nineteenth century Indigenous subsistence land use was separate from commercial land use. Using the mixed, subsistence-based economy model instead, it is clear that the subsistence and commercial uses of land and resources were closely linked and formed one, comprehensive economy, both in

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into resource development models. See for example, Anderson and Giberson, “Aboriginal Entrepreneurship,” 141-167; Frederick and Henry, “Innovation and Entrepreneurship,” 115-140; Memon and Cullen, “Fishery Policies,” 165-166.

<sup>14</sup> David C. Natcher, “Land use research and the duty to consult: a misrepresentation of the aboriginal landscape,” *Land Use Policy* Vol. 18 (2001), 116-119.



the nineteenth century as well as today. A better understanding of the historical processes that shaped contemporary Indigenous economies will allow for more appropriate economic and social programs to be developed, and perhaps will allow Indigenous communities to gain greater access to and control over natural resources in order to support economic development within their communities and traditional territories.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Usher, Duhaime and Searles, "Household as an Economic Unit," 175; M. Ross, *Aboriginal Peoples and Resource Development in Northern Alberta*, Canadian Institute of Resources Law Occasional Paper #12 (Calgary: Canadian Institute of Resources Law, 2003).

## **Chapter 2: Literature Review**

Despite the integral involvement of Indigenous peoples in both the fur trade in Canada and the whaling industry in New Zealand, limited attention has been paid to the extent to which these Indigenous peoples were involved in a commercial activity and the influence of that involvement on their pre-trade economy. Early literature on both industries focused predominantly on European activities, especially in the case of the whaling industry, virtually ignoring the role of Indigenous peoples. As more studies were completed, increasing attention was paid to Indigenous peoples (particularly in fur trade literature), although the focus was largely on the political, social and/or cultural influences of the industries on these peoples. There has remained, with a few important exceptions, a limited analysis of the fur trade or the whaling industry as economic systems, and a limited analysis of the economic motivations of Indigenous peoples in these industries. Furthermore, a focus on agency has led to debates about cultural understandings of Indigenous-European interactions and moved the discussion away from a more nuanced understanding of the role that participation in commercial industries played in the marginalization of Indigenous peoples and the dispossession of their land and natural resources. In part, the limited focus on the economic history of the fur trade and whaling industry and the impacts of these industries on the Indigenous peoples has been a result of a seeming unwillingness by many historians to use numerical data sources. Thus, despite fairly extensive literature on both the fur trade and the whaling industry, some important gaps in the literature remain. A more detailed examination of the existing literature will illustrate these gaps.

### **The Fur Trade and Whaling Industry as Economic History**

The fur trade was an important influence in the development of Canada. It rose to prominence as one of the initial economic activities pursued by both the French colony and the British colony. As agriculture and settlement eventually pushed west, the fur trade lost some of its importance in the southern regions, but it remained an important economic pursuit in the north well into the twentieth century. It is not surprising then that numerous scholars have turned their attention to the fur trade, and literature is relatively abundant. However, these scholars have approached the subject from a variety of perspectives and have chosen to focus on a few specific aspects of the trade, which has influenced the conclusions that each has drawn on the impact of the trade on the development of Canada and on Indigenous peoples. Despite the fur trade's importance in the early Canadian economy, few scholars have approached their analysis of the fur trade as economic histories, most choosing instead to approach the fur trade as social and/or political history.

Harold Innis was one of the earliest scholars to consider fur trade history and its impact on the development of Canada.<sup>1</sup> Innis approached the topic from a predominantly economic perspective, eventually developing a theory of staple production to explain the economic history of Canada and the role of the fur trade as one of the staple industries that helped to shape it. As Innis was mostly concerned with the economic development of Canada, the role that Indigenous peoples played in the fur trade became a secondary focus, which was not uncommon for much of the early work on this industry. Innis did recognize that the fur trade constituted a history of contact between the Indigenous peoples and the Europeans, but he

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<sup>1</sup> Harold A. Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History*, rev. ed. with a new introductory essay by Arthur J. Ray (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999, original 1956).

suggested that the trade introduced improved technology that made the lives of the Indigenous peoples easier but eventually led to the destruction of the fur resources and Indigenous culture.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, he did concede that the Europeans were also dependent upon several Indigenous technologies, including the birch bark canoe, essential to the interior trade, and Indigenous food procurement methods, most importantly buffalo hunting.<sup>3</sup>

One of the most important contributions that Innis made to the study of the fur trade was his analysis of how mercantile capital played a crucial role in the structure of the fur trade and the development of the North American colonies. Beginning with the French fur trade, Innis described New France as centralized politically and economically under a paternalistic relationship with Old France. This structure was dictated by the fur trade which required labour and capital to be expended on exporting raw materials and not on creating local manufacturing capabilities. Thus, the colonies could supply ample amounts of raw material without developing manufacturing industries that would compete with those already established in Europe.<sup>4</sup>

Although Innis' early study contributed significantly to an understanding of the fur trade economy in Canada, as well as the colonies' relationships to mother countries in Europe through this economy, his study has done more to advance the staple theory as a means of approaching the economic development of Canada and other former colonies reliant on the export of raw materials than it has as a means of approaching the fur trade.<sup>5</sup> Additionally, the approach that Innis took in his major

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2 Innis, *Fur Trade in Canada*, 388-389.

3 Innis, *Fur Trade in Canada*, 389.

4 Innis, *Fur Trade in Canada*, 391-392.

5 Not all scholars have agreed with Innis, and in particular W.J. Eccles critiqued Innis' conclusion about the importance of the fur trade in North American and European history. W.J. Eccles, "A

study did not emphasize the role of Indigenous peoples in the trade. Since Innis, other fur trade scholars have paid much more attention to the role of Indigenous peoples, even when still focusing on the economic aspects of the trade.

E.E. Rich, for example, examined both the role of the middlemen in shaping the development of the fur trade in western Canada and the influence of Indigenous trappers in the “overplus” trade developed by the HBC.<sup>6</sup> In terms of the middleman trade, Rich argued that the Indigenous peoples who acted as middlemen dictated, to a large extent, the expansion of the trading companies into Rupertsland. Moreover, he contrasted the manner in which the British and the French (and later the Northwest Company (NWC)) tried to solve the problem of the middleman trade. He argued that the British focused on trying to end hostilities between the Indigenous nations and negotiate safe passage of interior groups through Cree territory. The French and NWC, however, chose to bypass the middlemen and trade directly with other nations in their own territories. Thus, Rich argued that the HBC misunderstood the influential role of the middlemen in shaping the pattern of trade, and focused on their European rivals until forced to expand to the interior of the continent in the late 1700s.<sup>7</sup>

Rich further argued that the HBC’s focus on their European rivals created an inflexible trading system that the Company had to modify in order to continue

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Belated Review of Harold Adams Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada*,” *Canadian Historical Review* Vol. 60, no. 4 (1979), 419-441. However, both Grant and Ray disputed Eccles critique of Innis, arguing that Innis’ use of political economy, moving beyond the focus on profits and fur returns, was an important contribution to fur trade and Canadian economic history. Hugh M. Grant, “One Step Forward, Two Steps Back: Innis, Eccles, and the Canadian Fur Trade,” *Canadian Historical Review* Vol. 62, no. 3 (1981), 304-322; Arthur J. Ray, “Buying and Selling Hudson’s Bay Company Furs in the Eighteenth Century,” in *Explorations in Canadian Economic History: Essays in Honour of Irene M. Spry*, ed. Duncan Cameron (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1985), 105-115.

6 E.E. Rich, “Trade Habits and Economic Motivation Among the Indians of North America,” *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* Vol. 26, no. 1 (1960), 35-53.

7 Rich, “Trade Habits,” 36-40.

to remain competitive, which was accomplished through the creation of the “overplus” trade. While the Indigenous trappers insisted on the official standard of trade remaining constant, the HBC traders would short measure certain trade goods (e.g. powder, tobacco, cloth, brandy and paint) in order to build up a reserve from which they could give gifts to the Indigenous trappers at the time of trade. Although Rich recognized that the Indigenous peoples accepted this double standard of trade, he argued that they did not accept basic European economic values and understandings. For example, he argued that the Indigenous trappers would not think about the possibility of starvation in the coming winter and thus refused to trade for oatmeal, forcing the HBC to keep stores of oatmeal on hand to provide as rations to starving Indians during difficult winters. Rich also argued that contrary to European economic notions, the Indigenous trappers would only bring in enough furs to obtain what they needed for the upcoming year and thus when the price of fur increased, the number of pelts returned by the trappers decreased. As such, Rich concluded that it was these attitudes of the Indigenous trappers that allowed for the HBC’s trading monopoly to continue at a time when it was thought that monopoly should be avoided.<sup>8</sup>

By using mainstream economic theory, Rich was not able to account for the actions of the Indigenous trappers. Subsequently, however, other scholars have demonstrated that the fur trade was a much more complex economic system than Rich portrayed. In his 1974 study *Indians in the Fur Trade: their role as hunters, trappers and middlemen in the lands southwest of Hudson Bay 1660-1870*, Arthur Ray detailed the integral role of Indigenous peoples in the western fur trade. He demonstrated that the Indigenous trappers were shrewd consumers who not only

8 Rich, “Trade Habits,” 42-53.

influenced how the trade was conducted, but who also influenced the manufacture of European goods to meet the needs of a colder, drier environment.<sup>9</sup>

Unlike Rich, Ray's study showed that the Indigenous peoples' behaviour in the trade was indeed rational, and provided an alternative explanation for the double standard of trade and the overplus. According to Ray, the Indigenous trappers were reluctant to allow the HBC traders to change either the official standard of trade (the price assigned to trade goods) or the comparative standard of trade (the value assigned to the furs); therefore, the chief traders or factors had to employ their own standard of trade, the factor's or double standard. In some cases, the double standard involved raising the prices of goods over the official standard, but more often involved providing short measures on goods such as powder, cloth and beads. As the Indigenous trappers were already used to a barter system of trade, they accepted this double standard and used it to negotiate an acceptable trade. Through this system, the HBC was always able to take in a greater value of furs than the value of goods traded, resulting in the overplus. The overplus account, as Ray demonstrated, was re-invested in the trade and served to finance the gift-giving ceremonies that were conducted prior to the actual trading and which were required in order for trade to be conducted, at least in the early trade period.<sup>10</sup>

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9 Arthur J. Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade: their role as hunters, trappers and middlemen in the lands southwest of Hudson Bay 1660-1870* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), 51-93; Paul Thistle also documented the importance of Indigenous peoples in the fur trade in the Lower Saskatchewan River region and the dependence of the European traders on the participation of Indigenous peoples serving in a variety of roles, including provisioners, guides, interpreters and trappers. Paul C. Thistle, *Indian-European Trade Relations in the Lower Saskatchewan River Region to 1840* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1986).

10 Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade*, 61-69. Similarly, Frank Tough used HBC accounting data from various posts in northern Manitoba to demonstrate that Indigenous peoples did understand price and value concepts, and behaved in economically rational ways to improve their incomes by encouraging competition, taking advantage of differences between HBC posts and even moving to different territories when it was to their advantage. Frank Tough, "Indian economic behaviour, exchange and profits in northern Manitoba during the decline of monopoly, 1870-1930," *Journal of Historical Geography* Vol. 16, no. 4 (1990), 385-401.

Together with Donald Freeman, Ray analyzed the HBC's account books in order to document even more specifically some of the economic aspects of the trade. In so doing, they actually refuted some of the common beliefs that had previously been held about the fur trade. For example, they demonstrated that attempting to explain the actions of Indigenous peoples in the trade as politically motivated was generally inadequate to describe the data that they had uncovered in their quantitative analysis of the trade and suggested instead that Indigenous peoples' behaviour in the trade could be explained "economically." For example, when competition between the HBC and the NWC created better prices for furs, the "expected" behaviour (from a neoclassical point of view) was not observed; trappers did not bring in more furs, but instead brought in fewer furs. Rich, as mentioned previously, used this behaviour to highlight the differences between European and Indigenous behaviour.<sup>11</sup> Ray and Freeman argued, however, that this behaviour was actually not unexpected. The Indigenous trappers were not involved in the fur trade for the same reasons as the European traders; at least early in the trade, the trappers traded only to meet the needs of their families, not to make a profit. Therefore, the Indigenous peoples' behaviour in this circumstance was quite predictable. As the price of furs increased, fewer furs were needed to purchase the goods required by the trappers. Thus, the trappers could bring in fewer pelts (a backwards sloping supply curve).<sup>12</sup> Because of the importance of the participation

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11 Rich, "Trade Habits," 48-50.

12 Arthur J. Ray and Donald Freeman, *Give Us Good Measure: An Economic Analysis of Relations Between the Indians and the Hudson's Bay Company Before 1763* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), 218-228. Similarly, Ronald Trosper compared the supply curve of beaver to the supply curve of labour. The supply curve for labour, which is governed by the income effect, demonstrates that as income increases, the amount of work completed by an individual decreases. Considering that labour was required to harvest beaver, Trosper argued that it was not unexpected to find that as the price of beaver increased, the amount of labour expended by Indigenous trappers in procuring beaver, decreased. Ronald Trosper, "That Other Discipline: Economics and American Indian



of Indigenous peoples in the trade, the HBC adjusted its operating procedures to accommodate the barter system and the needs and goals of the Indigenous trappers. Despite the unique approach to the fur trade economy used by Ray and Freeman, this work has largely been ignored by other fur trade scholars.

Similar to the fur trade literature, much of the whaling literature lacks an economic dimension. However, there are a few economic histories of whaling that are noteworthy, including Gordon Jackson's *The British Whaling Trade*.<sup>13</sup> Critical of the early historians who portrayed the whaling industry as an adventure story and the later historians who focused on the science of whaling either in support of or against modern whaling, Jackson undertook an economic history of British involvement in the whaling industry from the early seventeenth century to the mid-twentieth century. His analysis of the industry focused on several themes, including the issue of over-fishing; the influence of the market and other external factors on the industry;<sup>14</sup> the problems created as a result of the demand for whale oil being relatively stable while the supply of oil fluctuated annually; and the consequence of unrestrained competition in the industry. While Jackson's study provided crucial details about the economics of British whaling, his study paid limited attention to the role of Indigenous peoples in the industry, or the impact of the industry on Indigenous peoples in other ways.

David Moment, also critical of previous studies on whaling which had focused on the "story-book appeal of the adventures of the whalers,"<sup>15</sup> used ships' History," in *New Directions in American Indian History*, ed. C.G. Galloway (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), 203-204.

<sup>13</sup> Gordon Jackson, *The British Whaling Trade*, Research in Maritime History No. 29 (St. John's, NF: International Maritime Economic History Association, 2005, original 1978).

<sup>14</sup> In particular, Jackson looked at the affect of vegetable oil crops on the value of whale oil on the market, and how the changing use of whale oil and whalebone affected the profitability of whaling for ship owners. Jackson, *British Whaling Trade*, 226-228

<sup>15</sup> David Moment, "The Business of Whaling in America in the 1850's," *The Business History*

logs, account books, diaries and letters to analyze the administration, structure and operation of the American whaling industry based out of New Bedford in the 1850s. In his study, Moment demonstrated that between 1825 and 1875, the Americans dominated the whaling industry, accounting for over 700 of the roughly 900 whaling vessels in operation around the world.<sup>16</sup> As such, mercantile capitalists began to gather in various port towns, such as New Bedford, to take advantage of the opportunities presented by whaling. Gradually, as other products replaced whale oil and baleen, these capitalist began to invest in other ventures and New Bedford's role in the whaling industry finally ended in the late nineteenth century. Moment's study carefully detailed the operation of the whaling industry out of America, focusing predominantly on the relationship between the captains of the vessels and the investors who remained in the United States, demonstrating that the structure of the industry could be reconstructed and analyzed in detail. As with Jackson's study, however, Moment paid virtually no attention to the impact of whaling on Indigenous societies, or their involvement in the industry.<sup>17</sup>

Harry Morton was one of the few scholars to conduct an in-depth study on the impact of the whaling industry on Maori society, recognizing himself that little work had been done on the industry and its importance to New Zealand's history.<sup>18</sup> While perhaps not an economic history in the classical sense, his use of staple theory and focus of the impact of whaling on Maori society makes this study worthy of consideration here. He examined four stages of New Zealand

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*Review* Vol. 31, no. 3 (1957), 261.

16 Moment, "Business of Whaling," 263.

17 Even general economic histories of New Zealand pay little attention to whaling and even less attention to Maori involvement in the economic history of the country. See for example, G.R. Hawke, *The Making of New Zealand: An Economic History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

18 Harry Morton, *The Whale's Wake* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1982).

whaling. The first stage, which lasted from 1800 to 1830, was characterized by a significant number of Maori working on deep-sea whaleships based out of Britain or America. The second stage, from 1830 to 1845, was characterized by Maori working predominantly for land-based whaling stations. The third stage, from 1845 to 1885, was a combination of deep-sea and land-based whaling, although the ships were now mostly colonial, from Australia and New Zealand, instead of Britain and the United States. The final stage, from 1885 until the 1960s, was of little economic importance and was characterized by a few whaling stations scattered throughout New Zealand.

Morton approached the whaling industry as a staple industry (arguing that it was New Zealand's first important staple trade), and while he noted similarities between the whaling industry in New Zealand and the fur trade in Canada, he argued that "the relative numbers of native and newcomers and the enduring strength of Maori culture itself ensured a happier development of race relations than elsewhere in the English-speaking world."<sup>19</sup> The whaling industry, according to Morton, "partially created European agriculture in New Zealand, besides providing most of the stimulus for comparatively large-scale commercial production by the Maoris."<sup>20</sup> Additionally, he concluded that the whaling industry was a significant influence on the nineteenth century history of New Zealand, including assisting Britain in its annexation of New Zealand, influencing European settlement in New Zealand, influencing relationships between Maori and Europeans, and introducing changes in Maori society. Nonetheless, Morton also noted that the industry's brevity limited the influence that it could have had on New Zealand and the Maori. Thus, large-

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<sup>19</sup> Morton, *The Whale's Wake*, 18.

<sup>20</sup> Morton, *The Whale's Wake*, 314.

scale agricultural settlement in New Zealand ultimately had a far greater and more lasting impact on Maori society than did whaling.

William Schaniel investigated the economic history of the Maori from 1769 to 1840, focusing on the impact of introduced European technology and foodstuffs on Maori livelihoods and society.<sup>21</sup> Schaniel argued that while iron, white potatoes and firearms changed the role of Maori leaders, warriors, women and slaves, these changes were made within the traditional worldview of the Maori and did not lead to a collapse of Maori society. The Maori developed new transactional institutions and developed different rules for trading with missionaries, whalers, traders and visiting vessels. The mere adoption of European manufactured goods did not mean the outright acceptance of European values and worldviews; these manufactured goods were valued by Maori according to their own worldviews and perspectives.<sup>22</sup>

Schaniel's interpretation of the acceptance of European technology by Indigenous peoples is opposite to what has been argued by Calvin Martin. The latter contended, "By accepting the European material culture, the natives were thus impelled to accept the European abstract culture, especially the European religion. The result was that their own spiritual beliefs were subverted as they abandoned their implements for those of the white man."<sup>23</sup> Schaniel's carefully laid out and well-developed argument about the persistence of Maori valuing (particularly *utu* and *mana*) in New Zealand up to 1840, even in the face of changing technology

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21 William Schaniel, "The Maori and the Economic Frontier: An Economic History of the Maori of New Zealand, 1769-1840," PhD Dissertation, University of Tennessee, 1985. See also, William C. Schaniel, "European Technology and the New Zealand Maori economy: 1769-1840," *Social Science Journal* Vol. 38 (2001), 137-146; and, William C. Schaniel, "Potatoes, Muskets, and a Changing Community: Economic Roles of Women and Slaves in Maori Society, 1769-1839," in *From Political Economy to Anthropology: Situating Economic Life in Past Societies*, ed. Colin A.M. Duncan and David W. Tandy (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1994), 133-148.

22 Schaniel, "Maori and the Economic Frontier," 371-372; 389-392.

23 Calvin Martin, *Keepers of the Game: Indian-Animal Relationships and the Fur Trade* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 59.

and transactional institutions, as well as his observation of the hypocrisy of earlier historians accepting that Europeans could change technology without losing their societal values while at the same time arguing that Indigenous people could not, is more convincing than Martin's argument. Moreover, other scholars have made arguments similar to Schaniel, arguing that Indigenous peoples were able to make foreign goods their own, "Indianize" them in MacLeitch's words, and soften the disruption of new technologies on Indigenous societies.<sup>24</sup>

Even beyond the specific fur trade and whaling industry literature, few studies on the history of Indigenous peoples have paid much attention to the economic history of Indigenous peoples and the impact colonization had on their traditional economy and access to and management of natural resources.<sup>25</sup> While dealing only in part with the fur trade, Frank Tough's study of the economic history of northern Manitoba in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century demonstrates the importance such an approach can offer in understanding the impact of colonization on Indigenous peoples.<sup>26</sup> Using Innis' staple theory, Tough traced the economic history of northern Manitoba as it affected Indigenous peoples in the region to determine, at least in part, how the regional economy led to marginalization of Indigenous peoples here and provided a different basis for understanding Aboriginal and treaty rights. He argued against the romanticized view that as active participants in the fur trade, Indigenous peoples were not exploited

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24 See for example, Gail D. MacLeitch, "'Red' Labor: Iroquois Participation in the Atlantic Economy," *Labor: Studies in Working-Class History of the Americas* Vol. 1, no. 4 (2004), 75, 90.

25 For a much more comprehensive discussion of the literature on Indigenous peoples' economic histories in Canada see Frank Tough, "From the 'Original Affluent Society' to the 'Unjust Society': A Review Essay on Native Economic History in Canada," *Journal of Aboriginal Economic Development* Vol. 4, no. 2 (2005), 30-70.

26 Frank Tough, *'As Their Natural Resources Fail': Native Peoples and the Economic History of Northern Manitoba, 1870-1930* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1996).

by the fur traders or involved in unequal trade and power relations, and that their traditional economy remained unchanged and stable. Instead, he suggested that the economic problems of Indigenous peoples in northern Manitoba starting in the mid-twentieth century can be best understood by recognizing the changes brought about by the fur trade, the elimination of Aboriginal title by the Canadian state, the rise of new resource industries in the region and the transition between mercantile and industrial capital. He further argued that a better appreciation of the idea of “dependency” as used by political economists and the methodological framework provided by economic history provides a more comprehensive understanding of contemporary inequalities facing Indigenous peoples than do the more common studies provided by ethnohistorians.<sup>27</sup>

Similarly, while dealing only briefly with the fur trade in British Columbia, Rolf Knight provided a unique labour history of Indigenous peoples in this province from 1858 to 1930.<sup>28</sup> Knight’s study focused on a period of time during which many mainstream histories have ignored Indigenous peoples’ work in the regional economy and wage labour sector. Moreover, Knight challenged the perception that Indigenous peoples’ participation in the labour force was a simple add-on to the traditional economy or required only minor modifications to traditional activities.<sup>29</sup> Instead, he argued that Indigenous peoples adjusted their traditional economies to include wage labour and as such became an “elemental part of various industrial

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<sup>27</sup> Tough, ‘*As Their Natural Resources Fail*’, 299-309.

<sup>28</sup> Rolf Knight, *Indians at Work: An Informal History of Native Labour in British Columbia 1858-1930* (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1996, original 1978). Knight’s work directly refutes Robin Fisher’s contention that Indigenous people became peripheral to British Columbia’s economy after the fur trade. Robin Fisher, *Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1992), 210.

<sup>29</sup> Knight, *Indians at Work*, 8-19.

labour forces” in B.C.<sup>30</sup> Despite the numerous accounts he provided of Indigenous peoples working as fishermen, cannery workers, longshoremen, loggers, freighters, mine labourers and construction workers, many scholars have ignored his important commentary on Indigenous peoples’ work and the changes to their traditional economy that such work brought about as illustrated in Knight’s work.<sup>31</sup>

In the last few years, a few more studies examining Indigenous peoples engaged in wage labour after the fur trade have been written. For example, Gail D. MacLeitch examined the role of Iroquois labourers in the Atlantic fur trade, in the Seven Years’ War and in agricultural manual labour in the late eighteenth century.<sup>32</sup> She argued that many scholars focused on the Atlantic economy have ignored the importance of Indigenous labourers, and even when they have discussed the roles of Indigenous peoples, they have generally adopted a political or cultural framework and inadequately theorized economic issues.<sup>33</sup> She instead applied a class analysis to the experiences of Indigenous labourers in the Atlantic economy, and demonstrated the existence of a mixed economy (one in which the Mohawks and Oneidas combined both wage labour and subsistence activities), which recognizing their growing dependence on money as their land, labour and resources were increasingly commodified.<sup>34</sup> MacLeitch’s study raised some key issues about Indigenous peoples’ experiences with the expanding market economy in Canada that have some relevance to the arguments developed in this dissertation.

30 Knight, *Indians at Work*, 18.

31 Hugh Brody arrived at similar conclusions regarding the traditional economy in his work with First Nation communities in northeastern British Columbia. Brody also questioned the idea that the traditional economy remained intact during the period of colonization and instead portrayed the traditional economy as a fluid structure that was adapted as various environmental, economic and social changes occurred in the region. Hugh Brody, *Maps and Dreams: Indians and the British Columbia Frontier* (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 2004, original 1981), 190-213.

32 MacLeitch, “Red Labor,” 69-90.

33 MacLeitch, “Red Labor,” 72.

34 MacLeitch, “Red Labor,” 85.

Andrew Parnaby examined Squamish longshoremen working on Burrard Inlet, B.C., focusing on the importance of class in the experiences of these men in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>35</sup> Parnaby discussed the adaptation of wage labour into the Squamish First Nation's economy and how they used seasonal labour, such as dock work, to continue supporting the potlatch and other traditional activities. He analyzed the various strategies employed by Squamish longshoremen to secure their position in the industry, and looked at the economic, political and demographic changes in B.C. and the impact of these changes on the marginalization of the Squamish. Parnaby argued that studying the significance of Indigenous wage labour, which emphasizes change and modernity, does not always fit well with the current political climate that seems to want to connect continuity from pre-contact to contemporary practices in Indigenous communities.<sup>36</sup> However, as he demonstrated in this study, the Squamish's struggle for self-determination was not only concerned with land, resources and self-government, but also with the daily realities of making a living.<sup>37</sup> Parnaby's study makes an important contribution to the literature in that it demonstrates the adaptability of the Indigenous economy that allowed Indigenous people to adjust to changing economic, political and social situations.

John Lutz has reconsidered the history of Indigenous-settler relationships in his book *Makúk*.<sup>38</sup> Lutz examined the displacement of Indigenous peoples from land and resources and the labour of Indigenous peoples in British Columbia as a

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35 Andrew Parnaby, "'The best men that ever worked the lumber': Aboriginal Longshoremen on Burrard Inlet, BC, 1863-1939," *Canadian Historical Review* Vol. 87, no 1 (2006), 1-15.

36 Parnaby, "Aboriginal longshoremen," 1.

37 Parnaby, "Aboriginal longshoremen," 15.

38 John Sutton Lutz, *Makúk: A New History of Aboriginal-White Relations* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2008).



means to explain the economic challenges facing Indigenous peoples in the province today. While in some ways his work was similar to that of Tough and Knight in demonstrating the importance of Indigenous labour to the Canadian economy after the fur trade, Lutz came to different conclusions than either Tough or Knight about the connections between historical economic processes and the economic challenges facing Indigenous peoples today. Lutz used a concept, which he called “moditional economies,” to explain the unique combination of traditional and modern economies that formed the basis of Indigenous peoples’ economies after contact through to the present day.<sup>39</sup> Thus, while Tough and Knight focused on the changes to Indigenous economies and lifestyles wrought by the pressures they faced as the fur trade gave way to other resource economies and their control over land and resources was taken away by the government, Lutz instead tried to explain the mixed or “moditional” economy of the Indigenous peoples as not just a hybrid of traditional and modern, but as something unique and responsive to change. As Lutz explained: “What is central is that Aboriginal Peoples have built themselves a new, distinctive economy out of the available options, choosing independence over any one of wage labour, state support, or ‘living off the land.’”<sup>40</sup> While numerous studies have shown that elements of the early “traditional” economy and culture of Indigenous peoples remained intact, it seems illogical to try to separate these elements from more modern activities and talk about a “moditional” economy that exists in separation from the larger regional and global economy.<sup>41</sup>

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39 Lutz, *Makúk*, 9, 23-24, 257-273.

40 Lutz, *Makúk*, 305. See also, John Lutz, “After the Fur Trade: The Aboriginal Labouring Class of British Columbia, 1849-1890,” *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* Vol. 3, no. 1 (1992), 69-93.

41 Hugh Brody also wrote about the issues created when trying to create distinctions between the traditional and the modern in Indigenous communities. Brody, *Maps and Dreams*, 208-209.

Lutz's attempt to describe the Indigenous economy as "modifical," a flexible economy that allows Indigenous peoples to be independent from the larger regional and global economy, is reminiscent of much of the social and ethnohistories regarding Indigenous peoples and the experiences of contact that focus on the agency of Indigenous peoples. By focusing on the active participation of Indigenous peoples in various historical economic processes and arguing that they were not simply victims of colonization, scholars have created a false dichotomy that denies the possibility that Indigenous people could be active participants and still be exploited by historical processes.<sup>42</sup> Lutz's desire to characterize Indigenous peoples' post-contact economies as a choice for independence and other historians' desire to portray Indigenous peoples' participation in the fur trade as an equal partnership is largely refuted by the few economic histories that have been done. By inadequately theorizing economic issues, or ignoring these issues altogether, some more recent scholarship has, as MacLeitch argued, over-emphasized Indigenous agency while "downplaying material constraints."<sup>43</sup>

In the wake of Justice Allan MacEachern's trial decision in *Delgamuukw vs. the Attorney-General of British Columbia*, Robin Brownlie and Mary-Ellen Kelm directly challenged the emerging trend in Canadian Native-newcomer history in the 1990s to focus on Indigenous peoples' agency to the point of dismissing the exploitation and oppression of the Canadian state through its Indian policies and legislation.<sup>44</sup> By examining the arguments made in three studies published in the early 1990s, Brownlie and Kelm argued that the authors of these studies:

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42 Tough, 'As Their Natural Resources Fail,' 300-301.

43 MacLeitch, "Red Labor," 72.

44 Robin Brownlie and Mary-Ellen Kelm, "Desperately Seeking Absolution: Native Agency as Colonialist Alibi?" *Canadian Historical Review* Vol. 74, no. 4 (1994), 543-556.

go beyond the argument for the recognition of Native agency to one that uses evidence of Native resilience and strength to soften, and at times to deny, the impact of colonialism, and thus, implicitly, to absolve its perpetrators. Though all four scholars seem to acknowledge the colonial oppression experienced by the First Nations, they nonetheless concur that through poor implementation, Native resistance, and the peculiarities of legal process, the negative effects of colonization were mitigated, even nullified. ... In the course of presenting their evidence for these claims, these writers gloss over the suffering of First Nations under federal 'wardship,' minimize the extent of the very real and observable damage inflicted on Aboriginal societies, and continually emphasize the altruistic intent of the colonizers. This trend in scholarly writing thus carries within it an insidious tendency to turn Native agency into colonialist alibi.<sup>45</sup>

While Indigenous peoples' agency and resiliency should not be overlooked or denied, the exploitation and oppression of capitalist systems and colonialism should not be forgotten or ignored either. The use of economic theory to examine resiliency, change and exploitation in Indigenous societies as a result of interactions with new and changing economic systems can help to avoid some of this tendency to focus so much on Indigenous agency that the impacts of colonization are understated or ignored.

Bruce Trigger has similarly demonstrated the dangers inherent in the rise of cultural relativism as a means of framing and understanding Indigenous and European experiences of contact in North America.<sup>46</sup> Relying solely on cultural explanations without context, he argued, has created an unnecessary dichotomy between romanticism and rationalism. Using the Hudson's Bay Company fur trade as an example, Trigger suggested that while cultural considerations certainly shaped Indigenous peoples' participation and decision making in the fur trade, many of the

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45 Brownlie and Kelm, "Desperately Seeking Absolution," 545. Tough concurred with this assessment, noting "the necessary corrective emphasis on 'human agency' by many historians, can easily over compensate, such that, a kind of exculpation of colonialism results." Tough, "From the 'Original Affluent Society,'" 31.

46 Bruce G. Trigger, "Early Native North American Response to European Contact: Romantic versus Rationalistic Interpretations," *Journal of American History* Vol. 77, no. 4 (1991), 1195-1215.

“rational calculations” they made “conform to a logic that is universal rather than culturally specific.”<sup>47</sup> Thus, as Trigger concluded: “While the importance of native beliefs should never be underestimated, in the long run a rationalist and materialist analysis of cultural interaction seems to explain far more about what happened to native people following European contact than does an analysis that assigns primary explanatory power to their traditional beliefs.”<sup>48</sup>

Sarah Carter has called for a measured approach, arguing that her research has demonstrated the Indigenous peoples of western Canada were not so constrained by their cultural and religious beliefs that they could not see that the foundation of their economy was disintegrating as the buffalo herds disappeared, and thus they took measures to develop a new economy based on agriculture. At the same, she argued, the Indigenous peoples did not simply abandon their culture, religion and institutions. To approach history from a purely romantic or a purely rationalist perspective would be to miss the subtleties of continuity *and* change that occurred as a result of colonization.<sup>49</sup>

I would argue that we need to consider both the cultural perspectives and worldviews that frame the understandings and motivations of the various peoples engaged in trade, barter and other forms of interaction *and* the external structures that influence these interactions. For example, understanding the backwards sloping supply curve in fur returns in the Canadian fur trade demonstrates both the cultural perspectives of the Indigenous trappers and the external structures imposed

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47 Trigger, “Native Response to European Contact,” 1199. Ronald Trosper has similarly argued that economic theory can help explain the rational choices of Indigenous peoples in the fur trade, even at times when the Europeans involved in the fur trade could not understand those choices. Trosper, “That Other Discipline,” 201-205.

48 Trigger, “Native Response to European Contact,” 1215.

49 Sarah Carter, *Aboriginal People and Colonizers of Western Canada to 1900* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 10-13.

on the trappers by the fur trade operations, and how both worked together to explain the phenomenon. It is not enough to consider the cultural perspectives, that the Indigenous trappers were not interested in accumulating goods in the same manner as the European traders. One must also consider that the change in behaviour towards decreasing trapping efforts occurred when the price of furs increased, an external structure imposed by the system of the fur trade. The change in the external structure was interpreted by the Indigenous trappers according to their cultural perspective such that when they needed fewer furs to acquire all the goods they wanted, they brought in fewer furs to the post. By understanding that there are both external structures and cultural perspectives influencing behaviour, a more comprehensive understanding of behaviour, relationships and changes over time can be developed.

Harris warned of the dangers of post-colonial studies that try to understand colonial culture without the context of other forms of colonial power, arguing that by studying only imperial texts and systems of signification imposes “a form of intellectual imperialism on the study of colonialism.”<sup>50</sup> Instead, Harris argued, in order to understand colonialism, one needs to study the actual site of colonialism and the details of dispossession and repossession.<sup>51</sup> Thus, examining economic processes in Indigenous history and using economic theories to help provide context to explain the complex processes of change in Indigenous communities can be an important way to move beyond merely cultural explanations and to find the generalities of experience beyond each individual site and moment in time.

However, understanding the resiliency and adaptability of Indigenous culture

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<sup>50</sup> Cole Harris, “How Did Colonialism Dispossession? Comments from an Edge of Empire,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* Vol. 94, no. 1 (2004), 167.

<sup>51</sup> Harris, “How Did Colonialism Dispossession?” 165-168

and worldviews is equally as important in order to develop a more nuanced and accurate understanding of the historical processes that have shaped and influenced contemporary situations.

The bulk of the current fur trade and whaling literature, however, are social and political histories that do not generally include economic concepts to understand these industries but instead focus on the relationships and interdependencies of Indigenous peoples and Europeans at this point in time. A number of factors could explain this trend. For example, the complex and voluminous numerical data often required to be analyzed by economic studies, or even a quantitative approach to textual documents, are not always as interesting or as easy as discourse analysis or other qualitative approaches to analyzing textual documents, at least to some historians and scholars. Trosper has also suggested that economic analyses are ignored because few non-economists have studied economics, at least the economics that moves beyond basic models and seemingly unrealistic assumptions.<sup>52</sup> Thus, it seems a focus on the social, political and cultural facets of the fur trade has been the focus of much of the literature. While introducing some important new ideas into the literature, such as the role of women particularly in the fur trade, the exclusion of economic concepts obscures the intricacies of the industries and the impact of participation in these industries on Indigenous societies over time.

### **The Relationships between Indigenous Peoples and Mercantilists in the Fur Trade and the Whaling Industry**

Sylvia Van Kirk was one of the first scholars to attempt a social history of the fur trade, which focused predominantly on the role of women in fur trade society and

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<sup>52</sup> Trosper, "That Other Discipline," 200.

contrasted the experiences of First Nation, Métis and European women.<sup>53</sup> Van Kirk argued that the economic mutual dependencies between European and Indigenous peoples created in the fur trade fostered a cultural exchange that transcended the normal realm of economic pursuit. As she suggested, marriages between Indigenous women and European men were an important and necessary aspect of the fur trade. The unions provided economic advantages for both the European traders and the Indigenous trappers as they created important kinship alliances for trading.<sup>54</sup> As the fur trade progressed, however, Métis women replaced First Nation women as the most desirable mates.<sup>55</sup> Similarly, after 1821 and the arrival of European women in the west, the racial stereotypes of First Nation and Métis women, previously overlooked, began to erode these women's social positions. At this point, many of the European traders, especially those in the HBC's officer class, began to seek European brides.<sup>56</sup>

Van Kirk's approach to the fur trade is largely narrative and narrowly focused on the life histories of several high profile Indigenous women. While she acknowledged that important variations existed among the numerous Indigenous groups encountered by the European traders, as well as differences between the trading companies, she often generalized her observations and conclusions to all groups without discussing how the variations might have affected the developing fur trade society.<sup>57</sup> Additionally, much of Van Kirk's analysis is focused on Red River, a unique metropolis that was probably not representative of other fur trade

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53 Sylvia Van Kirk, *'Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur Trade Society in Western Canada, 1670-1870* (Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer Publishing, 1980).

54 Van Kirk, *'Many Tender Ties'*, 29.

55 Van Kirk, *'Many Tender Ties'*, 95.

56 Van Kirk, *'Many Tender Ties'*, 229-230.

57 Arthur J. Ray, "Reflections on Fur Trade Social History and Métis History in Canada," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* Vol. 6, no. 2 (1982), 95-96.

communities in Rupertsland.<sup>58</sup>

Brian Gallagher demonstrated convincingly that Van Kirk's conclusions could be refuted through a systematic and quantitative analysis of marriage patterns in Red River. Contrary to Van Kirk's study, Gallagher demonstrated that while the class mobility of the majority of the population of Red River was reduced once a rigid class structure was introduced, the status of the merchant elites' Métis daughters was actually confirmed and thus the rate of marriage between HBC officers and Métis women did not actually decline between 1821 and 1870.<sup>59</sup> Thus, while Van Kirk contributed to a new direction in fur trade literature, her narrow focus suggests limitations to the general applicability of her study. Furthermore, although she contributed to the development of a new facet of fur trade historiography, gender issues in the trade, she again ignored the commercial aspects, specifically the role and influence of women in commercial aspects of the trade. Gallagher's critique and refutation of Van Kirk's conclusions demonstrates that a more theoretical analysis of the economic factors that shape history provide a more nuanced understanding of changes to society over time.<sup>60</sup> Red River was less divided by race, as Van Kirk argued, and more divided by class through the creation of a capitalist labour market, as Gallagher argued.

Jennifer Brown also constructed a social history of the fur trade, focusing predominantly on the differences between French, NWC and HBC traders in developing relationships with Indigenous women.<sup>61</sup> Specifically, she argued that

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58 Ray, "Reflections on Fur Trade Social History," 96.

59 Brian Gallagher, "A Re-Examination of Race, Class and Society in Red River," *Native Studies Review* Vol. 4, nos. 1 and 2 (1988), 25-65.

60 Gallagher, "Re-examination of race," 38.

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



family ties tended to be stronger among the families of the HBC posts than among the families of the NWC posts because the HBC men were more secluded from their European kin who were predominantly in Britain. The European kin of the Nor'Westers were often located in Montreal, and therefore closer kinship ties could be maintained with this group. Brown's analysis of fur trade families was stronger than Van Kirk's analysis as Brown used more than just narrative and anecdotal data to support her arguments. For example, while Van Kirk attributed the growing racial prejudice in Red River to the increasing presence of European women, Brown argued that it was more than just the presence of these women; it was also a result of the HBC using racial stereotypes to segregate and stratify its ranks after 1821. Thus, it was not just the increasing presence of racial attitudes in the fur trade that led to the decline in Indigenous women's status, it was also the way in which the Company used these attitudes in an attempt to further its economic gains.<sup>62</sup> However, much of the data Brown used documented the officer class. While the officer class is important to consider, it cannot be taken as representative of all fur trade employees, and as Ray argued, it is possible, although time-consuming, to document the servant class by examining employment records, account books, correspondence and post journals.<sup>63</sup> Similar to Van Kirk, Brown also did not analyze the influence of Indigenous women in the commercial aspects of the fur trade.

Carol Judd examined fur trade society in terms of its stratifications and hierarchies; however, she cautioned "the components of fur-trade society do not fit easily into standard definitions of class structure."<sup>64</sup> Judd acknowledged that

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62 Brown, *Strangers in Blood*, 205-207.

63 Ray, "Reflections on Fur Trade Social History," 99

64 C.M. Judd, "Native labour and social stratification in the Hudson's Bay Company's Northern Department, 1770-1870," *The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* Vol. 17, no. 4 (1980), 313.

while definite stratifications can be identified between European and Indigenous participants within fur trade society, at various times the Indigenous peoples enjoyed relative autonomy and control in their positions, in particular prior to 1821. Even after 1821, there was a period of economic growth in other parts of Europe and eastern Canada creating a labour shortage for the fur trade, which, in effect, made the HBC reliant once again on local labour. Thus, Judd's analysis emphasizes the importance of Indigenous labour in the trade and highlights the relative power that the Indigenous peoples were able to exercise at certain times during the trade.

Like Judd, Ron Bourgeault used class analysis to examine the fur trade.<sup>65</sup> He, however, argued that the fur trade imposed class, racial and sexist divisions on Indigenous societies. He argued that the mercantilist traders could not bring in their own source of labour and were therefore forced to make use of the local population. However, before the Indigenous peoples could become useful employees, their communal system had to be undermined and transformed.<sup>66</sup> This transformation was accomplished by allowing the Indigenous peoples to become dependent upon the foreign goods introduced by the traders, especially guns, knives, metal pots and woolen clothing. The Indigenous peoples were then taught that in order to obtain these items they would have to bring in certain specified goods that no longer had use-value in their society, namely furs.<sup>67</sup> Such actions successfully undermined the traditional communal system of the Indigenous peoples and allowed them to be oppressed and marginalized, a situation that has continued to the present day.

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65 Ron Bourgeault, "The Indian, the Métis and the Fur Trade: Class, Sexism and Racism in the Transition from 'Communism' to Capitalism," *Studies in Political Economy* Vol. 12 (1983), 45-80. See also, Ron Bourgeault, "Aboriginal Labour in the North-West," *Prairie Forum* Vol. 31, no. 2 (2006), 273-304.

66 Bourgeault, "The Indian, the Métis and the Fur Trade," 47.

67 Bourgeault, "The Indian, the Métis and the Fur Trade," 51.

More specifically, Bourgeault argued that the fur trade established a system of feudal relations between the Indigenous peoples and the European traders, with the Indigenous peoples acting as the peasant labour force and the chief factors of the trading posts acting as the feudal lords. These feudal relationships introduced the concepts of private property and subservience to the Indigenous population. The Indigenous men were expected to bring in “rent” and “tokens of their servitude” in the form of surplus food and furs given to the post outside the terms of trade. Indigenous women were exploited sexually, partly as a means of establishing and maintaining trade relations and partly because no European women were allowed into Rupertsland. Such feudal relationships and exploitation allowed mercantilists to establish a viable fur trade.<sup>68</sup>

Bourgeault’s approach, however, does not necessarily account for some alternative perspectives on certain aspects of the trade. For example, the surplus food and furs that were given to the fur trade posts outside the terms of trade that Bourgeault identified as the “rents” and “tokens of servitude” expected within feudal relationships, may be better explained as an expression of reciprocal obligation. There was, to a degree, a mutual dependency between the parties of trade and, to this end, the Indigenous trappers might have presented surplus food and furs as gifts to the European traders in times of plenty, expecting that in times of famine the traders would ensure the physical survival of the Indigenous men and their families.<sup>69</sup> Furthermore, while Bourgeault argued that social reproduction was the responsibility of the Indigenous communities, Ray has demonstrated that the HBC

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68 Bourgeault, “The Indian, the Métis and the Fur Trade,” 48, 53, 57, 77.

69 Arthur J. Ray, “Periodic Shortages, Native Welfare, and the Hudson’s Bay Company 1670-1930,” in *The Subarctic Fur Trade: Native Social and Economic Advantages*, ed. Shepard Krech III (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1984), 1-20.

in fact took on the responsibility of social reproduction through the debt system and the provision of relief for destitute Indigenous families.<sup>70</sup> Finally, the complex form of land ownership and political authority that characterized feudalism in Europe were simply not present in Rupertsland. Thus, Bourgeault's work does not accurately reflect the unique economic and political situation of the Rupertsland fur trade, namely an employer monopoly coupled with a labour shortage as identified by H.C. Pentland.<sup>71</sup> Instead, Bourgeault has imposed European political economy on the Canadian landscape and misconstrued the relations of production.

In relation to the lasting impacts of the fur trade on Canadian society, Ray argued that the common perception that the Canadian government began to provide for the welfare needs of Indigenous peoples only after the Second World War does not give "proper appreciation of the continuities of northern Indian cultures and the roots of contemporary economic problems."<sup>72</sup> He demonstrated that many of the contemporary issues facing northern Indigenous communities could be traced to the fur trade, which had two fundamental negative impacts on Indigenous economies: "It served to increase the risk of serious resource shortages for native groups. At the same time, it increasingly undermined their ability to deal with this problem."<sup>73</sup> As a result, the fur trade led to resource management issues in Indigenous communities and made it necessary for the HBC to begin to provide relief to those actively involved in the trade as well as their dependents. Additionally, the HBC extended credit to trappers to ensure that they had all of the necessary supplies to spend the

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70 Arthur J. Ray, "The Decline of Paternalism in the Hudson's Bay Company Fur Trade, 1870-1945," in *Merchant Credit and Labour Strategies in Historical Perspective*, ed. Rosemary E. Ommer (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1990), 188-202.

71 H. Clare Pentland, *Labour and Capital in Canada, 1650-1860* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 1981), 24-58.

72 Ray, "Periodic Shortages," 1.

73 Ray, "Periodic Shortages," 3.

season trapping and to create obligations between them and particular posts. By the late nineteenth century, as the fur trade declined and the Canadian state extended its influence into more remote regions of Canada, the HBC tried to shift the burden of supporting the Indigenous peoples to the government. However, it was not until the 1940s that the Company was entirely successful in this effort. Thus, Ray concluded that the modern welfare society and the economic problems faced by many northern Indigenous communities are rooted in the fur trade.

Ray further elaborated on the paternalism inherent in the fur trade system and the complex relationship between the HBC men and the Indigenous trappers by applying the theory of personal labour organization. Essentially, he argued that personal labour organization developed in the fur trade because both employers and labourers were scarce, making these groups interdependent and giving them equal bargaining power. As a result, the HBC accepted the social overhead costs of its employees through the debt system and relief. Personal labour organization began to break down when competitive labour markets were created.<sup>74</sup> Morantz also examined the HBC's debt system but arrived at different conclusions than Ray.<sup>75</sup> Morantz argued that the debt system served the HBC, especially in times of competition, by ensuring a continuation of the trade and obligating trappers to return their pelts to HBC posts to pay off their debts. However, she noted that even at times when competition was minimal, the HBC was required to continue providing

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74 Ray, "Decline of Paternalism," 188-202. Burley similarly suggested that the paternalistic principles that governed the relationship between employers and employees in the HBC resulted in long-lasting stability and that the conflicts that arose between employer and employee "rarely called into question the relations of authority upon which the company was based." Edith I. Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company: Work, Discipline, and Conflict in the Hudson's Bay Company, 1770-1879* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1997), 245.

75 Toby Morantz, "'So Evil a Practice': A Look at the Debt System in the James Bay Fur Trade," in *Merchant Credit and Labour Strategies in Historical Perspective*, ed. Rosemary E. Ommer (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1990), 203-222.

credit, otherwise the trappers would not engage in commercial endeavours much to the detriment of the Company. She further argued that the Cree were not actually coerced and controlled by the debt system because it matched their ideology of reciprocity. Although Morantz's perspective acknowledges the independence and agency maintained by the Cree in determining their own hunting and trapping strategies throughout the fur trade, Ray's use of labour theory provides a more structured explanation for the development of certain labour strategies during the fur trade, as well as the paternalism, welfare concerns and resource management issues that resulted in the mid-twentieth century.

Morantz's portrayal of the debt system is an example of the dangers of focusing too much on the role of agency and foregoing a theoretical perspective. For Morantz, how the Cree might have defined the relationship between themselves and the HBC allows her to discount the coercion and benefit that the Company received from the debt system. Certainly as Morantz has suggested, one should not forget that the Cree value of reciprocity influenced their approach to the fur trade; however, that does not mean then that the Cree were not coerced or exploited by the forces of capitalism. An appreciation for the economic forces prevalent in the fur trade, such as what is presented by Ray, provides a much more nuanced understanding of the impact of participation in the fur trade on the Cree without denying the resiliency of the Cree to adapt to those forces.

Despite the potential of economic theory and political economy to frame the understanding of social relationships and Indigenous-European interactions in the fur trade as demonstrated by Ray, Gallagher, Judd and even Bourgeault, far more attention has been paid to the social histories presented by Van Kirk, Brown

and Morantz. While the studies of these scholars have presented important and sometimes overlooked elements of the fur trade (namely the role of women and the importance of Indigenous understandings of the trade), their studies lack the nuances that become evident when theories of economics and political economy are used to frame the same situations they chose to analyze. Thus, what is often under-appreciated and under-studied in the fur trade is the extent to which Indigenous peoples were involved in this commercial economy and the impacts of commercialization on resource use and management. While similar trends can be seen in literature on the whaling industry, far fewer studies have been conducted on the whaling industry in New Zealand, especially land-based whaling, and even fewer studies have attempted to examine the influence of Maori in the industry and the influence of whaling on the commercialization of the Maori economy.

The early writings on the South Pacific whaling industry were often written more as adventure stories than as histories. The exploits of whale ships became famous through Herman Melville's novels, and while these stories were based, in part, on fact, most scholars today agree that the tales are fictitious. Early writings about the whaling industry, not unlike the fur trade literature, virtually ignored the role of Indigenous peoples. Early studies also focused on particular ships, captains and famous individuals involved in the industry. For example, although discussing the whaling industry around the world in general, Chatterton described the South Pacific whale fishery to some degree, focusing predominantly on the infamous Enderby family. Chatterton, however, gave almost no attention to Indigenous peoples, the impact of the industry on them or their participation in it.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> E. Keble Chatterton, *Whalers and Whaling: The Story of the Whaling Ships up to the Present Day* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1926).

Whipple also wrote about the deep-sea whaling industry in the manner of this early period, focusing on the dangerous and heroic lives of the crew, mostly on American whaling ships. He gave little consideration to the role of Indigenous peoples in this industry, although he did devote a chapter of his book to “the cannibals,” in which he described the exotic customs of the Polynesians, their sexually free women and their much-feared cannibalism.<sup>77</sup>

Taking a significantly different approach to the industry, Coutts, an archaeologist, used archaeological remains and material culture to discuss the impact of land-based whaling on Maori communities. Coutts argued that many of the previous studies of the whaling industry focused almost entirely on the whaling economy itself and paid little attention to the interaction of Maori and whalers and thus ignored the influence of the whaling stations on the subsequent history of the regions in which they were located.<sup>78</sup> Based on a variety of archaeological evidence, Coutts concluded that the introduction of European vegetables and the pig by earlier explorers and deep-sea whalers led to a significant shift in the Indigenous economy of the Maori, such that by the time land-based whaling was established in southern New Zealand, the Maori were willing to procure whale boats for themselves and participate actively in the industry.<sup>79</sup> Thus, by the mid-nineteenth century, the Maori no longer depended entirely on their traditional food resources and “the potato, tea, sugar, flour and tobacco were integrated into Maori economy,” while

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<sup>77</sup> A.B.C. Whipple, *Yankee Whalers in the South Seas* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, 1954).

<sup>78</sup> Peter J.F. Coutts, “An approach to the investigation of colonial settlement patterns: whaling in southern New Zealand,” *World Archaeology* Vol. 7, no. 3 (1976), 291-305.

<sup>79</sup> Peter J.F. Coutts, “Merger or Takeover: A Survey of the Effects of Contact Between European and Maori in the Foveaux Strait Region,” *Journal of the Polynesian Society* Vol. 78, no. 4 (1969), 495-516.



the Maori continued to maintain their identity.<sup>80</sup> Nonetheless, Coutts also noted that the whalers introduced disease and contributed to the depletion of traditional food resources, which eventually decimated the Maori population.

Gibson focused predominantly on American participation in the South Pacific whale fishery, arguing that the Americans had a relative competitive advantage to the British as they were not bound by the same rules as British whalers, especially concerning the monopolies held by the South Sea Company and the East India Company.<sup>81</sup> Similar to previous studies, much of Gibson's attention was paid to the conduct of the whale fishery, and less to the impact of whaling on Indigenous peoples and their land and resources. Moreover, Gibson's study was mostly concerned with deep-sea whaling. Thus, while he discussed the difficulties of interethnic crews and contact between Indigenous peoples and crew members, his study did not provide much detail on the land-based whaling enterprises and the more substantial relationships that developed between Indigenous peoples and whalers around the stations.

Mawer also focused predominantly on deep-sea whaling and suggested that while initially many whalers feared the Maori as much as the Maori feared the whalers, over the years Maori and other Polynesians (often referred to as "Kanakas") became important sources of labour.<sup>82</sup> He further argued that the whaling ships' multi-ethnic crews led to divisions on some parts of the ship. Thus, while on duty and when selecting whale boat crews experience and physical stamina were more important than race, below deck the crew was physically divided between white

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80 Coutts, "Merger or Takeover," 513.

81 Arrell Morgan Gibson, *Yankees in Paradise: The Pacific Basin Frontier* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993).

82 Granville Allen Mawer, *Ahab's Trade: The Saga of South Seas Whaling* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999).

and black as “the Portuguese, the Negroes, the Kanakas and the native Americans automatically took themselves to the larboard side of the forecastle.”<sup>83</sup> Thus, according to Mawer, the whaling ships created racial hierarchies and divisions, even though the Indigenous crew members were highly skilled and valued.

While not specific to whaling vessels, David Chappell examined the importance of Pacific Islanders to Westerners in terms of sailing, whaling and trading.<sup>84</sup> He highlighted the various roles of Pacific Islanders, including serving as guides, interpreters, workers, pilots and diplomats. He also examined the issue of how much of their service was coerced and forced (as Pacific Islanders were initially often abducted and forcibly taken on-board ship) and how much of their service was voluntary. Finally, he argued that the experiences of the Pacific Islanders on board ship influenced the ways of understanding the changes that were taking place in their home communities. The Pacific Islanders’ seafaring “helped to make the modern Pacific what it is.”<sup>85</sup> Thus, while making connections between what happened on board ship and some of the changes on land, Chappell’s study again placed most of the emphasis on deep-sea voyages.

Robert McNab was one of the early whaling scholars to focus on the whaling industry in southern New Zealand specifically.<sup>86</sup> Like many of the previous studies on whaling, McNab relied primarily on newspaper reports, ship’s logs, correspondence and reports on the industry. He did make some use of custom records and other numerical data to try to determine the general volume of trade in

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83 Mawer, *Ahab’s Trade*, 168.

84 David A. Chappell, *Double Ghosts: Oceanian Voyagers on Euroamerican Ships* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1997).

85 Chappell, *Double Ghosts*, 177.

86 Robert McNab, *The Old Whaling Days: A History of Southern New Zealand from 1830-1840* (Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1913).

southern New Zealand, but his study is typical of other whaling literature in that it focused on the activities of various operations and ships, and made only brief mention of the Maori and their interactions with whalers, and any impacts that these interactions may have had Maori society and resource use.

Frank Tod was one of the few whaling scholars who focused his study on the land-based whaling stations that operated in southern New Zealand in the early to mid-nineteenth century.<sup>87</sup> Wanting to build on the previous work completed by Robert McNab, Tod focused predominantly on the Weller brothers' operations in and around Otakou and on Banks Peninsula. Tod was able to utilize some documents that were not available to McNab at the time he wrote his study, notably Harwood's journal. Although Tod's study was typical of other whaling studies, focusing on the men who operated the whaling stations and the exploits of the whalers (with some attention to interactions between Maori and whalers), he also reproduced several archival documents in his study, including basic statistics of the whaling operations under consideration, a list of early settlers and whalers in Dunedin (some of whom are identified as "Native"), and the land purchase agreement between Tuhawaiki and John Jones. As one of the few studies focused on the land-based whaling stations of New Zealand, Tod's work is an important part of the whaling literature even though it follows the same basic structure as previous whaling studies, describing mostly the whalers and their exploits, although contributing some insight into the early settlement of the Otago region of southern New Zealand.

Although focused on the Pacific Northwest, Robert Webb's study of the whaling industry in this region from the late eighteenth century to the mid-twentieth century is interesting in its attention to the interaction of whaling with

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<sup>87</sup> Frank Tod, *Whaling in Southern Waters* (Dunedin: Frank Tod, 1982).

other industries operating along the northwest coast of the United States and Canada.<sup>88</sup> Starting with an examination of Indigenous whaling in the region and the interactions between early explorers and whalers and the Indigenous peoples, Webb also considered the relationships between whaling, the fur trade, mining, logging and railroad interests. Thus, he was able to consider some of the larger impacts that whaling had on the development of the Pacific Northwest.

McGrath detailed the impact of whaling, both land-based and deep-sea, on the Indigenous peoples of Tasmania.<sup>89</sup> In particular, she documented that the presence of whalers and sealers encouraged trade; the Indigenous peoples would trade kangaroo and seal skins for tobacco, flour and tea. Later, women's sexual services were also offered to the whalers and sealers in exchange for hunting dogs, flour and other items. Similar to experiences documented by fur trade scholars, McGrath noted that marriages between whalers and Indigenous women could be mutually advantageous and because the sealers and whalers did not require large tracts of land, the two groups often co-existed peacefully and the Indigenous peoples adjusted their pre-contact economies to incorporate sealing and whaling.<sup>90</sup> She concluded that in some ways, the relationship between the Indigenous people and the sealers and whalers was much less destructive to the Indigenous population than was subsequent contact with Australian colonizers. Although McGrath's

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<sup>88</sup> Robert Lloyd Webb, *On the Northwest: Commercial Whaling in the Pacific Northwest, 1790-1967* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1988).

<sup>89</sup> Ann McGrath, "Tasmania: 1," in *Contested Ground: Australian Aborigines under the British Crown*, ed. Ann McGrath (St. Leonards: Allen and Unwin, 1995), 306-337.

<sup>90</sup> McGrath, "Tasmania," 312-313. Both Bonwick and West were far more critical of relationships between Indigenous women and sealers and whalers in Tasmania, arguing that in most cases the sealers and whalers kidnapped Indigenous women, making them their slaves. The differences in interpretation in the literature here are similar to trends in fur trade literature whereby more recent studies tend to give more agency and control to Indigenous women over their own fate than earlier historical writers. James Bonwick, *The Last of the Tasmanians; or, The Black War of Van Diemen's Land* (London: Sampson Low, Son and Marston, 1969, [1870]); John West, *The History of Tasmania*, A.G.L. Shaw, ed. (Sydney: Halstead Press, 1971, [1852]).

study was on Tasmania, similar processes would have occurred around whaling stations in New Zealand, although as Morton demonstrated, the relatively large Maori population in comparison to the number of whalers and the introduction of agriculture, the pig and a perceived increase in mutton-birding, created very different outcomes in New Zealand than in Tasmania.

As the discussion in this section demonstrates, the bulk of the existing literature on the fur trade and especially the whaling industry has focused on the relationships between Indigenous peoples and Europeans in the industries. In many cases, these scholars have not made extensive use of economic theory and numerical or quantifiable data, and have generally ignored the influence of labour, markets, commodification of resources and other such economic forces in the changes in Indigenous societies over time. As a result, little emphasis has been paid to the effects of participation in these industries on the pre-contact economies of the Indigenous peoples, and the connections between these impacts and contemporary economic issues facing many Indigenous communities.

### **The Use of Journals and Accounting Records in Fur Trade and Whaling Industry Literature**

In part as a reflection of the tendency of the literature to approach the fur trade and whaling industry from a social history perspective rather than an economic history perspective, much of the fur trade and whaling industry literature has ignored the accounting records and other numerical data available to researchers. This tendency to ignore accounting and numerical data might also reflect some of the difficulties working with the data and the methodological considerations required to analyze the data effectively. Nonetheless, the few scholars who have made use of these data

demonstrate the importance of these data when trying to understand Indigenous peoples' involvement in the industries, as well as the economic processes involved in the industries.

Ray and Freeman were one of the first scholars to make extensive use of the HBC's accounting records to explain Indigenous peoples' responses to the fur trade.<sup>91</sup> As discussed previously, their systematic analysis of HBC accounting data in the eighteenth century demonstrated the rational, economic decision making of the Indigenous trappers who came to trade at the HBC posts. Ray and Freeman, along with some other fur trade scholars, suggested in part that Indigenous trappers generally followed a backwards-sloping supply curve, such that when the HBC made the terms of trade more favourable toward the Indigenous peoples, the Indigenous peoples responded by bringing in the same or fewer furs as before because their need for European merchandise was relatively fixed.<sup>92</sup> While this explanation has been largely accepted by fur trade historians, Carlos and Lewis found differing evidence in their analysis of HBC accounting data.

By using a consumer behaviour model to analyze these data, Carlos and Lewis instead found that Indigenous trappers responded with an upwards-sloping supply curve and behaved in ways consistent with other European peasants at the time.<sup>93</sup> Carlos and Lewis focused on the consumption patterns of Indigenous people trading at York Factory from 1716 to 1770. They suggest that acceptance of the

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91 Ray and Freeman, *'Give Us Good Measure'*.

92 Ray and Freeman, *'Give Us Good Measure'*, 218-228. See also, Conrad E. Heidenreich and Arthur J. Ray, *The Early Fur Trade: A Study in Cultural Interaction* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), 48; Shepard Krech III, *The Ecological Indian: Myth and History* (New York: Norton, 1999), 184; Ray, *Indians in the fur trade*, 68; Trosper, "That Other Discipline," 203-204.

93 Ann M. Carlos and Frank D. Lewis, "Trade, Consumption, and the Native Economy: Lessons from York Factory, Hudson Bay," *The Journal of Economic History* Vol. 61, no. 4 (2001), 1037-1064.

backwards-sloping supply curve is based largely on evidence in reports written by HBC men at the trading posts; however, their application of a consumer behaviour model to understand the accounting data suggests instead that the perceptions of the HBC men were not accurate, that in fact Indigenous peoples did respond to more favourable terms of trade by increasing their effort in trapping.<sup>94</sup> Carlos and Lewis further noted that over time, Indigenous trappers began to expend less on producer and household goods (i.e. those goods that contributed to subsistence) and expend more on luxury goods, much like other European peasants at the same time.<sup>95</sup>

Carlos and Lewis have also used economic modeling to examine how pricing behaviour at HBC posts affected the Indigenous trappers' tendency to overharvest beaver in certain regions.<sup>96</sup> Generally, they found that posts that operated in near monopoly conditions tended to keep prices stable and at a level that encouraged maximum sustained yield for the beaver population, a strategy that led to a decline in the beaver populations but not a depletion. Alternatively, posts that faced competition caused the HBC to offer competitive prices and led to increased beaver harvesting and, because the Indigenous trappers viewed the beaver as an open-access resource, eventually led to depletion of beaver stocks.<sup>97</sup> Carlos and Lewis' work, however, seems to be largely ignored by more mainstream historians, perhaps because their use of economic modeling and cliometrics (i.e. historical econometrics) can be difficult to understand and evaluate without a background in economics.

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94 Carlos and Lewis, "Trade, Consumption," 1040-1041.

95 Carlos and Lewis, "Trade, Consumption," 1049, 1061.

96 Ann M. Carlos and Frank D. Lewis, "Property rights, competition, and depletion in the eighteenth-century Canadian fur trade: the role of the European market," *Canadian Journal of Economics* Vol. 32, no. 3 (1999), 705-728.

97 Carlos and Lewis, "Property Rights," 725-726.

Robert Jarvenpa and Hetty Jo Brumbach used HBC accounting data to supplement ethnographic and other historical data in order to understand the production and exchange behaviour of Indigenous peoples.<sup>98</sup> As such, they were able to examine how participation in the fur trade led to adaptive processes in the Chipewyan men's hunting strategy that led them to focus less on, and almost abandon, caribou hunting in favour of trapping fur-bearers for trade. Over time, the Chipewyan made increasing purchases of productive technology (mostly guns) and imported foods (mostly flour and lard). The authors extrapolated that individualized participation in the fur trade eventually led to a partial collapse of the sharing networks in the community, allowing some Chipewyan families to trade large quantities of moose meat while other Chipewyan families went to the post starving.<sup>99</sup> Jarvenpa and Brumbach demonstrated the importance of accounting data in understanding the larger impacts of Indigenous peoples' participation in the fur trade.

Jarvenpa and Brumbach completed a similar study focused on Métis Cree men also in the Ile a la Crosse region.<sup>100</sup> By examining the purchase, trade and employment patterns of individual Métis Cree men in the Ile a la Crosse region in the late nineteenth century, they were able to demonstrate different economic strategies employed by these men at the time. Jarvenpa and Brumbach argued that this type of analysis can not only shed light on the individual differences in seemingly homogenous groups, but can also provide insight into the adaptive

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98 Robert Jarvenpa and Hetty Jo Brumbach, "The Microeconomics of Southern Chipewyan Fur Trade History," in *The Subarctic Fur Trade: Native Social and Economic Adaptations*, ed. Shepard Krech III (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1984), 147-183.

99 Jarvenpa and Brumbach, "Microeconomics of Southern Chipewyan," 179.

100 Robert Jarvenpa and Hetty Jo Brumbach, "Occupational Status, Ethnicity, and Ecology: Metis Cree Adaptations in a Canadian Trading Frontier," *Human Ecology* Vol. 13, no. 3 (1985), 309-329.



processes of the larger communities over time.<sup>101</sup>

Tough used HBC accounting data to find insights into exchange patterns and unequal trade in northern Manitoba between 1870 and 1930.<sup>102</sup> He found that a competitive fur trade re-emerged in northern Manitoba in the late nineteenth century and that the behaviour of Indigenous peoples active in the trade at this time resembled the behaviour of Indigenous peoples during the period of HBC-French rivalry in the mid-eighteenth century. Moreover, Tough demonstrated that Indigenous peoples understood changes in fur prices and encouraged competition in the fur trade. They were not just shrewd consumers but also worked together to struggle against the mercantile monopoly of the HBC.

Similar to the fur trade literature, many scholars looking at the whaling industry make only minor use of accounting and numerical data, despite the relatively-wide availability of these data. Jackson, in his economic history of British whaling discussed previously, made extensive use of import records and other numerical data to determine the number of British whaling vessels in operation over time, and the quantity and value of whale products obtained and traded by these vessels over time.<sup>103</sup> In this way, he was able to analyze the British efforts in whaling over an extended period of time, and how British efforts compared to the efforts of other countries active in whaling, in a more comprehensive manner than previous studies of the industry.

Alastair Gray advocated for the use of American whalers' logs, catalogued and microfilmed by the Pacific Manuscripts Bureau, as a singular, comprehensive

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101 Jarvenpa and Brumbach, "Occupational Status," 326.

102 Tough, "Indian economic behaviour," 385-401.

103 Jackson, *British Whaling Trade*.

data source, rather than attempting to use each log in isolation.<sup>104</sup> By using the logs *en masse* and in conjunction with other sources, Gray argued, “it is possible to form a picture of the significance of the whalers, their trading and the impact it had on island societies.”<sup>105</sup> Thus, a systematic quantitative analysis of textual data can also provide more comprehensive understandings of the impacts of these industries over time than can the more common approach of reading journals in isolation and arriving at general impressions of whaling. A similar argument can be made for the systematic use of post journals in the fur trade literature, although few scholars have done so.

## **Conclusion**

As can be seen from the above discussion, although a significant amount of literature exists on the fur trade and the whaling industry, certain gaps are evident. While earlier studies at times used an economic history perspective to understand and evaluate the fur trade and whaling industry, more recent literature has focused on the social and political aspects of the industries, examining the adventurous stories of the men involved in the industries and the relationships between the Indigenous peoples and the Europeans. The shift towards emphasizing the agency of Indigenous peoples has meant that important concepts related to the political economy inherent in the industries have been ignored, and the impact of participation in the industries on the Indigenous peoples’ access to and use of natural resources has not been considered seriously by many scholars. In addition, many fur trade and whaling scholars have ignored the available accounting records and numerical data, missing

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104 Alastair C. Gray, “‘Light Airs from the South’: Whalers’ Logs in Pacific History,” *Journal of Pacific History* Vol. 35, no. 1 (2000), 109-113.

105 Gray, “Light Airs,” 109.

some key data sources that would provide greater insight into the behaviours of Indigenous peoples participating in these industries, as well as the impacts that such participation had on their pre-trade economies.

The research for this dissertation will help to fill some of these gaps in the literature. I use a systematic analysis of the post and whaling station journals and the Indian ledgers and Harwood's store ledgers to examine the nature of the participation of Indigenous peoples in the fur trade at the Ile a la Crosse post and the whaling industry at the Otakou shore station, and the effects that this participation had on the pre-trade economies of the Indigenous peoples involved. This research sheds new light on the fur trade and whaling industries, filling some of the gaps identified above, and suggests that a re-examination of what is understood as the "traditional economy" may be necessary.

### **Chapter 3: Methodology**

In order to better understand the involvement of Indigenous peoples in the regional economy of northern Saskatchewan and southern New Zealand in the nineteenth century, I examined two different types of archival documents for each region. First, I conducted a systematic analysis of the journals kept by the clerks at the Ile a la Crosse fur trade post and the journals kept by Octavius Harwood, the storeowner at the Otakou whaling station. This analysis was designed to create a detailed picture of the seasonal cycle of activities of Indigenous peoples as they interacted with the Ile a la Crosse post and the Otakou whaling station. Second, I conducted a systematic analysis of some of the accounting records kept by the Ile a la Crosse post and by Harwood. This analysis focused on the consumption and production patterns of Indigenous peoples in northern Saskatchewan and the Otago peninsula.

Together, the seasonal cycles and the consumption and production patterns provided insight into the involvement of Indigenous peoples in these two commercial industries, and challenged some of the common perceptions about the traditional economies of the Cree, Dene and Métis of northern Saskatchewan and the Maori (particularly the Ngai Tahu) of southern New Zealand in the nineteenth century. A detailed discussion of the sources of data, the steps taken to compile the seasonal cycles and the patterns of consumption and production, and some of the concerns and limitations of these data sources will help to provide a context for the analysis in subsequent chapters.

#### **Sources of Data**

As a well-organized and highly centralized joint-stock charter company, the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) kept meticulous records of its fur trading activities

in Rupertsland from its incorporation in 1670 until well into the twentieth century. For this research, I relied predominantly on two different sources of data from the HBC records, the daily post journals and a particular component of the accounting records, the Indian Ledgers, for the Ile a la Crosse post. The men involved in the South Pacific Whale Fishery also kept meticulous daily journals or logbooks and, in some cases, detailed accounting records. However, the men who engaged in whaling were not employees of a highly centralized company such as the HBC. Thus, the surviving records of the whaling operations, particularly the shore stations, are often scant and some are scattered across different archives. Nonetheless, I was able to locate and make use of the surviving journals and accounting records for the Otakou whaling station.

The daily journals maintained at each HBC post provide a detailed description of the activities at that post. Clerks were responsible for documenting weather patterns, specific activities of employees, interactions between the post and Indigenous peoples, and other pertinent details about the operations of the post. These post journals were then sent to the Company's head office in London, England so that post operations could be monitored and tracked over time. Given the requirements of the journals established by the head office, the basic content of journal entries remained relatively similar over the years and between posts despite changes in clerks and employees responsible for maintaining the journal.<sup>1</sup> Of course, the level of detail of the entries and the legibility of the writing changes depending on the writer. Most of the entries of the Ile a la Crosse post journal are

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<sup>1</sup> See for example, Arthur J. Ray and Donald Freeman, *'Give Us Good Measure': An Economic Analysis of Relations Between the Indians and the Hudson's Bay Company Before 1763* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), 114. Although the authors were referring in this case to the scrutiny of the accounting records by the governor and committee in London, it would seem logical that a similar scrutiny was given to the post journals at the same time.

a few sentences long and name pertinent employees and tasks assigned, as well as weather patterns, movement of Indians in and out of the post, and any out-of-the-ordinary visitors or events. Thus, a typical entry might read as follows:

Cold Clear Weather Three men hauling fire wood Four men busy working about the fort The Three fisheries only took 131 whitefish and very few other fish 2 Chipewyan arrived this evening from Lake Dore direction from old Dazzella Party Natoowyayea sent in his furs 51 MB and took 26 more in debt our men that was of [off] for meat arrived too night [*sic*] with there [*sic*] Loads of meat Peter Linklater has ban [been] unwell during the trip<sup>2</sup>

Although this entry is quite typical, other entries were much shorter with less details, while others were longer and provided more description, especially if unusual events were occurring at or near the post.

Like the fur trade post journals, the whaling journals recorded details about weather patterns, the specific activities of employees, interactions between the ship or station and Indigenous peoples and/or other ships and stations, and other pertinent details about the whaling operation. The whaling journals or logbooks were sometimes reviewed by the owners or investors of each particular whaling enterprise; however, there is less consistency between whaling journals and logbooks as there was not one over-arching company to set standards of entry.<sup>3</sup> However, in the case of the Otakou whaling station, Octavius Harwood was responsible for writing all of the existing journal entries; thus, there is considerable consistency between the entries in terms of what was recorded and how it was recorded. A typical entry in Harwood's journal reads:

Planting cabbages &c. in garden - got whaleboat hauled up - Mr. Hoare cutting in his whale - let him have a Fawl & Blocks - Capt. Shockley on

<sup>2</sup> HBCA B.89/a/35 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1864-1865, 4 March 1865, fo. 17. The entry has been reproduced as it appeared in the journal, including no punctuation.

<sup>3</sup> For some discussion of the different types of whaling journals that were kept and the reasons why many are no longer available for researchers to examine, see Harry Morton, *The Whale's Wake* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1982), 64, 130-131, 237-238.

shore - Ship Makin aground throughout - most of her hands on shore drunk  
 - Wd. S.W. - Agreed with Natives for potatoes.<sup>4</sup>

Of course, some entries were longer or shorter, depending on the time of year (i.e. whether or not it was the active whaling season) and if any unusual events had occurred.

Despite the similarities between fur trade post and whaling station journals, a number of key differences exist, which can make a comparative analysis more difficult. For example, the fur trade post journals were maintained by employees of one chartered corporation. While not all of the post journals have survived to the present day, the Company, and later the Hudson's Bay Company Archives (HBCA), went to considerable lengths to preserve these records. As such, the HBCA has post journals from over 500 posts from as early as 1705 to as late as 1949.<sup>5</sup> In contrast, the whaling station journals and logbooks were kept by a variety of individuals for the purposes of numerous different investors. Without a single over-seeing entity such as the HBC, of the many shore whaling stations that existed in New Zealand at one time, records remain from only three of these stations. Of these three, the only records that have any consistency are the journals and account books created by Otavius Harwood, who ran the store at the Otakou whaling station on the Otago Peninsula,<sup>6</sup> and the published journal of Captain G. Hempleman, who ran the Piraki station on Banks Peninsula.<sup>7</sup> Harwood's journal covers activities at the Otakou

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4 Hocken Library, MS-0438/03 G.C. Thomson Collection, Copy of Octavius Harwood Journals, 28 April 1841, p. 111.

5 For a complete listing of the post journals available at the HBCA, refer to their on-line finding aid: [www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/hbca/resource/post\\_rec/search.html](http://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/hbca/resource/post_rec/search.html).

6 These records are held by the Hocken Library in Dunedin, New Zealand. Specifically, Harwood's journals are kept as MS-0438/001, G.C. Thomson Collection, Journal Apr. 1838 – Jan. 1840; MS-0438/002, G.C. Thomson Collection, Journal Oct. 1840 – July 1842; and, MS-0438/003, G.C. Thomson Collection, Copy of Octavius Harwood Journals.

7 G. Hempleman, *The Piraki Log (E Pirangi Ahau Koe) or Diary of Captain Hempleman with Introduction, Glossary, Illustrations and Map* (London: Oxford University Press, 1910).

whaling station from 1838 to 1842, and Hempleman's journal covers activities on ship and at the shore station from 1835 to 1844. Thus, the still-existing HBC post journals are far more extensive and cover a much larger timeframe than do the still-existing journals of the shore whaling stations in New Zealand.

More significantly for this analysis, however, is the different emphasis on the type of activities recorded in the journals based on the differences between the operations of a fur trade post and the operations of a whaling station. The fur trade post journals are focused predominantly on the day-to-day activities required to keep the post running and self-sufficient. Thus, considerable emphasis is placed on recording the activities of men provisioning the post (e.g. fishing, hunting, gardening, etc.) and keeping the post functioning (e.g. blacksmithing, building and repairing houses, cutting and hauling firewood, etc.). Because the actual trapping of furs was carried out away from the post by Indigenous peoples who were not full-time employees, little mention is made of actual trapping practices (production), and only periodic mention is made of actual trading activities at times when the Indigenous trappers brought the furs to the post to trade.

In contrast, the actual act of whaling was occurring directly at the whaling station, and men employed at the station were there to engage in whaling predominantly, although at times they were required to perform other tasks. As a result, the whaling station journals are focused on whaling activities (production), at least during the active whaling season, and less emphasis is placed on the day-to-day chores required to keep the men at the station alive. Thus, while the whalers were expected to do some of the same basic activities as the fur traders, such as build their own houses, cut and haul their own firewood, and perform basic



maintenance around the station, the whaling journals spend less time detailing this type of activity than do the post journals.

In addition to the daily journals, I also made particular use of some of the accounting records kept by the HBC and by Harwood. The HBC, in particular, kept extensive accounting records at each post that allowed the head office in London to monitor the trade in Rupertsland, and in many cases the accounting records still in existence at the HBCA are more complete than the journals or the correspondence files.<sup>8</sup> The HBC accounting records are complex and include a number of different types of records, including invoices of goods at the post, post expenses, men's debts (i.e. the goods sold to employees), fur returns and district accounts.<sup>9</sup> Initially, while the HBC conducted its trade largely from the main posts, or "factories," located on the shore of the Hudson Bay, no detailed accounts were kept of the individual Indians coming in to trade at the post.<sup>10</sup> At this point in time, the bulk of the trade was conducted in a short period of time (usually a span of only a few days) by large trading parties that at times numbered over 200 men. The short period of time involved and the large number of Indians present meant that the HBC clerks could not maintain detailed records of this trade. Instead, the volume of trade was estimated by the detailed inventory conducted at the end of each trading year.<sup>11</sup> However, when the HBC expanded its trade into the interior of Rupertsland, the nature of the trade with Indians began to change. Indians no longer had to make

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8 Arthur J. Ray, "The Early Hudson's Bay Company Account Books as Sources for Historical Research: An Analysis and Assessment," *Archivaria* Vol. 1, no. 1 (1975-1976), 3, 5.

9 Ray and Freeman, *Give Us Good Measure*, 82.

10 I am using the term "Indian" here in the same manner that the HBC used the term. Thus, "Indian" generally referred to any Indigenous person not formally employed by the post. At Ile a la Crosse, an Indian could refer to a Cree, Dene or Métis person. The term is not meant to convey a legal definition such as that laid out in the *Indian Act*.

11 Ray, "Early Hudson's Bay Company Account Books," 13.

long and difficult journeys to the Hudson Bay to trade, but could instead make more regular visits to main posts or even outposts that were located closer to their trapping territories. Thus, while there were still peak periods of time when Indians were at the posts more frequently to trade, the posts were no longer faced with intense bursts of large-volume trade as before. So by the nineteenth century, the post clerks did start to record detailed records of the trade with individual Indian trappers. These records were often identified as the “Indian ledgers.”<sup>12</sup>

The Indian ledgers recorded in detail what each individual trapper purchased from the post, and in most cases, what they brought in for trade. While the purchases were almost always recorded in detail, including a description of the product, how much was purchased (if appropriate), the cost of each item, and often the date of transaction, the items brought in for trade were not always listed in such detail. Many times, the clerk simply recorded “furs” or “meat” and provided a price of the goods without recording the specific type of pelt or meat brought in, or even the quantity in some cases. The fur returns, of course, provided the detailed list of all furs brought in during the trading year; however, the individual trapper responsible for each fur is not identified, as the fur returns were simple inventories. Nonetheless, the Indian ledgers still provide a detailed picture of the basic consumption and production patterns of the Indian trappers engaging in the trade, both in volume and in cost.

The initial HBC accounting records were maintained using a unit of value called the “made beaver” (MB). This unit was derived by the Company as a means for accounting for a trade with Indigenous peoples who did not have a monetary system at the time of contact. The MB was the basic unit of value in the HBC

12 See for example, HBCA B.89/d/51a Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1839-1841.

accounting system and was theoretically equal to the value of a prime dressed winter beaver pelt. All goods sold by the Company to the Indians were assigned MB values, as were the furs, meat and other country produce brought in for trade.<sup>13</sup> By the mid 1860s, the Indian ledgers began to record transactions in pounds sterling instead of the made beaver.<sup>14</sup> Shifts in units of value complicate temporal analysis of the Indian ledgers.

Octavius Harwood, who operated the store at the Otakou whaling station, also kept detailed accounting records for his store. Harwood's records, however, or at least the ones still remaining, are not as complex or varied as the HBC accounting records. The remaining accounting records include one large ledger of store customers, one daybook of store transactions and sixteen notebooks recording various transactions, inventories and notes about customers. As Harwood was interacting with a more diverse customer base than was the HBC generally, Harwood's accounting records are not divided in the same way as the HBC records. The HBC was, for the most part, dealing with two customer bases – employees of the Company and Indians. As the Indians were responsible for producing the main item of interest of the Company – furs – it made sense to keep their transactions separate from those of the Company men. Harwood's customer base, in contrast, included: local and visiting Maori; employees of the Otakou whaling station, as well as other nearby whaling stations; captains, ship's mates and deckhands of

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<sup>13</sup> Ray, "Early Hudson's Bay Company Account Books," 9. A much more detailed discussion of the MB is provided later in this chapter.

<sup>14</sup> Ledgers other than the so-called Indian ledgers were recorded in pounds sterling at Ile a la Crosse for most of the time period under consideration. However, after the transfer of Rupertsland to the Dominion of Canada in 1870, some of the records were recorded in the Dominion currency (dollars). At this time, the Indian ledgers were recorded in pounds sterling. See for example, HBCA B.89/d/188, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1875-1876 and B.89/d/216a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1876-1879.

whaling ships and other vessels coming into Otago Harbour; other nearby store owners; and later local *pakeha* settlers.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, Harwood was not personally responsible for the sale of the products of the Otakou whale fishery – these products were sold by the Weller brothers out of Sydney. Thus, it was less important for Harwood to separate his customers into different accounting records. As a result, there are no ledgers or other records that detail only the transactions of the Maori. However, the transactions in the accounting records are on an individual basis and Harwood has recorded the Maori names of customers much of the time and sometimes even identified Maori customers as “Native.” Thus, it is still possible to separate transactions made by Maori from transactions made by non-Maori for the most part and in this way create a detailed picture of the basic consumption and production patterns of the Maori engaging in trade with Harwood, both in volume and in cost.

Harwood’s accounting records are more straightforward than some of the HBC records, and simply record basic transactions at the store. Much like the HBC records, the items purchased were recorded in detail, often including the quantity, cost and date of transaction. Although the Maori also would not have had a system of currency at the time of contact, the trade at Harwood’s store was not the primary reason for the existence of the whaling station. Thus, creating a unit of value like the HBC’s made beaver was not necessary. As such, the values in Harwood’s ledgers were recorded in pounds sterling. Nonetheless, a trade in commodities much like the fur trade still existed, and many Maori paid off their debts in various forms of country produce, including potatoes, flax and pork. At

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<sup>15</sup> The term *pakeha* is a Maori word, and is commonly used in New Zealand to describe non-Maori settlers.

times, however, cash transactions were also recorded with Maori customers. As only one unit of value was used throughout the time span of Harwood's accounting records, temporal analysis of these records is somewhat more straightforward than that of the HBC records.

Although the bulk of my research was focused on an analysis of the journals and accounting records as described above, I also made less extensive use of other sources of primary data to help fill in any gaps and to provide a better understanding of the data recorded in the journals and the accounting records. For example, I examined correspondence files, newspaper records, shipping records, district reports and written accounts and descriptions recorded by a variety of different people at the time. These other records also helped me understand the historical context of when and where the journals and accounting records were made, allowing for a better appreciation and understanding of the data in the journals and accounting records, and thus a deeper and more accurate analysis.

Focusing my analysis in part on the daily journals allowed me to understand in detail the participation of Indigenous peoples in the commercial industries of the fur trade and whaling. In particular, I used the journals to construct detailed seasonal cycles for the Ile a la Crosse post and the Otakou whaling station (a process that will be detailed later in this chapter). Detailed seasonal cycles allowed me to understand the basic rhythms of activities at the post and the station, and to understand how the Indigenous peoples who were not full-time employees of the post or the station fit in to this rhythm. I could more easily look for and try to understand the basic patterns of activities, and changes to these patterns over time, using seasonal cycles than by conducting a more impressionistic qualitative

analysis of the journals. The seasonal cycle analysis allowed me to understand the nature and timing of the involvement of Indigenous peoples in the regional commercial economies.

A detailed analysis of the HBC's Indian ledgers and Harwood's account ledgers was completed for the purposes of determining the patterns of consumption and production of Indigenous peoples involved in the fur trade and the whaling industry. Understanding what items Indigenous peoples were routinely purchasing and in what quantities and when, as well as what items Indigenous peoples were bringing to the post or station to trade, allowed me to extrapolate at least some of the impacts that participation in commercial economies had on the Indigenous peoples' economies, and some of the pressures and changes Indigenous peoples faced as a result of the encroachment of colonial commercial economies into their territories.

In both Canada and New Zealand, I chose a timeframe for the analysis of the journals and accounting records that would reflect a period some time after Indigenous peoples and Europeans had already established consistent trading relationships and covering a time that was politically important. For Canada, my analysis covers predominantly the 1830s to the 1870s, a period of time starting several decades after a fur trade post had been opened in the Ile a la Crosse region and extending beyond when the HBC officially transferred its interests in Rupertsland to the Dominion of Canada in 1870. In New Zealand, my analysis covers predominantly the 1830s and 1840s, a period of time starting several decades after the Maori had started trading regularly with Europeans visiting New Zealand (although not specifically shore-based whalers) and extending beyond the signing

of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. Unfortunately, in the case of New Zealand, I was significantly constrained by the limited records still available to researchers. Thus, I have a much richer timeframe for analysis in Canada than I do in New Zealand, although there are still some gaps in the timeframe in the Canadian records as well.

I chose to analyze the records for the Otakou whaling station (rather than a different whaling station) because it is the only shore whaling station for which journals and accounting ledgers still exist that I could find. I made use of all of these records still available, limited as they proved to be. However, Otakou has been described in the literature and was often identified as a typical whaling station. I chose the Ile a la Crosse post in northwest Saskatchewan to analyze in part because there was also a good selection of post journals and accounting records still available through the HBCA and because I had access to a similar analysis conducted by Frank Tough's research group, the Métis Aboriginal Title Research Initiative, or *matriX*. Additionally, Frank Tough and Naomi Krogman (supervisors for this dissertation) are part of the "Otipimsuak, The Free People: Métis Land and Society in Northwest Saskatchewan" research project, a Social Science and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) funded Community-University Research Alliance (CURA) project. This project has provided some funding for my dissertation research and the results of my research are of interest to the project. More importantly, however, Ile a la Crosse was an interesting post to use for several other reasons. Ile a la Crosse was an important contact zone for Cree, Dene and Métis peoples and as such shows a range of activities for different groups of Indigenous peoples involved in the fur trade. Ile a la Crosse was also an important post located near the Methy Portage where the Hudson Bay drainage system could be connected to the Mackenzie River

drainage system. As a result of its location, many different explorers and fur traders came through Ile a la Crosse and its environs, leaving a number of different records and observations that could be used in my analysis. Thus, both Ile a la Crosse and Otakou proved to be good example communities for my analysis.

### **Seasonal Cycles and the Analysis of the Daily Journals**

I tried to use as large a timeframe as possible to develop seasonal cycles for both Ile a la Crosse and Otakou in order to capture any changes over time. In both cases, however, the availability of daily journals hampered some of my efforts. For Otakou, Harwood's daily journal began in 1838 and ended in 1842. No other similar records existed for this station for any other years.<sup>16</sup> As such, I was only able to construct individual seasonal cycles for the years 1838 and 1839, and a combination seasonal cycle for the years 1840 to 1842. The analysis of these seasonal cycles appears in Chapter 6: Seasonal Cycle of Activities at Ile a la Crosse and Otakou.

The surviving HBC post journals for Ile a la Crosse are more extensive than those for Otakou; however, there are still gaps in the Ile a la Crosse post journals as well. I focused the bulk of my analysis on the journals from 1860 to 1865. Ideally, I would have extended this analysis into the 1870s, but no journals have survived for the period 1866 to 1888. I was also able to access data from the Ile a la Crosse journals from 1805 to 1865 that had been entered into a database by Anna Ste. Croix Rothney under the supervision of Frank Tough for the matriX project in

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<sup>16</sup> As mentioned previously, Hempleman's journal, the Piraki Log, is longer and covers the period from 1835 to 1844; however, the accounting records available from the Otakou station made this station the more suited for this comparative analysis. Nonetheless, I have created seasonal cycles based on Hempleman's journal as well. These cycles are presented in Appendix A. Hempleman, *The Piraki Log*.



2001. Although all of the existing journals in this time period have been entered by Rothney, I only compiled seasonal cycles for certain years to get a general sense of change over time, based partly on getting regular slices of time and partly on the completeness of data for any given year. I based my timeframe for analysis not on the calendar year, but on the HBC's outfit year, which ran from 1 June to 31 May. Thus, I have created seasonal cycles for the Ile a la Crosse post for the following outfit years: 1810-1811, 1815-1816, 1824-1825, 1831-1832, 1844-1845, 1855-1856, 1860-1861, 1862-1863, 1864-1865, and 1889-1890. The analysis of these seasonal cycles also appears in Chapter 6: Seasonal Cycle of Activities at Ile a la Crosse and Otakou.

The seasonal cycle concept was first developed by ethnographers interested in understanding the economies of Indigenous peoples.<sup>17</sup> This process has subsequently been used by other scholars to understand local or regional economies.<sup>18</sup> Arthur J. Ray and Frank Tough have used the seasonal cycle model to analyze fur trade post economies in order to understand the role of Indigenous peoples in the trade, the differences in post economies in different regions, and changes over time to post economies.<sup>19</sup> I have further refined this earlier work,

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17 See for example, Conrad Heidenreich, "Settlements and Missionaries, 1615-1650," in *Historical Atlas of Canada: Volume 1: From the Beginning to 1800*, ed. R. Cole Harris (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), Plate 34; and, Robert Jarvenpa, "Spatial and Ecological Factors in the Annual Economic Cycle of the English River Band of Chipewyan," *Arctic Anthropology* Vol. 13, no. 1 (1976), 43-69.

18 See for example, Richard Ruggles, "The West of Canada in 1783: Imagination and Reality," *The Canadian Geographer* Vol. 15, no. 4 (1971), 235-261.

19 See for example, Arthur J. Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade: their role as hunters, trappers and middlemen in the lands southwest of Hudson Bay, 1660-1870* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), 27-50; Frank Tough, "Research on Fur Trade and Native Economies in the Post-1870 Period: An Historical Geography Approach to the Daily Journals of the Hudson's Bay Company," *Native Studies Review* Vol. 3, no. 1 (1987), 129-146; and, Frank Tough, *'As Their Natural Resources Fail': Native Peoples and the Economic History of Northern Manitoba, 1870-1930* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press), 14-43.

making use of computer technology and programs not previously available to these other scholars.

I created my seasonal cycles in a four-step process. The first step was to enter the details of daily activities as recorded in the Ile a la Crosse post and Otakou whaling station journals into a database (see Figures 3.1 and 3.2).<sup>20</sup> Although not frequently used in Indigenous history to date,<sup>21</sup> the use of database technology provides the means to take complex and lengthy written documents and record detailed and extensive records that can be linked, searched, categorized and organized efficiently and effectively.<sup>22</sup> In this way, a richer and more detailed analysis can be conducted, moving beyond an impressionistic understanding of the journals, and seasonal cycle diagrams can be constructed in order to better depict the complex activities and economy of the Ile a la Crosse post and the Otakou station.

To populate the databases, I read each journal entry and marked and recorded each activity mentioned in the database. The date and day of the journal entry was recorded, as well as the basic weather patterns. I also recorded the names of employees who were mentioned and the names of any relevant visitors, particularly the Indigenous trappers who were named as they came in to the post to trade or for

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20 My database template for the post journals was influenced by the database used by Anna Ste. Croix Rothney mentioned previously. Although I used a similar layout and structure, my database includes more details that were relevant for this research. I used the same basic format for the whaling station journal database as for the fur trade post journal database.

21 For some notable exceptions see, Gerhard J. Ens, "Taking Treaty 8 Scrip, 1899-1900: A Quantitative Portrait of Northern Alberta Métis Communities," *Treaty 8 Revisited: Selected papers on the 1999 Centennial Conference, Lobstick: An Interdisciplinary Journal* Vol. 1, no. 1 (1999-2000), 229-258; Jan Grabowski and Nicole St-Onge, "Montreal Iroquois engages in the Western Fur Trade, 1800-1821," in *From Rupert's Land to Canada*, eds. Theodore Binnema, Gerhard J. Ens and R.C. Macleod (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2001), 23-58; and, D.N. Sprague and R.P. Frye, *The Genealogy of the First Métis Nation* (Winnipeg: Pemmican Publications, 1983).

22 Jeremy Atask and Fred Bateman, "'Matchmaker, Matchmaker, Make Me a Match': A General Personal Computer-Based Matching Program for Historical Research," *Historical Methods* Vol. 25, no. 2 (1992), 53-71; and, Ian Winchester, "What Every Historian Needs to Know About Record Linkage for the Microcomputer Era," *Historical Methods* Vol. 25, no. 4 (1992), 149-167.

## Hudson's Bay Company Post Journal 1860-1885

**Post** Ile a la Crosse **District** English River

**Date of Journal Entry** year month day day of the week  
 1861 7 1  Monday  Wednesday  Friday  Sunday  
 Tuesday  Thursday  Saturday

### General Tasks

trading furs  transporting  looking for Indians  blacksmithing  making/repairing gear  
 packing furs  freighting  issuing debt  carpentry  Other...  
 tanning  portaging  contracting to mission  boat work

**number of Indians at post** 2 **type of fur brought in** rats grizzly bear **amount of fur brought in** 45 MB 1

**other products brought in**

**produce of fishery** 130 whitefish, few carp and pike **produce of garden**

**produce of hunting** **produce of hay fields**

### General Activities

fishing  gardening - tending  making/repairing fences  issuing clothing  
 net-making  gardening - harvesting  building stockade  issuing medicine  
 hunting  gathering food  general maintenance  issuing equipment  
 haying - prep fields  gathering firewood  making snowshoes  issuing provisions  
 haying - planting  gathering timber  food prep  medical services  
 haying - tending  getting water  storing food  tending to livestock  
 haying - harvesting  cutting firewood  issuing food  sundry jobs  
 haying - carting  cutting timber  issuing tea/coffee  traveling/exploring  
 gardening - prep  building houses/sheds  issuing alcohol  as required  
 gardening - planting  repairing houses/sheds  issuing tobacco  Other...

Receiving	Providing	Amount of Provisions, etc. Issued	
<input type="checkbox"/> furs	<input type="checkbox"/> alcohol	pork	beef
<input type="checkbox"/> fish	<input type="checkbox"/> tobacco	flour	sugar
<input type="checkbox"/> meat	<input type="checkbox"/> guns/ammo	tea	tobacco
<input type="checkbox"/> fowl	<input type="checkbox"/> fish	alcohol	other
<input type="checkbox"/> pemmican	<input type="checkbox"/> meat	clothing	
<input type="checkbox"/> fat	<input type="checkbox"/> fowl	trapping gear	
<input type="checkbox"/> Other...	<input type="checkbox"/> potatoes		
	<input type="checkbox"/> flour		
	<input type="checkbox"/> Other...		

reference HBCA, B.89/a/31 Ile a la Crosse Post Journals 1860-1861, reel 1M64

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**Figure 3.1 Sample record from the Ile a la Crosse post journal database, continued on next page**

## Hudson's Bay Company Post Journal 1860-1885

### Stock

oxen  dogs  horses  cows  fowl  Other...

### Movements

#### General Movements

Indians visiting post  Men arriving at post  Boats arriving  Other...  
 Indians leaving post  Men leaving post  Boats departing

#### Employees

Arriving  
 Departing

#### Locations

#### List of Employees

Antoine Bruce, Michael Bouvier  
 Daigeau, Mikkokopaw

#### Job Description

edging boards for weatherboarding Deschambault's house  
 hauling pickets from beach to barn

#### Aboriginal people

Arriving  
 Departing

**Locations** from Pelican Lake

#### Local Aboriginal people

Thunder's son and his brother-in-law

reference HBCA, B.89/a/31 Ile a la Crosse Post Journals 1860-1861, reel 1M64

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 number

**Figure 3.1 Sample record from the Ile a la Crosse post journal database, continued from previous page**

## Hudson's Bay Company Post Journal 1860-1885

### Weather Patterns

strong winds    snow    fog    winter freeze  
 rain    blizzard    spring break-up    Other...

### Other Significant Details

### Journal Entry

Weather the same as yesterday. Antoine Bruce and Michael Bouvier edging boards for the weatherboarding of Mr. Deschambeaults house Daigneau and Mikkokipaw hauling the remainder of the pickets from the beach to the barn. The Thunder's son and his brotherinlaw arrived yesterday evening from Pelican Lake with 45 MB in Rats and a Large Grizzle Bear fishery 130 Whitefish a few Carp and pike. The Indians that arrived left this evening.

reference HBCA, B.89/a/31 Ile a la Crosse Post Journals 1860-1861, reel 1M64

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**Figure 3.1 Sample record from the Ile a la Crosse post journal database, continued from previous page**

## Otakou Station Journal 1838 - 1842

**Station** Otakou **Location** Otago Peninsula

**Date of Journal Entry** year month day day of the week  
 1839 9 10  Monday  Wednesday  Friday  Sunday  
 Tuesday  Thursday  Saturday

### General Tasks

- |  |   |  |
|--|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> whaling - look-out                  | <input type="checkbox"/> whaling - cleaning whalebone | <input type="checkbox"/> building try-works          |
| <input type="checkbox"/> whaling - whales spotted            | <input type="checkbox"/> whaling - storing oil        | <input type="checkbox"/> repairing try-works         |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> whaling - boats out      | <input type="checkbox"/> whaling - storing whalebone  | <input type="checkbox"/> coopering                   |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> whaling - chasing whales | <input type="checkbox"/> whaling - shipping oil       | <input type="checkbox"/> making/repairing other gear |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> whaling - whales taken   | <input type="checkbox"/> whaling - shipping whalebone | <input type="checkbox"/> storing whaling gear        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> whaling - towing/anchoring whale    | <input type="checkbox"/> shipping non-whale products  | <input type="checkbox"/> marking equipment           |
| <input type="checkbox"/> whaling - cutting in                | <input type="checkbox"/> boat/ship building           | <input type="checkbox"/> sailing                     |
| <input type="checkbox"/> whaling - cutting bone out          | <input type="checkbox"/> boat/ship repairing          | <input type="checkbox"/> Other...                    |
| <input type="checkbox"/> whaling - trying out                | <input type="checkbox"/> boat/ship maintenance        |  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> whaling - clearing head, etc.       | <input type="checkbox"/> making masts/other carpentry |  |

**number of boats out**                      **number of whales spotted**                      **successful chase**  yes  no                      **number of whales taken** 1

**non-whale products shipped**

**tons of oil**                                      **lbs of whalebone**

### General Activities

- |   |   |   |  |
|---|---|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> fishing            | <input type="checkbox"/> cutting timber                     | <input type="checkbox"/> issuing food               | <input type="checkbox"/> sundry jobs         |
| <input type="checkbox"/> hunting            | <input type="checkbox"/> drying flags                       | <input type="checkbox"/> issuing tea/coffee         | <input type="checkbox"/> traveling/exploring |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> trading | <input type="checkbox"/> making flax products               | <input type="checkbox"/> issuing clothing           | <input type="checkbox"/> as required         |
| <input type="checkbox"/> gathering food     | <input type="checkbox"/> building houses/sheds              | <input type="checkbox"/> issuing whaling gear       | <input type="checkbox"/> Other...            |
| <input type="checkbox"/> gathering firewood | <input type="checkbox"/> repairing houses/sheds             | <input type="checkbox"/> issuing tools/equipment    |  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> gathering timber   | <input type="checkbox"/> thatching                          | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> issuing alcohol |  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> getting water      | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> making/repairing fences | <input type="checkbox"/> issuing tobacco            |  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> getting clay       | <input type="checkbox"/> cleaning/general maintenance       | <input type="checkbox"/> issuing medicine           |  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> gardening          | <input type="checkbox"/> stowing provisions                 | <input type="checkbox"/> providing medical services |  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> cutting wood/grass | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> issuing provisions      | <input type="checkbox"/> accounting work            |  |

Receiving	Providing	Amount of Provisions, etc. Issued	
<input type="checkbox"/> fish	<input type="checkbox"/> alcohol	pork	beef
<input type="checkbox"/> meat	<input type="checkbox"/> tobacco	flour	sugar
<input type="checkbox"/> fowl	<input type="checkbox"/> guns/ammo	tea	tobacco
<input type="checkbox"/> flax	<input type="checkbox"/> fish	alcohol 3 pts.	other
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> potatoes	<input type="checkbox"/> meat	clothing	
<input type="checkbox"/> vegetables	<input type="checkbox"/> fowl	whaling gear	
<input type="checkbox"/> fruit	<input type="checkbox"/> potatoes		
<input type="checkbox"/> whalebone	<input type="checkbox"/> flour		
<input type="checkbox"/> Other...	<input type="checkbox"/> Other...		

reference MS-0438/03, G.C. Thomson Collection, Copy of Octavius Harwood Journals

Entered 12/04/06

Verified

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number

Figure 3.2 Sample record from the Otakou whaling station journal database, continued on next page

Otakou Station Journal 1838 - 1842		
<b>Movements</b>		
Ships in harbour	Captain	
Ships departing	Captain	
<hr/>		
Employees/ Europeans	<input type="checkbox"/> Arriving <input type="checkbox"/> Departing	Locations
List of Employees	Job Description	
Sutton		
Price		
<hr/>		
Maori	<input type="checkbox"/> Arriving <input type="checkbox"/> Departing	Locations
Local Maori		
Blueskin		
<hr/>		
reference	MS-0438/03, G.C. Thomson Collection, Copy of Octavius Harwood Journals	
Entered	12/04/06	Verified
		page/folio 51 number

**Figure 3.2** Sample record from the Otakou whaling station journal database, continued from previous page

## Otakou Station Journal 1838 - 1842

### Weather Patterns

light winds     strong winds     heavy sea/swell     snow     Other...  
 moderate winds     squall     rain     fog

### Other Significant Details

received 20 baskets of potatoes from Blueskin  
 Maoris meeting at Jackey Kie's with Bloody Jack

### Journal Entry

Issued Spirits to Sutton 3 pts. provisions to 33 Hands and 2 Tanguers - received 20 Baskets Potatoes from Blueskin - a Meeting of Natives as yesterday - Mr. Price killed a whale close to the Heads - Native & 2 Europeans Employed about the fences - W. - light airs from S.E. throughout - goat kid

reference MS-0438/03, G.C. Thomson Collection, Copy of Octavius Harwood Journals

Entered 12/04/06

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number

**Figure 3.2** Sample record from the Otakou whaling station journal database, continued from previous page



other reasons. Finally, I also made note of any significant or unusual happenings that were recorded in the journal. In this way, a detailed understanding of the daily activities of the post, and the events that might disrupt the usual activities, could be developed.

The post journals for Ile a la Crosse have been microfilmed (see Figure 3.3), and it was the microfilmed versions of these journals for the years 1860 to 1865 and 1889 to 1890 that I entered into my database. The microfilmed versions of post journals can be, not surprisingly, difficult to read at times. The quality of image was not consistent, and some pages were clearer than others. Occasionally, pages from the original journals were torn and thus some entries were missing. The handwriting of some of the clerks was difficult to read at times, and on occasion the clerks did not record entries for certain days for unknown reasons. Inconsistencies occurred when the individuals serving as clerk changed over the years. Some clerks wrote very concise entries, recording something as simple as “nothing happening,” while other clerks wrote long and detailed descriptions of daily activities. Nonetheless, certain basic data were recorded consistently and thus detailed records could be entered into the database over the time period in question.

The Otakou journals written by Octavius Harwood have not been microfilmed, and the original copies are kept at the Hocken Library in Dunedin, NZ. G.C. Thomson transcribed the journals, and these transcriptions are also held at the Hocken Library. In order to avoid the potential for errors when reading nineteenth century handwriting, I entered the daily activities into my database from the transcriptions; however, I then verified my entries and Thomson’s transcription by referring to the original journals kept by Harwood (see Figure 3.4). Although the Otakou journals had the benefit of being recorded by only one individual who

Ile a la Crose February 1865.

Tuesday 28<sup>th</sup> Cold Clear weather 5 men sent of this morning with the Hunter for meat with five teams of dogs Antoin Morin Chop Capple hear at the fort. Jov sickness working at the old house taken the weather Boarden off. 3 men haul firewood with the oven and horse. The three fishers took 145 whitefish today beside other fish m<sup>r</sup> McHenry invited his Lord ship and Sam Moley with the 2 Brothers to dinner along with us today.

Wednesday 1<sup>st</sup> March 1865. — — —  
 Clear Cold weather Three men hauling fire wood four men hauling square timber with 5 teams of dogs Antoin Mowangyea brushing for 2 nets Desautels assisting him for a skin making a Cappa for a Cheuegan child that died here this morning belonging to Paccan. The three fishers only took 180 whitefish today.

Thursday 2<sup>nd</sup> The wind norwest blowing stormy Cold. The three fishers only took 120 whitefish and very few other fish. Three men hauling fire wood 5 men hauling square timber with dogs Desautels unwell a Cheuegan child berayed to day m<sup>r</sup> McHenry fare out Bations to day has we was all off. Old Desourey very unwell getting worse every day he has been suffering with the gravel for some time back.

Friday 3<sup>rd</sup> Cold Clear weather three men hauling fire wood two men working hear about the fort. Peeling the weather board in the new house Jov sickness working at the old house Antoin Morin squaring Capple hear ready for spring. Three fishers only took 120 whitefish today.

Saturday 4<sup>th</sup> Cold Clear weather Three men hauling fire wood four men haul working about the fort. The three fishers only took 131 whitefish and very few other fish. 2 Cheuegan arrived the evening from Lake Dore direction from old Dayyolla Party Mawangyea sent in his furs 51<sup>ms</sup> and took 26 more in debt over men that was of for meat arrived too night with three load of meat. Peter Lenkator has been unwell during the trip.

Figure 3.3 Sample page from the Ile a la Crose post journal

Source: HBCA B.89/a/35 Ile a la Crose Post Journal 1864-1865

July

Sat. 20<sup>th</sup> - Mowray employed cleaning Bone & received 1/2 head Bone from Mr. Tanguer - cooper blowing off Cask for Schooner - 11 Casks Oil shipped on board Dutch Packet - Issued tobacco to Capt. Hayes & -  
 Sat. 21<sup>st</sup> - Mowray employed cleaning Bone & cooper blowing off Casks for Schooner - setting up Shooks &c. - sent Cask down to Middle Fishery - Issued Tobacco &c. to People -  
 Sun 22<sup>nd</sup> - Mowray employed as yesterday - Issued log to Gang of Upper Fishery - Loats not out - John Clark made 170 Staves this week - 987 in all -  
 Mon 23<sup>rd</sup> - Mowray employed cleaning Bone &c. - bracked a Puncheon of Rum - drew off 20 gallons Smoke out Tobacco - Shipped 9 Casks 45 1/2 Gallons Tonger Oil on board Schooner - gave Tanguer receipt for the same - Cooper set up and flagged two American Shooks -  
 Tues 24<sup>th</sup> - Issued provisions to Gangs - Mowray employed cleaning Bone &c. - Cooper set up and flagged 2 American Shooks -  
 Wed 25<sup>th</sup> - Issued provisions to Mechanics - Mowray employed cleaning Bone &c. Shipped 10 Casks Oil on board Schooner - Cooper blowing off Casks &c. -  
 Thurs 26<sup>th</sup> - Mowray employed cleaning Bone - Cooper - coopering 60's for Schooner - gave Capt. Wells 1 Keg Powder for to give for wood - Shipped a basketeer of the name of Corjan from Schooner D.P. - Carter to go on board in lieu -  
 Fri 27<sup>th</sup> - Mowray employed tying up Bone &c. received half head Bone from Middle Fishery - Cooper as yesterday - gave Mr. Poice a receipt for his Oil -  
 Sat. 28<sup>th</sup> - Mowray employed weighing Bone &c. Shipped 3 Ton 16 Cwt 22 1/2 lbs Bone on board D.P. - received 1/2 Head Bone from Middle Fishery - Manuel King gang provisions as a headman from this date - Shipped 1 Cask Contg. 59. Flour Sacks on board D.P. -  
 Sun 29<sup>th</sup> - Mowray employed tying up Bone &c. - Issued L. worth Hats to Capt. Wells -  
 Mon 30<sup>th</sup> - Weighed and Shipped Bone on board Schooner - Issued provisions to Schooner - bracked east Iron ch Park - gave Mr. Brown 30 Gall. Rum - issued 1/2 of Tobacco -

Figure 3.4 Sample page from Harwood's journal kept at the Otakou whaling station

Source: Hocken Library MS-0438/001 G.C. Thomson Collection, Journal Apr. 1838-Jan.1840

did not change over the years, there was still some inconsistency with the level of detail recorded on each day. As with the Ile a la Crosse post journal, on some days Harwood recorded considerable detail of the activities of the men, while on other days he recorded very little. Harwood also did not record activities on every day without an explanation as to why certain days were missed, much like the Ile a la Crosse journals. Nonetheless, a detailed record of the day-to-day activities of the Otakou whaling station was recorded in the database for the timeframe that was available.

Databases allow for easier sorting and analyzing of numerous and complex data, such as what can be taken from the post and station journals. These two databases contained a rich and detailed understanding of what went on at Ile a la Crosse and Otakou on a daily basis; however, to create a visual representation of the seasonal cycle of activities at these two places, I found it necessary to group the specific activities into broader and more general categories that represented the major activities being conducted and enter these into a spreadsheet for more convenient analysis (see Figures 3.5 and 3.6). For the Ile a la Crosse post, I used the following categories of activities:

- *fishing*, which included net-making, trenching and other related activities;
- *hunting*, which was specific to the activities of the post hunters and not other Indigenous people who brought in game to trade;
- *gardening and haying*;
- *receiving provisions*, which identified when Indigenous people who were not formally engaged by the post brought in game and other food products to trade;

Post: Ile a la Crosse  
 District: English River  
 Year: 1 June 1862 - 31 May 1863

Archival Reference:  
 HBCA B.89/a/32-34 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1862-1863  
 Reel 1M165

Month	Date		Activities										Indians Arriving/Departing			Remarks		
	Day	Day of Week	Fishing	Hunting	Gardening/Haying	Receiving Provisions	Other Subsistence Activities	Trading Activities	Relationship Building	Transportation	Skilled Labour	Unskilled Labour	Miscellaneous	with furs	with provisions		other	Boats Arriving/Departing
February	1	Su																
	2	Mo																
	3	Tu																
	4	We																
	5	Th																
	6	Fr																
	7	Sa																
	8	Su																
	9	Mo																
	10	Tu																
	11	We																
	12	Th																
	13	Fr																
	14	Sa																
	15	Su																
	16	Mo																
	17	Tu																
	18	We																
	19	Th																
	20	Fr																
	21	Sa																
	22	Su																
	23	Mo																
	24	Tu																
	25	We																
	26	Th																
	27	Fr																
	28	Sa																

Figure 3.5 Sample page from the Ile a la Crosse post activities spreadsheet

Station: Otakou  
 Location: Otago Peninsula, NZ  
 Year: 1838

Archival Reference:  
 Hocken Library, MS-0438/001, G.C. Thomson Collection, Journal April 1838 - January 1840

Month	Date		Activities										Remarks	
	Day	Day of Week	Provisioning the Station	Trading with other Whalers/Ships	Trading with Maori	Whaling Activities	Outfitting Employees	Transportation	Skilled Labour	Unskilled Labour	Miscellaneous	Ships in Harbour		Maori arriving/departing
July	1	Su												labour dispute continues, so Maori are manning the whaling boats
	2	Mo												
	3	Tu												
	4	We												
	5	Th												
	6	Fr												
	7	Sa												potatoes from Jackey White
	8	Su												La Fawn
	9	Mo												
	10	Tu												La Fawn
	11	We												Dublin Packet
	12	Th												
	13	Fr												
	14	Sa												
	15	Su												
	16	Mo												whalebone from Jackey Parker
	17	Tu												
	18	We												
	19	Th												Dublin Packet
	20	Fr												Dublin Packet
	21	Sa												
	22	Su												boats not out
	23	Mo												Dublin Packet
	24	Tu												
	25	We												Dublin Packet
	26	Th												
	27	Fr												
	28	Sa												Dublin Packet
	29	Su												Dublin Packet
	30	Mo												Dublin Packet
	31	Tu												

Figure 3.6 Sample page from the Otakou whaling station activities spreadsheet

- *other subsistence activities*, which included taking care of livestock and any other activity specific to the subsistence of the men at the post not covered by the categories listed above;
- *trading activities*, which included trading furs, packing furs, looking for Indians, issuing debt, inventory and other similar activities;
- *relationship building*, which included issuing goods and supplies to Indians, providing relief to Indians and other similar activities;
- *skilled labour*, which included blacksmithing, carpentry, boat work, building houses and other similar activities;<sup>23</sup>
- *unskilled labour*, which included gathering firewood, chopping firewood, hauling materials, sundry jobs and other similar activities;
- *transportation*, which included transporting, preparing to send boats out, issuing and packing supplies and trade goods and other similar activities; and,
- *miscellaneous*, which included activities like contracting to the mission, providing medical services and tending to the cemetery.

As can be seen by this list, the majority of daily activities conducted at the post were concerned with ensuring that the post was self-sufficient and operating with little assistance from the Company's head office in London.

While I tried to maintain similar broad categories for the Otakou station, the categories had to be adjusted in some ways to reflect the activities of a whaling station that differed from a fur trading post, as well as to reflect the different emphasis placed on the recorded activities at the station and the post as discussed

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<sup>23</sup> This category of skilled labour includes only those activities conducted by regular employees of the post. While the activities of Indigenous people trapping and trading with the post could certainly be classified as skilled, it is important to keep these activities separate from the activities of employees for this analysis.

previously. The categories I used for the Otakou whaling station were as follows:

- *provisioning the station*, which included fishing, hunting (although not the hunting conducted by the station owners and other “sport” hunting), gathering food, gardening, working with livestock, food preparation and other similar activities conducted by employees of the station;
- *trading with ships or other whalers*, which included all activities associated with receiving, providing or trading goods with other whaling stations in New Zealand (notably the station at Waikouaiti) or ships that had come into the harbour;
- *trading with Maori*, which included all activities associated with receiving, providing or trading goods with local or visiting Maori who were not employees of the station at the time;
- *whaling activities*, which included watching for whales, chasing whales, trying out whales,<sup>24</sup> storing and shipping whale products, storing and shipping non-whale products to be sold in Sydney, hiring men and other similar activities;
- *outfitting employees*, which included issuing provisions, slops,<sup>25</sup> food, tea, coffee, clothing, whaling gear, tools, equipment, alcohol, tobacco and any other item provided to employees in order for them to work;
- *skilled labour*, which included boat/ship building and repairing, mast-making, carpentry, building try-works, coopering, building and repairing houses, cutting timber, making flax products and other similar activities;<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> “Trying out” referred to the process whereby the whale blubber was boiled down to produce oil.

<sup>25</sup> “Slops” was the term applied to the clothing provided to whalers.

<sup>26</sup> Try-works were the structures used to boil down whale blubber into oil. Similarly to the skilled labour at the trading post, this category includes only the activities of employees of the station. Again, some of the activities of the Maori could be classified as skilled; however, it is important to keep those activities separate from the activities of station employees for this analysis.



- *unskilled labour*, which included boat/ship maintenance, storing gear, marking equipment, gathering firewood, getting water or clay, cutting wood and grass, drying flags, fencing, general maintenance, stowing gear and provisions, sundry jobs and other similar activities; and
- *miscellaneous*, which included issuing medicine, providing medical services, caring for deceased employees and other similar activities.

While many of these categories are similar to the categories used for the post journals, less detailed information was recorded for activities conducted to provision the station. In part, this difference may be due to an emphasis in the Otakou journals on the acts of whaling more than other daily activities. It may also, however, be a reflection of the fact that the purpose of the ships coming from Sydney was to pick up the whale products and other materials produced at the station and thus these ships could bring provisions for the station, as well as goods for trade and sale, on the trip out. In contrast, the purpose of the HBC ships bound for Canada was to bring the numerous and varied goods necessary to sustain a profitable trade, and thus the ships could not afford to bring provisions for the numerous posts as well.

Once the daily activities were grouped into these broad categories in a spreadsheet, these categories were “mapped out” in a circular diagram that visually represents the patterns of activities at fur trade posts or whaling stations. While all of the broad categories of activities that were conducted at the post or station were included in the seasonal cycle diagrams, the main emphasis of analysis was placed on those activities involving Indigenous people who were *not* full-time employees of the trading post or the whaling station. By focusing on these Indigenous people, I can consider the rough percentage of time that these individuals were engaged

in commercial activities. As well, I can consider the timing of this involvement. These diagrams and the analysis can be found in Chapter 6: Seasonal Cycle of Activities at Ile a la Crosse and Otakou.

### **Patterns of Consumption and Production and the Analysis of the Accounting Ledgers**

As much as possible, I tried to use the same years of analysis of the daily journals for the accounting records; again, however, I was constrained and influenced by the availability of surviving records for the Ile a la Crosse post and the Otakou whaling station. As with the daily journals, much more extensive accounting records existed for the HBC and the Ile a la Crosse post than for the Otakou whaling station, although variability in the consistency of these accounting records over the years influenced my analysis. In order to focus on the activities of the Indigenous trappers, I made use of the so-called “Indian ledgers” rather than other accounting records kept by the HBC, such as the men’s accounts or the district accounts (see Figure 3.7). I could not find Indian ledgers for all of the years covered by the existing accounting records for Ile a la Crosse, but was able to identify Indian ledgers for most years that corresponded to the seasonal cycle analysis. As there was such a large number, and given the extensive amount of time required to record and analyze this accounting data, I created summary records for some years and detailed records for other years.

For the summary records, only the number of items purchased or brought in for trade and the cost of items purchased or brought in for trade was recorded (see Figures 3.8 and 3.9). By not recording and categorizing the specific items purchased, the data entry process was completed much more quickly, while still providing

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Neeles

D<sup>43</sup> B<sup>43</sup>

		MB	Prud	MB	Prud	MB	Prud
1832	Sept-20	To Sundries of this date	18				
		To Tobacco for 100 S.		1			
1833	Feb-17	By Furs - To Amur & Leggind	5		18		
	Apr-21	To 2 Beaver Skins - To a Knife for Hudson			2		
	May 16	By 8 Rats			1		
		By Balance			2 1/2		1
			2 3/4	1	2 3/4		1
		To Balance	2 1/4				
		By Furs					
	" 21	To Sundries	8				
1834		To provisions for Tobes & Matt		10			
	April 22	By Furs - To Sundries?	9		19		
		To Sundries C. Beave	8				
1835	March 26	By Furs for his son			8		
		To Sundries at Attabasca	4				
		By Balance			4 1/2		1
			3 1/2	1	3 1/2		1
		To Balance due	14				
		To Powder, Balls, Shot, &c. 100 lbs	6				
		To 2 Furs & Gun's Bracket	4				
1836	Sept 27	By Furs			3		
		By Balance			11		
			14		14		
		To Bal carried to new Acct page 82	11				

Figure 3.7 Sample page from the Indian ledger at Ile a la Crosse post

Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a Ile a la Crosse Account Book 1832-1837

## Summary of Consumption Patterns at Ile a la Crosse

Outfit Year: 1854 - 1855

Archival Reference: HBCA B.89/d/86

Reel: 1M494

Quantity	Price (MB)	Price (£)			Date Purchased			Folio
		£	s	d	Year	Month	Day	
46	224							1
37	145							1
23	82							1
27	145							2
22	88							2
20	55							2
11	55							2
19	104							3
13	41							3
38	149							3
38	126							4
23	90							4
12	49							4
27	50.5							5
18	49							5
39	119							5
19	71.5							5
25	85							5
9	48							6
11	40							6
6	49							6
7	21							6
38	105							6

Figure 3.8 Sample page from the Ile a la Crosse post Indian ledger summary of consumption patterns spreadsheet

## Summary of Production Patterns at Ile a la Crosse

Outfit: 1839 - 1840

Archival Reference: HBCA B.89/d/51a

Reel: IM492

Quantity	Price (MB)	Price (£)			Date Sold			Folio
		£	s	d	Year	Month	Day	
3	51				1840	3	30	2[1]
3	7				1840	5	2	2[1]
1	10				1840	3	30	3[2]
1	1.5				1840	5	2	3[2]
1	2.5				1840	5	29	3[2]
11	113				1840	5	29	3[3]
5	63				1840	5	28	4[4]
5	37				1840	3	30	4[5]
1	2				1840	5	3	4[5]
5	56				1840	3	30	5[6]
1	2				1840	5	2	5[6]
2	7				1840	5	26	5[6]
1	40				1840	4	4	5[7]
4	24				1840	4	18	5[7]
1	2				1839	9	15	6[8]
14	156				1840	5	24	6[8]
6	130				1840	5	22	6[9]
1	2				1839	9	15	6[8]
14	156				1840	5	24	6[8]
6	155				1840	5	22	6[9]
1	5				1840	5	22	6[9]
6	82				1840	5	24	7[10]
1	22				1840	5	22	7[11]

**Figure 3.9** Sample page from the Ile a la Crosse post Indian ledger summary of production patterns spreadsheet

me basic information for analysis. I chose files that were particularly rough and difficult to read, and in the middle and the end of the time period I was considering to allow for a detailed analysis over time. Summary data were collected from four ledgers (1839-1841, 1841-1843, 1854-1855 and 1876-1879) providing analysis for the following outfit years: 1839-1840, 1840-1841, 1841-1842, 1842-1843, 1843-1844, 1854-1855, 1876-1877, 1877-1878 and 1878-1879. For the detailed records, I recorded not only the number and value of items purchased or brought in for trade, but also the specific item and quantity purchased or brought in for trade (see Figures 3.10 and 3.11). Detailed data were collected from an additional four ledgers (1832-1837, 1862, 1863-1866 and 1875-1876) providing analysis for the following outfit years: 1832-1833, 1833-1834, 1834-1835, 1835-1836, 1836-1837, 1860-1861, 1862-1863, 1863-1864, 1865-1866 and 1875-1876.

For Otakou, the surviving account ledgers start later than the daily journals, but go for a longer period of time. Thus, I was able to look at the consumption and production patterns for Maori coming into Harwood's store for every year from 1841 to 1848 (see Figure 3.12). Some years, however, had more recorded transactions than others. For example, in 1844 only fifteen transactions with Maori were recorded and in 1847 only twelve such transactions were recorded. In contrast, in 1841, 274 transactions were recorded with Maori and in 1843, 213 such transactions were recorded.<sup>27</sup> This kind of variability in the records has an impact on the analysis of consumption and production patterns.

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27 Hocken Library, MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred, MS-0438/007 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook Number 4, MS-0438/009 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 6, MS-0438/010 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 7, MS-0438/011 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 8, MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 9, MS-0438/014 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 11, MS-0438/018 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 15, and MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16.

Consumption Patterns at Ile a la Crose

Outfit Year: 1862-1863

Archival Reference: B.89/d/95 / B.89/d/108a

Reel: 1M495 / 1M496

Category	Details	Quantity	Price (MB)	Original Categories			Date Purchased			Individual's Name	Folio	Reel	Category Options:
				Furs	Prov	Leather	Year	Month	Day				
Guns and rifles	gun (3.5 ft)	1	12				1862	9	1	Bte Coullonor	3 1	1M495	Guns and rifles
Fishing technology	twine #2		6				1862	9	1	Bte Coullonor	3 1	1M495	Ammunition
Sewing materials	HB strouds		8				1862	9	1	Bte Coullonor	3 1	1M495	Hunting technology
Clothing, unspecified	capot	1	8				1862	9	1	Bte Coullonor	3 1	1M495	Fishing technology
Household items	blanket		7				1862	9	1	Bte Coullonor	3 1	1M495	Trapping technology
Household items	blanket	1	6				1862	9	1	Bte Coullonor	3 1	1M495	Tools and other technology
Clothing, unspecified	capot	1	3				1862	9	1	Bte Coullonor	3 1	1M495	Household items
Clothing, unspecified	capot	1	2				1862	9	1	Bte Coullonor	3 1	1M495	Clothing, men's
Sewing materials	HB strouds		2				1862	9	1	Bte Coullonor	3 1	1M495	Clothing, women's
Ammunition	shot		3				1862	9	1	Bte Coullonor	3 1	1M495	Clothing, boy's
Ammunition	powder		1				1862	9	1	Bte Coullonor	3 1	1M495	Clothing, girl's
Tools and other technology	file	1	1				1862	9	1	Bte Coullonor	3 1	1M495	Clothing, unspecified
Personal hygiene	horn comb		0.5				1862	9	1	Bte Coullonor	3 1	1M495	Sewing materials
Ammunition	flints		0.5				1862	9	1	Bte Coullonor	3 1	1M495	Food, imported
Sewing materials	flannel		1				1862	9	1	Bte Coullonor	3 1	1M495	Food, country produce
Tobacco	tobacco		1				1862	9	1	Bte Coullonor	3 1	1M495	Alcohol
Trapping technology	scalping knives		1				1862	9	1	Bte Coullonor	3 1	1M495	Tobacco
Ammunition	shot		1				1862	9	1	Bte Coullonor	3 1	1M495	Personal hygiene
Sewing materials	cloth		1				1862	9	1	Bte Coullonor	3 1	1M495	Balance from previous outfit
Household items	strpd. Blanket		8				1862	9	1	Bte Coullonor	3 1	1M495	Miscellaneous
Household items	blanket		6				1862	9	1	Bte Coullonor	3 1	1M495	
Miscellaneous	mitas		2				1862	9	1	Bte Coullonor	3 1	1M495	
Household items	blanket		2				1862	9	1	Bte Coullonor	3 1	1M495	
Sewing materials	strpd. Druggets		2				1862	9	1	Bte Coullonor	3 1	1M495	
Ammunition	powder		4				1862	9	1	Bte Coullonor	3 1	1M495	
Ammunition	shot		1				1862	9	1	Bte Coullonor	3 1	1M495	
Miscellaneous	sundries		14				1863	3	26	Bte Coullonor	3 1	1M495	
Balance from previous outfit	balance from fall '61		14				1862	10	1	Michel Dineau	4 2	1M495	
Fishing technology	backline		3				1862	10	1	Michel Dineau	4 2	1M495	
Fishing technology	sturgeon twine		2				1862	10	1	Michel Dineau	4 2	1M495	
Clothing, unspecified	flannel shirt		4				1862	10	1	Michel Dineau	4 2	1M495	

Figure 3.10 Sample page from the Ile a la Crose post Indian ledger detailed consumption patterns spreadsheet

Production Patterns at Ile a la Crosse

Outfit Year: 1862-1863

Archival Reference: B.89/d/95 / B.89/d/108a

Reel: 1M495 / 1M496

Category	Details	Quantity	Price (MB)	Original Categories			Date Sold			Individual's Name	Folio	Reel	Category Options:
				Furs	Prov	Leather	Year	Month	Day				
Furs and skins	furs	56	56				1863	3	26	Bte Coulloner	3(1)	1M495	Furs and skins
Furs and skins	furs		15				1863	5	29	Bte Coulloner	3(1)	1M495	Skins with meat
Country produce	ducks	20	20				1863	5	29	Bte Coulloner	3(1)	1M495	Country produce
Furs and skins	skins, rats	4	4				1863	5	29	Bte Coulloner	3(1)	1M495	Country manufactured goods
Furs and skins	skins, B						1863	5	29	Bte Coulloner	3(1)	1M495	Balance from previous outfit
Furs and skins	furs		115				1863	4	7	Michel Dineau	4(2)	1M495	
Country produce	moose	2	20				1863	4	7	Michel Dineau	4(2)	1M495	
Furs and skins	blk bear	1	4				1863	4	7	Michel Dineau	4(2)	1M495	
Furs and skins	rats	40	4				1863	4	7	Michel Dineau	4(2)	1M495	
Country produce	moose (young)	1	8				1863	4	7	Michel Dineau	4(2)	1M495	
Skins with meat	skins with meat	5	5				1863	4	7	Michel Dineau	4(2)	1M495	
Furs and skins	rats		16				1862	10	1	Lavolette	4(3)	1M495	
Furs and skins	beaver		6				1862	10	1	Lavolette	4(3)	1M495	
Furs and skins	martens		50				1862	10	1	Lavolette	4(3)	1M495	
Furs and skins	wolves	4					1862	10	1	Lavolette	4(3)	1M495	
Furs and skins	buffalo skins	6	6				1862	10	1	Lavolette	4(3)	1M495	
Country produce	meat	23	23				1862	10	1	Lavolette	4(3)	1M495	
Furs and skins	Furs	76	76				1862	10	1	Landrie	5(4)	1M495	
Furs and skins	furs	11	11				1862	10	1	Landrie	5(4)	1M495	
Country produce	meat	13	13				1862	10	1	Landrie	5(4)	1M495	
Furs and skins	beaver	24	24				1862	10	1	Landrie	5(4)	1M495	
Furs and skins	wolves	6	6				1862			Alexis Landrie	5(5)	1M495	
Furs and skins	otters	7	21				1862			Alexis Landrie	5(5)	1M495	
Furs and skins	martens	18	36				1862			Alexis Landrie	5(5)	1M495	
Furs and skins	minks	11	5.5				1862			Alexis Landrie	5(5)	1M495	
Furs and skins	rats	150	15				1862			Alexis Landrie	5(5)	1M495	
Furs and skins	fisher						1862			Alexis Landrie	5(5)	1M495	
Furs and skins	wolverine		1				1862			Alexis Landrie	5(5)	1M495	
Furs and skins	furs	15	15				1862			Alexis Landrie	5(5)	1M495	
Country produce	meat	17	17				1862			Alexis Landrie	5(5)	1M495	
Furs and skins	furs	14.5	14.5				1863	1	24	Chilhouse	6(6)	1M495	

Figure 3.11 Sample page from the Ile a la Crosse post Indian ledger detailed production patterns spreadsheet



Date	Debit	Credit	Balance
1840		10 0	10 0
Feb 13	10 0		0 0
Apr 13	10 0		10 0
Apr 28		10 0	0 0
May 7		10 0	10 0
		10 0	20 0
1841		10 0	30 0
Feb 13	10 0		20 0
Apr 13	10 0		10 0
Apr 28		10 0	0 0
May 7		10 0	10 0
		10 0	20 0
1842		10 0	30 0
Feb 13	10 0		20 0
Apr 13	10 0		10 0
Apr 28		10 0	0 0
May 7		10 0	10 0
		10 0	20 0
1843		10 0	30 0
Feb 13	10 0		20 0
Apr 13	10 0		10 0
Apr 28		10 0	0 0
May 7		10 0	10 0
		10 0	20 0
1844		10 0	30 0
Feb 13	10 0		20 0
Apr 13	10 0		10 0
Apr 28		10 0	0 0
May 7		10 0	10 0
		10 0	20 0
1845		10 0	30 0
Feb 13	10 0		20 0
Apr 13	10 0		10 0
Apr 28		10 0	0 0
May 7		10 0	10 0
		10 0	20 0
1846		10 0	30 0
Feb 13	10 0		20 0
Apr 13	10 0		10 0
Apr 28		10 0	0 0
May 7		10 0	10 0
		10 0	20 0
1847		10 0	30 0
Feb 13	10 0		20 0
Apr 13	10 0		10 0
Apr 28		10 0	0 0
May 7		10 0	10 0
		10 0	20 0
1848		10 0	30 0
Feb 13	10 0		20 0
Apr 13	10 0		10 0
Apr 28		10 0	0 0
May 7		10 0	10 0
		10 0	20 0
1849		10 0	30 0
Feb 13	10 0		20 0
Apr 13	10 0		10 0
Apr 28		10 0	0 0
May 7		10 0	10 0
		10 0	20 0
1850		10 0	30 0
Feb 13	10 0		20 0
Apr 13	10 0		10 0
Apr 28		10 0	0 0
May 7		10 0	10 0
		10 0	20 0
1851		10 0	30 0
Feb 13	10 0		20 0
Apr 13	10 0		10 0
Apr 28		10 0	0 0
May 7		10 0	10 0
		10 0	20 0
1852		10 0	30 0
Feb 13	10 0		20 0
Apr 13	10 0		10 0
Apr 28		10 0	0 0
May 7		10 0	10 0
		10 0	20 0
1853		10 0	30 0
Feb 13	10 0		20 0
Apr 13	10 0		10 0
Apr 28		10 0	0 0
May 7		10 0	10 0
		10 0	20 0
1854		10 0	30 0
Feb 13	10 0		20 0
Apr 13	10 0		10 0
Apr 28		10 0	0 0
May 7		10 0	10 0
		10 0	20 0
1855		10 0	30 0
Feb 13	10 0		20 0
Apr 13	10 0		10 0
Apr 28		10 0	0 0
May 7		10 0	10 0
		10 0	20 0
1856		10 0	30 0
Feb 13	10 0		20 0
Apr 13	10 0		10 0
Apr 28		10 0	0 0
May 7		10 0	10 0
		10 0	20 0
1857		10 0	30 0
Feb 13	10 0		20 0
Apr 13	10 0		10 0
Apr 28		10 0	0 0
May 7		10 0	10 0
		10 0	20 0
1858		10 0	30 0
Feb 13	10 0		20 0
Apr 13	10 0		10 0
Apr 28		10 0	0 0
May 7		10 0	10 0
		10 0	20 0
1859		10 0	30 0
Feb 13	10 0		20 0
Apr 13	10 0		10 0
Apr 28		10 0	0 0
May 7		10 0	10 0
		10 0	20 0
1860		10 0	30 0
Feb 13	10 0		20 0
Apr 13	10 0		10 0
Apr 28		10 0	0 0
May 7		10 0	10 0
		10 0	20 0

Figure 3.12 Sample page from Harwood's store ledger kept at the Otakou whaling station

Source: Hocken Library MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any dabts incurred

For the Otakou station ledgers, I recorded all entries (Maori and non-Maori) in a database template designed to resemble a standard ledger book (see Figure 3.13). As with the journal database, the account ledger database allows for convenient searching and organizing of information. However, in order to analyze the data it was easier to export it to a spreadsheet, which can also be set up to resemble a standard ledger book. I organized these spreadsheets by year for the purpose of analyzing patterns over time (see Figures 3.14 and 3.15). To save time, I entered the Ile a la Crosse data into a spreadsheet only. The Ile a la Crosse spreadsheets are organized in outfit years (1 June to 31 May) for the purpose of analyzing patterns over time. Once in spreadsheet form, I categorized both the Ile a la Crosse and the Otakou data in broad categories of consumption and production in order to provide basic summary statistics and examine consumption and production patterns over time.

For the Ile a la Crosse Indian ledgers, I collapsed the detailed items purchased by Indians into the following broad categories:

- *ammunition*, including ammunition, powder, shot, balls, gun flints and gun caps;
- *guns and rifles*, including guns, fine guns, long guns, short guns, double barreled guns, flint guns, trading guns and pin lock guns;
- *trapping technology*, including traps, beaver traps, rat traps, mink traps, fox traps, otter traps, steel traps, rat springs, beaver springs, springs and castorum;
- *fishing technology*, including nets, net thread, line/twine (sturgeon, cod, and back), ice chisels and cod hooks;
- *hunting technology*, including knives of varying sizes;

# Otakou Station Account Book Accounts Ledger 1841 - 1857

**Name** Toawaik

**Occupation**

**Employed by** Moirackie

**Ethnicity** Native

**mentioned in journals**  yes  no journal entry

Debit			Credit				
Date of Entry	Quantity	Entry Description	Date of Entry	Quantity	Entry Description		
		£			£		
1842	12	1	1842	11	2	by 3900 lb	flax
				1	20	756 lb	flax
				6	10	1052 lb	flax
1843	7	10				5708	to give
						6720	yet to give
				1	20	1550 lb	pork
				6	10	560 lb	pork
						2110	128 yet to give
						2240	128 tobacco
						130	yet to give
				12	20		Towack is yet indebted
							2 1/2 cwt of flax 1/2 for Bal
							due & 1/2 for tobacco

**Reference** MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debits incurred

**entered** 18/05/06

**verified** 19/06/06

**folio/page** 195

**Figure 3.13 Sample record from the Otakou whaling station accounts ledger database**

Consumption Patterns at Otakou

Account Book Year(s): 1841

Category	Details	Quantity	Price (£)			Date Purchased			Individual's Name	Page
			£	s	d	Year	Month	Day		
Clothing, men's	s cap	1		3				Atau (Native)		
Clothing, unspecified	shoes	1 pr		12				Atew (Native)		
Clothing, unspecified	drawers	2 pr		10				Atew (Native)		
Clothing, men's	dk frock	1		5				Atew (Native)		
Clothing, men's	s cap	1		3				Atew (Native)		
Clothing, unspecified	mitts	1 pr		2				Baltimore		
Clothing, unspecified	stockings	1 pr		3				Baltimore		
Clothing, unspecified	shoes	1 pr		12				Baltimore		
Clothing, men's	dk frock	1		5				Baltimore		
Clothing, unspecified	stockings	1 pr		3				Baukucku		
Sewing materials	needles	2 P		1				Baukucku		
Clothing, men's	S caps	3		9				Baukucku		
Clothing, men's	dk frock	1		5				Baukucku		
Household items	box	1		2				Baukucku		
Clothing, men's	dk frock	1		5				Bigfellow (Native)		
Clothing, unspecified	drawers	1 pr		5				Bigfellow (Native)		

Figure 3.14 Sample page from the Otakou whaling station consumption patterns spreadsheet

Production Patterns at Otakou

1843

Account Book Year(s):

Category	Details	Quantity	Price (£)			Date Sold			Individual's Name	Page	Archival Reference	Category Options:
			£	s	d	Year	Month	Day				
Country_produce	flax	cr 6 cwt. 3 tns				[1]		[3]	Toawack	MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 9	Whale Oil	
Country_produce	pork	1550 lb				[1]		[3]	Toawack	MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 9	Whale Bone	
Country_produce	plg	1							for 38 lb flour	MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 9	Country manufactured goods	
Country_produce	flax	[2]	[2]						Kopup	MS-0438/014 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 11	Cash	
Country_produce	mut birds	cr by 18				[6]		[13]	Trackey	MS-0438/014 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 11	Work / Employment	
Country_produce	flax	3900 lbs					11	2	Tawack & Golok	MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16	Miscellaneous	
Country_produce	flax	756 lbs					1	20	Tawack & Golok	MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16	Balance from previous year	
Country_produce	[flax]	4656 lbs							Tawack & Golok	MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16		
Country_produce	[flax]	6720 lbs							Tawack & Golok	MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16		
Country_produce	[flax]	2064 lbs							Tawack & Golok	MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16		
Country_produce	[flax]	1052 lbs							Tawack & Golok	MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16		
Country_produce	[flax]	1002 lbs							Tawack & Golok	MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16		
Country_produce	pork	1550 lbs							Tawack & Golok	MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16		
Country_produce	pork	2240 lbs							Tawack & Golok	MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16		
Country_produce	pork	690 lbs							Tawack & Golok	MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16		
Country_produce	pork	380 lbs							Tawack & Golok	MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16		
Country_produce	pork	110 lbs							Tawack & Golok	MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16		
Country_produce	s plg	1				[12]		[4]	Tyroa (for 12 bots rum)	MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16		
Country_produce	flax	756 lb				[1843]		1	Toawalk	MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debits incurred		
Country_produce	flax	1052 lb						6	Toawalk	MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debits incurred		
Country_produce	pork	1550 lb						1	Toawalk	MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debits incurred		

Figure 3.15 Sample page from the Otakou whaling station production patterns spreadsheet

- *tools and other technology*, including files, axes of varying sizes and styles, saws of varying sizes and styles, nails of varying sizes and styles, augers, chisels, awls, hammers, jack planes, trenches, putty, ropes, glass, tents, window panes, paint, garden hoes and scythes;
- *household items*, including blankets of varying size and style, comforters, buffalo robes, kettles (copper, tin, covered, open, tea, etc.), pots (pint, quart, etc.), pans (tin, frying, etc.), dishes, plates, cups and saucers, table knives, forks, spoons, pocket knives, pipes, lamps and boxes;
- *clothing* (further divided into *men's*, *women's*, *children's* and *unspecified*), including capots of varying styles and sizes, surtouts, robes, shirts of varying styles and sizes, vests, trousers (cloth, doeskin, beavertin, fustian, tweed, cord, duck, etc.), leggings, hose (half and long), belts, bonnets/Scotch bonnets, caps of varying styles and colours, chapeau, shawls of varying styles and sizes, shoes and drawers;
- *sewing materials*, including cloth of varying material and style, calico, cotton, tartan, flannel, silk, worsted,<sup>28</sup> buttons, beads, gartering, ribbons, babiche,<sup>29</sup> moose skin, needles, thread, scissors, bells and thimbles;
- *food* (further divided into *imported* and *country produce*), including provisions, meat, pemmican, whitefish, pork/cured pork, flour, barley, tea (congou, hyson, souching), sugar, salt, Athabasca salt, black pepper, peppermint, jam, chocolate, raisins, rice, caraway, castor oil and dried apples;
- *tobacco*, including tobacco, plug tobacco, twist tobacco, roll tobacco,

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28 Worsteds is a type of woolen fabric. Oxford English Dictionary, accessed 1 November 2010, <http://dictionary.oed.com>.

29 Babiche is thread or a thong made from raw hide or sinew. Oxford English Dictionary, accessed 1 November 2010, <http://dictionary.oed.com>.

Canada tobacco, negro-head tobacco, H.B. tobacco and Cavendish tobacco;

- *personal hygiene*, including handkerchiefs, looking glass, combs (ivory, horn, dressing), razors, soap and shaving boxes;
- *miscellaneous*, including sundries, repairing equipment, goods, over credited, Athabasca debts and Jew's harp;

These broad categories allow for a basic quantitative analysis that can be examined to look for patterns overtime and to understand how participation in a commercial economy might have affected the pre-trade economy of the Cree, Dene and Métis in the HBC's English River District.

I also divided the items brought in for trade by the Indians into the following broad categories for analysis:

- *furs and skins*, including furs, beaver, rats/muskrats/musquash, otters, bear, wolverines, fishers, martens, cats, foxes, mink, badgers, lynx, skunks, wolves, ermines, moose skins, deer skins and swan skins;
- *country produce*, including castorum, meat, provisions, moose, deer, fish, beat meat, dried meat, ducks, rabbits and dogs;
- *country manufactured goods*, including leather, sinew and babiche;
- *skins with meat* (a specific term used in the ledgers);
- *labour/employment*;
- *cash*;
- *miscellaneous*, including error in his account, paid debts, returned merchandise, sundries and deductions;

Again, these broad categories allow for a basic quantitative analysis to demonstrate basic patterns overtime and to understand how the fur trade might have affected the

pre-trade economy of the Cree, Dene and Métis in this region.

As with the journals, I tried to keep the categories of analysis as consistent as possible between the fur trade ledgers and the whaling ledgers, understanding of course that the different industries and the different locations created somewhat different patterns of consumption and production. For the Otakou ledgers, I collapsed the detailed items purchased by Maori into the following broad categories:

- *ammunition*, including shot and caps;
- *hunting technology*, including powder flasks;
- *whaling technology*, including anchor and cable, boats, sealing boats, oars, steer oars, sails and oakum;
- *tools and other technology*, including locks (box and chest), lock and key, sealing wax, wax, files, pocket knives, saws, paint, paint brushes, 2 ½ Manila rope, tape, tiller and box, nails, iron and tin;
- *household items*, including baskets, blankets, boxes, comforters, knives, pencil cases, pots (iron and 2 quart), kettles, pipes, cups, glass, table covers and table cloths;
- *clothing* (further divided into *men's*, *women's*, *children's*, and *unspecified*), including shoes, boots, duck frocks, jackets (duck, pea, shooting, moleskin, and monkey), coats (waist and velveteen), trousers, caps (cloth, red and scotch), hats, drawers, mittens, stockings, shirts, braces, slippers, gowns and dicky;<sup>30</sup>
- *sewing materials*, including blue, white, print, calico, cotton, needles, ribbon, thread and scissors;
- *food* (further divided into *imported* and *country produce*), including sugar,

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<sup>30</sup> A dicky might have been referring to an old shirt, but more likely was referring to a work apron or over-jacket worn by some workers in the nineteenth century. Oxford English Dictionary, accessed 1 November 2010, <http://dictionary.oed.com>.



coffee, flour, molasses, biscuit, rice, salt, vinegar, pork and potatoes;

- *alcohol*, including gin, porter, rum, beer, brandy and cider;
- *tobacco*, including fig tobacco and negro-head tobacco;
- *personal hygiene*, including handkerchiefs, salts, soap, combs and looking glass;
- *miscellaneous*, including cash, merchandise, copy book, greenstone and grinding.

These broad categories allow for a basic quantitative analysis that can be examined to look for patterns overtime and to understand how participation in a commercial economy might have affected the pre-trade economy of the Maori in the Otago Peninsula region.

I also divided the items brought in for trade by the Maori into the following broad categories for analysis:

- *whale bone*;
- *country produce*, including pigs/pork, potatoes, flax, mutton birds, seal skins and pine log;
- *country manufactured goods*, including baskets and mat;
- *cash*;
- *miscellaneous*, including trade, rent, credit by subscription and cog.

Again, these broad categories allow for a basic quantitative analysis to demonstrate basic patterns overtime and to understand how whaling affected the pre-trade economy of the Maori in this region.

Once the individual items were separated into the appropriate years and once each item had been coded according the categories listed above, general summary

statistics about the consumption and production patterns of the Indigenous peoples at Ile a la Crosse and Otakou could be generated. The first step was to calculate the summary statistics for each year or outfit year. Then, the statistics for each year could be compiled into multi-year tables to analyze change over time. Given the number of categories and number of years that were analyzed in this process, a large number of table and graphs were generated. Only the tables and graphs demonstrating the analysis of consumption and production patterns over time were included in the main body of the dissertation in Chapter 7: Patterns of Consumption and Production of Indigenous Peoples at Ile a la Crosse and Otakou. The tables and graphs for single outfit years are included in Appendix B.

### **Converting Made Beaver to Pounds Sterling**

One of the most challenging aspects of working with the HBC's Indian ledgers for this research was trying to find a way to analyze the data over time when the early Indian ledgers were recorded in the Company's unit of value, the made beaver (MB), while the later Indian ledgers were recorded in British pounds sterling. While the MB had a theoretical value, it was an HBC-specific unit of value and thus did not have a real value that could be easily compared to British pounds sterling or Halifax dollars, for example. In fact, the ratio of MB to shilling varied by year, by post and by commodity. As a result, finding a conversion rate that was precise and could be used to convert MB values to pounds sterling in order to facilitate the analysis of consumption and production patterns over time was challenging. It required a basic understanding of the HBC's "standards of trade" and, at least for the Ile a la Crosse post, it required an examination of the Ile a la Crosse district accounts alongside the Indian ledgers. The process I used is detailed below; first, however,

it is important to understand how the HBC created the MB unit and its relationship to the standards of trade in the accounting records.

When the Company first started trading in Rupertsland, they were trading with Indigenous people who did not have experience with pounds sterling. The early trade, at least, was in many ways a barter trade and so imposing pounds sterling on the Indigenous people was not entirely necessary to engage in trade. Still, the Company needed some way to account for the business-aspect of the trade to the head office in London. Thus, they used the MB unit as a means to record the value of trade. Essentially, an official standard of trade was created that valued each trade item to its equivalent in furs, expressed in relative terms to the value of a prime beaver pelt (the “made beaver”). The furs received from the Indians were also assigned MB values in what was called the comparative standard of trade. By using this unit, all elements of the trade (commodities, supplies, furs, etc.) could be recorded in comparable terms.<sup>31</sup>

Accounting for the trade in the early years of the HBC when it operated its factories along the coast of Hudson Bay and essentially waited for the Indigenous peoples to come to them was relatively simple. One official standard of trade could be set for all of the posts/factories. However, once the HBC moved inland, the accounting system began to change. From the beginning, the official standard of trade included consideration of transportation and storage costs, not just the cost

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31 The HBC was not the only company trading with Indigenous peoples that had to develop a unit of value to facilitate trade. Arthur J. Ray, *The Canadian Fur Trade in the Industrial Age* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 61-62; Ray and Freeman, *Give Us Good Measure*, 54; Gary Spraakman, “The impact of institutions on management accounting changes at the Hudson’s Bay Company, 1670 to 2005,” *Journal of Accounting and Organizational Change* Vol. 2, no. 2 (2006), 106-107; and, Gary Spraakman and Alison Wilkie, “The development of management accounting at the Hudson’s Bay Company, 1670-1820,” *Accounting History* Vol. 5 (2000), 70.

of the item (sometimes also referred to as “cost landed” prices).<sup>32</sup> When all of the posts were located at the shores of the Hudson Bay, these transportation and storage costs were essentially the same. However, the move inland created differing transportation costs for each post and added various uncertainties and time lags in transportation that also varied for each post. Thus, it was no longer sufficient to have only one official standard of trade; each post now required its own standard. Although the HBC started to establish posts in the interior in 1774, this new system of accounting was not truly established until 1810 and still required an additional ten to fifteen years to become firmly entrenched. The official standard of trade was still expressed in MB (and for several decades the Indian ledgers, at least at Ile a la Crosse, were still recorded in MB values); however, the other book-keeping records started to be recorded in pounds sterling at this time.<sup>33</sup> Other elements of the accounting records, particularly the indent lists, also became more formalized in the nineteenth century and, as described by Spraakman and Margret, “evolved into many formalised lists with additional columns and pre-ordered sequences for explicitly planning the movement of trade goods and supplies to many posts over multi-year time periods.”<sup>34</sup> The move inland clearly created a need for a more

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32 Frank Tough, “Indian economic behaviour, exchange and profits in northern Manitoba during the decline of monopoly, 1870-1930,” *Journal of Historical Geography* Vol. 16, no. 4 (1990), 389; Spraakman and Wilkie, “The development of management accounting,” 63-64, 70-71; and, Gary Spraakman and Julie Margret, “The transfer of management accounting practices from London counting houses to the British North American fur trade,” *Accounting, Business and Financial History* Vol. 15, no. 2 (2005), 103-104.

33 Further changes to the HBC account system occurred in the 1870s with the introduction of trains and steamboats, which substantially reduced much of the uncertainty in timing of the transportation system. These changes, however, are not particularly relevant to this dissertation. Spraakman, “management accounting changes,” 108-110. See also, Spraakman and Wilkie, “The development of management accounting,” 63-64, 70-71; and, Spraakman and Margret, “transfer of management accounting practices,” 103-104.

34 Spraakman and Margret, “transfer of management accounting practices,” 104. See also, Harold A. Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History*, rev. ed. with a new introductory essay by Arthur J. Ray (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), 318.

complex accounting system to manage the trade effectively.

Both the official and comparative standards of trade, especially initially, were quite rigid and did not change substantially, even at times when the prices of commodities changed in England.<sup>35</sup> There were a number of reasons why stable standards of trade were important, but in particular it reduced internal competition between HBC posts and allowed Indigenous peoples some certainty in the trade, such that they knew from year to year how many furs would be required to purchase certain merchandise, and thus encouraged consistent participation in the trade.<sup>36</sup> While the official standards of trade were essentially fixed, the post factors were expected to be flexible in the actual application of the standards to allow for some recognition of fluctuating prices in England. Thus, the factors created their own standards, often referred to as the factor's or double standard. The factor's standard was achieved by either asking for more furs per item than the official standard or by giving short measures on commodities that were measured out at the time of trade (like ammunition and cloth). The Indians could clearly see the changes from year to year in the factor's standard and thus would barter for the best possible deal. A similar process would have occurred for the valuation of the pelts brought in by the Indians for trade.<sup>37</sup> Even in the nineteenth century, the stability of the made beaver values of both commodities and pelts is evident across several decades.

Very few scholars have attempted to find or create currency conversion rates for the MB; most either dismiss this task as being too difficult, confine their analyses to time periods when a consistent unit of value is used by the HBC, or simply list the MB value of certain common trade goods.<sup>38</sup> Because the value of the MB,

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<sup>35</sup> Ray, *Indians in the fur trade*, 63; and Spraakman and Wilkie, "The development of management accounting," 70.

<sup>36</sup> Spraakman and Wilkie, "The development of management accounting," 70.

<sup>37</sup> Ray, *Indians in the fur trade*, 63-65; Ray and Freeman, *Give Us Good Measure*, 66-67, 93-95, 125-141; and, Spraakman and Wilkie, "The development of management accounting," 70.

<sup>38</sup> For example, A.B. McCulloch created a conversion table for most currency in use in British North America between 1760 and 1900. However, in regards to MB, he stated, "Because the relative value

based on the official standard of trade, varied by year, by post and by commodity in the nineteenth century, it is not possible to find one singular conversion rate that would be sufficient for all of Rupertsland or for an extended period of time. Nonetheless, it is possible to develop conversion rates for individual posts and a few scholars have made attempts to do so. For example, Innis used the HBC's fur tariffs and correspondence to determine that the cost of a MB could be found by dividing the post expenses by the number of MB in the fur returns, and the value of a MB could be determined by dividing the value of the fur returns by the number of MB in the returns. In this way, Innis was able to state that the MB was valued at one to two shillings.<sup>39</sup> Carlos and Lewis compared the MB value of trade goods at York Factory in 1742-1743 with the corresponding cost of the goods in pounds sterling in London. They found a relative consistency of comparative values at all of the posts along Hudson Bay, with the exception of Fort Albany, around this time period. For most posts, a trade good that cost one shilling in London was, on average, valued at 1.42 MB. On the other hand, a pelt valued at 1 MB was worth, on average, 0.7 shillings in trade goods.<sup>40</sup>

While the studies mentioned above were informative, neither dealt with the same region or the same time frame as my case study for this dissertation. Thus, I had to determine the value of the MB at Ile a la Crosse throughout various periods

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of a 'made beaver' varied with time and place it is impossible to establish any general conversion factor between it and sterling." A.B. McCulloch, "Currency Conversion in British North America, 1760-1900," *Archivaria* 16 (1983), 91. Both David Morrison and Florida Town, writing about the North West Company, provided a list of commodities with the corresponding MB values. David A. Morrison, *Profit and Ambition: The North West Company and the Fur Trade 1779-1821* (Gatineau: Canadian Museum of Civilization Corporation, 2009), 39; and, Florida Town, *The North West Company: Frontier Merchants* (Toronto: Umbrella Press, 1999), 36.

39 Innis, *Fur Trade*, 319.

40 Ann M. Carlos and Frank D. Lewis, "Property Rights, Competition, and Depletion in the Eighteenth-Century Canadian Fur Trade: The Role of the European Market," *Canadian Journal of Economics* Vol. 32, no. 3 (1999), 713-714.

of the nineteenth century; not a small task. Initially, I started by searching the correspondence files for the English River District and Ile a la Crosse post for any records of the fur tariffs and standards of trade that the district used in any given outfit year. While several letters and memos referenced enclosed copies of fur and goods tariffs (the list of the MB and pounds sterling value of furs), none of the enclosures were found in the correspondence files.<sup>41</sup> In the account book files, only one fur tariff could be found for 1874.<sup>42</sup> However, it was not sufficient for the purposes of my research.

Instead, I used a system similar to that used by Carlos and Lewis in their study and compared the cost of items to the Ile a la Crosse post (the landed cost) with the cost of items to Indians. While Carlos and Lewis used the cost of items in London, I chose instead to use the prices listed in the Ile a la Crosse inventories for sake of simplicity, as these were the records most readily available to me.<sup>43</sup> Thus, I recorded the cost/value of key commodities and pelts to the Ile a la Crosse post in shillings and the cost/value of the same key commodities and pelts to the Indians trading at Ile a la Crosse post in MB (see Table 3.1 and 3.2). From these two values, I was able to determine the value of 1 shilling in MB for each key commodity and pelt.

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41 See for example, HBCA B.89/c/5 Ile a la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1875-1877, letter dated Ile a la Crosse 27 October 1875 to Francois Maurice, Portage la Loche from W. McMurray, fo. 11; letter dated Ile a la Crosse 10 March 1876 to James A. Grahame Esquire from W. McMurray, fo. 18-22; and, B.89/c/6 Ile a la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1877-1881, letter dated Ile a la Crosse 14 January 1878 to James A. Grahame Esquire from Ewen Macdonald, fo. 61-61.

42 HBCA B.89/d/171 Ile a la Crosse Account Book (Tariff) 1871-1875, fo. 1-2.

43 By using the cost landed price and not the price of goods in London, my data does not accurately reflect profit levels for the HBC in the nineteenth century. However, profits were not my concern in this analysis. Instead, I am attempting to analyze consumption and production patterns over time. Thus, the ratio between cost landed prices and MB prices is sufficient to achieve my aims, although no conclusions can be drawn about the success of the trade at Ile a la Crosse in this period from my data.

Table 3.1 Cost to Ile a la Crosse Post Compared to Cost to Indians of Key Trade Commodities, 1832-1866

Commodity	Outfit Year and Values																	
	1832-1833		1833-1834		1834-1835		1835-1836		1836-1837		1839-1840		1840-1841		1841-1842			
	Crosse Post (shilling) <sup>1</sup>	Cost to Indian (MB)	Crosse Post (shilling) <sup>1</sup>	Cost to Indian (MB)	Crosse Post (shilling) <sup>1</sup>	Cost to Indian (MB)	Crosse Post (shilling) <sup>1</sup>	Cost to Indian (MB)	Crosse Post (shilling) <sup>1</sup>	Cost to Indian (MB)	Crosse Post (shilling) <sup>1</sup>	Cost to Indian (MB)	Crosse Post (shilling) <sup>1</sup>	Cost to Indian (MB)	Crosse Post (shilling) <sup>1</sup>	Cost to Indian (MB)	MB Equivalency of 1	
ax (small)	1.2	1	0.8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
blanket (2.5 pts)	8.5	6	0.7	8.5	6	0.7	11	6	0.5	---	---	8.2	6	0.7	8.2	6	0.7	
capot (3 ells)	10	6	0.6	12	6	0.5	10.3	6	0.5	12	6	0.5	12.7	6	0.5	12.4	6	0.5
flour (per pound)	0.2	0.1	0.5	0.2	---	---	0.2	---	---	0.2	---	---	0.2	---	---	---	---	
long gun (common trading gun)	---	14	---	---	14	---	33.5	---	31.3	14	0.4	33.3	---	---	31.3	12	0.4	
powder (per measure)	1.5	1	0.7	1.1	1	0.9	1.3	1	0.8	1.7	1	0.6	---	1	0.6	---	---	
shot (per measure)	0.4	1	2.5	0.5	1	2	0.5	1	2	0.4	1	2.5	---	---	---	---	---	
beaver trap	10.3	6	0.6	10	6	0.6	10	6	0.6	10	6	0.6	10	6	0.6	10	6	0.6
rat trap	(5.2) <sup>2</sup>	3	0.6	(5.2)	3	0.6	5.2	3	0.6	5.2	3	0.6	(5.2)	3	0.6	(5.2)	3	0.9
<b>Average</b>	---	---	<b>0.9</b>	---	---	<b>0.9</b>	---	---	<b>0.9</b>	---	<b>0.8</b>	---	---	<b>1</b>	---	<b>0.7</b>	---	<b>0.7</b>

<sup>1</sup> Number is rounded to the nearest decimal point.

<sup>2</sup> Numbers in brackets have been estimated based on prices in previous and later years.

Source: HBCA B.89/d/34 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1833; B.89/d/36 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1833-1834; B.80/d/38 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1834-1835; B.89/d/40 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1835-1836; B.89/d/43a Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837; B.89/d/43b Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1837-1837; B.89/d/49 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1839-1840; B.89/d/51 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1840-1841; B.89/d/52 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1841-1842; B.89/d/55a Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1841-1843; B.89/d/55b Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1842-1843; B.89/d/60 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1842-1844; B.89/d/65 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1844-1845; B.89/d/66 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1854-1855; B.89/d/66a Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1854-1855; B.89/d/69 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1860-1861; B.89/d/93 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1860-1861; B.89/d/94 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1861-1862; B.89/d/95 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862; B.89/d/96 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862-1863; B.89/d/98 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1864; B.89/d/108a Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1866; B.89/d/113 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1866; B.89/d/110b Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1865-1866; B.89/d/116 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1865-1867.



Table 3.1 Cost to Ile a la Crosse Post Compared to Cost to Indians of Key Trade Commodities, 1832-1866, continued

Commodity	Outfit Year and Values														
	1842-1843		1843-1844		1854-1855		1860-1861		1862-1863		1863-1864		1865-1866		
	Crosse Post (shilling) <sup>1</sup>	Cost to Indian (MB)	Crosse Post (shilling) <sup>1</sup>	MB Equivalency of 1 shilling	Crosse Post (shilling) <sup>1</sup>	Cost to Indian (MB)	Crosse Post (shilling) <sup>1</sup>	MB Equivalency of 1 shilling	Crosse Post (shilling) <sup>1</sup>	Cost to Indian (MB)	Crosse Post (shilling) <sup>1</sup>	MB Equivalency of 1 shilling	Crosse Post (shilling) <sup>1</sup>	Cost to Indian (MB)	MB Equivalency of 1 shilling
ax (small)	(1)	1	1	1	1	1	1.5	1	0.7	1	1	1	1	1	1
blanket (2.5 pts)	(8.2)	6	0.7	8.2	6	0.9	6.5	7	1.1	7.2	7	1	6.7	7	1
capot (3 ells)	(12)	6	0.5	12.1	6	0.6	11.7	8	0.7	12	8	0.7	12.6	8	0.6
flour (per pound)	0.2	---	---	0.2	---	---	0.3	---	---	0.3	0.3	1	0.2	---	---
long gun (common trading gun)	---	12	---	---	12	---	30	---	---	31.3	14	0.4	38	14	0.4
powder (per measure)	---	1	---	---	---	---	1.3	1	0.8	1.3	1	0.8	1.2	1	0.8
shot (per measure)	---	1	---	---	---	---	0.3	1	3.3	0.3	1	3.3	0.3	1	3.3
beaver trap	(10)	6	0.6	9.5	6	0.6	9.5	(6)	0.6	9.5	6	0.6	8.7	6	0.7
rat trap	(3.5)	3	0.9	(3.5)	(3)	0.9	4	3	0.8	5.5	3	0.5	1.8	3	1.7
<b>Average</b>	---	---	<b>0.7</b>	---	---	---	---	<b>0.8</b>	<b>1.1</b>	---	---	<b>1</b>	---	---	<b>1.2</b>

<sup>1</sup> Number is rounded to the nearest decimal point.

<sup>2</sup> Numbers in brackets have been estimated based on prices in previous and later years.

Source: HBCA, B.89/d/34 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1833; B.89/d/36 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1833-1834; B.80/d/38 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1834-1835; B.89/d/40 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1835-1836; B.89/d/43a Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837; B.89/d/43b Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1837-1837; B.89/d/49 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1839-1840; B.89/d/51a Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1840-1841; B.89/d/52 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1840-1841; B.89/d/53 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1841-1842; B.89/d/55a Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1841-1843; B.89/d/55b Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1842-1843; B.89/d/60 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1842-1844; B.89/d/85 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1854-1855; B.89/d/86 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1854-1855; B.89/d/92 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1860-1861; B.89/d/93 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1860-1861; B.89/d/94 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1861-1862; B.89/d/95 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1861-1862; B.89/d/96 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862-1863; B.89/d/98 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1864; B.89/d/106a Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1866; B.89/d/113 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1866; B.89/d/110b Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1865-1866; B.89/d/118 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1865-1867.

Table 3.2 Price Received by Ile la Crosse Post Compared to Price Paid to Indians of Key Fur Pelts, 1832-1866

	Outfit Year and Values															
	1832-1833		1833-1834		1834-1835		1835-1836		1836-1837		1839-1840		1840-1841		1841-1842	
<b>Prime Pelts</b>	Value Received by Ile la Crosse Post (shilling)	Value Paid to Indian (MB)	Value Received by Ile la Crosse Post (shilling)	Value Paid to Indian (MB)	Value Received by Ile la Crosse Post (shilling)	Value Paid to Indian (MB)	Value Received by Ile la Crosse Post (shilling)	Value Paid to Indian (MB)	Value Received by Ile la Crosse Post (shilling)	Value Paid to Indian (MB)	Value Received by Ile la Crosse Post (shilling)	Value Paid to Indian (MB)	Value Received by Ile la Crosse Post (shilling)	Value Paid to Indian (MB)	Value Received by Ile la Crosse Post (shilling)	Value Paid to Indian (MB)
beaver	30.5	1	0.03	1	0.03	1	0.03	1	0.03	1	0.03	1	0.03	1	0.03	1
moose skin	7.5	---	7.5	---	7.5	---	7.5	---	7.5	---	7.5	---	7.5	---	7.5	---
muskrat	0.8	0.13	0.2	0.8	0.13	0.2	0.8	0.13	0.2	0.8	0.13	0.2	0.8	0.1	0.5	0.1
otter	16.3	2	0.1	16.3	2	0.1	16.3	2	0.1	16.3	2	0.1	16.3	2	0.1	20
<b>Average</b>	---	---	0.1	---	0.1	---	0.1	---	0.1	---	0.1	---	0.1	---	0.1	0.1

1 Numbers in brackets have been estimated based on prices in previous and later years.

Source: HBCA B.89/d/24 Ile la Crosse Account Book 1832-1833; B.89/d/36 Ile la Crosse Account Book 1833-1834; B.89/d/38 Ile la Crosse Account Book 1834-1835; B.89/d/40 Ile la Crosse Account Book 1835-1836; B.89/d/43a Ile la Crosse Account Book 1836-1837; B.89/d/43b Ile la Crosse Account Book 1837-1837; B.89/d/49 Ile la Crosse Account Book 1839-1840; B.89/d/51 Ile la Crosse Account Book 1840-1841; B.89/d/52 Ile la Crosse Account Book 1841-1841; B.89/d/53 Ile la Crosse Account Book 1841-1842; B.89/d/55a Ile la Crosse Account Book 1841-1843; B.89/d/55b Ile la Crosse Account Book 1842-1843; B.89/d/60 Ile la Crosse Account Book 1842-1844; B.89/d/65 Ile la Crosse Account Book 1843-1844; B.89/d/66 Ile la Crosse Account Book 1844-1855; B.89/d/66 Ile la Crosse Account Book 1854-1855; B.89/d/66 Ile la Crosse Account Book 1854-1855; B.89/d/92 Ile la Crosse Account Book 1860-1861; B.89/d/93 Ile la Crosse Account Book 1860-1861; B.89/d/94 Ile la Crosse Account Book 1861-1862; B.89/d/95 Ile la Crosse Account Book 1862-1863; B.89/d/96 Ile la Crosse Account Book 1862-1863; B.89/d/98 Ile la Crosse Account Book 1863-1864; B.89/d/108a Ile la Crosse Account Book 1863-1866; B.89/d/113 Ile la Crosse Account Book 1866; B.89/d/110b Ile la Crosse Account Book 1865-1866; B.89/d/118 Ile la Crosse Account Book 1865-1867.

Table 3.2 Price Received by Company Compared to Price Paid to Indians of Key Fur Pelts, 1832-1866, continued

Prime Pelts	Outfit Year and Values																
	1842-1843		1843-1844		1854-1855		1860-1861		1862-1863		1863-1864		1865-1866				
beaver	32	1	0.03	32	(1) <sup>1</sup>	0.03	7.5	(1)	0.1	7	7	7	7	1	7	1	0.1
moose skin	7.5	---	---	7.5	---	---	6	(5)	0.8	6	6	6	6	5	6	5	0.8
muskrat	0.5	0.1	0.2	0.5	(0.1)	0.2	0.5	(0.13)	0.3	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.13	0.5	0.13	0.3
otter	20	2	0.1	20	2	0.1	20	(2)	0.2	17	17	17	17	3	17	4	0.2
<b>Average</b>	---	---	<b>0.1</b>	---	---	<b>0.1</b>	---	---	<b>0.3</b>	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	<b>0.4</b>

1 Numbers in brackets have been estimated based on prices in previous and later years.

Source: HBCA B.89/d/34 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1833; B.89/d/36 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1833-1834; B.89/d/38 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1834-1835; B.89/d/40 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1835-1836; B.89/d/43a Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1837-1837; B.89/d/43b Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1837-1837; B.89/d/49 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1839-1840; B.89/d/51 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1839-1841; B.89/d/52 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1840-1841; B.89/d/53 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1841-1842; B.89/d/55a Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1841-1843; B.89/d/55b Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1842-1843; B.89/d/60 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1842-1844; B.89/d/65 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1842-1844; B.89/d/65 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1854-1855; B.89/d/66 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1854-1855; B.89/d/92 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1860-1861; B.89/d/93 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1860-1861; B.89/d/94 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1861-1862; B.89/d/95 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862-1862; B.89/d/96 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862-1863; B.89/d/98 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1864; B.89/d/108a Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1864; B.89/d/108b Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1864; B.89/d/110 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1865-1866; B.89/d/118 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1865-1867.

The commodities and pelts that I used in the table were chosen for several reasons. Most items were chosen because they were commonly purchased or brought in for trade by the Indians throughout the time period considered. Many items were also chosen because they were easily identifiable as the same exact item across the time period. For example, it was easy to identify 2.5 point blankets as they were almost always identified in the same manner. It would have been more difficult to identify different types of shirts purchased as in some years the shirts were very specifically described (e.g. “common cotton shirt” or “yacht shirt”) and sometimes they were simply identified as shirts. However, because the price varied between the different types of shirts, it was not possible to identify consistently the value assigned to these specific types of shirts each year. Finally, I chose some items that were not as commonly purchased (such as the common trading gun and flour) because of the perceived importance of these trade items in the literature and because the correspondence files from Ile a la Crosse identified “bulky and expensive” items (such as guns) as the most likely items to have price adjustments as a result of changing fur markets in London.<sup>44</sup>

What is clear in Tables 3.1 and 3.2 is the stability of the made beaver values of the commodities and pelts throughout the nineteenth century at Ile a la Crosse, which is not surprising as the official standards of trade were expected to remain stable as discussed previously. The cost landed prices at Ile a la Crosse post did change somewhat over the years, although the cost of some items (particularly small axes, flour, and beaver and rat traps) remained relatively stable. Even the prices of those items that did fluctuate over the time period considered remained

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<sup>44</sup> See for example, HBCA B.89/c/5 Ile a la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1875-1877, letter dated Ile a la Crosse, 27 October 1875, to Francois Maurice from W. McMurray, fo. 11.

relatively stable in each discrete decade. The value of pelts fluctuated much more noticeably than the cost of trade goods (most noticeably with the decline in the value of beaver pelts from 32 shillings in 1843-1844 to 7.5 shillings in 1854-1855), but even still the stability of fur values in discrete decades is noticeable.<sup>45</sup>

What also becomes clear in these two tables is that one way in which the Company seems to have compensated for the stability in the official and comparative standards of trade was to have large mark-ups on prices for some items and less for others. As a result, an item that was cost landed at 1 shilling at the Ile a la Crosse post was sold to Indians for somewhere between less than 0.5 MB to over 3 MB, and a pelt that was valued at 1 shilling for the Ile a Crosse post was purchased from the Indians for somewhere between roughly 0.03 MB to 0.8 MB. Because the MB equivalency of 1 shilling was slightly different for most commodities and pelts, I used an average equivalency to convert the MB values overall into pounds sterling prices for each outfit year for the analysis of consumption and production patterns over time as it appears in Chapter 7.

On average then, at Ile a la Crosse in the nineteenth century, 1 shilling was worth 0.9 to 1.2 MB for trade goods. This value is similar to the value found by Innis (0.5 to 1 MB) but less than the value found by Carlos and Lewis (1.42 MB).<sup>46</sup> However, my value should be less than Carlos and Lewis' value because I used the cost landed prices of goods rather than the cost of goods in London. Additionally, Carlos and Lewis examined data for York Factory (a post at Hudson Bay) in the 1740s, almost a century earlier than the data I examined; some variation between

<sup>45</sup> This decline in the value of beaver pelts corresponds to decline in the market for beaver pelts as the silk hat replaced the felt hat in European fashion. Arthur J. Ray, "Some conservation schemes of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1821-50: An examination of the problems of resource management in the fur trade," *Journal of Historical Geography* Vol. 1, no. 1 (1975), 67.

<sup>46</sup> Innis, *Fur Trade*, 319; and, Carlos and Lewis, "Property Rights, Competition, and Depletion," 713-714.

posts and time periods is not unexpected. Innis did not differentiate his value of MB for pelts from trade goods, but Carlos and Lewis did. Still, they found that a pelt valued at 1 shilling was roughly equivalent to 1.4 MB. My data shows a much lesser average value than that determined by Carlos and Lewis or Innis; my average values range from 0.1 to 0.4 MB. The differences in time and place may account for the difference in value.

There is one potential analytical concern with the MB conversion rates I have created. In order for the Company to turn a profit, they had to sell trade goods for as much as possible and value pelts for as little as possible. Thus, the average MB value that I have assigned for pelts (equivalent to 2.5 to 10 shillings) will likely over-value the production of the Indians in the Ile a la Crosse region in the nineteenth century. I have tried as much as possible to keep this potential in mind as I analyzed the data in Chapter 7. Still, because I analyzed the volume of production (the number of pelts and other goods brought in) as well as the value of production (the pounds sterling value converted in the earlier years from MB), overall patterns can still be discerned and any over-valuation can be addressed.

The process for determining a conversion rate from made beaver to pounds sterling for the Ile a la Crosse post in the nineteenth century was challenging. It was, however, an interesting exercise in understanding the official and comparative standards of trade used at the Ile a la Crosse post. Much of the fur trade literature skirts around the issue of actually determining a real value for the MB, and the few scholars who have done it have focused on different time periods and different posts than my analysis. Understanding the official and comparative standards of trade, the factor's standards, and thus the real value of a MB for different posts in

different regions in the nineteenth century would likely reveal important details about the Rupertsland trade that have yet to be discussed in the literature. However, that extensive analysis is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

### **The Challenges of Using Journals and Accounting Records**

While the data that can be gathered from historical journals and accounting records are rich and detailed, it is important to note a number of limitations with these sources of data that can have an impact on the analysis and the conclusions drawn. Perhaps most importantly, these data sources are often incomplete. Journals can be missing days, weeks and even months, and even though the HBC Archives has carefully maintained as many of the post journals as possible, gaps still remain in this data source. These gaps are even more obvious for the on-shore whaling stations. The accounting records are similarly patchy. Such inconsistencies can create challenges for any sort of longitudinal analysis.

Additionally, these sources of data were created and maintained by the European merchants for the most part; thus, they present a one-sided perspective of the fur and whaling industries as they do not directly address the activities and motivations of the Indigenous peoples.<sup>47</sup> There is also a bias towards recording the activities happening at the fur trade post or whaling station, and not the activities of Indigenous peoples away from the post or station. Thus, trying to understand the activities, actions and motivations of Indigenous peoples not formally employed by

<sup>47</sup> Eleanor Blain has argued that because account books represent European worldviews and values, they cannot be used to discuss the values and motivations of the Indigenous peoples who did not share this European worldview. While account books do not directly address the motivations and values of the Indigenous peoples, inferences can still be drawn about changes to Indigenous economies and lifestyles without assuming that these changes resulted in a complete abandonment of Indigenous worldviews and values. More importantly, account books do not have inherently more bias or distortion than any other archival document. Eleanor M. Blain, "Dependency: Charles Bishop and the Northern Ojibwa," in *Aboriginal Resource Use in Canada: Historical and Legal Aspects*, ed. Kerry Abel and Jean Friesen (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1991), 103.

the fur trade post or the whaling station requires a researcher to draw inferences from the data, rather than having direct evidence to support the analysis and conclusions drawn from that analysis.

It is also difficult to know at times if the creators of the historical records, particularly the accounting records, recorded inaccurate information, either accidentally or deliberately. As Ray and Freeman discovered, HBC outward correspondence revealed that inaccuracies in the Company's accounting records could be attributed to three main causes: "the deliberate attempts of clerks to defraud the company; efforts to 'cook' the books to present a more favourable picture of trade; and carelessness."<sup>48</sup> Carelessness seemed to account for the most mistakes and inaccuracies in the accounting records.<sup>49</sup> Even though Ray and Freeman argued that the HBC's accounting records were generally reliable, they did caution that the accounting records could not record all of the trading activities that occurred at any one post. Some illicit trade by Company employees for their own personal benefit occurred, despite efforts by the governor and committee to stop such activity. Nonetheless, they argue that this illicit trade probably only accounted for a small percentage of the trade with Indians.<sup>50</sup> Over all, it seems likely that the Indian ledgers do not capture all of the trade at the post, either as a result of unrecorded, illicit trading or as a result of careless or inaccurate recording of transactions in the ledgers or because some trade was conducted at outposts or trappers' camps and not at the Ile a la Crosse post itself. As Octavius Harwood kept accounting records for his own purposes and not those of a highly organized and hierarchical company

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48 Ray and Freeman, *'Give Us Good Measure'*, 114. By using the term careless, I am not trying to assign any judgement on the effort or intent of the employees of the HBC. I am simply referring to the errors and mistakes that occur in any human process.

49 Ray and Freeman, *'Give Us Good Measure'*, 117.

50 Ray and Freeman, *'Give Us Good Measure'*, 117-119.



like the HBC, it is not possible to determine how inaccurate Harwood's accounting records and journals may be.<sup>51</sup> Still, it seems likely that Harwood would have made careless mistakes from time to time as well, and it is possible that the remaining store ledgers kept at the Hocken Library do not capture all of the transactions that occurred at the store or at the Otakou whaling station in general.

Despite the potential for some inaccuracies and despite the one-sided nature of the documents, important details about the activities and the consumption and production patterns of Indigenous peoples can be gathered from these document sources. Although the HBC post journals, and to a lesser extent Harwood's journal from the Otakou whaling station, have been used by a number of different scholars, only some have done the systematic and detailed analysis necessary to understand the seasonal cycles of Indigenous peoples active at the posts and no one to my knowledge has done the same for the Otakou whaling station. Even fewer scholars have made any systematic use of these sorts of accounting records. The kind of systematic and detailed analysis of these data sources that I have undertaken for this dissertation research is tedious and time-consuming. Nonetheless, the results of such analysis are well worth the effort. Although I am by no means the first researcher to look at the role of Indigenous peoples in the fur trade and the whaling industry, my approach to these data sources has allowed me to make an important contribution to the fur trade and whaling literature, and has allowed me to question some of the perceptions of what is commonly perceived as the "traditional economy" today and the implications of this misperception.

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51 The correspondence between Harwood and the Weller brothers who ran the shore station reveal no discussions or concerns about the operations of the store or the accounting records. Hocken Library, MS-0404/001 Harwood Family Papers, Correspondence including letters from Octavius's father, Robert Harwood.

## Chapter 4: The Commercial Exploitation of the Beaver and the Whale

One of the consequences of colonization was the commodification of natural resources in the colonies, and the export of natural resources from the colonies to the “mother” country.<sup>1</sup> In Canada, one of the first, and considered by some the most famous, natural resource commodities was the beaver pelt.<sup>2</sup> While the trade in beaver pelts started on a small scale and in an unorganized manner, a changing market in Europe soon encouraged the development of a large-scale, organized industry. The Hudson’s Bay Company, one of the original trading companies, became a Canadian icon that has survived until the present day, albeit in an altered form. The fur trade shaped the development of western and northern Canada, in particular, and was one of the first staple industries in Canada, as described by Innis.<sup>3</sup>

In New Zealand, some of the first natural resource commodities were whale products, particularly oil and baleen. New Zealand was initially used as a refueling station by the deepsea whalers, but overtime whalers began to appreciate the sheltered bays along the coastline that were frequented by migrating southern right whales. By the early nineteenth century, whalers were frequenting the bays in their hunt for whales and establishing permanent stations on the shores. These shore stations became some of the earliest European settlements in New Zealand, and paved the way for subsequent agricultural settlement in the country. Morton,

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1 Theotonio Dos Santos, “The Structure of Dependence,” *American Economic Review* Vol. 60, no. 2 (1970), 231-232; and, Bertie Josephson Weddell, *Conserving Living Natural Resources in the context of a changing world* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 29-59.

2 Shephard Krech III, *The Ecological Indian: Myth and History* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999), 173.

3 Harold A. Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada*, rev. ed. with a new introductory essay by Arthur J. Ray (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999, original 1956).

influenced by Innis, described whaling as one of the first staple industries of New Zealand.<sup>4</sup>

In both places, these early colonial industries not only influenced the subsequent development and settlement of the colonies by Europeans, both industries provided an important opportunity for Europeans and Indigenous peoples to interact together in an interdependent contact zone. Although motivated in different ways and for different goals, both Europeans and Indigenous peoples adapted their pre-trade economic patterns to create a functioning and stable industry that met their needs at the time. These adaptations are sometimes underappreciated. Nevertheless, an examination of how the industries operated can provide some illumination. In order to best understand the development and organization of these two commercial industries, however, it is important to understand beavers and whales as species, and how they were exploited for commercial gain.

### **The Beaver**

The beaver (*Castor canadensis*), present throughout much of North America, is a semi-aquatic, herbivorous rodent. It is the largest rodent in North America, weighing from sixteen to thirty-two kilograms and measuring over a meter long including the tail. The beaver's fur, brown in colour (with some variation in shade generally attributed to climatic differences in its range), consists of dense underfur covered by a heavy layer of long guard hairs. It was this underfur that was sought after by the fur traders, as the barbed nature of the fur lent itself quite exceptionally to the manufacture of felt hats in Europe. Castoreum, a glandular secretion from the beaver, was also collected at times. As with other furbearers, beaver pelts are

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<sup>4</sup> Harry Morton, *The Whale's Wake* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1982).

thinner, and thus less desirable to fur traders, in the summer.<sup>5</sup>

Beavers live in social groups, generally referred to as colonies. Colonies are often established by females and colony members usually include an adult male and female, subadults born the previous year, and kits born during the year. Young beavers stay with their parents until they are two years old and then disperse.<sup>6</sup> Kits are generally born from late April to late June, and females often have two to five kits in a litter. As such, beaver populations increase at an estimated twenty percent per year.<sup>7</sup>

Beavers are not generally migratory, nor do they hibernate. If the homesite or main lodge location is changed during the year, the change is made by the entire colony or family unit. Beavers build dams, if necessary, to maintain a certain depth of water that will remain open throughout the year. Lodges are built to house the colonies, and usually include feeding dens, resting dens, fresh air “vents” and two underwater tunnels. The dens are positioned roughly ten centimeters above the water line to ensure that the spaces remain dry. Lodges are usually about five meters in diameter and two meters in height. The lodges are covered with mud in the fall, which when frozen creates a hard exterior shell and forms a defensive barrier against predators. Colonies also frequently maintain burrows along the banks with underwater entrances.<sup>8</sup>

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5 A.W.F. Banfield, *The Mammals of Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), 158; Innis, *Fur Trade in Canada*, 4; Frederick H. Wooding, *Wild Mammals of Canada* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd, 1982), 182, 184.

6 Banfield, *Mammals of Canada*, 159, 160; Gerald E. Svendsen, “Population Parameters and Colony Composition of Beaver (*Castor canadensis*) in Southeast Ohio,” *American Midland Naturalist* Vol. 104, no. 1 (1980), 47, 51; Wooding, *Wild Mammals*, 185, 187.

7 Banfield, *Mammals of Canada*, 160-161; Innis, *Fur Trade in Canada*, 4.

8 Banfield, *Mammals of Canada*, 159; Innis, *Fur Trade in Canada*, 4; Svendsen, “Population Parameters,” 51.

Beavers prefer territory that is wooded with poplar and willow and that contains numerous small lakes and slow-moving, connected streams. In Canada, beavers are found in most areas, ranging as far north as the Mackenzie and Coppermine rivers.<sup>9</sup> Beavers in the more westerly and northerly areas were most prized for the pelts by fur traders, and the traders followed the waterways of the beaver west and north over time. Beaver populations were decimated in many areas as the trade moved inland, although important regional differences occurred. Innis argued that there were two reasons why the beaver populations were so quickly devastated. First, the beavers relatively long maturation rate and non-migratory tendencies made specific colonies vulnerable. Second, the introduction of iron made the beavers' defense mechanisms ineffective against the hunting techniques of Indigenous trappers.<sup>10</sup> Although the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) tried various techniques to conserve or re-introduce the beaver to over-exploited areas after 1821, not all of their efforts were successful in all areas.<sup>11</sup>

The abundance of beaver in North America, as well as the attributes of its pelt that lent itself to the European fashion industry, encouraged the growth of the fur industry in Canada and allowed it to become one of Canada's first major export commodities. Similarly, the abundance of migrating southern right whales along the coast of New Zealand, and the importance of whale oil and baleen to the industrial revolution in Britain, encouraged the establishment of numerous shore whaling stations in New Zealand and allowed whale products to be some of the country's first major exports.

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<sup>9</sup> Banfield, *Mammals of Canada*, 160-162; Wooding, *Wild Mammals*, 182..

<sup>10</sup> Innis, *Fur Trade in Canada*, 5-6; Krech, *Ecological Indian*, 175-6.

<sup>11</sup> Arthur J. Ray, "Some conservation schemes of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1821-50: An examination of the problems of resource management in the fur trade," *Journal of Historical Geography* Vol. 1, no. 1 (1975), 49-68.

## The Whale

Although a number of different species of whale were hunted around the world, the two most commonly sought after in the oceans around New Zealand were the sperm whale (*Physeter catodon*) and southern right whale (*Eubalaina australis*). These two species differed considerably from each other, and as a result were hunted in different ways. Sperm whales were almost always hunted at sea, while southern right whales were hunted in the bays and inlets around the coast. However, whalers generally took every opportunity that presented itself and thus southern right whales would be taken at sea if a ship came upon one or whaling stations would chase after sperm whales that came close to shore.<sup>12</sup>

Sperm whales are toothed whales, and subsist largely on squid and sometimes fish. Male sperm whales can grow as long as eighteen metres in length and weigh as much as seventy tons; females, alternatively, grow to as much as eleven and a half metres in length and can weigh as much as seventeen tons. Although sperm whale populations, or stocks, shift seasonally, they do not migrate between warmer and colder climates in the same manner as baleen whales. Female, juvenile and small male sperm whales generally stay in nursery groups of ten or more whales and usually stay in temperate waters. Medium-sized male sperm whales often swim together in groups of six, again staying in temperate waters, but the largest males are generally solitary. It is usually only these large males that venture into polar seas. These large males will also join the nursery groups during the winter in order to breed.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Morton, *Whale's Wake*, 26.

<sup>13</sup> International Whaling Commission [hereafter IWC], "Lives of Whales: Details and characteristics of the 13 great whales, including the life histories of Baleen and Sperm Whales," International Whaling Commission, <http://www.iwcoffice.org/conservation/lives.htm#sright>.

Southern right whales are baleen whales, and have long, flexible rows of keratin in their mouths used to filter food from the water. Historically, whalers referred to the baleen as whalebone. Right whales feed largely on copepods and sometimes krill. The southern right whale averages between thirteen and a half and sixteen metres long and weighs, on average, between forty and eighty tons. Unlike sperm whales, female right whales are generally larger than males.<sup>14</sup> The right whale got its name because it was the “right” whale to hunt, either because it was slow moving, had large layers of blubber and rarely sank when dead, or because it yielded more oil than other species. The southern right whales around New Zealand were sought after specifically because they apparently yielded a third more oil than the same species of whale of roughly the same size in other parts of the world.<sup>15</sup>

Southern right whales, like other baleen whales, migrate extensively during the year, staying in polar seas for four or five months to feed where the oceans are the most biologically productive and then moving sometimes thousands of kilometers to breed in warm waters, thus maximizing both their feeding and their breeding potentials.<sup>16</sup> The reproductive cycle of baleen whales is long. Females carry single embryos for almost a year; calves subsist on their mother’s milk for seven months; then, females have a five-month resting period before mating again. Thus, most baleen whales give birth only once every three or four years.<sup>17</sup>

Southern right whales in New Zealand came into the quiet bays and inlets of the South Island predominantly to calve in early winter. This migration pattern

14 IWC, “Lives of Whales.”

15 Kelvin Day, compiler, *Shore Whaling* (Porirua, NZ: Porirua Museum, 1986), 2; Morton, *Whale’s Wake*, 23.

16 A. Rus Hoelzel, “Genetics and Ecology of Whales and Dolphins,” *Annual Review of Ecology and Systematics* Vol. 25 (1994), 378, 388, 395; IWC, “Lives of Whales.”

17 IWC, “Lives of Whales.”

made the females and their calves easy prey for shore-based whalers. Moreover, other typical behaviours of female southern right whales accompanied by calves made the near extinction of this species possible.<sup>18</sup> In particular, female southern right whales demonstrate strong attachments to their young and will “stand by” their young when they are threatened, injured or killed. Margery Oldfield documented the following female:offspring defense behaviours exhibited by southern right whales: females will “coax” or otherwise help calves to escape danger; females will use their pectoral fins to protect or “carry away” calves; females will swim around calves, use their bodies against harpoon lines attached to calves, or use their tail flukes to damage boats; females will sustain injury, even risking their own lives, to save calves; females will not leave or desert threatened or injured calves; and females will not leave or desert dead calves, in some cases even following boats that are towing dead calves.<sup>19</sup>

Historical evidence clearly demonstrates that whalers were aware of these defense strategies of female southern right whales and exploited them to ensure that they would catch a whale or increase their harvest. Southern right whale mother-calf pairs were targeted by the whalers, and the preferred strategy was to kill or injure the calf, so that the mother would stay near by and could be killed more easily. It was this harvesting strategy that has been critiqued as contributing significantly to the near extinction of the southern right whale during the height of the whaling industry.<sup>20</sup>

18 Andrew Hill Clark, *The Invasion of New Zealand by People, Plants and Animals, the South Island* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1949), 31; Day, *Shore Whaling*, 3.

19 Margery L. Oldfield, “Threatened Mammals Affected by Human Exploitation of the Female-Offspring Bond,” *Conservation Biology* Vol. 2, no. 3 (1988), 265-266.

20 Oldfield, “Threatened Mammals,” 267. Whalers similarly used the behaviours of sperm whales to improve hunting techniques. While female southern right whales are usually larger than males and thus the preferred target of the whalers, male sperm whales are larger than females. Sperm whales demonstrate coordinated group defense strategies and thus whalers would often target young



The physical and behavioural characteristics of both the beaver and the whale made these species ideal for commercial exploitation by European nations, starting as early as the seventeenth century. In both Canada and New Zealand, the commercial exploitation of these resources had significant influences on the subsequent settlement and development of these countries.

### **The Commercial Exploitation of the Beaver**

Although sporadic and unorganized trade occurred between various European explorers and Indigenous peoples since the beginning of contact, such trade was usually secondary to other industries, particularly the fishing industry on the Atlantic coast. However, in the late sixteenth century, European fashions began to change and there was a significant increase in the demand for beaver felt to make hats. It was at this point that the fur trade began to develop into an organized and active industry. As the beaver market expanded, the beaver population was depleted closest to the settled areas. Thus, the trading area also began to expand rapidly, eventually carrying the fur trade into what are now the three prairie provinces and the northern territories. A relatively consistent demand for furs in Europe sustained the trade in North America for at least two centuries in some regions; however, fur was a luxury item and therefore price fluctuations were common. Such fluctuations were something that the trading companies had to work against constantly in order to keep their profit margins high.<sup>21</sup>

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or female sperm whales in order to draw in and more easily harvest all other members of the social group, including males. Oldfield, "Threatened Mammals," 268-269. For historical evidence of the knowledge of cow-calf behaviours of southern right whales and the exploitation of this knowledge by whalers see Tamati R. Poata, *The Maori as a Fisherman and his Methods* (Opotiki: W.B. Scott & Sons, Ltd., 1919), 21; United Kingdom, British Parliamentary Papers, *Report from the Select Committee on New Zealand Together with the Minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Index. 1 February – 5 September 1844. Colonies New Zealand 2* (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1968), 100.

<sup>21</sup> Innis, *Fur Trade in Canada*, 12, 14; Arthur J. Ray and Donald Freeman, 'Give us Good Measure': *An Economic Analysis of Relations Between the Indians and the Hudson's Bay Company Before*

Early on in the trade, two types of beaver pelts were secured by the European traders. Parchment beaver referred to skins that were dried immediately after the beaver was skinned. These pelts contained the valuable underfur used for felt, but also the longer guard hairs. These pelts had to be shipped first to Russia in order for the felt to be extracted and were therefore not as valuable as the second type of pelt, coat beaver. Coat beaver referred to pelts that had been previously worn by Aboriginal peoples. These pelts had been greased and made supple and the guard hairs had been worn off. This meant that not only was the felt easier to remove, but useful leather was also obtained. These pelts were more valuable than the parchment beaver. Overtime, the European markets demanded different types of furs, and eventually the trade in coat beaver disappeared; furs other than beaver were gradually sought as well.<sup>22</sup>

Although trading for furs occurred in almost all regions of Canada at one time or another, the most organized and long-lasting industry developed in Rupertsland, the territory granted to the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) through its 1670 charter. Rupertsland covered all the land that contained rivers that flowed into the Hudson Bay, and included parts of what are now Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and Nunavut.<sup>23</sup> Although this land was granted to the HBC, two systems of trade developed that were focused on this region. The HBC gained access to the region from the Hudson Bay, and established posts (or what they called factories) at the mouths of the major rivers that flowed into the Hudson Bay. First French traders and later various English and Scottish merchants based in Montreal

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*1763* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), 19-20, 53.

<sup>22</sup> Ray and Freeman, *'Give us Good Measure'*, 31, 155.

<sup>23</sup> "The Royal Charter incorporating The Hudson's Bay Company, 2 May 1670," Ottawa Researchers and Northern Blue Publishing, <http://www.northernblue.ca/canchan/cantext/british/1670hbcc.html>.

accessed Rupertsland by navigating the river and lake system from Montreal into what is now Manitoba and beyond. Although there were some basic similarities in these two systems of trade, there were also some important differences.

The Montreal system of trade, initiated by the French and later adopted by a number of different companies based out of Montreal, the most important perhaps being the Northwest Company (NWC), was based on the St. Lawrence–Great Lakes waterways and required traders to travel a long and arduous canoe route with many portages. This system relied on strong centralized organization and became increasingly dependent on the wintering partners who remained in the interior year round. The merchants in Montreal were responsible for securing trade goods from England, purchasing canoes and hiring men to paddle them, directing the routes canoes were to take, and arranging for the necessary supplies and provisions for the long journey. The wintering partners were responsible for collecting furs throughout the interior and bringing them to the western-most point of the Great Lakes–St. Lawrence waterways each year where the furs were exchanged for more merchandise with the voyageurs who made the trek from Montreal with the trade goods and then returned with the furs.<sup>24</sup>

Because of the limitations of their transportation system, the NWC focused on the trade of knives, flints, steels, awls, beads and other small items. Tobacco and rum were sold as well; however, these items were also used as a means to induce trade and were thus frequently given away. The NWC also carried larger items such as blankets, guns, axes, powder and shot, but these items were not stocked in great quantity and tended to be expensive. The longer the treks became from Montreal to the posts in the interior, the more important provisioning depots became along the 24 Innis, *Fur Trade in Canada, 177-178, 211.*

transportation routes as it was impossible to carry all of the necessary provisions from Montreal while still leaving ample room for trade goods.<sup>25</sup>

This transportation route severely limited the amount of goods that could be transported and allowed the HBC to continue to compete with this more mobile system of trade, at least initially. As the Montreal traders moved further inland, however, they were able to intercept Indigenous trappers traveling to Hudson Bay to trade with the HBC and traded with the trappers directly at their encampments. This competition had a particularly negative effect on the HBC posts at the southern end of Hudson Bay and on James Bay.<sup>26</sup> Nonetheless, several key differences in trade operations allowed the HBC to compete with the NWC until 1821 when the two companies finally merged under the name of the HBC.

Unlike the NWC, which was mostly an amalgamation of merchants, the Hudson's Bay Company was a chartered company. The British crown granted the HBC its royal charter in 1670, which not only gave it control over the territory of Rupertsland, but also monopoly rights over the fur trade in Rupertsland, or at least the trade operating out of the Hudson Bay.<sup>27</sup> The Company organized itself in a hierarchical manner. The head office was located in London and oversaw all aspects of the trade. In Rupertsland, the district headquarters were mostly concerned with administration and transportation, but also dealt with exchange, manufacturing and resource collection (provisions, firewood, timber, etc.). The posts in each district were mainly concerned with exchange and resource collection. Outposts, the responsibility of regular posts, were established as temporary points of exchange, usually as a means to combat competition or to ensure that trappers remained with

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<sup>25</sup> Innis, *Fur Trade in Canada*, 195, 214, 225-235.

<sup>26</sup> Innis, *Fur Trade in Canada*, 151-152; Ray and Freeman, 'Give us Good Measure', 27, 33, 193.

<sup>27</sup> Ray and Freeman, 'Give us Good Measure', 25.

one post and did not start to trade with other HBC posts from year to year.<sup>28</sup>

The employees at each individual post were also organized hierarchically. Posts were managed by chief factors, who answered to the managers in the London office with whom they communicated through regular correspondence and the maintenance of daily journals and ledgers. Chief traders and clerks rounded out the officer class, and were responsible for overseeing the functioning of the post, keeping post records, ordering merchandise and supplies, valuing furs, supervising the servants and ensuring that all necessary jobs were performed well.<sup>29</sup> The majority of HBC employees formed the servant class. While some were skilled labourers, such as blacksmiths, carpenters and boat-builders, most were general labourers responsible for completing the manual tasks required to keep a post functioning. These tasks included acquiring provisions, chopping wood, packing furs, working as unskilled carpenters, cleaning buildings, whitewashing, paddling canoes and boats, portaging cargo and sometimes cooking.<sup>30</sup>

The HBC built fortified posts, sometimes called factories, to facilitate trade. As it was costly to ship food and supplies from England, these posts were expected to be largely self-sufficient. As such, post employees planted gardens, raised livestock, fished and hunted wild game occasionally in addition to their regular tasks. Over time, the HBC began to rely upon local Indigenous peoples to provision the post, either by trading for provisions or by more formally hiring

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28 Frank Tough, *'As Their Natural Resources Fail': Native Peoples and the Economic History of Northern Manitoba, 1870-1930* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1996), 44-45.

29 Carol M. Judd, "Native labour and social stratification in the Hudson's Bay Company's Northern Department, 1770-1870," *The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* Vol. 17, no. 4 (1980), 305.

30 Carol Judd, "'Mixt Bands of Many Nations': 1821-70," in *Old Trails and New Directions: Papers of the Third North American Fur Trade Conference*, ed. C.M. Judd and A.J. Ray (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 127-128.

post hunters. Moreover, each post acted as a single unit, offering the same basic trade items and services, such as blacksmithing and gun-repairing. As competition often had negative effects on the profitability of trade, the HBC worked diligently to prevent competition between its own posts.<sup>31</sup>

In order to initiate a formal trade with Indigenous peoples in Rupertsland that could still be accountable to the home office in London, the HBC had to adjust the usual British trade practices of exchanging goods based on the British sterling. Thus, the company created a barter system based on a unit called the made beaver (MB). A made beaver was considered to be a prime beaver pelt, and all manufactured goods, pelts and “country produce” (predominantly food and other goods brought in for trade by Indigenous peoples) were measured and valued against this unit.<sup>32</sup>

In addition to creating a standard unit to facilitate and account for the trade in Rupertsland, the HBC also had to create a system that recognized and worked around obstacles that would prevent Indigenous men from spending a winter trapping. One of the most significant elements created by the HBC in this regard was the debt system. The Company quickly realized that if an Indigenous trapper was not given the materials he needed to spend a winter trapping and still support his family, he would often choose not to trap. Thus, the Company would extend credit to a trapper, to an amount that the trapper could reasonably be expected to repay when he returned with the pelts the next year, in order for the trapper to secure all of the supplies and goods he would need to spend a season trapping while supporting his family. The debt system had an added advantage for the HBC of tying trappers to particular posts and thus reducing the potential of competition between

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<sup>31</sup> Innis, *Fur Trade in Canada*, 131; Ray and Freeman, ‘*Give us Good Measure*’, 41, 249.

<sup>32</sup> Ray and Freeman, ‘*Give us Good Measure*’, 54.

posts. Although the debts were not always fully repaid, the system worked in many ways to the HBC's advantage, ensuring continuous effort by Indigenous people in trapping and creating obligations and ties to the posts. At the same time, it also allowed the Company to carry trappers through years when furbearer populations were low, again creating a kind of stability in the trade.<sup>33</sup>

Despite the monopoly granted to the Company through its royal charter, the HBC faced competition from first French traders and later Montreal-based companies, including the NWC. Competition with the NWC in particular forced the HBC to restructure its early trading practices, and in the latter half of the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century led to a proliferation of posts throughout the interior of Rupertsland and created a period of violence and intimidation in the fur trade that proved highly destructive to the profitability and efficient functioning of the trade. This period of intense competition ended in 1821 when the NWC and the HBC merged. Although the HBC's monopoly did not last in all regions, the merger did create a more stable trade in Rupertsland.<sup>34</sup>

Prior to the arrival of European fur traders, many Indigenous nations harvested furbearers, including the beaver, as a source of food and clothing. For beaver in particular, some Indigenous nations used their incisors and scapulas as tools. This use of furbearers was, however, mainly for subsistence purposes

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33 Ray and Freeman, 'Give us Good Measure', 186; Arthur J. Ray, "Periodic Shortages, Native Welfare, and the Hudson's Bay Company 1670-1930," in *The Subarctic Fur Trade: Native Social and Economic Advantages*, ed. Shepard Krech III (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1984), 10; Arthur J. Ray, "The Decline of Paternalism in the Hudson's Bay Company Fur Trade, 1870-1945," in *Merchant Credit and Labour Strategies in Historical Perspective*, ed. Rosemary E. Ommer (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1990), 188-202; Tough, 'As Their Natural Resources Fail', 17. The NWC did not offer credit and often this meant that the Aboriginal peoples they were engaging in trade could not afford to trap each season. Innis, *Fur Trade in Canada*, 174. For an alternative perspective on the debt system, see Toby Morantz, "'So Evil a Practice': A Look at the Debt System in the James Bay Fur Trade," in *Merchant Credit and Labour Strategies in Historical Perspective*, ed. Rosemary E. Ommer (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1990), 203-222.

34 Innis, *Fur Trade in Canada*, 252, 257; Ray and Freeman, 'Give us Good Measure', 197.

prior to the establishment of the fur trade. After the arrival of the fur traders, the Indigenous economy adjusted to include both subsistence and commercial hunting and trapping, as a beaver now provided both food for the family and a pelt for exchange.<sup>35</sup>

Indigenous peoples served several different roles in the Rupertsland fur trade. Their main role was as trappers, and the HBC worked hard to keep trapping their main role as they needed the Indigenous men to continue to produce fur each season. As such, the Company would only hire Indigenous men as seasonal labourers if there were no other recourse.<sup>36</sup> Nonetheless, Indigenous peoples did work as seasonal labourers and Company servants on occasion. Indigenous men were most often hired to work on boat crews or as guides and interpreters. Sometimes they were hired as general labourers and post hunters. Indigenous women, usually the wives of HBC employees, were sometimes hired to work in the gardens, hunt, fish, gather other resources, prepare hides and pelts, interpret or to do other necessary tasks around the post. As wives, Indigenous women also provided important kinship and trading links.<sup>37</sup>

The fur trade posts in Rupertsland created an interdependent contact zone between Indigenous and European peoples, that allowed both groups to work together for commercial purposes. In many ways, the shore-based whaling industry that developed in New Zealand in the nineteenth century provided a similar interdependent contact zone between Maori and European peoples, that also

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35 Krech, "Beaver," 179; Tough, *As Their Natural Resources Fail*, 14-15.

36 The Métis were the exception. Often Métis were hired as contracted employees in the same manner as other European and Canadian employees. Usually the positions that the Métis were able to achieve in the HBC were directly related to the positions held by their fathers. Judd, "Native labour," 308.

37 Innis, *Fur Trade in Canada*, 133; Judd, "Native labour," 306; Tough, *As Their Natural Resources Fail*, 19, 45.



allowed both groups to work together for commercial purposes.

### **The Commercial Exploitation of the Whale**

Largely as a result of the industrial revolution in Britain, a demand in Britain and Europe developed for whale oil to lubricate the machinery and provide fuel for streetlights in urban centres in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Whalers rendered blubber for oil in all species of whales; however, the spermaceti oil rendered from sperm whales was considered superior to that of other species.<sup>38</sup> From baleen whales, whalers also harvested the baleen, used widely in corset stays, bustle supports, fishing rods, buggy whips and springs. Although oil and baleen were the most common whale products, many whalers also collected sperm whale teeth, which they traded to Polynesians in exchange for wood, food and water. Occasionally, whalers also found ambergris in sperm whales. Ambergris is a waxy substance secreted by sperm whales around indigestible material in their intestines. When initially removed from the whale carcass, the substance had a rather rank smell; however, once exposed to sun and air, the ambergris hardened and began to smell more pleasant. It was used in perfume, as a spice and as an aphrodisiac. When whales were plentiful, whaling vessels could earn a considerable profit, and the general strategy was to take as many whales as could possibly be had in any given season.

The commercial whaling industry was initiated by the development of tryworks that could be carried aboard ships. Tryworks were the furnaces and boilers used to extract the oil from the blubber, and once this equipment could be

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<sup>38</sup> Sydney Frost, *Whales and Whaling, Volume 1, Report of the Independent Inquiry conducted by the Hon. Sir Sydney Frost* (Canberra: Australian Government, 1978), 25.

carried on ships, the industry could be conducted entirely at sea.<sup>39</sup> Whale ships were relatively large, often averaging 120 feet in length, 30 feet in width and 18 feet in depth.<sup>40</sup> The ships had to be strong in order to support the whale carcasses during butchering. While the carcasses were stripped and the oil rendered on board ship, the actual hunting of whales was conducted from smaller whale boats, work which was difficult and dangerous.

In the South Pacific, foreign whaling vessels, in particular American, British, French and Dutch, would often make the best use of their time by whaling in a seasonal circuit that could last for three to five years, until the crew had filled the ship's cargo hold with whale products. This circuit would often cover extensive territory including not only the South Pacific, but also Arctic waters off the coasts of Siberia, Alaska and Canada. As a result of these extended voyages, whaling ships were required to find friendly ports to stop to re-provision and repair the ship, as well as replace crew members. Over the years, Hawaii and northern New Zealand became favoured ports. Gradually, whalers, in particular American whalers, began to establish small, seasonal supply stations on many of the South Pacific islands.<sup>41</sup>

Most whaling operations functioned in the same basic manner: the small, maneuverable whale boats were sent out after the whales; whale carcasses were towed back to ship or shore; carcasses were stripped of all their commercial products; oil was rendered in tryworks and other whale products were prepared for shipment. However, there were three main methods for getting the small whale boats to the whales. The most well known method was deepsea whaling. Made famous, in

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39 Frost, *Whales and Whaling*, 25.

40 Arrell Morgan Gibson, *Yankees in Paradise: The Pacific Basin Frontier* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993), 134; and, Morton, *The Whale's Wake*, 17.

41 Gibson, *Yankees in Paradise*, 131-132, 140.

part, by Herman Melville's novels, deepsea whalers traveled extensively over the oceans, hunting whales in open waters, and coming in to shore to re-provision. Some of the deepsea whaling ships, however, started to take advantage of the whale migrations when the southern right whales would come into the quiet bays of New Zealand and other islands to calve and take care of their young. Generally called "bay-whaling," with this method the crews remained aboard ship like in deepsea whaling, but re-provisioning and shore-leave was more readily available for the crew as they hunted whales inside bays. After witnessing the successes of seal gangs and bay-whalers, some whalers began to develop the idea that shore-based whaling stations could be established in many of the bays along the South Island's coastline. Larger vessels would come to the stations to bring provisions and to take the whale products to market, but the men would live on shore and take out the small whale boats when the whales ventured into the bays.

The earliest shore stations in New Zealand were established in the late 1820s when sealing began to decline and when Britain reduced duties on colonial oil in 1823.<sup>42</sup> The Te Awaiti shore station, established in the Tory Channel in 1827 by ex-sealer John Guard, is generally regarded as the first shore station in New Zealand.<sup>43</sup> More stations followed in subsequent seasons on the South Island at Preservation Inlet, Tautuku, Waikouaiti, Bluff, Jacobs River, Otago Peninsula, and Banks Peninsula. By the 1830s and 1840s, shore whaling stations were major features on the eastern and southern coastlines of New Zealand.<sup>44</sup>

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42 Day, *Shore Whaling*, 1-2; Lawrence Sandston Rickard, *The Whaling Trade in Old New Zealand* (Auckland: Minerva, 1928), 50-51.

43 Day, *Shore Whaling*, 1-2; Morton, *Whale's Wake*, 229-230. Te Awaiti is generally suggested to be the first whaling station, although some argue that it was the station at Preservation Inlet that was the first. Some also put the date as 1829, instead of 1827. Rickards, *Whaling Trade*, 54-55.

44 F.G. Hall-Jones, *Historical Southland* (Invercargill: H. & J. Smith, for the Southland Historical Committee, 1945), 43-44.

The shore whaling stations were initially financed mostly by Sydney merchants, many of who only visited the station on occasion. Later, some stations were owned by the men who managed the day-to-day operations on site.<sup>45</sup> Eventually merchants and small “cooperatives” based in Wellington got involved in shore whaling as well.<sup>46</sup> Each whaling season, a merchant ship, carrying goods and materials needed at the whaling stations for subsistence and for trade with the Maori, were sent off.<sup>47</sup> The whaling station employees were paid based on the amount of oil and whalebone secured, each position receiving a particular percentage, generally referred to as lays.<sup>48</sup> Frequently, employees were paid in kind, in ways similar to employees of the Hudson’s Bay Company.<sup>49</sup>

Shore whaling stations had a few advantages to deepsea operations. Perhaps most importantly, the cost of operating a station was far less than that of operating a ship.<sup>50</sup> In most cases, the whaling station was outfitted by a trading ship that took the whalers and supplies to the station and then carried on to pick up flax, potatoes and other trade items. The ship would return to the station periodically to pick up oil and whalebone and take it to market. Stations were also easier and cheaper to maintain than ships that were at sea for two or three years.<sup>51</sup> The climate in New

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45 Rickard, *Whaling Trade*, 54.

46 Morton, *Whale’s Wake*, 226.

47 Clark, *Invasion of New Zealand*, 70; R.A.A. Sherrin and J.H. Wallace, *Early History of New Zealand from earliest times to 1840 by R.A.A. Sherrin and from 1840 to 1845 by J.H. Wallace Thomson*, ed. W. Leys (Auckland: H. Brett, 1890), 159.

48 Morton, *Whale’s Wake*, 227. For example, as Sherrin and Wallace documented, “The chief headman’s share was one-eighteenth; a headman’s, one-twenty-eighth; a boat-steerer’s, one-sixtieth; a cooper’s or carpenter’s, one-seventieth, or monthly wage; a boatman’s, one-hundredth. The remainder was the share of the merchant at whose expense the station had been fitted out ...” Sherrin and Wallace, *Early History*, 159.

49 Elder, *Pioneer Explorers*, 4-6; A.W. Reed, *Whaling in Early New Zealand* (Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed), 20; Sherrin and Wallace, *Early History*, 159-160.

50 Morton, *Whale’s Wake*, 224.

51 Rickard estimated that the cost of running a station would not exceed £1,200, compared to the cost of running a whaling ship, which could be several times more. Rickard, *Whaling Trade*, 52-53.

Zealand was favourable to storing oil (which would leak from casks in hot weather), there was less jostling of the barrels on shore than on ship, and as the trading vessels called in at the stations regularly, the oil spent less time in casks, again minimizing leakage. The financiers of the stations were also assured a more regular income as the oil was taken to market each season instead of when a whale ship filled its hull and returned to port. This shortened time to market also generally meant that the oil was superior in quality as it was not left around growing rancid. Finally, it was far less likely that the entire profits would be lost in one accident at a station, while everything could be lost if a whale ship sank.<sup>52</sup>

As shore-based whaling focused predominantly on the southern right whale, the whaling season followed the migration and breeding patterns of this species. The female whales would come into the sheltered bays to calve starting usually in late April or early May and would often move on by the end of October. Thus, the peak of the whaling season was from April to October; however, whalers would extend the season on either end, as long as whales were available to be taken.<sup>53</sup> In most cases, whaling crews stayed at the stations during the off-season; thus, the whalers took the time to build permanent houses, plant gardens and import livestock. The whaling stations became some of the first *pakeha* settlements in New Zealand.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Morton, *Whale's Wake*, 228-229; Rickard, *Whaling Trade*, 52-53. Not all writers agree that the oil from shore stations was of superior quality. Roy Clark suggested that the oil from shore stations was of inferior quality because it took far longer to bring the carcass into shore than into a ship, and the longer that a whale was dead before it was tried out, the more rancid and inferior the quality of oil that could be rendered. Roy Clark, "New Zealand Whaling," *Sea Breezes* (July 1965), 497.

<sup>53</sup> John Rawson Elder, *The Pioneer Explorers of New Zealand* (London: Blackie & Son Limited, 1929), 4-6; Frederick John Knox, "The Whale and Whaling," *New Zealand Magazine* Vol. 1, no. 1 (1850): 3.

<sup>54</sup> "Pakeha" is the term frequently given to non-Maori New Zealanders. Clark, *Invasion of New Zealand*, 54-55; Clark, "New Zealand Whaling," 496.

Whaling stations were located mostly at prominent headlands and near deep water.<sup>55</sup> A lookout would be located in such a place that he would have a commanding view of the bay and the waters coming in, searching for whale spouts and other tell-tale signs of whales. Each station would have six or eight whale boats (the same basic kind as used aboard deepsea whalers, although sometimes longer to accommodate more oarsmen needed in the race to beat other competitors to the whale), which would put out each day in different directions in the bay, waiting for a signal from the lookout to tell them in which direction to head. Each whale boat was crewed by six to nine men, including the headman who was in charge of steering the boat with long steer oar in the stern, until the boat was approaching a whale. As with deepsea whaling, a whale would be harpooned, allowed to dive and tow the whale boat until it tired and came back to the surface to breath, at which point it would be killed with a lance. The carcass would then be towed back to shore, and the valuable products could be stripped off and processed, generally referred to as “cutting in” and “trying out.”<sup>56</sup>

Prior to contact with Europeans, the Maori were not known to hunt whales actively. They did, however, make use of whales that were beached on their shores. Teeth from sperm whales, killer whales, porpoises and dolphins were collected and used ornamentally. Sperm whale teeth in particular were often positioned centrally in necklaces, and imitation teeth were sometimes cut and modeled accurately in stone.<sup>57</sup> Despite their initial inexperience with whaling, the Maori became actively

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<sup>55</sup> Reed, *Whaling*, 20.

<sup>56</sup> Clark, “New Zealand Whaling,” 494-495; Day, *Shore Whaling*, 10; Thomas Dunbabin, “With Harpoon and Lance. How Bay Whaling Flourished in the Early Days. Forgotten Pioneers and Pathfinders,” *The Navy League Journal* Vol. 7, no. 4 (1926), 5; Elder, *Pioneer Explorers*, 8-9; Morton, *Whale’s Wake*, 228; Poata, *Maori as Fisherman*, 19-24.

<sup>57</sup> William H. I. Dawbin, “The Maori Went A-Whaling – and became one of the world’s best whalemen,” *Pacific Discovery* Vol. 7, no. 4 (1954), 18; Anne Salmond, *Two Worlds: First Meetings*

involved in commercial whaling endeavours in a variety of ways almost from the start of when whaling became a steady activity in New Zealand waters at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Some Maori provisioned the ships that came to shore with food, water and other necessary supplies. Maori began to concentrate on cultivating the potato, as well as other vegetables for trade. Potatoes were one of the main vegetables used by whalers to prevent scurvy at sea; thus, there was a considerable demand for these vegetables.<sup>58</sup> Similar to Indigenous women in Canada during the fur trade, Maori women at times provided sexual services to the visiting whalers, sometimes voluntarily, sometimes not. Some Maori women acted as informants and negotiators, serving an important role as intermediaries between ship captains and Maori leaders.<sup>59</sup> Finally, some Maori chose to “ship out” on board whalers, developing a reputation over time as integral members of whale ship crews.

As early as 1796, British whalers recorded hiring Maori as paid crew. Over time, the number of Polynesians in general, or *kanakas* as they were commonly called, serving as crewmen grew until the mid-1800s when they accounted for as many as one-fifth of the crew on American whalers. On Australian ships, *kanakas* could account for two-thirds, and sometimes even more, of the crew.<sup>60</sup> British whalers also made use of *kanaka* crew, and by the 1830s, the British whalers were hiring Maori specifically on a regular basis. Although their exact numbers were

*Between Maori and Europeans, 1642-1772* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1991), 119.

58 Granville Allen Mawer, *Ahab's Trade: The Saga of South Seas Whaling* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 170-173; Morton, *The Whale's Wake*, 178-195; and, William Schaniel, “The Maori and the Economic Frontier: An Economic History of the Maori of New Zealand, 1769-1840,” (PhD diss., University of Tennessee, 1985), 66-98.

59 David A. Chappell, *Double Ghosts: Oceanian Voyagers on Euroamerican Ships* (New York: M.E. Sharpe), 21.

60 *Kanaka* is a Hawaiian word meaning “person” and was used to describe Polynesian sailors, crew and labourers. Chappell, *Double Ghosts*, xii-xiv, 15, 56. See also Dawbin, “Maori Went A-Whaling,” 19 for another description of the importance of Maori crew on South Pacific whalers.

not recorded, Chappell argued, “Maori may have been second only to Hawaiians in shipping out.”<sup>61</sup>

*Kanakas* performed numerous roles on board ship. At times they acted as interpreters, at other times they negotiated trade. Their importance to a ship’s crew because of their skills and connections in the South Pacific led some captains to argue that it was foolish to travel through the South Pacific without *kanakas* on board.<sup>62</sup> One of the most common jobs that Maori held on board whaling vessels was that of harpoon man. This position was dangerous and required considerable skill. As Gibson described:

The harpoon man, standing in the bow with feet braced for the killing thrust as the boat drifted nearly to within an arm’s length of the giant cetacean, struck his weapon (a razor-sharp point of malleable iron fitted to a shaft attached to the tub rope) deep into the whale just in back of the head. The harpoon line hissed through its ferrules as the wounded mammal submerged into the ocean deep, drawing boat and crew in a “Nantucket sleigh ride” over the water, until the whale expired and surfaced. The crewmen attached a heavy fiber line or chain to the flukes (the broad tail) and drew the carcass to the ship, securing it to the hull, head aft.<sup>63</sup>

Although some American and European sailors had concerns about Maori crew and their “uncivilized” ways, the Maori whalers’ skill and fearlessness as harpooners earned them a great deal of respect aboard whaling ships. More than as just harpooners, however, Maori were frequently praised for *all* of their skills.<sup>64</sup>

Not all Maori who became active whalers shipped out, however. While much previous scholarly attention has been paid to deepsea whalers, and the *kanakas* who served on their crews, considerably less attention has been given to the role of Maori at the shore-based whaling stations that operated in New Zealand, particularly on

61 Chappell, *Double Ghosts*, 16. See also British Parliamentary Papers, *Reports from Select Committees on New Zealand*, 68, 122.

62 Chappell, *Double Ghosts*, xvi.

63 Gibson, *Yankees in Paradise*, 135.

64 Chappell, *Double Ghosts*, 55.



the South Island, during the nineteenth century. Similar to the assistance that they provided to deepsea whalers, Maori both provisioned shore-based whaling stations as well as served as formal, paid employees. The relationships between Maori and the shore-based whalers also became more complex as there was more extensive and long-term interaction between the Maori and the whalers, and the whalers needed to negotiate access to land and resources controlled by various Maori *iwis*, or tribes.<sup>65</sup>

Although many of the employees on whaling stations came from Australia or had deserted from American and European whaling vessels calling in to port in Australia or New Zealand, Maori were also hired to work at the stations. Some Maori worked as whalers, and it was not uncommon for the two principal men in the boat (the headsman and the boat-steerer) to be of European descent and the rest of the crew to be Maori.<sup>66</sup> In some cases, the headsmen were of Maori or part-Maori or other Indigenous descent.<sup>67</sup> In addition to working as whalers, some Maori worked as or directly with the “tonguer,” the man in charge of cutting the blubber from a whale’s carcass in squares.<sup>68</sup> Still other Maori were employed as general labourers, helping to build houses and other buildings, cutting and hauling wood, setting up the tryworks and setting up the beaches to receive whale carcasses, and any other job that might be required. Local Maori also provisioned whaling stations with food (primarily potatoes, pork and fish), hemp and other local products needed at the stations. In return, the Maori were provided with many different types of

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65 Dawbin, “Maori Went A-Whaling,” 20.

66 Bruce, *Adventures*, 133.

67 For example, William Chaseland who worked for a time at the Otakou whaling station was of part Indigenous Australian descent. Dunbabin, “With Harpoon and Lance,” 7.

68 This man was so named because he was usually paid by oil rendered from the tongue, intestines and heart of the whale. Morton also noted that this man often also served as interpreter, so the position’s name might be a double play on the words. Morton, *Whale’s Wake*, 240.

manufactured goods such as fishhooks, knives, cutlasses, guns and ammunition, pipes, tobacco, handkerchiefs, blankets, and alcohol.<sup>69</sup>

As most of the whaling stations were established prior to the proclamation of British sovereignty over New Zealand after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, most whaling station owners negotiated agreements and land sales with Maori chiefs for permission to operate the station on their land. Frequently, these agreements included provision of the labour of Maori women who would assist the whalers by washing and mending clothes, preparing food and other such activities. These women often became wives to the whalers, and in return for their services, the whalers gave a portion of their earnings to their wives and their wives' kin.<sup>70</sup> Often the managers and shore station owners also married local chiefs' daughters or close relatives as a means to establish good relations.<sup>71</sup> Ultimately, the land sale agreements between Maori and whalers covered the vast majority of the South Island by the end of the 1830s.<sup>72</sup>

Not surprisingly, given that the whalers targeted the breeding population of whales and took as many whales as possible each season, the whaling stations did not operate for very long, and by the late 1840s, most had shut down. On the North Island, some whaling stations continued to operate until the start of the twentieth century, mostly operated by Maori communities, who started to turn their attention to hunting humpback whales as right whales were very rarely seen.<sup>73</sup> Nonetheless, for the short period many of the stations were successful, and in 1840,

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69 Clark, *Invasion of New Zealand*, 54-55; Clark, "New Zealand Whaling," 495; Dawbin, "Maori Went A-Whaling," 20.

70 W.H. Dawbin, *Maori Whaling* (Sandefjord: Handelstrykkeriet, 1954), 2-5.

71 Morton, *Whale's Wake*, 250-251.

72 Hall-Jones, *Historical Southland*, 43.

73 Dawbin, "Maori Went A-Whaling," 22.

New Zealand whale oil accounted for half the southern oil that reached Britain.<sup>74</sup> More significantly in the long term, these stations opened the way to subsequent European settlement in New Zealand, particularly in Banks and Otago peninsulas.<sup>75</sup>

### **Conclusion**

The commercial exploitation of the beaver and the whale created industries in Canada and New Zealand that not only influenced the subsequent settlement and development of the two countries, but also created an opportunity for Indigenous peoples to engage in commercial activities. In Canada, the Indigenous peoples served an integral role in the fur industry, trapping, that was not conducted in any sustained manner by the Europeans. Additionally, Indigenous peoples in Canada began to fill other important roles, such as provisioning the trading posts, serving as guides and interpreters, and engaging as temporary employees. In some areas, the fur industry became an important element in the Indigenous economy. In New Zealand, the Maori similarly became active and important participants in the whaling industry. Maori not only became well-respected whalers, performing numerous roles on whaling stations and on-board ships, but they also provisioned stations and ships, carving out unique commercial opportunities for themselves.

For the purposes of this dissertation, a detailed analysis of the commercial activities of the Indigenous peoples associated with the Ile a la Crosse post in Canada and the Otakou whaling station in New Zealand has been conducted. Although this post and this station followed the basic structure of a Hudson's Bay Company post

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<sup>74</sup> British Parliamentary Papers, *Reports from Select Committees on New Zealand*; Jim McAloon, "Resource Frontiers, Environment, and Settler Capitalism, 1769-1860," in *Environmental Histories of New Zealand*, ed. Eric Pawson and Tom Brooking (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2004, original 2002), 57.

<sup>75</sup> Clark, *Invasion of New Zealand*, 60.

and a shore-based whaling station, there are some unique characteristics of these two operations that are important to understand. As such, the topic of the following chapter is a description of these two operations specifically.

## **Chapter 5: The Geographic and Economic Context of the Fur Trade at Ile a la Crosse and the Whaling Industry at Otakou**

The fur trade in Rupertsland, as conducted by the Hudson's Bay Company, was intended to function largely as a cohesive operation. As such, each post had some basic similarities. However, the location of the post, and the Company's strategy for how each post would fit into the larger operation, influenced many of the detailed activities and the focuses of each post individually. These differences were even more pronounced in the whaling industry. The shore-based whaling stations established in New Zealand were largely run as individual operations, with different owners and financiers, in competition with each other. Thus, while there were basic similarities in whaling techniques and characteristics of how the stations were operated and financed, each individual station was relatively unique. In order then to analyze the commercial activities at the Ile a la Crosse post and the Otakou whaling station, it is important to understand the geographic and economic context of both operations.

### **The Trade at Ile a la Crosse**

Located on a peninsula in Lac Ile-a-la-Crosse, at the headwaters of the Churchill River, the first trading post at Ile a la Crosse was established in 1776 by Montreal-based traders.<sup>1</sup> The Hudson's Bay Company followed, establishing a post in 1799. Initial efforts by the HBC were thwarted by the intense competition provided by the Northwest Company, but after the merger of these companies in 1821, Ile a la Crosse became the headquarters of the HBC's English River District, sometimes

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<sup>1</sup> For a detailed discussion of the early Northwest Company operations at Ile a la Crosse see Harry W. Duckworth, ed., *The English River Book: A North West Company Journal and Account Book of 1786* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990).

also called the Isle à la Crosse District. This district was an important transportation hub in the fur trade, connecting the Athabasca region to the Hudson Bay drainage through the Methy Portage and the Clearwater River. It was an important contact zone for Indigenous peoples as well, and Dene, Cree and Métis traded at Ile a la Crosse and its outposts.<sup>2</sup> The English River District covered much of present-day northwest Saskatchewan and, as described by Chief Factor George Keith in his 1822-1823 district report, was bounded by the forks of Little Athabasca River, Cree Lake, Sturgeon River and the forks of the Lesser Slave River. The district was covered with streams, rivers and lakes, which aided transportation in the fur trade. Freeze-up was usually around mid-November and break-up was around mid-May on the rivers and the end of the month on the lakes.<sup>3</sup>

As the headquarters of the English River District, the post at Ile a la Crosse was responsible for coordinating activities at the secondary posts and outposts also operating in the District. Depending on the location of Indigenous peoples' camps and the availability of game and fur-bearers, the locations of the secondary posts and outposts shifted and over the years included places such as Green Lake, Cold Lake, Island Lake, Portage la Loche, Lac la Ronge, Deers Lake, Buffalo Lake, Canoe Lake and Souris River. Later in the trade period, between 1870 and 1900, the HBC faced competition once again in this region from a number of "free traders" (independent

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2 Robert Jarvenpa and Hetty Jo Brumbach, "Occupational Status, Ethnicity, and Ecology: Metis Cree Adaptations in a Canadian Trading Frontier," *Human Ecology* Vol. 13, no. 3 (1985): 311; Robert Jarvenpa and Hetty Jo Brumbach, "The Microeconomics of Southern Chipewyan Fur Trade History," in *The Subarctic Fur Trade: Native Social and Economic Adaptations*, ed. Shepard Krech III (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1984), 155; Brenda Macdougall, *One of the Family: Metis Culture in Nineteenth-Century Northwestern Saskatchewan* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2010), 3-6, 28-50; and, David McLennan, "Ile-a-la-Crosse," *The Encyclopedia of Saskatchewan* (Regina: University of Regina and Canadian Plains Research Center, 2007), <http://esask.uregina.ca/entry/ile-a-la-crosse.html> (accessed August 27, 2008).

3 Hudson's Bay Company Archives (hereafter HBCA) B.89/e/1 English River District Report 1822-1823 and B.89/e/2 English River District Report 1823.

traders) and companies such as Revillon Frères. In response, the Company began to operate winter outposts at places such as Souris River and Sandy Lake in order to maintain closer and more regular contact with Dene trappers.<sup>4</sup>

A Roman Catholic Mission was established near the HBC post in 1846 by the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, followed by a Grey Nuns convent in 1860 that provided medical services and education opportunities for residents in the area.<sup>5</sup> The mission at Ile a la Crosse was the first to be established in western Canada outside of Red River, and reflected a growing Christian influence in the region. The post journals at Ile a la Crosse suggest a collegial relationship between the mission staff and the post employees, with post employees doing contract work for the mission and the mission lending materials to the post when necessary. For example, there are several references to the post assisting with fishing for mission staff, a negotiated arrangement according to the post journal entry of 6 November 1860: “sent again our Men and two Boats for the Mission fish having made an understanding to help one another.”<sup>6</sup> More frequent references were made in the post journals about the skilled labourers, carpenters and blacksmiths particularly, employed by the post doing various jobs for the Mission.<sup>7</sup> Additional references

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4 Jarvenpa and Brumbach, “Occupational Status,” 314; Jarvenpa and Brumbach, “Microeconomics,” 155.

5 Robert Jarvenpa, “The Hudson’s Bay Company, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Chipewyan in the Late Fur Trade Period,” in *Le Castor Fair Tout: Selected Papers of the Fifth North American Fur Trade Conference, 1985*, eds. Bruce G. Trigger, Toby Morantz and Louise Dechêne (Lake St. Louis: Lake St. Louis Historical Society, 1987), 491; Jarvenpa and Brumbach, “Occupational Status,” 313; McLennan, “Ile-a-la-Crosse.”

6 HBCA B.89/a/31 Ile a la Crosse Post Journals 1860-1861, fo. 4. For other references to fishing for the Mission, see B.89/a/32 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1862, fo. 7; B.89/a/36 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1889-1891, fo. 26. The entries from the 1889-1891 post journals were references to the post delivering fish for the orphaned children living at the Mission.

7 See for example, HBCA B.89/a/34 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1863, fo. 2; B.89/a/35 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1864-1865, fo. 20, 21a, 21b, 39; B.89/a/36 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1889-1891, fo. 25.

were made to the post hauling goods for the Mission.<sup>8</sup> Occasional references are made in the post journals to the post borrowing supplies, predominantly wood, from the Mission.<sup>9</sup> These references suggest a friendly working relationship between the HBC post at Ile a la Crosse and the Mission.

Robert Jarvenpa, however, has argued that by the late nineteenth century, at least, the relationship between the HBC post and the Mission was strained. For example, while initially the religious practices of the Dene, Cree and Métis employees and trappers were regarded as only minor impediments to the trade, by the late 1880s, Chief Factor J. Fortescue accused the Rev. Père Rapet, the missionary in charge, of deliberately preventing Company freighters and boatmen from working at crucial times of the year by insisting these men observe Ascension Day. Conflicts over the right to access and use wild hay sources, necessary for feeding livestock, also began to occur in the late 1880s. In the 1890s, Chief Factor H.J. Moberly accused the Mission of conducting an inappropriate trade by taking advantage of the discount on goods the HBC provided for charitable purposes.<sup>10</sup>

At the same time, according to Jarvenpa, the Mission staff complained that the policies and practices of the Company negatively affected the spiritual and physical health of the Dene in the region. In particular, when the HBC established an outpost at Sandy Lake in the early 1890s, which the Company hoped would encourage Dene trappers to hunt in an area that had been unused for trapping in over twenty years, the Mission argued that the Dene were prevented from making regular trips to the Mission to participate in important religious activities. In general,

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8 See for example, HBCA B.89/a/35 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1864-1865, fo. 19, 29; B.89/a/36 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1889-1891, fo. 8, 14.

9 See for example, HBCA B.89/a/32 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1862, fo. 6; B.89/a/36 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1889-1891, fo. 25.

10 Jarvenpa, "Hudson's Bay Company," 495-499.



Jarvenpa argued, it was impossible for Dene to both pursue furs commercially and attend to regular religious meetings and thus the goals of the Mission and the HBC became increasingly competitive.<sup>11</sup> Still, despite the conflicts Jarvenpa found in the correspondence of these two organizations, the post journal of 1889-1890 demonstrated a working relationship continued between the post and the Mission.<sup>12</sup> Despite the potential for conflicting goals and operations of the Mission and the post, the establishment of the Mission did influence the activities of the Indigenous peoples connected to Ile a la Crosse post, as well as the post's employees.

Like other HBC posts, Ile a la Crosse was expected to be largely self-sufficient and provide for the sustenance of the men stationed here. Such self-sufficiency was accomplished in a number of ways at this post, including small-scale agriculture, hunting and fishing. While not all parts of the district were suitable for cultivation, the Company managed to grow wheat, barley, hay, potatoes and other vegetables in and around Ile a la Crosse.<sup>13</sup> Livestock was raised at the post as well, including cows, oxen, horses and dogs. Local Dene, Cree and Métis were hired as hunters to supply the post with fresh game from time to time. Perhaps even more important was their work at the fisheries. Much effort was put into operating various fisheries in and around the post. A number of locations on Lac Ile-a-la-Crosse itself were places that were used to set nets, including Point du Sable, Big Island, Point au Roche near the Mission, Sandy Point, Land Man Point and Preaque ile. Nets were also set at a variety of rivers and lakes in the region, including Canoe River, Beaver River, Canoe Lake and the Narrows. Certain locations were known to be more productive at certain times of the year, and were thus utilized seasonally.

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11 Jarvenpa, "Hudson's Bay Company," 500-513.

12 See for example, HBCA B.89/a/36 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1889-1891, fo. 8, 14, 25, 26, 28.

13 HBCA B.80/e/1 English River District Report 1822-1823.

For example, Sandy Point was known as an excellent winter fishery and references to this place as a fishery were made only in the winter months. Other locations were used throughout the year. References to fisheries at Canoe River, for example, were recorded in the fall, winter and spring.<sup>14</sup>

For most years, the post journals recorded the names of fishermen, the location of their fisheries, and/or the produce of the fisheries almost daily. There also seemed to be recognition of seasonal cycles of fish, interconnections between fish species and the impact of weather on fishing. For example, the post journal noted on 10 February 1862 “Jack Fishs [*sic*] are the most prevalent at this season.”<sup>15</sup> Similarly, on 19 February 1863, the journal noted “our fisheries produce are still good, considering the Season and we have some hopes that we shall not want of Fish untill [*sic*] the open water.”<sup>16</sup> And later in his District Report of 1886, Chief Factor J. Fortescue stated “We are therefore totally dependent on imported provisions for summer and during the customary failure of the fisheries in June July & part of August.”<sup>17</sup> The post journals also noted a particular connection between suckers and white fish, suggesting that when suckers were numerous, white fish were not. For example, on 27 February 1863, the journal noted “suckers are beginning to take a sure sign that white fish will soon be going away” and similarly on 19 March 1863 “The suckers are now numerous as so the white Fish scarce.”<sup>18</sup>

The employees at Ile a la Crosse also made connections between the weather and the prevalence of fish. For example, on 27 February 1863, the journal

14 HBCA B.89/a/31 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1860-1861, B.89/a/32 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1862, B.89/a/33 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1862-1863, B.89/a/34 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1863, B.89/a/35 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1864-1865, and B.89/a/36 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal, 1889-1891.

15 HBCA B.89/a/32 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1862, fo. 4.

16 HBCA B.89/a/33 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1862-1863, fo. 10.

17 HBCA B.89/e/5 Post Reports – Ile a la Crosse 1886, fo. 2.

18 HBCA B.89/a/33 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1862-1863, ff. 11, 12.

noted “not many suckers on account of the Cold Weather.”<sup>19</sup> More elaborately, on 12 September 1865 the journal recorded the opinion of a post employee, Girard, highly regarded as a fisherman, about the reason for the poor fishing on that day: “The Fisherman Girard has not brought so many fish as of late ... Girard opines that the failure of this days fishery is attributeable [*sic*] to the shifting of the wind which veered round to all points of the Compass – probably it may be the cause as I have heard other hands say that the wind has great affect on the movements of the Finny tribe.”<sup>20</sup> Attention to this kind of detail about the fisheries in the English River District suggests how important the activity was to the daily sustenance of the post. Chief Factor George Keith even went so far as to state that the fisheries, with proper management, would keep the post “independent of the natives for a subsistence.”<sup>21</sup> This statement seems to be an exaggeration as the fisheries frequently failed to provide for the daily needs of the post, and Indigenous post hunters were hired regularly and small-scale agriculture was pursued each year. Nonetheless, the importance of the fisheries at this post is clearly evident.

The English River District provided habitat for a variety of large game species and fur-bearers. According to various district reports, moose and caribou (sometimes referred to as “reindeer”) were present in what were referred to as the lower and middle regions of the District, while wood buffalo were present in the upper regions. Important fur-bearers in the District included beaver, otter, marten, mink, fisher, red, cross and silver foxes, lynx, wolverines, wolves, muskrats (sometimes also called “musquash”) and bears. Not surprisingly, over the course of the fur trade in the English River District, the populations of fur-bearers noticeably

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19 HBCA B.89/a/33 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1862-1863, fo. 11.

20 HBCA B.89/a/35 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1864-1865, fo. 31.

21 HBCA B.89/e/1 English River District Report (1822-1823), fo. 1-2.

declined. Declining beaver and otter stocks in particular were noted as early as the 1820s, but other fur-bearer populations declined as the trade progressed. The large game animals also declined in population throughout the nineteenth century, forcing the HBC and later the Roman Catholic Mission to provide relief for Aboriginal families in the region.<sup>22</sup>

The post employees were kept busy throughout the course of each year with numerous activities designed to keep both the trade and the post functioning smoothly. Some activities were related directly to the fur trade. For example, at certain times of the year, employees would be involved in trading furs, packing furs into bundles for shipment to York Factory, and tanning and dressing furs. During the period of intense competition between the HBC and the NWC, HBC employees spent much time traveling to Indigenous peoples' camps in order to secure furs for trade. Even after the merger, however, when the HBC was positioned to demand that the Indigenous trappers bring their pelts to the post to trade, Company employees continued to travel to the camps. In the mid to late nineteenth century, Company employees went "looking for Indians" to keep track of the activities of trappers during the trapping season and to encourage the trappers to put even more effort into trapping. At the same time, Indigenous men would regularly request and

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22 HBCA B.89/e/1 English River District Report (1822-1823); B.89/e/2 English River District Report 1823; B.89/a/29 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1855-1856, 19 June 1855, 8, 12, 17, 21, 23 and 31 July 1855, and 1, 6, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, and 21 August 1855; B.89/a/31 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1860-1861, 23 October 1860, 17 December 1860, 6 and 16 January 1861, 13 and 27 March 1861, and 1 and 17 May 1861; B.89/a/33 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1862-1863, 10 December 1862; B.89/c/4 Ile a la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1872-1875, letter dated Ile a la Crosse 20 January 1872 to Donald A. Smith, Chief Commissioner from Samuel McKenzie, fo. 2; letter dated Ile a la Crosse English River District, 1 June 1872, Report to the Chief Commissioner, fo. 11; letter dated Green Lake Store, 9 September 1873, to Donald A. Smith from W. McMurray, fo. 44-45; and, B.89/c/6 Ile a la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1877-1881, letter dated Ile a la Crosse 14 January 1878, to James A. Grahame from Ewen Macdonald, fo. 61-63; and, B.89/c/6 Ile a la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1877-1881, letter dated Isle a La Crosse English River District, 1 June 1880 to James A. Grahame from Ewen Macdonald, fo. 145-146..

receive the assistance of Company employees in transporting furs, fresh meat and fish to the post.<sup>23</sup>

Another activity related directly to the trade and regularly mentioned in the post journals was issuing debt to Indigenous trappers.<sup>24</sup> The HBC recognized early on in the trade that in order to ensure that the Indigenous trappers spent an entire season trapping furs for trade, the Company was required to advance the necessary supplies and equipment to the trappers on credit. The amount of credit provided to the trappers was based on an assessment of the amount of furs likely to be procured during the season, and the Company would reduce the amount of credit extended in future seasons to any trapper who failed to return with enough furs to repay his debt. The debt system not only recognized the costs necessary for Indigenous trappers to participate in commercial trade, but also recognized the natural population cycles of the fur-bearing animals. The debt system was used to carry trappers through years when fur populations were low, and the Company would write off bad debts in lean years to encourage the continued participation of Indigenous trappers. The cost of operating the debt system was less than the cost of a significant decline in fur returns if trappers could only afford to trap every other season instead of every season.<sup>25</sup>

23 See for example, B.89/a/31 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1860-1861, fo. 14, 19; B.89/a/33 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1862-1863, fo. 2, 3, 4, 12; B.89/a/35 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1864-1865, fo. 8, 9, 12, 16, 17, 20; B.89/a/36 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1889-1891, fo. 2, 18, 19, 20, 26.

24 See for example, B.89/a/31 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1860-1861, fo. 1, 2, 12; B.89/a/32 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1862, fo. 1, 2; B.89/a/33 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1862-1863, fo. 14; B.89/a/35 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1864-1865, fo. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 10, 12, 17, 19, 21a, 21b, 22, 26, 36, 36; B.89/a/36 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1889-1891, fo. 3, 15, 20, 35.

25 Harold A. Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History*, rev. ed. with a new introductory essay by Arthur J. Ray (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999, original 1956), 174; Toby Morantz, "'So Evil a Practice': A Look at the Debt System in the James Bay Fur Trade," in *Merchant Credit and Labour Strategies in Historical Perspective*, ed. Rosemary E. Ommer (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1990), 204, 208-9, 211, 213; Arthur J. Ray, "The Decline of Paternalism in the Hudson's Bay Company Fur Trade, 1870-1945," in *Merchant Credit and Labour Strategies in Historical Perspective*, ed. Rosemary E. Ommer (Fredericton: Acadiensis

In addition to the debt system, the HBC cared for Indigenous trappers and their families through the provision of food and ammunition during times of famine and hardship.<sup>26</sup> For example, on 25 December 1864, the Ile a la Crosse post journal noted that “old Bisonate arrived to day [*sic*] Starving he told us that both himself and Family went without eating 4 days we sent emiadeately [*sic*] of a man with Fish and a train of dogs to go and assist them at the Beaver River he made a good hunt in Furs 50 made Beaver the best we have had of as yet.”<sup>27</sup> Similarly, on 11 September 1889, the journal noted “the Chips were speaking to Mr Cowie today-Linklater was Interpreting they got 104 lb flour 164 48 lb Bacon 4 lb tea 4 lb tobo 10 lbs sugar as a temporary relief.”<sup>28</sup> On 3 March 1890, the journal noted “Louison Janvier “B” got 1 sac flour 25lb Bacon & 1/2 doz vials of Pain Killer for the Sick and Starving Indians at Buffalo Lake he also got Rations to take up the same Willie Stevenson from the Narrows.”<sup>29</sup> The Company understood that a failure to provide relief and support would often result in a loss of fur returns as the Indigenous trappers would be forced to spend more time hunting and gathering for their families’ sustenance than trapping.<sup>30</sup>

In addition to the activities related directly to the fur trade and to maintaining good, stable relations with the Indigenous families in the region, the employees of

Press, 1990), 188-9; Arthur J. Ray and Donald Freeman, *‘Give Us Good Measure’: An Economic Analysis of Relations Between the Indians and the Hudson’s Bay Company Before 1763* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), 186; Frank Tough, *‘As Their Natural Resources Fail’: Native Peoples and the Economic History of Northern Manitoba, 1870-1930* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1996), 17.

26 See for example, HBCA B.89/a/31 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1860-1861, fo. 4, 9; B.89/a/33 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1862-1863, fo. 8, 9, 14; B.89/a/35 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1864-1865, fo. 10, 14; B.89/a/36 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1889-1891, fo. 11, 29.

27 HBCA B.89/a/35 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1864-1865, fo. 10.

28 HBCA B.89/a/36 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1889-1891, fo. 11.

29 HBCA B.89/a/36 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1889-1891, fo. 29.

30 Arthur J. Ray, “Periodic Shortages, Native Welfare, and the Hudson’s Bay Company, 1670-1930,” in *The Subarctic Fur Trade: Native Social and Economic Advantages*, ed. Shepard Krech III (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1984), 8, 10; Tough, *‘As Their Natural Resources Fail’*, 17.

the post performed numerous activities to keep the post functioning efficiently, and to provide for the needs of the employees, and sometimes their families, resident at the post. For example, the post at Ile a la Crosse employed a blacksmith to operate a forge and several carpenters who could build and maintain houses, sheds and other necessary buildings. Men skilled in boat building were hired, as well as men (and women in some cases) to tend to the garden and livestock. Numerous employees performed unskilled labour and general maintenance almost daily. The post also provided medical services at times, and cared for its retired employees, widows and children associated with the post. The post journals recorded many of these activities in great detail.

The HBC post at Ile a la Crosse was essentially a self-contained community, in relationship with the Indigenous communities and the Mission community resident in the region, but at the same time existing for a global market. The daily activities of the residents of the post concerned both the fur trade itself, and the relationships between the HBC and the Indigenous peoples they hoped to engage in trade, as well as the Mission staff working and living nearby. The Otakou shore-based whaling station in New Zealand, although a part of a different commercial industry, functioned in much the same way, and thus was also a self-contained community in relationship with the Maori and other whaling stations operating in the region, existing for a global market.

### **Whaling at Otakou**

The Otakou whaling station, located on the southeastern coast of the South Island near present day Dunedin, was established in 1831 by the Weller brothers, Joseph, Edward and George, of Sydney, Australia. George Weller remained in Sydney to

direct the business in Australia while Edward and Joseph Weller directed the business at Otakou itself.<sup>31</sup> The whaling station was established on what is now referred to as Otago Harbour, described by Edward Shortland, who traveled through the area in the 1840s serving as Protector of the Aborigines for the Colonial Government of New Zealand, as follows:

Otakou is an inlet about ten miles long, and on an average one mile and a half-broad, taking a direction, by compass, nearly S.W. Its western Head is distinguishable by a remarkable white sand patch. A shoal, on which the sea breaks heavily, extends from this towards the eastern Head – a steep round bluff – leaving a channel, however, running close to the bluff, which I was informed by the whalers, had a depth of three fathoms and a-half at low water. The land on either side the inlet is hilly or mountainous, with here and there a pleasantly situated valley, and one or two rather more extensive flats. ... About six miles from the Heads is the island Rangiriri, which nearly divides the harbour into two equal parts. On either side of this island, there is a narrow passage, through which the tide runs with great rapidity; ... There are unfortunately many shoals between this point and the Heads, and the channels between them are intricate; but the authority of the whaler residents was in favour of their being sufficiently deep to admit ships of five or six hundred tons.<sup>32</sup>

Thus, the Otago Harbour was an excellent location for a whaling station, providing access for large ships and good on-shore locations for establishing necessary buildings and for trying out whales.

Although the Wellers immediately set about building their station upon their arrival in 1831, before the whaling season could even start the following April, a fire broke out, destroying the entire establishment, including about eighty houses and other buildings. The station was rebuilt, however, more elaborate than before.

Thus, the first whale oil reported to have come out of Otakou did not arrive in

31 The Weller brothers were born in England, but their family emigrated to Australia in the late 1820s. Their father was considered “well-off” and acquired considerable property in Australia. Frank Tod. *Whaling in Southern Waters* (Dunedin: Frank Tod, 1982), 21.

32 Edward Shortland, *The Southern Districts of New Zealand; A Journal with Passing Notices of the Customs of the Aborigines* (London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1851; reprinted Christchurch: Capper Press, 1974), 9-10.



Sydney until 1833, although the Wellers had managed to ship timber and flax from Otakou early in 1832.<sup>33</sup> It became a common practice for the Wellers to ship not only whale products, but also other useful products such as timber, flax and potatoes for sale in Sydney, a practice common to all whaling stations.

Otakou shared a number of key characteristics with other shore whaling stations in New Zealand. As described by Morton:

it had Sydney owners; one owner took an active part in the whaling; it employed Maoris, and had various difficulties with local tribes and chiefs; it engaged in general trade; it employed its own small ships; it was initially successful – perhaps the most productive site of all relative to boat numbers; it faced heavy bay whaling competition from foreign ships; and because finally it went bankrupt.<sup>34</sup>

Edward Shortland agreed with Morton's assessment of the initial success of the Otakou station, arguing that it was "for a short time, the most successful and important of any on the coast."<sup>35</sup> However, like many whaling stations in New Zealand, the whaling techniques at Otakou, which focused on capturing female right whales and their young, were not sustainable over long periods of time. This pressure on whale populations, combined with significant competition from other stations and ships, forced the Wellers into bankruptcy in 1841. J. Hoare continued operating the whaling station on a smaller scale for a few more years. However, agricultural pursuits began to over-shadow the whaling operations at Otakou in the early 1840s. Octavius Harwood, who began operating a store in conjunction with the Otakou whaling station in 1838, continued running his store until at least

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<sup>33</sup> Andrew Hill Clark, *The Invasion of New Zealand by People, Plants and Animals, the South Island* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1949 [1970]), 68; Robert McNab, *The Old Whaling Days: A History of Southern New Zealand from 1830 to 1840* (Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1913), 98-99; Lawrence Sandston Rickard, *The Whaling Trade in Old New Zealand* (Auckland: Minerva, 1928), 57-58; Tod, *Whaling in Southern Waters*, 22.

<sup>34</sup> Harry Morton, *The Whale's Wake* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1982), 233-234.

<sup>35</sup> Shortland, *Southern Districts*, 11.

1857.<sup>36</sup>

Throughout the period of time that it operated, the Otakou whaling station traded with and competed against large numbers of deepsea whaling vessels, who would come into Otago Harbour to re-supply and to take advantage of the relative ease of catching right whales in the harbour as compared to the open seas. In addition to these vessels, a number of different shore whaling stations operated in the area, also creating competition for the Wellers. John Hughes, initially employed as a “headsman” at the Otakou station, eventually left the employ of the Wellers and ran his own station called Onekakara near Moeraki from 1836 to 1843.<sup>37</sup> In many ways, this station ran in a manner similar to Otakou and other stations, although the *pakeha* families here placed more emphasis on agriculture than elsewhere and had more land under cultivation than the other whaling stations in the region.<sup>38</sup>

One of the fiercest competitors faced by the Wellers was Johnny Jones, owner and operator of the Waikouaiti whaling station, not far north of the Otakou station. Jones had started out as a sealer in the Foveaux Strait and then a waterman in Sydney, finally becoming part owner of a whaling station at Preservation Inlet in New Zealand. He soon earned enough money to purchase a vessel and an existing whaling station at Waikouaiti in 1835, and over the next few years acquired seven whaling stations in total. Johnny Jones stayed in New Zealand and became a well-known businessman and landowner.<sup>39</sup>

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36 Shortland, *Southern Districts*, 11, 300-301; Tod, *Whaling in Southern Waters*, 21-36, 66-68, 87-99.

37 Clark, *Invasion of New Zealand*, 69; Tod, *Whaling in Southern Waters*, 43-51.

38 Tod, *Whaling in Southern Waters*, 47.

39 R.M. Burdon, *New Zealand Notables: Henry Williams, Te Whiti, Johnny Jones* (Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1941), 107-113; John Rawson Elder, *The Pioneer Explorers of New Zealand* (London: Blackie & Son Limited, 1929), 9-10; Donald W. Malloch, *Early Waikouaiti* (Dunedin: Otago Daily Times and Witness Newspapers Co., Ltd., 1940), 10-37; Tod, *Whaling in Southern Waters*, 53-65.

Although not in direct competition with the Otakou station, the Piraki whaling station, located on Banks Peninsula, was another well-known whaling station. The whaling activities at this station were recorded in a journal kept by Captain G. Hempleman. This journal has subsequently been published, adding to the few remaining records of New Zealand shore whaling stations.<sup>40</sup> Hempleman's station was, however, still competition for the Weller brothers, as they had stations at Timaru and other locations on Banks Peninsula.<sup>41</sup>

Early relations between the Otakou station and the Ngai Tahu (the *iwi* or tribe who controlled the territory in which the station was located) were not always peaceful.<sup>42</sup> However, the station did employ a number of Maori. In 1833, roughly half of the work force was Maori, but by 1837 there were nearly twice as many Maori employees as European.<sup>43</sup> Even those Maori who were not formally employed at the station, however, took advantage of the establishment of the station, one of the first *pakeha* settlements in the southern regions of the South Island. The Maori were interested in trading for manufactured goods they could not get elsewhere. By 1843, when Edward Shortland visited the area where the Otakou station once operated, he found few Maori still residing. The whalers who had remained in the area after the station closed told Shortland that the Maori population had once been quite large but, they argued, it had decreased dramatically due to a measles epidemic that had gone through the area a few years previously. Shortland disagreed with this assessment, and instead argued that the much larger population of Maori around the

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40 The published version of Hempleman's journal appears as: G. Hempleman, *The Piraki Log (E Pirangi Ahau Koe) or Diary of Captain Hempleman with Introduction, Glossary, Illustrations and Maps* (London: Oxford University Press, 1910).

41 Tod, *Whaling in Southern Waters*, 77-86.

42 Rickard, *Whaling Trade*, 57-58.

43 W.H. Dawbin, *Maori Whaling* (Sandefjord: Handelstrykkeriet, 1954), 5-6.

whaling station at the height of its operations was likely due to the Maori seeking out the manufactured goods that could be purchased at the station. He argued that when the whaling station closed, the Maori likely relocated to other still operating whaling stations, such as the one at Waikouaiti.<sup>44</sup>

Much of the daily activities and operations of the Otakou whaling station were recorded by Octavius Harwood, who was hired by the Wellers to operate their store at Otakou early in 1838. Harwood's journal begins late in April of 1838 and ends early in July 1842. Unfortunately, outside the journal and account books maintained by Harwood, and some of the correspondence between the Wellers and a few others at the station, few other records remain of the day-to-day activities at this station. Nonetheless, for the short period of time covered by the journal, considerable details are recorded. Three closely linked whaling bases formed the Otakou station: the Upper Fishery, the Middle Fishery and Purakanui (sometimes recorded as Brokenewy by Harwood).<sup>45</sup> Harwood's journal recorded the activities of each of these bases in and around Otago Harbour, although he did not always distinguish between the separate operations.<sup>46</sup> In general, each of these bases operated in much the same manner, and for the sake of consistency in this paper, all of these fisheries will be referred to simply as the Otakou station, unless a distinct reference to one of the operations is necessary.

Similar to the Hudson's Bay Company post at Ile a la Crosse, the Otakou station made efforts to provide for the sustenance of the employees. Men were

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44 Shortland, *Southern Districts*, 39-40.

45 Tod, *Whaling in Southern Waters*, 35-36.

46 Hocken Library, MS-0438/001 G.C. Thomson Collection, Harwood's Journal April 1838 – January 1840; MS-0438/002 G.C. Thomson Collection, Harwood's Journal October 1840 – July 1842; MS-0438/003 G.C. Thomson Collection, Octavius Harwood's journal (transcript).

employed tending a garden, fishing and occasionally hunting for food.<sup>47</sup> More often, food was obtained through trade. Maori would bring in local food items, mostly fish and pigs, for trade, and the station would trade for various European style food, such as flour, biscuits and salted meats, from visiting ships. The Wellers also transported food supplies from Sydney on their own vessels. Unlike at Ile a la Crosse, where long and expensive transportation routes discouraged the HBC from supplying its men with significant amounts of European-style food, the Otakou station had much shorter transportation routes to large colonial settlements and vessels and thus easier access to European-style foods. Thus, less emphasis appears to have been placed on providing for the employees' sustenance at Otakou than at Ile a la Crosse.

Another significant difference between the daily activities at Otakou and Ile a la Crosse concerns the actual operations of the commercial activities for which the station and the post were established. The main commercial activity of the fur trade, trapping fur-bearing animals, occurred off-site from the Ile a la Crosse post and was conducted by Indigenous trappers who were not employees of the post. Thus, the journals kept at Ile a la Crosse reveal no direct information about the actual act of trapping. In contrast, the main commercial activity of the whaling industry, whaling, occurred on-site at the Otakou station and was conducted by employees of the station. Thus, in this case, the journal kept at the Otakou station recorded considerable details of the act of whaling. Almost daily during the peak whaling season, the journal recorded the number of boats out in the harbour looking for whales each day, the names of the men who headed the boat crews, and the

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<sup>47</sup> It is likely that the women, mostly Maori women, who married or lived with the whalers were involved in these activities as well, although Harwood very rarely makes any mention of the women at the station.

number of whales spotted, chased and captured. Notes were made of any whale carcass that sank before it could be brought into the trying out stations on shore, and records were kept of damage done to boats during a chase, injuries to and occasionally the deaths of any of the whalers during the day, and the acts of “cutting in” and “trying out” the whale carcasses (i.e. removing and drying the baleen and rendering the blubber into oil). These activities dominated the journals during the peak whaling season.

In addition to the whaling activities, Harwood recorded the activities of skilled and unskilled labourers who performed numerous tasks that kept the station and the whaling operations running smoothly. For example, coopers were employed to build barrels to store the whale oil. Blacksmiths were employed to make various necessary ironworks, particularly harpoons. Carpenters and ship builders were on hand to build and repair whale boats, perform maintenance on whale boats and ships, and to build houses, storehouses and other necessary buildings. Sawyers were hired to keep the carpenters supplied with timber. Employees were also expected to cut firewood, build fences and perform other general maintenance duties. Much of these activities were similar to the daily operations at Ile a la Crosse that kept that post functioning efficiently.

As discussed previously, the Hudson’s Bay Company used the debt system to provide the Indigenous trappers, as well as their employees, with the necessary gear and material to engage in the fur trade continuously. The Otakou station, as well as other whaling operations, used a similar, although less formalized, method to provide for their employees as well. Headmen, the men in charge of particular whale boats, were loaned boats, harpoons, ropes and other necessary equipment

each season, and given replacements when necessary. Headmen were expected to return this gear at the end of each season. All employees were provided “slops” (clothing), food and alcohol regularly while they were engaged at the station. Technically, these provisions were subtracted from their wages; however, the process was reminiscent of the manner in which the HBC cared for its employees.

The Otakou whaling station also made an effort to establish peaceful and profitable relationships with the local Ngai Tahu. Much of the relationship involved trade, and the Ngai Tahu were encouraged to bring in fish, pigs, titi birds (also called mutton birds), potatoes, baleen, timber and firewood. In exchange, the whaling station provided a variety of manufactured goods, clothing, boats, alcohol and other services. For example, in exchange for having his boat fixed at the station, a Ngai Tahu called “Blueskin” by Harwood provided the station with whalebone (i.e. baleen).<sup>48</sup> On occasion, Weller, Harwood or one of the other men at the station would visit the nearby Ngai Tahu villages. On at least one occasion, Harwood provided medicine to a few Ngai Tahu who were ill.<sup>49</sup> More frequently, and in a manner similar to the post at Ile a la Crosse, Harwood would arrange to lend boats to Ngai Tahu who wanted to bring in larger amounts of trade items.<sup>50</sup> Ngai Tahu would also frequently stop at the station while traveling to other locations, visiting with the whalers and possibly the Maori employed and living at the station.<sup>51</sup>

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48 Hocken Library, MS-0438/001, G.C. Thomson Collection, Journal Apr. 1838 – Jan. 1840, p. 35, 20 June 1839 and 1 July 1839.

49 Hocken Library, MS-0438/001, G.C. Thomson Collection, Journal Apr. 1838 – Jan. 1840, p. 28, 29 March 1839.

50 See for example, Hocken Library, MS-0438/001, G.C. Thomson Collection, Journal Apr. 1838 – Jan. 1840, p. 39, 40, 2, 3 and 13 September 1839; MS-0438/002, G.C. Thomson Collection, Journal Oct. 1840 – July 1842, p. 14-15, 3 January 1841.

51 See for example, Hocken Library, MS-0438/001, G.C. Thomson Collection, Journal Apr. 1838 – Jan. 1840, p. 40, 47, 8 and 9 September 1839, 2 December 1839; MS-0438/002, G.C. Thomson Collection, Journal Oct. 1840 – July 1842, p. 7, 8, 16 and 22 November 1840.

Finally, one of the most significant means through which the Weller brothers, and other whaling station owners, established peaceful relationships with the Ngai Tahu was through the formal purchase of land. The Wellers specifically purchased land from local Ngai Tahu chiefs identified by Harwood as Bloody Jack, Jackey White and Tyroa.<sup>52</sup>

As one of the first *pakeha* settlements in the southern regions of the South Island, the Otakou whaling station was in many ways a self-contained community that worked to establish close, peaceful relationships with the Ngai Tahu and other whaling stations nearby while existing for a global market. Although the whaling industry differed in many ways from the fur trade, and although there are some differences between Ile a la Crosse and Otakou, similar labour strategies operated in both places, allowing for a comparative analysis of the seasonal cycles of activities over several years. These seasonal cycles of activities allow for a more detailed understanding of the basic operations of the fur trading post and the whaling station, as well as demonstrate changes over time. This analysis is the subject of the next chapter.

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<sup>52</sup> Hocken Library, MS-0438/001, G.C. Thomson Collection, Journal Apr. 1838 – Jan. 1840, p. 47-48, 4, 5 and 26 December 1839.



## **Chapter 6: Seasonal Cycle of Activities at Ile a la Crosse and Otakou**

Although there were some significant differences between the fur trade and whaling industries, which are reflected in the basic operations at the Ile a la Crosse post and the Otakou whaling station, in both places daily journals were kept detailing the activities of employees and the interactions between employees and Indigenous peoples in the regions. These journals allow for a comprehensive analysis of the seasonal cycle of activities at Ile a la Crosse and Otakou that provide insight into the activities and the participation of Indigenous peoples in these commercial industries beyond standard wage employment with the companies. This analysis, then, can shed light on how participation affected Indigenous economies and seasonal rounds.

This chapter focuses primarily on the seasonal cycle of activities that have been generated through an analysis of the fur trade and whaling journals kept for Ile a la Crosse and Otakou. By examining these seasonal cycles it becomes clear that Indigenous people's involvement in these commercial industries was more than merely peripheral to their pre-contact activities by the nineteenth century and became more complex over time. Moreover, it calls into question the perception that traditional economies have not changed since pre-contact times. Instead, this analysis suggests that Indigenous peoples integrated commercial elements into their economies in a comprehensive manner.

### **Seasonal Cycle of Activities at Ile a la Crosse Post, Saskatchewan**

For the fur trade, the seasonal cycles of activities demonstrate that fur trade posts conducted complex and varied activities on a daily basis, much of which was not

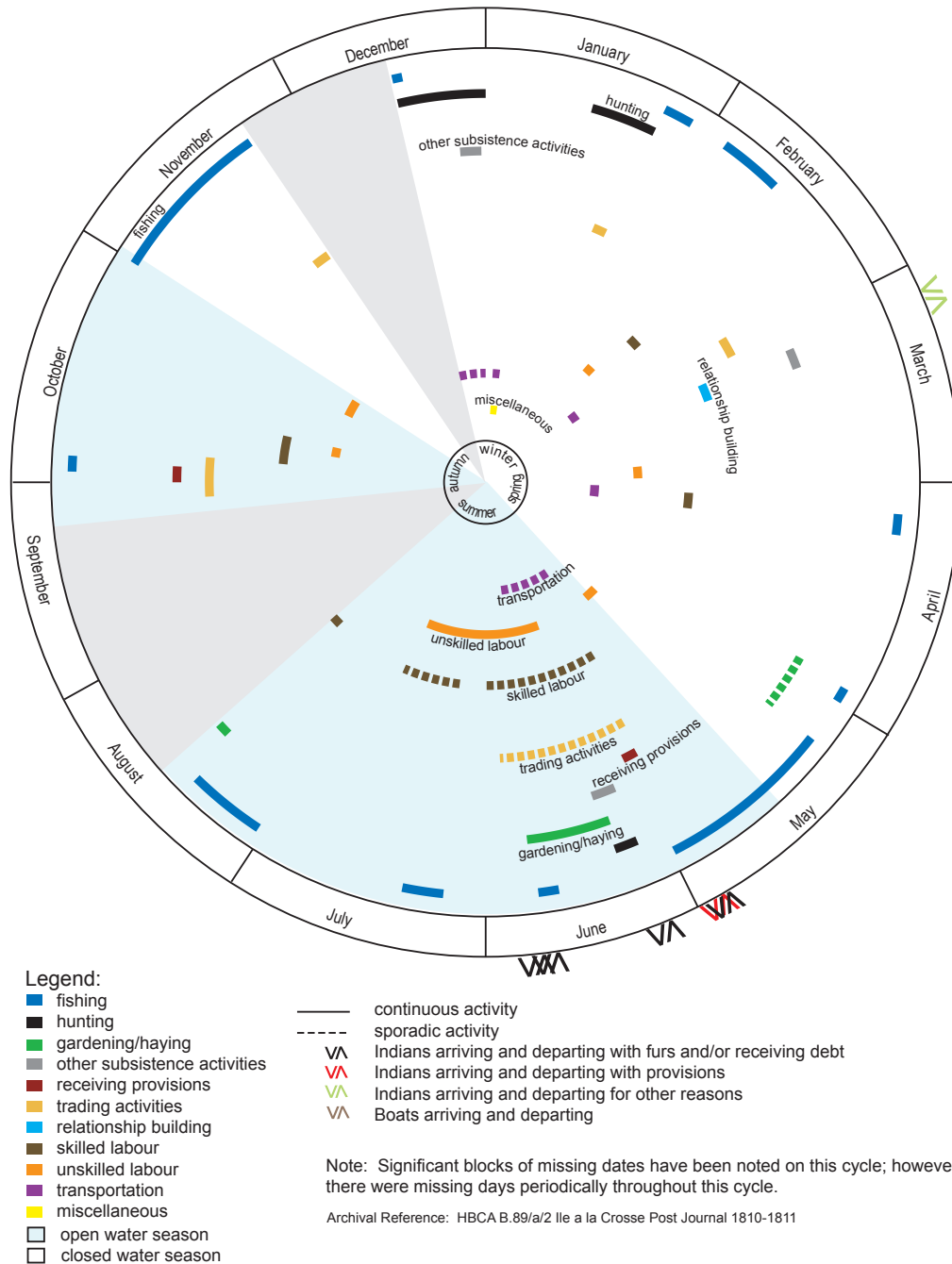
connected directly to the trade. Instead, much of the daily activities were centred on the subsistence of the post. As much as possible, I tried to create diagrams for years in which most of the days had been recorded and followed the timeline of a Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) "outfit" year, which ran from 1 June to 31 May. I indicated any significant missing time periods with a light grey segment blocking out the missing dates. Solid lines indicate continuous activity on virtually every day of the period indicated, and dashed lines indicate sporadic activity during the period indicated. The arrows around the outside of the diagrams represent movements of individuals and groups into and out of the post. The open water season is indicated by a light blue segment in the background; the closed water season is left plain. A detailed examination of these seasonal cycles reveals active participation of Indigenous people in the fur trade.

Figure 6.1 represents the seasonal cycle of activities at Ile a la Crosse in the outfit year running from 1 June 1810 to 31 May 1811. Many days were not recorded in the journal in this year, but the most significant gaps were from 15 August to 22 September and from 23 November to 14 December. Overall, journal entries were recorded for 169 days of this outfit year. This outfit year represents a period of intense competition between the HBC and its major rival at the time, the Northwest Company (NWC).<sup>1</sup> The journal entries during this competitive period

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<sup>1</sup> Despite the monopoly granted to the HBC through its royal charter, the Company faced competition from first French traders and later Montreal-based companies, the most significant perhaps being the NWC. Competition with the NWC in particular forced the HBC to restructure its early trading practices, and in the latter half of the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century led to a proliferation of posts throughout the interior of Rupertsland and created a period of intense violence and intimidation in the fur trade that proved highly destructive to the profitability and efficient functioning of the trade. This period of intense competition ended in 1821 when the NWC and the HBC merged. Although the HBC's monopoly did not last in all regions, the merger did create a more stable trade in Rupertsland. Harold A. Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada*, rev. ed. with a new introductory essay by Arthur J. Ray (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999, original 1956),

Figure 6.1 Seasonal Cycle at Ile a la Crosse Post, 1810 - 1811



read very differently from journal entries in later time periods, and in particular, detail many of the activities of the NWC, especially as those activities pertained to the disruption of HBC operations. Numerous entries documented how the NWC intercepted “Indians” from coming into the HBC post and recorded the threats and harassment used by the NWC, making the “Indians” afraid to trade with the HBC.<sup>2</sup> The NWC also harassed and threatened HBC employees, on some occasions resorting to firing guns at them and engaging in violent fights.<sup>3</sup> The NWC also attempted to disrupt HBC fishing (including the destruction of fishing nets), one of the most important subsistence activities at the post,<sup>4</sup> and to steal or destroy other HBC property, including the stockades and the Company’s dogs.<sup>5</sup>

Despite the heavy emphasis on NWC activities in this outfit’s journal, certain patterns of activities of the Indigenous peoples not formally employed by the HBC can still be understood from an analysis of the journal. Table 6.1 presents the time spent by Indians at the Ile a la Crosse Post in ten different outfit years between 1810 and 1890, starting with the outfit year 1810-1811. In the 1810-1811

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252, 257; Arthur J. Ray and Donald Freeman, *‘Give us Good Measure’: An Economic Analysis of Relations Between the Indians and the Hudson’s Bay Company Before 1763* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), 197.

2 See for example, Hudson’s Bay Company Archives (hereafter HBCA) B.89/a/2 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1810-1811, 9 and 15 June 1810, 7, 23 and 29 July 1810, 24 and 26 September 1810, 4 and 7 October 1810, and 22, 23, 24, 27 and 28 April 1811. I am using the term “Indian” here in the same way that the HBC did. For the most part, the HBC used the term “Indian” to refer to any Indigenous person not formally employed by the Company. At Ile a la Crosse then, an Indian could be Cree, Dene or Métis. Thus, “Indian” in this chapter does not refer to the legal definition of “Indian” under the *Indian Act*; it refers to any Indigenous person engaging in trade at Ile a la Crosse who was not formally employed by the HBC.

3 See for example, HBCA B.89/a/2 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1810-1811, 13 July 1810, 3, 12, 19, 22, 24 and 25 October 1810, 19, 20 and 21 November 1810, 19, 20, 21, and 22 January 1811, and 25, 28 and 29 May 1811.

4 See for example, HBCA B.89/a/2 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1810-1811, 9 July 1810, 8 October 1810, 2 and 10 November 1810, 23 and 24 January 1811, and 6 February 1811.

5 See for example, HBCA B.89/a/2 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1810-1811, 2 September 1810, 8, 14, 15 and 26 October 1810, 29 and 30 March 1811, and 6 April 1811.

Table 6.1 Time Spent by Indians at Ile a la Crosse Post, 1810 - 1890

Activity	1810-1811		1815-1816		1824-1825		1831-1832		1844-1845		1855-1856		1860-1861		1862-1863		1864-1865		1889-1890	
	Number of Days	Percent	Number of Days	Percent	Number of Days	Percent	Number of Days	Percent	Number of Days	Percent	Number of Days	Percent	Number of Days	Percent	Number of Days	Percent	Number of Days	Percent	Number of Days	Percent
Number of days recorded in journal	169	n/a	249	n/a	160	n/a	249	n/a	326	n/a	219	n/a	249	n/a	205	n/a	239	n/a	364	n/a
Post receiving provisions from Indians other than post hunters	2	1.2%	1	0.4%	7	4.4%	7	2.8%	38	11.7%	11	5.0%	1	0.4%	12	5.9%	22	9.2%	38	10.4%
Trading activities	14	8.3%	8	3.2%	46	28.8%	80	32.1%	79	24.2%	21	9.6%	14	5.6%	31	15.1%	70	29.3%	52	14.3%
Relationship building	1	0.6%	0	0.0%	3	1.9%	6	2.4%	10	3.1%	3	1.4%	1	0.4%	6	2.9%	5	2.1%	8	2.2%
Indians arriving with furs or for other trading purposes	4	2.4%	0	0.0%	35	21.9%	70	28.1%	68	20.9%	15	6.8%	7	2.8%	27	13.2%	59	24.7%	22	6.0%
Indians arriving with provisions (not post hunters)	1	0.6%	0	0.0%	6	3.8%	7	2.8%	38	11.7%	17	7.8%	1	0.4%	10	4.9%	14	5.9%	29	8.0%
Indians arriving for other reasons	1	0.6%	0	0.0%	8	5.0%	10	4.0%	27	8.3%	17	7.8%	20	8.0%	27	13.2%	13	5.4%	50	13.7%
Relationship building and Indians arriving at the post	7	4.1%	0	0.0%	52	32.5%	93	37.3%	143	43.9%	52	23.7%	29	11.6%	70	34.1%	91	38.1%	109	29.9%

Source: HBCA B.89/a/2 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1810-1811; B.89/a/3 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1815-1816; B.89/a/7 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1823-1824; B.89/a/8 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1824-1825; B.89/a/13 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1832-1833; B.89/a/23 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1843-1845; B.89/a/29 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1855-1856; B.89/a/31 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1860-1861; B.89/a/32 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1862; B.89/a/33 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1862-1863; B.89/a/34 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1863; B.89/a/35 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1864-1865; B.89/a/36 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1889-1891.

outfit, the HBC received provisions from Indians on only two days, representing 1.2 percent of the days recorded. Trading activities were recorded on only 14 days, representing 8.3 percent of the days recorded, and in most cases these activities were related to HBC employees leaving the post to find Indian trappers in their home communities or packing pelts and other trade goods for transportation to York Factory or other posts. Relationship building activities were conducted on one day in this cycle, 9 March 1811, when the HBC provided supplies to a Métis man who had helped some HBC employees who were in trouble on the Beaver River the previous spring.<sup>6</sup> Indians came into the HBC post with furs, to receive debt or for other fur trade business on four days (2.4 percent), to provide the post with provisions on one day (0.6 percent), and for other reasons on one day (0.6 percent).

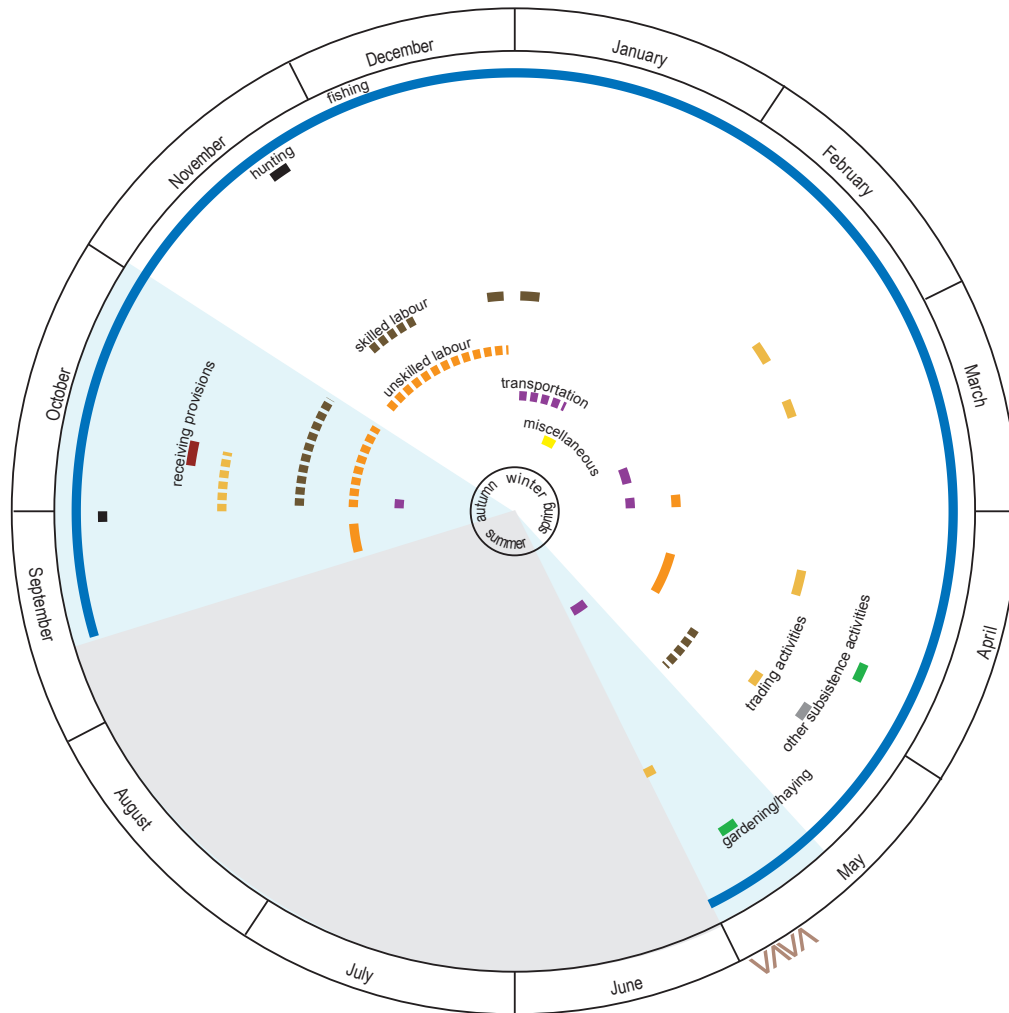
Taken together, these figures suggest that Indians were at the Ile a la Crosse post on seven days of the cycle, roughly 4.1 percent of the days recorded in the journal. Indians were at the post in March, May and June. Although it might seem like Indians were spending little time at the Ile a la Crosse post, it is important to consider how effective the NWC men were in preventing Indians from reaching the HBC post, as evident by the comments made in numerous entries in the journal for this outfit year. In fact, Ile a la Crosse's Chief Factor at the time, Peter Fidler, suggested that this year represented the "most uneasy times ever experienced" as a result of NWC harassment of both the Indians and the HBC employees.<sup>7</sup> Subsequent years demonstrate a different pattern of interaction between Indians and the HBC.

Figure 6.2 represents the seasonal cycle of activities at Ile a la Crosse in 1815-1816. Numerous days were again not recorded in this year, but the most

<sup>6</sup> HBCA B.89/a/2 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1810-1811, 9 March 1811.

<sup>7</sup> HBCA B.89/a/2 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1810-1811, 24 September 1810.

Figure 6.2 Seasonal Cycle at Ile a la Crosse Post, 1815 - 1816



Legend:

- █ fishing
- █ hunting
- █ gardening/haying
- █ other subsistence activities
- █ receiving provisions
- █ trading activities
- █ relationship building
- █ skilled labour
- █ unskilled labour
- █ transportation
- █ miscellaneous
- open water season
- closed water season

- continuous activity
- - - sporadic activity
- ∨∧ Indians arriving and departing with furs and/or receiving debt
- ∨∧ Indians arriving and departing with provisions
- ∨∧ Indians arriving and departing for other reasons
- ∨∧ Boats arriving and departing

Note: Significant blocks of missing dates have been noted on this cycle; however, there were missing days periodically throughout this cycle.

Archival Reference: HBCA B.89/a/3 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1815-1816

significant gap was from 1 June to 12 September. Overall, journal entries were present for 249 days of this outfit year. As with the 1810-1811 outfit year, the 1815-1816 outfit year occurred during a period of intense competition between the HBC and the NWC. The journal entries in 1815-1816 were again focused predominantly on the activities of the NWC, particularly those activities that the HBC interpreted as being intended to sabotage their operations. For example, there were several entries documenting instances when various NWC officers threatened to attack the HBC post and entries documenting instances of NWC men threatening and harassing HBC men. On at least one occasion, the journal documented HBC fishermen finding their nets destroyed by NWC men.<sup>8</sup> Journal entries also recorded days when Indians were seen drinking at the NWC post, much more so than the 1810-1811 outfit year.<sup>9</sup>

By examining the 1815-1816 seasonal cycle, it would appear that there was even less interaction between post employees at Ile a la Crosse and Indians in the region than the 1810-1811 cycle (see Table 6.1). The HBC received provisions from Indians on only one day of this outfit year, representing 0.4 percent of the days recorded. Trading activities were recorded on only eight days (3.2 percent of the days recorded); however, on none of these days did Indians come into the post to trade. On these days, post employees were engaged in business directly related to the trade. In fact, the journal for this outfit year did not record any days on which Indians actually visited the post at Ile a la Crosse. While it might seem

<sup>8</sup> See for example, HBCA B.89/a/3 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1815-1816, 19 October 1815, 22 January 1816, 1 February 1816, and 6, 15, 31 March 1816.

<sup>9</sup> See for example, HBCA B.89/a/3 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1815-1816, 21 September 1815, 5 and 10 October 1815, and 11, 14 and 15 May 1816. In comparison, the 1810-1811 outfit only recorded Indians drinking at the NWC post twice: HBCA B.89/a/2 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1810-1811, 13 March 1811 and 2 April 1811.



that this cycle indicates a period of time in which the Indians in the region were not interested in engaging in trade with the HBC, it seems more likely this cycle represents a year in which the NWC was highly successful in its efforts to disrupt the trading activities of the HBC. The chief factor of the Ile a la Crosse post in this outfit year in particular, argued that the main reason for the HBC's lack of success against the NWC was that the NWC had a far greater number of employees and was exploiting this advantage at all opportunities. The chief factor surmised that if the HBC wanted to secure any trade at all that year and in the years to come, they would have to be able to protect the Indians from the NWC.<sup>10</sup> Outfit years following 1815-1816 provide a much different pattern of interaction between the post at Ile a la Crosse and the Indians living in the region.

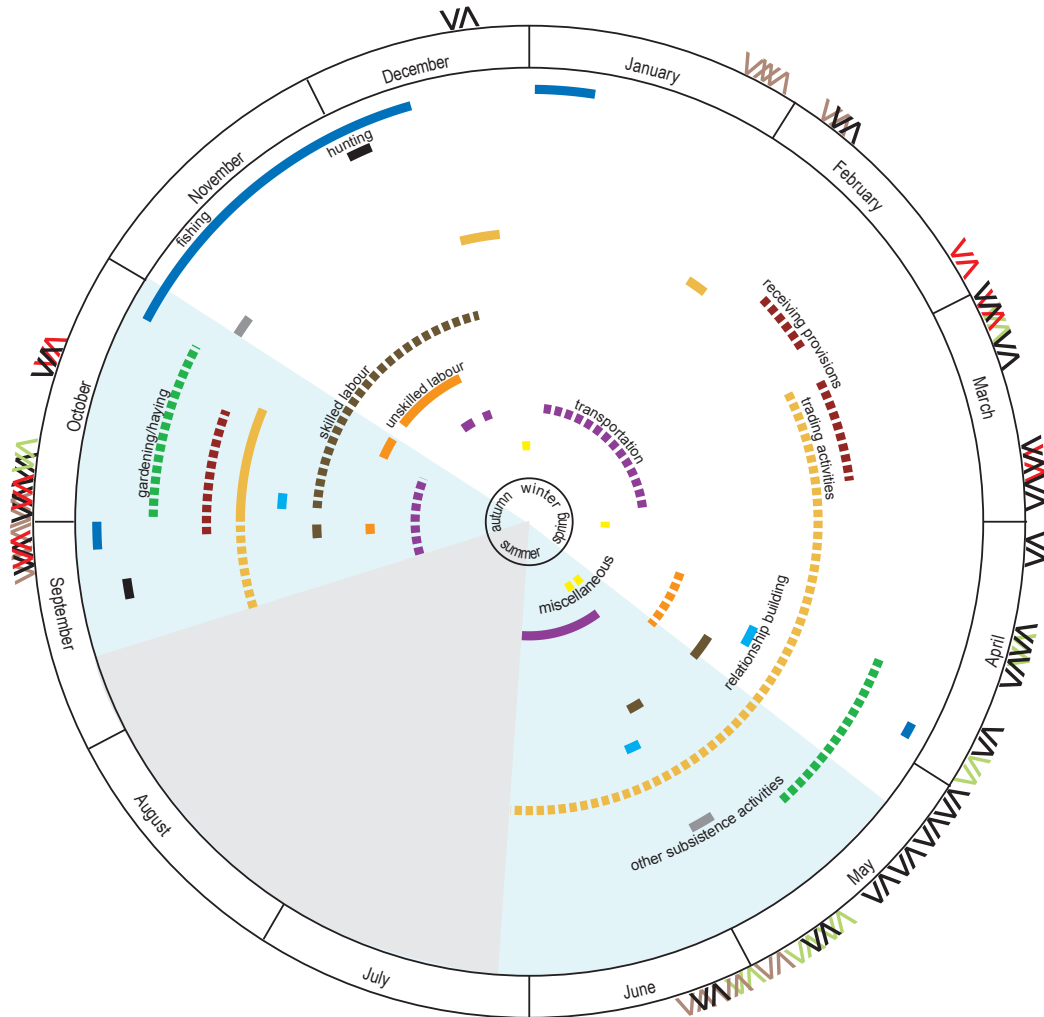
Figure 6.3 diagrams the seasonal cycle of activities at the Ile a la Crosse post in the outfit year 1824-1825, just a few years after the merger of the HBC and the NWC in 1821. The journal entries in this outfit year were focused not on the interactions between Ile a la Crosse and its competitors, but instead on the daily activities of the employees and the interactions between employees and Indians in the region. Other post-merger journals are the same in this regard. In this outfit year in particular, the journal notes a number of problems with resources and weather patterns in the region. For example, the journal notes low water levels that would affect the muskrat population in June 1824,<sup>11</sup> and later a heavy snowfall in the

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10 See for example, HBCA B.89/a/3 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1815-1816, 18 September 1815, 3 October 1815, 8 December 1815, 19 January 1816, 6 and 23 February 1816, 4 and 31 March 1816, and 25 May 1816.

11 HBCA B.89/a/7 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1823-1824, 1 June 1824. This prediction was confirmed when Chipewyans coming into the post began to complain of a scarcity of muskrats in the region. HBCA B.89/a/8 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1824-1825, 7 May 1825.

Figure 6.3 Seasonal Cycle at Ile a la Crosse Post, 1824 - 1825



Legend:

- fishing
- hunting
- gardening/haying
- other subsistence activities
- receiving provisions
- trading activities
- relationship building
- skilled labour
- unskilled labour
- transportation
- miscellaneous
- open water season
- closed water season

- continuous activity
- - - sporadic activity
- VA Indians arriving and departing with furs and/or receiving debt
- VA Indians arriving and departing with provisions
- VA Indians arriving and departing for other reasons
- VA Boats arriving and departing

Note: Significant blocks of missing dates have been noted on this cycle; however, there were missing days periodically throughout this cycle.

Archival Reference: HBCA B.89/a/7 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1823-1824; B.89/a/8 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1824-1825

winter of 1824-1825.<sup>12</sup> The journal noted a significant decline in beaver this year, and in fact Chief Factor George Keith commented, “The fact is that this animal is nearly extinct in this quarter.”<sup>13</sup> Additionally, numerous references were made throughout the journal this year to large animals being scarce in the region, which was likely going to affect the provision trade.<sup>14</sup> The Chipewyan coming into the post also complained about their lands being “reduced and impoverished,” likely a reference to fewer fur-bearing animals as well as large game in the region.<sup>15</sup> Notes were also made in the journal this winter that wolves were seen hanging around the post, and even attacked and killed some horses at the post that March. Chief Factor Keith blamed the heavy snowfall that winter on giving the wolves an advantage over the horses who had trouble moving through the snow. However, the next day some Indians reported seeing a small pack of wolves in the area eating each other. Keith assumed that the wolves were starving, which would also help explain the attack on the horses.<sup>16</sup> Game was not scarce everywhere in the region, however, as some Chipewyan reported that moose and buffalo were plentiful around Red Deer Lake.<sup>17</sup>

Despite the decline in animals in the region, Chief Factor Keith noted good returns in June of 1824 but poor returns in May of 1825.<sup>18</sup> Keith also predicted a

12 HBCA B.89/a/7 Ile a la Crosse Post 1823-1824, 4 March 1825.

13 HBCA B.89/a/7 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1823-1824, 8 June 1824. Further mention of the scarcity of beaver in the region was made on 5 April 1825; see HBCA B.89/a/8 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1824-1825. The journal also noted that in Green Lake there was a scarcity of muskrat and swan this season, but more beaver and martin than usual; see HBCA B.89/a/8 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1824-1825, 19 May 1825.

14 See for example, HBCA B.89/a/8 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1824-1825, 12 September 1824, 21 November 1824, and 11 March 1825.

15 HBCA B.89/a/8 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1824-1825, 4 October 1824.

16 HBCA B.89/a/8 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1824-1825, 30 January, and 4 and 5 March 1825.

17 HBCA B.89/a/8 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1824-1825, 10 May 1825.

18 HBCA B.89/a/7 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1824-1825, 2 June 1824 and HBCA B.89/a/8 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1824-1825, 12 May 1825.

more prosperous provision trade in the fall of 1825 because not all of the autumn debts were paid off and the Indians would still want winter advances.<sup>19</sup> Although Keith did not speculate on the cause of the decline in the animal populations in the region, it would seem plausible that a combination of climate (low water and heavy snowfall) and competition in years previous that placed high pressure on both furbearers and game animals would have contributed to the difficulties noted in the journal this outfit year.

In 1824-1825, journal entries were recorded on 160 days, with the most significant period of missing days occurring between 5 July and 11 September 1824. In this outfit year, the journal recorded that the post received provisions from Indians on 7 days, representing 4.4 percent of the days recorded. Trading activities were recorded on 46 days (28.8 percent) and relationship-building activities occurred on 3 days (1.9 percent). Indians came into the post with furs, to receive debt or for other trading purposes on 35 days (21.9 percent) and brought provisions into the post on an additional 6 days (3.8 percent). Indians came into the post for other reasons on 8 days (5.0 percent) (see Table 6.1).

Taken together, these figures suggest that Indians were at the post on at least 52 days of the year, roughly 32.5 percent of the days recorded in the journal. Indians were at the post in most months, but not in July, August, November or January. However, very few days were recorded in the months of July and no days were recorded in August; thus, it is difficult to know if there were in fact no visits from Indians during these two months. Peak periods of Indians at the post in this cycle seem to be from March until early June and again in late September to

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<sup>19</sup> HBCA B.89/a/8 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1825-1825, 23 May 1825.

early October. Without active competitors preventing Indians from coming in to the HBC post at Ile a la Crosse, there was, not unexpectedly, a significant increase in the interaction between Indians and HBC employees at the post. However, the journals record, and thus cycles represent, only the involvement of Indians in the fur trade as represented by interactions at the post itself. The activities of Indians outside of the post, particularly trapping and hunting for provisions for the post, are not represented in these cycles. Thus, these cycles present an under-representation of the amount of time in each year spent by Indians on fur trade activities.

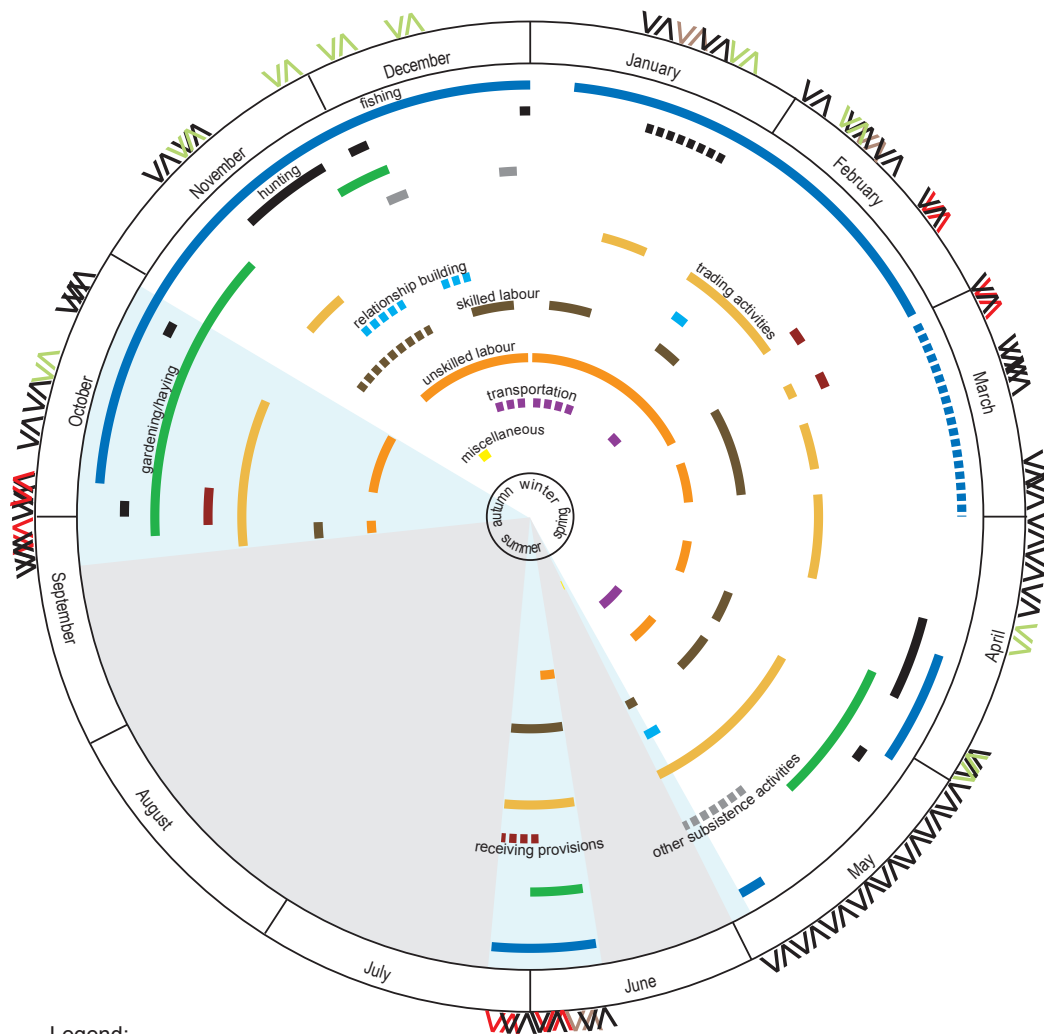
Figure 6.4 represents the seasonal cycle of activities at the Ile a la Crosse post in the outfit year 1831-1832. In this outfit year, the journal recorded entries for 249 days in total, with the largest gaps of missing days from 1 to 18 June 1831 and from 6 July to 23 September 1831. Of significance in the journal from this outfit year, was a note in early September that the dogs at the post had died during the summer due to some sort of illness.<sup>20</sup> Nothing more is made of this incident in the journals, but given the importance of dog teams for transportation during the winter, the loss of these dogs must have made the upcoming winter more difficult than normal. Also of note this outfit year were several references to starvation in the English River District. For example, in late November 1831, the post hunter, Grand Bois, arrived at the Ile a la Crosse post with a “reindeer” (caribou) that he had killed; however, Grand Bois requested fish for himself and his family who were starving. Grand Bois was instructed to keep the caribou for himself and his family instead.<sup>21</sup> Shortly after, in early December, a few Cree came into the post,

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20 HBCA B.89/a/13 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1832-1832, 4 September 1831.

21 HBCA B.89/a/13 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1832-1832, 26-27 November 1831.

Figure 6.4 Seasonal Cycle at Ile a la Crosse Post, 1831 - 1832



- Legend:
- fishing
  - hunting
  - gardening/haying
  - other subsistence activities
  - receiving provisions
  - trading activities
  - relationship building
  - skilled labour
  - unskilled labour
  - transportation
  - miscellaneous
  - open water season
  - closed water season

- continuous activity
- - - sporadic activity
- VA Indians arriving and departing with furs and/or receiving debt
- VA Indians arriving and departing with provisions
- VA Indians arriving and departing for other reasons
- VA Boats arriving and departing

Note: Significant blocks of missing dates have been noted on this cycle; however, there were missing days periodically throughout this cycle.

Archival Reference: HBCA B.89/a/13 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1831-1832; HBCA B.89/a/14 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1832.

also starving, and were given fish by the Company.<sup>22</sup> Later in February 1832, the post hunter Grand Bois again arrived at the post starving. He claimed that despite numerous animal tracks in the area it was too calm and too cold to approach the animals.<sup>23</sup> Finally, in May 1832, the journal again noted that the Indians in the region were starving and that the Company had been giving them potatoes, which was all that could be spared.<sup>24</sup>

Severe weather beginning in March may have accounted for some of this starvation, as well as for some different patterns of behaviour with the Indigenous peoples coming into and staying at the post. For example, in mid March the journal noted that the cold weather was keeping the men inside and keeping the Indians at the post.<sup>25</sup> By late May, the journal mentions that a number of Chipewyans had been at the post since March but had not been able to leave as the lake was still completely frozen. It was not until the very end of May that the Chipewyans were able to start crossing the Beaver River.<sup>26</sup> The journal also noted that there were very few foxes and hares this winter that may have contributed to some of the starvation.<sup>27</sup>

Interestingly, the clerk complained in the journal on two separate occasions that some of the Indians who were in debt to Ile a la Crosse had taken portions of their hunts to Fort Carlton to trade for liquor.<sup>28</sup> Thus, it would seem that even with efforts by the Company to prevent competition between posts, some posts would

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22 HBCA B.89/a/13 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1831-1832, 7-8, 15 December 1831.

23 HBCA B.89/a/13 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1832-1832, 11 February 1832.

24 HBCA B.89/a/13 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1832-1832, 25 May 1832.

25 HBCA B.89/a/13 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1832-1832, 14 March 1832.

26 HBCA B.89/a/13 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1832-1832, 23, 25, 28, 29, and 31 May 1832.

27 HBCA B.89/a/13 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1832-1832, 1 February 1832.

28 HBCA B.89/a/13 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1832-1832, 17 October and 10 December 1831.

still try to entice trappers by whatever means they deemed appropriate. Despite these difficulties, the journal noted that the produce from the farm in the fall of 1831 was more than it had ever been before at Ile a la Crosse.<sup>29</sup> And later, it was also noted that the Indians were arriving with more furs than their debts, suggesting that the trapping season had been successful for most, despite the cold and deprivation.<sup>30</sup>

During this outfit year, the post received provisions from Indians on 7 days, representing 2.8 percent of the days recorded in the journal. Additionally, the post was engaged in trading activities on 80 days (32.1 percent) and relationship-building activities on 6 days (2.4 percent). Indians came into the post with furs or for other trading activities on 70 days (28.1 percent), with provisions on 7 days (2.8 percent), and for other reasons on 10 days (4.0 percent) (see Table 6.1). Taken together, these figures suggest that Indians were at the Ile a la Crosse post on at least 93 days in 1831-1832 (37.3 percent of the days recorded in the journal for this outfit year). Indians were at the post in every month for which journal entries were recorded, but were at the post most often during the periods from the beginning of March until the end of May and again from late September to late October. These figures suggest a slight increase in interactions between Indians and post employees from the 1824-1825 outfit.

Figure 6.5 represents the seasonal cycle of activities at the Ile a la Crosse post in the outfit year 1844-1845. Journal entries were recorded for 326 days of this outfit year; the most significant missing periods in this outfit year were from 25 September to 11 October 1844 and 1 to 12 November 1844. Early in the outfit year,

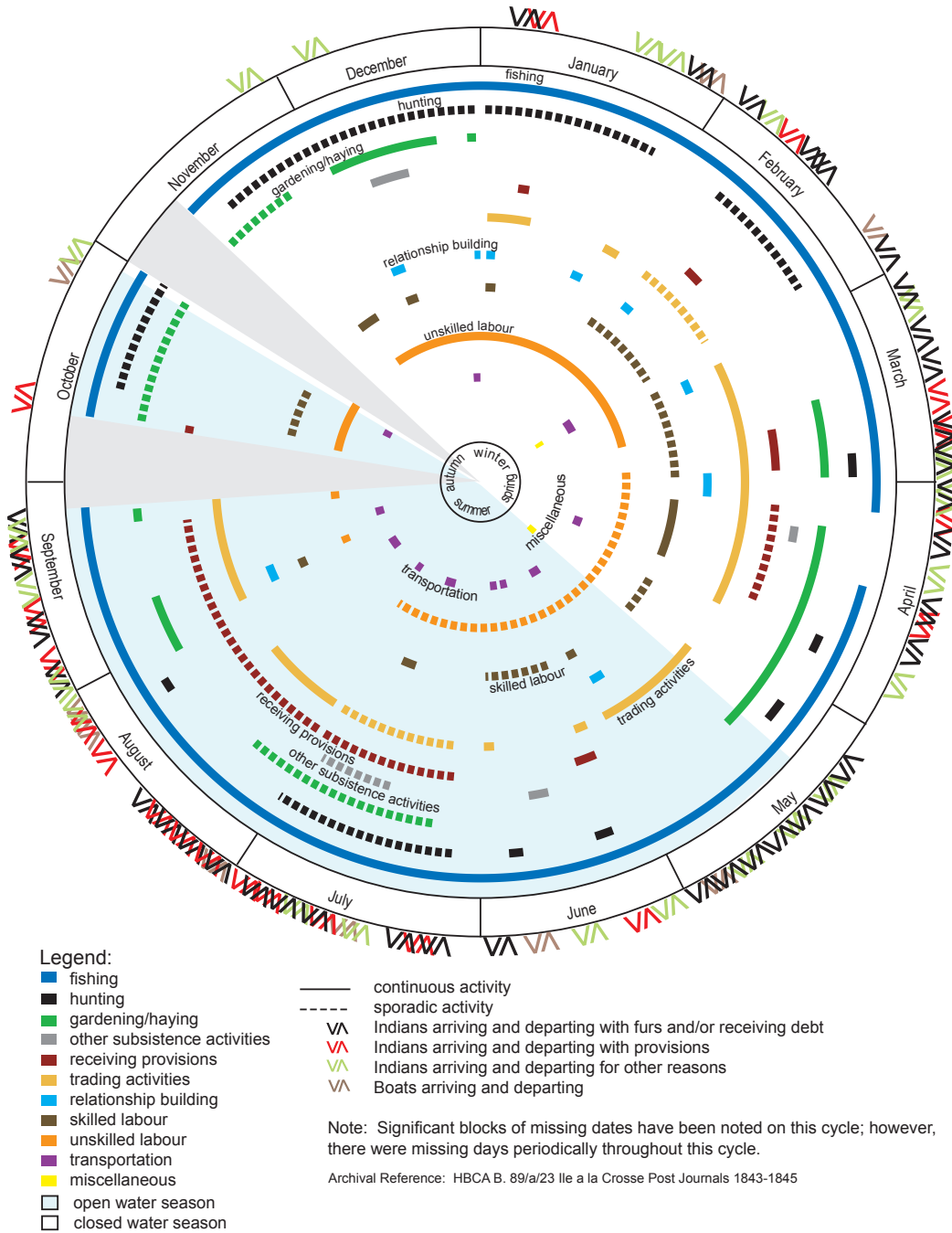
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<sup>29</sup> HBCA B.89/a/13 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1832-1832, 12 November 1831.

<sup>30</sup> HBCA B.89/a/13 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1832-1832, 16 and 29 March 1832.



Figure 6.5 Seasonal Cycle at Ile a la Crose Post, 1844 - 1845



the journal noted that although there were fewer overall returns this year than last year, the value of the furs was nearly the same as there was an increase in the number of beaver and martin pelts.<sup>31</sup> Similar to the 1831-1832 outfit, the journal made note this year of climate patterns that had affected the post, specifically low water levels and drought. For example, in early June 1844, the journal noted that the garden was barely producing anything and the wheat did not come up because of the dry weather.<sup>32</sup> By the late summer, however, some of these issues had been resolved, although low water levels persisted, affecting hay production. For example, in late July 1845, the journal noted that the barley and wheat looked good, although the potatoes looked poor, and noted a few weeks later that the men were forced to go to Beaver River for hay as the low water levels had not allowed hay to grow in the usual places closer to the post.<sup>33</sup>

More surprisingly during this outfit year, however, were the numerous references to poor fishing. Although it was common for the fisheries to fail or produce very little at certain times of the year, it is rare that journals recorded poor fishing as frequently as was the case in this year. In fact, in the first journal entry of this outfit, the clerk wrote, "I never saw the fishing so bad at this season of the year at this place, which we attribute to the low waters."<sup>34</sup> References to poor fishing continued throughout the month of June. At the end of July, the journal noted that Ile a la Crosse was forced to send provisions to the outpost at Canoe River as there were no fish at that place.<sup>35</sup> More references to poor fishing were made in mid

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31 HBCA B.89/a/23 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1843-1845, 13 June 1844.

32 HBCA B.89/a/23 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1843-1845, 10 and 12 June 1844.

33 HBCA B.89/a/23 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1843-1845, 25 July and 15 August 1844.

34 HBCA B.89/a/23 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1843-1845, 1 June 1844.

35 HBCA B.89/a/23 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1843-1845, 24 July 1844.

November, mid December, throughout January, early February, early April, and late May.<sup>36</sup> By the end of May, the clerk speculated that if the post was having such difficulties with its fisheries, the Chipewyans in the region were likely fairing badly as well.<sup>37</sup>

The clerk's speculation that the local Indigenous peoples were likely suffering is reflected in the references to starving Indians coming into the post throughout the outfit year. For example, in early July a starving Indian was recorded as coming into the post.<sup>38</sup> In January 1845, a starving Indian arrived at Ile a la Crosse reporting that he had left four others, also starving, at Green Lake.<sup>39</sup> In late April, some Crees arrived from Lac La Ronge and the journal noted "they have poor prospects in that quarter."<sup>40</sup> Finally, in mid-May, a Cree trapper, Mistick A Chack, arrived at the post with no "hunt," stating that he was starving and was not able to trap that season.<sup>41</sup> In addition to the starvation, several references were made to illnesses in the region affecting the local Indigenous peoples. For example, at the end of August 1844 an Indian, noted to be a good hunter, came into Ile a la Crosse post ill.<sup>42</sup> In late October, the post hunter came into Ile a la Crosse ill and again in late November an Indian and his family arrived at the post ill.<sup>43</sup> At the end of March, a Chipewyan was brought into the post, very ill, who died a week later.<sup>44</sup> In mid May, the journal

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36 HBCA B.89/a/23 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1843-1845, 14 November 1844, 12 December 1844, 8, 22 and 25 January 1845, 8 and 10 February 1845, 2 April 1845, and 20 and 30 May 1845.

37 HBCA B.89/a/23 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1843-1845, 20 May 1845.

38 HBCA B.89/a/23 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1843-1845, 9 July 1844.

39 HBCA B.89/a/23 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1843-1845, 25 January 1845.

40 HBCA B.89/a/23 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1843-1845, 26 April 1845.

41 HBCA B.89/a/23 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1843-1845, 14 May 1845.

42 HBCA B.89/a/23 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1843-1845, 31 August 1844.

43 HBCA B.89/a/23 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1843-1845, 30 October 1844 and 28 November 1844.

44 HBCA B.89/a/23 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1843-1845, 31 March 1845 and 5 April 1845.

noted that Chayau say azze's wife died suddenly a few days earlier.<sup>45</sup> While in most cases the illnesses were not specified, in early March the journal noted that it was reported that the "sore eyes" was among the Chipewyans.<sup>46</sup>

In this outfit year, the journal recorded that the post received provisions from Indians on 38 different days, representing 11.7 percent of the days recorded in the journal. Additionally, the journal recorded that trading activities occurred on 79 days (24.2 percent) and relationship-building activities occurred on 10 days (3.1 percent). Furthermore, Indians came into the post with furs, to receive debt or for other fur trade business on 68 days (20.9 percent), came into the post with provisions on 38 days (11.7 percent), and came into the post for other reasons on 27 days (8.3 percent) (see Table 6.1). The appearance of Indians at the post for "other" reasons in this outfit year is more frequent than in some outfit years (see Table 6.1) and perhaps can be explained in part by the references in the journal to starvation and illness in the region mentioned previously.<sup>47</sup>

Taken together, these figures suggest that Indians were at the Ile a la Crosse post on at least 143 days (43.9 percent of the days recorded in the journal for this outfit year). Indians were at the post at least once in every month, but seemed to be at the post most frequently during the periods of late January to the end of May and again from early July to late September. Again, this outfit year shows a slight increase in interaction between the post employees and the Indians of the region than the 1831-1832 outfit year.

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45 HBCA B.89/a/23 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1843-1845, 11 May 1845.

46 HBCA B.89/a/23 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1843-1845, 4 March 1845.

47 See for example, HBCA B.89/a/23 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1843-1845, 31 August 1844, 30 October 1844, 25 January 1845, 25 February 1845, 4 March – 3 April 1845, and 11, 14 and 20 May 1845.

Figure 6.6 represents the seasonal cycle of activities at the Ile a la Crosse post during the outfit year of 1855-1856. Journal entries were recorded on 219 days during this outfit; the most significant block of missing days was from 26 September to 22 October 1855. Similar to the 1844-1845 outfit, the clerk predicted little or no hay this outfit year, although this time not as a result of low water levels but instead as a result of high water levels.<sup>48</sup> Later in the journal, the clerk recorded his concern that the cows would starve this summer.<sup>49</sup> There was a period of scarcity again during this outfit, although not as prevalent as in 1844-1845. In this outfit year, provisions were scarce mostly during the summer months. The fishery was unproductive from late June until the end of August, worms were noted to have been eating the potatoes in early July, and a general note of scarce provisions was made in late July.<sup>50</sup> The scarcity of fish affected the dogs considerably this season as the fish were the main source of dog food at Ile a la Crosse.<sup>51</sup> Additionally, on at least one occasion, the post hunter arrived at Ile a la Crosse starving.<sup>52</sup> In the winter months, the clerk made numerous references to a cold and severe fever that was prevalent throughout the region.<sup>53</sup> Nonetheless, the clerk still predicted that this year's fur returns would be better than the previous year's returns.<sup>54</sup>

In this outfit year, the post received provisions from Indians on 11 days, representing 5.0 percent of the days recorded in the journal. Trading activities were

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48 HBCA B.89/a/29 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1855-1856, 6 June 1855.

49 HBCA B.89/a/29 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1855-1856, 25 July 1855.

50 HBCA B.89/a/29 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1855-1856, 19 June 1855, 8, 12, 17, 21, 23 and 31 July 1855, and 1, 6, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, and 21 August 1855.

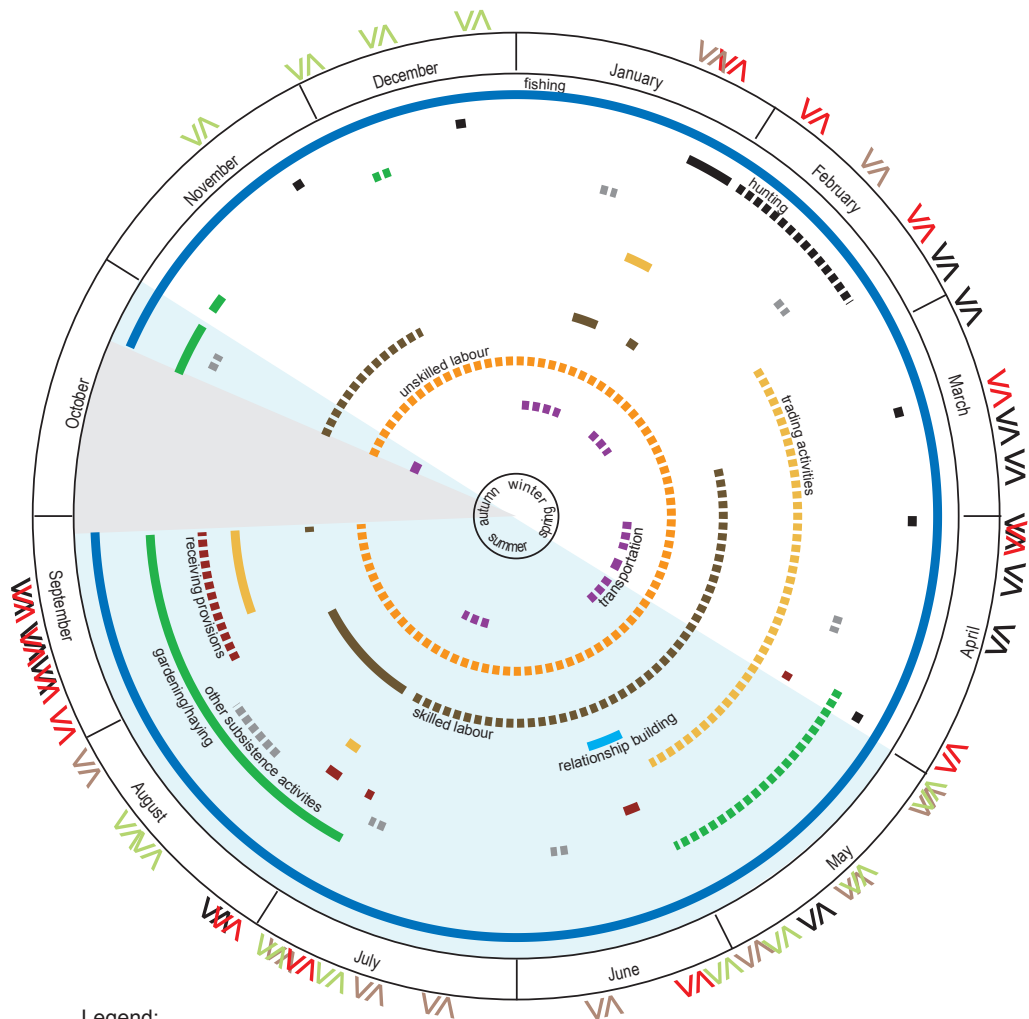
51 HBCA B.89/a/29 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1855-1856, 23 July 1855, and 6 and 15 August 1855.

52 HBCA B.89/a/29 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1855-1856, 17 August.

53 See for example, HBCA B.89/a/29 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1855-1856, 1, 2, 3, 9, and 24 November 1855, 14 and 16 December 1855, and 5, 14 and 29 February 1856.

54 HBCA B.89/a/29 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1855-1856, 26 March 1856.

Figure 6.6 Seasonal Cycle at Ile a la Crosse Post, 1855 - 1856



Legend:

- fishing
- hunting
- gardening/haying
- other subsistence activities
- receiving provisions
- trading activities
- relationship building
- skilled labour
- unskilled labour
- transportation
- miscellaneous
- open water season
- closed water season

- continuous activity
- - - - sporadic activity
- VA Indians arriving and departing with furs and/or receiving debt
- VA Indians arriving and departing with provisions
- VA Indians arriving and departing for other reasons
- VA Boats arriving and departing

Note: Significant blocks of missing dates have been noted on this cycle; however, there were missing days periodically throughout this cycle.

Archival Reference: HBCA B. 89/a/29 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1855-1856

conducted at Ile a la Crosse post on 21 days (9.6 percent of the days recorded in the journal). Relationship-building activities were recorded on 3 days (1.4 percent). Indians came into the post with furs or for other trade-related activities on 15 days (6.8 percent), with provisions on 17 days (7.8 percent), and for other reasons on 17 days (7.8 percent) (see Table 6.1).

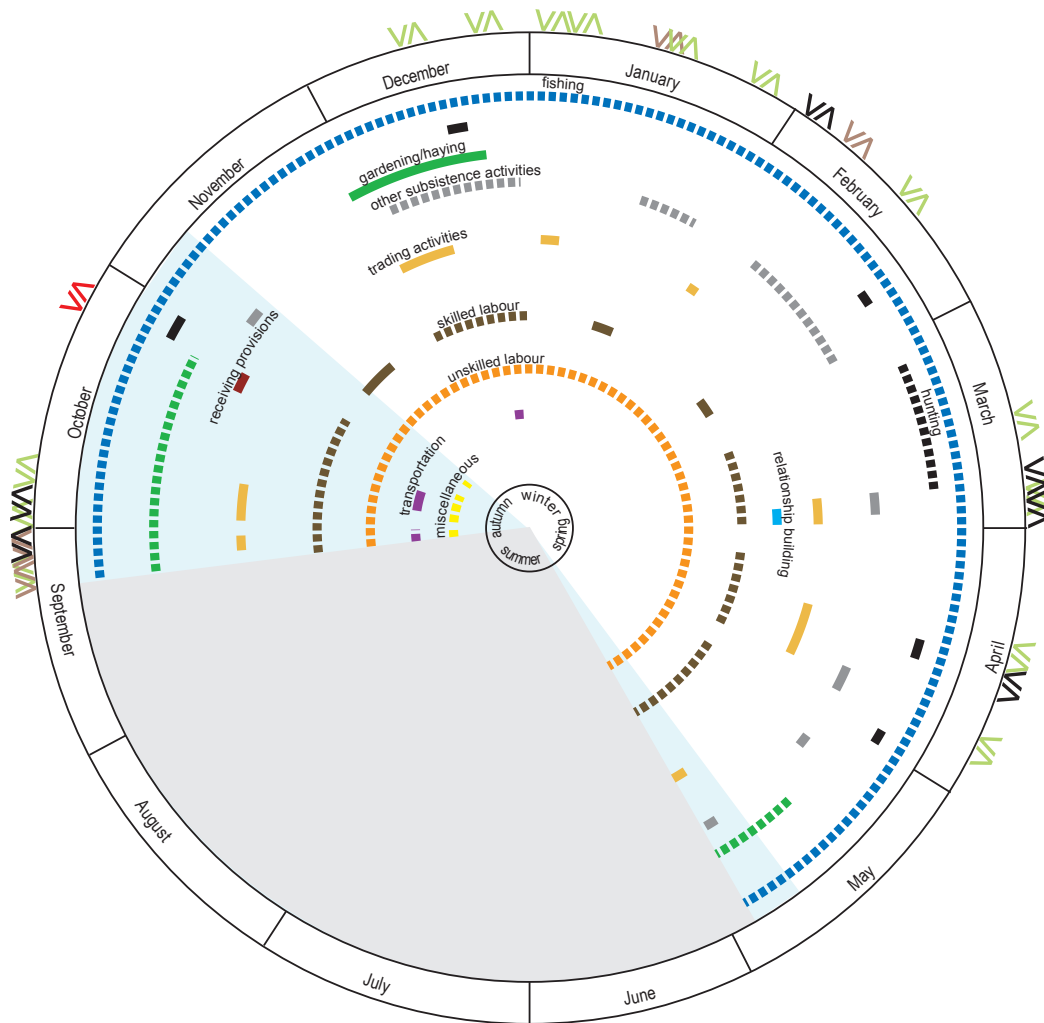
Taken together, these figures suggest that Indians were at Ile a la Crosse for a variety of reasons on at least 52 days (23.7 percent of the days recorded in the journal). Indians were recorded as being at the post in every month of the year except October. However, there were only 5 days recorded in the journal in October. Indians were at the post most frequently from late February to the end of May and again from mid July to late September. This outfit year shows a rather marked decline in the interaction of Indians and employees at the Ile a la Crosse post from the 1844-1845 outfit year.

Figure 6.7 represents the seasonal cycle of activities at Ile a la Crosse during the 1860-1861 outfit year. Journal entries were recorded for 249 days of this outfit year with the largest block of missing dates occurring between 29 May and 21 September 1860. As with previous outfits, climate patterns seemed to have had the biggest impact on post activities. Much like the 1855-1856 outfit, in 1860-1861 the water levels were high and the regular hay grounds used by the post were submerged.<sup>55</sup> The early winter was unusually mild, causing Lac Ile a la Crosse to remain open in November and to create soft snow (“like water” as the clerk

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<sup>55</sup> HBCA B.89/a/31 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1860-1861, 11 and 19 October 1860. By the end of this outfit year, water levels were still high and the clerk predicted that there would be little hay again later in the year. HBCA B.89/a/31 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1860-1861, 14 May 1861.

Figure 6.7 Seasonal Cycle at Ile a la Crose Post, 1860 - 1861



Legend:

- fishing
- hunting
- gardening/haying
- other subsistence activities
- receiving provisions
- trading activities
- relationship building
- skilled labour
- unskilled labour
- transportation
- miscellaneous
- open water season
- closed water season

- continuous activity
- - - sporadic activity
- VA Indians arriving and departing with furs and/or receiving debt
- VA Indians arriving and departing with provisions
- VA Indians arriving and departing for other reasons
- VA Boats arriving and departing

Note: Significant blocks of missing dates have been noted on this cycle; however, there were missing days periodically throughout this cycle.

Archival Reference: HBCA B. 89/a/31 Ile a la Crose Post Journal 1860-1861



recorded) in December, both of which would have affected travel in the region.<sup>56</sup> However, by late March and again in late April, the clerk was predicting a late spring.<sup>57</sup> As with earlier years, the journal in 1860-1861 made several references to starvation in the region and at the post.<sup>58</sup> Two Chipewyans (Lache and Sago) were noted to have consumption (i.e. tuberculosis),<sup>59</sup> and an unidentified illness affected the post inhabitants throughout most of February, March and April.<sup>60</sup> This outfit year created a different seasonal pattern than the previous years.

In this outfit year, the post received provisions on only 1 day, representing 0.4 percent of the days recorded in the journal. Trading activities were conducted at the post on 14 days (5.6 percent of the days recorded in the journal), and relationship-building activities were conducted on 1 day (0.4 percent). The journal recorded Indians at the post with furs or for other fur trade-specific activities on 7 days (2.8 percent), with provisions on 1 day (0.4 percent), and for other reasons on 20 days (8.0 percent) (see Table 6.1).

Taken together, these figures suggest that Indians were at the Ile a la Crosse post on at least 29 days, roughly 11.6 percent of the days recorded in the journal for this outfit year. Indians were at the post most months, except May and November. No entries were recorded for the months of June, July and August, so it is unknown whether Indians were at the post during these months or not. The Indians seemed to be at the post most frequently in late March and again in late September to

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56 HBCA B.89/a/31 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1860-1861, 17 November 1860 and 1 December 1860.

57 HBCA B.89/a/31 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1860-1861, 23 March 1861 and 25 April 1861.

58 See for example, HBCA B.89/a/31 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1860-1861, 23 October 1860, 17 December 1860, 6 and 16 January 1861, 13 and 27 March 1861, and 1 and 17 May 1861.

59 HBCA B.89/a/31 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1860-1861, 8 and 16 November 1860.

60 HBCA B.89/a/31 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1860-1861, 21 and 25 February 1861, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 16, 24 and 29 March 1861, and 6, 22, 23 and 27 April 1861.

early October. This outfit year marks a dramatic decline in the interaction between Indians and employees at the Ile a la Crosse post from the 1855-1856 outfit year and the lowest recorded days of interaction at Ile a la Crosse after the merger of the HBC and NWC in 1821 (see Table 6.1).<sup>61</sup> It is possible that both the starvation in the region and the unusual weather patterns might have impacted how frequently Indians came into the post. Additionally, few Indians were recorded coming into the post during the months of February, March and April, a different pattern than previous outfit years. These months coincide with the period of illness at Ile a la Crosse; perhaps the Indigenous peoples in the region knew of the illness and chose to stay away from the post as a result. Or perhaps the clerk simply did not record activities at the post in as much detail during these months as in other months.

Figure 6.8 represents the seasonal cycle of activities at Ile a la Crosse during the 1862-1863 outfit year. Journal entries were recorded for 205 days of this outfit year, with the most significant blocks of missing dates occurring between 1 June and 6 September 1862, 31 October and 17 November 1862, 4 and 23 December 1862, and 17 and 31 May 1863. Another mild winter this year again affected the post's access to provisions. The fisheries were not very productive during the winter, forcing the post to establish a third fishery in hopes of getting enough fish to meet the daily needs of the men and dogs at the post.<sup>62</sup> In early December, the clerk also noted that the buffalo were a long way from the post because of the mild weather and would not likely come any closer as long as the mild weather

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61 The levels of production and consumption revealed in the Indian ledgers also show a decline in this year compared to others (refer to the next chapter for details).

62 HBCA B.89/a/32 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1862, 25 October 1862, and HBCA B.89/a/33 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1862-1863, 26 November 1862 and 10 December 1862.

Figure 6.8 Seasonal Cycle at Ile a la Crosse Post, 1862 - 1863



- Legend:**
- fishing
  - hunting
  - gardening/haying
  - other subsistence activities
  - receiving provisions
  - trading activities
  - relationship building
  - skilled labour
  - unskilled labour
  - transportation
  - miscellaneous
  - open water season
  - closed water season

- continuous activity
- - - sporadic activity
- VA Indians arriving and departing with furs and/or receiving debt
- VA Indians arriving and departing with provisions
- VA Indians arriving and departing for other reasons
- VA Boats arriving and departing

Note: Significant blocks of missing dates have been noted on this cycle; however, there were missing days periodically throughout this cycle.

Archival Reference: HBCA B.89/a/32, B.89/a/33, B.89/a/34 Ile a la Crosse Post Journals 1862-1863

persisted.<sup>63</sup> In February, the journal made reference to the deep snow that made travel more difficult than usual in the region.<sup>64</sup> Post employees made several trips to Forts Pitt and Carlton in the winter, attempting to get more provisions, not always successfully.<sup>65</sup>

A serious illness also reportedly swept through the region this winter, the clerk even commenting that “This winter has been remarkably fatal.”<sup>66</sup> Whooping cough was also affecting many of the women and children at the post in February, March and April.<sup>67</sup> As in previous years, starvation was also prevalent in the region during the winter months.<sup>68</sup> By the end of the year, the clerk noted that the Chipewyans were a long way from the post and would likely be late in coming in this year.<sup>69</sup> While the clerk provided no explanation for this change, it is possible that the scarce provisions affecting the post and affecting the Indigenous people in the region encouraged the Chipewyans to travel further away in order to try to gain easier access to game animals, fish, and other sources of food.

The journal noted that provisions were received from Indians on 12 days, representing 5.9 percent of the days recorded in the journal. Trading activities were conducted at the post on 31 days (15.1 percent of the days recorded). Relationship-building activities were conducted on 6 days (2.9 percent). The journal also noted

63 HBCA B.89/a/33 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1862-1863, 10 December 1862.

64 HBCA B.89/a/34 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1863, 7 February 1863, and B.89/a/33 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1862-1863, 12 February 1863.

65 HBCA B.89/a/34 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1863, 23 February 1863 and 24 March 1863.

66 HBCA B.89/a/33 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1862-1863, undated entry on fo. 4. See also, HBCA B.89/a/34 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1863, 2 February 1863 and 9 March 1863.

67 HBCA B.89/a/34 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1863, 8 and 18 February 1863, 10 March 1863, and 1, 10 and 11 April 1863.

68 HBCA B.89/a/33 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1862-1863, 19 January 1863, 6 February 1863, and 1 April 1863.

69 HBCA B.89/a/34 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1863, 15 March 1863, and 10, 11 and 12 May 1863. However, the consumption and production levels revealed in the Indian ledgers were much higher this year than the previous year (refer to the next chapter for details).

that Indians were at the post with furs or for other fur trade business on 27 days (13.2 percent), with provisions on 10 days (4.9 percent) and for other reasons on 27 days (13.2 percent) (see Table 6.1).

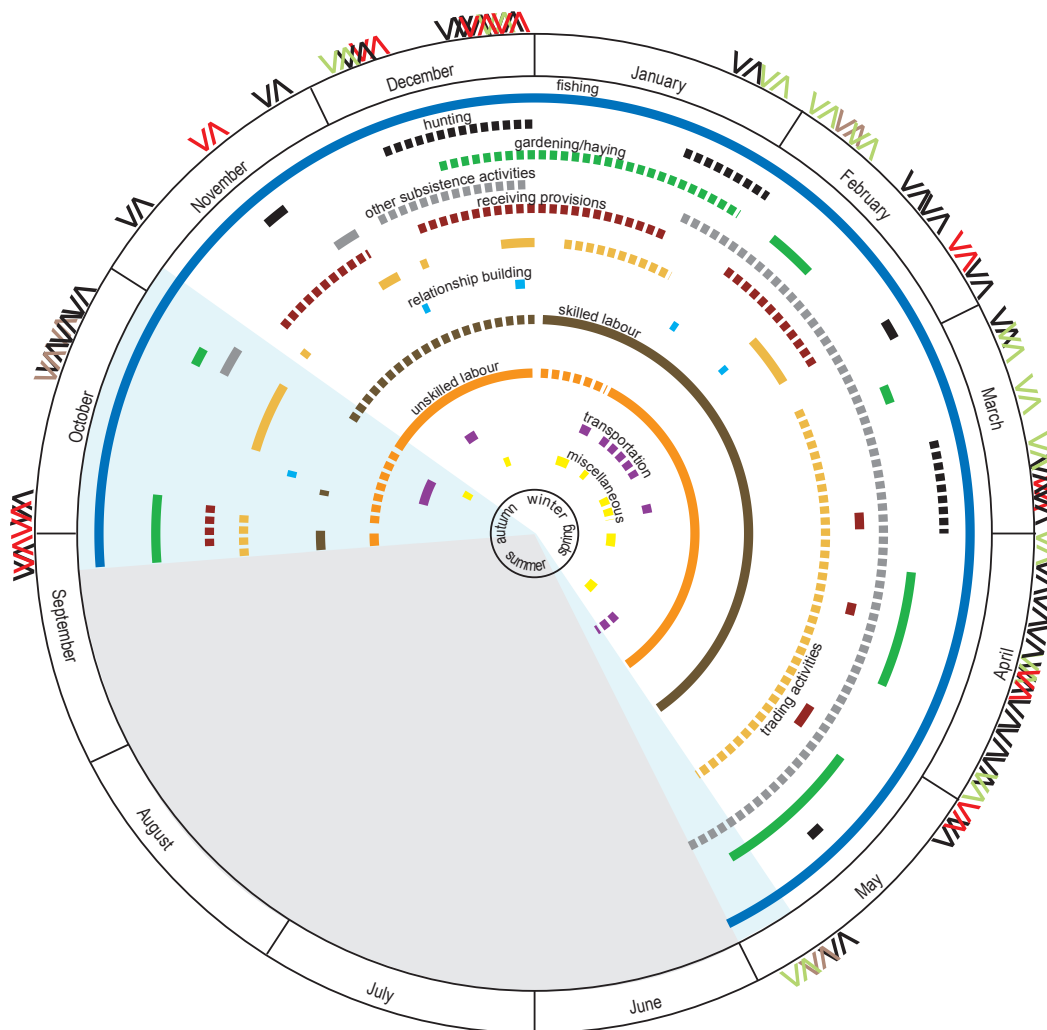
Taken together, Indians were at the Ile a la Crosse post on at least 70 days, representing 34.1 percent of the days recorded in the journal for this outfit year. Indians were at the post in every month recorded in the journal except December; however, only 7 journal entries were recorded during this month. Indians seemed to be at the post most frequently from late January to late February, from early March to mid May, and from late September to early October. This outfit year demonstrates that the interactions between Indians and employees at Ile a la Crosse returned to similar levels as that seen during the outfit years shortly following the 1821 merger (for example, 1824-1825) (see Table 6.1).

Figure 6.9 represents the seasonal cycle of activities at Ile a la Crosse during the outfit year of 1864-1865. Journal entries were recorded on 239 days of this cycle, with the largest block of missing days between 1 June and 25 September 1864. There were a few references to illnesses in the region during this outfit year. For example, in late December and early January, the journal noted an unidentified illness in the region.<sup>70</sup> In March and again in April, the journal noted that the Island Lake Chipewyan did not trap this year because of an illness and further noted that one of the best hunters from this group, Mouycou Zenchilama, died as a result of the illness.<sup>71</sup> More significantly than these illnesses, however, were the frequent references to illness at the post. Such references were common starting in late

<sup>70</sup> HBCA B.89/a/35 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1864-1865, 31 December 1864 and 27 January 1865.

<sup>71</sup> HBCA B.89/a/35 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1864-1865, 23 March 1865, and 22 and 23 April 1865.

Figure 6.9 Seasonal Cycle at Ile a la Crosse Post, 1864 - 1865



Legend:

- fishing
- hunting
- gardening/haying
- other subsistence activities
- receiving provisions
- trading activities
- relationship building
- skilled labour
- unskilled labour
- transportation
- miscellaneous
- open water season
- closed water season

- continuous activity
- - - sporadic activity
- VA Indians arriving and departing with furs and/or receiving debt
- VA Indians arriving and departing with provisions
- VA Indians arriving and departing for other reasons
- VA Boats arriving and departing

Note: Significant blocks of missing dates have been noted on this cycle; however, there were missing days periodically throughout this cycle.

Archival Reference: HBCA B. 89/a/35 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1864-1865

December until late in May, and while the illness was frequently unidentified, in late November and early December the journal was specific that, at least on these days, it was scarlet fever that was affecting the post, mostly the children.<sup>72</sup> Finally, in late May, a boat enroute to Norway House arrived at Ile a la Crosse. The entire boat crew had measles and so these men remained at Ile a la Crosse and did not proceed to Norway House.<sup>73</sup> Unlike during the 1860-1861 outfit year when there was a period of illness at the post, during this outfit year, Indians continued to come into the post during the period of illness.

In this outfit year, the journal recorded that the post received provisions from Indians on 22 different days, representing 9.2 percent of the days recorded in the journal. The journal also recorded that trading activities were conducted on 70 days (29.3 percent of the days recorded) and relationship-building activities on 5 days (2.1 percent). Indians came into the post with furs, to receive debt or to conduct other trade business on 59 days (24.7 percent) during this outfit year, came in with provisions on 14 days (5.9 percent), and were at the post for other reasons on 13 days (5.4 percent) (see Table 6.1).

Taken together, these figures suggest that Indians were at the Ile a la Crosse post on at least 91 days of the 1864-1865 outfit year, representing 38.1 percent of the days recorded in the journal. Indians were at the post every month of the year that entries were recorded in the journal, with peak periods of interaction from mid February to early May, late September to the end of October, and late December.

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72 HBCA B.89/a/35 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1864-1865, 31 October 1864, and 12-17 November 1864, 28-30 November 1864, 2 and 11, 22-24, 26, 27, 30, and 31 December 1864, 7 and 25 January 1865, 9-11, 16 and 23 February 1865, 7, 8, 10-15, 17, and 27 March 1865, 3-5, 7, and 25 April 1865, and 11 and 23 May 1865.

73 HBCA B.89/a/35 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1864-1865, 22 May 1865.

This outfit year shows a decline in the interaction from the 1844-1845 outfit year, but an increase in interaction from the 1855-1856, 1860-1861, and 1862-1863 outfit years (see Table 6.1).

The fur trade outfit at Ile a la Crosse post from 1 June 1889 to 31 May 1890 again shows a similar cycle of activities, although there are some key differences from the previous years (see Figure 6.10). The post clerk was far more diligent in recording daily activities for this cycle, and a record was created for 364 days of this time period. Again, fishing was one of the predominant activities at this post; however, no information about fishing was recorded from the beginning of February to the end of April. It is unclear why this gap exists. Given the importance of fishing in all of the other years and that references to fishing and the produce of the fisheries was recorded on almost every other day in this time period, it would seem odd that no fishing was conducted for almost three months in this one year. It seems more likely that this was an oversight by the clerk, instead of a suspension of fishing activities. Although a few references were made to Indians in the region being ill,<sup>74</sup> as with the 1864-1865 outfit year, the post employees seemed far more afflicted with illness than the Indians in 1889-1890. Illness at the post was noted in the journal in June, August, September, February, March, and April.<sup>75</sup> Otherwise, there was little else of note in this outfit year's journal.

In this outfit year, provisions were received at the post from Indians on 38 days, representing 10.4 percent of the days recorded in this time period.

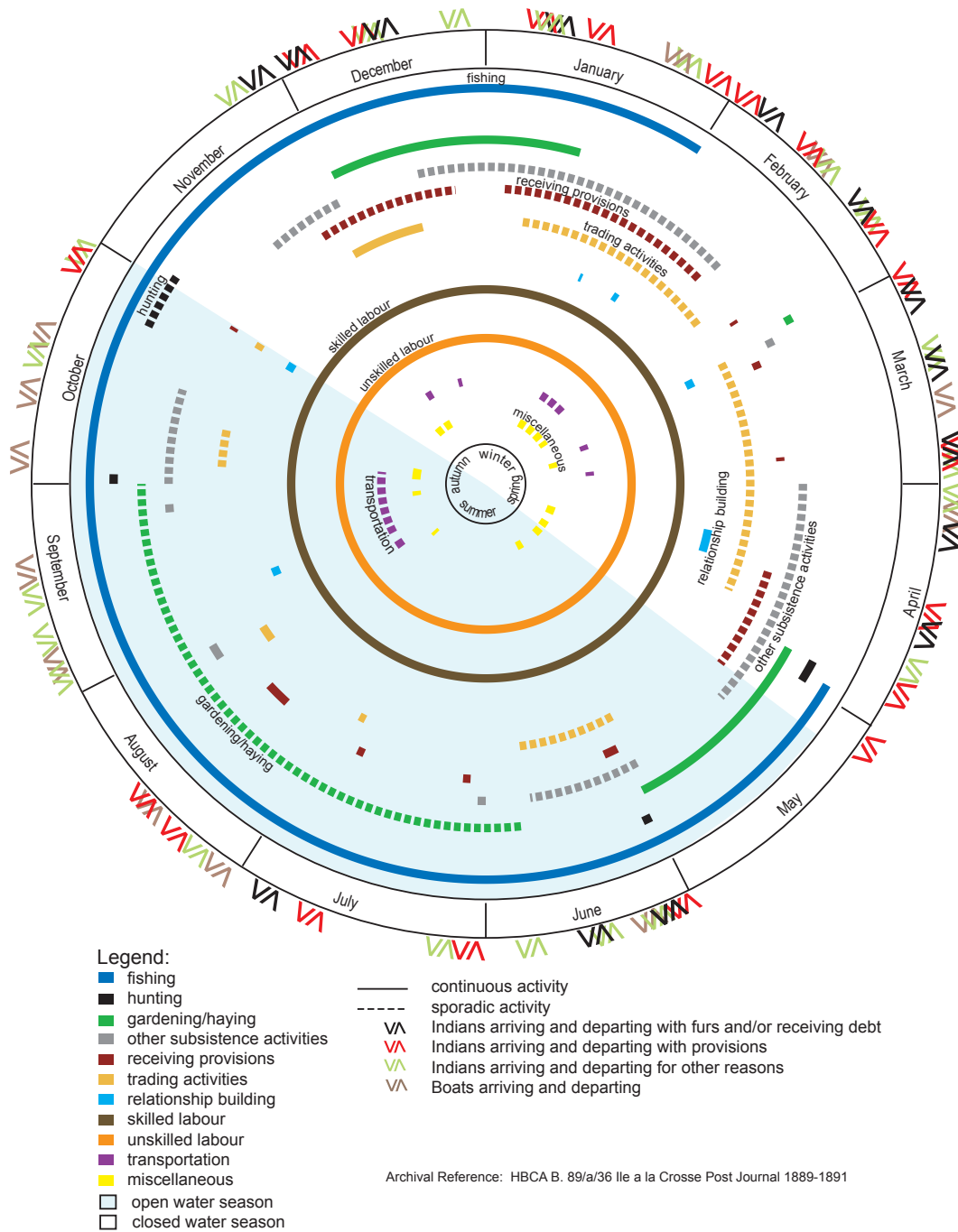
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74 See for example, HBCA B.89/a/36 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1889-1891, 19 and 29-31 October 1889, 23 January 1890, and 2 March 1890.

75 HBCA B.89/a/35 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1864-1865, 7, 18-22, 24, and 27-29 June 1889, 7-9 August 1889, 16 and 25 September 1889, 13, 15, 17-22, and 24-28 February 1890, 1, 3-5, 7, 11, 12, and 14-19 March 1890, and 16 April 1890.



Figure 6.10 Seasonal Cycle at Ile a la Crose Post, 1889 - 1890

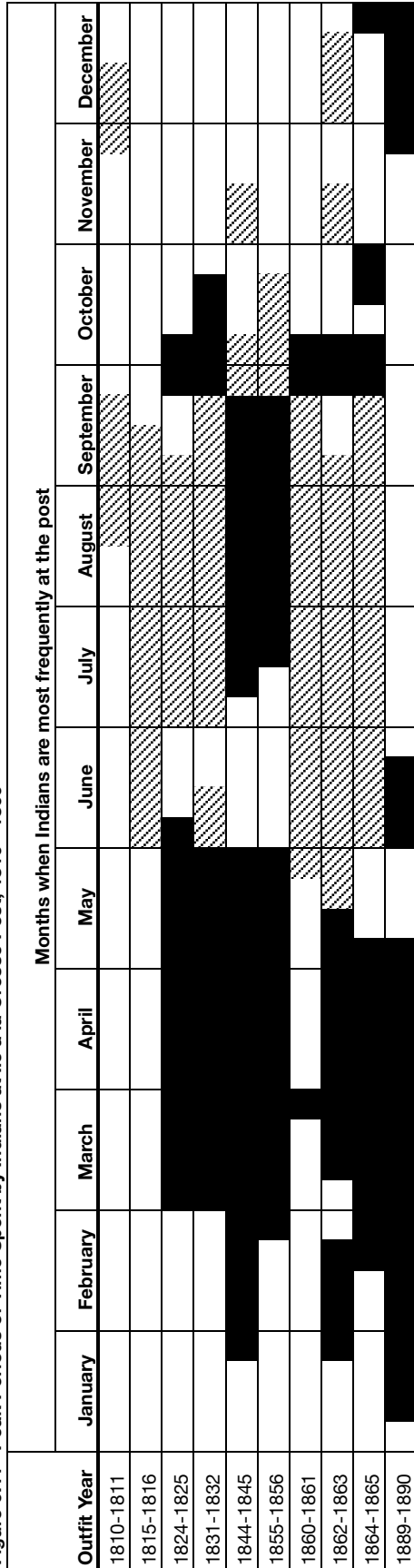


Trading activities were conducted on 52 days, or 14.3 percent of the time period. Relationship-building activities were carried out on 8 days (2.2 percent). Indians came into the post with furs, to receive debt or engage in other trade business on 22 days (6.0 percent), came into the post with provisions on 29 days (8.0 percent), and came into the post for other reasons on 50 days (13.7 percent) (see Table 6.1).

Taken all together, Indians were at the Ile a la Crosse post on at least 109 days, representing 29.9 percent of the recorded days. In the 1889-1890 seasonal cycle, Indians came into the post every single month, although in May Indians were recorded as coming in on only one day. The peak periods of interaction in this seasonal cycle suggest a different pattern than previous outfit years. During the 1889-1890 outfit year, Indians were at the post most frequently from early January to early May, beginning of June to late June, and late November to the end of December. It is not clear from the journals why there was such a shift in peak periods of interaction. Nonetheless, in all of the seasonal cycle diagrams, there appears to be a more continuous interaction rather than a strictly seasonal interaction between Indians and the post.

Figure 6.11 shows the peak periods of time spent by Indians at the Ile a la Crosse Post for each outfit year discussed above. The peak periods are relatively consistent over all of the outfit years, although the blocks of missing dates in a number of the outfit years does not allow one to see how consistently Indians came into the post in the summer and early fall over time. Two outfit years, however, show slightly differing peak periods than the others. In the 1860-1861 outfit, Indians did not come in to the post as often during February through May as was

Figure 6.11 Peak Periods of Time Spent by Indians at Ile a la Crosse Post, 1810 - 1890



Legend:  peak period of interaction  
 significant gaps in the daily journal

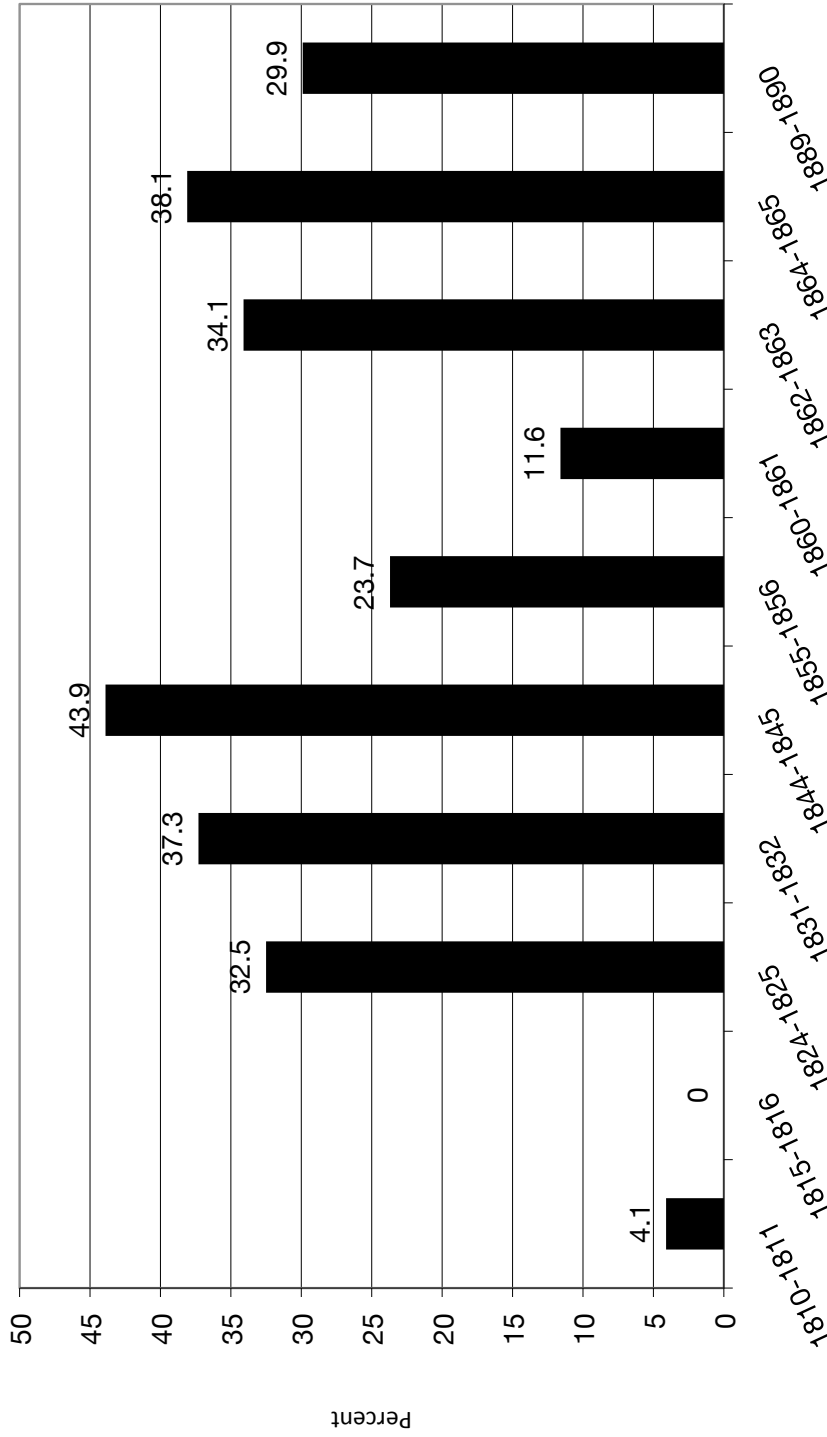
Source: HBCA B.89/a/2 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1810-1811; B.89/a/3 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1815-1816; B.89/a/7 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1823-1824; B.89/a/8 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1824-1825; B.89/a/13 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1832-1833; B.89/a/23 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1843-1845; B.89/a/29 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1855-1856; B.89/a/31 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1860-1861; B.89/a/32 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1862; B.89/a/33 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1862-1863; B.89/a/34 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1863; B.89/a/35 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1864-1865; B.89/a/36 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1889-1891.

common in other outfit years. As mentioned previously, the clerk in this outfit year made frequent reference to illness at the post during this part of the year. It is possible that the Indians knew of the illness at the post and decided not to come into the post and risk exposure to the illness. However, in the 1864-1865 outfit, the clerk also made reference to considerable illness at the post over an extended period of time, and in this year, Indians continued to come into the post despite the illness. Thus, it may be instead that in 1860-1861 the lack of recorded visits by Indians at the post might be a reflection of the clerk not recording these visits because he was preoccupied with the illness at the post rather than the Indians actually staying away.

In the 1864-1865 outfit and even more so in the 1889-1890 outfit, Indians come into the post numerous times in December, which is not recorded in previous outfit years (see Figure 6.11). The journals provide no explanation for such a phenomenon; however, given the presence of the mission at Ile a la Crosse and recognizing the significance of December to the Catholic Church, an increased presence of Indians at the post at this time of year might suggest a growing influence of the church amongst the Indigenous population in the region.

Figure 6.12 presents the total amount of time spent by Indians at the Ile a la Crosse Post for the ten different outfit years between 1810 and 1890. There appears to be a general consistency in the time Indians spent at the post after the merger with some anomalous years. For example, the outfit year 1844-1845 shows a noticeably greater amount of time that Indians spent at the post, possibly due to the illness and starvation noted in the journals. The 1855-1856 outfit year, however, shows a

**Figure 6.12 Time Spent by Indians at Ile a la Crosse Post, 1810 - 1890**

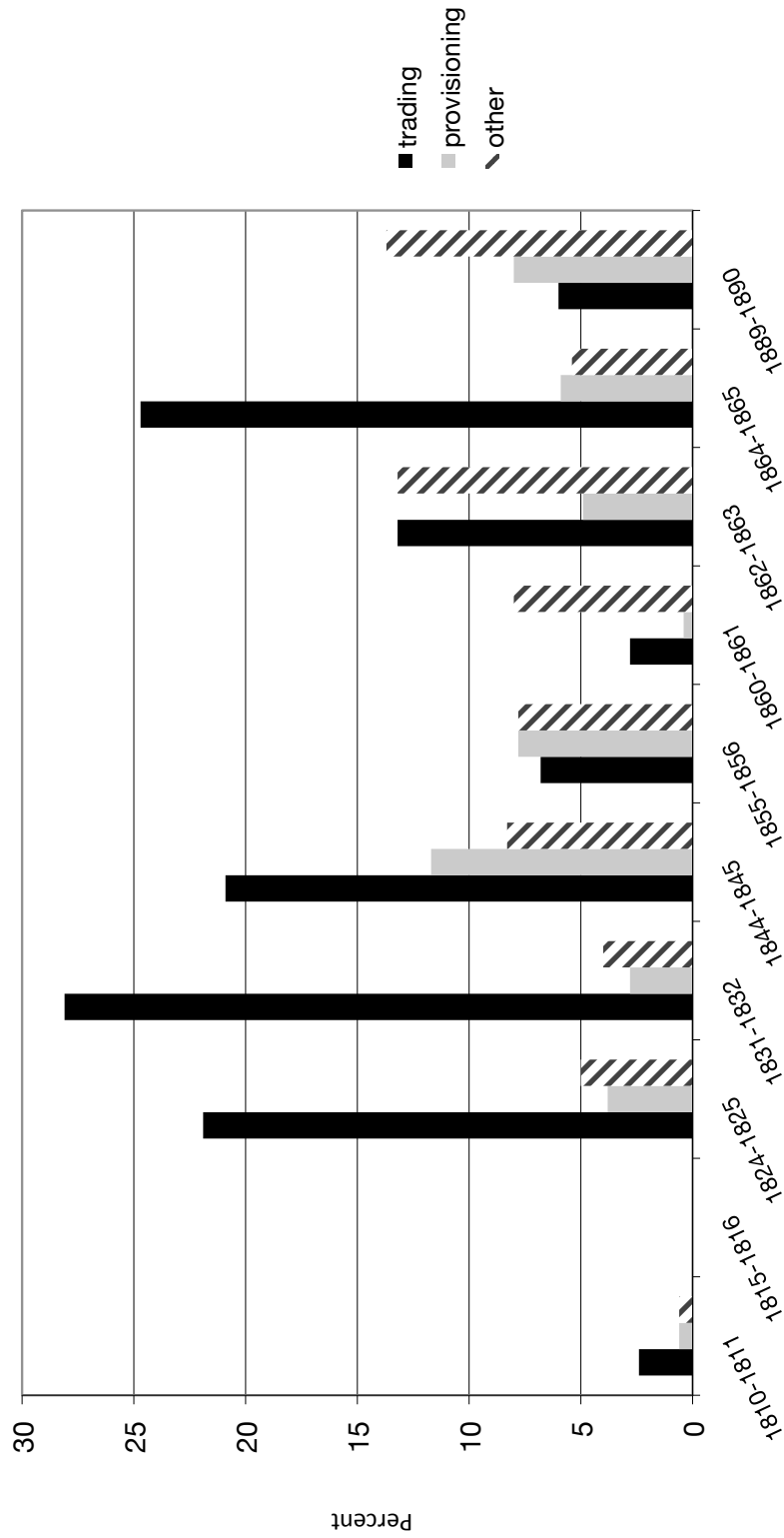


Source: HBCA B.89/a/2 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1810-1811; B.89/a/3 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1815-1816; B.89/a/7 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1823-1824; B.89/a/8 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1824-1825; B.89/a/13 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1832-1833; B.89/a/23 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1843-1845; B.89/a/29 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1855-1856; B.89/a/31 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1860-1861; B.89/a/32 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1862; B.89/a/33 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1862-1863; B.89/a/34 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1863; B.89/a/35 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1864-1865; B.89/a/36 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 189-1891.

noticeably lesser amount of time that Indians spent at the post. In this outfit year, the journal makes particular mention of scarce provisions in the region, a severe fever amongst the Indians in the region, starvation in the region, and high water levels. All of these reasons might have caused fewer Indians to come into the post. Alternatively, it might simply reflect inconsistencies in how the clerks recorded daily activities at Ile a la Crosse or it might reflect a year in which the Indians frequented the outposts in the English River District more than the Ile a la Crosse post. Similarly, the 1860-1861 outfit year shows even less interaction between HBC employees and Indians at the Ile a la Crosse post. As already discussed, during several months from February to May 1861, the post employees were suffering from illness, which may have encouraged the Indians to stay away from the post or to visit other outposts. Additionally, mild weather early in the winter and a late spring might have affected travel in the region, preventing Indians from coming in to the post as frequently as in years past. Finally, scarce provisions and starvation in the region might also have kept the Indians away from the post.

Considering the time spent by Indians at the post with the added detail of why the Indians were at the post, however, demonstrates even more complexities than simply looking at the amount of time in total spent at the post (see Figure 6.13). In most years, the reason Indians had come in to the post was to bring in furs, receive their advances or for some other fur trade related reason. However, in four years, either the provision trade or other reasons brought Indians into the post more frequently than the fur trade. In 1855-1856, the reasons for coming into the post are relatively equal, although fur trade reasons are the least common reason

**Figure 6.13 Reasons for Indians Arriving at Ile a la Crosse Post, 1810 - 1890**



Source: HBCA B.89/a/2 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1810-1811; B.89/a/3 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1815-1816; B.89/a/7 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1823-1824; B.89/a/8 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1824-1825; B.89/a/13 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1832-1833; B.89/a/23 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1843-1845; B.89/a/29 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1855-1856; B.89/a/31 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1860-1861; B.89/a/32 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1862; B.89/a/33 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1862-1863; B.89/a/34 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1863; B.89/a/35 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1864-1865; B.89/a/36 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 189-1891.

for coming into the post. This pattern is interesting as the journal during this outfit year noted a scarcity of provisions, and yet Indians were coming into the post with provisions more frequently than with furs. This pattern might suggest that the provision scarcity was quite localized to the post or that the post employees had been encouraging trappers to focus more on the provision trade than on the fur trade to suit their own needs. It might, of course, also be a reflection of the manner in which the clerk chose to record events in the journal that year.

In the outfit year 1860-1861, Indians were in at the post for “other” reasons far more often than for the provision trade or the fur trade. Again, the Indians were not recorded coming into the post during the period of time in which there was considerable illness at the post. As this time period would be one of the main seasons for Indians to bring in pelts after their winter hunts, it may not be surprising that Indians were recorded bringing in furs to the post less often than in other outfit years.<sup>76</sup> In the outfit year 1862-1863, the number of times that Indians came into the post for fur trade purposes is equal to the number of times that Indians came into the post for other reasons.<sup>77</sup> The journal made several references to post employees going to Forts Pitt and Carlton this year for provisions, which seems to be reflected in the decline in the provision trade for this year. The journal also noted that an illness with a high fatality rate and starvation were prevalent in the region, which might provide an explanation for the number of Indians coming in to the post for other reasons during this year.

<sup>76</sup> As noted previously, this pattern is also reflected in the Indian ledgers as the overall rates of consumption and production are lower in the 1860-1861 outfit year than the previous year. Please refer to the next chapter for more details.

<sup>77</sup> This outfit year, however, reflects the highest level of consumption in the Indian ledgers in all of the years examined and the production levels are higher in this year than in either of the surrounding years. Please see the next chapter for more details.



Finally, in the outfit year 1889-1890, again Indians came in to Ile a la Crosse for fur trade related reasons less often than for the provision trade or for other reasons.<sup>78</sup> The journal provided little explanation for why this pattern might exist. The journal recorded numerous incidents of illness at the post and it might be that illness was also rampant amongst the Indigenous peoples in the region, bringing them into the post for other reasons more frequently. However, there are just not enough details to know for sure why some of these changes in patterns have occurred over time.

It should be noted that the post journals are only recording the amount of time that Indians are spending at the post, and then only if the clerk in charge of keeping the journal was consistent in recording each time that an Indian came in to the post in each year. These numbers do not represent the amount of time that Indians spent trapping and hunting in the region, nor are they necessarily accurate in the amount of time that Indians spent at the post. Thus, the numbers presented in Table 6.1 and Figures 6.12 and 6.13 are an under-representation of the amount of time that Indians actually spent engaged in commercial activities in any given outfit year at Ile a la Crosse.

### **Seasonal Cycle of Activities at Otakou Whaling Station, New Zealand**

Similar to the fur trade post journals, the journal maintained by Octavius Harwood at the Otakou whaling station demonstrates a number of complex activities being conducted throughout the year. However, because the main focus of the station was the whaling activities being conducted on-site (as compared to the trapping

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<sup>78</sup> Unfortunately, no Indian ledgers could be found for this outfit year to compare with the journals.

that was conducted off-site from the fur trade posts), more emphasis in Harwood's journals was placed on whaling activities than on the potential interaction between Maori and whalers. Further, because the transport ships coming from Sydney could bring supplies and provisions to the whaling station, less concern was given to making the whaling station completely self-sufficient. Thus, unlike the Ile a la Crosse post that was dependent on local Indigenous people to help provision the post and conduct virtually all of the trapping, the Otakou whaling station had different concerns when developing relationships between the whalers and the local Maori. These key differences are reflected in the seasonal cycle of activities.<sup>79</sup>

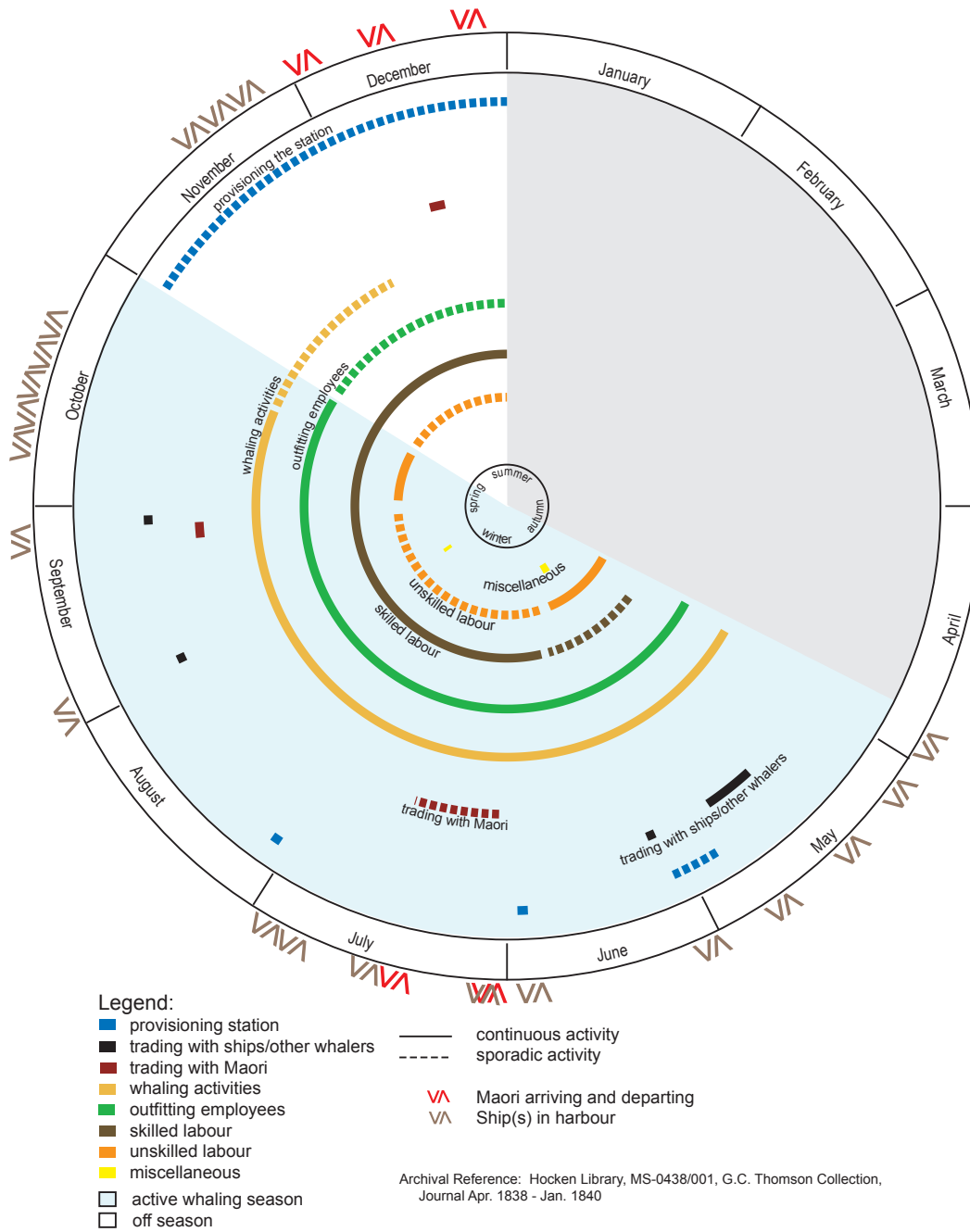
Figure 6.14 illustrates the seasonal cycle of activities for the Otakou whaling station in 1838. The journal begins on 24 April of this year, and thus information is recorded for 255 days. Similar to the Ile a la Crosse post journals, Harwood kept record of illnesses and injuries at the station. In this year, two notable fatal accidents were recorded in the journal, the first on 29 May when an employee fell off a cliff to his death and the second on 18 August when an employee drowned after getting the harpoon line tangled around his waist in the whale boat.<sup>80</sup> Additionally, Harwood recorded an illness at the station periodically from late August until late December.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>79</sup> I used a similar method for creating the seasonal cycle of activities at the Otakou whaling station as I did for the Ile a la Crosse post. In some cases, certain dates were missing from Harwood's journals, and thus any significant period of missing time is indicated on the cycles by a grey segment. Solid lines in the diagrams represent continuous activities on virtually every day of the time period indicated, and dashed lines represent sporadic activities during the time period indicated. The active whaling season was indicated by a light blue segment in the background, and the off season was left plain. As much as possible, I tried to create diagrams for years in which most of the days had been recorded. However, in one instance, I combined a few consecutive years (1840 to 1842) into one diagram in order to be able to map data for most months.

<sup>80</sup> Hocken Library, MS-0438/001, G.C. Thomson Collection, Journal Apr. 1838 - Jan. 1840, 29 May 1838 and 18 August 1838.

<sup>81</sup> Hocken Library, MS-0438/001, G.C. Thomson Collection, Journal Apr. 1838 - Jan. 1840, 28 and 29 August 1838, 14, 15 and 25 September 1838, 2-4 October 1838, 5 and 20-22 November 1838,

Figure 6.14 Seasonal Cycle at Otakou Whaling Station, 1838



Much of the journal documented the numerous activities performed to keep the station functioning smoothly. Labour activities, both skilled and unskilled, were consistently performed throughout much of the year. As well, considerable time was spent “outfitting” employees at the whaling station, especially during the peak period of active whaling from roughly May to October. Whaling activities continued on through the summer as “whalebone” (baleen) and oil was packed and shipped to Sydney and beyond. In order to keep men on at the station, working in less than desirable conditions at dangerous activities, the whaling station owners would provide their employees with clothing, food, alcohol, tobacco and other necessary equipment needed to hunt whales. Whalers were often paid in kind and only received cash at the end of a season when their “lays” (or the percent of the profits they were entitled to depending on their rank) were paid out.<sup>82</sup> As Harwood owned and operated the store at the Otakou whaling station, he may have had personal reasons for indicating what goods and materials he provided to station employees each day in such a detailed manner in his journal.

All of the whaling activities at the station were documented in considerable detail in the journals. These activities included: looking out for whales; sending whaleboats out in the water; chasing whales; towing and anchoring whales; cutting in to whales; trying out whales; cleaning whalebone; and storing, packing and shipping whale products, as well as non-whale products like potatoes and flax.

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and 10 and 26 December 1838.

<sup>82</sup> Although it is not reflected as clearly in the HBC post journals, the HBC used a similar technique with their employees. For a greater discussion on this topic, please see Edith I. Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company: Work, Discipline, and Conflict in the Hudson's Bay Company, 1770-1879* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1997), 26; Innis, *Fur Trade*, 238-240; and, Carol M. Judd, “‘Mixt Bands of Many Nations:’ 1821-70,” in *Old Trails and New Directions: Papers of the Third North American Fur Trade Conference*, ed. Carol M. Judd and Arthur J. Ray (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 128.

During the main season of whaling, these activities were conducted on virtually every day. Specific mention is made in the journal of each day that the whaleboats had to be kept in because of bad weather or heavy ocean swells in the harbour. Thus, it likely was the case that unless specific mention was made of the boats being in, the boats were in fact out searching for whales. As such, more whaling activities might be going on in the peak whaling period than indicated in these seasonal cycle diagrams.

Unlike the seasonal cycle of activities at fur trade posts, only two categories of activities demonstrate interaction between the whalers and the local Maori who were not formally employed at the station. Table 6.2 presents the time spent by Maori at the Otakou whaling station between the years 1838 and 1842. In 1838, the whaling station was trading with local Maori on four days, representing 1.6 percent of the days recorded in this year. Most frequently, the station was trading for potatoes, wood and whalebone. That the Maori were able to bring whale products into the station for trade suggests that they had their own whaleboats and participated in whaling without being formally hired by the station. In this year, Maori came into the station on 5 days (2.0 percent) and only during the months of July and December. While this cycle would suggest only sporadic interaction between the Maori and the whalers, significantly different patterns of interaction appear in later years.

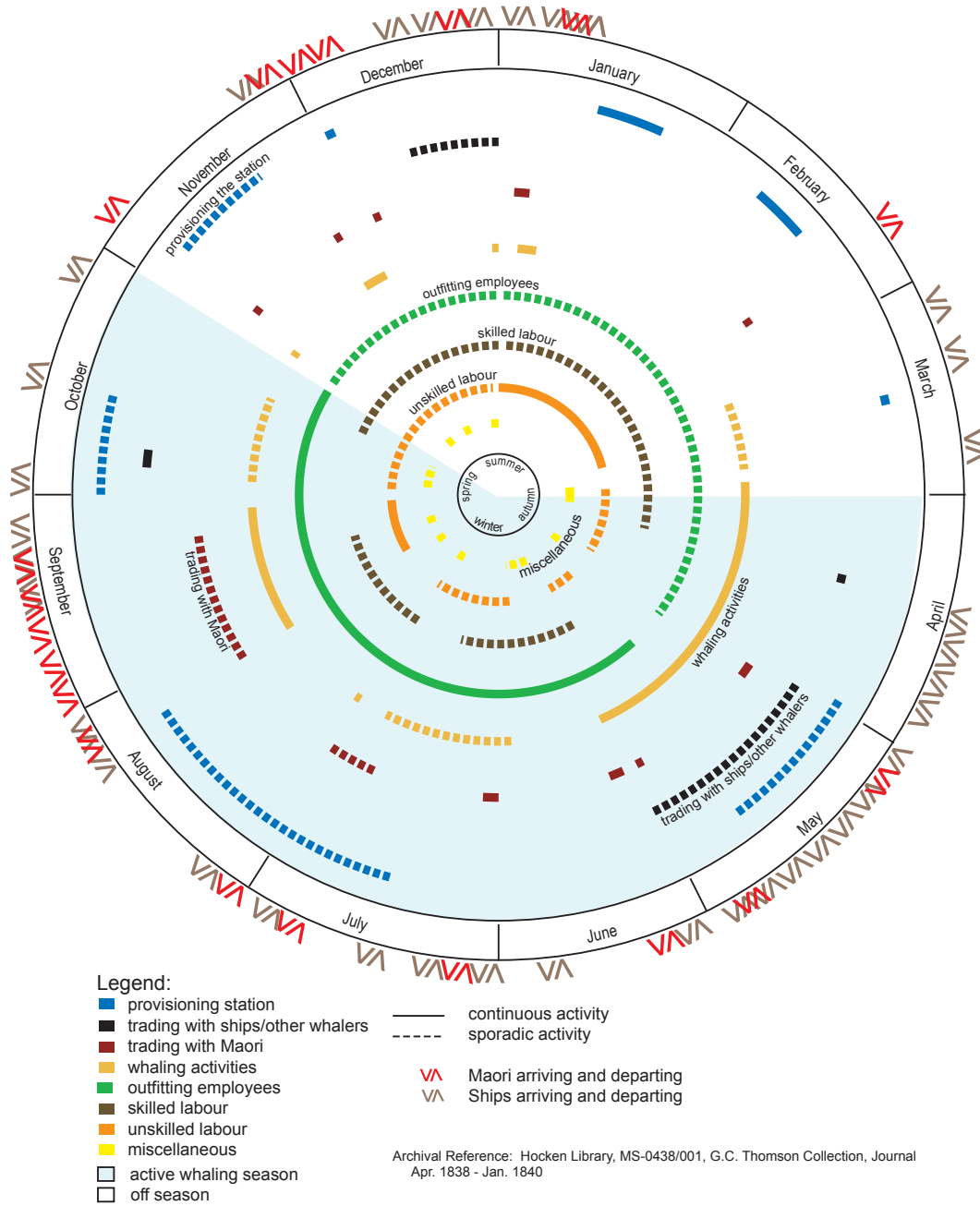
Figure 6.15 presents the seasonal cycle of activities at the Otakou station in 1839. The records for this year were much more complete, and information exists for 364 days. Of significance in this year was the complete wreck of the Wellers'

**Table 6.2 Time Spent by Maori at Otakou Whaling Station,  
1838 - 1842**

	1838		1839		1840-1842	
	Number of Days	Percent	Number of Days	Percent	Number of Days	Percent
<b>Activities</b>						
Number of days recorded in journal	255	n/a	364	n/a	288	n/a
Trading with Maori	4	1.6%	27	7.4%	36	12.5%
Maori arriving at the station	5	2.0%	36	9.9%	45	15.6%

Source: Hocken Library MS-0438/001, G.C. Thomson Collection, Journal Apr. 1838 - Jan. 1840; MS-0438/002, G.C. Thomson Collection, Journal Oct. 1840 - July 1842; MS-0438/003, G.C. Thomson Collection, Copy of Octavius Harwood Journals.

Figure 6.15 Seasonal Cycle at Otakou Whaling Station, 1839



boat, *Dublin Packet*, at Tyarie on 9 June. Three men and most of the trade goods were lost in this accident.<sup>83</sup> Two employees died this year, Cawtier in early May (no details were provided of his death) and Thomas King, who drowned when he fell overboard in late June.<sup>84</sup> Two men were also injured by whales at Tyarie in May.<sup>85</sup> As with the previous year, Harwood noted illnesses at the station periodically throughout the year, with most instances occurring in January and June.<sup>86</sup>

In this year, Harwood also began making note of the activities of prominent Maori chiefs who were not employees of the station but who were interacting with the station and with other local Maori. Most notably, throughout September, Harwood commented on the movements of Tuhawaiki, a Maori chief he and other *pakehas* called Bloody Jack. In this month, Bloody Jack (Tuhawaiki) met with the local Ngai Tahu, particularly a chief that Harwood referred to as Jackey Kie, eventually convincing Jackey Kie and Bigfellow and their followers to join him traveling northward.<sup>87</sup> The boats returned to Otakou in later November and were followed shortly by Bloody Jack in early December.<sup>88</sup> Although Harwood does not provide context for these travels, other historical records indicate that these men left Otakou and traveled to the Piraki whaling station on Banks Peninsula. According

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83 Hocken Library, MS-0438/001, G.C. Thomson Collection, Journal Apr. 1838 - Jan. 1840, 11 June 1839.

84 Hocken Library, MS-0438/001, G.C. Thomson Collection, Journal Apr. 1838 - Jan. 1840, 5 May 1839 and 22 June 1839.

85 Hocken Library, MS-0438/001, G.C. Thomson Collection, Journal Apr. 1838 - Jan. 1840, 11 May 1839.

86 Hocken Library, MS-0438/001, G.C. Thomson Collection, Journal Apr. 1838 - Jan. 1840, 19, 23, 25, and 27-29 January 1839, 1 April 1839, 29 March 1839, 6 and 11 May 1839, 5, 7, 10, 13 and 20 June 1839, 21 and 22 August 1839, 8 September 1839, 8 and 9 October 1839, and 30 December 1839.

87 Hocken Library, MS-0438/001, G.C. Thomson Collection, Journal Apr. 1838 - Jan. 1840, 8-15 and 23 September 1839.

88 Hocken Library, MS-0438/001, G.C. Thomson Collection, Journal Apr. 1838 - Jan. 1840, 30 November 1839 and 2 December 1839.



to Captain Hempleman, who ran the Piraki station, Tuhawaiki and his followers were there to kill one of the Maori residents, Jackey. They almost killed another Maori boy, Tommy, but Chief Taiaroa intervened and claimed the boy. Taiaroa then demanded a ransom of the Captain. Hempleman complied and gave Taiaroa a new six-oared boat as *utu*.<sup>89</sup>

Harwood also recorded three land sales between the Wellers and various Maori chiefs in 1839. The first was on 20 October. Harwood wrote, “Mr. W. purchased Land from Golok a Chief for a Whaleboat Oars etc. Complete and sundry clothing – the Land extends from Welangii river to Bank’s Peninsula – Leaving out Three rivers with the Land intervening and fourteen Miles inland from the sea side.”<sup>90</sup> The second land sale was between the Wellers and Tuhawaiki for land at Bluff (the very southern tip of the south island), which included a gift of a small parcel of land in the same area.<sup>91</sup> The final land sale was with Jackey White, Tyroa and Tuhawaiki and included land from “Blueskin” (likely referring to this chief’s land near Purakanui) to Molyneux Harbour.<sup>92</sup>

While again whaling activities and outfitting employees were the predominant activities at the station, in 1839 the whalers traded with Maori on 27 days, or 7.4 percent of the number of days recorded. Again, potatoes, firewood and

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89 G. Hempleman, *The Piraki Log (E Pirangi Ahau Koe) or Dialry of Captain Helmpleman with Introduction, Glossary Illustrations and Map* (London: Oxford University Press, 1910), 31 October 1839 and 1-2 November 1839; Frank Tod, *Whaling in Southern Waters* (Dunedin: Frank Tod, 1982), 84-85.

90 Hocken Library, MS-0438/001, G.C. Thomson Collection, Journal Apr. 1838 - Jan. 1840, 20 October 1839.

91 Hocken Library, MS-0438/001, G.C. Thomson Collection, Journal Apr. 1838 - Jan. 1840, 4-5 December 1839.

92 Hocken Library, MS-0438/001, G.C. Thomson Collection, Journal Apr. 1838 - Jan. 1840, 26 December 1839. Similar sales of land were not recorded in the HBC post journals and probably reflect a different land tenure system of the Indigenous people of northern Saskatchewan.

whalebone were the main items brought in for trade. Local Maori came into the station on 36 days (9.9 percent). Unlike in 1838, Maori were in every month except January, March, April and October. Peak periods of interaction between the Maori and the whalers can be seen from the end of August to the end of September and the end of November to the end of December. The next few years show an even bigger increase in Maori-whaler interaction.

Figure 6.16 presents the seasonal cycle of activities at the Otakou station from 1840 to 1842. Only 288 days are represented in these three years, some of which overlap between the years. Harwood's journal during much of 1840 includes a trip he went on from Otakou to the Weller's station at Banks Peninsula to Sydney to Bay of Islands to Otakou to Bluff and Stewart's Island and back to Otakou. His description of the Bay of Islands in particular captures some of the key experiences of the Maori with whalers and with missionaries:

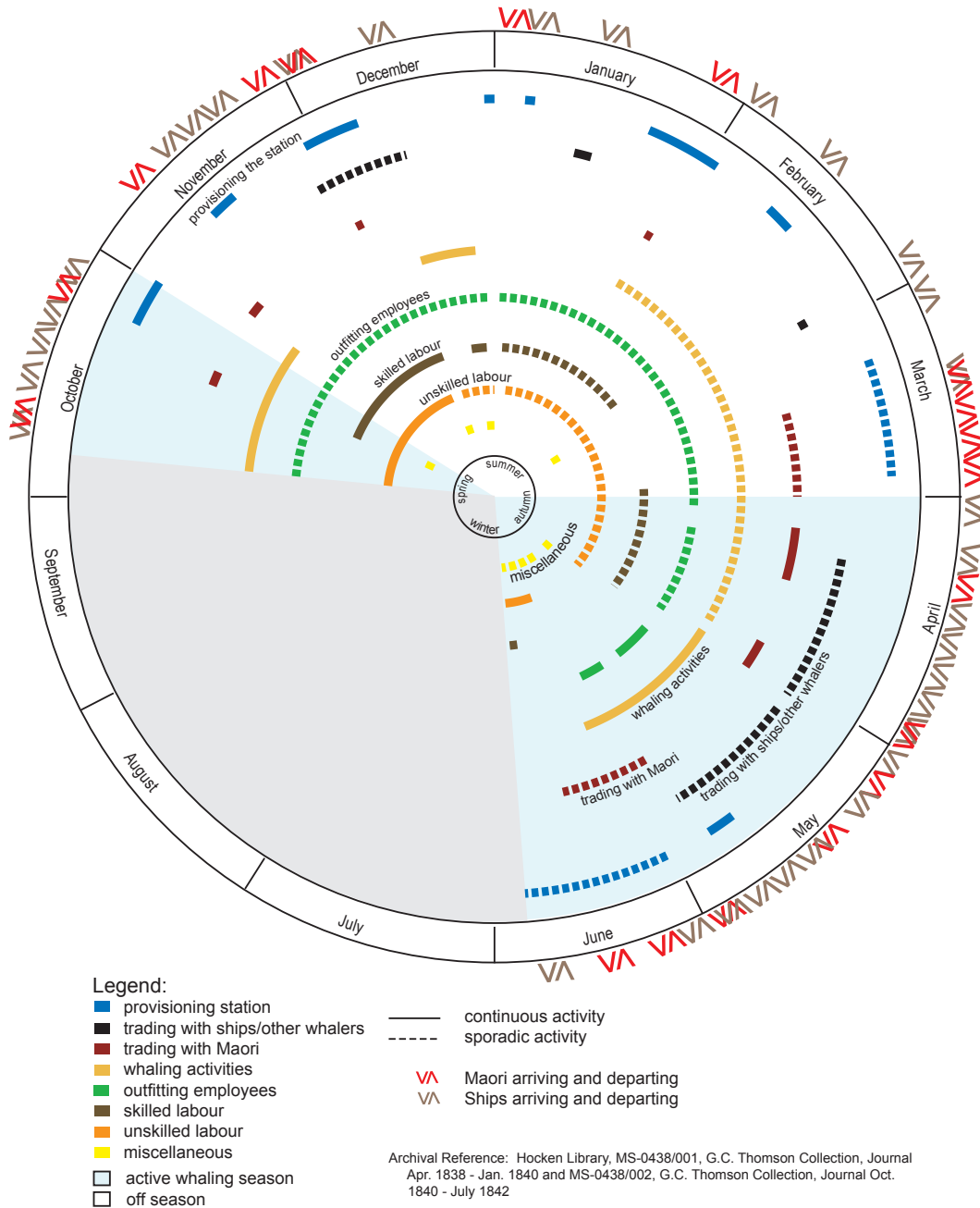
saw a few Native families the whole of whom could read and most of the men wrote their own language – missionaries religious books amongst them, but none with any of the English language in them – purchased several from the Natives – no potatoes amongst them, their principal food being cockles and fish ... Mr. Williams, the Principal Missionary ... promised to give me a collection of Books for Blueskin and the Natives to the South ... Saw a Native woman belonging to Otago – entreated me to give her passage in the ship ... purchased several mats from the Natives for Money the value of which they all perfectly understand.<sup>93</sup>

From this passage, two key things are clear. First, the missionaries were so successful in creating a writing system for the Maori language that many Maori were literate in their own language by 1840, the year in which the Treaty of Waitangi was signed. It was not surprising then that the Treaty of Waitangi was written in both English

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<sup>93</sup> Hocken Library, MS-0438/003, G.C. Thomson Collection, Copy of Octavius Harwood Journals, 18 August 1840.

Figure 6.16 Seasonal Cycle at Otakou Whaling Station, 1840 - 1842



and in Maori, although whether the Maori version of the treaty was an accurate translation of the English version (or vice versa) remains controversial. Second, the introduction of sealing and whaling in New Zealand introduced a commercial economy to the Maori in which they actively partook, such that by 1840, at least in the Bay of Islands which had a much longer history with whaling than the shore stations on the South Island, the Maori were intimately familiar with trade, including cash transactions.

The Treaty of Waitangi was signed initially on 5 February 1840 on the North Island. Throughout the rest of the year, copies of the Treaty were taken to other Maori chiefs who had not been present at the initial negotiations. On 23 September 1840, Harwood noted that, “Herald, Sloop of War, had been in and left a paper for the Natives’ perusal.”<sup>94</sup> No further details or further mention of this “paper” is given by Harwood, but it is curious as to whether this entry refers to a copy of the Treaty of Waitangi being delivered to the chiefs at Otakou.

The final note of significance in Harwood’s journal during these years is the news that the firm of G. & E. Weller had failed and their property was in the hands of trustees in late February 1841.<sup>95</sup> Although the station changed hands to other owners, it continued to operate for another year or so and Harwood continued to run the store at Otakou and keep a journal of daily activities.

Between 1840 and 1842, the Otakou station traded with Maori on 36 days, representing 12.5 percent of the days recorded, and Maori came into the station on 45 days (15.6 percent). The only month that Maori were not in at the station was

<sup>94</sup> Hocken Library, MS-0438/003, G.C. Thomson Collection, Copy of Octavius Harwood Journals, 23 September 1840.

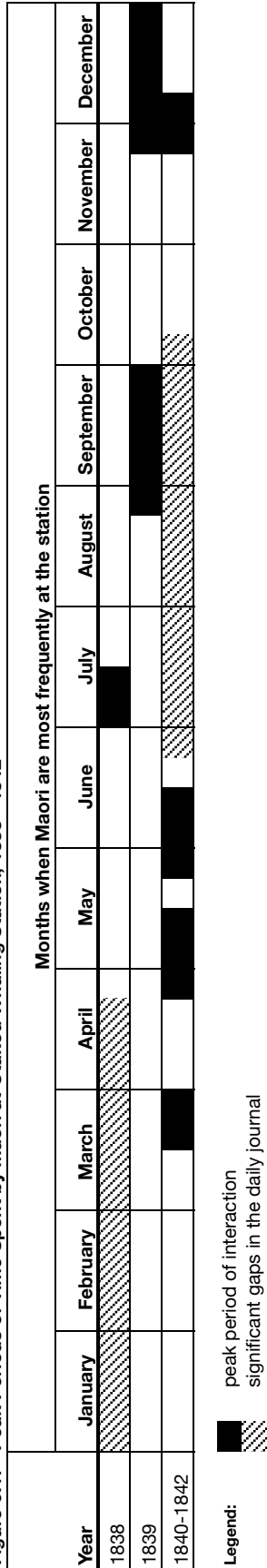
<sup>95</sup> Hocken Library, MS-0438/003, G.C. Thomson Collection, Copy of Octavius Harwood Journals, 24-25 February 1841.

February; however, no data exists from the end of June to the beginning of October. It must be noted that this seasonal cycle might over-represent the amount of time that Maori spent at the whaling station in these years. However, there were simply not enough days recorded in each year to create separate seasonal cycles that would be of any use.

Figure 6.17 presents the peak periods of time spent by the Maori at Otakou station between 1838 and 1842. Unlike the seasonal cycles at Ile a la Crosse, which show relatively consistent times of the year when Indians were most frequently at the post, the three seasonal cycles at Otakou demonstrate an increasing amount of time spent by the Maori at the station, including more times of the year during which they would frequent the station. It is unfortunate that more data are not available for the Otakou whaling station, as it would be curious to see if over a greater period of time a more consistent pattern of interaction would have developed at Otakou similar to that which developed at Ile a la Crosse or if the demise of the whaling industry in the late 1840s would have significantly changed the patterns of interaction and seasonal cycles of activities of the Ngai Tahu living in the vicinity of Harwood's store.

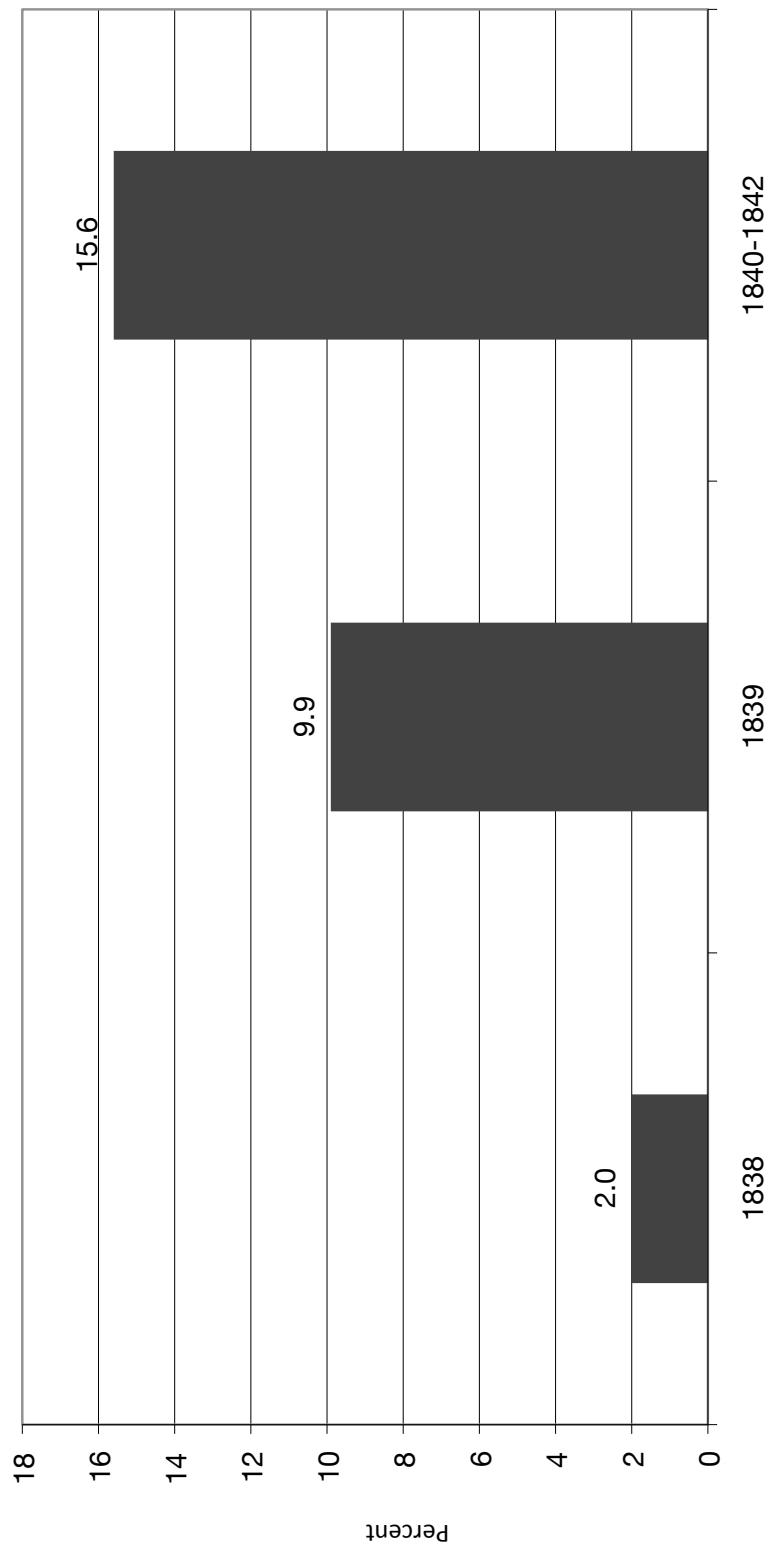
Figure 6.18 represents the amount of time spent by the Maori at the Otakou whaling station between 1838 and 1842. It would appear that over time, the Maori became more actively involved with the whaling station; however, it is difficult to determine if this pattern continued throughout the period of operation of the whaling station as these are the only five years in which journal entries still exist. Harwood also maintained account books making detailed records of trade

Figure 6.17 Peak Periods of Time Spent by Maori at Otakou Whaling Station, 1838 - 1842



Source: Hocken Library MS-0438/001, G.C. Thomson Collection, Journal Apr. 1838 - Jan. 1840; MS-0438/002, G.C. Thomson Collection, Journal Oct. 1840 - July 1842; MS-0438/003, G.C. Thomson Collection, Copy of Octavius Harwood Journals.

**Figure 6.18 Time Spent by Maori at Otakou Whaling Station,  
1838 - 1842**



Source: Hocken Library MS-0438/001, G.C. Thomson Collection, Journal Apr. 1838 - Jan. 1840; MS-0438/002, G.C. Thomson Collection, Journal Oct. 1840 - July 1842; MS-0438/003, G.C. Thomson Collection, Copy of Octavius Harwood Journals.

between the whaling station and individual Maori. An analysis of these account books provides more detailed information about the interaction between Maori and whalers at Otakou and is the subject of the next chapter.

### **Patterns of Interactions in the Fur Trading and Whaling Seasonal Cycles**

The seasonal cycles at both the Ile a la Crosse post and the Otakou whaling station demonstrate clear patterns of interaction between Indigenous peoples and Europeans. The patterns suggest, at least in most years, more regular contact and interaction throughout the year, rather than merely seasonal interaction, although in some years there were certain peak periods of interaction corresponding in many cases to peak periods of activity within the industries. Such patterns are not unexpected. It is only logical to find that trappers are visiting the Ile a la Crosse post most frequently at times related to the spring and fall hunts, as these times of the year were when the trappers needed to get the requisite supplies for trapping or returning to pay off their debts to the HBC. Similarly, it makes sense that Maori would visit the whaling station at the start and finish of the whaling seasons as it would be at these times of the year when ships from Sydney, laden with trade supplies, would be arriving most frequently at the station. However, in both industries these periods of peak commercial activity were not the only times during which Indigenous people came to the post or station. Thus, it would appear that a more continuous interaction, and perhaps correspondingly, a stronger relationship between the Indigenous peoples and the Europeans developed over time in these two industries. These patterns of interaction might suggest then that the pre-trade economies of the Indigenous peoples in northwest Saskatchewan and southern New Zealand were adjusted in



response to the changing opportunities and economic environments presented by the fur trade and the whaling industry and were not used to merely supplement their pre-trade economies on a seasonal basis.

Although there are similarities in the patterns of interactions demonstrated by the seasonal cycles at Ile a la Crosse and Otakou, there are some noticeable differences as well. Most particularly, there appears to have been more opportunities for the Indigenous peoples in northwest Saskatchewan to incorporate different elements of the fur trade industry into their pre-trade economies than for Maori in the whaling industry. However, this initial perception might, at least in part, be a reflection of differences in operations between the two industries, as well as differences in the purposes for keeping daily journals. For example, whaling was conducted in part by imported labour and was conducted at the station itself. In contrast, trapping was done primarily by Indigenous people and was conducted away from the post. Not only will the journals demonstrate a difference in the activities highlighted at the post or the station, the level of interaction between the post/station and the Indigenous peoples will differ considerably as well depending on the relative reliance on non-employees to conduct the primary commercial activity (trapping or whaling).

It is important to consider as well that the journals presented a trader/whaler perspective. This perspective is reflected in the way in which Indigenous people's activities were recorded in general, and the way in which women's activities were recorded more specifically. While Indigenous people were employed as temporary general labourers in both industries, these individuals were rarely named and their

activities were often recorded very generally with little detail. Indigenous people who were well known to the post or station, who were higher in rank or status (at least from the perspective of the traders or the whalers), or who were more formally employed at the post or station were more frequently named in the journal, but in general a distinction can be seen between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples' activities at the post and the station. Similarly, the activities of women at the post and station were only occasionally documented, and only the wives of post or station employees appear to be named in the journals and then only rarely.

Other influences external to the industries are important to consider as well. The presence of the Roman Catholic mission in such close proximity to the Ile a la Crosse post might have provided additional reasons for the Indigenous peoples in the region to visit Ile a la Crosse more regularly, especially as the influence of the church spread in the region. The extensive time frame of the fur trade at Ile a la Crosse, which spanned well over a century, compared to the relatively short time frame of the operations of the Otakou whaling station, which lasted less than two decades, would also have an influence on the extent to which relationships could develop between Indigenous peoples and traders, as well as provide more opportunity for pre-trade economic patterns to adjust and modify to changing circumstances. The extensive time frame of the fur trade would also have placed even greater pressure on natural resources in the region than that experienced in the whaling industry, which in turn would have led to a decline of key resources and a growing dependency of Indigenous peoples on the fur trade post to provide alternatives to waning resources. The increased demands on key resources would

have been even more pronounced in the fur trade regardless of the time frame, however, as, unlike the Maori who had not made extensive use of whales prior to the introduction of the whaling industry, the Indigenous peoples in northwest Saskatchewan would have made use of fur-bearers and game animals prior to the introduction of the fur trade, although certainly not to the same extent and in the same manner.

Ultimately, while the seasonal cycles of activities reveal some of the interaction between Indigenous peoples and trading posts and whaling stations, to consider only the journals would likely create a misleading picture. The account books compiled for both industries detailed the goods and materials coming in to the post and station, as well as that going out. In this sense, the account books provide a much more detailed picture of the consumption and production patterns of Indigenous people in these industries and provide a much more comprehensive picture of the involvement of Indigenous people in commercial activities. To truly make sense of the changes in Indigenous peoples' resource use patterns over time in these two industries, a detailed analysis of the account books is necessary to complement the seasonal cycles, which is the topic of the following chapter.

Nevertheless, the seasonal cycles do suggest that relationships between Europeans and Indigenous peoples engaged in commercial activities became more frequent and more complex over time. As such, it seems doubtful that the fur trade and the whaling industry were used simply as seasonal supplements to pre-trade Indigenous economies. It seems more likely that these pre-trade economies were modified and adjusted over time to include certain commercial elements. Thus, the

common contemporary perception that the “traditional economy” is an Indigenous economy that has changed little since pre-contact times is not supported by this analysis.

## **Chapter 7: Patterns of Consumption and Production of Indigenous Peoples at Ile a la Crosse and Otakou**

While the journals kept by the various clerks employed by the Hudson's Bay Company at the Ile a la Crosse post and by Octavius Harwood at the Otakou whaling station provide a detailed picture of the daily activities at these locations, the account books kept at both locations provide another useful, and under-utilized, avenue of analysis. The account books can assist in identifying consumption and production patterns of Indigenous peoples involved in the fur and whaling industries in order to better understand both the complex relationships between the Indigenous peoples and the fur traders and whalers, and the activities of the Indigenous peoples once they began to engage with these commercial industries. Although the records are somewhat fragmentary and contain some idiosyncrasies that can create challenges for a comprehensive analysis, the level of detail contained in the records makes the effort of working with such a complex data set worthwhile.

The Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) kept extensive accounting records, including detailed inventories of trade items, skins and pelts, goods provided to employees and their families, goods purchased by the employees and their families, profit and loss statements, and goods purchased by Indians not formally employed by the post.<sup>1</sup> This chapter concerns analysis of the so-called "Indian ledgers" that were used to record the basic purchases of the Indigenous peoples coming in to trade

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<sup>1</sup> For a more complete list and discussion of HBC accounting records prior to 1763, see Arthur J. Ray, "The Early Hudson's Bay Company Account Books as Sources for Historical Research: An Analysis and Assessment," *Archivaria* Vol. 1, no. 1 (1975-1976): 3-38; and Arthur J. Ray and Donald Freeman, *'Give Us Good Measure': An Economic Analysis of Relations Between the Indians and the Hudson's Bay Company Before 1763* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), especially Chapter 9, "The early Hudson's Bay Company account books," pp. 81-119. Although the accounting records changed somewhat overtime, these discussions provide a basic context for understanding the records.

at Ile a la Crosse and at least some of the items brought in to pay off their debts. These ledgers provide a rich and detailed data set, although possibly fragmentary or incomplete, that reveals some of the basic consumption and production patterns of Indigenous peoples in northern Saskatchewan over time.<sup>2</sup>

Similarly, Octavius Harwood kept various accounting records for his store at the Otakou whaling station. Although not nearly as complete or diversified as the HBC accounting records, Harwood's ledgers and notebooks also provide a detailed data set about the consumption and production patterns of Maori living in or traveling through the Otago region. Although Harwood did not keep separate ledgers for Maori customers, he frequently recorded their Maori names and/or identified them as "Native" in the ledgers and notebooks. Thus, it is possible to single out the Maori in these accounting records and to develop an understanding of the consumption and production patterns of the Maori in the Otago region over time.

These consumption and production patterns provide an understanding of some of the adaptations to the Indigenous peoples' economies as a result of changing circumstances introduced by access to commercial industries, as well as the long-term consequences of such adaptations and changes to their economies. The patterns suggest both stability and change to particular elements of their pre-contact economies. As well, the patterns show the growing need of Indigenous peoples to continue participating in commercial industries as parts of their economies and lifestyles began to change, and as natural resources in the region declined and changed over time. Although difficult to work with at times, the accounting records

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<sup>2</sup> The Indian ledgers do not appear to capture all of the transactions between Indigenous people and the HBC in the English River District. Thus, the data set should not be considered a comprehensive collection of all relevant transactions.

provide an interesting and detailed picture of Indigenous peoples' participation in nineteenth century capitalist ventures and the consequences of such participation.

### **Production and Consumption by Dene, Cree and Métis at the Ile a la Crosse Post, 1832 - 1879<sup>3</sup>**

The Indian ledgers maintained by the HBC at Ile a la Crosse reveal the basic patterns of consumption and production by the Indigenous peoples (mostly Dene, Cree and Métis) who lived in the region and who were engaged in trapping, hunting, fishing and gathering activities as part of the larger fur trade. Despite the extensive nature of the HBC accounting records, there are still gaps. While I was able to create seasonal cycles from the post journals for several years spanning from 1810 to 1865 and one more covering the outfit year 1889-1890, the earliest Indian ledger that I could find spanned only the years 1832 to 1837.<sup>4</sup> However, I was also able to find Indian ledgers that covered the time period when post journals were missing (particularly the 1860s and 1870s). Thus, I analyzed a selection of Indian ledgers spanning the years 1832 to 1876. To save time, and because some of the ledgers were very roughly written, I did not do a detailed analysis of the ledgers from the years 1839 to 1843, 1854 to 1855, and 1876 to 1879. Instead, I only counted the entire number of transactions and the entire value of transactions in those years.

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<sup>3</sup> Unless otherwise noted, information and data in this section are from Hudson's Bay Company Archives (HBCA), B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837; B.89/d/51a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1839-1841; B.89/d/55a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1841-1843; B.89/d/86, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1854-1855; B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862; B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1866; B.89/d/188, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1875-1876; and, B.89/d/216a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1876-1879.

<sup>4</sup> The HBC did not always keep Indian ledgers. In the early years, when the HBC was concentrated at its posts along the Hudson Bay, the trading season was too short to keep records for individual trappers. It was not until the HBC had expanded to the interior and was not faced with intense competition from the NWC that it started to keep a record of transactions of individual trappers. Ray and Freeman, *'Give Us Good Measure'*, 91.

Nonetheless, I was able to analyze the consumption and production trends of some of the Indigenous peoples in the English River District over roughly five decades.

The time period of this analysis of the Indian ledgers covers an interesting period for the Ile a la Crosse post. It starts during a period roughly ten years after the merger of the HBC and the Northwest Company at a time when competition from outside sources was limited. Over the next several decades, however, more free traders and other companies began to move into the region.<sup>5</sup> Fur trade operations had also expanded into the Athabasca and Mackenzie regions, changing some of the trade dynamics for Ile a la Crosse.<sup>6</sup> By the 1870s, Rupertsland had formally been sold to the Dominion of Canada, resulting in some further reorganization of the Company's operations.<sup>7</sup> Still, Ile a la Crosse itself remained relatively remote from the larger agricultural and industrial centres further south and east, and the fur trade remained as the dominant industry throughout the entire time period. Thus, the consumption and production patterns revealed by these Indian ledgers reflect activities that had been well established in the decades prior and continued through a period of active, although changing, trade.

Table 7.1 presents the number of items purchased by Indians at the Ile a la Crosse post from 1832 to 1876.<sup>8</sup> Although in most cases the Indian ledgers

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5 Robert Jarvenpa and Hetty Jo Brumbach, "Occupational Status, Ethnicity, and Ecology: Metis Cree Adaptations in a Canadian Trading Frontier," *Human Ecology* Vol. 13, no. 3 (1985): 314; and, Robert Jarvenpa and Hetty Jo Brumbach, "The Microeconomics of Southern Chipewyan Fur Trade History," in *The Subarctic Fur Trade: Native Social and Economic Adaptations*, ed. Shepard Krech III (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1984), 155.

6 Harold A. Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada*, rev. ed. with a new introductory essay by Arthur J. Ray (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999, original 1956), 341-379.

7 Innis, *Fur Trade*, 341-379; and, Arthur J. Ray, *The Canadian Fur Trade in the Industrial Age* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 30-49.

8 I am using the term "Indians" here in the same sense used by the HBC to identify Indigenous people not formally employed by the Company. At Ile a la Crosse, then, Indians could be Cree, Dene or Métis. The term is not meant to denote the legal definition of Indian provided by the *Indian Act*.



Table 7.1 Number of Items Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1832 - 1876

Category of Item	1832-1833		1833-1834		1834-1835		1835-1836		1836-1837		1860-1861		1862-1863		1863-1864		1865-1866		1875-1876		Unknown Years		Total of all Years	
	Number of Items Purchased	Percent of Total	Number of Items Purchased	Percent of Total	Number of Items Purchased	Percent of Total	Number of Items Purchased	Percent of Total	Number of Items Purchased	Percent of Total	Number of Items Purchased	Percent of Total	Number of Items Purchased	Percent of Total	Number of Items Purchased	Percent of Total	Number of Items Purchased	Percent of Total	Number of Items Purchased	Percent of Total	Number of Items Purchased	Percent of Total	Number of Items Purchased	Percent of Total
Ammunition	362	40.3%	589	35.1%	395	39.9%	399	32.7%	52	36.4%	10	17.5%	592	16.9%	94	17.8%	30	7.4%	292	9.1%	151	16.7%	2,966	21.9%
Guns and rifles	7	0.8%	13	0.8%	4	0.4%	21	1.7%	--	--	--	--	50	1.4%	7	1.3%	2	0.5%	4	0.1%	14	1.5%	122	0.9%
Trapping technology	8	0.9%	35	2.1%	10	1.0%	7	0.6%	2	1.4%	--	--	67	1.9%	9	1.7%	5	1.2%	101	3.2%	15	1.7%	259	1.9%
Fishing technology	--	--	12	0.7%	7	0.7%	5	0.4%	1	0.7%	5	8.8%	199	5.7%	30	5.7%	4	1.0%	95	3.0%	11	1.2%	369	2.7%
Hunting technology	12	1.3%	70	4.2%	18	1.8%	61	5.0%	4	2.8%	4	7.0%	112	3.2%	15	2.8%	2	0.5%	46	1.4%	45	5.0%	389	2.9%
Tools and other technology	15	1.7%	175	10.4%	50	5.0%	218	17.9%	6	4.2%	5	8.8%	248	7.1%	36	6.8%	4	1.0%	182	5.7%	80	8.8%	1,019	7.5%
Household items	23	2.6%	86	5.1%	18	1.8%	76	6.2%	2	1.4%	1	1.8%	336	9.6%	47	8.9%	22	5.4%	1,057	33.0%	114	12.6%	1,782	13.2%
Clothing, total	76	8.5%	191	11.4%	75	7.6%	198	16.2%	6	4.2%	8	14.0%	692	19.9%	109	20.7%	74	18.3%	466	14.5%	191	21.1%	2,086	15.4%
Clothing, unspecified	76	8.5%	183	10.9%	72	7.3%	193	15.8%	6	4.2%	8	14.0%	563	16.1%	84	15.9%	55	13.6%	293	9.1%	163	18.0%	1,696	12.5%
Clothing, men's	--	--	3	0.2%	3	0.3%	--	--	--	--	--	--	73	2.1%	17	3.2%	11	2.7%	92	2.9%	18	2.0%	217	1.6%
Clothing, women's	--	--	5	0.3%	--	--	5	0.4%	--	--	--	--	51	1.5%	8	1.5%	8	2.0%	53	1.7%	10	1.1%	140	1.0%
Clothing, children's	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	5	0.1%	--	--	--	--	28	0.9%	--	--	33	0.2%
Sewing materials	48	5.3%	106	6.3%	71	7.2%	85	7.0%	16	11.2%	14	24.6%	646	18.5%	90	17.1%	142	35.1%	430	13.4%	192	21.2%	1,840	13.6%
Food, total	25	2.8%	13	0.8%	27	2.7%	20	1.6%	12	8.4%	5	8.8%	130	3.7%	30	5.7%	52	12.9%	366	11.4%	32	3.5%	712	5.3%
Food, imported	2	0.2%	1	0.1%	--	--	--	--	--	--	5	8.8%	115	3.3%	27	5.1%	50	12.4%	313	9.8%	21	2.3%	534	3.9%
Food, country produce	23	2.6%	12	0.7%	27	2.7%	20	1.6%	12	8.4%	--	--	15	0.4%	3	0.6%	2	0.5%	53	1.7%	11	1.2%	178	1.3%
Tobacco	109	12.1%	178	10.6%	101	10.2%	68	5.6%	16	11.2%	2	3.5%	124	3.5%	19	3.6%	54	13.4%	63	2.0%	26	2.9%	760	5.6%
Personal hygiene	4	0.4%	25	1.5%	2	0.2%	9	0.7%	2	1.4%	--	--	43	1.2%	2	0.4%	11	2.7%	79	2.5%	8	0.9%	185	1.4%
Miscellaneous	209	23.3%	184	11.0%	213	21.5%	54	4.4%	24	16.8%	3	5.3%	258	7.4%	39	7.4%	2	0.5%	24	0.7%	26	2.9%	1,036	7.7%
<b>Total</b>	<b>898</b>		<b>1,677</b>		<b>991</b>		<b>1,221</b>		<b>143</b>		<b>57</b>		<b>3,497</b>		<b>527</b>		<b>404</b>		<b>3,205</b>		<b>905</b>		<b>13,525</b>	

Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837; B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862; B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1866; B.89/d/198, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1875-1876

recorded the specific and detailed items purchased at the post, I have grouped these items into thirteen basic categories for ease of analysis – ammunition, guns and rifles, trapping technology, fishing technology, hunting technology, tools and other technology, household items, clothing, sewing materials, food, tobacco, personal hygiene, and miscellaneous.<sup>9</sup> While the clerk at Ile a la Crosse generally recorded the dates of transactions, sometimes it was not always clear when certain purchases were made. These transactions were recorded under the column heading “Unknown Years.” Some outfit years, particularly 1836-1837 and 1860-1861, had only a few transactions recorded in the ledgers (perhaps because many of the Indian ledgers spanned several outfit years and thus the years at the beginning and end of the ledgers were often incomplete compared to the years in the middle). These small numbers can affect the patterns and trends in the data; thus, care has been taken to note when data in these years appear to influence some of the trends disproportionately.

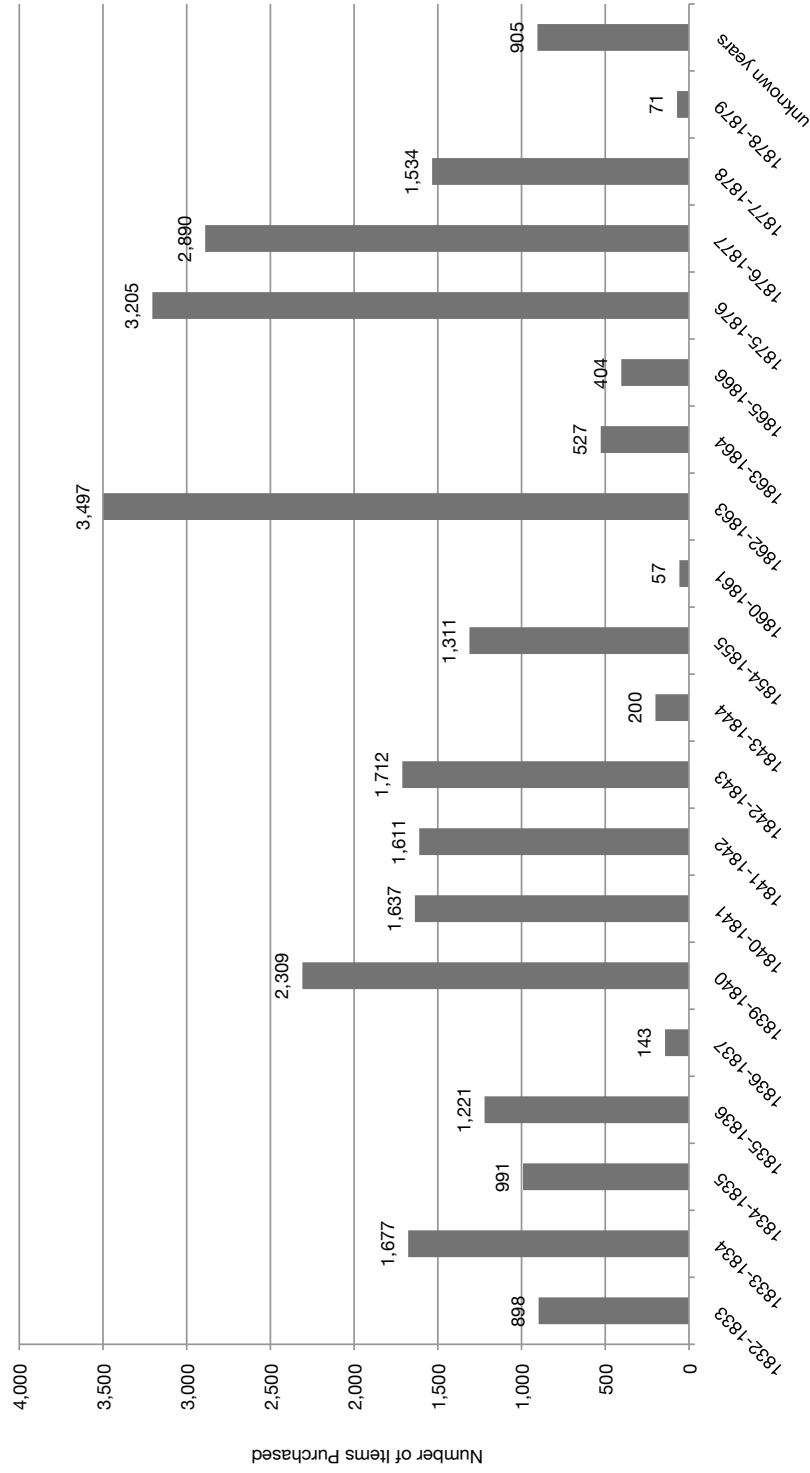
Figure 7.1 presents the total number of items purchased by Indians at the Ile a la Crosse post from Outfit 1832-1833 to Outfit 1878-1879. There is no easily discernable trend in these data. However, if one considers the original grouping of the ledgers (as compared to grouping the data into outfit years), the increases and decreases in the number of items purchased may make more sense. The ledgers I analyzed covered the following years: 1832-1837, 1839-1841, 1841-1843, 1854-1855, 1862, 1863-1866, 1875-1876, and 1876-1879. Many of the outfits years that portray a small number of transactions (especially 1836-1837, 1843-1844, 1860-1861, 1865-1866, and 1878-1879) are also years that start or end particular ledgers.<sup>10</sup> Thus, many of the dips in the number of transactions over time may be a

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<sup>9</sup> For a more detailed discussion of these categories, please see Chapter 3 Methodology.

<sup>10</sup> In this case, I am using transaction to refer to an item being purchased without consideration of the amount of that item being purchased. Thus, a purchase of cloth would count as one transaction

**Figure 7.1 Total Number of Items Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1832-1879**



Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837; B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862; B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1866; and B.89/d/188, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1875-1876

reflection of data missing from the ledgers rather than an actual decline in trade at Ile a la Crosse. If these beginning and ending years are ignored, the trade remains fairly stable over time, with a possible increase in the number of transactions in the 1860s and 1870s. The seasonal cycles, however, do not show any significant increase in the number of visits to the post by Indians in the 1860s, so any increase in transactions may be a reflection of more consistent recording in the ledgers rather than any real increase in transactions.

Interestingly, there are similarities between the accounting records and the seasonal cycles in two particular outfit years. In the 1860-1861 outfit year, the Ile a la Crosse post journal recorded fewer interactions between Indians and employees at the post than in the surrounding years. The journal for this year recorded illness at the post from February to May 1861 and mild weather in the early part of the winter and a late spring. The journal also noted scarce provisions and starvation in the region.<sup>11</sup> The illness, weather patterns, and resource scarcity might all have contributed to fewer visits in general from the Indians at Ile a la Crosse. These factors might also account in part for the limited number of transactions in this outfit year.<sup>12</sup> The Ile a la Crosse post journal for the 1862-1863 outfit year noted that an illness with a high fatality rate and starvation were prevalent in the region. The journal also noted that Indians came into the post much more frequently this year than the 1860-1861 outfit year.<sup>13</sup> A corresponding increase can be found in the number of transactions for this outfit year.<sup>14</sup> Unfortunately, the patterns of

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regardless of whether 2 yards were purchased or 5 yards were purchased.

11 HBCA B.89/a/31 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal, 1860-1861.

12 HBCA B.89/d/95 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862.

13 HBCA B.89/a/32 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal, 1862; B.89/a/33 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal, 1862-1863; B.89/a/34 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal, 1863.

14 HBCA B.89/d/95 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862; B.89/d/108a Ile a la Crosse Post Journal, 1863-1866.

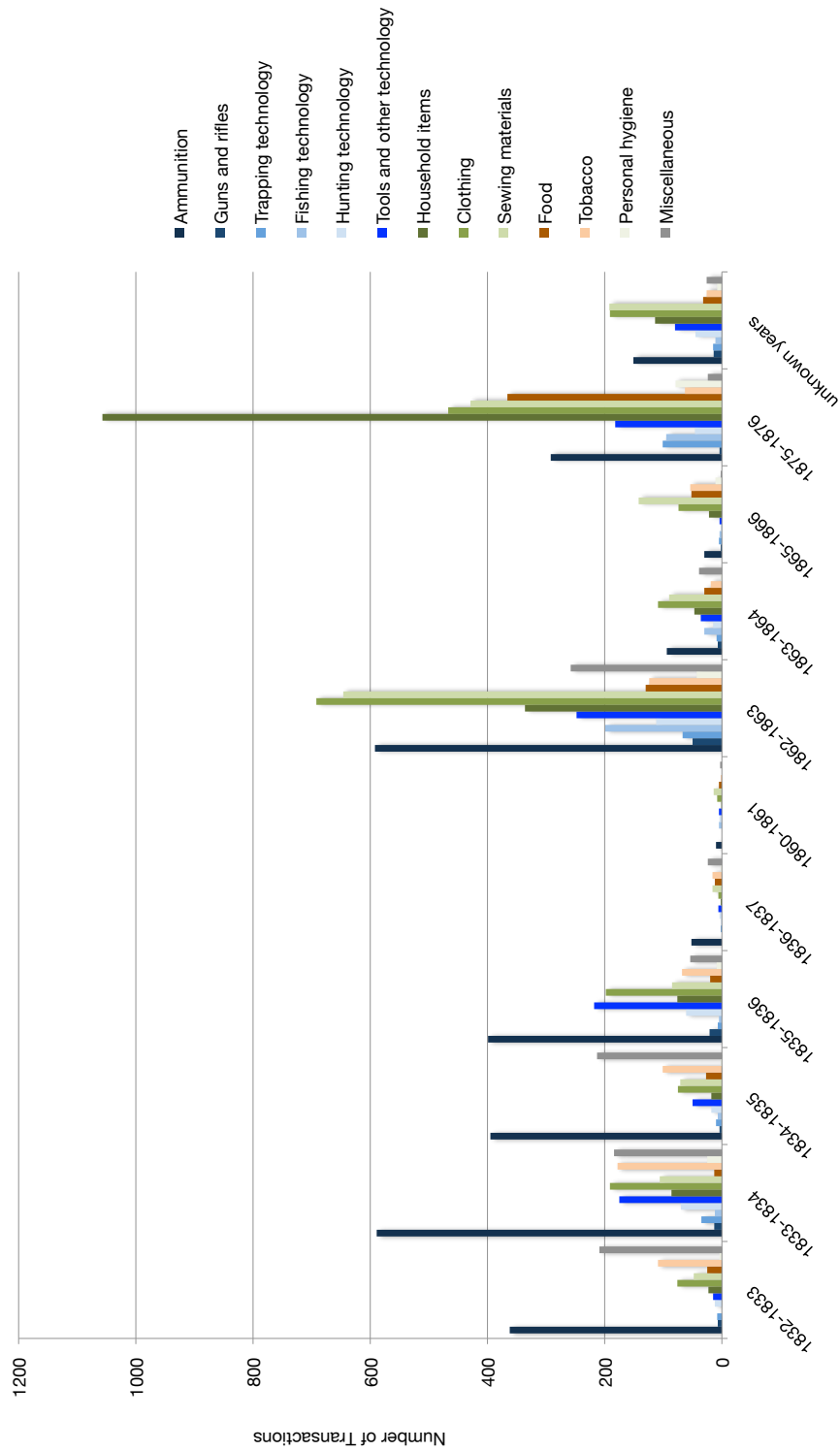
interaction demonstrated in the seasonal cycles do not correspond as closely to the transaction records in the Indian ledgers in other outfit years. Again, this would seem to reflect the fragmentary nature of the Indian ledger data.

Figure 7.2 presents the number of items purchased by Indians each year at the Ile a la Crosse post, organized by category. Figure 7.3 presents the same data as a percentage of the total transactions in each year. These data show an interesting shift in purchasing preferences over time. In the 1830s, ammunition was the most frequently purchased item at Ile a la Crosse. By the 1860s, however, clothing or sewing materials had replaced ammunition as the most commonly purchased item. Finally, by 1875-1876, household items had become the most commonly purchased item.<sup>15</sup> Given the importance of hunting in the Cree, Dene and Métis economy, it is not surprising that ammunition was a key item of trade, and even in the years when it was not the most commonly traded item, it was still purchased frequently. However, the shift in purchasing preferences to sewing materials, clothing and household items over the years, suggests the influence the fur trade had on the lifestyle of the Indigenous peoples in the region. It would seem that by the 1860s at least, an increasing number of European style items were being incorporated into the Indigenous peoples' lifestyle, either by choice or by necessity as the game and fur-bearer populations in the region began to decline.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Household items included blankets, comforters, buffalo robes, pots, pans, kettles, tea pots, cups, mugs, plates, knives and forks, lamps, etc.

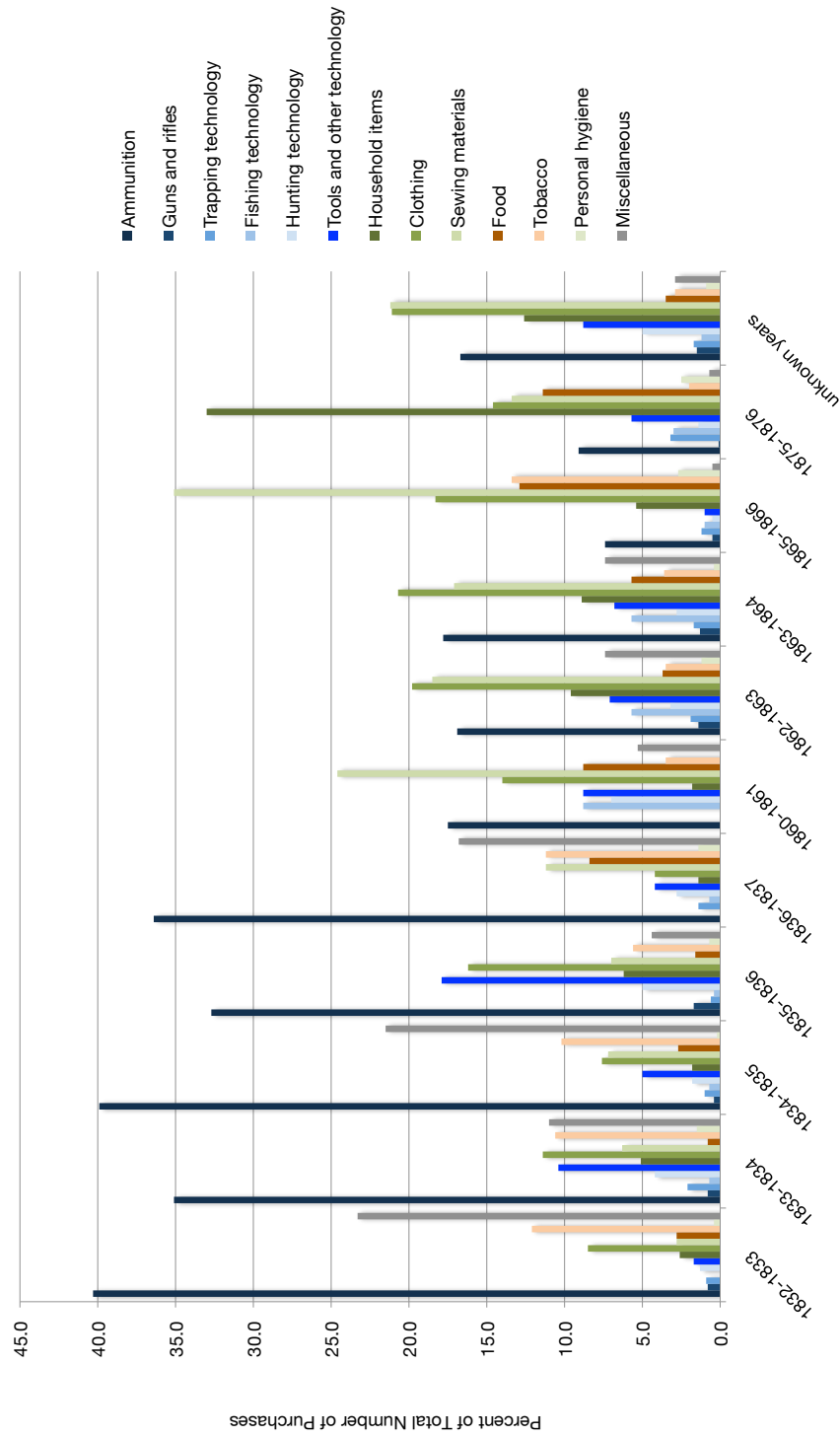
<sup>16</sup> Discussion of a decline in the fur-bearer and game animal populations in the region can be found in much of the post journals and correspondence from Ile a la Crosse. See for example, HBCA, B.89/a/29 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1855-1856, 19 June 1855, 8, 12, 17, 21, 23 and 31 July 1855, and 1, 6, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, and 21 August 1855; B.89/a/31 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1860-1861, 23 October 1860, 17 December 1860, 6 and 16 January 1861, 13 and 27 March 1861, and 1 and 17 May 1861; B.89/a/33 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1862-1863, 10 December 1862; B.89/c/4 Ile a la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1872-1875, letter dated Ile a la Crosse 20 January 1872 to Donald A. Smith, Chief Commissioner from Samuel McKenzie, fo. 2; letter dated Ile a la Crosse English River District, 1 June 1872, Report to the Chief Commissioner, fo. 11; letter dated Green Lake Store, 9 September 1873, to Donald A. Smith from W. McMurray, fo. 44-45; and,

**Figure 7.2 Number of Items Purchased by Indians, Organized by Category, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1832 - 1876**



Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837; B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862; B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1866; and B.89/d/188, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1875-1876

**Figure 7.3 Proportion of the Number of Items Purchased by Indians, Organized by Category, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1832 - 1876**



Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837; B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862; B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1866; and B.89/d/188, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1875-1876

Table 7.2 presents the cost of items purchased by Indians at the Ile a la Crosse post between 1832 and 1876. From 1832 to 1866, the Indian ledgers were recorded in the HBC's unit of value, the made beaver (MB). After that, the Indian ledgers were recorded in pounds sterling (£). Although the MB had a theoretical value (the value of a prime beaver pelt), the actual value of the MB varied by year, by post and by trade item. Thus, a trade item that was priced at 1 shilling in the Ile a la Crosse post inventories was sold to Indians for anywhere from less than ½ MB to more than 3 MB. In order to compare the cost of items purchased over time, the MB values have been converted to pounds sterling using an average value of the £:MB ratio for each outfit year.<sup>17</sup> Figure 7.4 presents the total cost of all purchases by Indians over time. The cost of items purchased show similar trends over time as the number of items purchased, with some minor variations. As with the number of transactions, the cost of items purchased remained relatively stable over time if one takes into consideration the limited number of transactions recorded for outfit years that fell at the beginning or end of a particular ledger. Again, much like the number of transactions, the total cost of items purchased seems to increase in the 1860s and 1870s. Again, however, as the amount of time spent at the post by Indians does not increase dramatically in the 1860s, it is not clear if this increase in cost of items purchased reflects an actual increase in the amount being spent at the post or simply more detailed and complete accounting of transactions in the ledgers.

B.89/c/6 Ile a la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1877-1881, letter dated Ile a la Crosse 14 January 1878, to James A. Grahame from Ewen Macdonald, fo. 61-63. One letter in particular noted that as a result of the scarcity of game and fur-bearing animals in the region, the post was required to provide more provisions and ammunition to induce the Indians to go further afield to hunt and trap. The provision of ammunition during times of hardship might also provide an explanation why ammunition was no longer the most frequently purchased item at Ile a la Crosse in the later years. B.89/c/6 Ile a la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1877-1881, letter dated Isle a La Crosse English River District, 1 June 1880 to James A. Grahame from Ewen Macdonald, fo. 145-146.

<sup>17</sup> For a more detailed discussion of the conversion of MB to pounds sterling, please refer to Chapter 3 Methodology.



Table 7.2 Cost of Items Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1832 - 1876

Category of Item	1832-1833			1833-1834			1834-1835			1835-1836			1836-1837			1860-1861															
	Value of Items Purchased			Value of Items Purchased			Value of Items Purchased			Value of Items Purchased			Value of Items Purchased			Value of Items Purchased															
	£	s	d	total	In d	Percent of Total	£	s	d	total	In d	Percent of Total	£	s	d	total	In d	Percent of Total													
Ammunition	47	16	8	11,480	16.7%	82	3	4	19,720	22.3%	58	5	--	13,980	15.2%	96	18	2	23,258	29.8%	8	6	6	1,998	28.4%	2	5	5	545	26.2%	
Guns and rifles	3	6	8	800	1.2%	8	11	1	2,053	2.3%	1	5	7	307	0.3%	15	--	--	3,600	6.2%	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	
Trapping technology	1	16	8	440	0.6%	6	3	4	1,480	1.7%	1	13	4	400	0.4%	1	13	9	405	0.7%	--	--	--	108	1.5%	--	--	--	--	--	
Fishing technology	--	--	--	--	--	2	9	5	593	0.7%	1	3	4	280	0.3%	1	5	--	300	0.5%	--	--	--	48	0.7%	--	11	10	142	6.8%	
Hunting technology	--	8	4	100	0.1%	2	8	4	580	0.7%	--	11	1	133	0.1%	2	11	3	615	1.1%	--	--	--	36	0.5%	--	3	2	38	1.8%	
Tools and other technology	--	15	--	180	0.3%	10	2	9	2,433	2.8%	4	4	5	1,013	1.1%	14	4	5	3,413	5.9%	--	--	--	78	1.1%	--	4	7	55	2.6%	
Household items	7	7	3	1,767	2.6%	28	2	9	6,753	7.6%	4	16	8	1,160	1.3%	31	16	3	7,635	13.1%	--	--	--	60	0.9%	--	6	4	76	3.7%	
Clothing, total	10	7	9	2,493	3.6%	33	3	4	7,960	9.0%	12	--	--	2,880	3.1%	34	19	5	8,393	14.4%	--	--	--	192	2.7%	1	--	--	240	11.5%	
Clothing, unspecified	10	7	9	2,493	3.6%	31	12	3	7,587	8.6%	10	6	8	2,480	2.7%	34	6	11	8,243	14.1%	--	--	--	192	2.7%	1	--	--	240	11.5%	
Clothing, men's	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	240	0.3%	1	13	4	400	0.4%	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	
Clothing, women's	--	--	--	--	--	--	11	1	133	0.2%	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	150	0.3%	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Clothing, children's	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Sewing materials	8	3	4	1,960	2.9%	28	4	5	6,773	7.7%	8	3	11	1,967	2.1%	23	7	6	5,610	9.6%	1	4	--	288	4.1%	2	17	3	687	33.1%	
Food, total	11	10	--	2,760	4.0%	8	1	1	1,933	2.2%	18	4	5	4,373	4.8%	7	18	9	1,905	3.3%	6	8	--	1,536	21.9%	--	11	10	142	6.8%	
Food, imported	--	4	5	53	0.1%	--	--	1	13	0.01%	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	11	10	142	6.8%
Food, country produce	11	5	7	2,707	3.9%	8	--	--	1,920	2.2%	18	4	5	4,373	4.8%	7	18	9	1,905	3.3%	6	8	--	1,536	21.9%	--	--	--	--	--	
Tobacco	11	10	7	2,767	4.0%	23	12	9	5,673	6.4%	12	4	5	2,933	3.2%	9	7	6	2,250	3.9%	2	5	6	546	7.8%	--	4	7	55	2.6%	
Personal hygiene	--	8	4	100	0.1%	--	18	4	220	0.2%	--	1	8	20	0.02%	--	8	9	105	0.2%	--	--	--	18	0.3%	--	--	--	--	--	--
Miscellaneous	182	2	9	43,713	63.8%	134	3	4	32,000	36.4%	260	6	1	62,473	68.0%	28	10	--	68,400	11.7%	8	16	6	2,118	30.1%	--	8	2	98	4.7%	
<b>Total</b>	<b>285</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>68,560</b>		<b>368</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>88,371</b>		<b>382</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>91,919</b>		<b>243</b>	<b>--</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>58,328</b>		<b>29</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7,026</b>		<b>8</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2,078</b>		

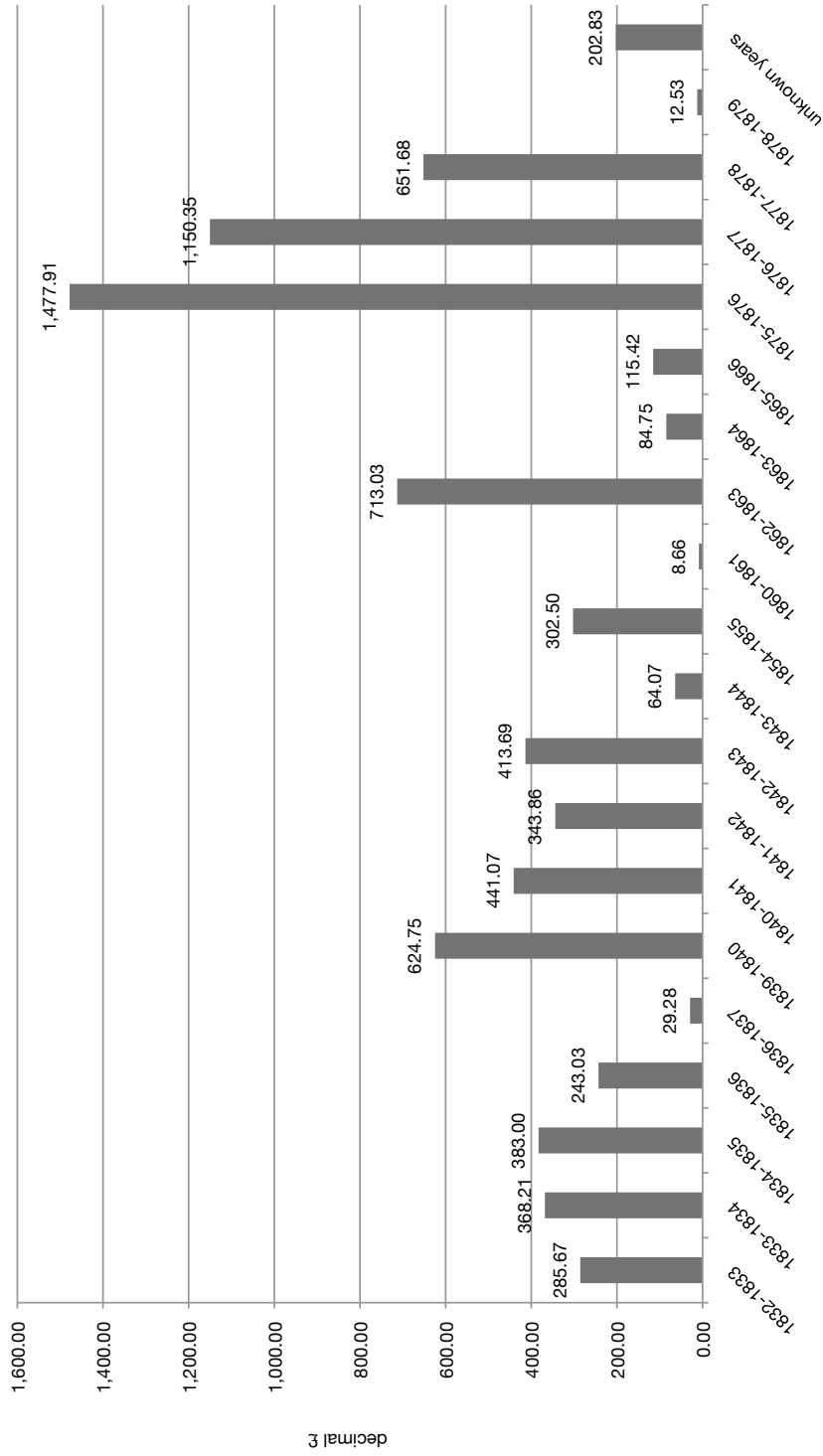
Source: HBCA B.69/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837; B.69/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1860-1861; B.69/d/188, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1875-1876

Table 7.2 Cost of Items Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1832 - 1876, continued

Category of Item	1862-1863				1863-1864				1865-1866				1875-1876				Unknown Years				Total of all Years										
	Value of Items Purchased		Percent of Total		Value of Items Purchased		Percent of Total		Value of Items Purchased		Percent of Total		Value of Items Purchased		Percent of Total		Value of Items Purchased		Percent of Total		Value of Items Purchased		Percent of Total								
	£	s d	total in d	£	s	d	total in d	£	s	d	total in d	£	s	d	total in d	£	s	d	total in d	£	s	d	total in d								
Ammunition	116	16	6	25,038	16.4%	15	17	6	3,810	18.7%	4	4	6	1,014	3.7%	110	15	6	26,586	7.5%	25	6	8	6,080	12.5%	568	15	9	136,509	14.5%	
Guns and rifles	43	--	--	10,320	6.0%	4	3	4	1,000	4.9%	--	17	--	204	0.7%	26	10	--	6,360	1.8%	12	10	--	3,000	6.2%	115	3	8	27,644	2.9%	
Trapping technology	11	18	6	2,862	1.7%	1	5	--	300	1.5%	--	17	6	210	0.8%	42	10	--	10,200	2.9%	4	5	7	1,027	2.1%	72	12	8	17,432	1.9%	
Fishing technology	26	--	--	6,240	3.6%	3	9	7	835	4.1%	3	11	8	860	3.1%	42	17	11	10,295	2.9%	1	9	5	353	0.7%	83	2	2	19,946	2.1%	
Hunting technology	5	6	--	1,272	0.7%	--	10	5	125	0.8%	--	1	--	12	0.04%	7	15	1	1,861	0.5%	2	4	5	533	1.1%	22	2	1	5,205	0.6%	
Tools and other technology	18	11	4	4,456	2.6%	2	16	3	675	3.3%	--	10	--	120	0.4%	71	2	2	17,066	4.8%	7	12	3	1,827	3.8%	130	9	8	31,316	3.3%	
Household items	83	13	--	20,076	11.7%	8	9	7	2,035	10.0%	20	10	6	4,926	17.8%	168	9	7	40,435	11.4%	29	13	4	1,720	14.6%	361	--	3	86,643	9.2%	
Clothing, total	134	4	--	32,208	18.8%	18	3	4	4,360	21.4%	17	13	--	4,236	15.3%	240	5	--	57,660	16.3%	38	12	3	9,267	19.0%	543	14	1	130,489	13.9%	
Clothing, unspecified	108	5	6	25,974	15.2%	12	14	2	3,050	15.0%	12	16	--	3,072	11.1%	124	7	6	29,850	8.4%	31	3	4	7,480	15.4%	380	5	1	91,261	9.7%	
Clothing, men's	13	11	6	3,258	1.9%	4	4	2	1,010	5.0%	2	1	--	492	1.8%	67	1	--	16,092	4.5%	5	10	--	1,320	2.7%	95	1	--	22,812	2.4%	
Clothing, women's	122	--	--	2,868	1.7%	1	5	2	300	1.5%	2	16	--	672	2.4%	39	17	--	9,564	2.7%	1	18	11	467	1.0%	58	19	6	14,154	1.5%	
Clothing, children's	--	9	--	108	0.1%	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	8	19	6	2,154	0.6%	--	--	--	--	--	9	8	6	2,262	0.2%	
Sewing materials	122	--	6	29,286	17.1%	14	10	5	3,485	17.1%	50	18	1	12,217	44.1%	294	19	4	70,792	20.0%	40	--	--	--	9,600	19.7%	591	18	9	142,065	15.1%
Food, total	37	7	--	8,964	5.2%	6	16	8	1,640	8.1%	6	18	--	1,656	6.0%	340	14	10	81,778	23.1%	14	7	9	3,453	7.1%	458	18	4	110,140	11.7%	
Food, imported	26	3	--	6,276	3.7%	4	6	8	1,040	5.1%	6	9	8	1,556	5.6%	295	6	4	70,876	20.0%	3	7	9	813	1.7%	336	10	9	80,769	8.6%	
Food, country produce	11	4	--	2,688	1.6%	2	10	--	600	3.0%	--	8	4	100	0.4%	45	8	6	10,902	3.1%	11	--	--	2,640	5.4%	122	7	7	29,371	3.1%	
Tobacco	18	4	--	4,386	2.6%	3	3	4	760	3.7%	8	3	6	1,962	7.1%	40	15	2	9,782	2.8%	4	3	11	1,007	2.1%	133	16	9	32,121	3.4%	
Personal hygiene	2	6	--	552	0.3%	--	1	8	20	0.1%	--	12	6	150	0.5%	8	9	9	2,037	0.6%	--	6	8	80	0.2%	13	15	2	3,302	0.4%	
Miscellaneous	93	12	4	22,468	13.1%	5	7	6	1,290	6.3%	--	11	--	132	0.5%	82	13	10	19,846	5.6%	22	4	5	5,333	11.0%	818	15	11	196,511	20.9%	
<b>Total</b>	<b>713</b>	<b>--</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>171,127</b>		<b>84</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>--</b>	<b>20,340</b>		<b>115</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>27,700</b>		<b>1,477</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>354,698</b>		<b>202</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>48,680</b>		<b>3,911</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>938,827</b>		

Source: HECA B.88/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837; B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862; B.89/d/188a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1866; B.89/d/188, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1875-1876

**Figure 7.4 Total Cost of Items Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1832 - 1879**



Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837; B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862; B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1866; and B.89/d/188, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1875-1876

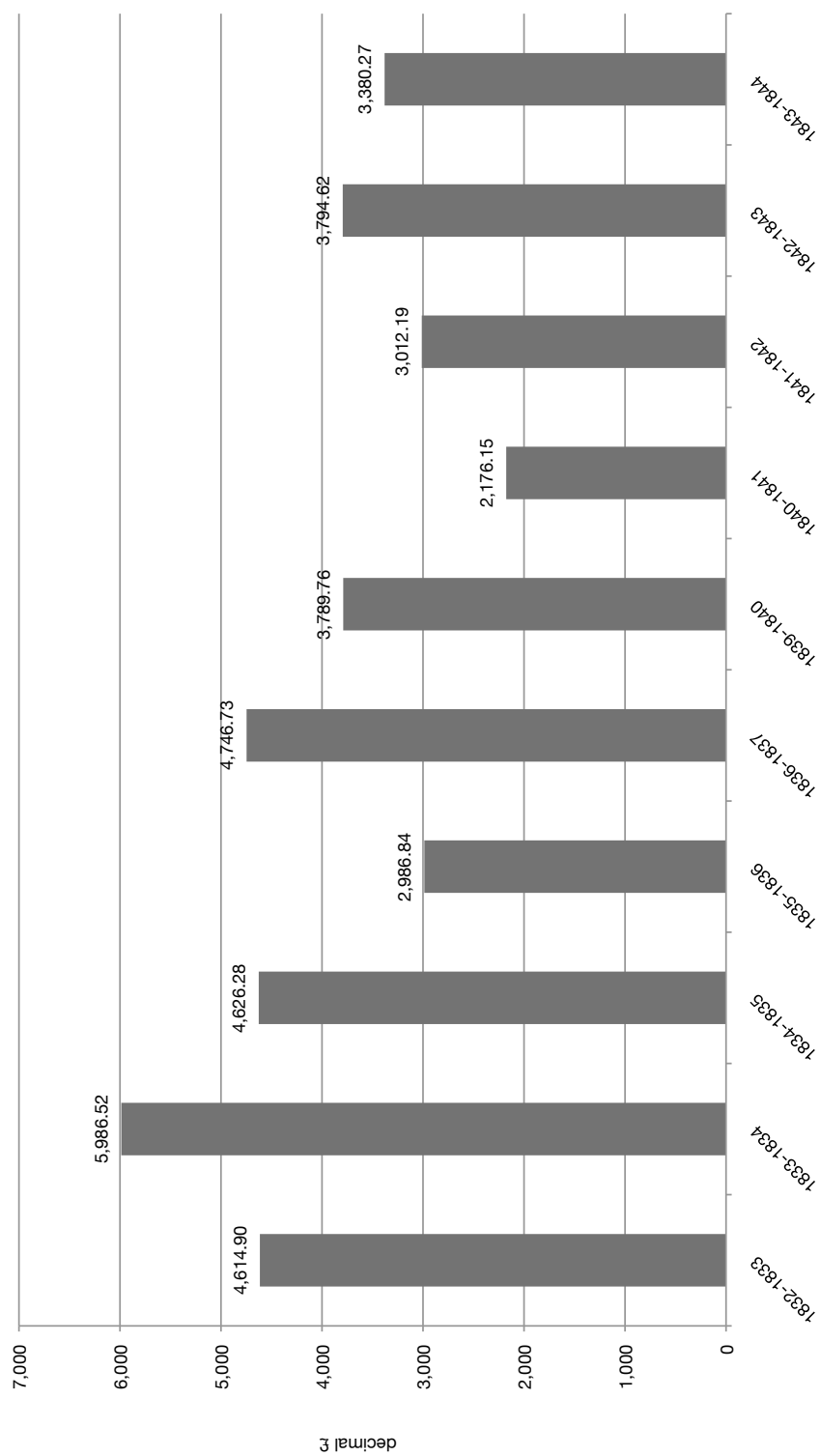
Until the 1840s, the district account ledgers kept at Ile a la Crosse recorded profit and loss statements (“apparent gain”) for each outfit year for the English River District (which would have included the other posts and outposts in the district, not just Ile a la Crosse). Figure 7.5 presents the apparent gain for Ile a la Crosse post from 1832 to 1844. While there is fluctuation in the recorded profit of the post from year to year, the fluctuations are not as extreme as what seems to be represented by the total cost of items purchased by Indians at the post for this same time period. The differences between the fluctuations shown in the profit and loss statements and the cost of items purchased by Indians again suggests that the Indian ledgers are fragmentary and do not represent all of the transactions between Indians and the HBC in the English River District. Most likely, transactions made at various outposts and at trappers’ camps were not recorded in these ledgers, and thus the ledgers under-represent the participation of Indigenous peoples in the fur trade in this region.

Figure 7.6 presents the cost of items purchased by Indians at the Ile a la Crosse post, organized by category, and Figure 7.7 presents the same data as a percent of the total value of purchases.<sup>18</sup> The cost of transactions follows a very similar pattern as the number of transactions, with one exception. In the 1830s, the items Indians spent the most on were classified as miscellaneous, except in 1835-1836 when they spent the most on ammunition. In these years, many of the entries were simply listed as “sundries,” and thus it was not possible to determine exactly what the Indians were purchasing. In other cases, the items were detailed, but a total cost was provided for an entire list and not each item. Thus, it was not

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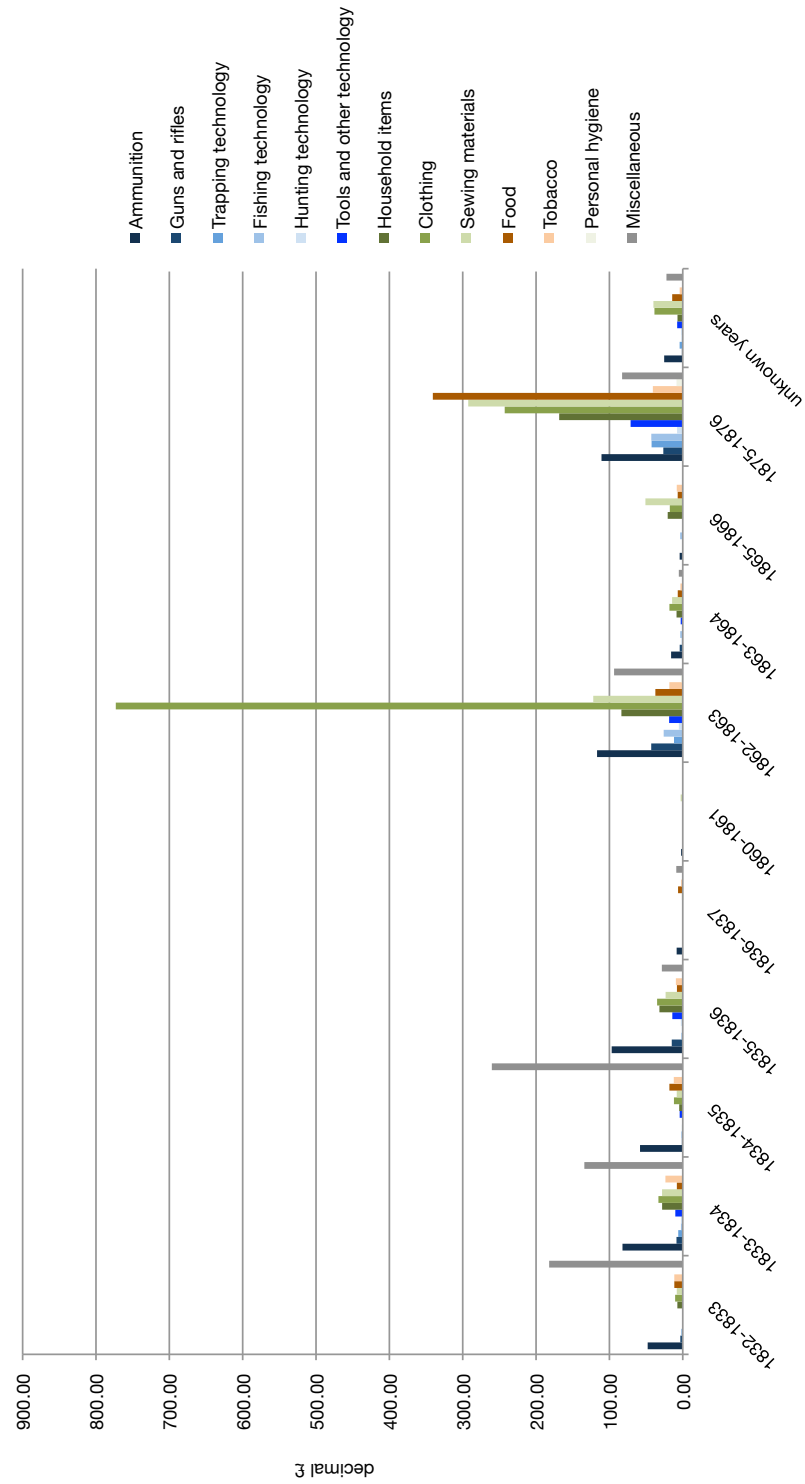
<sup>18</sup> The pounds sterling values in Figures 7.4, 7.5 and 7.6 have been converted to decimal pounds for ease of calculation with percentages and for presentation purposes.

**Figure 7.5 Apparent Gain, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1832 - 1844**



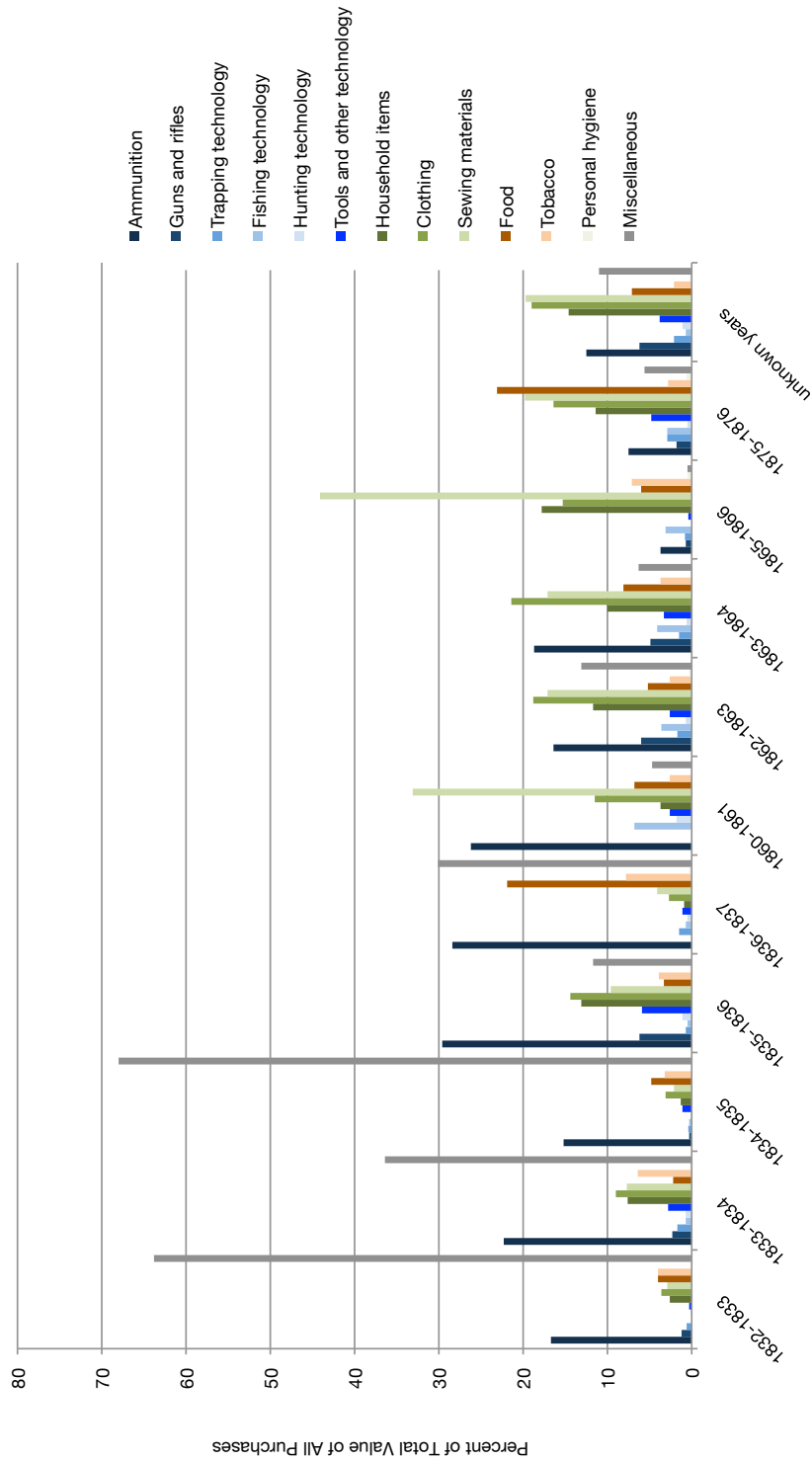
Source: HBCA B.89/d/34 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1833; B.89/d/36 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1833-1834; B.89/d/38 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1834-1835; B.89/d/40 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1835-1836; B.89/d/43b Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1836-1837; B.89/d/49 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1839-1840; B.89/d/52 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1840-1841; B.89/d/53 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1841-1842; B.89/d/57 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1842-1843; B.89/d/60 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1843-1844.

**Figure 7.6 Cost of Items Purchased by Indians, Organized by Category, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1832 - 1876**



Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837; B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862; B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1866; and B.89/d/188, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1875-1876

**Figure 7.7 Proportion of the Cost of Items Purchased by Indians, Organized by Category, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1832 - 1876**



Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837; B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862; B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1866; and B.89/d/188, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1875-1876

possible to determine how much was being spent on any particular item in these cases. Less often, Indians were paying for the blacksmith and post employees to repair various types of equipment for them (particularly traps, axes, and other metal items). All of these items were classified as miscellaneous. However, in each case that miscellaneous items were the highest cost of transactions, ammunition was the second highest cost.

Much like the figures for the number of transactions, by the 1860s Indians were spending the most on sewing materials or clothing items. By 1875-1876, however, Indians were spending the most on food, even though the most frequent item purchased was household items. In fact, in this outfit year, Indians spent more on food, sewing materials and clothing than on household items. Thus, even though household items were more commonly purchased, these items had a much lower cost than other trade goods. The food that was purchased this outfit year can also be divided into country produce (items that were grown or made in the region) or imported food (items that were grown or made outside of the region).<sup>19</sup> Indians spent considerably more on imported foods in this outfit year rather than on country produce, even though this was opposite of earlier years (i.e. the 1830s). Again, it would seem that overtime, certain European items (mainly clothing, sewing materials and food) were well incorporated into the Indigenous peoples' lifestyles by the mid-nineteenth century.

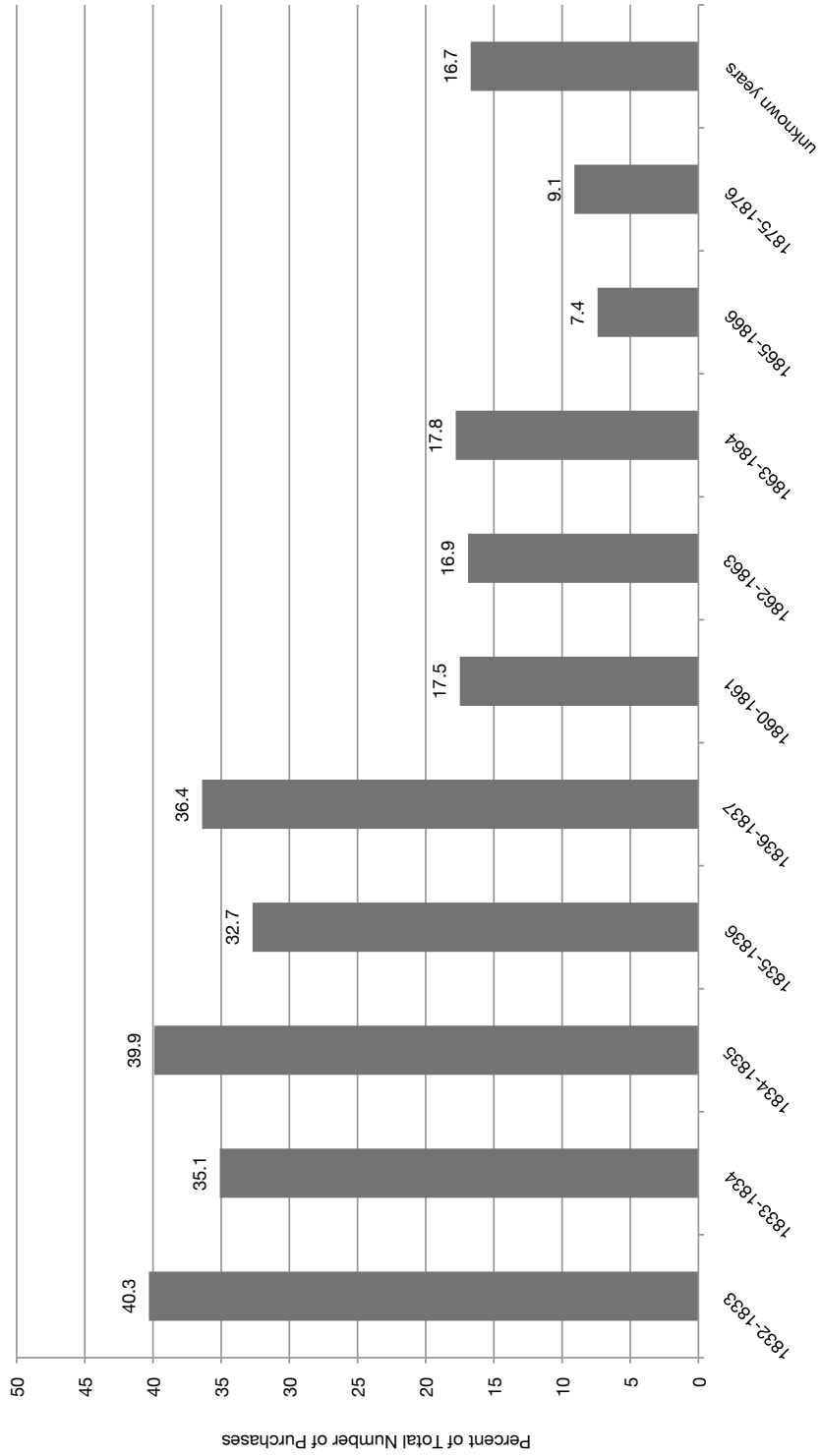
A number of individual categories of items show some interesting trends over this time period as well. For example, the number of times that Indians purchased ammunition at the Ile a la Crosse post declined over time (see Figure 7.8). The

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<sup>19</sup> Country produce included such items as pemmican, grease, barley, potatoes, and Athabasca salt. Imported food included such items as tea, sugar, flour, chocolate, raisins, peppermint, cured pork, and pepper.



**Figure 7.8 Proportion of Times Ammunition was Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1832 - 1876**



Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837; B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862; B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1866; and B.89/d/188, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1875-1876

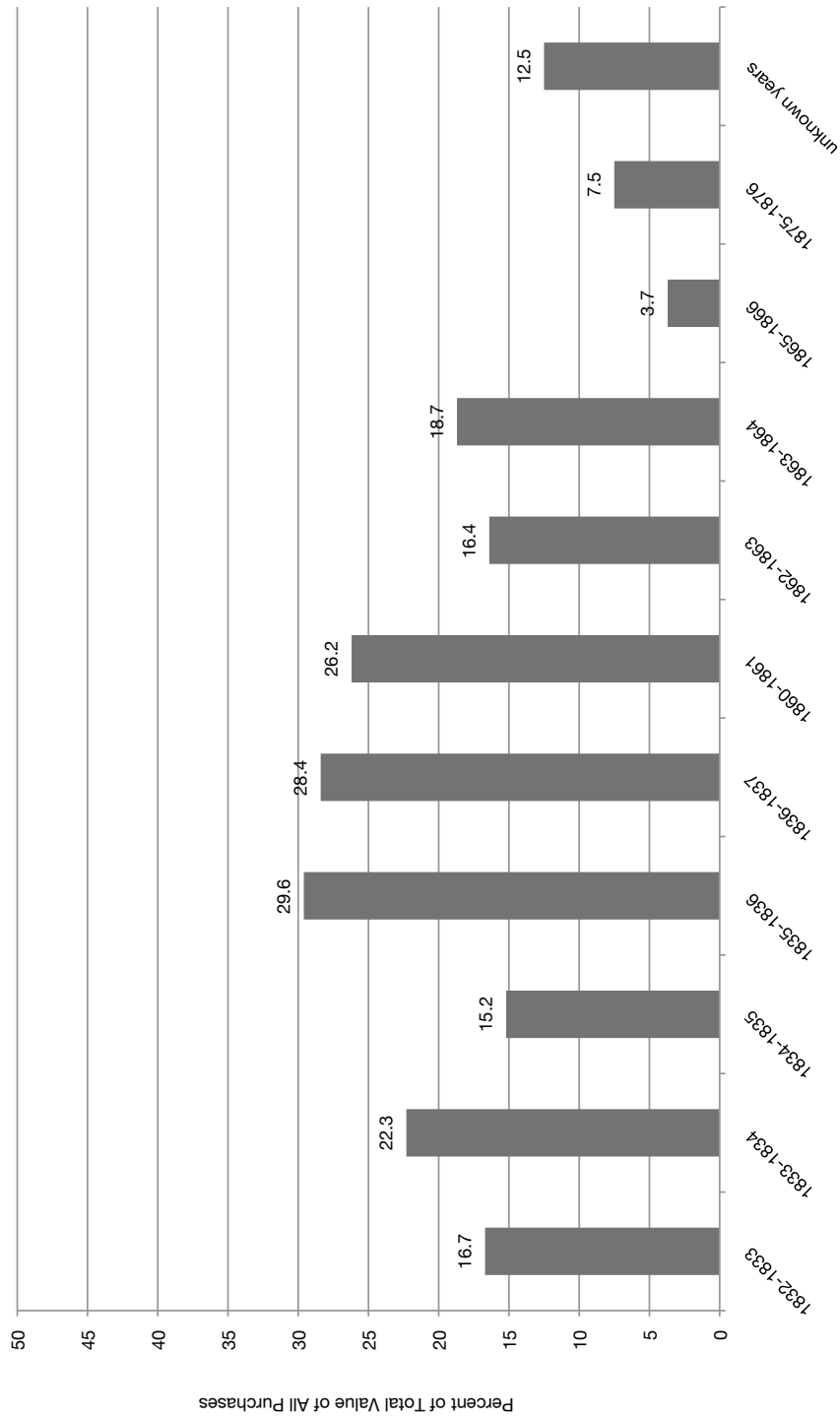
cost of ammunition purchased by Indians shows a similar trend, although the high proportion of miscellaneous items in the 1830s likely explains why the costs do not fluctuate in exactly the same manner as the number of transactions (see Figure 7.9). As was mentioned previously, as game and fur-bearing animal populations declined in the region over time, the Ile a la Crosse post provided more ammunition as gifts to encourage the Indians to continue hunting and trapping further away from the post and their main camps.<sup>20</sup> Considering that the volume and cost of trade seemed to increase in the 1870s, it would seem unlikely that the Indians were hunting and trapping less; thus, it would seem plausible that the provision of more ammunition to the Indians by the post might explain why they were purchasing it less often over time. However, at the same time that there was a decline in the volume and cost of the trade in ammunition, there was an increase in the volume and cost of trade in fishing technology, particularly twine and net thread (see Figures 7.10 and 7.11). So, it is also possible that a decline in the game and fur-bearer populations caused the local Indigenous peoples to depend more on fish, at least in the 1860s. The post journals also noted unusual weather patterns that kept the local lakes open much later than usual in the 1860-1861 outfit year and noted that the buffalo were a long way from Ile a la Crosse in December 1862, the years in which fishing technology was purchased more frequently than other years.<sup>21</sup> These conditions might also have encouraged the Indigenous peoples to rely on fishing more than in previous years.

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20 See for example, B.89/c/6 Ile a la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1877-1881, letter dated Isle a La Crosse 1 June 1880 to James A. Grahame from Ewen Macdonald, fo. 145-146.

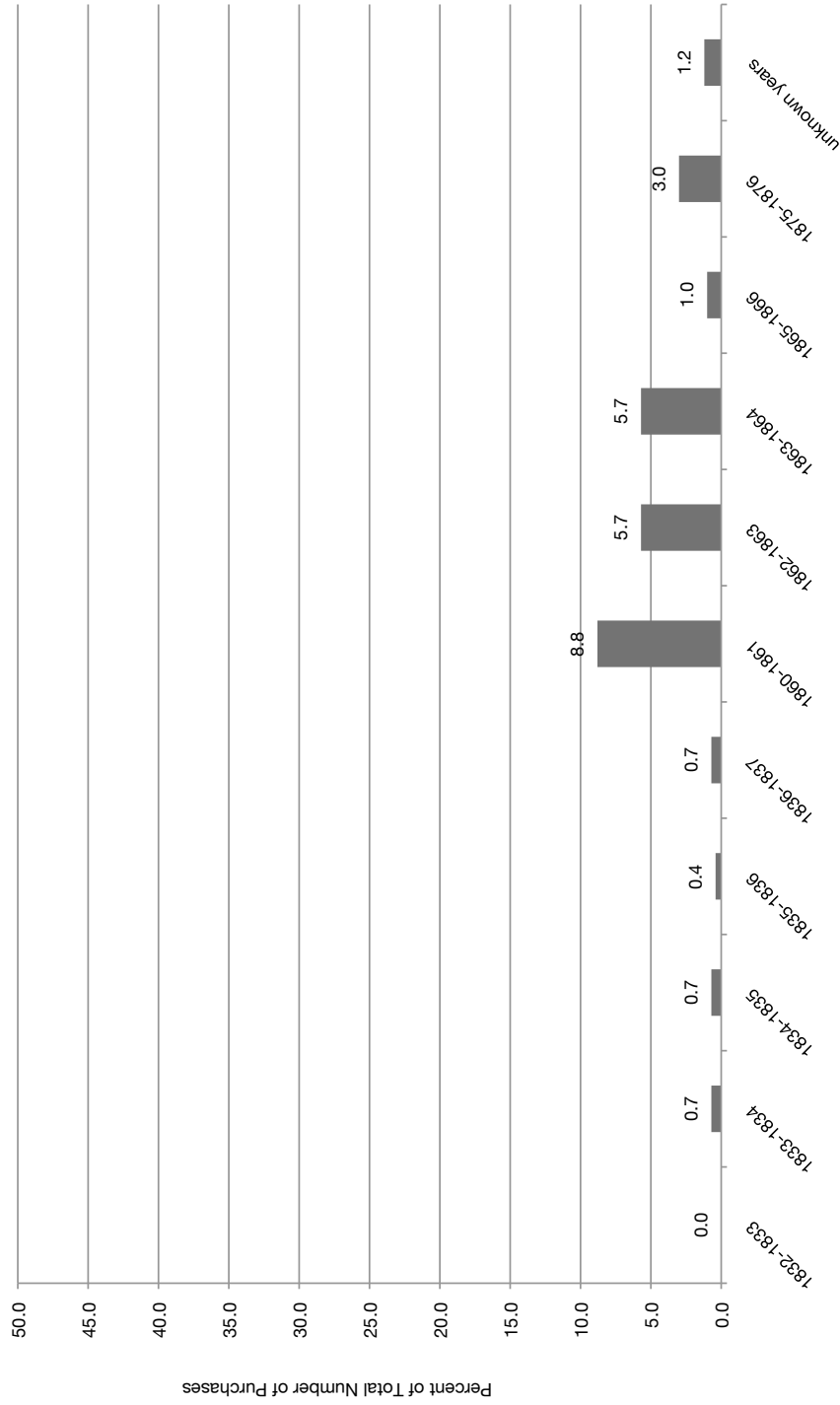
21 HBCA B.89/a/31 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1860-1861, 17 November 1860; B.89/a/33 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1862-1863, 10 December 1862.

**Figure 7.9 Proportion of the Cost of Ammunition Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1832 - 1876**



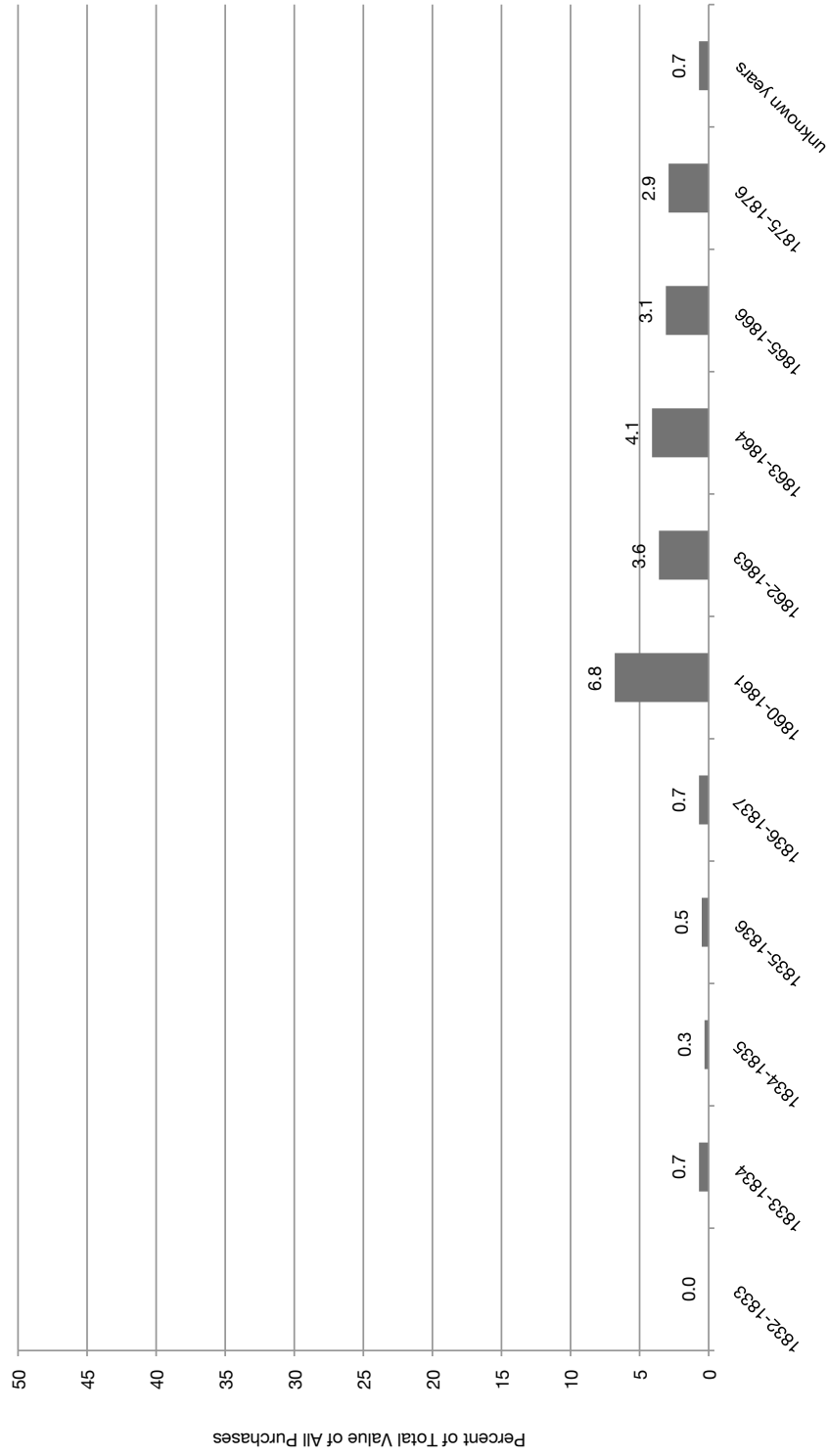
Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837; B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862; B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1866; and B.89/d/188, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1875-1876

**Figure 7.10 Proportion of the Number of Pieces of Fishing Technology Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1832 - 1876**



Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837; B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862; B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1866; and B.89/d/188, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1875-1876

**Figure 7.11 Proportion of the Cost of Fishing Technology Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1832 - 1876**



Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837; B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862; B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1866; and B.89/d/188, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1875-1876

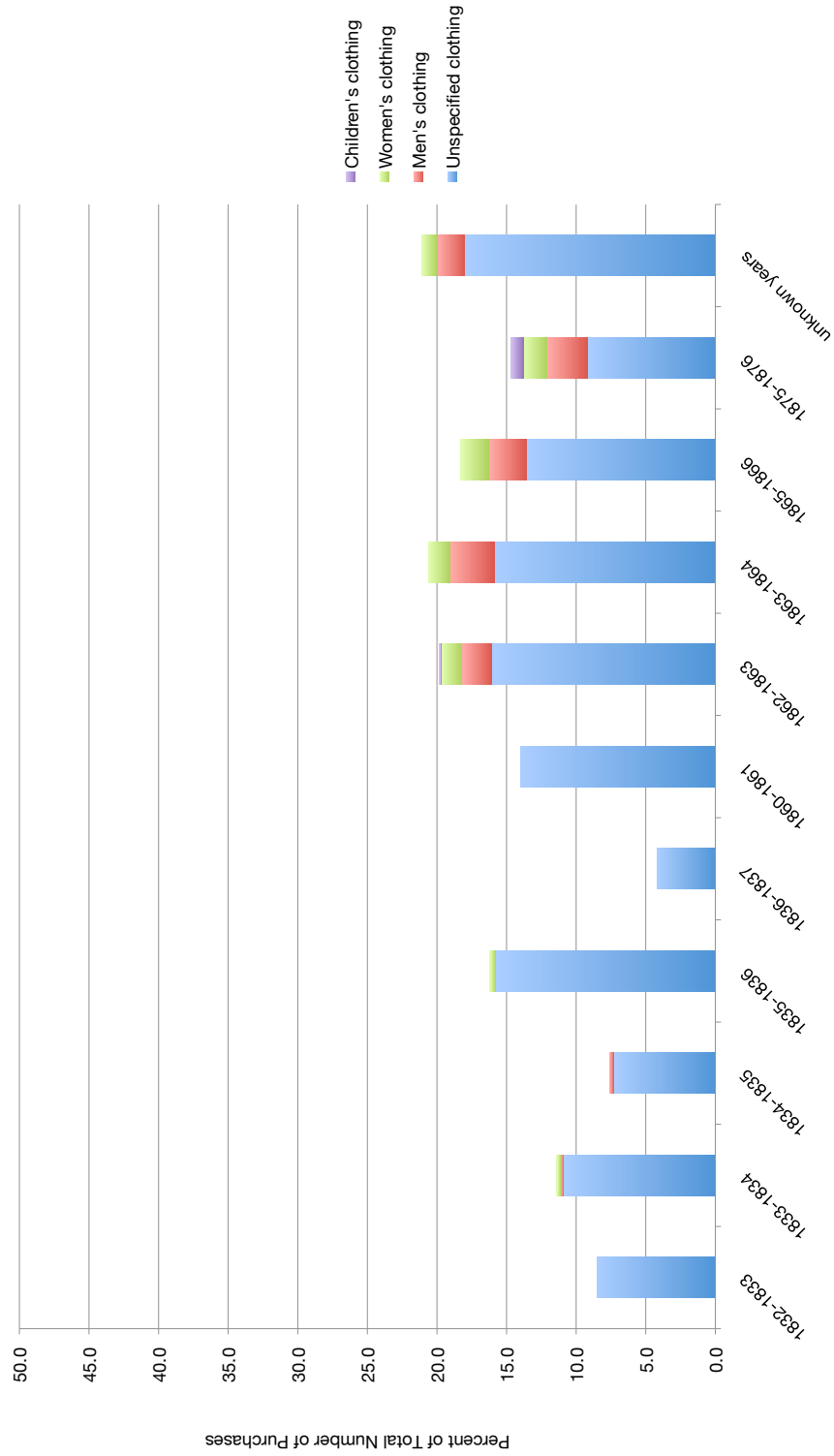
The number and total cost of clothing items purchased by Indians generally increased over time, although there may have been a small decline in the mid-1870s (see Figures 7.12 and 7.13). Even more noticeable is the increase in the number and cost of sewing materials purchased by Indians over time, although again there seems to be a decline in the mid-1870s (see Figures 7.14 and 7.15). It would seem that by the mid-1860s, the local Indigenous peoples had incorporated European-style clothing into their lifestyles, or were at least making regular use of European fabrics. This trend might reflect a general desire to use European fashions, or it might reflect a shift in the Indigenous economy to pursue the fur-bearers desired by the HBC more intensely than the larger game animals that had been used for food and clothing prior to their involvement in the fur trade.<sup>22</sup> It might also reflect a change in the resources available to the local Indigenous peoples as a result of natural population cycles or as a result of the intense pressures of trapping and hunting in the region over several decades.

The volume and cost of food items purchased by Indians at the Ile a la Crosse post generally increased over time as well (see Figures 7.16 and 7.17). There was also a shift from purchasing predominantly country produce to predominantly imported foods. Much like the clothing, this trend might reflect a shift in the desire to eat European-style foods or it might reflect a change in the resources available to the local Indigenous peoples after decades of pressure on local food sources by the Ile a la Crosse post and its various outposts, the Roman Catholic mission, and other trading posts and settlements in the region. It might also have become easier

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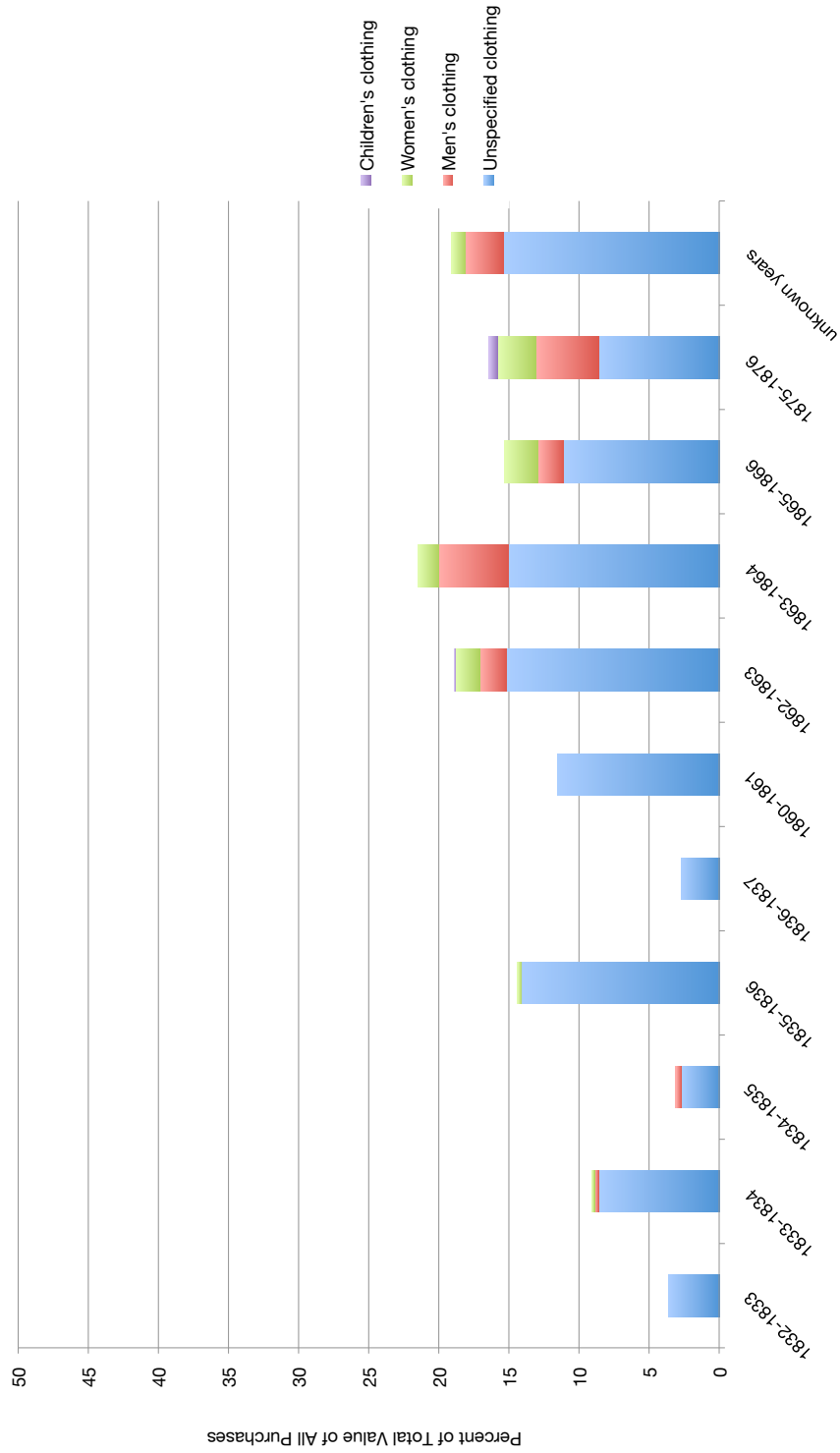
<sup>22</sup> Jarvenpa and Brumbach reached a similar conclusion in their study of Chipewyan trappers trading at the Ile a la Crosse Post in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, although they also suggest that the Chipewyan probably only wore such clothing during religious holidays and other special occasions in Ile a la Crosse. Jarvenpa and Brumbach, "Microeconomics of Southern Chipewyan," 170, 176.

**Figure 7.12 Proportion of the Number of Items of Clothing Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1832 - 1876**



Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837; B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862; B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1866; and B.89/d/188, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1875-1876

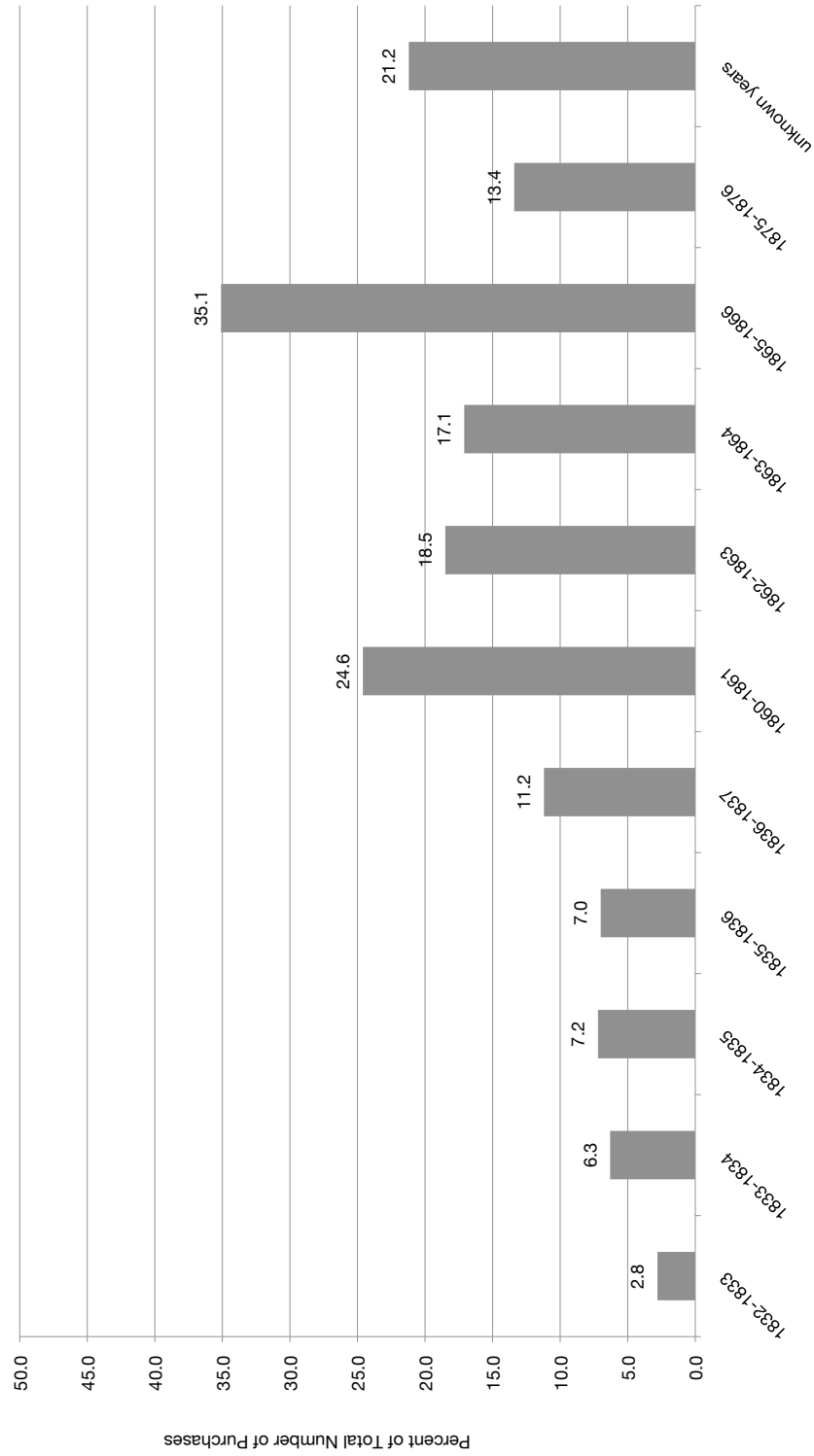
**Figure 7.13 Proportion of the Cost of Clothing Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1832 - 1876**



Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837; B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862; B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1866; and B.89/d/188, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1875-1876

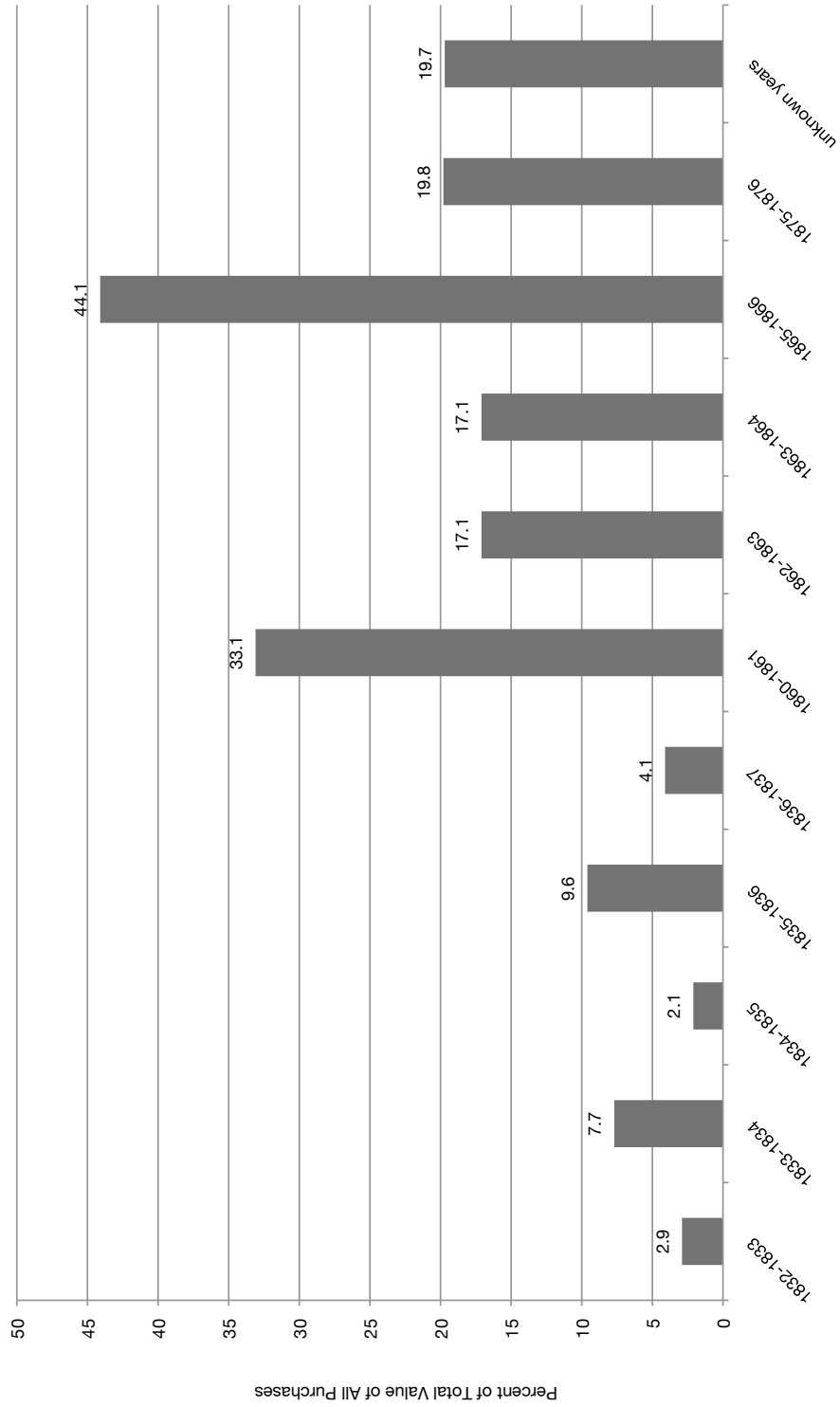


**Figure 7.14 Proportion of the Number of Items of Sewing Material Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1832 - 1876**



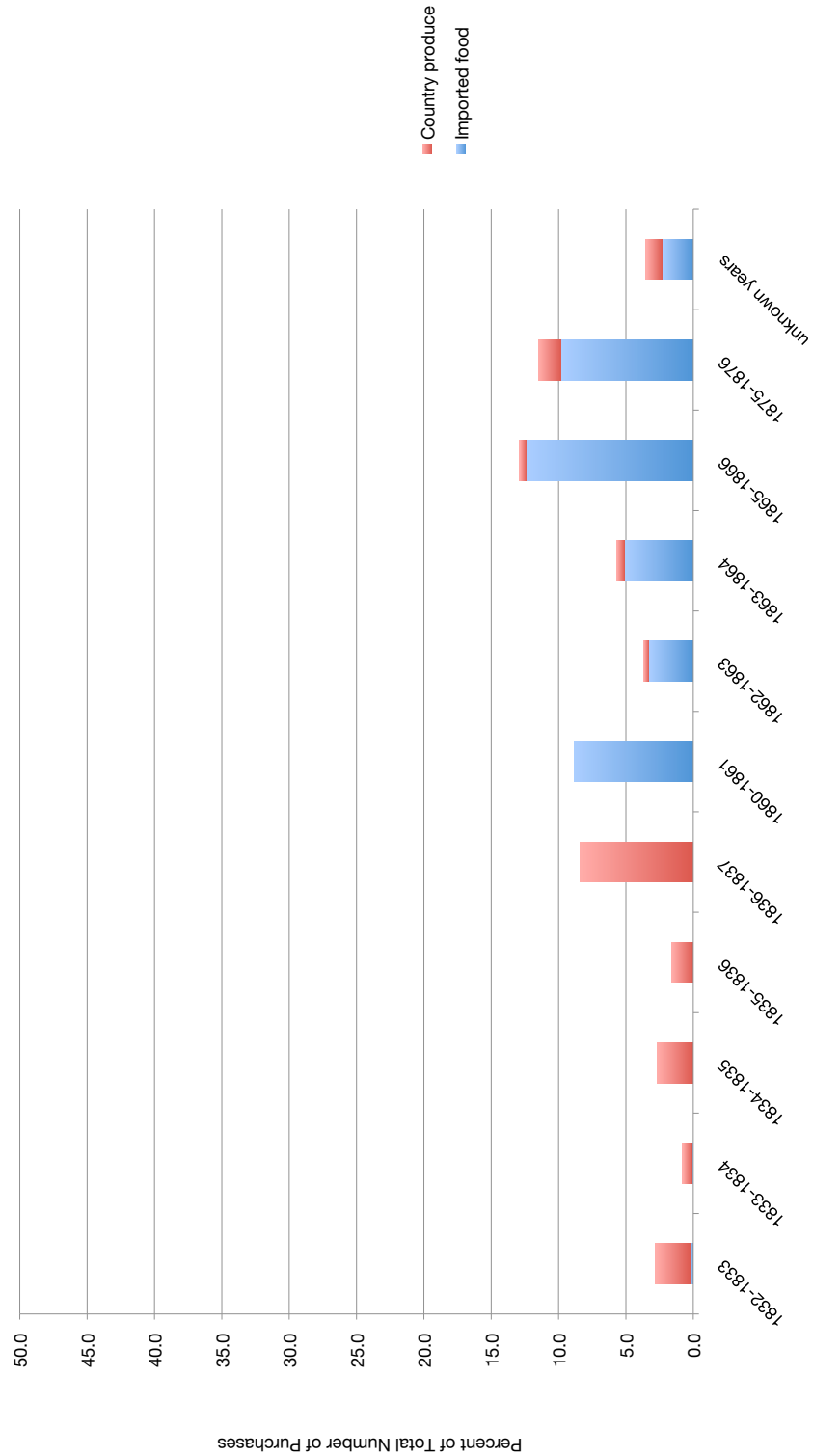
Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837; B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862; B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1866; and B.89/d/188, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1875-1876

**Figure 7.15 Proportion of the Cost of Sewing Materials Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1832 - 1876**



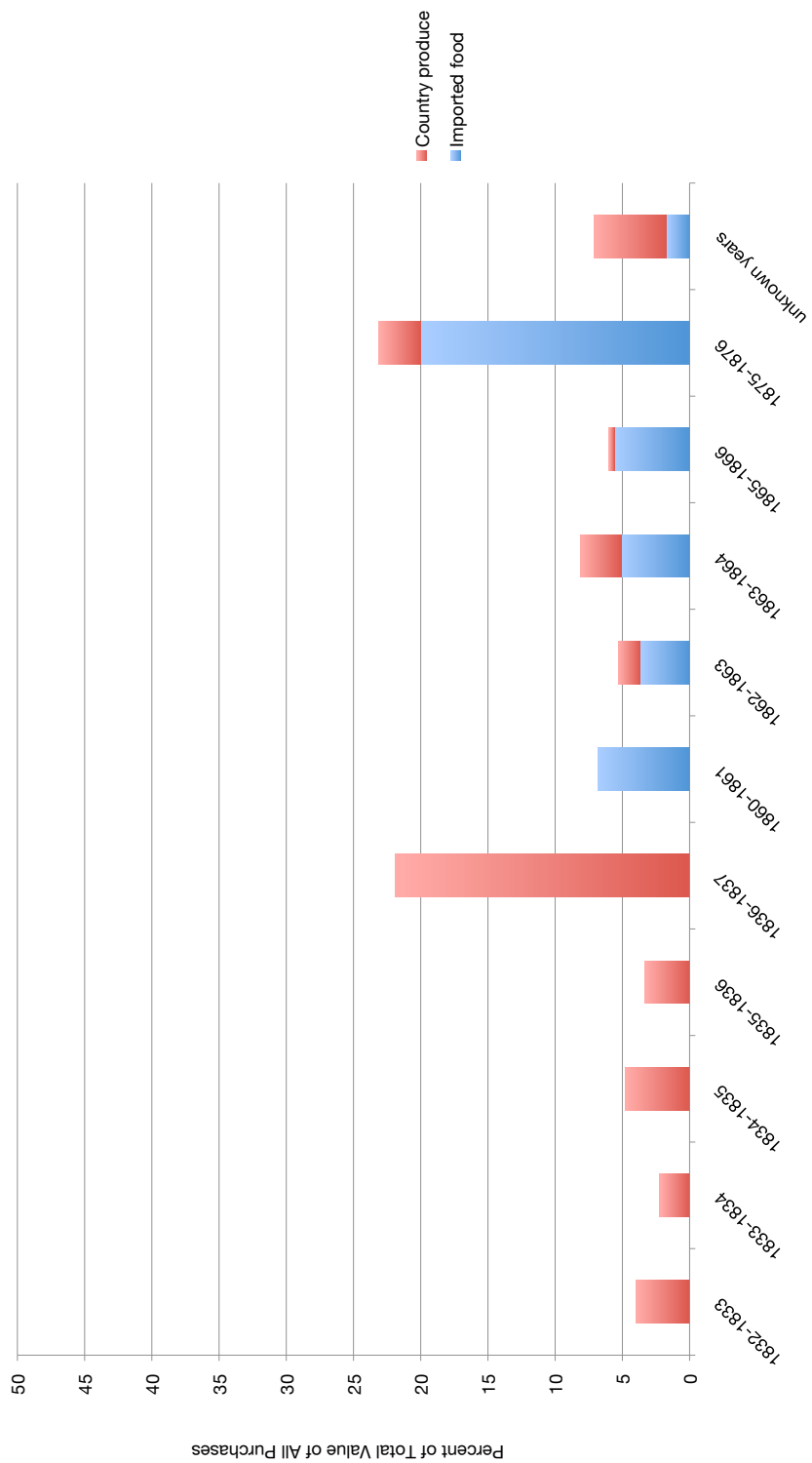
Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837; B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862; B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1866; and B.89/d/188, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1875-1876

**Figure 7.16 Proportion of the Number of Food Items Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1832 - 1876**



Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837; B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862; B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1866; and B.89/d/188, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1875-1876

**Figure 7.17 Proportion of the Cost of Food Items Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1832 - 1876**

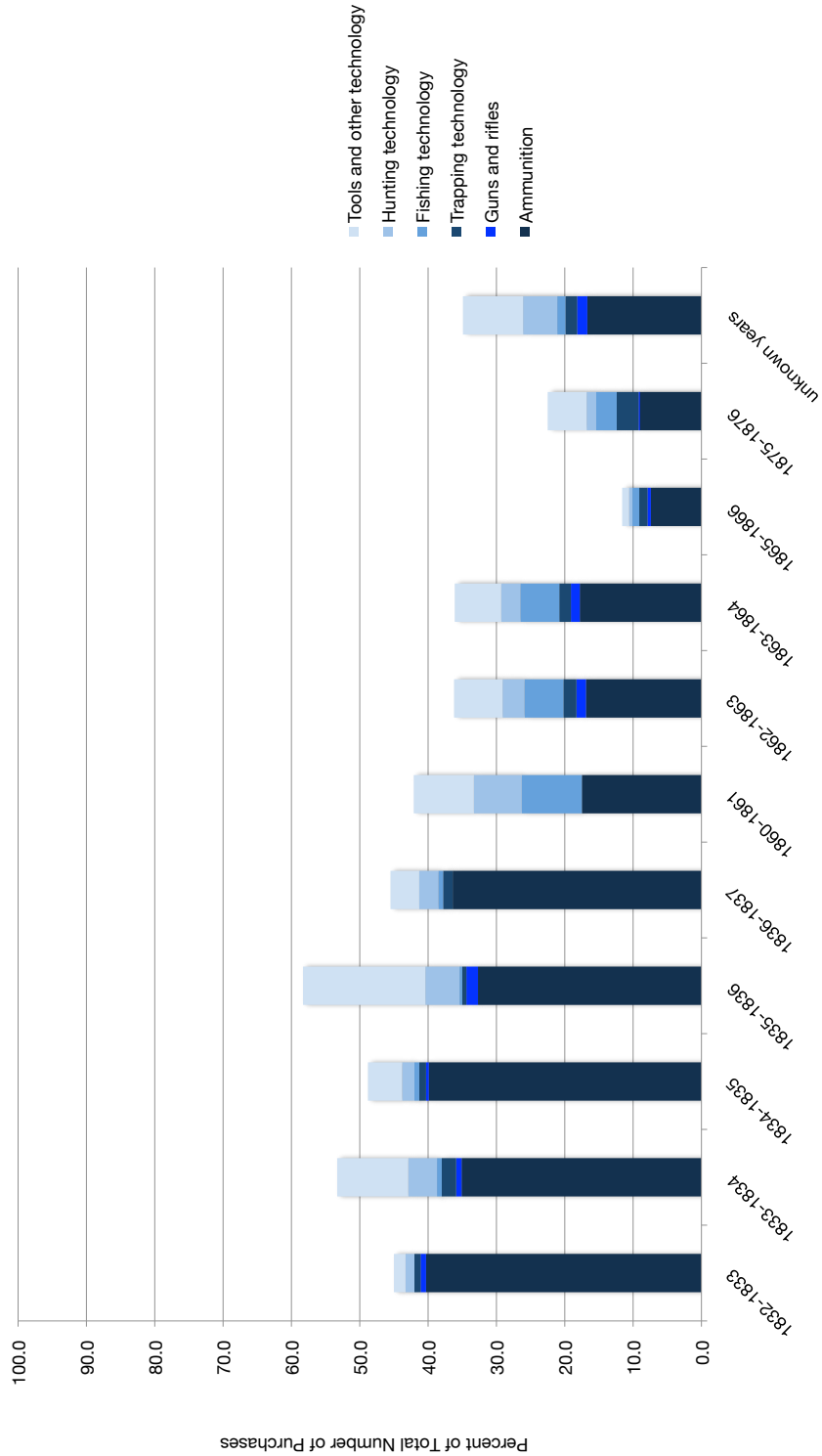


Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837; B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862; B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1866; and B.89/d/188, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1875-1876

to purchase some types of European foods than to provide all of the caloric needs of their families from country foods. There was a significant increase in the number and particularly the cost of food items purchased by Indians in the outfit year 1836-1837. The ledgers simply recorded the purchase of “provisions” in this year, so it is not entirely clear what exactly was being purchased, although in other years the term “provisions” was used in ways distinct from the purchase of imported foods. Outfit year 1836-1837, as well as the outfit year 1860-1861 which also shows an increase in number although not cost of food items purchased, had relatively few entries in the ledger. Thus, the small number of entries in these two outfit years might be skewing the overall trend for these years.

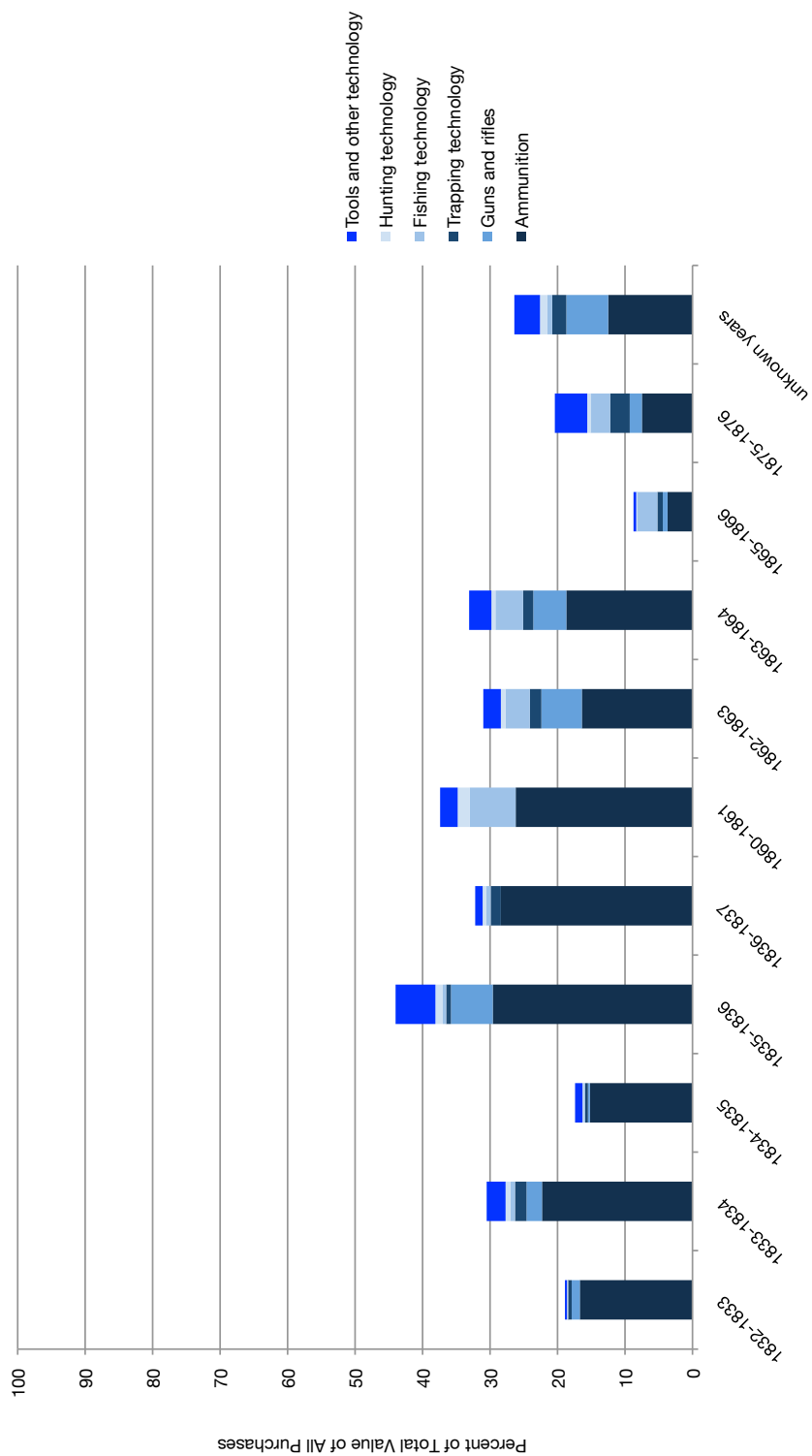
When the categories of items purchased are grouped together, other interesting trends appear. For example, Indians purchased some sort of technological item (ammunition, guns and rifles, trapping technology, fishing technology, hunting technology, or tools and other technology) more than 40 percent of the time until the early 1860s when these purchases began to decline (see Figure 7.18). The cost of these items, however, shows a slightly different trend. In the early 1830s, the cost of technological items is less than 35 percent of the total cost of all purchases, although the cost increases by the mid 1830s and then follows the same basic trend as the number of technological items purchased (see Figure 7.19). The number and cost of household and personal items purchased by Indians, however, generally increases over time such that these items are purchased more frequently and more is spent on them in the 1860s than in the 1830s (see Figures 7.20 and 7.21). Again, these trends suggest a shift in the Indigenous economy and lifestyle, either by choice or by necessity as result of the increased pressure on local resources.

**Figure 7.18 Proportion of the Number of Technological Items Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1832 - 1876**



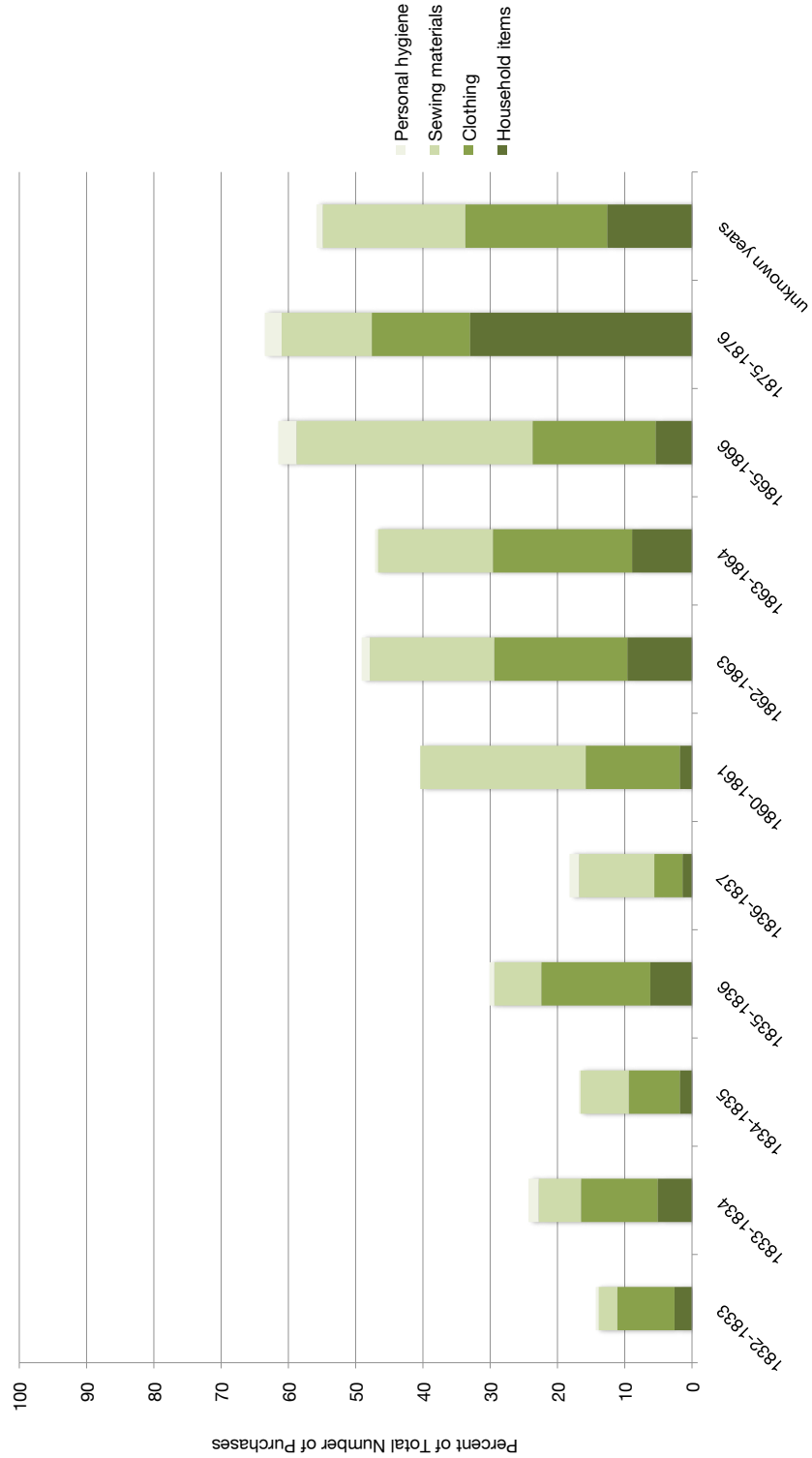
Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837; B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862; B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1866; and B.89/d/188, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1875-1876

**Figure 7.19 Proportion of the Cost of Technological Items Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1832 - 1876**



Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837; B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862; B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1866; and B.89/d/188, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1875-1876

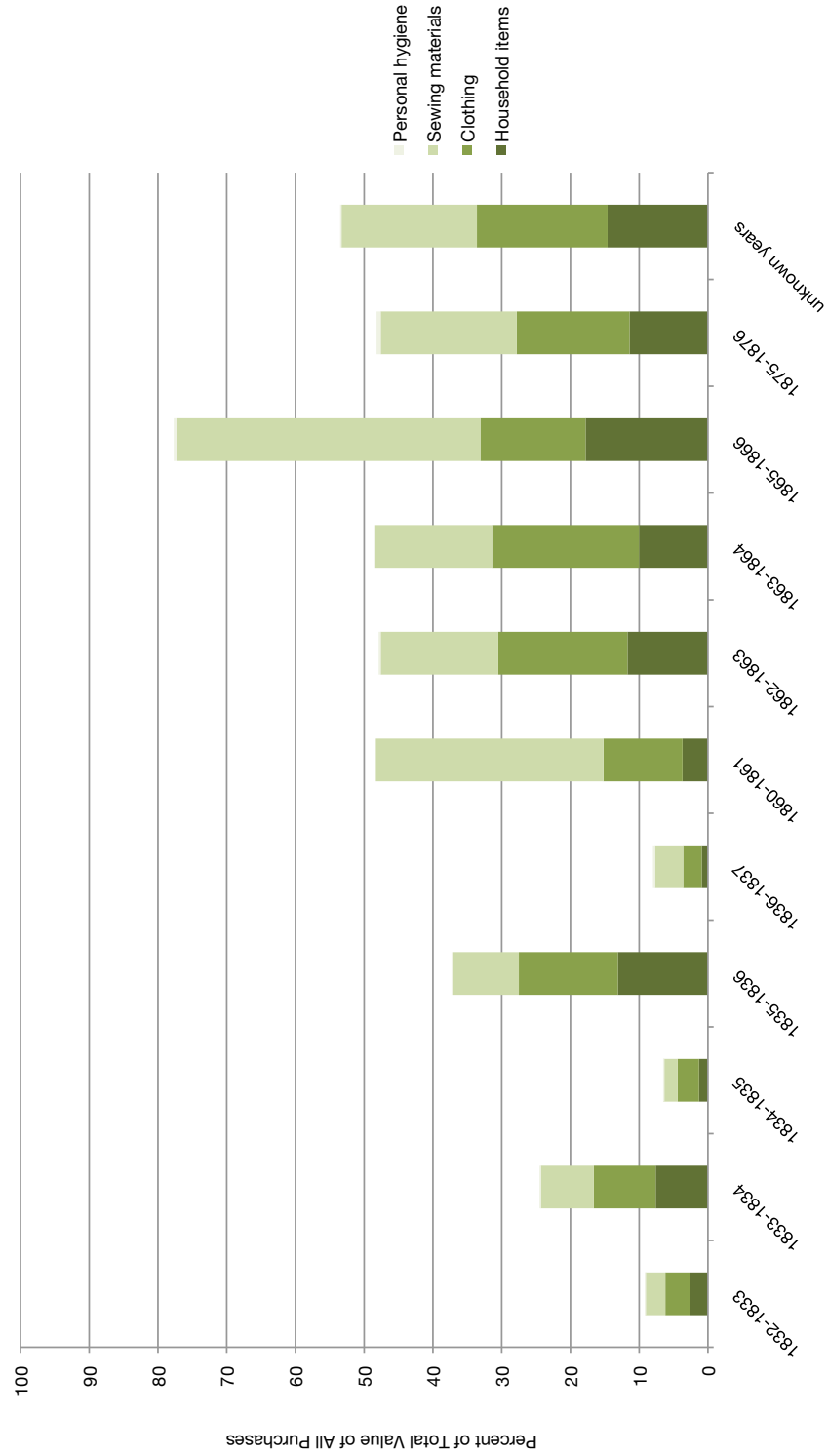
**Figure 7.20 Proportion of the Number of Household and Personal Items Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1832 - 1876**



Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837; B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862; B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1866; and B.89/d/188, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1875-1876



**Figure 7.21 Proportion of the Cost of Household and Personal Items Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1832 - 1876**



Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837; B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862; B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1866; and B.89/d/188, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1875-1876

In addition to recording the detailed items purchased by Indians at the Ile a la Crosse post, the Indian ledgers also recorded the items brought in by Indians to pay off their accounts and debts at the post. Table 7.3 presents the number of items traded and services provided by Indians at the Ile a la Crosse post by outfit year from 1832-1833 to 1875-1876. While the Indian ledgers recorded some level of detail of the items brought in for trade, I have grouped these items into seven main categories – furs and skins, country produce, country manufactured goods, skins with meat, labour/employment, cash, and miscellaneous.<sup>23</sup> Overall, fewer items brought in for trade were recorded in the Indian ledgers than items purchased; however, the overall numbers may be misleading as often the ledgers simply indicated that “furs” were brought in with no indication of the number or type of furs, only the price. Perhaps because the number and type of furs were counted carefully and provided in detail in the fur returns and packing lists that were sent to the head office each year, the clerks found it unnecessary to be precise in this type of detail in the Indian ledgers.

Figure 7.22 presents the total number of items traded by Indians at the Ile a la Crosse post by outfit year from 1832-1833 to 1878-1879.<sup>24</sup> This figure shows a similar trend as the total number of items purchased by Indians, except that there were fewer overall items brought in for trade. It is likely that the small numbers reflect the tendency to list simply “furs” as a trade item without any indication of

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23 Country produce includes such items as castor, meat, fish, provisions, and dogs. Country manufactured goods includes such items as leather, babiche, sinew, and pack cord. The miscellaneous category includes such items as sundries, adjustments in the accounts, unspecified payments at other posts or outposts, and rarely returned merchandise.

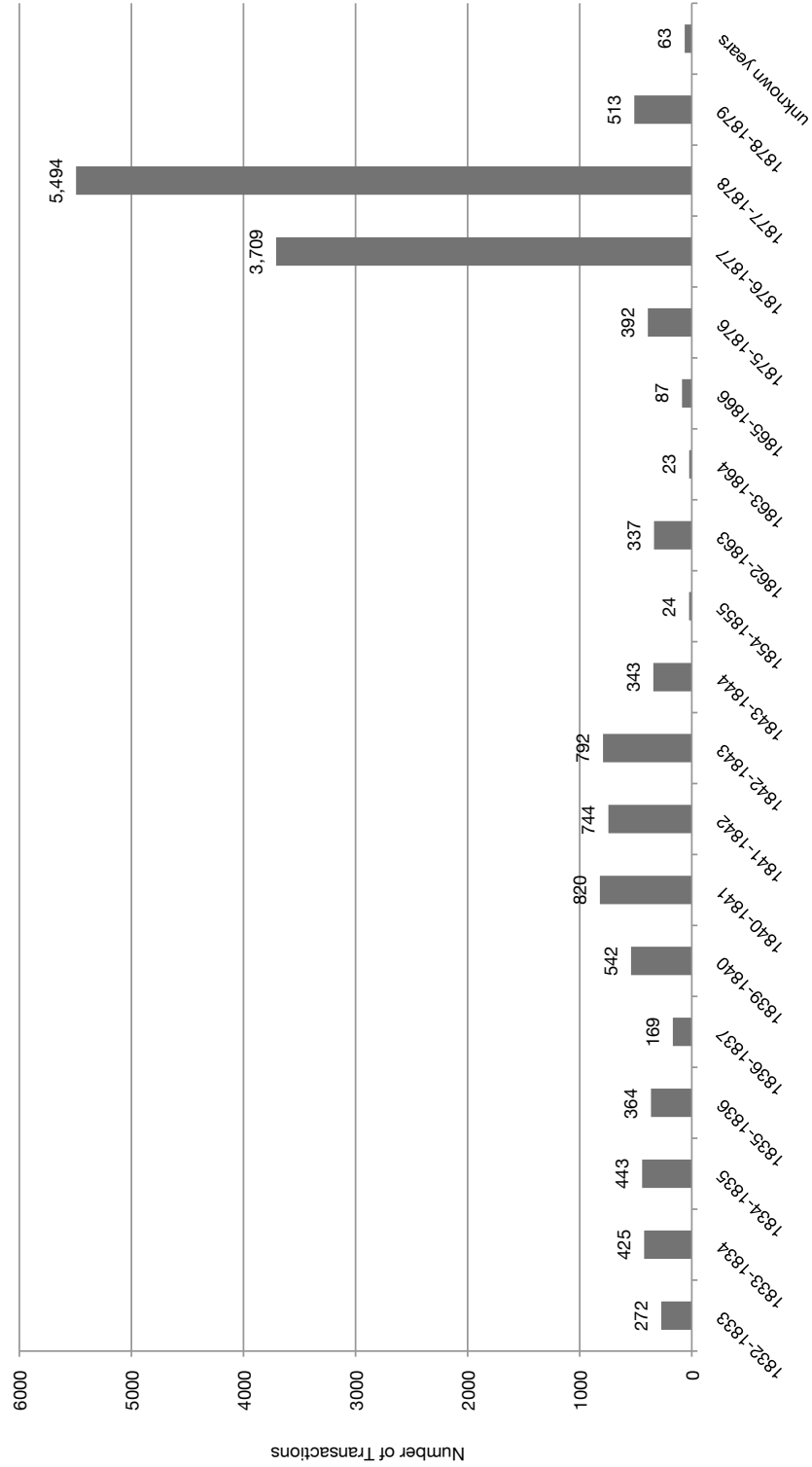
24 Much like with the purchase of various commodities, the number of items traded records the number of times Indians brought goods in for trade, regardless of the number of items that were brought in. It was necessary to record transactions in this way because the early records did not often provide a detailed list of all the items brought in for trade.

Table 7.3 Number of Items Traded by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1832 - 1876

Category of Item	1832-1833		1833-1834		1834-1835		1835-1836		1836-1837		1862-1863		1863-1864		1865-1866		1875-1876		Unknown Years		Total of all Years	
	Number of Transactions	Percent of Total	Number of Transactions	Percent of Total	Number of Transactions	Percent of Total	Number of Transactions	Percent of Total	Number of Transactions	Percent of Total	Number of Transactions	Percent of Total	Number of Transactions	Percent of Total	Number of Transactions	Percent of Total	Number of Transactions	Percent of Total	Number of Transactions	Percent of Total	Number of Transactions	Percent of Total
Furs and skins	252	92.6%	374	88.0%	384	86.7%	310	85.2%	128	75.7%	299	88.7%	15	65.2%	85	97.7%	353	90.1%	42	66.7%	2,242	87.1%
Country produce	15	5.5%	48	11.3%	52	11.7%	46	12.6%	41	24.3%	30	8.9%	6	26.1%	2	2.3%	4	1.0%	17	27.0%	261	10.1%
Country manufactured goods	--	--	1	0.2%	--	--	2	0.5%	--	--	--	--	2	8.7%	--	--	6	1.5%	1	1.6%	12	0.5%
Skins with meat	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	0.5%	--	--	1	0.3%	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	3	0.1%
Labour/employment	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	9	2.3%	--	--	9	0.3%
Cash	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	0.3%	--	--	1	0.04%
Miscellaneous	5	1.8%	2	0.5%	7	1.6%	4	1.1%	--	--	7	2.1%	--	--	--	--	19	4.8%	3	4.8%	47	1.8%
<b>Total</b>	<b>272</b>		<b>425</b>		<b>443</b>		<b>364</b>		<b>169</b>		<b>337</b>		<b>23</b>		<b>87</b>		<b>392</b>		<b>63</b>		<b>2,575</b>	

Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837; B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862; B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1866; B.89/d/188, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1875-1876

**Figure 7.22 Total Number of Trade Transactions by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1832 - 1879**



Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837; B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862; B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1866; and B.89/d/188, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1875-1876

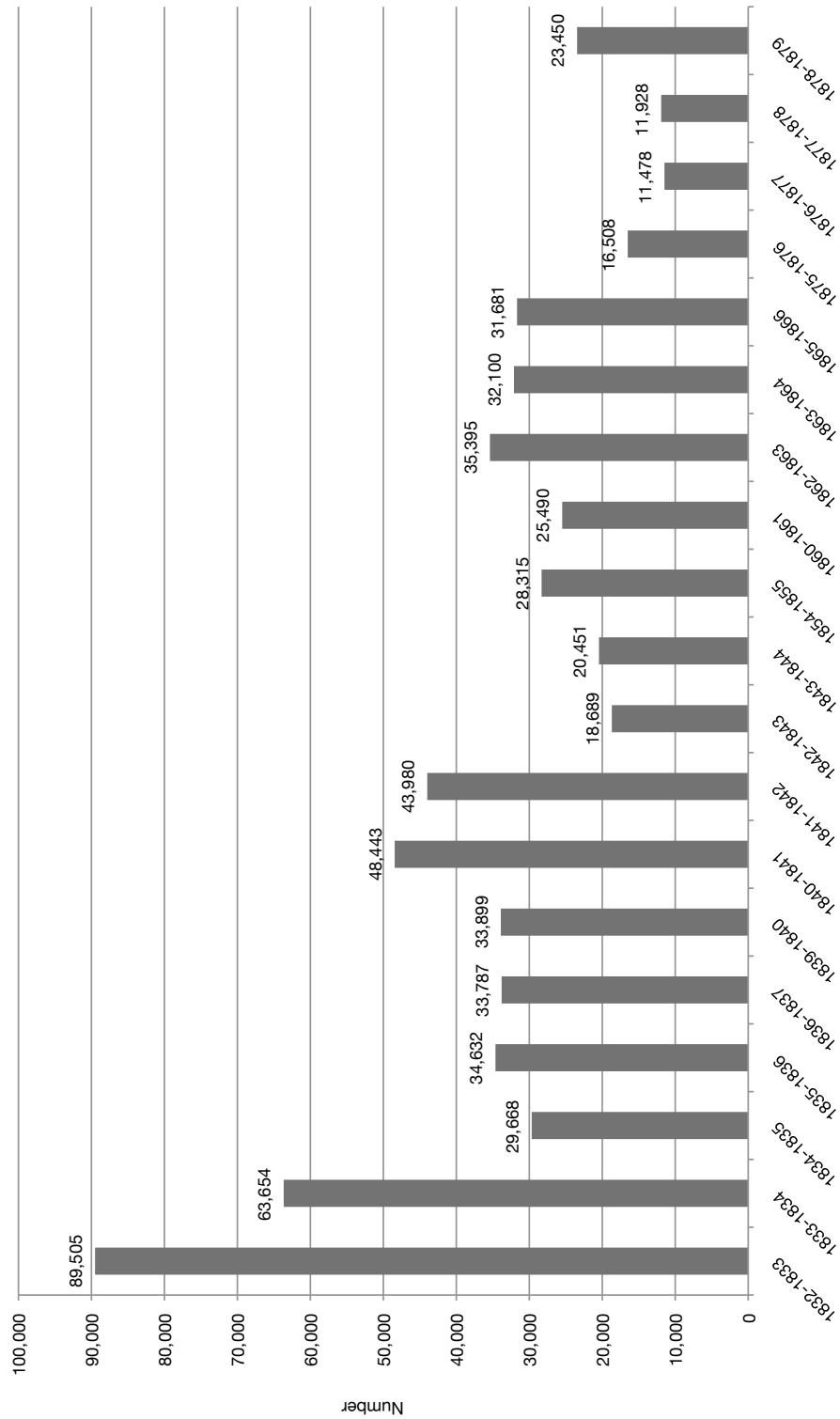
number, whereas the items purchased were often listed in more detail. However, in the late 1870s, the number of items brought in for trade by Indians increases considerably. This increase would seem to be from more detailed descriptions in the ledgers (i.e. listing the particular type of pelt or skin rather than simply stating “furs”) rather than an actual increase in the number of items brought in for trade. The district fur returns for this time period, presented in Figure 7.23, lends further credence to the suggestion that the large increases in fur returns recorded in the Indian ledgers had more to do with recording methods than with actual fur returns as the district returns were at the lowest numbers in 1876-1877 and 1877-1878, despite the large increase in returns listed in the Indian ledgers. The district fur returns also suggest that the Indian ledgers are incomplete records of fur returns. Although the English River District would have included other posts, Ile a la Crosse was the largest post in the district and thus it would seem unlikely that it would account for such a small proportion of the district returns. Rather it would seem that the clerks focused more of their energies on recording accurate fur returns for district reports and packing lists, rather than recording the details in the Indian ledgers.

Figure 7.24 presents the number of trade transactions by Indians at Ile a la Crosse each outfit year organized by category.<sup>25</sup> Figure 7.25 presents the same data as a percentage of the total number of transactions each outfit year. Not surprisingly, in all years, furs and skins accounted for the largest number of trade items. Country produce was the second most common trade item in all years except 1875-1876 when miscellaneous items, labour/employment and country manufactured goods

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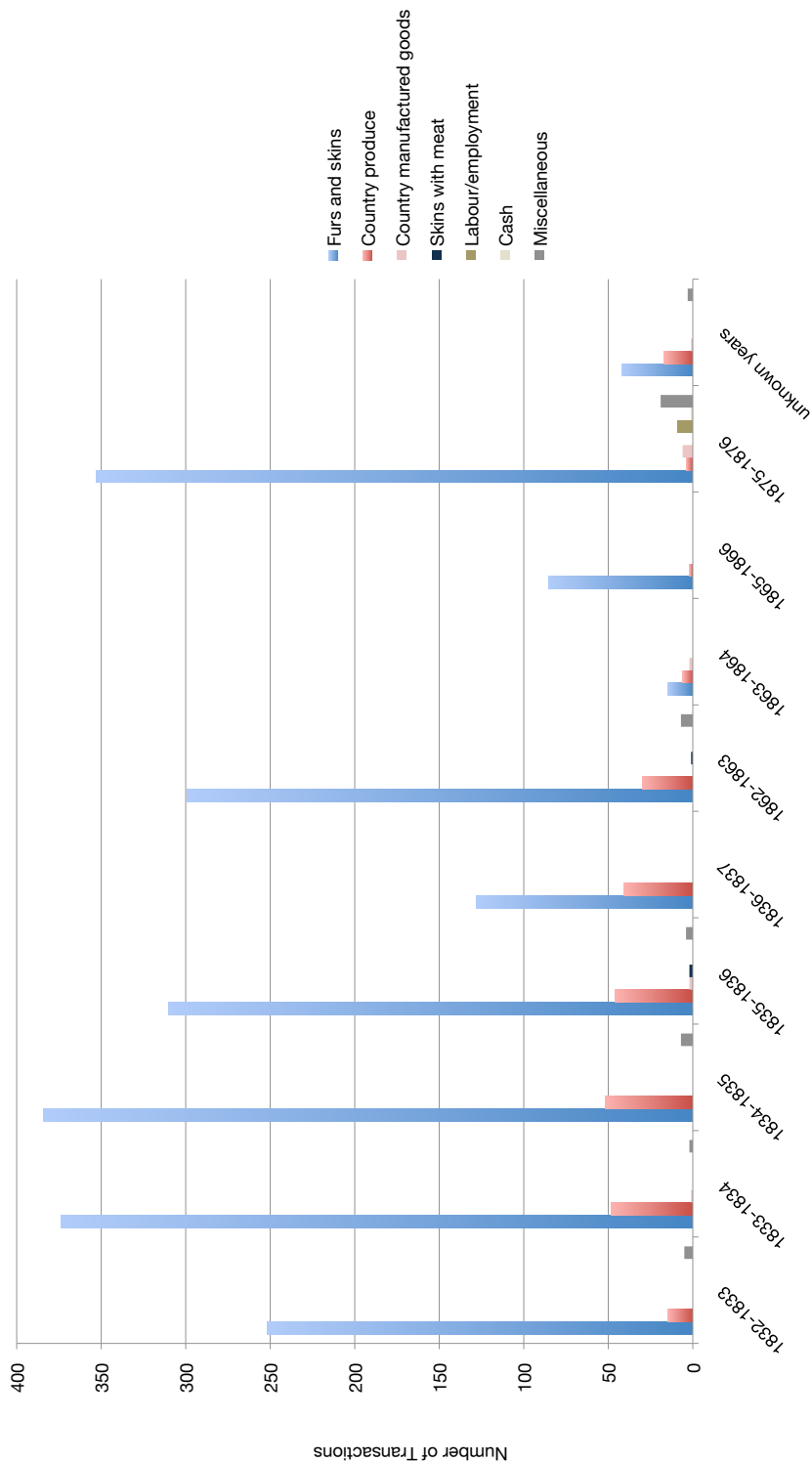
<sup>25</sup> In many cases, the clerks did not record the exact number of furs or skins being brought in for trade. Thus, the number of transactions (i.e. groups of items brought in for trade) has been counted, rather than the number of items. Thus, when an Indian brought in “furs” to trade, one transaction was recorded, regardless of the number of pelts that were brought in.

**Figure 7.23 Number of Furs Returned, English River District, 1832-1879**



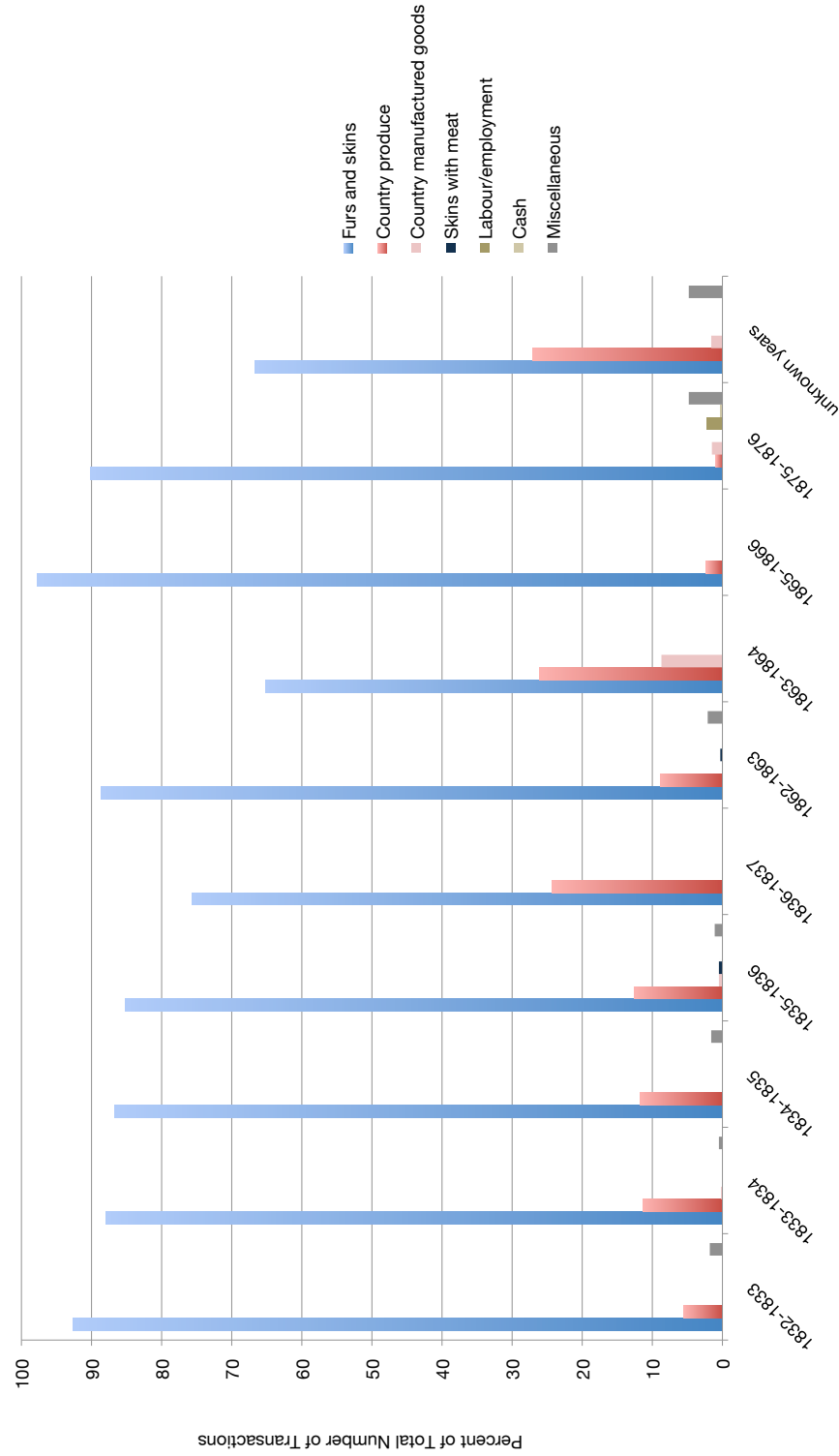
Source: HBCA B.239/h/1 District Fur Returns 1821-1842; B.239/h/2 District Fur Returns 1842-1869; B.239/4/3 District Fur Returns 1869-1892.

**Figure 7.24 Number of Trade Transactions by Indians, Organized by Category, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1832 - 1876**



Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837; B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862; B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1866; and B.89/d/188, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1875-1876

**Figure 7.25 Proportion of the Number of Items Traded by Indians, Organized by Category, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1832 - 1876**



Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837; B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862; B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1866; and B.89/d/188, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1875-1876



all were used to pay off debts more frequently than country produce.

Table 7.4 presents the price of items traded by Indians at Ile a la Crosse each outfit year from 1832-1833 to 1875-1876. As before, the made beaver values of the earlier ledgers have been converted to pounds sterling (and in some cases, decimal pounds) in order to allow for comparison over time. The price of items traded show a similar trend as the number of items traded, except in the late 1870s. While the number of items traded increases considerably between 1875-1876 and 1877-1878 and then decreases considerably between 1877-1878 and 1878-1879, the price of items traded steadily declines from 1875-1876 to 1878-1879 (see Figure 7.26). The increase in the number of items traded is likely a reflection of more detailed accounting in the ledgers; however, it is not clear if the price of items traded shows an actual decline in trade. When comparing the price of items traded as reported in the Indian ledgers (which includes more than simply furs) to the price of the fur returns reported in the district accounts (see Figure 7.27), it would seem that some declines shown in the Indian ledgers represent incomplete data rather than actual declines in trade (particularly in the outfit years 1836-1837, 1843-1844, 1854-1855, and throughout the 1860s). However, the district accounts do show a decline in the price of the fur returns in the 1870s. The price of furs was lower in the 1870s than at the beginning of the nineteenth century; however, prices had rebounded since the 1860s.<sup>26</sup> Thus, it would seem that the 1870s was period of diminished trade at Ile a la Crosse.

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26 See for example, HBCA B.89/d/34 Ile a la Crosse Account Book 1832-1833; B.80/d/38 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1834-1835; B.89/d/93 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1860-1861; B.89/d/98 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1864; B.89/d/118 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1865-1867; B.89/d/192 Ile a la Crosse Account Book (Packing Account – Returns), 1876; B.89/d/215 Ile a la Crosse Account Book (Fur Returns) 1873-1877.

Table 7.4 Price of Items Traded by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1832 - 1876

Category of Item	1832-1833				1833-1834				1834-1835				1835-1836				1836-1837								
	Value of Items Purchased		Percent of Total	Value of Items Purchased		Percent of Total	Value of Items Purchased		Percent of Total	Value of Items Purchased		Percent of Total	Value of Items Purchased		Percent of Total	Value of Items Purchased		Percent of Total							
	£	s d		total in d	£		s d	total in d		£	s d		total in d	£		s d	total in d		£	s d	total in d				
Furs and skins	1,841	16	8	422,040	94.4%	3,192	18	---	766,296	92.3%	2,560	---	614,400	92.2%	1,669	5	---	400,620	84.8%	521	5	---	125,100	72.5%	
Country produce	41	10	---	9,960	2.2%	258	---	---	61,920	7.5%	195	15	---	46,980	7.1%	270	---	---	64,800	13.7%	197	10	---	47,400	27.5%
Country manufactured goods	---	---	---	---	---	2	10	---	600	0.1%	---	---	---	---	---	4	---	---	960	0.2%	---	---	---	---	---
Skins with meat	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	2	10	---	600	0.1%	---	---	---	---	---
Labour/employment	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Cash	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Miscellaneous	62	10	---	15,000	3.4%	5	---	---	1,200	0.1%	20	5	---	4,860	0.7%	22	10	---	5,400	1.1%	---	---	---	---	---
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,862</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>---</b>	<b>447,000</b>		<b>3,458</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>---</b>	<b>830,016</b>		<b>2,776</b>	<b>---</b>	<b>666,240</b>		<b>1,968</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>---</b>	<b>472,380</b>		<b>718</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>---</b>	<b>172,500</b>		

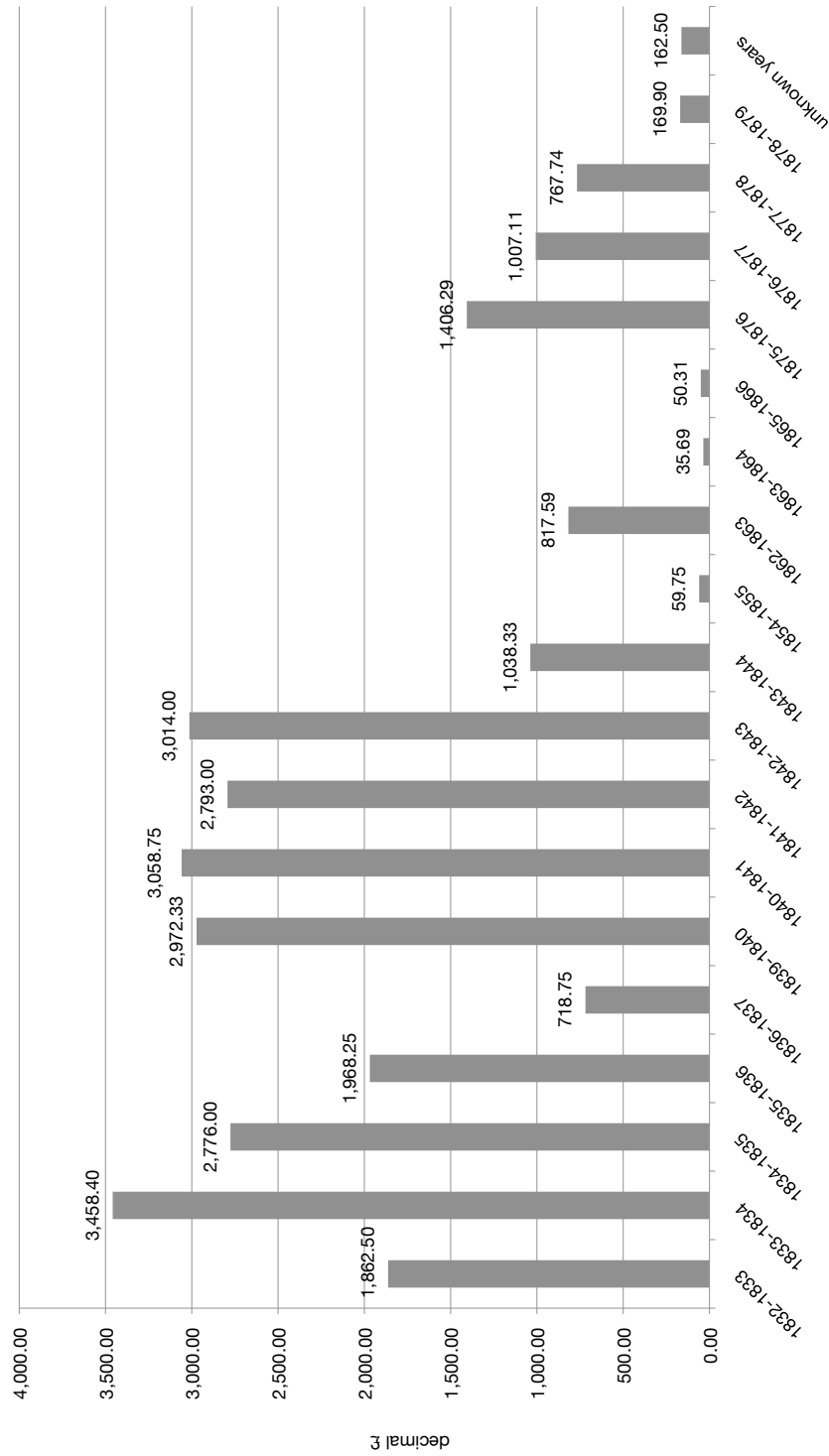
Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837; B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862; B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1866; B.89/d/168, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1875-1876

Table 7.4 Price of Items Traded by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1832 - 1876, continued

Category of Item	1862-1863				1863-1864				1865-1866				1875-1876				Unknown Years				Total of all Years											
	Value of Items Purchased		Percent of Total		Value of Items Purchased		Percent of Total		Value of Items Purchased		Percent of Total		Value of Items Purchased		Percent of Total		Value of Items Purchased		Percent of Total		Value of Items Purchased		Percent of Total									
	£	s	d	total in d	£	s	d	total in d	£	s	d	total in d	£	s	d	total in d	£	s	d	total in d	£	s	d	total in d								
Furs and skins	745	13	--	176,956	91.2%	24	18	9	5,985	69.9%	48	1	3	11,535	95.5%	1,220	1	--	292,812	86.8%	104	10	--	25,080	64.3%	11,845	2	--	2,842,824	89.4%		
Country produce	52	16	3	12,675	6.5%	7	15	--	1,860	21.7%	2	5	--	540	4.5%	5	--	--	1,200	0.4%	49	--	--	11,760	30.2%	1,079	11	3	259,095	8.1%		
Country manufactured goods	--	--	--	--	--	3	--	--	720	8.4%	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	8	2	338	0.1%	--	4	--	48	0.1%	11	2	2,666	0.1%		
Skins with meat	--	12	6	150	0.1%	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	3	2	6	750	0.02%	3	2	6	750	0.02%
Labour/employment	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	18	6	3	4,395	1.3%	--	--	--	--	--	18	6	3	4,395	0.1%	
Cash	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	10	10	130	0.04%	--	--	--	--	--	--	10	10	130	0.004%	
Miscellaneous	18	10	--	4,440	2.3%	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	159	17	--	38,634	11.4%	8	16	--	2,112	5.4%	238	10	6	71,646	2.3%		
<b>Total</b>	<b>817</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>196,221</b>		<b>35</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>8,565</b>		<b>50</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>12,075</b>		<b>1,406</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>337,509</b>		<b>162</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>--</b>	<b>39,000</b>		<b>13,256</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3,181,506</b>			

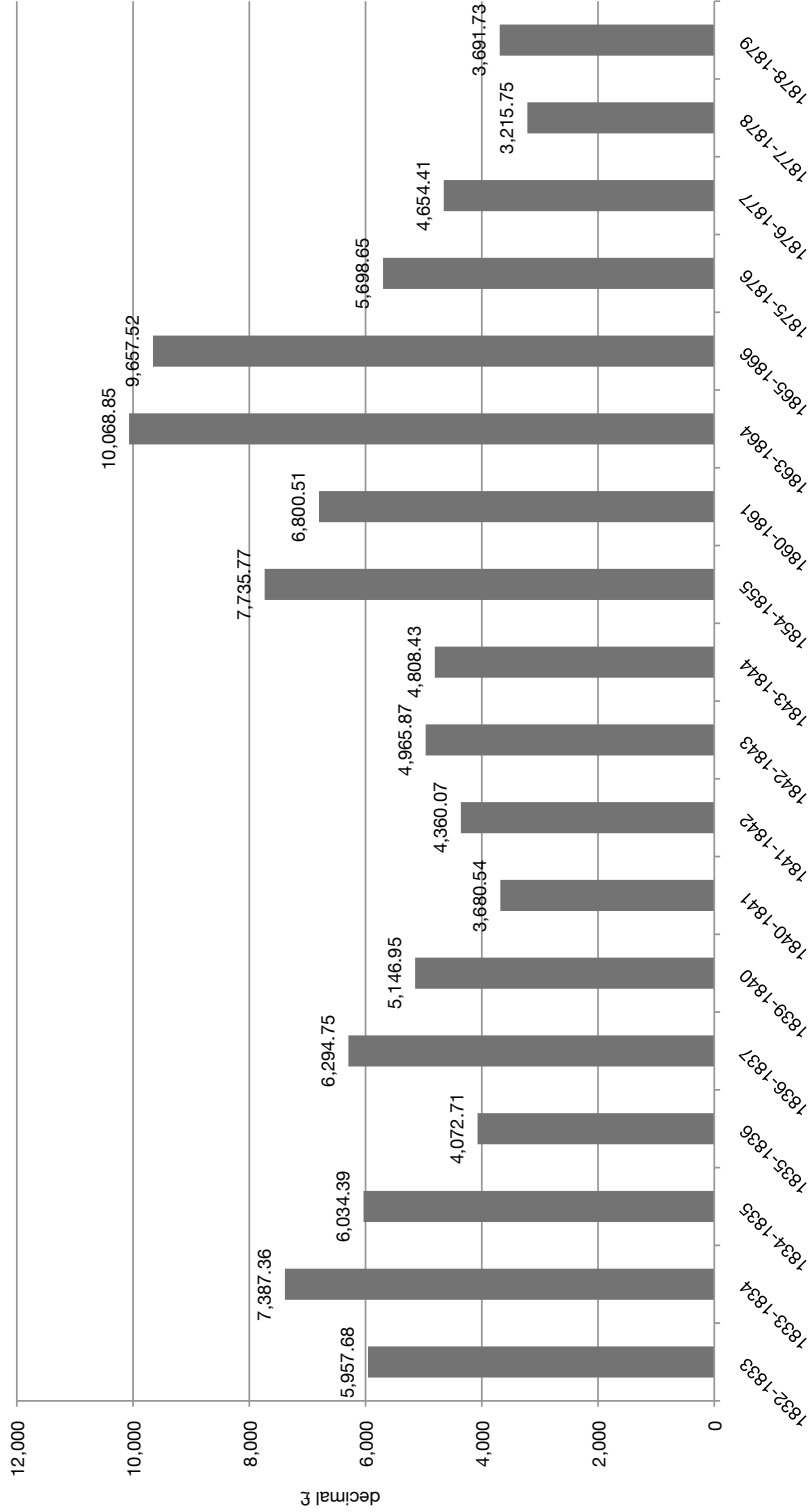
Sources: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837; B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862; B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1866; B.89/d/188, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1875-1876

**Figure 7.26 Total Price of Items Traded by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1832 - 1876**



Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837; B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862; B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1866; and B.89/d/188, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1875-1876

**Figure 7.27 Price of Total Fur Returns, Ile a la Crosse, 1832-1879**



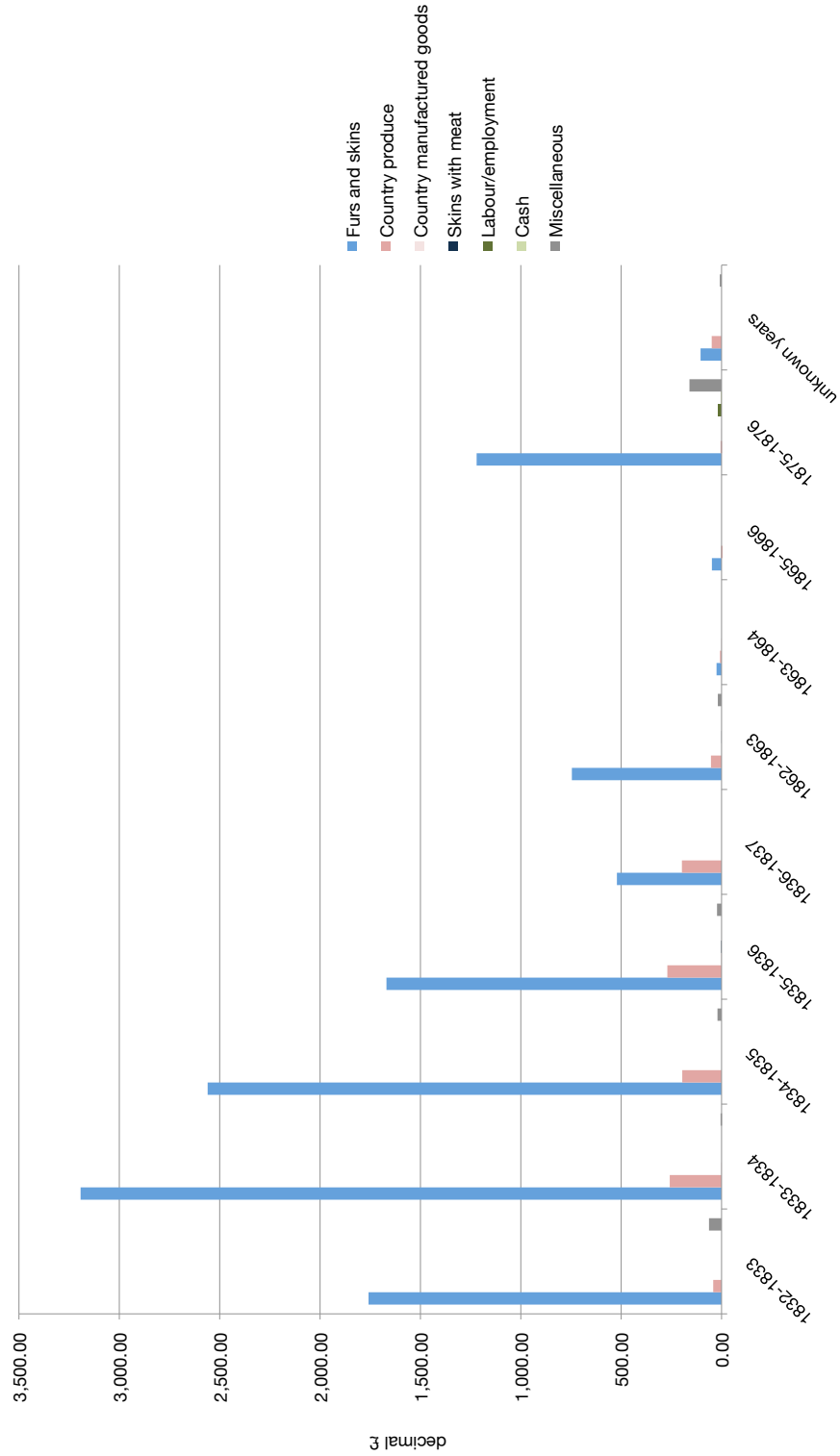
Source: HBCA B.89/d/34 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1833; B.89/d/36 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1833-1834; B.89/d/38 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1834-1835; B.89/d/40 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1835-1836; B.89/d/43b Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1836-1837; B.89/d/49 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1839-1840; B.89/d/52 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1840-1841; B.89/d/53 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1841-1842; B.89/d/57 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1842-1843; B.89/d/60 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1843-1844; B.89/d/65 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1854-1855; B.89/d/93 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1860-1861; B.89/d/98 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1864; B.89/d/118 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1865-1867; B.89/d/215 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1873-1877.

Figure 7.28 presents the price of items traded by Indians at Ile a la Crosse organized by category, and Figure 7.29 presents the same data as a percentage of the total price of items traded each year. As with the number of items traded, furs and skins were the highest price of trade items brought in by the Indians in every outfit year, which is to be expected given that furs and skins were the purpose of trade for the Company. In all years except 1875-1876, country produce was the second highest priced trade item brought in by Indians. In the 1875-1876 outfit year, miscellaneous items and labour/employment accounted for a higher price of trade items than country produce.

Table 7.5 and Figure 7.30 present the proportion of items purchased by Indians at the Ile a la Crosse post from 1832 to 1876 combined. During this time, ammunition was the most commonly purchased item (21.9 percent). However, if items of clothing and sewing materials are combined, then these items represent 29 percent of the items purchased by Indians. Food represented only 5 percent of the total purchases during this time period. Thus, while it would seem that hunting and trapping remained an important element of the Indigenous economy in this region, European-style clothing and fabric had been well incorporated into their lifestyle by the mid-nineteenth century.

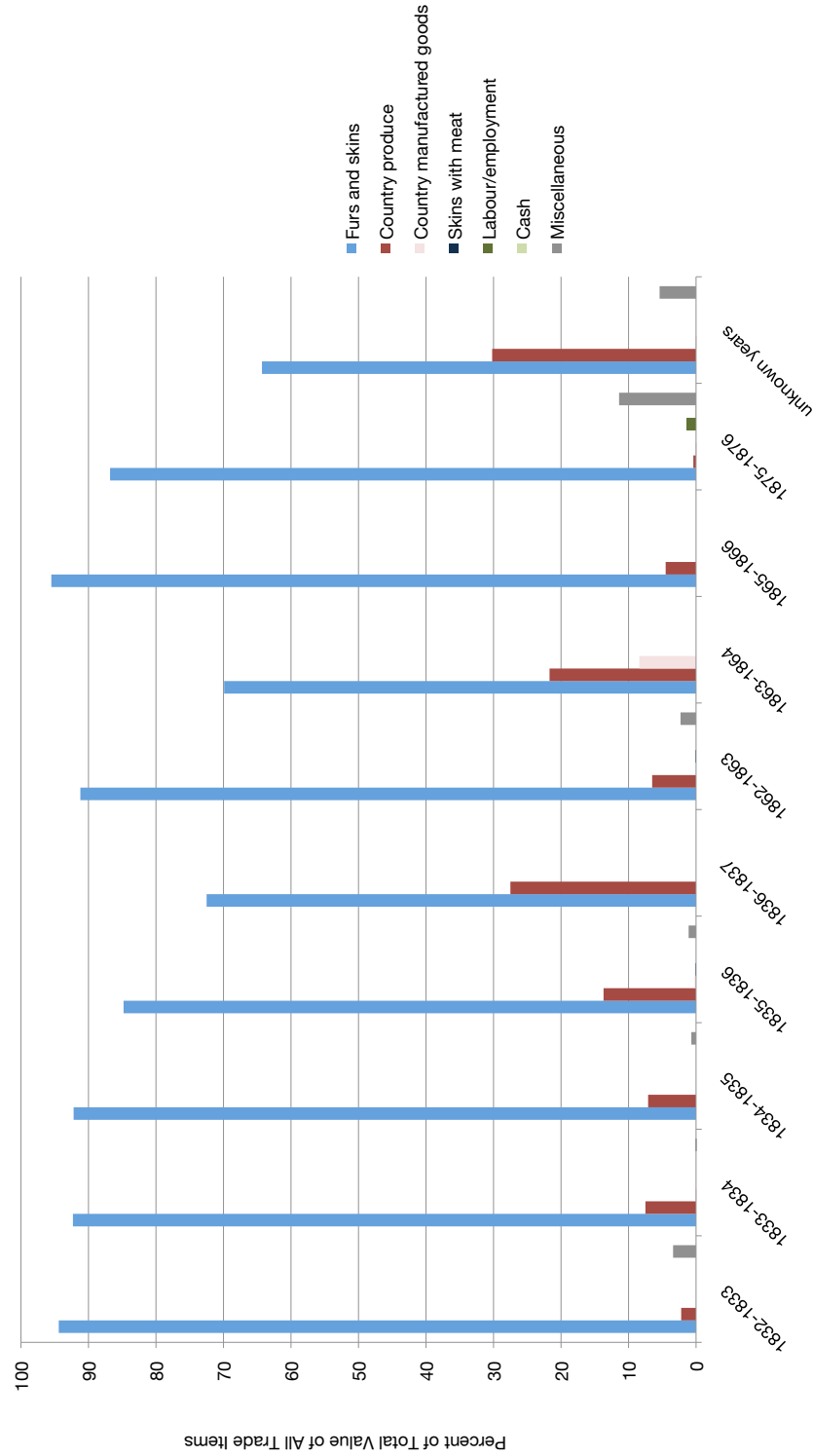
Table 7.6 and Figure 7.31 present the proportion of the cost of items purchased by Indians at Ile a la Crosse from 1832 to 1876 combined. Unlike the number of items purchased, sewing materials accounted for the greatest cost of items purchased by Indians (15.1 percent). However, ammunition accounted for the second greatest cost of items purchased (14.5 percent). When sewing material is combined with clothing, these items account for 29 percent of the total cost of items

**Figure 7.28 Price of Items Traded by Indians, Organized by Category, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1832 - 1876**



Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837; B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862; B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1866; and B.89/d/188, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1875-1876

**Figure 7.29 Proportion of the Price of Items Traded by Indians, Organized by Category, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1832 - 1876**



Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837; B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862; B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1866; and B.89/d/188, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1875-1876

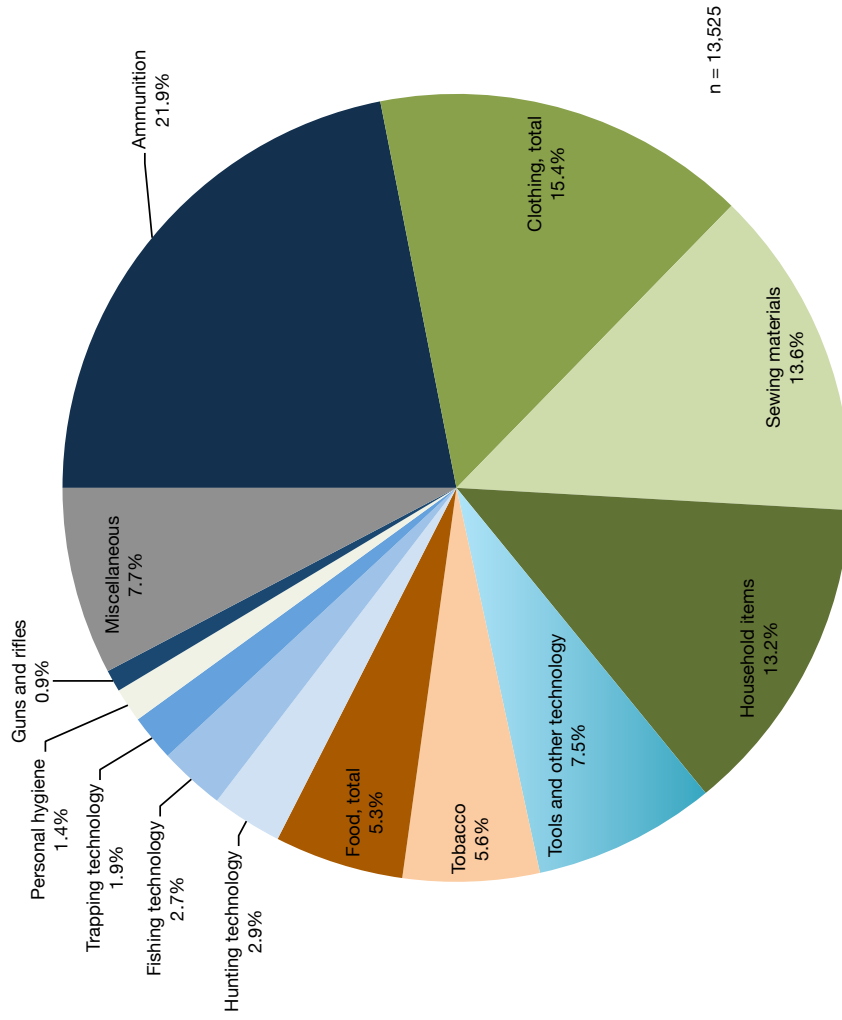


**Table 7.5 Proportion of all Items  
Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse  
Post, 1832 - 1876**

<b>Category of Item</b>	<b>Number of Items Purchased</b>	<b>Percent of Total</b>
Ammunition	2,966	21.9%
Clothing, total	2,087	15.4%
Clothing, unspecified	1,697	12.5%
Clothing, men's	217	1.6%
Clothing, women's	140	1.0%
Clothing, children's	33	0.2%
Sewing materials	1,839	13.6%
Household items	1,782	13.2%
Tools and other technology	1,019	7.5%
Tobacco	760	5.6%
Food, total	712	5.3%
Food, imported	534	3.9%
Food, country produce	178	1.3%
Hunting technology	389	2.9%
Fishing technology	369	2.7%
Trapping technology	259	1.9%
Personal hygiene	185	1.4%
Guns and rifles	122	0.9%
Miscellaneous	1,036	7.7%
<b>Total</b>	<b>13,525</b>	

Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837; B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862; B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1866; B.89/d/188, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1875-1876

**Figure 7.30 Proportion of all Items Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1832 - 1876**



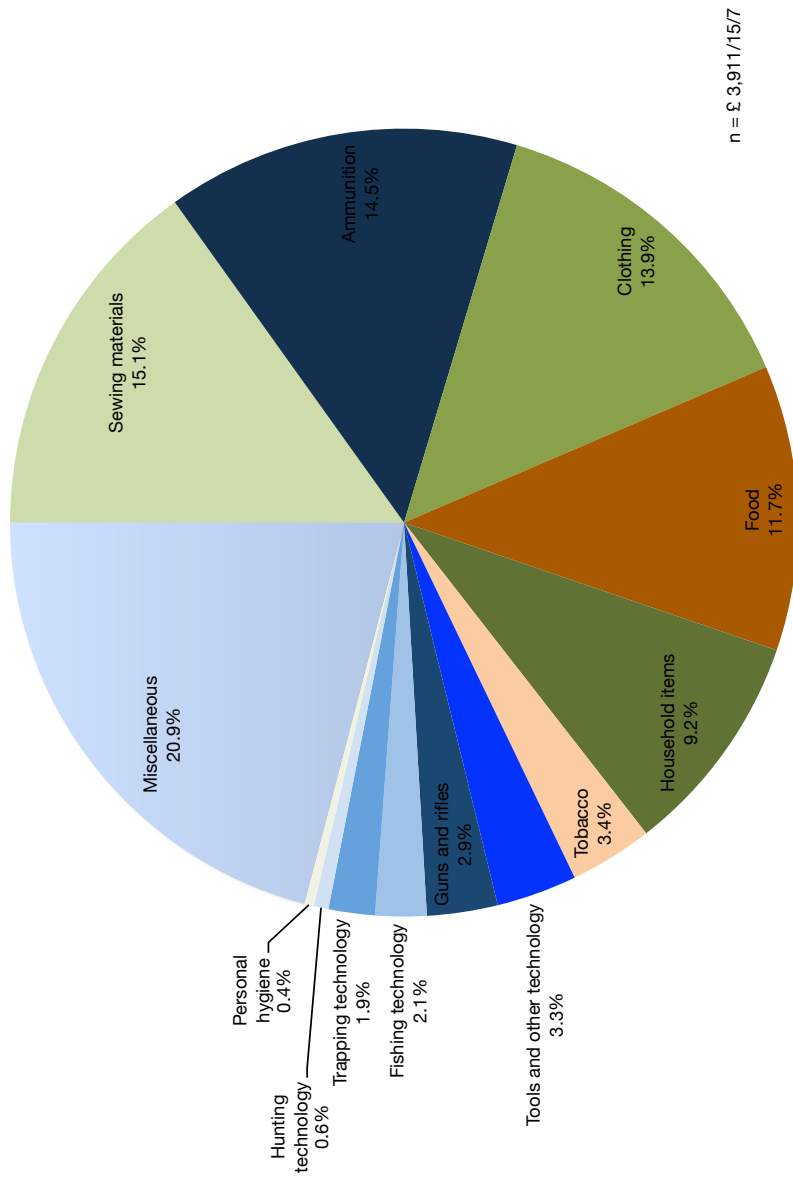
Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837; B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862; B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1866; and B.89/d/188, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1875-1876

**Table 7.6 Proportion of the Cost of all Items Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1832 - 1876**

Category of Item	Total of all Years				Percent of Total
	Value of Items Purchased				
	£	s	d	total in d	
Sewing materials	591	18	9	142,065	15.1%
Ammunition	568	15	9	136,509	14.5%
Clothing, total	543	14	1	130,489	13.9%
Clothing, unspecified	380	5	1	91,261	9.7%
Clothing, men's	95	1	--	22,812	2.4%
Clothing, women's	58	19	6	14,154	1.5%
Clothing, children's	9	8	6	2,262	0.2%
Food, total	458	18	4	110,140	11.7%
Food, imported	336	10	9	80,769	8.6%
Food, country produce	122	7	7	29,371	3.1%
Household items	361	--	3	86,643	9.2%
Tobacco	133	16	9	32,121	3.4%
Tools and other technology	130	9	8	31,316	3.3%
Guns and rifles	115	3	8	27,644	2.9%
Fishing technology	83	2	2	19,946	2.1%
Trapping technology	72	12	8	17,432	1.9%
Hunting technology	22	2	1	5,305	0.6%
Personal hygiene	13	15	2	3,302	0.4%
Miscellaneous	818	15	11	196,511	20.9%
<b>Total of all items purchased</b>	<b>3,911</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>938,827</b>	

Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837; B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862; B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1866; B.89/d/188, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1875-1876

**Figure 7.31 Proportion of the Cost of all Items Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1832 - 1876**



Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837; B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862; B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1866; and B.89/d/188, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1875-1876

purchased. Food also accounted for 11.7 percent of the total cost of items purchased, a greater proportion than the number of food items purchased. Miscellaneous items also accounted for just over 1/5<sup>th</sup> of the total cost of items purchased. Nonetheless, the basic proportion of number of items purchased is similar to the proportion of the cost of items purchased.<sup>27</sup>

Table 7.7 and Figure 7.32 present the proportion of all items traded by Indians at the Ile a la Crosse post over the entire time period of 1832 to 1876 combined. As is to be expected, 87.1 percent of the items traded by Indians were furs and skins. Country produce accounted for an additional 10 percent of the items traded. Similarly, Table 7.8 and Figure 7.33 present the proportion of the price of items traded by Indians at Ile a la Crosse for the entire time period combined. The importance of furs and skins is even more evident in these data, as furs and skins represented almost 90 percent of the total price of items traded by Indians. Country produce accounted for roughly 8 percent of the total price of items traded. Given the importance of furs, skins and provisions to the trade, these proportions are entirely expected.

It is interesting to note that the total cost of items purchased by Indians during this entire time period, £3,911/15/7, was roughly one third the total price of items traded by Indians during this entire time period (£13,256/5/6). Given that

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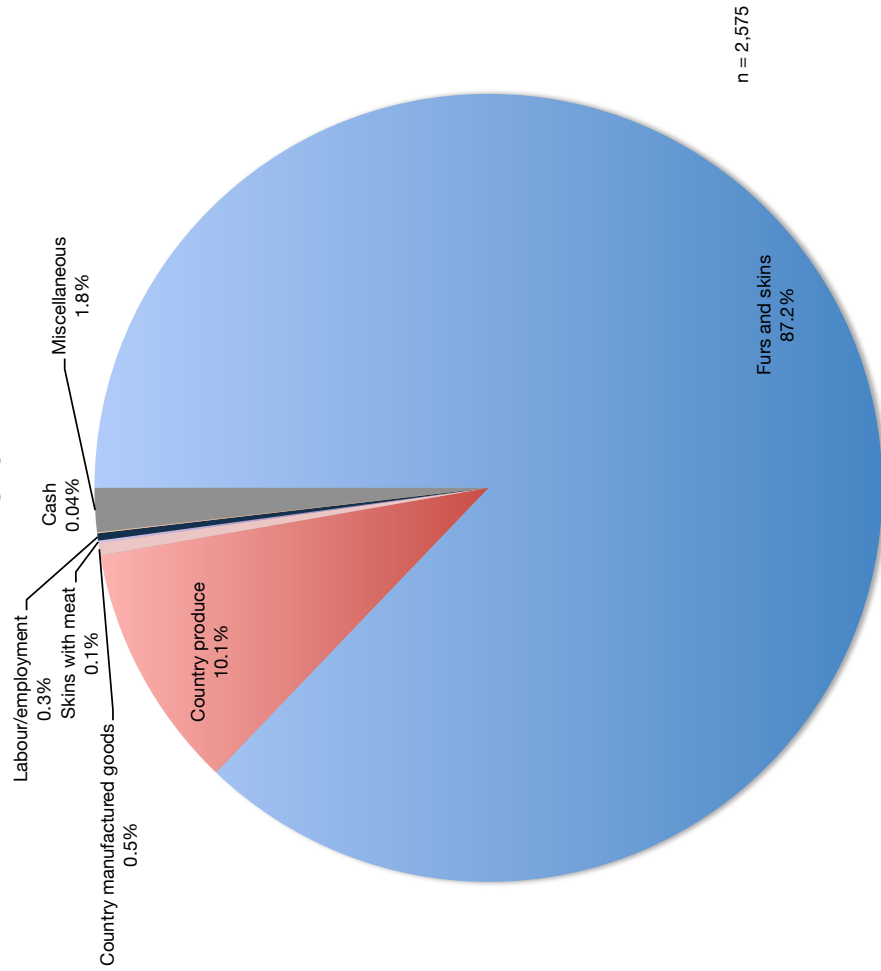
<sup>27</sup> Looking at the purchases of four individual Dene trappers trading at Ile a la Crosse in the decades following the time period analyzed in this dissertation, Jarvenpa and Brumbach noted a somewhat similar proportion of expenditures for some individuals. For example, in 1889-1890, Bernard Chayayazie purchased mostly imported food, followed by clothing and textiles. In 1894-1895, Willibert Grandfarrand purchased mostly clothing and textiles, followed by imported foods. In 1900-1901, Ehtengoo Campbell purchased mostly imported food, followed by clothing and textiles. Finally, in 1908-1909, Deaf Isaac purchased mostly clothing and textiles, followed by imported food. Jarvenpa and Brumbach, "Microeconomics of Southern Chipewyan," 165, 171, 173, 175. Thus, even in the following decades, clothing and sewing materials remained important trade items, although the importance of imported food might have increased, at least for some individuals. These authors had similar findings for Métis Cree in this region as for the Chipewyan. Jarvenpa and Brumbach, "Occupational Status," 315-323.

**Table 7.7 Proportion of all Items Traded by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1832 - 1876**

Category of Item	Total of all Years	
	Number of Transactions	Percent of Total
Furs and skins	2,242	87.1%
Country produce	261	10.1%
Country manufactured goods	12	0.5%
Labour/employment	9	0.3%
Skins with meat	3	0.1%
Cash	1	0.04%
Miscellaneous	47	1.8%
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,575</b>	

Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837; B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862; B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1866; B.89/d/188, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1875-1876

**Figure 7.32 Proportion of all Items Traded by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1832 - 1876**



Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837; B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862; B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1866; and B.89/d/188, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1875-1876

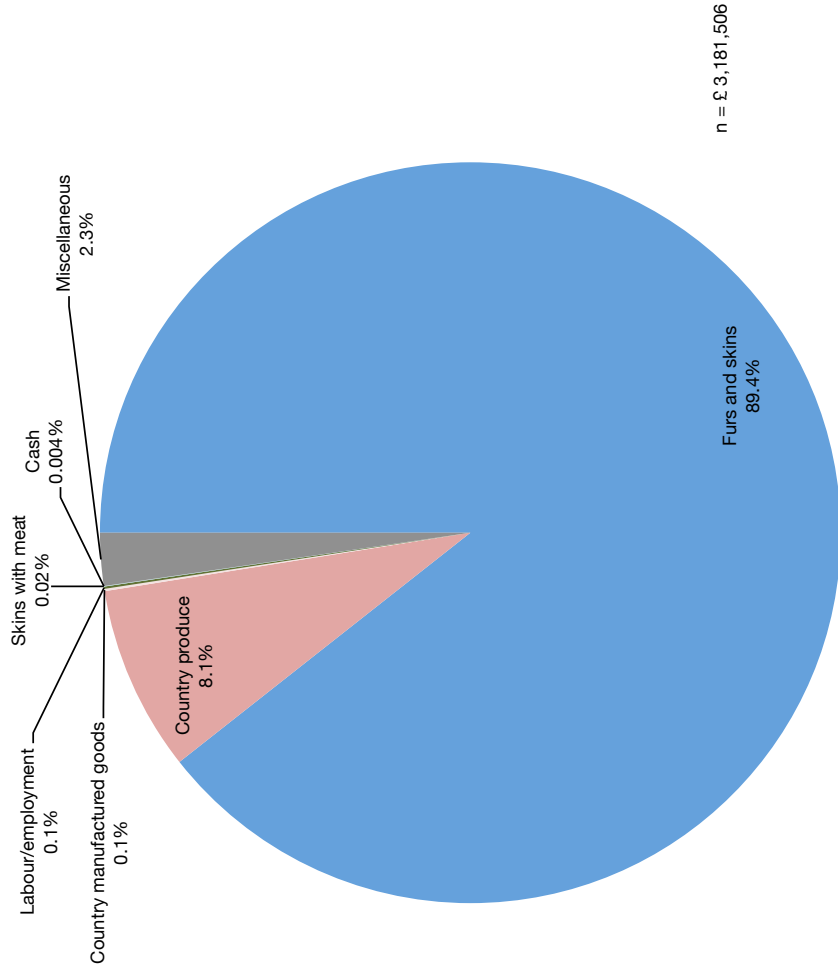
**Table 7.8 Proportion of Price of Items Traded by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1832 - 1876**

Category of Item	Total of all Years					Percent of Total
	Value of Items Purchased				total in d	
	£	s	d			
Furs and skins	11,845	2	--		2,842,824	89.4%
Country produce	1,079	11	3		259,095	8.1%
Country manufactured goods	11	2	2		2,666	0.1%
Labour/employment	18	6	3		4,395	0.1%
Skins with meat	3	2	6		750	0.02%
Cash	--	10	10		130	0.004%
Miscellaneous	298	10	6		71,646	2.3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>13,256</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>		<b>3,181,506</b>	

Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837; B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862; B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1866; B.89/d/188, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1875-1876



**Figure 7.33 Proportion of the Price of Items Traded by Indians, Ile a la Crosse  
Post, 1832 - 1876**



Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837; B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862; B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1866; and B.89/d/188, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1875-1876

the HBC was a mercantilist enterprise, it is not surprising to see that they took in a much greater monetary value in furs than the cost of goods sold over an extended period of time. However, when the price of furs was low in the European markets, it was more difficult for the Company to gain, especially given how stable the price of goods to Indians remained over the years.<sup>28</sup> For example, in outfit year 1865-1866, the price of a beaver pelt was 7 shillings (the lowest price recorded in the fur returns in this time period). In this outfit year, the Ile a la Crosse post sold £115/8/4 worth of goods to Indians but only received £50/6/3 worth of pelts and other goods in return – less than half the cost of goods sold. In comparison, in outfit year 1832-1833, the price of a beaver pelt was 30.5 shillings (the highest price recorded in the fur returns in this time period). In this outfit year, the Ile a la Crosse post sold £285/13/4 worth of goods to Indians and received £1,862/10/- worth of pelts and other goods in return – more than six times the cost of goods sold. Thus, the Indian ledgers suggest that while over a long period of time, the HBC was able to maintain a healthy gain, there were years when at least certain posts struggled to avoid significant losses. However, it must also be kept in mind that some of the losses shown in the Indian ledgers might not be reflected in the overall post operations, as Indians were not the only customers that the posts had. The Ile a la Crosse post, for example, sold goods to the nearby mission, as well as to various expeditions and exploring parties that went through the region. As well, when compared to the district fur returns and the profit and loss statements provided in the district accounts, it would seem that the Indian ledgers did not capture all of the Indian trade in any given outfit year.<sup>29</sup>

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28 For a discussion of the stability of the price of goods to Indians, please refer to Chapter 3 Methodology.

29 This discussion presents the most interesting findings in the analysis of the Indian ledgers.

### **Production and Consumption by Maori at the Otakou Whaling Station, 1841 – 1848<sup>30</sup>**

Similar to the Indian ledgers kept by the Hudson's Bay Company, the accounting ledgers and notebooks maintained by Octavius Harwood for his store at the Otakou whaling station reveal the basic patterns of consumption and production by Maori living and traveling in the region. Although Harwood's journal runs from 1838 until 1842, the surviving accounting records from the station and his store run from 1837 until 1857. However, transactions made by Maori can only be identified in the years from 1841 to 1848. Thus, the accounting records provide insight into the commercial interactions between Maori and *pakeha* at Otakou for several years after the journal entries stop, and at a time when whaling was in decline and carried out only sporadically at Otakou.

As was noted previously, the Weller brothers first opened the whaling station at Otakou in October 1831. They expanded their operations to include a station at nearby Purakanui in 1837. Harwood did not begin to operate his store until early in 1838. Three years later, the Wellers went bankrupt, J. Hoare continued whaling operations at the site (although on a much smaller scale), and Harwood and Charles Schultz agreed to continue operating the store at Otakou. Agricultural pursuits started to over-shadow the whaling operations at Otakou by the early 1840s, but Harwood's store continued operating as a regular trading base for deep-sea whalers

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Additional analysis of the ledgers can be found in Appendix B.

<sup>30</sup> Unless otherwise noted, information and data in this section are from Hocken Library, MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred, MS-0438/007 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook Number 4, MS-0438/009 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 6, MS-0438/010 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 7, MS-0438/011 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 8, MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 9, MS-0438/014 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 11, MS-0438/018 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 15, and MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16.

coming into Otago Harbour, for shore whalers still operating at Waikouaiti and Moeraki, and for local Maori.<sup>31</sup> The production and consumption patterns revealed by Harwood's accounting records must be understood in this context of having been established over the previous decade and as operating in a period of declining whaling operations for the eight years covered by the ledgers and notebooks.

Table 7.9 presents the number of items purchased by Maori at Harwood's store at the Otakou whaling station from 1841 to 1848. Although the ledgers record the specific and detailed items purchased by Maori, I have grouped those items into twelve basic categories for ease of analysis – ammunition, hunting technology, whaling technology, tools and other technology, household items, clothing, sewing materials, food, alcohol, tobacco, personal hygiene, and miscellaneous.<sup>32</sup> While Harwood usually made note of the date of transactions, sometimes it was not clear when certain purchases were made. These items have been listed under the column heading "Unknown Years." There were also some years, 1844 and 1847 particularly, when only a small number of transactions by Maori could be identified. At times, these small numbers skew the trends that appear in the data; thus, care has been taken in this analysis to note when data in these years influence any trends disproportionately.

Figure 7.34 presents the total number of items purchased by Maori at the Otakou whaling station by year from 1841 to 1848. There is a general decline in the number of purchases at the store by Maori over time. This decline is not

<sup>31</sup> Edward Shortland, *The Southern Districts of New Zealand; A Journal, with Passing Notices of the Customs of the Aborigines* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1974 [1851]), 11, 300-301; and Frank Tod, *Whaling in Southern Waters* (Dunedin: Frank Tod, 1982), 21-36, 66-68, and 87-99.

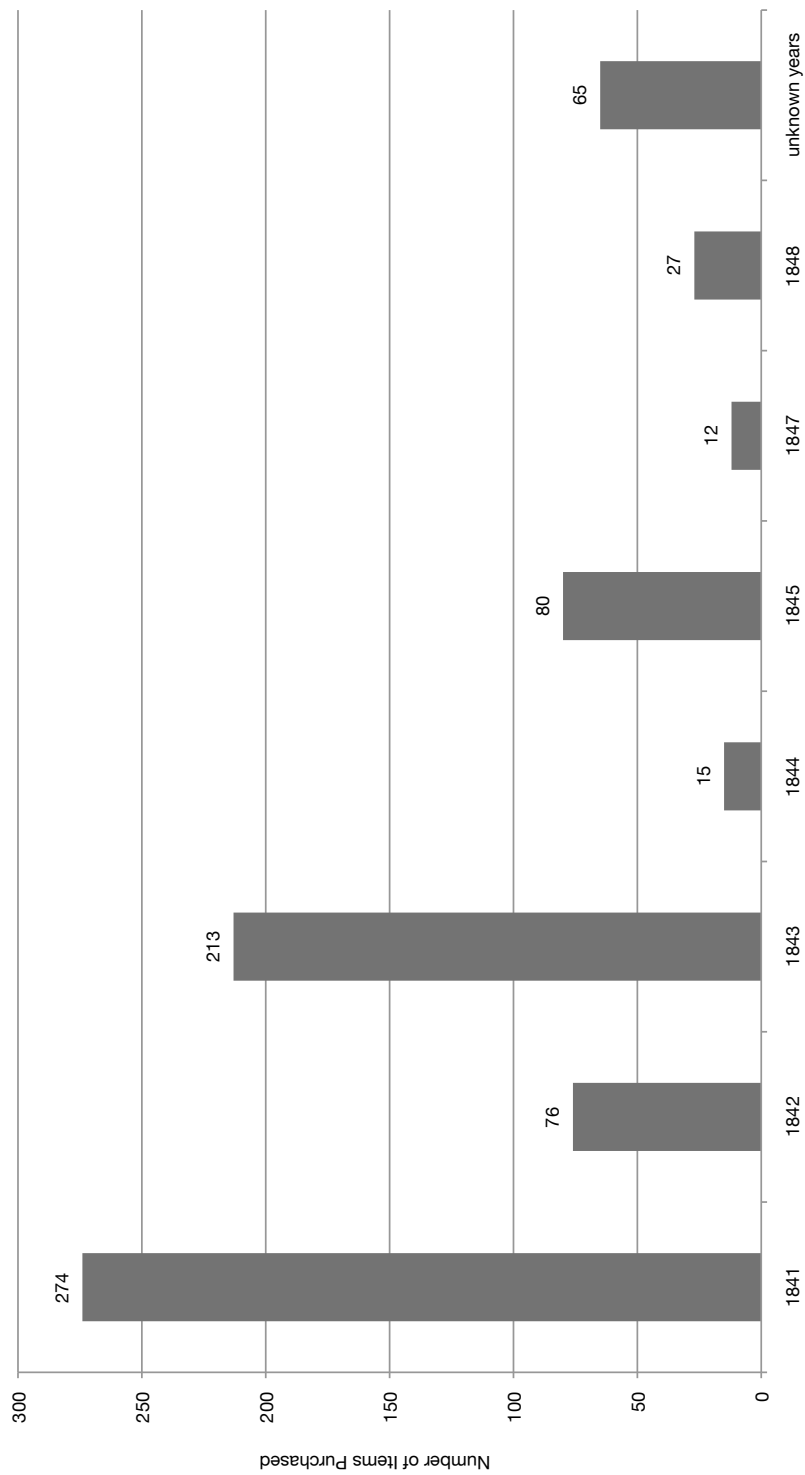
<sup>32</sup> As much as possible, I have kept the categories of analysis as similar as possible for the whaling records and the HBC records; however, there are differences in the categories that reflect differences in the nature of the two industries. For a more detailed discussion of these categories, please refer to Chapter 3 Methodology.

Table 7.9 Number of Items Purchased by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1841 - 1848

Category of Item	1841		1842		1843		1844		1845		1847		1848		Unknown Years		Total of all Years	
	Number of Items Purchased	Percent of Total	Number of Items Purchased	Percent of Total	Number of Items Purchased	Percent of Total	Number of Items Purchased	Percent of Total	Number of Items Purchased	Percent of Total	Number of Items Purchased	Percent of Total	Number of Items Purchased	Percent of Total	Number of Items Purchased	Percent of Total	Number of Items Purchased	Percent of Total
Ammunition	1	0.4%	4	5.3%	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	5	0.7%
Whaling technology	---	---	5	6.8%	---	---	---	---	2	2.5%	1	8.3%	---	---	1	1.5%	9	1.2%
Hunting technology	1	0.4%	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1	0.1%
Tools and other technology	12	4.4%	10	13.2%	6	2.8%	2	13.3%	1	1.3%	---	---	3	11.1%	12	18.5%	46	6.0%
Household items	14	5.1%	1	1.3%	118	55.4%	2	13.3%	23	28.8%	5	41.7%	4	14.8%	15	23.1%	182	23.9%
Clothing, total	152	55.5%	16	21.1%	13	6.1%	5	33.3%	15	18.8%	3	25.0%	8	29.6%	10	15.4%	222	29.1%
Clothing, unspecified	97	35.4%	1	1.3%	6	2.8%	---	---	8	10.0%	2	16.7%	5	18.5%	3	4.6%	122	16.0%
Clothing, men's	52	19.0%	13	17.1%	5	2.3%	5	33.3%	7	8.8%	1	8.3%	3	11.1%	6	9.2%	92	12.1%
Clothing, women's	1	0.4%	2	2.6%	2	0.9%	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	5	0.7%
Clothing, child's	2	0.7%	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1	0.4%
Sewing materials	46	16.8%	---	---	3	1.4%	2	13.3%	18	22.5%	---	---	---	---	5	7.7%	74	9.7%
Food, total	---	---	1	1.3%	4	1.9%	---	---	5	6.3%	1	8.3%	6	22.2%	4	6.2%	21	2.8%
Food, imported	---	---	1	1.3%	4	1.9%	---	---	1	1.3%	1	8.3%	6	22.2%	4	6.2%	17	2.2%
Food, country produce	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	4	5.0%	---	---	---	---	---	---	4	0.5%
Alcohol	34	12.4%	32	42.1%	59	27.7%	---	---	3	3.8%	1	8.3%	---	---	4	6.2%	133	17.5%
Tobacco	2	0.7%	2	2.6%	6	2.8%	2	13.3%	4	5.0%	1	8.3%	3	11.1%	5	7.7%	25	3.3%
Personal hygiene	2	0.7%	1	1.3%	4	1.9%	---	---	7	8.8%	---	---	---	---	6	9.2%	20	2.6%
Miscellaneous	10	3.6%	4	5.3%	---	---	2	13.3%	2	2.5%	---	---	3	11.1%	3	4.6%	24	3.1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>274</b>		<b>76</b>		<b>213</b>		<b>15</b>		<b>80</b>		<b>12</b>		<b>27</b>		<b>65</b>		<b>762</b>	

Source: Hocken Library, MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred, MS-0438/007 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook Number 4, MS-0438/009 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 6, MS-0438/010 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 7, MS-0438/011 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 8, MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 9, MS-0438/014 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 11, MS-0438/018 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 15, and MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16.

**Figure 7.34 Total Number of Items Purchased by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1841 - 1848**



Source: Hocken Library, MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred, MS-0438/007 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook Number 4, MS-0438/008 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 6, MS-0438/010 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 7, MS-0438/011 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 8, MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 9, MS-0438/014 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 11, MS-0438/018 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 15, and MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16.

unexpected given the diminishing whaling operations. Three years stand out as having particularly low numbers of transactions between Maori and Harwood – 1842, 1844, and 1847 – and no transactions with Maori were recorded by Harwood in 1846. In 1842, Joseph Crocome (a physician formally employed as the Otakou whaling station’s doctor) opened a store in nearby Waikouaiti, and Harwood became his main supplier. It is possible that Maori were trading more frequently in Waikouaiti this year as whaling operations were stronger there than at Otakou at this time.<sup>33</sup> Unfortunately, no accounting records remain from Waikouaiti that I could find, so this hypothesis cannot be verified. Nonetheless, Maori appeared to have resumed regular trade with Harwood at Otakou by the following year. It is not clear why there were so few transactions in 1844 and 1847 and no transactions in 1846, although incomplete accounting records remaining from Harwood’s store is one possible explanation.

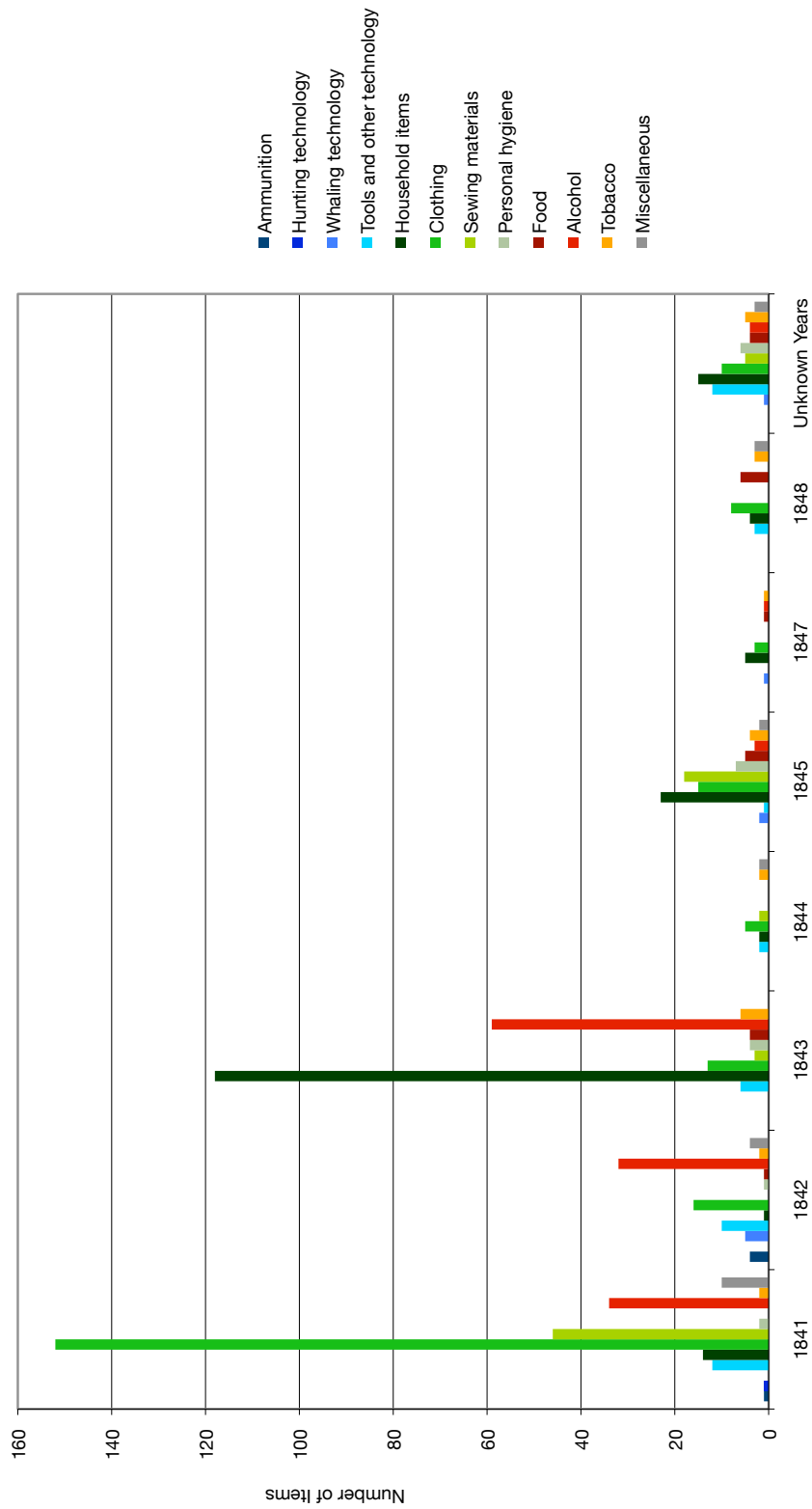
Figure 7.35 presents the number of items purchased by Maori each year, organized by category. Figure 7.36 presents the same data as a percentage of the total transactions in each year. In all years except 1842, household items or clothing were the most frequently purchased items.<sup>34</sup> In 1842, alcohol was the most frequently purchased item. Thus, it would seem that by the 1840s, Maori had become accustomed to at least some European fashions and household comforts. The consumption of alcohol was noted by many contemporaries as a particular characteristic of whaling culture, and thus it would seem from the accounting records that, in some cases at least, the Maori most closely connected to whaling also consumed alcohol.

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<sup>33</sup> Tod, *Whaling in Southern Waters*, 93.

<sup>34</sup> Household items included blankets, comforters, tablecloths, dishes, cups, knives, pots, kettles, jars, boxes, pipes, books, etc.

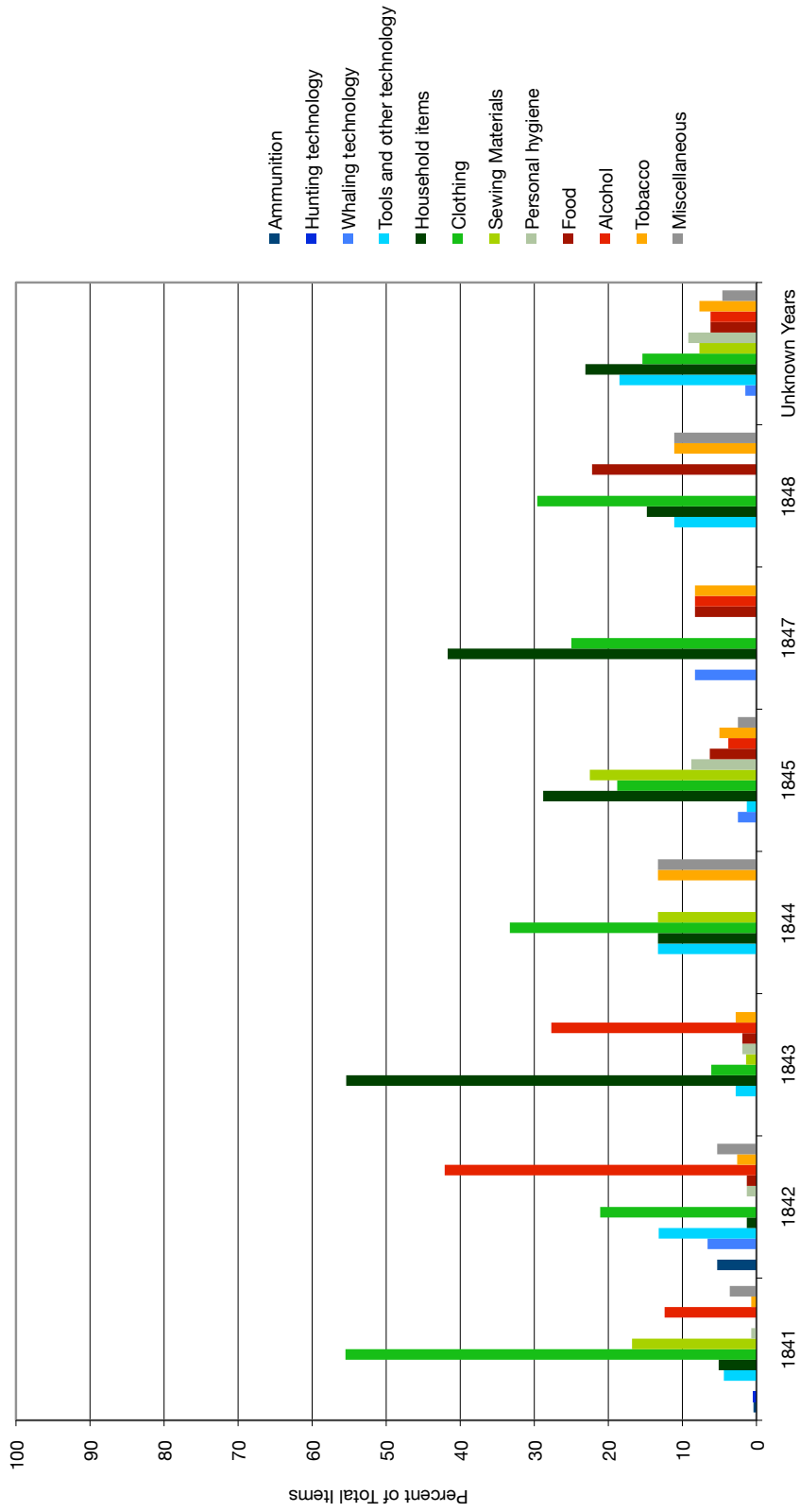
**Figure 7.35 Number of Items Purchased by Maori, Organized by Category, Otakou Whaling Station, 1841 - 1848**



Source: Hocken Library, MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred, MS-0438/007 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook Number 4, MS-0438/009 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 6, MS-0438/010 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 7, MS-0438/011 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 8, MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 9, MS-0438/014 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 11, MS-0438/018 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 15, and MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16.



**Figure 7.36 Proportion of the Number of Items Purchased by Maori, Organized by Category, Otakou Whaling Station, 1841 - 1848**



Source: Hocken Library, MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred, MS-0438/007 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook Number 4, MS-0438/009 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 6, MS-0438/010 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 7, MS-0438/011 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 8, MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 9, MS-0438/014 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 11, MS-0438/018 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 15, and MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16.

Table 7.10 presents the cost of items purchased by Maori at the Otakou whaling station each year from 1841 to 1848. Harwood used pounds sterling for his accounting records, and that same unit has been kept for much of this analysis. Figure 7.37 presents the total cost of all purchases by Maori over time. As with the number of transactions, there is a decline in the cost of transactions over time. Interestingly, despite there being fewer transactions in 1842 than in 1841 and 1843, the cost of the purchases in 1842 is less than 1841 but more than 1843. Thus, even though fewer over all transactions were made in 1842, the decline in trade is steadier when looking at the cost rather than the simple numbers. As before, in 1844 and 1847 little trading was recorded between Maori and Harwood's store and in 1846 there were no recorded transactions with Maori, for unknown reasons.

Figure 7.38 presents the cost of items purchased by Maori at the Otakou whaling station, organized by category, and Figure 7.39 presents the same data as a percent of the total cost of purchases.<sup>35</sup> Comparing the cost of purchases to the number of purchases each year reveals some interesting differences. Although Maori most frequently purchased items of clothing in 1841, they spent the most on alcohol in that year. Similarly, in 1842 they most frequently purchased alcohol, but spent the most on whaling technology.<sup>36</sup> In 1843, Maori most frequently purchased household items, but again spent the most on alcohol. In fact, the highest number of purchases and the highest cost of purchases are for different categories of items

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<sup>35</sup> Although Harwood's ledgers and notebooks recorded values in pounds sterling, these values have been converted to decimal pounds for Figures 7.37 and 7.38 for ease of calculating percentages.

<sup>36</sup> Interestingly in this year, much of the whaling technology was purchased by "Toawaik" (probably Tuhawaiki), a Ngai Tahu leader who owned and operated a shore whaling station of his own. Harry Morton, *The Whale's Wake* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1982), 172; and, Erik Olssen and Michael P. J. Reilly, "Te tutakitanga o nga ao e rua: Early contacts between two worlds," in *Ki Te Whaiiao: An Introduction to Maori Culture and Society*, eds. Tania M. Ka'ai, John C. Moorfield, Michael P. J. Reilly, and Sharon Mosley (Auckland: Pearson Education New Zealand, 2004), 142.

Table 7.10 Cost of Items Purchased by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1841 - 1848

Category of Item	1841				1842				1843				1844				Percent of Total	
	Value of Items Purchased		Percent of Total	Value of Items Purchased		Percent of Total	Value of Items Purchased		Percent of Total	Value of Items Purchased		Percent of Total	Value of Items Purchased		Percent of Total			
	£	s d		total in d	£		s d	total in d		£	s d		total in d	£		s d		total in d
Ammunition	3	---	36	0.1%	7	6	90	0.4%	---	---	---	---	---	---	---			
Whaling technology	---	---	---	---	69	2	16,592	77.4%	---	---	---	---	---	---	---			
Hunting technology	3	---	36	0.1%	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---			
Tools and other technology	20	11	4,932	13.4%	3	15	900	4.2%	---	---	---	---	---	---	---			
Household items	4	18	1,176	3.2%	0	2	30	0.1%	5	7	9	1,293	5.2%	60	3.1%			
Clothing, total	49	1	4,524	12.5%	6	7	1,524	7.1%	3	19	6	954	9.4%	2	17	684	34.9%	
Clothing, unspecified	30	4	7,248	19.6%	---	10	120	0.6%	1	4	---	288	2.8%	---	---	---		
Clothing, men's	18	---	4,320	11.7%	4	12	1,104	5.1%	1	3	6	282	2.8%	2	17	684	34.9%	
Clothing, women's	9	---	108	0.3%	1	5	300	1.4%	1	12	---	384	3.8%	---	---	---		
Clothing, child's	8	---	96	0.3%	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---		
Sewing materials*	6	16	1,638	4.4%	---	---	---	---	3	8	---	816	8.1%	1	16	432	22.0%	
Food, total	---	---	---	---	2	---	480	2.2%	8	12	7	2,071	20.5%	---	---	---		
Food, imported	---	---	---	---	2	---	480	2.2%	8	12	7	2,071	20.5%	---	---	---		
Food, country produce	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---		
Alcohol**	97	12	23,478	63.6%	5	2	1,230	5.7%	10	15	9	2,589	25.6%	---	---	---		
Tobacco	1	10	365	1.0%	1	3	276	1.3%	7	6	3	1,755	17.3%	1	17	6	450	22.9%
Personal hygiene	---	4	48	0.1%	---	6	6	0.03%	---	10	---	120	1.2%	---	---	---		
Miscellaneous	2	14	654	1.8%	1	6	312	1.5%	---	---	---	---	---	1	2	264	13.5%	
<b>Total</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>36,887</b>		<b>89</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>21,440</b>		<b>42</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>10,126</b>		<b>8</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1,962</b>		

Source: Hocken Library, MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred, MS-0438/007 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook Number 4, MS-0438/009 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 6, MS-0438/010 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 7, MS-0438/011 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 8, MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 9, MS-0438/014 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 11, MS-0438/018 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 15, and MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16.

\*In the unknown years column, one item purchased in this category was given no value in the account books, as no value for an equivalent item could be found in other account books, a value of £0 was assigned to this item.

\*\*In 1842, one item of alcohol purchased was given no value in the account books, as no value for an equivalent item could be found in other account books, a value of £0 was assigned to this item.

Table 7.10 Cost of Items Purchased by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1841 - 1848, continued

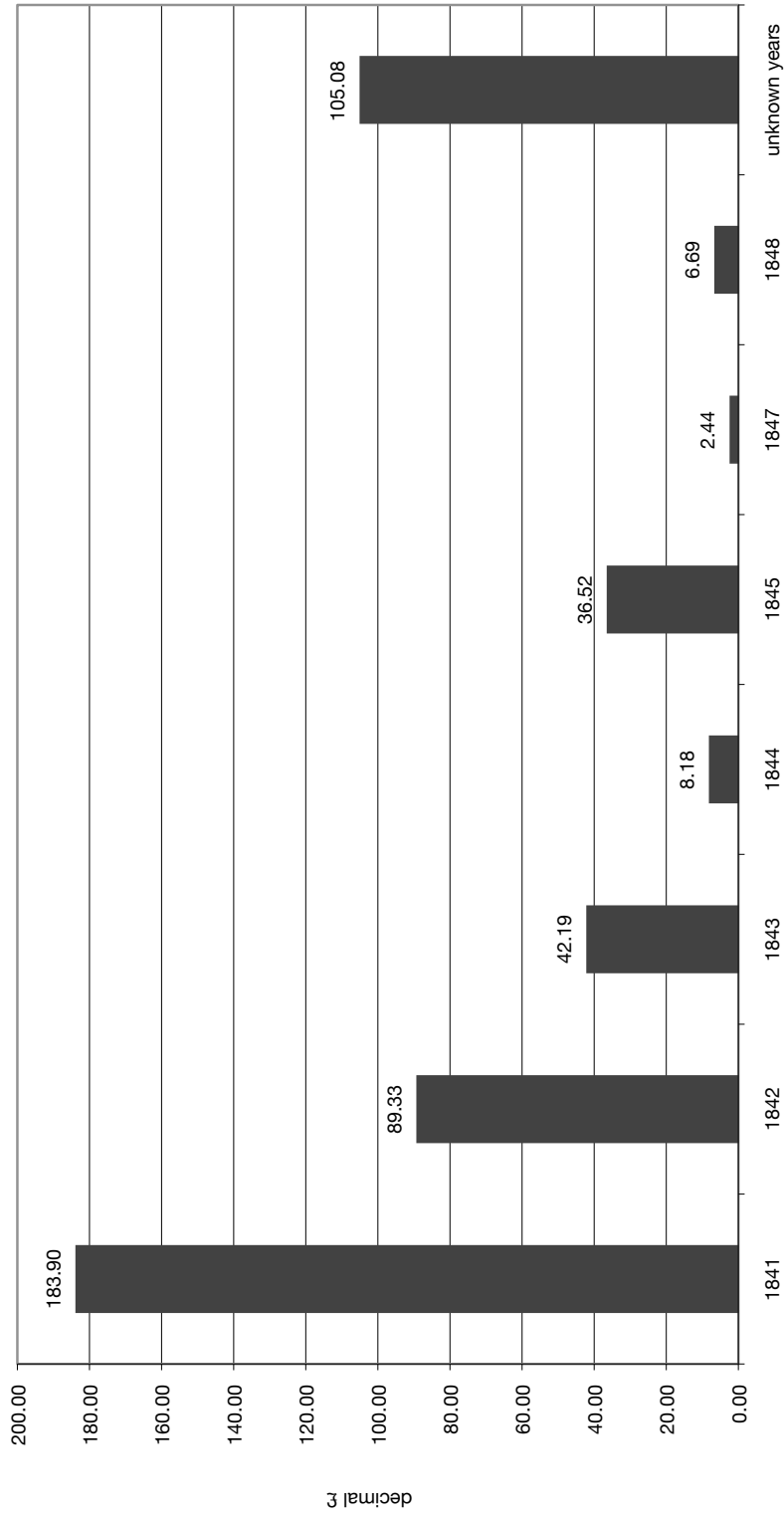
Category of Item	1845				1847				1848				Unknown Years				Total of all Years			
	Value of Items Purchased		Percent of Total		Value of Items Purchased		Percent of Total		Value of Items Purchased		Percent of Total		Value of Items Purchased		Percent of Total		Value of Items Purchased		Percent of Total	
	£	s d	total in d		£	s d	total in d		£	s d	total in d		£	s d	total in d		£	s d	total in d	
Ammunition																				
Whaling technology	2		24	0.3%			12	2.0%												
Hunting technology																				
Tools and other technology	3	6	42	0.5%																
Household items	12	16	3,075	35.1%			114	19.5%	1	1	253	15.8%	2	3	516	1.8%	24	62	25	6,529
Clothing, total	4	19	1,194	13.6%			360	61.4%	3	11	852	53.1%	2	7	702	2.5%	70	91	12	18,042
Clothing, unspecified	1	17	450	5.1%			216	36.9%	2	10	600	37.4%					34	81	12	9,144
Clothing, men's	3	2	744	8.5%			144	24.6%	1	1	252	15.7%					30	64	6	7,974
Clothing, women's																				
Clothing, child's																				
Sewing materials*	8	2	3,098	35.3%																
Food, total	3	4	774	8.8%			52	8.9%	14	6	174	10.8%					13	45	29	3,689
Food, imported																				
Food, country produce	2	12	624	7.1%																
Alcohol**																				
Tobacco	15	6	186	2.1%			12	2.0%	1	1	258	16.1%					11	66	36	3,468
Personal hygiene																				
Miscellaneous	13		156	1.8%																
	13		156	1.8%																
<b>Total</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>8,765</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>586</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>1,606</b>	<b>117</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>28,218</b>	<b>483</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>116,838</b>

Source: Hocken Library, MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred, MS-0438/007 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook Number 4, MS-0438/009 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 6, MS-0438/010 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 7, MS-0438/011 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 8, MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 9, MS-0438/014 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 11, MS-0438/018 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 15, and MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16.

\*In the unknown years column, one item purchased in this category was given no value in the account books; as no value for an equivalent item could be found in other account books, a value of £0 was assigned to this item.

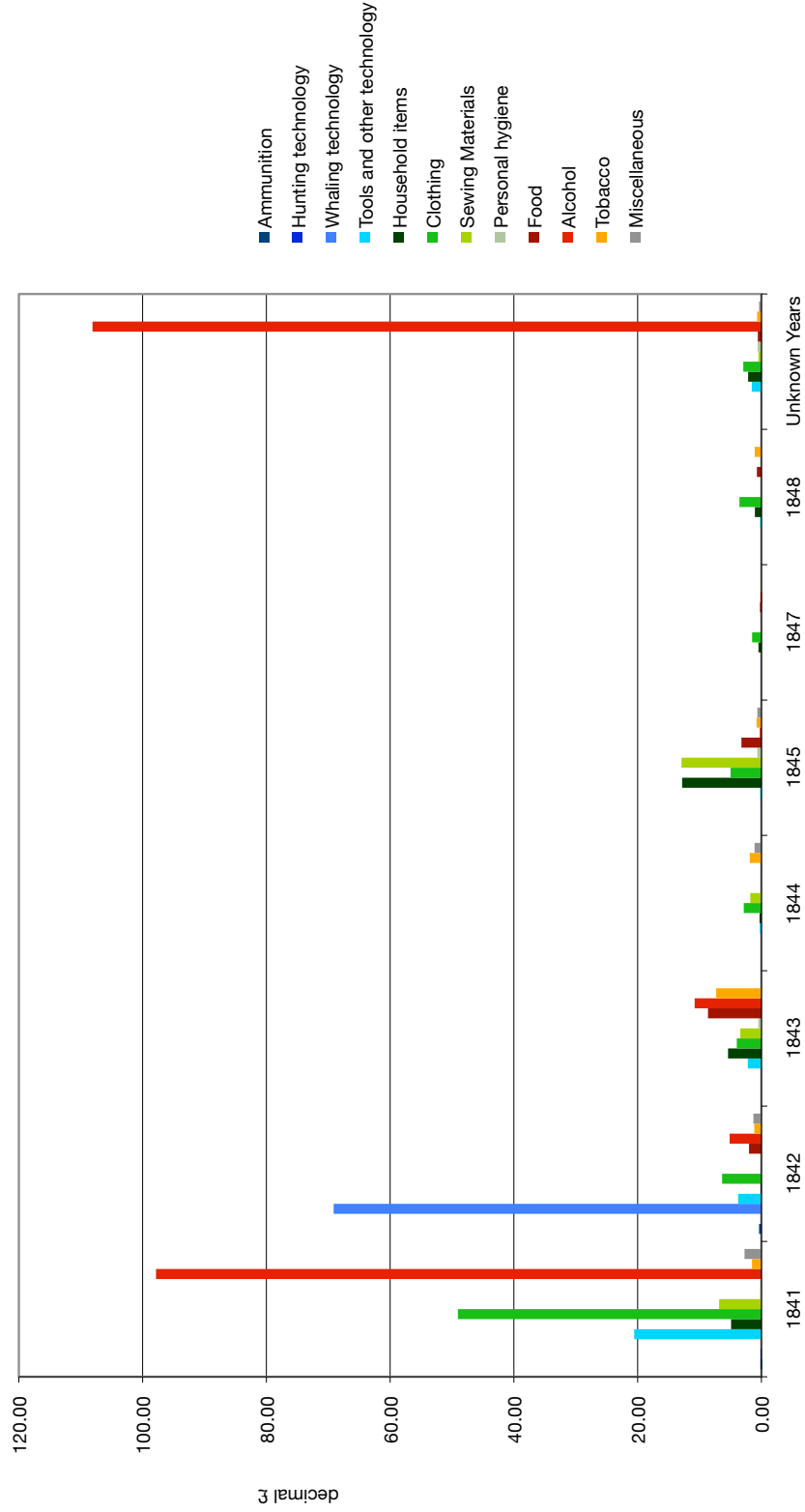
\*\*In 1842, one item of alcohol purchased was given no value in the account books; as no value for an equivalent item could be found in other account books, a value of £0 was assigned to this item.

**Figure 7.37 Total Cost of Items Purchased by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1841 - 1848**



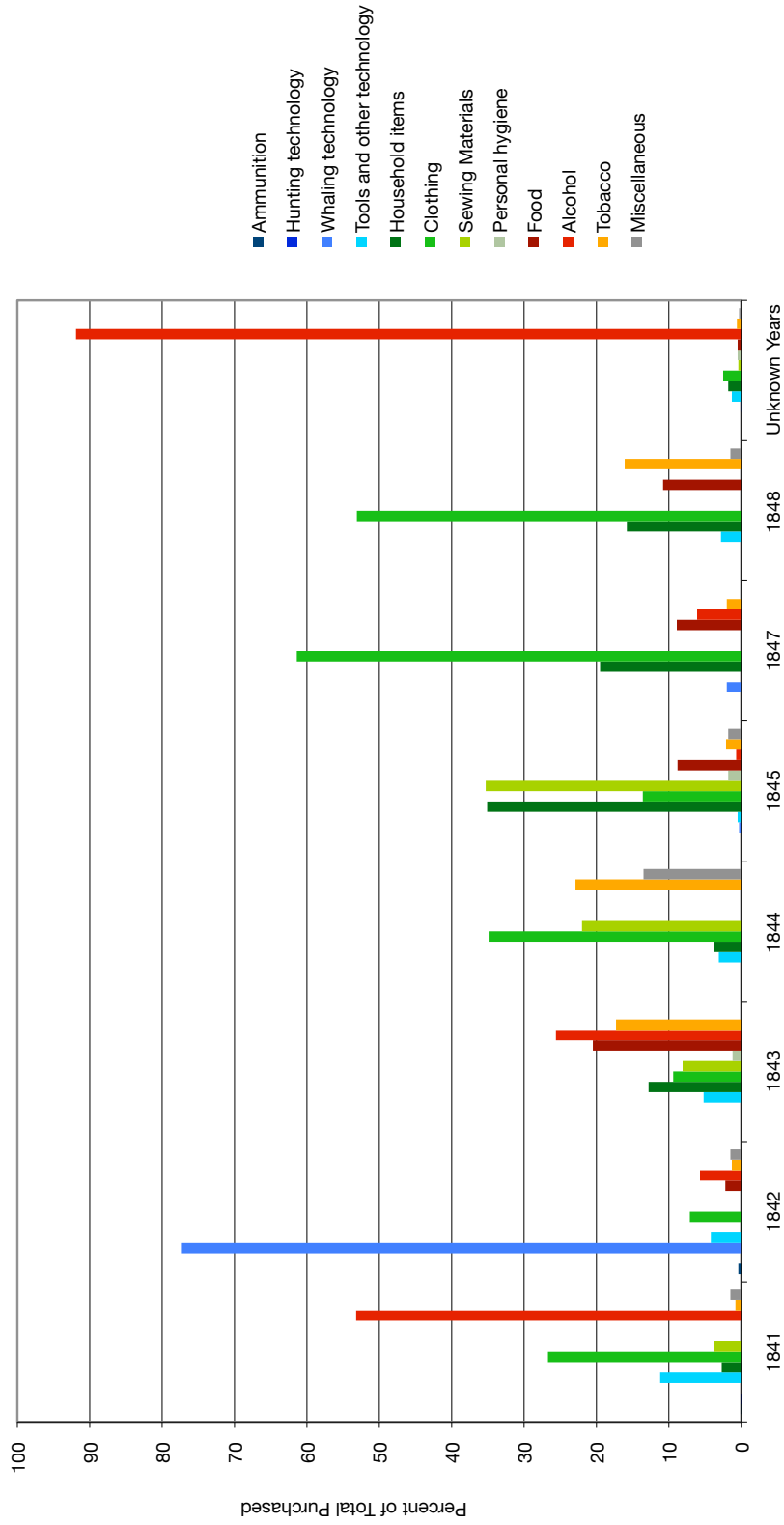
Source: Hocken Library, MS-060.4/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred. MS-0438/007 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook Number 4, MS-0438/009 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 6, MS-0438/010 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 7, MS-0438/011 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 8, MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 9, MS-0438/014 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 11, MS-0438/018 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 15, and MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16.

**Figure 7.38 Cost of Items Purchased by Maori, Organized by Category, Otakou Whaling Station, 1841 - 1848**



Source: Hocken Library, MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred, MS-0438/007 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook Number 4, MS-0438/009 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 6, MS-0438/010 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 7, MS-0438/011 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 8, MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 9, MS-0438/014 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 11, MS-0438/018 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 15, and MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16.

**Figure 7.39 Proportion of the Cost of Items Purchased by Maori, Organized by Category, Otakou Whaling Station, 1841 - 1848**



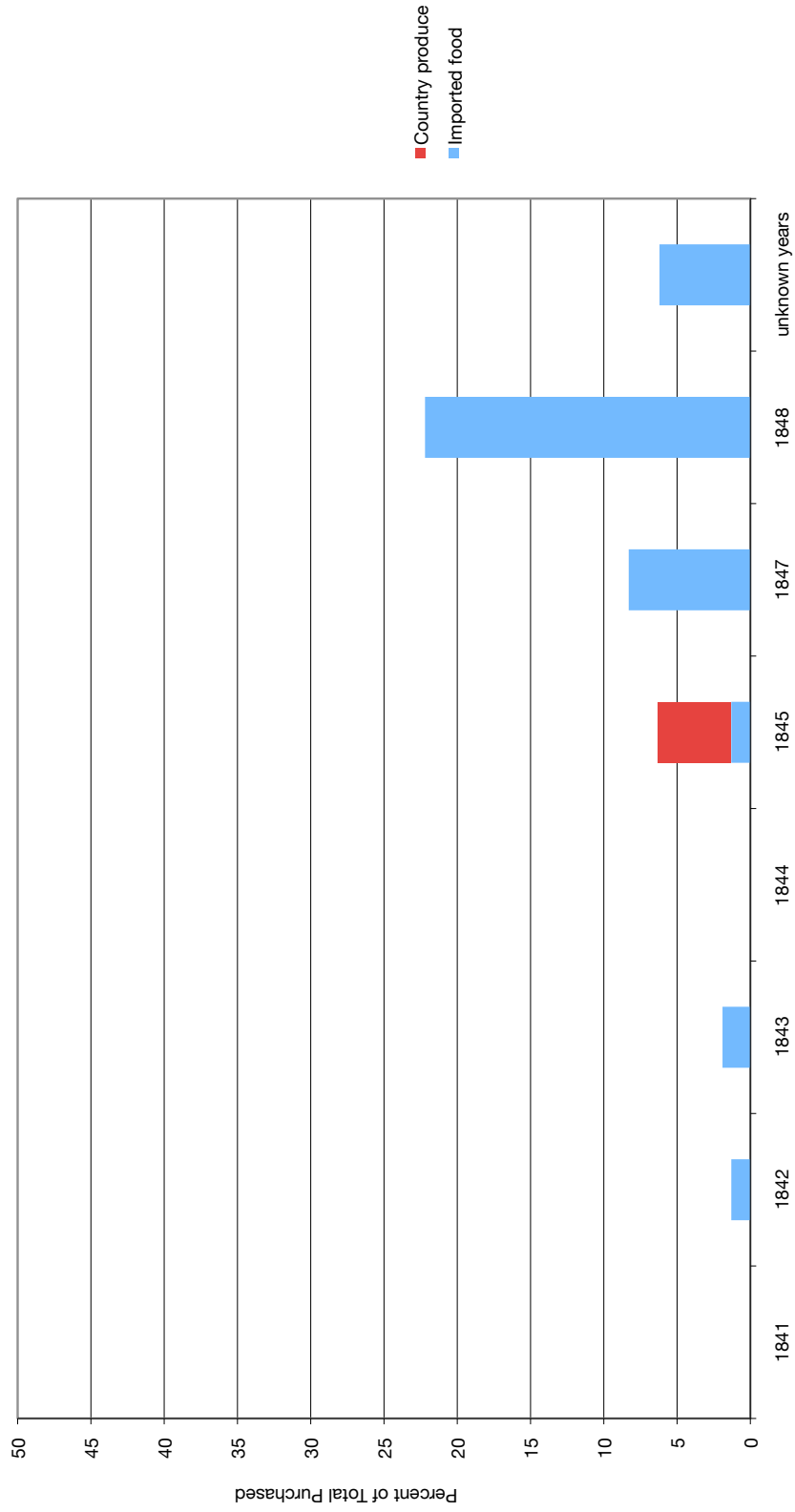
Source: Hocken Library, MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred, MS-0438/007 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook Number 4, MS-0438/009 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 6, MS-0438/010 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 7, MS-0438/011 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 8, MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 9, MS-0438/014 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 11, MS-0438/018 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 15, and MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16.

in all years except 1844. While household and personal items were the most frequently purchased items in all years except 1842, Maori spent the most money on these items only in the last four years accounted for in the ledgers and notebooks (1844 to 1848). Prior to that, the most money was spent on alcohol in 1841 and 1843, and whaling technology in 1842. It would seem that as the whaling industry declined in the Otakou region, the Maori were most interested in continuing to purchase household and personal items, suggesting that these items had been well incorporated into their lifestyles by the mid-nineteenth century.

Certain individual items demonstrate basic trends over this time period as well. For example, the number of items of food purchased by Maori at the Otakou station increased steadily over the years, with the exception of 1844 when there were no purchases of food items (see Figure 7.40). However, only 15 transactions by Maori in total were recorded that year, and thus this anomaly might reflect missing data from the accounting records. The cost of the food items purchased by Maori also shows a general increase over time, with the exception of 1843 (see Figure 7.41). In this year, Maori spent £8/12/7 on food items, while they spent only £2 on food items in 1842 and £3/4/6 in 1845. Most of the money was spent on a one-time purchase of coffee, estimated at a value of £5, and on a one-time purchase of flour, estimated at a value of £3/8/1. Nonetheless, it may be that the Maori became more accustomed to, and more willing to purchase, European-style food over time in the Otakou region. The increased pressure on local resources by whalers (both the shore whalers and the visiting deep-sea whalers) may also have led to a depletion of some resources, forcing Maori to turn to additional food sources over time. It might also have become easier over time to purchase some types of European foods

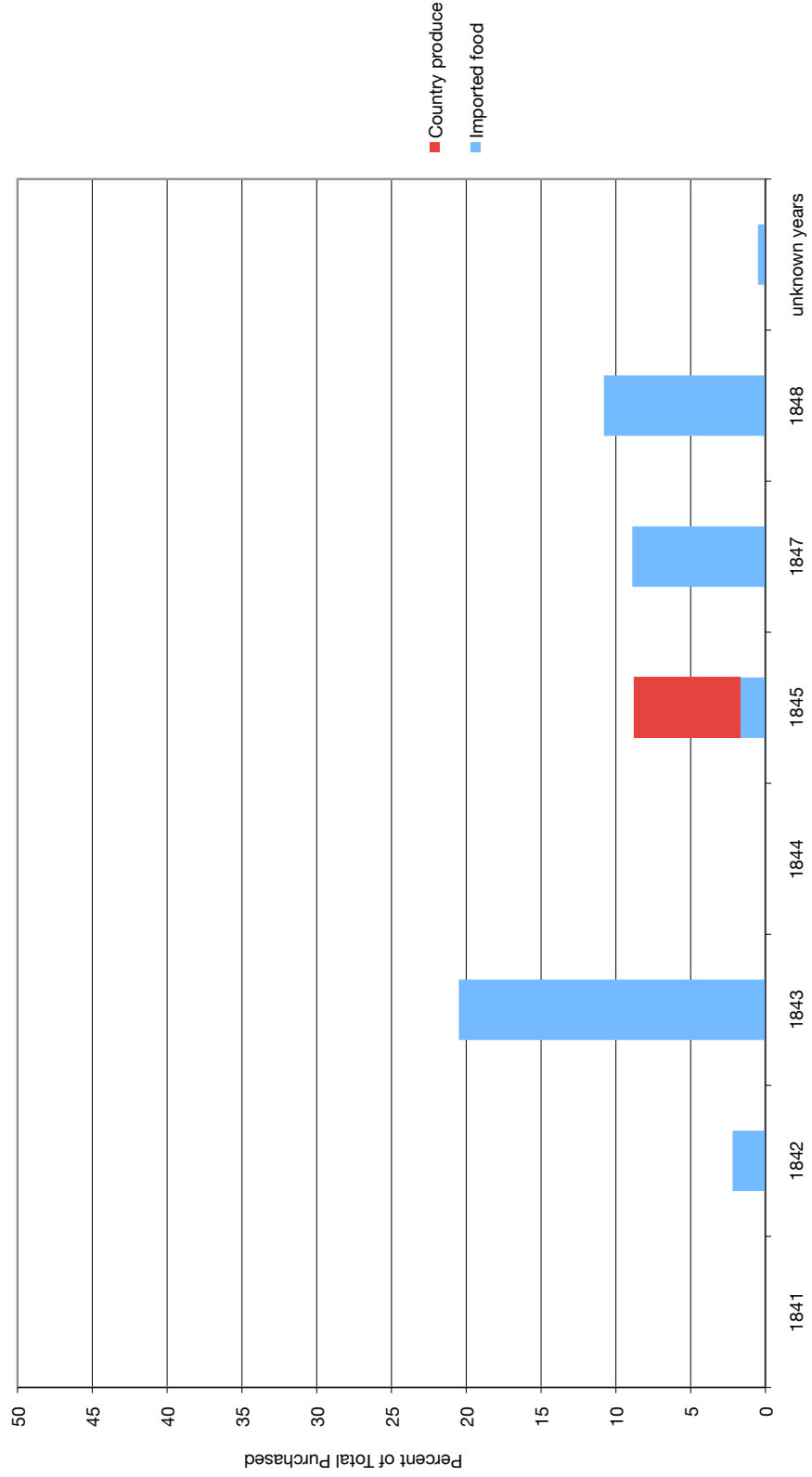


**Figure 7.40 Proportion of the Number of Food Items Purchased by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1841 -1848**



Source: Hocken Library, MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred, MS-0438/007 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook Number 4, MS-0438/009 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 6, MS-0438/010 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 7, MS-0438/011 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 8, MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 9, MS-0438/014 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 11, MS-0438/018 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 15, and MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16.

**Figure 7.41 Proportion of the Cost of Food Purchased by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1841 - 1848**



Source: Hocken Library, MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred, MS-0438/007 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook Number 4, MS-0438/009 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 6, MS-0438/010 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 7, MS-0438/011 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 8, MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 9, MS-0438/014 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 11, MS-0438/018 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 15, and MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16.

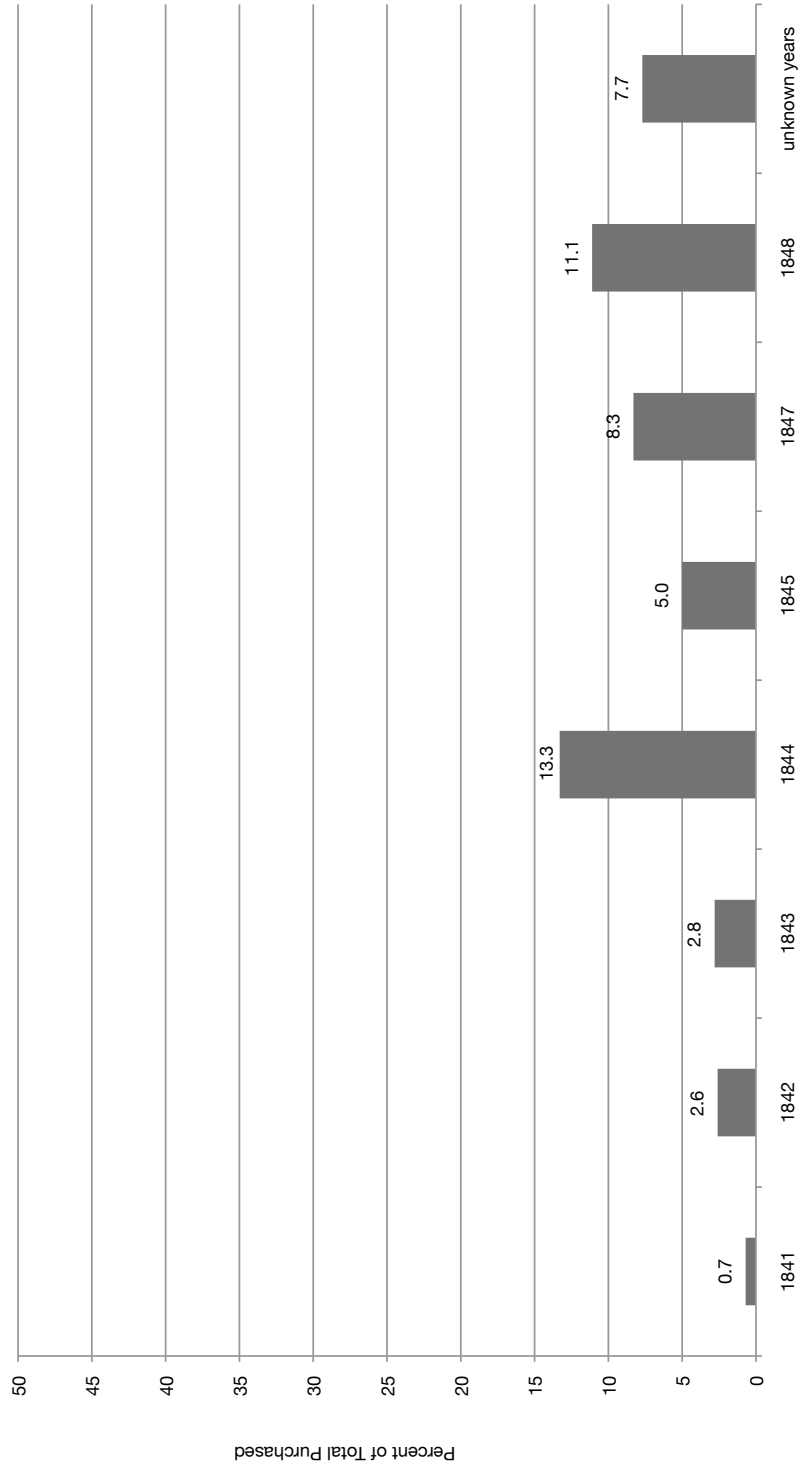
than to provide all of the caloric needs of their families from country foods.

Similarly, the number of times that Maori purchased tobacco steadily increases between 1841 and 1848, with the exception of the year 1844 (see Figure 7.42). In 1844, tobacco was purchased 13.3 percent of the time; however, this figure represents two transactions of a total of fifteen transactions in the entire year. The low number of overall transactions this year might be skewing the overall trend. The cost of tobacco purchased by Maori is more sporadic (see Figure 7.43); in 1843 particularly, Maori purchased £7/6/3 worth of tobacco, considerably more than any other year. In general, though, it would seem that the Maori became more interested in purchasing tobacco, at least in frequency, over time.

Finally, both the number and the cost of personal hygiene items purchased by Maori at the Otakou whaling station increased over time (see Figure 7.44 and Figure 7.45). Personal hygiene items included such things as soap, mirrors, combs, and handkerchiefs. Again, these data suggest that the Maori were increasingly interested in certain European manufactured goods in the Otakou region. At the same time, more sporadic purchases of various forms of European technology suggest that the Maori were selective in what they chose to incorporate into their lifestyle.

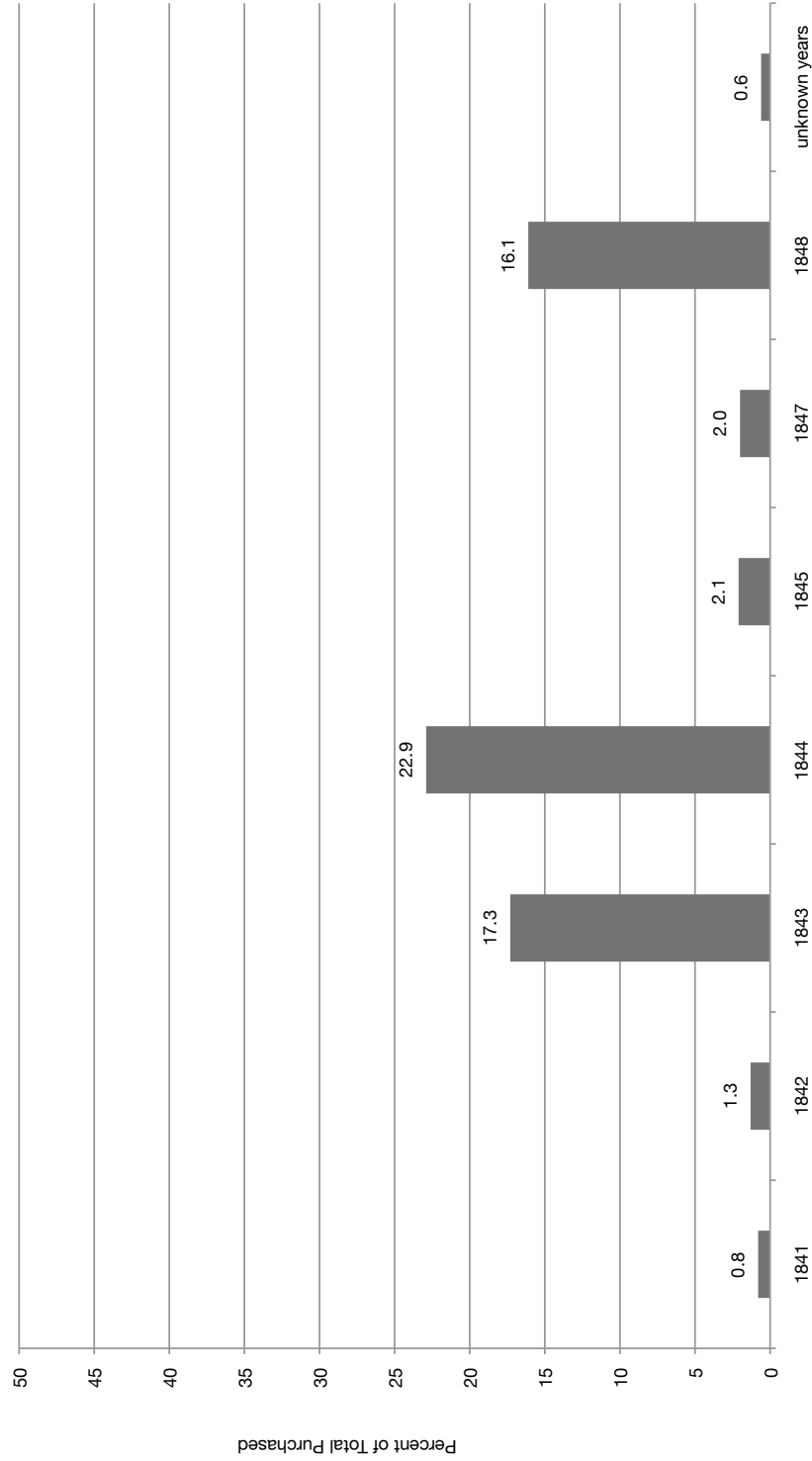
In addition to recording the detailed items purchased by Maori at his store, Harwood also recorded the items that Maori brought in to trade and/or sell at his store. Table 7.11 presents the number of items traded by Maori at the Otakou whaling station from 1841 to 1848. Again, while Harwood recorded the detailed and specific items traded by Maori, I have grouped these items into five basic categories – whale bone, country produce, country manufactured goods, cash, and

**Figure 7.42 Proportion of the Number of Times Tobacco was Purchased by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1841 - 1848**



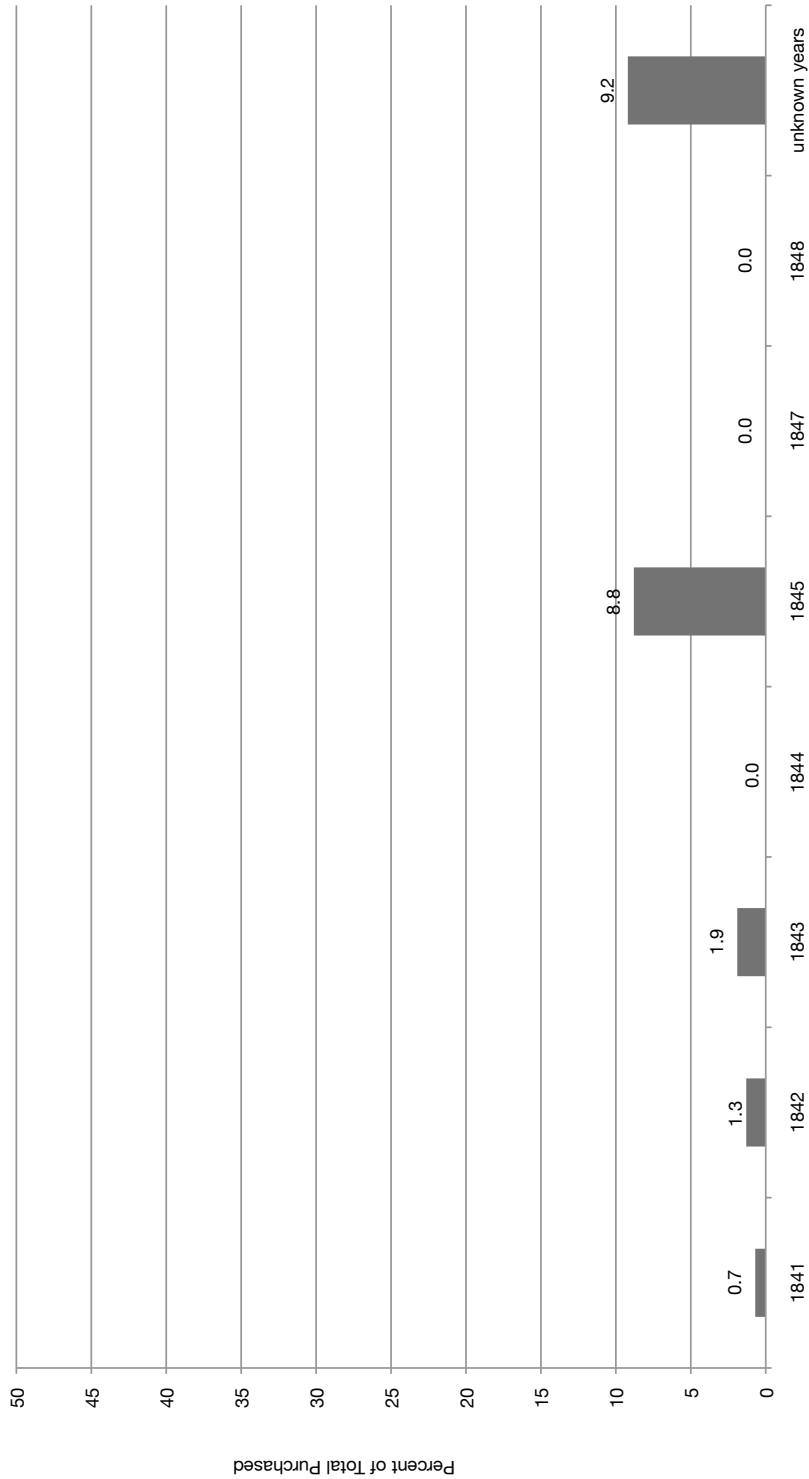
Source: Hocken Library, MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred, MS-0438/007 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook Number 4, MS-0438/009 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 6, MS-0438/010 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 7, MS-0438/011 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 8, MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 9, MS-0438/014 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 11, MS-0438/018 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 15, and MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16.

**Figure 7.43 Proportion of the Cost of Tobacco Purchased by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1841 - 1848**



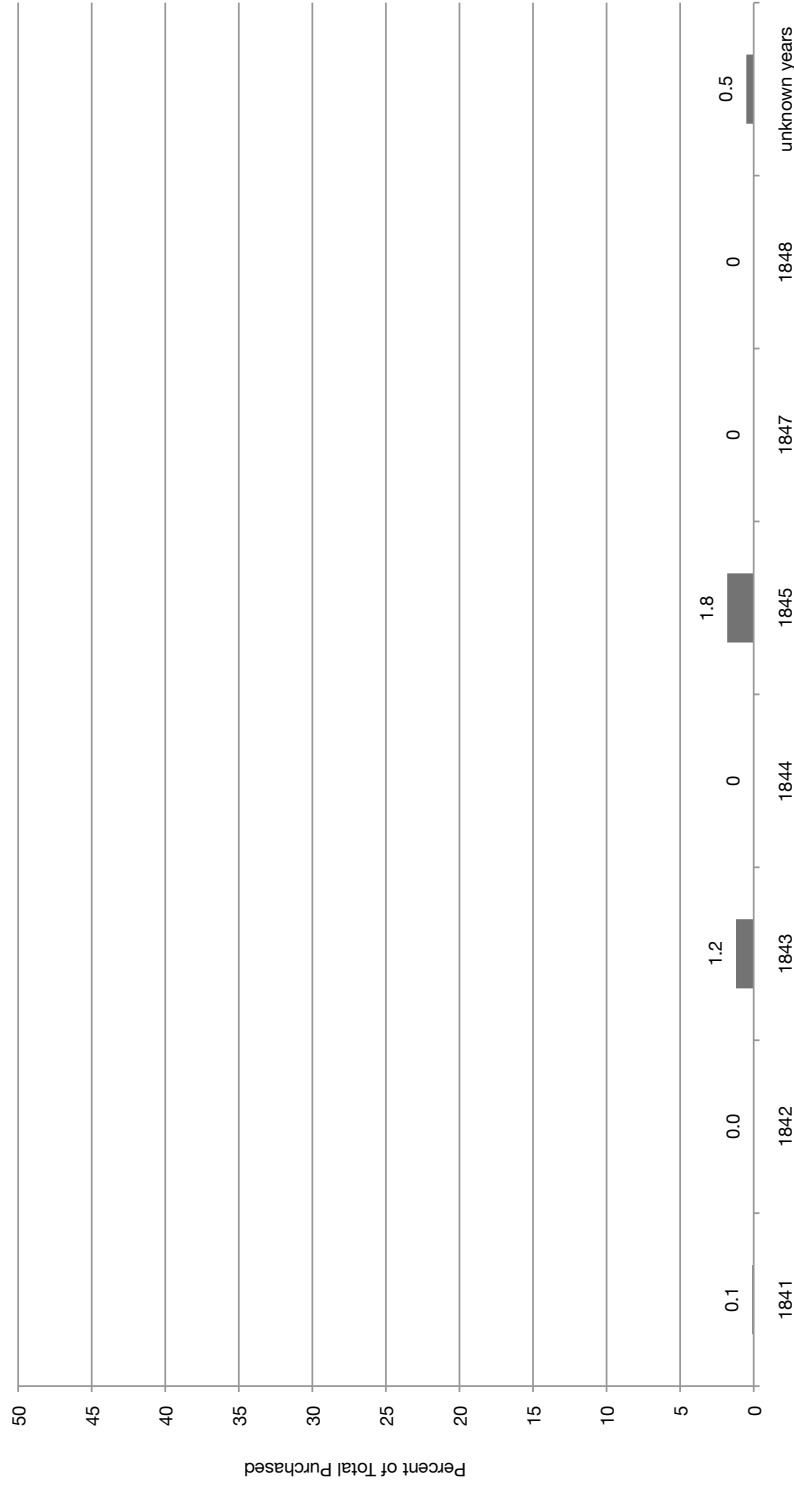
Source: Hocken Library, MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred, MS-0438/007 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook Number 4, MS-0438/009 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 6, MS-0438/010 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 7, MS-0438/011 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 8, MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 9, MS-0438/014 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 11, MS-0438/018 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 15, and MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16.

**Figure 7.44 Proportion of the Number of Personal Hygiene Items Purchased by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1841 - 1848**



Source: Hocken Library, MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred, MS-0438/007 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook Number 4, MS-0438/009 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 6, MS-0438/010 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 7, MS-0438/011 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 8, MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 9, MS-0438/014 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 11, MS-0438/018 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 15, and MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16.

**Figure 7.45 Proportion of the Cost of Personal Hygiene Items Purchased by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1841 - 1848**



Source: Hocken Library, MS-0604/003 Herwood Family Papers, Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred, MS-0438/007 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook Number 4, MS-0438/009 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 6, MS-0438/010 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 7, MS-0438/011 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 8, MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 9, MS-0438/014 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 11, MS-0438/018 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 15, and MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16.

Table 7.11 Number of Items Traded by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1841 - 1848

Category of Item	1841		1842		1843		1845		1847		1848		Unknown Years		Total of all Years	
	Number of Items Purchased	Percent of Total	Number of Items Purchased	Percent of Total	Number of Items Purchased	Percent of Total	Number of Items Purchased	Percent of Total	Number of Items Purchased	Percent of Total	Number of Items Purchased	Percent of Total	Number of Items Purchased	Percent of Total	Number of Items Purchased	Percent of Total
Whale bone	---	---	1	4.5%	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1	0.4%
Country produce	43	29.7%	16	72.7%	24	100.0%	46	100.0%	1	25.0%	2	28.6%	10	90.9%	142	54.8%
Country manufactured goods	1	0.7%	1	4.5%	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	2	0.8%
Cash	101	69.7%	3	13.6%	---	---	---	---	---	---	4	57.1%	---	---	108	41.7%
Miscellaneous	---	---	1	4.5%	---	---	---	---	3	75.0%	1	14.3%	1	9.1%	6	2.3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>145</b>		<b>22</b>		<b>24</b>		<b>46</b>		<b>4</b>		<b>7</b>		<b>11</b>		<b>259</b>	

Source: Hocken Library, MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred, MS-0438/007 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook Number 4, MS-0438/009 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 6, MS-0438/010 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 7, MS-0438/011 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 8, MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 9, MS-0438/014 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 11, MS-0438/018 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 15, and MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16.



miscellaneous.<sup>37</sup> There are fewer records indicating what the Maori brought in for trade than indicating what they purchased. In particular, Harwood recorded very few items traded by Maori in the years 1847 and 1848 and no transactions in the years 1844 and 1846. It may be that Harwood made more careful record of the items brought in for trade from the Maori in ledgers or notebooks that have not been retained in any archives or libraries, at least that I could find, or detailed the trade items on shipping lists when goods were sent to Sydney.

Figure 7.46 presents the total number of items traded by Maori at the Otakou whaling station by year from 1841 to 1848. As with the purchases made by Maori, there is a general decline in the number of items traded by Maori, although this decline is more sporadic and may reflect missing records from the accounting data. Figure 7.47 presents the number of trade transactions by Maori each year organized by category. Figure 7.48 presents the same data as a percentage of the total transactions each year. In most years, country produce accounted for the most frequent item traded by Maori. However, in 1841 and 1848, cash was used most frequently to pay for items purchased, and in 1847 “rent” (categorized as “miscellaneous”) was used most frequently to pay for items purchased.<sup>38</sup> Unlike in the fur trade where cash was used infrequently, whalers and shore whaling station employees in New Zealand were usually paid according to the “lay system.” In other words, employees were paid in both goods and cash based on each individual’s rank and thus his share in the profits of the whaling season (his “lay”).<sup>39</sup> While it is

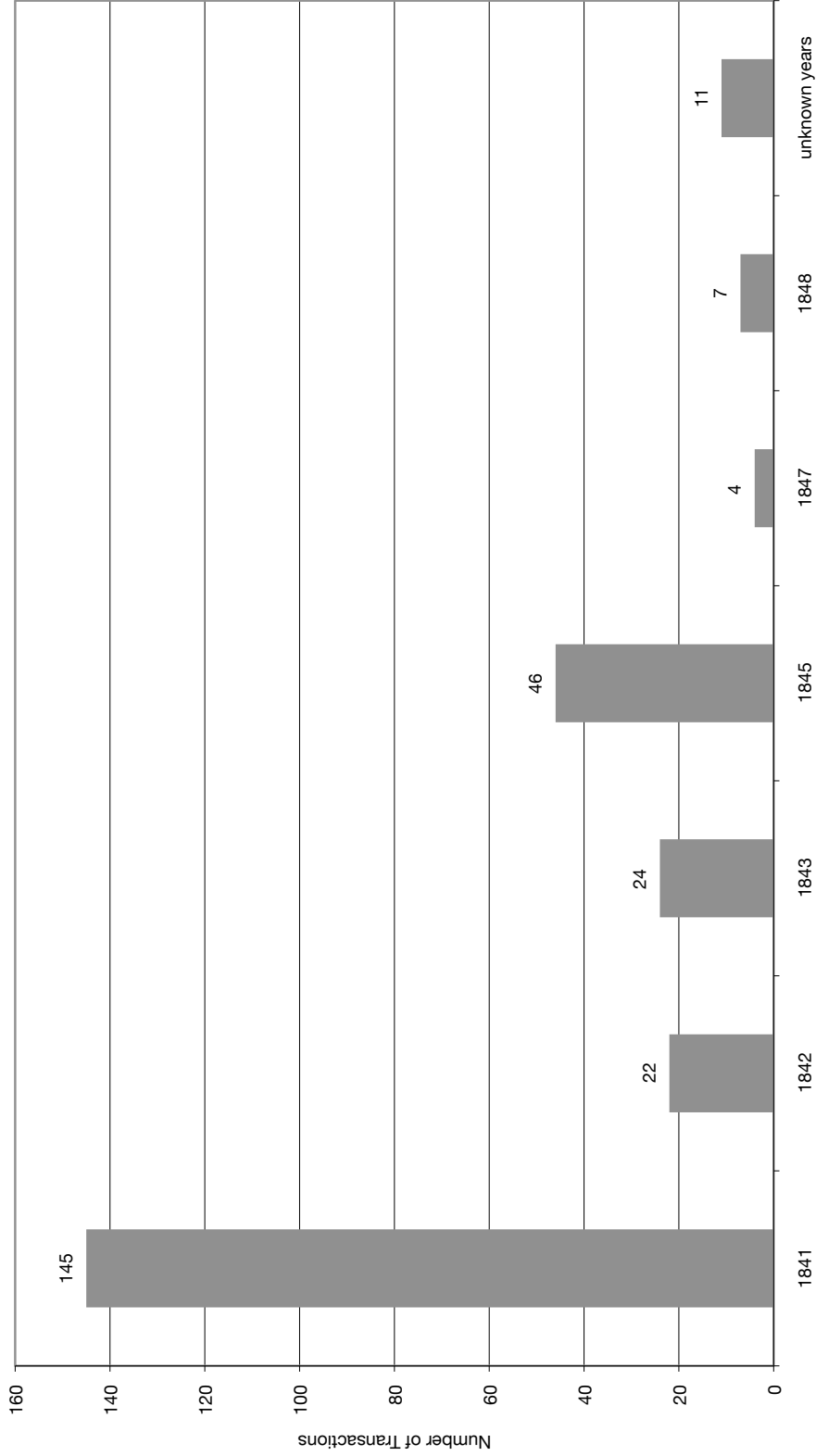
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<sup>37</sup> Country produce included such items as fish, birds, flax, potatoes, pork and greenstone. Country manufactured goods included such items as mats and baskets. The miscellaneous category included such items as rent, credit and “trade”. Again, I have tried to keep these categories as consistent with the categories used in the fur trade analysis as possible, bearing in mind the different natures of the industries.

<sup>38</sup> Harwood did not specify in the accounting records to what the term “rent” specifically referred.

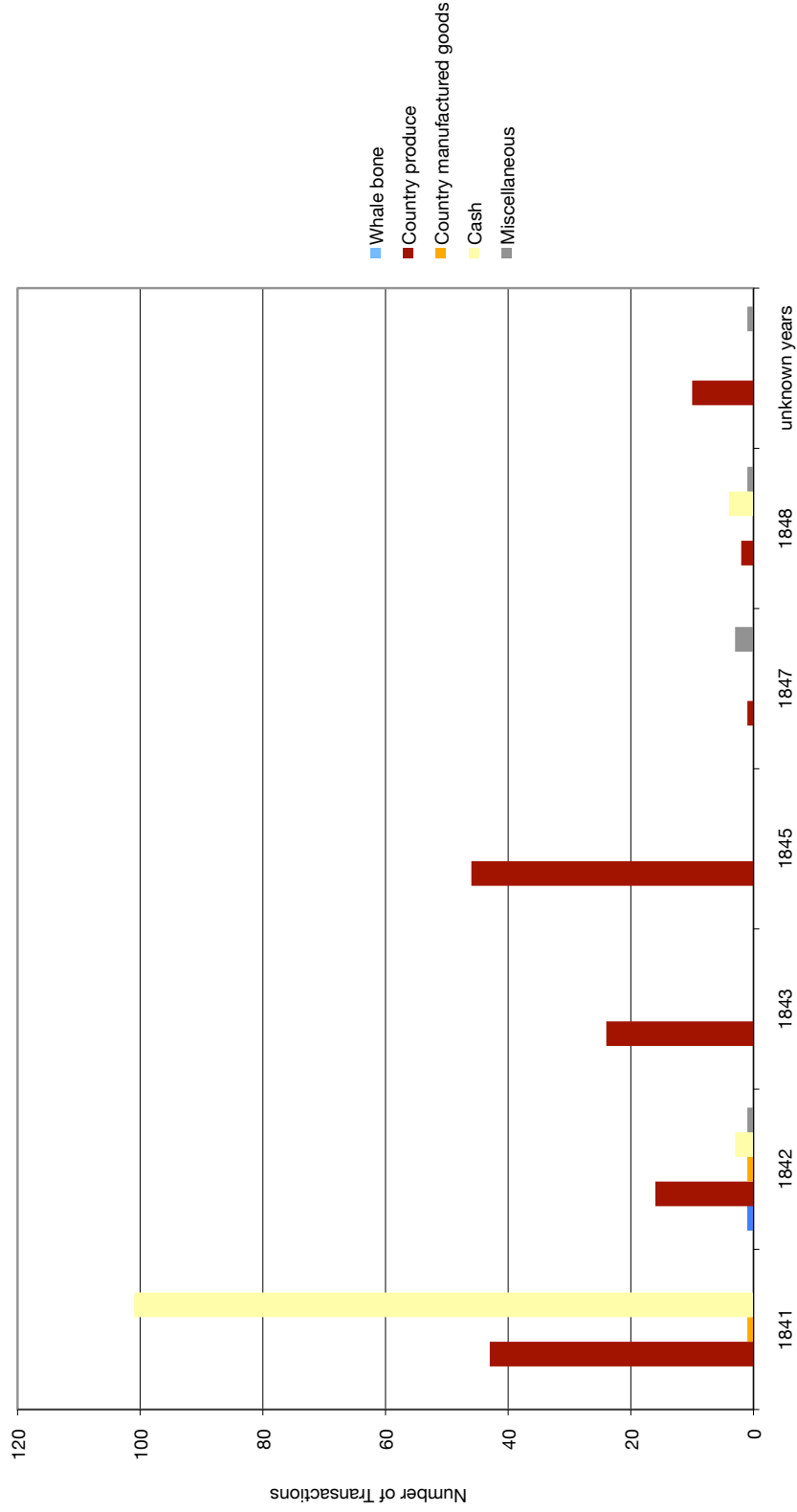
<sup>39</sup> Morton, *The Whale’s Wake*, 75-78. Morton further argued that by the mid-1830s, at least in the

**Figure 7.46 Total Number of Trade Transactions by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1841 - 1848**



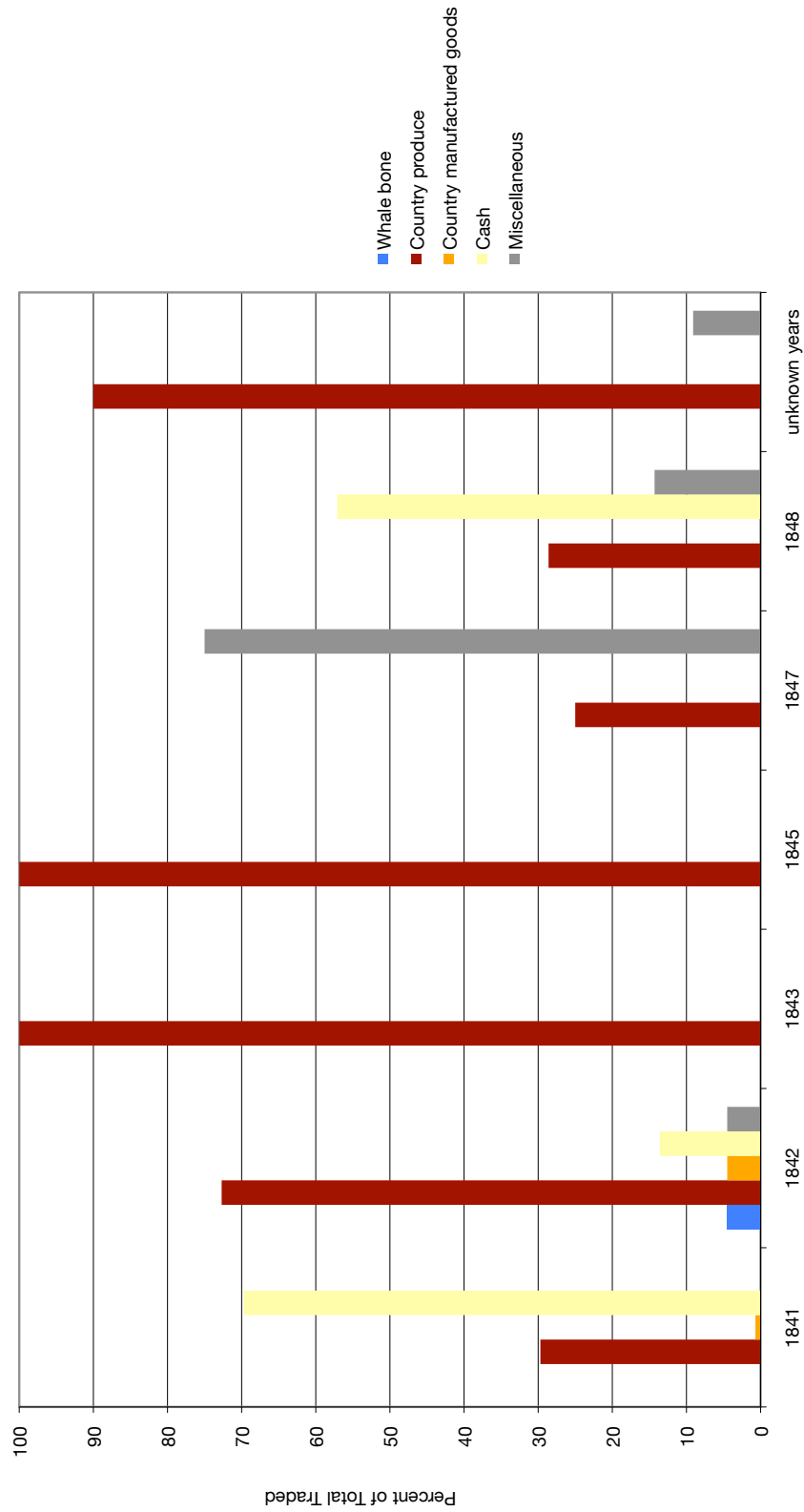
Source: Hocken Library, MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred, MS-0438/007 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook Number 4, MS-0438/009 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 6, MS-0438/010 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 7, MS-0438/011 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 8, MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 9, MS-0438/014 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 11, MS-0438/018 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 15, and MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16.

**Figure 7.47 Number of Trade Transactions by Maori, Organized by Category, Otakou Whaling Station, 1841 - 1848,**



Source: Hocken Library, MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred, MS-0438/007 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook Number 4, MS-0438/009 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 6, MS-0438/010 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 7, MS-0438/011 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 8, MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 9, MS-0438/014 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 11, MS-0438/018 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 15, and MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16.

**Figure 7.48 Proportion of the Number of Trade Transactions by Maori, Organized by Category, Otakou Whaling Station, 1841 - 1848, by percent**



Source: Hocken Library, MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred, MS-0438/007 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook Number 4, MS-0438/008 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 6, MS-0438/010 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 7, MS-0438/011 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 8, MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 9, MS-0438/014 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 11, MS-0438/018 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 15, and MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16.

not specified where these Maori received their cash initially, it is possible that this cash was from lays or other wages paid to the individual or a family member.

Table 7.12 presents the price of items traded by Maori at the Otakou whaling station each year from 1841 to 1848, again presented in pounds sterling as per Harwood's original records. Figure 7.49 presents the total price of all items traded by the Maori over time. The price of items traded is significantly different than the number of items traded. In fact, the price of items traded increased between 1841 and 1843 before dropping considerably in 1845. This difference is likely a result of counting transactions instead of individual items. In other words, no matter how much of any item was traded by a Maori, it was still recorded as only one transaction. The price, however, would vary considerably depending on the amount of any particular item traded.

Figure 7.50 presents the price of items brought in for trade by Maori each year organized by category, and Figure 7.51 presents the same data as a percentage of the total price of items traded each year. In four of the seven years, country produce was the most highly priced item traded. The most commonly traded country produce were potatoes. Only in 1842 and 1843 did other items of country produce exceed potatoes in the number of transactions. These two years also represent the highest price of items being traded in the time period covered. In both of these years, Maori were most often bringing in flax for trade, although they also brought in mutton birds (also called titi birds), pork, and potatoes at a lesser frequency these years. While the prices that Harwood paid for most items remained relatively stable throughout this time period, flax was generally traded at a higher volume

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Bay of Islands, Maori were quickly adapting to using cash instead of other goods for trade. Morton, *The Whale's Wake*, 216.

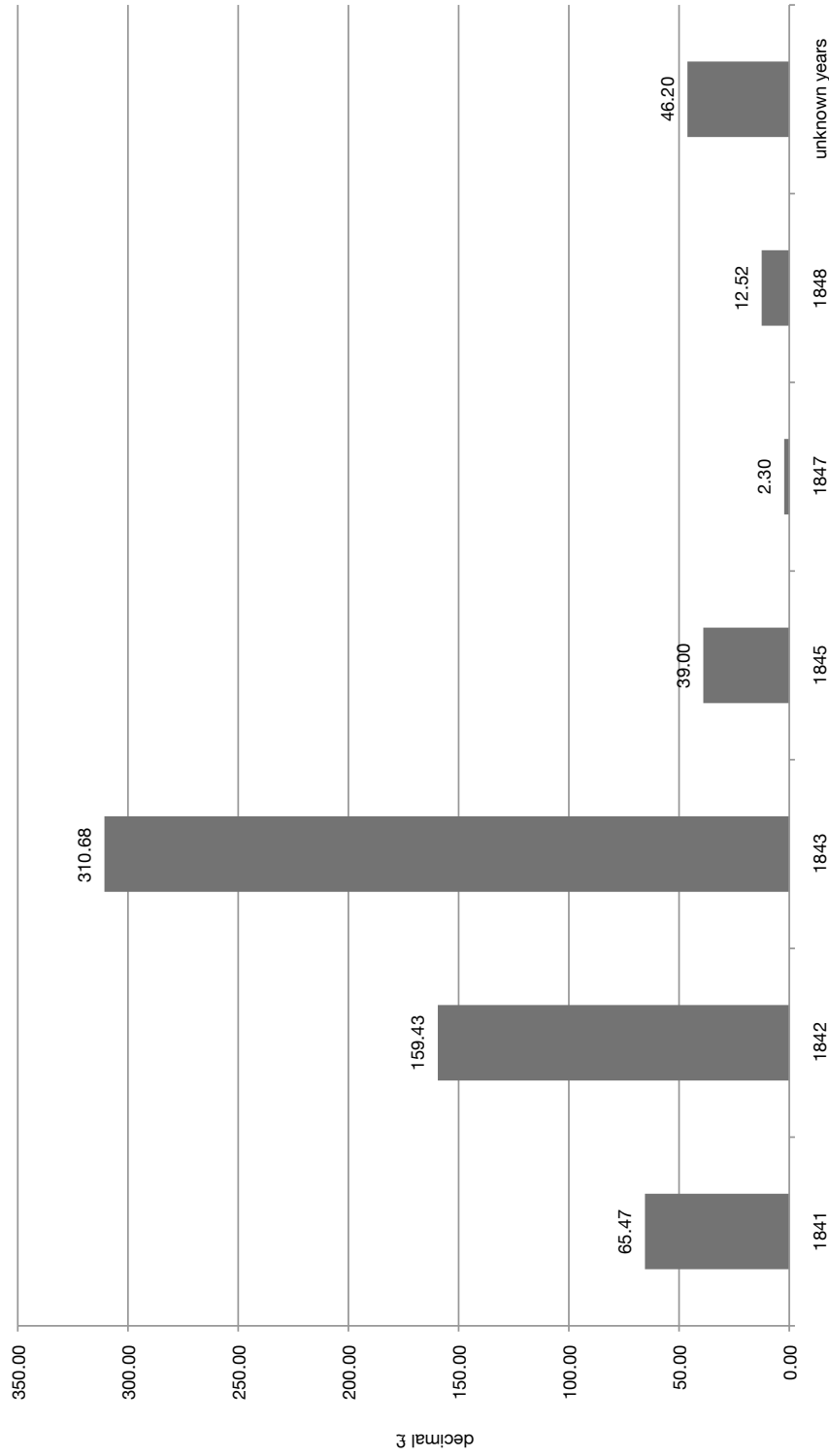
Table 7.12 Price of Items Traded by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1841 - 1848

Category of Item	1841					1842					1843					1845				
	Value of Items Purchased			Percent of Total	Value of Items Purchased			Percent of Total	Value of Items Purchased			Percent of Total	Value of Items Purchased			Percent of Total				
	£	s	d		total in d	£	s		d	total in d	£		s	d	total in d		£	s	d	total in d
Whale bone	---	---	---	---	---	34	9	6	8,274	21.62%	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---		
Country produce	12	12	0	3,028	19.3%	122	7	0	29,364	76.74%	310	13	8	74,564	100.0%	39	0	0	9,360	100.0%
Country manufactured goods	---	---	---	---	---	1	10	0	360	0.94%	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
Cash	52	16	11.5	12,683.5	80.7%	1	1	0	252	0.66%	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Miscellaneous	---	---	---	---	---	0	1	0	12	0.03%	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
<b>Total of all items traded</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>11.5</b>	<b>15,711.5</b>		<b>159</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>38,262</b>		<b>310</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>74,564</b>		<b>39</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>9,360</b>	

Source: Hocken Library, MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred, MS-0438/007 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook Number 4, MS-0438/009 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 6, MS-0438/010 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 7, MS-0438/011 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 8, MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 9, MS-0438/014 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 11, MS-0438/018 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 15, and MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16.



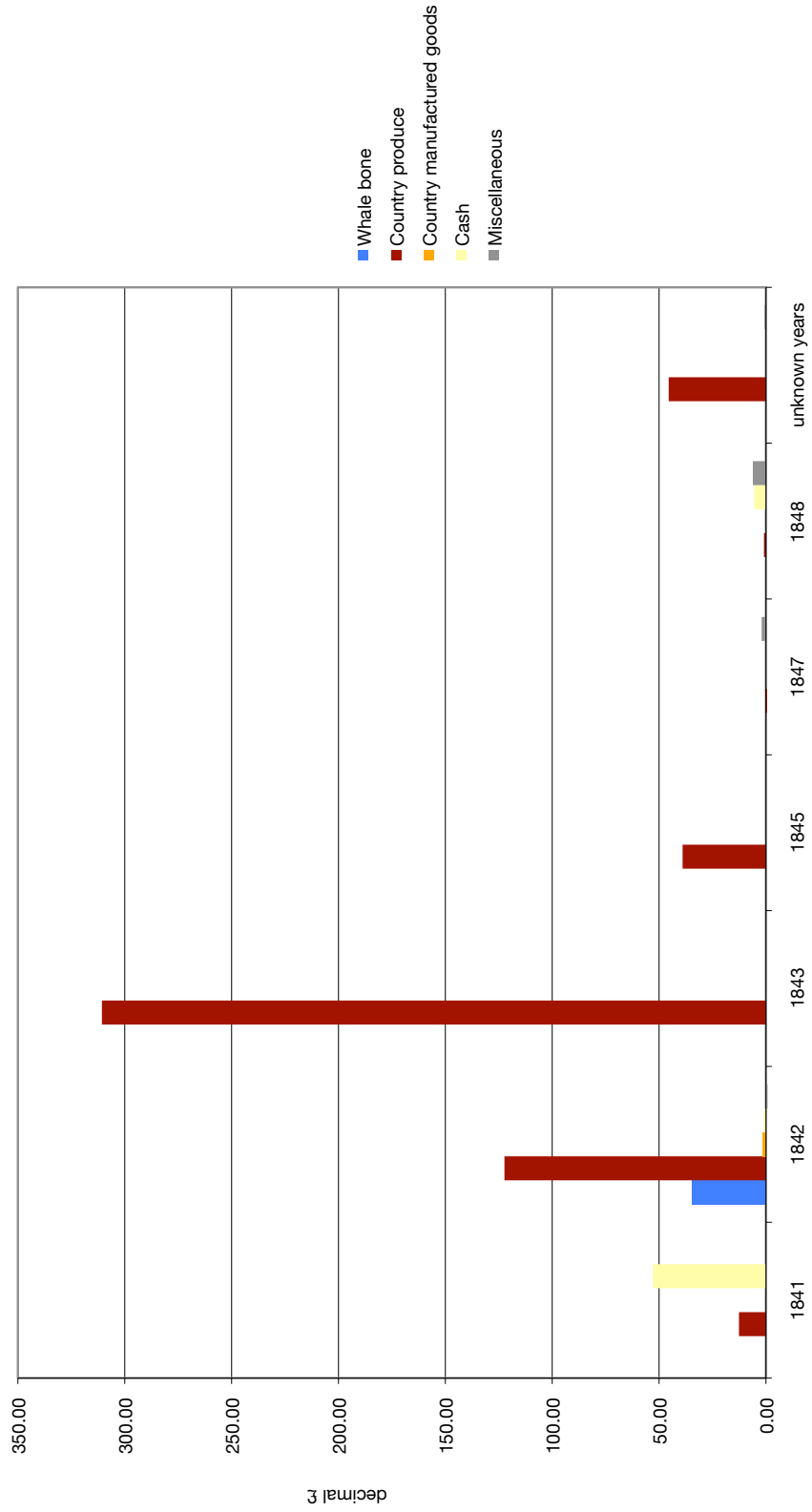
Figure 7.49 Total Price of All Items Traded by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1841 - 1848



Source: Hochien Library, MS-0604/003 Herwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred, MS-0438/007 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook Number 4, MS-0438/009 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 6, MS-0438/010 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 7, MS-0438/011 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 8, MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 9, MS-0438/014 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 11, MS-0438/018 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 15, and MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16.

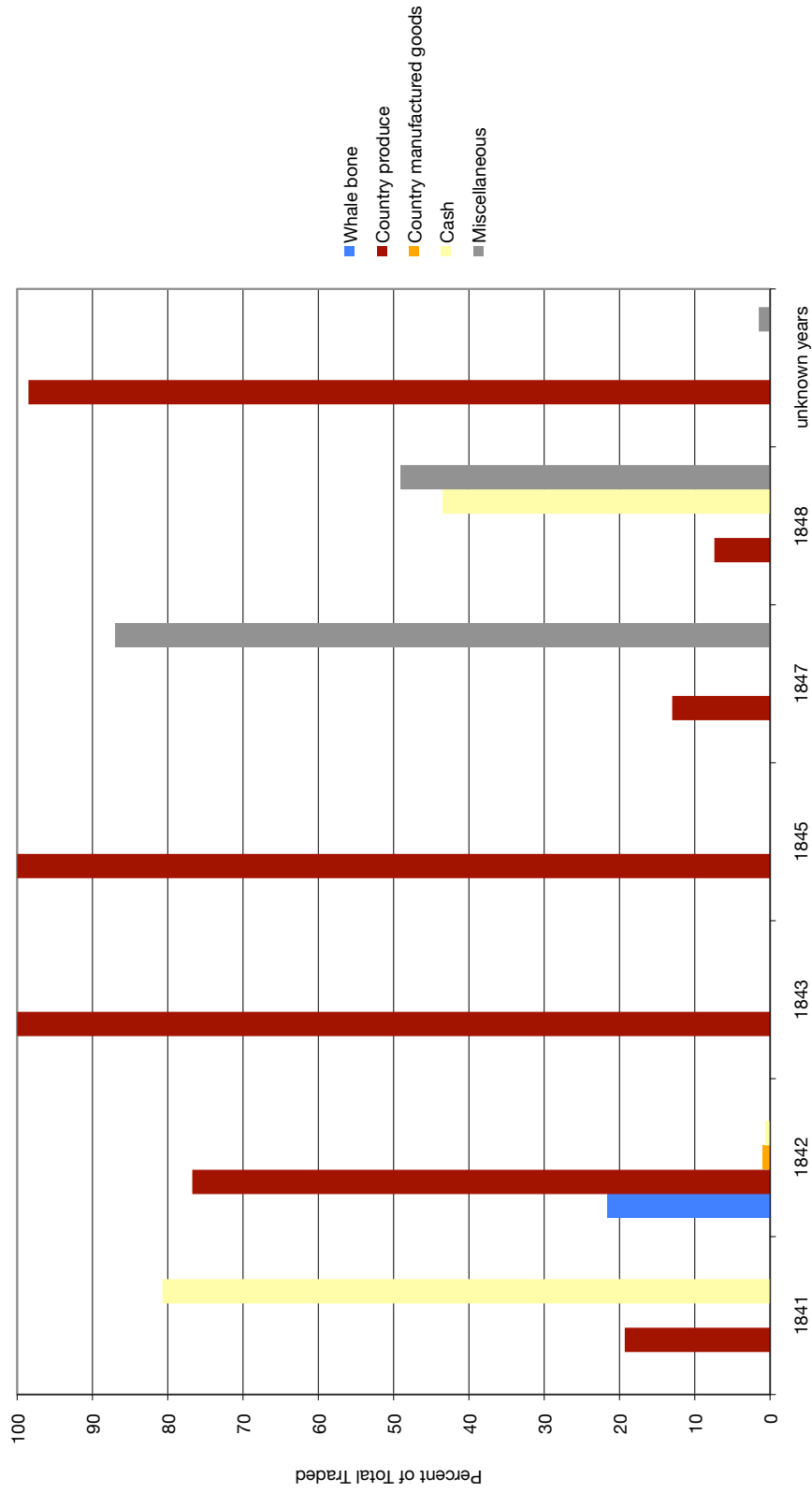


**Figure 7.50 Price of Items Traded by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, Organized by Category, 1841 - 1848**



Source: Hecken Library, MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred, MS-0438/007 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook Number 4, MS-0438/009 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 6, MS-0438/010 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 7, MS-0438/011 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 8, MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 9, MS-0438/014 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 11, MS-0438/018 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 15, and MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16.

**Figure 7.51 Proportion of the Price of Items Traded by Maori, Organized by Category, Otakou Whaling Station, 1841 - 1848, by percent**



Source: Hocken Library, MS-0604/003 Hanwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred, MS-0438/007 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook Number 4, MS-0438/009 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 6, MS-0438/010 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 7, MS-0438/011 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 8, MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 9, MS-0438/014 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 11, MS-0438/018 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 15, and MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16.

than the other common products (potatoes, pork, and mutton birds), which might explain the significantly higher price of items traded in these two years as compared to the other years.

The highest price of items traded by Maori in the final two years of the time period covered by Harwood's accounting records were no longer items of country produce. In 1847, "rent" was the highest number and highest price of transactions, and in 1848, cash was used most frequently to pay for items purchased at the store, although the highest price was attributed to a miscellaneous entry that Harwood recorded as "credit by subscription". No further explanation was given for this entry. This trend may reflect a shift in Harwood's operations as the whaling industry declined in the Otakou region and was steadily replaced by agricultural pursuits. Harwood may have had less need for country produce that he could resell to local residents or ship to Australia as agriculture became entrenched in the region. Harwood may also have started purchasing agricultural products from local *pakeha* residents to trade to deep-sea whalers and other shore whalers who came into Otago Harbour as time went on, lessening his dependence on Maori to bring in country produce that he could re-sell in other markets.

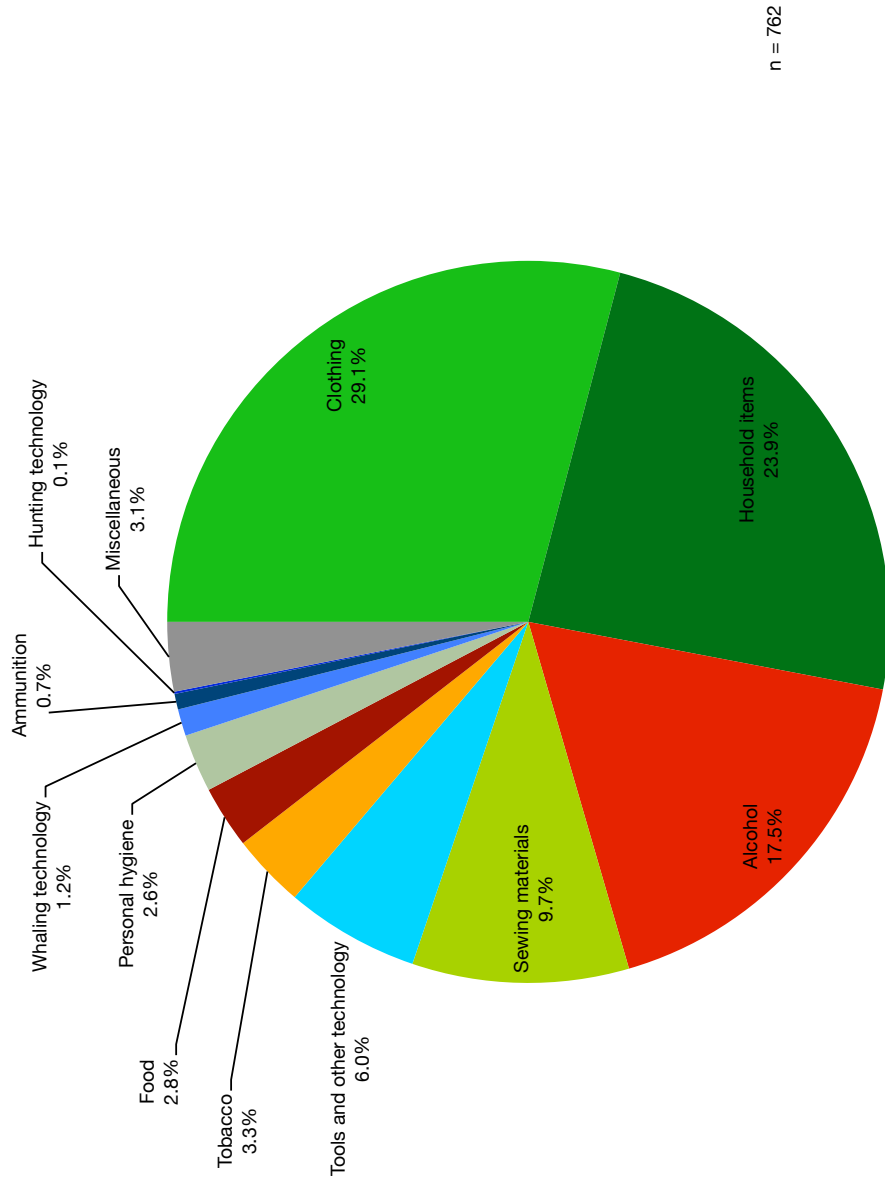
Table 7.13 and Figure 7.52 present the proportion of items purchased by Maori at the Otakou whaling station during the entire time period from 1841 to 1848 combined. During this time, clothing was the most frequently purchased item (29.1 percent), followed closely by household items (23.9 percent). Maori also purchased sewing materials 9.7 percent of the time, suggesting that by the mid-nineteenth century, Maori had incorporated European-style clothing and household items into their lifestyles. European-style food (with the exception of alcohol)

**Table 7.13 Proportion of all Items Purchased by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1841 - 1848**

<b>Category of Item</b>	<b>Number of Items Purchased</b>	<b>Percent of Total</b>
Clothing, total	222	29.1%
Clothing, unspecified	122	16.0%
Clothing, men's	92	12.1%
Clothing, women's	5	0.7%
Clothing, child's	3	0.4%
Household items	182	23.9%
Alcohol	133	17.5%
Sewing materials	74	9.7%
Tools and other technology	46	6.0%
Tobacco	25	3.3%
Food, total	21	2.8%
Food, imported	17	2.2%
Food, country produce	4	0.5%
Personal hygiene	20	2.6%
Whaling technology	9	1.2%
Ammunition	5	0.7%
Hunting technology	1	0.1%
Miscellaneous	24	3.1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>762</b>	

Source: Hocken Library, MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred, MS-0438/007 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook Number 4, MS-0438/009 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 6, MS-0438/010 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 7, MS-0438/011 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 8, MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 9, MS-0438/014 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 11, MS-0438/018 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 15, and MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16.

**Figure 7.52 Proportion of all Items Purchased by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1841 - 1848**



Source: Hocken Library, MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred, MS-0438/007 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook Number 4, MS-0438/009 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 6, MS-0438/010 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 7, MS-0438/011 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 8, MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 9, MS-0438/014 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 11, MS-0438/018 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 15, and MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16.

and technology, however, accounted for just over 10 percent of their purchases combined, and thus would seem to be less important to the Maori lifestyle at this time.

Similarly, Table 7.14 and Figure 7.53 present the proportion of the cost of items purchased by Maori during the entire time period combined. Although alcohol only accounted for roughly 17.5 percent of the number of items purchased, it accounted for just over 45 percent of the cost of items purchased by Maori. Likewise, clothing accounted for nearly 30 percent of the number of items purchased, but only roughly 15 percent of the cost of items purchased. And while whaling technology was only purchased around 1 percent of the time, it accounted for roughly 15 percent of the cost of items purchased. Whaling technology was purchased quite rarely, probably because it was so expensive; however, it does suggest that the Maori were actively engaged in the whaling industry and were making use of this technology on their own, although they were not necessarily using the technology exclusively for whaling, especially the boats.

Table 7.15 and Figure 7.54 present the proportion of all items traded by Maori at the Otakou whaling station over the entire time period of 1841 to 1848 combined. Over half of the items traded by Maori were some form of country produce, mostly potatoes but also flax, pork, titi birds, and a few other items. Cash was also used to purchase items at Harwood's store, accounting for just over 40 percent of the transactions over the entire time period. Table 7.16 and Figure 7.55 present the price of items traded by Maori at the Otakou whaling station over the entire time period of 1841 to 1848 combined. The importance of the trade in country produce is even more evident in these data as over 80 percent of the price of items traded by

**Table 7.14 Proportion of Cost of all Items Purchased by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1841 - 1848**

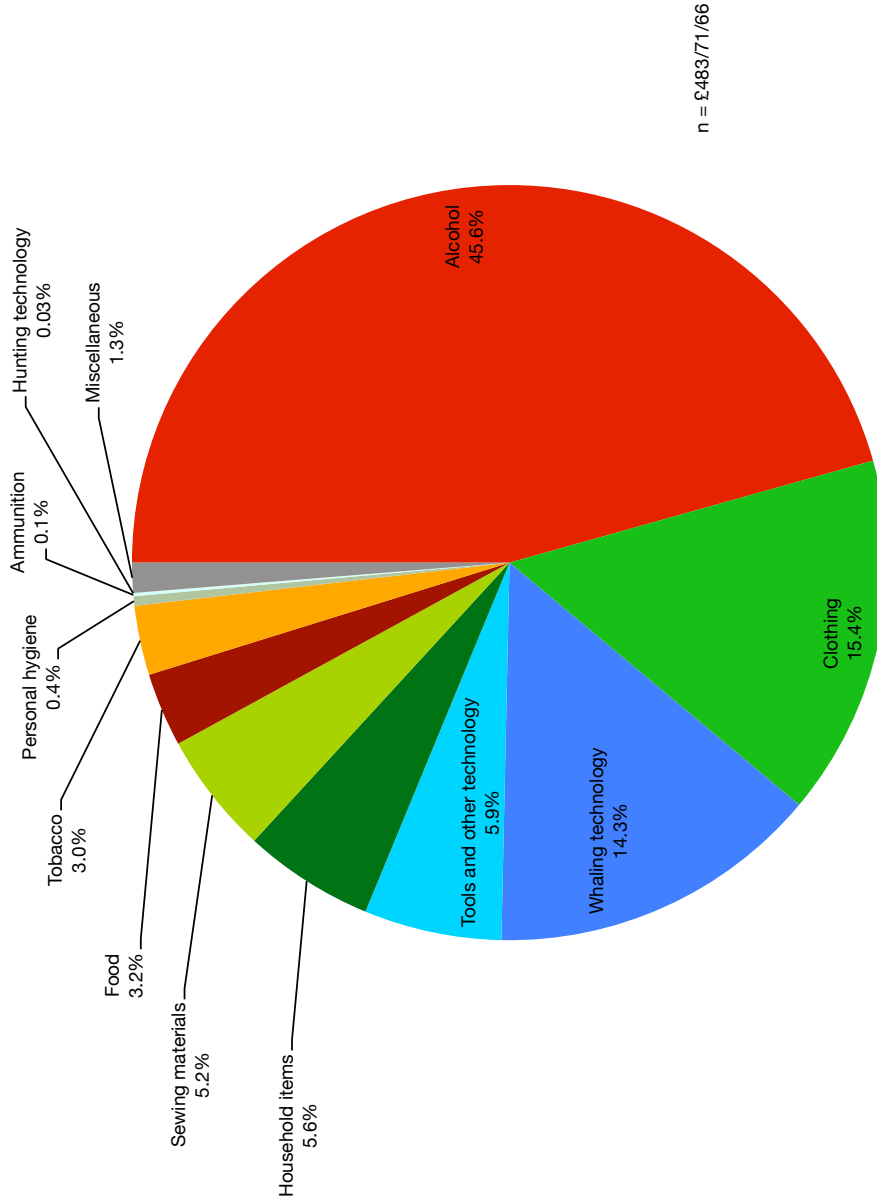
Category of Item	Total of all Years				Percent of Total
	Value of Items Purchased				
	£	s	d	total in d	
Alcohol**	220	39	21	53,337	45.7%
Clothing, total	70	91	12	18,042	15.4%
Clothing, unspecified	34	81	12	9,144	7.8%
Clothing, men's	30	64	6	7,974	6.8%
Clothing, women's	2	26	---	792	0.7%
Clothing, child's	---	11	---	132	0.1%
Whaling technology	69	7	14	16,658	14.3%
Tools and other technology	26	52	17	6,881	5.9%
Household items	24	62	25	6,529	5.6%
Sewing materials*	18	51	18	6,098	5.2%
Food, total	13	45	29	3,689	3.2%
Food, imported	10	53	29	3,065	2.6%
Food, country produce	2	12	---	624	0.5%
Tobacco	11	66	36	3,468	3.0%
Personal hygiene	---	39	6	474	0.4%
Ammunition	---	10	6	126	0.1%
Hunting technology	---	3	---	36	0.03%
Miscellaneous	4	44	12	1,500	1.3%
<b>Total value of all items purchased</b>	<b>483</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>116,838</b>	

Source: Hocken Library, MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred, MS-0438/007 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook Number 4, MS-0438/009 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 6, MS-0438/010 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 7, MS-0438/011 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 8, MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 9, MS-0438/014 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 11, MS-0438/018 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 15, and MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16.

\*In the unknown years column, one item purchased in this category was given no value in the account books; as no value for an equivalent item could be found in other account books, a value of £0 was assigned to this item.

\*\*In 1842, one item of alcohol purchased was given no value in the account books; as no value for an equivalent item could be found in other account books, a value of £0 was assigned to this item.

**Figure 7.53 Proportion of the Cost of all Items Purchased by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1841 - 1848**



Source: Hocken Library, MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accountants ledger of store customers and any debts incurred, MS-0438/007 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook Number 4, MS-0438/009 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 6, MS-0438/010 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 7, MS-0438/011 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 8, MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 9, MS-0438/014 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 11, MS-0438/018 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 15, and MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16.

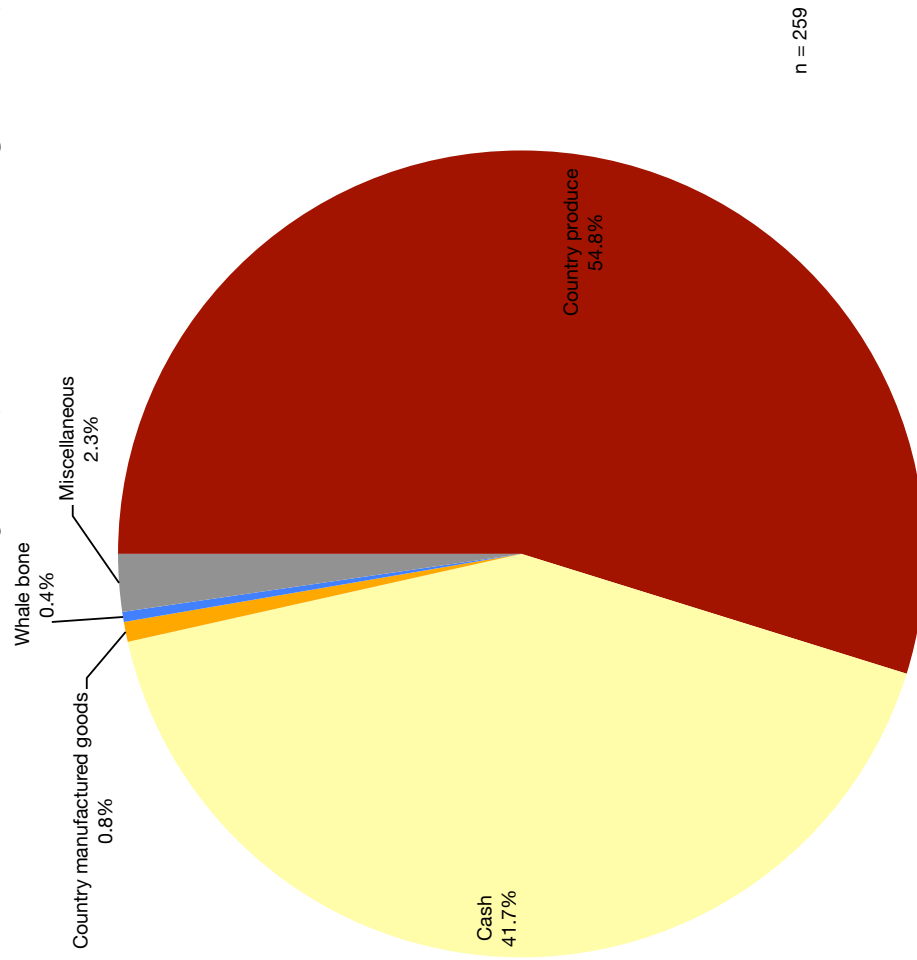


**Table 7.15 Proportion of all Items Traded by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1841 - 1848**

Category of Item	Total of all Years	
	Number of Items Purchased	Percent of Total
Country produce	142	54.8%
Cash	108	41.7%
Country manufactured goods	2	0.8%
Whale bone	1	0.4%
Miscellaneous	6	2.3%
<b>Total of all items traded</b>	<b>259</b>	

Source: Hocken Library, MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred, MS-0438/007 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook Number 4, MS-0438/009 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 6, MS-0438/010 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 7, MS-0438/011 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 8, MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 9, MS-0438/014 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 11, MS-0438/018 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 15, and MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16.

**Figure 7.54 Proportion of all Items Traded by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1841 - 1848**



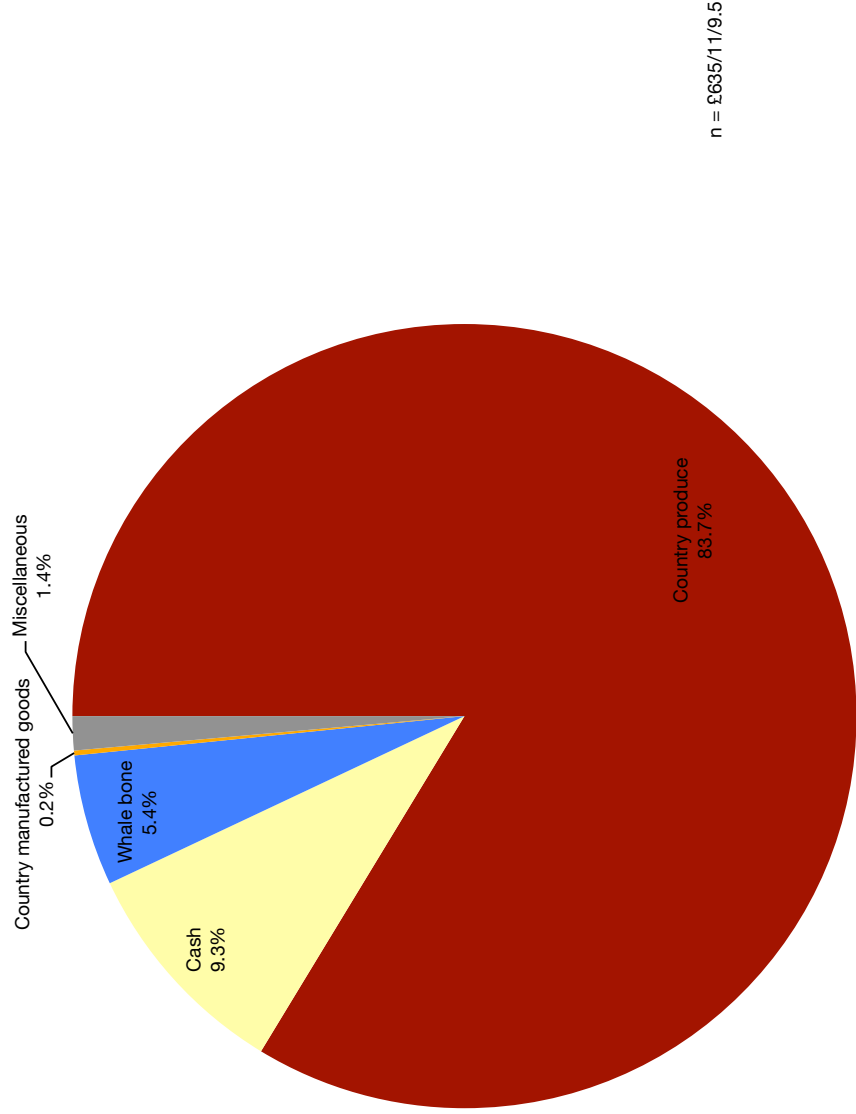
Source: Hocken Library, MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred, MS-0438/007 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook Number 4, MS-0438/009 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 6, MS-0438/010 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 7, MS-0438/011 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 8, MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 9, MS-0438/014 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 11, MS-0438/018 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 15, and MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16.

**Table 7.16 Proportion of the Price of all Items Traded by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1841 - 1848**

Category of Item	Total of all Years					Percent of Total
	Value of Items Purchased				total in d	
	£	s	d			
Country produce	531	7	6	127,530	83.6%	
Cash	59	6	11.5	14,243.5	9.3%	
Whale bone	34	9	6	8,274	5.4%	
Country manufactured goods	1	10	---	360	0.2%	
Miscellaneous	8	17	10	2,134	1.4%	
<b>Total of all items traded</b>	<b>635</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>9.5</b>	<b>152,541.5</b>		

Source: Hocken Library, MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred, MS-0438/007 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook Number 4, MS-0438/009 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 6, MS-0438/010 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 7, MS-0438/011 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 8, MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 9, MS-0438/014 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 11, MS-0438/018 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 15, and MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16.

**Figure 7.55 Proportion of the Price of all Items Traded by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1841 - 1848**



Source: Hocken Library, MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred, MS-0438/007 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook Number 4, MS-0438/009 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 6, MS-0438/010 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 7, MS-0438/011 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 8, MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 9, MS-0438/014 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 11, MS-0438/018 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 15, and MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16.

Maori were from country produce, while less than 10 percent of the price was from cash. While some of the country produce was probably used at the whaling station (titi birds and pork in particular), correspondence from George Weller to his brother Edward suggest that at least some of the products (potatoes and flax specifically) were shipped for sale in Sydney, a practice common amongst many of the shore whaling stations in New Zealand.<sup>40</sup> Harwood's accounting records make it clear that while the main purpose of the Otakou station was the collection and shipment of whale products, the supplementary trade in flax, potatoes, and other country produce was substantial.

It is also interesting to note that Harwood's ledgers, much like the HBC's Indian ledgers, demonstrate that his store was a prosperous venture. Between 1841 and 1848, Harwood sold £483/71/66 worth of goods to his Maori customers, while during the same time period he received £635/11/9.5 worth of goods and cash from Maori in return. While not on the same level of gain as the HBC, it still suggests that Harwood's store was prospering in this time period. Also much like the HBC, Harwood had his lean years as well. For example, in 1841, Harwood sold £183/17/11 worth of goods to Maori customers while receiving only £65/8/11.5 in return. Again, one must consider that Maori were not the only customers Harwood served, and thus showing a loss to Maori customers does not necessarily mean that Harwood's store suffered a loss overall. Additionally, it is possible that not all of the trade with Maori was captured in the ledger and notebooks that are kept

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40 Hocken Library, MS-0440/005 G.C. Thomson Collection, George and Edward Weller, Transcript of Letters, 1832-1861, Letter from George Weller to Edward Weller, dated 16 March 1835 and Letter from George Weller to Edward Weller, dated 23 July 1835. See also, Andrew Hill Clark, *The Invasion of New Zealand by People, Plants and Animals, The South Island* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1949), 68; Robert McNab, *The Old Whaling Days: A History of Southern New Zealand from 1830 to 1840* (Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1913), 98-288; Morton, *The Whale's Wake*, 188, 279-280; and Tod, *Whaling in Southern Waters*, 23.

in the Hocken Library. Still, the accounting records clearly indicate that overall Harwood, like the HBC, prospered from trade with Indigenous peoples, which is to be expected.<sup>41</sup>

### **Comparative Analysis of the Accounting Data, Ile a la Crosse and Otakou**

Few scholars studying Indigenous peoples' involvement in historical commercial industries have made extensive use of historical accounting data, such as the records kept by the Hudson's Bay Company and Octavius Harwood.<sup>42</sup> While difficult to work with at times, these accounting records are a valuable source of information, which are rich in detail. As the discussion above suggests, a systematic analysis of even a small portion of the accounting records can provide a more comprehensive understanding of certain aspects of historical industries than can an analysis of more commonly used records such as journals, diaries and correspondence. In this case, a systematic analysis of the HBC's Indian ledgers and Harwood's ledgers and notebooks has created a detailed picture of the consumption and production patterns of the Indigenous peoples involved in these industries, which in turn provides a more comprehensive understanding of the impact of participation in these industries on the Indigenous peoples.

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41 This discussion presents the most interesting findings in the analysis of Harwood's accounting records. Additional analysis of the accounting records can be found in Appendix B.

42 Some notable exceptions include: Ann M. Carlos and Frank D. Lewis, "Trade, Consumption, and the Native Economy: Lessons from York Factory, Hudson Bay," *Journal of Economic History* Vol. 61, no. 4 (2001), 1037-1064; Jarvenpa and Brumbach, "Occupational Status, Ethnicity, and Ecology"; Jarvenpa and Brumbach, "Microeconomics"; Arthur J. Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade: their role as hunters, trappers and middlemen in the lands southwest of Hudson Bay 1660-1870* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974); Ray, "Early Hudson's Bay Company Account Books"; Ray and Freeman, 'Give Us Good Measure'; and, Frank Tough, "Indian economic behaviour, exchange and profits in northern Manitoba during the decline of monopoly, 1870-1930," *Journal of Historical Geography* Vol. 16, no. 4 (1990), 385-401.

Interestingly, there are several similarities in consumption and production patterns between the Indigenous peoples trading at Ile a la Crosse and the Maori trading at Otakou, although there are some striking differences as well. For example, in both places, the Indigenous peoples increasingly purchased European-style clothing over time, suggesting a change to pre-contact Indigenous lifestyles in both locales. At Ile a la Crosse, the purchase of clothing, and even more noticeably sewing materials, increased in the 1860s and 1870s compared to the 1830s (see Figures 7.12, 7.13, 7.14 and 7.15). It would seem that by at least the mid-nineteenth century, European-style clothing and fabric had been incorporated into the Indigenous peoples' lifestyles in this region.<sup>43</sup> A number of factors might have contributed to this shift. As the Indigenous peoples became more entrenched in the fur trade, more effort would have been focused on trapping fur-bearing animals rather than the game animals used in clothing production previously.<sup>44</sup> As well, cotton, wool, flannel and other materials would have been less labour-intensive to fashion into clothing, and perhaps also less labour-intensive to obtain, than hides. Further, as the game and fur-bearing animal populations declined in the region, less leather and fur would have been available to the Indigenous peoples. Finally, changing fashion-sense as a result of contact with Europeans, and possibly a growing Métis presence in the region, might have encouraged a shift to purchasing or making European-style clothing over time.<sup>45</sup> A change in clothing material

43 Helm, Rogers, and Smith suggested that the increasing purchase of European-style clothing and sewing materials was quite common for all Indigenous peoples involved in the Rupertsland fur trade. June Helm, Edward S. Rogers, and James G.E. Smith, "Intercultural Relations and Cultural Change in the Shield and Mackenzie Borderlands," in *Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 6 Subarctic*, vol. ed. June Helm (Washington: Smithsonian Institute, 1981), 153-154.

44 Jarvenpa and Brumbach, "Microeconomics," 170. See also, Helm, Rogers, and Smith, "Intercultural Relations," 150-151, for a more generalized discussion of changes in hunting patterns of Indigenous groups in the Canadian Shield and Mackenzie borderlands.

45 While the HBC did keep a census of the population of each district, the early data refer simply to "Indians frequenting the post" and thus do not attempt to identify more specific Indigenous peoples.

would have facilitated participation in the fur trade; at the same time, however, it also would have made continued participation in the trade necessary as resources declined over the years forcing the Indigenous peoples to maintain this change in lifestyle.

Similar to the trends evident in the Indian ledgers, a significant and relatively consistent trade in clothing and, to a lesser extent, sewing materials, suggest that European-style clothing had become a regular element in the Maori lifestyle by at least the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>46</sup> This trend is even more suggestive for the Maori as their traditional materials for clothing and other household items had not become important commodities for trade; they seem to have simply incorporated European clothing into their lifestyles.

There are also similar trends in the purchase of foodstuffs in both case studies. The purchase of food by Indians at Ile a la Crosse increased somewhat in the 1860s, especially the sale in imported foods, but this increase also coincides with more frequent reports of declining game and fur-bearer populations.<sup>47</sup> But

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However, the census taken of the English River District in 1872 identified 131 “French Halfbreeds” in the district, representing 8 percent of the total population in the district (1625, including “Whites” and “Chepewyans”). Library and Archives Canada (hereafter LAC), RG 15, Vol. 230, file 614, Hudson’s Bay Census of Indians, Whites, and Half-breeds of the Northern Department, Aggregate, 1872. For a discussion of Métis use of European fashions, see Jean Teillet, “The People and Territory of the Métis Nation” (paper presented at The Powley Legacy: Mapping the History of Métis Nation Rights conference, Saskatoon, SK, 16-17 July 2010). Macdougall also mentions Métis women wearing tartan shawls as being a common depiction of Métis in the nineteenth century. Brenda Macdougall, *One of the Family: Metis Culture in Nineteenth-Century Northwestern Saskatchewan* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2010), 94.

46 Schaniel also found that clothing was a common trade item between Maori and whalers in his study, although he places more emphasis on the trade in muskets and powder prior to 1840. William Schaniel, “The Maori and the Economic Frontier: An Economic History of the Maori of New Zealand, 1769-1840,” (PhD dissertation, University of Tennessee, 1985), 303.

47 HBCA, B.89/a/29 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1855-1856, 19 June 1855, 8, 12, 17, 21, 23 and 31 July 1855, and 1, 6, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, and 21 August 1855; B.89/a/31 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1860-1861, 23 October 1860, 17 December 1860, 6 and 16 January 1861, 13 and 27 March 1861, and 1 and 17 May 1861; B.89/a/33 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1862-1863, 10 December 1862; B.89/c/4 Ile a la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1872-1875, letter dated Ile a la Crosse 20 January 1872 to Donald A. Smith, Chief Commissioner from Samuel McKenzie, fo. 2; letter dated Ile a la Crosse English River District, 1 June 1872, Report to the Chief Commissioner,



even then, the types of imported food most frequently purchased – tea, sugar and flour – do not suggest that imported food was a main source of sustenance, even in the 1860s and 1870s. Even the less frequently purchased imported food items were more luxury items (raisins, peppermint, chocolate, caraway, salt, pepper, and very infrequently, rice and cured pork) than what one might expect if purchased food had become a main source of sustenance for the Indigenous peoples in the region. Thus, the Indian ledgers do not suggest significant changes to the Indigenous peoples' sustenance patterns and choice of food in this region, although some new types of luxury foods (particularly tea, sugar and flour) had been incorporated by at least the mid-nineteenth century. At the same time, there is no strong evidence of declining participation in the trade; thus, the fur trade had become an important element of the Indigenous peoples' economy and even declining resources did not prompt a shift away from involvement in the trade.

Maori in the Otago region also increasingly purchased food from Harwood's store over the time period analyzed. However, much like at Ile a la Crosse, the type and amount of food purchased do not suggest that the Maori had abandoned their pre-contact food sources entirely. The most commonly purchased food items at Otakou were flour and sugar, although to a lesser degree Maori also purchased rice, coffee and molasses. Interestingly, in 1845, Maori purchased pork and potatoes from Harwood's store – items that they would have normally grown or harvested themselves, some of which would have been traded to Harwood. Unfortunately, there are no journals from this year to suggest if there was famine or disease

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fo. 11; letter dated Green Lake Store, 9 September 1873, to Donald A. Smith from W. McMurray, fo. 44-45; and, B.89/c/6 Ile a la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1877-1881, letter dated Ile a la Crosse 14 January 1878, to James A. Grahame from Ewen Macdonald, fo. 61-63; and, B.89/c/6 Ile a la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1877-1881, letter dated Isle a La Crosse English River District, 1 June 1880 to James A. Grahame from Ewen Macdonald, fo. 145-146.

affecting the Maori in this region this year. Nonetheless, these data suggest that Maori had begun to incorporate European-style food, either as a matter of choice or necessity as a result of increased pressure on local food resources from both shore-based whalers and deep-sea whalers, but not to the point of completely abandoning their pre-contact food sources.<sup>48</sup>

The importance of the introduction of metalware to Indigenous populations through contact with Europeans, especially pots, pans, knives, axes, and other such goods, has been discussed by many historians. In the fur trade, some historians have suggested that, in general, metal pots, pans and other such items were superior to pre-contact Indigenous technology and were thus readily absorbed into the Indigenous peoples' lifestyles.<sup>49</sup> While this pattern may have been true in some regions, the Indian ledgers of the Ile a la Crosse post do not show a substantial trade in metal goods, although the variety of metal goods purchased might increase over time.<sup>50</sup> In the 1830s, Indians purchased traps, files, axes, knives, pots, pans, and

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48 It would be interesting and useful to compare the caloric values of the food purchased by Indigenous peoples at Ile a la Crosse and Otakou with what would have been their daily needs, but with limited population data this avenue of analysis is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Jarvenpa and Brumbach have done these calculations for four individual trappers at Ile a la Crosse covering four different outfit years (1889-1890, 1894-1895, 1900-1901, and 1908-1909). Although imported foods were accounting for a greater share of purchases in these years for these individuals (and increasing over time), when comparing the caloric values obtained through the purchase of imported foods to the caloric needs of a family of five, these scholars found that imported foods only accounted for between 3 and 15 percent of the family's caloric needs, and still between 7 and 38 percent of the caloric needs of a family of two. Jarvenpa and Brumbach, "Microeconomics," 169, 172, 174, 177.

49 Helm, Rogers, and Smith, "Intercultural Relations," 151; Innis, *Fur Trade*, 16-22, 388; and Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade*, 81-85. Calvin Martin has gone so far as to suggest that some items, such as the copper kettle for the Mi'qmaq, allowed Indigenous groups to change substantially their pre-contact livelihoods and settlement patterns. Calvin Martin, "The Four Lives of a Micmac Copper Pot," *Ethnohistory* Vol. 22, no. 2 (1975), 111-133. For an alternative view that metal goods were not used extensively by the Cree and did not always replace pre-contact tools, at least early in the fur trade, see Paul C. Thistle, *Indian-European Trade Relations in the Lower Saskatchewan River Region to 1840* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1986), 34-39.

50 The inventory lists at the Ile a la Crosse post change very little in the variety of metal goods listed over the decades in consideration here. See for example: HBCA B.89/d/34 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1833; B.89/d/36 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1833-1834; B.89/d/38 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1834-1835; B.89/d/40 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1835-1836; B.89/d/43b Ile a la

kettles, but not to any great extent accounting for less than 10 percent of the items purchased in most outfit years during this decade. The volume of trade increased slightly in the 1860s, sometimes accounting for slightly more than 10 percent of the items purchased, but the type of items purchased remained very similar.

In outfit year 1875-1876, a greater variety of metal items were purchased, including traps, knives, files of varying sizes and styles, knives of varying sizes and styles, saws of varying sizes and styles, augers, awls, nails of varying sizes and styles, hoes, scythes, spades, axes of varying sizes and styles, hammers, chisels, cutlery, kettles, pots, and pans. It is not clear if there was an actual increase in the variety of metal goods being purchased or if the clerk simply took more care in recording the details of purchases in this outfit year considering that the inventory lists suggest that the Indians had access to the same variety of metal goods throughout the time period. However, the volume of trade in metal goods did not noticeably increase in this year from the 1860s, still only accounting for around 10 percent of the number of items purchased by Indians. These data suggest that the most regularly purchased metal items were those items most important to the fur trade (e.g. traps, files, knives and axes). Kettles were also purchased fairly regularly, but other metal goods seemed to be purchased quite infrequently in the nineteenth century.

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Crosse Account Book, 1836-1837; B.89/d/49 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1839-1840; B.89/d/51b Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1840-1841; B.89/d/53 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1841-1842; B.89/d/55b Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1842-1843; B.89/d/60 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1843-1844; B.89/d/85 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1854-1855; B.89/d/92 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1860-1861; B.89/d/96 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862-1863; B.89/d/98 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1864; B.89/d/113 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1866; B.89/d/118 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1865-1867; B.89/d/182 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1875; B.89/d/205 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1877; B.89/d/213 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1878; and, B.89/d/221 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1879.

The amount of metalware purchased by Maori in the 1840s was also not that substantial. Pots were a common item purchased by Maori in this decade, as well as knives. Occasionally, files, saws and nails were also purchased, but there does not appear to have been an extensive trade in metalware at Otakou. Schaniel has argued that it actually took quite some time for the Maori to begin to see iron as a valuable trade good. Captain Cook found that initially the Maori, unlike other Polynesians, were not interested in metalware; however, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, Maori were trading for a “wide range of iron goods, including hatchets, axes, knives, and iron hoops.”<sup>51</sup> Interestingly, Schaniel further argued that despite the importance of the introduction of the white potato to Maori agriculture in the late eighteenth century, European agricultural tools (such as the hoe and the spade) were not widely adopted by the Maori until 1818.<sup>52</sup> Harwood’s accounting records support the idea that metalware was not a main focus of Maori trading efforts, at least in the 1840s at Otakou.

There were two very noticeable differences in consumption patterns at Ile a la Crosse and Otakou regarding the purchase of alcohol and the purchase of firearms and ammunition by Indigenous peoples at these locales. While some of the fur trade literature discusses the use of alcohol as an inducement to trade during the period of intense competition between the HBC and the NWC, it is generally accepted that after the 1821 merger, the trade in alcohol declined substantially.<sup>53</sup>

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51 Schaniel, “Maori and the Economic Frontier,” 41.

52 Schaniel, “Maori and the Economic Frontier,” 209.

53 Innis, *Fur Trade*, 82-87, 306-307; and, Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade*, 85, 142-144, 197-198. Looking at expenditures at York Factory from 1716 to 1770, Carlos and Lewis noted that early in this period no alcohol was traded for by Natives, but gradually alcohol did become a trade item. Then, after 1738, the proportion of expenditures by Natives on alcohol started to grow, equaling or surpassing the purchase of tobacco, until the end of the study period. They argued, however, that the increase in purchase of alcohol by Natives was related to a decline in the HBC providing brandy as a gift in the trading ceremonies. Carlos and Lewis, “Trade, Consumption,” 1050-1051.

The Indian ledgers and the post journals at Ile a la Crosse also support this notion. The early Ile a la Crosse post journals made frequent reference to Indians drinking at the nearby NWC post; however, references to Indians drinking disappear in the post journals after the 1821 merger. The earlier post journals did not make any reference to the HBC providing alcohol to Indians though; so one might suggest that the journals simply did not record HBC activity of this nature. While Indian ledgers could not be found prior to the 1830s in the Ile a la Crosse post accounting records, the ledgers that were analyzed show absolutely no purchase of alcohol by Indians. Alcohol was provided to tripmen (some of whom would have been Indigenous men from the region) and was included on lists of goods to sent to other posts;<sup>54</sup> however, alcohol clearly did not represent an important trade item at Ile a la Crosse in the nineteenth century. This pattern was very different in the whaling industry.

Many of the early missionaries, officials and visitors to New Zealand commented extensively on the excessive consumption of alcohol by the whalers and the influence the whalers had on the Maori to do the same.<sup>55</sup> However, many of these early commentators seemed to believe that the number of Maori who drank excessively like the whalers was actually quite small. For example, Edward Jerningham Wakefield, the son of one of the main advocates for colonizing New Zealand, noted in his memoirs that “the bad points of the whaler’s character have also passed, with the very worst effect, into the disposition of some of the natives.

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54 See for example, HBCA B.89/d/85 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1854-1855; B.89/d/92 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1860-1861; B.89/d/96 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862-1863; B.89/d/98 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1864; and B.89/d/118 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1865-1867.

55 See for example, Frank T. Bullen, *The Cruise of the “Cachalot”: Round the World After Sperm Whales* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1898), 314; David A. Chappell, *Double Ghosts: Oceanian Voyagers on Euroamerican Ships* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1997), 47; and, Morton, *The Whale’s Wake*, 201, 247.

They have acquired, in some few cases, the habits of drinking; in many, boastful and insolent behaviour, and callousness to feeling.”<sup>56</sup> Similarly, Edward Shortland, Protector of the Aborigines for the Colonial Government of New Zealand, wrote: “I was glad to find that spirits were not generally drunk by the natives. Those who had acquired the habit, however, although few in number, appeared to be as much slaves to it as their European neighbours.”<sup>57</sup>

Harwood’s accounting records demonstrate that at least for those Maori most closely connected to the whaling station, alcohol was an important trade item, even as whaling declined in the region. As shown in Figure 7.35, alcohol was the most frequently purchased item in 1842, but was also frequently purchased in 1843. In fact, Maori purchased alcohol in all years except 1844 and 1848, years in which there are few transaction records for Maori in total. Moreover, Figure 7.38 shows that the highest cost of purchases by Maori was for alcohol in 1841, 1843, and in the unknown years. Thus, while the records cannot provide any real sense of the rate of consumption of alcohol by Maori, the shore whalers had clearly introduced Maori to alcohol, and the consumption of alcohol continued even after whaling had started to decline at Otakou.

The purchase of firearms and ammunition also differed significantly at Ile a la Crosse and Otakou. At Ile a la Crosse, firearms were not commonly purchased in the nineteenth century, although this pattern is not unexpected. Some historians have discussed the importance of the introduction of firearms to Indigenous peoples in Canada. Firearms changed both the hunting patterns of some Indigenous peoples, as well as the patterns of conflict between some Indigenous peoples (at least early

<sup>56</sup> Edward Jerningham Wakefield, *Adventure in New Zealand* (Auckland, NZ: Viking Penguin Books, 1987 [1845]), 143.

<sup>57</sup> Shortland, *Southern Districts*, 116.

on in the trade).<sup>58</sup> By the nineteenth century, however, only a small number of firearms were purchased by Indians at the Ile a la Crosse post, and in some years none at all (see Table 7.1). Not surprisingly, after several decades of trade, it would seem that firearms had been well integrated into the Indigenous communities of the region and/or firearms were of a higher quality and taken care of in such a way as they did not deteriorate quickly. Thus, numerous guns and rifles did not have to be purchased each year. This idea is substantiated by the considerable trade in ammunition throughout the time period analyzed. Ammunition, which had to be replenished consistently, would not have been purchased if the Indigenous peoples were not using firearms regularly.

Similarly, much of the historical literature in New Zealand discusses the importance of the trade in firearms between Maori and whalers or other Europeans; some historians even suggest that securing access to guns and ammunition was the main motivation of Maori to engage in trade with Europeans, particularly in the 1820s but even as late as 1840.<sup>59</sup> Harwood's account books, however, suggest that while this desire to purchase firearms may have been important early on, particularly at times when inter-tribal warfare was extensive, it was not a primary motivation for trade in the 1840s in the Otago region. In fact, Harwood recorded

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58 Innis, *Fur Trade*, 17-22, 53-57, 388; and, Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade*, 19-25, 73-78. Carlos and Lewis found that from 1716 to 1770 70 to 80 percent of the purchases made by Natives trading at York Factory were for firearms and related goods, although they also noted that over this time period, the proportion of expenditure on producer and household goods declined, while the proportion of expenditure on luxury goods (alcohol, tobacco, beads, cloth, etc.) increased. Carlos and Lewis, "Trade, Consumption," 1049. For an alternative perspective that firearms were not readily adopted by Indigenous people in the early fur trade see Eleanor M. Blaine, "Dependency: Charles Bishop and the Northern Ojibwa," in *Aboriginal Resource Use in Canada: Historical and Legal Aspects*, ed. Kerry Abel and Jean Friesen (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1991), 97-100; and, Thistle, *Indian-European Trade Relations*, 38-39.

59 John Rawson Elder, *The Pioneer Explorers of New Zealand* (London: Blackie & Son Limited, 1929), 4. See also, Morton, *The Whale's Wake*, 127, 184, 201-204; Schaniel, "Maori and the Economic Frontier," 148, 178, 180, 185-186, 303; William C. Schaniel, "European technology and the New Zealand Maori economy: 1769-1840," *Social Science Journal* Vol. 38 (2001), 142-143.

Maori purchasing ammunition only five times throughout the entire period covered in the account books, once in 1841 and four times in 1842. No purchases of guns or rifles by Maori were recorded in the account books in this period. Thus, the extensive trade in firearms was perhaps limited in time and place in New Zealand. It is also possible that Maori in the Otago region found alternate sources for a supply of firearms and ammunition other than Harwood, such as other whaling vessels coming into harbour.<sup>60</sup> Schaniel, however, argued that the Maori were insistent that they would only trade potatoes and pork for firearms and ammunition and were prepared to not trade at all if the Europeans refused to provide the desired goods. Thus, even missionaries and traders who objected morally to the trade in firearms were forced to engage in this trade if they needed potatoes and pork from the Maori.<sup>61</sup> Considering the large quantities of potatoes Harwood received in exchange for other goods, it is curious that no trade in firearms is evident in his accounting records. It was either not a significant issue for Harwood's business or it remained "off the books."

The trade in firearms also demonstrates a difference between Indigenous peoples' participation in the whaling industry and the fur trade. While hunting with guns and rifles was an important element in the fur trade, as well as the Indigenous economy in the English River District, hunting was not important to Maori participation in the whaling industry. Whaling itself was conducted in a much different fashion, and even the provisions trade to the Otakou whaling station, in which the Maori were actively involved, did not require hunting in the same sense

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60 Morton even argued "Whaleship captains were a major, perhaps the major source of arms for the Maoris, and sold guns to them long after British annexation." Morton, *The Whale's Wake*, 204.

61 Schaniel, "Maori and the Economic Frontier," 158-160. Morton similarly noted that ships' captains who refused to trade in firearms were not successful in obtaining potatoes or pork from the Maori, even into the late 1840s. Morton, *The Whale's Wake*, 204.



as the provision trade in the English River District.<sup>62</sup> So, while firearms may have been important during periods of Maori warfare, they were not used extensively in other aspects of Maori life. As such, when warfare declined in the 1830s, the importance of obtaining firearms might have declined as well, despite the continued discussion of the firearm trade continuing into the 1840s in the literature. Thus, in some ways, it is not surprising that items of trade that are found commonly in the Indian ledgers (ammunition and, to a lesser extent, firearms) are practically non-existent in Harwood's ledgers.

As this discussion suggests, the patterns of consumption and production evident in the accounting records at Ile a la Crosse and Otakou provide some general insight into some of the impacts of participation in commercial industries on Indigenous peoples. At Ile a la Crosse, the trade in ammunition, food, clothing, and sewing materials all suggest some stability and some changes to the Indigenous peoples' lifestyles in the English River District by the nineteenth century. For example, the consistent sale of ammunition throughout the time period analyzed suggests that hunting remained an important element of the Indigenous economy. While some of this hunting was certainly carried out as part of their participation in the fur and provisions trade, the limited amount of food purchased at the post, particularly in the 1830s, suggests that some of this hunting was also carried out for sustenance of the household (see Figures 7.16 and 7.17).

As these few examples demonstrate, a systematic and detailed analysis of the HBC's Indian ledgers, and specifically the consumption patterns of the Indians captured in these ledgers, show not only the entrenchment of the fur trade into the

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<sup>62</sup> Even pre-contact subsistence was not hunting-based in the same manner as pre-contact Cree and Dene subsistence, Maori subsistence focusing on fish, birds, fern root and to a lesser extent kumara (sweet potato). Clark, *Invasion of New Zealand*, 42-43.

Indigenous economy and the necessity of continued participation in the trade as certain elements of the Indigenous lifestyle changed and as local resources began to decline, but also the stability of certain elements of the Indigenous lifestyle despite participation in the trade and entrenchment of the trade into the economy. The analysis of the Indian ledgers for the Ile a la Crosse post in the nineteenth century illuminate the impact of an industry that had been operating in the region for decades. The shore-based whaling industry in New Zealand did not have the same kind of long-term stability as the fur industry in western Canada. Nonetheless, a detailed and systematic analysis of Harwood's accounting records for his store, focusing on Maori customers, also provides some insight into the impact of the whaling industry on the Maori in much the same way as the HBC material.

The consumption and production patterns displayed in the analysis of Harwood's accounting records after whaling had started to decline suggest that the Maori had fully incorporated certain elements of European technology and goods into their Indigenous economy. In order to maintain these elements in their economy, they would have had to continue finding ways to purchase goods from *pakeha* stores, such as Harwood's. As the accounting records suggest, access to European goods was maintained in part through a continued trade in country produce, particularly potatoes, flax, and pork. However, it would make sense that some Maori chose to relocate to other still active whaling stations to keep this new element of their economy strong.

Changes in Indigenous peoples' residential and migration patterns are not directly demonstrated by the analysis of either the accounting records or the journals in the preceding chapter; however, certain inferences can still be drawn. As has

already been discussed, the post journals and correspondence from Ile a la Crosse made several references in the 1860s to unusual weather patterns and decline in the animal populations that changed the usual hunting and trapping patterns of the Indigenous peoples in this region. Moreover, the seasonal cycles discussed in the preceding chapter suggest that in the nineteenth century, Indigenous peoples in this region were coming to the Ile a la Crosse post quite regularly throughout the year. Thus, it would seem that the Indigenous people in this region had adapted their seasonal rounds to incorporate the activities and opportunities offered by participation in the fur trade. Jarvenpa and Brumbach argued that in order to make as frequent trips to Ile a la Crosse as the post journals suggest the Dene did in this region, they would have had to reduce their winter range and mobility.<sup>63</sup>

Although the population data for this time period at the Ile a la Crosse post are limited, the numbers also suggest some potential changes to the residential patterns of Indigenous peoples in the English River District. For example, in 1838, the HBC recorded 489 “Indians frequenting the post” at Ile a la Crosse.<sup>64</sup> By 1856, that number had increased to 700 Indians.<sup>65</sup> In 1872, the HBC conducted a census for the entire English River District and reported 1,399 “Chepewyans” and 131 “French Halfbreeds” living in the district.<sup>66</sup> Unfortunately, these data were not provided at the post level; however, compared to the number of “Indians” reported for the English River District in 1838 (1,143), the population in the district had

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63 Jarvenpa and Brumbach, “Microeconomics,” 160. Helm, Rogers, and Smith similarly noted a reduction in the traditional territories of the Algonquian groups living in the eastern and central Shield region as a result of participation in the fur trade. Helm, Rogers, and Smith, “Intercultural Relations,” 151-152.

64 HBCA B.239/z/10 Indian Population of Sundry Districts.

65 Great Britain, *Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company* (London: House of Commons, 1857), 365.

66 LAC, RG 15, vol. 230, file 614, Hudson's Bay Census of Indians, Whites, and Half-Breeds of the Northern Department, Aggregate, 1872.

increased by almost 34 percent between the late 1830s and the early 1870s.<sup>67</sup> While some of the increase in population might be represented by migration of HBC employees into the region and/or more accurate counting by the HBC at Ile a la Crosse, some of the increase might also represent a shift in residential patterns of Indigenous peoples in the region as they incorporated the fur trade into their livelihoods and shifted the focus of their hunting, fishing and gathering patterns as a result. Jarvenpa and Brumbach also documented changes in the residential patterns of Chipewyan in the English River District in the 1860s and 1870s in response to HBC winter outpost locations;<sup>68</sup> thus, it is not unreasonable to infer that similar changes to residential patterns had occurred prior to this time as well.

Similar migrations and shifts in residential patterns have been documented in the Maori population as a result of interactions with whalers and other European traders as well. In the early nineteenth century, northern *iwi* (who had access to firearms first) began to invade the territories of southern *iwi*, including the Ngai Tahu. Many of the Ngai Tahu left their more northerly territories on the South Island, and the shore whaling stations in the southern regions helped to alleviate the impact of a sudden increase in the Ngai Tahu population in these more southerly regions. However, by the mid-nineteenth century, the Ngai Tahu population began to decline, in part due to disease.<sup>69</sup> While disease would certainly have had an impact on population size, Edward Shortland also noted that once whaling started to decline at Otakou, many Maori left the area to go to Waikouaiti where whaling was still active.<sup>70</sup> Shortland's observations are at least partly supported by Harwood's

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67 HBCA B.239/z/10 Indian Population of Sundry Districts.

68 Jarvenpa and Brumbach, "Microeconomics," 161-162.

69 Olssen and Reilly, "Te tutakitanga," 12-13.

70 Shortland, *Southern Districts*, 39-40.

accounting records.

More importantly perhaps, some scholars have suggested that the whaling industry, the trade in flax, and other such pursuits had encouraged a change in Maori residential patterns prior to 1840. In particular, as trade with visiting Europeans increased, Maori spent more time in coastal residences in their territory, rather than in the interior. As potato and other vegetable cultivation increased when these items became key trade items, seasonal migration of Maori *iwis* also declined.<sup>71</sup> Increased warfare in the 1820s also contributed to a shift in Maori territories, although Schaniel argued that migrations as a result of warfare were more limited than migrations and changes in residential patterns created by an expanding economic frontier.<sup>72</sup>

As the above analysis of the HBC Indian ledgers and Harwood's store ledgers demonstrates, the patterns of consumption and production of Indigenous peoples involved in the fur trade and the whaling industry differ to some extent in their details, but both demonstrate some of the potential impacts of participation in these industries on the Indigenous peoples' economies and lifestyles. The patterns demonstrate both stability and change in the Indigenous peoples' economies and lifestyles, but also suggest that participation in the industries had been integrated into the Indigenous economies by at least the early to mid nineteenth century. The patterns suggest that enough changes had been made to the Indigenous peoples' lifestyles that not only was participation in these industries active and stable, rather than sporadic or occasional, but that this participation over time caused a need to continue active participation in the industries as these lifestyle changes became more entrenched and as local resources declined.

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71 Morton, *The Whale's Wake*, 202; Schaniel, "Maori and the Economic Frontier," 283.

72 Schaniel, "Maori and the Economic Frontier," 272-284.

## **Conclusion**

Although accounting records, such as those kept by the Hudson's Bay Company and by Octavius Harwood at the Otakou whaling station, can be complex, difficult, and time-consuming to analyze, detailed analysis of such records provides a more complex understanding of the consumption and production patterns of Indigenous peoples than can a more limited examination of journals, memoirs, and correspondence. The consumption and production patterns of the Indigenous peoples actively engaged in the fur and whaling industries demonstrate that the Indigenous economies were modified to incorporate new opportunities and changing circumstances introduced by these commercial industries. These modifications were not temporary or minimal as demonstrated by continual adaptations by the Indigenous people to adjust to changes in the broader colonial economies to maintain access to the goods to which they had become accustomed and, in some cases, to which they may have come to rely upon as natural resources in their territories dwindled and changed over time. In particular, the consumption of specialty or luxury items was the means through which Indigenous peoples were drawn into the British colonial economy and through which a dependency to continue engaging in the colonial capitalist economy was created.

## Chapter 8: Findings and Conclusions - The Mixed, Subsistence-based Economy in the Nineteenth Century

In much of the academic literature, the “traditional economy” is frequently presented as something that is discrete and can be more or less easily distinguished from the larger regional economy. Even though there is recognition in the literature that Indigenous peoples engage in a mixed economy that includes not only traditional activities, but also wage labour, state transfer payments (such as welfare, unemployment insurance, and other such state-funded payments), and other forms of income, there is still a desire by many authors to separate out the seemingly discrete elements of the traditional economy from the other elements of this mixed economy.<sup>1</sup> While these studies have documented and demonstrated the continued importance of the traditional or “bush” economy to contemporary Indigenous communities, which has been a key contribution to developing a more comprehensive understanding of contemporary Indigenous communities and societies, there is a potential unintended consequence of examining the so-called traditional economy as a discrete sector of a mixed economy. It implies that there is a clear distinction between “traditional” activities and “modern” activities in which

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<sup>1</sup> See for example, J.C. Altman, “Sustainable development options on Aboriginal land: The hybrid economy in the twenty-first century,” Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research, Discussion Paper No. 226 (Canberra: Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research, Australian National University, 2001), 5; Michael Asch, “The Dene Economy,” in *Dene Nation: the colony within*, ed. Mel Watkins (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), 47-61; Fikret Berkes, et al, “The Persistence of Aboriginal Land Use: Fish and Wildlife Harvest Areas in the Hudson and James Bay Lowland, Ontario,” *Arctic* Vol. 48, no. 1 (1995), 81-93; John Sutton Lutz, *Makúk: A New History of Aboriginal-White Relations* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2008), 9, 23-24, 169, 269, 305; Paul Nadasdy, *Hunters and Bureaucrats: Power, Knowledge, and Aboriginal-State Relations in the Southwest Yukon* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2003), 64; Jack C. Stabler, “A Utility Analysis of Activity Patterns of Native Males in the Northwest Territories,” *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol. 39, no. 1 (1990), 47-60; and, Terry N. Tobias and James J. Kay, “The Bush Harvest in Pinehouse, Saskatchewan, Canada,” *Arctic* Vol. 47, no. 3 (1993), 207-221.

Indigenous peoples choose to engage.<sup>2</sup> This distinction, in turn, leads to a narrow definition in Canada of Aboriginal rights, leads to economic development strategies that focus predominantly on job creation and education, and in some cases leads to a belief that modern capitalist economic development and the traditional economy are mutually exclusive.<sup>3</sup> However, a more comprehensive understanding of the economic histories of Indigenous peoples in colonized countries suggests we might need to re-conceptualize how we understand the “traditional economy.”

Hugh Brody, in his ethnographic study of First Nations communities in northeastern British Columbia, demonstrated that while elements of these communities’ economy changed in detail over the years, the “broad outline” of the seasonal round (the foundation of these First Nations’ economy) remained the same.<sup>4</sup> He commented that this seasonal round “is a pattern that originated in aboriginal times, was adapted to accommodate the needs of the fur trade, and still underpins economic life. Everyone thinks of this system as ‘traditional.’”<sup>5</sup> He goes on to argue that it is pointless to try to distinguish between traditional and non-traditional activities. While guiding might be considered a non-traditional activity because it is working for others, this simplified description ignores the practical, cultural, and historical associations of guiding. To create a distinction between traditional and

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2 The term “traditional” comes with a lot of baggage in the Canadian parlance. It is used negatively by some to imply activities that are backwards and have no place in a modern society. It is used positively by others to imply activities that are important culturally and are worthy of protection from the state. In part because of this baggage, I have tried to avoid using the term traditional unless it is necessary to identify a particular term or concept that I intend to address. I am not, however, trying to attach any value judgments to this term, and am instead only calling for a more nuanced understanding of what is generally conceived as a “traditional” Indigenous activity.

3 See for example, F. McShane and L. Danielson, “The Mining Minerals and Sustainable Development Project and Indigenous Peoples,” *Cultural Survival Quarterly* Vol, 25, no. 1 (2001), 46-47.

4 Hugh Brody, *Maps and Dreams: Indians and the British Columbia Frontier* (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1981, reprinted 2004), 191.

5 Brody, *Maps and Dreams*, 193.



modern creates confusion and a false dichotomy; Indigenous peoples have always used new opportunities in conjunction with established practices.<sup>6</sup> As Brody stated, “the economic mix is not a neat sequence but a flexible and changing system.”<sup>7</sup>

The mixed, subsistence-based economy model presented by Usher, Duhaime and Searles provides an even more comprehensive way to understand the mix of “traditional” and “modern” described by Brody. Unlike the dual economy model that depicts members of Indigenous communities continuing to participate in the “traditional” sector (generally viewed as the subsistence use of natural resources in the communities’ traditional territories), while waiting to gain full access to the modern economy (generally viewed as wage labour and government transfer payments,<sup>8</sup> Usher, Duhaime and Searles’ model demonstrates that the subsistence and market spheres of the regional economy are integrated at the level of the household, and not divided at the community level. In a mixed, subsistence-based economy, the household is the unit of production *and* consumption; this model is in contrast to industrial economies where it is usually the firms that produce and the household that consume.<sup>9</sup>

Thus, as Usher, Duhaime and Searles explained, the “traditional” or subsistence sector does not exist separately from the market sector in the mixed, subsistence-based economy. These sectors are combined at the individual, household and village level, and individuals move between sectors depending on what opportunities are available to them at any given time and based on what they

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6 Brody, *Maps and Dreams*, 207-208.

7 Brody, *Maps and Dreams*, 208.

8 Peter Douglas Elias, “Models of aboriginal communities in Canada’s north,” *International Journal of Social Economics* Vol. 24, no. 11 (1997), 1244-1245.

9 Peter J. Usher, Gérard Duhaime and Edmund Searles, “The Household as an Economic Unit in Arctic Aboriginal Communities, and its Measurement by Means of a Comprehensive Survey,” *Social Indicators Research* Vol. 61, no. 2 (2003), 176-177.

prefer. Principles of kinship guide economic and social relationships between households, a characteristic that distinguishes a mixed, subsistence-based economy from a market-based economy.<sup>10</sup> The subsistence sector is a “flexible and resilient system” that can absorb labour when opportunities in the market sector decline and release labour when opportunities arise.<sup>11</sup> The importance of the flexibility and resiliency of the subsistence sector as it relates to and interacts with the market sector as presented in this model can be demonstrated by the persistence of the subsistence sector long after Indigenous communities began participating in colonial industries, including the fur trade and the whaling industry.

The mixed, subsistence-based economy model is useful for framing the research presented in this dissertation. As the evidence from the journals and accounting records kept by the Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC) at the Ile a la Crosse post and Octavius Harwood at the Otakou whaling station demonstrate, Indigenous peoples’ involvement in historical commercial industries provided new opportunities that allowed Indigenous peoples to adapt their pre-trade economy in such a way as to become an integral part of the larger regional economy, at least for a time. These adaptations to the Indigenous economy are evidenced in part by the seasonal cycles of activities of the regional economies and the consumption and production patterns of the Indigenous peoples. While some adaptations to the Indigenous economy were made in part by the desire to take advantage of new opportunities, other changes were made because of changing environmental, economic, political, and social pressures introduced by the social and economic relationships that developed in these industries. As these adaptations to the Indigenous economy took shape,

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10 Usher, Duhaime and Searles, “Household as an Economic Unit,” 177-179.

11 Usher, Duhaime and Searles, “Household as an Economic Unit,” 178, 188.

it would have become increasingly difficult to distinguish old practices from new practices, subsistence practices from commercial practices. The flexibility and resiliency of the subsistence sector to absorb and release labour as opportunities in the commercial sector changed over time allowed Indigenous peoples to adapt their economies to changing circumstances such that the unique economic model described by Usher, Duhaime and Searles continues to exist in northern Indigenous communities after centuries of contact and colonization.

### **Adaptations to the Indigenous Economy in the Ile a la Crosse Region**

A systematic analysis of the post journals and the Indian ledgers kept by the HBC at the Ile a la Crosse post illustrates the participation of Indigenous peoples in the fur trade in this region in the nineteenth century and shows at least some of the adaptations to the Indigenous peoples' economy that came as a result of the opportunities and circumstances created by the fur trade economy.<sup>12</sup> While the data are fragmentary to some degree and do not capture all of the activities of Indigenous peoples involved in the fur trade, there is still evidence that the fur trade economy did not completely subsume the Indigenous peoples' pre-trade economy. Instead, the evidence suggests that while some elements of the pre-trade economy remained stable, adaptations to this economy were made to include a commercial sector that allowed the Indigenous peoples access to certain trade goods that were important to them, and allowed them to continue to adjust to a growing dependency on the trade and a changing environment.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> While the research for this dissertation considers data only from the nineteenth century (largely from the 1830s to the 1870s), it is important to keep in mind that the first fur trading post was established in this region in 1776. Thus, the data examined concerns a period of time almost five decades after trade was established in the region. It is likely that similar patterns of behaviour and adaptations to the pre-trade economy had been made prior to the period under consideration here.

<sup>13</sup> I am using dependency throughout this chapter in the way that it is used generally in

Both the seasonal cycles and the patterns of consumption and production suggest continuity in Indigenous peoples' participation in the fur trade economy throughout the nineteenth century. In particular, the seasonal cycles of activities at the Ile a la Crosse post suggest that while there were peak periods of interaction between Indigenous peoples and the post employees each year, Indigenous peoples made regular visits to the post throughout the year. Similarly, while there were fluctuations in the volume and cost of trade at the Ile a la Crosse post as recorded in the Indian ledgers there was still some consistency and persistence in trading activities throughout the nineteenth century. More importantly, the fluctuations that are noticeable in the volume and cost of trade can be explained by various factors. For example, the Indian ledgers do not capture all of the trade between Indigenous peoples in the region and the HBC. Not all of the transactions seem to have been recorded in the Indian ledgers, nor would the Indian ledgers at Ile a la Crosse necessarily show the transactions that occurred at the various outposts in the district or in the camps of the Indigenous peoples. The missing transactions are evident when the volume and cost of trade from the Indian ledgers are compared to the statements of apparent gain in the district accounts and fur return data as discussed

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dependency theory to explain the persistent underdevelopment of Latin American countries. In this understanding, dependency is created when the economy of one country is developed and expanded by the subjugation of another economy; in this case, the British economy developed and expanded by subjugating the Indigenous economy into producing furs that were exported for sale on the London market. The advantage of using dependency in this sense is that it examines the connection between the labour of Indigenous trappers and a world economy based on the export of raw materials. Dependency is conditioned by both the internal structures of the export economy situated in the periphery and the international relations created through world trade and markets. Indigenous trappers became dependent on the fur trade as their pre-trade economy was modified and adapted to include labour used specifically for the procurement of furs traded on a world market. The more their pre-trade economy was modified, the more dependent they became on maintaining the relationship and connection to the world market to maintain their modified economy. For a concise discussion of dependency theory and underdevelopment in Latin America, see Theotonia Dos Santos, "The Structure of Dependence," *American Economic Review* Vol. 60, no. 2 (1970), 231-236.

in the preceding chapter (see Figures 7.5, 7.23 and 7.26). Thus, the Indian ledgers are a fragmentary data set.

Some of the fluctuations might also reflect a number of different factors external to the operations of the industry that would have influenced trade at various times in the region. For example, in the post journal for outfit year 1860-1861, the clerk noted that there was starvation and illness in the region this year. He also noted that the winter was particularly mild, causing a late freeze up and soft snow, which affected travel in the region.<sup>14</sup> The corresponding Indian ledgers show a limited number of transactions at the post this year, although the cost of the transactions were not unusually low as compared to other years in the decade.<sup>15</sup> The district fur return data that year also show fewer returns compared to the surrounding years.<sup>16</sup> It is possible to extrapolate then that the weather patterns and the illness in the region might have encouraged the Indians to trade at the outposts more frequently and come in later to the post than normal to bring in their furs and other produce for trade resulting in the fur returns associated with this outfit year being recorded in the next outfit year.

Similarly in outfit year 1862-1863, the clerk noted in the post journals that the mild winter was affecting the post's access to provisions, which likely would have also been experienced by the Indigenous peoples not living at the post. The clerk also noted that the deep snow that winter impaired travel, and that starvation and illness was prevalent throughout the region this year. The clerk suggested that the Chipewyans in particular were a long way from the post and were likely to bring

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14 HBCA B.89/a/31 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1860-1861.

15 HBCA B.89/d/95 Ile a la Crosse Account Book 1862.

16 HBCA B.239/h/2 District Fur Returns 1842-1869.

in their hunts late this year.<sup>17</sup> Interestingly, the corresponding Indian ledger data for this outfit year show a record number of transactions throughout the time period analyzed, but no record of the furs and produce brought in for trade by the Indians.<sup>18</sup> The district fur returns for this outfit year, however, show the largest volume of returns in this year since 1842-1843, and in subsequent years, the volume of returns also declines in the district.<sup>19</sup> It is possible that once again the Indians either made extensive use of other outposts or, as the clerk predicted, brought in their furs and other produce for trade much later than usual to the Ile a la Crosse post, again causing the fur returns associated with this outfit year to be recorded in the accounts of the next outfit.

Finally, the post journal for the 1864-1865 outfit year recorded illness in the region, and even made note that illness had prevented the Island Lake Chipewyan from trapping this year. The clerk further noted in the journal that there was considerable illness at the post itself, including scarlet fever in December.<sup>20</sup> Although no transactions were recorded in the Indian ledgers for this outfit year, the surrounding outfit years showed relatively lower volumes and costs of trade compared to other years.<sup>21</sup> The district fur return data, however, suggests that the years from 1862 to 1866 had relatively similar volumes of fur returns.<sup>22</sup> Again, it would seem that there might be some correlation between illness in the region and lower rates of consumption and production at the Ile a la Crosse post (although not in the district as a whole), at least in the 1860s. Unfortunately, there was not enough

<sup>17</sup> HBCA B.89/a/32 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1862; B.89/a/33 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1862-1863; B.89/a/34 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1863.

<sup>18</sup> HBCA B.89/d/95 Ile a la Crosse Account Book 1862; B.89/d/108a Ile a la Crosse Account Book 1863-1866.

<sup>19</sup> HBCA B.239/h/2 District Fur Returns 1842-1869; B.239/h/3 District Fur Returns 1869-1892.

<sup>20</sup> HBCA B.89/a/35 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1864-1865.

<sup>21</sup> HBCA B.89/d/108a Ile a la Crosse Account Book 1863-1866.

<sup>22</sup> HBCA B.239/h/2 District Fur Returns 1842-1869.

overlap between post journal and Indian ledger data to look for similar patterns in other decades. Nonetheless, there is a suggestion in the data that external pressures in the region, such as illness, starvation and unusual weather patterns, affected the patterns of interaction between Indigenous peoples and the Ile a la Crosse post in the nineteenth century, which may account for at least some of the fluctuations apparent in the data.

Despite the overall stability of the participation of Indigenous peoples in the fur trade economy in the Ile a la Crosse region in the nineteenth century, the evidence suggests that there was persistence in some aspects of the pre-trade economy of the Indigenous peoples of this region, particularly hunting. The consistent purchase of ammunition throughout the nineteenth century, such that it was the most frequently purchased item (at least until the 1860s), suggests that the Indigenous peoples in this region continued hunting, even while actively engaged in the fur trade economy.<sup>23</sup> It would also seem to suggest that despite the importance of fishing to the Ile a la Crosse post, hunting was more productive for sustenance purposes for the trappers, or was at least more efficient as hunting could be conducted opportunistically while trapping. Helm, Rogers, and Smith argue that for most of the Canadian Shield region, big game hunting was the primary activity of Indigenous peoples prior to contact, with fishing serving as a secondary or seasonal activity.<sup>24</sup> The patterns of consumption presented in the Indian ledgers

<sup>23</sup> At the same time, it would also suggest that by the nineteenth century the technology of hunting had clearly changed from pre-contact times, even if the activity itself had not changed. HBCA B.89/d/43a Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837; B.89/d/95 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862; B.89/d/108a Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1866; B.89/d/188 Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1876-1876.

<sup>24</sup> June Helm, Edward S. Rogers and James G.E. Smith, "Intercultural Relations and Cultural Change in the Shield and Mackenzie Borderlands," in *Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 6 Subarctic*, vol. ed. June Helm (Washington: Smithsonian Institute, 1981), 150. Fish were also an important source of dog food, so fishing may have been more important at the post as a means to maintain dog teams. As Indigenous trappers began to make more regular use of dog teams by the

suggest that this pattern did not change as a result of the fur trade. Moreover, the limited amount of food purchased by Indigenous peoples as recorded in the Indian ledgers suggests that hunting, fishing and gathering “country” food was still the main source of sustenance for the Indigenous peoples in the region.<sup>25</sup> Thus, it seems quite clear that active participation in the fur trade economy did not require a complete abandonment of the pre-trade Indigenous economy, at least for as long as there was not serious disruption to harvesting potential of country foods. The model of the mixed, subsistence-based economy is consistent with this pattern in which the commercial or market sector does not displace harvesting unless there has been serious disruption to harvesting practices.<sup>26</sup>

Nonetheless, the Indigenous economy did adapt to changing circumstances and opportunities. In particular, the patterns of consumption in the Indian ledgers show an increasing amount of clothing and sewing materials (as well as other household and personal items) being purchased by Indigenous peoples in the region.<sup>27</sup> Thus, while hunting may have remained an important element of the Indigenous peoples’ economy in the nineteenth century, the hides and furs that would have been a product of hunting were no longer being used as materials for clothing, blankets, and other such items. Additionally, there was a gradual shift in the focus of the hunt from big game animals to fur-bearers.<sup>28</sup> The hides and furs,

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end of the nineteenth century, their efforts towards fishing might have increased. Helm, Rogers and Smith, “Intercultural Relations,” 152, 154.

25 HBCA B.89/d/43a Ile a la Crosse Account Book 1832-1837; B.89/d/95 Ile a la Crosse Account Book 1862; B.89/d/108a Ile a la Crosse Account Book 1863-1866; B.89/d/188 Ile a la Crosse Account Book 1876-1876.

26 Usher, Duhaime and Searles, “Household as an Economic Unit,” 178.

27 HBCA B.89/d/43a Ile a la Crosse Account Book 1832-1837; B.89/d/95 Ile a la Crosse Account Book 1862; B.89/d/108a Ile a la Crosse Account Book 1863-1866; B.89/d/188 Ile a la Crosse Account Book 1876-1876.

28 Robert Jarvenpa and Hetty Jo Brumbach, “The Microeconomics of Southern Chipewyan Fur Trade History,” in *The Subarctic Fur Trade: Native Social and Economic Adaptations*, ed. Shepard Krech III (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1984), 170.



of course, had become an important trade item by this time, and thus might have been more valuable for trade than for household production; however, there may have been other reasons for this shift in the traditional lifestyle as well. Increasing pressures on the fur-bearing and game animals in the region, especially close to the post, would have meant that even if initially some hides and pelts were kept for clothing and household purposes, over time fewer hides and pelts would have been available and thus other options for clothing would have had to have been pursued. Additionally, the time and effort to sew clothing using pre-trade technology and materials would have been more intensive than using European materials and sewing implements. Finally, some of the Indigenous peoples, particularly Métis, may have willingly switched to European fashions over time for a variety of reasons, including convenience and versatility.<sup>29</sup>

The adaptations to the Indigenous economy that are suggested by the data in the Ile a la Crosse Indian ledgers demonstrate that Indigenous peoples' participation in the fur trade had become an integral part of the Indigenous economy and had allowed the Indigenous people to become an integral part of the regional economy as a whole by the nineteenth century. While not all elements of the Indigenous economy and lifestyle were abandoned by the Indigenous peoples, some were modified and changed to allow a more efficient and practical participation in the regional economy.<sup>30</sup> These adaptations, however, also suggest an increasing

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29 A similar increase over time in the purchase of luxury foods (particularly tea, sugar and flour) is evidenced in the Indian ledgers, likely for similar reasons as the increase in the purchase of clothing and sewing materials. HBCA B.89/d/43a Ile a la Crosse Account Book 1832-1837; B.89/d/95 Ile a la Crosse Account Book 1862; B.89/d/108a Ile a la Crosse Account Book 1863-1866; B.89/d/188 Ile a la Crosse Account Book 1876-1876.

30 As Helm, Rogers and Smith noted, "Social and technological change throughout the contact-traditional era [1821-1945] was generally incremental and un-traumatic. Above all else, the stabilized adaptation of the Indian to the fur trade set the tenor of a way of life that endured for more than a century." Helm, Rogers and Smith, "Intercultural Relations," 149.

dependency of the Indigenous peoples on the fur trade economy that would eventually have a detrimental affect on their livelihoods as the market value of fur declined and other industries assumed importance in the region in the twentieth century.<sup>31</sup>

Moreover, the types of adaptations made to the Indigenous economy were such that it would have become increasingly difficult over time to distinguish pre-fur trade activities from post-fur trade activities. For example, in the nineteenth century, hunting would have provided both sustenance to an Indigenous family and produce that could be traded to the Ile a la Crosse post. Trying to determine which aspects of hunting were “traditional” and which were “new” as a result of the fur trade would be arbitrary and seemingly pointless. Instead, it would make more sense to understand the adaptations to the Indigenous economy as a reflection of the flexibility and resiliency of the Indigenous economy that allowed the Indigenous peoples to react to changing circumstances and opportunities, much like that which is evidenced in a mixed, subsistence-based economy and the ability of the subsistence sector in this economy to absorb and release labour as needed in response to changing circumstances.<sup>32</sup> In other words, Indigenous peoples were not maintaining their pre-trade economy while occasionally engaging in trade with the HBC; instead, they had adapted their economy to include a commercial trading sector that allowed them to be a part of the larger regional economy. A

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31 F. Laurie Barron, *Walking in Indian Moccasins: The Native Policies of Tommy Douglas and the CCF* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1997), 155-157, 167; David M. Quiring, *CCF Colonialism in Northern Saskatchewan: Battling Parish Priests, Bootleggers, and Fur Sharks* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2004), 253-259. MacLeitch has made a similar argument about how participation in the Atlantic fur trade drew Iroquois into a market economy and made them dependent on the continued access to European goods. Gail D. MacLeitch, “‘Red’ Labor: Iroquois Participation in the Atlantic Economy,” *Labor: Studies in Working-Class History of the Americas* Vol. 1, no. 4 (2004), 75-76.

32 Usher, Duhaime and Searles, “Household as an Economic Unit,” 178.

similar process is evident in the Otago region of New Zealand in the mid-nineteenth century, although the adaptations are not always as clear as those in the Ile a la Crosse region for a variety of reasons.

### **Adaptations to the Indigenous Economy in the Otago Region**

A systematic analysis of the journals and account ledgers kept by Octavius Harwood at the Otakou whaling station demonstrates the participation of Maori in both whaling and in general trade at Harwood's store in the mid-nineteenth century. Although the patterns are not always as clear as those from the fur trade data, the analysis of Harwood's records shows some of the adaptations to the Maori economy as a result of the opportunities and circumstances presented by the whaling industry. Similar to the fur trade data, Harwood's data are fragmentary and do not cover a consistent time frame, nor nearly as long a time frame as the fur trade data. Nonetheless, there is still evidence with these data that participation in the whaling industry, either directly through employment or indirectly through trade with the station, did not completely subsume the Maori economy, but instead allowed for adaptations to be made to include the new opportunities that the whalers presented. These adaptations allowed the Maori to adjust to a changing environment caused by the activities of the whaling industry.

The seasonal cycles of the Otakou whaling station show an increasing number of times that Maori visited the whaling station in the late 1830s and early 1840s.<sup>33</sup> Similar to the seasonal cycles at Ile a la Crosse, there were peak periods

<sup>33</sup> Hocken Library, MS-0438/001 G.C. Thomson Collection, Journal Apr. 1838 – Jan. 1840; MS-0438/002 G.C. Thomson Collection, Journal Oct. 1840 – July 1842. Unlike the fur trade at Ile a la Crosse that operated as the key sector of the regional economy for over a century, the shore whaling station at Otakou operated for only a couple of decades, starting in 1831. However, the whalers were not the first point of contact and trade with the Maori. Prior to the whalers, sealers, explorers and other traders looking for ship spars and flax visited New Zealand, and interacted and established

of interaction between visiting Maori and the whaling station, particularly near the start and the finish of the active whaling season; however, Maori continued to visit the whaling station with increasing frequency during various times of the year. The account ledgers, however, which span the 1840s, show a general decline in transactions by Maori at Harwood's store.<sup>34</sup> This decline in transactions coincides with a decline in whaling in the region, and might suggest that the Maori population had moved to other locations to participate in whaling or had declined as a result of epidemics in the region, or perhaps that Harwood had shifted the focus of his store away from the goods that Maori could provide to agricultural products and cash as more *pakeha* settlers moved into the region.<sup>35</sup>

Although there was a gradual decline in Maori trade at Harwood's store, the patterns of consumption and production evidenced in the account ledgers are in some ways similar to those patterns evidenced in the Ile a la Crosse post's Indian ledgers. For example, over time there was a general increase in the volume and cost of imported food items purchased by Maori at the store. Maori most frequently purchased sugar, flour and coffee, although sometimes also molasses, rice, salt and vinegar.<sup>36</sup> Although the Maori seem to have incorporated some European-style

trade relations with the Maori. Also, Harwood's store continued to operate even as shore whaling declined in the Otago region. It is important to remember the historical context in which the journal and accounting data are situated.

34 Hocken Library, MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers, Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred; MS-0438/007 G.C. Thomson Collection, Notebook Number 4; MS-0438/009 G.C. Thomson Collection, Notebook Number 6; MS-0438/010 G.C. Thomson Collection, Notebook Number 7; MS-0438/011 G.C. Thomson Collection, Notebook Number 8; MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection, Notebook Number 9; MS-0438/014 G.C. Thomson Collection, Notebook Number 11; MS-0438/018 G.C. Thomson Collection, Notebook Number 15; MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection, Notebook Number 16.

35 Erik Olssen and Michael P.J. Reilly, "Te tutakitanga o nga ao e rua – Early contacts between two worlds," in *Ki Te Whaiao: An Introduction to Maori Culture and Society*, ed. Tania M. Ka'ai, John C. Moorfield, Michael P.J. Reilly and Sharon Mosley (Auckland: Pearson Education New Zealand, 2004), 12-13; Edward Shortland, *The Southern Districts of New Zealand: A Journal with Passing Notices of the Customs of the Aborigines* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, reprinted 1974), 39-40.

36 Hocken Library, MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers, Accounts ledger of store customers and

food items into their diet, these items alone would not provide complete sustenance to a family. Thus, much like the Indigenous peoples in the Ile a la Crosse region, the Maori still kept country foods in their diet.

Also much like the Indigenous peoples in the Ile a la Crosse region, the Maori in the Otago region increasingly purchased European-style clothing, sewing materials and other household items.<sup>37</sup> While the materials previously used for clothing by the Indigenous peoples in the Ile a la Crosse region became important items for trade in the fur trade, the same was not true for the Maori in the Otago region. Thus, it would seem for the Maori that European-style clothing offered other advantages over their traditional clothing, or became more convenient as the environmental and economic conditions changed in the Otago region as whalers, and later other settlers, moved into the area. The desire to continue purchasing these items would have encouraged the local Maori to migrate to other whaling stations as whaling declined in the Otago region or to turn to other types of activities that would allow them to continue accessing European trade goods.

The decreasing amount of interaction between Maori and Harwood evidenced in the account ledgers is likely a reflection of the activities of the whaling industry and its short-lived nature, especially in comparison to the fur trade. As

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any debts incurred; MS-0438/007 G.C. Thomson Collection, Notebook Number 4; MS-0438/009 G.C. Thomson Collection, Notebook Number 6; MS-0438/010 G.C. Thomson Collection, Notebook Number 7; MS-0438/011 G.C. Thomson Collection, Notebook Number 8; MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection, Notebook Number 9; MS-0438/014 G.C. Thomson Collection, Notebook Number 11; MS-0438/018 G.C. Thomson Collection, Notebook Number 15; MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection, Notebook Number 16.

<sup>37</sup> Hocken Library, MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers, Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred; MS-0438/007 G.C. Thomson Collection, Notebook Number 4; MS-0438/009 G.C. Thomson Collection, Notebook Number 6; MS-0438/010 G.C. Thomson Collection, Notebook Number 7; MS-0438/011 G.C. Thomson Collection, Notebook Number 8; MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection, Notebook Number 9; MS-0438/014 G.C. Thomson Collection, Notebook Number 11; MS-0438/018 G.C. Thomson Collection, Notebook Number 15; MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection, Notebook Number 16.

whaling declined and other industries moved in that did not require Maori labour to the same degree, fewer opportunities were available to the local Maori to trade at the store. Nonetheless, the evidence still suggests that the Maori adapted their economy to include new forms of wage labour and new commercial sectors that allowed them to turn locally grown and manufactured products into trade goods in order to access new and useful materials from the whalers. Thus, much like the Indigenous peoples' economy in the Ile a la Crosse region, the Maori economy was flexible and resilient and adjusted to changing circumstances and opportunities without being completely subsumed.<sup>38</sup> The less obvious patterns of Maori adaptations, however, point to some important differences between the fur and whaling industries that would have affected Indigenous peoples' responses to these industries and the opportunities and challenges that were presented.

### **Comparative Analysis of the Fur Trade at Ile a la Crosse and the Whaling Industry at Otago**

A number of similarities in the experiences of Indigenous peoples participating in the fur trade at Ile a la Crosse and the whaling industry at Otakou are evident in the analyses of the journals and accounting records. In both industries, there was regular contact between the Indigenous peoples not formally employed by the HBC or the whaling station and the men at the post and station. While there were peak

periods of interactions in both industries that coincided with key annual events (the

<sup>38</sup> Schaniel provided an interesting discussion on the manner through which Maori adopted European technology and foodstuffs (especially the white potato and the pig) and still maintained their pre-trade value system and culture. William Schaniel, "The Maori and the Economic Frontier: An Economic History of the Maori of New Zealand, 1769-1840," PhD dissertation, University of Tennessee (1985), particularly chapters 8, 10 and 14; and, William C. Schaniel, "European Technology and the New Zealand Maori economy: 1769-1840," *Social Science Journal* Vol. 38 (2001): 137-146. MacLeitch similarly discussed how Iroquois "Indianized" European goods they obtained through trade, which in turn resulted in fewer disruptions to their pre-trade lifestyles. MacLeitch, "'Red' Labor," 75.

winter and spring fur hunts and the start and end of the active whaling season), there were still regular visits throughout the year. This pattern might suggest changing and more intricate relationships between Indigenous peoples and the Europeans, as well as an integration of a commercial sector into the Indigenous economy rather than merely occasional or sporadic points of intersection between the Indigenous economy and the larger regional economy of the fur trade or the whaling industry. In other words, the Indigenous economy changed to incorporate these commercial ventures into the seasonal round.

Evidence of further adaptations to the Indigenous economy and livelihood patterns of the Indigenous peoples in these regions is found in the account ledgers that detailed the patterns of consumption and production. In both industries, the Indigenous peoples purchased increasing amounts of clothing, sewing materials, household items and imported foods over time. Clearly, particular types of European goods were well integrated into the Indigenous peoples' lifestyles by the nineteenth century, partly through choice and partly through necessity as increasing pressures on the natural resources in their regions began to change as a result of the activities of the industries. As the changes to the Indigenous economy and lifestyle became more entrenched and as participation in these industries, both directly through employment and indirectly through trade, became more dynamic and constant, the dependency of the Indigenous peoples on continued access to and participation in these regional economies also started to grow. It would have become increasingly important to continue participating in these industries as the changes to the Indigenous peoples' economy, sustenance patterns, and lifestyle

became more entrenched and as local natural resources declined and changed over time.

It also would have become increasingly more difficult to make distinct separations between pre-trade activities and new activities. The incorporation of commercial sectors into the Indigenous economy would have meant that activities that were once designed merely to achieve the sustenance of the community would have been adapted to include activities that would produce goods for trade to the Europeans. While these patterns are evident in both the fur trade and the whaling industry, a number of differences between the two industries makes these patterns much more evident in the fur trade journals and Indian ledgers than the records kept by Octavius Harwood at the Otakou whaling station.

For example, there were more opportunities for Indigenous peoples in the Ile a la Crosse region to engage in different ways with the fur trade than for the Maori with the whaling industry in the Otago region. In the fur trade, Indigenous peoples could engage in trapping, provisioning the post, guiding, transporting, seasonal/casual labour and regular employment. All of these activities would have provided different opportunities and means to individuals to participate in the regional economy in the ways most relevant to themselves, their families and their communities. Some opportunities would require more significant changes to the seasonal rounds than other, but there was more flexibility in how the commercial sector offered by the fur trade could be incorporated into the seasonal rounds at different times and for different individuals.<sup>39</sup> In the whaling industry, however, 39 Jarvenpa and Brumbach compared the patterns of consumption and production of three different Métis Cree men, representing three different ways in which an individual could interact with the HBC – full-time trappers who were employed only occasionally by the Company, seasonal employees of the Company, and full-time employees of the Company. The authors argued that while there were distinct differences in how each individual interacted with the Company, and thus how they consumed trade goods offered by the Company, even full-time employees continued to



Maori could participate in providing saleable and useable country produce to the station, seasonal/casual labour and regular employment with the station. In this sense, there were fewer opportunities and thus less flexibility in how the Maori could incorporate the commercial sector offered by the whaling industry into their seasonal rounds. Nonetheless, they still found ways to adapt to and incorporate the opportunities provided by whalers and other Europeans interested in trade in New Zealand.

Additionally, these two industries operated on two very different time scales in the Ile a la Crosse and Otago regions. The fur trade at Ile a la Crosse was the main economic activity in the region for over a century. While there were periods of intense competition and periods of relative monopoly for the HBC in this region, the fur trade was a consistent and productive industry throughout the nineteenth century. The Otakou whaling station, on the other hand, operated for less than two decades. While Harwood's store continued to operate and provide opportunities for the local Maori, those Maori who wanted to continue more active involvement in whaling would have had to move to other areas where whaling stations were still operating or agree to work on-board deep-sea whaling vessels. The longer duration of the fur trade meant that the Indigenous peoples in the Ile a la Crosse region had a longer period of time to adapt their economy to include participation in the fur trade. At the same time, the longer duration of the fur trade meant more pressures on the natural resources in the region, forcing changes to the Indigenous economy and lifestyle, and creating a growing dependency of the Indigenous peoples on the

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trap and hunt to provide sustenance for their families. This pattern is exactly that predicted by the mixed, subsistence-based economy model. Robert Jarvenpa and Hetty Jo Brumbach, "Occupational Status, Ethnicity, and Ecology: Metis Cree Adaptations in a Canadian Trading Frontier," *Human Ecology* Vol. 13, no. 3 (1985), 315-327.

fur trade economy and world market.

Finally, these two industries had different impacts on the traditional resources used by the Indigenous peoples in the region prior to the fur trade and whaling. The Indigenous peoples in the Ile a la Crosse region had hunted and made use of fur-bearing and game animals prior to the arrival of the fur traders. These species now had commercial and trade values that had not existed before, and growing pressures on these species caused various population declines that affected the livelihoods of Indigenous peoples and led to a growing dependency on the trade over time. The Maori, on the other hand, had only used whales opportunistically prior to the arrival of the whalers. The whaling industry thus provided an entirely new opportunity to Maori to make use of a natural resource not readily available to them before, and would not have affected the more “traditional” resources used by the Maori to the same degree as the fur trade in northern Saskatchewan. However, the presence of the whaling station at Otakou did put increasing pressures on local food sources as now it was not only Maori who were relying on these sources of food, although perhaps not to the same degree as experienced by Indigenous peoples in the Ile a la Crosse region. The whalers at Otago did grow vegetables and had access to European-style food imported from Sydney and provided by visiting deep-sea whaling vessels. The whalers and other Europeans visiting New Zealand also did not always appreciate or could not always access sufficient quantities of pre-contact Maori foods.<sup>40</sup> Similarly, the presence of the whalers and the store run by Harwood also allowed the Maori to trade local goods and products, giving them access to new materials and trade goods, while putting additional pressures on the natural

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<sup>40</sup> Harry Morton, *The Whale's Wake* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1982), 255; Schaniel, “Maori and the Economic Frontier,” 75.

resources, shifting the focus of production to potatoes and flax,<sup>41</sup> and making them increasingly dependent on the new trade goods and the Europeans who provided them.

Despite the differences in these two industries, the analysis of the journals and accounting records demonstrate the need to re-conceptualize what has often been thought of as the “traditional economy.” To continue trying to recognize a discrete traditional economy that existed within a larger mixed economy creates an unnecessary dichotomy between traditional/Indigenous and modern/European. Instead, the model of the mixed, subsistence-based economy, with a flexible and resilient subsistence sector, provides a more comprehensive understanding of an Indigenous economy modified and adapted through interaction with a commercial economy, even in an historical context. The regional economies that developed in the Ile a la Crosse region during the fur trade era and the Otago region during the shore-whaling era were not simply colonial economies imposed on the Indigenous peoples. These industries adapted to the demands and the desires of the Indigenous peoples who participated; however, the Indigenous economies also adapted, such that a commercial sector was incorporated into the Indigenous economy, while still maintaining a resilient subsistence sector that could absorb and release labour as needed.

Thus, what is generally conceptualized as the “traditional economy” in Canada today is actually an Indigenous economy shaped and modified by the fur trade in the nineteenth century.<sup>42</sup> This point is important as the concept of “tradition”

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41 Morton, *The Whale's Wake*, 211; Schaniel, “Maori and the Economic Frontier,” 215-219, 242-243, 258, 260.

42 As Helm, Rogers and Smith noted, “In 1970 what living native memory held as the traditional Indian way was not the aboriginal horizon, but the era of the classic fur trade.” Helm, Rogers and Smith, “Intercultural Relations,” 149.

is used to understand and evaluate Indigenous rights and title claims, particularly in Canada. It is expected and assumed that current practice be consistent with past practice in order to prove legal continuity.<sup>43</sup> Unfortunately, this expectation has led some to a very narrow conception of Indigenous rights that over-emphasizes the work of men (particularly hunting, fishing and trapping), identifies only subsistence-based activities as traditional, and equates rights with the use and occupancy of specific land and resources. The historical record, as evidenced in the journals and accounting records of the HBC and Octavius Harwood, does not support this type of interpretation. Rather the analysis in this dissertation suggests that the Indigenous peoples' pre-trade economy was opportunistic and adapted to include a commercial sector offered by the fur trade and the whaling industry in the seasonal rounds in a variety of ways, while still maintaining the resilient subsistence sector. The commercial and subsistence sectors were not discrete and did not function separately in the nineteenth century; these sectors functioned together in a mixed, subsistence-based economy. To deny the commercial sector in Indigenous economies today is to misunderstand the manner in which the mixed, subsistence-based economy operates.

At the same time, it is important to remember that the incorporation of European technologies and trading spheres did not necessarily mean a complete abandonment of the pre-contact Indigenous economy, values, or culture. Modifications were made, shifts in the emphasis of production occurred, but any change in livelihood did not automatically result in the disintegration of Indigenous societies. The resiliency and adaptability of Indigenous economies, which would

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<sup>43</sup> Peter Douglas Elias, "Rights and Research: The Role of the Social Sciences in the Legal and Political Resolution of Land Claims and Questions of Aboriginal Rights," *Canadian Native Law Review* Vol. 1 (1989), 24.

also have been exhibited prior to European contact as intertribal trade and relations would have brought new materials, technologies and ideas to Indigenous groups, would have allowed for the absorption of a commercial sector without displacing the subsistence sector, at least until and in such places where resource development, environmental change and right of access to lands and resources disrupted Indigenous harvesting practices.<sup>44</sup> Thus, the mixed, subsistence-based economy, both historically and contemporarily, represents a unique Indigenous economy that does not operate in the same manner as the non-Indigenous economy. The mixed, subsistence-based economy maintains the subsistence sector and is guided by kinship principles. The household is both the unit of production and the unit of consumption.<sup>45</sup>

Understanding the persistence of the mixed, subsistence-based economy from at least the nineteenth century to the present day, and accurately understanding how this type of economy functions, is, as Usher, Duhaime and Searles argued, “essential for the development of appropriate economic and social policies and programs as they apply to households in small, northern communities.”<sup>46</sup> Without a proper understanding of the historical context and how it shapes the contemporary situation, it will also not be possible to develop appropriate and effective policies and programs. It is important, then, to understand that the disruption of harvesting

that occurred in some regions in Canada and the underdevelopment that exists in

44 As Schaniel argued, “The Maori were exposed to western technology in the form of the goods that technology produced. The organizing system of thought, the scientific framework, and the technical process of manufacturing were not transferred with the goods. European goods were interpreted by the Maori in the context of their conceptualization of the universe.” Schaniel, “Maori and the Economic Frontier,” 371-372. For an alternative view of how European technology affected Indigenous societies, see Calvin Martin, *Keepers of the Game: Indian-Animal Relationships and the Fur Trade* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 59. Martin argued that when the Mi’maq accepted European technology, they were also compelled to accept European culture.

45 Usher, Duhaime and Searles, “Household as Economic Unit,” 177-178.

46 Usher, Duhaime and Searles, “Household as Economic Unit,” 175.

some Indigenous communities came not only as a result of the dependency created through the fur trade (and other export-based industries) and the relationships developed with a world market, but also with the Indigenous peoples' loss of control over their territorial lands and resources after the HBC sold Rupertsland to the Dominion of Canada. A similar process of the loss of Indigenous control over their territorial lands and resources occurred in New Zealand after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi and the increased settlement of *pakeha* agriculturalists on Maori lands after the decline of the whaling industry.

It is the loss of lands and resources, rather than the engagement in the fur trade and the whaling industry alone, that had the greatest impact on the Indigenous economies in Canada and New Zealand. In fact, it could be argued that as long as the Indigenous peoples retained relative control over their land and resources, the Indigenous economies remained intact (albeit altered). It was only through the process of colonization and the dispossession of lands and resources from Indigenous control that colonial economies were imposed on Indigenous economies. This process of dispossession is the key to understanding the contemporary situation in many Indigenous communities. Moreover, in spite of this dispossession, the resiliency of the subsistence sector continues to be evident in many Indigenous communities. However, as this research clearly shows, the subsistence sector that is maintained in many contemporary Indigenous communities (often referred to as the "traditional economy") is not the vestige of a pre-contact Indigenous economy. Instead, it is an Indigenous economy shaped by centuries-old participation in commercial industries. The resiliency and adaptability of the Indigenous economy remains underappreciated in the contemporary context.

## **Chapter 9: Conclusion – The Resiliency of the Indigenous Economy and the Dispossession of Indigenous Lands and Resources**

As the research for this dissertation demonstrates, the Indigenous economies in northern Saskatchewan and southern New Zealand had been modified to include a commercial sector as a result of participation in the fur trade and the whaling industry respectively by the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Thus, what is often considered the “traditional economy” today, especially in Canada, is an Indigenous economy that had already been modified from pre-contact times through participation in commercial industries. A limited understanding of Indigenous economic history has led to a distorted understanding of modern Indigenous economies by the general public, which has important implications for economic development issues in Indigenous communities today. The research in this dissertation not only calls into question the way in which the “traditional economy” is commonly understood today, but suggests the need for a more nuanced understanding of the processes of colonization and the impacts on Indigenous economies and societies.

### **The Fur Trade at Ile a la Crosse**

The first post at Ile a la Crosse in what is now northwest Saskatchewan was established by Montreal-based traders in 1776, followed by the Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC)

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<sup>1</sup> The data for my research covers predominantly the 1830s to 1870s in the Ile a la Crosse region and the 1830s and 1840s in the Otago region. However, it must be remembered that fur trading posts were established in the late 1770s in the Ile a la Crosse region and a Hudson’s Bay Company monopoly was established in 1821. Thus, the data set covers a time period after the fur trade economy had been established for roughly five decades. The patterns revealed in the data analysis had likely been established some time before for the 1830s. While the Otakou whaling station was only established in 1831, the Maori had been engaged in trading relationships with European explorers, sealers, deep-sea whalers, and other traders since the late 1770s. Thus, in this region as well, the data analysis covers a time period after the Maori had already established relationships with Europeans. My discussion will be limited to the time period covered by the data sets but it should be considered in the historical context and as covering a period in time after Indigenous-European relationships had been well established.

in 1799. After a period of intense competition, the Northwest Company (NWC) and the HBC merged in 1821 and Ile a la Crosse became the headquarters of the English River District. This district was an important transportation hub for the HBC, connecting the Athabasca region with the Hudson Bay drainage through the Methy Portage and the Clearwater River. It was also an important contact zone for Dene, Cree and Métis. A Roman Catholic Mission was established close to the Ile a la Crosse post in 1846 by the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, followed by a Grey Nuns convent in 1860.<sup>2</sup>

The Ile a la Crosse post, like other HBC posts, was expected to be largely self-sufficient in the sustenance of the men who worked here. Sustenance was provided in a number of ways, including small-scale agriculture, hunting and especially fishing. Local Dene, Cree and Métis were also hired as hunters to supply the post with fresh game from time to time.<sup>3</sup> The English River District provided habitat for a number of different game and fur-bearer species, perhaps most important though were moose, caribou, wood buffalo, beaver, otter, marten, mink, fisher, fox, lynx, wolverines, wolves, muskrats and bears. Over the course of the fur trade at Ile a la Crosse, the populations of these species declined. Low

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2 Robert Jarvenpa, "The Hudson's Bay Company, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Chipewyan in the Late Fur Trade Period," in *Le Castor Fair Tout: Selected Papers of the Fifth North American Fur Trade Conference, 1985*, eds. Bruce G. Trigger, Toby Morantz and Louise Dechêne (Lake St. Louis: Lake St. Louis Historical Society, 1987), 491; Robert Jarvenpa and Hetty Jo Brumbach, "Occupational Status, Ethnicity, and Ecology: Metis Cree Adaptations in a Canadian Trading Frontier," *Human Ecology* Vol. 13, no. 3 (1985): 311, 313; Robert Jarvenpa and Hetty Jo Brumbach, "The Microeconomics of Southern Chipewyan Fur Trade History," in *The Subarctic Fur Trade: Native Social and Economic Adaptations*, ed. Shepard Krech III (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1984), 155; Brenda Macdougall, *One of the Family: Metis Culture in Nineteenth-Century Northwestern Saskatchewan* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2010), 3-6, 28-50; and, David McLennan, "Ile-a-la-Crosse," *The Encyclopedia of Saskatchewan* (Regina: University of Regina and Canadian Plains Research Center, 2007), <http://esask.uregina.ca/entry/ile-a-la-crosse.html> (accessed September 22, 2010).

3 Hudson's Bay Company Archives, (hereafter HBCA) B.80/e/1 English River District Report 1822-1823.



beaver and otter stocks were noted as early as the 1820s, but other species declined in population throughout the nineteenth century.<sup>4</sup>

The actual activity of concern in the fur trade, the trapping of fur-bearers, was conducted away from the post by Indigenous peoples not formally employed by the Company. As such, while employees were engaged at certain times in trading with Indigenous trappers for the pelts and hides they brought in, employees were also kept busy throughout the year in daily activities necessary to keep the post operating efficiently. For example, employees were responsible for taking inventories, packing furs, and other such tasks related to the trade in furs itself. Employees were also responsible for their general sustenance, and thus were involved in gardening, haying, tending to livestock, fishing and occasionally hunting. A blacksmith operated a forge at Ile a la Crosse, and other men were employed in boat building, house building and other such skilled labour. More menial tasks, such as general maintenance and gathering firewood, were also undertaken regularly. In this way, the Ile a la Crosse post essentially operated as a self-contained community existing for a world market. Although a part of a different commercial industry, the Otakou whaling station operated in similar ways to the Ile a la Crosse post.

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4 HBCA B.89/e/1 English River District Report (1822-1823); B.89/e/2 English River District Report 1823; B.89/a/29 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1855-1856, 19 June 1855, 8, 12, 17, 21, 23 and 31 July 1855, and 1, 6, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, and 21 August 1855; B.89/a/31 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1860-1861, 23 October 1860, 17 December 1860, 6 and 16 January 1861, 13 and 27 March 1861, and 1 and 17 May 1861; B.89/a/33 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1862-1863, 10 December 1862; B.89/c/4 Ile a la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1872-1875, letter dated Ile a la Crosse 20 January 1872 to Donald A. Smith, Chief Commissioner from Samuel McKenzie, fo. 2; letter dated Ile a la Crosse English River District, 1 June 1872, Report to the Chief Commissioner, fo. 11; letter dated Green Lake Store, 9 September 1873, to Donald A. Smith from W. McMurray, fo. 44-45; and, B.89/c/6 Ile a la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1877-1881, letter dated Ile a la Crosse 14 January 1878, to James A. Grahame from Ewen Macdonald, fo. 61-63; and, B.89/c/6 Ile a la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1877-1881, letter dated Isle a La Crosse English River District, 1 June 1880 to James A. Grahame from Ewen Macdonald, ff. 145-146.

### Whaling at Otakou

The Otakou whaling station, located near what is now Dunedin, New Zealand, was established in 1831 by Joseph, Edward and George Weller. They later expanded their operations to include a station at nearby Purakanui in 1837. Octavius Harwood began operating a store in conjunction with the Otakou whaling station in 1838. The Weller brothers went bankrupt in 1841, but J. Hoare continued operating the whaling station on a smaller scale for a few more years. However, agricultural pursuits began to over-shadow the whaling operations at Otakou in the early 1840s. Harwood continued running the store until at least 1857.<sup>5</sup> Although the main purpose of the whaling station was, of course, the procurement of whale oil and baleen, the Wellers also regularly traded for or purchased timber, flax and potatoes from Maori for sale in Sydney (a practice common to most shore-based whaling stations in New Zealand).<sup>6</sup>

Unlike the post at Ile a la Crosse, the whaling station at Otakou always faced competition in its operations. Deep-sea whaling vessels from different countries would come into Otago Harbour to re-supply, often taking advantage of the relative ease of catching right whales in the harbour rather than the open seas. As well, a number of different shore whaling stations operated in the area, perhaps the most important being John Hughes' station at Onekakara and Johnny Jones' station at

Waikouaiti.<sup>7</sup> This constant competition combined with the unsustainable whaling

<sup>5</sup> Edward Shortland, *The Southern Districts of New Zealand: A Journal, with Passing Notices of the Customs of the Aborigines* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1974 [1851]), 11, 300-301; Frank Tod, *Whaling in Southern Waters* (Dunedin: Frank Tod, 1982), 21-36, 66-68, 87-99.

<sup>6</sup> Andrew Hill Clark, *The Invasion of New Zealand by People, Plants and Animals, the South Island* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1949 [1970]), 68; Robert McNab, *The Old Whaling Days: A History of Southern New Zealand from 1830 to 1840* (Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1913), 98-99; Lawrence Sandston Rickard, *The Whaling Trade in Old New Zealand* (Auckland: Minerva, 1928), 57-58; Tod, *Whaling in Southern Waters*, 22.

<sup>7</sup> R.M. Burdon, *New Zealand Notables: Henry Williams, Te Whiti, Johnny Jones* (Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1941), 107-113; Clark, *Invasion of New Zealand*, 69; Tod, *Whaling in Southern*

techniques at Otakou and other whaling stations (namely the harvesting of female right whales and their young) meant that the whale populations declined rapidly and whaling at Otakou became unprofitable in just over a decade of operations.

Unlike the post at Ile a la Crosse where the main activity of the trade – trapping – occurred “off-site,” the men at the Otakou whaling station were the active participants in the whaling operations and thus, at least during the whaling season, much of the daily activities of the men at the Otakou station focused on the necessary operations of whaling – harvesting whales, “cutting-in,” “trying out” and processing and storing whale products. In addition to these activities, a number of other important tasks were carried out at the station, including coopering oil barrels, building and repairing whale boats, building houses and storehouses, sawing timber, gathering firewood, and other such general duties required to keep the station operating smoothly. Although a garden was kept at the station, and sometimes men were sent fishing or hunting for food, many of the food supplies for the station were brought in from Sydney or traded for with other whaling vessels visiting the harbour.<sup>8</sup> Thus, while some of the activities at the Otakou station (particularly the general maintenance and building activities) were similar to activities carried out at the Ile a la Crosse post, some significant differences are apparent as well. Nonetheless, Otakou also existed essentially as a self-contained community existing for a world market. Table 9.1 presents some of the similarities and differences of the key variables in the fur trade at Ile a la Crosse and the whaling industry at Otakou.

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*Waters*, 43-51; John Rawson Elder, *The Pioneer Explorers of New Zealand* (London: Blackie & Son Limited, 1929), 9-10; Donald W. Malloch, *Early Waikouaiti* (Dunedin: Otago Daily Times and Witness Newspapers Co., Ltd., 1940), 10-37; Tod, *Whaling in Southern Waters*, 53-65.

<sup>8</sup> Hocken Library, MS-0438/001 G.C. Thomson Collection, Harwood’s Journal April 1838 – January 1840; MS-0438/002 G.C. Thomson Collection, Harwood’s Journal October 1840 – July 1842; MS-0438/003 G.C. Thomson Collection, Octavius Harwood’s journal (transcript).

**Table 9.1 Key Variables in the Fur Trade at the Ile a la Crosse Post and the Whaling Industry at Otakou Station**

	<b>Ile a la Crosse Post</b>	<b>Otakou Whaling Station</b>
<b>Opening of the post/station</b>	1776 (NWC post); 1799 (HBC post)	1831 (Harwood's store started operating in 1838)
<b>Closing of the post/station</b>	1940s	early 1840s (but Harwood ran the store until at least 1857)
<b>Labour roles of Indigenous peoples</b>	trapping, provisioning the post, guiding, transporting, seasonal/casual labour, regular employment	selling useable/saleable country produce, seasonal/casual labour, regular employment
<b>Peak periods of interaction annually</b>	March through May and September through October (for most outfit years)	not consistent as Maori spent an increasing amount of time at station
<b>Commodities sought from Indigenous peoples for sale abroad</b>	pelts, hides	whale oil, baleen, flax, potatoes
<b>Commodities sought from Indigenous peoples for in-country use</b>	pemmican, grease, game, fish	pork, fish, potatoes, titi birds
<b>Items most commonly purchased by Indigenous peoples</b>	ammunition, clothing, sewing materials, household items	clothing, household items, alcohol
<b>Items most commonly traded by Indigenous peoples</b>	pelts, hides, country produce	country produce (potatoes, flax, titi birds, pork), cash

### **Seasonal Cycles and Patterns of Interaction in the Fur Trade and Whaling Industry**

The analysis of the journals kept by the Ile a la Crosse post and the Otakou whaling station demonstrates clear patterns of interaction between Indigenous peoples and Europeans at Ile a la Crosse and Otakou. In both cases, the period of analysis was after the post or station had been established for some time; thus the interactions represent already established relationships, and changes to these relationships over time. The analysis demonstrates regular contact and interaction between Indigenous peoples and Europeans, and particularly at Otakou, increasing interaction as time progressed. At the same time, there also seemed to be peak periods of interaction, most evident at the Ile a la Crosse post, that corresponded to important seasonal activities related to the industries. For example, at the Ile a la Crosse post, most interactions were associated with the fall and spring trapping seasons and at Otakou, most interactions were associated with the start and end of the active whaling season.

While the seasonal cycles show similarities in the patterns of interaction at Ile a la Crosse and Otakou, there are some noticeable differences as well. For example, there were more opportunities for Indigenous peoples to participate in the fur trade than in the whaling industry, thus providing more reasons for Indigenous peoples to interact with the post at Ile a la Crosse than at the Otakou whaling station. Indigenous peoples at Ile a la Crosse could participate in the fur trade by trapping, provisioning the post, guiding, transporting or acting as seasonal or casual labourers or as regular employees. At Otakou, however, Maori could participate only by selling useable or saleable country produce or by acting as seasonal

or casual labourers or regular employees. However, it is also possible that the differences in how the journals were recorded might also affect how the interaction between Indigenous peoples and Europeans were presented. Most importantly, because whaling was conducted at the station itself, Harwood's journal was focused almost entirely on whaling activities during the active whaling season. In contrast, because trapping was conducted away from the Ile a la Crosse post, the post journal did not discuss trapping in detail, and instead highlighted interactions between the post and the Indigenous trappers. Thus, because the Ile a la Crosse post was reliant on the continued participation of Indigenous trappers, the post journals reflected all of the activities designed to maintain a good relationship between the post and the trappers. While the Weller brothers needed to maintain good relationships with the Ngai Tahu, in whose territory their station was located, whaling itself was conducted at the station and in part by imported labour; thus, the journals could focus on whaling activities without necessarily recording the relationship-building between the Wellers and the Ngai Tahu.

The seasonal cycles of activities at the Ile a la Crosse post and the Otakou whaling station reveal some of the important interaction between Indigenous peoples and the Europeans involved in the fur trade and the whaling industry. However, the journals only recorded some of the activities of the post and station, and thus present only a partial picture of the participation of Indigenous peoples in these industries. The accounting records maintained by the clerks at the Ile a la Crosse post and by Harwood at the Otakou whaling station provide a more detailed picture of the trade between Indigenous peoples and Europeans at these locations. Thus, a more comprehensive understanding of the participation of Indigenous peoples in

the fur trade and the whaling industry can be gathered through an analysis of the consumption and production patterns as presented in the accounting records.

### **Patterns of Consumption and Production of Indigenous Peoples at Ile a la Crosse and Otakou**

A systematic analysis of the Ile a la Crosse post Indian ledgers and Harwood's ledgers and notebooks at Otakou presents a picture, even if fragmentary, of the consumption and production patterns of the Indigenous peoples participating in the fur trade and whaling industry. These patterns provide some insight into the adaptations made to Indigenous economies as the opportunities presented to Indigenous peoples by participation in the fur trade and whaling industry were incorporated into their livelihoods.

For example, ammunition was one of the most commonly purchased trade items by Indigenous peoples at the Ile a la Crosse post throughout the nineteenth century. Ammunition, an item that had to be replenished consistently, would not have been purchased if Indigenous peoples were not making regular use of firearms. Thus, the technology employed in hunting had clearly changed from pre-contact times; however, the limited amount of imported food purchased by Indigenous peoples suggest that hunting was still an important element in providing for their sustenance, even at times when post employees reported declining game and fur-bearer populations in the region. Moreover, declining resources did not prompt a shift away from involvement in the fur trade.

Alternatively, clothing and sewing materials were purchased more frequently by Indigenous peoples at Ile a la Crosse in the 1860s and 1870s than in the 1830s. This shift in the lifestyle of Indigenous peoples in this region might

be attributed to a number of different factors. Over time, as Indigenous peoples became more entrenched in the fur trade, more hides and pelts would have been diverted to the market rather than used in the production of clothing for the personal use of Indigenous peoples. Additionally, wool, cotton, flannel and other such fabrics would have become less time-consuming to obtain and would have been less labour-intensive in the production of clothing and thus may have become more desirable over time. The Métis population associated with the Ile a la Crosse post might also have created a demand for European fashions.<sup>9</sup> But for whatever the reasons, a change in clothing materials would have both facilitated participation in the fur trade and made continued participation in the fur trade necessary as local resources declined.

Similar to the fur trade, Maori increasingly purchased European-style clothing from Harwood's store. This trend is even more suggestive for the Maori as unlike the Indigenous people at Ile a la Crosse, the Maori were not trading their traditional materials for clothing. Instead, they seem to have incorporated European fashions into their lifestyles by at least the mid-nineteenth century, although access to less labour-intensive materials for making clothing may also have been an incentive for Maori as it was for the Cree, Dene and Métis. Maori in the Otago region also increasingly purchased European food from Harwood's store over the time period analyzed. These data suggest that Maori were incorporating European food, either as a matter of choice or necessity as a result of increased pressure on local food resources from both the shore-based whalers and visiting

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<sup>9</sup> Jean Teillet, "The People and Territory of the Métis Nation" (paper presented at The Powley Legacy: Mapping the History of Métis Nation Rights conference, Saskatoon, SK, 16-17 July 2010); see also, Macdougall, *One of the Family*, 94.



deep-sea whalers, although not at a volume that would suggest that European food had become their sole source of sustenance.

Although the data are fragmentary, the analysis of the accounting records from the fur trade and the whaling industry show some patterns of consumption and production of Indigenous peoples that demonstrate at least some of the adaptations Indigenous peoples made to their economies in the Ile a la Crosse and Otago regions. The patterns suggest that Indigenous peoples' participation in the industries was dynamic and stable; however, the patterns also show that continued participation in these industries over time would have introduced changes to the Indigenous economies that would have created a need to continue participating in these industries or in other industries that would allow them access to the materials and goods they had incorporated into their societies. The need to continue accessing European-style goods would have been exacerbated as local resources declined as a result of over-use. It is quite clear from these data that the Indigenous economies had been shaped and transformed from pre-contact times by participation in these commercial economies by the nineteenth century.

### **Limitations of the Research and Work Still Remaining**

The comparative nature of my research demonstrates the applicability of the discussion and the conclusions drawn beyond individual and unique cultural experiences – similar processes of economic change and adaptation can be seen in historical experiences in both Canada and New Zealand. In other words, it was not the culture of the Cree, Dene, Métis or Maori alone that explains the participation of these Indigenous peoples in the commercial economies of the fur trade or the whaling industry; instead, economic processes were in place that require greater

explanation than focusing simply on Indigenous culture would provide.<sup>10</sup> However, both the fur trade and the whaling industry were carried out over vast territories and, particularly for the fur trade, over a long period of time. Thus, there is still a danger that focusing on only one fur trade post and one whaling station might not escape the regional particulars of the industries.

The fur trade as it was conducted at Ile a la Crosse would have had unique characteristics distinguishing it in some ways from the trade conducted at posts along the Hudson Bay (such as York Factory) or the maritime fur trade conducted on the coast of what is now British Columbia. Similarly, the whalers who operated each of the distinct shore whaling stations in New Zealand would have had their own approach to the industry and to relationships with the Maori. Even more distinctions could be drawn between shore whalers and deep-sea whalers. Thus, while the advantages of comparative research that highlights the similarities and differences in distinctive regions and colonies around the world can help broaden the conclusions and generalizations drawn, there is still some need to be cautious about drawing too many generalizations from a study involving only one fur trade post and one whaling station.

Nevertheless, the broad outlines of the economic relationships formed between Indigenous peoples and Europeans and the modifications made to the Indigenous economies in Canada and New Zealand as a result of participation in historical commercial economies can still be defined and discussed. Similar processes of interaction and change can be observed in both Ile a la Crosse and

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<sup>10</sup> Bruce Trigger provided a useful discussion on the limitations the cultural relativist perspectives have on the interpretation of Indigenous-colonial history, including the fur trade. Bruce G. Trigger, "Early Native North American Response to European Contact: Romantic versus Rationalistic Interpretations," *Journal of American History* Vol. 77, no. 4 (1991), 1199-1200, 1213-1215.

Otakou – two different regions, involving several different Indigenous nations and two different industries – which suggests that some generalizations and some broad understandings about historical economic processes and Indigenous-European interactions can be drawn. The distinctive details between regions and experiences should not be seen to bind the research so narrowly that understandings about the adaptability and resiliency of Indigenous economies cannot be made.

The fragmentary nature of the accounting data, particularly the HBC Indian ledgers, also presents some important limitations in this research. The Indian ledgers and Harwood's store ledgers present only the formal trade conducted directly at the Ile a la Crosse post or Harwood's store. At Ile a la Crosse, a number of outposts operated in the English River District, where some of the trade would have been conducted, and some trade was possibly conducted at the trappers' camps. Informal and illicit trade might also have been conducted by HBC employees. As well, the means in which the Indian ledgers were recorded (the trade of individual trappers recorded over multiple years in one ledger book) means that trade activities for certain years are potentially under-recorded as individual ledgers might cover only portions of certain years. Thus, the Indian ledgers do not capture all of the trade between Indigenous peoples and the HBC men at Ile a la Crosse. Similarly, Harwood's ledgers would only record direct transactions between Maori and Harwood or his employees at the store. Other transactions between Maori and the whalers at the Otakou station or whalers at other stations or aboard visiting ships would not have been accounted for in these ledgers. Thus, the patterns of consumption and production represent only a portion of the trade interactions between Indigenous peoples and Europeans and thus are only suggestive rather than definitive pictures

of these interactions. Still, the Indian ledgers and Harwood's ledger and notebooks are the best remaining evidence of the patterns of consumption and production of the Indigenous peoples in the Ile a la Crosse and Otakou regions and should not be ignored because they do not capture all of the trade.

The journals and accounting records of the HBC and Harwood present a one-sided European perspective of the fur trade and the whaling industry. Eleanor Blain even went so far as to suggest that because account books represent European worldviews and values, they cannot be used to discuss the values and motivations of the Indigenous peoples who did not share this European worldview.<sup>11</sup> While it is true that the account books are not neutral documents and do not directly comment on Indigenous peoples' motivations, it does not mean that these documents should simply be ignored. By documenting the items purchased by Indigenous peoples, and the items brought in for exchange, inferences can be drawn about changes to Indigenous economies and lifestyles without assuming that these changes meant a complete abandonment of Indigenous worldviews, or even assuming that the technology was used by the Indigenous peoples in the same way or with the same meaning as the technology would have been used by Europeans.<sup>12</sup> Like all historical documents, the accounting records must be analyzed with the particular perspective they encompass in mind, but that does not mean that there is no value or nothing to be learned from the data that are presented in these records.

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11 Eleanor M. Blain, "Dependency: Charles Bishop and the Northern Ojibwa," in *Aboriginal Resource Use in Canada: Historical and Legal Aspects*, ed. Kerry Abel and Jean Friesen (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1991), 103.

12 For example, William Schaniel documented how the Maori incorporated key items of European technology and foodstuffs into their own worldview without engendering a complete disintegration of Maori society. William Schaniel, "The Maori and the Economic Frontier: An Economic History of the Maori of New Zealand, 1769-1840" (PhD diss., University of Tennessee, 1985), 371-372, 389-392.

Particular to the research for this dissertation, although inferences can be drawn from the accounting data about the effects of Indigenous peoples' participation in these industries on their economies and lifestyles, there is little direct evidence in the accounting records of what was happening at the level of the household, particularly because of the way in which the analysis was conducted for this dissertation. Nonetheless, the research does provide some illumination of the Indigenous economies in the Ile a la Crosse and Otago regions after a period of interaction with commercial industries and does call in to question some of the assumptions that have been made about what we understand to be "traditional economies" and the implications of these assumptions for understanding contemporary realities in Indigenous communities and for the development of effective policies in these communities. Moreover, the research suggests several important avenues of analysis that could extend these findings and provide even more important context for understanding the process of colonization in Canada and New Zealand.

For example, expanding this analysis beyond the Ile a la Crosse post and the Otakou whaling station would help to understand the differences in regional experiences in each country and allow for greater certainty in drawing generalizations about the experiences of Indigenous peoples' participating in commercial economies. Although I chose to analyze aggregate data about consumption and production, the Indian ledgers and Harwood's ledgers are recorded at the level of the individual. Thus, it would be possible to examine the patterns of consumption and production of individuals, looking for differences between cultural groups or individuals with different status. It would also be possible to look at differences in participation of

individuals, whether they chose to focus on employment or trapping or provisioning as the main point of interaction. Finally, calculating the caloric values of the meat provided through trapping might provide some additional data for understanding the extent to which certain individuals were involved in the commercial industry and what affect this involvement might have on their seasonal rounds and economic patterns.<sup>13</sup> To a certain extent, more work could be done connecting specific days in the Indian ledgers to the corresponding days in the post journals or tracking the daily volume of trade; however, not all of the ledgers have specific dates attached to each transaction, so it is unclear how extensive such analysis might be overall. The extensive HBC records will make this kind of analysis easier in the Canadian context than the very limited records in the New Zealand shore whaling industry; however, more work of this nature could still be done in both countries. Moreover, the experiences of Indigenous peoples participating in other commercial industries in other regions of the world would also provide interesting comparisons.

Concerning the fur trade in Canada specifically, careful analysis of other HBC accounting records (such as the district accounts, fur returns, country produce records, etc.) could provide a comprehensive understanding of the overall extent of trade in different regions in Canada, as well as the impact of the fur trade on natural resources (particularly, game, fish and fur-bearers) in different regions and Indigenous peoples' responses to changing access to natural resources. In particular, the Indigenous peoples' responses to changing access and use of natural resources would illuminate the change in common property to open-access management of

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13 Robert Jarvenpa and Hetty Jo Brumbach have done some work of this nature, demonstrating the possibilities that much more extensive analysis of this nature could contribute to Indigenous economic history in Canada and elsewhere where such records exist. Jarvenpa and Brumbach, "Microeconomics," 147-183; and, Jarvenpa and Brumbach, "Occupational Status," 309-329.

resources and its impact on the marginalization of Indigenous peoples. Finally, more work on defining the actual value of the made beaver ideally for all posts over the entire time period during which this unit of measure was used, might provide a better understanding of the commodification of resources in Canada and the overall extent of the Canadian fur trade as it compared to other industries, and would allow for greater analysis over time by connecting accounting records using the made beaver value with accounting records using pounds sterling or Canadian dollars.

Although there are a few limitations to the research in this dissertation and the generalizations that can be drawn from it, and while further research needs to be completed, the research demonstrates the important contribution that economic history can make to understand the process of colonization in Canada, New Zealand and elsewhere. A better understanding of Indigenous economic history in Canada (and elsewhere) will provide a more comprehensive context in which to understand current issues facing Indigenous communities and may provide a foundation for better decision-making regarding economic, political, legal and social policies. The findings of this research, moreover, have some important implications that connect to broader theories about the process of colonization and its effect on Indigenous economies, lands and resources.

### **Implications of this Research**

What becomes clear from the analysis of the seasonal cycles and the patterns of consumption and production at the Ile a la Crosse post and the Otakou whaling station is that participation in commercial economies allowed for changes to the Indigenous economies in northwest Saskatchewan and southern New Zealand such that commercial elements were well integrated into the Indigenous economies in the

nineteenth century. As such, it is clear that Indigenous peoples' participation in these commercial economies was not peripheral but instead encouraged adaptation of their pre-trade economies, changes that would have required increasing necessity to continue participating in commercial economies as new materials and technologies were adopted and as natural resource use and availability changed over time. Understanding the adaptations made to the pre-trade Indigenous economy through participation in commercial economies has important implications for contemporary Indigenous communities. What many today regard as the "traditional economy" is, in fact, an Indigenous economy already influenced and modified by participation in an historical commercial economy, and thus we need to re-conceptualize what we consider the "traditional economy" and how it operates and connects to the larger regional economy.

Despite a growing body of literature that recognizes the continued importance of the subsistence-sector in some Indigenous communities, much of the literature continues to treat the "traditional economy" as something discrete and as something that can be easily separated from the larger regional economy.<sup>14</sup> Much of this literature is based on data gathered through traditional land use studies, harvest studies and other forms of field-based research that tend to be ahistorical and ignore

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14 See for example, J.C. Altman, "Sustainable development options on Aboriginal land: The hybrid economy in the twenty-first century," Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research, Discussion Paper No. 226 (Canberra: Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research, Australian National University, 2001), p. 5; Michael Asch, "The Dene Economy," in *Dene Nation: the colony within*, ed. Mel Watkins (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), 47-61; Fikret Berkes, et al, "The Persistence of Aboriginal Land Use: Fish and Wildlife Harvest Areas in the Hudson and James Bay Lowland, Ontario," *Arctic* Vol. 48, no. 1 (1995), 81-93; John Sutton Lutz, *Makúk: A New History of Aboriginal-White Relations* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2008), 9, 23-24, 169, 269, 305; Paul Nadasdy, *Hunters and Bureaucrats: Power, Knowledge, and Aboriginal-State Relations in the Southwest Yukon* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2003), 64; Jack C. Stabler, "A Utility Analysis of Activity Patterns of Native Males in the Northwest Territories," *Economic Development and Cultural Change* Vol. 39, no. 1 (1990), 47-60; and, Terry N. Tobias and James J. Kay, "The Bush Harvest in Pinehouse, Saskatchewan, Canada," *Arctic* Vol. 47, no. 3 (1993), 207-221.



the theoretical contributions of political economy that examine the larger structures of how local and regional economies integrate with larger global economies. Such methodological approaches have led to a limited understanding of the historical processes that have influenced contemporary Indigenous communities and have led to a narrow and perhaps naïve understanding of what is perceived as the “traditional economy.”

David Natcher highlighted many of the problems with the use of traditional land use (TLU) studies as a means to systematize the process of consultation when resource development activities might impact Indigenous lands. While some TLU studies initially tried to combine land use data with quantified measures of subsistence harvesting levels, most TLU studies now focus on “map biographies.” The map biography method involves asking Indigenous harvesters to locate their harvesting and other land use activities on topographical maps. Individual maps are aggregated to create and define community land use patterns.<sup>15</sup> While TLU studies can be visually effective in displaying land use patterns and can be easily compared to proposed resource development projects to identify potential overlaps and impacts, Natcher has identified a number of concerns with the standard TLU methodology. For example, many Indigenous communities are financially limited in their abilities to conduct these studies on their own. While industry has been increasingly willing to fund TLU studies, accepting industry funding leads to additional concerns, perhaps most importantly being that the industry funders then set the guidelines of how the research will be conducted and how the information will be shared and used in planning for resource development.<sup>16</sup>

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15 David C. Natcher, “Land use research and the duty to consult: a misrepresentation of the aboriginal landscape,” *Land Use Policy* Vol. 18 (2001), 116.

16 Natcher, “Land use research,” 117.

In addition to the limited financial resources of many Indigenous communities, there is also often a lack of technical knowledge in the community. TLU studies require the knowledge to develop and conduct map biography interviews and the ability to use GIS and GPS software in order to create digital maps. The financial and technical knowledge constraints often result in Indigenous communities relying on outside consultants who often have limited time to conduct the studies and do not necessarily have the specific knowledge and experience of the community to make the best choices when conducting the study. In some cases, then, important groups within the community, often women, are left out of the studies, creating an unbalanced and inaccurate picture of land use and resource harvesting. While various critiques of the methodology and the rise in acceptance of community-based research and participatory action research have started to address some of these shortfalls in TLU studies, the potential for incomplete understandings of land and resource use still remain.<sup>17</sup>

Beyond the technical and methodological challenges inherent in TLU studies is what Natcher has called the “cultural misrepresentation of the Aboriginal landscape.”<sup>18</sup> Land use research continues to be based on conventional, non-Indigenous understandings of land use planning and resource management. TLU studies do not effectively convey the symbolic and spiritual connections of Indigenous peoples to their lands and thus the land use maps are provided to company and government officials to use and interpret without the proper context. The text (i.e. the map) becomes the authority rather than the knowledge holders. As a result, these studies have led to cultural misrepresentations that perpetuate the

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17 Natcher, “Land use research,” 117-118.

18 Natcher, “Land use research,” 119.

misconception that traditional land use now only occurs on a limited basis on small patches of land.<sup>19</sup>

Harvest studies are also limited in the means through which they portray the “traditional economy” in contemporary Indigenous communities. Although there are a number of different approaches and methods for conducting and analyzing harvest studies, most attempt to arrive at a quantitative value of subsistence harvesting in order to assess the importance of the subsistence sector in the larger regional economy.<sup>20</sup> While these harvest studies do attempt to identify and quantify a part of the regional economy that is largely ignored by conventional economic indices and analysis,<sup>21</sup> there are similar problems with quantifying the subsistence sector through harvest studies as there are with TLU studies. Much like TLU studies, harvesting surveys are costly to conduct and require a fair amount of technical knowledge in developing appropriate survey documents, understanding and identifying potential biases, and deciding what indices (i.e. caloric value, protein value, edible weight, etc.) are most appropriate for determining equivalencies. The coverage in harvesting studies is often for short periods of time, covers individual communities rather than regions, and does not always include all harvested species.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, as Natcher argued with TLU studies, harvest studies do not have a means to capture the spiritual and cultural context and value of harvesting practices. Determining the simple replacement value of harvested country foods with store-bought foods does not account for the complexities and importance of

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19 Natcher, “Land use research,” 119.

20 For a comprehensive summary of a number of different harvest surveys and methodologies, please see Peter J. Usher and George Wenzel, “Native Harvest Surveys and Statistics: A Critique of Their Construction and Use,” *Arctic* Vol. 40, no. 2 (1987), 145-160.

21 F. Berkes et al, “Wildlife Harvesting and Sustainable Regional Native Economy in the Hudson and James Bay Lowland, Ontario,” *Arctic* Vol. 47, no. 4 (1994), 357-358.

22 Usher and Wenzel, “Native Harvest Surveys,” 157.

Indigenous harvesting practices that extend beyond merely the sustenance provided through such activities.

As a result, both TLU and harvest studies over-emphasize the work of men (particularly hunting, fishing and trapping), identify only subsistence-based activities as meaningful, do not generally appreciate the historical, cultural and spiritual context of land and resource use, and equate Indigenous rights to the use and occupancy of land and resources. Thus, these studies are limited in their ability to depict accurately the subsistence sector in Indigenous communities and how the subsistence sector is integrated with and reacts to the market sector of the regional economy. These studies generally lack the historical context of change to the Indigenous economy over time and the process of colonization as it relates to control of land and resources, and most do not appreciate the global structures that impact resource extraction economies, in which many Indigenous communities are located today, at least in Canada.

While the intentions of most TLU and harvesting studies are to demonstrate the continued importance of the subsistence sector in many Indigenous communities today, the danger of treating the subsistence sector or the “traditional economy” as a discrete and separate sector of the regional economy is that it lends support to the perception that “traditional” uses of land and resources are incompatible with commercial uses of land and resources. This perception, in turn, lends support to the dual economy model as a way to understand the persistence of subsistence harvesting in Indigenous communities. The dual economy model presents two distinct sectors in the economy of Indigenous communities. The “traditional” sector includes the subsistence harvesting of traditional natural resources (i.e. those

resources used in the historical past). The “modern” sector includes wage labour and various government transfer payments. There is generally an acceptance in this model that participation in the modern sector assists to a certain degree in the participation in the traditional sector by providing cash to purchase the necessary technology and supplies to continue harvesting traditional resources; however, it is also assumed that these two sectors are distinct. More importantly perhaps, there is an assumption that participation in the modern sector is seen as the most desirable and that participation in the traditional sector is used merely to support individuals and their families until they can fully transition into the modern sector. An emphasis on job creation, education and skill development in these communities, often supported by Indigenous leaders, lends support to this notion that the modern sector is the most desirable.<sup>23</sup>

There is no disputing the increasing importance of a cash income in today’s society generally, and certainly a source of local employment would be valued by many Indigenous communities. However, the assumptions that the traditional and modern sectors are not linked and that the traditional sector is no longer valued are highly problematic. While many Indigenous communities negotiate for guaranteed employment contracts and benefits with companies operating in their territories, many of these communities also seek commitments and agreements from the companies that Indigenous harvesting and resource use patterns will not be unduly disrupted by the companies’ operations.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, the continued importance of kinship and sharing as guiding principles in both the traditional and modern sectors demonstrates the links and connections between these sectors of

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23 Peter Douglas Elias, “Models of aboriginal communities in Canada’s north,” *International Journal of Social Economics* Vol. 24, no. 11 (1997), 1244-1245.

24 Elias, “Models of aboriginal communities,” 1245.

the economy.<sup>25</sup> Finally, the dual economy model ignores the historical context of Indigenous communities and the regional economy that demonstrates the resiliency and adaptability of the subsistence sector of the Indigenous economy as illustrated by the research in this dissertation.

The importance of understanding the historical context of the process through which the Indigenous economy was modified to include a commercial sector and the subsequent, and, in some cases, much later process through which the Indigenous peoples were dispossessed of their land and resources cannot be overstated in terms of understanding accurately the economic model of Indigenous communities today. The research for this dissertation has demonstrated how participation in the fur trade in Canada and the whaling industry in New Zealand led to modifications in the Indigenous economy to include a commercial sector, even as it led to a growing dependency on access to European technology and the structures inherent to the resource extraction and export market. However, a brief discussion of the implications of the subsequent dispossession of Indigenous peoples from their lands and resources in Canada and New Zealand is appropriate because neither the fur trade nor the whaling industry took control over, access to and management of land and resources away from the Indigenous peoples, something which is key to understanding the difference between the Indigenous economy in the nineteenth century and the Canadian or New Zealand economy in which Indigenous peoples participate today.

Irene Spry argued that the shift from common-property to open-access resources was a major reason for the dispossession of land and resources from

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<sup>25</sup> Peter J. Usher, Gérard Duhaime and Edmund Searles, "The Household as an Economic Unit in Arctic Aboriginal Communities, and its Measurement by Means of a Comprehensive Survey," *Social Indicators Research* Vol. 61, no. 2 (2003), 179.

Indigenous peoples' control and management.<sup>26</sup> Spry argued that prior to contact, Indigenous peoples' prosperity depended on access to a sizeable, resource-rich territory, knowledge of that territory, and the skill to utilize the resources available and manage the resources to ensure long-term sustainability.<sup>27</sup> While initial relationships with Europeans did not disrupt this Indigenous model of access to and management of natural resources too much, over time, as the settler population grew, as commercial markets for various natural resources expanded, and as more efficient harvesting technology was introduced, Indigenous peoples were not able to prevent the over-exploitation of these resources.<sup>28</sup> Later, as agricultural and mining pursuits began to dominate the Canadian economy, private property rights were expanded, and Indigenous peoples' control over their traditional territories was curtailed. The dramatic collapse of certain key resources, such as the buffalo, hid the even more disruptive expansion of private property rights, a system that Indigenous peoples were marginalized from, in part, through the reserve system.<sup>29</sup> Thus, Spry argued, the dispossession of Indigenous peoples from their land and resources was the key reason for their eventual "economic degradation."<sup>30</sup>

The loss of control over and access to important natural resources would have had a serious impact on the Indigenous economy as Spry suggested. However, Spry has not adequately considered the role of the market in her analysis as an

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26 Irene M. Spry, "The Tragedy of the Loss of the Commons in Western Canada," in *As Long as the Sun Shines and Water Flows: A Reader in Canadian Native Studies*, ed. Ian A.L. Getty and Antoine S. Lussier (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1983), 203-228.

27 Spry, "Tragedy of Loss of Commons," 205-207.

28 Spry, "Tragedy of Loss of Commons," 208-214.

29 Spry, "Tragedy of Loss of Commons," 218-222.

30 Spry, "Tragedy of Loss of Commons," 224. Ronald Trosper has also examined the role of open access resources as one potential cause of Indigenous peoples' dependency in North America after colonization. Ronald L. Trosper, "That Other Discipline: Economics and American Indian History," in *New Directions in American Indian History*, ed. C.G. Galloway (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), 208-212.

additional cause of resource depletion, change in property rights and dispossession of Indigenous peoples. Frank Tough has examined the historical freshwater commercial fishing industry and argued that not only property rights, but also government policy, foreign markets and capital led to the displacement of Indigenous peoples in this industry. Specifically, Tough argued that when a foreign market for sturgeon and whitefish developed, the unregulated fishery encroached upon and threatened the Indigenous peoples' subsistence fisheries. Government policies failed to protect the treaty right of Indigenous peoples to fish, and an increasing use of capital in fishing techniques and the acceptance of market relations as the means to regulate the industry effectively displaced Indigenous fishers and led to an over-exploitation of the resource.<sup>31</sup> Ronald Trosper similarly emphasized the importance of understanding the "total onslaught" of capitalism that included the interplay of markets, armies, settlers, railroads, and other such elements important to the process of colonization.<sup>32</sup>

Thus, in the fur trade and the whaling industry, the commercialization of certain natural resources changed some structures within the Indigenous economies (i.e. a shift from hunting big game to fur-bearers in northwest Saskatchewan and a shift to the production of white potatoes and flax in southern New Zealand) but did not completely disrupt the Indigenous peoples' control and management of land and resources in their territory. However, the commercialization of these resources may have opened the door to the peaceful transition from common-property to

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31 Frank Tough, "From the 'Original Affluent Society' to the 'Unjust Society:' A Review Essay on Native Economic History in Canada," *Journal of Aboriginal Economic Development* Vol. 4, no. 2 (2005), 40-41. See also, Frank Tough, "Depletion by the Market: Commercialization and Resource Management of Manitoba Lake Sturgeon (*Acipenser fulvescens*), 1885-1935," in *Fishing Places, Fishing People: Traditions and Issues in Canadian Small-Scale Fishery*, ed. Dianne Newell and Rosemary E. Ommer (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 97-120.

32 Trosper, "That Other Discipline," 205-208.



open-access resources, and contributed to a growing dependency of the Indigenous peoples on maintaining access to European goods and markets. As colonial expansion deepened in Canada and New Zealand, and as the colonial governments assumed legal and political control over land and resources through the negotiation of treaties, new industries and a growing population of settlers brought about the dispossession of Indigenous peoples from their lands and resources.

Cole Harris argued that to understand colonialism, “one needs to study the colonial site itself, assess the displacements that took place there, and seek to account for them.”<sup>33</sup> In particular, Harris argued that the root of colonialism in British Columbia was the dispossession of Indigenous peoples’ land. As Harris noted, the initial economic relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in British Columbia were based on trade, and thus land was not an issue. However, as settlers began to move in, the trade relationship was displaced and Indigenous peoples, who were in possession of the land that the settlers needed, came to be seen as in the way. Gradually, efforts were made to dispossess the Indigenous peoples of their land, and elements of violence, the state, culture and self-interest were all involved.<sup>34</sup>

The state maintained an overwhelming balance of physical power, and displays of violence (retribution against Indigenous peoples’ assaults on property or people, public hangings, the experience of war in the United States) limited any Indigenous uprisings to only the most desperate. Although the momentum for developing the colonies came from the settlers themselves, the imperial state

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33 Cole Harris, “How Did Colonialism Dispossess? Comments from an Edge of Empire,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* Vol. 94, no. 1 (2004), 166.

34 Harris, “Colonialism Dispossess,” 168-169.

provided the framework for the development of the colonial society.<sup>35</sup> The culture of the colonial society also provided basic assumptions about the Indigenous peoples whose land the settlers desired to possess. A dichotomy between savage and civilized, and the idea that Indigenous peoples' subsistence use of land and resources (an element of their savagery) was a "waste" of those land and resources, was developed to justify the dispossession of Indigenous lands. Assumptions were made that Indigenous people would eventually be "civilized" or die out.<sup>36</sup> Finally, the importance of the self-interest of the settlers who had come because of the opportunities presented by unused land cannot be ignored.<sup>37</sup>

The trade relations of the fur trade were replaced by industrial economies that shaped new relationships between people and the land. The reallocation of land from Indigenous control to colonial control assumed key importance. As Harris stated, "British Columbia offered modest opportunities to ordinary people of limited means, opportunities that depended, directly or indirectly, on access to land."<sup>38</sup> The interests of capitalism and the interests of settlers were aligned on the opportunities presented by land, and "state-sanctioned property rights, physical power, and cultural discourse" were all used to legitimate the dispossession of Indigenous lands.<sup>39</sup> However, as Harris pointed out, Indigenous peoples were not passive victims of dispossession. They resisted as they could even though they faced "a colonialism with relentless momentum and a comprehensive package of powers."<sup>40</sup>

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35 Harris, "Colonialism Dispossession," 169-170.

36 Harris, "Colonialism Dispossession," 170-174. This dichotomy of savage and civilized discussed by Harris is not unlike the dichotomy of traditional and modern underpinning the dual economy model.

37 Harris, "Colonialism Dispossession," 170-173.

38 Harris, "Colonialism Dispossession," 173.

39 Harris, "Colonialism Dispossession," 174.

40 Harris, "Colonialism Dispossession," 180. MacLeitch made a similar argument about the importance

The process of colonization in British Columbia as described by Harris is mostly, although not entirely, applicable to the case studies presented in this dissertation. Much of what Harris described came much later in northern Saskatchewan than in B.C. and violence, in particular, seemed to have played a lesser role in the region as well. It is also important to remember that the timeframe for both my case studies is before the legal dispossession of land (the signing of land surrender treaties), although the whaling industry and trade at Harwood's store continued for a short time after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in New Zealand.<sup>41</sup> Nonetheless, Harris' analysis of colonization highlights an intriguing aspect of understanding the shift from Indigenous economies to colonial economies – the loss of control over land and resources.

For industries such as the fur trade and whaling, where the focus of the non-Indigenous participants was on building relationships that would allow for the peaceful and efficient extraction of resources, Indigenous economies could adapt and modify without Indigenous peoples losing control over and access to key natural resources. In this sense, even though participation in the fur trade and the whaling industry resulted in modifications to the Indigenous economy to incorporate a commercial sector offered by the industries, these modifications were made within the cultural context and worldview of the Indigenous societies and did not require

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of the control over land and resources in the experiences of the Iroquois: "Access to land and its resources provided the Iroquois with a crucial buffer against the market economy. As long as they possessed enough land to engage in subsistence farming, hunting, and fishing, involvement in the external marketplace could be casual and limited. However, a defining theme of the Mohawk's and Oneida's eighteenth-century experience was the commodification and expropriation of their lands by a steady stream of Dutch, German, and English settlers." Gail D. MacLeitch, "'Red' Labor: Iroquois Participation in the Atlantic Economy," *Labor: Studies in Working-Class History of the Americas* Vol. 1, no. 4 (2004), 78.

41 Although Indigenous interpretations differ, from the perspective of the British Crown, the numbered treaties in western Canada and the Treaty of Waitangi in New Zealand represented legal land cessions.

a complete transfer of control over land and resources from the Indigenous peoples to the non-Indigenous peoples. Until external forces disrupted those who remained in control of the land and resources, Indigenous peoples remained in control of the local economy, and thus it remained an Indigenous economy. It was only through the process of colonization as described by Harris and the physical and legal dispossession of land and resources from Indigenous peoples that these people lost control of the local economies and colonial economies were established in their place. It was only then that the subsistence sector that remained so important to Indigenous societies began to be threatened, and land and resource allocations in favour of the colonizers further marginalized Indigenous peoples. The resiliency of the subsistence sector, however, is illustrated by the persistence of the mixed, subsistence-based economies evident in parts of northern Canada.

The mixed, subsistence-based economy described by Usher, Duhaime and Searles demonstrates that in many Indigenous communities in Canada's north today, the subsistence sector is not separate from the market sector, but instead remains integrated with the market sector at the level of the household.<sup>42</sup> Although the data from the Hudson's Bay Company and Harwood's store do not document directly the Indigenous households participating in the fur trade or the whaling station at these locations, the data do reflect that the Indigenous peoples incorporated the market sector of these industries into their pre-contact economies such that the model presented by Usher, Duhaime and Searles is as applicable to nineteenth century Indigenous communities in northern Saskatchewan and southern New Zealand as it is to contemporary Indigenous communities in northern Canada. Moreover, this model more accurately depicts the unique economies of many of these communities

42 Usher, Duhaime and Searles, "Household as an Economic Unit," 176-177.

than the dual economy model because it accounts for the continued importance of the Indigenous peoples' relationship to their lands, kinship, sharing and values. Thus, while the nineteenth century Indigenous economies were modified and adapted through participation in commercial economies focused on resource-extraction, this participation did not disrupt or terminate the subsistence sector of the Indigenous economies.<sup>43</sup>

The modifications made to the Indigenous economy in the nineteenth century requires us to consider the contemporary subsistence sector with this historical context in mind, and calls into question the way in which the "traditional economy" is generally perceived. The "traditional economy" today is not merely a vestige of a pre-contact Indigenous economy. Instead, it is an Indigenous economy shaped by centuries-old participation in commercial industries historically. Thus, subsistence and commercial uses of lands and resources are not necessarily mutually exclusive, and the further adaptation of the mixed, subsistence-based economy in Indigenous communities in Canada's north, and elsewhere, should not lead to the assumption that the "traditional economy" is dying and the Indigenous peoples are somehow less authentic or abandoning their "traditional" ways. Instead, the resiliency and adaptability of the Indigenous economy, as has been shown in the historical context, should be recognized and appreciated in the contemporary context.

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43 Usher, Duhaime and Searles, "Household as an Economic Unit," 178-179.

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 B.89/a/36 Ile a la Crosse Post Journal 1889-1891  
 B.89/c/4 Ile a la Crosse Correspondence Book 1872-1875  
 B.89/c/5 Ile a la Crosse Correspondence Book 1875-1877  
 B.89/c/6 Ile a la Crosse Correspondence Book 1877-1881  
 B.89/d/34 Ile a la Crosse Account Book 1832-1833  
 B.89/d/36 Ile a la Crosse Account Book 1833-1834  
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 B.89/d/43a Ile a la Crosse Account Book 1832-1837  
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#### **Hocken Library References:**

MS-0404/001 Harwood Family Papers, Correspondence including letters from Octavius's father, Robert Harwood  
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 MS-0438/010 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 7  
 MS-0438/011 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 8  
 MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 9  
 MS-0438/014 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 11  
 MS-0438/018 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 15  
 MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16.  
 MS-0440/005 G.C. Thomson Collection George and Edward Weller, Transcript of Letters, 1832-1861  
 MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred

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## Appendix A: Seasonal Cycles Based on the Piraki Log

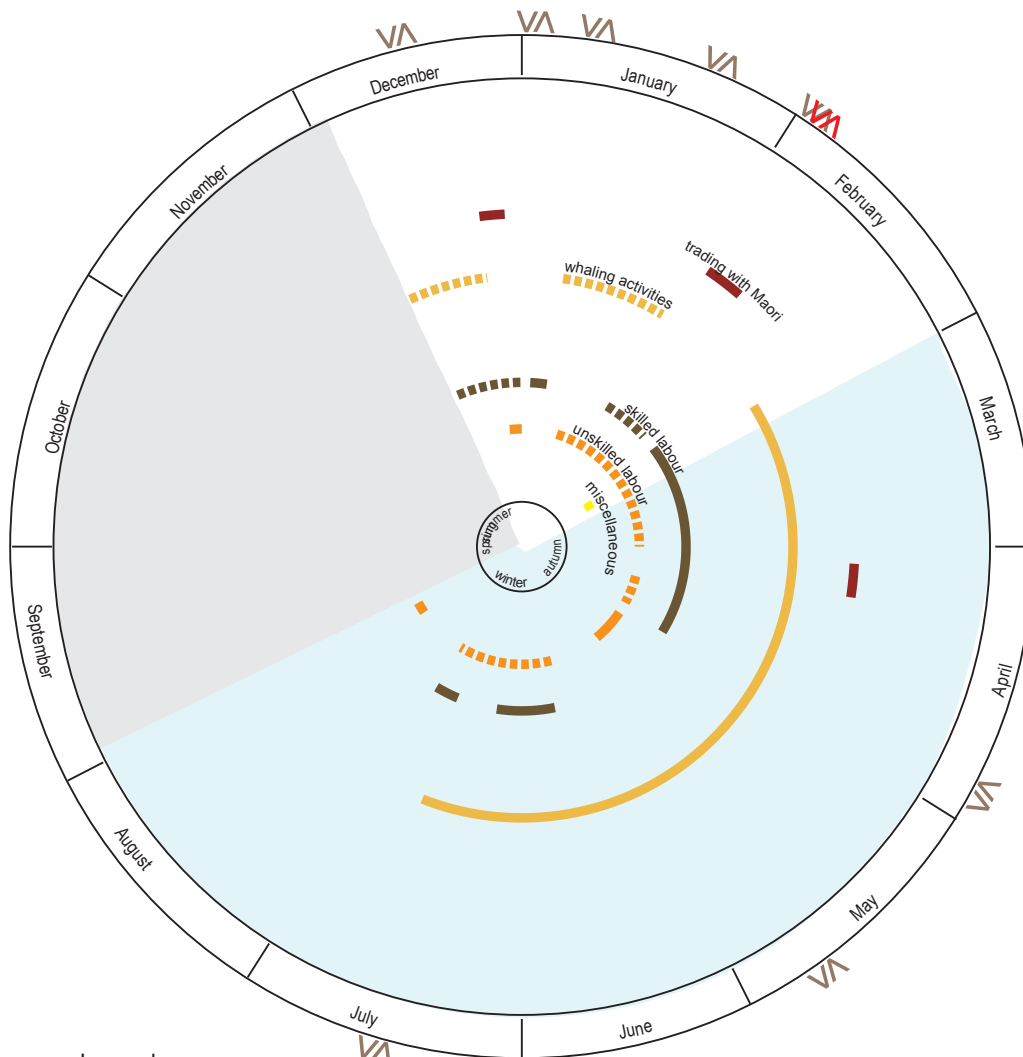
The Piraki whaling station was operated by Captain G. Hempleman, and was located on Banks Peninsula on the east coast of the south island of New Zealand. Although this station would likely have operated in similar ways as the Otakou station, the journal was focused almost entirely on whaling activities.<sup>1</sup> Thus, unlike Harwood who included notes about the daily activities of the entire station in his journal, Hempleman recorded only those activities most closely associated with whaling. However, Hempleman did record, on occasion, interactions between Maori and his station, especially when there were conflicts between different Maori *iwi* (or tribes) that impacted the operations of the Piraki station.

Captain Hempleman's published journal starts on 4 December 1835 with the journey of his crew on board the brig *Bee* from Sydney, Australia to Banks Peninsula. To not waste any opportunities, the crew hunted whales whenever the opportunity arose on this journey. Thus, this first seasonal cycle covers the time period from 4 December 1835 to 2 September 1836, accounting for 263 days of recorded activities (see Figure A.1). Much like on the Otakou station, during the height of the whale migration, whaling was the single-most important activity at the Piraki station and in this year, the period of continuous whaling activity occurred from March until late July. There was only a limited amount of trading with local Maori recorded in this journal. In the 1835-1836 cycle, such trading activities were recorded on only six days, representing 2.3 percent of the total days recorded. Half of the time, individuals from the station, usually the Captain and a small boat crew, traveled to Maori encampments for supplies. Thus, Maori were only at the station

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<sup>1</sup> The journal kept at the Pirake whaling station has been published as: G. Hempleman, *The Piraki Log (E Pirangi Ahau Koe) or Dialry of Captain Helmpleman with Introduction, Glossary Illustrations and Map* (London: Oxford University Press, 1910).

Figure A.1 Seasonal Cycle at Piraki Station, 1835 - 1836



- Legend:
- provisioning station
  - trading with ships/other whalers
  - trading with Maori
  - whaling activities
  - outfitting employees
  - skilled labour
  - unskilled labour
  - miscellaneous
  - active whaling season
  - off season

- continuous activity
- - - - sporadic activity
- VA Maori arriving and departing
- VA Ships arriving and departing

Note: Significant blocks of missing dates have been noted on this cycle; however, there were missing days periodically throughout this cycle.

Archival Reference: Hempleman, G. 1910. *The Piraki Log (E Pirangi Ahau Koe) or Diary of Captain Hempleman with Introduction, Glossary Illustrations and Map.* London: Oxford University Press.

on three days (1.1 percent) recorded in this journal. Those three days were all in the month of February.

During the years 1837 to 1838, 215 days of activities were recorded in the journal (see Figure A.2). In this cycle, the main period of whaling was from April to early June (although no information was recorded for July, so the whaling season likely extended into this month as well). The station traded with Maori on only 2 occasions (0.9 percent). However, there was considerably more interaction with Maori, as Maori came into the station on 38 days (17.7 percent). In some cases, the carpenter at the station was fixing the boat of local Maori, and once the carpenter fixed Tyroa's boat, one of the principal chiefs from the *Ngai Tahu*, who frequently interacted with the whalers at the Otakou station. During this cycle, Maori were at the station every month for which entries were recorded.

Hempleman's journal is relatively complete for the year 1839, and information was recorded for 303 days of this year (see Figure A.3). The whaling season appears to have had a later start and finish this year, from mid April to the end of September, but considering that it was contingent on the whale migration, it is not surprising that the intense whaling season would shift slightly over the years. In this year, the station traded with local Maori on three days (1.0 percent). Maori, however, were at the station on 11 days (3.6 percent). The Maori were only at the station during four months of the year, January, April, October and November; however, no information was recorded for the months of March and December). Interestingly, in this year, Captain Hempleman supplied muskets, shot and powder to a Maori man named Tuwoowo to assist in his fight against Bloody Jack (another Maori who had some interaction with the Otakou station). Later in

Figure A.2 Seasonal Cycle at Piraki Station, 1837 - 1838

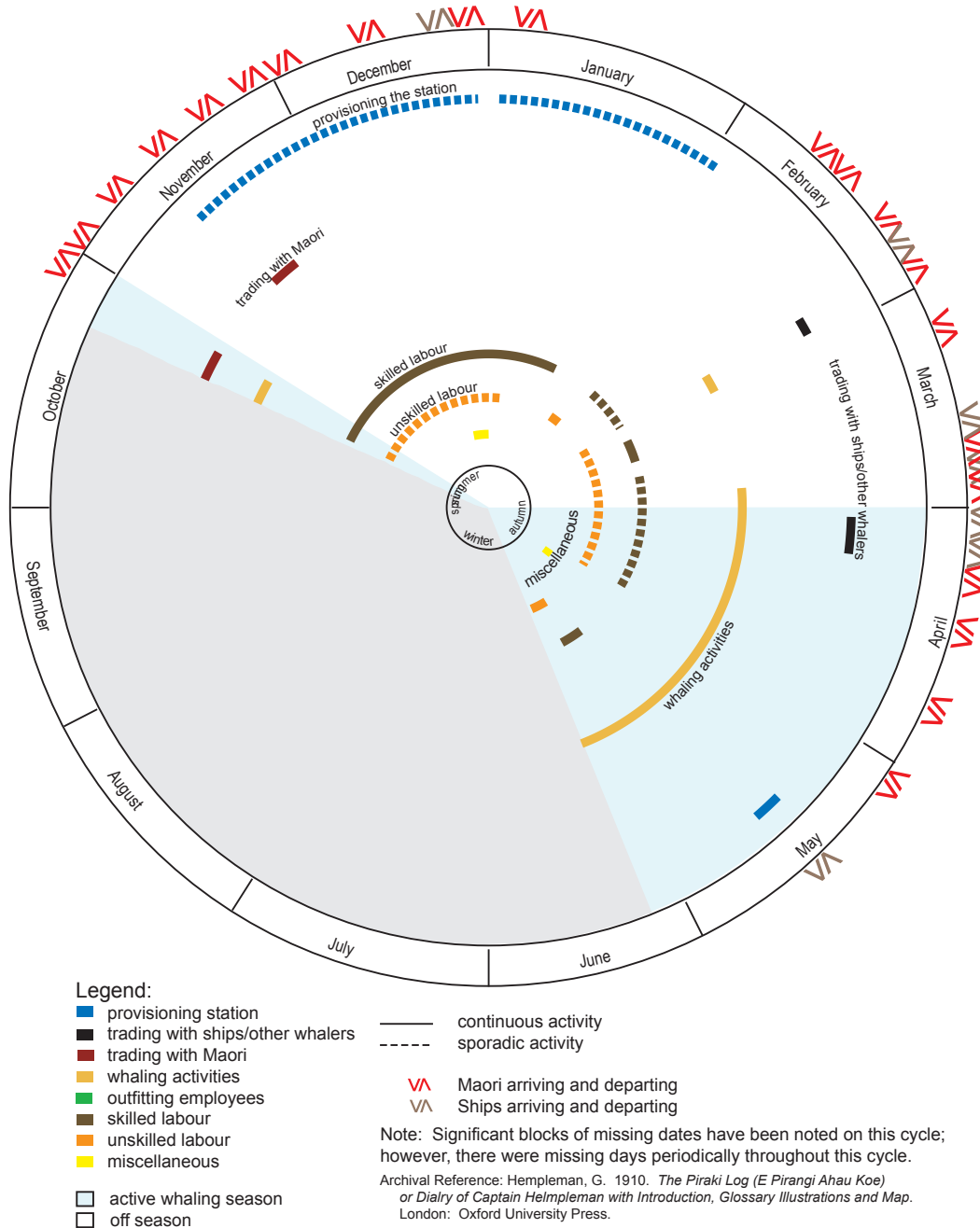
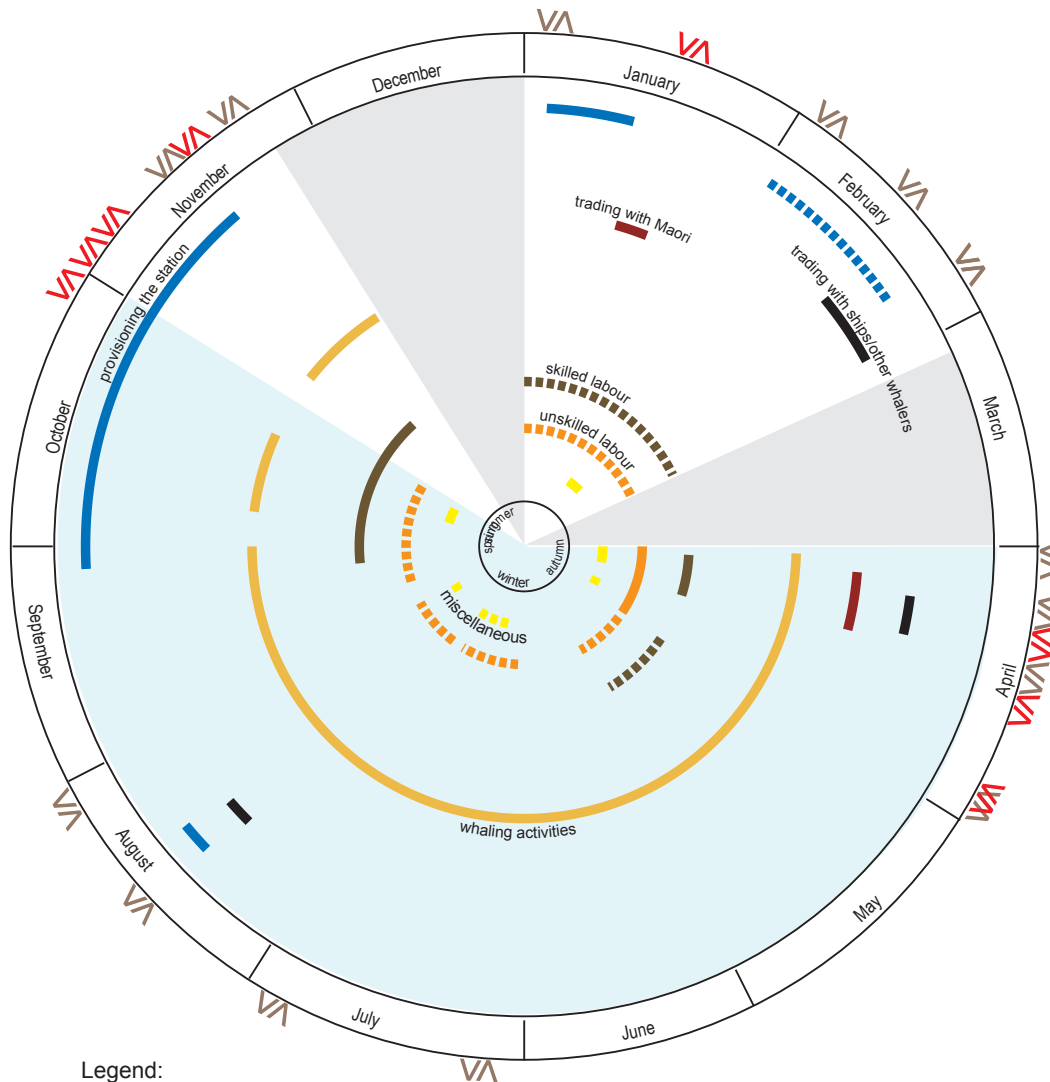




Figure A.3 Seasonal Cycle at Piraki Station, 1839



- Legend:
- provisioning station
  - trading with ships/other whalers
  - trading with Maori
  - whaling activities
  - outfitting employees
  - skilled labour
  - unskilled labour
  - miscellaneous
  - active whaling season
  - off season

- continuous activity
- - - sporadic activity
- VA Maori arriving and departing
- VA Ships arriving and departing

Note: Significant blocks of missing dates have been noted on this cycle; however, there were missing days periodically throughout this cycle.

Archival Reference: Hempleman, G. 1910. *The Piraki Log (E Pirangi Ahau Koe) or Diary of Captain Hempleman with Introduction, Glossary Illustrations and Map.* London: Oxford University Press.

this year, Bloody Jack returned to the Piraki station, with 100 “Natives,” and killed Jackey. Shortly after, Captain Hempleman intervened to save another of his Maori employee’s lives. The following day Bloody Jack asked for and received from Hempleman the big boat and three new sails as payment for their use of the land on Banks Peninsula.

While it is clear from these cycles that the Piraki station had interactions with the local Maori, the details recorded in Hempleman’s journal are much more limited than the details recorded by Harwood at the Otakou station. Thus, Hempleman’s journals do not give an overly detailed record of the daily life of the Piraki whaling station, at least not in the same manner as the details provided in Harwood’s journal for the Otakou station.

## **Appendix B: Additional Data Related to the Consumption and Production Patterns at Ile a la Crosse and Otakou**

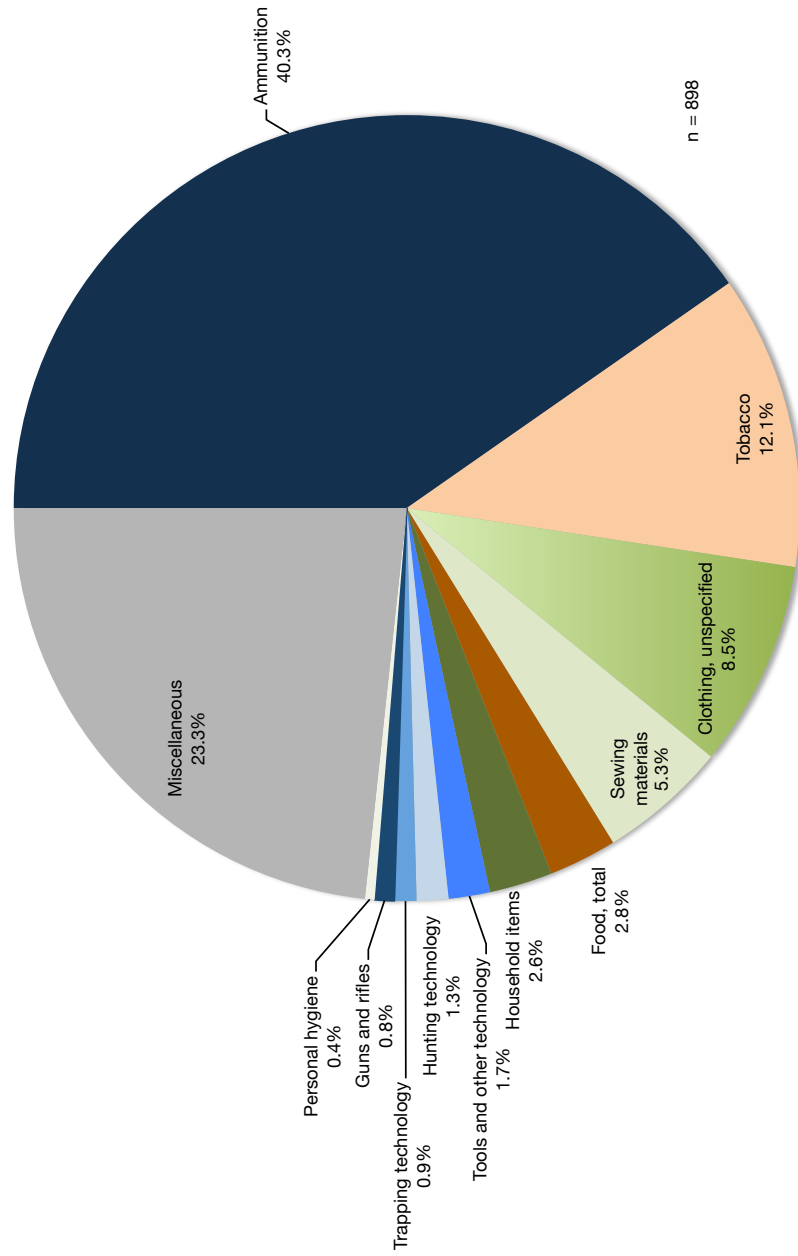
During the analysis of the accounting records for Ile a la Crosse and Otakou it was easiest to first analyze and tabulate the data for individual years before compiling the data into tables and figures that demonstrated change over time. While it was not necessary to include these tables and figures in the main body of the dissertation, they are included here for further information and interest for the reader.

**Table B.1 Number of Items Purchased by  
Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1832-1833**

<b>Category of Item</b>	<b>Number of Items Purchased</b>	<b>Percent of Total</b>
Ammunition	362	40.3%
Tobacco	109	12.1%
Clothing, unspecified	76	8.5%
Sewing materials	48	5.3%
Food, total	25	2.8%
Food, country produce	23	2.6%
Food, imported	2	0.2%
Household items	23	2.6%
Tools and other technology	15	1.7%
Hunting technology	12	1.3%
Trapping technology	8	0.9%
Guns and rifles	7	0.8%
Personal hygiene	4	0.4%
Miscellaneous	209	23.3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>898</b>	

Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837

**Figure B.1 Number of Items Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1832-1833**



Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a. Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837

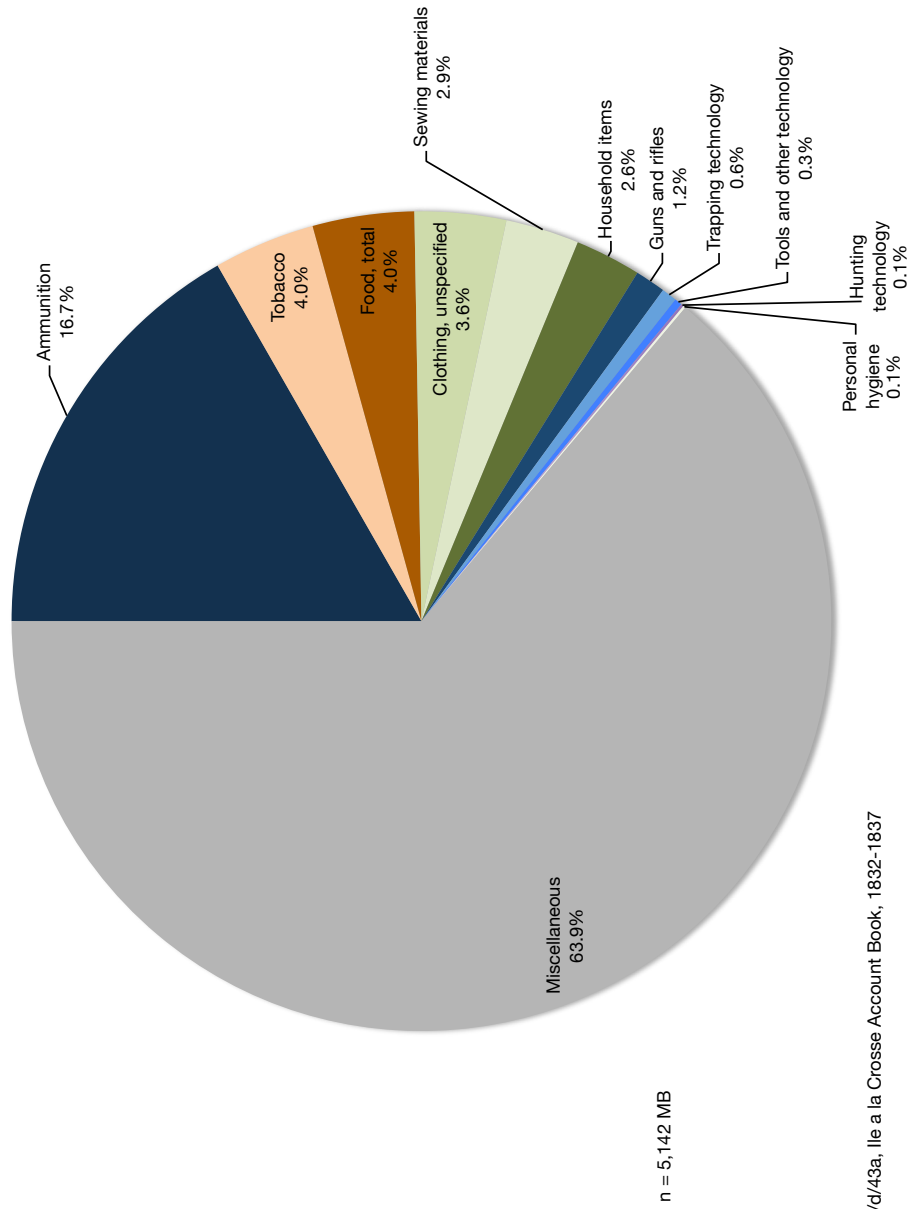
**Table B.2 Cost of Items Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1832-1833**

Category of Item	Value of Items Purchased								Percent of Total
	Total MB	MB	Provisions	Moose Skins	£	s	d	Total d	
Ammunition	861	754	66	41	47	16	8	11,480	16.7%
Tobacco	207.5	120.5	18	69	11	10	7	2,767	4.0%
Food, total	207	4	203	0	11	10	---	2,760	4.0%
Food, country produce	203	0	203	0	11	5	7	2,707	3.9%
Food, imported	4	4	0	0	---	4	5	53	0.1%
Clothing, unspecified	187	187	0	0	10	7	9	2,493	3.6%
Sewing materials	147	125.5	0	21.5	8	3	4	1,960	2.9%
Household items	132.5	130.5	0	2	7	7	3	1,767	2.6%
Guns and rifles	60	60	0	0	3	6	8	800	1.2%
Trapping technology	33	33	0	0	1	16	8	440	0.6%
Tools and other technology	13.5	13.5	0	0	---	15	---	180	0.3%
Hunting technology	7.5	7.5	0	0	---	8	4	100	0.1%
Personal hygiene	7.5	7.5	0	0	---	8	4	100	0.1%
Miscellaneous	3,278.5	2,965.5	262	51	182	2	9	43,713	63.8%
<b>Total</b>	<b>5,142</b>	<b>4,408.5</b>	<b>549</b>	<b>184.5</b>	<b>285</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>68,560</b>	

The original values were given in MB/provisions/moose skins. For ease of analysis, provisions and moose skins were valued equally with MB (i.e. 1 provision = 1 MB), and 1 shilling was valued at 0.9 MB (rounded to the nearest pence) based on the calculations in Table 3.1.

Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837

**Figure B.2 Cost of Items Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1832-1833**



Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837

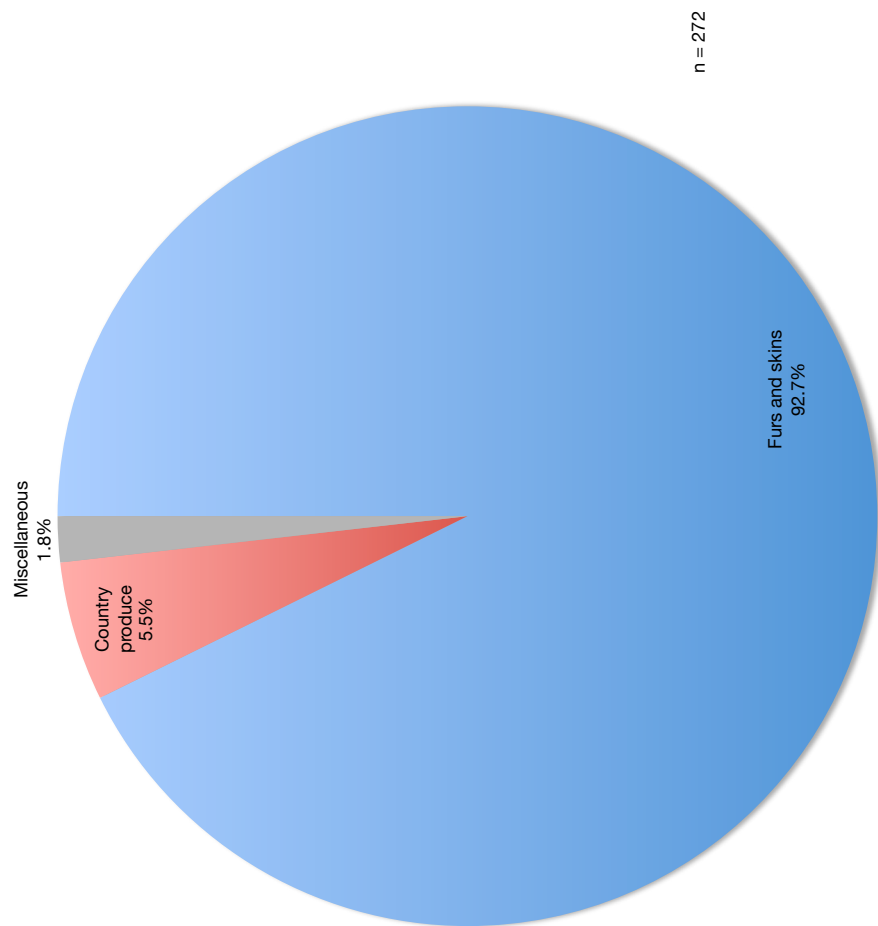
**Table B.3 Number of Items Traded by  
Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1832-1833**

Category of Item	Number of Trade Items	Percent of Total
Furs and skins	252	92.6%
Country produce	15	5.5%
Miscellaneous	5	1.8%
<b>Total</b>	<b>272</b>	

Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837



**Figure B.3 Number of Items Traded by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1832-1833**



Source: HBCA B.89/c/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837

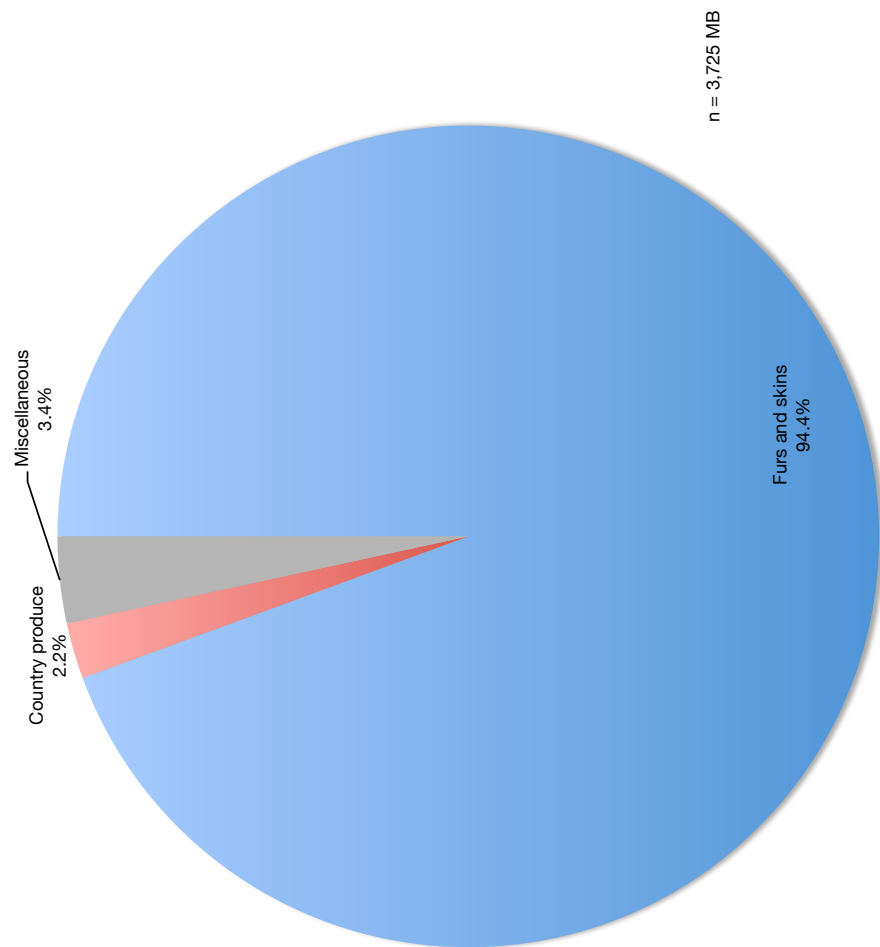
**Table B.4 Price of Items Traded by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1832-1833**

Category of Item	Value of Trade Items							Percent of Total	
	Total MB	MB	Provisions	Moose Skins	£	s	d		
Furs and skins	3,517	3,358	62	97	1,841	16	8	422,040	94.4%
Country produce	83	3	80	0	41	10	---	9,960	2.2%
Miscellaneous	125	122	0	3	62	10	---	15,000	3.4%
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,725</b>	<b>3,483</b>	<b>142</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>1,862</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>---</b>	<b>447,000</b>	

The original values were given in MB/provisions/moose skins. For ease of analysis, provisions and moose skins were valued equally with MB (i.e. 1 provision = 1 MB), and 1 shilling was valued at 0.1 MB (rounded to the nearest pence) based on the calculations in Table 3.1.

Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837

**Figure B.4 Price of Items Traded by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1832-1833**



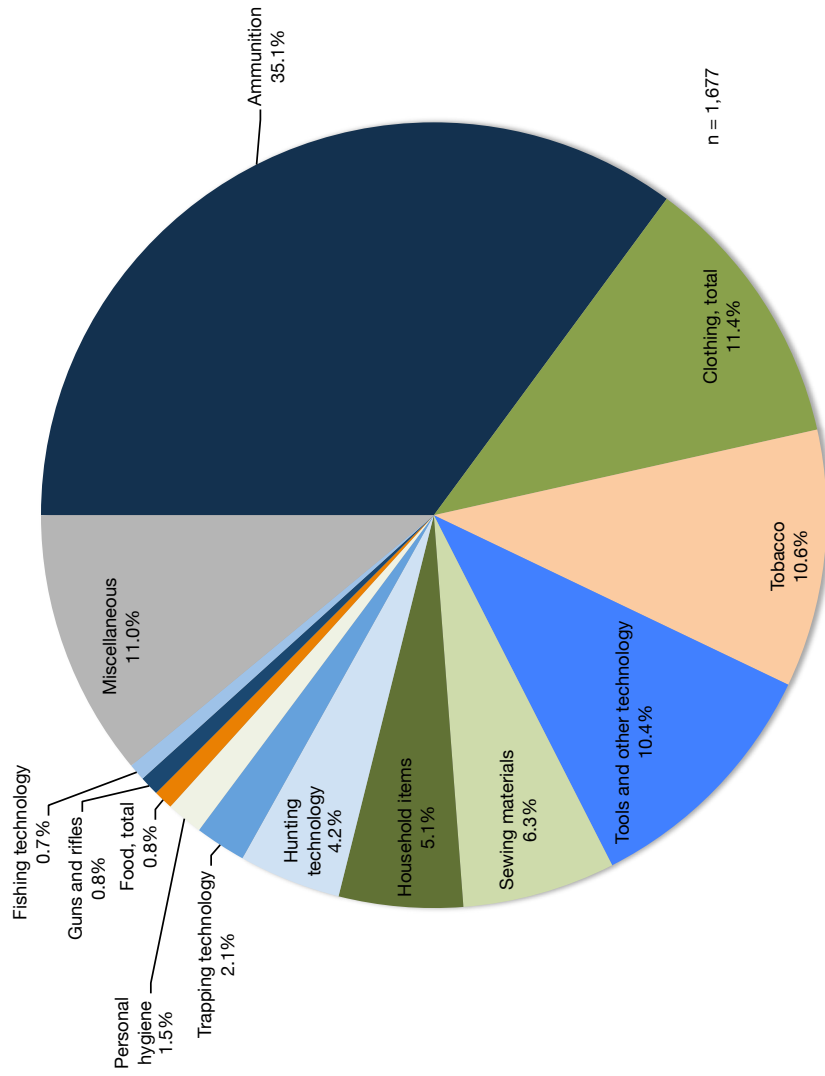
Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837

**Table B.5 Number of Items Purchased by  
Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1833-1834**

<b>Category of Item</b>	<b>Number of Items Purchased</b>	<b>Percent of Total</b>
Ammunition	589	35.1%
Clothing, total	191	11.4%
Clothing, unspecified	183	10.9%
Clothing, women's	5	0.3%
Clothing, men's	3	0.2%
Tobacco	178	10.6%
Tools and other technology	175	10.4%
Sewing materials	106	6.3%
Household items	86	5.1%
Hunting technology	70	4.2%
Trapping technology	35	2.1%
Personal hygiene	25	1.5%
Food, total	13	0.8%
Food, imported	1	0.1%
Food, country produce	12	0.7%
Guns and rifles	13	0.8%
Fishing technology	12	0.7%
Miscellaneous	184	11.0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,677</b>	

Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837

**Figure B.5 Number of Items Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1833-1834**



Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837

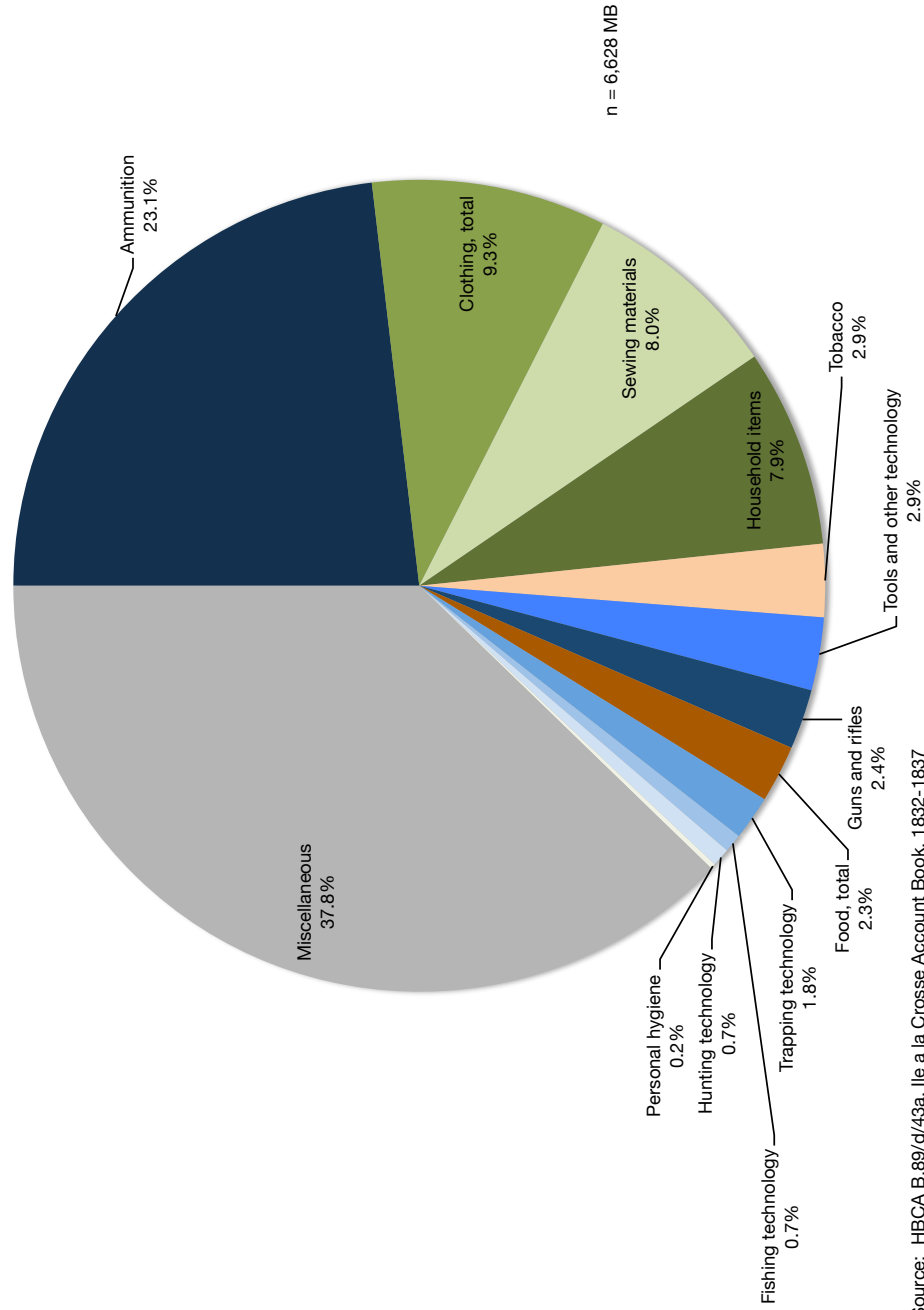
**Table B.6 Cost of Items Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1833-1834**

Category of Item	Value of Items Purchased								Percent of Total
	Total MB	MB	Provisions	Moose Skins	£	s	d	Total d	
Ammunition	1,479	1,417	21	41	82	3	4	19,720	22.3%
Clothing, total	597	589	8	0	33	3	4	7,960	9.0%
Clothing, unspecified	569	561	8	0	31	12	3	7,587	8.6%
Clothing, men's	18	18	0	0	1	---	---	240	0.3%
Clothing, women's	10	10	0	0	---	11	1	133	0.2%
Sewing materials	508	467	2	39	28	4	5	6,773	7.7%
Household items	506.5	506.5	0	0	28	2	9	6,753	7.6%
Tobacco	425.5	294.5	90	41	23	12	9	5,673	2.8%
Tools and other technology	182.5	182.5	0	0	10	2	9	2,433	2.8%
Guns and rifles	154	154	0	0	8	11	1	2,053	2.3%
Food, total	145	1	144	0	8	1	1	1,933	2.2%
Food, country produce	144	0	144	0	8	---	---	1,920	2.2%
Food, imported	1	1	0	0	---	1	1	13	0.0%
Trapping technology	111	111	0	0	6	3	4	1,480	1.7%
Fishing technology	44.5	35.5	0	9	2	9	5	593	0.7%
Hunting technology	43.5	43.5	0	0	2	8	4	580	0.7%
Personal hygiene	16.5	16.5	0	0	---	18	4	220	0.2%
Miscellaneous	2,415	2,283	100	32	134	3	4	32,200	36.4%
<b>Total</b>	<b>6,628</b>	<b>6,101</b>	<b>365</b>	<b>162</b>	<b>368</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>88,373</b>	

The original values were given in MB/provisions/moose skins. For ease of analysis, provisions and moose skins were valued equally with MB (i.e. 1 provision = 1 MB), and 1 shilling was valued at 0.9 MB (rounded to the nearest pence) based on the calculations in Table 3.1.

Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837

**Figure B.6 Value of Items Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1833-1834**



Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837

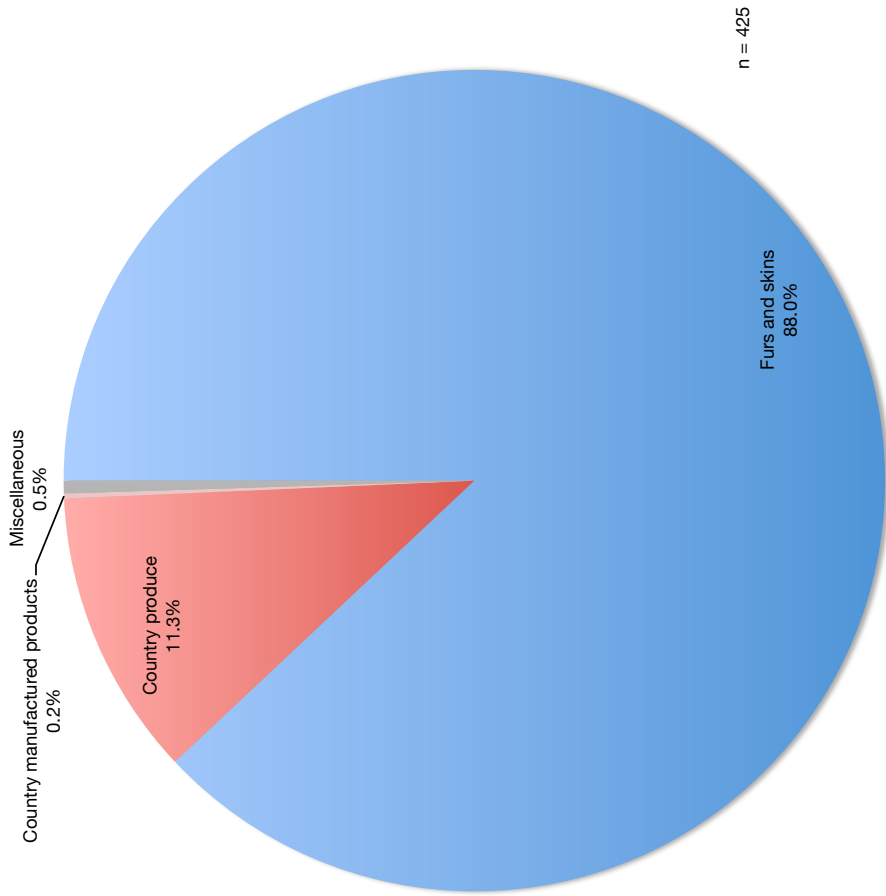
**Table B.7 Number of Items Traded by  
Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1833-1834**

Category of Item	Number of Trade Items	Percent of Total
Furs and skins	374	88.0%
Country produce	48	11.3%
Country manufactured products	1	0.2%
Miscellaneous	2	0.5%
<b>Total</b>	<b>425</b>	

Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837



**Figure B.7 Number of Items Traded by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1833-1834**



Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837

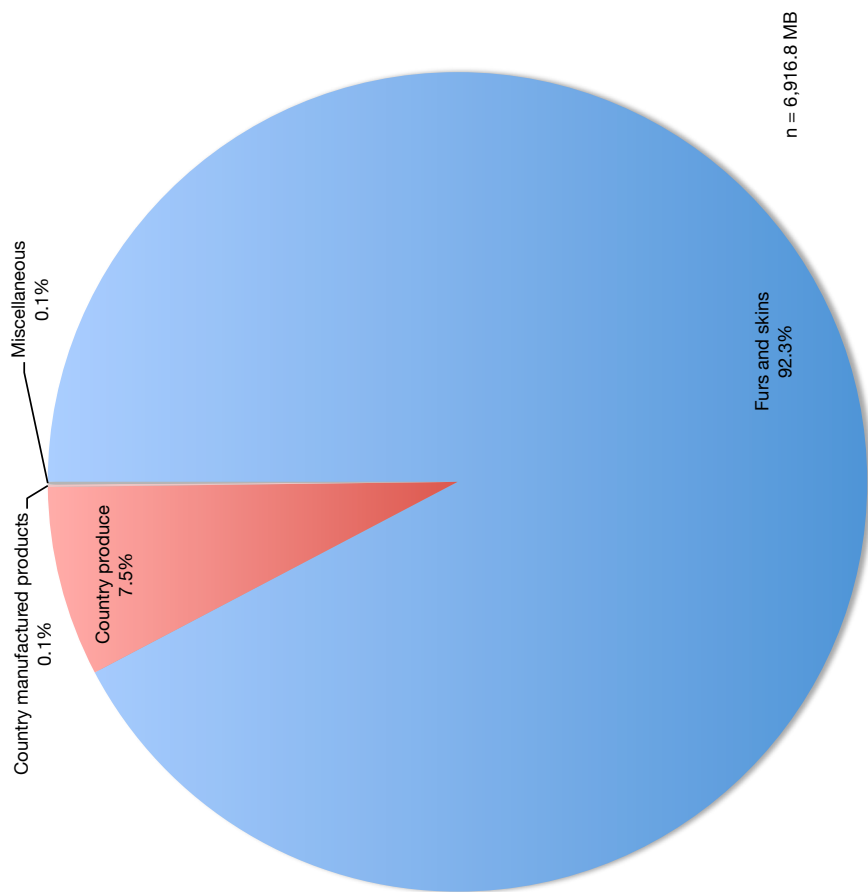
**Table B.8 Price of Items Traded by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1833-1834**

Category of Item	Value of Trade Items										Percent of Total
	Total MB	MB	Provisions	Moose Skins	£	s	d	Total d	Total d	Total d	
Furs and skins	6,385.8	6,160.8	65	160	2	13	3	639	639	639	92.3%
Country produce	516	24	491	1	---	4	5	52	52	52	7.5%
Country manufactured goods	5	0	0	5	---	---	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.1%
Miscellaneous	10	10	0	0	---	---	1	1	1	1	0.1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>6,916.8</b>	<b>6,194.8</b>	<b>556</b>	<b>166</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>692</b>	<b>692</b>	<b>692</b>	

The original values were given in MB. For conversion to pounds sterling, 1 shilling was valued at 0.1 MB (rounded to the nearest pence) based on the calculations in Table 3.1.

Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837

**Figure B.8 Price of Items Traded by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1833-1834**



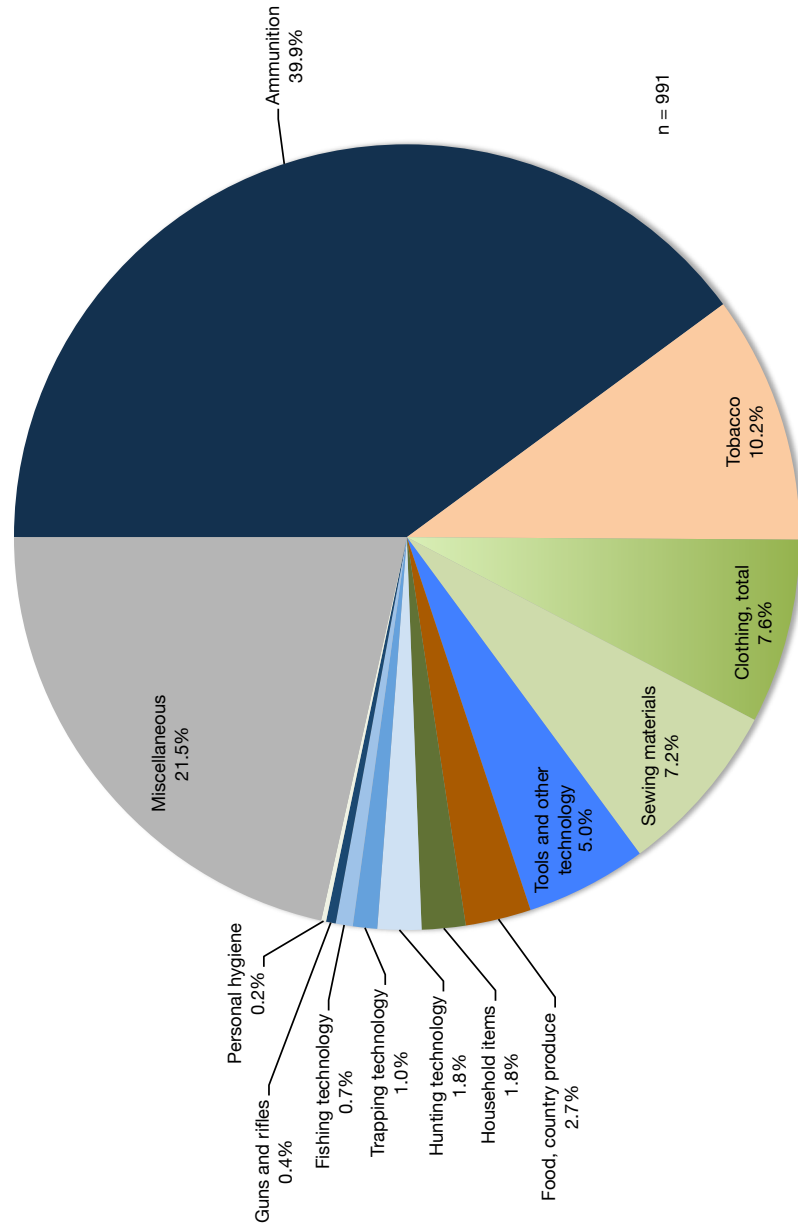
Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837

**Table B.9 Number of Items Purchased by  
Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1834-1835**

<b>Category of Item</b>	<b>Number of Items Purchased</b>	<b>Percent of Total</b>
Ammunition	395	39.9%
Tobacco	101	10.2%
Clothing, total	75	7.6%
Clothing, men's	3	0.3%
Clothing, unspecified	72	7.3%
Sewing materials	71	7.2%
Tools and other technology	50	5.0%
Food, country produce	27	2.7%
Household items	18	1.8%
Hunting technology	18	1.8%
Trapping technology	10	1.0%
Fishing technology	7	0.7%
Guns and rifles	4	0.4%
Personal hygiene	2	0.2%
Miscellaneous	213	21.5%
<b>Total</b>	<b>991</b>	

Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837

**Figure B.9 Number of Items Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1834-1835**



Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837

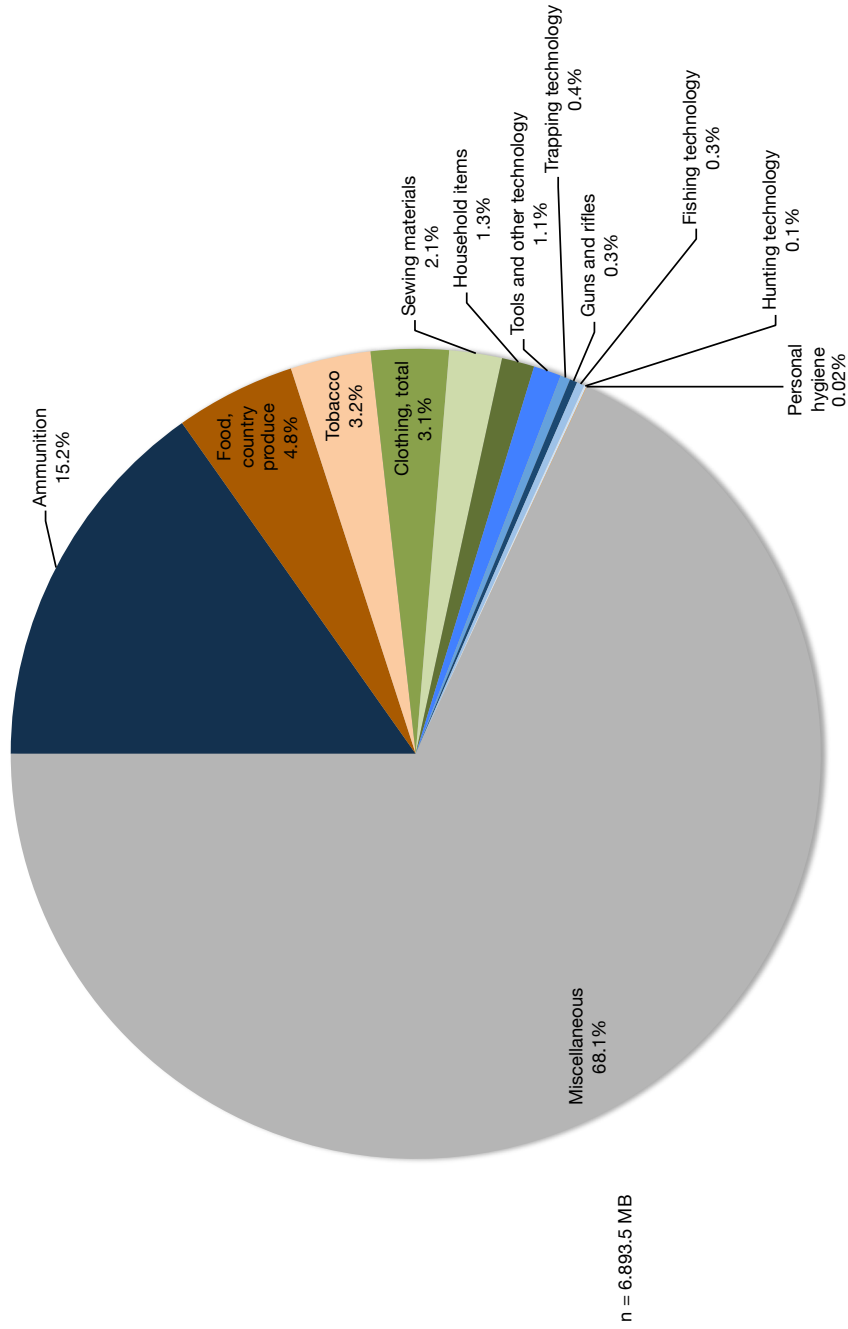
**Table B.10 Cost of Items Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1834-1835**

Category of Item	Value of Items Purchased								Percent of Total
	Total MB	MB	Provisions	Moose Skins	£	s	d	Total d	
Ammunition	1,048.5	925.5	95	28	58	5	---	13,980	15.2%
Food, country produce	328	0	328	0	18	4	5	4,373	4.8%
Tobacco	220	149	31	40	12	4	5	2,933	3.2%
Clothing, total	216	216	0	0	12	---	---	2,880	3.1%
Clothing, men's	30	30	0	0	1	13	4	400	0.4%
Clothing, unspecified	186	186	0	0	10	6	8	2,480	2.7%
Sewing materials	147.5	41.5	0	106	8	3	11	1,967	2.1%
Household items	87	86	0	1	4	16	8	1,160	1.3%
Tools and other technology	76	76	0	0	4	4	5	1,013	1.1%
Trapping technology	30	30	0	0	1	13	4	400	0.4%
Guns and rifles	23	23	0	0	1	5	7	307	0.3%
Fishing technology	21	21	0	0	1	3	4	280	0.3%
Hunting technology	10	10	0	0	---	11	1	133	0.1%
Personal hygiene	1.5	1.5	0	0	---	1	8	20	0.02%
Miscellaneous	4,685.5	4,361	262	62.5	260	6	1	62,473	68.0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>6,893.5</b>	<b>5,940</b>	<b>716</b>	<b>238</b>	<b>382</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>91,913</b>	

The original values were given in MB/provisions/moose skins. For ease of analysis, provisions and moose skins were valued equally with MB (i.e. 1 provision = 1 MB), and 1 shilling was valued at 0.9 MB (rounded to the nearest pence) based on the calculations in Table 3.1.

Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837

**Figure B.10 Cost of Items Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1834-1835**



Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837

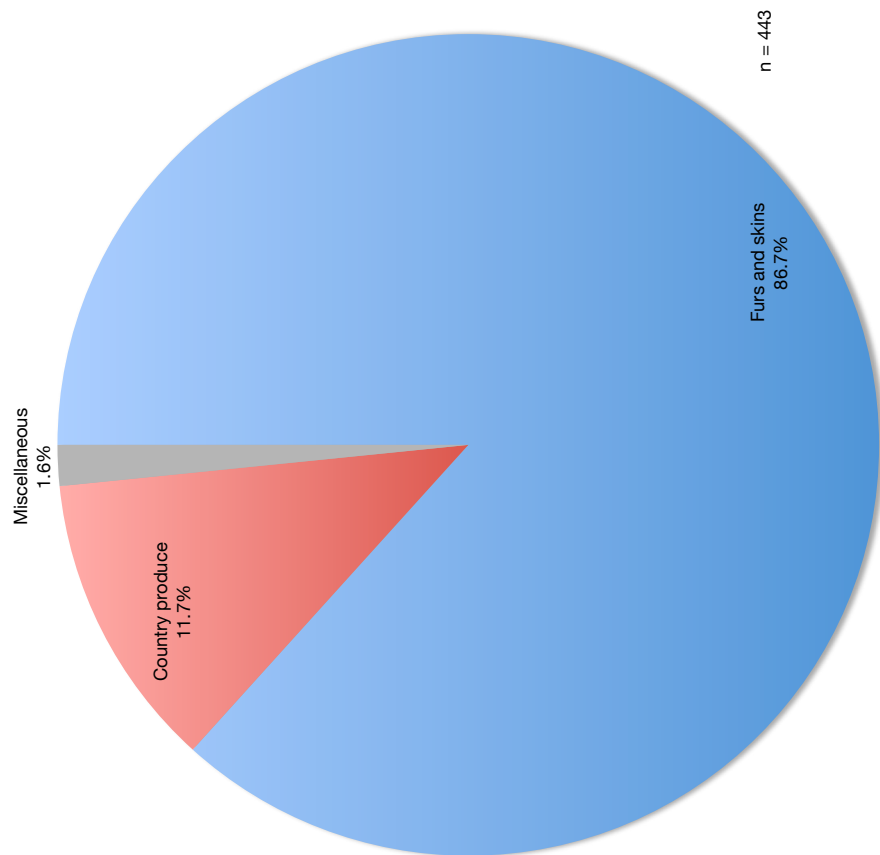
**Table B.11 Number of Items Traded by  
Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1834-1835**

Category of Item	Number of Trade Items	Percent of Total
Furs and skins	384	86.7%
Country produce	52	11.7%
Miscellaneous	7	1.6%
<b>Total</b>	<b>443</b>	

Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837



**Figure B.11 Number of Items Traded by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1834-1835**



Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837

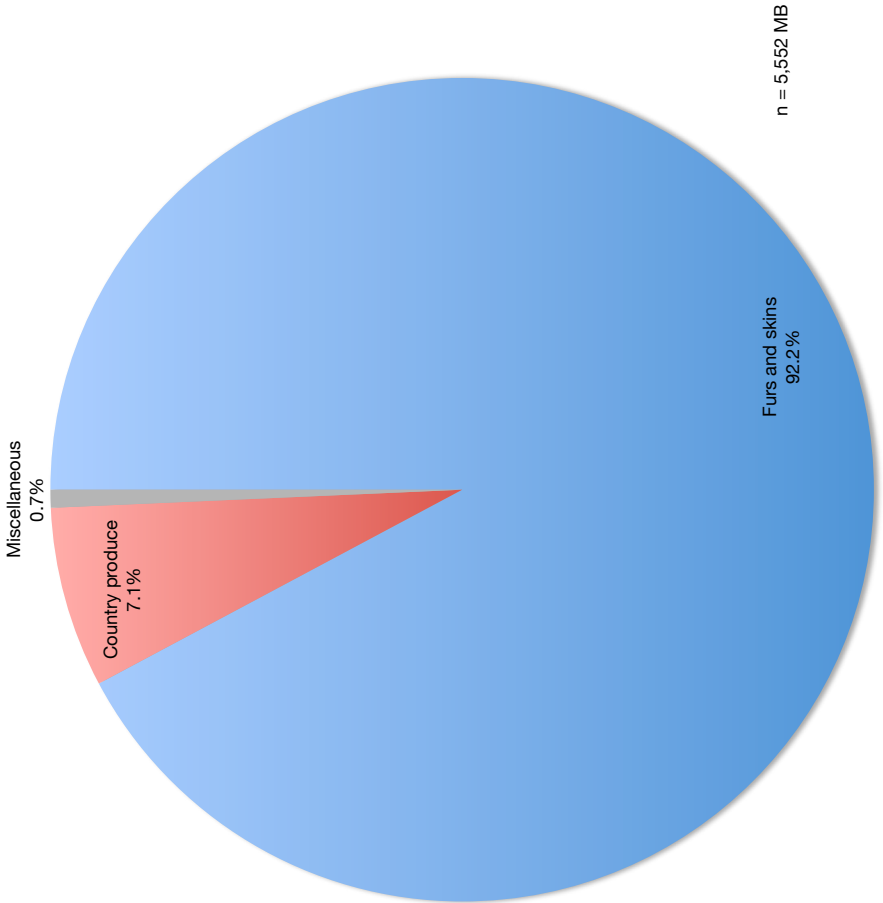
**Table B.12 Price of Items Traded by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1834-1835**

Category of Item	Value of Trade Items								Percent of Total
	Total MB	MB	Provisions	Moose Skins	£	s	d	Total d	
Furs and skins	5,120	4,886.5	53	180.5	2	2	8	512	92.2%
Country produce	391.5	8.5	382	1	---	3	3	39	7.1%
Miscellaneous	40.5	38.5	0	2	---	---	4	4	0.7%
<b>Total</b>	<b>5,552</b>	<b>4,933.5</b>	<b>435</b>	<b>184</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>555</b>	

The original values were given in MB. For conversion to pounds sterling, 1 shilling was valued at 0.1 MB (rounded to the nearest pence) based on the calculations in Table 3.1.

Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837

**Figure B.12 Price of Items Traded by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1834-1835**



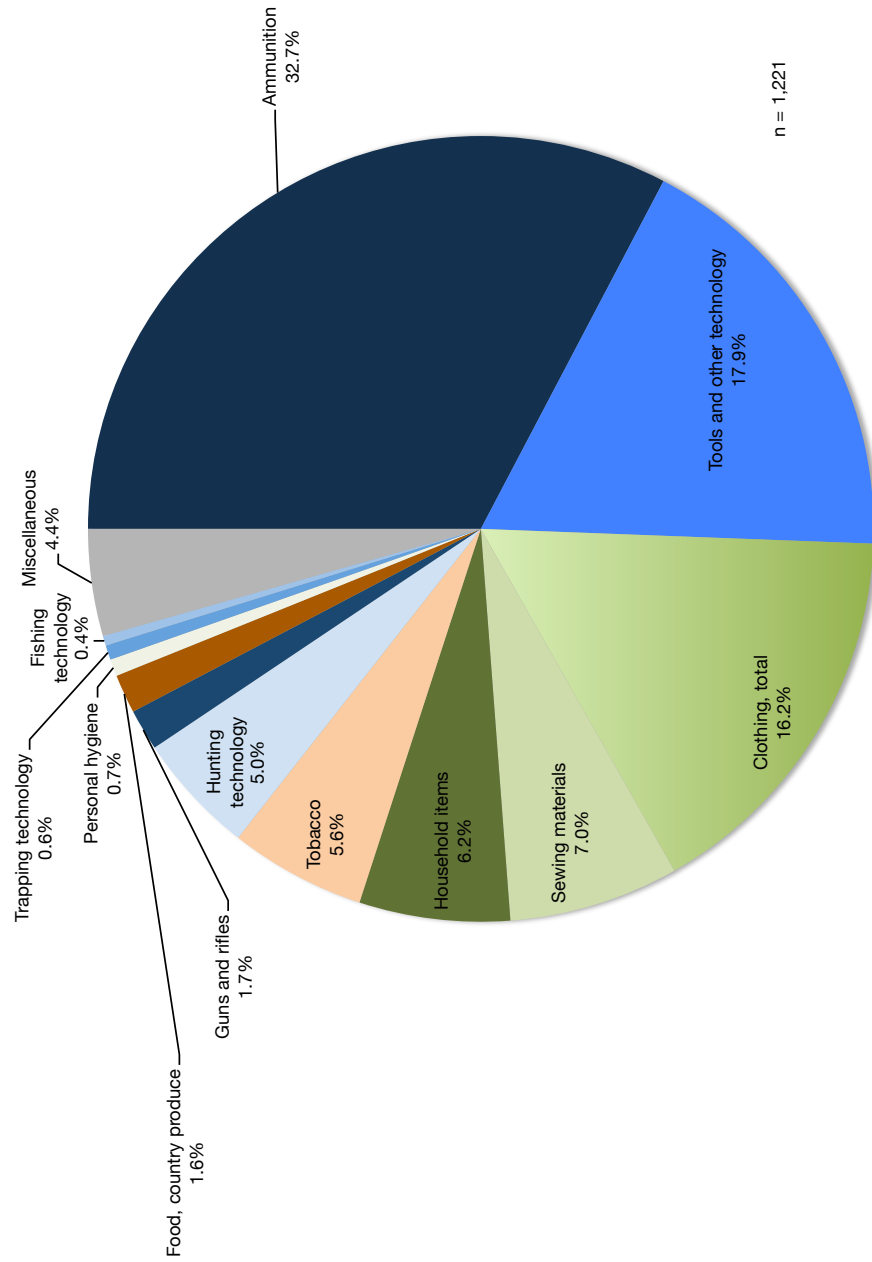
Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837

**Table B.13 Number of Items Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1835-1836**

<b>Category of Item</b>	<b>Number of Items Purchased</b>	<b>Percent of Total</b>
Ammunition	399	32.7%
Tools and other technology	218	17.9%
Clothing, total	198	16.2%
Clothing, unspecified	193	15.8%
Clothing, women's	5	0.4%
Sewing materials	85	7.0%
Household items	76	6.2%
Tobacco	68	5.6%
Hunting technology	61	5.0%
Guns and rifles	21	1.7%
Food, country produce	20	1.6%
Personal hygiene	9	0.7%
Trapping technology	7	0.6%
Fishing technology	5	0.4%
Miscellaneous	54	4.4%
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,221</b>	

Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Books, 1832-1837

**Figure B.13 Number of Items Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1835-1836**



Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837

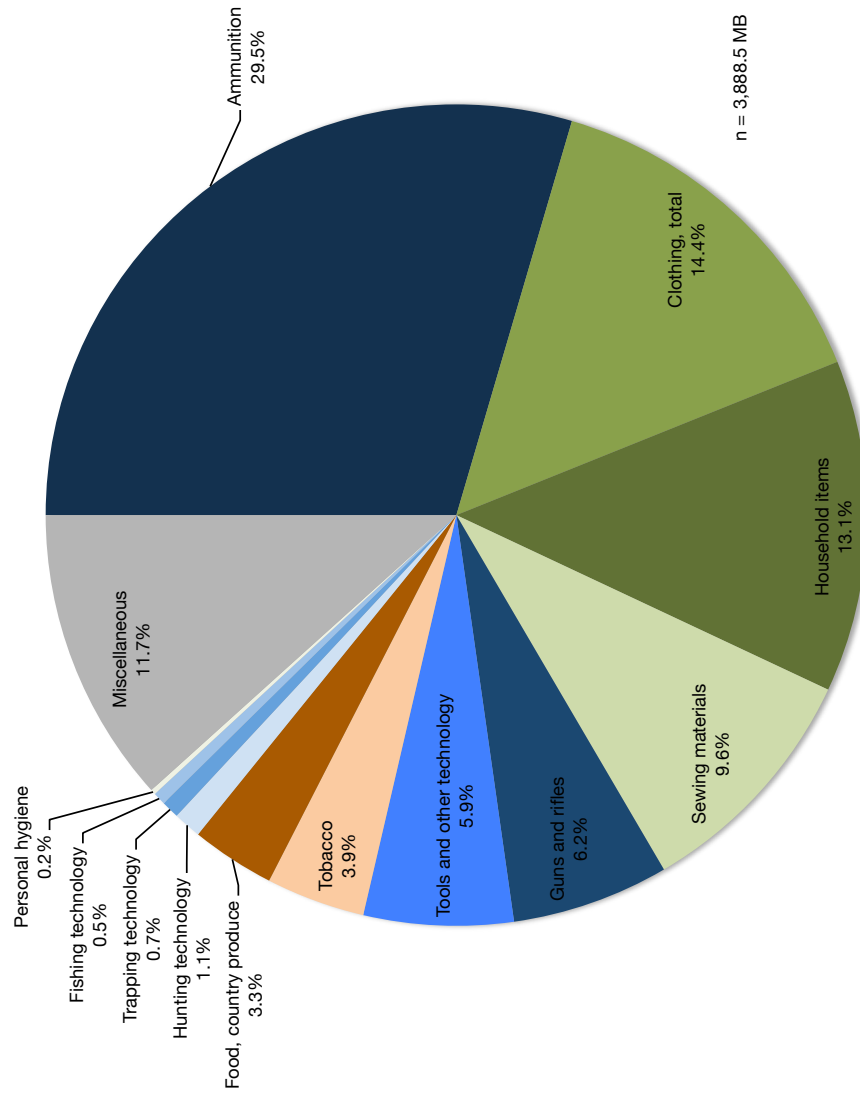
**Table B.14 Cost of Items Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1835-1836**

Category of Item	Value of Items Purchased								Percent of Total
	Total MB	MB	Provisions	Moose Skins	£	s	d	Total d	
Ammunition	1,150.5	1,054.5	65	31	96	18	2	23,258	29.6%
Clothing, total	559.5	557.5	0	2	34	19	5	8,393	14.4%
Clothing, unspecified	549.5	547.5	0	2	34	6	11	8,243	14.1%
Clothing, women's	10	10	0	0	---	12	6	150	0.3%
Household items	509	509	0	0	31	16	3	7,635	13.1%
Sewing materials	374	328	0	46	23	7	6	5,610	9.6%
Guns and rifles	240	240	0	0	15	---	---	3,600	6.2%
Tools and other technology	227.5	227.5	0	0	14	4	5	3,413	5.9%
Tobacco	150	97	6	47	9	7	6	2,250	3.9%
Food, country produce	127	0	127	0	7	18	9	1,905	3.3%
Hunting technology	41	39	1	1	2	11	3	615	1.1%
Trapping technology	27	27	0	0	1	13	9	405	0.7%
Fishing technology	20	20	0	0	1	5	---	300	0.5%
Personal hygiene	7	7	0	0	---	8	9	105	0.2%
Miscellaneous	456	299	109	48	28	10	---	6,840	11.7%
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,888.5</b>	<b>3,405.5</b>	<b>308</b>	<b>175</b>	<b>243</b>	<b>---</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>58,328</b>	

The original values were given in MB/provisions/moose skins. For ease of analysis, provisions and moose skins were valued equally with MB (i.e. 1 provision = 1 MB), and 1 shilling was valued at 0.8 MB (rounded to the nearest pence) based on the calculations in Table 3.1.

Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Books, 1832-1837

**Figure B.14 Cost of Items Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1835-1836**



Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837

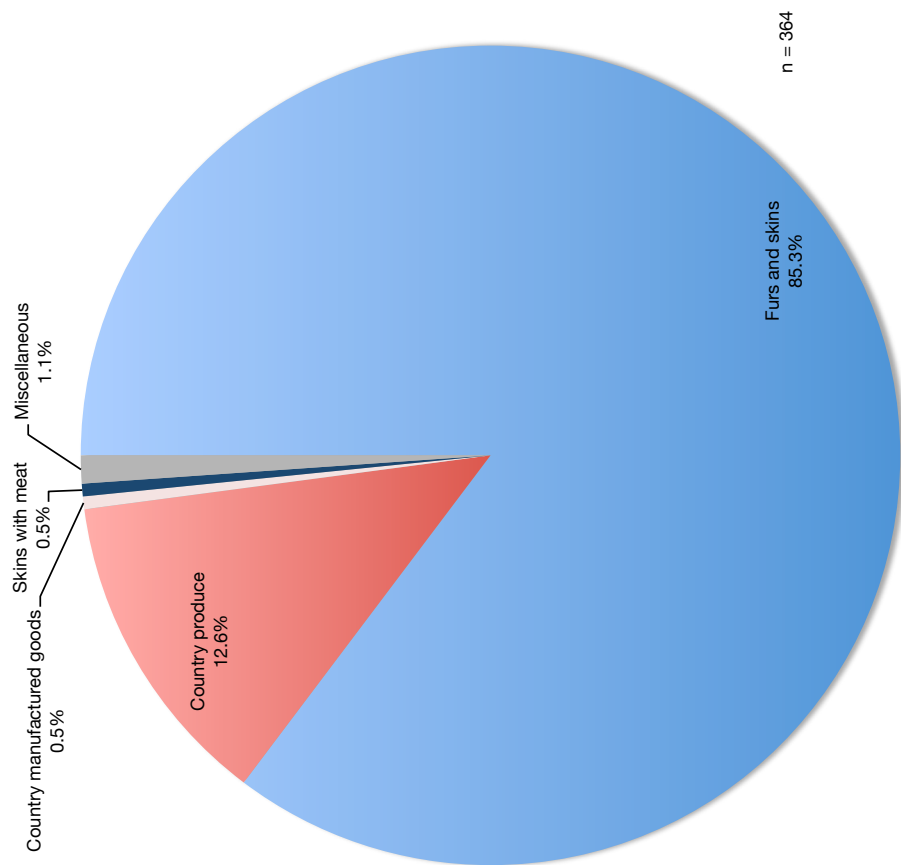
**Table B.15 Number of Items Traded by  
Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1835-1836**

Category of Item	Number of Trade Items	Percent of Total
Furs and skins	310	85.2%
Country produce	46	12.6%
Country manufactured goods	2	0.5%
Skins with meat	2	0.5%
Miscellaneous	4	1.1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>364</b>	

Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Books, 1832-1837



**Figure B.15 Number of Items Traded by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1835-1836**



Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837

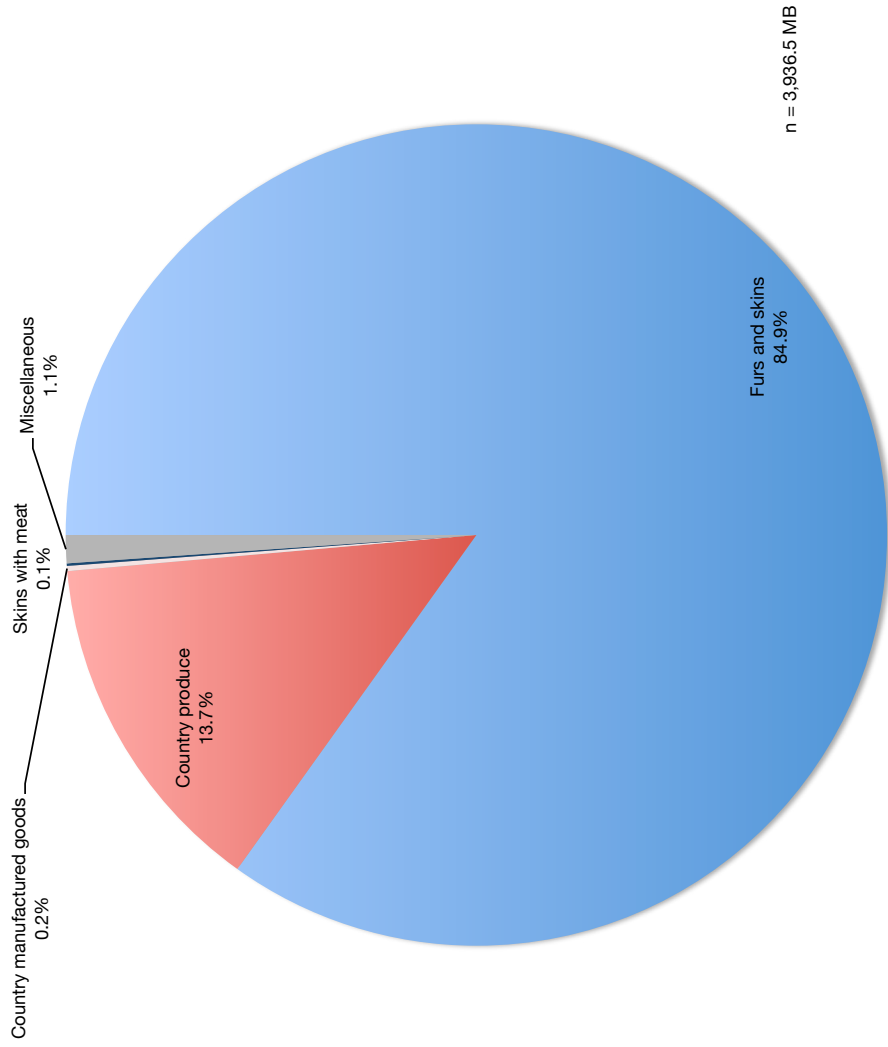
**Table B.16 Price of Items Traded by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1835-1836**

Category of Item	Value of Trade Items										Percent of Total
	Total MB	MB	Provisions	Moose Skins	£	S	D	Total d			
Furs and skins	3,338.5	3,115.5	38	185	1	7	10	334			84.8%
Country produce	540	11	529	0	---	4	6	54			13.7%
Country manufactured goods	8	1	4	3	---	---	1	1			0.2%
Skins with meat	5	3	2	0	---	---	0.5	0.5			0.1%
Miscellaneous	45	45	0	0	---	---	4.5	4.5			1.1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,936.5</b>	<b>3,175.5</b>	<b>573</b>	<b>188</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>394</b>			

The original values were given in MB. For conversion to pounds sterling, 1 shilling was valued at 0.1 MB (rounded to the nearest pence) based on the calculations in Table 3.1.

Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Books, 1832-1837

**Figure B.16 Price of Items Traded by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1835-1836**



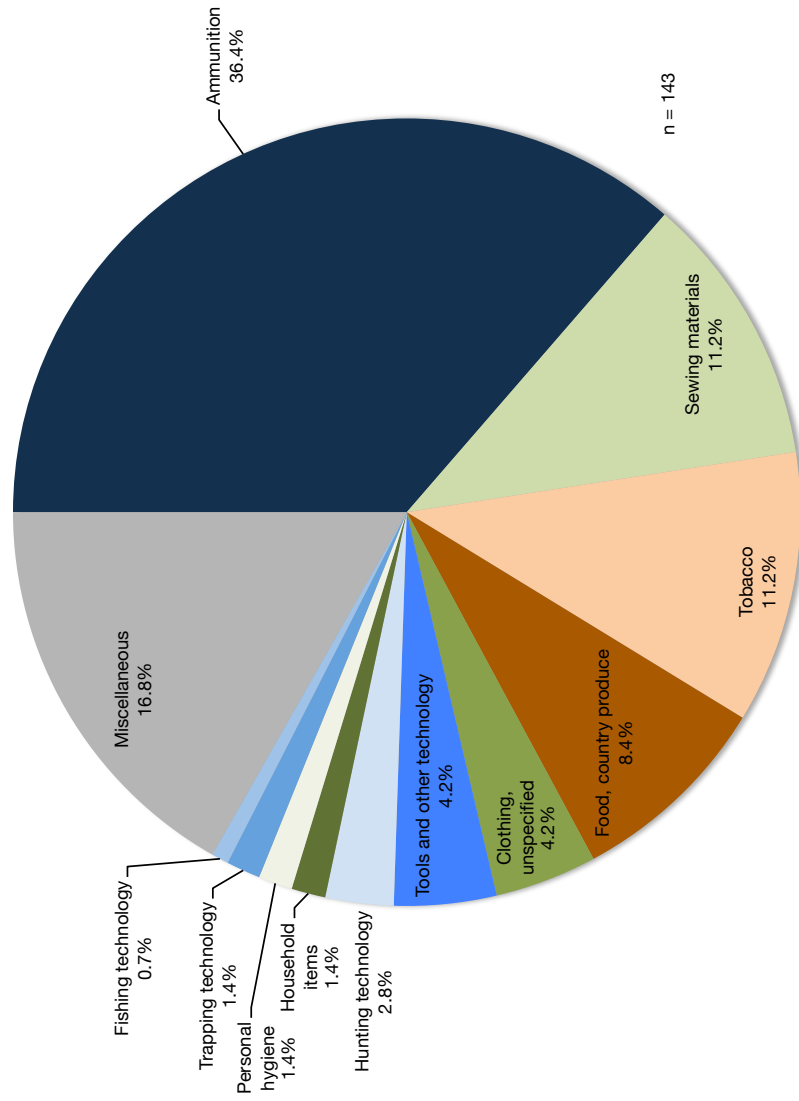
Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837

**Table B.17 Number of Items Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1836-1837**

<b>Category of Item</b>	<b>Number of Items Purchased</b>	<b>Percent of Total</b>
Ammunition	52	36.4%
Sewing materials	16	11.2%
Tobacco	16	11.2%
Food, country produce	12	8.4%
Clothing, unspecified	6	4.2%
Tools and other technology	6	4.2%
Hunting technology	4	2.8%
Household items	2	1.4%
Personal hygiene	2	1.4%
Trapping technology	2	1.4%
Fishing technology	1	0.7%
Miscellaneous	24	16.8%
<b>Total</b>	<b>143</b>	

Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837

**Figure B.17 Number of Items Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1836-1837**



Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837

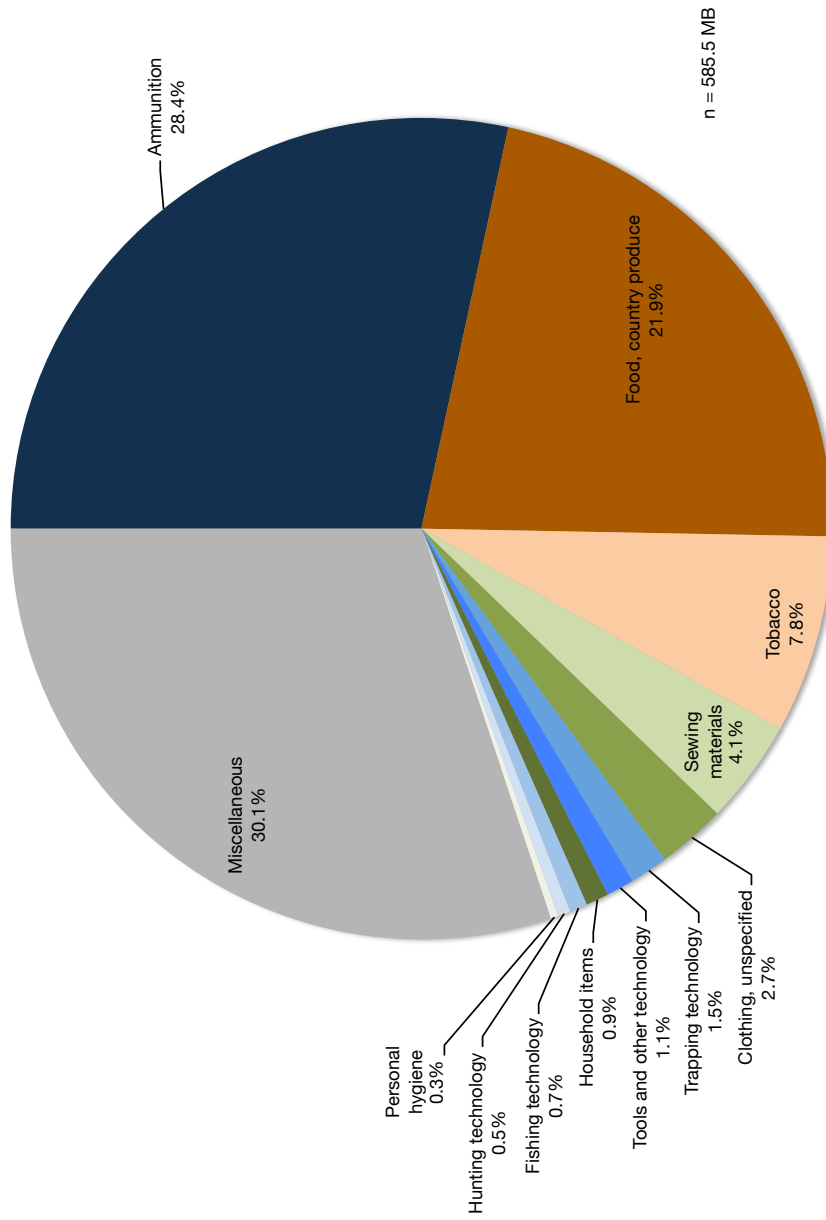
**Table B.18 Cost of Items Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 18**

Category of Item	Value of Items Purchased					
	Total MB	MB	Provisions	Moose Skins	£	s
Ammunition	166.5	139.5	20	7	8	6
Food, country produce	128	0	128	0	6	8
Tobacco	45.5	16.5	22	7	2	5
Sewing materials	24	10	0	14	1	4
Clothing, unspecified	16	16	0	0	---	16
Trapping technology	9	9	0	0	---	9
Tools and other technology	6.5	6.5	0	0	---	6
Household items	5	5	0	0	---	5
Fishing technology	4	4	0	0	---	4
Hunting technology	3	3	0	0	---	3
Personal hygiene	1.5	1.5	0	0	---	1
Miscellaneous	176.5	73.5	88	15	8	16
<b>Total</b>	<b>585.5</b>	<b>284.5</b>	<b>258</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>5</b>

The original values were given in MB/provisions/moose skins. For ease of analysis, provisions and moose skins were valued equally, shilling was valued at 1 MB (rounded to the nearest pence) based on the calculations in Table 3.1.

Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837

**Figure B.18 Cost of Items Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1836-1837**



Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837

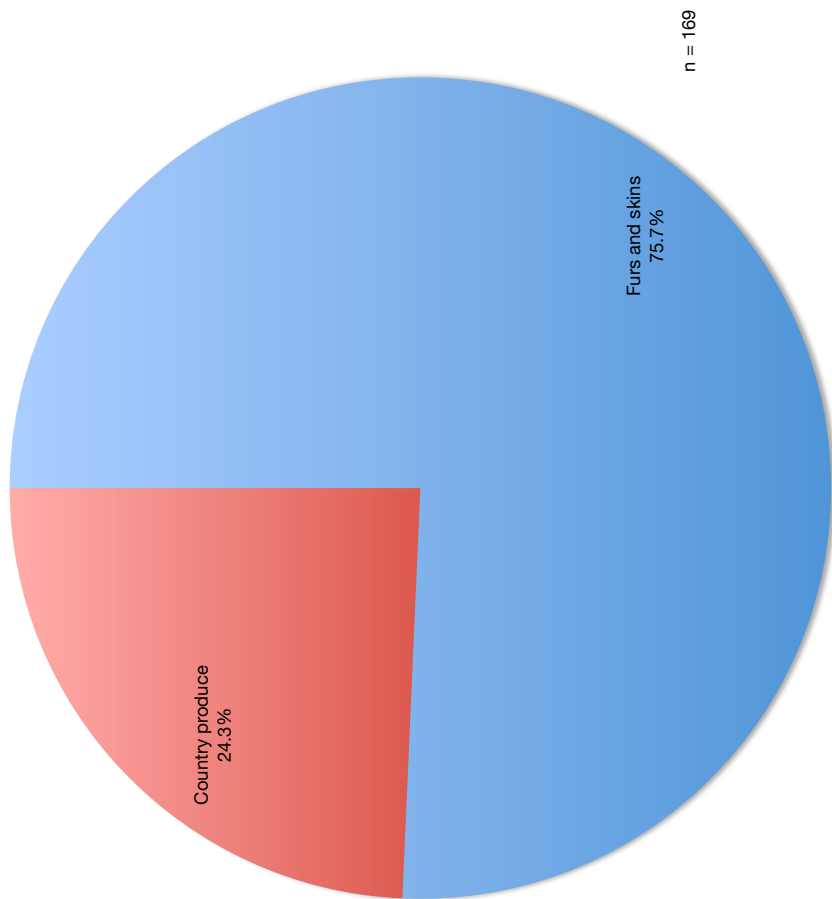
**B.19 Number of Items Traded by Indians, Ile  
a la Crosse Post, 1836-1837**

Category of Item	Number of Trade Items	Percent of Total
Furs and skins	128	75.7%
Country produce	41	24.3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>169</b>	

Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837



**Figure B.19 Number of Items Traded by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1836-1837**



Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837

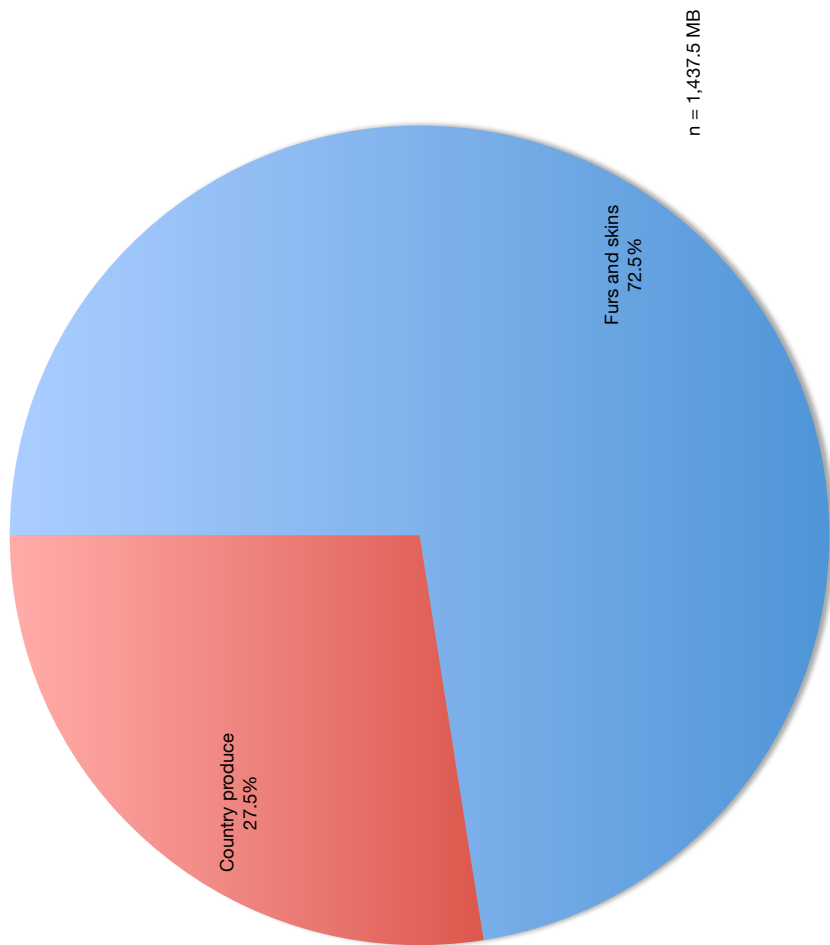
**Table B.20 Price of Items Traded by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1836-1837**

Category of Item	Value of Trade Items								Percent of Total
	Total MB	MB	Provisions	Moose Skins	£	s	d	Total d	
Furs and skins	1,042.5	971.5	0	71	---	8	8	104	72.5%
Country produce	395	0	395	0	---	3	3.5	39.5	27.5%
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,437.5</b>	<b>971.5</b>	<b>395</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>---</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>---</b>	<b>144</b>	

The original values were given in MB. For conversion to pounds sterling, 1 shilling was valued at 0.1 MB (rounded to the nearest pence) based on the calculations in Table 3.1.

Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837

**Figure B.20 Price of Items Traded by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1836-1837**



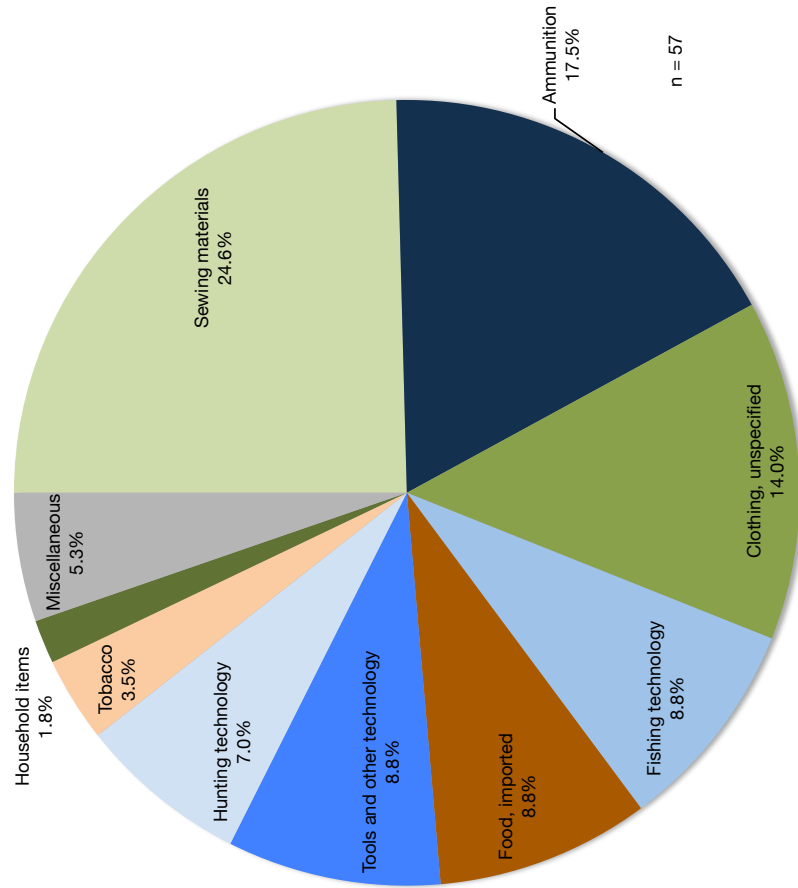
Source: HBCA B.89/d/43a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1832-1837

**Table B.21 Number of Items Purchased by  
Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1860-1861**

<b>Category of Item</b>	<b>Number of Items Purchased</b>	<b>Percent of Total</b>
Sewing materials	14	24.6%
Ammunition	10	17.5%
Clothing, unspecified	8	14.0%
Fishing technology	5	8.8%
Food, imported	5	8.8%
Tools and other technology	5	8.8%
Hunting technology	4	7.0%
Tobacco	2	3.5%
Household items	1	1.8%
Miscellaneous	3	5.3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>57</b>	

Source: HBCA B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862

**Figure B.21 Number of Items Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1860-1861**



Source: HBCA B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862

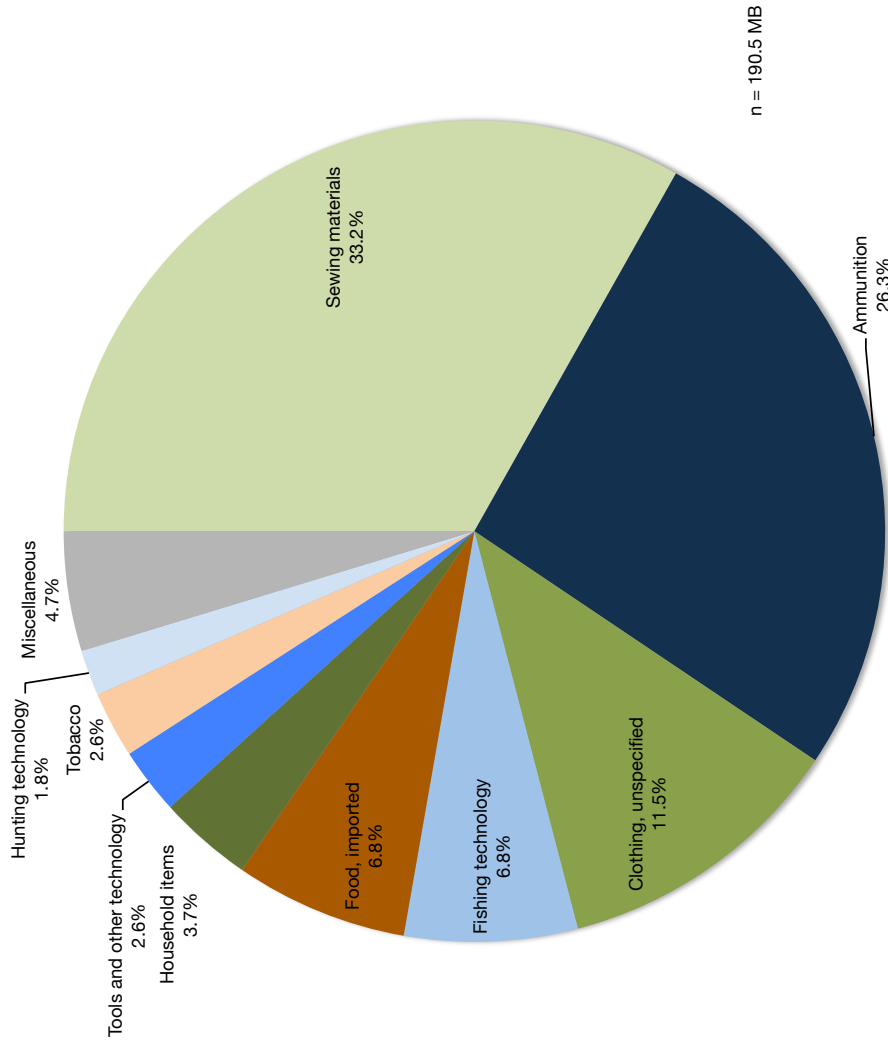
**Table B.22 Cost of Items Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1860-1861**

Category of Item	Value of Items Purchased					Percent of Total
	MB	£	s	d	Total d	
Sewing materials	63	2	17	3	687	33.1%
Ammunition	50	2	5	5	545	26.2%
Clothing, unspecified	22	1	---	---	240	11.5%
Fishing technology	13	---	11	10	142	6.8%
Food, imported	13	---	11	10	142	6.8%
Household items	7	---	6	4	76	3.7%
Tools and other technology	5	---	4	7	55	2.6%
Tobacco	5	---	4	7	55	2.6%
Hunting technology	3.5	---	3	2	38	1.8%
Miscellaneous	9	---	8	2	98	4.7%
<b>Total</b>	<b>190.5</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2,078</b>	

The original values were given in MB. For conversion to pounds sterling, 1 shilling was valued at 1.1 MB (rounded to the nearest pence) based on the calculations in Table 3.1.

Source: HBCA B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862

**Figure B.22 Cost of Items Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1860-1861**



Source: HBCA B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862

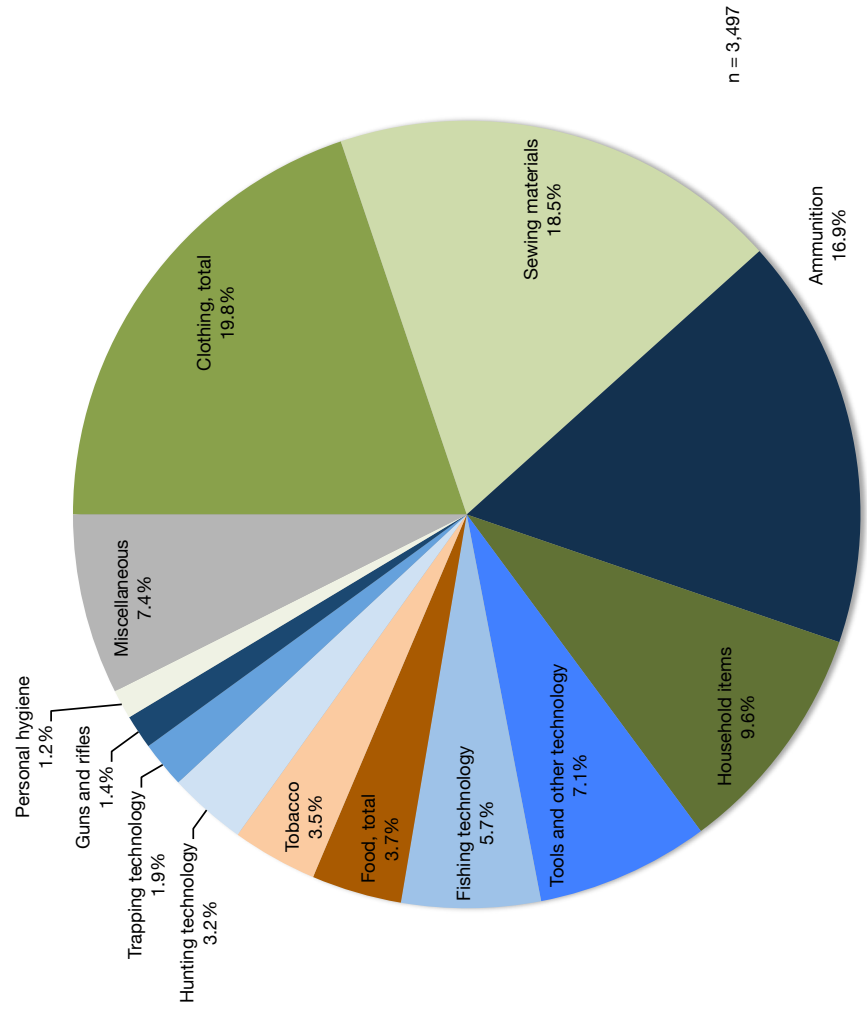
**Table B.23 Number of Items Purchased by  
Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1862-1863**

<b>Category of Item</b>	<b>Number of Items Purchased</b>	<b>Percent of Total</b>
Clothing, total	692	19.8%
Clothing, unspecified	563	16.1%
Clothing, men's	73	2.1%
Clothing, women's	51	1.5%
Clothing, children's	5	0.1%
Sewing materials	646	18.5%
Ammunition	592	16.9%
Household items	336	9.6%
Tools and other technology	248	7.1%
Fishing technology	199	5.7%
Food, total	130	3.7%
Food, imported	115	3.3%
Food, country produce	15	0.4%
Tobacco	124	3.5%
Hunting technology	112	3.2%
Trapping technology	67	1.9%
Guns and rifles	50	1.4%
Personal hygiene	43	1.2%
Miscellaneous	258	7.4%
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,497</b>	

Source: HBCA B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862 and B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Books, 1863-1866



**Figure B.23 Number of Items Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1862-1863**



Source: HBCA B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862 and B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Books, 1863-1866

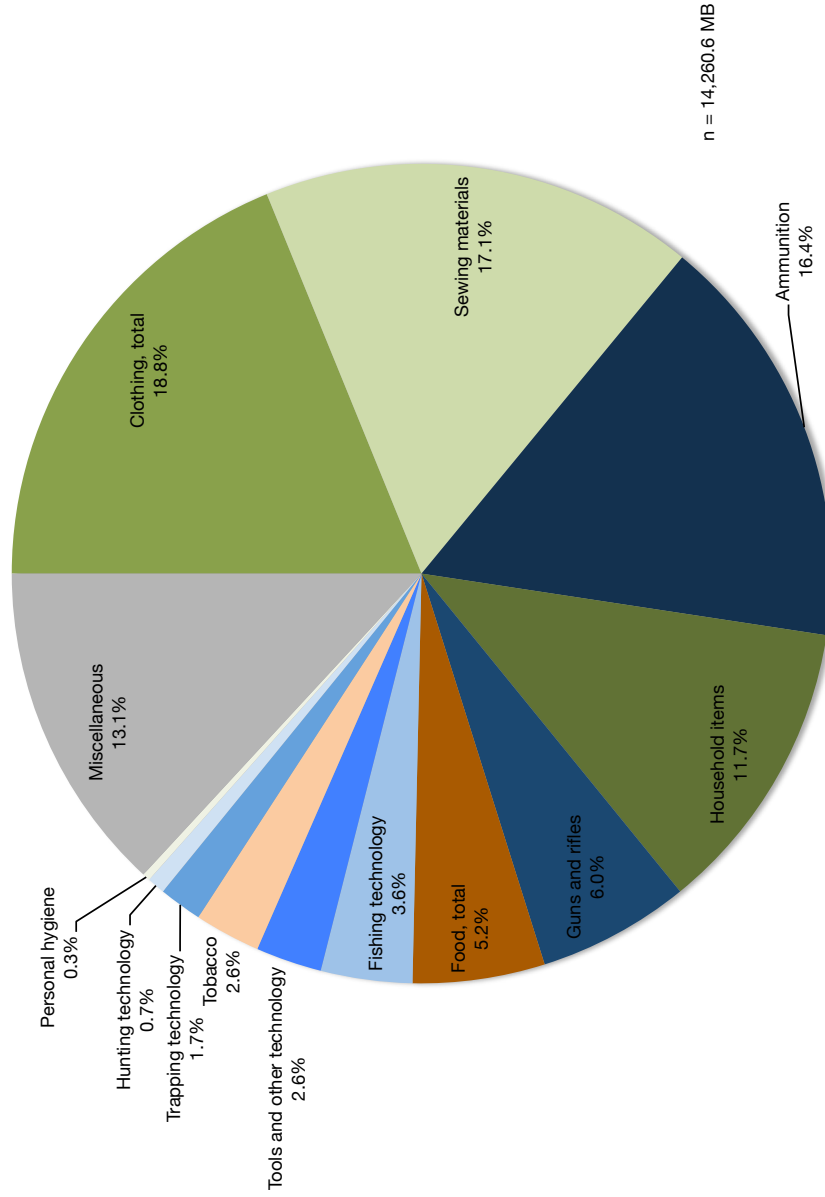
**Table B.24 Cost of Items Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1862-1863**

Category of Item	Value of Items Purchased					Percent of Total
	MB	£	s	d	Total d	
Clothing, total	2,684	134	4	---	32,208	18.8%
Clothing, unspecified	2,164.5	108	5	6	25,974	15.2%
Clothing, men's	271.5	13	11	6	3,258	1.9%
Clothing, women's	239	11	19	---	2,868	1.7%
Clothing, children's	9	---	9	---	108	0.1%
Sewing materials	2,440.5	122	---	6	29,286	17.1%
Ammunition	2,336.5	116	16	6	28,038	16.4%
Household items	1,673	83	13	---	20,076	11.7%
Guns and rifles	860	43	---	---	10,320	6.0%
Food, total	747	37	7	---	8,964	5.2%
Food, imported	523	26	3	---	6,276	3.7%
Food, country produce	224	11	4	---	2,688	1.6%
Fishing technology	520	26	---	---	6,240	3.6%
Tools and other technology	371.3	18	11	4	4,456	2.6%
Tobacco	365.5	18	4	---	4,386	2.6%
Trapping technology	238.5	11	18	6	2,862	1.7%
Hunting technology	106	5	6	---	1,272	0.7%
Personal hygiene	46	2	6	---	552	0.3%
Miscellaneous	1,872.3	93	12	4	22,468	13.1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>14,260.6</b>	<b>713</b>	<b>---</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>171,127</b>	

The original values were given in MB. For conversion to pounds sterling, 1 shilling was valued at 1 MB (rounded to the nearest pence) based on the calculations in Table 3.1.

Source: HBCA B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862 and B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Books, 1863-1866

**Figure B.24 Cost of Items Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1862-1863**



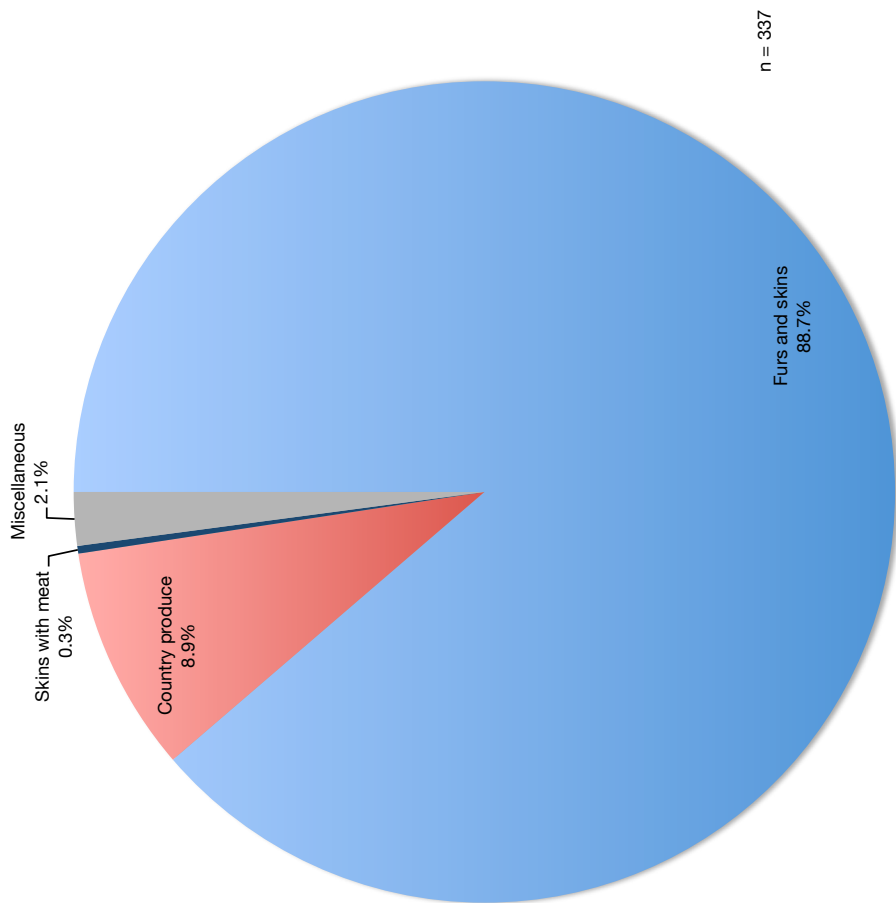
Source: HBCA B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862 and B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Books, 1863-1866

**Table B.25 Number of items Traded by  
Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1862-1863**

Category of Item	Number of Trade Items	Percent of Total
Furs and skins	299	88.7%
Country produce	30	8.9%
Skins with meat	1	0.3%
Miscellaneous	7	2.1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>337</b>	

Source: HBCA B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862 and B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Books, 1863-1866

**Figure B.25 Number of Items Traded by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1862-1863**



Source: HBCA B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862 and B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Books, 1863-1866.

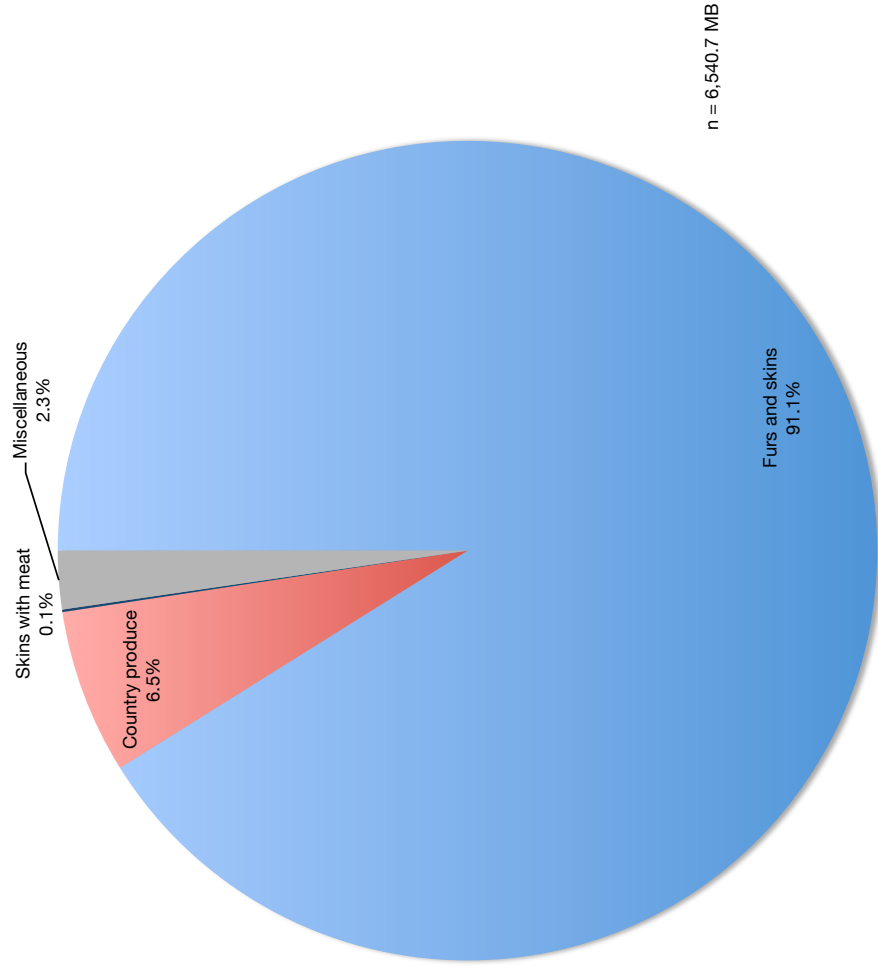
**Table B.26 Price of Items Traded by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1862-1863**

Category of Item	Value of Trade Items					Percent of Total
	MB	£	s	d	Total d	
Furs and skins	5,965.2	9	18	10	2,386	91.2%
Country produce	422.5	---	14	1	169	6.5%
Skins with meat	5	---	---	2	2	0.1%
Miscellaneous	148	---	4	11	59	2.3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>6,540.7</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>---</b>	<b>2,616</b>	

The original values were given in MB. For conversion to pounds sterling, 1 shilling was valued at 0.4 MB (rounded to the nearest pence) based on the calculations in Table 3.1.

Source: HBCA B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862 and B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Books, 1863-1866

**Figure B.26 Price of Items Traded by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1862-1863**



Source: HBCA B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862 and B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Books, 1863-1866.

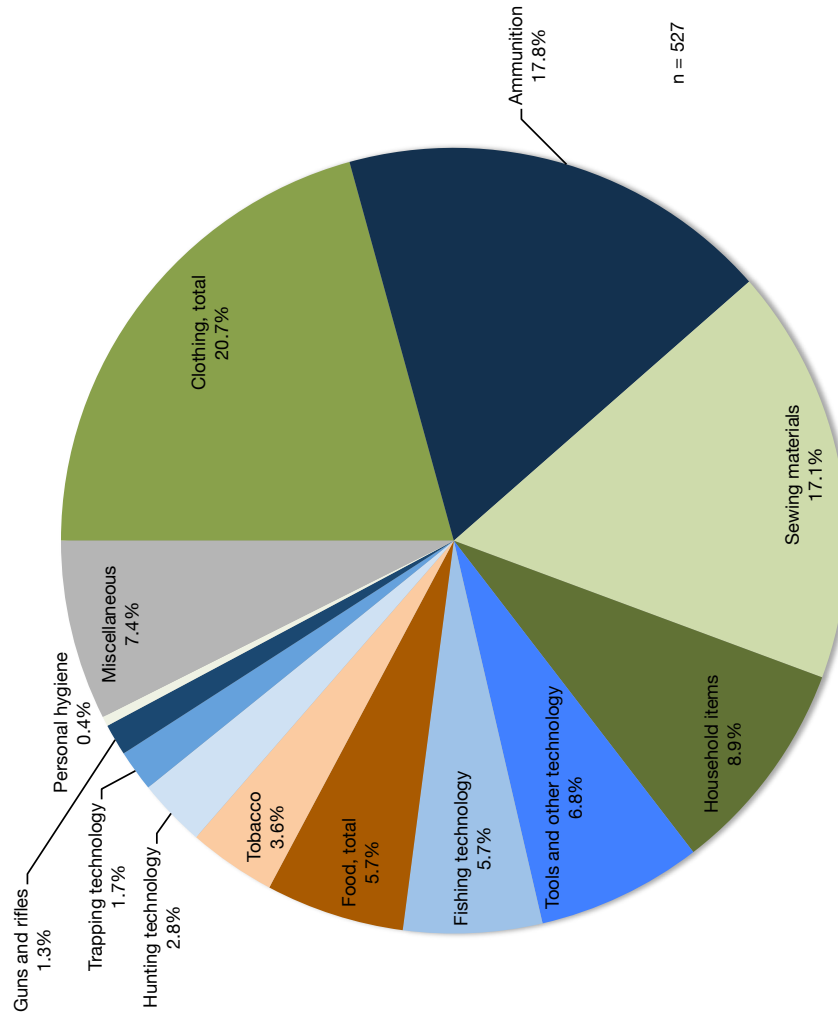
**Table B.27 Number of Items Purchased by  
Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1863-1864**

<b>Category of Item</b>	<b>Number of Items Purchased</b>	<b>Percent of Total</b>
Clothing, total	109	20.7%
Clothing, unspecified	84	15.9%
Clothing, men's	17	3.2%
Clothing, women's	8	1.5%
Ammunition	94	17.8%
Sewing materials	90	17.1%
Household items	47	8.9%
Tools and other technology	36	6.8%
Fishing technology	30	5.7%
Food, total	30	5.7%
Food, imported	27	5.1%
Food, country produce	3	0.6%
Tobacco	19	3.6%
Hunting technology	15	2.8%
Trapping technology	9	1.7%
Guns and rifles	7	1.3%
Personal hygiene	2	0.4%
Miscellaneous	39	7.4%
<b>Total</b>	<b>527</b>	

Source: HBCA B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Books, 1862 and B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Books, 1863-1866



**Figure B.27 Number of Items Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1863-1864**



Source: HBCA B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Books, 1862 and B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Books, 1863-1866

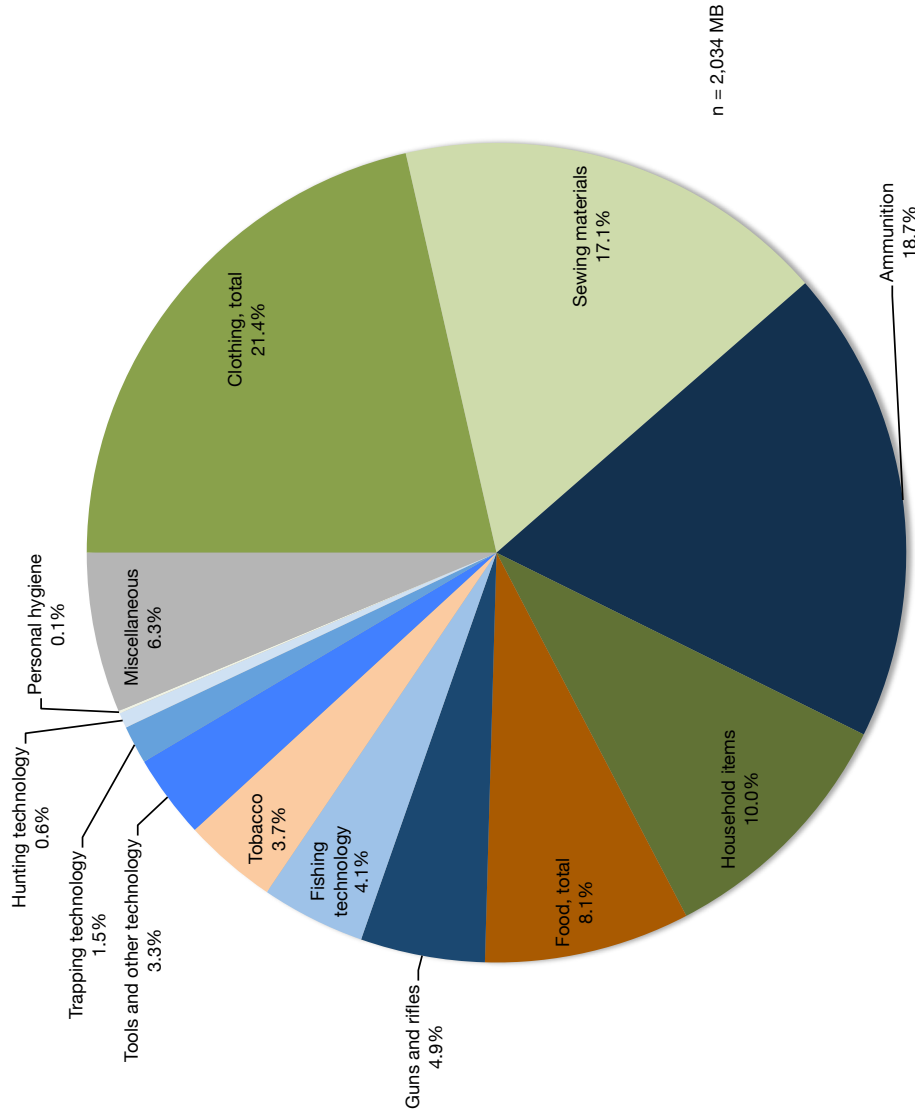
**Table B.28 Cost of Items Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1863-1864**

Category of Item	Value of Items Purchased					Percent of Total
	MB	£	s	d	Total d	
Clothing, total	436	18	3	4	4,360	21.4%
Clothing, unspecified	305	12	14	2	3,050	15.0%
Clothing, men's	101	4	4	2	1,010	5.0%
Clothing, women's	30	1	5	2	300	1.5%
Sewing materials	348.5	14	10	5	3,485	17.1%
Ammunition	381	15	17	6	3,810	18.7%
Household items	203.5	8	9	7	2,035	10.0%
Food, total	164	6	16	8	1,640	8.1%
Food, imported	104	4	6	8	1,040	5.1%
Food, country produce	60	2	10	---	600	3.0%
Guns and rifles	100	4	3	4	1,000	4.9%
Fishing technology	83.5	3	9	7	835	4.1%
Tobacco	76	3	3	4	760	3.7%
Tools and other technology	67.5	2	16	3	675	3.3%
Trapping technology	30	1	5	---	300	1.5%
Hunting technology	12.5	---	10	5	125	0.6%
Personal hygiene	2	---	1	8	20	0.1%
Miscellaneous	129	5	7	6	1,290	6.3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,034</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>---</b>	<b>20,340</b>	

The original values were given in MB. For conversion to pounds sterling, 1 shilling was valued at 1.2 MB (rounded to the nearest pence) based on the calculations in Table 3.1.

Source: HBCA B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Books, 1862 and B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Books, 1863-1866

**Figure B.28 Cost of Items Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1863-1864**



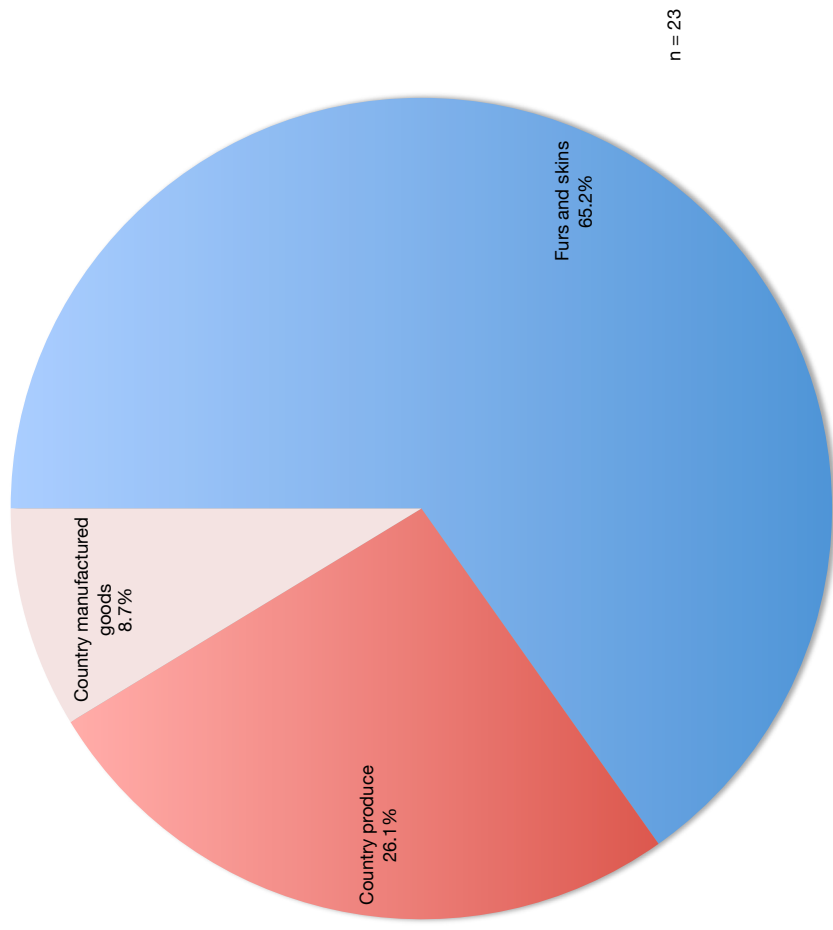
Source: HBCA B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Books, 1862 and B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Books, 1863-1866

**Table B.29 Number of Items Traded by  
Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1863-1864**

Category of Item	Number of Trade Items	Percent of Total
Furs and skins	15	65.2%
Country produce	6	26.1%
Country manufactured goods	2	8.7%
<b>Total</b>	<b>23</b>	

Source: HBCA B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Books, 1862 and B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Books, 1863-1866

**Figure B.29 Number of Items Traded by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1863-1864**



Source: HBCA B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1862 and B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Books, 1863-1866.

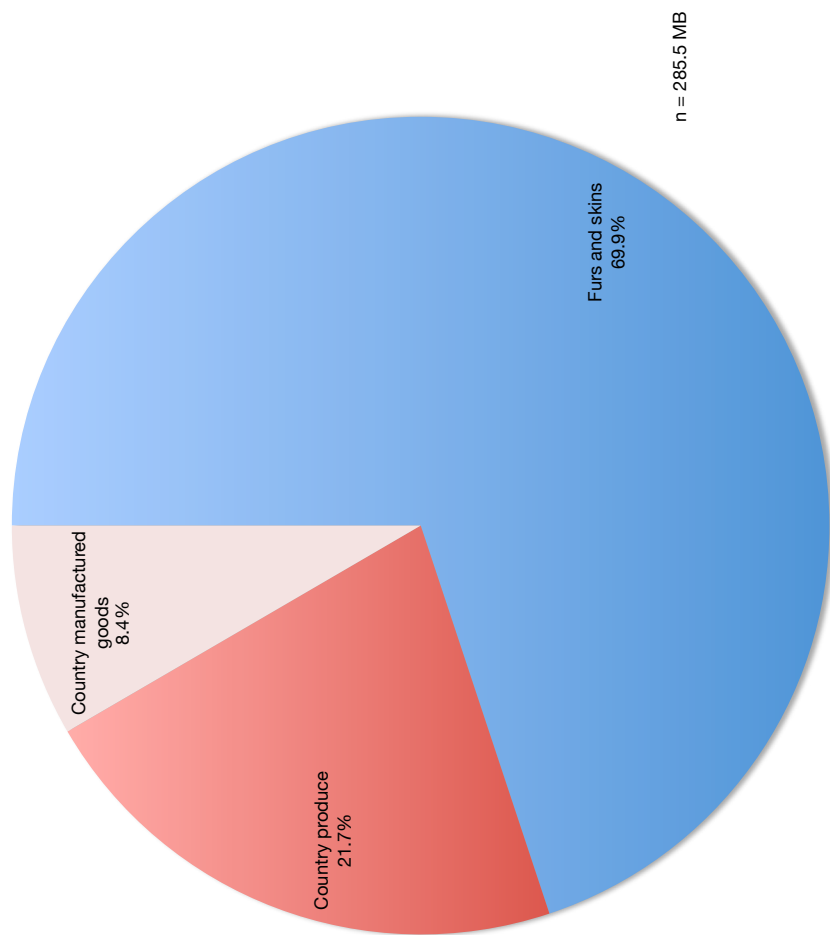
**Table B.30 Price of Items Traded by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1863-1864**

Category of Item	Value of Trade Items					Percent of Total
	MB	£	s	d	Total d	
Furs and skins	199.5	---	6	8	80	69.9%
Country produce	62	---	2	1	25	21.7%
Country manufactured goods	24	---	---	10	10	8.4%
<b>Total</b>	<b>285.5</b>	<b>---</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>114</b>	

The original values were given in MB. For conversion to pounds sterling, 1 shilling was valued at 0.4 MB (rounded to the nearest pence) based on the calculations in Table 3.1.

Source: HBCA B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Books, 1862 and B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Books, 1863-1866

**Figure B.30 Price of Items Traded by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1863-1864**



Source: HBCA B.89/d/95, Ile a la Crosse Account Books, 1862 and B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Books, 1863-1866.

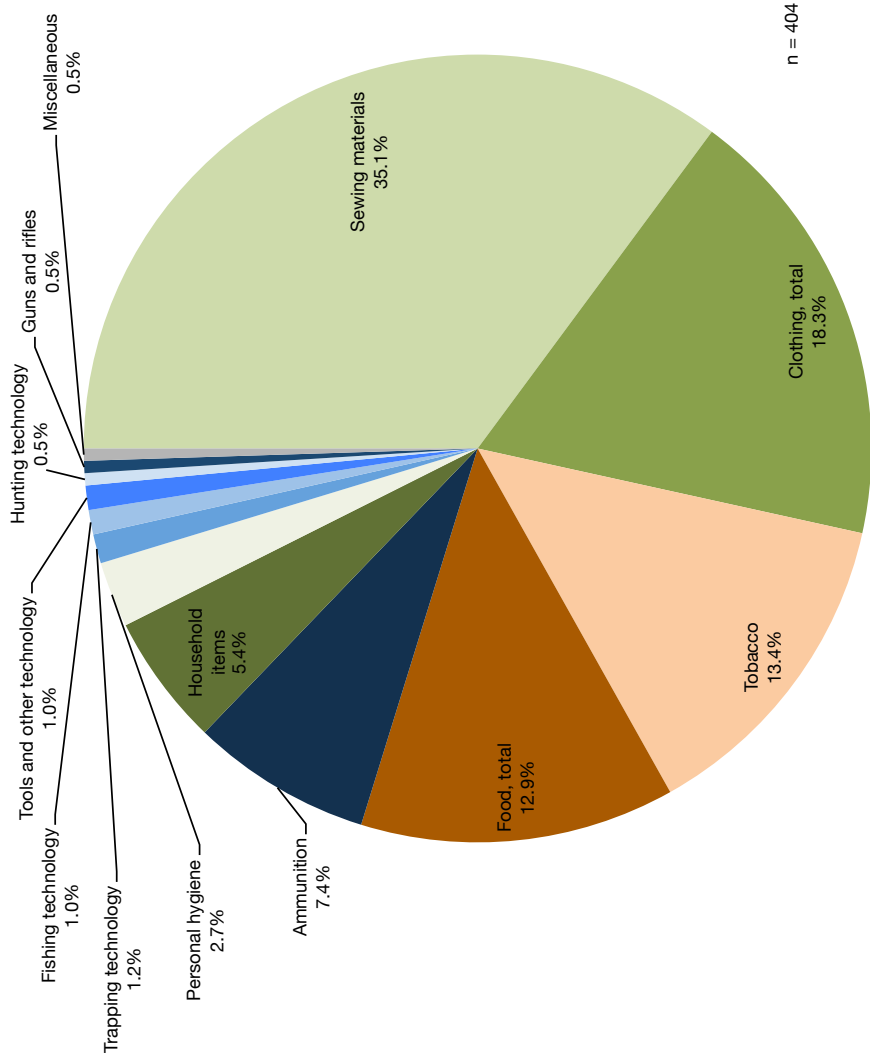
**Table B.31 Number of Items Purchased by  
Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1865-1866**

<b>Category of Item</b>	<b>Number of Items Purchased</b>	<b>Percent of Total</b>
Sewing materials	142	35.1%
Clothing, total	74	18.3%
Clothing, unspecified	55	13.6%
Clothing, men's	11	2.7%
Clothing, women's	8	2.0%
Tobacco	54	13.4%
Food, total	52	12.9%
Food, imported	50	12.4%
Food, country produce	2	0.5%
Ammunition	30	7.4%
Household items	22	5.4%
Personal hygiene	11	2.7%
Trapping technology	5	1.2%
Fishing technology	4	1.0%
Tools and other technology	4	1.0%
Hunting technology	2	0.5%
Guns and rifles	2	0.5%
Miscellaneous	2	0.5%
<b>Total</b>	<b>404</b>	

Source: HBCA, B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Books, 1863-1866



**Figure B.31 Number of Items Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1865-1866**



Source: HBCA B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1866

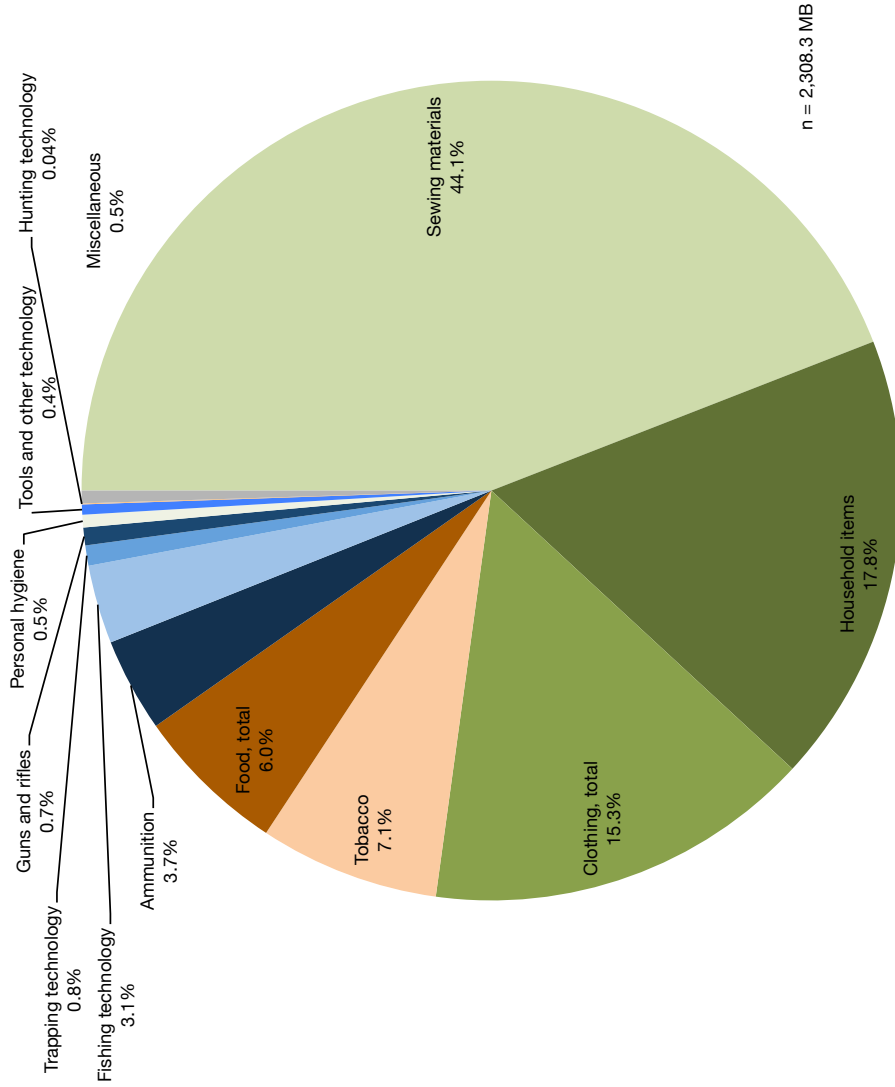
**Table B.32 Cost of Items Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1865-1866**

Category of Item	Value of Items Purchased					Percent of Total
	MB	£	s	d	Total d	
Sewing materials	1,018.1	50	18	1	12,217	44.1%
Household items	410.5	20	10	6	4,926	17.8%
Clothing, total	353	17	13	---	4,236	15.3%
Clothing, unspecified	256	12	16	---	3,072	11.1%
Clothing, men's	41	2	1	---	492	1.8%
Clothing, women's	56	2	16	---	672	2.4%
Tobacco	163.5	8	3	6	1,962	7.1%
Food, total	138	6	18	---	1,656	6.0%
Food, imported	129.7	6	9	8	1,556	5.6%
Food, country produce	8.3	---	8	4	100	0.4%
Ammunition	84.5	4	4	6	1,014	3.7%
Fishing technology	71.7	3	11	8	860	3.1%
Trapping technology	17.5	---	17	6	210	0.8%
Guns and rifles	17	---	17	---	204	0.7%
Personal hygiene	12.5	---	12	6	150	0.5%
Tools and other technology	10	---	10	---	120	0.4%
Hunting technology	1	---	1	---	12	0.04%
Miscellaneous	11	---	11	---	132	0.5%
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,308.3</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>27,700</b>	

The original values were given in MB and pounds sterling. For conversion to MB or pounds sterling, 1 shilling was valued at 1 MB (rounded to the nearest penny) based on the calculations in Table 3.1.

Source: HBCA, B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Books, 1863-1866

**Figure B.32 Cost of Items Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1865-1866**



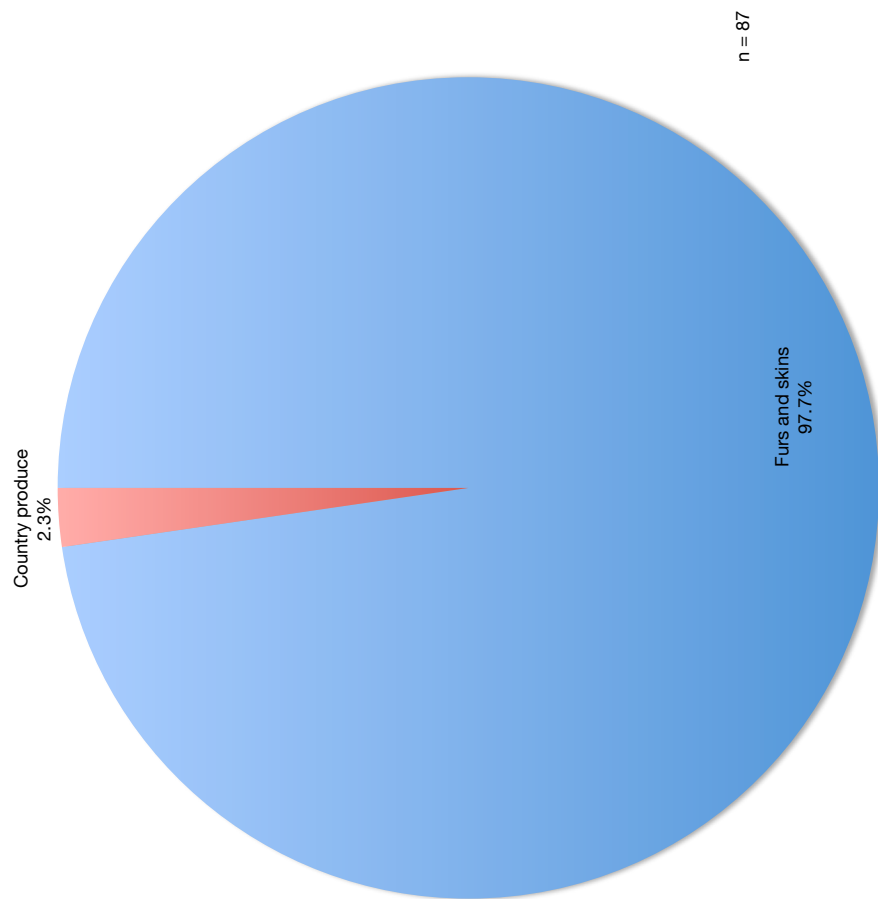
Source: HBCA B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Book, 1863-1866

**Table B.33 Number of Items Traded by  
Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1865-1866**

Category of Item	Number of Trade Items	Percent of Total
Furs and skins	85	97.7%
Country produce	2	2.3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>87</b>	

Source: HBCA, B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Books, 1863-1866

**Figure B.33 Number of Items Traded by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1865-1866**



Source: HBCA B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Books, 1863-1866.

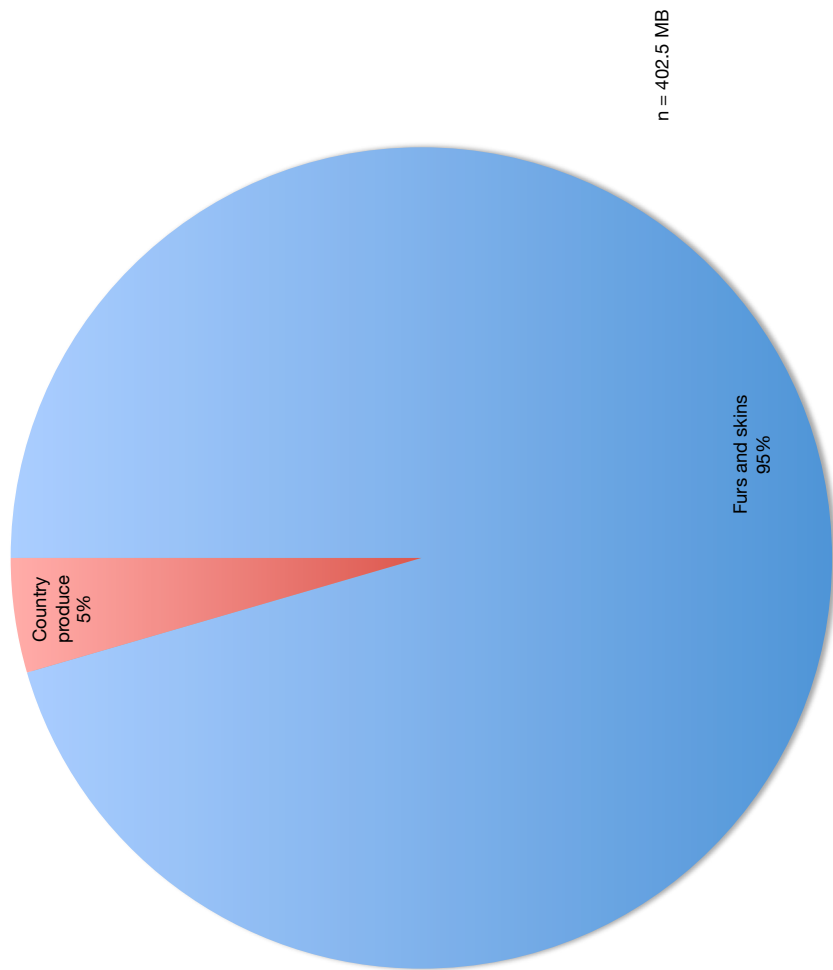
**Table B.34 Price of Items Traded by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1865-1866**

Category of Item	Value of Trade Items					Percent of Total
	MB	£	s	d	Total d	
Furs and skins	384.5	---	12	10	154	95.5%
Country produce	18	---	---	7	7	4.5%
<b>Total</b>	<b>402.5</b>	---	<b>13</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>161</b>	

The original values were given in MB. For conversion to pounds sterling, 1 shilling was valued at 0.4 MB (rounded to the nearest pence) based on the calculations in Table 3.1.

Source: HBCA, B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Books, 1863-1866

**Figure B.34 Price of Items Traded by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1865-1866**



Source: HBCA B.89/d/108a, Ile a la Crosse Account Books, 1863-1866.

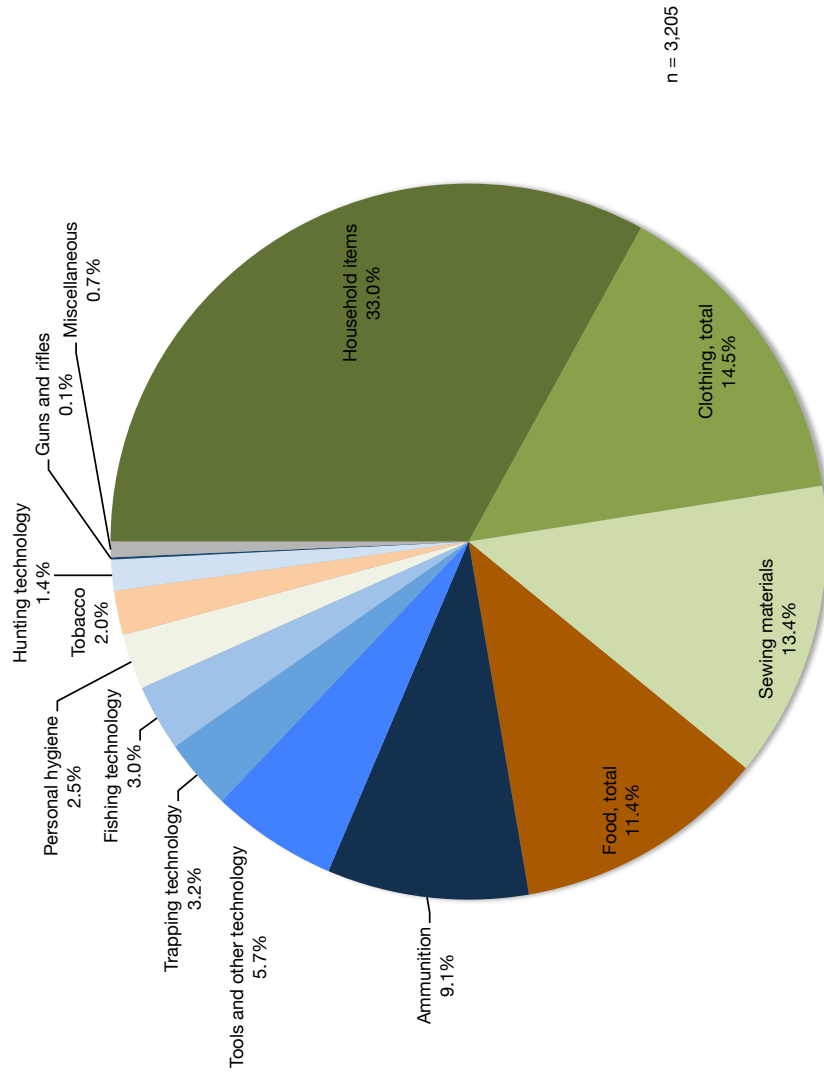
**Table B.35 Number of Items Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1875-1876**

<b>Category of Item</b>	<b>Number of Items Purchased</b>	<b>Percent of Total</b>
Household items	1,057	33.0%
Clothing, total	466	14.5%
Clothing, unspecified	293	9.1%
Clothing, men's	92	2.9%
Clothing, women's	53	1.7%
Clothing, boy's	28	0.9%
Sewing materials	430	13.4%
Food, total	366	11.4%
Food, imported	313	1.7%
Food, country produce	53	9.8%
Ammunition	292	9.1%
Tools and other technology	182	5.7%
Trapping technology	101	3.2%
Fishing technology	95	3.0%
Personal hygiene	79	2.5%
Tobacco	63	2.0%
Hunting technology	46	1.4%
Guns and rifles	4	0.1%
Miscellaneous	24	0.7%
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,205</b>	

Source: HBCA, B.89/d/188, Ile a la Crosse Account Books, 1875-1876



**Figure B.35 Number of Items Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1875-1876**



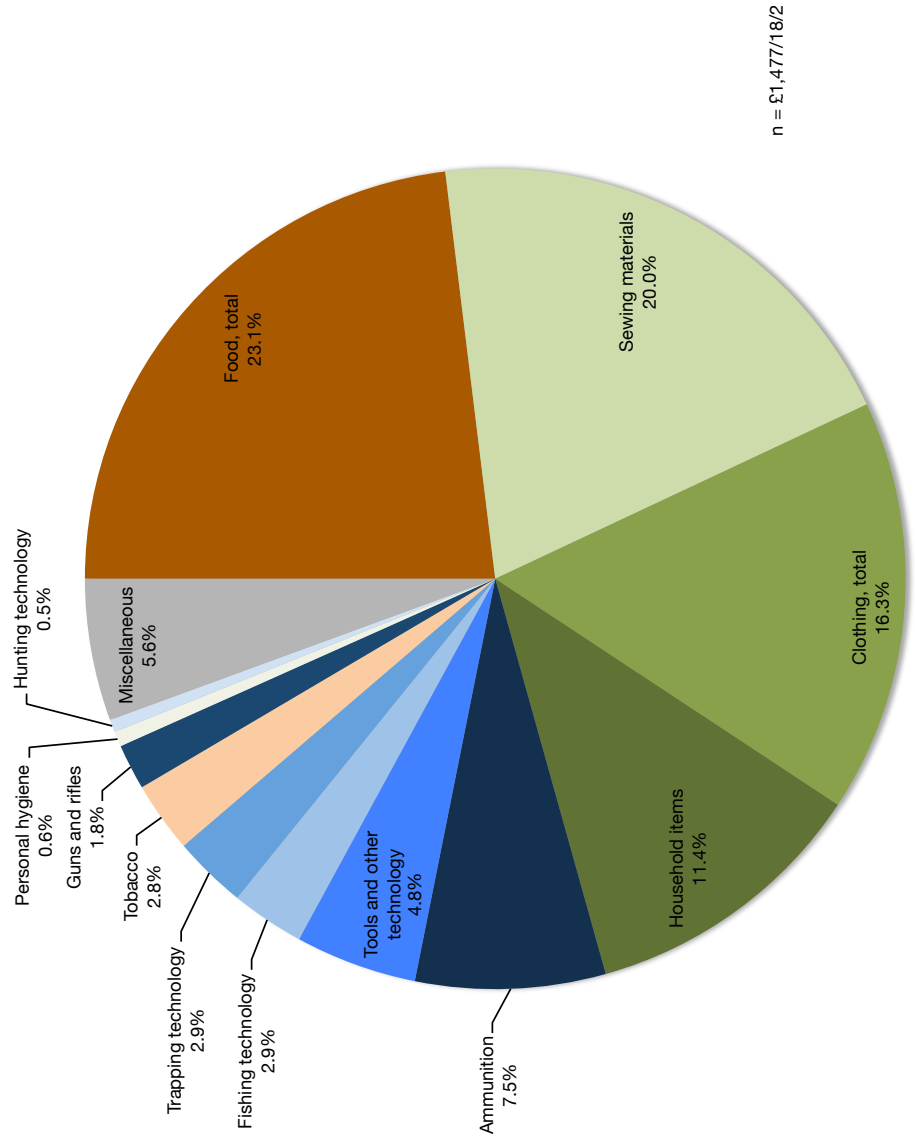
Source: HBCA B.89/d/188, Ile a la Crosse Account Books, 1875-1876.

**Table B.36 Cost of Items Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1875-1876**

Category of Item	Value of Items Purchased				Percent of Total
	£	s	d	Total d	
Food, total	340	14	10	81,778	23.1%
Food, imported	295	6	4	70,876	20.0%
Food, country produce	45	8	6	10,902	3.1%
Sewing materials	294	19	4	70,792	20.0%
Clothing, total	240	5	--	57,660	16.3%
Clothing, unspecified	124	7	6	29,850	8.4%
Clothing, men's	67	1	--	16,092	4.5%
Clothing, women's	39	17	--	9,564	2.7%
Clothing, boy's	8	19	6	2,154	0.6%
Household items	168	9	7	40,435	11.4%
Ammunition	110	15	6	26,586	7.5%
Tools and other technology	71	2	2	17,066	4.8%
Fishing technology	42	17	11	10,295	2.9%
Trapping technology	42	10	--	10,200	2.9%
Tobacco	40	15	2	9,782	2.8%
Guns and rifles	26	10	--	6,360	1.8%
Personal hygiene	8	9	9	2,037	0.6%
Hunting technology	7	15	1	1,861	0.5%
Miscellaneous	82	13	10	19,846	5.6%
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,477</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>354,698</b>	

Source: HBCA, B.89/d/188, Ile a la Crosse Account Books, 1875-1876

**Figure B.36 Cost of Items Purchased by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1875-1876**



n = £1,477/18/2

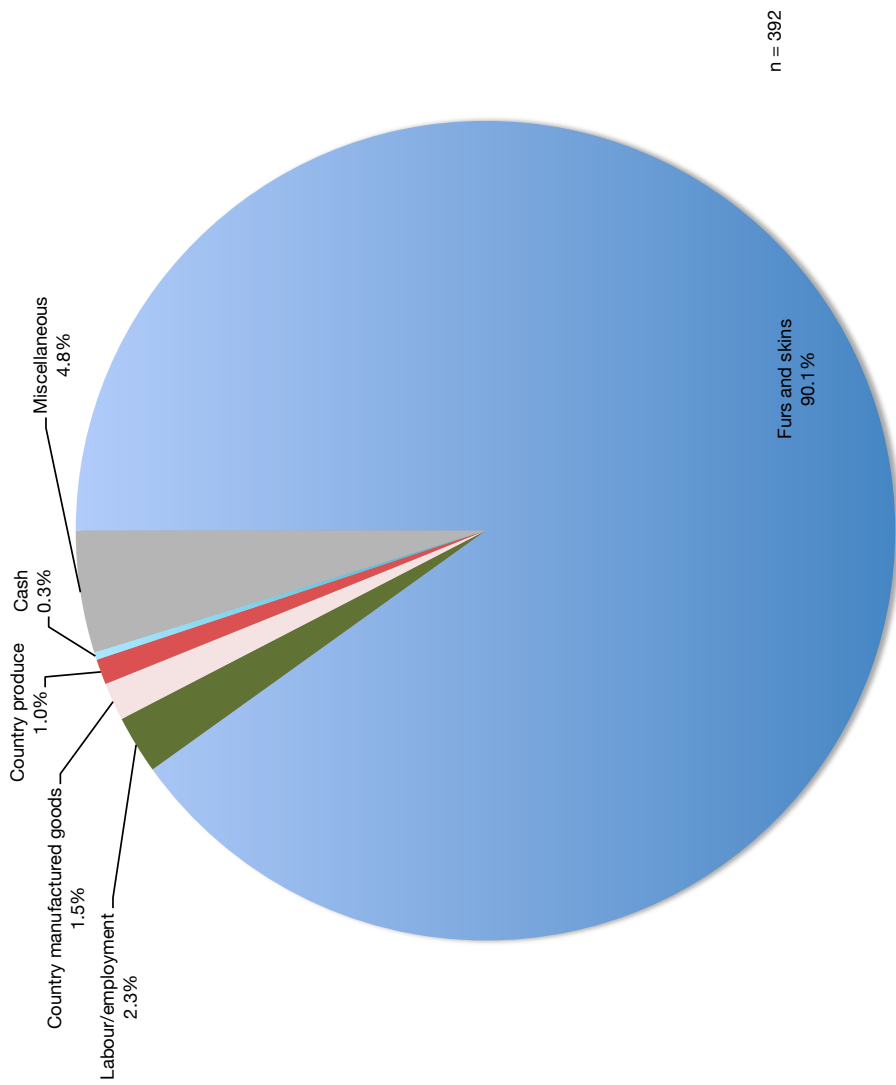
Source: HBCA B.89/d/188, Ile a la Crosse Account Books, 1875-1876

**Table B.37 Number of Items Traded by  
Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1875-1876**

Category of Item	Number of Trade Items	Percent of Total
Furs and skins	353	90.1%
Labour/employment	9	2.3%
Country manufactured goods	6	1.5%
Country produce	4	1.0%
Cash	1	0.3%
Miscellaneous	19	4.8%
<b>Total</b>	<b>392</b>	

Source: HBCA, B.89/d/188, Ile a la Crosse Account Books, 1875-1876

**Figure B.37 Number of Trade Items from Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1875-1876**



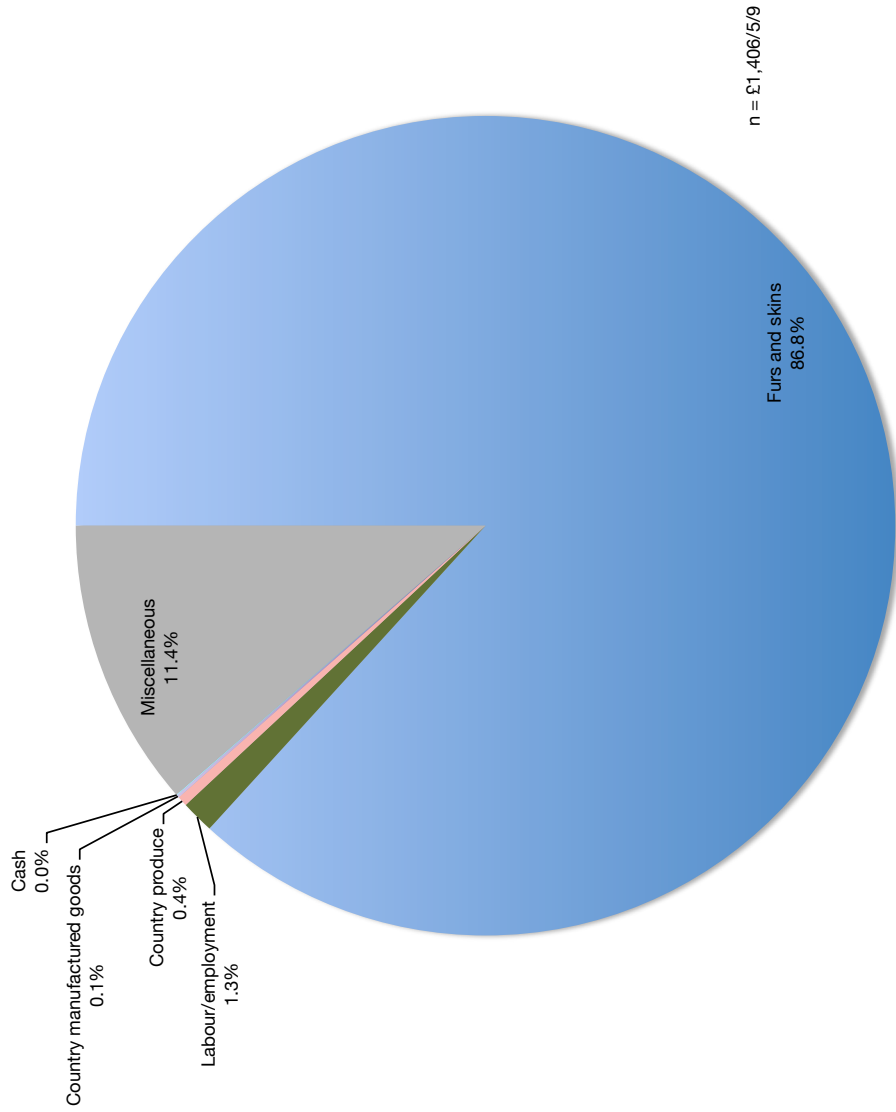
Source: HBCA B.89/d/188, Ile a la Crosse Account Books, 1875-1876

**Table B.38 Price of Items Traded by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1875-1876**

Category of Item	Value of Trade Items				Percent of Total
	£	s	d	Total d	
Furs and skins	1220	1	--	292,812	86.8%
Labour/employment	18	6	3	4,395	1.3%
Country produce	5	--	--	1,200	0.4%
Country manufactured goods	1	8	2	338	0.1%
Cash	--	10	10	130	0.04%
Miscellaneous	159	17	--	38,634	11.4%
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,406</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>337,509</b>	

Source: HBCA, B.89/d/188, Ile a la Crosse Account Books, 1875-1876

**Figure B.38 Price of Items Traded by Indians, Ile a la Crosse Post, 1875-1876**



Source: HBCA B.89/d/188, Ile a la Crosse Account Books, 1875-1876.

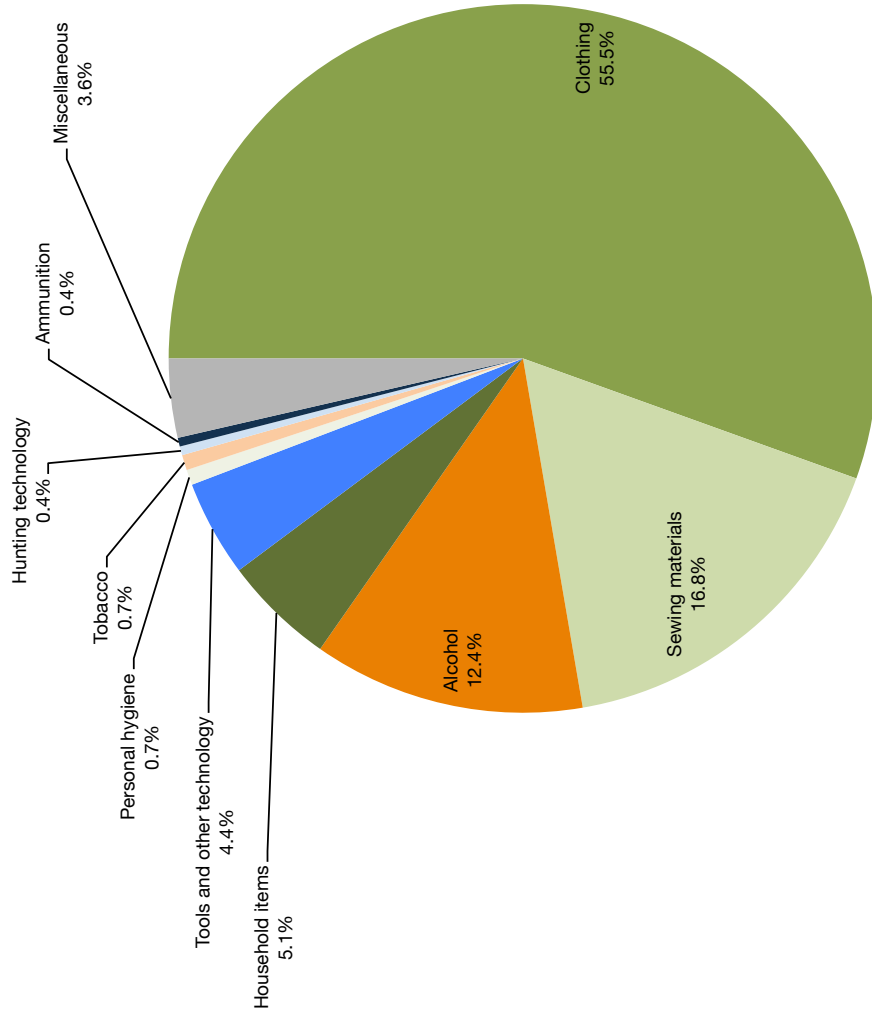
**Table B.39 Number of Items Purchased by  
Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1841**

<b>Category of Item</b>	<b>Number of Items Purchased</b>	<b>Percent of Total</b>
Clothing, total	152	55.5%
Clothing, men's	52	19.0%
Clothing, women's	1	0.4%
Clothing, child's	2	0.7%
Clothing, unspecified	97	35.4%
Sewing materials	46	16.8%
Alcohol	34	12.4%
Household items	14	5.1%
Tools and other technology	12	4.4%
Personal hygiene	2	0.7%
Tobacco	2	0.7%
Hunting technology	1	0.4%
Ammunition	1	0.4%
Miscellaneous	10	3.6%
<b>Total</b>	<b>274</b>	

Source: Hocken Library, MS-0438/007 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook Number 4 and MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred



**Figure B.39 Number of Items Purchased by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1841**



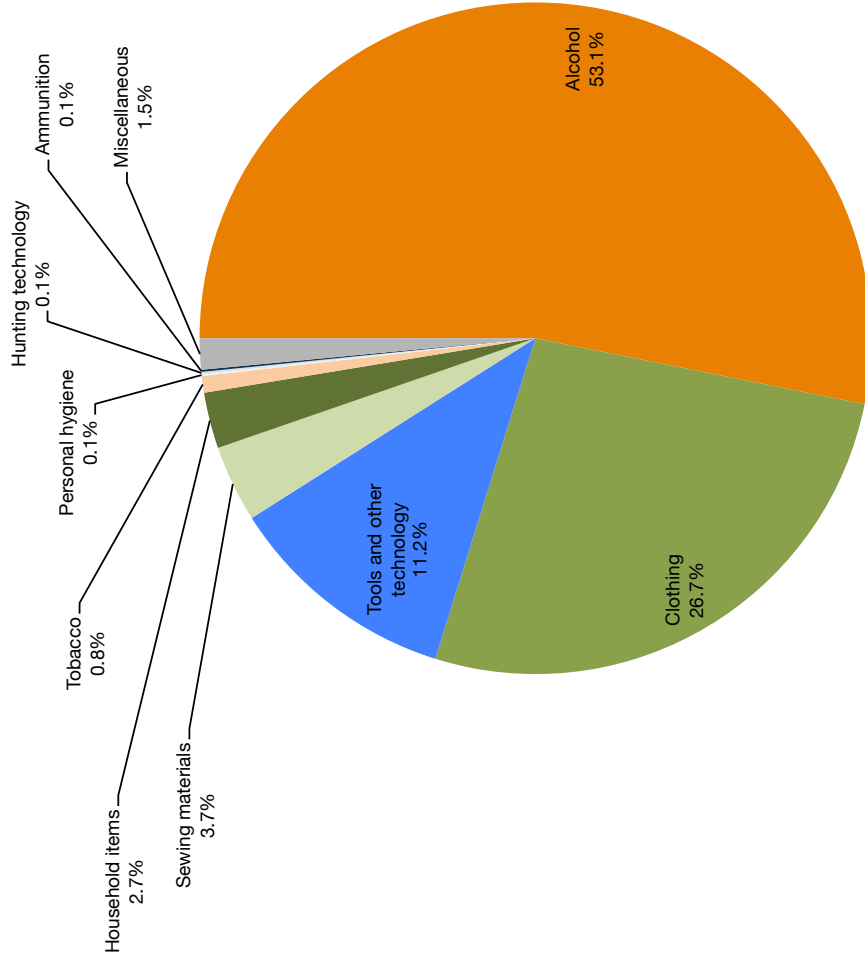
n = 274

**Table B.40 Cost of Items Purchased by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1841**

Category of Item	Value of Items Purchased				Percent of Total
	£	s	d	total in d	
Alcohol	97	12	6	23,478	53.2%
Clothing, total	49	1	0	11,772	26.7%
Clothing, men's	18	0	0	4,320	9.8%
Clothing, women's	0	9	0	108	0.2%
Clothing, child's	0	8	0	96	0.2%
Clothing, unspecified	30	4	0	7,248	16.4%
Tools and other technology	20	11	0	4,932	11.2%
Sewing materials	6	16	6	1,638	3.7%
Household items	4	18	0	1,176	2.7%
Tobacco	1	10	5	365	0.8%
Personal hygiene	0	4	0	48	0.1%
Hunting technology	0	3	0	36	0.1%
Ammunition	0	3	0	36	0.1%
Miscellaneous	2	14	6	654	1.5%
<b>Total</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>44,135</b>	

Source: Hocken Library, MS-0438/007 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook Number 4 and MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred

**Figure B.40 Cost of Items Purchased by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1841**



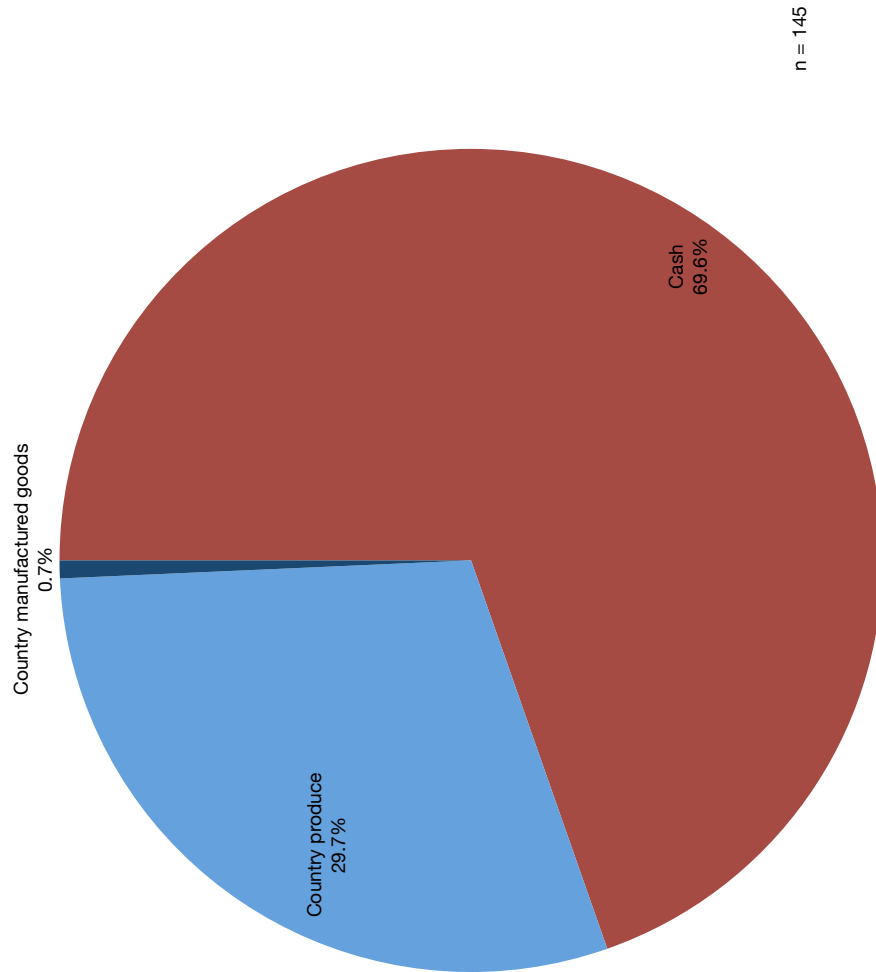
n = £183/17/11

**Table B.41 Number of Items Traded by  
Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1841**

Category of Item	Number of Items Purchased	Percent of Total
Cash	101	69.7%
Country produce	43	29.7%
Country manufactured goods	1	0.7%
<b>Total</b>	<b>145</b>	

Source: Hocken Library, MS-0438/007 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook Number 4 and MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred.

**Figure B.41 Number of Items Traded by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1841**



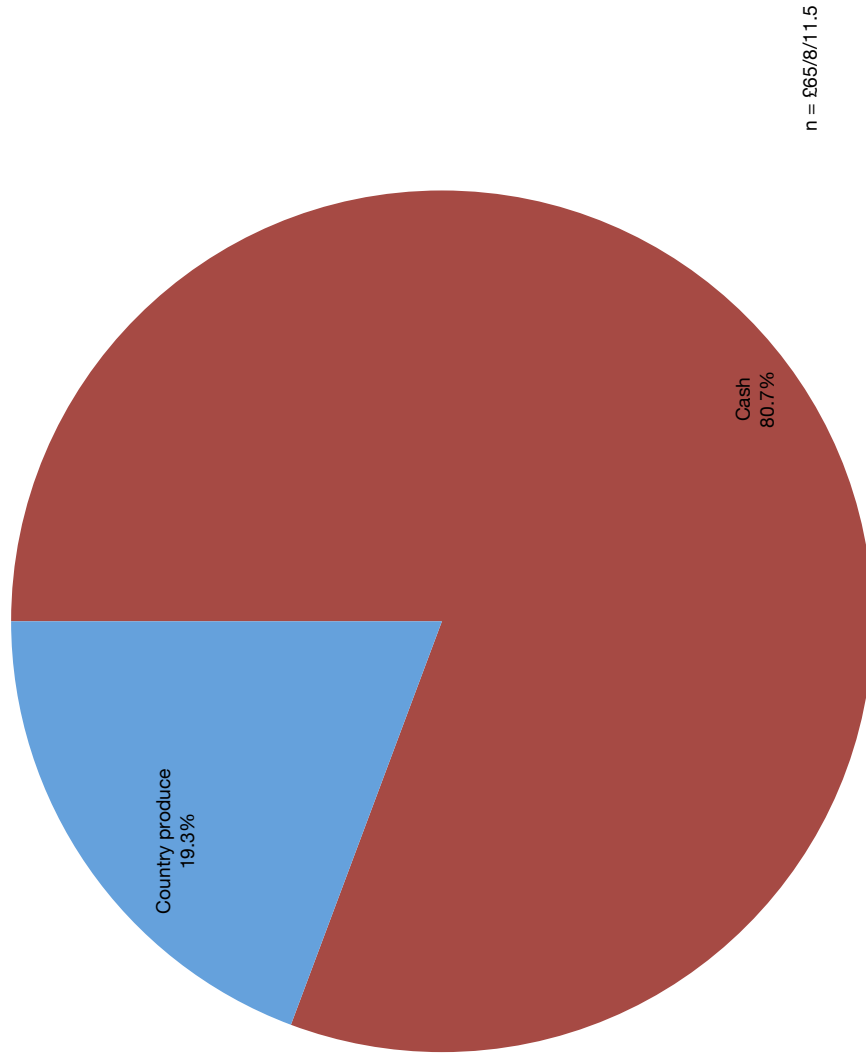
Source: Hocken Library, MS-0438/007 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook Number 4 and MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred.

**Table B.42 Price of Items Traded by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1841**

Category of Item	Value of Items Purchased				Percent of Total
	£	s	d	total in d	
Cash	52	16	11.5	12,683.5	80.7%
Country produce	12	12	0	3,028	19.3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>11.5</b>	<b>15,711.5</b>	

Source: Hocken Library, MS-0438/007 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook Number 4 and MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred.

**Figure B.42 Price of Items Traded by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1841**



Source: Hocken Library, MS-0438/007 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook Number 4 and MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred.

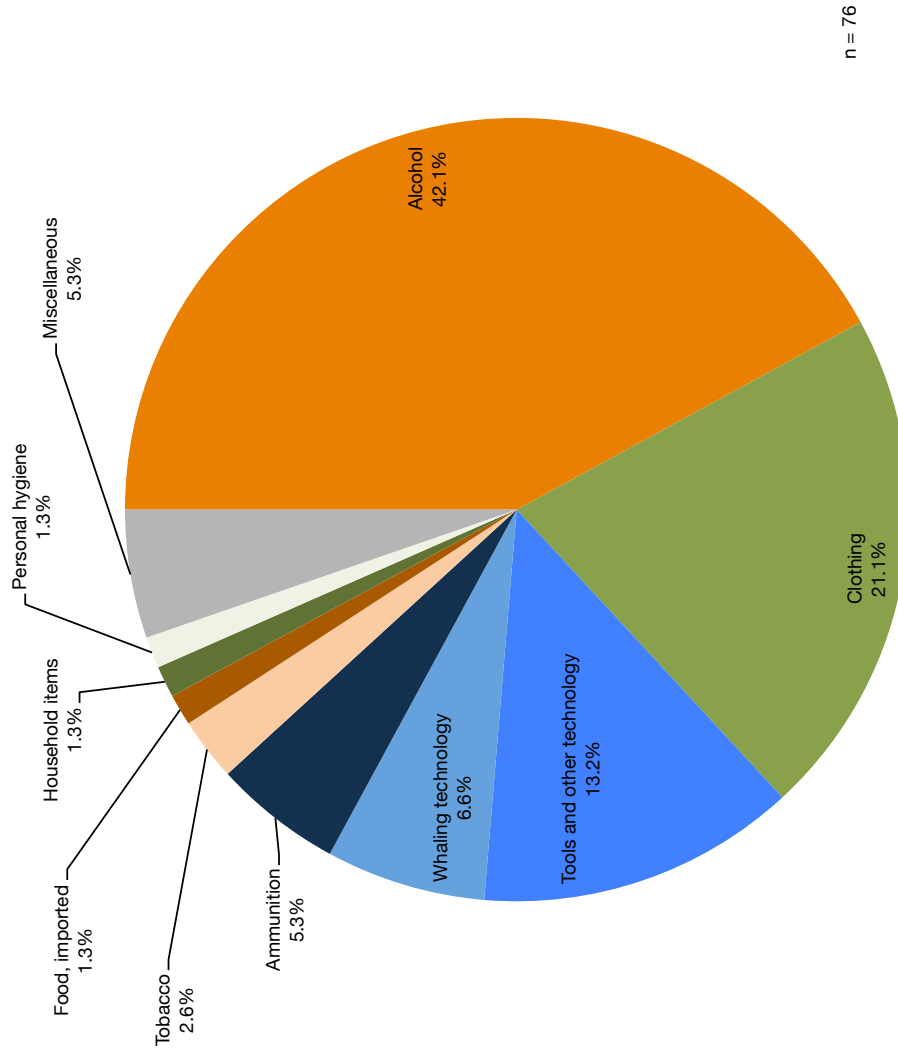
**Table B.43 Number of Items Purchased by  
Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1842**

<b>Category of Item</b>	<b>Number of Items Purchased</b>	<b>Percent of Total</b>
Alcohol	32	42.1%
Clothing, total	16	21.1%
Clothing, men's	13	17.1%
Clothing, women's	2	2.6%
Clothing, unspecified	1	1.3%
Tools and other technology	10	13.2%
Whaling technology	5	6.6%
Ammunition	4	5.3%
Tobacco	2	2.6%
Food, imported	1	1.3%
Household items	1	1.3%
Personal hygiene	1	1.3%
Miscellaneous	4	5.3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>76</b>	

Source: Hocken Library, MS-0438/010 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 7, MS-0438/011 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 8, MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 9, and MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred.



**Figure B.43 Number of Items Purchased by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1842**



Source: Hocken Library, MS-0438/010 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 7, MS-0438/011 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 8, MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 9, and MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred.

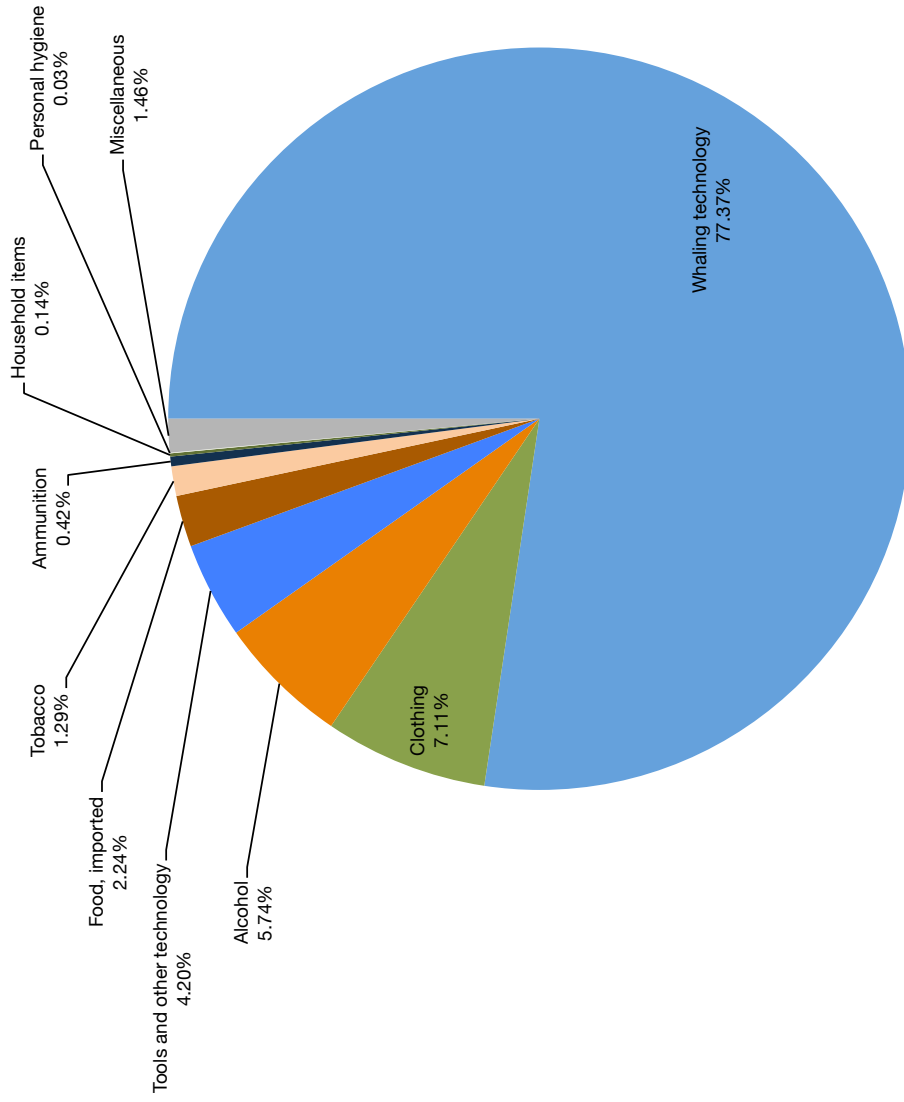
**Table B.44 Cost of Items Purchased by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1842**

Category of Item	Value of Items Purchased				Percent of Total
	£	s	d	total in d	
	Whaling technology	69	2	8	
Clothing, total	6	7	0	1,524	7.11%
Clothing, men's	4	12	0	1,104	5.15%
Clothing, women's	1	5	0	300	1.40%
Clothing, unspecified	0	10	0	120	0.56%
Alcohol*	5	2	6	1,230	5.74%
Tools and other technology	3	15	0	900	4.20%
Food, imported	2	0	0	480	2.24%
Tobacco	1	3	0	276	1.29%
Ammunition	0	7	6	90	0.42%
Household items	0	2	6	30	0.14%
Personal hygiene	0	0	6	6	0.03%
Miscellaneous	1	6	0	312	1.46%
<b>Total</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>21,440</b>	

Source: Hocken Library, MS-0438/010 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 7, MS-0438/011 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 8, MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 9, and MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred.

\*One item of alcohol purchased was given no value in the account books; as no value for an equivalent item could be found in other account books, a value of £0 was assigned to this item.

**Figure B.44 Cost of Items Purchased by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1842**



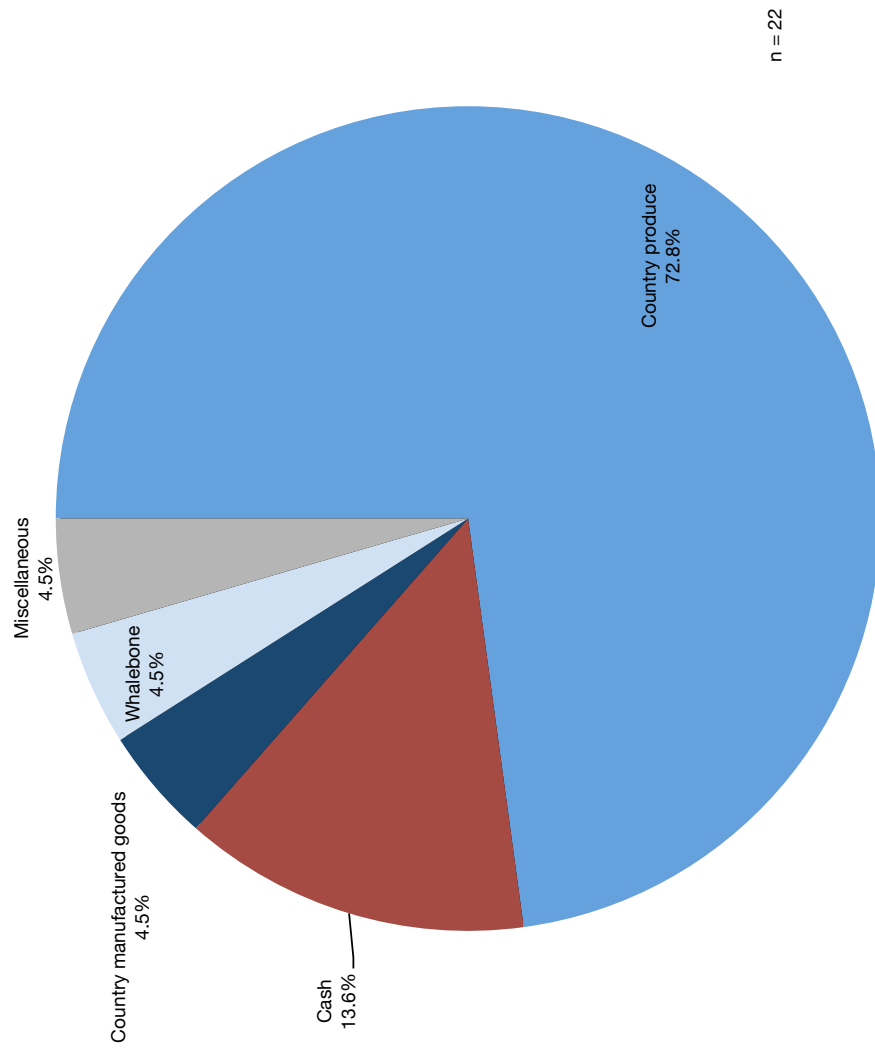
n = £89/6/8

**Table B.45 Number of Items Traded by  
Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1842**

Category of Item	Number of Items Purchased	Percent of Total
Country produce	16	72.7%
Cash	3	13.6%
Country manufactured goods	1	4.5%
Whalebone	1	4.5%
Miscellaneous	1	4.5%
<b>Total</b>	<b>22</b>	

Source: Hocken Library, MS-0438/010 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 7, MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 9, and MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred.

**Figure B.45 Number of Items Traded by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1842**



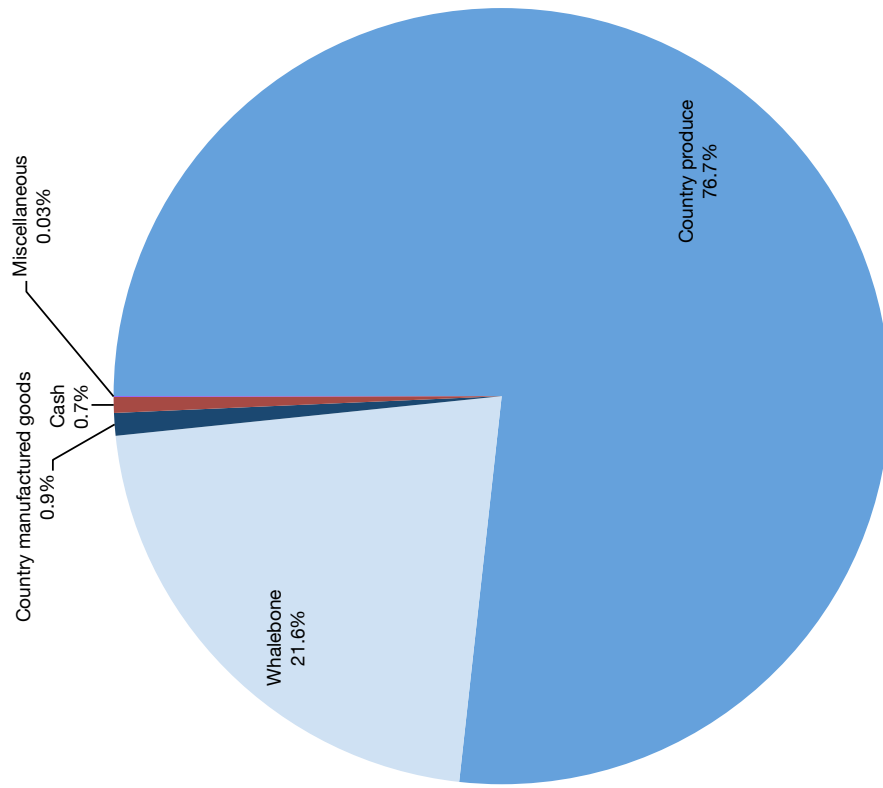
Source: Hocken Library, MS-0438/010 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 7, MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 9, and MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred.

**Table B.46 Price of Items Traded by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1842**

Category of Item	Value of Items Purchased				Percent of Total
	£	s	d	total in d	
Country produce	122	7	0	29,364	76.74%
Whalebone	34	9	6	8,274	21.62%
Country manufactured goods	1	10	0	360	0.94%
Cash	1	1	0	252	0.66%
Miscellaneous	0	1	0	12	0.03%
<b>Total</b>	<b>159</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>38,262</b>	

Source: Hocken Library, MS-0438/010 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 7, MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 9, and MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred.

**Figure B.46 Price of Items Traded by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1842**



n = £159/8/6

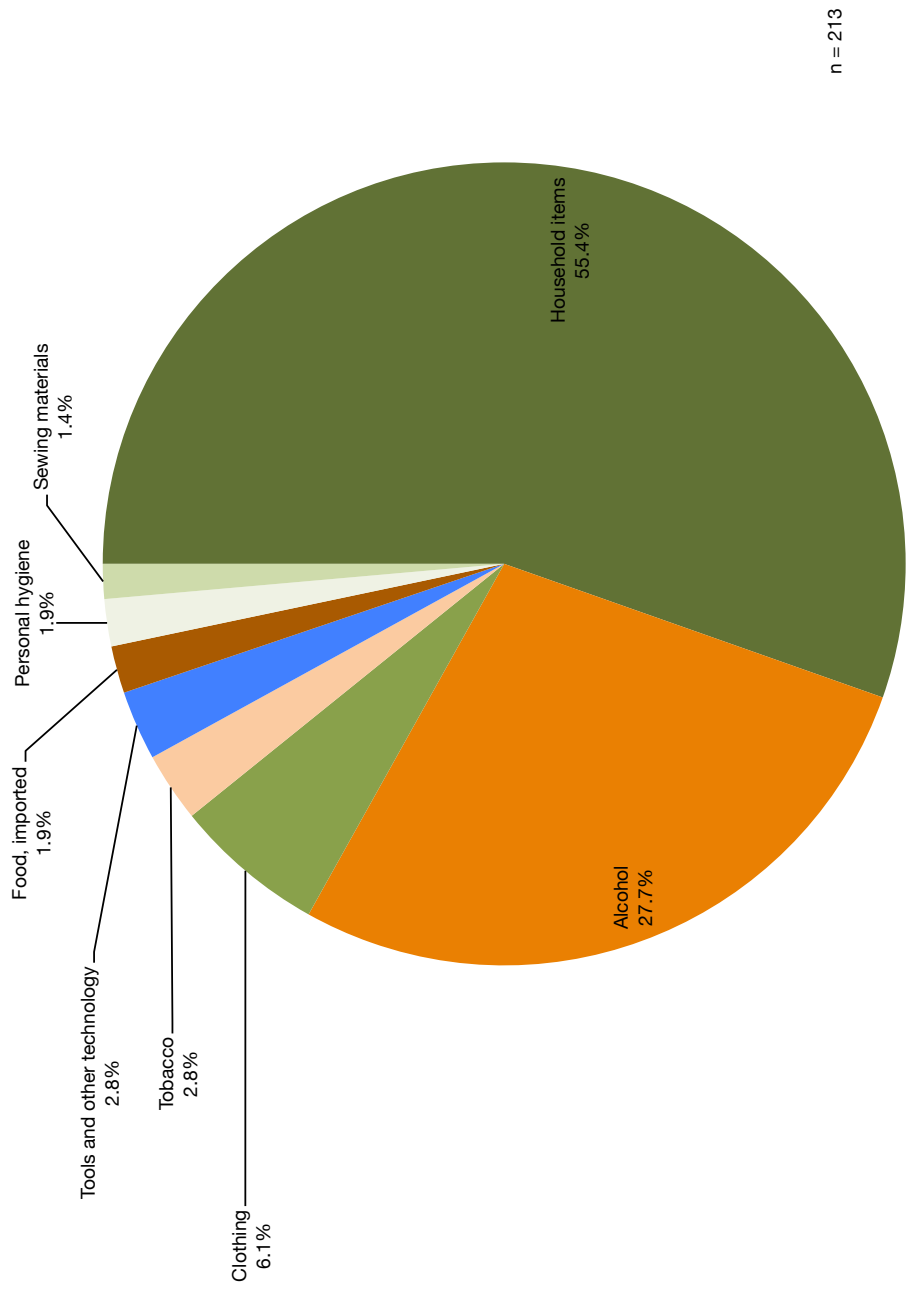
**Table B.47 Number of Items Purchased by  
Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1843**

Category of Item	Number of Items Purchased	Percent of Total
Household items	118	55.4%
Alcohol	59	27.7%
Clothing, total	13	6.1%
Clothing, men's	5	2.3%
Clothing, women's	2	0.9%
Clothing, unspecified	6	2.8%
Tobacco	6	2.8%
Tools and other technology	6	2.8%
Food, imported	4	1.9%
Personal hygiene	4	1.9%
Sewing materials	3	1.4%
<b>Total</b>	<b>213</b>	

Source: Hocken Library, MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 9, MS-0438/014 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 11, MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16, and MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred.



**Figure B.47 Number of Items Purchased by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1843**



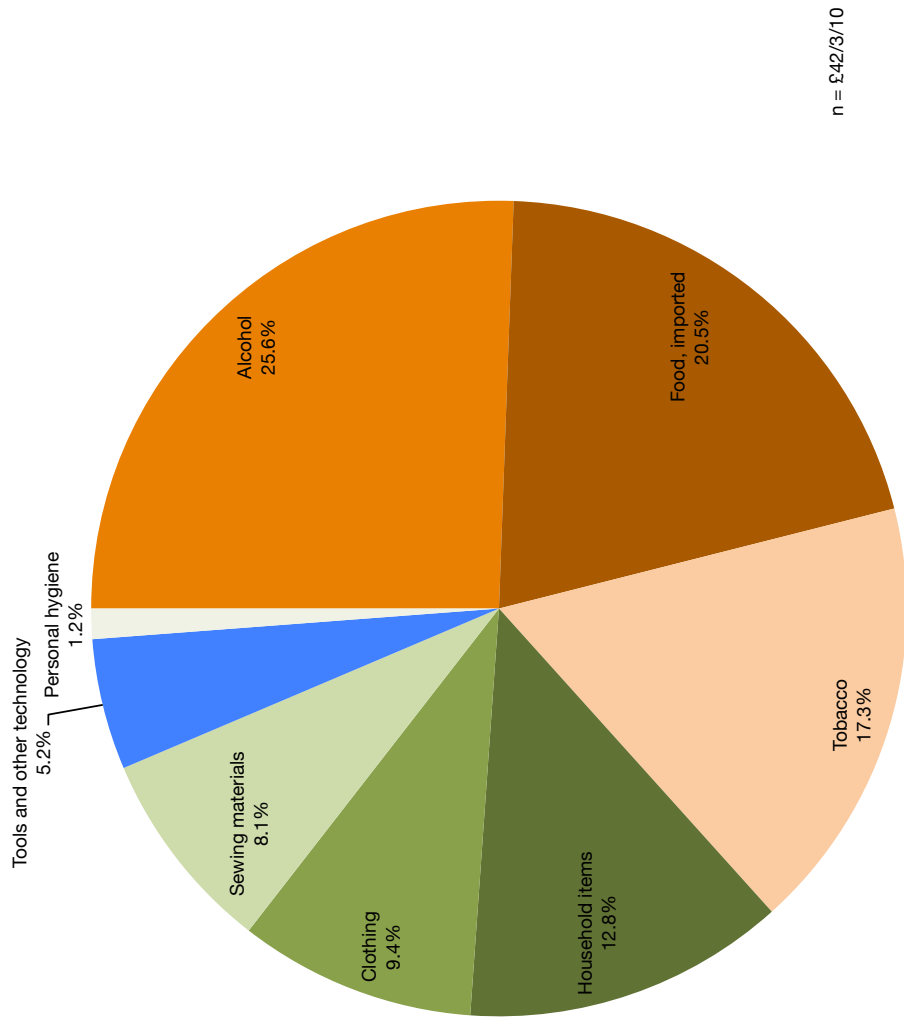
**Table B.48 Cost of Items Purchased by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1843**

Category of Item	Value of Items Purchased				Percent of Total
	£	s	d	total in d	
Alcohol	10	15	9	2,589	25.6%
Food, imported	8	12	7	2,071	20.5%
Tobacco	7	6	3	1,755	17.3%
Household items	5	7	9	1,293	12.8%
Clothing, total	3	19	6	954	9.4%
Clothing, men's	1	3	6	282	2.8%
Clothing, women's	1	12	0	384	3.8%
Clothing, unspecified	1	4	0	288	2.8%
Sewing materials	3	8	0	816	8.1%
Tools and other technology*	2	4	0	528	5.2%
Personal hygiene	0	10	0	120	1.2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>10,126</b>	

Source: Hocken Library, MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 9, MS-0438/014 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 11, MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16, and MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred.

\*Three items in this category were given no value in the account books; as no value for equivalent items could be found in other account books, a value of £0 was assigned to these items.

**Figure B.48 Cost of Items Purchased by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1843**



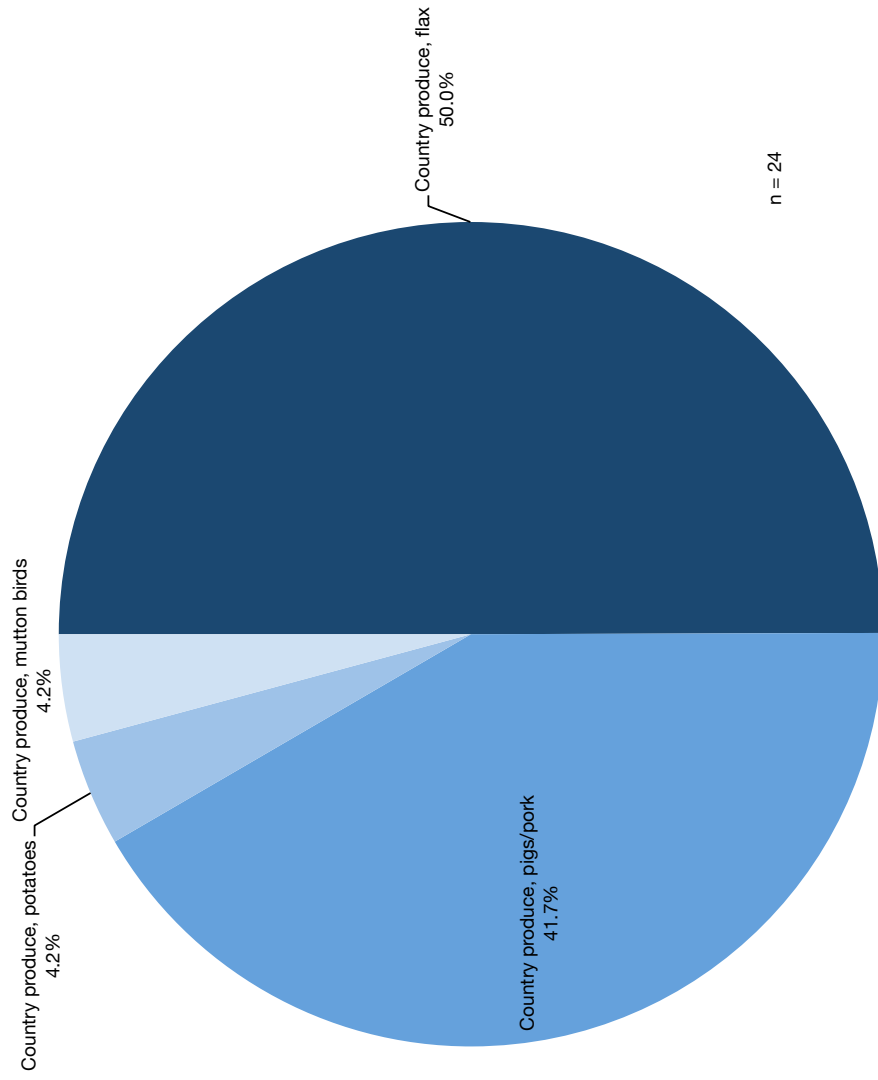
Source: Hocken Library, MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 9, MS-0438/014 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 11, MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16, and MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred.

**Table B.49 Number of Items Traded by  
Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1843**

Category of Item	Number of Items Purchased	Percent of Total
Country produce, flax	12	50.0%
Country produce, pigs/pork	10	41.7%
Country produce, potatoes	1	4.2%
Country produce, mutton birds	1	4.2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>24</b>	

Source: Hocken Library, MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 9, MS-0438/014 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 11, MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16, and MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred.

**Figure B.49 Number of Items Traded by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1843**

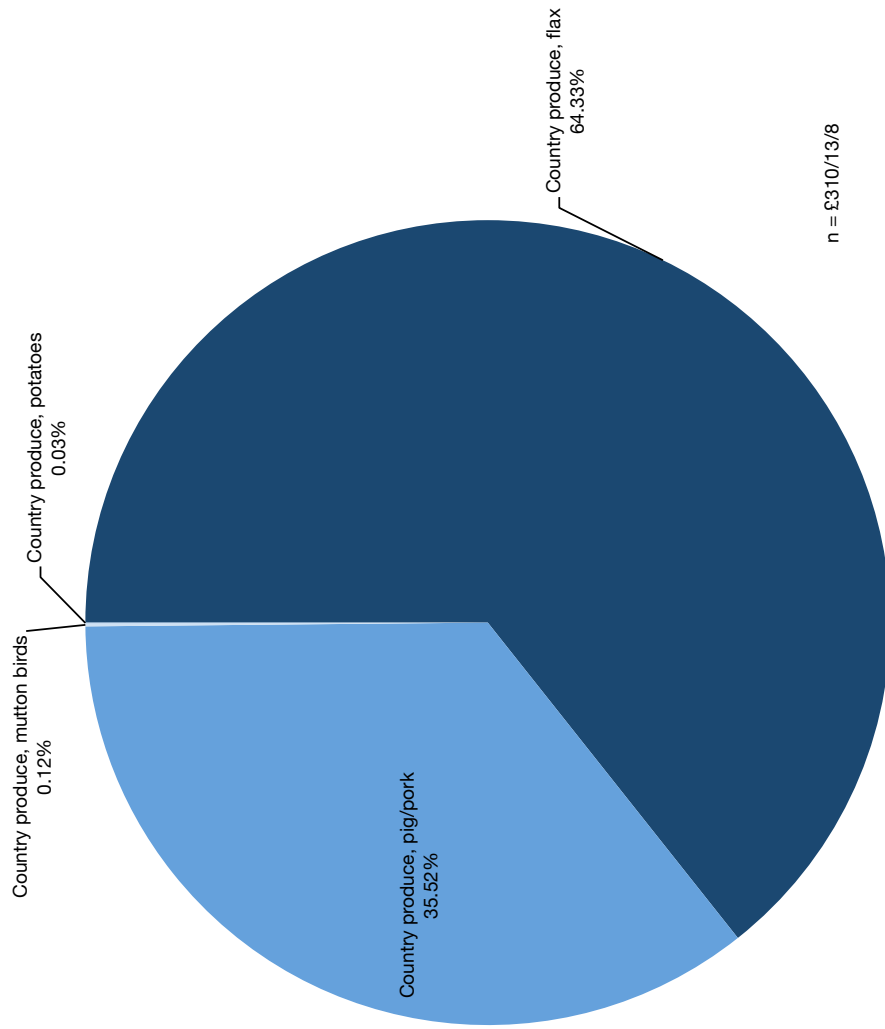


**Table B.50 Price of Items Traded by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1843**

Category of Item	Value of Items Purchased				Percent of Total
	£	s	d	total in d	
Country produce, flax	199	17	3	47,967	64.33%
Country produce, pig/pork	110	6	11	26,483	35.52%
Country produce, mutton birds	0	7	6	90	0.12%
Country produce, potatoes	0	2	0	24	0.03%
<b>Total</b>	<b>310</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>74,564</b>	

Source: Hocken Library, MS-0438/012 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 9, MS-0438/014 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 11, MS-0438/019 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 16, and MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred.

**Figure B.50 Price of Items Traded by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1843**



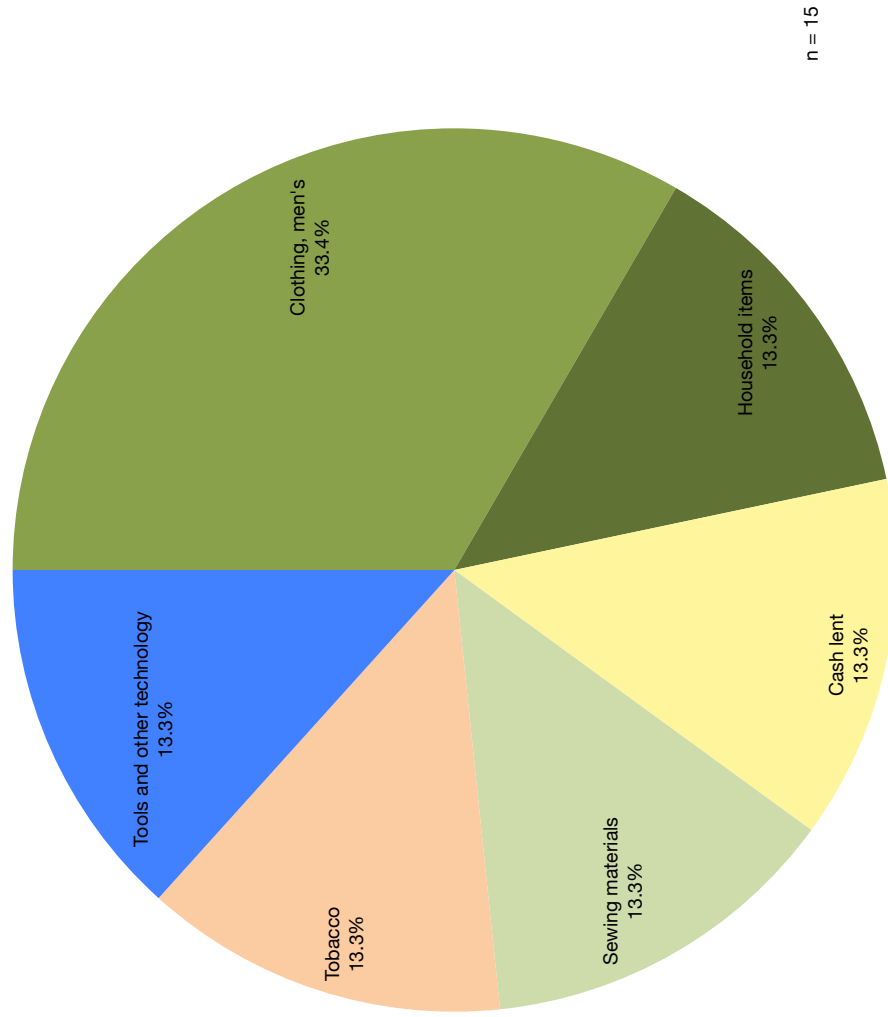
**Table B.51 Number of Items Purchased by  
Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1844**

Category of Item	Number of Items Purchased	Percent of Total
Clothing, men's	5	33.3%
Household items	2	13.3%
Cash lent	2	13.3%
Sewing materials	2	13.3%
Tobacco	2	13.3%
Tools and other technology	2	13.3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>15</b>	

Source: Hocken Library, MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred.



Figure B.51 Number of Items Purchased by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1844



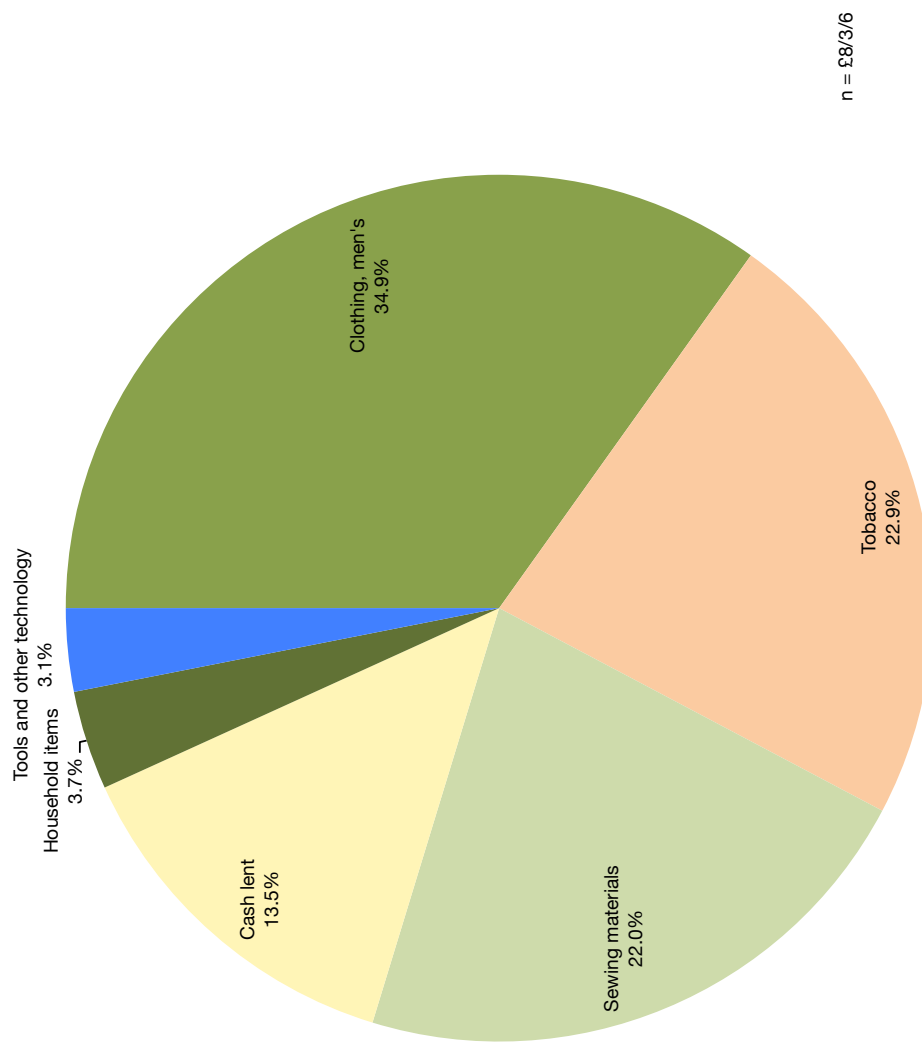
Source: Hocken Library, MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred.

**Table B.52 Cost of Items Purchased by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1844**

Category of Item	Value of Items Purchased				Percent of Total
	£	s	d	total in d	
Clothing, men's	2	17	0	684	34.9%
Tobacco	1	17	6	450	22.9%
Sewing materials	1	16	0	432	22.0%
Cash lent	1	2	0	264	13.5%
Household items	0	6	0	72	3.7%
Tools and other technology	0	5	0	60	3.1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>1,962</b>	

Source: Hocken Library, MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred.

**Figure B.52 Cost of Items Purchased by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1844**



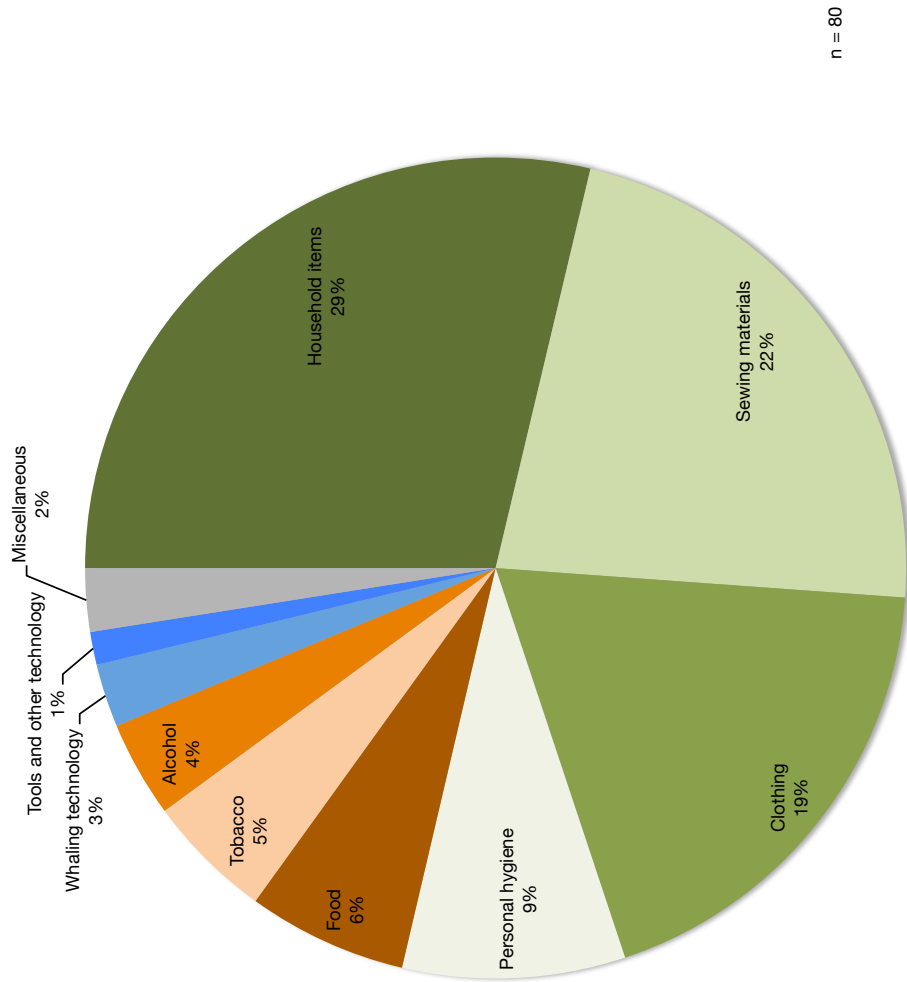
Source: Hocken Library, MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred.

**Table B.53 Number of Items Purchased by  
Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1845**

<b>Category of Item</b>	<b>Number of Items Purchased</b>	<b>Percent of Total</b>
Household items	23	28.8%
Sewing materials	18	22.5%
Clothing, total	15	18.8%
Clothing, men's	7	8.8%
Clothing, unspecified	8	10.0%
Personal hygiene	7	8.8%
Food, total	5	6.3%
Food, country produce	4	5.0%
Food, imported	1	1.3%
Tobacco	4	5.0%
Alcohol	3	3.8%
Whaling technology	2	2.5%
Tools and other technology	1	1.3%
Miscellaneous	2	2.5%
<b>Total</b>	<b>80</b>	

Source: Hocken Library, MS-0438/018 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 15 and MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred.

**Figure B.53 Number of Items Purchased by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1845**



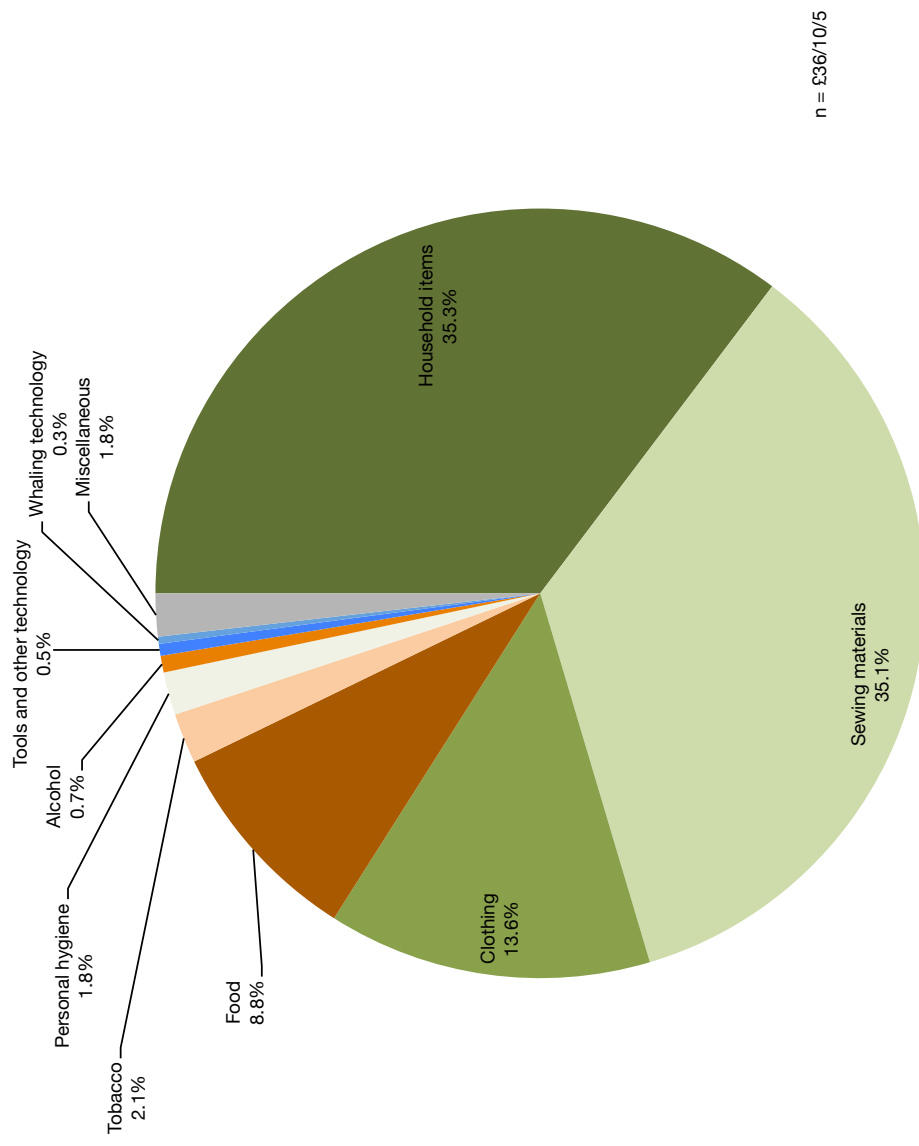
Source: Hocken Library, MS-0438/018 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 15 and MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred.

**Table B.54 Cost of Items Purchased by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1845**

Category of Item	Value of Items Purchased				Percent of Total
	£	s	d	total in d	
Sewing materials	8	2	6	3,098	35.3%
Household items	12	16	3	3,075	35.1%
Clothing, total	4	19	6	1,194	13.6%
Clothing, men's	3	2	0	744	8.5%
Clothing, unspecified	1	17	6	450	5.1%
Food, total	3	4	6	774	8.8%
Food, country produce	2	12	0	624	7.1%
Food, imported	0	12	6	150	1.7%
Tobacco	0	15	6	186	2.1%
Personal hygiene	0	13	0	156	1.8%
Alcohol	0	5	0	60	0.7%
Tools and other technology	0	3	6	42	0.5%
Whaling technology	0	2	0	24	0.3%
Miscellaneous	0	13	0	156	1.8%
<b>Total</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>8,765</b>	

Source: Hocken Library, MS-0438/018 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 15 and MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred.

**Figure B.54 Cost of Items Purchased by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1845**



n = £36/10/5

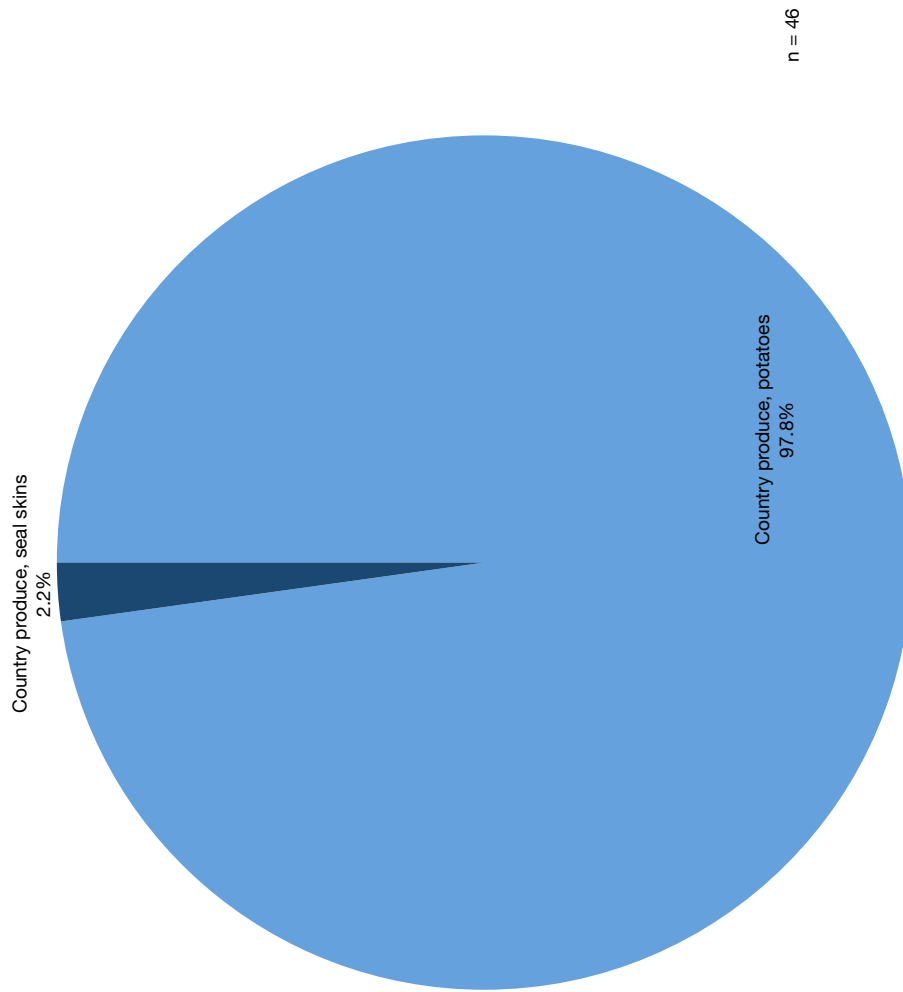
**Table B.55 Number of Items Traded by  
Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1845**

<b>Category of Item</b>	<b>Number of Items Purchased</b>	<b>Percent of Total</b>
Country produce, potatoes	45	97.8%
Country produce, seal skins	1	2.2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>46</b>	

Source: Hocken Library, MS-0438/018 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 15 and MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred.



**Figure B.55 Number of Items Traded by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1845**



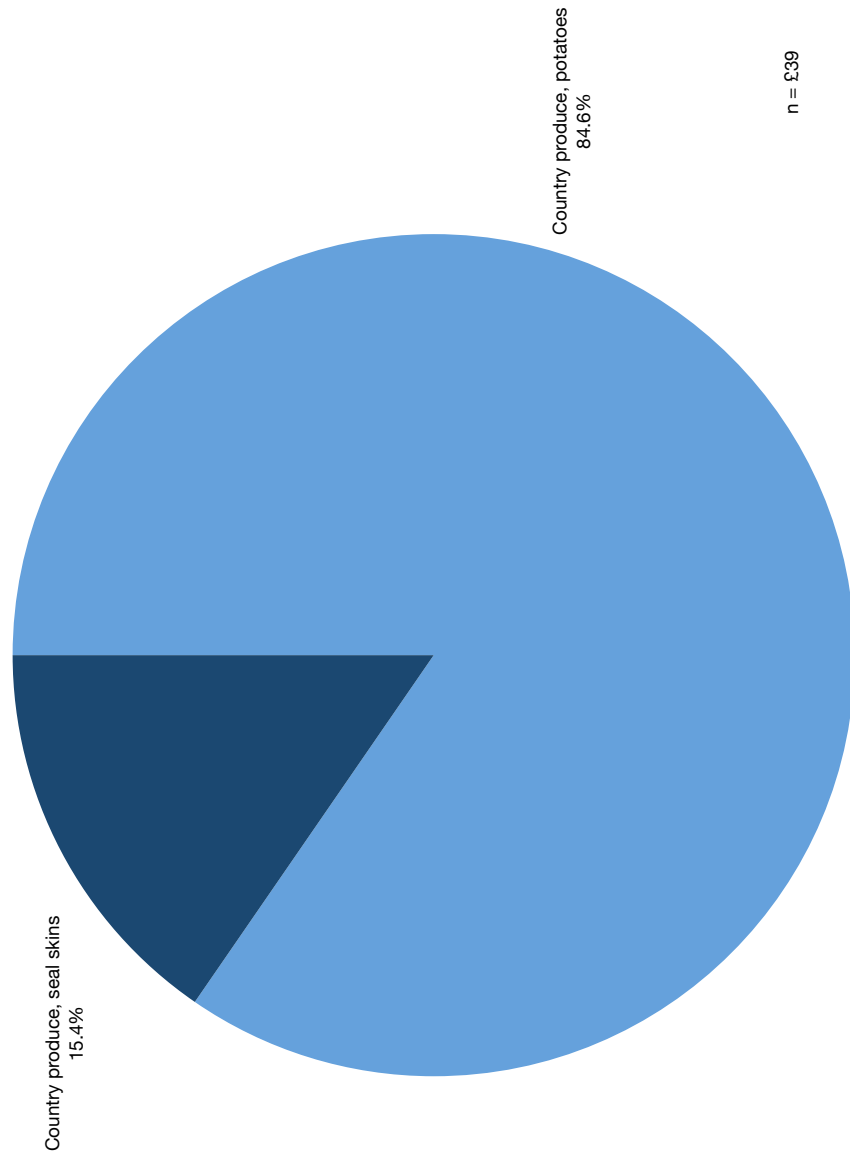
Source: Hocken Library, MS-0438/018 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 15 and MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred.

**Table B.56 Price of Items Traded by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1845**

Category of Item	Value of Items Purchased				Percent of Total
	£	s	d	total in d	
Country produce, potatoes	33	0	0	7,920	84.6%
Country produce, seal skins	6	0	0	1,440	15.4%
<b>Total</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>9,360</b>	

Source: Hocken Library, MS-0438/018 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 15 and MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred.

**Figure B.56 Price of Items Traded by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1845**



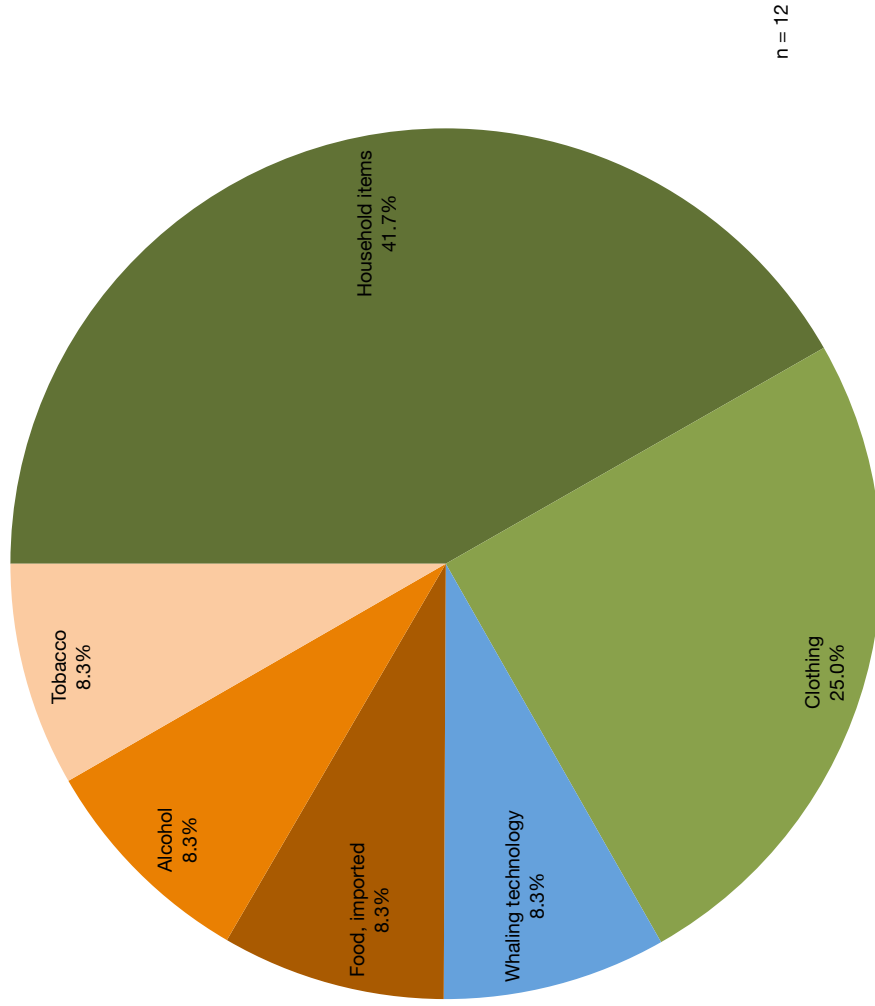
Source: Hocken Library, MS-0438/018 G.C. Thomson Collection Notebook number 15 and MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred.

**Table B.57 Number of Items Purchased by  
Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1847**

Category of Item	Number of Items Purchased	Percent of Total
Household items	5	41.7%
Clothing, total	3	25.0%
Clothing, men's	1	8.3%
Clothing, unspecified	2	16.7%
Whaling technology	1	8.3%
Food, imported	1	8.3%
Alcohol	1	8.3%
Tobacco	1	8.3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>12</b>	

Source: Hocken Library, MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred.

**Figure B.57 Number of Items Purchased by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1847**



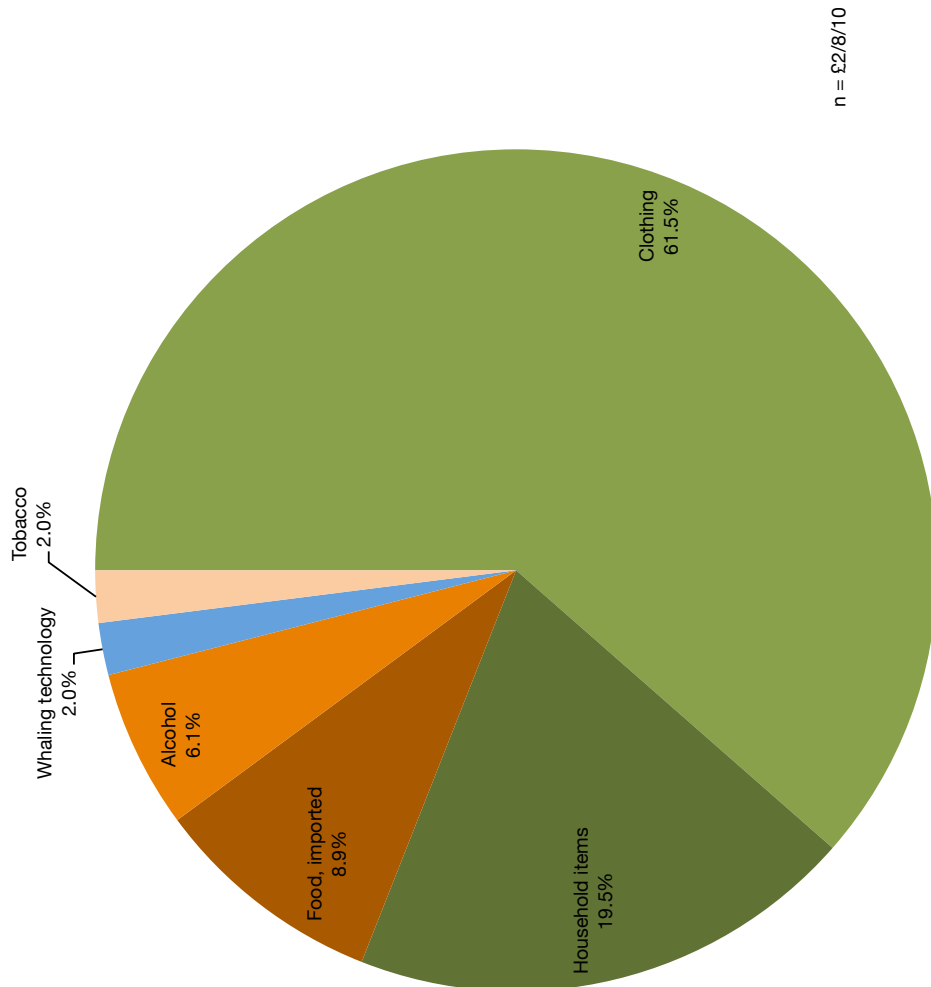
Source: Hocken Library, MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred.

**Table B.58 Cost of Items Purchased by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1847**

Category of Item	Value of Items Purchased				Percent of Total
	£	s	d	total in d	
Clothing, total	1	10	0	360	61.4%
Clothing, men's	0	12	0	144	24.6%
Clothing, unspecified	0	18	0	216	36.9%
Household items	0	9	6	114	19.5%
Food, imported	0	4	4	52	8.9%
Alcohol	0	3	0	36	6.1%
Whaling technology	0	1	0	12	2.0%
Tobacco	0	1	0	12	2.0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>586</b>	

Source: Hocken Library, MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred.

**Figure B.58 Cost of Items Purchased by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1847**



Source: Hocken Library, MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred.

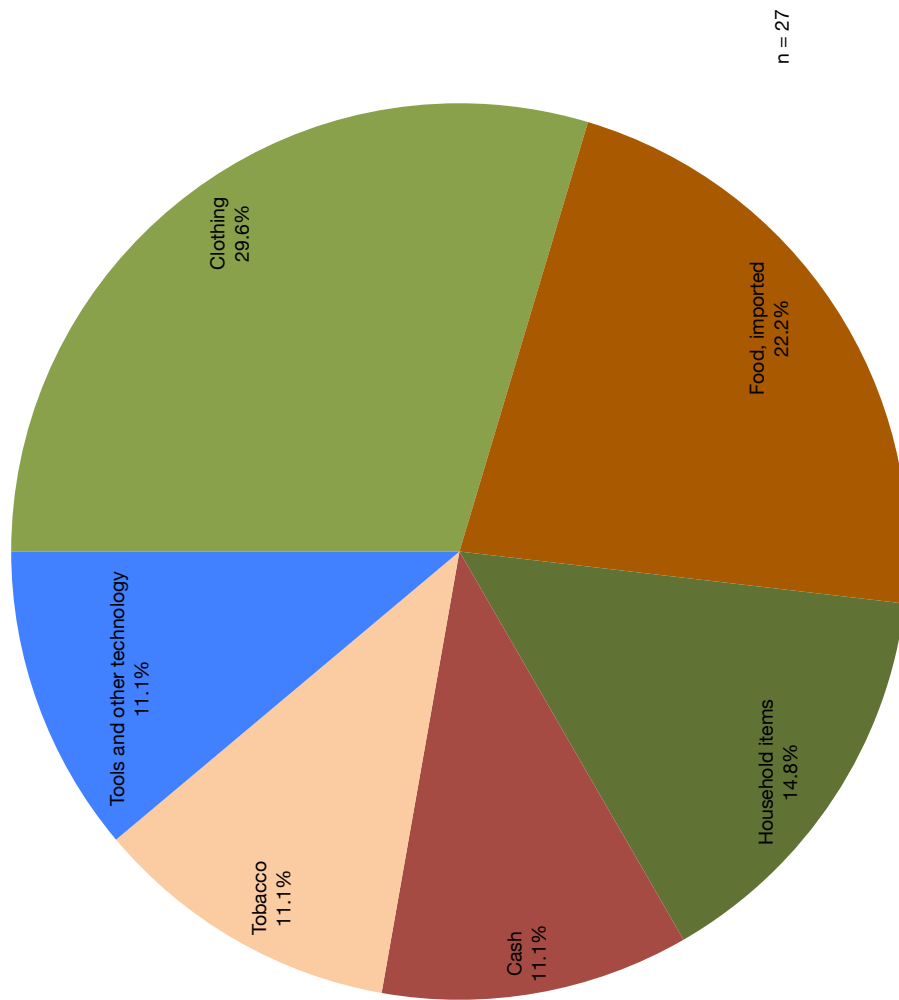
**Table B.59 Number of Items Purchased by  
Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1848**

<b>Category of Item</b>	<b>Number of Items Purchased</b>	<b>Percent of Total</b>
Clothing, total	8	29.6%
Clothing, men's	3	11.1%
Clothing, unspecified	5	18.5%
Food, imported	6	22.2%
Household items	4	14.8%
Cash	3	11.1%
Tobacco	3	11.1%
Tools and other technology	3	11.1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>27</b>	

Source: Hocken Library, MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred.



**Figure B.59 Number of Items Purchased by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1848**



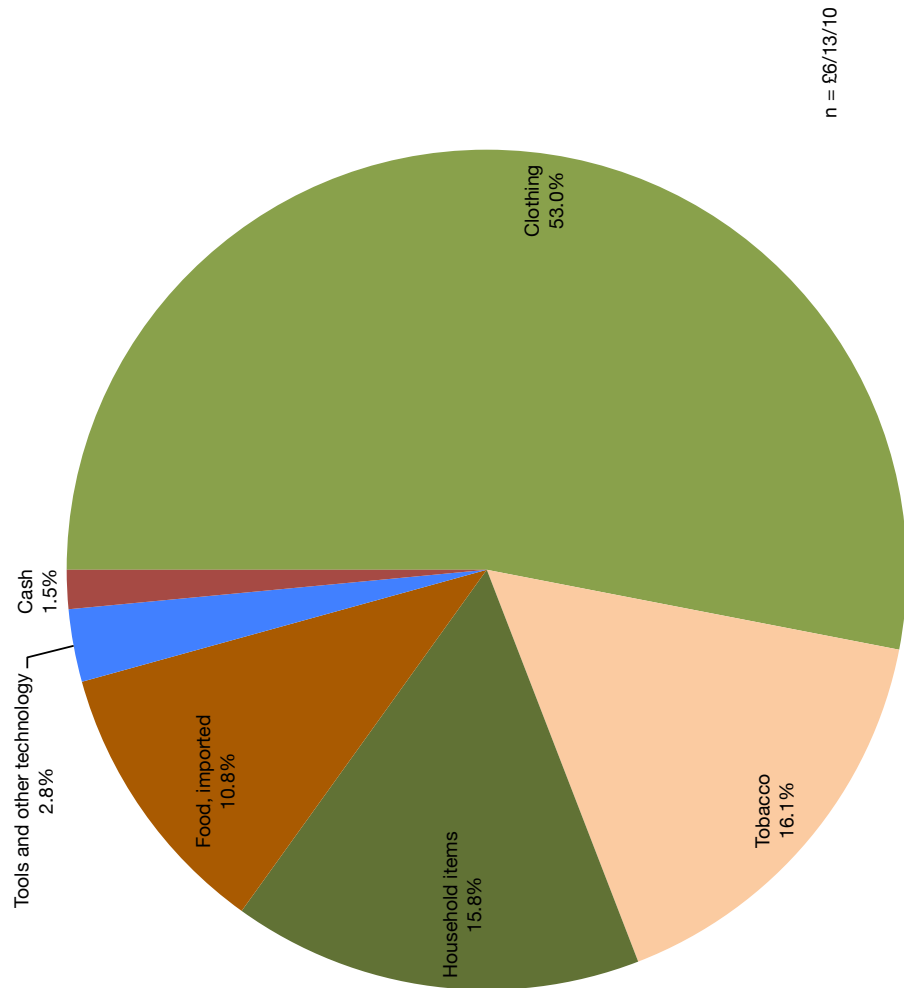
Source: Hocken Library, MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred.

**Table B.60 Cost of Items Purchased by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1848**

Category of Item	Value of Items Purchased				Percent of Total
	£	s	d	total in d	
Clothing, total	3	11	0	852	53.1%
Clothing, men's	1	1	0	252	15.7%
Clothing, unspecified	2	10	0	600	37.4%
Tobacco	1	1	6	258	16.1%
Household items	1	1	1	253	15.8%
Food, imported	0	14	6	174	10.8%
Tools and other technology	0	3	9	45	2.8%
Cash	0	2	0	24	1.5%
<b>Total</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>1,606</b>	

Source: Hocken Library, MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred.

**Figure B.60 Cost of Items Purchased by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1848**



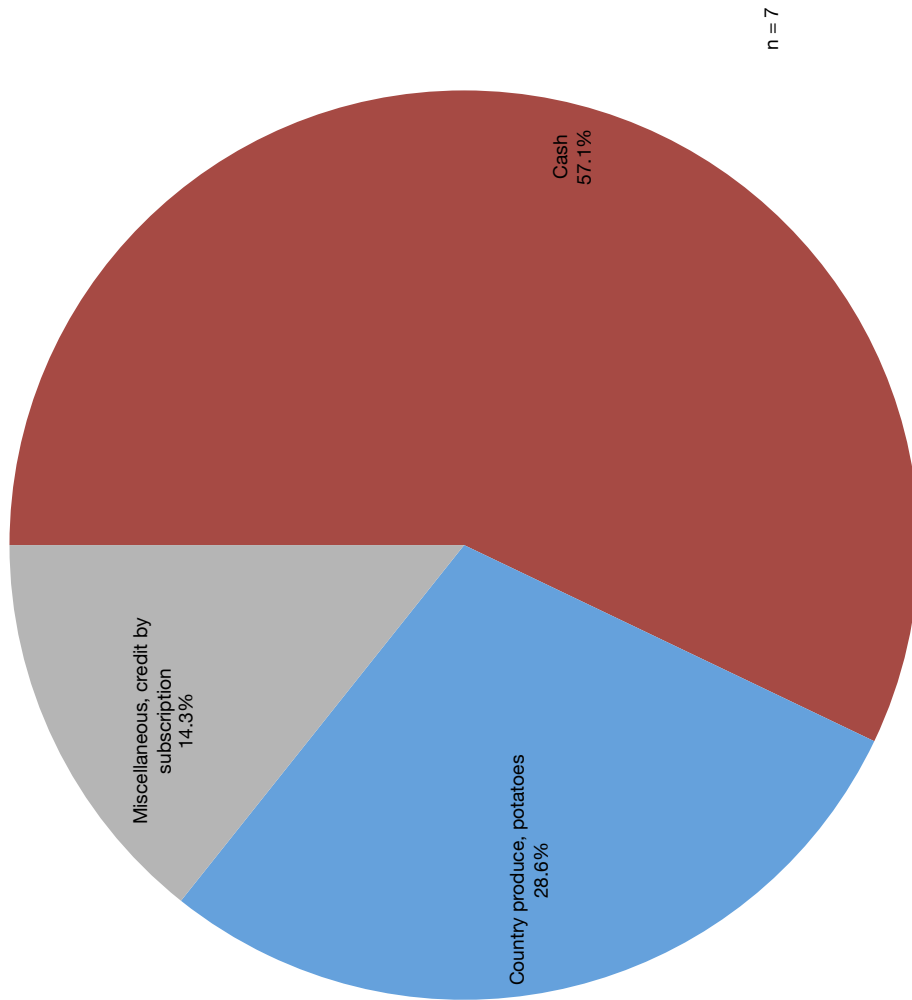
Source: Hocken Library, MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred.

**Table B.61 Number of Items Traded by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1848**

Category of Item	Number of Items Purchased	Percent of Total
Cash	4	57.1%
Country produce, potatoes	2	28.6%
Miscellaneous, credit by subscription	1	14.3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>7</b>	

Source: Hocken Library, MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred.

**Figure B.61 Number of Items Traded by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1848**

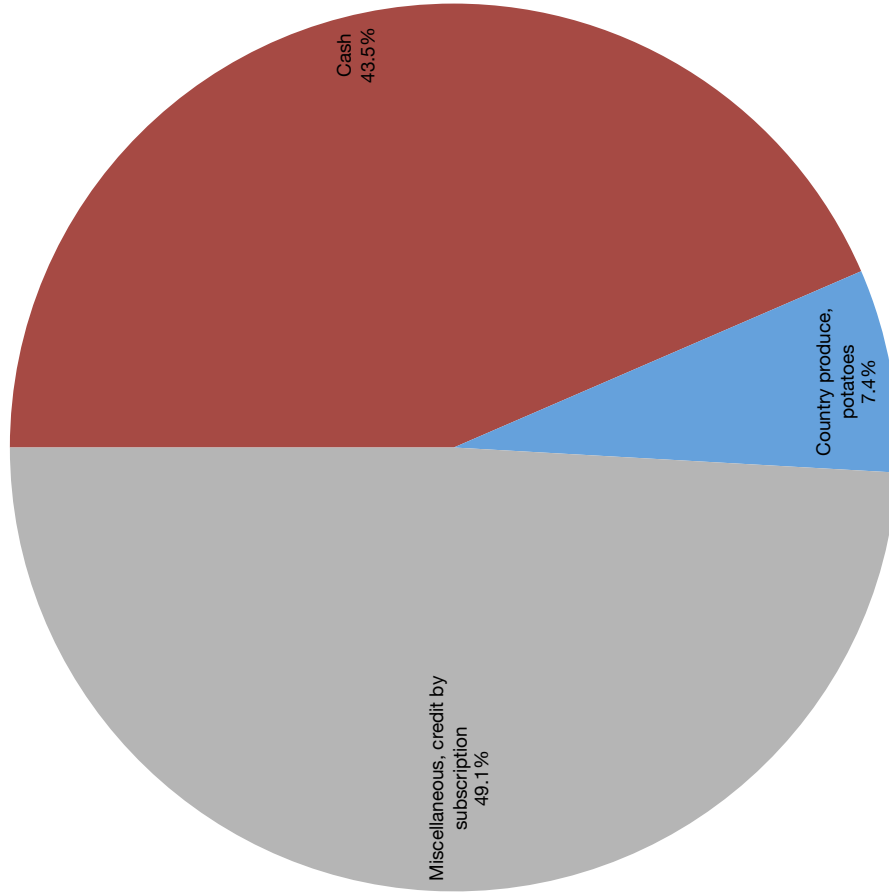


**Table B.62 Price of Items Traded by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1848**

Category of Item	Value of Items Purchased				Percent of Total
	£	s	d	total in d	
Cash	5	9	0	1,308	43.5%
Country produce, potatoes	0	18	6	222	7.4%
Miscellaneous, credit by subscription	6	2	10	1,474	49.1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3,004</b>	

Source: Hocken Library, MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred.

**Figure B.62 Price of Items Traded by Maori, Otakou Whaling Station, 1848**



n = £12/10/4

Source: Hocken Library, MS-0604/003 Harwood Family Papers Accounts ledger of store customers and any debts incurred.