

Sizing up the Catch:

Native-Newcomer Resource Competition and the Early Years of Saskatchewan's Northern Commercial Fishery

by Anthony G. Gulig

Fishing has always played an important role in Canadian history. Indeed, some of the earliest contacts between Native and Newcomer populations centered on the coastal fisheries. Where the Native population relied on the resource for their daily survival, Newcomer interests often represented the commercial and economic possibilities of the abundant fish stocks. There are important lessons to be learned from the Native-Newcomer clash over access to natural resources. The zeal and enthusiasm with which the commercial fishery expanded into many parts of Canada's provincial north reflects the general lack of interest held by both federal and provincial resource regulating agencies when it came to the needs of Indians in these same regions. Even though laws were passed espousing the protection of an Aboriginal right of access to these valuable resources, by the time commercial interests were satisfied, such access often meant as little as the number of fish left behind. The story of diminishing fisheries is nothing new in Canada, but the focus is usually on coastal regions. While much attention over time has focused on Canada's ocean fishery, less attention has been paid to another valuable fishery—the inland, or freshwater fishery in the provincial north.¹

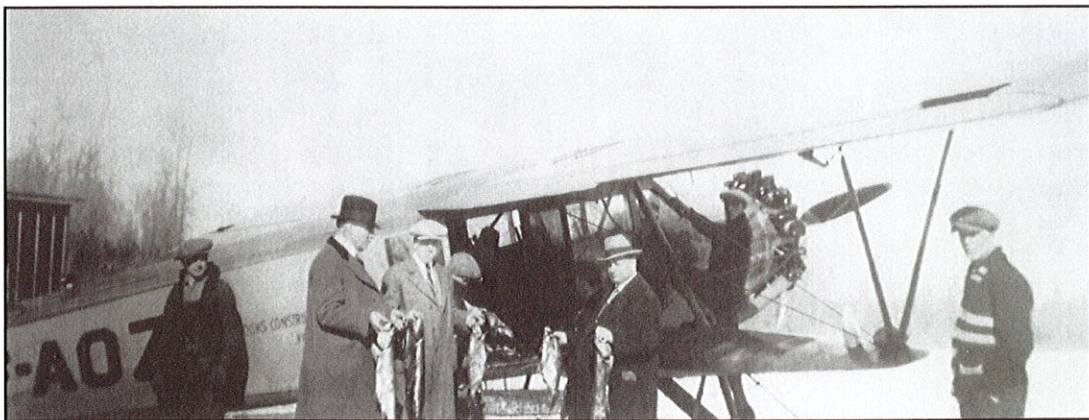
When Saskatchewan became a province in 1905, control over the vast natural resources of the new province was retained by the federal government “for the purposes of Canada.”² Indeed, much of the Canadian West

still feels slighted as a result of the extended control and manipulation retained by Ottawa for twenty-five years. In 1930, control of natural resources was finally handed over to the province.³ While the government's intent in retaining such control was to manage prairie settlement in the best interests of the new Dominion, the management of valuable natural resources also increased revenues flowing into federal coffers at the expense not of only the new provincial governments, but also at the expense of those people in the North who relied on the natural resources for their everyday livelihood.

When control of natural resources is considered, the discussion most often turns to the apparent and the abundant—land, timber, and minerals. Saskatchewan's valuable fishery was also controlled, regulated, and managed by Ottawa until 1930. The early 1900s were the formative years for the development of the province's northern commercial fishery even though commercial fishing, and government regulation in the commercial fishery in the North-West Territories, was well known before 1905. Most of the early commercial effort, however, focused on the southern areas where nearby rail access could transport the catch to a lucrative market.⁴ Only later did interest and regulation turn to the North.

When fishery regulations were instituted in the North-West Territories in 1892, in spite of earlier treaty and Aboriginal rights, there was no distinction in the legislation between Indian and non-Indian harvesters. If

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Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-B473-3.

Brooks Construction and Transportation Company loading fish onto a plane in the winter of 1930–31.

liberally interpreted, closed seasons, net sizes, and aggregate limits would apply to Indians as well as the non-Indian commercial fishery. Hayter Reed, Indian Commissioner for the North-West Territories, argued vigorously for Native exemption from the legislation. Reed maintained that Indians should not be subject to restrictions or licensing even if the legislation did not include an outright differentiation between Indian and non-Indian fishermen.⁵ The inspector of fisheries replied to Reed's comments saying that he was "of the opinion that it is absolutely necessary that the Indians be gradually brought to observe the regulations."⁶ The enforcement of such regulations, however, was anything but gradual. Instead, enforcement was deliberate and immediate.

The commercial fishery in Saskatchewan began expanding into the North in the years prior to 1905; it was firmly in place by the time the control of natural resources was transferred to the province in 1930. In only the most limited cases did the commercial fishery employ, support, or benefit the Indian and Métis population of northern Saskatchewan in these early years. In a few rare cases, certain lakes were reserved for the subsistence use of Indians since their most productive traditional fishing spots were now the local haunts of commercial fishermen.⁷

At the same time, non-Indian entrepreneurs worked their way into the North in search of fish to send to burgeoning commercial markets across North America. By 1891, some commercial fishing activity found its way into the region north of Prince Albert, and a pair of

brothers, immigrants from Norway, fished Red Deer Lake (Waskesiu) and Little Trout Lake (Kingsmere) commercially during the winter of 1905-06.⁸ The commercial fishery continued to work its way gradually north after the most accessible lakes were quickly exploited to the point where they were no longer profitable for commercial operations. These early ventures relied on local markets like Prince Albert to sell their catch. Only after enhanced access to rail transportation, most notably the development of the Canadian Northern Railway, did commercial fishing permeate northern Saskatchewan. By the end of World War I, commercial fishing was a fixture in northern Saskatchewan and this new boom in fishing in the provincial north relied on foreign as well as domestic and local markets.

Commercial companies were already in operation in northern Manitoba and Alberta by that time, and merely expanded their operations into Saskatchewan in search of new and more productive lakes. The increased interest in the inland commercial fishery near the end of the war caused many involved in commercial fishing to petition Ottawa for larger limits on their catch. Their rationale was that without larger limits, they could no longer afford to remain in business due to higher costs in transportation and winter road construction.⁹ The exact location chosen by commercial operations were those areas used by Indians prior to the arrival of commercial pressure. Since sport was of no value to either Indians or the commercial harvesters, they both chose the locations where the most fish could be harvested with the least

effort. The areas were, in short, some of the most productive lakes in the province. The problem was that fish grew slowly in the cold, deep northern lakes. When the largest fish, the big spawners, were taken, fish populations dropped quickly. The commercial fishermen then needed more nets to take an ever decreasing catch. The impact on Native people, who gained little from the new industry, and who experienced more difficulty in securing fish for their own needs, was devastating.¹⁰ In some cases, the impact of commercial fishing was felt almost immediately. In the area north of Green Lake, one commercial fisherman



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Fishing camp and crew at Little Trout Lake, late winter 1907. Photograph by Skuli Bachman.

recounted the impact of commercial fishing on a nearby Native family.

Indians made semi-weekly trips for toboggan loads of fish for themselves and their dogs. They paid no attention to our [commercial fishing] camp, pushing their dogs to top speed as they passed, no doubt foreseeing that our operation on the lake would severely cut down on their future catch of whitefish. That's exactly what happened. They had only a small supply the 3rd winter that we operated there and the conditions of their dogs showed the lack of food.¹¹

The declining health of the dogs in this case was merely a harbinger of things to come.

While Indians suffered from the expansion of the commercial fishery on the North, only rarely did they become directly involved in the industry. Instead, larger fishing companies like the Northern Saskatchewan Fish Company, Johnson Fisheries, and the McInnis Fish Company cornered the commercial market on Saskatchewan's fish output in the years between the wars. For Indians, any commercial venture in fishing was usually an expansion of their own subsistence use of the resource. Only eight individual Indians from the La Ronge area, for example, purchased commercial licenses in 1918. Their catch was marketed locally in La Ronge and Prince Albert.¹² Almost a decade later, the number of Indians engaged in fishing as a commercial enterprise

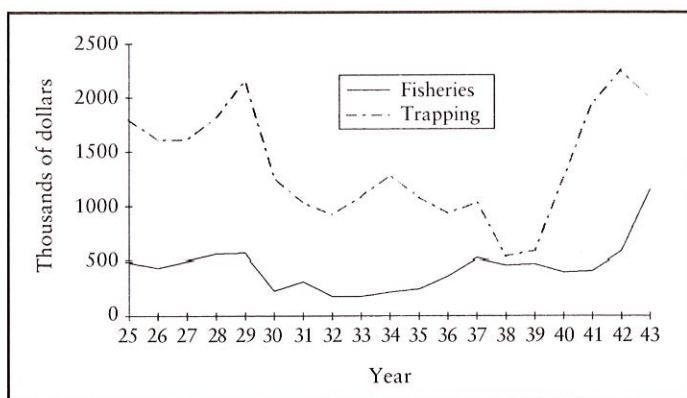


Figure 1
Value of harvested fur and fish resources in Saskatchewan, 1925–1943.

had not risen. Between 1926 and 1927, the number of Indians fishing Ministikwan Lake commercially dropped from twelve to two.¹³

The fur trade was more economically important for the region's Native inhabitants. In contrast to the complex marketing schemes in the early commercial fishery, trappers who sold their furs to organized or private traders did not have to worry about marketing their furs. The Hudson's Bay Company (HBC), Revillon Frères, or private traders took care of that for them. While the equity of the fur trade for Aboriginal peoples is often questioned, the trade of fur for goods, cash, or

credit was accomplished on site, usually at the HBC or Revillon Frères post or outpost. The trappers turned up with their pelts, and left with cash, credit, or goods. Worries about spoilage after they traded their furs were beyond their concern.

This is not to say that the fishery was of little use to the Native people of northern Saskatchewan. Much to the contrary, the fishery held great value for the region's inhabitants. For the Native population, the relationship between fishing and trapping was not as distant as these economic marketing realities might indicate. Northern Natives were, of course, heavily reliant on the rich and relatively abundant fish resource of the North, and while the fur trade provided them with cash, credit, or goods, the lakes supplied an important source of food for themselves and their dogs.¹⁴ The fish, after all, were easily preserved by freezing in the winter and drying in the summer. When it came to commercial fishing, however, profits and losses were measured only after transportation costs to distant markets, marketing expenses, and large capital expenses were factored in. The most efficient and productive season for the commercial fishery—the winter—also conflicted with the prime season for trapping. General revenues from trapping also consistently outstripped commercial fishing returns in the years between the wars.¹⁵ In contrast to the economic highs and lows of the fur trade, the value of the fishery remained relatively constant, thus providing the consistent profit required by Saskatchewan's large commercial fishing companies. The volatile nature of the fur prices owed much to the fashion industry,

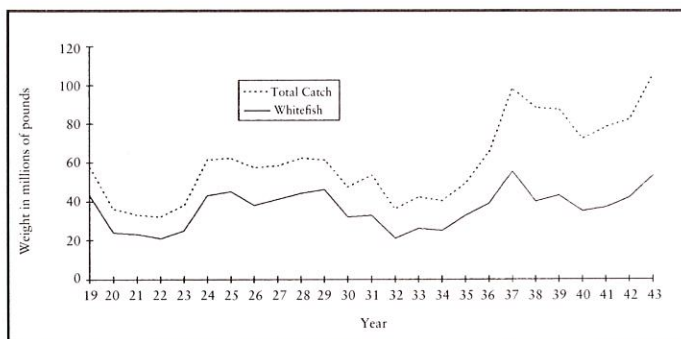


Figure 2
Total weight of fish harvested in Saskatchewan, 1919–1943.

while the fishery relied on the need for food in two growing countries. Thus, commercial fishery revenues were much more stable over time.

In the years between the wars, the volume of fish harvested in Saskatchewan nearly doubled.¹⁶ This doubling was caused in part by closer railheads as well as by improved access to lakes via new winter roads in the northern part of the province.¹⁷ A vigorous invasion of commercial fishing companies was truly under way in northern Saskatchewan. Many of the new lakes utilized in the commercial fishery had never seen such fishing

pressure. Indeed, this is exactly why the fishing companies were so interested in lakes in the western watershed of the Churchill River. For hundreds of years, the only fishing pressure these rich northern lakes felt was from the local Aboriginal inhabitants. While historical harvest weights might be estimated in thousands of pounds, soon the estimates would be in hundreds of thousands and millions of pounds. The biological demography and diversity of the lakes would never be the same.

By the end of the war, Indians held almost no place in the commercial fishery; they were regulated in the North as were others interested in fishing for domestic purposes. While Indians were eligible for free domestic fishing permits, their catch could not be legally sold or bartered and they were further limited in the size and length of nets they could use. Indian access was not governed by prior treaties as the Native signatories to those treaties hoped; rather, it was controlled by a formal conference between officers in the Indian Affairs Department and officers in the Fisheries Branch.¹⁸ Not only were Indians never consulted concerning the development of the commercial fishery, they were often blamed when productivity on nearby lakes declined. The commercial fishing companies, with local fish and game guardians in their pockets, charged that the Indians were responsible for declining fish stocks. They claimed that fish not sent to market were “misused” by Indians. The commissioner of fisheries stated in 1917 that “there has been much local misuse of fish ... that should have gone to market.” He also alleged that “Indians and half-breeds have destroyed fish mainly in the spawning season.”¹⁹ The so-called inappropriate uses, according to the fisheries inspectors, were any uses which prevented the fish from being marketed in Canada or the United States. Mammon was in charge here. The needs of the local people were not as important as the needs of the market. Fisheries inspectors quickly labeled the Indians’ use of fish as wasteful and inappropriate. In eliminating this alleged waste, the Commissioner of Fisheries enlisted the help of local missionaries to “discourage the waste of fish by Indians and Half breeds as the local priests at the Missions have a great influence in this direction, and favor increasing the commercial catch.”²⁰ The commissioner did not want the Indians cramping the style of the commercial fisheries.

The commissioner was simply wrong in believing that the missionaries would join in the fight against Indians fishing in the North. These missionaries instead worked vigorously to protect the Indians in their use of the local fish stocks. Concerned by the depletion of fish in Lesser Slave Lake in Alberta, Joseph Guy, OMI., pleaded with Ottawa to assist in the protection of the fishery as a source of food for the Indians. Reverend Guy related the problem in unequivocal terms. He wrote that

fish was [sic] very plentiful in Lesser Slave Lake and the Indians relied upon this lake for a part of their food. Now, the Indians see with deep regret that their hunting limits are restricted by the fact that the government has ordered a survey of land on the eastern and western shores of the lake. A few very powerful companies have taken possession of the lake and wage, what I could call, a cruel war to the fish, which is being destroyed without discrimination.²¹

The fisheries office seemed to be working not only for the commercial fishing operations in northern Alberta and Saskatchewan, but directly against the Indians in the region as well.

The fisheries office soon launched a campaign to prevent the Indians from drying their summer catch for consumption throughout the winter.²² Since the fisheries inspector considered the hanging and drying their summer catch as wasteful, he argued that “to allow the tak-



Saskatchewan Archives Board, S-B 9036.

Drying fish in an Indian camp, Waterhen Lake area, 1909. Photograph by Frank Crean.

ing of fish for hanging would without doubt result in the depletion of the waters in which the fishing is done.” He went on to say that he “saw some of the hung fish ... and every female was in spawn.”²³ Somehow, the enthusiastic fish guardians could identify the sex of fish which were split and eviscerated. The fish guardians made no mention in their official report to the Chief Inspector

of visits to commercial fishing camps. Apparently, the Indians, who had limited access as a result of increased regulation and reduced fish stocks, were still responsible for the depletion of fish stocks in northern lakes.

The fisheries office had two main objectives in managing the northern fishery. First, fisheries officers wanted to ensure that every available fish made it to market. This meant that the drying of fish for local use was not acceptable, nor was the use of fish for dog food, as was common in the North. The fisheries ministry also wanted to be sure that the large investments of the commercial fishing companies were protected. A goal of sustainable fish harvests was only considered as it met these two prior objectives. Before moving into northern lakes, commercial fishing companies secured agreements from Ottawa that regulations would not change once their operations were in place. In one case, the manager of the Northern Saskatchewan Fish Company requested not only protection from future restrictions, but also a bonus payment for opening winter roads to new lakes.²⁴

In blaming the Indians for the destruction of the fishery in the North, the fisheries ministry was trying to draw attention away from the fact that the Indians were starving, while thousands of boxes of frozen and fresh fish were making their way to Prince Albert, Edmonton, and on to Vancouver, Chicago, and New York for the profit of the commercial fishing companies. At the same time, the fish guardians interpreted the law literally and enforced it without consideration of the daily and seasonal activities of the Indians. George Maxwell, a northern Saskatchewan Provincial Police officer stationed in La Ronge, wrote in defense of the Indians' method of harvesting and storing fish in 1921. Maxwell stated that

rarely can one buy more than half a dozen fish from any of the Indians at a time, as their nets are so small, and being set so close to the shores their catch is only sufficient for their own use.

He further claimed that

last spring during the Flu dozens of good dogs died at every settlement for lack of fish, no one being able to go out and set nets, while sick with the flue [sic] had they a supply of hung fish those dogs could have been saved.

Later that same winter the story worsened. Maxwell recounted his recent trip to a stretch of the Churchill River about eighty miles north of La Ronge. There he found

Otto Fietz, a German American, [who] had shot himself and his wife and three children, and an old Indian woman who had been living there for eight days with nothing to eat with the exception some bark they got off the trees. Had this man Dutchy had a supply of hung fish this could have been avoided.²⁵

Rather than watching his family starve to death, Fietz killed his wife and three children before turning the gun on himself. Favoring commercial industry and restricting domestic and subsistence uses threatened not only the Indian population but others living in the North who relied on Indians for their subsistence as well. These were serious problems. Nonetheless, upon receipt of this dreadful account the fisheries inspector wrote off the police report as "very good fiction" even though Maxwell lived in the region.²⁶ Regardless of the fisheries inspector's belief that the report was fiction, the bodies were real. Maxwell lasted only a little over two years in the area. He was transferred to the Wakaw detachment only two months after his February 1921 report. The provincial police

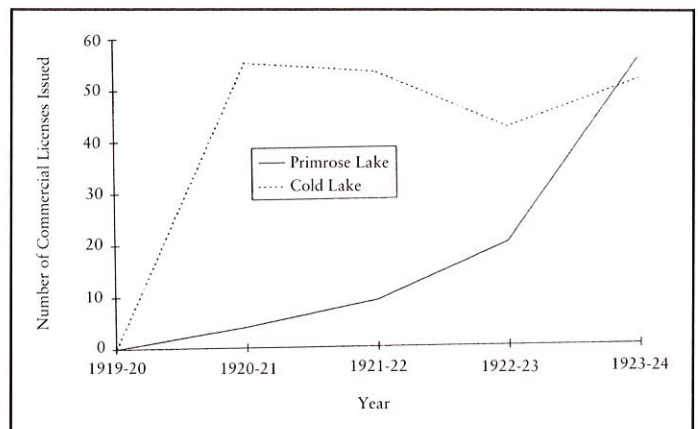


Figure 3
Number of commercial licenses issued for Cold and Primrose lakes, 1919-1924.

commissioner sided with the fisheries ministry in seeing that no more inflammatory reports originated from Maxwell at the La Ronge detachment.²⁷ Two years later, Maxwell would resign in the face of further assaults on his integrity as a provincial police officer.²⁸

As early as 1923, some of the larger lakes like Lac La Ronge, Peter Pond, and Churchill were suffering from heavy commercial fishing pressure. Again, the Indians were among the first to suffer. Reverend Hives of the Indian boarding school at La Ronge complained that he could no longer secure a sufficient supply of whitefish to feed the children at the school. The Department of Fisheries regulated the size of the mesh for fishing and, while the smaller whitefish slipped through the required large mesh, there were simply not enough large fish left to sustain the lake. Calculating their diminishing returns, commercial fish companies began to move off the lake. Hoping to benefit the remaining commercial industry in the area, the fisheries minister reduced the mesh size requirement for Lac la Ronge.²⁹ What was left of the smaller whitefish were soon heading south in commercial packing boxes on their way to Canadian and American markets. Lake after lake was being fished out by commercial companies. The growth of commercial licenses for Cold Lake and Primrose Lake, for



Saskatchewan Archives Board R-B165.

Sleighs hauling fish, Prince Albert, c. 1910.

example, shows how commercial pressure shifted from one lake to another as the first lake became saturated with commercial nets.³⁰

The practice of commercial companies to harvest as much as possible while the lake ice was stable and leave the removal of frozen fish until later in the spring occasionally caused thousands of pounds of fish to spoil if spring came early. This happened in 1924. Over 122,000 pounds of fish rotted when Johnson Fisheries could not get its winter catch out of the Peter Pond and Churchill Lake.³¹ The horses and sleds used to transport



Figure 4
Number of Men Fishing Peter Pond Lake, 1921-1927.

the catch were salvaged; the fish were simply left to spoil. While the fisheries inspector complained that Indians were wasting fish by feeding their catch to dogs, hundreds of thousands of pounds of fish rotted on along shores of northern lakes whenever winter broke early.

Federal managing agencies were located thousands of miles from the resource. These agencies frequently knew little and cared less about the specific needs of the region's Aboriginal peoples. These regulating agencies also knew little about the geography of the area. As late as 1928, after encouraging development in the area for over twenty years, the federal regulations continued to list Saskatchewan waters such as Churchill Lake and Peter Pond Lake as being in Alberta.³² These were not

small or insignificant border lakes. Rather, they had produced millions of pounds of fish and had been fished commercially for over ten years.

By 1926, Peter Pond Lake showed clear signs of a waning fish population. In the 1927 and 1928 seasons, those fishing Peter Pond realized diminishing returns from the lake even while the number of men fishing the lake remained fairly constant. As the size of the catch dropped, the men simply employed more nets. Sixty-seven men operated 320 nets in 1926; seventy-nine men worked 510 nets the following year.³³ The commercial response was simply to move to the

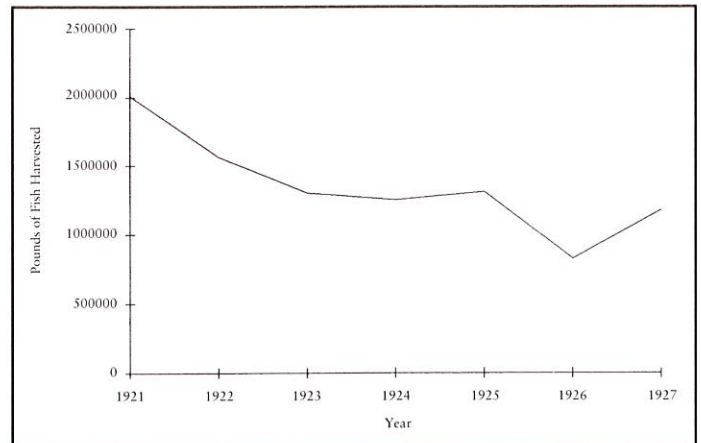


Figure 5
Total weight of fish harvested from Peter Pond Lake, 1921-1927.

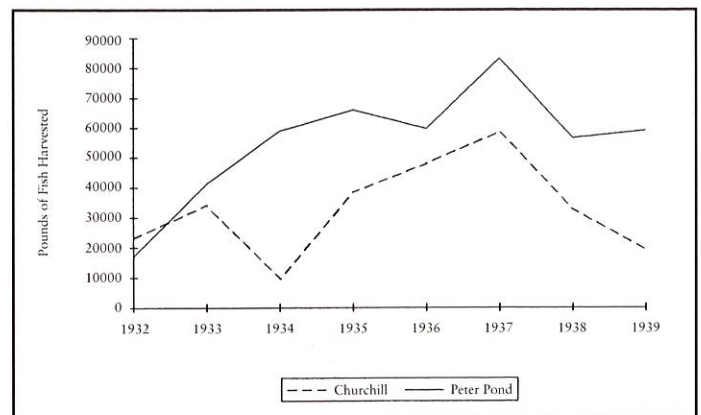


Figure 6
Weight of Fish Harvested from Peter Pond and Churchill Lakes, 1932-1939.

next closest lake. While harvests from Peter Pond Lake shrank, harvests from nearby Churchill Lake grew ten-fold from just over 26,000 pounds in 1926 to over 265,000 pounds in 1927.³⁴ In a few years, pressure would resume and the number of men fishing Peter Pond and Churchill lakes would take still more fish. By the 1930s, the number of fish harvested from these two lakes again declined.³⁵ It was clear that the fishery was not sustainable on any one lake over time.

As the fishery moved north, missionaries again came to the defense of the Indians, stressing the importance of a healthy fishery for the Native population. This time, complaints were forwarded to the Inspector of Fisheries through the detachment of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) in Stony Rapids. The local priest petitioned the government to preserve the fishery for the local Indian population. In 1929, Father J.L. Riou stated that

The Chipewyan Chief and the Mission in the name of the Indian Population is asking that the fishing on Black Lake be protected from the Fishing Companies. And at Island Lake and if possible from Poplar Point to Stony Rapids, (Lake Athabasca).³⁶

The RCMP noted that commercial operations took over two million pounds of lake trout from the vicinity mentioned by the local priest, but that there were hundreds of other lakes in which the Indians could fish. Evidently, the hundreds of other smaller lakes were not of value to the commercial operations. The commander of the Stony Rapids RCMP detachment discounted the passion of the missionary's plea.³⁷ While the Minister of Fish-

eries hoped to employ missionaries in reducing the Indians' subsistence catch while reserving the resource in favor of the commercial fishery, other officials discounted missionary pleas when they were not on the side of commercial development.

Indians fared no better in the years following the transfer of natural resources to provincial control, even though the 1930 legislation specifically provided for the protection of the Native right of access to the resource for food. Section twelve of the 1930 *Saskatchewan Natural Resources Act* reads:

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 Indians within the boundaries thereof, provided, however, that the said Indians shall have the right, which the Province hereby assures 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.³⁸

Indians in northern Saskatchewan were generally ignored when it came to commercial interests in one of their most valuable natural resources. During World War II, the commercial fishery experienced a tremendous boom. Indians in northern Saskatchewan realized none of that boom. Following the war, the provincial government commissioned a study of the development of the commercial fishery. Not surprisingly, the study discovered little Native involvement in the commercial



Saskatchewan Archives Board, S-B7596.

Loading fish into refrigerated rail cars in Prince Albert for shipment to the United States, winter of 1910–11. Photograph by Skuli Bachman.

fishery The inquest also discovered the impact of the commercial fishery on Indian people. Chief Solomon Marasty of the Peter Ballantyne Band expressed the views held by many Indians in the North over the way in which commercial interests were favored over Indian interests. He stated:

we want to reserve them [the lakes] for our people, for the fathers of our Indian children. The white man come and we [can] not go up [to fish]. Look at our village and see how we live!³⁹

The testimony taken at Reindeer Lake revealed what the Indians knew all along. When a local fish and game field officer was questioned as to the future of Indian involvement in the commercial fishery, he stated that “from now on it will be [even] less, because fishermen won’t have them.”⁴⁰ It seemed the government would not have them either. Without securing a commercial license, Indians were prohibited from selling or bartering their catch in any way. It was even illegal for them to sell fish to the provincial police or to the RCMP patrol without a proper commercial license. They were consigned to a literal hand-to-mouth existence, and were not allowed even to put up enough food for the winter. According to the fisheries office, however, the Indians had “sufficient privileges if they would only help themselves.”⁴¹ The problem was that when they tried to help themselves, commercial industry or restrictive regulation prevented them from not only improving their condition, but in some cases from surviving the winter.

While the law allegedly preserved their access to the resource for food, the legislation did not purport to protect the quality of the northern fishery for subsistence users. At the same time, game and fisheries guardians enforced regulations according to the letter of the law with little regard for the Native interests. While Indians

received assurances that their way of life would remain unaffected in their treaty with the federal government as well as in subsequent legislation, such promises meant little to enforcement agencies. From the Indian perspective, agreements like Treaty 8 and Treaty 10 which cover most of northern Saskatchewan, were negotiated to recognize and protect the usufructuary rights that pre-existed their formal relationship with the federal government. Continued access to fur, fish, and game resources was the single most important Indian concern at the time Treaty 10 was signed. When the bands who signed Treaty 10 affixed their marks to the treaty document, they made it clear that they had no interest in seeing their way of life destroyed by outside pressures and interference.⁴² But while they were officially brought under the trust responsibility of the federal government in 1906 and 1907, the government only engaged that responsibility in the interests of what it perceived to be more productive resource uses. Interests in timber and mineral exploitation, commercial fishing, hydro-electric power development, and even a bombing range took precedence over Indian interests in the rich natural resources of the region. The resource needs of the Native peoples and the stipulations of northern treaties were accommodated only when convenient and cost-effective, or when they insured enhanced access to non-Native interests in the region.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Endnotes

- 1 One exception to the paucity of study concerning Native-Newcomer competition in northern provincial fisheries is Frank Tough’s “The Establishment of a Commercial Fishing Industry and the Demise of Native Fisheries in Northern Manitoba,” in *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, vol. 4, no. 2 (1984), 303-319.
- 2 Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, *Canada, 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), 75; *Statutes of Canada*, The Saskatchewan Act, 20 July 1905, 4-5 Edward VII, Chap. 42.
- 3 *Statutes of Canada*, The Saskatchewan Natural Resources Act, 30 May 1930, 20-21 George V, Chap. 29.
- 4 Gary Ronald Seymour, “A Geographical Study of the Commercial Fishing Industry in Saskatchewan: An Example of Resource Development,” Master’s thesis (Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan, 1971), 7.
- 5 National Archives of Canada (NAC), Record Group (RG) 10, Records of the Department of Indian Affairs, Volume 3755, File 30979, North-West Territories Indian Commissioner Hayter Reed to Inspector of Fisheries F.C. Gilchrist, April 1892; Philip Ballantyne, et al., *Aski-Puko: The Land Alone* (n.p., 1976), 90-91.
- 6 *Ibid.*, Gilchrist to Reed, 30 May 1892.
- 7 Bittern Lake, just south of Montreal Lake, was set aside as a fish-

- ing reserve for the Montreal Lake Indians. See Bill Waiser, *Saskatchewan’s Playground: A History of Prince Albert National Park* (Saskatoon, Fifth House Publishers, 1989), 22.
- 8 Saskatchewan Archives Board (SAB), Skuli Bachman Papers, “Diary of a Pioneer,” 1; *Report of the Royal Commission on the Fisheries of Saskatchewan* (Regina: King’s Printer, 1948), 21.
- 9 NAC, RG 23, Vol. 999, File 721-4-37, Folder 1, Petition of Fisherman to Superintendent of Fisheries, Sidney Travers; Fishery Officer, Grouard, Alberta to W.A. Found, 16 June 1916.
- 10 NAC, RG 23, Vol. 999, File 721-4-37, Folder 1, Edmonton M.P. Frank Oliver, M.P. for Edmonton to Deputy Minister of the Naval Service G.J. Desbarats, 19 July 1916.
- 11 SAB, Skuli Bachman Papers.
- 12 Seymour, “A Geographical Study,” 19.
- 13 NAC, RG 23, Department of Fisheries and Oceans, Vol. 1002, File 721-4-37, Folder 34, Inspector of Fisheries G.C. MacDonald, to Superintendent of Fisheries W.A. Found, 18 June 1928.
- 14 Claudia Notzke, *Aboriginal Peoples and Resources in Canada* (North York, Ontario: Caput University Publications, 1994), 74-75.
- 15 Figure 1 adapted from the *Report of the Royal Commission on the Fisheries of Saskatchewan*, 1947, 35.

- 16 Figure 2 adapted from *ibid.*, 28-29.
- 17 Seymour, "A Geographical Study," 25.
- 18 NAC, RG 23, Vol. 999, File 721-4-37, Folder 1, "Extract from the Minutes of the Meetings of the Prairie Committee of the Fisheries Advisory Board, Ottawa," 14 October 1914.
- 19 NAC, RG 23, Vol. 999, File 721-4-37, Folder 5, "Memo of the Commissioner of Fisheries Edward Prince to the Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries," 7 June 1917.
- 20 *Ibid.*
- 21 NAC, RG 23, Vol. 1000, File 721-4-37, Folder 16, Reverend Joseph Guy, O.M.I. to Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs Duncan Campbell Scott, 11 March 1912 [sic]. The date on this letter was obviously transposed from 1921, the correct date. On 31 March 1921, D.C. Scott forwarded the letter to the Department of Marine and Fisheries.
- 22 NAC, RG 23, Vol. 1001, File 721-4-37, Folder 24, Assistant Deputy and Secretary of Indian Affairs J.D. McLean to W.A. Found, Department of Marine and Fisheries, 12 November 1924.
- 23 NAC, RG 23, Vol. 100, File 721-4-37, Folder 16, W.A. Found, Assistant Deputy Minister of Fisheries, 21 March 1921.
- 24 NAC, RG 23, Vol. 999, File 721-4-37, Folder 5, Manager of Northern Saskatchewan Fish Company A.A. MacDonald to the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, 12 June 1917.
- 25 NAC, RG 23, Vol. 1000, File 721-4-37, Folder 16, Report of Saskatchewan Provincial Police Officer George D. Maxwell, 12 February 1921.
- 26 NAC, RG 23, Vol. 1000, File 721-4-37, Folder 16, Chief Inspector of Fisheries to W.A. Found, 21 March 1921.
- 27 NAC, RG 23, Vol. 1000, File 721-4-37, Folder 16, Inspector of Fisheries to Chief Inspector of Fisheries G.S. Davidson, 18 March 1921.
- 28 SAB, Saskatchewan Provincial Police, Part C, Folder 7, Saskatchewan Provincial Police Divisional Reports, 1917-1923, 1923 Annual Report of the Prince Albert Division.
- 29 NAC, RG 23, Vol. 1001, File 721-4-37, Folder 20, W.A. Found, Assistant Deputy Minister of Fisheries, 25 September 1923.
- 30 Figure 3 adapted from NAC, RG 23, Vol. 1003, File 721-4-37, Folder 35.
- 31 NAC, RG 23, Vol. 1001, File 721-4-37, Folder 26, Inspector of Fisheries R.T. Rodd to W.A. Found, 21 August 1925.
- 32 NAC, RG 23, Vol. 1003, File 721-4-37, Folder 35.
- 33 *Ibid.*
- 34 *Ibid.*; Figures 4 and 5 adapted from NAC, RG 23, File 721-4-37, Vol. 1003, Folder 35.
- 35 Figure 6 adapted from Saskatchewan, *Department of Natural Resources, Annual Reports*, 1930-31 to 1940.
- 36 NAC, RG 23, File 721-4-37, Vol. 1003, Folder 41, Father J.L. Riou to Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) Corporal Stallworthy, 24 September 1929.
- 37 NAC, RG 23, Vol. 1003, File 721-4-37, Folder 41, H.W. Stallworthy to RCMP Detachment, Great Slave Lake Sub-District, 1 October 1929.
- 38 *Statutes of Canada*, The Saskatchewan Natural Resources Act, 30 May 1930.
- 39 SAB, "Royal Commission on Saskatchewan Fisheries," Records of Evidence of Findings, Statement of Peter Ballantyne Chief Solomon Marasty, Pelican Narrows Testimony, 23 June 1946, Vol. 3, 712 (emphasis in original).
- 40 *Ibid.*, Fred Clavelle, Field Officer, South End, Reindeer Lake Testimony, 708.
- 41 NAC, RG 23, File 721-4-37, Vol. 1003, Folder 41, Supervisor of Fisheries R.T. Rodd, to Assistant Deputy Minister of Fisheries W.J.E. Casey, 22 April 1930.
- 42 "Report of the First Commission for Treaty Ten," J.A.J. McKenna, Commissioner for Treaty Ten to Frank Oliver, Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 18 January 1907; "Report of the Second Commission for Treaty Ten," T.A. Borthwick, Commissioner for Treaty Ten to Frank Pedley, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 14 October 1907, *Treaty No. 10 and Reports of Commissioners* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1907).

Saskatchewan Archives Board

News and Notes (from page 2)

movement is recorded in this sizable collection.

During the last forty years, Koozma Tarasoff has gathered over fifteen metres of Doukhobor-related research material. This material includes research notes, correspondence, speeches, photographs, and published materials pertaining to Doukhobors. Tarasoff has also collected and donated newspaper clippings about Doukhobors in Canada—in both English and Russian—dating from 1935 to 1994. The collection also includes hundreds of hours of oral history interviews which Tarasoff conducted with Doukhobors, and dozens of sound recordings of Doukhobor music, celebrations, conventions, speeches and lectures, and peace events.

While the Tarasoff Papers were being arranged and described, it became increasingly apparent that the Doukhobor records were not the only materials of significant research value. Tarasoff also donated records he created while working for the Saskatchewan Depart-

ment of Social Welfare, the Canadian Department of Forestry and Rural Development, the Canadian Department of Regional Economic Expansion, the Canadian Council on Rural Development, and the National Museum of Canada. Close examination has revealed that these papers contain a notable amount of information pertaining to indigenous peoples in Canada and to rural and community development in western Canada in the late 1960s and the 1970s. For example, the working papers for a study of Tarasoff conducted for the Saskatchewan Department of Social Welfare, entitled the Pipestone-Qu'Appelle Valley Resources Potential and Human Relations ARDA Study, contain a comprehensive analysis of both Native and non-Native communities in the Broadview area. Changing research trends have swung toward the study of both Native history and community history, and the professional records within the Tarasoff Papers offer a rich source of documentation on either of these themes.