THE CONCEPT OF THE GOOD INDIAN:
AN ALBANY RIVER 19TH CENTURY
MANAGERIAL PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT/RESUME

The author examines the records of the Hudson's Bay Company for the Albany District for a fifty year period in the nineteenth century. By doing so she is able to indicate what is meant by the qualities of "goodness" and "Indianess" as those terms were used in that one area.

L'auteur examine les annales datant d'une durée de cinquante ans au 19ième siècle, de la Companie de la Baie d'Hudson du district d'Albany. Ainsi elle est capable d'indiquer ce que veut dire "goodness": ce qui est bon, et "Indianess" ce qui est Indien, selon l'utilisation de ces termes dans cette région.
The concept of goodness is a universal theme, although its definition may vary widely over different cultures and different times; the concept of what might be termed "Indianness" has been a matter of debate as recently as the discussion of Bill C-31 in 1985. If one goes back to a period before the Indian Act imposed definitions, one finds attitudes and a lack of definition that may surprise Indian and non-Indian readers alike.

This paper will examine, for the half century after the union of the fur trading companies in 1821, the voluminous journals, reports, and correspondence emanating from the Albany District of the Hudson's Bay Company, in particular the documents from Martin's Falls, Osnaburg and Lac Seul. Albany, the headquarters of the District, was under the command of a Chief Trader, but only twice, and that briefly, was a man of such rank stationed at any of the inland posts. There, the "gentleman in charge" was a clerk or a member of the rank below the clerks, a post master. For the purposes of this study, all those holding a full time command (excluding temporary summer arrangements from which few documents have survived in any case) have been termed "managers". Variations in attitude seem to have borne no relationship to the rank of the individual, although they were obviously influenced by his experience and by his personal character and perceptiveness. Individual differences, however, were less important than might be expected, since the documents studied were official ones, kept according to Company dictates and destined to be read by superiors. Of the thirty managers studied, five were métis, but their records were usually stripped of all personal reflections, and conformed, even more than those of their Scottish peers, to the demands of a business concern.

In order to analyze what standards of conduct were generally held to be acceptable, and even good, it is necessary at the outset to provide some classification of Indians, not by tribe or degree of assimilation, but simply according to function in Company operations. There were the hunters who appeared once or twice a year at the post; there were the Indians living near the post and visiting it frequently and sometimes hired for specific tasks; finally, there were the Indians and métis in the employ of the Company, living in the post itself.

For the hunters, the quantity and quality of furs brought in had a direct effect on merit rating. A "good hunter" at one post was defined as one who brought in the equivalent of at least 100 beaver pelts. But this was by no means an absolute requirement, nor was it the only criterion of goodness. Regular appearance at the same post was counted as a virtue, and the commonest term of criticism was "vagabond", but again, wandering was not always condemned, and there was hope of redemption. Charles McKenzie of Lac Seul, for example, wrote in glowing terms of Greyjacket and his sons and grandsons, praising their proficiency as hunters, even though they had taken their furs to Rainy Lake. In fact, few of the managers failed to point out to their superiors any extenuating circumstances if an Indian they considered worthy had failed to obey some Company rule. This practice was particularly evident in the early 1820's when a number of new policies were introduced rather quickly. Jacob Corrigal at Martin's Falls was one of several who pointed out the reasons for small returns in particular cases; a good Indian of that area
had hunted little because he had a large family and his first priority was fishing to provide for them. One common feature that all the managers revealed, with the Scots making their points more cogently than the métis did, was that a general Company rule might constitute an injustice. Only the manager on the scene, they argued, had knowledge enough to know which explanation had the ring of truth, and to punish the guilty and accommodate the merely unfortunate. All these pleas for flexibility in the application of rules can be interpreted, of course, as the perpetual cry of middle management for greater discretionary power, but they also point out the unwillingness of the managers to consider as evil every failure to meet Company requirements.

Reliability was obviously ranked high among the virtues, and the managers reserved their fiercest strictures for those they believed had deceived them. Corrigal referred to one of the best hunters in his district as being one of the least trustworthy. In Thomas Corcoran's assessment of some of the same Indians four years later, phrases like "excellent hunter but a great cheat", and "a young, roaming vagabond" and "an excellent hunter and good character" (obviously not always synonymous) show the same values. So does the notation "one of the quietest and best disposed Indians" who was usually a good hunter, but this year brought in little, because of a death in his family. Quietness and inoffensiveness did not count as an absolute virtue either, for Corcoran rather wryly described one Indian as troublesome but very useful. He needed to be humoured and flattered, then did well. Similarly, Corcoran did not always agree with the assessments of other managers. He had been warned that one of the Indians was "a lazy, lying, saucy vagabond" but found none of the terms applied.

Indian reports of events were usually transmitted to superiors at headquarters, and often given a good deal of credence, depending on the perceived reliability of the particular Indian who appeared at the post. But the shrewdest of the managers came to recognize flaws in this information system, and did not classify Indians as unreliable in other matters merely because the reports they carried proved to be erroneous. On one occasion, when a report of the death of twelve Indians was followed by the appearance of several of them at Martin's Falls, Corcoran wrote to Governor Simpson: "Indian reports like some of those propagated occasionally by their white brethren, are sometimes exaggerated." Charles McKenzie had earlier expressed a somewhat similar view. He believed that there were as many honest men among the Indians "as can be collected among an equal number of Europeans without the fear of shackles and fetters. They prove faithless on occasion, but they have good instructors to assist them in their delinquencies."

Usually managers with long experience, like Corcoran and McKenzie, came to see the Indians with whom they traded in very human terms. They came to accept individual differences and foibles to a remarkable degree. McKenzie commented on the way his own judgement had altered over time. He had once believed the Indians were indolent; over the years, he became increasingly surprised that they exerted themselves as much as they did, considering the hardship of their existence. On the other hand, young clerks undergoing cul-
ture shock in their first years on the Albany - like William MacKay at Martin's Falls and T.C. Rae at Osnaburgh about 1870 - showed a contempt for the Indian hunters that did not characterize any of the other journals. Inevitably, their prejudices were most clearly illustrated by their comments about the Indians near the posts, whom they saw as a constant irritant.

Among this second group, in the classification according to function, were men who performed occasional work for the manager and, perhaps even more important, women who married Company employees. Irrespective of the prejudices of different managers, Indian men who performed their tasks satisfactorily - working in the garden, gathering hay, carrying the packet to other posts, and so forth - were, even if reluctantly, classified as good. For the women, it would be interesting to discover whether a different standard of goodness was applied, but the evidence on this point is difficult to find. It seems clear that the less obtrusive and troublesome they were, the better. Presumably, the best of women had the least written about them. Almost inevitably, harsh comments appeared in specific cases in which either the women, or the managers, or both, were guilty of inflammatory conduct, and these references cannot be taken as representative. Moreover, almost every manager studied had married an Indian or métis woman, and the affectionate references to some of them may be taken to counterbalance some of the harsh views, particularly those held by MacKay and Rae. Charles McKenzie constantly praised his wife, Mary, who had retained far more of the culture of her Indian mother than of her Scottish father. In this time and place, retention of the Indian way of life could be seen as good. Virtually the only criticism McKenzie ever made of the women at the Lac Seul post was that they could not hold a candle to Mary.8 George Barnston's delight in his tuttis wife, Ellen, shines through his letters, as does the loneliness of George McPherson after the death of his Indian wife at Osnaburgh. It is true that Alexander Harvey, another widower at the same place some years later, recorded somewhat mixed feelings. "At times it is extremely dull here without a wife and without a watch, as the chain of the latter is broken. I should not have fretted so much if it had been the chain of the former."9 At least, the criticism remained indirect.

William MacKay, Harvey's contemporary at Martin's Falls, recorded his criticism of two of the women at that post. Mrs. Robertson, the widow of a workman who had been killed just before MacKay's arrival, was kept on during one miserable winter as cook and interpreter. Within a short time, the journal included diatribes against "the nasty woman" who refused to cook, and would not interpret either "when she has got so much of the devil in her."10 Probably both were happy when Mrs. Robertson returned to her relatives in Albany in the spring. It is true that, in his first year, MacKay was disgusted with the conditions he found in a neglected post, and all too ready to use terms like "nasty" and "dirty" about the Indians as well as the accommodation. What is impossible to tell is the extent of Mrs. Robertson's contribution to the quarrels. Later, MacKay's brief comments on the sharp tongue of Mrs. Joseph Moore seem moderate by contrast, for that woman came to be heartily disliked by the whole complement at Martin's Falls. MacKay's views on Indians in general, and
Indian women in particular, seem to have modified over the years.

It was at Osnaburgh that the personality clashes, almost inevitable in a small community, were most fully recorded, and again by a young and intolerant newcomer, T.C. Rae. There seems to be no doubt that the wives of two of his workmen were a thorn in Rae's flesh, and persisted in circulating rumours about him which, whether true or false, he deeply resented. What is not clear is who began the quarrel. Rae's journal from the moment of his arrival gave evidence of prejudice he can hardly have concealed in his daily dealings with Indians at the post. The remarks became more pointed, and more crude, as his problems with the two families multiplied. Greediness of the women and their children was a recurring theme - for example, "The bellies of some of their Indian ladies is like bamboo, hollow from end to end." In referring to the death of one of the children, Rae first noted "a little idiot about 2 years old" after which the conventional reference to departure for a better world sounded as hollow as bamboo. It is to be hoped that Rae's attitudes had altered by the time he returned to Osnaburgh in 1905 as a signer of Treaty #9.

But in many a manager's journal appear references to Indians, male and female, who became an integral and prized part of the life of the posts. William Linklater at Osnaburgh wrote a journal from which almost every vestige of emotion was stripped, yet one cannot miss the sense of loss in "My Indian voyageur departed this life," or, for that matter, the set of priorities in his notation, "A poor year for the poor Indians and also a poor year for our Trade." George McPherson, when he was at Osnaburgh, made it clear that the tranquillity and usefulness of the Indian Kapeka were far more important to him than the freedom of a Company employee about whom he complained; "He is trying to take away the wife of my Indian."

Increasingly, the work force of the Hudson's Bay Company came to be composed of métis and Indians. At the beginning of the period under consideration, some managers felt that the ideal boat crew should be made up of one Indian to three or four white men, but the opposite proportion would not work. Whether or not this judgement was based on skills (the acquisition of which could alter the proportions over time) the Company turned more and more to native workmen. As early as 1827, Charles McKenzie was convinced that this shift was desirable, since he found the métis "more fit for inland duty than any green hands out of Orkney, being more up to the ways of the country and know how to fish." Here, presumably, was one profile of the good Indian employee.

In fact, the record left by all the managers suggests that the qualities pronounced good in Indians in the Company service were precisely the ones prized in any employee - knowledge of the country, skill in the particular work required, reliability, willingness to work hard, obedience to orders, and, more rarely, initiative and ability to take charge of a work crew. In the records of the 1820's and 1830's some managers indicated which of their men were European, but after that time ethnic origin was seldom mentioned, so unusual was it that any but natives were employed. Thomas Taylor of Martin's Falls was one of the few who kept pleading for Europeans to assist him, but he
was told there were none at Albany and he was better off with Indians than with the Norwegians who had been brought in to Moose Factory. Taylor went on grumbling, arguing that if he had Europeans he would not need to be so generous with the hunters, and could thus show a higher profit.

The Taylor correspondence gives the clearest insight into this additional requirement of the good Indian workman: that he keep himself as aloof as possible from his friends and relatives. There were a number of examples of illegal trade, but the man most frequently accused of it was Charles Swain, the employee Taylor was trying to have transferred. Swain, he claimed, had "too much to say to the Indians" and had far too many relatives with whom he was trading at Martin's Falls. The Chief Trader agreed to move Swain whenever it was possible, but sadly reflected that he had relatives at every Albany post, and there had been complaints about him from every manager he served. The charges against Swain in most posts, however, had nothing to do with his tale-bearing, his refusal to perform some tasks, and the generally disruptive influence he was supposed to have. But not even this accumulation of charges resulted in a dismissal. Swain remained in the district for many years, constantly being shifted around to a new manager, and finally deciding in his own good time to retire to Red River.

It is interesting to note that excessive drinking was not one of the charges brought against Indian workmen. In fact, the only three individuals in the Albany district in this fifty-year period whose drinking habits, to varying degrees, were seen as injurious to the Company service were Scots, and managers. Also, in two of the cases, the Company relied for its information on the statements of métis subordinates reporting on the manager's conduct. The most spectacular case was that of Alexander Collie at Osnaburgh who resorted to a series of subterfuges to conceal his drinking from the authorities; at one time he claimed that Indians had broken in and stolen his supplies; on another occasion, he blamed the carelessness of a métis workman for a fire which was followed by the explosion of stored gunpowder. It was later established that no theft had taken place, and there was at least a suspicion that Collie had set the fire himself. Governor Simpson was sure that no ardent spirits had vanished on either occasion, while managers of other posts wondered at the patience of Osnaburgh Indians who had put up with Collie so long.

Charles McKenzie, whose responsibility it was to remove Collie from his post, himself came under suspicion a few years later. The young métis George McPherson (who was later to be a manager at both Martin's Falls and Osnaburgh) was sent off to Lac Seul with orders to report to headquarters. McPherson promptly locked up the liquor supplies and sent off to Albany for a stouter lock. He was commended for his actions, but McKenzie's excessive drinking seems to have been confined to a season or two, and the threatened dismissal did not occur. In view of this situation, it is perhaps not surprising that McKenzie was unwilling to condemn others for their drinking. In response to very specific questions from his superiors, he did describe the effects of a brawl among the Lac Seul workmen, but very carefully refrained from any criticism of their conduct.
Some managers as early as the 1820's had advised cutting off all liquor supplies in the interior. But such action was not taken in the Albany district until 1859, and even some who favoured the measure, like George Barnston at Martin's Falls, carefully avoided any ascription of evil in Indian practice, as well as any suggestion of different treatment for Indians than Europeans. Barnston described his trading with the "very good Indian" he called The Crow and two others in 1858. He gave them the "regular allowance of rum for their exhilaration", then watched their departure from the post. The old Crow "makes a wavy line of march, the rest having as usual allowed him a double share of the Grog." When the new instructions arrived the following year, Barnston was prompt in getting rid of his stocks of rum, sending them down to Albany at once. "The Indians," he noted, "will feel less chagrin upon its being refused to them when there is none at the place." Then he added: "The Old Crow saw its departure with a very woeful [sic] countenance."

The usual reasons given for cutting off the supplies were "that alcohol was the chief cause of violence among the hunters, and for their failure to pay debts." The second consideration may have weighed more heavily than the first, for in every mention of violence which did not directly threaten Company interests, there was evidence of acceptance of conduct among Indians that would have been regarded as reprehensible in Europeans. When the authorities at first believed that Indians had broken into the Osnaburgh store, Collie was warned that even if they were caught, there could be no question of charges of break and enter. A manager might show his disapproval of their conduct through a reprimand, and perhaps limit the amount of credit he could give them for a time, but that was all. Similarly when Thomas Corcoran reported (again incorrectly as it turned out) a bloody battle between Martin's Falls and Trout Lake Indians, he was promptly instructed that, although a reprimand might be administered, the Company would not take any other action unless a white person was implicated.

It was George Barnston who provided the clearest analysis of the inappropriateness of certain British laws in this environment, and by implication, raised the question of what was considered good in one society being evil in another. Barnston was searching for some law that could be invoked to force Company servants to provide for the support of their children. When he was told that the recent "reforms" in British law virtually wiped out any claims by the mother of an illegitimate child, he was outraged at the application of the concept of illegitimacy on the Albany. "Whatever wisdom in legislation Lord Brougham may be supposed to possess in matters pertaining to his own land," Barnston wrote to his superior at Moose Factory, "That same nobleman, I believe, would admit that differently constituted societies require a difference in the framing of their laws." As nine-tenths of the Company servants had had no opportunity of having a marriage ceremony performed by a clergyman, surely British definitions did not apply. Could not the Company set up its own more appropriate regulations, "for the maintenance of morality and social order."

Barnston was obviously far more thoughtful and articulate than most of the managers, yet there seemed to be a general recognition of the idea that
concepts of morality and social order were not universal, or easily transferred from Britain to the Albany River. This recognition showed itself, at least indirectly, in the acceptance of Indian customs like polygamy and, by the 1840’s, in the reception given to the first missionaries. Acceptance of Christianity and conformity with its teachings were not seen as essential to goodness in Indians. In 1841 the Wesleyan Missionary Society made its appearance on the Bay with the arrival of the Reverend George Barnley and his wife. In the same year, the Reverend William Mason visited Lac Seul and Osnaburgh. The initial response from managers was a question concerning supplies they should provide to these travellers. By 1848, the first Roman Catholic missionary appeared in the region, and a Company directive declared that he was to receive the same provisions from Company stores. Several of the managers described the first religious services held in their district. Charles McKenzie, while admiring Mason personally, was sceptical about any influence his work might have, and also suspicious of the activities of Roman Catholic missionaries. On the other hand, Thomas Corcoran, himself a Roman Catholic, hotly denied any charges that the priests were encouraging vagrancy or subverting Company interest. Corcoran was unique in another way; he was the only one to cite large numbers of converts and appear to be impressed by these numbers.

It was evident that any successful missionary work would have to rely heavily on the Indians themselves. Mason brought with him as interpreter Henry Bird Steinhauer, an Ojibwa from Upper Canada. As early as 1844, there was a report of an Indian boy, now called Samuel Wesley, leaving Albany for Moose Factory where he was to be instructed by Barnley, with the intention of becoming a teaching assistant for the mission at Albany. This plan apparently did not work out, and young Samuel became a Company workman in the interior, but the new surname remained, even though, after Anglicans replaced Wesleyans at the Bay in 1850, their church records read "Westley". Very briefly, Peter Jacobs, the first Ojibwa to be ordained in the Methodist church, was at Lac Seul. There he quarrelled with both Charles and Mary McKenzie, and retired again to the Rainy Lake region where, McKenzie had earlier observed sourly, the church had already been represented for years without winning a single convert.

In the Albany region, by far the most important of the native missionaries was Thomas Vincent, grandson of two Hudson’s Bay Company officers and two Indian women, born at Osnaburgh in 1835, catechist and teacher on the Bay by 1855, ordained a priest in the Anglican church in 1863. His visits to the Indians at Martin’s Falls seem to have begun in 1858, and for nearly forty years he continued these missionary tours to each of the posts along the Albany River route, meeting the Indians at least once every two years, and struggling to get mission churches built. Managers duly recorded his visits, and presumably regarded him, as historians have also done, as a good man. But, for the purposes of this study the question must be: did they regard him as a good Indian? Did they perceive him, in fact, as an Indian at all? The word Indian was never used in reference to him, only to the people to whom he preached. Vincent’s advice to his successor leaves some doubt as to the way he saw himself: "Remember,"
he said, "that you are the representative here not only of the church but of the white man's civilization." It would appear that his choice of vocation, unique in the 19th century history of the district, had initiated for him a process of acculturation; the fur trade records give no indication that he was perceived by these managers as different from other missionaries; it was his function in the church, not his ancestry that characterized him.

But Vincent's case was unique. What information is there of others of Indian background and their contact with and acceptance by the society the managers represented? Hudson's Bay Company policy in this area was that the sons of employees should automatically become workmen in the service as soon as they were old enough. (Vincent had escaped this rule since his parents had moved to Red River when he was a child and an opportunity for education thus existed.) Several of the managers did give instruction in reading and writing, to their workmen some of whom did use these skills later, but again in another environment than the Albany. Such managers seem to have "seen literacy as an absolute good, just as they came to see the quality of Indianness as vanishing under contact with another civilization.

Such a concept betrayed itself in a terminology that, at first, seems bewildering. A man like Vincent was no longer called an Indian; the hunters who came periodically to the various posts were always designated as Indian. But what of those who lived at or near the posts, the ones with whom managers had regular contact? Since this was a society in which virtually all (sometimes including the manager himself) shared Indian ancestry, it is not surprising that the common factor should be taken for granted, and that there should have been no effort to differentiate between those more or less Indian, except in cultural terms. The expression "half-breed" was rarely used, not, it would appear, because it was then considered offensive, but because the characteristic it described was not important. Charles McKenzie was one of the few who made any effort to distinguish between Indians and "half breeds" in the Company employ, and he seems to have favoured the former. On one occasion, he argued that Indians made the better workers, although their attachment to their own way of life was greater, and they were more apt to return to their own people where, in his opinion, they became "the very worst of Indians." Several years later McKenzie commented upon the oppressive silence that usually surrounded "half-breed" workers, and suggested that they had lost their proficiency in their native language without acquiring enough English or French to enable them to communicate easily. Only under the influence of rum, he declared, would they become as "talkative as forest Indians" and, by this time, there was no more rum at the post.

Distinctions between the two groups were made, it is true, when, in order to cut costs, managers were instructed to hire more Indians, and so reduce the complement of each post. Permanent employees, in danger of losing their jobs to more lowly paid casual labourers, naturally protested. In discussing this issue, the managers referred to the resentment of the "half-breeds" against the hiring of Indians, but did not suggest that it arose out of the racial origin of the workers.
The vagueness of terminology that characterized the managers' accounts is perhaps best illustrated by reference to one family that supplied at least five workmen to the Albany River posts in the period under consideration. The Goodwins of Albany may have been descended from either of two Englishmen in the Company's service in the 18th century, or Goodwin, like Wesley, may have merely been assumed as a family name. The second possibility is reinforced by a notation unusual for that time in the Albany Missionary records. In the 1841 marriage of Joseph and Mary Goodwin, an Indian name is inserted as well. When another member of the family was sent to Martin's Falls as temporary help in 1853, the manager referred to him as "the Indian lad" and only on his departure recorded the name as Tom Goodwin. Similarly, when Joseph (Jr.) and his brother Patrick first appeared at Osnaburgh, they were characterized as Indians from Albany. But both these men, and two other brothers as well, remained in the Company employ for decades and were almost never designated as Indian. Indeed, William MacKay at Martin's Falls, a man one might have expected to use the term, frequently wrote of Patrick Goodwin in a manner that implied he was not an Indian. Patrick was described as a good and willing worker, for the most part, but useless in directing a work crew made up of Indians. It would appear, then, that the word Indian, if used at all, was generally reserved for newcomers to a post. Once the individual became a part of the society of a particular post, the racial designation was no longer necessary. Even if his work proved to be unsatisfactory, seldom was the point of ancestry dredged up; the same standards of conduct were apparently expected of all workers. (The exception is again T.C. Rae. In denouncing the Goodwins, he wrote: "Very careless, these Indian servants."

Clarification of the Company definition comes from Sir George Simpson himself. In 1856, John Cromarty, a workman at Lac Seul, threatened to leave the service unless he was permitted to marry a girl who was then working as a maid in Albany. Chief Trader James Watt felt he had to refuse permission because of the Company's rules against its workmen marrying Indians. Governor Simpson, however, ruled that the restriction did not apply in this case. "Indian" only referred to those brought up in and continuing to live in the forest, who were considered unsuitable wives for Company employees. Both Cromarty and his prospective bride, however, had been brought up in Hudson's Bay Company posts, so they should be classified as "whites or half-breeds and not Indians."

This decision removed part of a problem Watt had identified in the Albany District. He inveighed against the practice of hiring Indian girls as maids, partly because he thought they were being exploited, and partly because he felt the experience at the posts would make them unfit as wives of Indians. But now the practice came to be seen as having advantages. The Company did establish rates of pay in case the girls were being exploited, and their acceptability as wives of Company workmen, not Indians, was guaranteed. When John Sutherland, of Osnaburgh, asked permission to marry the maid in the manager's house there, the Chief Trader merely advised him to wait a year and save some money. When the year had elapsed, the manager at Osnaburgh was instructed to draw up legal papers, one copy for Albany, one to be retained at Osnaburgh for any
authorized clergyman who might appear there.  

From the governor himself, then, had come the definition of Indianness as a cultural characteristic, not a racial one. It would appear that, for years before this pronouncement, managers along the Albany had reached the same conclusion. They had also shown that, willingly or unwillingly, they had had to accept accommodations to the beliefs most of them had brought from another society. Their concept of goodness was adapted to the needs of their trade and the realities of contact with human beings, many of whose qualities they came to admire. Their concept of Indianness was linked with their perception of a forest society, and characteristics which would, they believed, vanish as contact with "civilization" increased. Whatever these attitudes reveal of the prejudices of the managers, or of their faith in the transforming power of education, and perhaps religion as well, it is clear that their view was not racist in the usual sense of that term. It does not fit the "concept of a social predestination deriving from a biological and racial one."  

NOTES

1. Hudson's Bay Company Archives (HBCA) Public Archives of Manitoba, B 1231e114 Martin's Falls Report, 1839
2. B 107/a]7 Lac Seul Journal, September 16, 1828
3. B 123/e/8 Martin's Falls Report 1824
4. B 123/e/10 Martin's Falls Report 1828
5. B3/b/85 Albany Correspondence, Corcoran to Simpson, January 16, 1854
6. B i071e15 Lac Seul Report 1834
7. B i07/a/8 Lac Seul Journal, January 4, 1830
10. B 123/a/85 Martin's Falls Journal, February 28, 1869
12. Ibid., March 3, 1872
13. Ibid., September 13, 1871
14. B 155/a/71 Osnaburgh Journal, October 15, 1858

15. B 155/a/73 Osnaburgh Journal, December 10, 1860

16. B 155/a/61 Osnaburgh Journal includes copy of McPherson to Corcoran, June 15, 1853

17. Public Archives of Canada (PAC) MG 19 A 21 v. 5 p. 945, J.D. Cameron to James Hargrave, June 10, 1835

18. B 107/a/6 ff. 25-7 includes Lac Seul Report, 1828

19. B 107/a/a/72 Martin's Falls Journal, includes copy of Taylor to Hardisty, May 19, 1859

20. B 123/a/73 Copy of Hardisty to Taylor, May 27, 1859

21. Ibid., January 6, 1860

22. B 123/a/69 Copy of Taylor to Watt, May 30, 1857; B 123/a/71 Copy of Watt's reply, June 12, 1857

23. B 155/a/40 Osnaburgh Journal, May 8, 1829

24. B 155/a/41 Osnaburgh Journal, April 5, 1830

25. B 3/b/59 Albany Correspondence, Simpson to Corrigal, January 5, 1831


27. B 3/b/62 Albany Correspondence, George McPherson to Corrigal, December 18, 1837, and Corrigal's reply. February 1, 1838

28. B 107/a/16, Lac Seul Journal, November 25, 1837

29. B 123/a/38 Martin's Falls Journal, April 29-30, 1838

30. B 123/a/41 Martin's Falls Journal, August 27, 1839


32. BS/b/57 Albany Correspondence, Kennedy to Collie, July 5, 1829

33. BS/b/85 Simpson to Corcoran, July 21, 1853

34. B 3/b/66 Barnston to Beioley, January 25, 1841
35. B 3/b/68 McKenzie to Barnston, December 26, 1841

36. B 3/b/71 Simpson to Corcoran, December 20, 1848

37. B 107/a/20 Lac Seul Journal, June 21-23, 1841; July 13, 1841; June 1-5, 1842; July 21, Lac Seul Journal, August 21, 1842

38. B 3/b/81 Albany Correspondence, Corcoran to Miles, August 13, 1850; also, B 3/c/2, Corcoran's reply to complaint, 1853

39. B 3/b/70 Corcoran to Miles, June 11, 1844

40. B 107/a/24 Lac Seul Journal August 16, 1845 summarizes the events of that summer; B 3/b/72 Albany Correspondence, McKenzie to Corcoran, September 5, 1845, defends Mary McKenzie in the dispute.

41. B 3/b/68 McKenzie to Barnston, December 26, 1841

42. See - Marsha Snyder, "Thomas Vincent, Archdeacon of Moosonee" in *Ontario History* v. LXVIII (1976), pp. 119-135.

43. B 123/a/72 Martin's Falls Journal contains copy of Hardisty to Taylor, May 27, 1858


45. B 3/b/67 Albany Correspondence, Barnston to Heron, July 11, 1841

46. B 107/a/16 Contains ff. 25-9 Lac Seul Report 1838

47. B 107/a/24 Lac Seul Journal, January 4, 1846

48. B 3/b/69 Albany Correspondence, Simpson to Barnston, December 1842

49. B 3/b/66 Barnston to McKenzie, February 6, 1841

50. Ontario Archives, Albany Mission Records, Microfilm #161, July 29, 1842

51. B 123/a/61 Martin's Falls Journal, March 1, 1853; June 27, 1853

52. B 155/a/77 Osnaburgh Journal, March 25, April 28, May 12, 1868

53. B 123/a/91 Martin's Falls Journal, August 10, 1875

54. B 123/a/88 June 29, 1871

55. B 155/a/80 Osnaburgh Journal, May 9, 1872
56. Albany Correspondence, Watt to Simpson, August 4, 1856
57. B 3/b/88 Simpson to Watt, December 15, 1856
58. Ibid., Watt to Simpson, June 22, 1857
59. B 5/b/89 Simpson to Hardisty, July 24, 1857
60. B 3/b/90 Hardisty to Linklater, July 25, 1858; B155/Z/1 contains the contract.
61. Stanley Ryerson, Unequal Union, p. 380, cites Dr. Alejander Lipschutz, Chilean anthropologist

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