

Commentary on the Economic History of the Treaty 8 Area

Arthur J. Ray

Introduction

The Issue

In the spring of 1983, Bert Horseman, a member of the Treaty 8 Horses Lakes Indian Band (Number 186), was hunting moose in the vicinity of his reserve. After killing, skinning and gutting a moose, he returned home to recruit help to haul the carcass out of the bush. When he and his party returned, they confronted a grizzly bear that was feasting on Horseman's kill. The bear charged and Horseman killed it in self-defence. He skinned the bear and took the hide home. Almost a year later, Horseman was unemployed and needed money to support his family. So he determined to sell the bear skin. Accordingly, he applied for and received a bear licence under section 18 of the *Alberta Wildlife Act*. This gave him the right to sell bear hides to licensed fur dealers according to section 8 of the same act. Horseman promptly sold the pelt he had obtained the year before and received \$200.

Subsequently, on 17 July 1984, authorities charged him with trafficking in wildlife in violation of the provincial game act. Through his legal representative, Kenneth Staroszik of Calgary, Horseman put forward a treaty rights defence. He asserted that Treaty 8 Indians had a treaty right to hunt bear for commercial purposes because this agreement guaranteed they would be able to continue their "usual vocations." Horseman's presumption was that commercial hunting and trapping was a well-established tradition by 1899, when the first bands signed Treaty 8.

While developing Horseman's defense, Staroszik contacted me and asked me to prepare a short history of the Native economies of the Treaty 8 area for the period before and immediately after the compact had been signed. Given that the purpose of the brief was to provide the court with important background information, he asked me to address a number of specific questions that were pertinent to the case. I used these questions as subheadings in my report.

The Argument

The predicament Horseman confronted raised several interesting and interrelated economic history questions of local and more general significant.

Were subsistence and commercial activities interrelated? To what extent did the Native people of the Treaty 8 area rely on imported Euro-Canadian technologies for subsistence purposes by the late nineteenth century? For those who are familiar with the literature about the involvement of Native people in the fur trade, these questions have a familiar ring. There is a long-standing debate about when, and to what degree, Native peoples of different regions became economically dependent on, or inter-dependent with, fur traders. Until recently, there has been no awareness that this debate might have relevance to the economic and treaty rights struggles of Native people. My involvement in *R. v. Horseman* raised my awareness of this issue.

When Staroszik asked me to become involved I was engaged in research for my book, *The Fur Trade in the Industrial Age*.¹ Already, I had collected a great deal of economic data on the Treaty 8 region. These data made it abundantly clear to me that commercial hunting and trapping had been a well-established tradition in the region long before 1899. Indeed, at the outset I told Staroszik that I thought that this fact was common knowledge. He replied that provincial authorities denied it. In other words, this fact had to be demonstrated. Given the nature of the legal case, it seemed to me that I should make the equally important point that commercial and subsistence hunting and trapping activities were intertwined and could not be separated. This, of course, had been a feature of the fur trade from the earliest days. During the era that beaver dominated the fur trade, Native people obtained use value in meat (and in winter coats until the late eighteenth century) and exchange value from their beaver. As they began to replace traditional weaponry and traps with items of Euro-Canadian manufacture, they needed the income obtained from their dealings with the newcomers to equip themselves for subsistence as well as commercial hunting and trapping.

Certainly this was the economic reality of the Native people in the Treaty 8 region in the late nineteenth century and this was a point that I stressed in my brief, which follows below. In other words, commercial hunting and trapping was a "usual vocation." Furthermore, I argued that it was unreasonable to suppose that one could grant subsistence rights while denying commercial ones, given the nature of Native economies then and now.

The Reaction of the Courts

The trial judge, Justice Wong, accepted my opinion that "the Indians of Treaty Number 8, by the year 1899, were engaged in a usual vocation and a predominant vocation of hunting and trapping for purposes of subsistence and exchange." Indeed, at the trial the Crown agreed with this finding. Accordingly, Justice Wong found that "Mr. Horseman sold the grizzly bear

hide in a manner, and for a purpose consistent with the tradition of his ancestors, that is, 'for the purposes of subsistence and exchange'." Justice Wong, therefore, acquitted Horseman.²

The province appealed this decision, arguing that the 1930 Natural Resource Transfer Agreement between the province and the federal government restricted the economic rights granted to Native people in Treaty 8.³ In support of this proposition the Crown cited paragraph 12 of the agreement, which states: "In order to secure to the Indians of the Province the continuance of the supply of game and fish for their support and subsistence, Canada agrees that the laws respecting game in force in the Province from time to time shall apply to the Indians within the boundaries thereof, provided, however, that the said Indians shall have the right, which the Province hereby assures to them, of hunting, trapping and fishing game and fish for food at all seasons of the year on all unoccupied Crown lands and on any other lands to which the said Indians may have a right of access."⁴ So, during the appeal process the focus of attention shifted from the rights granted in Treaty 8, as determined by Justice Wong, to a debate about the extent to which those rights had been curtailed by the 1930 agreement. This accord subsequently was approved by the Canadian and British Parliaments and thereby gained constitutional status.

In his reasons for judgement, Justice Stratton paid careful attention to the precedent set in *Simon v. the Queen*, which later was affirmed in *Nowegijick v. the Queen*, ruling that any ambiguities in treaties or legislation affecting Indians "should be given a fair, large and liberal construction in favour of the Indians."⁵ Accordingly, he discussed at length the definition of "food" and quoted from *Webster's Third New International Dictionary* and *The Oxford English Dictionary*. With regard to the definition from the latter authority, he noted that food included an archaic and an obsolete definition "sustenance, livelihood." However, it was his opinion that the popular meaning of food was clear, and therefore the meaning of paragraph 12 of the transfer agreement was not ambiguous. Accordingly, Justice Stratton concluded that "the right of Indians in Alberta to hunt and to fish uninhibited by provincial gaming laws as expressed in paragraph 12 of the Natural Resources Transfer Agreement is restricted to actually using the fish or game for direct nourishment of the Indian hunter or fisherman and his family." He continued, "If the product of the hunt were to be involved in a multi-stage process whereby the product was sold to obtain funds for purposes which may include purchasing food for nourishment, it seems to me the hunting activity has ceased to be for food and has entered the domain of commerce." In other words, in the prairie region (similar transfer agreements apply in Manitoba and Saskatchewan), Parliament had exercised

its right to unilaterally alter the treaty rights of Native people.

On appeal to the Supreme Court of Canada, the high court essentially concurred with Justice Stratton.⁶ In a lengthy dissenting opinion, Justice Bertha Wilson stressed the need to look at the historical context of treaties to "reach a proper understanding of the meaning that particular treaties held for their signatories at the time."⁷ She accepted the thrust of my brief that it was unrealistic to separate commercial from subsistence activities and cited other literature that also pointed to the same conclusion.⁸

The Horseman case raised two interesting questions. What is the status of Aboriginal commercial treaty rights in areas beyond the domain of the resource transfer agreements? As with the Treaty 8 district, in many of these other areas commercial and subsistence hunting and trapping activities were intertwined when various groups signed treaties. Presumably, therefore, commercial rights remain unextinguished. The Horseman appeal raises another important historical issue. Did Justice Stratton correctly infer the intentions of the drafters of the resource transfer agreements? It is a not-uncommon practice for courts to deduce legislative intention from the wording of a piece of legislation. The reality is, however, that we do not know if the interests of the Native people were taken into account adequately. More specifically, did legislators intend to curtail Treaty 8 rights? Historical research on the transfer agreements is needed.

The Horseman Brief

Following is a retyped copy of the brief that I prepared for the Horseman trial. I have taken advantage of improvements in computer graphics programs since 1985 to provide better illustrations. Otherwise, I have made no changes to my original submission.⁹

1. The Usual Vocation of the Indians of the Treaty 8 Area in 1899

1a. What was the "usual vocation" of the Indians in the territory of Treaty 8 in or about 1899?

The usual occupation of the Indians of the Treaty 8 area in the 1890s was hunting, trapping and fishing. In addition, they engaged in some seasonal wage labour during the summer. The latter activities consisted mostly of working for trading companies, such as the Hudson's Bay Company, and/or serving as guides for prospectors and others who were penetrating the region in growing numbers in the 1890s.

1b. Was hunting, trapping and fishing for livelihood the "usual vocation" of the Indians of the Treaty 8 area in or about 1899?

The answer is yes. Traditionally the Indians living in the Treaty 8 area

had a large-game hunting economy in which moose, wood buffalo as well as barren ground and woodland caribou figured prominently in their diet. Fish were also important, as were fur-bearing animals, particularly beaver. Within the Treaty 8 area there were regional variations in the degree to which Indians depended on these food resources. In the northeastern quarter (between Lake Athabasca and Great Slave Lake) caribou were particularly important; fish were also very significant. In the Peace River area, on the other hand, wood buffalo and moose were more important. Of the latter two species, moose were the most highly valued by the Beaver Indians.¹⁰ Of particular relevance to the issue at hand, the Beaver Indians of the upper Peace River hunted black bears and grizzly bears whenever they were available.¹¹

A variety of historical records indicate that, at the turn of the century, Indians of the Treaty 8 area were still economically dependent on their hunting and fishing activities. For instance, during the winter of 1896/97, Royal North West Mounted Police Inspector A.M. Jarvis patrolled most of the territory that came to be included within the boundaries of the treaty. Most of the Natives he encountered were hunting and/or fishing for subsistence and for commercial purposes.¹² The Indians indicated to the Treaty 8 commissioners that they wanted assurances that the government would look after their needs in times of hardship before they would sign the treaty. The commissioners responded by stressing that the government did not want Indians to abandon their traditional economic activities and become wards of the state.¹³ Indeed, one of the reasons that the *Northwest Game Act* of 1894 had been enacted was to preserve the resource base of the Native economies outside of organized territories. The government feared that the collapse of these economies would throw a great burden onto the state such as had occurred when the bison economy of the prairies failed.¹⁴ Finally, once the treaty had been signed, the annuity payment schedules initially adopted had to be modified so that they did not conflict with the traditional hunting cycles of the various bands.¹⁵ In summary, there is a variety of written evidence from government records that clearly indicates hunting, trapping and fishing activities were paramount occupations in the region at the time of the signing of the Treaty 8. The observations of these officials can be supported by Hudson's Bay Company annual fur trade reports¹⁶ and are corroborated by statistics presented in Tables 1–3 and Figures 1–9.

1c. Was hunting and trapping undertaken for commercial purposes?

The Indians of the Treaty 8 area had been involved in commercial hunting and trapping since the early 18th century.¹⁷ This activity continued

to be very important to Indians, at least until the 1930s (which is as far as my research goes), as will be elaborated upon below. At the turn of the century, the commercial component of their hunts was directed largely toward the sale of fur pelts and provisions (mostly the former) to obtain hunting and trapping equipment like firearms, ammunition, traps and trap lines, and clothing and luxury items such as tobacco and tea.

2. The Presence of Commercial Hunting and Trapping in the Treaty 8 Area in 1899

2a. Did the hunting activities of the Indians of Treaty 8 have a commercial nature in 1899?

The answer is yes. The most important source of information to substantiate this assertion is the Hudson's Bay Company archives.

The Treaty 8 area included three historically important company trading districts: Peace River, Athabasca and Lesser Slave Lake. In the 1890s these three districts had been reorganized into two districts—Peace River and Athabasca.

At the time, the Hudson's Bay Company organized its fur trading operations into thirty districts that stretched from coast to coast. Table 1 shows the annual value of the returns of all these districts for the decade of the 1890s. The districts have been arranged in descending order of importance. As the table shows, the Athabasca District ranked number two in overall importance. In making this observation it should be noted that the data in Table 1 do not present a complete picture of the total output of the region in the 1890s, since numerous small fur traders, many of them based in Edmonton, operated in the district and secured a considerable portion of the Indians' returns. Also, many Indians, some from as far north as Great Slave Lake, travelled to Edmonton to trade their furs.¹⁸ Thus, the Hudson's Bay Company data actually underestimates the productivity of the region in terms of raw fur output. Nonetheless, the paramount importance of this portion of the Treaty 8 area as a fur trading district is clearly demonstrated.

Table 1 also shows that the Peace River District, which was merged into the Athabasca District in 1899, ranked twelfth overall. In other words, it too provided a disproportionately high share of the total returns. Indeed, if the returns of Athabasca and Peace River are combined (covering the whole of the Treaty 8 area), they outrank the Mackenzie River District.

Of relevance to the above discussion, it should be added that a very high proportion of the Edmonton district returns came from the Treaty 8 area also. In addition, the Hudson's Bay Company operated an agency in Edmonton to buy furs from Indians and traders who operated in the Athabasca, Mackenzie River and Peace River districts.

In summary, at the turn of the century the Treaty 8 area was the most important fur-producing region for the Hudson's Bay Company, accounting for 12 percent of the total value of its Canadian collections (Figure 1), despite the fact that the company lost many of the Indians' furs to competitors and a significant quantity were taken to Edmonton by the Indians themselves.

2b. What was the extent of the commercial provision hunting of the Indians of Treaty 8 in 1899?

As will be discussed more fully below in section 3, commercial provision hunting was an important aspect of the commercial hunting economy of the region from the onset of the fur trade in the late 18th century. However, there is no data on what proportion of the Native hunt was intended to obtain provisions for domestic use as opposed to exchange. Furthermore, in terms of economic history, I am not sure any attempts to make such distinctions would be very meaningful, in that Indians often killed animals, such as beaver, primarily to obtain pelts for trade. However, the Indians consumed beaver meat and in many areas it was an important component of the diet. Conversely, moose, caribou and wood buffalo were killed to obtain meat for consumption and for trade. Similarly, the hides of these animals were used by Indians and were traded. For these reasons,

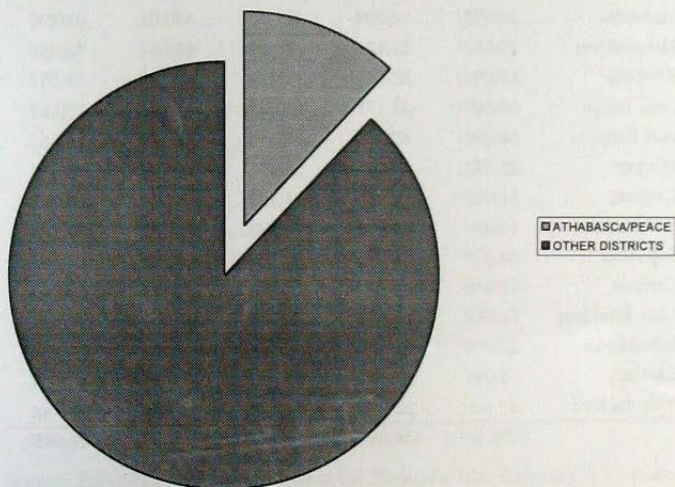


Figure 1: HBC District Fur Returns, 1892-1900

Table 1: Returns of HBC Fur Trade Districts

Districts	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896
Mackenzie River	105,709	83,945	101,989	86,031	54,185
Athabasca	85,905	69,442	96,695	76,902	52,590
Rupert's River	64,137	55,679	55,979	62,424	62,740
Cumberland	51,261	48,592	63,978	53,725	53,298
Norway House	25,903	28,978	47,435	51,489	42,842
Temiscamingue	61,171	44,620	47,188	43,146	39,460
Albany	39,080	38,879	47,549	47,674	38,471
Lake Superior	40,722	34,650	42,936	39,513	34,160
York Factory	34,866	30,041	35,642	29,896	35,072
Lac la Pluie	43,794	40,036	40,314	32,364	30,586
Eastmain	22,548	25,405	34,137	14,549	31,900
Peace River	50,131	47,842	51,429	41,471	31,980
Edmonton	33,385	36,789	43,964	37,400	61,675
English River	27,080	31,691	48,118	35,883	26,538
New Caledonia	34,752	23,466	40,422	28,210	24,095
Esquimaux Bay	21,440	23,357	19,621	21,079	18,027
Manitoba	13,979	15,503	19,053	13,002	14,801
Moose River	17,637	13,126	15,614	28,067	12,450
Bersimis	25,906	20,155	20,326	19,548	13,083
Lake Huron	21,570	23,178	24,339	18,292	13,168
Port Simpson	30,648	27,178	33,352	25,449	5,852
Mingan	25,521	12,095	12,766	9,802	22,171
Ungava	13,090	15,954	21,145	18,017	17,363
St. Maurice	16,981	14,011	12,733	15,159	9,161
Saguenay	12,374	11,075	13,690	15,225	19,163
Cariboo	19,454	15,360	10,753	14,629	6,543
Lake Winnipeg	11,784	7,533	12,290	10,117	8,324
Island Lake	23,404	nd	nd	nd	nd
Cassiar	2,048	1,110	nd	nd	nd
Yale & Hope	0	nd	nd	nd	nd
	976,281	839,690	1,013,457	889,151	779,997

Table 1, continued

1897	1898	1899	1900	Total	Rank
46,130	80,565	104,809	91,470	754,832	1
35,091	58,137	82,031	107,888	664,682	2
63,136	40,549	83,226	76,041	563,912	3
42,229	54,446	86,216	108,180	561,927	4
54,230	67,360	80,071	80,887	479,194	5
31,410	55,599	70,656	75,328	468,487	6
41,400	67,423	61,889	44,832	427,195	7
32,275	39,139	44,074	69,196	376,666	8
36,149	46,681	49,701	62,190	360,328	9
38,776	47,098	55,822	nd	328,790	10
34,362	39,634	33,674	50,508	286,715	11
20,653	29,362	[merged into Athabasca]		272,867	12
31,544	25,531	nd	nd	270,588	13
23,558	20,089	nd	nd	212,957	14
nd	nd	32,112	26,774	209,831	15
nd	nd	37,603	35,806	176,932	16
20,789	24,018	17,869	23,408	162,421	17
16,383	21,393	18,313	13,038	156,021	18
nd	nd	25,891	30,504	155,414	19
14,009	17,948	18,495	nd	150,999	20
nd	nd	8,757	8,064	139,301	21
nd	nd	25,620	28,113	136,088	22
nd	nd	16,236	20,687	122,493	23
nd	nd	17,793	13,098	98,935	24
nd	nd	6,942	8,719	87,189	25
nd	nd	8,922	8,265	83,925	26
nd	nd	nd	nd	50,048	27
nd	nd	nd	nd	23,404	28
nd	nd	nd	nd	3,158	29
nd	nd	nd	nd	0	30
582,124	734,971	986,633	982,996	7,785,300	

Source: Provincial Archives of Manitoba; Hudson's Bay Company, Fur Trade Department, Annual Reports A 73.

differentiating domestic hunting from commercial hunting is unrealistic and does not enable one to fully appreciate the complex nature of the Native economy following contact.

3. Highlight the History and Development of Commercial Hunting, Fishing and Trapping Activities of the Indians of Treaty 8

3a. When did this start?

The Indians of the Treaty 8 area had no direct contact and probably no indirect contact (through other Indian groups further eastward) with the European fur trade before the establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company on the western shores of Hudson Bay in the 1680s. Indirect trade probably began by 1717.¹⁹

Direct trade (face-to-face Indian/European contact) in the region began in the late 1770s when the Nor'Westers, led by Peter Pond (1778-79), pushed into the Athabasca area. Beginning in the late 1780s, trading posts were established in the Peace River valley. Thereafter, there has been continuous contact.

3b. How did the fur trade develop?

Circa 1780 to 1821: Initially the traders were primarily interested in securing provisions from the Peace River. These provisions, consisting largely of wood buffalo products (fresh and dried meat as well as pemmican), were shipped to Fort Chipewyan on Lake Athabasca to supply brigades passing to and from the Mackenzie River valley. Without access to Peace River provisions, it would have been difficult if not impossible for the fur traders to expand into the Mackenzie River valley, given the distance of the latter region from the prairie/parkland regions of Manitoba and Saskatchewan. The latter two areas, which teamed with prairie bison, served as the pantry of the western fur trade.

Besides provisions, furs were obtained from Indians in the Peace River country from the time of earliest contact. Of the various pelts traded, beaver was the most important.²⁰

Between 1780 and 1821, the Hudson's Bay Company and the Nor'westers battled to control the Peace River country and its important provision trade. For most of the period the Nor'Westers held the upper hand. It was not until 1818 that the Hudson's Bay Company was able to secure a solid position in the area.²¹

1821 to 1870: During this period the Hudson's Bay Company dominated the trade of the region, although Métis freemen and Iroquois provided some opposition.²² At this time the trading of furs increased in importance relative

to the provision trade. This reflected the fact that trapping activities apparently did not overtax fur animal populations during this period. However, hunting pressures did seriously deplete the wood bison herds. Nonetheless, the provision trade never ceased altogether. Indians continued to supply local trading posts and produced food for the Athabasca brigades.²³

1870 to 1900: Between 1870 and 1885 there were few changes in the area. However, following the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the growth of Edmonton the situation began to change rapidly. Competitors, many based in Edmonton, flooded into the area, offering strong opposition to the Hudson's Bay Company. Also, Indians from the area began to travel to the city to sell their furs in order to take advantage of better prices and a wider selection of goods. Also, by the 1890s Euro-Canadian settlers, prospectors and government surveyors were beginning to enter the area. More important to the Indians, white trappers made their appearance. These men disrupted the old order.

3c. How was the fur trade affected by technology?

Prior to 1790: Prior to the end of the 18th century, few steel spring traps were traded. Rather, trapping equipment consisted mostly of ice chisels and hatchets, which were used to open beaver lodges in the winter. Traditional means were still used to obtain most other small fur-bearing animals. Firearms (flintlocks) were used to some extent, but it is unlikely that the Indians were very dependent on them.

1790 to 1890: During this era the steel spring trap came into widespread use, particularly for beaver (in conjunction with castor oil bait), and firearms became common. By the close of the period, the stone-age hunting technologies of the Indians of the Treaty 8 area had been largely replaced by the imported technologies of the Euro-Canadians. Thus, the Indians depended on their commercial hunting for their survival in that it provided them with the means to acquire the tools that had become essential. For this reason, distinguishing between "subsistence" and "commercial" hunting is not very helpful. Without arms, ammunition, net lines, fish hooks, etc., the Indians would not have been able to provide for their own needs by the end of the 19th century.

1890s: A major development that took place in this decade was the introduction of poisoned (strychnine) baits. These baits were first used by white hunters and trappers. Most Indians did not adopt the practice. This type of trapping had a devastating effect on fur-bearing animal populations and caused disruptions in the Native economies in that Indian packing and

sled dogs were often killed. The growing use of poisoned baits raised concerns about conservation and was a catalyst in moving the government to pass conservation legislation that banned the use of these baits.

4. The Persistence of the Commercial Hunting and Trapping Economy

4a. How long after the signing of Treaty 8 did commercial hunting and trapping continue?

To the best of my knowledge, commercial hunting and trapping still continues in many portions of the area. As noted earlier, I do not believe that differentiating commercial hunting and trapping from subsistence hunting and trapping is useful. If such a distinction is used to regulate Native hunting and trapping activities, I believe that it would be an infringement on their traditional economic activities in the post-contact period. It would deny them the flexibility needed to obtain the maximum possible benefit from these activities.

4b. What was or is the extent of the activity?

To answer this question, with the help of my research assistant, I collected data on Indian incomes in the Lesser Slave Lake Agency of the Department of Indian Affairs for the period between 1922 and 1935. The Lesser Slave Lake Agency included most of the Treaty 8 area. The data is presented in Table 2 and is graphically portrayed in Figures 2 and 3. These data make it clear that hunting and trapping for commercial and subsistence purposes provided the Indians with their primary livelihood down to at least the onset of the Depression. Relevant to the discussion in section (4a) above, it should be noted that the Department of Indian Affairs did not differentiate between commercial and subsistence hunting and trapping incomes in its statistical summaries.

5. The Specific Situation of the Peace River

5a. Was hunting and trapping for commercial purposes a common vocation in the Peace River area in 1899?

The answer to this question is yes. Data presented above make this clear. As has been noted, the Peace River district had traditionally been an important beaver-producing area. Data presented in Table 3 and Figures 3 to 7 show that this situation had not changed down to the beginning of the 1890s (I do not have comparable data for 1892–1900). Beaver still ranked firsts, followed closely by muskrat.

Of particular relevance to the case at issue, it should be noted that the Peace River district continued to produce grizzly bear pelts and was one of

the few fur-trading districts of the Hudson's Bay Company to do so (few others included grizzly bear habitats).

Figure 8 shows the returns (and profits and losses) from Peace River/Athabasca, and Figure 9 compares returns from Fort Dunvegan to those from Peace River/Athabasca region as a whole. The latter post, the hinterland of which included the area where Mr. Horseman shot the grizzly bear, accounted for approximately 9 percent of the total combined returns. In other words, it was a significant post in a very important district.

Notes

Bird cited by Supreme Court of Canada in *Horseman*.

- 1 Arthur J. Ray, *The Canadian Fur Trade in the Industrial Age* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990).
- 2 Cited in "Bert Horseman and Her Majesty the Queen: Appellant's Factum," Supreme Court of Canada on Appeal from the Court of Appeal of Alberta, Appeal No. 20592, p. 9.
- 3 Stratton, J., "Her Majesty the Queen and Bert Horseman: Reasons for Judgement," Court of Queen's Bench of Alberta, Judicial District of Edmonton, Action 8503 0432 S5, p. 5.
- 4 *Ibid.*, p. 8.
- 5 *Ibid.*, p. 12.
- 6 *R. v. Horseman*, Supreme Court of Canada Reports, 1990, p. 903.
- 7 *Ibid.*, p. 907.
- 8 Most notably, Justice Wilson, *ibid.*, p. 908, cited Rene Fumoleau, *As Long As This Land Shall Last* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973) and Richard Daniel's observations in Richard Price (ed.), *The Spirit of Alberta Indian Treaties* (Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1979).
- 9 Minor editorial changes have been made to conform to NSR editorial and typographical conventions—Eds.
- 10 Lennord Ugarenko, "The Beaver Indians and the Fur Trade of the Peace River 1700-1850," M.A. thesis, York University, 1979, pp. 59, 112.
- 11 *Ibid.*, p. 55.
- 12 A.M. Jarvis, "Northern Patrol Report, 24 April 1897." Canada, *Sessional Papers* 15 (1898), pp. 157-69.
- 13 David Laird, J. Ross and J. McKenna, "Report of Commissioners for Treaty No. 8," Winnipeg, 22 September 1890, *Treaty No. 8 and Adhesions, Reports, etc.* (Ottawa: Reprinted by Queen's Printer, 1966), p. 5.
- 14 Rene Fumoleau, *As Long as This Land Shall Last: A History of Treaty 8 and Treaty 11, 1870-1939* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973), pp. 53-54.
- 15 H.A. Conroy (Paying Officer, Treaty 8), "Report to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs," Ottawa, 19 September 1901, Canada, *Sessional Papers* (1902), pp. 201-202.

- 16 See the annual reports, Fur Trade Department, Hudson's Bay Company, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Hudson's Bay Company Collection, Series A 74.
- 17 Ugarenko, pp. 65-87.
- 18 Jarvis, p. 162. Since filing this report I published more information about this district in Arthur J. Ray, *Fur Trade in the Industrial Age* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990).
- 19 Ibid., pp. 19-23; and Ugarenko, pp. 65-66.
- 20 Ugarenko, pp. 80-87
- 21 Ibid.
- 22 Ibid.
- 23 Ibid., pp. 88-109.

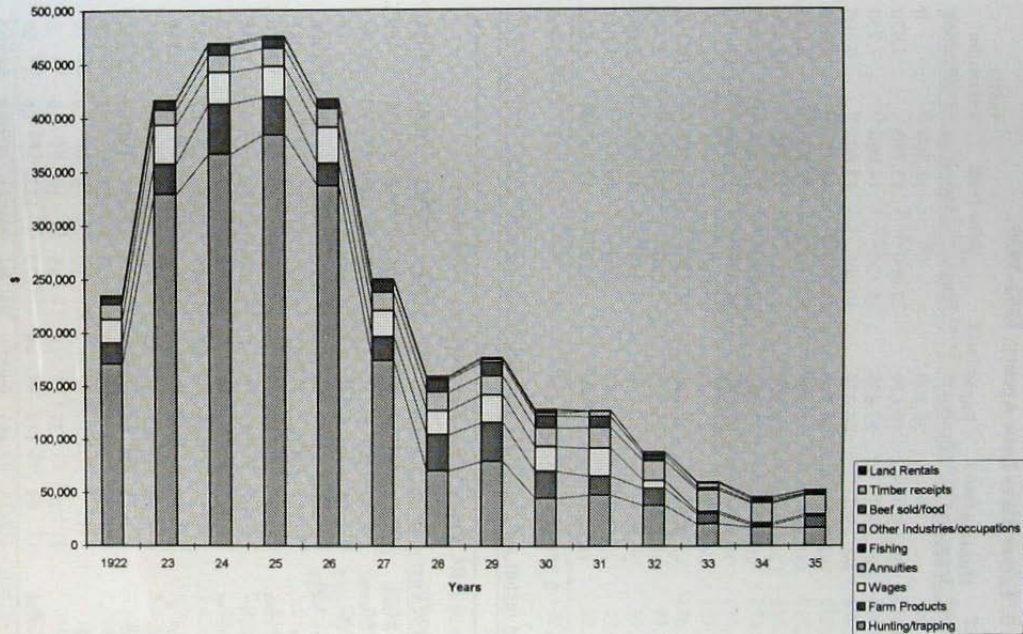


Figure 2: Sources of Income Lesser Slave Lake Agency, 1922-1935

Table 2: Lesser Slave Lake Agency, 1992–1935

Sources	Hunting/ trapping	Farm Products	Wages	Annuities	Fishing
1921	0	32,830	0	13,500	0
1922	170,850	19,619	22,050	13,740	5,950
1923	329,450	27,826	36,420	14,060	7,750
1924	366,750	46,079	30,000	15,602	9,100
1925	384,715	34,770	28,520	16,763	9,000
1926	337,155	20,700	33,585	17,215	8,075
1927	174,050	21,998	24,430	17,035	10,300
1928	70,685	33,906	22,270	17,319	11,865
1929	79,300	36,200	26,000	17,440	13,050
1930	44,600	25,200	23,000	17,441	11,300
1931	48,000	17,245	26,150	19,401	10,100
1932	38,200	15,570	7,220	18,625	5,700
1933	20,550	9,555	2,050	19,886	2,090
1934	17,600	2,130	1,610	18,892	1,010
1935	16,900	10,546	1,870	17,737.94	1,575
Totals	2,098,805	354,174	285,175	254,655	106,865

* Land rentals and timber receipts were combined until 1923.

Table 3: HBC Peace River Fur Returns, 1878–1891

Types of Fur*	1878	1879	1880	1881	1882	1883	1884
Bear, Black	322	328	341	763	366	371	459
Bear, Brown	66	1	45	11	59	70	39
Bear, Grizzly	14	0	17	10	41	41	24
Beaver, large	8,991	4,644	4,794	7,257	6,834	7,429	5,390
Fisher	127	162	91	391	272	380	381
Fox, Cross	106	119	15	99	40	131	340
Fox, Red	102	147	5	130	52	207	358
Fox, silver	42	32	0	13	7	35	82
Lynx	373	266	95	595	1,054	3,602	9,027
Marten	473	649	591	3,203	2,696	3,138	1,114
Mink	35	19	38	588	565	1,533	911
Muskrat	75	84	447	14,600	12,089	10,169	2,444
Otter	36	31	42	129	121	177	146
Skunk	-	-	-	10	8	9	19
Wolf	20	51	14	35	19	6	8
Wolverine	62	148	44	170	122	66	65
Total No.	10,844	6,681	6,579	28,004	24,345	27,364	20,807

* All prime

Other Industries/ occupations	Beef sold/ food	Timber receipts	Land Rentals	Total Income
0	0	0	0	46,330
0	2,160	0	270*	234,639
0	1,420	0	0	416,926
0	1,575	0	0	469,106
0	2,180	0	0	475,946
0	1,310	0	0	418,040
0	1,605	805	0	250,222
1,930	1,500	0	0	159,475
2,565	2,050	0	0	176,605
3,000	1,900	1,348	0	127,789
5,065	375	0	0	126,336
2,540	95	0	0	87,950
4,435	1,020	8	0	59,593
2,140	2,038	25	346	45,791
785	2,010	21.50	779.45	52,225
22,460	21,238	2,207	1,396	3,146,975

Source: Department of Indian Affairs Annual Reports

1885	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891	Total
554	467	280	520	500	672	604	6,547
32	94	84	100	67	100	91	859
2	0	11	13	38	31	18	260
4,379	2,731	3,291	3,389	2,800	2,489	2,153	66,571
637	581	580	713	256	243	237	5,051
265	126	72	37	53	127	120	1,650
447	162	129	53	74	193	238	2,297
63	24	9	8	6	18	18	357
1,177	4,913	984	341	77	351	623	23,478
452	621	830	1,372	772	2,517	5,317	23,745
1,107	609	347	189	402	743	1,114	8,200
1,229	291	622	1,259	4,622	8,341	6,708	62,980
88	39	72	90	122	116	89	1,298
48	43	55	75	87	207	157	718
17	58	13	21	48	12	18	340
90	142	90	222	81	29	71	1,402
10,587	10,901	7,469	8,402	10,005	16,189	17,576	205,753

Source: Hudson's Bay Company Archives

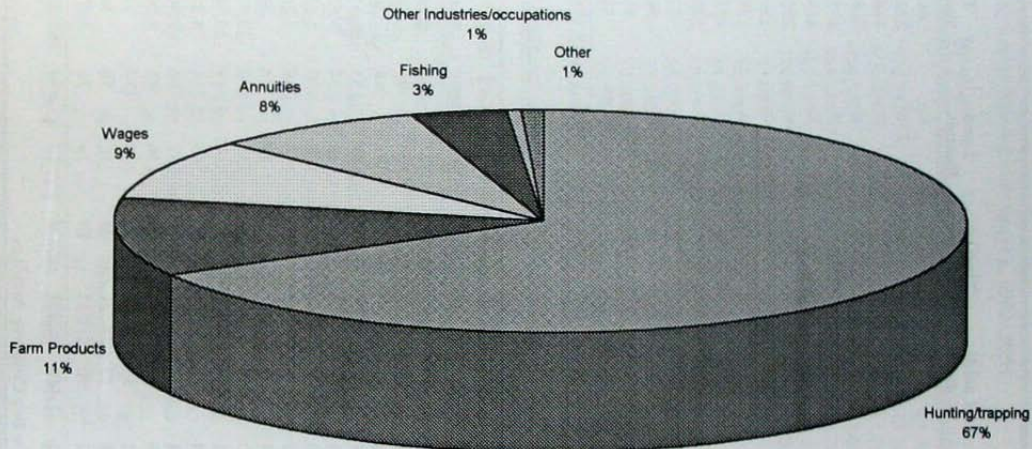


Figure 3: Sources of Income, Lesser Slave Lake Agency, 1922–1935

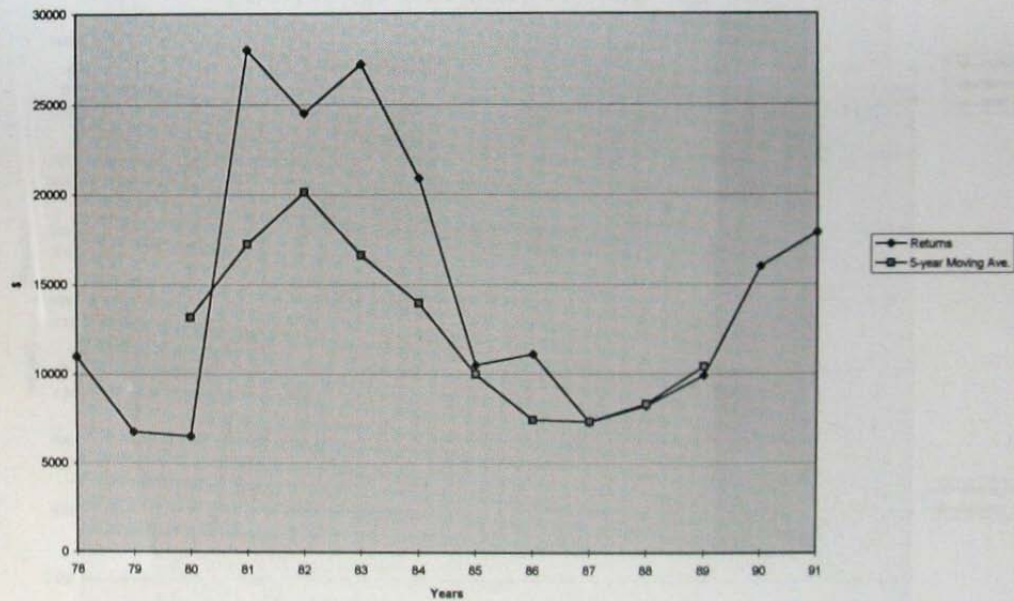


Figure 4: HBC Peace River Returns, 1878-1891

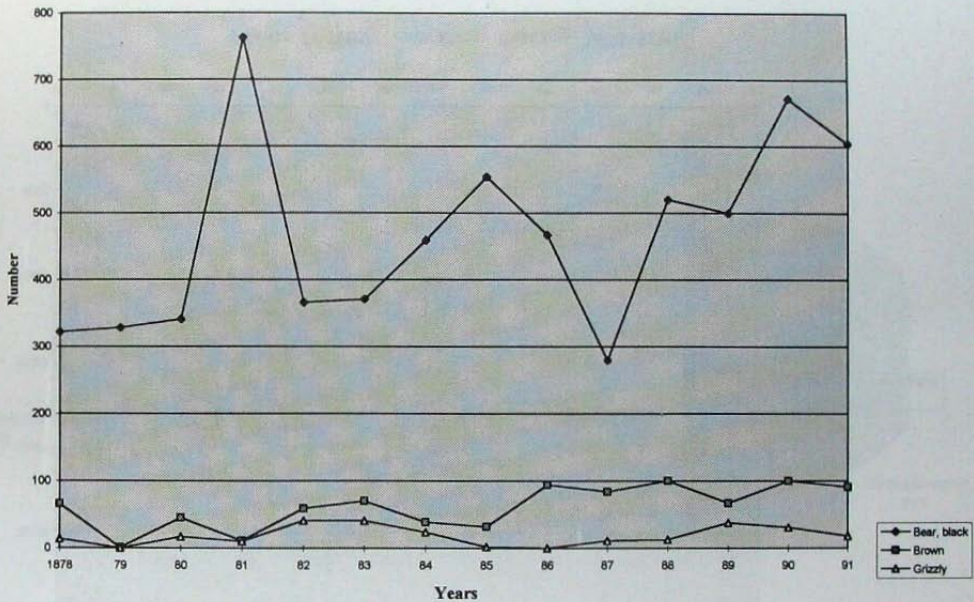


Figure 5A: HBC Peace River Bear Returns, 1878–1891

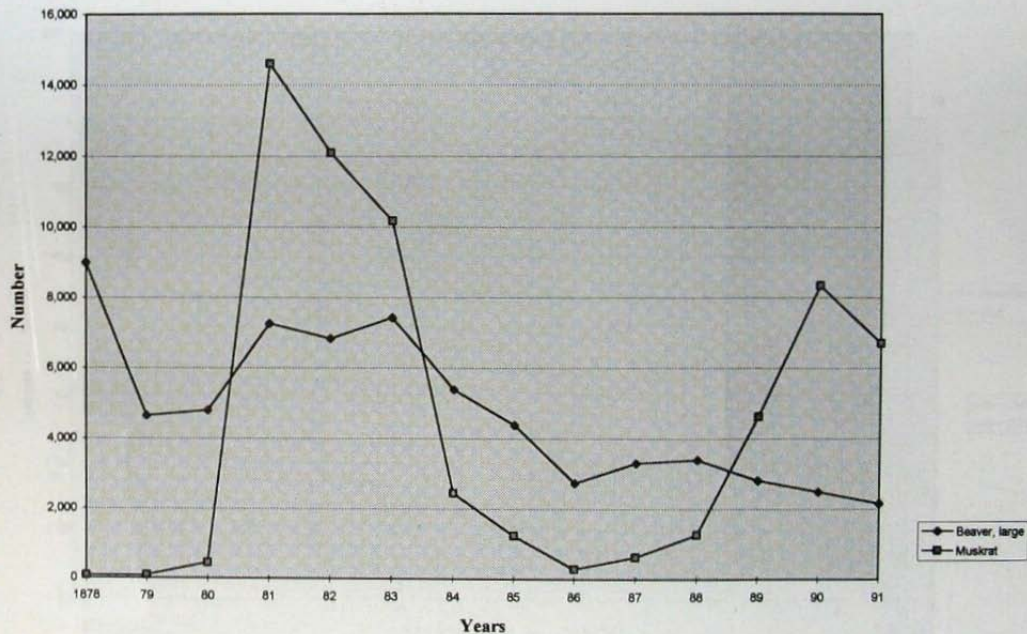


Figure 5B: HBC Peace River Beaver and Muskrat Returns, 1878–1891

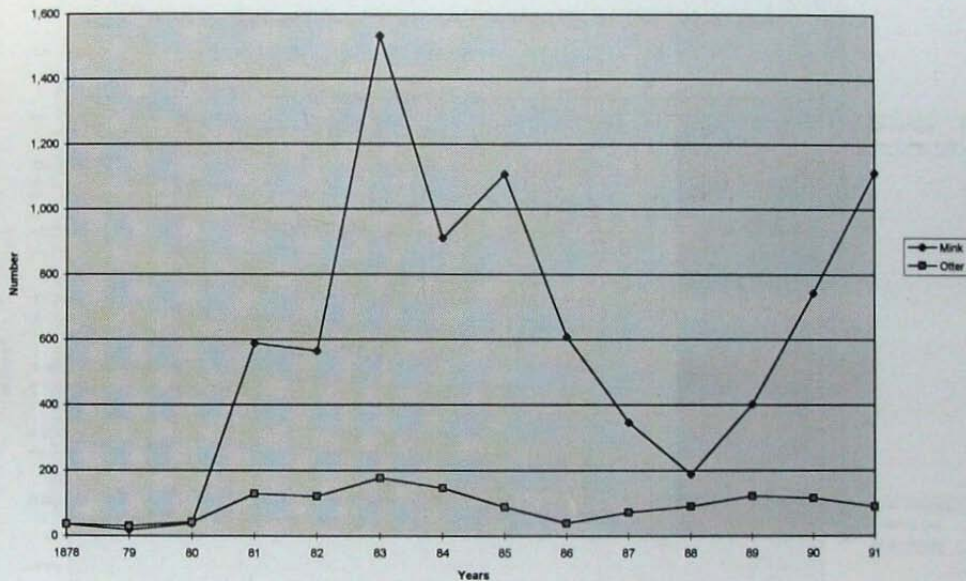


Figure 6A: HBC Peace River Mink and Otter Returns, 1878–1891

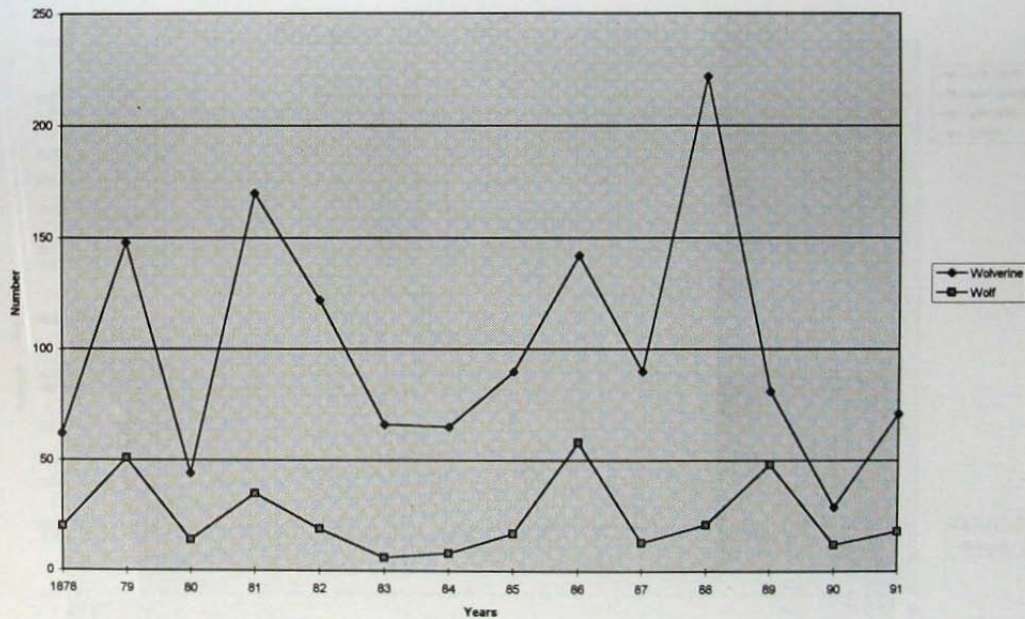


Figure 6B: HBC Peace River Wolf and Wolverine Returns, 1878-1891

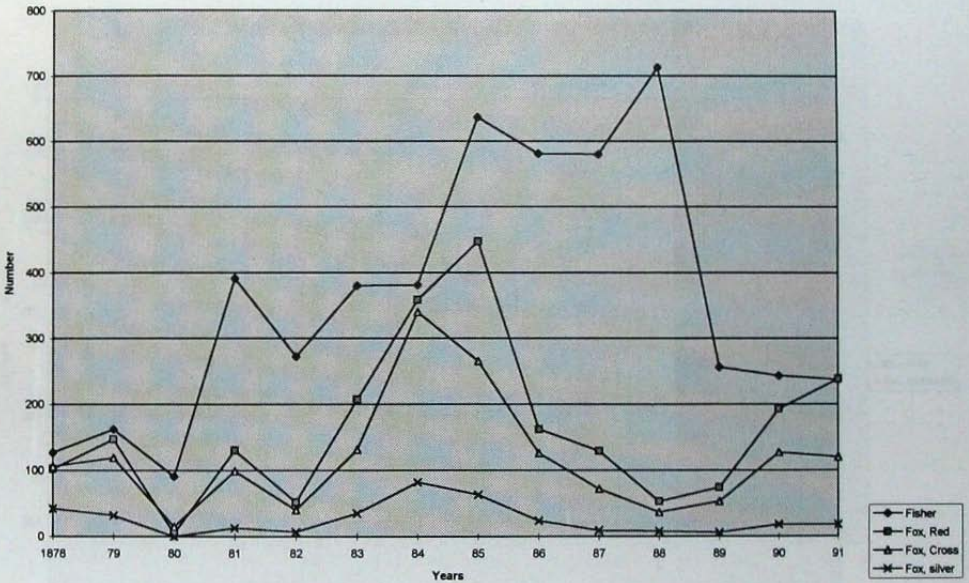


Figure 7A: HBC Peace River Fisher and Fox Returns, 1878–1891

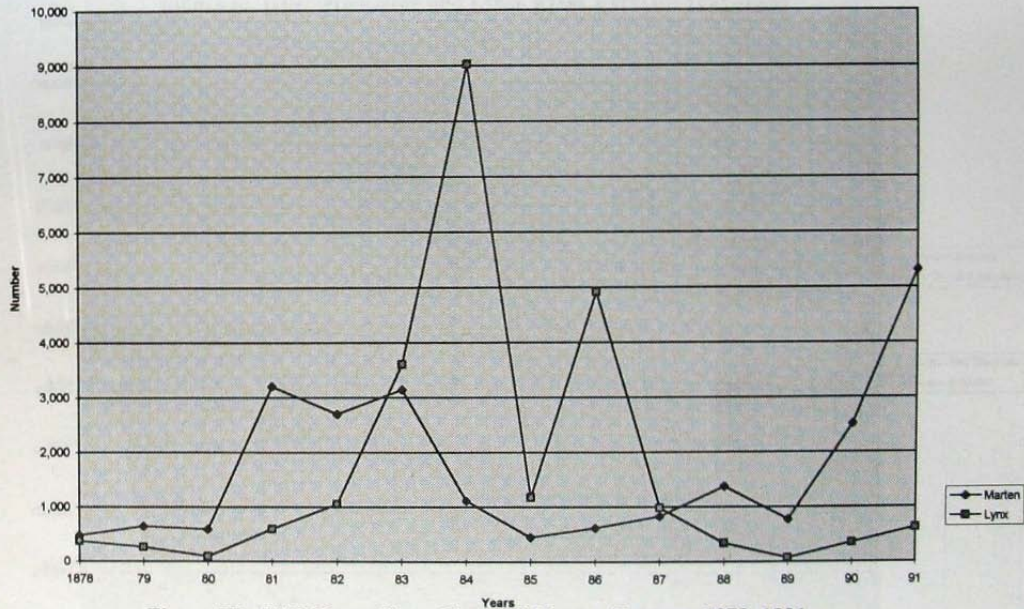


Figure 7B: HBC Peace River Lynx and Marten Returns, 1878–1891

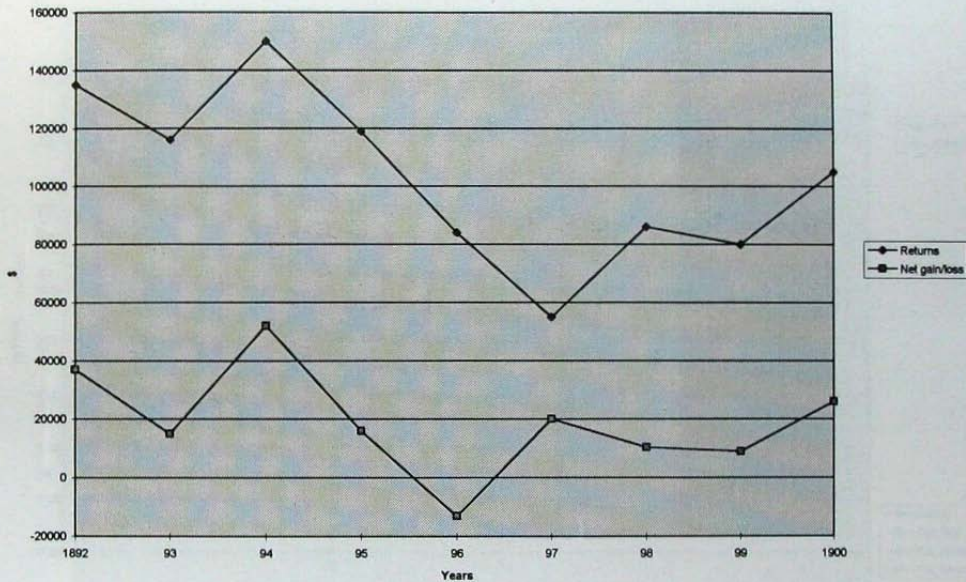


Figure 8: HBC Athabasca and Peace River Returns, 1892–1900

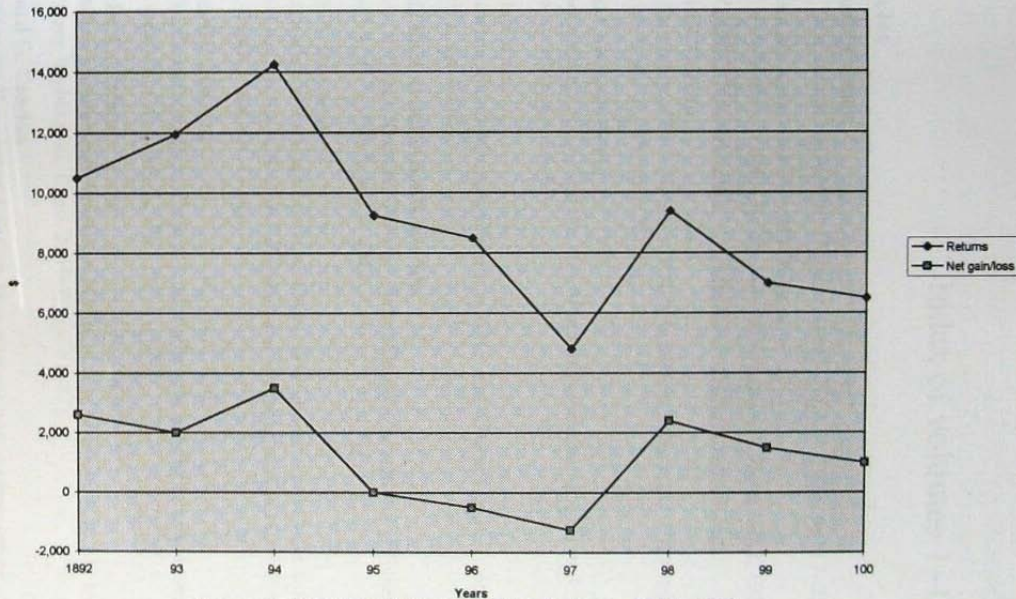


Figure 9: HBC Fort Dunvegan Fur Returns, 1892-1900