

**Enrolment Officer's Reply Report made in Response to the Initial
Submissions by Interested Parties:**

**Report Regarding Ancestor
Hannah Mannell
(RIN #18786)
Dated March 29, 2023**



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Prepared for the Algonquin Tribunal
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Table of Contents

1. Introduction	3
1.1 The Importance of Historical Territories	3
1.1.a Moose Factory and posts in the Moose River System.....	5
1.1.b Lake Abitibi.....	7
2. Document #2 – Initial Submission by Ron Nicholas, Theresa Stokman and Lynn Hanley.....	10
2.1 Correct Time Period Maps of Abitibi Area	10
2.2 Why a trader would take a local native woman as his wife	12
2.3 Document ALG-40269.....	14
2.4 Control of relevant area (PDF page 24/59).....	14
2.5 Document ALG-40226.....	17
2.6 John Mannall’s work history	17
2.7 Document ALG-90196 and Old and Modern Connections to Algonquins.....	17
2.8 1921 census (PDF page 55/59)	18
3. Document 3 – Initial Submission by L. Hanley.....	19
4. Document 4 – Initial Submission by T. Vincent on behalf of C. Vincent.....	19
5. Document 5 – Initial Submission by L. Hanley.....	21
5.1 Hannah’s Conception and Birth	22
5.2 Diary Entries Showing Social Relationship with Algonquin People at Golden Lake	23
5.3 February 18, 2022 letter and associated materials	23
5.4 My Ancestors	23
5.5 My Ancestors Census returns for John Mannal Thomas	24
5.6 James Thomas baptism from mission church on reserve.....	24
5.7 Hannah Mannel Decision May 14, 2013	25
5.8 Map 1 Descendancy Group Clusters.....	25
5.9 Map 1 Descendancy Group Clusters showing connections.....	25
5.10 John Joseph Sunstrum	25
Appendix A: Supporting Document List for Hannah Mannell	26
Appendix B: Supporting Document Package for Hannah Mannell.....	29

1. Introduction

The Tribunal received four submissions from individuals in support of retaining the ancestor Hannah Mannell (RIN #18786) on the Schedule of Algonquin Ancestors. The submissions are posted on the Tribunal's website at:

<https://www.tanakiwin.com/tribunal/hannah-mannell-3/>

The submissions appear on the website as:

- Document 2 – Initial Submission by R. Nicholas
- Document 3 – Initial Submission by L. Hanley
- Document 4 – Initial Submission by T. Vincent on behalf of C. Vincent
- Document 5 – Initial Submission by L. Hanley

The submissions were filed in response to the Enrolment Officer's Report on Ancestor Hannah Mannell, dated November 2022, which is posted on the website as Document 1 – Enrolment Officer's Report Regarding Ancestor Hannah Mannell & appendices.

This reply report addresses the content of the submissions that are relevant to the Tribunal's inquiry, which is to determine whether Hannah Mannell is identified in a historic record or document dated on or before December 31, 1921, in such a way that it would be reasonable to conclude she was considered to be an Algonquin or Nipissing, or a sibling of such a person. A "sibling of such a person" means a person with a common Algonquin parent.

The submissions refer to documents that are contained in the Enrolment Officer's Report, as well as new documents. As noted in the Enrolment Officer's Report, archival documents recording a family's life events have been assigned ALG document numbers; RIN numbers have been assigned to individuals discussed in the report to aid in identification. Both RIN numbers and ALG numbers will be referenced in this report for ease of discussion. Additional material referenced in this responding report by the Enrolment Office are assigned ALG numbers, listed in Appendix A, and attached in Appendix B for ease of reference. Documentation submitted by the Respondents can be reviewed with their submissions.

1.1 The Importance of Historical Territories

The purpose of the Tribunal inquiry is to determine if Hannah Mannell is properly included on the Schedule of Algonquin Ancestors as defined by the Special Resolutions of April 20, 2021 and January 22, 2020. Hannah Mannell's father was known to be an English fur trader named John Mannell (Mannall, various spellings). It is clear that Hannah Mannell's mother is Indigenous. However, the name of Hannah Mannell's mother is not known; nor is the Indigenous group to which she and her parent(s) belonged. In the absence of this evidence, the best indication of the Indigenous heritage of Hannah Mannell is the territory that she and her maternal family inhabited. All interested parties have made submissions on this point.

Hannah Mannell is clearly documented as having been born on August 31, 1795 and was therefore conceived around December 1794. Thus, the relevant period for the formation of the

union between John Mannell and Hannah's mother was anytime from late 1792¹ to late 1794 (when Hannah Mannell was conceived).

In brief, the Enrolment Officer's Report suggested that Hannah Mannell's maternal family could possibly be from: a) the area around Frederick House; b) the area around Kenogamissi; or c) the area around Moose Factory. As indicated in the Enrolment Officer's Report (posted as Document 1), the available information indicates that these areas were likely in Ojibwa or Cree territory during the 1792 to 1794 time period.

The Respondents provided additional maps, census material, extracts from various reports, and descriptions of modern First Nations communities to support the possibility that Hannah Mannell's mother was from the Frederick House area adjacent to Lake Abitibi. The Respondents further submit that the Frederick House area was Algonquin territory.

Defining traditional territory in the relevant period, being approximately 1792 to 1794, is not simple. The history of the area is characterized by group migrations and shifting use and occupation of territory over a period of four centuries beginning at the time of first contact, through the development of the commercial fur trade, the signing of Treaty 9 and related agreements (1906-8), and culminating in the current location and occupation of contemporary reserves and Indigenous settlements.

The following review of historical and anthropological scholarly opinion focuses on the territorial shifts in the region around the relevant time period to assist in providing context for materials submitted by the Respondents and discussed in this reply report. Terms used by fur traders are noted in order to assist in understanding and interpreting their records.

Historian Charles A. Bishop, who wrote extensively on sub-arctic Algonquian-speaking peoples, notes that the identification and placement of territorial groups prior to A.D. 1821 is a "critical problem." Further remarking that the fur trade "led to shifts in group boundaries among the Cree and Ojibwa populations in the lands south of Hudson Bay." A major difficulty with identifying traditional territories lies in the lack of reliable historical data from this early period.² Referring to the relevant period for this inquiry, Bishop notes that "since the interior region between Lake Superior and Hudson Bay was not permanently occupied by traders until the late 18th century (late 1700s), it is impossible to determine the location of inland groups with any degree of certainty before that time, as trader's account of group locations were generally based on hearsay about lands they had not seen." Bishop advised that, "[a]n awareness of these major limitations of the historical data justified caution in making socioterritorial identifications and assessing possible geographical shifts."³

¹ The proposed earliest date of 1792 is based on the assumption that if a union is going to be successful at producing children it usually occurs in the first two years of the union. In addition, Hannah's mother gave birth to a second child when Hannah was about 18 months old demonstrating the fertility of John and his country wife.

² ALG-40547 p. 158

³ ALG-40547 p. 158.

Anthropologists Edward S. Rogers and Garth Taylor concur that it is not possible "to draw a rigid boundary for the territory of the Northern Ojibwa at any period in their history. Population movements and intermarriage with surrounding groups, as well as the infusion of other Indian and European culture traits, have contributed to a blurring of boundaries."⁴ With regard to the subject area, Bishop states that it is not possible "to determine the exact geographic demarcation between the Cree groups living near Lake Superior and the neighbouring non-Cree groups, the Ojibwa and Algonquin proper to the southeast."⁵ Anthropologist R. F. Ritzenthaler agrees that the period of intense competition between the mercantile fur trade companies in the later decades of the 18th century led to shifts in territory. By the opening of the 19th century (early 1800s) he notes the expansion of the northern Ojibwa into the territory north of the Great Lakes where they were "considerably influenced by the Eastern Cree."⁶

Bishop summarizes changes in territory during the height of the fur trade south of Hudson Bay, as follows:

Many of the Cree living north of Lake Superior at the time of contact moved westward during the 18th century, while in their place arrived Ojibwas and perhaps other Algonquians⁷...In consequence of the territorial shifts, along with a tendency for some groups to coalesce around the trading posts ... new regional identities and affiliations began to take shape. By 1821, when the fur trade stabilized under the monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company, the major divisions of Cree and Ojibwa of the central Shield region were established in the sections of the lands between Hudson Bay, Lake Superior, and Lake Winnipeg in which they reside in the mid-twentieth century.⁸

1.1.a Moose Factory and posts in the Moose River System

According to cultural geographer Victor Lytwyn, the Moose River or Swampy Cree, the Muskegowuck Athinuwick, inhabited the broad low-lying swampy lands bordering on James Bay and Hudson Bay. The fur traders often referred to them as Lowlanders; using the term Uplanders to refer to the people who came to the bay from the interior travelling down the rivers that drained into Hudson and James Bay, such as the Moose River system.

Anthropologist Alanson Skinner, who did field work in the area in 1911, concluded that the Swampy Cree were made up of five divisions including the Winnipego-wug or "Coast-people" who lived along the shores of James Bay and Hudson Bay; and the Nutcimiu-inu or "South-inlanders" who lived in the inland forests south and east of the Bay.⁹ Skinner states that the

⁴ ALG-40548 p. 231.

⁵ ALG-40547 p. 158.

⁶ ALG-40549 p. 744.

⁷ The term "Algonquians" refers to a board language group and includes peoples known historically as Ojibwa/Chippewa, Algonquin, Nipissing, Mississauga, Saulteaux, Pottawatomi, Odawa and additional groups of Algonquian-speakers stretching from the Atlantic coast to the Rocky Mountains.

⁸ ALG-40547 p. 160.

⁹ ALG-40551 p. 9.

"Northern Sauteaux division of the Ojibway has been steadily encroaching on their [Cree] southern borders."¹⁰

The Muskegowuck Athinuwick were closely related and intermingled with the Albany House Lowland Cree who traded at Albany House to the northwest of Moose Factory on James Bay.¹¹ The Cree who remained closest to the HBC trading forts, such as Moose Factory, were known as "Homeguard Indians" by the traders. They often worked for the HBC providing provisions and labour. They typically restricted their range to about 160 kilometres from the fort prior to the inland expansion in the 1770s. At Moose Factory, where the low coastal plain extends a shorter distance from the coast, the Homeguard spent more time in the upland area and there was a greater overlap between the range of the Homeguard Cree and the Uplanders.¹²

The territory between the Moose River Cree and the Eastmain Cree on the east side of James Bay was generally delineated by the Nottaway River. The Moose River Lowland Cree occasionally went to trade at Eastmain on the east side of James Bay. However, the Eastmain Cree and the Moose River Lowland Cree were not closely related and were not on friendly terms in the 18th century.¹³

From an early period, HBC traders around Hudson and James Bay recognized the linguistic difference between the Cree and Northern Ojibwa.¹⁴ By the time the HBC was extending its trade posts inland in the 1770s "the boundary between the Lowland Cree and Northern Ojibway followed roughly the boundary between the Hudson Bay lowlands and the upland Shield region."¹⁵

The people known historically as the Ojibwa/Ojibwe/Ojibway traditionally occupied the land south of the divide between Hudson Bay drainage system and the Lakes Superior and Huron drainage system. As the fur trade expanded, they migrated west and north. North of the height of land, they came into contact with the Cree, who were shifting their trapping area southward from the lowland areas along James and Hudson Bay where early trade posts had been established. Baldwin's study of early fur trade in the Moose-Missinaibi River region identifies people in that river system as Cree and Ojibwa who established themselves in the Moose drainage system as a result of these migrations.¹⁶

Skinner identified a group of Ojibwa, which he named the Northern Sauteaux, as an offshoot of the Southern Sauteaux whose traditional territory lay along the north shore of Lake Superior.

¹⁰ ALG-40551 p. 9-10.

¹¹ ALG-40550 p. 14. In 1740 the factor at Albany House reported that the Cree who came to his post from Moose River were originally from the Albany River.

¹² ALG-40550 pp. 15-18; ALG-40547 pp. 159-160; ALG-40554 p. 228.

¹³ ALG-40550 p. 57-58. Lytwyn postulates that the administrative practices of the HBC weakened earlier links between the groups on the east and west side of James Bay.

¹⁴ ALG-40550 p. 45.

¹⁵ ALG-40550 p. 51.

¹⁶ ALG-40552 p. 57.

According to Skinner, they were the most isolated of the Ojibwa groups occupying the region north of Lake Superior and east of Lake Winnipeg around the HBC posts on the Bay. Skinner believed that the Indigenous people of New Post and Lake Abitibi "also belong to this division."¹⁷ Skinner provides a sketch map of the division between the Cree and the Northern Saulteaux (Ojibwa) on page 10, agreeing with other scholars that the Northern Saulteaux have steadily encroached upon the southern boundary of the Cree.

Lytwyn concludes:

The fur trade during the period 1783 to 1821 throughout the north-western interior of the continent was affected by extreme competition between the HBC and various fur companies based in the St Lawrence River valley that eventually amalgamated to form the North West Company (NWC). The peak period of fur trade activity occurred between 1790 and 1810, when record numbers of fur traders and trading posts were in operation.¹⁸

This competition was apparent in the hinterland of Moose Factory during the relevant period for this inquiry. In the post journals from Frederick House and Kenogamissi and other Moose Factory District sources, the traders referred to the competition as "Canadians."

The merger of the HBC and the NWC in 1821 ended the period of intense competition and resulted in the closing of many fur trade posts. In the Moose River District, many of the smaller posts closed prior to the merger.¹⁹

1.1.b Lake Abitibi

The question of the Indigenous identity of the people around Lake Abitibi is germane to the discussion. The Abitibi River and Little Abitibi River are part of the Moose river drainage system.

In the 17th century (1600s), the Abitibi people, believed to be Cree at that time, were one of the named groups in northern Ontario. By the early 1700s, Abitibi people were trading at posts at James and Hudson Bay. For example, a 1707 French report indicated that "Tabitibis" who used to trade at Temiscaming were taking their pelts to the trade with the HBC on Hudson Bay.²⁰ The *Historical Atlas of Canada* provides several maps that depict the location of different groups in the 17th and 18th centuries. The people around Lake Abitibi are identified as Cree along with other people in the Moose Drainage system, as follows:

¹⁷ ALG-40551 pp. 117-118.

¹⁸ ALG-40550 p. 175. Lytwyn references Plate 62 Historical Atlas of Canada Vol. 1 [ALG-40170].

¹⁹ ALG-40550 p. 200. From 1794 to 1821 the Kenogamissi River District was a subdistrict in the Moose River District. The posts and outposts operating from the Kenogamissi were: Kenogamissi, Frederick House, Matawagamingue, Flying Post, Pushquagamy Lake, Wowayaston Carrying Place, and Wyaskash Lake.

²⁰ ALG-40547 pp. 159-160; ALG-40553 pp. 217-230.; ALG-40553 p. 12

- Early 17th century from south to north: Timiscimi (Cr16), Abitibi (Cr17), Piscoutagami (Cr18), Outchichagamiouetch (Cr12), and Monsoni (Cr2) at the mouth of the Moose River.²¹
- 1726-1739 from south to north: Timiscimi (Cr17), Abitibi (Cr16), Piscoutagami (Cr20), Outchichagamiouetch (Cr21), and Monsoni (Cr2) at the mouth of the Moose River.²²
- 1752-1755 from south to north: Timiscimi (Cr17), Abitibi (Cr16), Piscoutagami (Cr20), and Outchichagamiouetch (Cr21) No group is named at the mouth of the Moose River.²³

After the HBC merged with the North West Company (NWC) in 1821, HBC traders in 1826 reported trading with Abitibi people. They identified some of those coming to trade from north of Lake Abitibi as Anishinaabe and others as Cree.²⁴ Pollock states that by the early 19th century (i.e., early 1800s) the people of Lake Abitibi region were being classed as Algonquins.

In his paper supporting the comprehensive claim of Quebec Algonquins, Jacques Frenette showed the Algonquin territory at the end of the British Period (1867) as encompassing Lake Temiskaming, Lake Abitibi, the southern portion of Little Abitibi River, the head of the Montreal River, and Temagami. Frederick House would be located in this area. Frenette does not include the Mattagami River or Lake Mattagami as being in Algonquin territory.²⁵ Kenogamissi is located on the Mattagami River.

New Post was an HBC post on the Abitibi River (1867-1925) initially established to supply Lake Abitibi families who no longer wanted to make "the arduous trip north to Moose Factory for supplies." Cree at this location signed Treaty 9 in 1905 and had a reserve set aside for them. New Post is located between the Abitibi River and the Little Abitibi River.²⁶ The location is now known as Taykwa Tagamou, a Cree community. It is encompassed within the Abitibi area, indicating a historic Cree presence in this Algonquin territory.

Frank Speck's 1913 study of the Timiskaming reports that the Timiskaming people regard the people of Lake Abitibi as belonging to their own dialectic and cultural group identifying them as *Abi'tibi anicenabi* or Blue-water people.²⁷ The term Anicenabi (Anishinaabe) is used by Algonquins and other closely-related linguistic neighbours, such as those known historically as Ojibwa, Mississauga, Ottawa/Odawa and Potawatomie.²⁸ The Temiskaming people are Algonquin. The descendants of the Abitibi people referenced by Speck are members of the Wahgoshig and Pikogan First Nation communities.

²¹ ALG-40555 On the maps, the locations are given an alpha prefix indicating their nation (e.g. Cr for Cr; Al for Algonquin) followed by a number to cross-reference in the key which provides the historic name of the group.

²² ALG-40556

²³ ALG-40557

²⁴ ALG-40553 p. 12.

²⁵ ALG-40558 p. 163.

²⁶ ALG-40553 p. 13.

²⁷ ALG-40553 pp. 5 and 11 citing ALG-40559.

²⁸ ALG-40553 p. 11 citing ALG-40559.

Anthropologist William Jenkins conducted fieldwork at Lake Abitibi in 1939. He indicated that the Abitibi Band was then surrounded by Ojibwa to the west, Cree to the north, Montagnais (Attikamek) to the east, and the Temiskaming Algonquins to the south. He also noted that according to the fieldwork conducted by McPherson in 1930 the Abitibi people are an offshoot of Ojibwa.²⁹ (Note that Algonquins are closely related to other Anishinaabe, such as the historic Ojibwa, and were often described as a branch of the Ojibwa or Chippewa).

Jenkins sketch of the hunting grounds of the Abitibi Band in 1939 depicts the hunting grounds of 40 families noting their band of origin. An examination of Jenkin's sketch map in conjunction with his attached table shows that the Abitibi Band had a mix of origins, being: original Abitibi families (24); families from Ruperts House (8); North Temiskaming (1); and families whose place of origin was unknown (7).³⁰ Ruperts House is a Cree community on the east side of James Bay, now known as Waskaganish First Nation. No Abitibi Band hunting grounds were noted west of the Abitibi River, the location of Frederick House.

This information suggests that by the early twentieth century when Jenkins conducted his fieldwork, the hunting grounds of the Wahgoshig people contained a mix of families with roots from the Lake Abitibi area, from Temiskaming to the south, Waskaganish to the north east, as well as families whose place of origin could not be recalled by any informant. Jenkin's data was collected over 140 years after the relevant period.

Archaeologist John Pollock notes that the groups immediately north of Lake Abitibi were Cree speakers and then comments on the fluctuation of tribal groups in vicinity of Lake Abitibi in the last two centuries. He writes, "[t]hough the boundary between these Ojibwa-speakers and the northern Cree-speakers appears to have fluctuated slightly over the past two centuries, [since late 1700s, early 1800s] the Long Sault and Little Abitibi Lake areas were clearly within Abitibi Algonquin territory."³¹

Pollock produced a sketch map of the traditional boundaries of the Wahgoshig/Abitibiwinni people who are the descendants of the Abitibi people who adhered to Treaty 9. He depicts a core area surrounded by an overlap area, commenting that "the area shown on Figure 3 represents an overlap area shared by both the New Post and Abitibi (Wahgoshig) Peoples." Pollock further comments that "the exact size and nature of the overlap may be more of a political question than an historical one."³² Frederick House is outside of the core Wahgoshig FN territory and the overlap area.

²⁹ ALG-40556 pp. 1-2.

³⁰ ALG-40556 28-31.

³¹ ALG-40553 pp. 4-5. Pollock based this statement on fieldwork conducted by John M. Cooper and Regina Flannery in the 1920s and 1930s and the work of William Jenkins in 1939. The Long Sault area is close to modern-day Cochrane east of Cute on the Abitibi River.

³² ALG-40553 p. 16.

2. Document #2 – Initial Submission by Ron Nicholas, Theresa Stokman and Lynn Hanley

The Respondents, Ron Nicholas, Theresa Stokman, and Lynn Hanley, submitted historic and modern maps, a summary of the work history for John Mannall, several historic documents, and census records. The substance of their submission will be discussed in subsections as organized in the Respondent's submission.

2.1 Correct Time Period Maps of Abitibi Area

The Respondents filed several maps and reports. Three maps cited in the Enrolment Officer's Report (posted as Document 1) in section E.1 are listed by the Respondents. Those maps are as described in the report.

The Respondents attached several maps under the title "Correct Maps for Doc. 1." This reply report comments on each as follows:

Antonio Zatta Map

This illustrated map by Italian mapmaker Antonio Zatta (fl. 1757-1797) was published in 1784. It shows the area around Temicamingue and Lake Abitibi relative to depictions of the height of land. The words "Abitibis" and "Temiscamings" appear close to those lakes to indicate the local name given to the people of the region. It was the custom of mapmakers from this era to copy and redraw maps by other mapmakers. No background is provided regarding the source from which the Zatta drew his information or the year that information was collected. This map may have depended on the 1755 Bellin map which was based on data collected by explorers in the first half of the 18th century, however Zatta's sources are not noted.

Note that historical geographers who studied and published maps in the *Historical Atlas of Canada* (described in section 1.1.b above) identified these locations as belonging to Cree people in the mid-18th century.³³

Yvon Couture Sketch

A sketch map by Yvon Couture contained in his 1983 publication entitled *Les Algonquins* was reproduced in the Praxis Research report of 2001 as Map A4. Couture's map shows Algonquin Traditional Territory, which includes the location of Frederick House close to and within its far western boundary.

Yvon Couture's text states that around the mid-17th century (around the mid-1600s), due to Iroquois incursions, many Algonquin families from the Ottawa River region retreated to the height of land around Lake Abitibi where they intermarried with Crees inhabiting the James Bay basin.³⁴ After the Iroquois peace, many Algonquin families returned to the Ottawa Valley from various areas where they had taken refuge. Algonquins moved northward once again with the

³³ ALG-40557

³⁴ ALG-40562 pp. 46-47.

settlement of the lower Ottawa in the 19th century. Couture further notes that Crees moved southward from James Bay into the Abitibi region at the beginning of the 20th century. Couture concluded that neighbouring groups – Cree, Attikamek, and Ojibways – often share border areas with Algonquins around Lake Abitibi.³⁵

Jenkins Sketch

A sketch made by Anthropologist William Jenkins was reproduced as Map A10 in a Praxis Report. Jenkins published this sketch of the approximate location of Abitibi Hunting Grounds in 1939 based on his informants' descriptions of the location of family hunting grounds around Lake Abitibi. The purpose of Jenkin's fieldwork was to record the hunting economy of the then Abitibi Band to show the relationship of a "primitive group to their environment." Jenkins notes that at the time of his fieldwork the Abitibi Band was surrounded by Ojibwa to the west, Cree to the north, Montagnais (Attikamek) to the east, and the Temiskaming Algonkins to the south. He also noted that according to the fieldwork conducted by McPherson in 1930 the Abitibi people are an offshoot of Ojibwa.³⁶

Jenkins sketch map, submitted by the Respondents, was supported in his publication by a list of the families with their band of origin listed. Of the 40 families whose band of origin is listed: 24 were originally Abitibi members. The others were from: Ruperts House (8), North Temiskaming (1) or unknown (7). Ruperts House is a Cree community southeast of James Bay, now known as Waskaganish First Nation.³⁷

This information suggests that by the early 20th century when Jenkins conducted his fieldwork, the hunting grounds of the Lake Abitibi people contained a mix of families with roots from Temiskaming to the south, Waskaganish to the north east, families of unknown geographic origin, as well as people originally from the Lake Abitibi area. Jenkin's data was collected over 140 years after the relevant period. The information collected from Jenkins informants does not indicate the length of time the families held those grounds or the family migration patterns; consequently, the tribal identity of the families lacks historical depth.

While Jenkins sketch map is imprecise, it shows that the families occupied hunting grounds east of the Abitibi River as far south as Lake Desserat and as far north as the confluence of the Abitibi and Little Abitibi Rivers. Some of the grounds lay on the east side of the Harricana River. No hunting grounds were noted west of the Abitibi River, the location of Frederick House.

1784 Ontario Map

This illustrated map was produced by the Surveys and Mapping Branch of the Ministry of Natural Resources in 1984 as part of the Ontario Bicentennial. The art and design were by Alejandro Rabazo and the toponomy by Michael B. Smart, who produced maps in the 1970s-1980s. The map shows pictorial relief, various geographical locations, and artistic renderings of

³⁵ ALG-40562 p. 47.

³⁶ ALG-40560 pp. 1-2.

³⁷ ALG-40560 pp. 28-31.

individuals and events. Some Indigenous groups that were known to exist in the 18th century are illustrated with associated dates. The map includes: the names "Temiscamiouetz 1769" south of Lake Abitibi; Lake Abitibi, "Outchichagamis 1769" north west of Lake Abitibi, and the location of Moose Fort. "Nouve^{le} France" appears north of Lake Superior, which clearly pre-dates the conquest in 1763. There is no notation regarding the source maps or other sources that were used to produce this map although it is clearly ahistorical containing notations regarding peoples who occupied the land over an extended period of time.

Archaeological Sites

The source of this plan and attached table provides an outline of Algonquin Cultural Development in Northeastern Ontario. No source is provided. Without proper source information, there is no basis upon which to comment on this information.

2.2 Why a trader would take a local native woman as his wife

The Respondents cited a biography from 1990 for John Mannall, a citation from a published work by Jennifer Brown (p. 72), a published article by A. Gottfred, and a citation from a Praxis Research paper to address this topic.

John Mannall

An unsourced type-written biography for John Mannall states that John Mannall was stationed at Frederick House, which the Jarvis Map claims had four men from 1788 to 1794. The biography indicated that he established a post at Kenogamissi in the summer of 1794. As noted in the Enrolment Officer's Report (posted as Document 1, section E.3 on page 7), John Mannall was posted at Frederick House from 1792 following his service at Brunswick House. He established the post at Kenogamissi in July 1794. This information is well-documented by his HBC biographical sheet and details recorded in the post journals as cited in the Enrolment Officer's Report.

The biography supplied by the Respondents asserts that Mannall took a country wife at Kenogamissi and that his wife was "undoubtedly the daughter of a local Chief." While it should be recognized that it is possible that John Mannall took a wife at Kenogamissi, it is not "undoubtedly" the case that she is from this region. No documentation has been supplied to support the statement that John Mannall's country wife was the "daughter of a local Chief."

Jennifer Brown extract, page 72

The extract from Jennifer Brown's book *Strangers in Blood* highlights a paragraph noting that 18th century officers would have preferred Indian women as partners due to their value in forming alliances between the fur traders and their Indigenous group. The Respondents do not note that Brown's comment pertains more specifically to the earlier period of the fur trade. Brown writes that by the period of Hannah Mannall's birth, Indian women ceased to be the preferred partners. She writes:

From the late 1700s on, company men increasingly tended to find their fur trade mates among the mixed-blood daughters of their senior colleagues. These daughters might be broadly classed as Indian, yet they also had a specific paternally derived identity.³⁸

The chapter from which the Respondent's quotation is taken is entitled "Hudson's Bay Company Men and Mixed-Blood Women 1770-1821." It includes several examples from the Albany and Moose Districts, summarizing the trend in this period as follows:

There were perhaps four main reasons why they [mixed-blood women] were preferred over Indian women from the late 1700s on, aside from the fact that there were more of them. Two of these reasons related to declining fur trade needs for Indian women, and two reflect the increasing advantages that company daughter could offer their husbands and children in the changing fur trade social context of the early 1800s.³⁹

Most relevant to the Moose District, Brown states "[i]n the first place, by the 1790s the company had been established in a broad region west and south of Hudson Bay for many decades; and in areas where trade contact were already made, alliances with Indian women for trade purpose were less important."⁴⁰ Brown provides an example of the wife of chief factor John Thomas and "Mrs. Mannall" provisioning the post in 1808. Hannah would have been about 13 years old at the time; this is clearly a reference to her unnamed mother.

Historian Sylvia Van Kirk, in her seminal work on women in the fur trade, *Many Tender Ties* concurs with Brown's assessment of the changes in country marriage patterns. In her chapter "Daughters of the Country" she writes that Hudson Bay traders valued the cross-cultural skills and abilities of mixed-blood women and the traders sought unions for their mixed-blood daughters within the company.⁴¹

This reply report is not suggesting that traders did not pursue unions with Indigenous women in order to promote trading alliances with their Indigenous families; however, the evolution of the fur trade across the country shifted from a preference for unions with Indian women to a preference for unions with the mixed-blood daughters of other traders. In addition, this report is not suggesting that Hannah Mannell's mother was necessarily the mixed-blood daughter of a trader, although this is a possibility. This reply is making the point that that, as with all historical issues, time and place is critical to understanding social, geographic and cultural trends.

Having said that, the fact that Hannah Mannell's mother was never named or referenced in any document could be interpreted as supporting the possibility that she was of purely Indigenous descent and not the mixed-blood daughter of a trader who might have been named or referenced.

³⁸ ALG-40231 p. 70 .

³⁹ ALG-40231 p. 73.

⁴⁰ ALG-40231 p. 73

⁴¹ ALG-40563 pp. 107-111.

Gottfred extract

The extract from an article entitled "Women of the Fur Trade" by A. Gottfred makes a general statement about the advantages to fur traders of forming unions with "Native" or mixed-blood women. There is no information in this one-page excerpt that adds to the discussion.

Extracts from Praxis Report, pages 150, 80 and 81

The extracted pages from the Praxis Report reference both HBC and NWC traders as having "country marriages" as did John Mannall. This fact has been demonstrated by primary documents in the Enrolment Officer's Report (posted as Document 1). The reference to Mrs. Mannall provisioning Moose Fort is found in the Enrolment Officer Report based on the Jennifer Brown source.

2.3 Document ALG-40269

Location of Sowewaminican

Historian Elaine Mitchell identified Sowewaminican as a post known by the "Canadians" as Langue de Terre. It belonged to the Fort Temiskaming District and was located on Lake Mistinikkon at the head of the Montreal River. Sowewaminican/Langue de Terre is south east of Kenogamissi. The post was in stiff competition with Frederick House and other HBC posts. The Canadian traders brought goods through Lake Abitibi to bolster their competitive advantage against the HBC posts in the Moose District.⁴² Geographer Richard Ruggles identifies Sowewaminican as lying on the route between Lake Abitibi and Lake Temiskaming.⁴³

The Enrolment Officer's Report erroneously identified Sowewaminican/Langue de Terre as lying west of Kenogamissi.

2.4 Control of relevant area (PDF page 24/59)

The fact that Hannah Mannell's mother was Indigenous is not in issue. She clearly was an Indigenous woman. However, in order to establish whether she is Algonquin as opposed to another Indigenous nation is dependent on two factors, being: a) what area/territory is she from; and b) what Indigenous nation(s) occupied that territory at the relevant time.

The Respondents present maps, extracts from the Praxis Report, and a 1901 census to address the issue of which "First Nation controls, and in charge of the area these Posts are in":

Maps

The Zatta, Jenkins and Couture maps are discussed above under section 2.1.

- The Zatta map does not identify the nation which occupied the Lake Abitibi area, nor does it document the time frame of the general information that is depicted.
- The Yvon Couture map identified the Lake Abitibi area as being Algonquin in the 20th century, with Frederick House shown within this territory.

⁴² ALG-40564 pp. 27, 37, 41-42.

⁴³ ALG-40546 pp. 54-55.

- The context and creation of the Jenkins map is discussed at length above. It is based on information collected in the field in 1939. At that time, Jenkins identified the Lake Abitibi area as Algonquin, noting that some of the hunting grounds within the area were held by people originally from Rupert House (Waskaganish) a Cree community, Lake Temiskaming (Algonquin), or were held by families whose band of origin was not known to the informants. No Abitibi Band hunting grounds were noted west of the Abitibi River, which is where Frederick House is located. Unfortunately, the Jenkins map and study lack historical depth and does little to identify the people who held the territory in the period of Hannah Mannall's birth.

1901 census Table

The table purports to show the ethnic affiliations of people listed on the 1901 census in three locations. The actual census tracts are not attached. No methodology is provided for the production of this table. This reply report can not assess the accuracy of the information. More importantly, ethnic affiliation as reported on a census in 1901 does not necessarily reflect the ethnic identity of the people inhabiting the area in the relevant time period, being 1792 to 1794.

The Praxis Report (pages 52, 53, 109-112)

This material outlines the history of the fur trade around Lake Abitibi and Frederick House with particular reference to the competition between Canadian traders and HBC traders and the opening of subsidiary posts in the upper Moose drainage system.

The 1901 census information compiled and discussed in the Praxis report section 5.4 indicates that in 1901 95% of the population was listed as Algonquin. Regardless of whether or not Hannah's mother is from the Frederick House area, this information does not assist in understanding the ethnic origin of Hannah's mother in the late 1790s.

The time periods in which John Mannell was in the Frederick House and Lake Abitibi region was documented in the Enrolment Officer's Report (posted as Document 1 in section E.3 pages 7 to 8). Documentation cited in the report indicated that John Mannell made inland trips into the area of the upper Moose River system. For example, he was inland for two weeks in June 1793 and from April to May in 1794 prior to Hannah's conception.⁴⁴ John Mannell's inland trips are referenced in a detailed study of the mapping of the Hudson Bay area by geographer Richard I. Ruggles. Ruggles noted that John Mannell mapped the inland area while he was assigned to Frederick House, just before establishing the post at Kenogamissi on the Mattagami River. Ruggles writes,

In addition to local trips, his [John Mannall's] two main expeditions out of the Abitibi Lake area, south towards Lake Timiskaming and west into the Mattagami River valley, gave him the information for a map on which these journeys were outlined. For several years, the Frederick House Lake area was

⁴⁴ See notes from post journals in Appendix 3 of the Enrolment Officer's Report on pages 23 to 26.

visited by Canadian traders [traders from Lower Canada competing with the HBC] from the Soweawaminica settlement [Langue de Terre] which lay south of Lake Abitibi on the way to Lake Timiskaming. These traders were interested in coming north to the district to compete for the trade. In 1793, Mannall decided to map the route between the two settlements, and was away from 13 to 23 June [1793]. After conferring with Chief Factor Thomas at Moose about the competitive situation in the region, Mannall set off from Frederick House in the spring, 28 April to 15 May 1794, across country to survey the rivers and lakes west to the Mattagami River and to Lake Kenogamissi, and to decide how to "most effectually counteract the Designs of the Canadians." On his return, Mannall was sent off to head a house-building crew, going back to Lake Kenogamissi to erect a post there. Both areas, south and west of Abitibi, were included in his map.⁴⁵

A summary provided by the Respondents on PDF page 37/59 titled "What Aboriginal Group mainly used and controlled the area" gives examples of Indians trading at Frederick and Kenogamissi posts. The Enrolment Officer does not agree with some of the assumptions in this summary. For example, item 5 states that "Grant's people from Sowwewaminican are to winter beside Mannall. These are Algonquin people." Grant was a free trader, a so-called Canadian. His "people" are his servants/employees, not Algonquins or any other Indigenous trappers. The Indigenous trappers did not typically winter around the inland posts; they were on their grounds trapping. In this era, it was the practice of Canadians to set up their posts in close proximity to the HBC inland posts and vice versa. It was a competitive strategy used to increase their opportunities to capture the trade.

The summary concludes that "no aboriginal fur traders come from Moose Factory to trade at Frederick House or Kenogamissi." The pattern of trade in this period was from two directions. HBC traders brought trade goods from Moose Factory to supply the inland posts. The HBC traders at the inland posts exchanged goods for furs and other country products from Indigenous trappers. Their furs were carried back to Moose Factory every spring. The Cree around Moose Factory did not have to travel inland to trade; they traded at the post at Moose Factory. The Canadian traders brought their trade goods into the area through the Temiskaming and Abitibi route and transported furs back to Canada through the same route. The Indigenous trappers moved between posts trading to their advantage, this was the crux of the competition between the fur trade companies.

Ruggles' detailed study of mapping in the region (cited above) indicates that Mannall had indeed surveyed routes south and west of Lake Abitibi as far as Mattagami in the spring of 1794. He was familiar with the area.

⁴⁵ ALG-40546 p. 54-55. Ruggles notes that the map produced by Mannall is not available in the HBC Archives. Ruggles information is taken from the Moose Factory Post records.

2.5 Document ALG-40226

The documents in the Enrolment Officer's Report are supplied for the consideration of the Tribunal. The extract from *Pioneer Reminiscences of the Upper Ottawa Valley* was supplied by descendants of Hannah Mannall when they sought enrolment. Like many secondary sources, some of the details are incorrect and must be verified against primary documents. The Enrolment Office relies only on primary documents for genealogical purposes.

2.6 John Mannall's work history

The Enrolment Officer's Report includes the HBC Biographical Sheet for John Mannall on pages 7-9.⁴⁶ Details of his trips to Moose Factory and to inland posts are detailed above and in the Enrolment Officer's Report (posted as Document 1).

2.7 Document ALG-90196 and Old and Modern Connections to Algonquins

The document cited in this section (ALG-90196) is a complaint made by Chief Makwa. It is cited in the Enrolment Officer's Report on pages 12 to 13.⁴⁷ Hannah Mannell, her husband Charles Thomas, and their children were established at Golden Lake by 1834. In February 1834, Chief Makwa complained about Charles Thomas hunting and trapping on his hunting grounds.⁴⁸ The chief made his concerns known to the Indian Department interpreter at Lake of Two Mountains, who so informed the Indian Affairs officer at Montreal, James Hughes. Hughes referred Chief Makwa's complaint to the Secretary of Indian Affairs at Quebec. Hughes summarized the issue:

... I have the honor to transmit a letter which I received a few days ago from Mr. Dominique Ducharme an Interpreter of the Indian Dept. stationed at the Lake of the Two Mountains – It appears by this (as I also have been informed from another quarter that one Macwa, a respectable and good Nipissingue chief – complains much of one Charles Thomas (formerly a clerk in the employ of the Hon.^{ble} Hudson's Bay Company but now turned a free hunter) who has a family of four or five stout sons; has taken possession of part of his hunting grounds (as for ___ and destroyed a quantity of furs [sic] such as Beaver, Muskrats & otters, they having in their possession no less than about sixty steel traps. – This Poor Indian (Macwa has several times given notice to Charles Thomas – to retire and quit his lands or hunting grounds and not rob him of his property as he does. That the lands were his, and, all that he had to depend upon for his livelihood and to cloath his family, were the furs, Peltries he was in a manner nursing on those lands But all this had no effect on the said Charles Thomas who still persists in hunting and moreover says he means to squat down there and take to himself a Farm – Macwa as well as the others of his Tribe Beg and Prey of me to represent this act of Injustice to their Father at Quebec and hope that he may take Pity on his poor red Children and give such orders and commands that the said Chs Thomas and family may

⁴⁶ ALG-40230

⁴⁷ ALG-90196. Document ALG-90195 is a supporting statement by the Interpreter at Lake of Two Mountains reiterating Chief Mukwa's complaint.

⁴⁸ ALG-90195, ALG-90196, ALG-90167

be made to quit these lands - and their Good Father will also Prohibit all White Hunters and other Interlopers, from trespassing on their hunting Grounds in any manner whatsoever and His red children the Algonquins and nipissingues will as in duty Bound ever pray for their Good Father.⁴⁹

Chief Makwa has been identified as Jean Baptiste Otiskwekijik (aka Makwa, RIN #7277). Jean Baptiste married Susanne Pikiwitokwe (RIN #7280) in 1798 at the mission at Lake of Two Mountains. His last petition with other Algonquin and Nipissing chiefs was sent to government in July 1833, just months before making this complaint.⁵⁰ Jean Baptiste died before 1850.

His son Ignace Makwa (aka Ignace Naokijik, RIN #7380) was born in January 1816 and married Marie Louise Pineskijikokwe (RIN #7135) at the mission at Lake of Two Mountains in 1837. Ignace became the first chief of the reserve at Golden Lake after it was established in 1873. Ignace was buried at Golden Lake in 1896.

The Respondents supplied summaries and quotations for Charles Thomas's diary from the 1850s to demonstrate connections between the Charles Thomas and his family and the Algonquins at Golden Lake. The extracts reflect trading relationships and interactions between neighbours but do not speak directly to the Algonquins having a familial relationship with Charles Thomas and Hannah Mannell.

Under the heading of "Modern Period" the Respondents supply information about descendants of Hannah Mannell and Charles Thomas, including references to friendships with Algonquins. This text does not provide any further information about Hannah Mannell's ethnic identity.

2.8 1921 census (PDF page 55/59)

This sub-section entitled "Summary of Census Records" begins with text noting that both Charles Thomas and Hannah Mannall were mixed-ancestry people. This is not in dispute.

The Respondents submit that Charles spoke Algonquin but does not provide any proof of his linguistic ability. Charles Thomas heritage is not at issue before the Tribunal.

The Respondents quoted from an entry in Charles Thomas's diary from January 1, 1852 noting that the Thomas family socialized with "Indians." This indicates that they socialized with Algonquins from the local area but does not indicate a familial relationship or shed any light on the attitude of the local Algonquins to the Thomas family. Note that the Charles Thomas's entry identifies the visitors as "Dancing Indians" suggesting a social or ethnic distance. The context appears to relate to the Indians as "others" rather than as "us."

⁴⁹ ALG-90196

⁵⁰ ALG-90191, Petition dated July 1833.

The Respondents note that a descendant is enumerated as "Indian" on the 1921 census. The Indigenous heritage of the children of Hannah and Charles, who were both mixed-blood people, is not in dispute.

3. Document 3 – Initial Submission by L. Hanley

Lynn Hanley filed a responding submission supporting the inclusion of Hannah Mannall as an Algonquin Ancestor. The submission consisted of one page that described her ancestor James Joseph Thomas and a paragraph on Hannah Mannall.

James Joseph Thomas

The Respondent notes that James Joseph Thomas was born "on Golden Lake" in July 1893 and baptized at the mission church. The Respondent noted that James Joseph was friends with Basil Partridge. Basil Partridge (1890-1978) is known to be an Algonquin who lived on the Golden Lake Reserve.

Hannah Mannall

The Respondent provided oral history information about Hannah Mannall's life at Golden Lake and her friendships with Algonquin people. The Enrolment Officer has no comments on family oral history.

4. Document 4 – Initial Submission by T. Vincent on behalf of C. Vincent

Anthony Vincent filed a responding submission on behalf of Christina Vincent. The submission consisted of a covering letter and excerpts from a 2020 thesis. This reply report will comment first to the points made in the covering letter and then to the statement referenced in the thesis.

- The Respondent indicates that Hannah Mannel was born at Kenagamissi on August 31, 1795.

As noted in the Enrolment Officer's Report (posted as Document 1) the declaration of John Mannell listed her birth place as Kenogamissi in August 1795. Hannah's baptismal record noted her date of birth as August 31, 1795.⁵¹

- The Respondent states that John Mannall had been posted as Master to Kenogamissi in 1795 and stayed until 1797.

The Enrolment Officer's Report (posted as Document 1) notes that John Mannell arrived at Kenogamissi to establish a new post in July 1794 and remained there until July 1797.⁵²

- The Respondent states that Kenogamissi was located at the head branch of Moose River which was Algonquin Territory.

⁵¹ ALG-40222 reference on pages 6-7. ALG-14788, ALG-40226, referenced on page 10.

⁵² ALG-40230, referenced on pages 7-8.

This reply report has provided an outline of the shifting territories of the Cree, Ojibwa and Algonquins in the Moose River Drainage system, which includes the location of the Kenogamissi post, which was in Ojibwa or Cree territory at the relevant period. See section 1.1 above

- The Respondent states that no record of baptism was recorded as none of the eight children in John Mannall's family were ever baptised.

As noted in the Enrolment Officer's Report (posted as Document 1) the declaration of John Mannell listed only two children: Hannah born at Kenogamissi in August 1795; and Mary born at Moose Factory in October 1797.⁵³ There is no record of any other children being born in Canada. John Mannell had eight children with his English wife in England after retiring in 1814.⁵⁴ These children were from his marriage with an English woman, not from Hannah Mannell's mother.

Hannah Mannell was baptized in 1824 at Hudson Heights, Vaudreuil when she and Charles Thomas were married in the church.⁵⁵

- The Respondent states that Frederick House, Abitibi River, and Kenogamissi are historically Algonquin territory.

No evidence has been supplied to support this broad statement. This reply report has provided an outline of the shifting territories of the Cree, Ojibwa, and Algonquins in the Moose River Drainage system, which includes the location of the named locations. See section 1.1 above.

- The Respondent states that HBC documents show that John Mannall along with six Algonquin Indians and family set up a post at Kenogamissi.

The Enrolment Officer Report (posted as Document 1) notes on page 18 that John Mannell left Moose Fort at the end of June 1794 with three men and 20 Indians in eight canoes loaded with trade goods to establish a post at Kenogamissi Lake. No documents specify that Algonquins were part of that party. In fact, the post journal states that after they arrived at Kenogamissi Lake some of men who came to Kenogamissi with Mannell returned to Moose Factory; while the "uplanders" that came up with him "also went off to their families." This entry is detailed in Appendix 3 on pages 25 to 26. As noted above in section 1.1, "uplanders" was a term used by HBC traders for the people who inhabited the forested shield areas up river from Moose Factory. The lowlanders were those whose lands were downriver on the broad coastal lowlands on James Bay. Those who returned to Moose Factory were most

⁵³ ALG-40222

⁵⁴ ALG-40230, referenced on page 8.

⁵⁵ ALG-14788, ALG-40226, referenced on page 10.

likely lowland Cree; the hunting grounds of the uplanders is not known but they were most likely attached to Moose Factory as the men were at Moose when they left with Mannel to bring the supplies upriver to Kenogamissi.

- The Respondent states that John Mannall appeared to be very involved with the Algonquin tribe so would concur that Hannah Mannall was born Algonquin.

No evidence has been presented to support this statement.

- The Respondent referred to previous investigations and board reviews.

This reply report has no comments on previous investigations and reviews. The Special Resolution passed by the Algonquin Negotiation Representatives on April 20, 2021 (Motion 20210420-01) guides the work of the Tribunal. It specifies in Clause 77 that: "Any matter brought to the Tribunal for determination shall be heard and be determined as a new proceeding, but this does not preclude the Tribunal from considering decisions made by other decision-making bodies including with respect to past enrolment processes."

- The Respondent attached a 2020 thesis entitled "Shifting Institutional Control: Changing Indigenous Policy Goals through Métis and First Nations Identity Assertions" by Rebecca Ann Major. The Respondent draws the Tribunal's attention to statements on pages 106 to 107 and 169.

On pages 106 to 107, the thesis states that Hannah Mannell's mother was "an Indigenous woman connected to the Algonquins of Ontario." That statement cites a website for the Greater Golden Lake community which was accessed on January 22, 2019. The Algonquins of Ontario (AOO) is a modern umbrella organization of Algonquin communities in Ontario. It did not exist when Hannah Mannell was born in 1795. The author of the thesis may have been referring to the fact that Hannah Mannell is listed on the AOO's Schedule of Algonquin Ancestors. The current Tribunal is investigating the question of whether or not Hannah Mannell should be properly included on that schedule.

On page 169, the thesis summarizes the review of 2012, the Agreement-in-Principle, and on-going treaty negotiations. The Enrolment Officer has no comment on that summary as it is not relevant to the issue before the Tribunal.

5. Document 5 – Initial Submission by L. Hanley

The Respondent, L. Hanley forwarded a second submission to the Tribunal in the form of a 34-page narrative with webpage downloads, extracts for Charles Thomas's diary, some family cluster trees, life histories, and documents related to some of Hannah Mannell's descendants.

5.1 Hannah's Conception and Birth

The Respondent notes that Hannah Mannell was born at Kenogamissi on August 31, 1795. Which is noted in the Enrolment Officer's Report (posted as Document 1) on pages 6 to 7 and 10.⁵⁶

The Respondent states that John Mannell served at Frederick House from 1794 to January of 1795. This is noted on his HBC biographical sheet which gives a general chronology of his service. His actual location is confirmed by HBC post journals cited by the Enrolment Officer's Report (posted as Document 1). According to the more precise records of the post journals, it is clear that John Mannell left Frederick House on June 15, 1794 to travel to Moose Factory. He then set off for Kenogamissi to establish a new post arriving there in July 1794. John Mannell remained in charge of Kenogamissi until July 1797.⁵⁷ During that time he took annual trips to Moose Factory as well as leading trading excursions to other posts which were part of the Kenogamissi District.

The HBC administrative summary of the Kenogamissi River District, which was a subdistrict of the Moose District confirm that the Kenogamissi post was established in the summer of 1794 by John Mannell in order to compete with the Canadian house at Matagami (Matawagamingue).⁵⁸

The Respondent states the Hannah was conceived in December 1795 in order to be born in August 1795. This is clearly a typographical error as the date of her conception would have been in November/December 1794. The above records note that John Mannell was at Kenogamissi at the time of her birth and for about five months prior to her conception.

The Respondent states that Hannah moved with her husband Charles Thomas and his natal family to Lake of Two Mountains. This is incorrect. Charles left the service of the HBC in June 1814 and moved with Hannah and his extended family to Lower Canada. Charles and Hannah settled in Vaudreuil in Lower Canada.⁵⁹ Vaudreuil is located on the mainland opposite the west end of Montreal Island. Like Hudson, it is on the southwest shore of the Lake of Two Mountains, across the lake from the mission at Lake of Two Mountains (Oka).

Charles Thomas rejoined the HBC sometime in 1815-1817 and the family lived in several western outposts such as Cumberland House and Peace River (modern-day Saskatchewan) until 1822. Two of their sons were born at these western locations.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ ALG-40222, ALG-14788, ALG-40226

⁵⁷ ALG-40230 referenced on pages 7 to 8. Appendix 3 pages 25-26 citing HBC Post Journals B.75/a/9; (Frederick House) and B.99/a/1 Kenogamiss on PDF page 20.

⁵⁸ ALG-40561 Between 1794 and 1822, the posts and outposts operating within the Kenogamissi River District were: Kenogamissi, Frederick House, Matawagamingue (Matagamy), Flying Post, Pushquagamy Lake, Wowayaston Carrying Place, and Wyaskash Lake.

⁵⁹ ALG-40224, referenced on pages 9 and 11.

⁶⁰ ALG-40225, ALG-40226, and ALG-40227, referenced in on pages 9 to 10.

Charles then served in the HBC's Montreal Department at posts such as Lake of Two Mountains and Chats. Hannah and Charles were married in St. James Anglican Church at Hudson Heights, Lower Canada (now Hudson, Quebec) in February 1824.⁶¹ There is no record of them being personally associated with the Algonquin/Nipissing mission at Lake of Two Mountains in that time. In the period from 1822 to 1832, when Charles was serving in the Montreal District none of their religious events were celebrated at the Lake of Two Mountains mission. For example, their children born in 1822, 1824, 1827, 1830, 1832 were baptized at the church where Hannah was baptized at St. James Anglican Church, where Hannah and Charles had been legally married.⁶² Charles retired from the HBC around 1832.⁶³

The Respondent provides a modern website download to demonstrate the tribal affiliation of the Wahgoshig First Nation at Lake Abitibi. As noted above in detail in sections 1.1.b, the people who occupied the Lake Abitibi area shifted through time. Based on scholarly work it is likely that the Lake Abitibi area was occupied primarily by Algonquins in the relevant period. Other peoples (such as Cree) were also known to use the area.

5.2 Diary Entries Showing Social Relationship with Algonquin People at Golden Lake

Entries from the diary of Charles Thomas dated from 1850-1852 were quoted by the Respondent to demonstrate Hannah and Charles' family trade and social relationship with the local Algonquin people. Some of this material is discussed above in sections 2.7 and 2.8 regarding the submission from Ron Nicholas, Theresa Stokman, and Lynn Hanley.

5.3 February 18, 2022 letter and associated materials

The Respondent and other interested parties have the opportunity to present their documentation, interpretations, oral history and arguments before the Tribunal in this process. The Enrolment Officer's job is to present materials that she deems relevant to the question before the tribunal which is: to determine whether Hannah Mannell is identified in a historic record or document dated on or before December 31, 1921, in such a way that it would be reasonable to conclude she was considered to be an Algonquin or Nipissing, or a sibling of such a person. A "sibling of such a person" means a person with a common Algonquin parent. These instructions are set out in the Special Resolutions passed by the Algonquin Negotiation Representatives on April 22, 2021.

5.4 My Ancestors

The subsections "James Joseph Thomas and Basil Aird Partridge" and "Hannah Mannal" were submitted and addressed in Document 3 above and are repeated here for ease of reference.

James Joseph Thomas

The Respondent notes that James Joseph Thomas was born "on Golden Lake" in July 1893 and baptized at the mission church. The Respondent noted that James Joseph was friends with Basil

⁶¹ Enrolment Officer's Report posted as Document 1 citing ALG-14788, referenced on page 10.

⁶² Enrolment Officer's Report posted as Document 1 citing ALG-14788, referenced on pages 10-11.

⁶³ ALG-40225, reference on page 10.

Partridge. Basil Partridge (1890-1978) is known to be an Algonquin who lived on the Golden Lake Reserve.

This subsection also notes information about Tessy Sunstrum, who along with other relatives, are buried in the cemetery on the Pikwakanagan Reserve. The Sunstrum family were of Swedish descent and ran a business at Golden Lake. Frances Ann Thomas (RIN #19610), a daughter of Charles Thomas and Hannah Mannall, married William Sunstrum and they had a large family born in the 1860s and 1870s.⁶⁴

As noted below at 5.6, the mission church on the Golden Lake reserve was used by families other than those who were Algonquin members of Golden Lake Indian Reserve (now Pikwakanagan).

Hannah Mannall

The Respondent provided oral history information about Hannah Mannall's life at Golden Lake and the friendships she had with Algonquin people.

The Enrolment Officer has no comments on the details of family oral history.

5.5 My Ancestors Census returns for John Mannal Thomas

The 1921 census enumerated John Thomas as a 62-year-old widower living alone in Killaloe Station. He is noted as "Indian."

Evidence shows that Hannah and Charles were a mixed-ancestry couple. The fact that a descendant is enumerated as "Indian" in 1921 does not provide any further information on the Indigenous identity of Hannah Mannall.

Note that none of Hannah's descendants were enumerated as living on the reserve at Golden Lake.

5.6 James Thomas baptism from mission church on reserve

One of Hannah Mannell's descendants, James Joseph Thomas, the son of John Thomas and Lucinda Skelly, was baptized at the mission on Golden Lake in July 1893. The parents were noted by the priest as living in Algona South Township at the time. The godparents were James and Elizabeth Skelly, presumably relatives of the mother.

The same page of the church register notes a pastoral visit to the mission of Golden Lake attended by all the Indians and mixed-blood people of the area, as well as a large number of Catholics and Protestants from Golden Lake, Brudenell and Eganville. A note at the bottom of the page indicates that the clergy performed a number of confirmations at the Indian Chapel

⁶⁴ Sunstrum family members are listed on the 1871 census in Renfrew North, Algona Township as Swedish (p. 22, image 12). The same census tract lists Algonquin families, consisting of nine Indian families, one French/Indian family and one Irish school mistress living in a continuous block of households, pages 26-29.

("la Chapelle sauvage de Golden Lake"). The ceremony included people of all nations ("de people de toutes nations Sauvage, Irlandaise, Ecosais, Deutchs").

These entries from 1893 indicate that the mission church at Golden Lake was not used exclusively the Algonquins of Golden Lake.

5.7 Hannah Mannel Decision May 14, 2013

The Respondent submitted a copy of the decision of Judge Chadwick dated May 2, 2013.

The Special Resolution passed by the Algonquin Negotiation Representatives Resolution on April 20, 2021 (Motion 20210420-01) guides the work of the Tribunal. It specifies in Clause 77 that: "Any matter brought to the Tribunal for determination shall be heard and be determined as a new proceeding, but this does not preclude the Tribunal from considering decisions made by other decision-making bodies including with respect to past enrolment processes."

5.8 Map 1 Descendancy Group Clusters

The Respondent submitted a map created by the Enrolment Officer and AOO staff for illustrative purposes. The map depicts descendancy groups (i.e. persons descended from an Ancestor listed on the Schedule of Ancestors) based on the Schedule that existed in 2019.

The Tribunal process was established to determine if ancestors were properly included on that Schedule. Hannah Mannall is one of the ancestors referred to the Tribunal for review.

5.9 Map 1 Descendancy Group Clusters showing connections

The Respondent submitted a map created by the Enrolment Officer and AOO staff for illustrative purposes. The map depicts descendancy groups (i.e. persons descended from an Ancestor listed on the Schedule of Ancestors) based on the Schedule that existed in 2019. This map includes vectors indicating familial connections between descendancy groups.

The Tribunal process was established to determine if ancestors were properly included on that list. Hannah Mannall is one of the ancestors referred to the Tribunal for review.

5.10 John Joseph Sunstrum

This print-out is not supported by primary documents. In any event, being born at Golden Lake does not prove a familial relationship with any Algonquins nor does it provide any information on the Indigenous heritage of Hannah Mannell. It should be noted that a village named Golden Lake exists apart and separate from the Indian Reserve now known as Pikwakanagan.

The marriage of Francis Ann Thomas, daughter of Charles Thomas and Hannah Mannall, to William Sunstrum has been documented by the Enrolment Office. As noted above, families other than the Algonquins of Pikwakanagan used the mission church on the reserve. Burial in that cemetery does not in and of itself prove Algonquin heritage.

Appendix A: Supporting Document List for Hannah Mannell

The documents in this table are listed by ALG number and appended in Appendix B.

Document Number	Document Date	Document Description	Reference
ALG-40546	1991-00-00	Book extract, <i>A Country So Interesting: The Hudson's Bay Company and Two Centuries of Mapping, 1670-1870</i>	Ruggles, Richard I. <i>A Country So Interesting: The Hudson's Bay Company and Two Centuries of Mapping, 1670-1870</i> . Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991.
ALG-40547	1981-00-00	Article, "Territorial Groups Before 1821: Cree and Ojibwa"	Bishop, Charles A. "Territorial Groups Before 1821: Cree and Ojibwa." <i>Handbook of North American Indians</i> , Volume 6 – Subarctic. Eds. William C. Sturtevant and June Helm. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1981.
ALG-40548	1981-00-00	Article, "Northern Ojibwa"	Rogers, Edward S., and J. Garth Taylor. "Northern Ojibwa." <i>Handbook of North American Indians</i> , Volume 6 – Subarctic. Eds. William C. Sturtevant and June Helm. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1981.
ALG-40549	1978-00-00	Article, "Southwestern Chippewa"	Ritzenthaler, R. F. "Southwestern Chippewa." <i>Handbook of North American Indians</i> , Volume 15 – Northeast. Eds. William Sturtevant and Bruce Trigger. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1978.
ALG-40550	2002-00-00	Book extract, <i>Muskegowuck Athinuwick Original People of the Great Swampy Land</i>	Lytwyn, Victor P. <i>Muskegowuck Athinuwick Original People of the Great Swampy Land</i> . Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2002.
ALG-40551	1912-00-00	Article, "Notes on the Eastern Cree and Northern Saulteaux"	Skinner, Alanson. "Notes on the Eastern Cree and Northern Saulteaux." <i>Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History</i> , Volume IX. New York: Order of the Trustees, 1912.
ALG-40552	Unknown publication date	Book extract, <i>The Fur Trade in the Moose-Missinaibi River Valley 1770-1917</i>	Doug Baldwin, <i>The Fur Trade in the Moose-Missinaibi River Valley, 1770-1917, Research Report 8</i> . Toronto: Ontario Ministry of Culture and Recreation, Historical Planning & Research Branch, s.d.

Document Number	Document Date	Document Description	Reference
ALG-40553	1996-03-00	Report, "Native Background Information Report and Values Map"	Pollock, John W., Settlement Surveys Ltd. "Native Background Information Report and Values Map." Prepared for the Ministry of Natural Resources, Cochrane District, and Wahgoshig First Nation, March 1996.
ALG-40554	1981-00-00	Article, "West Main Cree"	Honigmann, John J. "West Main Cree." <i>Handbook of North American Indians</i> , Volume 6 – Subarctic. Eds. William C. Sturtevant and June Helm. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1981: 217-230.
ALG-40555	1987-00-00	Map, "Population Early 17 th Century, Ethnohistoric Data"	Heidenreich, Conrad E. and J. V. Wright. "Population Early 17 th Century, Ethnohistoric Data." <i>Historical Atlas of Canada</i> , Volume 1: From the Beginning to 1800. Ed. R. Cole Harris. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987, plate 18.
ALG-40556	1987-00-00	Map, "The Fox defeated and Expansion Northwest, 1726-1739"	Heidenreich, Conrad E. and Françoise Noel. "The Fox defeated and Expansion Northwest, 1726-1739." <i>Historical Atlas of Canada</i> , Volume 1: From the Beginning to 1800. Ed. R. Cole Harris. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987, plate 39.
ALG-40557	1987-00-00	Map, "French Dominance, 1752-1755"	Heidenreich, Conrad E. and Françoise Noel. "French Dominance, 1752-1755." <i>Historical Atlas of Canada</i> , Volume 1: From the Beginning to 1800. Ed. R. Cole Harris. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987, plate 40.
ALG-40558	1988-00-00	Statement of claim	Frenette, Jacques. "The Country of the Anicenabe: The Algonquin Nations' Comprehensive Land Claim." Prepared for the Band Council, Maniwaki Algonquin Reserve, 1988.
ALG-40559	1915-00-00	Extract, "Family Hunting Territories and Social Life of Various Algonkian Bands of the Ottawa Valley"	Speck, F. G. "Family Hunting Territories and Social Life of Various Algonkian Bands of the Ottawa Valley." Department of Mines, Geological Survey, Memoir 70. Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1915.
ALG-40560	1939-00-00	Extract, "Notes on the Hunting Economy of the Abitibi Indians"	Jenkins, William H. "Notes on the Hunting Economy of the Abitibi Indians." <i>The Catholic University of America Anthropological Series</i> 9 (1939): 1-2, 28-31.
ALG-40561	2023-03-23 [accessed]	Article, "Hudson's Bay Company. Kenogamissi River District"	Archives of Manitoba. "Hudson's Bay Company. Kenogamissi River District." Accessed March 23, 2023 at http://pam.minisisinc.com/scripts/mwimain.dll/144/PAM_AUTHORITY/WEB_AUTH_DET_REP/HEADING%20%22Hudson%27s%20Bay%20Company.%20Kenogamissi%20River%20District%22?SESSIONSEARCH

Enrolment Officer's Responding Report regarding Ancestors RIN #18786

Document Number	Document Date	Document Description	Reference
ALG-40562	1983-00-00	Book extract, <i>Les Algonquins</i>	Couture, Yvon. <i>Les Algonquins</i> . Val d'Or, Quebec: Editions Hyperboree, 1983.
ALG-40563	1980-00-00	Book extract, " <i>Many Tender Ties</i> " <i>Women in Fur-Trade Society in Western Canada, 1670-1870</i>	Van Kirk, Sylvia. " <i>Many Tender Ties</i> " <i>Women in Fur-Trade Society in Western Canada, 1670-1870</i> . Winnipeg: Watsobn & Dwyer Publishing Ltd., 1980.
ALG-40564	1977-00-00	Book extract, <i>Fort Timiskaming and the Fur Trade</i>	Mitchell, Elaine A. <i>Fort Timiskaming and the Fur Trade</i> . Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1977.

Appendix B: Supporting Document Package for Hannah Mannell

The documents are organized by ALG document number.
They appear in the same order as in the list in Appendix A and are bookmarked for ease of reference.

A Country So Interesting

THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY
AND TWO CENTURIES OF MAPPING

1670 - 1870

Richard I. Ruggles

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Chipewyans (during the spring he reported having dreamed in the Chipewyan language for the first time). On the return trip, Fidler added some sixty-one more sketches to his journal, eight being from the Clearwater River across Methy Portage to la Crosse (45^A), forty of them being of the lakes and rivers along the Churchill system to Portage du Traite,¹² and the remainder across to Cumberland House (46^A) (plate 16).

Immediately after his return to York Fort, Turnor offered to lead a trading expedition back to the Athabasca, but his offer was declined. Instead, since it had proved difficult to organize a crew to carry supplies up the Nelson river to Chatham House (near the junction of the Nelson and Grass rivers), Turnor volunteered to lead a party that would include several of his own recently returned group. Turnor believed the Nelson to be an easier and safer river than the Albany; the journey would give him a chance to find out. His proposal was accepted, and he was asked to determine also whether it would be practicable to get "Boats of Burthen" any distance up the Nelson, something the committee had been wanting to know since 1754 when they had asked James Isham the same question. While Turnor was on the mission (from 31 July to 24 August 1792), he fell victim again to misfortune in rough water. When a canoe overturned, he lost his sextant and everything else of value, except his watch. He drafted no separate map as a consequence of the journey up the Nelson, but the details he made note of were useful for his later maps.

Turnor left Rupert's Land for the last time in September 1792, taking ship from York Factory for England. After settling at home, he began to work on the compilation of maps based upon his years of experience in North America. On 12 December 1792, the committee agreed that he should be paid retroactively from 24 October, the sum of one guinea per week until further orders (A1/47,fo.4). Apparently, it was during this time that he drafted two maps. The first was very likely the fourteen sheet map of the "Track from Cumberland House to Ile la Crosse with the Magnetic Bearings" (59^C)¹³. It would be his rendering, at a larger scale, of the data that he and Fidler had obtained, from which then smaller scale versions could be made. The second map was in all probability the "Chart of Lakes and Rivers in North America" (47A). It, like the first, was probably drafted in 1792, since the waterways traversed in Turnor's recent journey to the northwest are the major element. This configuration would be a reduction of the fourteen-sheet compilation with further areas included. There is no information on the map related to events later than the summer of 1792; Buckingham House, for example, erected on the North Saskatchewan in the autumn of that year (news of which would not have reached London until the autumn of

1793), is not shown. Turnor indicated that his map was compiled from two types of sources, the shaded areas were based on his own "Actual Surveys," the unshaded outlines "from Canadian and Indian information." The map reflects his surveys from York Fort to Great Slave Lake; in addition there are reduced renditions of the Nelson-Hayes rivers, the Grass River, northern Lake Winnipeg, and the Saskatchewan River to Hudson House,¹⁴ and the Albany River to Gloucester (28^A). Finally, he has shown the Hudson and James Bay shores from Churchill to Albany River. The details from other sources include the lower Peace River, the Beaver River and lakes to the west, including Cold Lake and Lac la Biche, the Northern Saskatchewan from Hudson House past Manchester House, the Nelson River connection from Playgreen Lake to the mouth of the Grass River, and the Hudson Bay shore some distance north of Churchill.

On Turnor's last and most famous map, he incorporated most of the previous exploration carried out by the company, as well as cartographic production of the period from 1778 to the autumn of 1794. Turnor also took advantage of other map resources available at the time – information from explorers and cartographers outside the company's sphere. Thus the 1794 map is a composite of information, of his own maps and calculations as well as those of others, fitted onto a graticule that was the most precise provided to that date for the region, a graticule that he himself had done so much to perfect. The map extends from the east coast of Hudson and James bays to the Pacific coast, and from the Arctic Ocean at the mouth of the Mackenzie River to the upper Missouri River and the Lake Superior region. (For the area essentially known by 1795, see figure 4).

OTHER COMPANY SOURCES OF INFORMATION FOR TURNOR'S 1794 MAP

Mapping in the Moose and Albany Regions

Considerable exploration and post-building occurred in the tributary regions of the Moose River, based on Frederick House in the east, and old and new Brunswick houses in the western tributaries. Only two maps were prepared, as far as is known, neither of which is now available in the company archives. George Donald had examined the Harricanaw River in 1788, along with the upper portions of the Mattagami River, including both lakes Kenogamissi and Mattagami. In spite of his surveying and drafting experience, the records do not indicate that he prepared any maps. Frederick House was also the starting-point from

which a number of searches of the larger region were undertaken by John Mannall, who came to the Moose region to be a writer and was assigned eventually to Frederick House. In addition to local trips, his two main expeditions out of the Abitibi Lake area, south towards Lake Timiskaming and west into the Mattagami River valley, gave him the information for a map on which these journeys were outlined (63^c). For several years, the Frederick House Lake area was visited by Canadian traders from the Soweawaminica settlement which lay south of Lake Abitibi on the way to Lake Timiskaming. These traders were interested in coming north to the district to compete for the trade. In 1793, Mannall decided to map the route between the two settlements, and was away from 13 to 23 June. After conferring with Chief Factor Thomas at Moose about the competitive situation in the region, Mannall set off from Frederick House in the spring, 28 April to 15 May 1794, across country to survey the rivers and lakes west to the Mattagami River and to Lake Kenogamissi, and to decide how to "most effectually counteract the Designs of the Canadians" (B135/b/23,fo.48d). On his return, Mannall was sent off to head a house-building crew, going back to Lake Kenogamissi to erect a post there. Both areas, south and west of Abitibi, were included in his map. Possibly other regional details were included.

To the west, competition with the Canadian traders was centering in the upper headwaters of the western tributaries of the Moose River and in the Lake Superior watershed. By 1788, it had become apparent that a new company post was needed in this region. Brunswick House was only about one-third of the way to the head of the Missinaibi River. The site chosen was at Micabanish Lake, about two hundred miles farther south, and the company started building a new post at this lake in the summer of 1788. Then Brunswick House was closed in 1791 and supplies were removed to Micabanish, which became known as New Brunswick House. But the company was convinced another post was essential somewhere to the south of this new house and nearer Lake Superior in order to compete with the Canadian traders, and Philip Good, a writer at Moose, was sent to investigate. Good was furnished with a sextant and the necessary books on his voyage out to Moose Factory in 1790. George Donald, then chief pro tem at Moose, was directed in the official letter to have Good practice taking observations for latitude and longitude and to have his calculations sent back to London so his progress could be checked. In 1791, Good was transferred to New Brunswick House to act as writer and to make astronomical observations. He was reported to have behaved well in his job but to be deficient in his understanding of astronomy. In May 1792, Thomas, chief at Moose Factory, instructed the master at New Brunswick House to send Good out to

survey the country beyond the post and to "chart his journey" (B135/b/23,fo.18d). Because hiring guides proved difficult, Good did not leave until 6 June 1793. He returned to the post on 2 July after having surveyed "ye Picque River" (B145/a/6,fo.51). By 12 July he had finished drawing his map, which was sent off to Moose Fort later (64^c). Good apologized for his draft, saying that it was not "laid down in so compleat a manner" as he "could wish," because he "had not the instruments for that purpose" (B135/b/23,fo.55).¹⁵ The country covered on his map lay slightly southwest of New Brunswick House, across to Lake Kabinakagami, on to the shore of Lake Superior, and the lower course of the Pic River. It would also have shown such a complicated and difficult route, marked by eighty-two portages, that the company declared it useless. Missinaibi House, erected later on Missinaibi Lake, and the post built on Abitibi Lake, completed the chain of posts built inland from Moose Factory during this period.

While Turnor and these other men had been occupied in delineating some elements of the region to the south of Moose Factory, there were a number of attempts to extend company influence into the upper Albany River basin and adjacent areas, and particularly to find a route to Lake St. Anns (Nipigon). It was hoped at first that the trade from this lake could be attached to Gloucester House, but later Albany officials concluded that the better route might lie along the Albany south branch, the Kenogami, with the connection being through Henley House. Both possibilities were investigated between 1784 and 1791. In 1784, James Sutherland, after assessing Piskocoggan (Pashkokogan) Lake as a possible site for a new post, set out southwest from Gloucester House to search for Lake St. Anns with the hope that it would provide a more advantageous location (B78/a/11,fo.7d).¹⁶ His party made the return journey from St. Anns' north shore, apparently following the outward path. Because Sutherland found the connections between the lake and Gloucester too forbidding, he could not advise that Lake St. Anns be attempted from Gloucester (B78/a/9,fo.26). Moreover, he had not met with a single Indian on the route he followed. Sutherland drafted a map in the late summer of 1784 (50^c), which he transmitted to London that autumn with his journals.¹⁷ In the spring, the committee expressed its pleasure at receiving the journals and the "draught" (A5/2,fo.123).

In the summer of 1786, James Sutherland was again chosen to search the region farther to the west than he had reached previously, and especially to go into the Monotogga country (Monotoggy, Monatai). This lay to the south towards Rainy Lake, through which he intended to swing on a route back toward the east. An Indian, who had promised to guide him, refused to do so when the group reached Lake Upishin-

gunga (Lac Seul) in part because of "Panic fear" of the smallpox raging inland. He was therefore obliged to return via the same route. In his journal, he penned in on an attached sheet a simple outline of the complicated river, lake, and island-strewn waterway, from Lake St. Joseph to Lake Saul (Lac Seul) (31^A).¹⁸ The project to examine the Albany south branch, the Kenogami, as a more suitable pathway to Lake St. Anns, did not fare well at first. Notwithstanding the fact that several company men were willing to take part in this venture, no Indian guides could be persuaded to lead a party. Finally, in 1788, a young writer at Albany, James Hudson, was chosen as leader. Two young Indians agreed to act as guides just a few days before he left. However, the guides refused to lead the party on the final leg of the trip, and Hudson had to stop short of the goal (B86/a/42).

Whether Hudson had the time in the four days he spent at Henley to draft his map (35^A), or whether he did it at Albany upon his return, using the better facilities there, he had finished it by sailing time, for Edward Jarvis referred the committee to it in his official letter. He warned the members that distances on the map were exaggerated, but at the same time he commended Hudson, saying, "it is a pretty preface to a better performance ... he will do the next better" (A11/5,fo.101d).¹⁹

In May 1788, the committee sent John Hodgson a letter, asking him to draft a "Chart of James Sutherlands Inland Journey" (A5/2,fo.183). The letter suggested he could easily do it by working out the details from Sutherland's journal, using the magnetic declination of Henley House if he did not have it for the areas to the west. The committee also stipulated that if any other journeys had been made in the meantime he was to include information from them. The members wanted the compilation finished in time for the ship's sailing in the autumn of 1789. Hodgson replied immediately by the 1788 ship that he would gladly do the map and would add James Hudson's "small excursion up Frenchman's (Ogoki) River" (A11/5,fo.89). Both in the Henley House journal on 19 August 1789, and in a letter of 4 September 1789, Hodgson confirmed that he had drawn the map "as well as circumstances would admit" (36^A) (plate 13) (A11/5,fo.109). He was referring to the loss of all his instruments and books when Henley House was destroyed by fire, a loss which forced him to use a very old book of logarithms to work out the longitudes. The company thanked Hodgson the next year for the "Chart of Sutherland and Hudson Journeys" (A5/3,fo.42d), and in return the committee received a courtesy note from him on the return of the ship (A11/5,fo.131). This map is one of the best documented in the company's archives, except that Hodgson, as usual, did not place his name on the map. But the map he prepared is assuredly the "Chart

of Rivers and Lakes Communicating with Albany River," for it contains the details of Sutherland's three journeys, from Henley House to Piskocoggan Lake in 1784, to Lake St. Anns in 1784, and from Piskocoggan to Lake Upishungung in 1786. It includes James Hudson's route from Henley to Lake La Puew (Ogoki) and his return in 1788. Apparently, copies of Sutherland's and Hudson's maps were not at hand, for the configurations of the lakes are not similar to those on the extant maps. Hodgson, as could be expected, generalized their outlines on his smaller-scale map.

The urge to reach Lake St. Anns using the south branch of the Albany continued. Richard Perkin, a young gun maker of the Albany establishment and "an intelligent man" (B3/b/26,fo.24), according to Jarvis, volunteered to go inland with Hodgson who was organizing a new expedition. Hodgson was successful in hiring Indian guides to go with Perkin, and they set off on 22 May 1790. Perkin was back at Henley in one month exactly, claiming to have set foot on the shores of Lake St. Anns. Hodgson took Perkin's journal details and worked out a sketch map (53^C). He believed the large lake described at the conclusion of Perkin's outward journey was Lake St. Anns and called it that on this map. Edward Jarvis voiced the general suspicion that Perkin was mistaken, that he must have been deceived by his guides (A11/5,fo.173d). He showed the lake to be part of the Hudson Bay drainage basin whereas Sutherland had claimed to have run *down* a river to get to the lake. In September 1791, Hodgson agreed that Perkin had been misled, and another party was sent out. Lake St. Anns was finally reached via the Kenogami River that same year when John McKay arrived at Gloucester House, via the Kenogami River from the lake. McKay, it can be surmised, had used one of the western tributaries of the Kenogami to reach St. Anns and perhaps had followed James Sutherland's route back to Gloucester House. Both McKay and his brother Donald had come into company service in the autumn of 1790 in Albany territory, coming north through the route from Sturgeon Lake to Osnaburgh and then down to Albany Factory. They had been Canadian traders previously and were familiar with Lake St. Anns, Lake Superior, Rainy Lake, Lake of the Woods, and the Winnipeg River region: There is only one piece of evidence that a map of John McKay's journey was drawn. This is found in John Hodgson's 17 September 1791 letter to the committee. He wrote about both McKay's expedition and that of John Knowles (who had tried to reach Lake Mepiskawaucau that same summer), noting that "their Remarks and draughts of their Journeys ... were transmitted to your Honours" (55^C, 56^C). Whether the draftsmen of the McKay expedition map was McKay or Hodgson is impossible to determine absolutely, but

it was quite likely the latter. He had had contact with McKay and seen the journal of his journey. Moreover, Hodgson was accustomed to drawing maps from verbal and written "Remarks." Chief Factor Jarvis had harsh words for Knowles's journal and map. The first he classed as a "heap of absurdities and nonsense," since Knowles had not only never reached his goal, Mepiskawaucau, but had written an essentially spurious journal. Jarvis exclaimed that Knowles had also handed him "a Map! – it is a serious thing but it is hardly possible to be so in perusing it" (A11/5,fo.174d). The map depicted the water running "from Lake Superior to Albany"! This sketch does not appear to have survived – it was likely not sent to London by Jarvis, or if it was, may have been deliberately expunged from the files. Jarvis benevolently gave Knowles a chance to redeem himself, since the man seems to have been a little ashamed of himself. The result was that in the early summer of 1792, Knowles reached Lake St. Anns from Albany. Unfortunately, Knowle's journal does not also make it easy to place the position of Lake Mepiskawaucau. It may well be the modern Long Lake at the source of the Kenogami River.

By 1786 or 1787 a number of Canadian traders were coming regularly into lakes lying in a semi-circle to the northwest, west, and south of Osnaburgh House, and company officers were undecided about the best geographic location for a post or posts to oppose them. The choice of sites had been narrowed down to Cat, Trout, or Seul lakes. Cat Lake to the northwest of Osnaburgh was chosen first, and in August 1788, John Best opened a house there. As an aid to understanding the hinterland to the north of Cat Lake House, Richard Perkin was sent in June 1789 to reconnoitre a stretch of country from the lake as far as Severn Fort. The details were made into a map by Peter Fidler at a much later date, 1815 (165^A), but there is no indication that Perkin worked out a sketch of his own. By the end of 1790, cabins had been built also at Lac Seul and at Red Lake, which are about due west of Osnaburgh House. These acted somewhat as shields, but also as outlying feeders to Osnaburgh. The relationship of these cabins was depicted clearly on a map prepared by John Best, who was an active post master in this region for some years (51^A). It indicates the rivers and lakes followed by the traders and the Indians between the main house and its outlying posts. However, there was no protective post to the south to stem the inroads of the Canadian trade there. Jacob Corrigal, an experienced trader, was sent to look for a route from Osnaburgh south to Sturgeon Lake. During his journey, from 16 May to 29 May 1794, he examined the lake for a potential site and on his return drew a sketch of the route between these two termini to accompany his journal description. (55^A).

By 1790, the company was well on the way to reaching those "principal objects," described in 1777, for inland movement from Albany, namely, the areas of Rainy Lake, Lake of the Woods, and the Manitoba lakes. The years 1791 to 1795 witnessed the culmination of the movement west from the Albany corridor into the Manitoba lakes country and beyond into the Assiniboine River and Swan Lake regions. Accordingly, the company, wanting to realign its trade in this complex area, needed a better understanding of its geography. Edward Jarvis was a prime mover toward such a realignment and better defined procedures. Fortunately, he found a strong supporter and a willing agent in Donald McKay.

MAPPING THE ALBANY CORRIDOR INTO MANITOBA LAKES COUNTRY

McKay's trading plan was a very direct one: go straight to the centre of the Canadians' trade, cutting right across their main supply route, that is, to the main portage on the Winnipeg River route that led into the Red-Assiniboine valley. From the time of McKay's arrival at Albany on 11 October 1790, when he met Jarvis, until his departure for the interior the following January, the two discussed at length the proposal to be made to the committee, the plans for the next season, and the map or maps of the region that ought to be forthcoming (A11/5,fos.123–124d,125,167d). The main features of their plan were: in 1791, a small group would travel from Red Lake post to the Lake of the Woods, via Portage de l'Isle, in the vicinity of the junction of the Winnipeg and English rivers. Indians were to be informed that a house would be built and stocked at Portage. Then, once based both at Osnaburgh and Portage de l'Isle, the company could quickly extend itself to the Red and Assiniboine rivers. All this, said McKay, "cannot be done in one year or either in two, as it ought to be carried on, step by step with Security and prudence" (A11/5,fo.124d). The first prudent step was taken on schedule in 1791. After a winter march from Albany to Red Lake House, McKay, with three companions, including John Sutherland as second in command, set off further inland on 13 May 1791, reached Portage de l'Isle, went on into the Lake of the Woods area, and was back at Gloucester House by 8 July. One of McKay's tasks had been to suggest suitable post locations for the future trading expansion to the west. When he reported that the strategic position of Portage de l'isle had become even more apparent to him on this visit, a decision to build a house there was made.

In the autumn 1791 packet, Edward Jarvis enclosed two maps (A11/5,fos.173d–174,175d). The first was "The Genl: Map" (37^A) (plate 14)

Territorial Groups Before 1821: Cree and Ojibwa

CHARLES A. BISHOP

In the history of the Subarctic Algonquian-speaking peoples, a critical problem is the identification and placement of territorial groups prior to A.D. 1821.

During the early contact era, the fur trade led to shifts in group boundaries among the Cree and Ojibwa populations in the lands south of Hudson Bay. However, since the evidence is based primarily upon the accounts of a few fur traders and explorers whose concern was primarily with furs, not people, there are often gaps in the data pertaining to specific groups. Sometimes names of groups disappear from the record while new names appear with no explanation. When this occurs it is impossible to determine whether the confusion is due to the name of a group being changed or extended to incorporate several groups, whether a movement of peoples has taken place, or whether a foreign appellation is being used instead of the native term (Bishop 1974).

Except in a few cases, it is not until the nineteenth century that useful dialectal data or specific, recurrent references to a group through time begin to appear in the documents. Furthermore, since the interior region between Lake Superior and Hudson Bay was not permanently occupied by traders until the late eighteenth century, it is impossible to determine the location of inland groups with any degree of certainty before that time, as traders' accounts of groups' locations were generally based on hearsay about lands they had not seen. Often all that can be said is that a named group appears to have shifted its location between two points in time providing that, in fact, it is the same group and not another group or groups called by the same name. An awareness of these major limitations of the historical data justifies caution in making socioterritorial identifications and assessing possible geographical shifts (fig. 1).

Cree, 1640–1670

The earliest accounts of the region west of James Bay and north of Lake Superior compiled by French missionaries and explorers indicate that the inhabitants belonged to the Cree division of Algonquian speakers. In the early literature they were referred to by the term

Christinaux or Kilistinon or some variant spelling (see synonymy in "West Main Cree," this vol.; Mooney and Thomas 1907:361–362), which was later abridged to Cree. The Jesuits first mentioned the Kilistinon in 1640, reporting that they "dwell on the rivers of the north sea where Nipissings [an Algonquian-speaking people living near Lake Nipissing] go to trade with them" (JR 18:229). The "north sea" was James Bay.

The *Jesuit Relation* of 1657–1658 listed four "nations" of Kilistinons that Thwaites attempted to locate: "Alimibegouck," or Lake Nipigon Cree; those of "Ataouabouscatouek Bay" probably an early rendering of Attawapiskat, the name later applied to the river flowing into the west side of James Bay and indicating the Cree residing there; "the Kilistinons of the Nipissiniens," or Nipissings, "because the Nipissiniens discovered their country, whither they resort to trade or barter goods," meaning the Cree between Lake Nipigon and Moose River; and the "Nisibourouik," who resided on the east side of James Bay (JR 44:249). Since the French of the mid-seventeenth century still had no real understanding of the region north of Lake Superior, it is uncertain that these distinctions, derived from Indian informants, reflected actual sociopolitical divisions.

For the seventeenth century, it is not possible to determine the exact geographical demarcation between the Cree groups living nearer Lake Superior and the neighboring non-Cree groups, the Ojibwa and Algonquin proper to the southeast and the Siouan-speaking Assiniboin to the southwest. However, Nicolas Perrot, who was familiar with Indians near the Great Lakes, mentioned (Blair 1911–1912, 1:107–108) that the Kilistinons of the 1660s "often frequent the region along the shores of Lake Superior, and the great rivers, where moose are commonly found."

Bacqueville de la Potherie (1931:265–266), writing of events of the late seventeenth century, stated that in May inland Cree would assemble with other Indian tribesmen in a group of 1,200 to 1,500 persons to construct canoes to travel to the York Factory (Fort Nelson) trading post on Hudson Bay. Other assemblages of over 1,000 Indians of which Cree were a component were met by early explorers at locales west and north

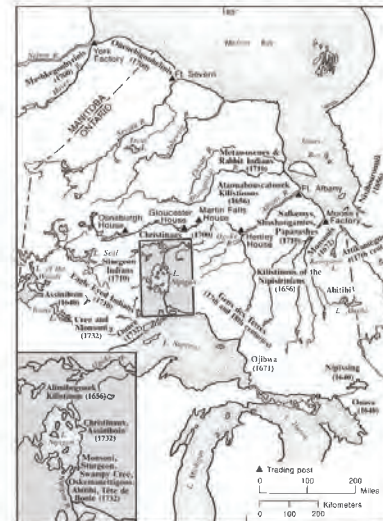


Fig. 1. Approximate locations of Cree and Ojibwa groups before 1821.

of Lake Superior (WHC 11:90–92; Henry 1901:233). Possible regional subdivisions of these Cree are not specified. Furthermore, since by the mid-seventeenth century many inland Cree were involved in warfare with the Dakota and had allied themselves with the Assiniboin, it is impossible to know what proportion of these large gatherings was Assiniboins as against Algonquians. In point of fact, there is no solid evidence either for or against the existence of gatherings of such size in precontact times. In any case, it would seem that these large assemblages were seasonal and temporary.

Although in the mid-twentieth century the Cree of the Hudson Bay Lowlands are often referred to collectively as Swampy Cree (see "West Main Cree" this vol.), the earliest records tend to refer to several specific groups or "nations." Presumably these were socioterritorial units occupying sectors of the major rivers cutting through the Lowlands.

The Jesuits' Indian informants distinguished between the Kilistinons and the Monsonis (Monsounik). An account of 1672 placed the Monsonis on James Bay (JR 56:203), in the southeastern sector of the Lowlands. It has been suggested that they inhabited the Moose River drainage area, which took its name from them (Mooney and Thomas 1907a:932), but Bacqueville de la Potherie

(1931:262–263), who called them People of the Marsh, stated that they were trying to prevent other Indians from trading at York Factory, suggesting that they had shifted farther west by the end of the seventeenth century. However, it is impossible to say whether Bacqueville de la Potherie's Monsonis were the same people as those mentioned 20 years earlier on the Moose River since he only vaguely located them as living inland from Hudson Bay. Nor can anything concrete be said about their numbers, the size of groups, or their dialectal distinctiveness.

There is no strong evidence that the Cree occupied the sea coast until after the Hudson's Bay Company posts were established in the late seventeenth century. At the end of the century Bacqueville de la Potherie (1931:262) did mention the Oüenebigonhelinis or "Sea-Side" Indians living in the area between York Factory and the Severn River in the northern section of the Lowlands. He distinguished them from the Savannahs, "People of the Swamps," a group living inland from York Factory, and the Mashkegonhyrinis, those living near York Factory itself (Bacqueville de la Potherie 1931:258). The term Mashkegonhyrinis and its variants, like Maskegon, became synonyms in later years for Swampy Cree, whose residence near the mouth of the Nelson River seems to have been postcontact.

Groups Trading into Bayside Posts, 1670–1730

Certainly the establishment of trading posts along James Bay and Hudson Bay after 1670 lured Indians to trade from near and far. Although several "nations" are mentioned in the early records, only vague references are made to the regions occupied and usually in terms of the length of time it took them to reach the post. For example, Anthony Beale of Fort Albany in 1707 recorded that a leading Indian named Whatten came "down the River and 16 Canoes along with him" (Beale 1706). Whatten reported that they had been at war and that some French had been killed. From such data, it is only possible to say that these Indians came from somewhere to the south or southwest of the Fort Albany post.

With the construction of several posts on James Bay and Hudson Bay, the fur trade expanded to involve directly all Indian groups between Lake Superior and the coast. The Cree near these posts were designated "home guards" and were particularly important to the traders since it was they who provided the post with geese and other country products. More distant Indians regardless of tribal affiliation (which was specified only occasionally) were called "upland Indians." During the early eighteenth century the bands trading at Fort Albany on James Bay included several unnamed groups plus Salkemys (Kesagami Lake people), Shoshooga-

mies, and Papanashes from near Moose River; Metawoscenes and Rabbit Indians from the northward; Tibitiby (Lake Abitibi people); Clisteens (Cree from the Shield); the more distant Assiniboin and Eagle Eyed Indians (a division of Assiniboin); and the Sturgeon Indians from west of Lake Nipigon (Beale 1707; Myatt 1716–1719). A few Ottawas also made the journey to the bayside posts (Myatt 1716–1719), and it is possible that such groups included Ojibwa as well as other Algonquians.

Population Shifts, 1720–1770

Since the English posts on the bay were luring many Indians away from the French traders nearer the Great Lakes, the French established a series of forts in the western Great Lakes area during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The Iroquois wars of the mid-seventeenth century and the French penetration to the west end of Lake Superior had already produced movements among Indians nearer the Great Lakes. However, the expansion of French traders north and west of Lake Superior during the early eighteenth century marked the beginning of major population shifts westward involving Cree, Ojibwa, and other Algonquians.

Evidence relating to the early 1730s (NYCD 9:1054) indicates a number of groups living northwest of Lake Superior, some of whom appear to have been arrivals from the east. One document estimates the number of "warriors" in each group, referring to the adult males who by this date were involved in open warfare with the Dakota of Minnesota. There were about 100 Cree and Monsoni warriors on Rainy Lake, while along the Nipigon River were 200 Monsoni warriors, 150 Sturgeon warriors, 140 Swampy Cree warriors, and 40 Oskemanettignons (perhaps Ojibwa or Nipissings), along with a few Abitibis and Tête de Boules. On Lake Nipigon itself resided 60 Christinaux and 150 Assiniboin warriors while at the Kaministikwia River were 60 Ouacc warriors. If the Monsonis were the descendants of those from the Moose River, a westward movement is indicated. The same interpretation would apply to the Abitibis and Tête de Boules, while the Swampy Cree would appear to have been far to the south of their aboriginal homeland. The Sturgeon Indians (Nameuilini) were probably Cree, although Hodge (1910c) suggests that they were Ojibwa. The Ouacc were almost certainly Ojibwa from the north shore of Lake Huron (JR 18:229–233). There is evidence that farther north the Cree of the Shield began shifting westward during the 1720s and 1730s (Barnston 1839).

There is support (Hallowell 1955:114–115; Dunning 1959:3–4; Hickerson 1966:4, 1967a:45) for the argu-

ment advanced by Skinner (1912:117) that the Ojibwa began to occupy permanently the central Shield region of the Subarctic during the 1730s, settling in the upper Albany River area west of those Cree in the James Bay Lowlands. According to the Fort Albany trader Joseph Adams in 1733: "the French Cannyda Inds have several of them wintered with the upland Inds. . . about two hundred Miles from this place" (Adams 1733). Prior to this time the "upland Indians" had been either Cree or Assiniboin while the "French Indians" had been Ottawa, Ojibwa, or other Algonquians. This then seems to mark the beginning of Ojibwa expansion into the Subarctic. From the 1720s until the 1770s Cree continued to move westward. In their place came Ojibwas and Algonquians until the 1770s, when their expansion to the north ceased. At that time the Ojibwa had come to occupy the entire Canadian Shield from the mouth of the Ogoki River in the east to Island Lake in the northwest. Some Ojibwa were even on the west side of Lake Winnipeg. Although the exact steps in this expansion are difficult to determine, there can be little doubt that it took place. Reports noting it in progress are made by traders peripheral to the area or at a later time by traders resident in newly occupied zones (Graham 1969:204; Masson 1889–1890, 2:241–242, 346; Barnston 1839).

Conclusion

Although the limited data make ethnographic reconstruction tentative, it is evident that many groups in the central Shield region shifted out of their aboriginal territories within the early contact period. Many of the Cree living north of Lake Superior at the time of contact moved westward during the eighteenth century, while in their place arrived Ojibwas and perhaps other Algonquians. Soon after 1800, the depletion of fur and large game resources resulting from the fur trade competition forced all groups into greater dependence on the trading post, a condition already well advanced among those Cree who had early attached themselves to the bayside forts. In consequence of the territorial shifts, along with a tendency for some groups to coalesce around the trading posts on which they were increasingly forced to rely, new regional identities and affiliations began to take shape. By 1821, when the fur trade stabilized under the monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company, the major divisions of Cree and Ojibwa of the central Shield region were established in the sections of the lands between Hudson Bay, Lake Superior, and Lake Winnipeg in which they reside in the mid-twentieth century. Their later careers may be followed in the chapters "West Main Cree," "Northern Ojibwa," and "Saulteaux of Lake Winnipeg," in this volume.

Territorial Groups Before 1821: Athapaskans of the Shield and the Mackenzie Drainage

BERYL C. GILLESPIE

The precise locations and groupings of the Athapaskan-speaking Indians of northern Canada in truly aboriginal times will never be known in their entirety. This chapter reviews the documentary evidence that scholars have relied on to infer both aboriginal distributions and possible territorial shifts due to direct and indirect influences and events stemming from the European fur trade (fig. 1). The main concern is with certain early historical references that present problems of interpretation regarding the territorial movements of peoples and the designations of them.

By 1821 most Athapaskans of the Shield and Mackenzie Drainage had been assigned "tribal" names by European traders and their territories designated. In that year the Hudson's Bay Company and North West Company formed a coalition, beginning an era of stable trading relationships throughout this area at permanently located trading posts that were within or near the territories of all major Indian divisions. From the earliest hearsay reports about Athapaskan peoples in the late seventeenth century until 1821 there was a continuous effort on the part of the traders to include more and more of this population in the fur trade. But, except for the Chipewyan whose territorial range was adjacent to Fort Churchill (Prince of Wales' Fort) on Hudson Bay, few other Athapaskans were directly involved in the fur trade until trading posts were established in the interior in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The Athapaskans who exploit the Shield area west of Hudson Bay have been primarily the Chipewyan, including the Yellowknife subgroup. The ranges of the Dogrib and Hare Indians comprise the edge of the Shield and the abutting Mackenzie Valley. Within the rest of the Mackenzie Drainage, except the most western extremities of its tributaries, are the Beaver, Sekani, Kaska, Slavey, Mountain, and Loucheux (eastern Kutchin) peoples. None of these peoples had a "tribal" or "national" unity at the time of European contact. It is likely that, as throughout the historical period, a number of small family-linked groups closely aligned through kin ties, dialect, and shared exploitative zone composed a regional group named after a major resource or topographical feature of their range. All

"tribes" recognized during the historical era are composed of one or more of these regional groups. Since Indians felt no need to label and categorize themselves in any larger sociopolitical units, the names eventually accepted by scholars, and only sometimes by Indians, were names assigned to them by Europeans. The terms eventually settled on by Europeans were usually arbitrary.

The naming of Indian groups by Europeans followed several patterns. Most frequently a general, and often derogatory, term used by a neighboring Indian people that were in direct contact with Europeans provided the first tribal name for people not yet contacted. The Algonquian-speaking Cree trading into Hudson Bay provided the first names for many Athapaskans. The names Chipewyan, Dogrib, Slavey, and perhaps Beaver have their source in Cree designations. The variety of the names applied to one group in different languages was noted by the trader-surveyor of the late eighteenth century, David Thompson (1916:78), in his description of Chipewyan territory: "the country is occupied by a people who call themselves 'Dinnie,' by the Hudson Bay Traders 'Northern Indians' and by their [Cree] southern neighbors 'Cheepawyans.'" In addition, information about new groups or areas often resulted in names being applied differently. Although it is not possible to detail all the processes by which names were assigned, juggled, and adopted, some of the confusions surrounding names given Indians by Europeans are treated in order to emphasize the difficulties in the interpretation of early historical documents.

Fur-Trade Influences and Territorial Shifts

In the Mackenzie Valley the advent of the fur trade does not seem to have created major changes in the exploitative ranges of Hare, Loucheux, and Mountain Indians. The present-day Bearlake Indians appear to be an amalgamation mainly of Dogrib and Hare whose ranges overlapped in the Great Bear Lake region, at least by the time of the earliest historical documents. After 1823—the year when the Dogrib took vengeance on the Yellowknife for previous bullying—Dogrubs

167

to Sault Sainte Marie from the north in 1670, were misidentified as the Winnebago by Thwaites (JR 54:133-134, 73:210, 214); both references are probably to Hudson Bay Cree. Coats (1852:41) mentions both Great and Little Winnepegons, perhaps 'coast Indians' and 'Lake Winnipeg Indians'; Graham (1969:192, 206) gave Winepeg and Winnepeg as the inland Indians' name for the Home-guard, those who lived with the traders on the shore of the bay.

During the early nineteenth century groups came to be called after the post they frequented, and these names became fixed with the signing of the treaties. In the 1970s most West Main Cree belonged to the Moose Factory, New Post, Albany, Attawapiskat, Weenusk (Winisk), Fort Severn, and York Factory bands, but not all the names were still appropriate: most of the New Post band lived in Moosonee, and no one had lived at York Factory since its closing in 1957.

Sources

For reconstructing the culture as it probably was prior to heavy European influence, there are the firsthand observations made at York Factory and Churchill between 1697 and 1791 by Bacqueville de la Potherie (1931:222-238, 261-267), Isham (1949:61-177, 316-317), and Graham (1969:141-212). Graham's data are sometimes hard to identify as pertaining specifically to coastal Cree. For a history of the fur trade in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Williams (1970:9-

15); for nineteenth-century painted scenes of southern James Bay trading posts see A.M. Johnson (1967a).

In 1909 at Fort Albany Skinner (1912:8-116) gave considerable attention to eliciting customs of former times. He also described contemporary behavior patterns and beliefs that a knowledge of areal ethnography indicates to be of autochthonous origin. In 1947-1948, with additional checking in 1955, Honigmann (1956) at Attawapiskat probed for recollections of culture patterns uninfluenced by factors of contact.

Honigmann's studies of the contemporary culture of Attawapiskat in 1947-1948, 1955, and 1956 resulted in a report emphasizing ecology and foodways (Honigmann 1961) and several papers (1949a, 1953, 1957, 1958) dealing with special topics. Trudeau studied acculturation in Winisk 1958-1960 (Trudeau 1966; Chance and Trudeau 1963; Liebow and Trudeau 1962). Nonas (1963) did fieldwork in Attawapiskat. Koolage (1971) gives some attention to the Cree and Cree Métis adaptations to the town of Churchill (see also Eglöff, Koolage, and Vranas 1968). Papers by Rogers (1966, 1967), Rogers and Trudeau (1968-1972, 3), and Bishop (1972) discussing demography and ecology for the coastal Cree and other areas are based on a variety of primary sources, including, in Bishop's case, Hudson's Bay Company Archives. Detailed accounts of the Roman Catholic church in James Bay have been written by Paul-Émile (1952) and Nadeau (1954). For a James Bay bibliography see Feit et al. (1972). Hoffmann (1961) has analyzed culture and personality adaptation among Attawapiskat Indians.

Northern Ojibwa

EDWARD S. ROGERS AND J. GARTH TAYLOR

Language, Territory, and Environment

The name Northern Ojibwa (O'jibwa) here refers to the Ojibwa Indians that live along the upper courses of the rivers that flow generally northeast into Hudson and James bays, from Island Lake, Manitoba, to Ogoki, Ontario (fig. 1). It thus refers to only the northernmost of the groups called Northern Ojibwa by Dunning (1959:5) and includes only Island Lake, Sandy Lake, and Deer Lake of the groups east of Lake Winnipeg to which the name was applied by Hallowell (1955:112-113). The territory occupied by the Northern Ojibwa corresponds essentially to the Patricia portion of the Precambrian Uplands of northern Ontario with a slight extension west into Manitoba and a possible extension southeast. The total area comprises approximately 100,000 square miles. The people within this region appear to have had a somewhat distinctive cultural history in relation to other Ojibwa due in part to the nature of the country they inhabit and in part to influences exerted by the Cree to the north and east. It has also been argued that the distinctive features exhibited by the Northern Ojibwa are attributable to their recent arrival in the north (see "Territorial Groups Before 1821: Cree and Ojibwa," this vol.).

Data are not sufficiently complete to draw a rigid boundary for the territory of the Northern Ojibwa at any period in their history. Population movements and intermarriage with surrounding groups, as well as the infusion of other Indian and European culture traits, have contributed to a blurring of boundaries. Nevertheless, the Northern Ojibwa do form, at least in part, a distinct dialect unit, being coextensive with the Severn dialect (Todd 1970; J.D. Nichols 1975) except for including also a few groups of somewhat different speech immediately to the south.* To the northwest (Wolfart 1973), north, and east are Cree; to the southwest, the Northwestern dialect of Ojibwa (J.D. Nichols 1975). In addition to their partial dialectal distinctness, the

* The orthography used to spell words in all varieties of Ojibwa in the *Handbook* follows the analysis of Bloomfield (1946, 1957), using the following phonemic symbols: *p, t, k, ʔ; s, š, m, n; w, y; i, a, o; ʔ, e, a, o*. This is the transcription referred to as General Ojibwa in "Subarctic Algonquian Languages" (this vol.), where details on pronunciation in the different dialects are given. In the Severn dialect preaspirated stops (such as *hk*) appear instead of the geminate stops of the other dialects (*kk*), and *h* appears for *ʔ*.

Northern Ojibwa lacked, except along their southern margin, certain cultural traits found among their Ojibwa neighbors to the west and south. Notably lacking are social and religious elaborations such as patrilineals and the Midewiwin and (excepting Sandy Lake) *maniio'hke'wak* ceremonies (Rogers 1958-1959; cf. "Saulteaux of Lake Winnipeg," this vol.). In regard to environment, for example, most Northern Ojibwa were outside the range of wild rice and the sugar maple, a fact that limited the subsistence potential of their area compared to that of their southern neighbors.

History and Culture

Lack of information makes it difficult to distinguish precise time periods enabling one to describe the cultural changes that have taken place since contact with Europeans. Tentatively, four periods are proposed: the early fur-trade period, 1670-1821; the early contact-traditional period, 1821-1900; the late contact-traditional period, 1900-1950; and the modern period, since 1950.

Early Fur Trade Period, 1670-1821

No doubt some of the ancestors of the Northern Ojibwa had had direct contact with Europeans prior to 1670, the year in which the Hudson's Bay Company was incorporated. Yet not until the 1740s can the Northern Ojibwa be dimly perceived as a distinct group, included under the name Nakawawuck (Isham 1949:314-315; cf. Graham 1969:204; Richardson 1852:265).

During the period 1670-1821, the Northern Ojibwa gradually became dependent upon European trade goods, which they secured in return for furs. For approximately a century following contact, the Northern Ojibwa secured goods, although not food to any extent, from trading posts located on James and Hudson bays—Fort Albany, Fort Severn, and York Factory—and from French posts in the vicinity of Lake Nipigon and along the middle course of the Albany River (Bishop 1969:317-318, 320). For more than half the period, the trading posts were located outside the territory of the Northern Ojibwa. Only after about 1740 did traders establish posts within Northern Ojibwa country (fig. 1). Prior to

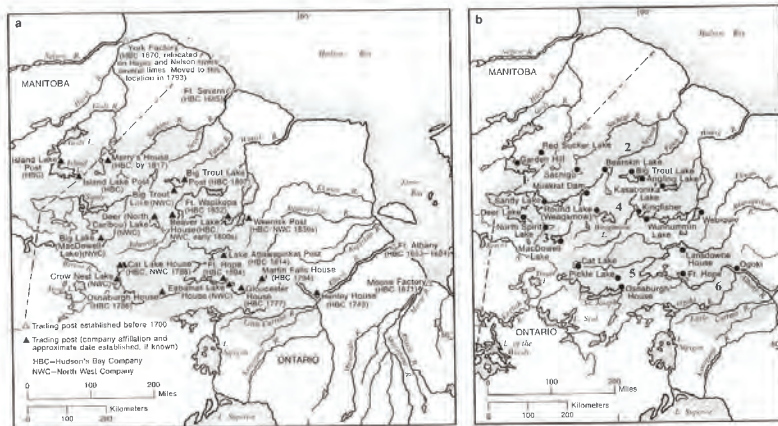


Fig. 1. Nineteenth-century territory with a. historic trading posts, and b. 1970s settlements and bands designated by the government at the time of treaty: 1. Island Lake; 2. Trout Lake; 3. Deer Lake; 4. Caribou Lake; 5. Osnaburgh House; 6. Fort Hope.

this time, the Northern Ojibwa secured goods either through Indian middlemen or from relatively long trips each summer to the southern or coastal posts. Such long trips may initially have posed a food problem since the northern Subarctic Algonquians apparently did not have gill nets (Skinner 1912:128) with which to exploit the available fishing sites along the routes of travel. In the late 1600s, the Hudson's Bay Company had authorized net makers to be sent to the bay to provide the Indians with gill nets so that they might more easily make the trip to the coast (Rich 1945:297); however, even as late as about 1800, remarks of Cameron (1889-1890, 2:255) suggest that Indians still did not make extensive use of gill nets.

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, basic changes began to take place in trade relations between the Northern Ojibwa and Europeans. From 1784 to 1821, the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company engaged in an energetic trade war. To obtain the Indians' furs, the rival traders supplied the Northern Ojibwa with an abundance of trade goods (Cameron 1889-1890, 2:296). As long as rival traders were present in the country, the Ojibwa remained independent and could play one trader against another for trade concessions.

The abundance of trade goods brought about certain changes in the material culture of the Northern Ojibwa. It is estimated that by the late eighteenth century every adult male owned a gun. At an even earlier date, metal tools had begun to replace those of bone; and stone

and metal containers, those of hide and bark (table 1). Furthermore, although caribou, moose, beaver, marten, lynx, and otter skins provided material for clothing—moccasins, leggings, robes, and jackets—garments of European manufacture and cloth were offered by the traders and many Northern Ojibwa made use of these materials (Bishop 1969:324-352).

Prior to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, data are too limited to allow the definition of a regular yearly cycle for the Northern Ojibwa. Apparently, they might visit the nearest trading post at any time of the year. As early as about 1780, according to Long, people near the Albany River may have been selling sturgeon to the traders (Thwaites 1904:155). By about 1800, bands generally assembled at the trading posts in the early part of the summer to await the arrival of the brigades that brought new "outfits" (the year's supplies for the posts) for the coming season. Occasionally, such concentrations of Indians exhausted the supply of food in the immediate vicinity of the posts and starvation occurred.

Once the Indians had secured trade goods, they moved to a fishery. As fall approached, the people picked berries and killed whatever animals they could find: beaver, otter, and big game (Bishop 1969:268-269). Shortly thereafter the deep winter snows would arrive; as they increased in depth, moose and caribou could be more easily killed. Yet it was a time of year when the people had to be frequently on the move in search of food (Cameron 1889-1890, 2:258). With the

coming of spring, the Northern Ojibwa took beaver and big game, and during May they hunted waterfowl that had returned from the south. At the same time, some groups fished for sturgeon (Bishop 1969:269). Soon it was time to seek a congenial trading establishment where they might profitably secure a new supply of trade goods for the furs taken during the winter.

The sociopolitical organization of the Northern Ojibwa during the late 1700s and early 1800s is not clearly discernible. The people appear to have been organized in bands, the core of which consisted of an elder and his married sons with male affines often included. This extended family may have numbered between 20 and 40 people. With the addition of other nuclear families, most likely relatives, the total aggregate may have been anywhere from 50 to possibly 75 individuals (Bishop 1969:275-281).

Some bands may have been named after the leader of the core family. Although no complete census of Northern Ojibwa bands exists, several have been mentioned for the late eighteenth century: the Cranes, of Weagamow Lake; the Suckers, part of Sandy Lake (Rogers and Rogers 1980; Bishop 1969:277-278; Skinner 1912:164; D. Anderson 1873:239; Godsell 1938:41); and some of the Nakawewuck bands living north of Lake Superior and east of Lake Winnipeg that traded with the Hudson's Bay Company—Nameu-Sepee, Wapus, Unescaw-Sepee 'Winisk River', Mistehay Sak-ahagan 'big lake; Lake Winnipeg', Shumataway 'Shamattawa(?)' (Graham 1969: 204, 206; Richardson 1852:265).

Each band was led by a senior male of the core family. Frequently, if not always, these individuals acted as the "trade-chiefs" (Bishop 1969; Cameron 1889-1890, 2:278). The position of leader appears to have been based on his ability to secure for his followers abundant trade goods, to excel as a hunter, and to command superior religious knowledge. Nevertheless, such individuals were charismatic, not autocratic leaders. Their followers could sever their allegiance at will (Bishop 1969:278-282).

Each band tended to habitually exploit a particular territory, a "hunting range" or "hunting area" (Rogers 1962:C22). Such territories were not rigidly bounded and trespass was not resented. Indications are that when big game was abundant, the band remained together as a unit throughout the year.

The religion of the Northern Ojibwa revolved around the concept of "power" (*manito'he'win*). An individual received "power" from the spirits through a vision quest and dreams (Cameron 1889-1890, 2:260-261). The "power" obtained could be used for both good and evil. It could be used to manipulate the supernatural, the natural environment, and people. An example was combatting the Windigo (*wi'niko'*), a cannibal being who in winter often preyed on humans. Those who

received the most "power" became shamans (Cameron 1889-1890, 2:249-250), and the type of instructions received when "power" was acquired determined the type of shaman the person would be. At least five different types of shamans existed, the most important being the shaking-tent performer (Cameron 1889-1890, 2:264), the *mite'-na'pe'* ("spirit-man"), and the herbalist (Rogers 1962:D10).

Early Contact-Traditional Period, 1821-1900

Starting in 1821, when the Hudson's Bay Company and North West Company joined forces, the way of life of the Northern Ojibwa began to alter rapidly. Since the reorganized Hudson's Bay Company had no rivals and furbearers had then become scarce, the Company closed many trading posts and restricted the import of trade goods. Because of these changes, the trappers could no longer "dictate" to the traders (Bishop 1969:308). Furthermore, by 1825 furbearers and caribou had been greatly reduced in numbers and moose had been annihilated (Bishop 1969:292; Cameron 1889-1890, 2:296). During the second half of the nineteenth century, moose began to reappear (Peterson 1955:45-49), and caribou may have increased somewhat in numbers.

Because of the alterations that had occurred in the faunal resources by 1825 the Northern Ojibwa instituted a new adaptive strategy to gain sustenance from the land. They began to take fish and hare intensively, soon being forced to depend upon these species as their mainstay. Since the country had been largely depleted of furbearers, the Northern Ojibwa had to intensify their trapping endeavors. In times of dire need Northern Ojibwa relied upon food supplied by the traders, such as fish, potatoes, and flour (Bishop 1969:272, 287-288, 292; Cameron 1889-1890, 2:296; Rogers and Black 1976).

With the quantity and variety of trade goods restricted and faunal resources altered, the Northern Ojibwa had also to make alterations in certain items of their material culture. No longer could they clothe themselves exclusively with moose and caribou hides or European cloth. Instead, they had to rely upon hare skins for clothing—parkas, hoods, mittens, breech-clouts, leggings, and occasionally moccasins (Skinner 1912:122)—a material that had been worn primarily as the garb of women and children (Bishop 1969:291). Moccasins were sometimes also made of sturgeon skin (Skinner 1912:123-124).

Since the Northern Ojibwa during the first half of the period often lacked sufficient hides of moose and caribou from which to make babiche for lacing snowshoes, they devised as a substitute snowshoes of solid wood (Skinner 1912:146; Bishop 1969:289, 290). The laced snowshoes in use were of two styles: a long, narrow,

Table 1. Selective Inventory of Northern Ojibwa Material Culture

Trait	Early Contact	Contact-Traditional		Modern
	1670-1821	1821-1900	1900-1950	1950-1970
<i>Subsistence</i>				
bow and arrow complex				
simple bow	x	x	x	o
arrow, 3-4 feathers		x	x	o
blunt head simple	x	x	x	o
crossbow	o	1870	x	o
firearms				
muzzle-loaders	1780	r	r	o
shotguns	o			x
rifles	o			x
snares				
large game	?	x	x	o
beaver	o	o	1930?	x
small game	x		1920-, wire	x
deadfalls	x	x	x	o
nets for birds		x	x	o
commercial traps	o	r	r	x
decoys for geese	?	x	x	
fishing devices				
gill net		r	r	x
iron ice chisel		x	x	x
metal fishhook		?	x	x
spear (sturgeon)	?	x	x	
weir	?	x	x	r
<i>Travel and Transportation</i>				
birchbark canoe				
small, 15 feet	x	x	x	r
large		x	x	r
canvas-covered canoe	o	o	r	x
outboard motors	o	o	r	x
tumpline		x	x	r
snowshoe				
round toe	x	x	x	x
pointed	o	1850	x	x
wooden	o	1820	x	o
toboggan				
native	x	x	x	x
commercial	o	o	o	r
dog-team	o	1880	x	x
canoe-sled	o	1880	x	x
sled	o	1880	x	x
snowmobile	o	o	o	x
cradleboards	x	x	x	x
<i>Structures and Heat</i>				
dwelling				
conical spruce bough		x	x	r
conical birchbark		x	x	o
conical hide		x	x	o
conical earth-covered		1880	x	o
ridge-pole lodge		x	x	o
dome-shaped lodge		x	x	o
log cabin	o	1880	x	x
government houses	o	o	o	1960
canvas tent	o	1880	x	r

Table 1. Selective Inventory of Northern Ojibwa Material Culture (Continued)

Trait	Early Contact	Contact-Traditional		Modern
	1670-1821	1821-1900	1900-1950	1950-1970
open fire	x	x	x	o
clay chimney	o	1880	x	o
metal wood stove	o	?	x	x
<i>Clothing</i>				
beaver skin	x	r?	r?	o
hare skin	r	x	x	r
parkas		x	x	r
hoods		x	x	r
mittens		x	x	o
breechclout		x	x	o
pants		x	x	o
leggings		x	x	o
socks		x	x	o
blankets		x	x	r
moose or caribou hide	x	r	r	r
moccasins	x	x	x	x
slipper	?	x	x	r
pointed	?	x	x	r
puckered	o	o	1930	x
mittens	?	?	x	x
mukluk	o	o	1930	x

NOTE: Approximate date of inception of trait is given when known.
x = trait present, o = trait absent, r = trait rare.

and pointed type and a shorter one with rounded toe (Skinner 1912:145-146). The former was quite likely adopted during the 1800s from native peoples to the west. Other items of winter transport equipment were toboggans for moving supplies and canoe-sleds used in the spring (Skinner 1912:145). Toward the end of the period or soon thereafter, large dogs were acquired and used to haul the toboggans and sleds.

Presumably, the birchbark canoe (fig. 2) for summer travel remained unaltered from the previous period. The frame was made by the men and the covering secured to the frame by the women (Cameron 1889-1890, 2:257; Skinner 1912:131-132). Another transportation device was the cradleboard (fig. 3) in which infants were secured (Cameron 1889-1890, 2:256). Skinner (1912:144) claims that the type without a hoop was the oldest.

Limited information is available regarding subsistence technology. The trap for whitefish (Skinner 1912:137; McInnis 1912:134; Camsell 1912:93) may have been introduced at this time. Furthermore, since fewer trade guns were now available, it can be surmised that indigenous deadfalls and snares were used more commonly than had been the case in former years.

No doubt, the Northern Ojibwa made other adjustments to the changes in the resource base such as the more extensive use of brush and birchbark as a substitute for hides in lodge coverings. Yet the basic dwelling styles presumably remained the same, consisting of the

ridgepole and conical lodges (Cameron 1889-1890, 2:255-256; Skinner 1912:119-120). According to Skinner (1912:153), the dome-shaped lodge was common. Toward the end of the period, the moss-covered lodge came into use (Rogers 1963). Lodge floors were covered with boughs or, in the south, mats made from the inner bark of cedar or bulrushes (Skinner 1912:127). Open fireplaces provided heat and light; fire was made with a bow drill (Skinner 1912:138).

Many of the indigenous tools, containers, and utensils continued in use throughout the period: bone fleshers and beamers (Skinner 1912:125-127), bone and wooden snowshoe needles (Skinner 1912:128), sewing needles of bone or thorn (Skinner 1912:132), and birchbark boxes (fig. 4) were common. The southern bands also utilized splint baskets, woven bags of cedar bark, wicker baskets, and netted bags (Skinner 1912:128-129).

Following 1825, the yearly cycle began to alter in response to the new economic and subsistence conditions. During the summer, the bands assembled at profitable fishing sites. From there the men made trips to the nearest trading post. With the coming of fall, each band broke up into hunting groups, each moving to a favorable rapid to continue fishing. There the men built traps for whitefish, a species that at this time of the year ascended and, several weeks later, descended the streams. With luck, sufficient fish could be secured and preserved for the weeks ahead.



Fig. 2. Boy in a birchbark canoe built by his grandmother, Maria Mikenak, at a time when most of the Northern Ojibwa had been using canvas canoes for several decades. The dark caulking is spruce gum mixed with lard and charcoal. Photograph by John Macfie, near Osnaburgh House on the Albany River, Ont., 1956.



Fig. 3. A woman from Lansdowne House, Ont., carrying a baby in a wooden cradleboard. The baby, wrapped in blankets, is laced into a bag decorated with appliqué work and tied with lacing cut from tanned hide. Traditionally, sphagnum moss, to serve as a disposable diaper, was packed around the infant's front and buttocks. Photograph by John Macfie, 1954.

236

As winter intensified, the hunting groups had to leave the site of their traps, which were frozen in; furthermore, few if any fish were still available at such spots. If possible, camps were situated near a lake where fishing through the ice might be profitable. Presumably set lines and jigging were the methods employed in under-ice fishing, the hook being a composite type with wooden shank and bone barb (Skinner 1912:137).

With the arrival of spring, the people often moved to sites near the outlets or inlets of lakes where open water would first occur and where fishing was easier and waterfowl would soon be arriving from the south. Shortly thereafter the hunting groups returned to the summer gathering spots (Rogers 1962:A22-A25).

As the annual cycle altered, modifications took place in the sociopolitical organization of the Northern Ojibwa. The band now assembled as a unit with face-to-face relationships only during the summer at a fishing station or trading post. As in earlier times, the band was under the direction of one of the elder males known for his hunting abilities and superior religious powers.

At other times of the year, the band was fragmented into three or four hunting groups. The hunting group was a social unit that apparently evolved during this period. Hunting groups ranged in size from approximately 15 to 25 individuals; each was in effect a bilateral extended family (Rogers 1969:24-32). At the same time, as the Northern Ojibwa came to depend more on the limited fur resources of the area, they evolved a concept of vaguely demarcated "hunting territories." These were in reality trapping territories and served to facilitate an equitable allocation of fur resources. At first, only beaver lodges were marked to denote "ownership" of the beaver therein, but in time territorial boundaries were established for each hunting-trapping group. Within each territory the group had exclusive rights to the fur resources but not to other resources or to the land itself (Bishop 1970a; Rogers 1962:C22-C24).

The kinship terminology during the nineteenth century was bifurcate collateral with Iroquois cousin terminology. Cross-cousin and polygynous marriages were permitted (Skinner 1912:151; Cameron 1889-1890, 2:242-252; Rogers 1962:B10-B13, B48). The levirate and sororate were also practiced (Cameron 1889-1890, 2:252). In addition, clans were said to exist among the more southerly groups (Skinner 1912:149-150) but have not been reported among the bands to the north. Skinner (1912:149) reported that the clans were matrilineal, but Bishop (1969:185) doubts that this was the case.

Late Contact-Traditional Period, 1900-1950

The period from 1900 to 1950 was characterized by a significant decline in the mobility that marked the ear-

ROGERS AND TAYLOR



Fig. 4. William Moore making a birchbark container. Left, Splitting white spruce root to make lacing; center, soaking the split spruce root in hot water to make it more pliable; right, applying reddish stain to completed container by rubbing it with boiled alder bark. Photographs by John Macfie at Mattagamie Reserve, Ont., 1957.

lier period. Accompanying this decline was a transition from native house types to log cabins and the emergence of what has been referred to as all-native settlements (Helm and Damas 1963).

Government involvement in the lives of the Indians had started in the earlier era with the signing of treaties and establishment of "treaty bands." Those bands along the north shore of Lake Superior made treaty in 1850. They were followed by Lac Seul in 1873, by Osnaburgh, Fort Hope, and Martin Falls in 1906 (D.C. Scott 1906), and by Island Lake in 1909 and Deer Lake in 1910. In 1929 and 1930 the last treaties were signed with the people of Trout Lake and Caribou Lake (J.L. Morris 1943). In addition to making annual treaty payments, the government issued emergency rations and supported schools in a few of the larger trading post centers; however, contact with government agencies remained minimal for the vast majority of people in the area.

Contact with the outside world was increased dramatically by major developments dating from the close of the prior period. The first significant event was the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway along the north shore of Lake Superior. This line, completed in the 1880s, was followed by the more northerly Canadian National Railway just prior to World War I. With these developments, most trading centers in the area began to obtain their supplies from new railway towns, rather than from the old posts on the shores of Hudson and James bays.

Another major development in transportation was the advent of "bush flying" in the years that followed World War I. By the 1930s airplanes were flying supplies into the most remote regions from bases on or near the railway. The use of airplanes increased the amount and variety of supplies that could be supplied

NORTHERN OJIBWA

to northern settlements. Air transportation eventually spelled the doom of the canoe brigades that had formerly been an important source of summer employment for the Indians.

After the advent of the railways, canvas-covered canoes became common and by the 1920s had almost completely replaced locally made birchbark canoes. Although the number of imported goods continued to increase and included items such as violins, guitars, and even a few gramophones, many utilitarian items (fig. 6) of local manufacture persisted throughout the period. Prominent among such items were mittens, moccasins, snowshoes (fig. 7), and birchbark boxes (Skinner 1912:119-149; Rogers 1962:C62-C64).

Throughout this period, there was a steady increase in the variety of foods obtained. This resulted partly from the return of caribou and moose to many of the regions and partly from the greater availability of imported staples such as flour, sugar, lard, and suet. In many areas gardening was undertaken, the main crop being potatoes. Although sporadic gardening efforts had begun in some regions during the late nineteenth century, local gardens did not become common until the 1930s and 1940s.

Concomitant with the increase in material goods and food supplies was the development of semisedentary all-native settlements. A detailed reconstruction, based on 1949 census material, reveals that in the Lansdowne House area the average size of six all-native settlements was 62 persons (Taylor 1972:22). Within each of the six settlements the majority of married couples were connected by means of primary kin ties with other members of the community. Most couples that did not have primary ties in 1949 appear to have lost their kin connections through deaths occurring just prior to that date (Taylor 1972:25). The six settlements in the sample

237



Ministry of Nat. Resources, Ont. Div. of Mines, Toronto
 Fig. 5. Robert Fidler, chief of the Sandy Lake Ojibwa, Deer Lake band. The suit was probably issued to him by the federal government, along with his chief's medal (not here worn). Photographed in July 1937.

showed a relatively well-developed tendency to local endogamy. The percentage of endogamous marriages ranged from 33 percent to 89 percent, with an overall average of 65 percent. In the 23 marriages that were not endogamous, the immigrant spouse was the wife in 17 cases and the husband in only six. This suggests a tendency to virilocal residence at the settlement level.

Many of the more overt features of the native religion, such as the shaking-tent rite, gave way under the increasing influence of Christianity. The first baptisms were made by Anglican and Roman Catholic missionaries who had entered the area prior to the turn of the century. Two of the earliest Anglican missionaries were the Rev. William Dick ("Subarctic Algonquian Languages," fig. 6, this vol.), who built a church at Trout Lake around 1883, and the Rev. R. Faries, who built a church at Fort Hope in 1895. Both men were Cree Indians who had been ordained at the older missions on the coast of Hudson and James bays. The Roman Catholic missionaries were usually nonnatives.

One of the main differences in the proselytizing methods of the Anglican and Roman Catholic missionaries

was that the former encouraged and trained local men to be catechists. By the end of the period most of the Anglican settlements had native catechists who gave services in their own homes or in the small local churches that began to appear in the early 1930s. Some of the catechists were powerful local leaders, exerting their influence in secular as well as in religious matters.

The Modern Period, 1950-

After 1950 most all-native settlements were abandoned, as more and more people moved into larger communities. In the new centralized communities, many of which grew up around former trading posts, several new services were available. Most, such as health and education services, were provided by Euro-Canadians from outside the area.

Health services were increased considerably with the construction of the Indian Hospital in Sioux Lookout in 1949. At about the same time, nursing stations were built in some of the larger communities such as Trout Lake, Osnaburgh House, and Lansdowne House. One of the most dramatic results of the increase in health facilities was the sharp decline in infant mortality. This resulted in a rapid growth of population.

Government programs in the field of education also



Amer. Mus. of Nat. Hist., New York: 50.7450, 50.8070, 50.8069
 Fig. 6. Wooden spoons in a variety of shapes were used for preparing and eating food. They were usually carved from the wood at the juncture of the trunk and roots of birch trees (Skinner 1912:134). Length of top spoon about 28 cm. All collected by Alanson Skinner, top at Martin Falls, Ont., rest at Fort Hope, Ont., 1909.

ROGERS AND TAYLOR



Fig. 7. Willie Coaster, from Ogoki, Ont., shaping the frames for a pair of pointed-toe snowshoes. Once the frames dry thoroughly in this shape, holes are drilled to take the lacing ("Montagnais-Naskapi," fig. 4, this vol.). Photograph by John Macfie at Ogoki, Ont., 1959.



Royal Ont. Mus., Toronto: 959.50.117a
 Fig. 8. Hare-skin sock, used as duffel inside moccasins. Length about 28 cm, collected by Edward S. Rogers at Weagamow Lake, Ont., 1958-1959.

expanded rapidly. At the end of World War II the only formal education available to most children in the area was that provided by residential schools located in Sioux Lookout, Kenora, and McIntosh. By 1970 day schools had been constructed in almost all the communities. With the construction of day schools, many women who had formerly accompanied their husbands on the trapline now remained in the village to care for school-age children.

Trading posts in the modern communities have taken on the character of ordinary retail stores with the increased importance of cash in the economy. Although the Hudson's Bay Company remained the largest trade

NORTHERN OJIBWA

and retail organization in the area, there were smaller independent stores in most communities, some of which were run by native people.

The modern period witnessed a further decline in the number of material possessions of native manufacture, and a corresponding increase in the number and variety of factory-made consumer goods, the most obvious of which were outboard motors, chain saws, and snowmobiles. Automobiles began to make their appearance in those communities, such as Osnaburgh House, that were reached by roads.

One of the most significant changes in the economy was a decline in the relative importance of trapping as a source of earned income. An analysis of fur harvests in the Weagamow Lake area during the 1949-1967 period revealed a decline both in total value of the fur harvest and in average income per trapper (J. Watts 1971:74-77). This was attributed largely to a decrease in fur prices. There was no evidence of any overall decline in the harvest per trapper or in the number of active trappers (J. Watts 1971:75). However, the fact that the number of trappers remained constant in spite of a rapidly increasing population indicates a decrease in the percentage of men engaged in trapping.

The decline in trapping income was offset by the growth of other seasonal or part-time employment opportunities, such as short-term construction jobs, logging and sawmill operations, tourist guiding, and commercial fishing. In addition, many men from northern settlements held temporary jobs outside their home communities as fire fighters and tree planters (Taylor 1969). Although some men in the southern part of the area found permanent employment in mining and on the railroad (Baldwin 1957), full-time jobs remained rare throughout most of the area. In the north they were restricted mainly to service occupations in local stores, schools, and hospitals.

In addition to an increase in the amount of income from new types of employment, there was a sharp increase in the amount of government assistance. In 1969 government subsidy payments represented approximately 33 percent of the total income at Lansdowne House (Taylor 1969) and approximately 47 percent of the total income at Weagamow Lake (M. Black 1971:188). With the increase in cash income there was a decrease in the use of wild foods for domestic consumption and also in the cultivation of local gardens.

The modern trading-post villages (table 2) were usually composed of members from several of the earlier all-native settlements. In many of the villages, such as Weagamow Lake (Rogers 1962:B89) and Lansdowne House (Taylor 1969), the members of the former settlements remained in close residential proximity, thus forming relatively distinct "neighborhoods." In others, such as Osnaburgh House (Bishop 1969:71), the old settlement groups became somewhat mixed due to gov-

ernment housing and road-building projects. However, the preference for residing in close proximity to near kin has remained (Taylor 1972). The modern villages have become increasingly endogamous as their populations have expanded, while the populations of the officially recognized bands (table 3) are often scattered in more than one settlement. Differences between the lists in table 2 and table 3 are due to the fact that some bands are found in more than one often mixed settlement or at a settlement with a different name. For example, the Martin Falls band is at Ogoki, the Caribou Lake band is at Round Lake, the Deer Lake band is at Deer Lake and Sandy Lake, and members of the Fort Hope band are also at Lansdowne House and Webique. Many of these bands are officially listed as linguistically Cree (Canada, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs 1980) or as Cree and Ojibwa (Canada, Department of Energy, Mines and Resources 1980); for the identification of their speech as Ojibwa see "Subarctic Algonquian Languages," this volume.

The nature of the household unit shows considerable variation throughout the region. In Round Lake multifamily households seem to be extremely rare, with no cases reported in 1958 (Rodgers 1962:B68) and only one case reported in 1968 (M. Black 1971:237). In Lansdowne House and Webique single-family households were also in the majority, but it was by no means un-

Table 2. Population Estimates by Settlement, 1972

Settlements	Population
Angling Lake	60
Bearskin Lake	270
Cat Lake	160
Deer Lake	250
Fort Hope	450
Garden Hill (1970)	1,265
Kasabonika	230
Kingfisher	125
Lansdowne House	350
MacDowell Lake	30
Muskkrat Dam	80
Ogoki	150
Osnaburgh House	300
Pickle Lake	75
Round Lake	335
Red Sucker Lake (1970)	235
Sachigo	140
Sandy Lake	700
St. Theresa Point (1970)	913
Trout Lake	500
Wasagamack (1970)	381
Wunnumin Lake	225
Webique	330
Total	7,554

SOURCES: Wolffart 1973; Canada, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Indian Affairs Branch 1970; Rogers 1965-1972.

usual for two or even three nuclear families to share a single dwelling (Taylor 1969, 1970). Most of such households contained a father and his married sons. In Osnaburgh House there was not a single case of a father and son sharing a household, although some households were shared with wife's parents (Bishop 1969:74).

Traditionally patterns of leadership and authority appear to have declined sharply in many modern villages, such as Osnaburgh House (Bishop 1969:78) and Lansdowne House (Taylor 1969). In Weagamow Lake, this decline was partly counter-balanced after 1958 by an increase in the political influence of the elected chief and councilors (Rogers 1962:B89-B92; M. Black 1971:279). In some of the more isolated Anglican communities, such as Webique, Kingfisher, and Kasabonika, the church catechists continued to hold important leadership positions (Taylor 1970).

In villages that had members from different Christian churches, religion often acted as an impediment to social integration. In Lansdowne House, the "split" was even evident in the settlement pattern, with the Anglicans living on the mainland and the Roman Catholics on a nearby island (Taylor 1969). Even more potential for social and spatial division was created by the arrival of new sects. For example, at Weagamow Lake a Northern Evangelical church was established in 1952, and a Pentecostal church in 1968 (M. Black 1971:283). The Pentecostals have been followed by the Mennonites.

Synonymy¹

The Northern Ojibwa have never been recognized by themselves and seldom by others as a distinct group of people; the names that have been recorded refer either to small subdivisions or to groups of which the Northern Ojibwa are only a part.

The name *ocipwe* was originally the self-designation of a band north of Sault Sainte Marie, which Graham (in Isham 1949:317) listed as a band of Nakawewuck around 1775 (see the synonymy in "Southeastern Ojibwa," vol. 15). The name has been borrowed by the Cree as *ocipwe*, the West Main Cree term for all people living upstream from themselves (Honigmann 1956:25). Variants of Ojibwa/Chippewa and its near synonym Saulteaux have often been used to refer to the Northern Ojibwa as well as their relatives in other areas. Early historical sources use variants of the term *no'ppimink* and its French equivalent Gens des Terres

¹This synonymy was written by David H. Pentland, incorporating some materials furnished by Edward S. Rogers and J. Garth Taylor. Included are discussions of the names of some Ojibwa groups that are not certainly classed as Northern Ojibwa but appear in early sources with the Northern Ojibwa and are not discussed elsewhere in the *Handbook*, namely the Gens de la Sapinière, Outouibis, Ouassi, Sturgeons, Moose, and Wapus.

Table 3. Official Band Populations, 1978

Ontario	
Angling Lake	170
Bearskin Lake	345
Big Trout Lake	672
Caribou Lake	483
Cat Lake	278
Deer Lake	1,978
Fort Hope	1,904
Kasabonika Lake	397
Kingfisher	231
Martin Falls	252
Muskkrat Dam Lake	178
Osnaburgh	862
Sachigo Lake	326
Wunnumin	284
Manitoba	
Garden Hill	1,623
Red Sucker Lake	330
St. Theresa Point	1,275
Wasagamack	590
Total	10,555

SOURCE: Canada, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1980:18-28.

for the 'Indians of the interior', sometimes perhaps including the Northern Ojibwa or their ancestors (see the synonymy in "Atikamek (Tête de Boule)," this vol.).

Hallowell (1955:112-124) first used the term Northern Ojibwa but restricted it to the Lake Winnipeg area. Dunning (1959:5-6) used Northern Ojibwa for all those groups living in the northern and western part of Ojibwa territory. In this chapter the Northern Ojibwa are more narrowly delimited on the basis of new linguistic and cultural evidence. Skinner's (1912:10, 117-118) term Northern Saulteaux is nearly equivalent to Northern Ojibwa as here employed.

The northern bands of Northern Ojibwa prefer to be called Cree, a usage that has confused students and government officials: the Trout Lake, Deer Lake, and Caribou Lake bands of Northern Ojibwa are not distinguished from their Cree-speaking neighbors to the north in Canadian government publications (for example, Canada, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Indian Affairs Branch 1970:12-17). A factor contributing to the confusion is the fact that Cree is the liturgical language for many Northern Ojibwa, and they use Cree translations of the Bible and other Christian religious literature (J. D. Nichols 1975).

The most common Ojibwa self-designation is *aniššina'pe* 'ordinary man', used by other Ojibwa groups besides the Northern Ojibwa. Some of the latter use the variant *aniššini* 'ordinary person'. The term *ni'ina* 'one of us', a derivative of *ni'inawe* 'he speaks our language, he speaks Ojibwa' (Cuoq 1886:271; Baraga 1878-1880, 2:288) is also sometimes given by

Ojibwa of all areas as their own name. The form Nena Wewhck, an error for Nenawehok or Nenawewack on Arrowsmith's 1795 map of North America (Warkentin and Ruggles 1970:133), is probably *ni'inawe'wak* (pl.), although it might represent the unattested Swampy Cree cognate **ne'hinawe'wak*.

The Cree of Manitoba and farther west call the Northern Ojibwa and the closely related Saulteaux *nahkawiyintw* (Faries 1938:372; Pentland 1970-1979), a name for which no translation is recorded. A form *nahkawe'wak* (pl.), which has been recorded in the twentieth century only as a verb meaning 'they speak Ojibwa', appears in English documents with the following spellings: Nakawewuck, 1743 (Isham 1949:112); Nackowewuck, 1772 (Graham 1969:292); Naka wewuck, 1775 (Graham in Isham 1949:317); Na,kow,wa,vouck, 1778 (Rich and Johnson 1951:210); Naka-we-wuk (Richardson 1852:264). The longer form *nahkawe'wiyiniw* 'Ojibwa-speaking person' appears in the dictionaries (Lacombe 1874:475; Faries 1938:160); the Woods Cree cognate *nahkawe'wišiniwak* (or perhaps the modern form *nahkawi'wišiniwak*; both are plural) was given by Alexander Henry the Younger (1897, 2:537) as Nahcowweecthinnuuck. The Northern Ojibwa have borrowed this Cree element and use the name *nahkawe'aniššini* as a relative term for bands to the south; at Weagamow (Round Lake) this name is applied to the people at Cat Lake, Lansdowne House, and Osnaburgh, but at Trout Lake, to the north, it includes those at Round Lake as well (Rogers 1962:A23).

In 1839 George Barnston reported that the Ojibwa at Martin's Falls (Ogoki), who were mostly Suckers, were called Bungees at York Factory and Fort Severn, a name he correctly derives from their frequent use of the word *panki* 'a little' (Bishop 1975:203). Simms (1906:330) refers to the "Bungees, or Swampy Indians" as living between Norway House and York Factory as well as around Lake Winnipeg (cf. Michelson 1939:89). Bungee or Bungi was also frequently applied to the Plains Ojibwa, especially in Manitoba.

Seventeenth-century documents mentioned "the people of the spruce grove" in contexts that place them in the southern part of Northern Ojibwa territory. The name is rendered as Gens de la Sapinière, 1684 (Greysolon Dulhut in Margry 1879-1888, 6:51); peuples de La Sapinière, 1697 (Aubert de la Chesnaye in Margry 1879-1888, 6:7); gens de la Sapinerie, 1709 (Raudot 1904:99). In Canadian French *sapin* means 'fir', not 'spruce', which is *épinette*, as in the Epinette Nation mentioned by Dobbs (1744:32) as a tribe of Sauteurs (Ojibwa) north of Lake Superior.

Another seventeenth-century group who may have been part of the Northern Ojibwa were known by the Ojibwa name *oto'ripi* (Old Algonquian dialect) or *oto'tipi* (Old Ottawa dialect) 'tullibee, *Coregonus artedii*'. They were called les Outurbi in 1640 (JR 18:228),

misspelled Orturbi by Radisson (1961:160); the /-dialect form was used as a French word (with plural -s), written Outouloubys by Greysolon Dulhut in 1684 (Margry 1879-1888, 6:51) and Outoulubis by Jallot on his 1685 map (Warkentin and Ruggles 1970:53).

In 1804 Duncan Cameron (1889-1890, 2:246) listed the following "tribes" among the Ojibwa north of Lake Superior: moose, reindeer, bear, pelican, loon, kingfisher, eagle, sturgeon, pike, rattlesnake, sucker, and "barbue." Most of these Ojibwa titular names appear in other writers' lists from the seventeenth century on, but not all are represented in the Northern Ojibwa.

Barbue is a French name for the brown bullhead, a species of catfish (*Ictalurus nebulosus*), in Ojibwa called *wa'ss'i'*. Radisson referred to the Ovasovarin (Radisson 1961:160), probably equivalent to Ojibwa *wa'ss'i' irini* 'bullhead person'; the name also appears as Ouassi (Dobbs 1744:32) and Wassés (Long 1791:45). The Owashoes (Coats 1852:41; cf. Oldmixon 1741:555) or Washeo-Sepee (Graham 1969:206) are more likely the Severn or other bands of West Main Cree.

The Cranes, who can be identified as the Weagamow Lake Ojibwa or a part thereof (M. Black 1968-1973; Rogers and Rogers 1980) and a segment of the Sandy Lake Ojibwa, hunted between Osnaburgh House and Big Trout Lake (Bishop 1975:201) and were frequently mentioned in the early part of the twentieth century (Miller 1912:87-92; Lofthouse 1907:14; Skinner 1912:164-165). The Suckers (*name'pin*) or Red Suckers (*miskome'pin*), who may have been somewhat more widespread (Bishop 1975), make up a part of the Island Lake and Sandy Lake populations (Boyle 1908:101; Wolfart 1973; Stevens 1919).

The Sturgeons (Ojibwa *name'* lake sturgeon, *Acipenser fulvescens*) were recorded as the Sturgeon Indians (Dobbs 1744:34) and Sturgeon Indians (Coats 1852:40). It is not clear whether the Nameu-Sepee (Cree *name'w si'piy* 'sturgeon river') in Graham's (1969:206) list of the Cree names of Nakawewuck bands are the same, especially since he earlier called them Nama kou sepe (Cree *name'ko-si'piy* 'trout river'; Graham in Isham 1949:317). In 1814 the Sturgeons were reported to hunt southwest of Osnaburgh House, together with the Moose (Bishop 1975:201); these Ojibwa Moose should not be confused with the Moose Cree (see the synonymy in "West Main Cree," this vol.).

In 1743 Isham (1949:112) mentioned the Wappus (Cree *wa'pos* 'hare'), no doubt the same as Graham's Wapus (Isham 1949:317) or Wapus (Graham 1969:206) band, which he classed as Ojibwa. Richardson (1851, 2:37, 1852:264) who re-elicited a 1770 copy of Graham's list, gives the form *Wa-pusi-sipi*, an ungrammatical version of Cree *wa'poso-si'piy* 'hare river', but the name probably was not originally a geographic one.

Graham's list of Nakawewuck subdivisions includes the Win nes cau sepe (Isham 1949:317) or Uinesca-

Sepee (Graham 1969:206), those living on the *wi'nasko-si'piy* 'groundhog river' (Winisk River), and the Shu mattaway (Isham 1949:317) or Shumataway (Graham 1969:206), probably *kise'-ma'ta'wa'w* 'great river junction'. Since he states that the latter band traded at York Factory they are probably from the place in northern Manitoba still called *Shumattawa*; however, this is not certain, as *Shumattawa* is in a traditionally Cree area, and Richardson (1852:264) identifies the Ojibwa group with Hcnley House on the lower Albany River.

Sources

For the early contact and early contact-traditional periods, 1650-1900, little has been published. Isham (1949:191) was the first to mention the Northern Ojibwa or the Nakawawuck, as he referred to them, in 1743 when he presented a short list of words and phrases. Graham in Isham (1949:314-315) in 1775 wrote a very short general description of the Nakawawuck, naming some, perhaps all, of the constituent groups (Graham 1969:204, 206). In the early years of the nineteenth century, Peter Grant and Duncan Cameron, traders for the North West Company, wrote more extended accounts of the Ojibwa, including but not distinguishing the Northern Ojibwa (Masson 1889-1890, 2). Only Bishop (1969, 1970a, 1972) and Rogers and Rogers (1980, 1980a) have examined archival material pertaining to the Northern Ojibwa.

For the late contact-traditional period, 1900-1950, published information on the Northern Ojibwa is rather scarce and consists for the most part of scattered references in the accounts of geologists (Camsell 1912; McInnis 1912), traders (Godsell 1939), missionaries (Lofthouse 1907, 1922; Stevens 1919), travelers (North 1929), and government officials (D.C. Scott 1906). The first anthropologist in the area was Skinner, who based a monograph (1912) on a trip he made down the Albany River in 1909. Skinner's time in the field was extremely limited, and he concentrated mainly on describing material culture. Hallowell (1938a) published on the material culture recorded at Island Lake. Taylor (1972) has published a reconstruction of the size and composition of several of the all-native settlements that were typical of this period. Rogers and Black (1976) dealt with subsistence strategy.

For the modern period, since 1950, there are published descriptions of several Northern Ojibwa communities, mostly written by anthropologists. The village of Round Lake, now Weagamow, was described in a standard ethnographic account by Rogers (1962) and has been the object of a detailed restudy by M. Black (1971). Greenwood has undertaken a socioeconomic study of Big Trout Lake (Sametz 1964), and Baldwin (1957) has written an article on social problems in the

Fort Hope and Collins area. Bishop (1969) gives some attention to the contemporary situation in his ethno-historic study of the Osnaburgh House area. M. Black (1970) has reported on modern art at Weagamow. Taylor has done ethnographic research in Lansdowne House (1969), Webiquie (1970), and Wunnummin Lake (1971). Wolfart (1973) has described the Cree influence in the dialect of Island Lake.

OTHER SUBARCTIC OJIBWA AND ALGONQUIN GROUPS

The classification of the Ojibwa-speaking groups has given rise to inconsistencies and disagreements among specialists and government agencies, some of which are reflected in the treatment of these groups in the *Handbook*.[‡] For example, in *Northeast* (vol. 15:745) the Pikangikum, Fort Hope, and Martin Falls bands are classed as Southwestern Chippewa, but in this volume the Pikangikum band is treated in "Saulteaux of Lake Winnipeg" and the other two in "Northern Ojibwa." The Constance Lake band, which contains both Ojibwa speakers and Cree speakers but is officially classed as Cree (Canada. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1980:19), has not been treated in any Ojibwa chapter and is only nominally covered in "West Main Cree."

The speakers of subdialects of Algonquin (as defined in "Subarctic Algonquian Languages," this vol.) have not been treated as a unit. The official category Algonquin excludes the northernmost Algonquin-speaking bands, Abitibi Dominion and Abitibi Ontario, and includes the linguistically and historically distinct Golden Lake and River Desert (Maniwaki) bands of Ojibwa speakers. In the official 1970 Canadian listing of linguistic affiliations the Cree-speaking Attikamek were also included as Algonquin (with one band inconsistently given as Algonquin and Cree, in different places), but they were correctly reclassified on the official 1980

[‡] This paragraph and the next two are by Yves Goddard.

map; however, the 1980 listing still gives the language of the Obedjiwan band of Attikamek as Algonquin (Canada. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Indian Affairs Branch 1970:9-10; Canada. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1980:16-17; Canada. Department of Energy, Mines and Resources 1980). The chapter "Algonquin" (vol. 15) treats the bands officially called Algonquin in 1970 except for the Attikamek. The Abitibi Dominion and Abitibi Ontario bands are officially classified as linguistically "Ojibway" and Cree; this probably explains why they were not treated in the chapter "Algonquin," but by oversight they are not treated in this volume either. The Algonquin-speaking bands, their location if not indicated by their name (all in Quebec), and their population in 1978 are as follows: Abitibi Ontario (57) and Abitibi Dominion (412), at Amos and Rapide-de-Cèdres (Matagami Lake); Lac Simon (466); Grand Lac Victoria (231), also with a winter camp on the Réservoir Dozois; Barrière Lake (289), at Rapid Lake; Kipawa (197), formerly Kippewa; Wolf Lake (40), formerly Wolfe Lake, at Hunter's Point and Lac des Loups; Long Point (311), at Winneway and Rapide VII (Rapide Sept); and Timiskaming (427), formerly Temiskaming, at Notre Dame du Nord. The Brennan Lake and Argonaut bands formerly recognized as Algonquin no longer exist (Canada. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1980; Canada. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Indian Affairs Branch 1968, 1970; Canada. Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, Indian and Inuit Affairs Program 1978:map 2B).

The Abitibi bands formerly lived and hunted around and north of Lake Abitibi, astride the Ontario-Quebec border; the official recognition of two bands merely reflects their former location in two provinces, though all now reside in Quebec. Their subsistence activities have been described by Jenkins (1939), and a manuscript by MacPherson (1930) provides a general ethnography. Some sources for the other Algonquin-speaking bands are given in "Algonquin" (vol. 15:797).

so far as they are supposedly derived from the Huron *Asistagueronon* and the several variations thereof. As Hunt (1940:108-109) pointed out and as Goddard (1972, "Mascouten," this vol.) has demonstrated with additional data, the Huron, Neutral, and Petun sometimes used Fire Nation for *all* the Algonquian tribes in the lower peninsula of Michigan collectively, but never for the Potawatomi specifically.

Sources

Although many of the early French travelers in the Upper Great Lakes encountered Potawatomi or heard of them secondhand, it is unusual to find more than a fragment of information about Potawatomi culture. For this reason, Perrot's (1911:148-151, 188-190) rich if brief comments are invaluable (see also Bacqueville de la Potherie 1911-1912, 1:300-317, 332-343, 2:13-43, 83-96). Claude Allouez and Claude Dablon's commentaries on the Potawatomi at Chequamegon and Green Bay are equally valuable (JR 54:264-265, 196-237, 55:26-41, 184-189). Numerous briefer references to the Potawatomi are listed in the index to the *Jesuit Relations*. Deale (1958) provides a fair summary of primary sources for the period before 1722, except that he places too much reliance on Le Jeune's relation locating the Potawatomi "in the neighborhood of Green Bay" in 1634, which ambiguous information was from Nicollet. Kinietz (1940) provides a fair summary of some Potawatomi materials as well. Similar comments hold true of British contacts with the Potawatomi, which provide scanty source materials.

Keating (1824) is definitive for Potawatomi culture in the early 1800s, just at the point of their dispersal. However, Keating has to be supplemented with numerous letters and reports of government officials and traders such as John Kinzie.

Callender (1962) cannot easily be improved and is invaluable. However, to get straight to Potawatomi culture, there is nothing better than the ethnographic

treasures collected in Skinner's mistitled work (1924-1927). Had Skinner done a little historical research or paid attention to the work of his contemporary Lawson, he might not have been led to the erroneous assumption that the Forest County Potawatomi were the true and pure representatives of ancient, northern-forest Potawatomi life. P.V. Lawson's (1920) compilations of information about the Wisconsin Potawatomi are very useful, although his conclusions are sometimes stretched and his citations frequently wrong. No similar compilations are available for Michigan, Illinois, and Indiana. The work of the Great Lakes Anthropology Research Project, done under contract with the Department of Justice to provide materials for the government's side in cases before the Indian Claims Commission, is also of great value as a compilation, although it hews to very narrow issues and is not rich in interpretation and conclusion (Horr 1974). Landes (1970) is a fine example of configurational thinking in anthropology, as is Landes (1963); she does what Skinner did not do: she deals brilliantly with Potawatomi ethos, values, and interpersonal styles. Ritzenthaler's (1953) small monograph on the Wisconsin Potawatomi remains very valuable as an introduction to this group. Clifton (1975) provides information on the Canadian Potawatomi. There are also research studies of the Potawatomi in Kansas (Bee 1964; F. Clifton 1964; Clifton 1962-1964, 1965, 1970, 1977; Gossen 1964; McElroy 1965a). Murphy (1961) details the transformation of the Indiana-Michigan Potawatomi first into the Mission band, then into U.S. citizens, and then back as Indians in the Citizens' band. Clifton has written on contemporary Potawatomi (1975a) as well as on the history of their culture change (1977).

Skinner's Wisconsin and Kansas Potawatomi collections are housed at the Milwaukee Public Museum. There are smaller collections at the Neville Public Museum, Green Bay, Wisconsin, good collections at the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, and odds and ends elsewhere such as the Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation), New York.

Southwestern Chippewa

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The Chippewa (*'chípa,wò*), or Ojibwa (*ò'jibwə*), was the largest tribe north of Mexico in 1972. Formerly they lived over an extensive area, mainly north of Lakes Superior and Huron. Since the seventeenth century they have expanded into western Saskatchewan, and south into what are now the states of Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and North Dakota, as well as into southern Ontario. An Algonquian-speaking tribe,* their closest cultural relatives are the Cree, to the north, and the Potawatomi and Ottawa, to the south. With these last two, in the nineteenth century, some of the Chippewa formed a loose confederacy known as The Three Fires.

The first historical mention of the Chippewa-Ojibwa was in a listing of the bands in the Upper Great Lakes area in 1640 (JR 18:230). This information, which had been obtained by Jean Nicollet on his 1634 voyage to the Winnebago, included no mention of any groups farther west than the Saulteaux, then at the Sault Sainte Marie, and the Noquet and Mantouek of the nearby Upper Peninsula of Michigan, though a secondhand account of 1658 associated the Mantouek with the Eastern Dakota (JR 44:248), and there may have been Chippewa fishing camps along the southern shore of Lake Superior during this period. After 1679, however, when they entered into a truce with the Dakota, the Chippewa established villages at Chequamegon and Keweenaw bays and began their gradual expansion to the west (Hickerson 1962:65-67, 96). The following groups, and there may have been others, are recorded for the mid-seventeenth century: Ousasouarini, Outchougai, Achiligouan, Amikwa, Mississauga, Saulteaux, Noquet, Mantouek (JR 18:229-230), Nikikouek (JR 33:149), Ojibwa, and Marameg (JR 54:133). Some of the less well known of these groups, which lived along the eastern and northeastern shore of Georgian Bay prior to 1650, have also been classified as Ottawa and it is possible that some of them were Nipissing. There are simply not enough data to resolve this problem.

The bulk of the Chippewa-Ojibwa population at the time of contact was in the present province of Ontario, and the same was true in 1972. Their numbers in 1650 have been estimated as 35,000 (Mooney 1928). Kroeber (1939:6-8), reviewing Mooney's work, allowed that fig-

ure to stand, but it seems low, reconstructed on the basis of 1970 numbers. The U.S. Bureau of the Census figure of 41,946 for Chippewa living in the United States in 1970 is reasonably firm. The Canadian population poses more of a problem. Canadian Indian Affairs figures for 1970 of enrolled "Treaty Indians" total nearly 64,000 (Ontario, 43,975; Manitoba, 14,187; Saskatchewan, 5,687), but perhaps only one-half of the Canadian Chippewa-Ojibwa were enrolled in 1972 and some enrollees were actually non-Indians (Edward S. Rogers, personal communication 1972). Thus, after doubling the number of Treaty Indians and reducing the figure by an arbitrary 8,000 to account for the non-Indians, a rough estimate of 120,000 is reached. Adding the U.S. Chippewa population, the total is about 160,000. Supposing this figure to be somewhere near the truth, there would have to be either a minimum of 100,000 at contact time or else a fantastic growth rate unique to the population dynamics of tribes in the Woodland area during the historic period (cf. "Southeastern Ojibwa," this vol.).

The settlement pattern in early historic times was that of numerous, widely scattered, small, autonomous bands. Thus the term "tribe" is applicable to the Chippewa-Ojibwa in terms of a common language and culture, but it does not apply in the political sense that an overall authority or unity was present. To a considerable extent this settlement pattern was dictated by their hunting-fishing-gathering type of economy, which required a large area to support few people.

History

The Fur-Trade Period, 1670-1800

The Chippewa-Ojibwa were deeply involved in the fur trade, especially during the eighteenth century, and were deeply affected by it. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the French and British established a series of trading posts in their country to engage in the lucrative business of supplying furs, particularly beaver for making hats, to the European market. The licensed trader or his staff exchanged European goods, firearms, metal implements and utensils, cloth, beads, and liquor for furs collected by the Indians. There was a rapid shift in material culture, from a stone-bone-wood-pottery complex of their own manufacture to the metal replace-

* For the transcriptional system used in italicized Chippewa words, see the orthographic footnote in "Southeastern Ojibwa," this vol.

ments of foreign manufacture. The gun replaced the bow, thus adding an efficiency factor to the hunt and to war. The economic life of the men shifted to one concentrating on trapping, and there developed a certain dependency on the post for "necessities" such as guns and ammunition.

The fur trade also resulted in a westward movement of the Chippewa as the French extended their posts westward. There was a tendency toward concentration of population as they sometimes clustered near, or at, a trading post. An example of this was the estimated population of 1,000 Indians at the settlement of Chequamegon, on the south shore of Lake Superior in present Ashland County, Wisconsin, after the French reestablished a post there in 1692. E. Johnson (1965:398) noted that "one aspect of culture change which seems to have resulted from the close association of the Ojibwa with the trader was the strengthening of the position of the band headman and the eventual changing of this position from that of a relatively weak leader to a strong hereditary position." The trader, finding it more expedient to work through a band leader, strengthened the prestige and authority of the civil leader, who was traditionally weak in the almost apolitical system of precontact Chippewa-Ojibwa. E. Johnson (1965:398) further suggested that this, coupled with their patrilineal tendency, probably gave rise to the patrilineally inherited line of "chiefs."

Another effect of the fur trade was to make liquor available to the Indian. The excessive use of it was already a problem during the trading-post period, and by 1832 the United States government deemed it serious enough to pass the Indian Nonintercourse Act, which prohibited the further sale of alcoholic beverages to Indians. There was also a considerable amount of marriage between Indian women and the traders, factors, and *coureurs de bois*, particularly the French, as is attested by the many French surnames among modern Chippewa. The deep affection and empathy the Chippewa-Ojibwa and French held for each other was in complete contrast to the Chippewa-Ojibwa feelings toward the British. They supplied warriors in the French attempt to maintain their forts along the northern frontier at Quebec, Montreal, Duquesne, Niagara, and Detroit, and it was with deep regret that they saw the surrender of French Canada to the British in 1760.

This period also saw the major geographical expansion of the Chippewa-Ojibwa. Hickerson (1962:2-3) has delineated a four-part division that had emerged by the onset of the nineteenth century, as a result of this expansion. First, the Northern Ojibwa, or Saulteaux, occupied the forests of the Laurentian uplands north of the Great Lakes. They were characterized by small, discrete, scattered bands with a hunting-fishing-gathering economy, which made little or no use of wild rice or maple sugar, and later with family hunting territories.

Skinner (1911:117) divided them into northern and southern groups, noting that the former were considerably influenced by the Eastern Cree. (They are discussed in vol. 6.) Second are the Plains Ojibwa, or Bungee, of southern Saskatchewan and Manitoba. They exhibited the most radical change in adopting certain political and ceremonial traits, as well as a bison-hunting economy, from the northern Plains tribes with whom they came in contact (see vol. 12). Third, the Southeastern Ojibwa, who began occupying the lower peninsula of Michigan and adjoining areas in Ontario by the eighteenth century, were hunters, fishermen, gardeners, and gatherers of maple sugar, and, only in some instances, of wild rice. They were organized in somewhat larger aggregates than were the Northern Ojibwa, with relatively large summer villages (for this division, see "Southeastern Ojibwa," this vol.). Fourth, the Southwestern Chippewa moved into Wisconsin's northern rim and the northern half of Minnesota extending up to the Lake of the Woods on the Ontario-Manitoba border. There they found a rich supply of wild rice, which became an important part of their economy. They also collected maple sugar and did some gardening, in addition to their important mainstays of hunting, trapping, and fishing. Hickerson (1962) went to some length to establish the thesis that this group showed important change toward a more elaborate sociopolitical organization. One impetus to greater (but not pronounced) organization was their involvement in war, first with the Fox, whom they encountered in northern Wisconsin (Mooney and Thomas 1907g:278) and later, more important, with the Dakota, farther west. The rest of this chapter deals exclusively with the Southwestern Chippewa.

Intertribal Wars, 1800-1854

After continuing intermittently for more than 100 years, hostilities between the Southwestern Chippewa and their hereditary enemies, the Dakota, reached their peak during the first half of the nineteenth century. The cause was mainly the use of hunting and trapping territory and the use of the wild-rice fields; it took place, primarily, in what is now Minnesota. Ordinarily, it was small-scale warfare, one village against another, while other villages on either side might be at truce; also, hunting parties often were attacked. The common pattern was for a warrior to invite a number of other warriors to join him in a war party that he would lead. Upon completion of the raid, the war party was dissolved. While only small numbers were normally involved, the loss of life was relatively high. Warren (1885:169) presented a lengthy account of the battles and methods of warfare employed in these "border wars" and noted that in one of the most successful raids by the Chippewa, the war party returned with 335 Dakota scalps. Armstrong (1892:94-97), in an eyewitness account of the Battle of the Brulé in 1842,

noted that firearms and ammunition were so scarce that the gun was used for signal purposes only and that both parties waged war with a club in one hand and a scalping knife in the other. In this encounter the Chippewa lost 13 warriors and took 101 Dakota scalps. Ultimately, the Chippewa were successful in driving the Dakota across the Mississippi River. One Chippewa group established residence as far west as the Turtle Mountains in North Dakota, now a reservation. Hostilities continued into the nineteenth century. Even the Prairie du Chien Treaty of 1825, dividing up the disputed territory, did little to stem animosities. Their cessation awaited the United States government reservation program, when the various Indian tribes or bands gave up most of their claimed territory for annuities and a reservation plat. The final battle between them was not fought until May 1858.

This period was marked by land adjustments, the result of a series of treaties between the Chippewa and the U.S. government. In Wisconsin, the treaties of 1835, 1837, 1842, and 1854 resulted in a diminution of Chippewa territory, from the considerable area they claimed to their present, comparatively small, reservation holdings. The Minnesota Chippewa, too, in exchange for annuities of goods and provisions, ceded mineral rights or territory in treaties of 1826, 1847, 1854, 1855, 1863, and 1864.

The Reservation Period, 1854-1972

As a result of the treaties made during the 1850s and 1860s (C. Thomas 1910:377-378), the various Minnesota bands were allocated 11 reservations, 7 of which were Chippewa and existed in 1972: Fond du Lac (21,367 acres), Grand Portage (44,752 acres), Leech Lake (26,766 acres), Mille Lacs (3,620 acres), Nett Lake (41,784 acres), Red Lake (636,964 acres), and White Earth (56,116 acres). With the Treaty of 1854, four reservations were established in Wisconsin: Bad River (in 1972, 54,932 acres), Lac Courte Oreilles (43,719 acres), Lac du Flambeau (44,477 acres), and Red Cliff (7,267 acres). In 1934 two small reservations of 1,750 acres each were created: Mole Lake and Saint Croix (fig. 1). The effects of the reservation system on the southwestern Chippewa were considerable; it froze them into their locales with reduced lands. Besides stemming further expansion, it was a blow to the traditional economic system that required substantial territory, especially for hunting. Also, by the mid-nineteenth century, the fur trade had declined to a trickle and the reservation period began with the Chippewa in an economic plight from which they have never recovered. There was some respite toward the end of the nineteenth century, when the lumbering interests, exploiting the area, employed Indians as lumberjacks. There seems to have been a good working relationship between the lumber companies and the Indians: the employers found the Indians excellent workers, and the Indians, at home in the woods, enjoyed the relatively small, but welcome, wages.

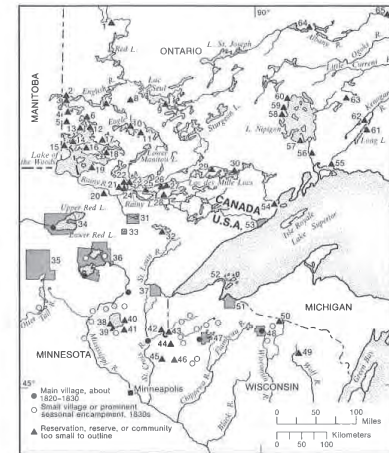


Fig. 1. Southwestern Chippewa settlements in the 19th century (after Hickerson 1962) and Chippewa reservations and communities in 1970. 1, Pikangikum; 2, One Man Lake; 3, Islington; 4-5, Shoal Lake; 6, The Dalles; 7, English River; 8, Wabauskang; 9, Lac Seul; 10, Eagle Lake; 11, Wabigoon; 12-13, Rat Portage; 14-15, Northwest Angle; 16, Big Island; 17, Whitefish Bay; 18, Sabaskong Bay; 19, Big Grass; 20, Manitow Rapids; 21-25, Rainy Lake; 26, Seine River; 27, Sturgeon Falls; 28, Nequagon Lake; 29, Seine River; 30, Lac des Mille Lacs; 31, Nett Lake; 32, Vermilion Lake; 33, Deer Creek; 34, Red Lake; 35, White Earth; 36, Leech Lake; 37, Fond du Lac; 38-42, Mille Lacs; 43-46, St. Croix Communities; 47, Lac Courte Oreilles; 48, Lac du Flambeau; 49, Mole Lake; 50, Lac Vieux Desert Community; 51, Bad River; 52, Red Cliff; 53, Grand Portage; 54, Fort William; 55, Pays Plat; 56, Red Rock; 57, McIntyre Bay; 58, Gull River; 59, Jackfish; 60, Whitesand River; 61-62, Long Lake; 63, Aroland; 64, Fort Hope; 65, Martin Falls. For all Michigan groups, see "Southeastern Ojibwa," fig. 3, this vol.; for Ojibwa groups to the north, see "Northern Ojibwa," vol. 6; for those to the west, see "Saulteaux of Lake Winnipeg," vol. 6. The repartition of the modern Chippewa-Ojibwa groups on these maps is geographical, since the dialect affiliations of a number of the groups have not been determined.

With the Allotment Act of 1887, which parceled out reservation lands to the individual, the Indians could, and did, sell their timber rights, a source of income that left them with cut-over lands. The Allotment Act resulted in a sharp reduction of Indian-held land throughout the United States until it was reversed by the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. In 1924 citizenship status was conferred upon Indians, allowing them to vote for the first time. While Chippewas, along with other Indians, had fought as volunteers in World War I, the citizenship act made them eligible for the draft; many served in World War II (and subsequent wars) as either selectees or volunteers. The returnees brought back a wider experi-

ence of travel and contacts and, in some instances, usable skills.

Culture

While acculturational forces were already at work in the seventeenth century, this section will be generally concerned with presenting Chippewa "traditional" culture as it still existed and was recorded in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

In Wisconsin and Minnesota the Chippewa found themselves in a mixed conifer-deciduous environment of which they made full use. This was also a well-watered region; many lakes and rivers provided abundant fish, avenues of travel and transportation, extensive wild-rice fields, and cattails and bulrushes needed for mats. The large and small game inhabiting the forests provided the primary source of food, with the hides, especially buckskin, converted into clothing.

The basis of Chippewa material culture was forest products: wood, bark, and plant fibers. Wood was used to make utensils, implements, and weapons. Birchbark served as wigwam coverings, storage containers, and the "skin" of their canoes, for which they are famous. Inner barks were used: basswood for bag weaving and twine, cedar for mat making, and willow for kinnikinnick, which was smoked with their tobacco. The sugar maple was tapped for sap that was converted into sugar. Nuts, berries, and fruits were gathered. A great variety of medicine was concocted from roots, stems, and leaves of local flora. Their knowledge of the forest and its resources was impressive and it was necessary for survival in a region of long, and often severe, winters. Considerable time and effort were invested in wresting a living from the forests.



right, Thomas Y. Crowell Company; Farber and Dorris 1975.

Fig. 2. Southwestern Chippewa wild-rice harvesting in aluminum canoe and old-style parching. Photographs by Joseph C. Farber, 1972, at Nett Lake, Minn.

Subsistence

The search for food involved a seasonal shifting of activities and necessitated a seminomadic way of life. The Chippewa operated out of a summer village base, staying within a radius of perhaps 50 miles. During the summer the main economic activities consisted of fishing (year-round activity); gathering wild foods, especially berries and nuts; and, in some areas, gardening small plots of corn, beans, and squash. The women were highly involved in these activities and much of the food gathering was done by women and children.

In the early fall they moved to the wild-rice fields, a number of families joining together to camp and work. After the wigwams were set up, the greater amount of time, for several weeks, was spent harvesting and preparing the rice (*Zizania aquatica*, which is not related to domestic rice). The men poled the canoe through the fields, while the women knocked the grains into the canoe with a pair of cedar sticks. After it was brought to shore, the rice was laid out to dry, then parched over a fire. The outer husks were removed by tramping in a skin-lined pit, and finally the rice was winnowed with the aid of a birchbark tray. As with other crops, they held a ceremony for the "first fruit," to thank the *manito-k* (gods); at this time, some of the first harvest of rice was cooked and eaten. When they returned to the village, the prepared rice was stored in mococks (birchbark containers) and would keep indefinitely. Wild rice has remained important to the Chippewa, both as a food, which they prize, and as a cash crop, which is sold to the Whites (fig. 2).

While hunting was done much of the year, it was intensified in winter, when the Chippewa moved to the hunting grounds where they could find deer, moose, wolf, fox, and bear. Deer, usually the most plentiful game, were



RITZENTHALER

valued for both the food and the hide, which was used to make most of their clothing. After killing a bear, there was a special ceremony and feast.

Meat was roasted or boiled for eating. The surplus was cut into thin slices, dried, and then smoked on a rack over a slow fire, pounded on a rock to flatten it, and finally stored in birchbark containers.

During the winter the men also tended their trap lines and fished. Baited steel traps were set along the shores of lakes and streams to catch mink and muskrat. For fishing, a hole was cut in the ice and the fisherman dangled a wooden lure in the water to attract the fish, which was speared.

In late spring, usually in March, a number of families set up a wigwam camp in a sugar bush and, as in the rice camps, a festive spirit prevailed. The sugar maple tree was tapped by making a horizontal gash in the trunk, three or four feet above the ground. A cedar spile was inserted, at a downward angle, allowing the sap to drip into a birchbark bucket on the ground. The sap was collected, boiled, granulated in a wooden trough, and then stored in the mococks (fig. 3). The sugar was used on wild rice, vegetables, and even fish. Thus, it served as a seasoning (they did not use salt), as candy (fig. 4), and as a refreshing drink mixed with water.

Clothing

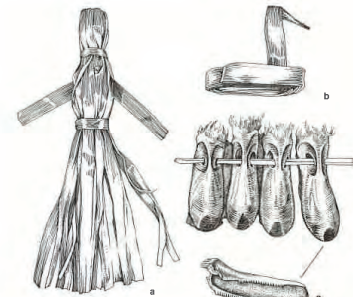
The basic dress of the men was a breechclout, leggings, and moccasins, all fashioned of tanned buckskin. In cold weather a buckskin robe was worn, and in later times, trade blankets. The breechclout was a buckskin strip, about four feet by a foot and a half, that was passed between the legs and over a thong, leaving a flap free in



Dept. of Anthr., Smithsonian: left to right, 278160, 278170, 278122.

Fig. 3. Maple sugaring equipment from Minnesota. left, Spoon to stir granulating sugar; center, birchbark cones containing sugar; right, mocock (from White Earth) made of sewed birchbark with etched designs, containing about 5 pounds of sugar. Height of right 18.5 cm, rest same scale; all collected before June 1918.

SOUTHWESTERN CHIPPEWA



Dept. of Anthr., Smithsonian: a, 317214; b, 317213; c, 278169.

Fig. 4. Children's toys from Minnesota. a, Female doll made of cattails; b, duck made of cattails; c, strung duck bills, filled with maple sugar for a child's treat. Length of female doll 16.5 cm, rest same scale; a and b collected before 1921, c before 1913.

the front and rear. During the early twentieth century, this was replaced by a pair of square panels worn front and rear over trousers. The leggings reached from the ankle to the crotch; they were held up by a thong tied to the belt. They had an outer fringe and often were decorated with beadwork. The Chippewa had several styles of moccasins, the oldest of which was made of one piece of buckskin with a plain seam up the back and a "puckered" seam up the front. The popular style, in more recent times, had a pair of cuffs and elliptical vamp piece sewed onto the upper front in puckered fashion, with a central seam leading down to the toe. Both the cuffs and the vamp were usually beaded (fig. 5). The headdress could be a fur fillet, a yarn sash wound around the head as a turban (fig. 6), or, on special occasions, a roach. This was a brushlike crest of animal hair worn down the center of the head. It consisted of deer or moose hair, dyed red, and was combined with rows of porcupine hair. The final embellishment was a single eagle feather swiveling in a bone socket at the center of the roach (fig. 7).

The women's basic garment was a sleeveless dress made of two buckskins, one for the front and one back. These were sewed together at the shoulders and held in place by a belt. It was worn over a nettle-fiber undershirt. Moccasins and leggings, which were shorter and wider than the men's, completed the costume. With the coming of the trader, there was an ever-increasing use of broadcloth in place of buckskin for the dress and leggings; this was also true for the men's costume. In 1972, the only element of Chippewa costume in daily use was the buckskin moccasin worn by a few of the older people. Indian costumes appeared only on ceremonial occasions and at dances for the tourists.

747



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Fig. 5. A group from Red Lake, Minn., visiting Washington. left to right, Matchis-skank 'someone traveling' (Johnson) with medicine pouch; Tabaiwatang (*te-pwe-tank* '?) sound of eating' wearing a James Buchanan peace medal issued in 1857; Bashicta-noguch 'high up in the sky' (Charles Sucker). Photographs by DeLancey Gill, 1901.



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Fig. 6. Minnesota chief *pokwane-ki-šik*, Hole-in-the-Day (b. 1820s, d. 1868), the second of that name. He wears a wool sash turban. Photograph about 1859-1860, probably by Whitney's Art Gallery of St. Paul, Minn.



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Fig. 7. A Leech Lake band delegation to Washington. front row, left to right, *wa-panani* (?) 'white feather'; *ni-ka-nipine-ss* 'leading bird' (also known as Flat Mouth, his father's name); *ke-kwe-čiwepinank* 'trying to throw' (also known as Red Blanket); unknown (or perhaps this is *ke-kwe-čiwepinank*). Photograph by DeLancey Gill, 1899.

Structures

The most common dwelling was the dome-shaped wigwam. This consisted of a pole framework covered with birchbark and cattail matting. The butt ends of cut saplings were sharpened and set vertically into the ground about two feet apart in a circle or ellipse. One pole and its opposite were bent toward the center to form an arc, the ends tied with basswood strips. After the vertical poles were tied, other saplings were added in a horizontal position. Beginning at the doorway, a mat was unrolled along the base and tied to the first horizontal pole. Other mats were added to complete the circumference. The upper portion of the structure was covered with sheets of birchbark panels sewed together, about three by five feet in size; at each end was fastened a wooden strip to which the ties were attached. A smoke hole was left at the top center. The only other opening, the doorway, was covered with bark, hide, or a blanket (figs. 8-9). The cattail mats, prepared in summer, and the birchbark sheets, prepared in spring, were rolled up and transported to the house site. The saplings were collected from the area of the new house site at the time of building. Inside the wigwam was a central fireplace and around the sides

748

were mats and furs for sleeping and for storage. The larger, elliptical wigwams, occupied by several families, had a fireplace at either end, opposite the door. Adults lived along the sides with the eldest near the door; the young occupied the central portion.

Another type of structure was the peaked lodge: a type of A-frame supporting a ridgepole on which poles were laid sloping to the ground. It was covered with bark and used mostly by hunters as a temporary shelter. A birchbark conical lodge, or one covered with cloth, resembling a tepee, was used to a lesser extent. The bark-covered, gabled style of dwelling, which was utilized as a summer house by adjacent tribes to the south on their semiannual shift from the wigwam, seems not to have been used by the Chippewa. However, Densmore (1929:27) reported that a bark-covered house with a rectangular floor pattern was used in the sugar camps or as a work house when weaving mats.

There were several structures for special purposes: the sweat lodge, the menstrual hut, and the Mide lodge. The first was a small, conical tent in which steam was created by throwing water on hot stones. These were used for individual therapy or at the Midewiwin rites for ceremo-

RITZENTHALER

nial purification. The menstrual hut was a small wigwam, adjacent to the larger ones, used only by a woman during her period. The Mide lodge, or Medicine Lodge (*mite-wika-n*), was a long, arched, pole framework, partially covered with cedar boughs, used only during the semiannual Midewiwin ceremonies (fig. 10).

Technology

The handcrafted products of the Chippewa reflected their forest environment. Wood was the favored and most accessible material, and it was used for a host of utilitarian objects: bowls, ladles, bows and arrows, snowshoes, lacrosse racquets, canoe parts, flutes, drums, cradleboards, fish lures. A profusion of bowls and ladles was carved from burlled portions of hardwoods such as maple and birch; these combined a simple beauty of form with attractive grain, which resulted in some of their finest art products. There were human, bird, and animal forms, for magical or religious uses, sculptured with varying degrees of artistry and skill.

Bark was another important medium. Birchbark was the "skin" of the graceful Chippewa birchbark canoes. It covered their wigwams. In lieu of basketry, they constructed a variety of birchbark containers for carrying, storing, and cooking. An art form unique to the Chippewa was the dental pictograph: designs bitten into a thin sheet of folded birchbark that, when opened, exposed a mirror pattern, usually floral (fig. 11). Cedarbark was used to weave mats.

SOUTHWESTERN CHIPPEWA

Cattails were sewed into mats to cover the lower portion of the wigwam. Dyed bulrushes were twined over basswood bast to make colorful floor mats (fig. 12). Rectangular bags were woven of basswood twine, later of commercial yarn, utilizing the twining and finger-weaving techniques. Colorful sashes and garters were woven of commercial yarn (fig. 12).

Before European glass beads were introduced, quillwork was the most important decorative applicative. Porcupine quills were dyed, flattened, and sewed in floral designs on buckskin clothing and Mide bags, medicine bags presented to Midewiwin initiates. Floral designs were added to birchbark boxes by inserting the quills into holes punched with awls. Geometric designs were achieved by loom-weaving, the panels then attached to clothing, knife sheaths, and Mide bags. When glass beads arrived, they were substituted for the quills, although the traditional designs were continued. Beadwork embroidery and loomwork was characterized by a heavy emphasis on floral designs: leaf, plant, and flower motifs (figs. 5, 7).

Silk appliqué, or "ribbonwork," was introduced to the Chippewa probably toward the end of the eighteenth century, but it was used only sparingly and never developed into the rich art form found among other tribes of the Great Lakes area. It consisted of cutting a design from one color of silk, sewing it onto a panel of another color, and then attaching this to a broadcloth garment (fig. 13).

Life Cycle

Much of the infant's first year was spent on a cradleboard, a cedar board about two feet long, 10 inches wide,

749



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Fig. 8. Southwestern Chippewa wigwam covered with cattail mats and sheets of birchbark; moccasins and birchbark containers hang outside the entrance. Photograph by Huron H. Smith at Lac du Flambeau, Wis., Dec. 18, 1933.

and three-eighths of an inch thick. A foot brace was attached near one end and a hickory hoop, to protect the head, near the other. The baby was placed on a bedding of sphagnum moss and securely bound to the board with two wrappers of buckskin or cloth. These had been beaded by the mother with great care, and some of the finest floral beaded embroidery was found on these wrappers. At intervals during the day, the baby was taken off the cradleboard for cleaning and exercise. The infant's moccasins had a number of holes cut into the soles, so that if tempted by the spirits (death) to return to their land, he could inform them that his moccasins were in no condition for the journey (Skinner 1911:121). The child was not weaned until the age of two or even later.

The child was named at a special, small gathering of relatives and friends, to which a namer had been invited.



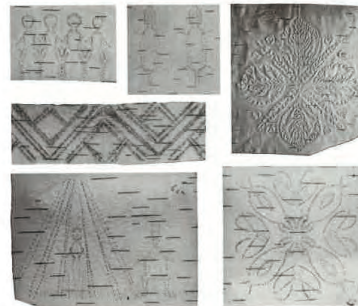
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Fig. 9. Southwestern Chippewa wigwam covered with bark. Photograph by Sumner W. Matteson in Wis. before 1920.



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Fig. 10. Interior view of a medicine lodge for the ceremony of initiation into a high degree of the Midewiwin society. Photograph by Frances Densmore, May 1909, at Elbow Lake, White Earth reservation, Minn.



Dept. of Anthr., Smithsonian: top, 366462, 366461, 366453; center, 366452; bottom, 366457, 366451.

Fig. 11. Southwestern Chippewa bitten pattern transparencies, made by a woman biting soft folded birchbark as an evening pastime. Upper right 8.5 cm vertical measure, rest same scale; collected before 1928.



Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum, Linz, Austria: Graphische Sammlung, Hs.290.

Fig. 13. Southwestern Chippewa man with scalp locks; red, green, and yellow face paint; brass earring; head necklace; and blue shirt with red and white appliqué bands. Watercolor by Johann Baptist Wengler, painted in 1851 in Minn. or Wis.

process. The boy's future role as a hunter was reinforced by his early acquaintance with the bow and arrow as well as by institutions such as the Feast for the First Kill. When he had killed his first game, a feast was given by his parents who invited a small group of guests, including a person with power to speak to the spirits. This man gave thanks and asked for continued help for the boy in the hunt. The feast was unpretentious and everyone present ate a small bite of the boy's kill.

The most important phase of the boy's life occurred about the time of puberty: his vision quest for a guardian spirit. He was encouraged by his parents to go into the forest for a few days, to fast by day and dream by night.



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Fig. 12. Woman seated on rush mat, weaving yarn sash. Photograph by Robert Ritzenthaler, 1941, at Lac Courte Oreilles reservation, Wis.

At the morning meal he was offered either food or charcoal; if he eschewed the food and chose the charcoal, he rubbed some on his cheeks to indicate he was on a vision quest. Then he would leave for the forest. On the first day the father might go along to help prepare a shelter or a nest in a tree; and he might return to check on the son's welfare and take him water or a bit of food, if he stayed very long. Four days was considered the ideal length of time, four being the religiously symbolic number among the Chippewa. Dreams were regarded as revelations, with the fasting dream being of paramount importance. It gave him a guardian spirit to aid and protect him the rest of his life. It provided him with a supply of names and songs and, in some cases, the power (to be used only later in life) to heal or harm. Rapport was maintained with the guardian spirit, and also with other spirits, by frequent offerings of food and, of great importance, by smoking tobacco in the spirit's honor.

At the time of her first menses, a young girl was required to isolate herself in a small wigwam to fast for four days and nights. If she had a vision, it was regarded as a special blessing, but it was not a requirement, as with the boys.

Courtship behavior of the young was strictly controlled by the adults; the mothers and grandmothers, especially, guarded the maidens. A young man could visit his girl friend within her wigwam, under the watchful eyes of her

family, but they could not leave together. The youth could court her by playing his courting flute outside, but the girl was not to leave the lodge. The engagement was established with the young man bringing a deer or some other animal he had killed to the girl's parents. He would be asked to stay and share in the repast and thereafter allowed greater freedom in visiting her. There was no formal marriage ceremony; the couple simply moved out of the lodge for a few days, or they established a lodge of their own. It was most usual for them to live with her parents awhile after marriage. Marriage often was arranged by the family of the young man. Marriage within the clan was banned; cross-cousin marriage was permitted but not preferred. Cross-cousin behavior involved a special "joking relationship," and gifts from the mother's brother to the niece were common. Most marriages were monogamous, although polygyny was sanctioned. An important man might have two or, rarely, three wives. Divorce was simple. If the couple were not compatible, the wife returned to her parents.

Social life was marked by a great penchant for visiting. Besides calling on relatives and friends, there was considerable visiting and conversation before and after religious feasts and ceremonials. Also there was a variety of social dances, with the men always dancing apart from the women. However, dancing was most often a phase of religious rites.

There were athletic games, games of dexterity, and games of chance, all of which usually were accompanied by gambling. The men's major game was lacrosse, in which a team tried to fling a small ball, with the aid of a racquet, across the goal of their opponents. It was a rough game, with many injuries. There was a religious tone to it, in that a game was sponsored by an individual in honor of his guardian spirit. A similar, and less lethal, game was played by the women with a straight stick and a double-ball. There were contests of wrestling, archery, and snowsnake by the men. Their favorite gambling game was the moccasin game (fig. 14). Women gambled with bone dice shaken in a wooden bowl.

Older people were treated with respect and cared for, if necessary. For some, old age was the time when their spiritual power reached its acme; it was a common pattern that a man, in his vision quest, be told that he had the power to cure, but it must not be used until he had "white hair."

Upon death, the person's body was washed and dressed in its finest clothing and ornaments. The hair was carefully combed and braided and the face painted; Densmore (1929:73) reported that the Minnesota Chippewa put a spot of brown, with a red line through it, on each cheek. In its wigwam, the body lay in state on a sheet of birchbark. If the deceased had been a member of the Midewiwin society, his Mide bag was tucked under his arm. Relatives and friends assembled for the funeral ceremony, conducted by a Mide priest. After the usual



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Fig. 14. Moccasin game at White Earth reservation, Minn. Photograph taken or obtained by Frances Densmore, about 1910.

offering of tobacco to the spirits, the priest talked to the dead person. He described the four-day journey the soul would take to the west to join friends and relatives in the Indian village in the sky. The soul was admonished to take the correct trail and to expect along the way to be confronted by a quaking "log," actually the dreaded Water Monster, laid across a stream. He was to address the log as "grandfather" and throw an offering of tobacco into the water. The log would then stop quaking, and the soul could cross in safety to meet his escort to heaven.

At the end of the ceremony, several men carried the body out through a hole, in the west side of the wigwam, to the grave. The doorway was never used, lest the soul return one day through that door. In recent times, with log or frame houses, the body was removed through a west window, which, in instances, had to be enlarged to accommodate the coffin. The body, in early days, was wrapped in heavy birchbark and placed in a shallow grave along with some of the dead person's prized possessions. Later, when sawed boards were obtainable, a low, gabled grave house was built over the interred body (oriented with feet to the west); at the west end an opening was cut for the release of the soul. Beneath the hole a wooden ledge was placed, where food and tobacco were laid for the four-day journey. Although it was symbolic in nature, the food could be eaten later by any hungry adult or child. Each evening, for four days, a fire was lit at the grave, symbolizing the fire built by the soul as he rested after each day's journey. A grave marker was set into the ground in front of the grave house; this was a narrow board with a drawing of the deceased's totemic animal, inverted to indicate death.

A period of mourning was observed for one year, at the end of which time a ceremony to remove the mourning was held, and the dead person's spouse was allowed to remarry. Shortly after the death of his wife, the husband was brought a bowl of food by several women of his wife's clan. He ate the food and was required to keep the

bowl with him for one year, filling it with food to give away and taking it to feasts. If a member of a Drum Society, he could not join in a Drum Dance until a special ceremony was performed. He was not to eat any "first fruits" until fed by another, or the crop would be harmed. He was not to have close contact with women. He must collect women's clothing and blankets. At the year's end he invited, by sending a tobacco invitation, members of his wife's clan to a feast held at a clan member's dwelling; he brought her dish and the bundle of clothing and blankets. After the feast a speaker reviewed his behavior during the past year. If the audience decided he had conducted himself according to the prescribed code, the husband was washed, dressed in new clothing, and his cheeks painted red. The bundle of clothing and blankets was distributed among the women and his mourning bowl given to one of them. He was now released from mourning and free to remarry.

Personality

Some of the characteristics that have been applied to the Chippewa are: self-reliance, individuality at the expense of cooperation, hospitality, patience, control of (and rare exhibition of) emotion, great fear of malevolent sorcery, a lively sense of humor, and lack of enthusiasm for war. Hallowell (1937) used the term "indirect aggression" to describe the situation where an attack on a foe was carried out by gossip or by hiring a sorcerer, in place of a face-to-face encounter.

Social Organization

The aboriginal Chippewa-Ojibwa had a classless, egalitarian society, not highly organized. However, there were people of importance and prestige who achieved positions earned as the result of outstanding abilities as warriors, civil leaders, religious leaders, or shamans. Often the shaman was the most respected and feared member of the band.

The smallest social unit was the nuclear family: parents and their unmarried offspring. A number of families living together formed a band. These bands had from 20 to 50 members and a leader whose political, religious, and economic roles were based on ties of kinship.

This pattern of small, widely scattered, discrete, autonomous bands has been characterized as "atomistic" or "particularistic." However, Hickerson (1962) has argued that this characterization does not apply to the Southwestern Chippewa, who from an early period exhibited collective, relatively large-group interaction in areas such as warfare, sociopolitical organization, and religious ceremonials.

In addition to family affiliations, every individual was a member of a totemic clan named after some animal, bird, or fish. The eponym was called *nintotem* 'my totem'. Clans were exogamous and patrilineal. Thus, a man of the Bear clan must marry a woman of a different

clan, but the children would belong to the Bear clan. Clan names and number varied from area to area. Morgan (1877:166) listed 23 clans for the nineteenth-century Minnesota Chippewa. Warren (1885) gave 21 for Minnesota and included five not listed by Morgan.

The dual division, or moiety system, found among other Central Algonquian tribes was not used by the Chippewa; however, there were linked clans, or phratries. Warren (1885:44-50) reported five phratries in use by some Minnesota bands, given here in his spelling and with his English labels, which are not direct translations:

PHRATRY	CLAN
Awause (Fish)	Catfish, Merman, Sturgeon, Pike, Whitefish, Sucker
Businause (Crane)	Crane, Eagle
Ahahwauk (Loon)	Loon, Goose, Cormorant
Noka (Bear)	Bear
Monsonne (Marten)	Marten, Moose, Reindeer

In 1972 most people on the Wisconsin Chippewa reservations knew to which clan they belonged, and it still regulated marriage in the sense that, ideally, one should marry outside the clan. The clan animal was drawn, upside down, on the grave marker of those given a non-Christian burial. The offspring of a marriage between Indian and White were facetiously referred to as belonging to the "chicken" clan. The close feeling that existed in former times among clan members has waned, although traces of the respect once demanded in the name of the clan were still found in the 1930s at Lac Courte Oreilles in cases of totemic insult (Ritzenthaler 1945). It was the custom for someone who insulted another's clan animal to be asked to a feast attended by members of the clan insulted. A speaker related the incident of the insulting; the insulter was obliged to eat a bit of the clan animal he had insulted and to gorge himself on other food.

• KINSHIP The Chippewa kinship system was similar to that of the Cree and differed from the Omaha type found among other Central Algonquian tribes. Kinship terms were nearly all classificatory and through three generations, in accordance with cross-cousin marriage (Landes 1937:19). Two classes were distinguished terminologically in ego's generation: one of prospective mates, the other sexually taboo.

Children were highly desired and a warm relationship existed between parents and children. Parents were responsible for the care, education, and discipline of the child, who was expected to help his parents to the extent of his own capacity. Upon puberty, brother and sister acted with shyness and considerable avoidance, which continued until one of them married.

Expected behavior between kin was expressed in general terms of kindness, and a special behavioral relationship existed between grandparents and grandchildren, with the former expected to watch over and, if necessary,

care for the latter. Grandchildren were expected to help their grandparents. A special relationship existed between nephew and maternal uncle, the uncle assuming the functions of teaching and gift-giving. The "joking relationship" between cross-cousins was expected to take on a ribald tone.

Chippewa society was kin-oriented and kinship ties were its chief binding force. Nearly everyone was related to another in the band, either affinally or consanguineally. For kinship schedule and analysis see Landes (1937).

Religion

The religious life of the Chippewa was rich, deep, personal, and of daily concern. Their supernatural world held a host of spirits (*manito'k*) that inhabited trees, rocks, birds, animals, and cosmic phenomena; some dwelt in the sky, some on earth, others underground or in the water. Presiding over all was a paramount spirit, *kičči-manito'*, although this concept may have been the result of Christian influence. Of major importance were the sun, moon, the four winds, thunder, lightning, and thunderbirds. Of great personal concern to the individual was his guardian spirit, acquired in his vision quest, which could be called upon for guidance, help, and protection. Dreams, in general, were regarded as revelations of utmost import, and each dream was reviewed for possible significance.

Besides the benign spirits, there were fearsome, malevolent ones: ghosts, witches, the Water Monster, and the Windigo, a cannibalistic giant who stalked the winter woods in search of people to devour.

The spirits were placated, honored, or manipulated by the individual through prayers and offerings of tobacco and food or through priests and shamans paid in kind for their services. Tobacco was of supreme significance in religious and ceremonial life; it was regarded as an almost sacred substance. A pinch of it could be placed on a rock or stump to alert the spirit to ward off a bad storm or other catastrophe. The initial rite of all religious and ceremonial occasions was the smoking of tobacco, accompanied by a prayer. The smoke ascended to the spirits for their use and comfort; it apprised them that the Indians were thinking of them and honoring them. A gift of tobacco to another carried a holy additive more than its substantive value, and even the outsider soon became aware of the effect of a gift of tobacco. Tobacco usually accompanied an invitation to a feast or ceremony. It was presented, as an overture, to a shaman who, if he accepted it, was committed to use his powers and abilities to aid the client. A warrior accepted an invitation to join a war party by smoking the proffered pipe. Tobacco was placed on the waters before harvesting wild rice, at the base of a tree from which something was to be taken or, in other instances of harvesting or gathering in which an offering was considered a necessary prelude. Food, also,

was a significant offering to the spirits, but secondary to tobacco.

While religion, ordinarily, was an individual affair, there also were small gatherings in the home, involving religious practices. Until the Drum Dance was introduced in the 1870s, and the Peyote cult (in a few places) in the early twentieth century, the Medicine Dance was the only large religious ceremonial.

•MIDEWIWIN The Midewiwin, or Medicine Dance (*mite'wiwin*), was the important ceremony of the Midewiwin society, or Medicine Lodge Society, a curative society, to which membership was obtained by preliminary instruction, payment of considerable fees, and formal initiation at one of the semiannual (in some cases, annual) meetings. The instruction and ritual were conducted by recognized priests, each of whom had an assistant, or runner (*oška'pe'wiss*). Among Wisconsin bands, the ceremony was held in late spring and early fall; it lasted from two to five days, depending on the number of candidates. At a special site, where wigwams had been erected for the closed, nightly sessions, candidates received their instructions. For the final, public ceremony, the special Mide lodge was erected.

There were some regional variations in the ceremony. The following account is based on observations of the dance and on information obtained at the Lac Courte Oreilles Reservation during the 1940s (Ritzenthaler 1953a:182-184).

If someone was sick, or had dreamed he should "go through" the Midewiwin, he sought advice from the Mide priest who gave him instructions and designated the number of blankets and pails for the initiation fees. Each degree required two galvanized water buckets, with the number of blankets being higher for each of the four degrees. Sometimes clothing was substituted. The candidate received a cowrie shell (*mi'kiss*) on a thong, to wear at all times. He was expected to give a series of feasts, to which his sponsors and the priests were invited.

When the priests had decided where the initiation ceremonies would take place, the candidates were sent a small amount of tobacco and then given secret instructions; they were taught songs, meanings, and secrets, depending on the degree each was to take. For the first degree, the origin myth was told in a sketchy version, in greater detail for the higher degrees. The first day, the candidates were led into the Mide lodge, where their blankets and pails had been hung from the ridgepole. Entering from the east, they were seated in the center, each at a decorated stake. The members brought tobacco, food, and their medicine bags; then, led by a priest, they marched around the lodge. They deposited a bit of tobacco on the rock outside the east entrance, entered, and sat along the sides. The cardinal, and dramatic, feature of the initiation was the magical "shooting" of the shell into the candidate's body; actually, the shell was dropped in front of him. This drove out the sickness and



Dept. of Anthr., Smithsonian: 153136.

Fig. 15. Pictographs serving as mnemonics for a Midewiwin song, incised on a birchbark scroll. While some Chippewa pictographs used for songs and other texts have conventional meanings (the fifth and sixth from left represent a thunderbird and a bear, and the double bar in third position indicates a rest period) songs are often specific to an individual and the interpretation of their mnemonic pictographs requires esoteric knowledge derived from personal religious experience (much of the interpretation of this scroll obtained by Hoffman 1891:218-219 is dubious). Length 39 cm; collected at Red Lake, Minn., 1887-1889.

renewed life. He was given a Mide bag as follows: first degree—mink, otter, muskrat, or beaver; second degree—owl or hawk; third degree—snake and fox, or wildcat claw; fourth degree—bear paw, or cub bear.

Then the candidate distributed his blankets and pails to the priests, the runners, and his sponsors. When everyone was initiated, the members marched around the wigwam, holding their Mide bags and "shooting" each other in a general melee. Everyone exited by the west doorway; the initiates were last, taking their Mide bags and the decorated stakes where they had sat.

The question of the antiquity of the Midewiwin has been raised. Warren (1885) and W.J. Hoffman (1891) believed it to have been precontact. Landes (1968:178) stated: "Canadian Ojibwa generally were skeptical of midewiwin. This agreed with their isolated location on the northern outskirts of the midewiwin spread. In 1933, Ontario's Manitowish Reserve Indians remembered that the Midé Society had been brought to them not much more than thirty years before by the Ponemah villagers at Red Lake reservation, Minnesota. In 1934-35, the Ponemah and neighboring Cass Lake reservation Ojibwa spoke to me of a remembered time when forebears lived without the institution. Still, that was 'long ago.'"

Hickerson (1970:54) preferred to regard it as a post-contact, nativistic reaction to European contact, emphasizing "that in the Jesuit Relations covering the period 1640 to 1700 there is not one reference to anything called, or referred to, *Midewiwin* among any upper Great Lakes people. This sets one wondering, since in later times, authors, whether missionaries, traders, or officers of government frequently mentioned, and even in some cases, described, the rites of the Mide Lodge, or 'Grand Medicine,' as they often called it."

Certainly the early explorers in their often hurried visits to the tribes could have easily missed a rite patently secret even among the Indians themselves, a rite that occurred only once or twice a year, and at a special site away from settlement. It is less likely, however, that the missionaries would have missed it, although one might

logically argue that special efforts were made by the Indians to conceal a religious rite in direct conflict with the missionary message. Its antiquity is also suggested by the wide distribution over the Great Lakes region, among many tribes other than the Chippewa. In early historic times, it was being practiced by the Menominee, Winnebago, Ottawa, Potawatomi, Sauk, Fox, and Kickapoo.

Whatever the age of the Chippewa rite, it was certainly woven of Chippewa cultural cloth and without European admixture. The whole concept and ritual appear to be rooted in, and consistent with, the earliest recorded reports of their mythology, cosmology, religious and ethical concepts, preoccupation with health (Ritzenthaler 1953a:179-251), and weltanschauung. The question of its being consistent with the individualistic nature of the Chippewa was raised and answered by Landes (1968:71): "A puzzling question about the Midé Society is why it took root at all among these individualistic Ojibwa bands whose traditional ways ignored a political system and supported only loose, shortlived organizations, chiefly for summer games, dances, and war parties, which ended with each occasion. The puzzle feeds on the secrecy that curtailed off knowledge of the Midewiwin. When [my informant] lifted this secrecy for me, it became evident that the traditional rampant individualism actually operated here too."

DRUM DANCE The religious complex of the Drum Dance originated on the Plains and was brought into Wisconsin during the 1870s. It seems to have been based on the Omaha Grass Dance. The story concerned a young Dakota girl who tried to flee some Indians and White soldiers after a battle, but was trapped in a nearby lake. There she stayed for 6 to 10 days, hidden by lily pads, neither eating nor drinking. Finally, the spirit, praising her for her courage, took her up to the sky, where he told her about the Drum Dance. He explained how the ceremony was to be carried on and gave certain ethical instructions; he told her that peace would occur between all Indians and Whites if she induced her people to perform this ritual. Although she had been close to death,

when she awoke, she was cured. The "drum religion," with the sacred drum as the central element, was presented by the Dakota to the Minnesota Chippewa who, in turn, taught it to their Wisconsin relatives. The tenets included peace, good moral conduct, a sense of responsibility, obedience to law, and helping one another.

The ceremony itself revolved around a number of sacred drums, wooden washtubs, each supported off the ground with four stakes. They were copiously decorated with symbolic paint, beadwork, and covered with calf hide (fig. 16). Members were spoken of as "belonging" to a certain drum, each owned by two individuals. Each member had his place around the drum and specific duties: speaker, singer, drum beater, pipe tender, and heater of the drumhead. An intrinsic part of the ritual was smoking the calumet, or peace pipe. Women belonged but had no duties; they accompanied the men's singing by humming, and they joined in the dancing.

The main ceremony, ideally, was held immediately after the Midewiwin and was a four-day event; smaller meetings occurred at other times in private homes. All the drums were assembled in a special lodge, or in an outdoor square (originally, a circle), surrounded by benches or low fencing. Dogs were not allowed, on pain of death. The speakers thanked everyone for coming, acknowledged the help of the drum spirit, and mentioned all the virtues listed above. Only those members seated around the drum sang and drummed, while the other members danced, hopping on one foot and then the other in the



NAA, Smithsonian.
Fig. 16. Drum Dance drum. Photograph by A.E. Jenks, 1899, in Minn.

756

same place. Each member had his own song, to which he danced when his turn came; after that, others joined him. When he finished his song, he contributed something to a fellow member of his choice; perhaps a blanket, gun, or piece of clothing. An invited representative from another settlement was given a bundle of gifts for his people. He, in turn, would have donations for his hosts. This exchange of gifts was an essential part of the ceremony.

The Drum Dance served as a social clearinghouse, at which there could take place marriage, divorce, or the removal of mourning. In recent years it became primarily social, although prayers were still sung for prosperity, good health, and brotherhood.

• **CHIEF DANCE** The Chief Dance (*okiččita-ni'mi'itiwin* meaning 'Brave Dance') originally was a ceremony held before a war party went out. It enlisted the guardian spirits of a number of people to protect an individual or an entire community and to insure success in battle. Termed the "Chief Dance" at Lac Courte Oreilles, it was called the War Dance at Lac du Flambeau and Lac Vieux Desert, and by the 1940s it had undergone a complete shift in purpose.

The ceremony, as observed at Lac Courte Oreilles Reservation, involved the usual invitation, by tobacco, sent out with a runner. At the feast the speaker, who had rapport with the spirit world, dedicated the tobacco and food. At this dance a tambourine drum was used. The participants recited their war exploits and asked help of their own guardian spirits. They might ask the spirits to ward off sickness, help cure one who was ailing, protect a young man going to the armed services, give a bountiful harvest, or avert severe weather.

• **BEAR CEREMONIALISM** Like their Woodland counterparts among the Menominee, Ottawa, and Potawatomi, the Chippewa revered the bear, which played a significant part in their religion, particularly the Midewiwin. This ceremonialism was circumpolar and had come down from the northern tribes.

After the hunter had killed a bear, the head, liberally decorated with ribbons and beadwork, was laid out, with the hide, on a mat. A slice of the tongue was hung up for four days. The body was not chopped up but, to show the respect with which it was held, carefully disjointed with a knife. At the feast, though other food was provided, everyone ate some bear meat. Food bears eat, including maple sugar and berries, was laid next to the body. If it was a male, a nicely beaded man's costume was placed next to the hide; if a female, a woman's costume. The speaker talked to the bear village, calling attention to the fine treatment accorded this visitor and promising that other bears would be similarly, and respectfully, welcomed. The bones were gathered up and buried, never left lying about.

• **PEYOTE** Although the Chippewa were preoccupied with health and disease concepts, they did not seem to accept readily the curative cult of Peyote. During the

1940s there was a small, but active, cult for curative purposes, primarily at the Lac du Flambeau reservation in northern Wisconsin. The Lac Courte Oreilles band was in close contact with the Potawatomi, Winnebago, and Lac du Flambeau bands, but the older people resisted efforts to introduce it; the influential Mide priests felt it would interfere with the Midewiwin religion.

• **SHAMANISM AND CURING** Shamanism was of great moment to the Chippewa. Shamans were both feared and respected for their superior supernatural power, which they could use for good and evil. This power was acquired through the vision quest, but one was warned not to use it until middle age or even later.

There were three classes: the conjuror, the sucking doctor, and the *wa'pano* 'Morning Star Man'. The conjuror employed the shaking-tent technique, mainly for curing; but he could also cause sickness and death, prophesy, and locate lost persons or articles. The tent varied, as each was built according to the shaman's dream, but basically it was a small pole framework, covered except for the top. Inside, the conjuror consulted with the spirit, or spirits, which came in through the top. Their presence was indicated by the shaking of the tent. The conjuror's role was that of intermediary with the spirits; it was believed that he did not shake the tent, nor did he imitate the spirit voices by ventriloquism. Emerging from the tent, he instructed his client as to the remedy for his illness or gave the answer to his problem.

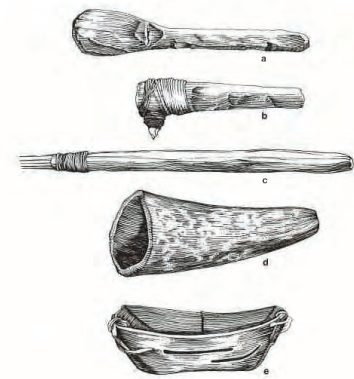
The sucking doctor's only function was curing. The object causing the disease was removed from the patient's body by sucking it out, magically, through a bone tube.

While rituals of the first two classes of shamans were witnessed in Wisconsin during the 1940s, the *wa'pano* shaman had long disappeared from the scene. According to W.J. Hoffman (1891:156-157): "It is positively affirmed that evil man'idōs [*manito-k*] favor his desires, and apart from his general routine of furnishing 'hunting medicine,' 'love powders,' etc., he pretends also to practice medical magic." The *wa'pano*'s ritual involved demonstrations such as his ability to handle red-hot stones or thrust his hands into boiling syrup with no apparent discomfort.

The shaman always worked for a fee. If he accepted the client's gift, he was committed to perform and the fee would be agreed upon. Shamans worked at night or in the evening, aided by an assistant, who took charge of the physical arrangements and did the drumming. Ordinarily, the shaman of the first two classes was also a Mide priest.

Music

Chippewa music was functional and individualistic. Instruments were few: tambourine (fig. 14) and water drums, a variety of rattles, and courting flutes. With the exception of the flutes, the instruments were used to accompany singing. There was a plethora of songs, most



after Denmore 1928:pl. 46.

Fig. 17. Southwestern Chippewa medical appliances. a, Spatula for powdered herbal medicines; b, surgical lance; c, instrument for inserting medicine beneath skin; d, cupping horn; e, birchbark measure for liquid medicine.

of them derived from dreams. They served many purposes: to bring success on a hunt, to insure a good harvest of maple sugar and wild rice, to invoke a guardian spirit, to aid in curative and prophetic rituals. There were also songs for specific situations: before and after a war, during the Midewiwin, and for social occasions such as the Women's Dance. All dancing was accompanied by singing, with the drum for rhythm (fig. 18). The singing had a throaty quality, much vibrato, and a tendency to begin on a high note and descend to a lower. Meaningful words, usually, were interspersed with meaningless syllables.

Folklore

There was a rich store of folktales, serious and humorous, that were told in the wintertime both to entertain and to teach ethical precepts. A major portion of these tales revolved around the culture hero Nanabozho (*we'napōso*), who played a dual role: that of bringing the Indians great gifts such as tobacco, hunting, and agriculture, as well as that of being a prankish and sometimes obscene fool. There were stories of a race of dwarfs and of the Windigos as well as nature tales, such as how the skunk got his stripes. A request for a story was accompanied by the usual gift of tobacco.

Sociocultural Situation in the 1970s

The Chippewa in the 1970s still have some remnants of the traditional economy of hunting; fishing; gathering

757

RITZENTHALER

SOUTHWESTERN CHIPPEWA



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Fig. 18. Drummers and dancers with large beaded pouches at a powwow at Barwick, Ont., on the Rainy River, June 23, 1899.

berries, nuts, wild rice, and maple sugar; and, to a very limited extent, gardening. Added to this subsistence base are income-producing activities such as cutting and selling pulpwood, seasonal harvesting of off-reservation crops, working for wages in nearby towns, and guiding White fishermen. That the Indians are the lowest income group in the United States is reflected by the fact that a higher number than the national average is on some form of relief.

The economic plight of the Chippewa is quite visible. Houses are mainly of frame; usually in poor repair; without insulation, plumbing, or electricity. The wigwam is rarely seen; it is used occasionally as a temporary dwelling during wild ricing or in the maple sugar camp. Chippewa dress, ordinarily, is that of the poor rural White. Some of the older folk may wear Indian moccasins, and some have Indian costumes donned for their own dances or those performed for the tourist.

Despite long contact with Whites and considerable intermarriage with them, elements of the old culture survive. In somewhat attenuated form may be found religious rites and concepts, folklore, medical practices, the use of clan names, games, arts and crafts, and the value system. The Chippewa language is in lively use,

758

RITZENTHALER

set up Indian Centers for social, recreational, or business purposes. Usually, close ties are maintained between urban Indians and their home reservations, and there are frequent returns for various reasons: to visit friends and relatives; to hunt and fish; to attend a wedding, funeral, or religious ceremony.

Synonymy

For a discussion of the tribal names of the Chippewa, see the section on synonymy in "Southeastern Ojibwa," this volume.

Sources

The earliest historical source for the Chippewa is the 73 volumes of the *Jesuit Relations* (JR 1896-1901) covering the period from 1610 to 1791. The descriptions and maps are particularly useful in tracing the distributions and movements of the Chippewa. Warren (1885) concentrates on the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries in the Minnesota-Wisconsin area. Based mainly on oral traditions collected by Warren, himself part Chippewa, there is a tendency to glorify the Chippewa, especially in the very ample coverage of Chippewa-Stoux wars. Armstrong (1892) presents eyewitness accounts of Chippewa-Stoux battles and Chippewa-U.S. government treaty making during the first half of the nineteenth century. There has been no single attempt to bring together the history of the reservation period, although there have

been numerous articles and monographs, and some books, on Chippewa culture and cultural dynamics for this period. Also, there is Kinietz's (1947) community study of a small band on the Wisconsin-Michigan border.

Important anthropological volumes for the reservation period include Densmore's (1929) excellent general ethnography, volumes on Chippewa music (1910, 1913), and on the use of native plants (1928); Landes's solid fieldwork on the Minnesota-Canadian border produced works on Ojibwa sociology (1937, 1938) and Ojibwa religion (1968). Also, for religion and comprehensive data on the Midewiwin there is W.J. Hoffman's (1891) classic work. Arts and crafts are competently presented by Lyford (1943). Jones (1917-1919) offers folklore in the form of texts. In the field of culture and personality there is Barnouw's (1950) monograph based on fieldwork in Wisconsin as well as the excellent series of articles by Hallowell (see Murdock 1960:212-213). For the prereservation period there are the two provocative monographs focusing on ethnohistory by Hickerson (1962, 1970), and worthy of mention is an interesting and useful account of the Chippewa in the 1850s by the perceptive German traveler Kohl (1860).

Major museum collections of Southwestern Chippewa objects are found at the American Museum of Natural History, New York; Cranbrook Institute of Science, Bloomfield Hills, Michigan; Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago; Milwaukee Public Museum; Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York; and Science Museum of Minnesota, Saint Paul.

759

SOUTHWESTERN CHIPPEWA

Muskegowuck Athinuwick
Original People of the Great Swampy Land

Victor P. Lytwyn

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA PRESS

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Contents

Maps, Charts, and Illustrations	vi
Acknowledgements	vii
Introduction	xi
1. Who Are the Lowland Cree?	3
2. The Lowland Cree before European Contact: Images and Reality	27
3. Upland Neighbours: The Northern Ojibway, Upland Cree, and Eastmain Cree	41
4. Distant Enemies: The Inuit, Chipewyan, and Iroquois	59
5. The Lowland Cree and the Land: Seasonal Adaptations to Regional Resources	81
6. The Lowland Cree in the Fur Trade before 1713	115
7. The Lowland Cree in the Fur Trade, 1713-1782	135
8. The Lowland Cree in the Fur Trade, 1783-1821	173
Conclusion	201
Endnotes	205
Bibliography	257
Index	283

with each other; and altho the necessity of migration has caused them to encroach on each others territories the circumstances does not appear to have given rise to any jealousies, and several tribes may be seen occupying the same tract of country in the utmost peace and harmony."⁴⁸ According to Holdsworth, "As the Indians have little idea of exclusive right to any part of the district, their hunting grounds cannot be defined with exactness."⁴⁹ James Sutherland, who was in charge of the Jack River (later named Norway House) district in 1815, wrote, "The Indians roam all over the district in small parties of a family or two. The hunting ground is common to the whole, and any stranger may come and enjoy the same privilege without molestation."⁵⁰

People of the Cree Nation

According to Andrew Graham, the Lowland Cree were members of a larger linguistic family known as the Keishkatchewan Nation.⁵¹ The Keishkatchewan, or Cree Nation, included many groups, or tribes, who lived in a large geographic territory including the lowlands and extending westward into the prairie region. The common factor linking these groups was language.⁵² Graham observed that the language spoken by the various tribes of the Cree Nation was "only differing in a few words, and pronunciation."⁵³ In 1831, when trader John McLean visited York Factory, he remarked, "The Indians of this quarter are denominated Swampies, a tribe of the Cree nation, whose language they speak with but little variation, and in their manners and customs there is a great similarity."⁵⁴ Europeans who were familiar with the Lowland Cree were surprised to find that other people who lived as far away as the prairie region spoke the same language. For example, when HBC trader William Falconer met a group of Plains Cree who came to Severn House in the summer of 1769, he observed "some of whom comes six and seven hundred miles from the SW where they chiefly feed on buffalo's flesh, and most of them are clothed in their skins.... They are robust looking people and talks the same language as our Home-guard Natives."⁵⁵ Graham's list of the tribes belonging to the Cree Nation included broad regional group identities such as the *Winnepeg* people who occupied the Hudson Bay coast. The list also included river-basin groups such as the *Washeo-Sepee* people, who occupied the Severn River basin, and subdivisions of groups within the Hayes River basin, such as the *Penesevichewan* people who lived along the lower Hayes River. The distinctiveness of the Lowland Cree in relation to other Upland Cree groups was noted by Europeans such as John West, an Anglican missionary who

Andrew Graham's List of the Keishkatchewan (Cree) Nation

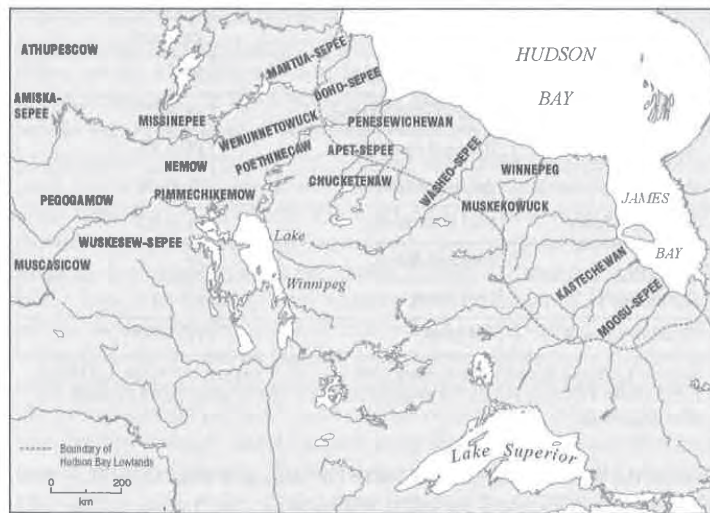
Name of Tribe*	Territory**	Trading Location***
Winnepeg	Hudson Bay coast	YF, SH, & AF
Muskegowuck	Swampy ground near Hudson Bay	YF, CF, & SH
Washeo-Sepee	Severn River	SH
Kastechewan	Albany River	AF
Moosu-Sepee	Moose River	MF
Penesevichewan	Hayes River (lower Hayes R.)	YF
Apet-Sepee	Steel River (middle Hayes R.)	YF
Chucketenaw	Hill River (upper Hayes R.)	YF
Poethinecaw	Nelson River	YF & CF
Mantua-Sepee	Lower Churchill River	CF
Missinepee	Upper Churchill River	YF & CF
Pimmechikemow	Cross Lake	YF & CF
Pegogamow	Saskatchewan Forks	YF
Muscasicow	Saskatchewan prairies	YF & CF
Amiska-Sepee	Beaver River	YF & CF
Athupescov	Athabasca Lake	YF & CF
Wuskesew-Sepee	Red Deer River	YF & CF
Nemow	Sturgeon River	YF
Ooho-Sepee	Owl River	CF
Wenunnetowuck	not given	YF & CF

Sources: *Graham, 1969: 206; **Richardson, 1969, vol.2: 37; ***Graham, 1969: 206, and HBCA, E.2/9, fo. 84. YF= York Factory, AF= Albany Fort, SH= Severn House, CF= Churchill Fort, MF= Moose Fort

visited the York Factory area in 1820. He remarked that "these [Lowland Cree near York Factory] are called Muskeggouck, or Swamp Indians, and are considered a distinct tribe between the Nahathaway or Cree [Upland Cree] and Saulteaux [Northern Ojibway]."⁵⁶

While Graham had extensive, first-hand knowledge about the Aboriginal people who visited Churchill Fort, York Factory, and Severn House, his

information about the people who visited Albany Fort, Moose Fort, and Eastmain House came from second-hand sources, and is generally less reliable. A significant omission in his list of tribes belonging to the Cree Nation was the *Moosu-Sepee*, or Moose River Cree. Graham included the Moose River Cree with the *Oupeshepou* who lived on the eastern side of James Bay. However, other HBC records clearly indicated that the Moose River Cree were closely related to the Albany River Lowland Cree, and, therefore, should have been included in Graham's list of the Cree Nation.⁵⁷ For example, one of the earliest leaders of the Albany River Lowland Cree, a man named Miskemote, was originally from the Moose River area. Miskemote was regarded as the "Captain" of the Lowland Cree who lived near Albany Fort, but he was also the son of a man named Noah, who was a prominent leader of the Moose River Cree.⁵⁸ In 1740, Joseph Isbister, who was in charge of Albany Fort, reported the arrival of three Moose River Cree and commented, "These Indians oregonally were albany Indians."⁵⁹



Tribes of the Cree Nation

Homeguard Cree

In the fur-trade records, groups of Lowland Cree came to be identified with the trading post where they regularly conducted their business. Thus, the terms "York," "Churchill," "Severn," "Albany," and "Moose" Indians were usually substituted for traditional names. The fur traders also identified groups among the Lowland Cree according to their type of relationship with the trading post. Those who lived close to the post, and who provided food and other country produce to sustain the European fur traders, were called the Homeguard. That name was first recorded by Andrew Graham: "At the Forts there are Natives which we style home-guards or home-Indians ... who are employed as hunters to supply the Forts with provisions."⁶⁰ Earlier writers, such as Henry Kelsey in 1690 and Anthony Beale in 1706, used the term "Home Indians."⁶¹

Historian Arthur S. Morton described three groups of people who were involved in the trade with the HBC coastal factories. These were the Home Indians, Half-Home Indians, and the Uplanders or trading Indians. Morton used a time-distance function to identify the people who belonged to each group. That is, the Home Indians arrived at the post first because of their close proximity to the post, the Half-Home Indians were next, and the Uplanders who lived farthest away were the last to reach the post.⁶² Historian John Foster remarked that the Homeguard Cree comprised "small bands of coastal Cree who specialized in supplying the trading posts with goods and services derived from the new world environment."⁶³

The Homeguard people were primarily coastal Cree. Inlanders usually spent too much time away from the coastal area to be considered Homeguard. Andrew Graham observed that the name "home-guard Indians" was synonymous with the "sea shore Indians," or coastal Cree.⁶⁴ The Homeguard Cree remained near the coast for most of the year except winter, when "they go a little distance inland and traps martins etc."⁶⁵ Henry Ellis, agent for Henry Dobbs, who led an expedition into Hudson Bay in 1747, also remarked that "those they call Home Indians [are] always in Parts near the Factory, not going far up into the Country."⁶⁶

Prior to the inland expansion of fur-trade posts in the 1770s, the home territory, or hunting range, of most Homeguard Cree was usually limited to about 160 kilometres from the coastal trading posts. Although oriented toward the coast, the Homeguard Cree periodically ranged over a wider territory for social, commercial, and other reasons. In the hinterland of Albany Fort, the winter hunting grounds of some Homeguard Cree extended as far as the Kenogami River in 1755.⁶⁷ In the 1780s, some Severn River Homeguard Cree spent the winter season in areas located over 160

3. Upland Neighbours: The Northern Ojibway, Upland Cree, and Eastmain Cree

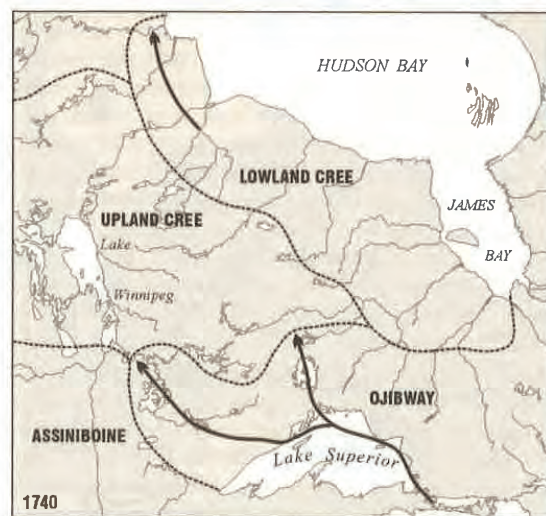
The Northern Ojibway

By the time European fur traders ventured into the area north of Lake Huron and Lake Superior in the 1770s, much of the region bordering the Hudson Bay lowlands was occupied by groups of people known as Ojibway or, more specifically, Northern Ojibway.¹ Their northern territorial range extended along the edge of the lowlands from the Moose River to the Hayes River. According to several accounts by European fur traders, the Northern Ojibway had migrated into the upland territory adjacent to the lowlands some time before 1770. Andrew Graham remarked in 1775, "It is my opinion that this people [Northern Ojibway] have drawn up to the Northward gradually as the Keiskatchewans [Lowland Cree] receded from it toward the southwest," and, in 1839, George Barnston observed that the Northern Ojibway had pushed northward from Lake Superior to the edge of the lowlands near Martins Fall.²

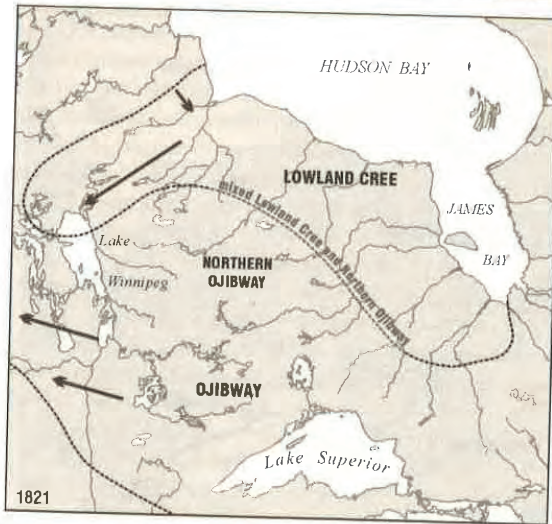
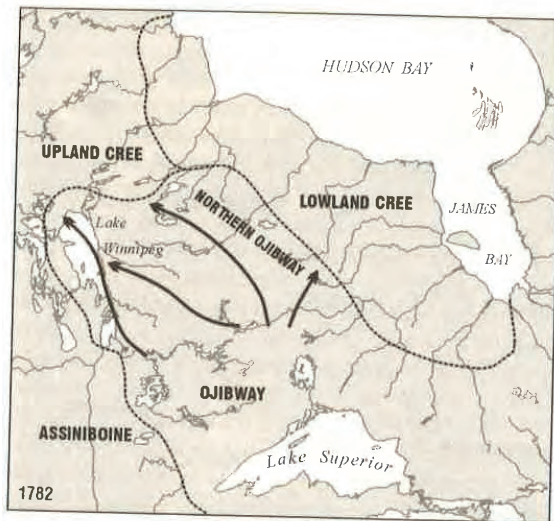
The European accounts of migration conform in general to Ojibway oral traditions. According to an oral tradition recorded by Ojibway historian William Warren, the Northern Ojibway migrated into the area north of Lake Superior from the Lake Huron area beginning about 1530.³ The

migration was two-pronged, with one division moving north and west of Lake Superior, and the other moving south and west of the lake. At the time of this migration, "they were living in a primitive state, when they possessed nothing but the bow and arrow, sharpened stones, and bones of animals,"⁵⁴ which corroborates that the migration began before European contact. Some Ojibway remained in the vicinity of Sault Ste. Marie, and were subsequently called *Saulteaux* by the French traders. The Ojibway who migrated into the area north of Lake Superior divided into a number of regional groups. Those who settled along the north shore of Lake Superior were known generally as *Sug-wau-dug-ah-win-in-e-wug*, or "men of the thick fir woods." The French traders usually called these people *Bois Forts* or *Gens des Terres*. Another group settled at the lakehead near Grand Portage, and was known as the *Ke-nouzhay* or "Pike." A large group who migrated westward to Rainy Lake was called *Ko-je-je-win-e-wug*, a name describing the "numerous straits, bends and turnings of the lakes and rivers which they occupy."⁵⁵ The Rainy Lake Ojibway became allies with the *Ke-nis-te-no* (Upland Cree) and *Assineboins* (Assiniboine). At that time, a large group of Upland Cree lived in a village at Ne-bo-se-be, or Dead River (Netley Creek), near the mouth of the Red River, and the Assiniboine were their neighbours.⁵⁶

Scholars have different opinions about Ojibway migration, but these may be reconciled if greater reliance is placed on the Ojibway oral tradition, which asserts that the Northern Ojibway migrated into the area about 1530. Thus, they would have been well established north of Lake Superior before Europeans arrived. The migration was gradual and continued beyond 1770. They probably displaced Upland Cree groups in many areas north of Lake Superior, and also caused the Lowland Cree to gradually shift their territorial range farther north. According to Warren, the group who moved farthest north was called *Omushke-goes*, or "Swamp People." However, he also identified the *Omush-ke-goag* (*Musk-e-goes*), "Swamp People," or Lowland Cree, as a different tribe. The confusion may have arisen because of the close proximity of the Northern Ojibway and the Lowland Cree. Other eighteenth- and nineteenth-century observers made similar remarks about the identity of the Northern Ojibway who lived adjacent to the Lowland Cree. For example, in 1795, an unnamed North West Company fur trader wrote, "The Indians to the North of Lac Winnipic are a mixture of Saulteux [Ojibway] and Christineaux [Cree], speaking a mixt language and are called Masquegons they extend to Nipigon and Hudson Bay."⁵⁷ John Lee Lewes, who was in charge of Oxford House in 1833, remarked that the Indians who lived near the post "may be classed under two Heads, Muskago or Swampy Souteaus [Northern Ojibway], and the Swampy Crees [Lowland Cree]."⁵⁸



Approximate Territorial Distribution of the Lowland Cree and Their Neighbours, 1530 and 1740 (arrows indicate direction of population movements)



Approximate Territorial Distribution of the Lowland Cree and Their Neighbours, 1782 and 1821 (arrows indicate direction of population movements)

The HBC fur traders commonly used the name *Nakawawuck* to describe the Northern Ojibway. According to one translation, the name meant “those who speak differently.”⁹ From the perspective of Europeans who were familiar with the language spoken by the Lowland Cree, it would have been a useful descriptive term for the Northern Ojibway. Andrew Graham observed, “Their [Northern Ojibway] speech differs greatly from the Keskachewan Indians [Cree]; they having so many words to represent one thing makes it difficult to converse with them.”¹⁰ George Sutherland, who was the first HBC trader to winter among the Northern Ojibway at Sturgeon Lake (west of Lake Nipigon), noted that “these Indians ... differe far in their language from our Indians at hudsons bay.”¹¹ Another name for the Northern Ojibway was *Bungee* or *Pungee*. According to HBC trader George Barnston, the term Bungee was “a name, I imagine, given to them from their use of the Sauteux word Pungee—a little.”¹² Charles Bishop suggested that Bungee was used by the HBC traders because of “their practice of begging” when they visited the trading posts.¹³ Peter Fidler, the HBC trader in charge of Fort Dauphin in 1820, explained that the “Soteaux,” or Northern Ojibway, “obtained the name of Bungees by us [HBC traders] from the word Bungee in their language signifying small or little which they so frequently repeated when their supplies was not adequate to their wants, that they have thus obtained the word as a fixed term to the whole Tribe.”¹⁴ The HBC traders at York Factory and Severn House also used the name “Lake Indians” to describe the Northern Ojibway. The origin of the name may have been related to their former homeland around the Great Lakes. By the mid-eighteenth century, the term Lake Indians could also have been descriptive of the geographic location of the Northern Ojibway in the upland Shield area along the margins of the Hudson Bay lowlands. The Shield is literally dotted with lakes and stands out in marked contrast to the lowlands, which is characterized by vast expanses of swamp and bog. The difference between the two regions can be easily seen in maps depicting drainage patterns.

The names Lake Indians, *Nakawawuck*, and *Bungee* were used commonly in the area around York Factory and Severn House, but not farther south near Albany Fort. George Barnston, who was in charge of Martins Fall House in 1839, noted that the name “Suckers” was used in that locale instead of Bungee. He said the majority of Indians in the vicinity “belong to that tribe of Sauteux, denominated the Suckers—a Band of the Great Chippewa Divisions which appears to have pushed farthest to the northward, at least in this quarter [near Martins Fall],” and the “purer Chippewas” lived to the south of the Albany River.¹⁵ The name Suckers

represented an animal-named group, or division, among the Northern Ojibway. This is consistent with the oral history of the Ojibway people. According to Ojibway historian William Warren, the general population was subdivided into a number of animal-named clans, or totems.¹⁶ In addition to the Sucker totem, Warren included the Goose, Beaver, Sturgeon, Gull, Hawk, Cormorant, and Whitefish totems among the Northern Ojibway. Significantly, Warren also remarked that the Suckers and other Northern Ojibway clan groups migrated north and settled near the "Muskegoes," or "Swamp People." The Suckers were reported to be the northernmost group of the Northern Ojibway. However, European fur traders also identified other animal-named groups. Duncan Cameron, a North West Company trader who operated in the area near the headwaters of the Severn River in the early nineteenth century, enumerated eleven other "totems or tribes," who lived north of Lake Nipigon: Moose, Reindeer [Caribou], Bear, Pelican, Loon, Kingfisher, Eagle, Sturgeon, Pike, Sucker, Barbut [Catfish], and Rattlesnake.¹⁷

Company inland traders also noted the significance of animal-named groups among the Northern Ojibway. According to David Sanderson, an experienced HBC inland fur trader, the "Succars tribe of Indians" lived in the area around the upper Berens and Poplar rivers in 1797.¹⁸ In 1815, George Holdsworth, who was in charge of the HBC's post on the Berens River, observed that the Indian population was divided into four bands, or tribes. The Pelican, Moose, and Sucker tribes occupied the area east of Lake Winnipeg and north of the Bloodvein River. The Kingfisher tribe lived in the area around the Bloodvein River. In 1814, William Thomas, who was in charge of Osnaburgh House, identified "several different Tribes (as they are called) of Indians inhabiting the District viz: Cranes, Suckers, Loons, Moose, Sturgeons, Kingfishers and Pelicans."¹⁹ According to Thomas, the Suckers and Cranes were the northernmost groups, occupying the territory between Osnaburgh House and Trout Lake. The Loons hunted between Osnaburgh and Lake Nipigon, the Moose and Sturgeon groups lived to the southwest of the post, and the Kingfishers and Pelicans lived toward Lake Winnipeg. Farther west, other HBC traders reported the identification of animal-named groups among the Northern Ojibway. For example, in 1823, Joseph McGillivray, who was in charge of the Norway House District, enumerated four "tribes" who lived in the district, and identified the heads of families and the locations of their hunting grounds. The Lowland Cree were called "Maskegons or Swampies" by McGillivray, while the Northern Ojibway were divided into three animal-named groups, called Pelican, Moose, and King Fishers.

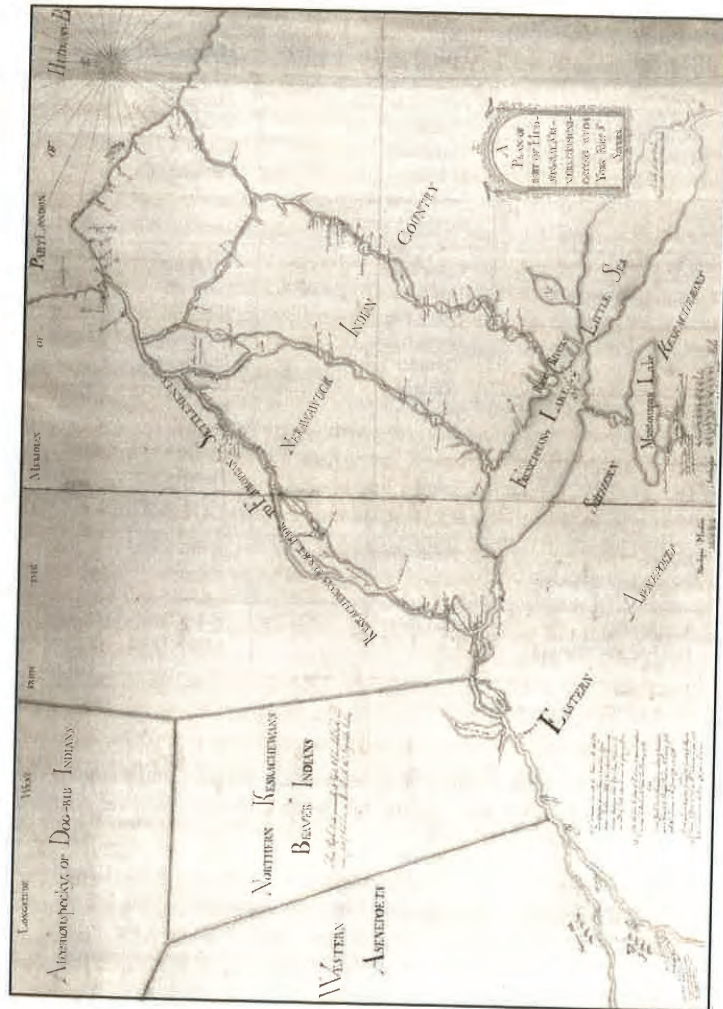
Lowland Cree and Northern Ojibway Groups in the Jack River District, 1823

"Tribe"	Hunting Grounds	Heads of Families
Maskegon (or Swampies) [Lowland Cree]	Northside Lake Limestone Lake Cross Lake Jack Lake Jack River Little Winnipeg	Mistunnisk Uchegan Ku ku wa thinish Pah pethukes
Pelican [Northern Ojibway]	Cross Lake Jack Lake Jack River Deers Lake Thunder Lake Winipeg Jack Head	Pakekan Namuch Keg Memechis Indian Legs Squirrel Bear Peritess Hepass Sloterry Little Swan
Moose [Northern Ojibway]	Sandy Point Lake	White Coats Sturgeon
King Fishers [Northern Ojibway]	Bad Lake	Sharp Eyes Arrow Legs

Source: HBCA, B.154/e/2, fos. 12d-14

European fur traders rarely recorded animal-named groups among the Lowland Cree, as they did with the Northern Ojibway. However, Alanson Skinner reported in 1911 that

the clans once found among the Albany Cree, may have been derived from the Northern Saulteaux. The Albany natives remember the following totems, but there were many others which they could not recall: moose, caribou, fish, sucker, sturgeon, loon, and Hell-diver [cormorant]. The whale and seal were never known. Some of the old men are of opinion that in former times young men occasionally dreamed the clan to which they were to belong, as well as their personal guardians. Descent was in the father's line and there were no marriage restrictions.²⁰



"A Plan of Part of Hudson Bay and Rivers, Communicating with York Fort and Severn," 1774, map drawn by Andrew Graham (PAM, HBCA, G.2/17).

The only reference in the fur-trade records to an animal-named group among the Lowland Cree was a group called the "Jack [northern pike] Indians." However, the name Jack Indians fell into disuse, and the group was commonly known as the Severn or Seaside Indians after 1733.²¹

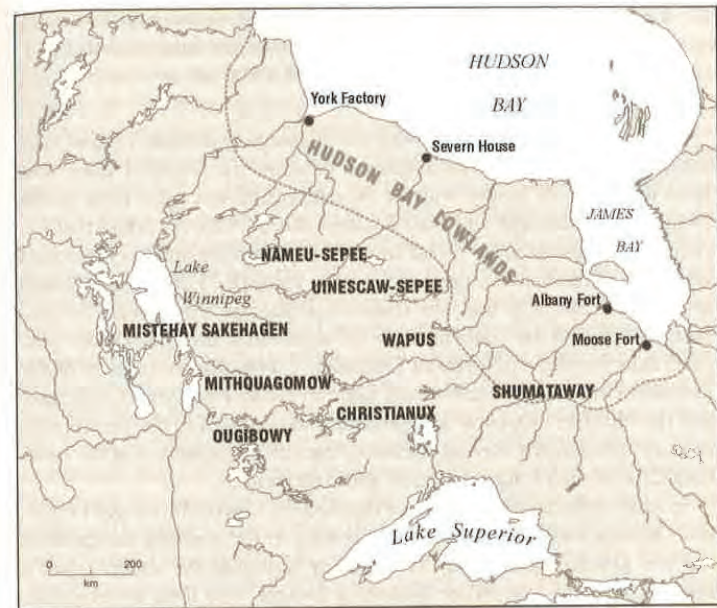
While the initial migration of Northern Ojibway began before European fur-trade settlements were established in the Hudson Bay lowlands, it is clear that some Northern Ojibway continued to move north and west throughout the eighteenth century. They were first reported in the HBC records at York Factory in 1741, when James Isham recorded the name "Bungee Indians" as one of the upland groups who traded at York Factory that summer.²² Although Isham had carefully recorded the group names of Uplanders since 1737, this was the first specific mention of Northern Ojibway at York Factory. Earlier HBC traders at York Factory who also recorded upland group names did not mention Bungee, Nakawawuck, Lake Indians, or any other name that can be linked specifically to the Northern Ojibway.²³ After 1741, the Northern Ojibway were regularly reported at York Factory during the summer trading season. Given these facts, it is probable that the year 1741 marked the beginning of Northern Ojibway trade at York Factory, and it may have also indicated their recent arrival in the York Factory hinterland. By 1749, James Isham had become more acquainted with the Northern Ojibway, and he observed that they lived in the area that "borders with the french at the Little sea [Lake Winnipeg]."²⁴

Between 1749 and 1782, some Northern Ojibway shifted their territorial range farther northward, becoming increasingly involved in the provision trade at York Factory and Severn House. For example, on June 6, 1773, eight canoes of Northern Ojibway visited York Factory and traded thirty-six sturgeon.²⁵ On May 26, 1774, seven canoes of Northern Ojibway traded eleven caribou, four caribou hearts, and one sturgeon at York Factory,²⁶ and in 1781, a group of Northern Ojibway in ten canoes traded over 300 caribou skins at York Factory.²⁷ In 1769, Andrew Graham observed that "we get provisions from the Nekawawuck or lake Indians, who are every now and then, summer and winter, coming in to trade furs."²⁸ In 1771, he observed that "this game [caribou hunting] formerly was the business of the poor home-guard natives, but at present is the employment of above sixty families of lake Indians.... Since the year 1762 the lake Indians have forsaken their rich hunting grounds and harboured about York Factory killing deer for brandy, which prevents them from getting up to the lakes before the frost sets in."²⁹ The northward shift of some Northern Ojibway in 1762 may have been in response to declining fur-trade opportunities in the south as a result of the fall of New France to British forces in the early 1760s.

By 1775, some Northern Ojibway who traded at York Factory had moved close enough to the coast to be considered residents of the lowlands. Ferdinand Jacobs reported on June 17, 1775, that "7400 Beaver [made beaver] have been traded from the Bungees [Northern Ojibway], Port Nelson [Nelson River Cree] and home Indians [Lowland Cree], we having neither seen nor heard from any upland Indians."³⁰ Earlier, in 1771, Andrew Graham had also observed the northward movement of the Northern Ojibway in the vicinity of York Factory. He said they "command all the lakes from York Fort rivers [Nelson and Hayes] down towards Canada; leaving the poor degenerated home-guards [Lowland Cree] scarcely room between them and the sea."³¹ By 1775, he was more specific about their location: "These [Northern Ojibway] inhabit the Country from about an hundred miles from the sea-coast of Hudson's Bay south and easterly unto the great Lakes of Christinaux.... It is my opinion that this people have drawn up to the Northward gradually as the Keiskatchewans [Cree] receded from it towards the south-west."³² In 1775, Graham identified eight "tribes" or sub-groups within the Northern Ojibway population who traded at the HBC coastal posts. Graham was familiar with the upland country only through Indian reports and a few HBC inland travellers.

Andrew Graham's List of the Nakawawuck (Northern Ojibway) Nation		
Name of Tribe*	Territory**	Trading Location***
Shumataway	Henley House River+	AF, SH, & YF
Mithquagomow	Red or Bloody River	AF
Ougibowoy	Winnipeg River	AF
Uinescaw-Sepee	Winisk River	SH & AF
Wapus	Hare River	SH & AF
Nameu-Sepee	Trout River	SH
Christianaux	Lake Winnipeg [Nipigon]	AF, MF, & SH
Mistehay Sakahegan	Great Lake Winnipeg	YF, SH, & AF

Sources: *Graham, 1969: 206; **Richardson, 1969, vol. 2: 37; ***Graham, 1969: 206, and HBCA, E.2/9, fo.84. YF= York Factory, SH= Severn House, AF= Albany Fort, MF= Moose Fort + Shumataway may also refer to the Shamattawa River near York Factory



Tribes of the Northern Ojibway Nation

By the time HBC fur traders established inland trading posts in the 1770s, the boundary between the Lowland Cree and Northern Ojibway followed roughly the boundary between the Hudson Bay lowlands and the upland Shield region. In 1839, George Barnston described the boundary line between the Lowland Cree and the Northern Ojibway near Martins Fall as crossing the "Atawapiscut and Capusco Rivers somewhat obliquely, and runs through swamps and forests."³³ The boundary was sharply defined in the area between the Hayes River and Gods River. The HBC report for the Island Lake District in 1827 noted the differences between the Lowland Cree who lived near Oxford House and the Northern Ojibway who lived near Gods Lake. In a reply to a company directive that one of the trading posts should be closed, and the two groups made to visit one post, the trader stated:

I am afraid not—they are not only distinct Tribes, but the Damn Algonquons [Northern Ojibway] have but an indifferent opinion of the

Swampy Crees [Lowland Cree] of Oxford—while the latter profess an unutterable aversion to the hostile disposition of the former, which in my opinion is a pretty strong proof against an immediate union of these two tribes.³⁴

In 1824, Alexander Stewart, who was in charge of the HBC's Island Lake trading post, also noted the difference between the Lowland Cree who lived near Oxford House and the Northern Ojibway who lived in the vicinity of Island Lake and Red Sucker Lake. Stewart remarked that the Northern Ojibway were "good hunters, superstitious and very ignorant and some of them, particularly at the latter place [Red Sucker Lake], very quarrelsome not only with the traders but amongst themselves." In contrast, he depicted the Lowland Cree as "industrious and much more civilized than the above [Northern Ojibway]."³⁵ The characterization of the Lowland Cree as cooperative, even timid in the face of armed challenges, and the Northern Ojibway as aggressive, was common in the nineteenth-century HBC records. Stewart attributed the milder disposition of the Lowland Cree to their long association with HBC traders.

In many other areas, the interface between the Lowland Cree and Northern Ojibway resulted in considerable overlap in the territory occupied by the two groups. By the early 1800s, many European fur traders noted a mixed Cree-Ojibway dialect spoken by Indians who lived in territories shared by Lowland Cree and Northern Ojibway. In 1804, Duncan Cameron observed that the Indians who lived in the Severn River basin near the edge of the lowlands spoke a language that was "a mixture of the Ojiboiay, or Chippeway as some call it, spoken at Lake Superior and the Cree or Masquigon spoken at Hudson's Bay." Cameron believed that the unique language was a result of several generations of intermarriage and mixing between the Ojibway and Cree people: "Every old man with whom I conversed, and from whom I made some enquiry on this subject, told me that his father or grand father was from either of these two places [Lake Superior or Hudson Bay]."³⁶ In 1833, a report from the HBC post at Long Lake near Lake Superior noted a mixed Cree-Ojibway language spoken there by "a mixed race of Solteauxs and Masquegongue Tribes. Their language is a mixture of both the latter tongues, but in many instances varies much, for a pure Solteaux speaker requires to be for some time with the Indians of this post before he can understand them perfectly."³⁷ In 1839, George Barnston commented that the mixing of Lowland Cree and Northern Ojibway near Martins Fall had "produced a Half Cree, Half Sauteux Breed, affecting the Language and Character in no slight degree."³⁸ The HBC traders referred to some people as "half-Bungee," further suggesting

that marriages occurred between Lowland Cree and Northern Ojibway. The half-Bungee population in the hinterland of York Factory appears to have grown after the 1782-83 smallpox epidemic. Joseph Colen was the first to use the term, in August 1786 at York Factory. In the summer of 1792, he noted the arrival of several large groups of "half-Bungees." One group came to the factory in ten canoes and two other groups arrived in six canoes each.³⁹ As late as 1929, the term Bungee was used to describe people of mixed Lowland Cree and Northern Ojibway ancestry who lived near Big Trout Lake on the margins of the Hudson Bay lowlands. Sydney Keighley, who worked for the HBC at the Big Trout Lake post, remarked, "The native people were a mixture of groups. There were some Cree, some Ojibway and some were called Bungee. I believe this last group should properly be called Saulteaux. They were a mixture of Cree and Ojibway, and had developed a language using both parts of the parent languages."⁴⁰ In 1852, Peter Jacobs, an Ojibway-speaking travelling missionary, visited the Rossville Mission near Norway House and commented, "I am not a competent judge of this mixed language of Ojibway, Cree, and Swampy. The Cree and Swampy are nearer kin to each other than either to the noble and majestic Ojibway."⁴¹ In 1831, John McLean noted that the Indians who lived near Norway House "speak a jargon of Cree and Sauteux, which sounds very harshly."⁴² The mixing of Lowland Cree and Northern Ojibway extended to the area north of Lake Superior near Michipicoten where George Keith, who was in charge of the HBC post there, remarked in 1830 that "there does not exist a doubt that the majority [of the Indian population] derive their origin from the Ojhibeway or Saulteau Tribe, altho' a number of them are descended from the Maskegon or Swampy Cree Tribe."⁴³

The mixing of Lowland Cree and Northern Ojibway also occurred among other groups of Indians who lived near the edge of the lowlands. In 1886, at Trout Lake, A.P. Low noted that "these Indians speak a language made up chiefly of Cree words, with a mixture of the Saulteaux dialects,"⁴⁴ and W. McInnes, who conducted a geological survey in the area around the headwaters of the Winisk and Attawapiskat rivers, reported: "They are of the Ojibway tribe, though mixed to a certain extent with the Cree of Hudson Bay basin, the purest Ojibway stock being found among the bands about the heads of the rivers. They seem to be men of larger frame than the Crees of the coast."⁴⁵ J.C. Boileau Grant, at Island Lake in 1929, reported that "Father Du Beau of the Roman Catholic mission at Island Lake, a very good linguist, tells me that the language spoken around the part of Island Lake at which he is stationed is a mixture of Saulteaux and Cree; some

words being Saulteaux, others being Cree; compound words being in many cases hybrids of the two."⁴⁶

The mixed Lowland Cree and Northern Ojibway speech has been the subject of several recent linguistic studies. Evelyn Todd, who conducted linguistic studies among Indian communities in the upper Severn River basin in the 1960s, explained that "Native speakers, who do not differentiate between language and dialect, refer to their language as anihsinapemowin, 'language of the Indians', and describe it as a mixture of Cree and Saulteaux."⁴⁷ Todd concluded the language was "definitely Ojibwa," and called it the Severn Ojibwa dialect. Although a number of Lowland Cree lived among the Severn Ojibwa communities, she thought "few of the dialect features of Severn Ojibwa can be directly attributed to the influence of Cree."⁴⁸ H.C. Wolfart came to the same general conclusions in his study, with S.M. Shrofel, of the Severn dialect among the people who lived in the area around Island Lake.⁴⁹ Shrofel and Wolfart concluded that it is "a dialect of Ojibwa with an admixture of Cree," and that "the interference of Cree is not very prominent in the verbal morphology."⁵⁰ They also agreed that the Severn Ojibwa dialect was distinct from the Ojibway dialect spoken at Berens River and points farther south. Wolfart believed the differences could be attributed to the migration routes followed by the two groups, and suggested that the dialect of the Ojibway living at Berens River and south along the east coast of Lake Winnipeg was more closely connected to that spoken by the Ojibway in the Lake of the Woods and Rainy River region.

In the 1930s, Irving Hallowell traced the genealogies of the Ojibway who lived at the mouth of the Berens River and found that migration to the area had occurred from all directions except the north.⁵¹ The Island Lake Ojibway traced their immediate origins to the upper Severn River area. This northern migration route was noted as early as 1815 by James Sutherland, the HBC trader in charge of Norway House.⁵² The two-pronged migration of the Northern Ojibway can also be deduced from cultural traits that distinguish the people who occupied the upper Severn River area from those who lived along the Berens River. Edward Rogers noted, "Cultural traits generally graded imperceptibly into one another [Northern Ojibway groups] throughout the region. One partial exception is between the Indians of the Deer Lake area [upper Severn River] and those of Pikangikum [upper Berens River]. Between the two runs a southeast-northwest line above which are the Northern Ojibwa who lack clan names, Midewiwin, and the sucking tube, traits found among the Indians below the line."⁵³ The migration of the Northern Ojibway north of Lake

Superior probably followed the transportation routes later used by European fur traders who settled in that region known as Le Petit Nord (Little North). Some Ojibway probably followed the most direct route connecting Lake Superior and Lake Winnipeg. Other groups of Ojibway entered the region from the Lake Nipigon basin. Some ventured westward toward Lake Winnipeg, while others moved northward to the edge of the Hudson Bay lowlands.

The Upland Cree

By the time HBC traders established inland trading posts in the 1770s, the Upland Cree occupied the territory upriver in the valleys of the Hayes, Nelson, and Churchill rivers. According to Andrew Graham, the Upland Cree were known as the *Pimmechikemow*, *Poethinecau*, *Missinepec*, and *Wenumnetowuck*. The Upland Cree probably occupied a larger territory, including an area east of Lake Winnipeg, prior to the northward migration of the Northern Ojibway. This is consistent with Upland Cree oral traditions. For example, in the winter of 1787-88, David Thompson interviewed an Upland Cree elder named Saukamappee, who related accounts of the westward migration of his people. The ninety-year-old Saukamappee, who was born near the confluence of the Saskatchewan and Pasquia rivers (near The Pas, Manitoba), recalled that his people moved up the Saskatchewan River and settled beyond the Eagle Hills because they were pushed away from their homelands by people who came from east of Lake Winnipeg.⁵⁴

Later fur-trade accounts indicate that the westward migration of Indian people continued in the early nineteenth century. George Holdsworth, who was stationed at Berens River in 1815, thought it "probable that these tribes were formerly confined to the East side of Lake Winipic, but from the difficulty of procuring subsistence occasioned by the diminution of animals, there appears to have been a general migration to the westward, one tribe displacing or rather driving back other tribes till at length a greater part are now found to the westward of it whilst the original inhabitants of the westward are driven still farther into the interior."⁵⁵

Relations between the Lowland Cree and their adjacent Upland Cree neighbours were generally amicable. However, the fur traders noted that the Upland Cree who lived farther away often extorted food and other goods from the Lowland Cree when they met near the trading posts. The far-away Upland Cree and other upland nations, such as the Assiniboine, usually travelled into the lowlands to trade at the coastal posts in large

flotillas of canoes. These large groups were able to intimidate the Lowland Cree, and the Lowland Cree stayed away from the posts during the summer trading season to avoid contacts with the upland people. In the summer of 1716, parties of Upland Cree who had arrived at York Factory to find that the annual supply ship from England had failed to arrive robbed Lowland Cree of goods and food. Even the captain of the Lowland Cree was victimized by these marauders. James Knight reported that "the Captain of this River and his Gang arrived to Day but they mett with about 40 of the Upland Indians that Plundered him and took away all there Victualls."⁵⁶ Later that month, the captain warned Knight that the failure of the HBC supply ship had caused extraordinary suffering, and that there might be an attack on the factory by the upland Indians. Knight described how

came in the Captain of this River in very bad humour and told me that all the Indians were very much exasperated against us for their Disappointment of a Supply of Goods after such a fatigue in coming so farr for it and not having any and withall he told me he would be gon from the factory for he desires not stay any longer for he believes the Indians would come and attempt to do us a Mischief that cuts us of[f] that they shall never be no more disappointed in their coming down as they have been Both by the french and us and withall cautioned me not to send any Man abroad.⁵⁷

In the summer of 1717, a group of Upland Cree led by "Old Caesar" terrorized the Lowland Cree who were near York Factory. James Knight commented that "they are very rude amongst our Indians here takeing away their wives and daughters by force and lyes with them and these poor fellows [Lowland Indians] are so fearfull as they darst not offer to hinder them."⁵⁸ The Lowland Cree usually kept clear of York Factory for fear of being molested by the upland people. The Lowland Cree were knowledgeable about the usual travel times of the upland traders, and stayed clear of the Hayes and Nelson rivers during the peak trading period. John Newton, who was in charge of York Factory in the summer of 1749, observed: "Sent ye Longboat over to the French Creek, brought 3 familys of Indians who intend for the N. [Nelson] River, but they as well as those who came before, are afraid to goe till ye great gang of trading Indians that comes down that River have been here and gone again."⁵⁹

In 1786, Humphrey Marten noted that the Upland Cree who lived in the upper Nelson River area were still accustomed to robbing the Lowland Cree of their goods. He observed that "the North [Nelson] river Indians did not chuse to trade, while they stayed; consequently, they were

disappointed in the rich harvest, they hoped to obtain, by plundering (in their usual unmerciful manner) the home Indians, who dare not refuse them, what goods they take a fancy to."⁶⁰

At Severn House, the HBC traders noted that the Lowland Cree also feared the Uplanders, and avoided contact as much as possible. In 1783, William Falconer remarked that "they [Lowland Cree] being afraid of the Uplanders, as I have seen during my stay here, when only one canoe of Uplanders come down, the very sight of them drove every one of these Homeguards away."⁶¹ The traders there sometimes helped the Lowland Cree move away from the post before the upland traders arrived. The upland people who traded at Severn House sometimes acted in a belligerent way to the HBC men as well as to the Lowland Cree, and, in 1760, Humphrey Marten was forced to arm his men in order to get some "saucy" Uplanders out of the house.⁶²

The Albany River Lowland Cree appear to have been more at ease with their upland neighbours. In some cases, the Lowland Cree extorted goods from the upland traders who visited Albany Fort. In the summer of 1725, company trader Richard Staunton complained that the Lowland Cree were very troublesome because they waited near the fort to drink brandy that they received from upland traders.⁶³ Some Albany River Lowland Cree acted very aggressively against the upland people who came to trade at Albany Fort. An Albany River Lowland Cree leader named Wappississ or Woudbe was noted for intimidating the upland traders and extorting furs and other goods. Because of his behaviour, Woudbe was also called the "Land Pirate" by the HBC men.⁶⁴

The Eastmain Cree

The eastern neighbours of the Lowland Cree were called *Oupeshepon*, or "Eastmain Cree."⁶⁵ The Nottaway River marked the approximate boundary between the Lowland Cree and the Eastmain Cree. Although the dialect spoken by the Eastmain Cree was derived from the same basic language (Algonquian), it was noticeably different from the speech of the Lowland Cree. Richard Preston observed that the Lowland Cree "cannot follow a conversation in the East Main language at all."⁶⁶ Truman Michelson, who conducted linguistic studies among the communities on the west and east coasts of James Bay, stated that "Rupert's House Cree and East Main Cree are really not Cree at all, but Montagnais-Nascapi dialects."⁶⁷

The Eastmain Cree did not interact much with the Lowland Cree. The Moose River Lowland Cree occasionally visited East Main House to trade

with the HBC, but they did not have close ties with the Eastmain Cree. Toby Morantz noted that the Moose River Lowland Cree often bullied the local people whom they met near East Main House. One Moose River Cree extorted payment from the Eastmain Cree for protection. Morantz quoted an HBC trader at East Main House who stated in 1792 that the Eastmain Cree were "naturally timid [therefore] they are soon imposed upon."⁶⁸

Albany and Moose River Lowland Cree often passed through the territory of the Eastmain Cree during the summer, en route to war against the Inuit who lived on the eastern coast of Hudson Bay. During these forays, the Albany and Moose River Lowland Cree were unopposed by the Eastmain Cree. Not only did the Eastmain Cree not get involved in these raids against the Inuit, they were occasionally the targets of frustrated warriors. In the summer of 1738, a war party of Lowland Cree warriors killed three or four families of Eastmain Cree after failing to find their intended Inuit victims.⁶⁹ The killing of Eastmain Cree instead of Inuit was a common occurrence, according to the testimony of Eastmain Cree who told HBC traders in 1755 that it was "Common for ye Albany and Moose River Indians when they cannot find the Eusquamays they kill Our Indians, for their Scalps and Makes their country Men Believe there Scalps is Eusquamays. Robinson Crouseo [an Eastmain Indian] tells me that his Brother and 3 More was kill'd by the Albany and Moose River Indians about 12 years ago and scalp'd."⁷⁰

The Eastmain Cree did not attempt to rebuff the aggressive behaviour of the Lowland Cree. On the other hand, the Lowland Cree were not interested in territorial expansion or gaining access to resources in the East Main territory. Although they were relatively close neighbours, relations between the Lowland Cree and the Eastmain Cree remained distant during the fur-trade period. The Aboriginal fur trade that focussed on James Bay from rivers draining into the bay from west and east probably promoted closer ties between the Lowland Cree and Eastmain Cree in the pre-European fur-trade period. After European fur-trade posts were built in the region, the fur-trade orientation was focussed away from the bay, and thus weakened earlier linkages that may have supported a closer relationship between the two groups. The Europeans split the bay-side trade into two, largely autonomous, administrative units. As a result, there was little interaction between the Lowland Cree and Eastmain Cree during the European fur-trade period.

4.

Distant Enemies:

The Inuit, Chipewyan, and Iroquois

The Inuit

Collectively, the Lowland Cree occupied a territory spanning about 2000 kilometres along the Hudson Bay coast, stretching from the Churchill River on the north to the Nottaway River on the south. During the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, the Lowland Cree engaged in warfare against enemies whose home territories were situated a thousand or more kilometres inland and in all directions. Such well-defined "external relations" suggest how they viewed their territories and their relations with their more distant neighbours.

When European fur-trade posts were established on the coast of Hudson Bay and James Bay, the Lowland Cree were actively engaged in warfare with the Inuit who lived in the northern areas, on both the western and eastern coasts of Hudson Bay. Warfare patterns described by early European observers suggest that hostility between the Inuit and the Lowland Cree predated European contact, and involved reciprocal revenge-raiding into each other's territory. However, Inuit raids into Lowland Cree territory ceased soon after the fur-trade posts were established. On the other hand, the Lowland Cree continued to raid into Inuit territory long after the posts were built.

8.

The Lowland Cree in the Fur Trade, 1783-1821

Fur Trade

The smallpox epidemic of 1782-83 had a significant negative impact on the involvement of the Lowland Cree in the fur trade. The impact was widespread throughout the area affected by the disease, and the HBC account books reported the magnitude of the reduction in furs for several years thereafter. For example, the total Albany Fort fur returns (including inland posts) dropped from 9052 made beaver in 1782-83, to 6975 made beaver in 1783-84. In the summer of 1782, Thomas Hutchins, who was in charge of Albany Fort, already noted the decline in the fur trade, and that "they [Lowland Cree] flocked to the factory for support and assistance inasmuch that the Albany home Tribe produced 1200 Made Beaver less than in former years."¹ At York Factory, the decline was more precipitous, with the total value of furs dropping from 12,837 made beaver in 1781-82 to 2832 made beaver in 1783-84.² The Severn House fur returns fell from 4066 made beaver in 1781-82 to 2418 made beaver in 1783-84.

The decline in the fur trade caused directly by the deaths of Lowland Cree fur trappers and hunters was amplified by the common practice of throwing away possessions, including furs, by grieving relatives. Edward

Jarvis, who was in charge of Albany Fort in 1784, explained, "I have not now 3000 MBeaver in the Fort, and I believe not 200 Beaver skins in the whole, the Indians having universally either been obliged to eat them or throw them away, the effects of their grief for many deaths among them."³ On October 7, 1797, two Lowland Cree arrived at Severn House and Thomas Thomas observed that they "had, in consequence of the death of their brother, thrown away every article which they had taken in debt (this is their common manner of showing sorrow at the loss of a friend or relation) they were now wholly destitute of necessaries."⁴ In the summer of 1799, a large group of Lowland Cree in twenty canoes arrived at York Factory with no furs to trade. According to Joseph Colen, "The death of a son of the Chief who was the principal hunter, early in the fall, stopped the whole party from killing furs—this is too frequently the case with Indians."⁵ On January 15, 1810, William Cook, who was in charge of York Factory, noted that "3 Natives [arrived at the factory] from a party of homeguards tenting in Foxes Lake ... very little exertion appears to have gone forwards in this family owing to the Death of their Leader."⁶ In 1821, Thomas Vincent, who was in charge of Albany Fort, noted that a Homeguard Cree named Sheshequon had brought in a poor trade, because "according to the Indian custom when a Death takes place amongst em, a gloom remains for a considerable time; this has been the case with him last winter, his wife paid the Debt of Nature last summer."⁷

High mortality rates and lingering sickness because of malnutrition and other after-effects among Lowland Cree hunting groups necessitated adaptive strategies, and the role of women became critical to the survival of some groups. For example, in 1790, three Severn River Lowland Cree families who had wintered together arrived at Severn House with several sick people, including the principal hunters. The HBC trader noted that they brought only seventy-five made beaver in furs, and these were "chiefly trapt by the women."⁸

The smallpox epidemic temporarily interrupted the HBC's inland operations, but within a few years after the epidemic the network of inland trading posts rapidly expanded. As a result, few upland traders visited the coastal trading posts after 1782. The establishment of a network of inland trading posts made the long, difficult trips by canoe to the bay unnecessary to obtain HBC trade goods. John McNab, who was in charge of Albany Fort in 1795, recalled that the last "real uplander" to visit the fort was a man named Muscownatauga, who made the trip in 1782. McNab observed that since Muscownatauga's visit, "not a single beaver has been brought to the Fort by an uplander."⁹ In addition to reducing the volume of furs, the

inland expansion of the HBC also affected the composition of the furs received at the coastal posts, since only locally available animals were harvested for the coastal trade. The HBC records at Albany Fort in the post-1782 period provided a breakdown of the furs traded at each of the posts, and this information sheds light on the Lowland Cree fur trade in that period. The Lowland Cree traded mainly at Albany Fort, Henley House, and Martins Fall. The Homeguard Cree contributed most of the furs at Albany Fort, and the Half-Homeguard Cree were major suppliers at Henley House and, to a lesser extent, Martins Fall.

The fur trade during the period 1783 to 1821 throughout the north-western interior of the continent was affected by extreme competition between the HBC and various fur companies based in the St. Lawrence River valley that eventually amalgamated to form the North West Company (NWC). The peak period of fur-trade activity occurred between 1790 and 1810, when record numbers of fur traders and trading posts were in operation.¹⁰ The fur trade in the Hudson Bay lowlands was not immune to the intensive competition that developed between the HBC and NWC in that period.

Although French and later Canadian fur traders from the St. Lawrence River valley made periodic forays into the Hudson Bay lowlands before 1782, there was little sustained competition within the region (except in the hinterland of Moose Factory) until after 1783. In 1784, Canadian fur traders began to intercept Lowland Cree hunters as far north as the Nelson River. On September 5, 1784, a large group of Nelson River Cree arrived at York Factory with very few furs. They told Humphrey Marten they had been forced to trade with the "Pedlars."¹¹ On June 2, 1786, a group of Homeguard Cree who traded at York Factory acknowledged that they had previously traded with the Canadians.¹² The Canadian trading post was located a few days' journey upriver from York Factory, in the middle track, which was the route from the Saskatchewan River that followed Cross Lake, Bigstone River, and Fox River to the Hayes River. The exact location of this post is uncertain, but it may have been situated on Cross Lake. In 1789-90, a Canadian post operated on Gull Lake, about 200 kilometres inland from York Factory. This was probably Gull Lake on the lower Nelson River. This lake was depicted on Philip Turnor's map of the Churchill, Nelson, and Hayes rivers in 1779.¹³ In 1791, several Nelson River Cree arrived at York Factory with more information about the Canadian competition: "The Canadian traders are so numerous, no Indian can rest with his family without having one or more of these people continually visiting them and collecting their furs as soon as killed."¹⁴ In 1793, the Canadian

traders built a post near *Pathepow neepee*, or Deep Water Lake (Oxford Lake). Joseph Colen was especially concerned about the impact of this post because it was "in the centre of the wintering grounds of my Home Guard up this river."¹⁵ In 1796, the HBC traders at York Factory learned about a Canadian trading post on the Jack River (near present Norway House), which, Joseph Colen remarked, was "almost in the Centre of York Fort Home Guard Hunters."¹⁶ The strategy of the Canadian traders was to keep the York Factory men pinned down to the lower country to prevent the HBC from establishing posts in more profitable places like the Athabasca country. Along the Nelson River, Canadian traders were very active in 1792-93. Joseph Colen observed that "the Canadian masters declare that their expenditure of goods last season has been double the value of the Furs collected by them. They are liberal in distributing their Liquor among the Natives below to keep the Honourable Company's servants in action, and to prevent their being employed in places where greater profit arises, which enables them to do much in opposing the lower settlements."¹⁷

As a result of intensive competition, HBC and Canadian traders urged the Lowland Cree and other subarctic people to kill as many fur bearers as possible, especially beaver. By 1805, the fur-trade competition in the upper country had reached its peak, and the stress on the fur resources was clearly evident. On the borders of the lowlands, new techniques were employed to maximize fur returns. For example, Canadian fur traders employed Aboriginal people from the St. Lawrence valley to hunt and trap furs. These people, mainly Iroquois from the Montreal region, were employed specifically to hunt beaver. HBC traders reported the impact of Iroquois trappers as early as 1802-03. John McNab, who was in charge of York Factory that year, learned from HBC inland traders that "these Iroquois are adding greatly to the failure of our exertions inland, they are now some hundreds who winter and summer in the best beaver grounds, are regularly agreed to the Canadian masters who pay them 10 livres for every pound of beaver skin and have them bound not to trade one with us under a penalty of them giving them 10 skins (for nothing) for every one they barter with us."¹⁸ On May 16, 1805, Lowland Cree from the Martins Fall area reported that Iroquois employed by the Canadian traders "hunt up all the Beaver."¹⁹ Upriver from Martins Fall, the HBC traders noted the extreme competition for furs. John Hodgson commented that "there is now such an increase in Traders from Canada, that it is with great difficulty to get a skin from the Natives, unless a man is constantly with them to take the Beaver out of the hole."²⁰

As beaver populations dwindled in the early 1800s, Canadian traders encouraged neighbouring upland people to hunt in the lowlands. For

example, in 1815-16, the HBC traders reported that numbers of Northern Ojibway who lived near Lake Nipigon had hunted beaver near Martins Fall. William Thomas, who was in charge of the Martins Fall trading post, remarked that "it is the policy in the Canadians sending their Indians into this part to hunt for were they to remain on their own lands their hunts would be trifling."²² John Davis, who was in charge of Martins Fall post in 1819, observed that the local people complained of the encroachment of Uplanders from the south on their hunting grounds, and that "the Canadian Indians had come down on their grounds in the fall of the year and had since left them and carried off all the Beaver in these parts."²²



A South East View of Albany Factory, A Winter View, by William Richards, watercolour, 1804-1811 (PAM, HBCA, P-118).

Lowland Cree, the outbreak of measles was brief and recovery rates appeared to have been much higher than during the smallpox epidemic.

Lowland Cree Population Dynamics

The depletion of caribou, beaver, and other animals in the Hudson Bay lowlands caused significant population movements of Lowland Cree within and outside the region in the period between 1783 and 1821. Following



Albany, c. 1867-1868. Photograph: Bernard Rogan Ross (PAM, HBCA 363-a-6/5).

the 1782-83 smallpox epidemic, many Albany River Lowland Cree shifted their range farther northward toward Severn House. Although Edward Jarvis blamed this northward movement on the reduction in the standard of trade for goods at Severn House, he acknowledged the impact of the smallpox epidemic.⁹⁶ A Cree hunter who intended to move north told Jarvis, "Do not urge us to hunt geese when there are really none to kill, but let us have our debts and get as far as we can from the Factory to the northward where deer are plenty and we can live [underlined in original]."⁹⁷ Jarvis was concerned about the migration of many of the best goose hunters. In his journal, he outlined the negative impact of these developments:

Without we can procure Country provisions for the mother settlement [Albany Fort] and Henley, we can never keep the Europeans for Gloster and inland—these families [those who moved north] are beyond dispute the very best goose hunters belonging to Albany and seldom killed us less than 1400 sometimes 1600 nay more Geese—the loss of Furrs is nothing since whether at Albany or Severn the Company will assuredly get them, and tho' I am not totally imenible to pecuniary emoluments, would readily part with their furr hunts to Severn to get their goose hunts at Albany; for the loss of so much provisions is not to be remedied but by an extraordinary indent of provisions from Europe, which after we get it is neither so good for the men's health, so agreeable to their humour, nor probably so cheap to the Company—I repeat it that I would rather lose their furrs than have the apparently extensive rising prospects at Gloster dispersed by the want of that sinew of expedition, Provision [underlined in original].⁹⁸

Another problem associated with the northward migration of Albany River Lowland Cree toward Severn was the reduction in leather traded at Albany Fort. Most of the leather traded there came from the so-called northern tribes who hunted caribou between Albany and Severn. With many of them trading at Severn after 1783, the loss of the caribou leather trade was also detrimental to the business at Albany Fort. Edward Jarvis noted "another great evil that arises from their going to Severn which is the scarcity of shoe leather without which the inland business cannot go on."⁹⁹ An examination of the Albany Fort account books confirms the reduction in the number of caribou skins after 1783. From 1775 to 1783, the shipments from Albany Fort to Europe contained 199 caribou skins, while from 1784 to 1794, only seventeen caribou skins were packed. The attraction of the caribou hunt in the area near Cape Henrietta Maria was confirmed by George Sutherland, who delivered a packet between Albany Fort and Severn House in the summer of 1785. Sutherland reported that many Albany River Lowland Cree were "all wallowing among deer's flesh

much nigher Albany than this place [Severn House]."¹⁰⁰ In 1788, Edward Jarvis explained that the reason Albany River Lowland Cree had shifted their range northward was "because the Deer are so numerous and easy come at the Northward which they prefer to hunting geese in our cold marshes."¹⁰¹

By 1815, growing numbers of Albany River Lowland Cree had moved north toward Cape Henrietta Maria. By that time the caribou had been depleted, but the movement of these Albany River Lowland Cree was motivated by better fishing grounds in that area. Jacob Corrigan, who was in charge of Albany Fort in 1815, was "apprehensive that none or very few of the Northern Indians will attend the Goose Hunt this fall, George Sutherland [an Indian] and Missiseepe has come in, who tells me that they left them all to the Northward of the Cape [Henrietta Maria] in the Deer Country at a fine Lake for fishing where they intend to pass the Fall and winter."¹⁰²

The migration of Albany River Lowland Cree toward Severn caused some Severn River Lowland Cree to shift their range farther north, toward York Factory. Several families of Severn River Lowland Cree moved to the York Factory area in 1790. In 1796, a number of Severn Homeguard Cree joined the York Factory Homeguard Cree during the fall goose hunt. In the spring of 1797, six families who formerly hunted near Severn House and Albany Fort hunted geese near York Factory. In 1803, a mixed group of Severn and Albany Homeguard Cree arrived at York Factory, intending to live in the area. John McNab, who was in charge of York Factory and had previously worked at Albany Fort, remarked that "among them 6 of Albany Choice hunters, old acquaintances, several of them requests to stay here, say they have wintered at Severn with many more of their Albany companions now there."¹⁰³ In the fall of 1803, several Albany River Lowland Cree traded at York Factory and spent the winter in the area.¹⁰⁴

In the spring of 1799, thirty Cree goose hunters were identified by name in the York Factory records. Of these, fifteen were Severn River Homeguard Cree, who killed 815, or 63 percent, of the 1297 geese harvested. By 1807, some Severn River Lowland Cree had become prominent leaders at York Factory. On October 16, 1807, John McNab reported that "2 Indians came down the river for medicine to the oldest Indian belonging to York—they say he is very ill ... his progeny are numerous and consequential, he was a hunter at Severn when first founded [1759] by the late Mr. Marten."¹⁰⁵ There was also a shift in Lowland Cree population away from Churchill Fort and toward York Factory in the period between 1783 and 1821. Some were attracted back to their former homelands to become goose hunters in place of the York Factory Homeguard Cree goose hunters who died during the smallpox epidemic. There was also pressure to move

away from the Churchill River area after 1782 because of the influx of Chipewyan who moved closer to Churchill Fort. By 1821, all but a few of the Lowland Cree had moved away from Churchill to the York Factory area. In 1820, the Lowland Cree male population near Churchill Fort included two elderly men, eight young men and youths, and two or three boys.¹⁰⁶

In the 1790s, some groups of Lowland Cree in the hinterland of York Factory began to migrate out of the lowlands. The establishment of inland trading posts along the transport route between York Factory and Lake Winnipeg attracted Lowland Cree, especially those who were regarded as Half-Homeguard Cree at York Factory. The employment of Lowland Cree on the boat brigades also promoted an inland population shift for families



York Factory, 1853 (PAM, HBCA, P114).

who were involved in that business. Historian Raymond Beaumont remarked that the southward movement of Lowland Cree was "in response to privation at York Factory and the promise of a better life elsewhere."¹⁰⁷ Several HBC fur traders noted the southward drift of Lowland Cree along the Nelson and Hayes rivers into the upland region. In 1793, some of the Half-Homeguard Cree who previously traded at York Factory had moved farther inland and wintered near Chatham House on the upper Nelson River.¹⁰⁸ In 1794, the combination of declining resources near York Factory and the lure of Canadian traders caused some of the York Factory Homeguard Cree to move farther inland. Joseph Colen reported, "They say that the scarcity of animals on the coast of late years has distressed their families—when they were here during the summer, which obliged them to remove to a more plentiful country, a great distance from the factory, that bringing their families with them would prevent the conveyance of furs. Therefore the men intend in future to come down in turns, while others remain to kill supplies for their families."¹⁰⁹ Colen later remarked, "Indeed Natives who have been long in habits of hunting near the factory, have told me in plain terms that these risks [food shortages] would be avoided in future, by disposing of their skins near their Hunting Ground."¹¹⁰

The Lowland Cree who moved near the inland trading posts came to be identified as Homeguards for each particular post. For example, those who coalesced near Henley House at the confluence of the Albany and Kenogami rivers were usually called Henley House Homeguards. The establishment of Oxford House in 1798 attracted a number of Lowland Cree who were formerly known as York Factory Homeguard Cree. Anthropologist Christopher Hanks observed that "the formation of the Oxford House Band was the result of the depot requiring natives to provide provisions and labor for transporting goods to and from the interior.... Therefore, the Oxford House Band is the result of the historic late eighteenth and early nineteenth century interaction between the fur trade and native groups and was not an *in situ* development of the aboriginal population."¹¹¹

By 1812, the migration of Lowland Cree away from York Factory was in full swing. William Cook reported that a group of so-called "Eastern Indians" planned to move farther inland in the fall, and that some of the Nelson River Lowland Cree intended to give up their "Old Haunts" to "go inland in the Fall and to winter about the Lakes in the mid Country."¹¹² By 1815, some of the Hayes River Lowland Cree who formerly resided near York Factory were living near Lake Winnipeg. James Sutherland, who was in charge of the HBC's Norway House District (then called Jack River), made the following observations:

This last year their were 26 families who traded at this post, among them 34 men and lads capable of Hunting, but their numbers always vary as they wander from one district to another as their capricious fancy leads them. Part of these Indians are from the sea coast about York Factory and the other from the headwaters of the Severn River. The original inhabitants of this place seem to have all emigrated to the Westward within this few years back, several families have left this place and gone to Swan River and Cumberland House, the poverty of the country for animals enduce them to leave their native soil.¹¹³

Some Lowland Cree migrated as far away as the Cumberland House district near the upper Saskatchewan River. In 1815, Alexander Kennedy, who was in charge of Cumberland House, noted "about one hundred and ten families on this District at present, nearly half of whom are newcomers from York Factory, North River, and what we call the Rat Country being to the northward of Cumberland where the lands are getting so poor as to induce the Indians to leave it."¹¹⁴

The conditions that forced many Lowland Cree to migrate also affected the Northern Ojibway who lived along the margins of the Hudson Bay lowlands. J.F. Wright, who conducted a geological survey around Island Lake in 1927, learned about the history of the area from the local HBC fur trader, S.J.C. Cumming. Wright reported that the Island Lake post "was outfitted from Severn and was in operation in 1824, but a few years later was abandoned on account of the scarcity of fur-bearing animals, fish and game. The Indians were forced to leave the lake and migrated to Oxford House, Trout Lake, and Little Grand Rapids."¹¹⁵

The HBC tried to discourage the movement of Lowland Cree between coastal posts. HBC traders were advised not to trade with Indians who received debts from other posts. However, this strategy had its shortcomings because the traders were often unaware of the extent of the debts that individual Indians had incurred at other posts. In 1790, Joseph Colen attempted to establish this strategy at York Factory and encouraged his fellow traders to do the same, because "would every master follow the same plan it would be a considerable saving annually to the Honourable Company and prevent the low Country Natives from rambling."¹¹⁶ Despite Colen's determination to stop the Lowland Cree from "rambling," he was unable to dictate where they should live. On April 6, 1790, Colen was unable to convince a group of Severn House Homeguard Cree to return to that post: "If I did not agree to their visiting York, in future, there were other places they could carry their furs, and where they would be acceptable—said they were free and have liberty to go ware they pleased, and were they used

well, they would stay."¹¹⁷ The competition that developed between coastal trading posts was exploited by the Lowland Cree. As fur-trade competition increased, attracting Indians to trade at each post became more difficult. HBC traders offered increasingly large gifts to Lowland Cree leaders who could bring more followers to trade at their posts. Some Lowland Cree leaders attracted followers by giving gifts to encourage other Indians to leave their usual post. For example, in 1786, a Severn River Lowland Cree leader named Waukesicoat gave gifts to Albany River Lowland Cree to attract them to trade at Severn. These gifts included a gun, two blankets, a coat, and brandy.¹¹⁸ Edward Jarvis observed that "the Severn Indian Captain [Waukesicoat] would be glad to increase his consequence by gaining the Albany [Lowland Cree] to trade at Severn even supposing he was not desired [by William Falconer] to do it."¹¹⁹

1821

The merger of the North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company in 1821 brought an end to fur-trade competition throughout much of the northwestern interior of North America. However, the effects were not immediately significant in the Hudson Bay lowlands. North West Company traders never established a foothold in the region, and even along the southern fringe many of their trading posts had been withdrawn years before 1821. The new company did enact a number of policies that gradually had an impact on the Lowland Cree. The closure of redundant trading posts in the upland hinterland meant that Cree hunters had limited options to sell their furs and provisions. The company also attempted to restrict the movement of the Lowland Cree by ordering its traders to limit credit to local hunters. Some Cree families responded to these new measures by opting out of the fur-trade economy. For example, Thomas Vincent reported in 1825 that the Lowland Cree in the Winisk River area were living comfortably without trading for supplies with the company. Vincent explained that they had become disgusted with the company trader at Severn House "for the last 3 years and live idly and easy at fishing stations, seldom are in want of food and warmly apparelled in Furs."¹²⁰ This situation had changed little in 1834, when George Barnston reported that the Winisk River Lowland Cree still lived independently of the company. He wrote, "Having procured a blanket, an ax, and a hook, he becomes forthwith miserably independent. Day after day finds him seated at a hole in the Ice, angling for pike, to the full gratification of all that is indolent in his disposition, but in perfect mocking of the Trader's wishes."¹²¹

Conclusion

It is now clear that the Hudson Bay Lowland Cree, far from being creations of the European fur trade, occupied the region for thousands of years before the arrival of the newcomers. Their own oral traditions recounted for generations that their ancestors had always lived there, and bore witness to the arrival of the first Europeans. The oral traditions also told about battles against Iroquois raiders before the fur traders came to build posts along the coast of Hudson Bay. The prevailing view in the literature, however, portrayed the lowlands as a no-man's land until the fur-trade posts were built. Scholars had based this view on the misconception that the environment was too harsh to permit year-round living by Aboriginal people. They also thought that technologically superior European trade goods attracted the Cree to move into the lowlands from original homelands located to the south in the more sheltered forest of the Canadian Shield country. Building on this premise, scholars advanced the view that permanent occupation was possible only after the Europeans arrived and only in the shelter of the fur-trade posts. The Lowland Cree were thus depicted as relatively recent arrivals who moved into the lowlands after Europeans established trading posts.

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known as the Cree, or Knistehino, in the interior of Labrador on the west. The western limit of the Cree is the eastern base of the Canadian Rockies, from this point, touching the coast on to Lake Mistassini. The great divisions: the Plains Cree, the Woods, or Swamp Cree, subdivided into local groups. The differences of life and material culture

are to be found in interior Labrador and Mistassini. They hold the coast on Hudson's Bay, then inland to the Loon River. Their northern horizon of the Plains is marked, and by a line drawn from Winnipeg to Lake Mistassini

The Eastern Cree will be used to designate the Maskegon division lying in whom the notes and information are given. In addition, however, information is given to the Cree residing in the localities where our field trips were conducted, and the locality has been given. Their neighbors to the northeast; the Eskimo on the coast; the Chipewyan on the coast; the Blackfoot on the southwest; the Montagnais on the southeast. There has been almost constantly at the exception of the Eskimo, a state of enmity until well within the west, but out by the intercession of the Eskimo, the occasional broils have occurred between the Eastern Cree and the Ojibway. The Eastern Cree

to this day retain a vivid recollection of Iroquois forays made among them during by-gone times.

The Eastern Cree, in common with most North American tribes, know themselves as *Ililu* or "men among men." (The epithet is here given in the Moosonee dialect). They also know themselves collectively, in contradistinction to other tribes, as *Muskéko-wug*, or "Swamp people." They consider themselves to be made up of five distinct divisions:—

1. *Winnipégo-wug*, or "Coast-people", found, as their name implies, about the shores of James and Hudson's Bay and hunting for a very short distance inland.
2. *Nutcimiu-ïiu*, or "South-inlanders", in the inland forests south and east of the Bay.
3. *Kiwétin-ïuwug*, or "North-people", at Fort George and northward.
4. *Oschéiskakamikan-ïiu*, or "On-the-height-of-land-people", residing on the height of land from Albany to Fort George.
5. *Nékapi-ininuwug*, or the "West-people", or York Cree, residing in the vicinity of York Factory.

These terms are here given in the dialect of the respective divisions.

In addition to these recognized bands, which do not correspond with the dialectic divisions of these people, the bands trading at the various rendezvous have often been designated by the names of these places since the advent of the Europeans; for example, "Rupert's House Indians," "Albany Indians," and "Moosonee." The latter term has caused endless confusion. The *Moosonee*,¹ are a portion of that band of the Eastern Cree, known as the *Winnipégo-wug*. Their rendezvous is at Moose Factory, more properly known as *Moosonee*, and the fact that they speak a dialect differing slightly from their neighbors, combined with the confusion of terms and local names, has led many writers to suppose them to have been a distinct tribe. The Ojibway know the Eastern Cree as *Muskéko* (corrupted into *Maskegon*) or *Muskéko-ninni*, "Swamp-people," this term being merely the Ojibway form of their own name for themselves. For this reason, many writers have supposed the so-called *Maskegon* to have been a tribe distinct from, but related to, the Cree. This confusion probably resulted from the fact that early travelers often referred to the Woods, or Swamp Cree, as *Maskegon* in order to distinguish them from the Plains band. By the Eskimo, the Eastern Cree are called *Allat*. Other terms were not obtained.

It is probable that the original home of the Eastern Cree was south and east of James Bay, although their traditions hold that they have always occupied the region where they now dwell. Within late prehistoric times

¹ Franklin, 56, makes a similar statement.

Natural History. [Vol. IX.

en and goods were taken when she arrived at the them try to escape when They headed their canoe were all drowned. One red him out when he tried

II. THE NORTHERN SAULTEAUX.

The Ojibway Indians are one of the best known and most widely distributed tribes of the Algonkin stock. The territory over which they formerly roamed extended from the Niagara River on the east to the neighborhood of Central Montana on the west, and from the northern part of Wisconsin and Michigan north about half way to Hudson's Bay. They may be divided into several distinct bands, differing considerably both culturally and dialectically. They all probably spring from a common base, perhaps somewhere southwest of Lake Superior whence they have radiated in every direction except southward. As this paper is intended to deal primarily with but a small portion of this people, occupying a definite area, further discussion of their origin and number, may be dispensed with, with the exception of an enumeration of the great divisions of the Ojibway and a few remarks on some of their peculiarities:—

1. The Ojibway proper, closely related to the central Algonkin, occupying Minnesota, Northern Wisconsin, and Upper Michigan. A semi-nomadic hunting and fishing people, possessed of some agriculture, wild rice gatherers, builders of bark houses, as well as of conical wigwams, warlike.¹
2. The Chippewa of lower Michigan and Southeastern Ontario, more sedentary in their habits, agricultural, build bark cabins, once possessors of a false face ceremony possibly derived from the Iroquois,² probably considerably under Huron-Iroquois influence, warlike.³
3. The Southern Sauteaux inhabiting the north shore of Lake Superior, allied in habits with the Ojibway proper, non-agricultural, non-warlike dwellers for the most part in conical wigwams, nomadic, scaffold burials, sometimes cannibalistic when under provocation.
4. The Northern Sauteaux are an off-shoot of the former who have lost many southern traits and have acquired others from the Eastern Cree, very often cannibalistic in times of scarcity, subterranean burials.
5. The Plains Sauteaux, or "Long Plains Ojibway," dwell west of Lake Winnipeg, information lacking, but probably like the Northern Plains Algonkin.

As will be seen, the Northern Sauteaux form the most isolated band of

¹ Jones, (b), 36.

² The writer's mother when a child once saw a dance or ceremony of the Missisauga in which masks were worn. These masks were made of deerskin, and their eyes and mouths were bound with red flannel. This was at Owen Sound on Georgian Bay, Lake Huron.

³ Jones, Peter 138.

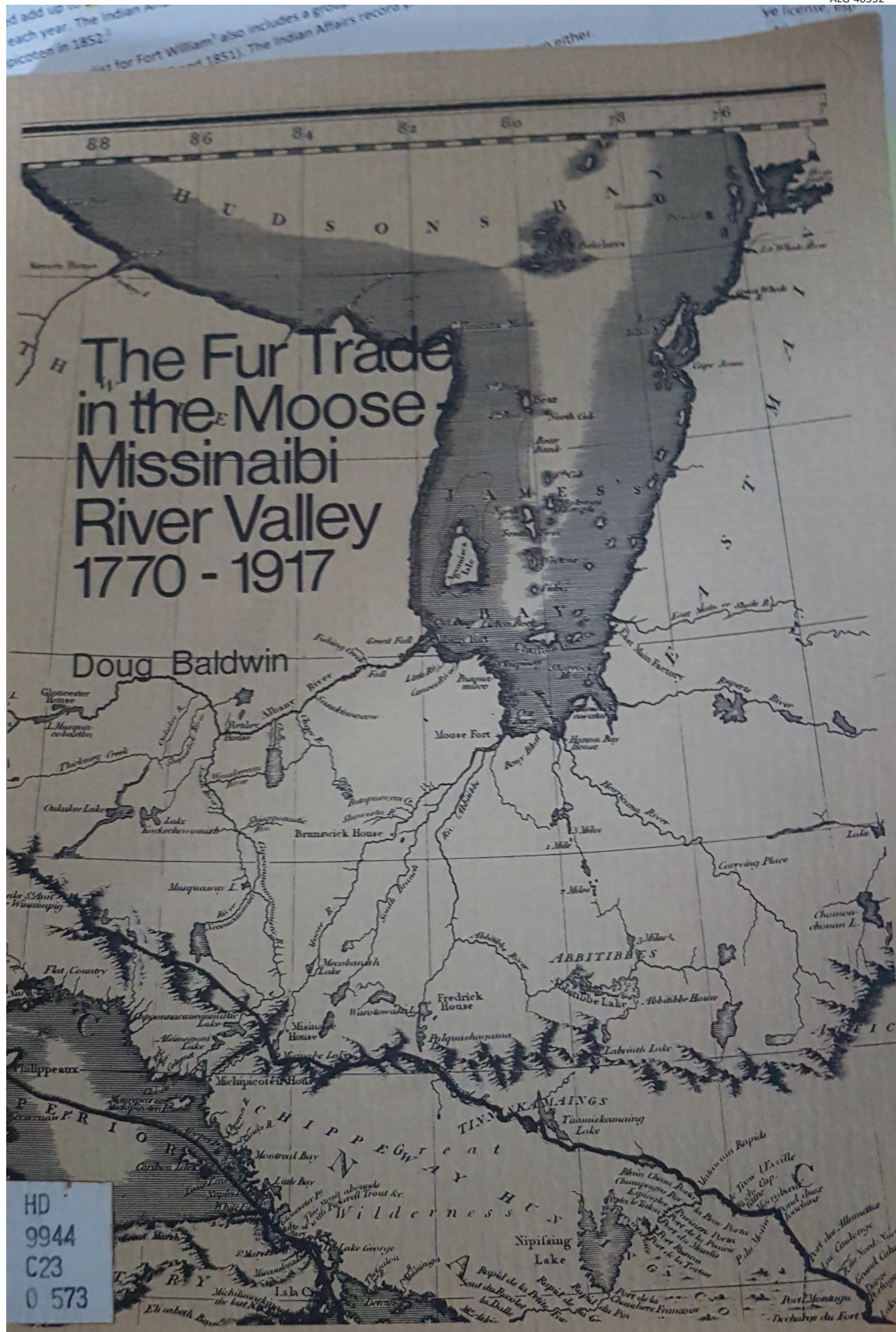
the Ojibway. They occupy the region north of Lake Superior and east of Lake Winnipeg congregating at the Hudson's Bay Company Posts of Lac Seul, Osnaburgh House on Lake St. Joseph, Fort Hope on Lake Eabamet with its outposts at Wébiqué and the headwaters of the Attiwapiscat, Martens Falls on the Albany, and Māmāmātau, or English River Post. Possibly the Indians at New Post and Lake Abittibi also belong to this division. Owing to outside influences, it can hardly be said that they present the most typical examples at the first and last-named places.

The Northern Saulteaux call themselves "Otcipwéó" and recognize no difference between their division and the other bands. They are non-warlike and have always been on terms of intimacy with the Europeans and the Cree. They remember that the Sioux used to raid their territory, descending the Albany River they claim, to the Cree country. Perhaps however, they refer to the Iroquois who also attacked them and were more given to such extended raids.

The number of the Northern Saulteaux on the Government annuity rolls is:— Lac Seul, 800; Fort Hope,¹ 550; Martens Falls, 112; English River, 65, making a total of 1527.

Near the Canadian Pacific Railroad and for some distance northward, the more southern Saulteaux may be encountered. They are markedly different in physical appearance from those of the northern interior. Most of them are tall and well built, appear more intelligent, and look and act more like the Indians of whom we are accustomed to think. Perhaps, it is owing to the hard physical conditions encountered by the northern bands, that they appear for the most part short, squat, and stunted. They are not particularly intelligent, nor do they present the more general and characteristic aquiline features of the southern bands. They are dark in complexion, so much so that the Eastern Cree look positively pale beside them and one may at once pick out a wandering Cree among their bands or vice versa. Their personal habits are far more filthy than those of the Cree; but they are perhaps a shade more moral. Sanitation even of the simplest kind is absolutely unknown and any infectious disease, such as smallpox or syphilis would sweep them away in short order.

¹ Eighty died during the La Grippe epidemic of 1908-9.



Doug Baldwin, The Fur Trade in the Moose-Missinaibi River Valley, 1770-1917, Research Report 8. Toronto: Ontario Ministry of Culture and Recreation, Historical Planning & Research Branch, s.d.

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The Fur Trade in the Moose - Missinaibi River Valley 1770-1917

Doug Baldwin

WITHDRAWN

RESEARCH REPORT 8



Ministry of
Culture and
Recreation

Historical Planning &
Research Branch

1787	1660	
1788	1380	
1789	770	-
1790	200	730
1791	440	1200
1792	-	2340
1793	-	2130
1794	-	2730
1795	-	2290
		2540

The advantages of New Brunswick were soon appreciated and in the fall of 1790 the Committee ordered that Wapiscogamy be abandoned (but not destroyed) as soon as convenient; "for the large expence and little trade collected there clearly evinces it is now of no utility."⁽¹²⁾ Evidently the Company had forgotten its policy of proliferating inland posts. It now felt that the best way to restrict the Canadians' trade was "to under-trade them and to treat the Natives with Justice and Civility."⁽¹³⁾

New Brunswick's advantage lay in its central position. From here communications could be opened with Gloucester and Henley on the Albany River, with Kenogomissee and Abitibi to the east, and Michipicoten on Lake Superior. The North West Company also saw the advantages of this position and constructed a house close to the Company's post on the lake. It was from New Brunswick and Michipicoten that the two rival companies waged their battle for control of the height of land and beyond!

Strategy in the Interior

Despite the trouble that had been caused by the Canadians at Missinaibi Lake in 1780, it was not until 1792 that New Brunswick reported any opposition to their activities. In this year the Nor' Westers erected a temporary post at Capoonacaugamy Lake two days' journey from Brunswick Lake. After a successful first year, this fort was abandoned due to New Brunswick's efforts at preventing the Indians from travelling there as well as the difficulty in supplying the post from Michipicoten.⁽¹⁴⁾ A year later competition intensified. The Canadians wintered near the hunting grounds of some of New Brunswick's Indians and secured a large number of

11. H.B.C., *Moose Factory Account Books, 1785 to 1795.*
12. H.B.C., *Inward Correspondence to London from Moose, Sept. 1790;* Reel 152.
13. H.B.C., *Correspondence Inwards from Hudson House, 1794;* Reel 1M376.
14. H.B.C., *Moose Correspondence, Bolland to Moose, Dec. 6, 1793.*
New Brunswick Journal, May 10, 1792; Aug. 13, 1793.

furs in an area in which New Brunswick had procured nearly 800 MB the previous year.⁽¹⁵⁾ Bolland, the English Master, responded by sending two men to waylay the Indians who normally traded at Michipicoten.

In 1796 the North West Company decided to oppose the Bay Company's policy of settling inland by establishing posts of their own *north* of the height of land. The ultimate result of these two master plans was that each Company erected forts at Brunswick Lake, Capoonacaugamy, Michipicoten and Metagamy. The Canadian outposts were maintained and supplied by Michipicoten and the Bay's by New Brunswick.

At first the Hudson's Bay Company was undecided on how to treat the Indians in this era of intense competition. Initially it cautioned the Factors against "harsh treatment" for fear that it would drive them to the opposition.⁽¹⁶⁾ Soon afterwards, however, the Committee became convinced that their superior goods would not alone secure the trade, and they congratulated the Factors in their endeavours "to intercept the Indians, in their Visits to the Canadians". "It is thus, and thus only", the Committee stated, that "We can expect increasing returns, and we hope you will persue such measures with unremitting alacrity."⁽¹⁷⁾

Six years later the Company felt that the superior quality of their goods would eventually win out and ordered the men to be on good terms with the opposition.⁽¹⁸⁾ This policy change was partially due to the strength, organization and political influence of the North West Company. The Hudson's Bay Company did not want to be forced to debate the legality of its Charter, nor did it want trouble in the interior where the Canadians were more influential. As it told the quarrelsome Master of Michipicoten, the effects of any conflict inland could not "easily be redressed even by the British Government."⁽¹⁹⁾ The Company's men were told to "keep up all exertions" near the opposition, but to live on cordial terms with them.

Early relations between the Canadians and the Bay Company men in the interior were amicable. At Frederick House, for example, the Master

15. H.B.C., *Moose Correspondence*, Bolland to Moose, Dec. 6, 1793.
New Brunswick Journal, May 10, 1792.

16. H.B.C., *Moose Correspondence*, 1802.

17. H.B.C., *Moose Correspondence*, 1795.

18. H.B.C., *Moose Correspondence*, 1801.

19. H.B.C., *Moose Correspondence*, 1800.

supplied his opponents with provisions for their return to Montreal and "while they staid with me I treated them with kindness in the manner the Hon^{ble} Company's Servants has often been treated by them."⁽²⁰⁾ Alone in the vast wilderness of the northern forest, it is no wonder that the employees of both Companies were on good terms. In 1799, when the clerk of the North West Company at Brunswick Lake became sick, the Hudson's Bay post took him in and looked after him when the Canadian Master left for Michipicoten. In addition, the Bay Company provided the Master with provisions for his trip (after first securing a promise from the North West man not to molest their trade).⁽²¹⁾

Apparently this amicability was fostered by fair trade agreements between competing posts. From the Michipicoten and New Brunswick *Journals* it seems that for several years prior to 1800 both sides promised not to intercept the Indians and to let them trade at whichever post they pleased.⁽²²⁾ Thus when the New North West Company (the XY Company) was formed as a rival to the old North West Company, the Committee in London chose the devil it knew and instructed its servants to "incline towards our old Competitors."⁽²³⁾

This peace did not last very long. In September, 1799, William McGillivray, one of the North West partners in Montreal, surprisingly admitted that their inland posts in the north had not profited as they had hoped. Suspecting that Moose Factory was in the same predicament, McGillivray proposed a withdrawal along the line dividing the Moose and Albany River Districts. The North West Company would withdraw from Brunswick Lake, Frederick House and Metonagumee and the Hudson's Bay Company would leave Abitibi, Michipicoten, and Kenogomisee. If this offer was not accepted, McGillivray threatened, they would establish posts as far north as Moose Factory the following season.⁽²⁴⁾ The Hudson's Bay Company, however, ignored the offer and a new period of intense rivalry was initiated.

20. H.B.C., *Frederick House Journal*, Jan. 1, April 13, May, 1795; Reel 1M55.

21. H.B.C., *New Brunswick Journal*, April 2, 1799; Reel 1M99.

22. H.B.C., *Moose Correspondence*, Gladman to Moose, Jan. 28, 1799.

23. H.B.C., *Correspondence Inwards from London*, 1799.

H.B.C., *Inward Correspondence to London from Moose*, 1799, Reel 152.

Moose Correspondence, letter from McGillivray to Moose, Sept. 1, 1799; Reel 1M376.

oppose the traders at Lake Superior,⁽³³⁾ A year later, however, John Robertson, who had been left in charge at Martaggummy, deserted to the North West Company. This left New Brunswick House as the Company's most southerly outpost.

Brunswick Lake: Heart of the Valley

Meanwhile, at Brunswick Lake, the two Companies were playing their own little games. In January, 1797, the Bay men had set out their nets at the head of the lake as usual. When they returned, they discovered that the Canadians had placed nets on either side of theirs, "so we set one on each side of their nets". The Nor' Westers returned a little later and repeated this manoeuvre. The final results were predictable - nobody got any fish.⁽³⁴⁾ In the summer, Gladman decided to observe the Canadians from the lake and sent two men to paddle around while pretending to fish. The Canadians were not fooled in the least and erected a palisade around their House the next day.⁽³⁵⁾ A month later, the North West post burned to the ground but was soon rebuilt with supplies from Michipicoten.

From 1798 to 1821 Brunswick Lake was at the centre of the struggle for control of the fur trade in Northwestern Ontario. From here both companies sent out and maintained temporary outposts near the Indians' hunting grounds. The principal sites were at Missinaibi Lake; Meashaguagamy Lake (Opatatika Lake), one day's journey a little to the east of Brunswick Lake; Capoonacaugamy Lake (Kapinakagami Lake), sixty miles north-west; Metagamy (Dog Lake); Carcoutish Lake, Wapiscogamy, and Petobia Lake (Cameron Lake) north of Capoonacaugamy.

During these years, the *New Brunswick Journal* was dominated by references to the comings and goings of the Canadians. The Company's men were either following the North West men around to spy on them, wintering with the Natives, or travelling with the Indians to protect them from "Canadian depredations" on the way to their House. In 1800, besides their posts at New Brunswick and Meashaguagamy, the North West Company had outposts at Missinaibi Lake, Metagamy, Wapiscogamy, and a fort a short distance from

33. Shchepanek, p.40, and *Michipicoten Journal*, *Martaggummy Lake Journal*.

34. i.B.C., *New Brunswick Journal*, Jan. 7, 1797.

35. i.B.C., *New Brunswick Journal*, June 5, 6, 1797.

Moose Factory itself.⁽³⁶⁾ As a result, the Hudson's Bay Company reported poor trade returns all over the Moose-Missinaibi region. One of the problems was that there were not enough men at the posts to send out after the Indians. Or, as in the case of Wapiscogamy, the Company did not have enough provisions to prevent the Indians from trading with their opponents. The situation was not helped when the Master at Metagamy defected to the Canadians and traded the Bay Company's goods to the Natives.

Between 1804 and 1806 the North West Company withdrew from north of the height of land and the Hudson's Bay Company departed from Metagamy.⁽³⁷⁾ For the next half dozen years the two Companies kept almost exclusively to their own territory and the temporary outposts were abandoned.

Once again the peace was short-lived. In September, 1812, the North West Company rebuilt their house on Brunswick Lake.

The Nor' Westers soon became so troublesome around New Brunswick that the Company proposed establishing outposts at Metagamy and Petobia Lake just to draw the Canadians away from that post.⁽³⁸⁾ In the following year these two posts were erected. As instructed, the men posted at each fort remained only as long as was necessary to secure the spring trade and then returned to New Brunswick after burying any remaining goods. The Nor'Westers replied with outposts at Meashaguagamy Lake and Capoonicaugamy, and at Metagamy they constructed a house sixteen feet from the Company's post.⁽³⁹⁾

The arrival of Governor Vincent at New Brunswick in 1815 touched off another wave of warfare. On the Governor's orders, McCormick cleared a

36. H.B.C., *Moose Correspondence*, Gladman to Moose, Jan. 28, 1799, Jan. 14, 1800. *New Brunswick Journal*, Oct. 1, 1798.

H.B.C., *Moose Correspondence*, Gladman to Moose, July 8, 1801.

Moose Journal, letter from Meashaguagamy, March 31, 1800. *New Brunswick Journal*, May 15, 1801; and May 28, 1803.

H.B.C., *Moose Correspondence*, Moze to Moose, June 2, 1802.

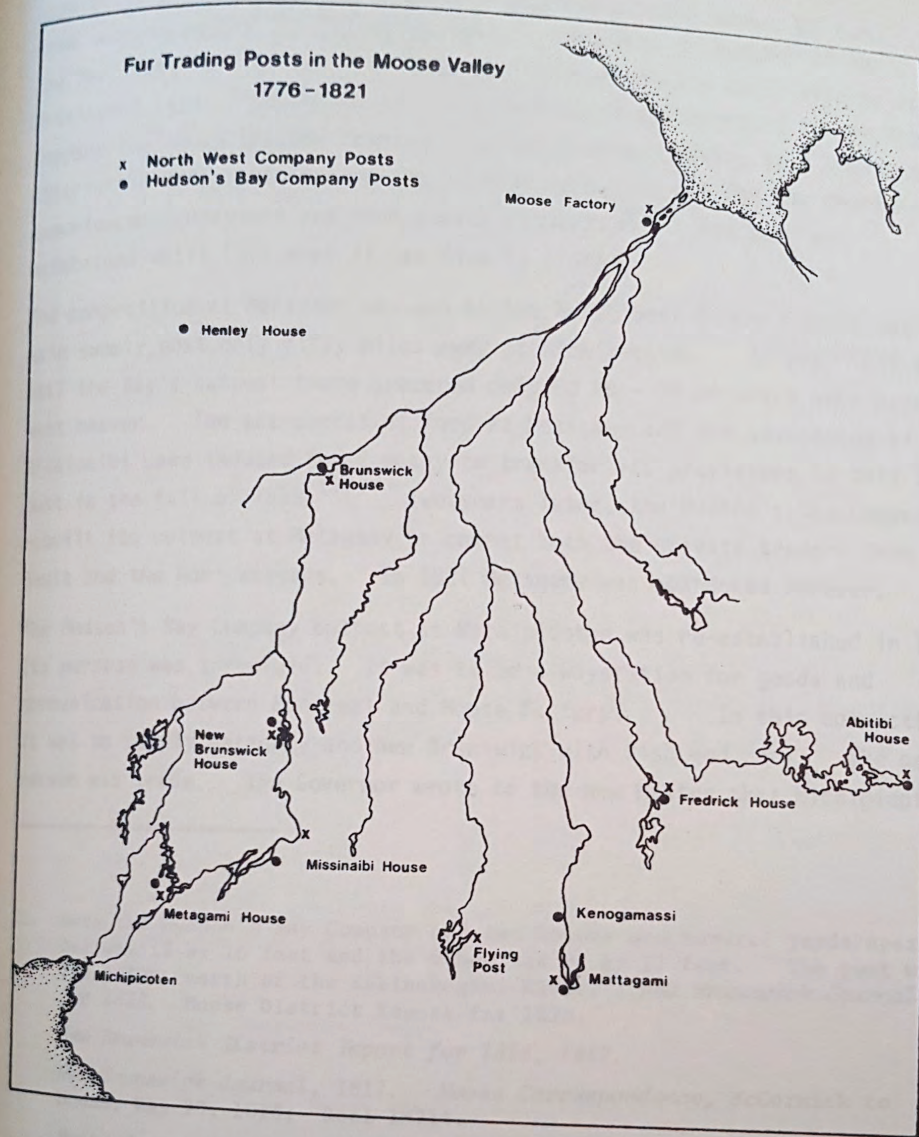
37. The Company had regained control of this post a few months after Robertson's defection.

The site chosen was at the edge of the Bay Company's cleared land, one hundred yards away. H.B.C., *New Brunswick District Report for 1814*.

38. H.B.C., *New Brunswick Journal*, Jan. 9, 1813; June 6, 1814.

H.B.C., *New Brunswick District Report for 1814*.

39. H.B.C., *New Brunswick District Report for 1814*, and *Moose Correspondence*, Vincent to Thomas, Dec. 3, 1814.



returns fell off the following year (starvation apparently forced the Indians to eat their beaver skins), the Canadians were reported as having taken little or no furs.⁽⁵⁰⁾ Trade increased so much the next year (700 MB) that the Bay Master at New Brunswick proposed setting up a post at Missinaibi Lake to divert the Canadians from Capoonacaugamy.⁽⁵¹⁾ This tactic

50. *New Brunswick District Report for 1816, 1817, 1818.*

51. *New Brunswick Journal*, March 28, 1819.

June 2, 1790 - Mackalawkeeshick brought in 170 prime furs and for encouragement I gave him a Captain's coat.

July 2, 1790 - Lieutenant Cowessivescoogee brought in 130 made beaver. He promises to trade here in future [he was at Wapiscogamy before] and to convince others to do likewise. Gave him a Captain's coat and hat. (22)

In 1795 the North West Company attempted to draw the Bay Company's Indians to Michipicoten by giving Captain's coats to all the leaders at New Brunswick. In order to forestall such an eventuality, the Hudson's Bay Company Factor increased his presents to these men. (23) This giving of presents was another tactic used by both Companies to secure the trade. In the early years of the post's history, new Indians coming in to trade were given presents if they promised to bring in their friends the following season. In addition, Indians with 'valuable' families were given presents of brandy. One Master "judged it prudent" to give one Indian part of his equipment, even though his trade was very meagre, because "he has a valuable family of young men." (24) In times of intense competition, the Master sent his men out with presents of tobacco and brandy to spread amongst the Indians.

Presents of tobacco, gartering, cloth and brandy cost the post an average of 500 made beaver per year. (25) In 1800, for example, New Brunswick gave away 132 gallons of brandy, 162 yards of gartering and 63 pounds of Brazil tobacco. (26) This amounted to over a third of the post's total trade for that year. By 1800 the Master was giving presents of brandy to almost every Indian who came in to trade.

According to the *District Report* for 1829, the Indians of New Brunswick were divided into three tribes or families. The chief of those natives hunting near the post was Meshaway who was the best beaver hunter among his tribe of seven adult men. Crowsheart was the leader of a band of nine hunters around the poor beaver lands of Capoonicaugamy Lake, and

22. H.B.C. Archives, *New Brunswick Journals*.

23. *Ibid*, Oct. 12, 1795.

24. *Ibid*, July 15, 1802, Reel 1M99.

25. H.B.C. Archives, *New Brunswick Account Books 1795-1800*, Reel 1M99.

26. *Ibid*.

Cameyawnaris was the head man of a tribe of nine men who hunted the good beaver lands east and southeast of New Brunswick. (27) Before the union, this post traded with eighteen to twenty-four Indian families a year, with the occasional visitors from Michipicoten, Metagamy and Flying Post. (28) The following comments on the Indians who traded with the fort in 1815 provides another insight into the fur trade.

Meshikeeash or Gull - a Captain with a promising family of sons. An honest paymaster of his credit and a good hunter.

Muscootacee - a good hunter, deals with both companies, not to be trusted.

Lasogundigo - a dishonest, and indifferent hunter.

Meguint - a good hunter, too deeply in debt to clear the whole this year.

Tomachee - a good hunter, pays his credit, cannot be taken from the Canadians; he also visits Metagamy and Michipicoten.

Caubash - an occasional visitor from Michipicoten. (29)

A number of families refused to reveal the location of their hunting grounds probably because they wanted to retain their freedom to trade with whatever post they wished. If either Company knew where the Natives hunted they would send men out to winter with them and bring back the Indians' furs.

In the New Brunswick district, the Indians mainly hunted beaver, marten, otter and muskrat. Calculated on the 1796 Standard of Trade, one parchment beaver was equal to two prime martens, six muskrats or one-half a prime otter; parchment beaver accounted for 46% of New Brunswick's trade before 1812. The other three fur bearing animals split the remaining 54%. (30) From 1800 to 1815 the post averaged 900 parchment beaver skins, 300 prime martens, 1200 muskrats, and less than 100 prime otters.

Because the post traded with so few Indians, the loss of only a couple of

27. H.B.C. Archives, *New Brunswick District Report for 1829*, Reel 1M781.

28. *Ibid*, Reports 1814 to 1819.

29. *Ibid*, Report for 1815, Reel 1M780.

30. H.B.C. Archives, *New Brunswick Journal Account Books 1795-1812*, Reels 1M540, 1M99.

Cultural Contact

The Indians and the Fur Trade

The Indians in the Moose-Missinaibi River valley were apparently a mixed race of Cree and Ojibwa. Located in the forested lands draining into Lake Superior and Lake Huron, the Ojibwa moved west and north in conjunction with the expanding fur trade. Of all the western lakes people, they alone co-operated with the explorers and fur traders. At first, they traded their furs with the French, then became carriers for them, and finally, the Ojibwa moved west into the lands of the Cree and the Sioux.⁽¹⁾ Soon the demands of the fur trade forced the Ojibwa to expand their hunting territory north of the height of land, where they came into contact with the Swampy or Lowland Cree who were moving southward from the trading posts along James Bay in search of game.⁽²⁾ Unlike similar situations further west, the two tribes peacefully intermarried and became known as the Northern Ojibwa or Sauteaux. At Michipicoten in 1833, they were described as a mixed race of "Ojibwa and Maskigon Cree deriving their origins from the Sauteaux, or Ojibway and Cree tribes and of course resembling those people in manners and disposition."⁽³⁾

At first, contact between the employees of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Indians was limited to one European per post. Trading took place through a hole in the wall of the provisions room. No one was allowed to converse with the natives without the Factor's consent and the Indians were not allowed within the fort except on business matters.⁽⁴⁾ The Company's decision to establish posts in the interior opened the way for greater contact between Native and European. In the trips to and from Moose Factory, the white servants and the Indians were forced to work together and to associate on almost equal terms. In addition, the lack of white

1. R.W. Dunning, *Social and Economic Change Among the Northern Ojibwa*. (London, 1954), p. 1.
2. George L. Lerchs, "A Report on Ethnohistorical Research on the Indians of North-western Ontario of the Early Nineteenth Century." (Unpublished Manuscript, Historical Sites Branch, Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, 1973), p. 12.
3. H.B.C., *Lake Superior District Report for 1834*; Reel 1M780.
4. Glyndwr Williams (ed.), *Andrew Graham's Observations on Hudson's Bay 1787-97*. (London, 1969), p. 248.

women and the usefulness of Indian women at the inland forts induced many traders to take Native wives.

The Bay Company frowned upon such liaisons. London wished to prevent private trade between the Natives and the Company's servants which they felt would be encouraged if the two were allowed to mix together. Indeed, the palisades about the forts were constructed partly to prevent such illegal trade.⁽⁵⁾ The Company's discouragement of mixed marriages was also based on economic concerns. An expansion in the number of dependents would increase the expenses of a post, and such unions might antagonize jealous Indian rivals.

The Indians who lived near the post were called the Homeguard. They performed odd jobs and provided the fort with their forest expertise. The Homeguard built canoes, hunted game, fished, worked in the potato fields, herded cattle and acted as voyageurs and guides for the Europeans. At New Brunswick the Indians "cheerfully agree to leave their lands and work in the boats to and from the Portages. . . leaving their wives and children at fishing stations whom get supplies from the post if they are unsuccessful."⁽⁶⁾

In the early years of inland settlement, the men depended on the Indians for food. If, as was the case at Missinaibi Lake in 1780, the Natives decided not to help, the men were forced to abandon their post out of sheer starvation. Andrew Graham states that it was common to maintain two families of Homeguard Indians at each post. One family was to hunt for the fort during the winter and the other was to manufacture such necessities as snowshoes and canoes, and was to take the winter packet to and from Moose Factory.⁽⁷⁾ For each service the Natives were paid a specific amount in made beaver. The trip from New Brunswick to Moose, for example, was worth fifteen made beaver.

The Homeguard was a necessity. But it was a necessary evil. When they were working for the post the Indians were prevented from trapping beaver. Often the fort had to support them through particularly hard winters as they had not sufficient time to hunt for their own food. According to Graham, every inland settlement took at least twenty Indians from the fur

5. Lerchs, quoting Falconer (1768), p. 27.

6. H.B.C., *Moose District Report for 1829*; Reel 1M780.

7. Williams, *Graham*, p. 192.

trade and turned them into 'degenerated' Homeguards wholly dependent upon the fur trading posts. (8) Their proximity to the fort encouraged Native-European contact and their wild nature sometimes prevented other Indians from coming in to trade. For these reasons, the Bay Company preferred, where possible, to use boats which its own servants could navigate rather than the less stable canoes. On the Moose-Missinaibi Rivers, however, the shallowness of the water and the numerous portages forced the Company to use both boat and canoe.

Because the fur trade depended upon the Indians, the Hudson's Bay Company had to maintain their goodwill. The posts thus became places of refuge during times of sickness and starvation. The post *Journals* frequently noted the arrival of starving Indians. In 1784, for example, Moose Factory was feeding eighty Indians daily and Albany one hundred. (9) In some cases the Master was forced to journey considerable distances to care for sick or dying Natives. The Company men were ordered to "treat the Natives with Justice and Civility" and to deal "equitably with them." (10) Even after the coalition, the men were told to treat the Indians with tolerance and to supply them liberally with ammunition whether they could pay for it or not. (11) George Lerchs states that the traders had a paternalistic relationship with the Natives.

To the trader, the Indian, like a child had to be humoured, cajoled and seduced; he had to be fed in time of distress, looked after when sick, buried when dead. And then, unless someone else stepped forward, the widow and orphans had to be maintained at the post. (12)

The Company was not selfless. There was 'method in their madness'. A dead or starving Indian could not trap beavers. And when the Natives received food or supplies, the amount was added to their debt. The men were ordered to treat the Indians fairly, otherwise they might take their furs to the opposition. After the Master of Michipicoten had saved an Indian from dying in the woods, he typically appended a note that he hoped

8. Williams, Graham, p. 266.

9. Rich, *Moose Journals*, p. XXIX.

10. H.B.C., *Correspondence Inwards from Hudson House, 1794; Reel 1M376*; Rich, *Moose Journals*, p. 157.

11. H.B.C., *Moose Minutes of Council, 1827; Reel 1M813*.

12. Lerchs, p. 32.

this trapper would trade at his post. (13) The following two quotations illustrate the thinking behind the apparent good deeds.

Moose Factor to the Master at Brunswick House, 1785:

You'll sucor his widow and fine family of little sons should they arrive with you, as they may hereafter become of great Service. (14)

New Brunswick *District Report*, 1821:

Like all widows she is indolent and improvident, she drinks too much but we have to support her - there is no means of avoiding it as we have to keep the Indian widows' tongues in our favour. (15)

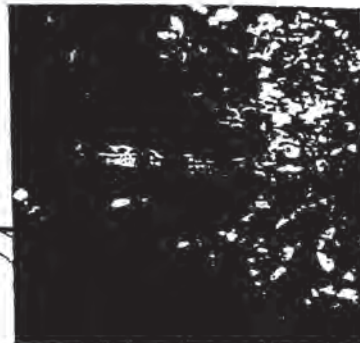
It might be surmised that the competition for furs between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company would benefit the Indians. In some areas this was true and prices rose slightly. The natives were given more presents as inducements to trade at the donor's post. At New Brunswick, the Indians' indolent habits were attributed to the rivalry between the two Companies, which resulted in their receiving clothes and other provisions as bribes rather than earning the goods by hunting and trapping. (16) The Natives took advantage of the situation and frequently took their debt at one post while trading with another. The establishment of rival forts on the same lake allowed them to trade with both Companies, and, presumably to take the best goods available at the lowest price. At New Brunswick, it was reported in 1814 that "there is not one of the Indians but gives part of their Trade to the Canadians. . . ." (17) Five years later, although the Natives had apparently become attached to the Bay post on Brunswick Lake, they still traded up to a quarter of their furs with the opposition. (18) The Indians also benefitted from the competition between the different Hudson's Bay Company's forts, although this was partially restricted when each post was forced to submit a list of the Indians they traded with and the amount of furs traded.

-
13. H.B.C., *Michipicoten Journal*, Oct. 13, 1797; Reel 1M79.
 14. Rich, *Moose Journals*, Thomas to Bolland, Aug. 3, 1785, p. 316.
 15. *New Brunswick District Report for 1821*.
 16. *New Brunswick District Report for 1821*.
 17. *New Brunswick District Report for 1814*.
 18. *New Brunswick District Report for 1819*.

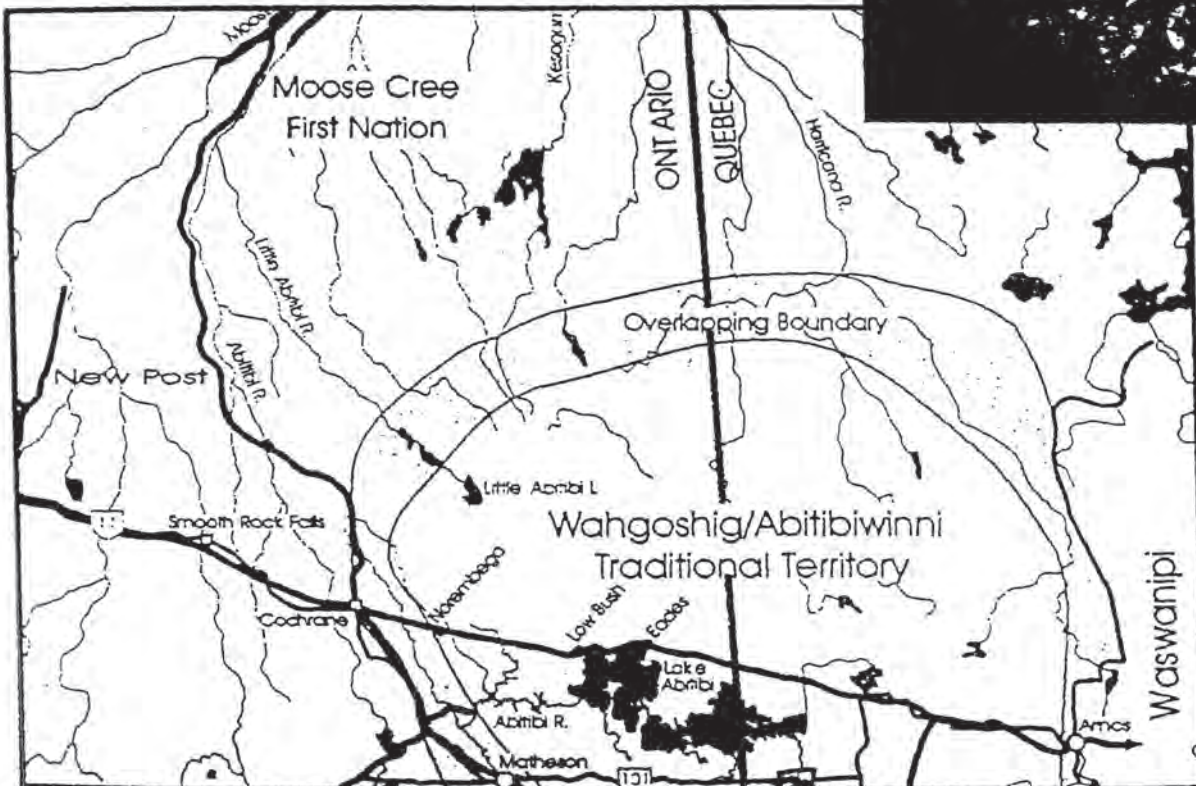
NATIVE BACKGROUND INFORMATION REPORT AND VALUES MAP

for portions of the

Cochrane Crown Timber Management Unit
Driftwood Forest Management Unit
Smooth Rock Falls Management Unit



Native Cemetery at Little Abitibi Provincial Park



Canoeing down the Abitibi River. S-7556

Settlement Surveys Ltd.

Handwritten note:
MNS
given to us by
L. Lloyd

Because this project deals with concerns and problems that are closely related to geographical concerns such as size and extent of traditional territories, we feel it is very important to illustrate the written information with several maps.

- Data Sources

In order to develop this report and maps, Settlement Surveys Ltd. drew on the experience of similar situations in other parts of Ontario - for example the report of the Cultural Heritage Sub-Committee of the Elk Lake Community Forest.

Some of the data we used existed in our company files. Other data was obtained from anthropologists' reports and field notes, popular histories and the incidental observations of surveyors, missionaries or similar individuals. However, as mentioned, this is not a land use and occupancy study, and therefore no interviews, field work or extensive archival research was undertaken as part of the current project. Such work would be needed in order to produce a definitive study of traditional territories and Native Communities.

3. PROJECT WORK PLAN

For the data collection phase, all readily available documents and databases were referenced as listed below:

- Settlement Surveys Ltd. "in house" data bases and reference documents
- OMNR records and data at Cochrane
- Indian Affairs Records at National Archives, Ottawa and DIAND, Hull - records on Wahgoshig and New Post - (previously gathered material by James Morrison)
- Published government reports and other reports (ie Ontario Hydro)
- Lake Abitibi Model Forest Cultural Heritage Project Data
- Unpublished reports (ie Donald R. Ball paper) in possession of Dr. John Pollock

4. NATIVE BACKGROUND INFORMATION REPORT

As previously mentioned, this document, due to the limited time and resources available is not a land and occupancy study. It does not fully relate current and recent use (extensive interviews would be needed for this) and only partially documents historic Native use based

on archival documents and archaeological field work. In short, it is an initial and preliminary study based on readily - available historical information sources, plus recent work undertaken for the Lake Abitibi Model Forest under the "Cultural Heritage Project" sponsored by Parks Ontario and the Wahgoshig First Nation.

5. ETHNOHISTORIC BACKGROUND AND TREATY SIGNING

As documented by historic references, the vicinity of Lake Abitibi was inhabited by people fur traders referred to as "Tabitibi" or "Abbitibbi" Indians. This name, which probably comes from the name of the lake and river, seems to have been applied to most of the native people who lived in the Abitibi region. As early as 1674, English traders on James Bay were reporting that "Tabittee" Indians wanted them to set up a post at the mouth of the Moose River, rather than at the Rupert's River on the eastern side of the Bay (Tyrrell 1931:390).

According to linguistic evidence, the area immediately to the north of Abitibi Lake was historically a boundary region for four different dialect groups. The Moose River Cree people who spoke an "l" dialect of Cree, came up the Abitibi River and its tributaries almost as far as Little Abitibi Lake. The Kesagami Lake people, speaking an "r" Cree dialect, inhabited the area between Kesagami Lake and the upper parts of the Harricanaw River. And the Rupert's House people, speaking a "y" dialect of Cree, lived between the upper Nottaway and the upper Harricanaw. The Kesagami dialect has now disappeared, and its speakers have merged with the Moose and Rupert's House Cree (Pentland 1978; Flannery and Chambers, 1986).

The Abitibi people proper, however, spoke - and still speak - a distinct language known as Algonquin, which is a dialect of the Ojibwa language spoken throughout the great lakes region (Pentland, 1978; MacPherson, 1930). However, because of their long exposure to the Cree, the Abitibi Algonquin assimilated many Cree cultural influences (MacPherson, 1930:7).

Though the boundary between these Ojibwa-speakers and the northern Cree-speakers appears to have fluctuated slightly over the past two centuries, the Long Sault and Little Abitibi Lake areas were clearly within Abitibi Algonquin territory. This is confirmed by interviews conducted at Moose Factory in the 1920's and 1930's by John M. Cooper and Regina Flannery of the Catholic University of America (Flannery and Chambers, 1986). In 1939, another Catholic University anthropologist, William H. Jenkins, published a study of the

hunting economy of the Abitibi Indians. On a poorly-drawn sketch map attached to his report, Jenkins shows the vicinity of the Long Sault occupied by Michael Pentabish and John Bernard of the Abitibi Band (Jenkins, 1939:28,30). This map has been reproduced as Figure 2 of this report (on page 10).

As mentioned above, the Ontario government surveyors in 1900 cited Indian reports of the portage between the Long Sault and Pierre Lake. They also met an Indian by the name of Ez-haw, whose house was on the east side of the Abitibi River, about nine and a half miles above the Long Sault (Survey and Exploration, 1901:13). Jenkins lists an Abitibi Indian named Isha, who is probably the same person or a descendant (1939:30).

The Ontario Government introduced compulsory registration of traplines after the Second World War. According to their record for the years 1950-60, the lands to the east and northeast of the Long Sault as far as Pierre, Harris and Montreuil Lakes were occupied by John, Charles, and Henry Ishan of Low bush. John Ishan was 63 years old in 1955, so he was conceivably the son of the man named "Ez-haw" the Ontario surveyors had met in 1900 (MNR Cochrane, 1950-60).

The same trapline records for 1950-55 indicate that Blount Township and the Long Sault rapids themselves were being trapped by Thomas and James Linklater of Eastford and Clute, as well as by Thomas Archibald (MNR Cochrane, 1950-60). These men all belonged to the New Post Cree Band. Exactly when the Cree people began to occupy traplines in Abitibi territory is unclear.

In June of 1906, at the Hudson's Bay Company post on Lake Abitibi, the Abitibi people signed Treaty Number Nine with the Canadian government. In return for giving up their right, title and interest to their lands, they received the guarantee of certain services, cash annuities, continued hunting and fishing rights on unoccupied Crown land, and a Reserve of 30 square miles on the south side of Lake Abitibi. The Cree people of the lower Abitibi River had already signed the Treaty at New Post in August of 1905, and secured a Reserve about half way between the Abitibi and Little Abitibi Rivers (Treaty Nine 1905-06).

During the late 1980's and early 1990's, members of the Abitibi Band who formerly lived at Cochrane, Kirkland Lake, and at Low Bush, on the northwest side of the lake, moved to the new Wahgoshig settlement on the Abitibi Reserve.

During this time, the New Post Band also exchanged a portion of their original Reserve for a parcel of land on the Abitibi River near Brower, southeast of Cochrane and have established a new community there. (This section based on Settlement Surveys Ltd. 1990).

Further specific information regarding the treaties for both Wahgoshig and New Post is presented in sections seven and eight of this report.

6. NATIVE LAND TENURE - FAMILY HUNTING TERRITORIES

Archaeological studies of the study area over the past forty-five years by Frank Ridley (1966), Justin and Marjorie Jordan (1976) and the writer Dr. John Pollock (1976, 1984, 1995) have demonstrated an unbroken 6,000 years of aboriginal land use of the entire timber planning area.

Too, we know from Ethnological and Ethnohistorical sources plus reports from Native Elders that at one time, all of Northern Ontario was utilized by Aboriginal Peoples organized into Bands along linguistic lines. Within each Band which occupied a specific land area, there was individual areas called family hunting territories. The famous ethnologist Frank Speck defined a band as:

....a group inhabiting a fairly definite territory with more or less stable number of families, possessing paternally inherited privileges of hunting within traits comprises again within boundaries of the territory.
(Speck and Eisely 1939:269)

Donald Pugh in his M.A. Thesis, states that the average band in the Moose River basin area had several 'lodge groups' or extended families of ten to twenty people. About 10 of these on average would form a band such as the present day Wahgoshig or New Post groups with a membership of between one hundred and fifty up to three hundred people (Pugh 1972:30).

There has been a long time academic debate as to whether or not family hunting territories were prehistoric or precontact, ie existed before the arrival of the Europeans. Some researchers have even suggested they were started by the Hudson's Bay Company. Early ethnographers and anthropologists who studied the Temagami, North Timiskaming, Abitibi and James Bay Cree such as Frank Speck (1915), William H. Jenkins (1939), John Cooper

A quick comparison and analysis will show that the information on the family territories given by MacPherson and Jenkins is very approximate and many families (ie Biederman) do not even show up on MacPherson's list. MacPherson's work is particularly lacking in details and contains erroneous information. Former Chief and Elder Tom Rankin of the Quebec Abitibi People (Abitibiwinini) living at Pikogan near Amos Quebec has told me that the informants MacPherson used for his information were only partially knowledgeable in many areas and that a large amount of relevant information is missing with many factual errors in his manuscript (which was never published - perhaps due to similar reasons?) (Tom Rankin personal communication to Dr. John Pollock).

7. HISTORY OF THE WAHGOSHIG FIRST NATION

In the summer of 1913, the American anthropologist Dr. Frank Speck, who had been hired by the National Museum of Canada to study family hunting territories visited the Timiskaming Reserve at Notre Dame du Nord, Québec. His informants provided him with a list of closely related bands in the region, including the Lake Abitibi Indians whom the Timiskaming Indians regarded as belonging to their own dialectic and cultural group. They called them the "*Abi'tibi anicenabi* or Blue-water people" (Speck 1915).

By the early nineteenth century, then, the people of the Lake Abitibi region were being classed as Algonquins. Descendants of the Abitibi group mentioned by Speck today live in the Wahgoshig and Pikogan Communities.

As Speck pointed out, however, the Lake Abitibi people - like their neighbors - called themselves *anicenabi* or *anishnabe* or the plural form *anishnbek* in their own language. This word has two senses. Generally, it means *human being*, but specifically, it means *Indian person*. It is not just Algonquins who use this term of self-identification. Historically, the Ojibway, Mississauga, Ottawa and Potawatomi peoples, among others, also called themselves *Anishnabeg*. This does not mean that these groups were all politically united, simply that they shared a common language.

During the Fur Trade era, the people of the Abitibi region did not trade solely with the English who were well established to the north on James Bay during the late 1600's. This is because French traders had begun to penetrate their country at the same time, establishing posts much closer to Lake Abitibi. A French trade license from 1683, issued to the *Sieur*

d'Argenteuil a member of one of the most prominent families in New France - reports that he had brought down twenty canoes of furs from *Temiskamink* and *TAbitibi*.

By the early seventeenth hundreds, however, the French trading post on Lake Abitibi were only occasionally occupied. The Governor of New France had refused to allow traders to pass up the Ottawa to Lake Timiskaming and beyond, because it was considered that such posts interfered with the trade at Montreal. At the same time, the Abitibi people also headed north to James Bay with their pelts. A French report from 1707 suggests that the *TAbitibis* who had once traded at *Temiscamingue* were now trading with the English on Hudson's Bay (University of Montreal Archives).

The Abitibi region continued to produce valuable fur returns throughout the nineteenth century. According to the Hudson's Bay Company's report for 1826, there were 68 hunters trading regularly at the post - 242 men, women and children in all. Not all these people were *anishnabe* - some were Crees from the various dialect groups living north of Abitibi Lake. (Hudson's Bay Company Archives).

In 1908, Treaty # nine was signed between the Abitibi People living in Ontario and Quebec and Canada.

Unfortunately, Quebec had refused to allow a reserve to be set apart in that province. However, Canada agreed to "recognize the Quebec & Ontario Indians as one band" and would pay the latter annuities - without arrears - beginning in 1908. In addition, "the Ontario Indians would be required to accept the Quebec Indians as part of their band, and to allow them an equal share in the reserve on Abitibi Lake." The Quebec people would sign Treaty # nine and surrender any rights they had in the province of Quebec. This agreement was signed at Abitibi Post in July 1908, by representatives of both the Abitibi-Ontario (Wahgoshig) and the new Abitibi-Dominion Band. (Abitibiwinni).

As demonstrated by the treaty signing the closing years of the nineteenth and early years of the twentieth century were times of great change for Lake Abitibi's Aboriginal People. The building of the Temiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway North from the south and the National Transcontinental from the east from 1906 to 1912 brought European settlers, traders and diseases into the area. Also included were miners and lumbermen. The net effect was a severe disruption of traditional life ways.

8. HISTORY OF THE NEW POST FIRST NATION

Any discussion and mapping of the study area (see Figure 1) would not be complete without specific information relevant to the New Post Band, due to the fact that traditional territories shifted, overlapped and changed hands in this area (see Figure 3). The history of the New Post Band is not as well documented as the Abitibi Anishnabeg. However, some reports are available from which a brief history of the post and the New Post Band can be derived. New Post as a Hudson's Bay Co. Post operated from 1867 to 1925 and was established late in the "classic" fur trade period (1750-1870) "because Abitibi Indians were not much inclined to continue making the arduous trip north to Moose Factory for supplies" (Schuurman and others n.d.: 3) Apparently in 1877, "there were only six families of Indians (associated) with the post ... they were probably families with kinship and friendship ties to the Abitibi Indians (Schuurman n.d.: 4). The role of New Post however, soon changed with its role changing to one of keeping the James Bay Indians from going south and serving as a half way house for travelers going north and south (Schuurman n.d.: 5). That it performed its' hospitality function well can be attested to by the remarks of the James Bay Treaty Commissioners for 1905:

On Saturday, August 12, 1905, we left Moose Factory at 12.30. For one week we were engaged with the strong rapids of the Moose and Abitibi rivers, and did not reach New Post, our next point of call, until 12.30 on Saturday, the 19th. New Post is a small and comparatively unimportant post of the Hudson's Bay Company. It is situated on a beautiful bend of the Abitibi river, and commands an excellent hunting country. The post is in charge of Mr. S.B. Barrett, and nowhere was the commission received with greater consideration and hospitality than at this place. The New Post Indians, although few in number, are of excellent character and disposition. They met us with great friendliness. The treaty was concluded on Monday, the 21st, and the Indians were at once paid.

The reserve question was also discussed, and the location finally fixed as shown by the schedule of reserves. One of the leading Indians, Essau Omakess, was absent from the reserve during the negotiations. He, however, arrived during the time the payments were being made, and signified his approval of the action taken by his fellow Indians. He was subsequently chosen unanimously as chief of the band. (pp. 9-10)

The Schedule of Reserves for Treaty No. 9, 1905 gives the following description of the New Post Reserve:

NEW POST (RESERVE)

In the province of Ontario, beginning at a point one mile south of the north-east end of the eastern arm of the lake known as Taquahtagama, or Big lake, situated about eight miles inland south from New Post on the Abitibi river, thence in a northerly direction about four miles, and of sufficient depth in an easterly direction to give an area of eight square miles.

The reserves are granted with the understanding that connections may be made for settlers' roads wherever required. (page 12)

However, New Post effectiveness as a "gateway" was greatly reduced when in 1914, A.W. Golding opened a general store at Clute north of Cochrane. By "the end of the First World War ... virtually all New Post Band members were camping during the summer near the Long Sault Rapids (east of Clute on the Abitibi River) (Morrison 1992:31).

Some final information regarding the Hudson's Bay Companies' New Post is available from an unpublished manuscript compiled by Don Ball in 1975-78 entitled "The MacLeod Family and Their Association with the Hudson's Bay Company in Ontario, Quebec and Alberta". Don Ball worked with the writer for a part of this time period at the Cochrane Northern Regional offices of the Ministry of National Resources. His summary of New Post events is presented below and is based on information obtained from Emmett H. MacLeod of Baie du Poste, Mistassini, Quebec during the years 1975-77:

New Post

- Alexander MacLeod, Factor 1870-71 to 1885
- John MacLeod, Factor 1917-1923
- George MacLeod Sr., Factor 1902-1917
- Mr. Miller, Factory 1923-25 or '26, son Ernest Miller of Moose Factory
- had cattle
- hunted partridge, fish, rabbit, deer; wood ducks, pigeons
- trapped beaver, mink, lynx, fox, rats, bear, wolves
- not many guns - used bow and arrow
- supplies brought in by York boats and freighter canoes from Moose Factory until 1908

- after 1908 was supplied via railway to Cochrane then to New Post via the Frederick House River
- no Indians except for 1 couple in 1918 - this couple had 9 children die of tuberculosis
- more Indians came while George was Factor
- had very many trails beaten down to hard soil which were used by Indians
(from Ball: 1978)

After New Post closed in 1926, the Hudson's Bay Company maintained a store at Island Falls and "in 1930 it's last year of operation - twelve families from Moose Factory were said to be camped near the post (Morrison 1992:70). Other families of the New Post Band also continued to hunt and trap in the area. In 1936, Sidney Archibald, son-in-law of former chief Esau Omakees, Peter & Thomas Sutherland all were trapping in the Island Falls area (Morrison 1992: 71). With the coming of the Registered Trapline System in the mid-1930's many of the New Post Band families dispersed to a wide variety of places (ie McLeod family) or died out from disease and lack of surviving children (ie Squirrel family) (Schuurman n.d.: 21).

Some of the family names which the writer recorded at the New Post Cemetery in 1975 are as follows:

- John Luke, age 45 died August 20, 1916
- Sinclair McLeod, died age 11, 1881
- William Luke, died April 1888, age 19 years
- Alexander McLeod, died September 3, 1885 age 60 years
- Jane Turner (McLeods' wife) died January 19, 1880 age 50 years
- Alice died 1914, age 7 months, daughter of John and Isabella MacLeod
- Isabel Sarah, died Dec. 1915, husband of John Joseph MacLeod
- John Joseph MacLeod (no details)
- William Squirrel, died 1924, age 34
- Thomas McLeod, son of George and Isabel McLeod, born Feb. 1908, died Feb. 1919
(Pollock 1976a: 12-14).

Another cemetery on Harris Lake, (east of New Post) now part of the Little Abitibi Provincial Park has many graves but only a few marked as follows:

- Thomas Michel, 1917 age 26 years
- William Singer, 1917
- Andrew Bernard
Skawasiksto Kisis 1926
Okinip 78 kipipanesi

The name Singer appears on McPherson's list of Abitibi Band members (1930: 89), while Bernard appears on Jenkins map (1939) of Abitibi family hunting territories. However, Thomas Michel would have been a member of the New Post Band (Schuurman n.d.).

9. TRADITIONAL TERRITORIES OF THE WAHGOSHIG PEOPLES

The presence of the former New Post Reserve between the Abitibi River and the Little Abitibi River, the limited historical data all suggests that this area as shown on Figure 3, represented an overlapping area shared by both the New Post and Abitibi (Wahgoshig) Peoples. The exact size and nature of this overlap may be more of a political question than an historical one and can probably only be resolved through negotiations. Further historical research may be also of some use, as would completion of a detailed land use and occupancy study.

Handbook of North American Indians

WILLIAM C. STURTEVANT
General Editor

VOLUME 6

Subarctic

JUNE HELM
Volume Editor



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members of the Barrière Lake band of Northern Algonquin.

Sources

The largest corpus of cultural information concerning the Attikamek-Tête de Boule is conserved in the field notes of Cooper (1926-1937); reflected in part in Cooper (1926a, 1938, 1939). Other modern sources include Skinner (1912), D.S. Davidson (1928d, 1928e), M. Raymond (1945), Burger (1953), Pepin (1957), Guy

(1966, 1967, 1970), and Gilbert (1967). J. Adams (1831) reports an earlier situation. The Hudson's Bay Company Archives, in the Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg, contain valuable information concerning economic transactions at the different posts.

Clermont has combined ethnographic and documentary sources for studies of aspects of Attikamek-Tête de Boule culture and history: on identities (1974a), on beaver hunting (1974), on parish registers and Hudson's Bay Company account books as sources (1975), on economic history (1977a), on general cultural history (1977), and on Windigo beliefs (1978).

West Main Cree

JOHN J. HONIGMANN

Territory, Language, and Environment

The Indians occupying the low-lying west coast of James and Hudson bays from the Moose River in northeastern Ontario to the Churchill River in northern Manitoba have generally been known as Cree ('krē) or Swampy Cree. In this chapter they are designated West Main Cree, to parallel the name for the Cree of the east coast, the East Main, of Hudson and James bays ("East Main Cree," this vol.). Inland the territory of the coastal Indians is hard to delimit, but for purposes of this chapter it includes the area exploited by Cree-speaking people trading with the settlements listed in table 1 (see fig. 1). In 1947 a few Attawapiskat families trapped as far as 160 miles inland, but most wintered considerably closer to the coast or on Akimiski Island. The inland groups of Swampy Cree in Manitoba and Saskatchewan are treated in "Western Woods Cree," this volume.

Language is one trait that enables the West Main Cree to distinguish themselves from the Ojibwa Indians on the upper reaches of the Albany and Attawapiskat rivers, and it is also a basis on which they consider themselves different from Indians on the east coast of James Bay. The west coast people speak an *n*-dialect of the Cree language, except at Moose Factory where an *l*-dialect is used ("Subarctic Algonquian Languages," this vol.). Literacy in the Cree language, using the syllabary developed by James Evans in the nineteenth century (Logan 1951), was widespread. As late as 1955 the syllabary was still being taught to children in the Roman Catholic boarding school at Lac Sainte Anne, located a short distance upriver from Fort Albany (Trudeau 1966:54).*

* The Cree dialects spoken in the areas covered by this chapter may be written with the following phonemic symbols: *p, t, c, k, s, š, h; m, n, l, w, y; i, a, o, i', e', a', o'* (Ellis 1962). The Moose Cree dialect (spoken at Moose Factory and by some people on the Kasichuan Reserve near Ft. Albany) has this full set of phonemes; the Eastern Swampy dialect (spoken at Ft. Albany, Attawapiskat, Winisk, and by some residents of Moosonee) lacks *l*, substituting *n* instead; and the Western Swampy dialect (spoken from Ft. Severn to Churchill) lacks both *l* (substituting *n*) and *s* (substituting *š*) and pronounces *č* as [c]. The Cree words given in italics in this chapter are in the Eastern Swampy dialect; the phonemic transcriptions were provided by C. Douglas Ellis (communication to editors 1973), except for *pape-we-win* (phonemized from LaCombe 1874:535 and Faries 1938:115, 439), and the words in the synonymy.

Several large and numerous small rivers drain the low-lying muskeg territory of the West Main Cree. The rivers, starting at the southern end, include the Moose, Albany, Kapiskau, Attawapiskat, Ekwan, Lakitusaki (Lake River), and—coming to streams entering Hudson Bay—the Sutton, Winisk, Severn, Hayes, Nelson, and Churchill rivers. The drainages of the Kapiskau and other northerly streams as far as the Winisk tend to converge on a common catchment basin, making it easy to travel by portaging from the headwaters of one to those of another.

Spruce, tamarack, and willow are the trees most common to the region. A narrow coastal strip of tundra begins below Cape Henrietta Maria, the northwestern extreme of James Bay, and extends west and north. Here caribou were taken (Bishop 1972:64; Rogers 1967:90), and in small numbers they formerly ventured south of the Albany River. By the early decades of the twentieth century, or possibly earlier, moose had started to frequent the country between the Moose and Winisk rivers. In addition to large numbers of geese, one of whose main flyways lies over the coastal marshes of James Bay (East 1951), and ducks, the country has provided hunters and trappers with bear, beaver, hare, porcupine, fox, otter, marten, mink, muskrat, weasel, groundhog, and squirrel. These forest animals, however, have not come coastward in great numbers. Polar bears drift to the shore on the ice around Cape Henrietta Maria from farther north. The rivers contain trout, pike, sturgeon, and other species of fish, and their estuaries attract occasional seal or belugas. While West Main Cree did not relish these sea mammals for food, they caught them for oil and later fed the meat to dogs.

History of Indian-White Relations

The Fur Trade

Little is known about west coast culture history from 1697, when Bacqueville de la Potherie (1931:222-238, 261-267) observed a few customs of the Indians who visited York Factory (Fort Nelson, Fort Bourbon) to trade, until 1908, when Skinner (1912) took note of the extent to which Indian life reflected Euro-American cultural influences. The events bringing those influences



Fig. 1. Nineteenth-century territory.

about go back to 1668, when the first trading post was built at Rupert House, and 1671, when Moose Factory was founded in the southwest corner of James Bay. Soon Fort Albany was in operation (Kenyon 1965); and the establishment of York Factory (Fort Nelson), Fort Severn (Macfie 1967, 1970), and Fort Churchill (originally Fort Prince of Wales) followed.

The extent of Indian occupation and exploitation of the coastal area prior to the establishment of the trading posts is problematic. In any case Bishop (1972:63) points out the almost immediate effect Fort Albany had in encouraging Indians to become dependent on the traders. In 1717 the Cree looked to the Hudson's Bay Company not only for an annual supply of European goods, including special guns for the Indian trade (Gooding 1951), cloth, blankets, and food, but also even for wild goose meat, which the Company preserved in quantity for the winter to feed its own men and hungry Indians.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, Indians from Attawapiskat and Winisk were visiting Fort Albany to trade (D. Anderson 1873:98). After 1882 the Hudson's Bay Company built an outpost at Winisk and, following 1893, smaller posts on James Bay between Fort Albany and Winisk. Revillon Frères and other trading companies also entered the area, initiating a period of very competitive fur buying from which the Indians benefited materially.

Missionaries

From 1686 to 1693 Jesuit missionaries lived in what became Fort Albany. Not until 1823, when a Church

of England prelate was stationed at York Factory (Marsh 1957:4), were Christian missionaries again active among the West Main Cree. Northern coastal Indians, however, probably witnessed laymen performing Christian rituals (Macfie 1970:45, 49). A Wesleyan missionary at Moose Factory converted many Indians before Roman Catholic Oblates began missionizing there in 1847 (Nadeau 1954:105ff.; Paul-Émile 1952:81ff.; Saindon 1928:13). Gradually the Oblates extended their efforts northward to Albany, where they met with little success, and to Attawapiskat and Winisk, where practically the entire populations became Catholic. The attraction and encouragement of the Catholic missions at Attawapiskat and Winisk caused Indian families to establish themselves closer to the coast (Chipman 1903).

Alternatives to Trapping

During World War I, military authorities sent a small number of native men from west coast James Bay communities to Great Britain where they worked in sawmills but learned very little English. The postwar years were especially hard for the inhabitants of the lowlands, never an easy area in which to secure a dependable food supply. (As early as 1671, Oldmixon 1931:392 reported starvation on the Ekwan; see also Isham 1949:80; Bishop 1972.) Overtrapping had depleted fur resources, and the small settlements contained no income-producing alternatives to trapping. However, the region was becoming more closely integrated with the rest of Canada as two railway lines pushed northward, one terminating at Churchill and the other across the river from Moose Factory at Moosonee. Ten years after World War II, Moosonee became a port supplying military installations at Great Whale River and Winisk, while Churchill grew into a busy town and military base. Increasingly, Indians drifted into those places in search of jobs and moved south along the railways, which offered major sources of employment for unskilled workers. The Canadian government also began to take more active interest in all northern people; on the west coast it invested social capital in the form of a large modern hospital at Moose Factory, local nursing stations, schools, and a beaver preserve, as well as providing more social assistance for the aged and indigent.

Population

It is impossible to say how many of Mooney's estimated 17,000 Eastern Subarctic Cree (Kroeber 1939:141) correspond to the 4,722 "Indians" belonging to West Coast bands located between Moose Factory and Churchill in 1970. Table 1 gives figures for different periods, but it should be kept in mind that official figures exclude Métis and Indians who have asked to be removed from

Table 1. West Main Cree Population

	1793 ^a	1829 ^a	1858 ^a	1947 ^b	1954	1962	1964 ^c	1966	1967	1970 ^d	1978 ^e
Moose Factory ^f					567		598			1,099 (783)	1,380
Moosonee ^g							700		1,200 ^h		
Fort Albany (Albany band)	190	259	387		762		800			1,399 (921)	1,774
Lac Ste. Anne ⁱ				197							
Attawapiskat band				645	743	375 ^j	200			1,077 (486)	1,375
Weenusk band (Winisk)							100			218	240
Severn band							115			240	272
York Factory band										335 (109)	419
Churchill band								223 ^k		354	
Fox Lake band											316
Shamattawa band											569
Total							2,513			4,722	6,345

^a From Bishop 1972:64, 68, based on Hudson's Bay Company Archives.

^b Starting in 1947, Moose Factory, Fort Albany, Attawapiskat, Winisk, Severn, and York Factory figures are from government band lists unless otherwise credited. Totals do not accurately represent settlement population, most importantly because not all band members remain in the settlement from which the band is named. Also, "enfranchised" Indians are not included in a band list.

^c Figures are from Rogers and Trudeau 1968-1972, 3, who credit "most" of the Ontario figures to the Ontario Department of Lands and Forests. The authors claim that these are band enrollment figures, but compared to 1947 and 1970 government numbers they make more sense interpreted as resident populations.

^d Canadian Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development figures; numbers in parentheses are reserve residents only.

^e From Canada, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1980:18-28. Total enrollment.

^f Excluding patients in the hospital and children in the residential school belonging to East Main Cree bands.

^g Indians in Moosonee and Lac Ste. Anne belong mainly to the Attawapiskat and Weenusk bands.

^h An average of several written estimates provided by local persons.

ⁱ Trudeau's 1963-69 estimate of resident population.

^j Excluding Chipewyan.

band lists. With the exception of Lac Sainte Anne, Moosonee, and Churchill, west-coast communities have lost population since the late 1940s. York Factory Indians have migrated, some to Churchill; families from Winisk and Attawapiskat moved to Lac Sainte Anne or, along with Moose Factory and Fort Albany families, to Moosonee and farther south. Persons moving to another settlement are not usually removed from band lists unless the move is by a woman who marries a man belonging to another band.

Traditional Culture

Technology

Informants in Attawapiskat in 1947 scarcely knew that Indians of the region formerly made ground stone knives and axes, the axes grooved according to Skinner (1912:51, 52), who also reports stone adzes. Most of the primary tools expected in a Subarctic Indian culture occurred in the lowland area: bone awls, sewing needles (with tubular needle cases of hollow bird bone), bone fleshers, skin scrapers, and beaver tooth chisels.

Preparing caribou skin, the basic clothing material, was a long process. Women fleshed the hide as it lay

pegged on the ground and shaved the hairs while holding the skin against a log. Skinner (1912:33) illustrates a hafted semilunar metal knife used for fleshing after contact. (Possibly a semilunar slate knife was used prior to contact.) Once the hide had been soaked in a brain mixture, rinsed, dried, stretched, and smoked, it was ready for tailoring. Tanning seal and white whale (beluga) skin required similar hard work, compared to which cleaning the skins of hares and cutting them into strips to make garments and blankets were relatively simple.

The West Main Indians employed the full complement of northern lines and cords, made from rawhide, dressed hide, sinew for garment sewing, willow bark, and spruce root.

Because the strike-a-light method of fire making was difficult, fire was carried in the form of a glowing pole or glowing tinder stored in a birchbark container.

Subsistence

Fish may have formed the dietary mainstay of former times. The Indians had a variety of techniques and implements to catch them, including: angling with barbless bone or spruce hooks, leisters, weirs, and gill nets of

willow-bast cord. An ice scoop served to clear the hole made for nets in the frozen river. Harpoons for seal and beluga were introduced within the contact era.

The bow, arrow, and lance furnished the principal hunting weapons. Simple bows, in height sometimes reaching to a standing man's forehead but usually smaller, were strung with bark or babiche. Arrows were fitted with antler, bone, or stone points suited for particular types of game. Deadfalls ("Environment and Culture in the Shield and Mackenzie Borderlands," fig. 5, this vol.) caught black bears and many smaller furbearing animals. Traps fitted with falling trapdoors were built in water to catch beaver, an animal also taken by nets and sometimes simply by a man's crashing into its dwelling ("Intercultural Relations and Cultural Change in the Shield and Mackenzie Borderlands," fig. 5, this vol.). Snares were used to take geese, ducks, hare, and larger land animals. In caribou hunting, groups of several families cooperated in constructing surrounds or driving the animals through a narrow valley. Individual hunters also hunted them by semicircular tracking (Honigmann 1956:35) and by running them down in soft snow, techniques that later came to be used in moose hunting.

Heat-drying enabled meat and fish to be preserved; sometimes the dry meat was pounded, larded with grease, and enriched with berries ("Environment and Culture in the Shield and Mackenzie Borderlands," fig. 7, this vol.). Grease rendered from seal blubber was added to dried fish; fish or meat without fat was little relished, whether fresh or dried.

For boiling, the usual method of preparing meat and fish, people used clay-covered woven spruce root kettles and caribou stomachs (Honigmann 1956:40). Skinner (1912:30) also mentions carved soapstone cooking vessels. The sexes followed no special order in eating, a task in which wood or bone knives served to cut the meat and horn or wood spoons to transport food to the mouth. Among the few magically conceived food taboos that encumbered eating were those requiring women to avoid certain parts of game animals in order that hunters might take game again. An Attawapiskat informant mentioned the ritual eating of dog, claiming it was done for the purpose of enhancing a shaman's ability to ascertain the location of a caribou herd.

Structures

Attawapiskat informants described the basic dwelling as frequently consisting of a conical lodge (fig. 2) with a three-pole foundation on which a series of poles was laid to support a further cover that varied with the time of the year. It might consist of bark, skins, brush, or, for winter use, earth (that is, pieces of turf), for which the underlying poles must have been set close together indeed. Indians reported that the floor of a winter earth

lodge was excavated a foot or so below the ground surface. South-coast informants also recalled dome-shaped dwellings walled with bark sewed to a willow framework. The sudatory was constructed according to such a plan, but with dimensions smaller than a dwelling. A low conical lodge sheltered a girl undergoing isolation at menarche.

Other nonresidential structures included a four-pole platform cache, pole-lined subterranean cache for storing dried fish and meat, and a ceremonial enclosure fenced with willow or spruce brush used for special dances (Honigmann 1956:57).

Clothing and Adornment

Men always wore a breechcloth held in place by a belt. Then, depending to some extent on the season, they completed their attire by choosing items from an assemblage that included a short coat of dressed hide or of fabric made from hareskin strips; an outer belt to pull the coat tight; leggings with garters; moccasins; a warmer coat, perhaps a fur robe, for cold weather; mittens; and cap. (For drawings reconstructing former dress see Scott and Leechman 1952.) Women omitted a breechcloth, except possibly at menstruation, according to an Attawapiskat informant, or, according to Isham (1949:110), in winter. They wore a long dress or smock to which they added the five last-mentioned items of the man's clothing assemblage. Hare skins or other fur duffel protected the hands and feet in cold weather. Skinner (1912:17, 19) reports hooded cloaks (parkas), but Attawapiskat informants maintained that those garments appeared only after the White man's woolen capote had been introduced.

Attawapiskat informants gave the impression that dress remained quite plain until late fur-trade times



Public Arch of Canada, Ottawa, C 75915

Fig. 2. Conical bark-covered wigwam with built-out entryway. The women wear peaked caps of a type sometimes elaborately decorated. Photographed about 1900; place not recorded.

HONIGMANN

when elaborate beadwork came into use. In an earlier period Isham (1949:110) and Graham (1969:146) noted quill and bead decoration extending even to the breechcloth. Men plucked facial hair and women their eyebrows; accounts are inconsistent regarding depilation of other body hair (cf. Graham 1969:144). Without question one or both sexes painted the face, tattooed at least the hands and part of the face with sinew thread rubbed in charcoal, pierced the ears for ear plugs, braided the hair, and on the north coast bored a hole in the nasal septum where in postcontact times they wore a bead (Isham 1949:110).

Travel and Transportation

Means of transportation obviously altered with the sharp swing of the seasons. During time of open water, Indians hunted in small canoes and moved family and possessions in larger traveling craft ("Intercultural Relations and Cultural Change in the Shield and Mackenzie Borderlands," fig. 4, this vol.). Both were covered with birch or spruce bark. The vessels also ventured into the salt water. Wintertime, goods were loaded on toboggans made of tamarack and pulled by human power, for the small dogs used in hunting lacked strength to haul those vehicles; however, by the middle of the eighteenth century at least the northern coastal people used dogs for traction ("Intercultural Relations and Cultural Change in the Shield and Mackenzie Borderlands," fig. 9, this vol.) and also packed them (Isham 1949:164). Elongated snowshoes, some seven or eight feet long, likewise made of tamarack and filled with a lacing of babiche, greatly facilitated travel and hunting in soft snow.

Games and Music

Games were played by adults and children. Some, like cup and pin, ball-in-the-air, football, lacrosse (Skinner 1912:38), pull tug-of-war, and string figures, required simple equipment; but there were also sports that relied solely on physical skill. Children played hide and seek, scaled stones, played hunting games (fig. 3), and amused themselves with buzz toys, bull-roarers, toy bows, carved wooden dolls, and pea shooters.

Evenings, people told stories, sometimes about the culture heroes, *čahka pe's* (Djokabish) and *wi'sake ča'hk* (Wisakedjak). Although singing and dancing were sometimes recreational, they might also be devoted to serious purposes, for example, when men sang or danced to obtain success in hunting.

Social Organization

The household frequently consisted of two nuclear families, each headed by brothers or by men who had mar-

WEST MAIN CREE



Fig. 3. Children from Moose Factory playing the wavy (snow goose) game, a simulated hunt engaged in only by children. Photograph by Regina Flannery-Herzfeld, Aug.-Sept. 1935.

ried sisters. A household might also be a temporarily extended family created through bride service, after which residence was bilocal or neolocal.

Kinship terminology in use in 1947 suggests that the levirate, cross-cousin marriage, sororal polygyny, and the sororate were practiced at one time, but Attawapiskat informants recalled only the last three customs. They possessed Iroquois cousin terminology that merged siblings and parallel cousins according to sex and age relative to ego. Cross-cousins of opposite sex were called *ni'tim*, a term also used for spouse's siblings of opposite sex. Separate terms distinguished parents and parents' siblings. A single term for father's sister and wife's mother and another for mother's brother and husband's father were consistent with cross-cousin marriage.

Mother-in-law avoidance did not occur, but wife exchange and sexual hospitality did, along with easily secured divorce.

Skinner (1912:56) states that the Albany Cree recalled former patrilineal "clans" symbolized by animals; the clans might have been derived from the Northern Ojibwa. Nowhere else are unilineal descent groups reported, and Skinner's own data become suspect when he adds that young men occasionally dreamed the clan that they were to join.

Political Organization

In the closing years of the seventeenth century, Bacqueville de la Potheric (1931:266-267, 357) noted that Indians who came to Fort Nelson (York Factory) to trade chose several chiefs to take charge of the trading for their people (cf. Isham 1949:82ff.). A chief spoke

227



left, British Mus.: Sloane Coll.: 2040; right, Smithsonian, Dept. of Anthr.: 395343

Fig. 4. left, Model cradleboard with white leather cover attached with vegetable fiber cord over a U-shaped wooden hoop on the front of a wooden board. The edge of the cover is painted red, and the cut fringe is wrapped alternately with red and white porcupine quills. A leather strap decorated with colored beads and hair is tied to a wooden strip on the back. This cradleboard, almost identical in design to one about 3 feet long illustrated by Isham (1949:105), was collected about 1740 by John Potts, a surgeon under Isham at York Factory, right, Pair of fetal caribou legs that were tied to a baby's cradle to bring luck hunting caribou in later life. Collected by John M. Cooper at Moose Factory, Ont., 1934. Length of left 37 cm, rest same scale.



Smithsonian, Dept. of Anthr.: 394.354

Fig. 5. Snow goggles carved from a single piece of wood. The wide visor extending horizontally above the eye-slit (top right) is fire-darkened on the underside (left) to help cut glare from snow and ice. The top (center) is decorated with fire-blackened circles and incised lines. Leather ties hold the goggles in place. Width 18 cm, collected by John M. Cooper at Moose Factory, Ont., 1934.

for his hunters, requesting the trader's kind consideration and prices at least no higher than those charged to other Indians. These men may have been band leaders. According to Attawapiskat informants, bands of from 2 to 10 families recognized the authority of leaders

who, on the basis of expert knowledge, advised their followers where to hunt and fish and helped them make other advantageous decisions. Leaders possessing the "right to tell the people what to do" were explicitly denied for olden times.

HONIGMANN

Beliefs

Informants distinguished between two kinds of divination. Scapulimancy belonged to the first type (collectively called *pape'we'win* 'good luck'), which was matter of fact in nature ("Montagnais-Naskapi," fig. 10, this vol.). Receiving information about the future and other matters from nonhuman helpers in dreams or in the shaking tent ("Saulteaux of Lake Winnipeg," fig. 9, this vol.) belonged to the second type (*mité'w'win*), which was the province of the shaman (*mité'w*).

Both men and women attempted to become shamans by securing nonhuman helpers through dreaming, but apparently men made the more earnest efforts. Some men acquired extraordinary power through dreaming and became renowned for their success in divination, curing, and possibly even sorcery.

Early accounts that report Indian belief in good and evil deities (cf. Graham 1969:159) should be viewed cautiously. For, as Thompson (1962:74-75) observed, Indians answering questions about religion "give the answer best adapted to . . . please the enquirer." Some of the sources Cooper (1933) cites to prove that aboriginally the Cree believed in a personal supreme being, called *manitô'w* or *kihci-manitô'w*, may have been affected by that tendency. At any rate Skinner's (1912:59) and Honigmann's (1956:66-67) data contradict Cooper and support the conclusion that *manitô'w* refers to an abstract, impersonal power. The coastal Indians also

conceived of several personalized entities that influenced human affairs, including underwater creatures, dwarfs, animal "bosses," and cannibalistic beings like the Windigo (Cree *wi'hiko'w*) whose tracks travelers unexpectedly encountered in the forest.

The most ceremonial activities were those following the killing of a bear and involved carefully depositing the animal's skull (sometimes painted) into a tree ("Expressive Aspects of Subarctic Indian Culture," fig. 5, this vol.). Other animal bones were also reverentially disposed of in order to retain favor with the species and thus to continue to kill game. Other rituals included seclusion of menstruating (at menarche only) and widows.

Not all curing depended on the agency of a shaman. People also resorted to a considerable variety of herbal medicines, each suited to a specific ailment. Additional curing procedures, sometimes employed in shamanistic contexts, included sucking, confession, sweatbathing, and administration of enemas.

When a person died, relatives washed the body and provided a birch- or spruce-bark shroud in which either to bury the extended corpse or, if it was winter, to cache it on the ground surface. Eating utensils, bones of game animals, clothing, and weapons were placed on the grave or hung from a crossed stick (Isham 1949:94).

The New Culture of the Fur-Trade Period

Starting in the late seventeenth century and accelerating during the next 200 years, the coastal Cree Indians substantially redesigned both the adaptive and expressive components of their way of life in response to the opportunities and pressures of the fur trade and of missionization. To obtain trade goods, Indians took up the specialized pursuit of fur trapping, which in turn worked changes in resource utilization and societal arrangements. Missionary teaching planted new ideas that also called for a host of adjustments in many cultural domains.

Implementations formerly made by the Indian were sooner or later replaced in whole or in part by ready-made equipment bought at the store. Metal cutting tools were quickly substituted for those of bone, antler, and stone. Fishnets and snowshoe lacing were eventually made with cotton twine instead of native cordage. The steel trap became the mainstay of trapping, replacing native deadfalls. Canvas replaced bark as the sheathing for canoes and the canvas tent became the common dwelling.

Firearms altered and eased subsistence hunting; especially, they allowed the Indians to rely on waterfowl (figs. 7-9) as a seasonal staple food. Besides fish and other native food resources, flour, tea, sugar, oatmeal, and other imported food items from the traders as-



Fig. 6. A man from Moosonee bringing in his beaver catch. He wears snowshoes, moccasins with decorated vamp, and gloves with embroidered floral cuffs. He carries a hatchet and rifle in cloth or skin case. Photograph by John Macfie, 1959.

WEST MAIN CREE



Anonymous 1978

Fig. 7. Goose hunt camp. Canvas tent has interior stove with smoke stack visible. Drawn by Clayton Cheechov, Cree pupil, for Sept. 'blue or snow goose month', for 1978 school calendar.

sumed a major place in the diet. Tobacco and alcohol were much desired, especially tobacco, which was easier to obtain.

Manufactured garments (like the parka) and cloth changed traditional Indian apparel in practically every respect except the moccasin. For working in the coastal marshes, traders introduced imported Eskimo-made sealskin boots and later rubber boots. In winter, hands and feet were protected by woolen duffel. New forms of personal adornment appeared, especially colorful beadwork.

Euro-Canadian cultural influence affected recreation through the diffusion of board games (checkers, fox and geese), card games, and new kinds of music, instruments, and dancing.

In the realm of social life, polygyny, the sororate, and wife exchange disappeared, and only ambivalently did the churches tolerate occasional cross-cousin marriages. Decimation of large game led large winter bands to split up into smaller units of one, two, or three families (Bishop 1972:65) to whom the sovereign Hudson's Bay Company assigned trapping territories.

In no sphere of life was substitution more extensive than in the realm of religious belief. With the help of denominational boarding schools, Anglican and Catholic missionaries succeeded in implanting an entire new belief system and eradicating practically all adherence to the old one. In this respect the West Main Cree contrast with those on the East Main, where, despite conversion, a considerable part of the old belief system

224

persisted beyond the middle of the twentieth century (Speck 1935; Preston 1971a). Literacy in the Cree syllabary enabled every adult to read Christian prayer-books, hymnals, and other religious literature. As Indians became committed to the new faiths, the churches joined the trading posts as focal points in the social structure of their settlements.

Mid-Twentieth Century Readaptation

By 1947, when Attawapiskat, midway on the west coast of James Bay, was studied, it was apparent that the Indians' specialized adaptation to fur trapping no longer served their needs. Not only had the population of fur-bearers declined, but also, even more important, fur prices were low compared to the prices of the many things on which the people had come to depend. About half the Attawapiskat Indians' total income came from unearned sources, chiefly the Canadian family allowance and social assistance. Even with considerable reliance on fish, geese, and other country food, the people felt themselves deprived.

The Hudson's Bay Company was attempting to maintain trapping by stocking and carefully harvesting a vast



Public Arch. of Canada, Ottawa: C 1917.

Fig. 8. Hunter from York Factory returning with his catch. He wears a blue, yellow, and red peaked hat decorated with feathers, blue chief's coat with yellow, blue, and red Assomption sash, red, black, and yellow flat pouch hanging from neckband, powder horn, blue leggings, undecorated moccasins. The woman is wearing a red head necklace, blue leggings, and no upper garments except a Hudson's Bay Company blanket and is carrying a child in a cradleboard on a chest tumpline. Watercolor by Peter Rindisbacher, 1821.

HONIGMANN



left, Natl. Mus. of Canada, Ottawa: III-D-422; right, Prov. Arch. of Man., Winnipeg

Fig. 9. Goose decoys. left, Decoy of oak driftwood. The body has a flat bottom and rounded front; the neck and head are carved from a separate piece of wood and nailed to the body. Length 76 cm, collected at Moose Factory, Ont., 1973. Decoys were also made from other materials. right, These set up near York Factory, are of twigs, earth, and real goose heads and necks. Photograph by Vernon Smith, 1945-1949.



beaver preserve (Denmark 1948), but a number of Indian families had already quit trapping and sought to readapt economically by leaving the community for wage labor in Moosonee or Lac Sainte Anne. By 1952, 262 members of the Attawapiskat band had been drawn off from that settlement: 157 of them were living at Moosonee; 55 at Fort Albany (probably Lac Sainte Anne); and 50 elsewhere, probably on the railroad line south of Moosonee. By 1964, 48 percent of the Attawapiskat band had left the settlement (Hawthorn 1966-1967, 1:113). Other small west-coast communities were also losing people to larger centers, but the migrations are not well documented.

Attawapiskat Community Organization, 1947

The trading store and Catholic church were both focal points in community organization in Attawapiskat in 1947, but the dominant role belonged to the Church. In the 35 years since a permanent mission had been established in the settlement, the Church had preempted guidance of the Indians' intellectual and moral life. It even exercised a minor economic role through selling food and offering summer jobs. The Hudson's Bay Company was undoubtedly of much greater economic importance. The resident manager advanced credit to capitalize a family's winter trapping, bought the bulk of furs, supplied most wares and imported foodstuffs, acted as the government's representative in issuing family allowances and relief, and provided summer jobs. But whereas the manager dealt with the Indians through

WEST MAIN CREE

an interpreter (for part of the year, a Moose Factory Indian), the Oblate missionaries spoke Cree fluently.

The priests celebrated Mass and other rituals to which the almost exclusively Catholic Indian community responded intensely, adults and young people vigorously singing the Mass as they had learned to do while attending boarding school. The Oblates also exercised an educational role through preaching, running a day school, and offering informal advice on personal problems. They sought to provide medical assistance, issuing pharmaceuticals deposited with them by the Indian agent. If a case seemed serious, a priest used the church radio to send a message to the Indian agent at Moose Factory, who was also a physician. Some aspects of the relationship between the Indians and priests showed strain, but generally the fathers were respected, which enabled them to maintain a dominant moral role and to be a strong force for social control in the community.

Acculturation in Winisk: 1955 to 1961

The Catholic Church and Oblate priests also won the Indians' respect in Winisk, where a permanent mission was founded in 1924. But construction of a radar base, begun in 1955, promoted a revolutionary change in values that severely curtailed the priests' influence. Employment in military construction brought a temporary halt to trapping and stimulated a brief economic boom in which the average cash income for an Indian family climbed from \$1,000 to about \$5,000. When the boom ended in 1960, Indian men who were not hired for the

225



Fig. 10. Bannock, a staple of Subarctic Indian cuisine. A kneaded dough of flour, baking powder, salt, lard, and hot water fills the bottom of a greased frying pan, which is propped in front of embers (left, by Alfred Mitchell) so that the bannock cooks from the top down. It is turned several times, basting with lard, until a thick crust forms (Macfie 1956). Bits are dipped in melted lard (right, by Duncan Gray) before eating. Photographs by John Macfie at Ft. Severn, Ont., 1955.

few maintenance jobs left at the radar base drifted back to their trap lines, but without taking wives and children along as they had formerly done. First employment on the base and then the change in trapping from a family enterprise to primarily a masculine occupation severely altered customary patterns of social relations among Indians. Both married and unmarried men reduced their interaction with wives and parents. Disparate experiences between young and old of both sexes attenuated intergenerational relationships and eroded parental authority. Behavior problems increased, partly due to the large number of nonnative (largely White) men working on the base who illegally sold beer and other alcoholic beverages to the Indians and sought women for sexual relations. When parents tried to control young people's behavior, most discovered that they lacked the power to do so. Native gossip and verbal reprimand, hitherto a highly effective means of social control in this small community, had declined to a point of ineffectuality. Parents who appealed to the elected chief and the more influential priest for assistance learned that those two men also lacked power to impose forceful sanctions and that the priest had lost much of his former prestige and authority.

Attawapiskat, 1961

The social upheaval that radically transformed the Indian community in Winisk was not apparent to Nonas

(1963) visiting Attawapiskat in 1961. Summer for trappers back from the bush was still vacation time, as it had been in 1947, and there were no signs of greater economic prosperity. The mission and Hudson's Bay Company provided a little wage labor, and Indians quickly took the few jobs available. About three years later, a survey revealed a real per capita cash income in Attawapiskat of \$247, \$194 of which derived from "transfer payments," including \$45 in the form of social assistance. Over one-third of the Indian households received some welfare money (Hawthorn 1966-1967, 1:49, 51, 116).

The Church permeated community life. The priest in charge and three brothers even furnished entertainment. They provided an athletic field, and each Sunday evening they played amplified recorded music from the church steeple: opera arias, musical comedy numbers, fiddled jigs, Gregorian chants, and organ hymns. The Indians respected the churchmen in their religious role; but as men running a profit-making store, cannery, and sawmill, the people sometimes criticized their conduct. Toward the federal government, the Indians voiced strong indignation at its unfulfilled promises regarding welfare and other matters.

Though the Cree could objectively sort out some elements of their culture as "White" or "Indian," they valued the one no more consistently than the other. They did not feel themselves becoming Whites or Canadians. They felt, rather, "that they [were] living in

a world to which things are somehow added; a growing world to which they were able to adapt as their fathers did to theirs" (Nonas 1963).

Synonymy†

The usual self-designation of all West Main Crees is *omaške'ko'w* 'muskeg person, swamp person' (Honigmann 1956:24-25). Other groups call them by variants of the same name: Plains Cree *maske'ko'wiyiniw* (from Lacombe 1874:443 and Faries 1938:192), Woods Cree *maski'ko'w* (Pentland 1970-1979), and Ojibwa *omaški'ko'* (from Cuq 1886:193). Mooney (1907b:813) suggested that the 1671 form Masquikouioeks (Margry 1879-1888, 1:97) may be the same name, but the identification is questionable. The same is true of the Miscoinks, whom Coats described as a group trading at Moose Factory in 1727-1751 (Coats 1852:41). More reliably ascribed to the West Main Cree are the following forms (those in *-u(c)k* are Cree plurals, those in *-s* French or English borrowings): Mashkegonhyrinis and Maskegonehirinis, 1753; Musce ko uck, 1775 (Graham in Isham 1949:316); Maskego, 1786; Muskegowuck, 1791 (Graham 1969:206); Masquigon, 1804 (Cameron 1889-1890, 2:241); Maskegons, 1809 (Henry 1901:26); Muscagoes and Muskagoes, 1820 (Harmon 1957:52, 97); Muskegouck, 1820 (J. West 1967:16); Muskegoe, Muskegoag, 1830; Muskiogos, 1841; Omashkekock, 1850; Omush-ke-goag, Omushke-goes, 1852; Maskégowuk (Richardson 1852:264); Mas-ke-gau, 1859 (Kane 1971:76); Muskegoog, 1861; Machkégous, 1884; Machkégons (Cuq 1886:193) (unattributed forms from Mooney 1907b:813-814). The modern French form, borrowed from Cree (*omaške'ko'w*, is Maskégon (as in Lacombe 1874:ix). In English the translations Swampy Cree or just Swampy (Indian) are used, replacing older Swamp Indian (as in J. West 1967:16).

The more general term *ininiw* (Moose Cree *ilitiw*) 'person, Indian' is also often used as a self-designation. In the seventeenth century the speakers of the δ -dialect (the Woods Cree dialect of the twentieth century) used *ne'hišaw* (see the synonymy in "Western Woods Cree," this vol.), but this term seems to have gone out of use in the West Main by the early nineteenth century, when there were no longer speakers of this dialect in this area (Pentland 1979:61).

Crees use the name Cree to refer to themselves only when speaking English or French. It derives from the name of an obscure band of Indians who roamed the region south of James Bay in the first half of the seventeenth century. In 1640 they were listed as the Kiristinon among the tribes north of the Nipissing (JR 18:228), but no information was given that would permit identification of either the language or the territory of

the group. The name itself is Ojibwa, in the Old Algonkin dialect form *kiristinō*, but the presence of the foreign (Cree) consonant cluster *š* shows that it was borrowed by the Ojibwa, presumably from the group to which it referred. Graham (1969:206) was surely wrong to list them as an Ojibwa-speaking group as of 1770-1791, but nowhere is a Cree form of the name recorded.

The name *kiristinō* was immediately adopted by the French (with plural *-s* rather than *-k*) and by 1658 was used as a generic term to refer to all Cree-speaking groups (JR 44:248). Some of the spellings of the name are: Kyristinšns, 1641 (JR 21:124); Kiristinous, 1653 (Du Val in Warkentin and Ruggles 1970:33); Christinos, 1671 (Margry 1879-1888, 1:97); Kristinos, 1679 (Greysolon Dulhut in Margry 1879-1888, 6:31); Christinaux, 1685 (Jailot in Warkentin and Ruggles 1970:53); Cristinaux, 1697 (Hennepin in Winsor 1884-1889, 4:252); Cristinos, 1697 (Aubert de la Chesnaye in Margry 1879-1888, 6:7); Kiristinons, 1713 (Marest in Tyrrell 1931:139); Cristineaux, 1790 (Umfreville 1954:101); Cristinau (Cuq 1886:168).

The French name was quickly shortened, probably by the *coureurs de bois*, to its modern form *Cris* (usually both singular and plural, but a singular *Cri* occasionally appears). Variants are: Kris, 1685 (Silvy in Tyrrell 1931:95); Kriqs, 1713 (Marest in Tyrrell 1931:139); Crists, Crics, 1717 (Greysolon Dulhut in Margry 1879-1888, 6:496, 505); Cris, 1729 (La Vérendrye in Warkentin and Ruggles 1970:73); Criqs, 1809 (Henry 1901:208).

The English, too, had heard of the Kiristinon band, although they seldom visited the Hudson's Bay Company's posts. The following spellings appear in fur trade documents: Cristeens, 1706 (Williams 1975:57); Gristeen, 1743 (Isham 1949:112); Christeens, 1717 (Davies and Johnson 1965:71). The name was soon confused with the word Christian, which the semiliterate traders wrote: Christean, 1732 (Davies and Johnson 1965:167); Christian, 1738 (Davies and Johnson 1965:274); Cristians, 1751 (Coats 1852:40); Christianux, 1770 (Graham in Richardson 1852:265); Christianaux, 1775 (Graham in Isham 1949:317). The last two spellings are due to Graham's acquaintance with the French form *Christinaux*. By 1780 English traders had adopted the shortened form *Cree* as a generic term (Umfreville 1954:101; Fidler 1934:498), probably under French influence: Umfreville thought *Cree* was the French form, and Thompson (1962:73) gave *Krees* as the name used by the French traders.

During the seventeenth century the Old Algonquin dialect of Ojibwa began to use *l* (like Ottawa) instead of *r*. The form *kilistinō* was recorded in 1667 as *Kilistinou* (pl.; JR 51:56) and in 1790 as *Ka-lis-te-no* (Umfreville 1954:chart opp. p. 104). Other spellings reflect its use as a French loanword: Kilistinons, 1658

† This synonymy was written by David H. Pentland.

(JR 44:240–248); Kilistones, 1660 (Creuxius in JR 46:map); Guilistinos, 1670 (JR 54:154); Killistinaux, 1670 (JR 54:192); Kilistinos, 1684 (Du Val in Margry 1879–1888, 6:51); Killistinoes (Carver 1778:76); Klis-teno, Killistheno (Latham 1850:328).

Another dialect of Ojibwa (probably the ancestor of modern Saulteaux) had *n* where Algonquin used *l* or *r* (see "Central Algonquian Languages," vol. 15); by the end of the eighteenth century all Ojibwa dialects used *n*. The form *kiništino*, which is the modern Ojibwa for the Cree, was earlier taken over as a French name, written *Kinistons* in 1672 (JR 56:202). A few traders who spoke Ojibwa gave forms with *n*, but always as alternatives to their own choice. Cree: Knisteneaux, 1801 (Mackenzie 1970:179); Kinistinaux, 1809 (Henry [the elder] 1901:208); Kinishtineau, 1811 (Henry [the younger] 1897, 2:537); Knisteneux, 1816 (Harmon 1957:199).

In their post journals, Hudson's Bay Company factors seldom referred to Cree bands by name. More often they were too specific—giving an individual's name—or too vague—stating only that their customers came from the north, or down the river, or from their unnamed hunting grounds. A common distinction was between Northern and Southern Indians. At York Factory and Churchill (Fort Prince of Wales) the name Northern or Northward Indian meant Chipewyan, as shown by Isham's (1949:37) "Northward Indian" vocabulary, but the Northward Indians who were reported to have married "this country Indians" at Fort Albany in 1716 (Davies and Johnson 1965:50) were more likely Crees from farther up the west coast of the bay. During his voyages to Hudson Bay in 1727–1751 Coats applied the name Northern Indians both to Chipewyans seen at York Factory and to East Main Crees on the Great Whale River (Coats 1852:31, 64, 88).

The term Southern or Southward Indian almost always refers to the West Main Cree. At York Factory in 1743 Isham (1949:34–36) distinguished between the Common Indian (Cree) and the Southward Indian (Mohawk) languages, but this usage is unique. More typical was Hearne's (1958:161) contrast between the Southern Indians—the Cree of the Hudson Bay Lowlands—and the Athapuscow (Western Woods Cree) and Neheaway (Plains Cree) to the west. In 1705 the Albany journal recorded the arrival of "a southward Indian from the northward" (Williams 1975:34), showing that it was not meant literally even in the earliest days.

The most important group of West Main Cree to the traders was the Home Indians, a term used at York Factory by 1690 (Kelsey 1929:2) and at Albany by 1706 (Williams 1975:51). The variant form Home-guard Indians was defined by Hearne (1958:51) in 1795 as "certain of the natives who are immediately employed under the protection of the Company's servants, reside on the

plantation, and are employed in hunting for the Factory." At most posts the Home-guards were Cree, but at Churchill some were Chipewyan (Graham in Isham 1949:312).

Regional Groups

In the seventeenth century the ancestors of the West Main Cree probably occupied almost all of northern Ontario, with extensions into Manitoba and Quebec, but since then they have come to occupy a smaller area (Pentland 1979:61). Some of the major regional groups of the earlier West Main Cree territory noted in the early records are listed below; of these the Abitibi, Nipigon, and Piscotagami probably lived in areas occupied by Ojibwa speakers in later times.

Abitibi. The people living around Lake Abitibi in the seventeenth century were probably Cree, although in the twentieth century they speak an Ojibwa dialect (Speck 1915:3). Cuoq (1886:8) derives the name from Ojibwa *Abitipi* '(at) the half lake', so called because it is at the height of land where half the water flows north, the other half south. As the expected Ojibwa form with this meaning would be **a-pitipi-nk*, not *a-pitipi-nk*, his etymology must be considered doubtful. Speck (1915:3) recorded Abitibi 'anicanabi 'blue-water people' (probably *apitipi anisina'pe*, sg.) as the Temiskaming Ojibwa name of the band; if his translation is correct Ojibwa has borrowed a Cree form (*ot*)*apitipi-w*, which is unattested but a properly formed Cree name for a person from a dark-colored lake. Earlier spellings of the name, most of which omit the initial *o*- or *ot*-, are: Outabitibek, 1660 (misprinted Outabitikek in JR 45:232); Stabitibecus, 1660 (Creuxius in JR 46:map); Tabitice, 1671 (Gorst in Tyrrell 1931:390); Outabitibec, 1674 (JR 59:28); Stabitibecus, 1677 (JR 60:244); Tabitibis, 1684 (Greysolon Dulhut in Margry 1879–1888, 6:51); Abitibis, 1709 (Raudot in Kinetz 1940:366); Tibitibe, 1722 (Davies and Johnson 1965:82); Abbitibbes, 1801 (Mackenzie 1970:map). The forms with final *-s* in addition to or in place of *-k* are French or English plurals. Coats in 1727–1751 knew of both Great and Little Tabitabies (Coats 1852:41), a distinction of unknown significance.

Albany. The Cree name of the Albany River, *ke-sičiwān* 'swift current' (Ellis 1962), is also applied to the settlement at the mouth of the river, called in English Kasichuan Reserve. It first appears in Radisson's 1685 list of tribes (Radisson 1961:193) in the form *Kechewān*. Later spellings are: *Kitchichouan*, 1688 (Franquelin in Warkentin and Ruggles 1970:49); *Kasichewan*, 1775 (Graham in Isham 1949:316); *Kas-techewan* and *Keschewan* (Sepee), 1791 (Graham 1969:206, 251); *Kā-sičewanuk* (locative; Richardson 1852:264). The Roman Catholic settlement at Lac

Sainte Anne is called *pi-hū pe'kohk* 'at the old river channel'.

Attawapiskat. The Cree form is unknown, but in 1658 the *Ataouabouscatouek* (pl.) were listed as one of the four Cree divisions (JR 44:248). Creuxius (in JR 46:map) used the Latinized form *Atašabškatšci* in 1660. The *Bouscouthons*, mentioned in 1671 (Margry 1879–1888, 1:97), are probably the same people.

Monsoni. In 1672 Albel encountered the *Monsounik* (Ojibwa *mo'nsōnik*, pl.) on the shore of James Bay (JR 56:202). Borrowed into French the name appears in the following shapes: *Monsonis*, 1679 (Greysolon Dulhut in Margry 1879–1888, 6:31); *Monsony*, 1688 (Franquelin in Warkentin and Ruggles 1970:49); *Monsaunis*, 1697 (Bacqueville de la Potherie 1931:263); *Monzoni*, 1709 (Lahontan in Winsor 1884–1889, 4:258–259); *Monsonis*, 1729 (La Vérendrye in Warkentin and Ruggles 1970:73); *Monsoni* or *Mosonique* (Dobbs 1744:33). Horden created the form *Moosonee* in 1872 for the name of an Anglican diocese (J.K. Fraser 1968:243), but there is no evidence that it is an acceptable Cree word, although the locative *mo'soni-hk* '(at) Moose Factory' exists (Pentland 1970–1979). A Cree group-name *omo'soni-w* 'moose person' (the translation is inaccurate insofar as it leaves the segment *-ni-*) unexplained) probably underlies the place-name and the French form *Aumoussonnites*, a tribe mentioned in 1671 (Margry 1879–1888, 1:97); the Ojibwa name is either cognate with or borrowed from Cree.

Cheyenne traditions mention the *Mōiseo* (Mooney 1907a:368–369, 427), a group that accompanied the Cheyenne onto the Plains but later returned to the Woodlands. Mooney claimed that the *Mōiseo* were the *Monsoni*, apparently basing his argument on the similarity between the two names, but there is no connection: if the Cheyenne had already known the name of the *Monsoni* before their westward migration, they would now pronounce it **mēhene* (pl.).

In English sources the *Moose Cree* are called the *Moose River Indians* (as by Gorst [1670–1671] in Tyrrell 1931:390), sometimes misspelled *Mouse River* (Williams 1975:42). The name is a translation of Cree *mo'so-si-piy*, which Graham wrote *Moosuwaw sepe* (in Isham 1949:317) and *Moosu-Sepee* (Graham 1969:207). Richardson's (1852:265) *Muswā-sipi* is an ungrammatical combination of Cree *mo'swa* 'moose' and *si-piy* 'river'; this and other group names were elicited by Richardson from a list that Thomas Hutchins copied from Graham.

Since Albel said that the *Mousouciou* (*Moose River*) was also called *Kichesipiou* (Old Cree *kīše-si-piw*, modern *kīše-si-piy* 'great river'), the *Kichesipiiriniouek* mentioned in 1658 (JR 44:250) and Radisson's misspelled *Kischeripirini* (Radisson 1961:160) may refer to the same band. The *Moose Cree* are also the most likely candidates for the *Kilistons des Nip-*

isirinies (JR 44:248), so called because the *Nipissings* had "discovered" them.

Nipigon. An Old Ojibwa form *alimipi-k*, perhaps meaning '(where) the water begins' (referring to the height of land north of Lake Superior), is attested from 1658 as the name of Lake Nipigon (*Alimibeg*) and the band of *Kilistons Alimibegouek* who lived near it (JR 44:242, 248). In 1685 Jaillot published a map on which the name was misspelled *Alcempignon* (Warkentin and Ruggles 1970:53); confusion was heightened by vague knowledge of a Lake *Quinipigon* (*Winnipeg*) in the same direction from Sault Sainte Marie. Carver (1778:415) mentions the *Nipegons*, but by his day the area was probably Ojibwa (Bishop 1974).

Piscotagami (perhaps Cree *piskwata-kamiy* 'mound lake?'). In the second quarter of the eighteenth century the *Piscotagemies* were among the groups trading at Moose Factory (Coats 1852:41). In 1709 Raudot (1904:99; Kinetz 1940:366) gave the name as *Pisouotagamis*, perhaps an error for *Piscotagamis*, but the only clue to their location and identity is that they are listed between the *Monsonis* and *Abitibis*, which is about where Jaillot showed a Lake *Piscotagami* on his 1685 map (Warkentin and Ruggles 1970:53).

Severn. The Cree place-name *wa'saha-w si-piy*, *wa'saha-wi-si-piy* 'bay river, Severn River' (Pentland 1970–1979; Faries 1938:502) was borrowed by the Hudson's Bay Company traders with or without *si-piy* 'river': *Wasahoe* or *New Severn Indian*, 1671 (Gorst in Tyrrell 1931:392); *Ouashe'o*, 1743 (error for *Ouashe'o*; Isham 1949:113); *Owasheos*, 1727–1751 (Coats 1852:41); *Washe ho Sepe*, 1775 (Graham in Isham 1949:316); *Washeo-Sepee*, 1791 (Graham 1969:206); *Washè-u-sipi* (Richardson 1852:264).

Winisk (Cree *wi'nask* 'groundhog'). The *Winisk River* flows north from what is now Northern Ojibwa territory to the Cree settlement at its mouth. Graham listed a *Winisk River* band of Ojibwa (see the synonymy in "Northern Ojibwa," this vol.), but Honigmann (1956:24) gives a *Swampy Cree* form *Wii-niskiiwisakahiikaniiwi* (equivalent to *wi'naskosa-kahikan-ininiwak* 'groundhog lake people') as the name of the *Winisk Cree*. The modern band name is also spelled *Wcenusk*.

Winnipeg. There were perhaps two groups who called themselves *wi'nipe-ko-wak*, besides the *Coasters* on the east side of James Bay. The Cree word *wi'nipek* 'foul water, salt water' refers primarily to Hudson Bay but was also the name of Lake *Winnipeg*; the West Main Cree apparently used *wi'nipe-ko-w* for a person from either area. The *Oüenebigonchelinis* or *Oüenebigonchelinis*, whom Bacqueville de la Potherie (1931:337, 341, 355, 1753, 1:122, 131) saw in 1697 at York Factory, were confused with the *Winnebago* by Hodge (1907–1910, 2:961; corrected by Michelson 1934), and the *Ovenigibonc*, one of the bands who came

229

to Sault Sainte Marie from the north in 1670, were misidentified as the Winnebago by Thwaites (JR 54:133–134, 73:210, 214); both references are probably to Hudson Bay Cree. Coats (1852:41) mentions both Great and Little Winipeggoons, perhaps 'coast Indians' and 'Lake Winnipeg Indians'; Graham (1969:192, 206) gave Winepeg and Winnepeg as the inland Indians' name for the Home-guard, those who lived with the traders on the shore of the bay.

During the early nineteenth century groups came to be called after the post they frequented, and these names became fixed with the signing of the treaties. In the 1970s most West Main Cree belonged to the Moose Factory, New Post, Albany, Attawapiskat, Weenusk (Winisk), Fort Severn, and York Factory bands, but not all the names were still appropriate: most of the New Post band lived in Moosonee, and no one had lived at York Factory since its closing in 1957.

Sources

For reconstructing the culture as it probably was prior to heavy European influence, there are the firsthand observations made at York Factory and Churchill between 1697 and 1791 by Bacqueville de la Potherie (1931:222–238, 261–267), Isham (1949:61–177, 316–317), and Graham (1969:141–212). Graham's data are sometimes hard to identify as pertaining specifically to coastal Cree. For a history of the fur trade in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Williams (1970:9–

15); for nineteenth-century painted scenes of southern James Bay trading posts see A.M. Johnson (1967a).

In 1909 at Fort Albany Skinner (1912:8–116) gave considerable attention to eliciting customs of former times. He also described contemporary behavior patterns and beliefs that a knowledge of areal ethnography indicates to be of autochthonous origin. In 1947–1948, with additional checking in 1955, Honigmann (1956) at Attawapiskat probed for recollections of culture patterns uninfluenced by factors of contact.

Honigmann's studies of the contemporary culture of Attawapiskat in 1947–1948, 1955, and 1956 resulted in a report emphasizing ecology and foodways (Honigmann 1961) and several papers (1949a, 1953, 1957, 1958) dealing with special topics. Trudeau studied acculturation in Winisk 1958–1960 (Trudeau 1966; Chance and Trudeau 1963; Liebow and Trudeau 1962). Nonas (1963) did fieldwork in Attawapiskat. Koolage (1971) gives some attention to the Cree and Cree Métis adaptations to the town of Churchill (see also Egloff, Koolage, and Vranas 1968). Papers by Rogers (1966, 1967), Rogers and Trudeau (1968–1972, 3), and Bishop (1972) discussing demography and ecology for the coastal Cree and other areas are based on a variety of primary sources, including, in Bishop's case, Hudson's Bay Company Archives. Detailed accounts of the Roman Catholic church in James Bay have been written by Paul-Emile (1952) and Nadeau (1954). For a James Bay bibliography see Feit et al. (1972). Hoffmann (1961) has analyzed culture and personality adaptation among Attawapiskat Indians.

Northern Ojibwa

EDWARD S. ROGERS AND J. GARTH TAYLOR

Language, Territory, and Environment

The name Northern Ojibwa (ō'jibwā) here refers to the Ojibwa Indians that live along the upper courses of the rivers that flow generally northeast into Hudson and James bays, from Island Lake, Manitoba, to Ogoki, Ontario (fig. 1). It thus refers to only the northernmost of the groups called Northern Ojibwa by Dunning (1959:5) and includes only Island Lake, Sandy Lake, and Deer Lake of the groups east of Lake Winnipeg to which the name was applied by Hollowell (1955:112–113). The territory occupied by the Northern Ojibwa corresponds essentially to the Patricia portion of the Precambrian Uplands of northern Ontario with a slight extension west into Manitoba and a possible extension southeast. The total area comprises approximately 100,000 square miles. The people within this region appear to have had a somewhat distinctive cultural history in relation to other Ojibwa due in part to the nature of the country they inhabit and in part to influences exerted by the Cree to the north and east. It has also been argued that the distinctive features exhibited by the Northern Ojibwa are attributable to their recent arrival in the north (see "Territorial Groups Before 1821: Cree and Ojibwa," this vol.).

Data are not sufficiently complete to draw a rigid boundary for the territory of the Northern Ojibwa at any period in their history. Population movements and intermarriage with surrounding groups, as well as the infusion of other Indian and European culture traits, have contributed to a blurring of boundaries. Nevertheless, the Northern Ojibwa do form, at least in part, a distinct dialect unit, being coextensive with the Severn dialect (Todd 1970; J.D. Nichols 1975) except for including also a few groups of somewhat different speech immediately to the south.* To the northwest (Wolfart 1973), north, and east are Cree; to the southwest, the Northwestern dialect of Ojibwa (J.D. Nichols 1975). In addition to their partial dialectal distinctness, the

* The orthography used to spell words in all varieties of Ojibwa in the *Handbook* follows the analysis of Bloomfield (1946, 1957), using the following phonemic symbols: *p, t, k, k', s, š, m, n, w, y, i, a, o, r, e, a', o'*. This is the transcription referred to as General Ojibwa in "Subarctic Algonquian Languages" (this vol.), where details on pronunciation in the different dialects are given. In the Severn dialect preaspirated stops (such as *hk*) appear instead of the geminate stops of the other dialects (*kk*), and *h* appears for *ʔ*.

Northern Ojibwa lacked, except along their southern margin, certain cultural traits found among their Ojibwa neighbors to the west and south. Notably lacking are social and religious elaborations such as patrilineals and the Midewiwin and (excepting Sandy Lake) *manito'hkewak* ceremonies (Rogers 1958–1959; cf. "Saulteaux of Lake Winnipeg," this vol.). In regard to environment, for example, most Northern Ojibwa were outside the range of wild rice and the sugar maple, a fact that limited the subsistence potential of their area compared to that of their southern neighbors.

History and Culture

Lack of information makes it difficult to distinguish precise time periods enabling one to describe the cultural changes that have taken place since contact with Europeans. Tentatively, four periods are proposed: the early fur-trade period, 1670–1821; the early contact-traditional period, 1821–1900; the late contact-traditional period, 1900–1950; and the modern period, since 1950.

Early Fur Trade Period, 1670–1821

No doubt some of the ancestors of the Northern Ojibwa had had direct contact with Europeans prior to 1670, the year in which the Hudson's Bay Company was incorporated. Yet not until the 1740s can the Northern Ojibwa be dimly perceived as a distinct group, included under the name Nakawawuck (Isham 1949:314–315; cf. Graham 1969:204; Richardson 1852:265).

During the period 1670–1821, the Northern Ojibwa gradually became dependent upon European trade goods, which they secured in return for furs. For approximately a century following contact, the Northern Ojibwa secured goods, although not food to any extent, from trading posts located on James and Hudson bays—Fort Albany, Fort Severn, and York Factory—and from French posts in the vicinity of Lake Nipigon and along the middle course of the Albany River (Bishop 1969:317–318, 320). For more than half the period, the trading posts were located outside the territory of the Northern Ojibwa. Only after about 1740 did traders establish posts within Northern Ojibwa country (fig. 1). Prior to

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POPULATION AND SUBSISTENCE

Authors: Conrad E. Heidenreich; J.V. Wright (Prehistoric subsistence)

LINGUISTIC FAMILIES AND IDENTIFIABLE GROUPS

ALGONQUIAN LINGUISTIC FAMILY

- Eastern Algonquian Groups**
- Mc Micmac
 - M1 Gaspegoag
 - 2 Sigontigobag
 - 3 Epgitnag
 - 4 Diglogoag
 - 5 Onamag
 - 6 Esageoag
 - 7 Sepenegetag
 - 8 Gespegotnag
- Ma Maliseet-
 - 1 Maliseet
 - 2 Passamaquoddy
- Ae Eastern Abenaki
 - Ae1 Penobscot
 - 2 Kennebec
 - 3 Arosaguntacook
 - 4 Pgwaket
- Aw Western Abenaki
 - Aw1 Sokaki
 - 2 Cocasuk
 - 3 Winnepesaukee
 - 4 Penacook
 - 5 Amoskeag
- M Mahican
- Ar Southern New England groups
 - Ar1 Pawtucket
 - 2 Massachusetts
 - 3 Pokanokett
 - 4 Narragansett
 - 5 Pequot-Mohegan
- De Delaware
 - De1 Munsee
 - 2 Northern Umami
 - 3 Southern Umami
- Northern Algonquian Groups**
- O Ojibwa
 - O1 Ouchibous
 - 2 Maromeg
 - 3 Mantuuck
 - 4 Noquet
 - 5 Saulteaus
 - 6 Mississauga
 - 7 Niskouet
 - 8 Amikwa
 - 9 Achiligouan (N.Ot)
 - 10 Duchouga (N.Ot)
 - 11 Onassourim
 - 12 Sagoharim
- Ot Ottawa
- Me Menominee
- Pt Potawatomi
- N Nipissing
- S Sauk-fox-Kikapoo-Mascouten
 - S1 Sauk
 - 2 Fox
 - 3 Kikapoo
 - 4 Mascouten
- M Miami-Illinois
 - M1 Miami
 - 2 Illinois
- Al Algonquin
 - Al1 Onontcharonon
 - 2 Weskarim
 - 3 Matouweskarini
 - 4 Keinsuche
 - 5 Kichesipirini
 - 6 Ottagououemin
 - 7 Saghitouagima
 - 8 Ouhmagami (N)
- Cr Cree-Gens de Terre
 - Cr1 Alimbegeuck
 - 2 Monsoni
 - 3 Ataouabouskatouck
 - 4 Nisbouranonik
 - 5 Pitchbouranonik
 - 6 Gessirinouetch
 - 7 Opinaquirinouetch
 - 8 Grand Mistassirini
 - 9 Petit Mistassirini
 - 10 Attikirinouetch
 - 11 Niskikirinouetch
 - 12 Ouchichagamiouetch
 - 13 Escourieux
 - 14 Nupyming-dachirinouck
 - 15 Ouhoulbi
 - 16 Timisimi
 - 17 Abitibi
 - 18 Piscoutagami
- Mt Montagnais-Naskapi
 - Mt1 Tadoussacien
 - 2 Kakouchaki
 - 3 Chicoutimi
 - 4 Attikamek
 - 5 Nekoubanistic
 - 6 Chomouchanistic
 - 7 Ouatachirini
 - 8 Papinachois
 - 9 Oukestigouek
 - 10 Chisedech
 - 11 Bersamites
 - 12 Ouanteskapi
 - 13 Oumamiouck
 - 14 Outakouarmouck
 - 15 Outabilbec
- Western Algonquian Groups**
- Ch Cheyenne
- BEOTHUK LINGUISTIC FAMILY**
- Be Beothuk
- IROQUOIAN LINGUISTIC FAMILY**
- Ir Iroquoian
 - Ir1 Huron
 - 2 Petun (Fionontate)
 - 3 Neutral
 - 4 Wenro
 - 5 Erie
 - 6 Seneca
 - 7 Cayuga
 - 8 Onondaga
 - 9 Oneida
 - 10 Mohawk
 - 11 Susquehannock
- SIYOUAN LINGUISTIC FAMILY**
- Da Dakota
- W Winnebago
- A Assiniboine

In the east, where the French compiled much ethnographic information before European diseases spread through the Great Lakes basin in the 1630s (pl 35), the distribution of early 17th-century populations is approximately known. Most of the St Lawrence valley was uninhabited (pl 33), population densities were low wherever the economy depended on hunting, fishing, and gathering, and sharply higher where agriculture was practised. Non-agricultural peoples were highly mobile; although territories were extensive, contact between neighbour groups was frequent.

- Linguistic groups**
- Algonquian
 - Beothuk
 - Iroquoian
 - Siouan

The analysis of discarded bones and shells from an archaeological site can indicate when the site was occupied, what animals were eaten, and the relative importance of different foods. Where soils are acidic, as in the Canadian Shield, such remains are rarely preserved, however, and very little prehistoric hunting and fishing equipment survives: stone, bone, and copper tips for spears and arrows are most common, whereas objects such as sinew or rope snares, nets, and traps usually have disappeared. Some stone structures used to channel caribou and trap fish, as well as portions of wooden fishing weirs buried under water in mud, have survived. Over all, archaeological data permit only a partial picture of patterns of subsistence in late prehistoric Canada.

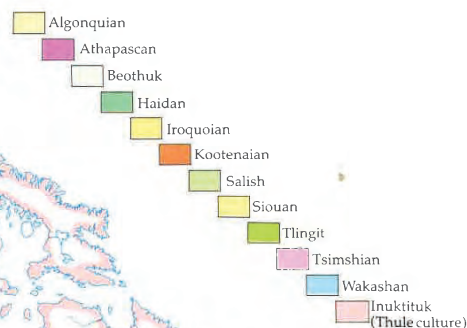
SUBSISTENCE Archaeological Data

- Corn, deer, fish
- Fish, sea mammals, caribou
- Fish, shellfish, moose, sea mammals
- Deer, fish
- Caribou, fish
- Caribou, fish, moose
- Bison
- Shellfish, fish, sea mammals

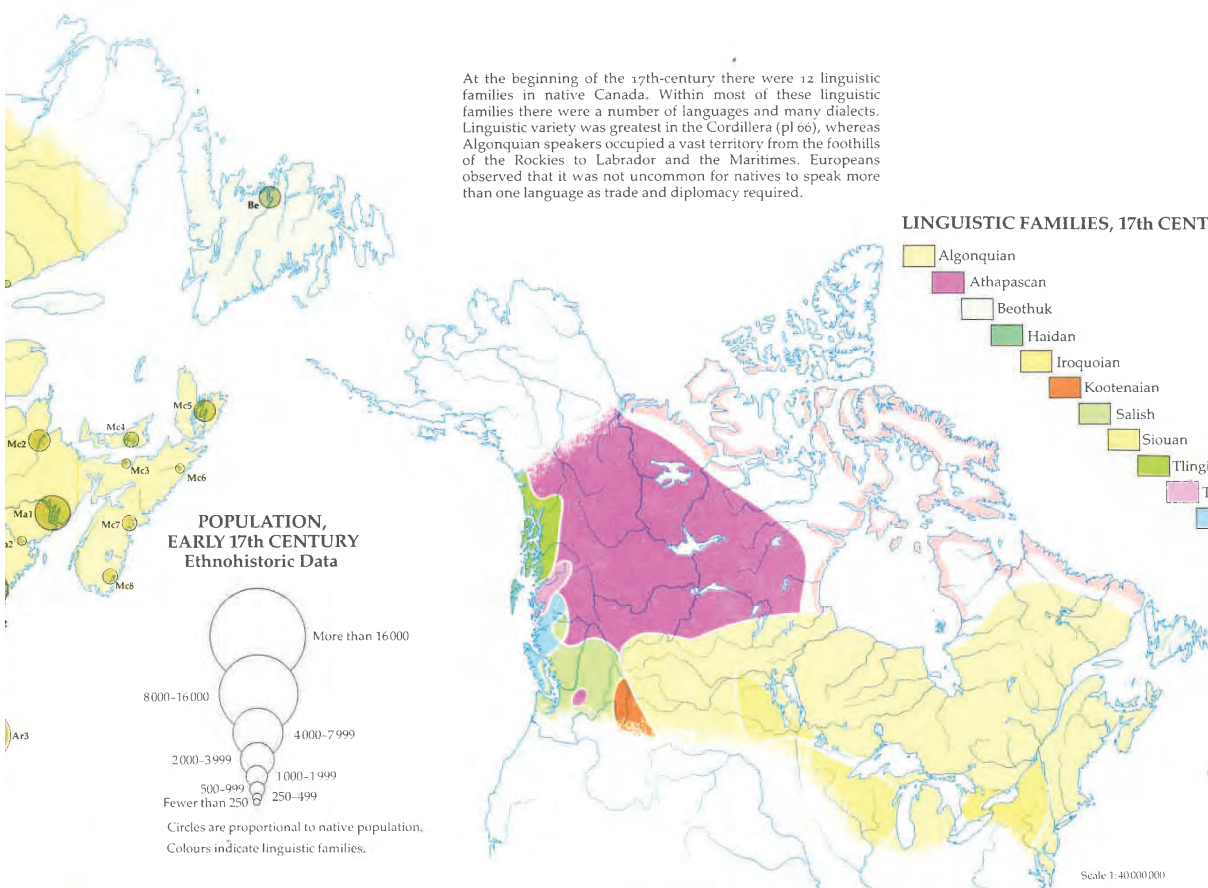
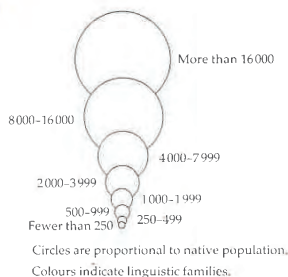
- Wooden caribou surrounds
- Stone caribou drive-lanes
- Bison entrapment
- Stone fish weir
- Wooden fish weir

At the beginning of the 17th-century there were 12 linguistic families in native Canada. Within most of these linguistic families there were a number of languages and many dialects. Linguistic variety was greatest in the Cordillera (pl 06), whereas Algonquian speakers occupied a vast territory from the foothills of the Rockies to Labrador and the Maritimes. Europeans observed that it was not uncommon for natives to speak more than one language as trade and diplomacy required.

LINGUISTIC FAMILIES, 17th CENTURY



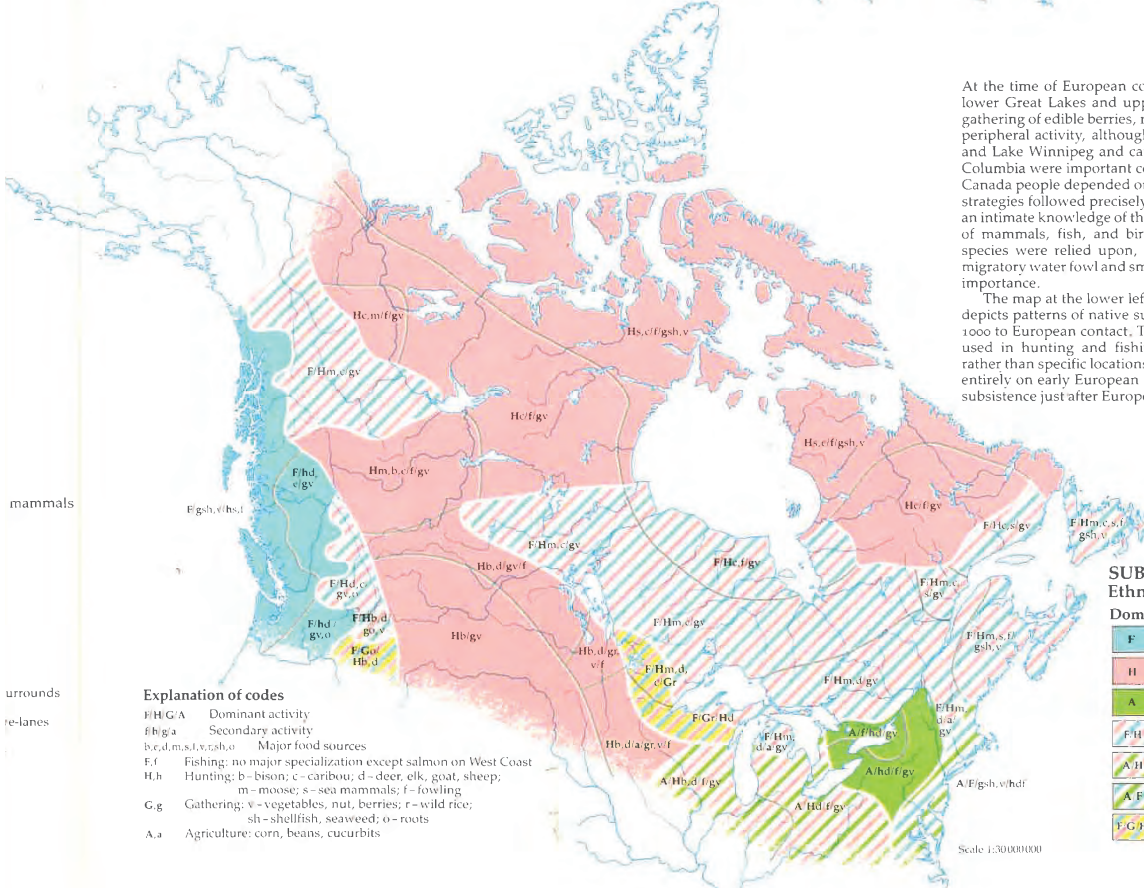
POPULATION, EARLY 17th CENTURY Ethnohistoric Data



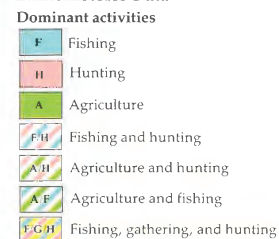
Scale 1:4000000

At the time of European contact farming was restricted to the lower Great Lakes and upper St Lawrence valley (pl 12). The gathering of edible berries, roots, and other plants was usually a peripheral activity, although wild rice between Lake Michigan and Lake Winnipeg and camass bulbs in southwestern British Columbia were important components of local diets. In most of Canada people depended on hunting and fishing. Procurement strategies followed precisely planned seasonal rounds based on an intimate knowledge of the hunting territory, and of the habits of mammals, fish, and birds. Characteristically two or three species were relied upon, although secondary foods such as migratory water fowl and small game could be of critical seasonal importance.

The map at the lower left, derived from archaeological data, depicts patterns of native subsistence in Canada from about AD 1000 to European contact. The symbols representing structures used in hunting and fishing show generalized distributions rather than specific locations. The map at the lower right, based entirely on early European accounts, depicts patterns of native subsistence just after European contact.



SUBSISTENCE Ethnohistoric Data



Explanation of codes

F/H/G/A Dominant activity
 F/H/g/a Secondary activity
 b,c,d,m,s,l,v,t,sh,o Major food sources
 F,f Fishing; no major specialization except salmon on West Coast
 H,h Hunting; b - bison; c - caribou; d - deer, elk, goat, sheep;
 m - moose; s - sea mammals; f - fowling
 G,g Gathering; v - vegetables, nut, berries; r - wild rice;
 sh - shellfish, seaweed; o - roots
 A,a Agriculture; corn, beans, cucurbits

Scale 1:3000000

HISTORICAL ATLAS OF CANADA

Volume I

From the Beginning to 1800

R. Cole Harris

EDITOR

Geoffrey J. Matthews

CARTOGRAPHER/DESIGNER

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS

Toronto Buffalo London

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Volume I of the Historical Atlas of Canada
have been funded by the
Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

- Goods and traders**
- ← European goods
 - ← Native goods
 - Natives trading with Europeans
 - - - Natives trading with natives
 - Annual French traders
 - - - Occasional French traders
 - Annual British traders
 - - - Occasional British traders
- Settlements and trading places**
(see pl 37 for numbered list)
- French village or town
 - French mission
 - French fort or post
 - British village
 - British fort or post
- Warfare**
- Native warfare
 - French warfare
 - British warfare
 - Forced native migration
 - Peaceful native migration

**THE INTERIOR REOPENED,
1712-1716**

In 1713 when the Treaty of Utrecht assigned the lands adjacent to Hudson Bay to the British and made the Ohio River and lower Great Lakes a free trade area, the French reacted quickly to restore their earlier position. Michilimackinac was reopened in 1712-13 and trade was restored to the Illinois-Michigan posts by 1715. Aided by a recovery in the price of beaver in 1714, traders again departed for the interior.

Convinced that the Fox were hatching a plot with the British and Iroquois to drive the French out of the Great Lakes, the Detroit commandant Dubuisson, aided by native allies of the French, launched a pre-emptive raid in 1712. The Fox and their allies fled to Green Bay where they retaliated against the Illinois. In 1716 a second French campaign, under Louvigny, imposed an uneasy peace on the Fox. Incited by British merchants, the Chickasaw, living in the northern part of the present state of Mississippi, raided French and Illinois settlements.

**THE FOX DEFEATED
AND EXPANSION NORTHWEST, 1726-1739**

In 1726 the French concluded a peace with the Fox and reopened trade with the Dakota. The Fox objected to French trade with their enemies and resumed hostilities. After expeditions by de Lignery (1728) and de Noyelles (1730, 1734), aided by native allies of the French, Fox resistance was broken and the Green Bay-Dakota area reopened to trade. At the same time La Verendrye penetrated the Hudson's Bay Company trading hinterland, initiating a marked decline in the fur returns at Fort Albany and York Factory. In 1736 he achieved a peace between the Saulteaux and Cree. The Dakota, angered by the defection of the Saulteaux to their enemies, turned on them, thus instigating the migration of some of the Ojibwa groups into Cree territory west of Lake Superior.

French expeditions against the increasingly troublesome Chickasaw in 1736 and 1739 led to a negotiated peace in 1740. English influence, however, continued to expand. Traders from Pennsylvania and Virginia increased their overtures to the Miami; native groups allied to the British continued to settle the Ohio valley, and after 1726 Fort Oswego became an increasingly attractive trading place for the Mississauga of southern Ontario.

Scale 1:17 000 000

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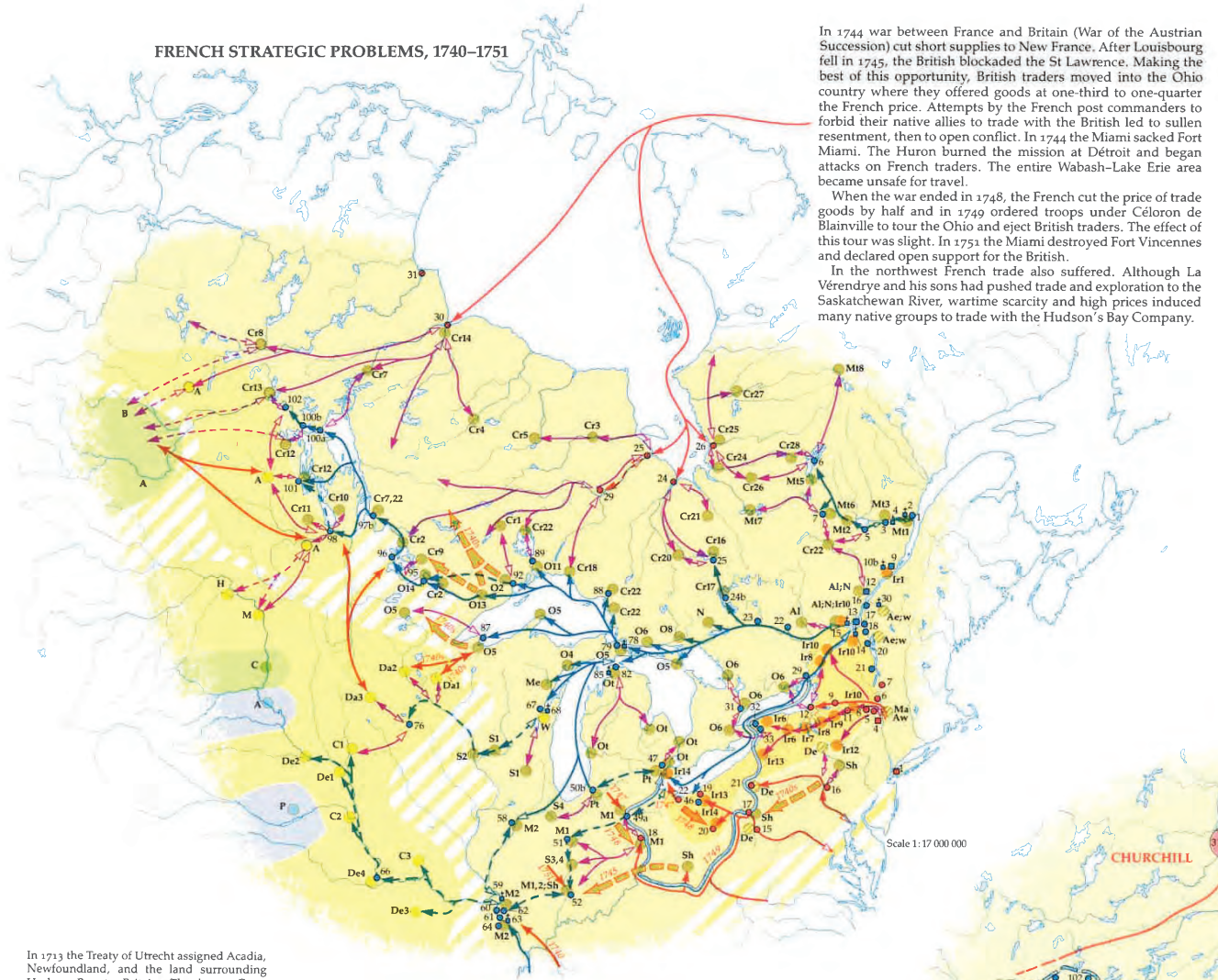
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FRANCE SECURES THE INTERIOR, 1740-1755

Authors: Conrad E. Heidenreich, Françoise Noël

FRENCH STRATEGIC PROBLEMS, 1740-1751

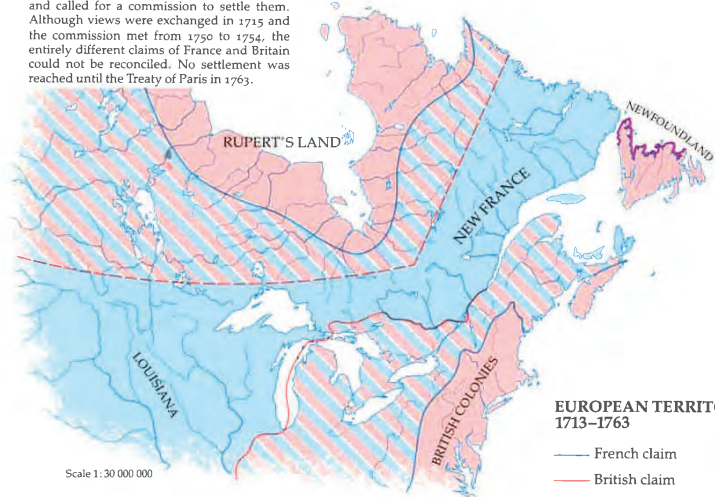


In 1744 war between France and Britain (War of the Austrian Succession) cut short supplies to New France. After Louisbourg fell in 1745, the British blockaded the St Lawrence. Making the best of this opportunity, British traders moved into the Ohio country where they offered goods at one-third to one-quarter the French price. Attempts by the French post commanders to forbid their native allies to trade with the British led to sullen resentment, then to open conflict. In 1744 the Miami sacked Fort Miami. The Huron burned the mission at Détroit and began attacks on French traders. The entire Wabash-Lake Erie area became unsafe for travel.

When the war ended in 1748, the French cut the price of trade goods by half and in 1749 ordered troops under Céloron de Blainville to tour the Ohio and eject British traders. The effect of this tour was slight. In 1751 the Miami destroyed Fort Vincennes and declared open support for the British.

In the northwest French trade also suffered. Although La Vérendrye and his sons had pushed trade and exploration to the Saskatchewan River, wartime scarcity and high prices induced many native groups to trade with the Hudson's Bay Company.

In 1713 the Treaty of Utrecht assigned Acadia, Newfoundland, and the land surrounding Hudson Bay to Britain. The lower Great Lakes-Ohio area was to be a free trade zone. The treaty did not specify definite boundaries and called for a commission to settle them. Although views were exchanged in 1715 and the commission met from 1750 to 1754, the entirely different claims of France and Britain could not be reconciled. No settlement was reached until the Treaty of Paris in 1763.



THE FUR TRADE, ca 1755

Although licensed and regulated by the crown, the French fur trade was conducted by Montréal merchants who operated in small companies (sociétés), often in partnership with post commanders. At some posts (especially the entrepôts) concessions to trade were obtained by the purchase of a permit (congé) to take a load of trade goods (by 1755 about 2 tons) to the post. The number of congés was limited and varied between posts. At other posts trade was by monopoly lease for specified periods. Finally, at some posts trade was a crown monopoly (king's post) operated by agents. The mix of these three systems changed over time.

Fur imports at La Rochelle (pl 48) are some indication of the changing volume of the French fur trade. Comprehensive data on the sources of these furs are available only for the mid-1750s. Permit revenue for 1755 indicates that the products (mainly furs) of the northern posts were more valuable than those (furs and hides) of the southern ones. In the 1750s about 80% of the furs exported from North America were garnered by the French.

EUROPEAN TERRITORIAL CLAIMS, 1713-1763

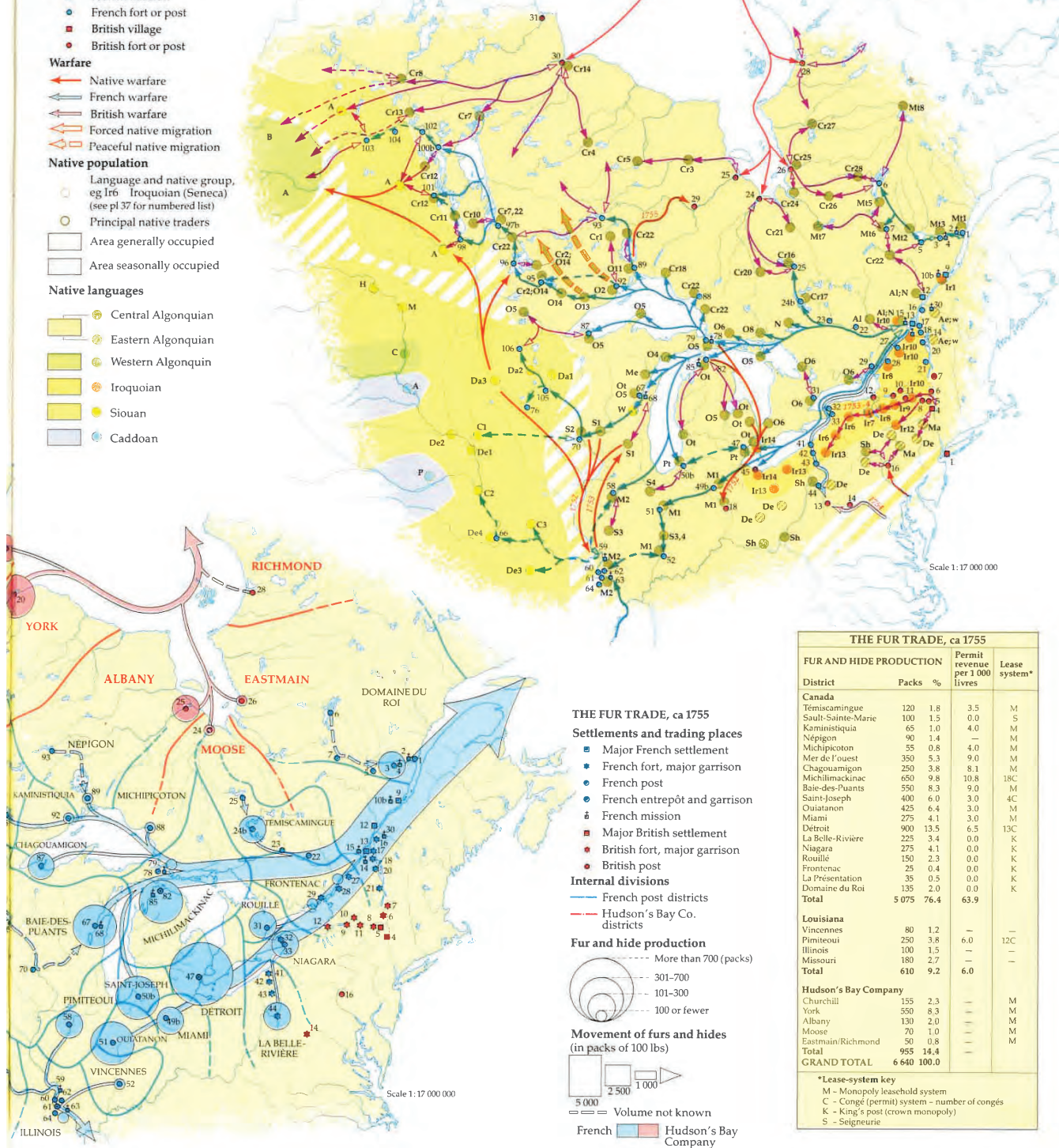
- French claim
- British claim
- Hudson's Bay Company claim
- Recognized French territory
- Recognized British territory
- Disputed territory
- British territory, French fishing and landing rights

- Goods and traders**
- European goods
 - Native goods
 - Natives trading with Europeans
 - Natives trading with natives
 - Annual French traders
 - Occasional French traders
 - Annual British traders
 - Occasional British traders
- Settlements and trading places**
- French village or town
 - French mission
 - French fort or post
 - British village
 - British fort or post
- Warfare**
- Native warfare
 - French warfare
 - British warfare
 - Forced native migration
 - Peaceful native migration
- Native population**
- Language and native group, eg Irb Iroquoian (Seneca) (see pl 37 for numbered list)
 - Principal native traders
 - Area generally occupied
 - Area seasonally occupied
- Native languages**
- Central Algonquian
 - Eastern Algonquian
 - Western Algonquian
 - Iroquoian
 - Siouan
 - Caddoan

The lessons of the previous ten years were not lost on the French. The Ohio-Wabash country was of little economic value for the fur trade but was strategically of the highest importance. The French recognized that, if the lower Great Lakes natives were alienated, the Mississippi colonies would be cut off from Canada, and in time the upper Great Lakes Indians would drift to the British. Without native support, affirmed through treaties, competitive prices, and a show of strength, the interior would be lost.

In 1752 treaties with the eastern Dakota permitted the vigorous expansion of trade along the upper Mississippi. In the same year the French coerced the Miami back into the French alliance when an Indian party assisted by French soldiers destroyed the Miami's main village, built around a British post at Pickawillany. In 1753-4 French troops occupied four new posts in the upper Ohio, an area always claimed by France. Henley House, a Hudson's Bay outpost on the Albany River, was destroyed in 1755 by natives. For a time the French had secured the interior of North America.

FRENCH DOMINANCE, 1752-1755



THE FUR TRADE, ca 1755

- Settlements and trading places**
- Major French settlement
 - French fort, major garrison
 - French post
 - French entrepôt and garrison
 - French mission
 - Major British settlement
 - British fort, major garrison
 - British post
- Internal divisions**
- French post districts
 - Hudson's Bay Co. districts
- Fur and hide production**
- More than 700 (packs)
 - 301-700
 - 101-300
 - 100 or fewer
- Movement of furs and hides (in packs of 100 lbs)**
- 5 000
 - 2 500
 - 1 000
 - Volume not known
 - French
 - Hudson's Bay Company

THE FUR TRADE, ca 1755

THE FUR TRADE, ca 1755			
FUR AND HIDE PRODUCTION		Permit revenue per 1 000 livres	Lease system*
District	Packs %		
Canada			
Témiscamingue	120 1.8	3.5	M
Sault-Sainte-Marie	100 1.5	0.0	S
Kaministiquia	65 1.0	4.0	M
Népigon	90 1.4	—	M
Michipicoton	55 0.8	4.0	M
Mer de l'ouest	350 5.3	9.0	M
Chagouamigon	250 3.8	8.1	M
Michillimackinac	650 9.8	10.8	18C
Baie-des-Puants	550 8.3	9.0	M
Saint-Joseph	400 6.0	3.0	4C
Oulatanon	425 6.4	3.0	M
Miami	275 4.1	3.0	M
Detroit	900 13.5	6.5	13C
La Belle-Rivière	225 3.4	0.0	K
Niagara	275 4.1	0.0	K
Rouille	150 2.3	0.0	K
Frontenac	25 0.4	0.0	K
La Présentation	35 0.5	0.0	K
Domaine du Roi	135 2.0	0.0	K
Total	5 075 76.4	63.9	
Louisiana			
Vincennes	80 1.2	—	—
Pimitouli	250 3.8	6.0	12C
Illinois	100 1.5	—	—
Missouri	180 2.7	—	—
Total	610 9.2	6.0	
Hudson's Bay Company			
Churchill	155 2.3	—	M
York	550 8.3	—	M
Albany	130 2.0	—	M
Moose	70 1.0	—	M
Eastmain/Richmond	50 0.8	—	M
Total	955 14.4	—	
GRAND TOTAL	6 040 100.0		

*Lease-system key
M - Monopoly leasehold system
C - Congé (permit) system - number of congés
K - King's post (crown monopoly)
S - Seigneurie

Heidenreich, Conrad E. and Françoise Noel. "French Dominance, 1752-1755." Historical Atlas of Canada, Volume 1: From the Beginning to 1800. Ed. R. Cole Harris. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987, plate 40.



Jacques Frenette
anthropologue
consultant inc.

The Country of the ANICENABE
The Algonquin Nation's
Comprehensive Land Claim

Statement of claim documented and written
by
JACQUES FRENETTE

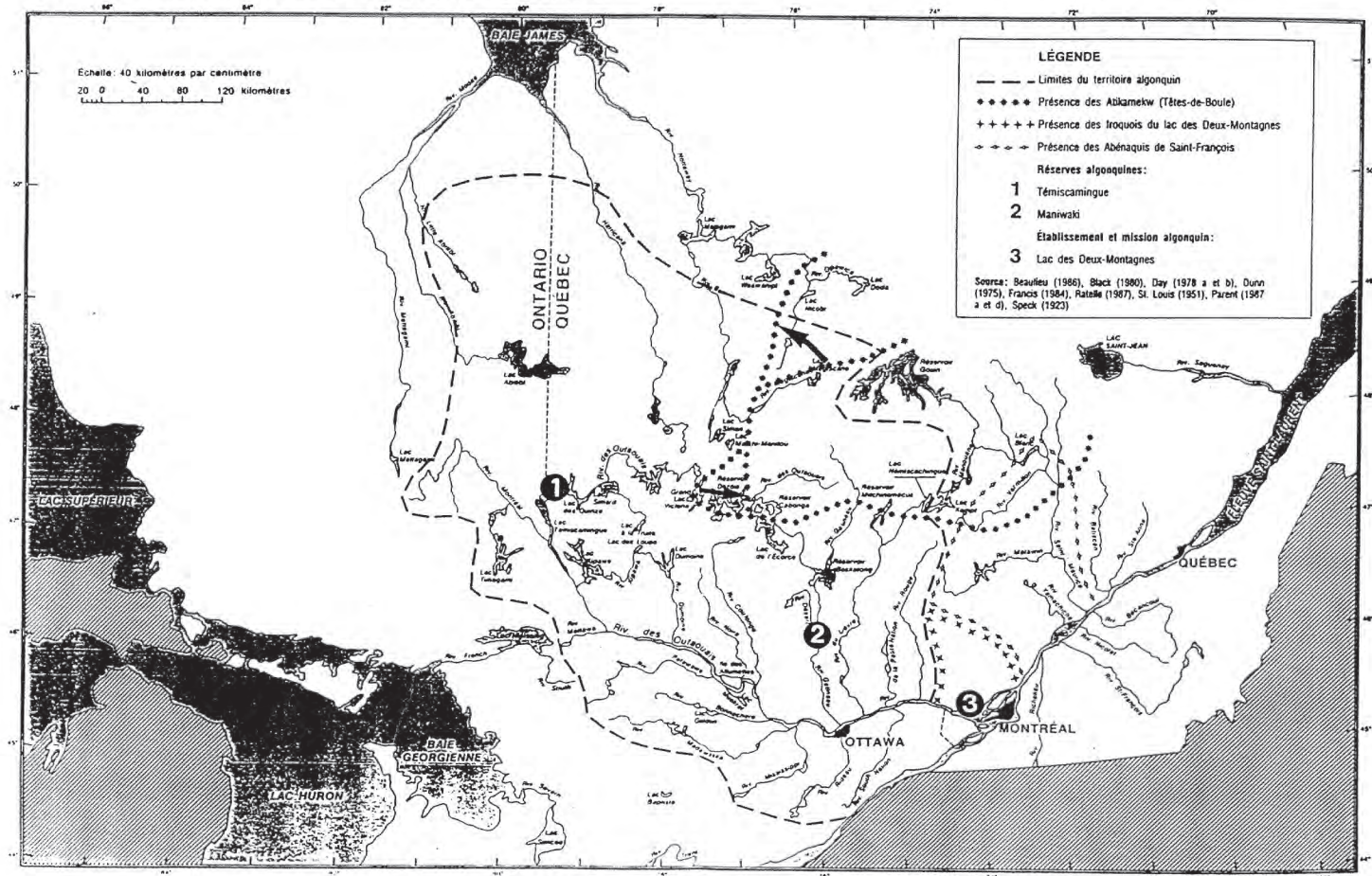
Statement of claim prepared
for
BAND COUNCIL
Maniwaki Algonquin Reserve
P.O. Box 309
Maniwaki, Quebec
J9E 3C9
(819) 449-5170

Ste-Foy
November 1988

1534 Camus, Sainte-Foy (Québec) G2E 4C7

(418) 872-7012

Carte no 5: Territoire algonquin à la fin du Régime anglais (1867)



Frenette, Jacques. "The Country of the Anicnabé: The Algonquin Nations' Comprehensive Land Claim." Prepared for the Band Council, Maniwaki Algonquin Reserve, 1988.

The Algonquin Nation's Comprehensive Land Claim

MAP NO 5: ALGONQUIN TERRITORY AT THE END OF THE ENGLISH REGIME (1867)

CANADA
DEPARTMENT OF MINES
HON. LOUIS CORDERE, MINISTER; R. W. BROCK, DEPUTY MINISTER.
GEOLOGICAL SURVEY

MEMOIR 70

No. 8, ANTHROPOLOGICAL SERIES

Family Hunting Territories and
Social Life of Various Al-
gonkian Bands of the
Ottawa Valley

BY
F. G. Speck



OTTAWA
GOVERNMENT PRINTING BUREAU
1915

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No. 1460

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

	PAGE
Family hunting territories of the Timiskaming Indians.....	1
Introductory.....	1
The Algonquin bands.....	2
Hunting territories.....	3
Totems.....	7

CHAPTER II.

Family hunting territories of the Dumoine River and Kipawa bands of Algonquins.....	9
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CHAPTER III.

Family hunting territories and social life of the Timagami band of Ojibwa.....	11
Introductory.....	11
Bands and hunting territories.....	12
Clans and totems.....	17
Wisana.....	18
Census of the Timagami band.....	19
Naming.....	20
Chieftainship.....	20
Marriage.....	23
Kinship terms.....	24
Burial.....	26
Hunter's taboos.....	26
Dances.....	27
Phonetic key.....	30

ILLUSTRATIONS.

Map: Hunting territories of the Timagami, Timiskaming, Kipawa, and Dumoine bands.....	in pocket
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Family Hunting Territories and Social
Life of Various Algonkian Bands
of the Ottawa Valley.

CHAPTER I.

FAMILY HUNTING TERRITORIES OF THE
TIMISKAMING INDIANS.

INTRODUCTORY.

Among the bands of Algonquins and Ojibwas in northern Ontario visited during the summer of 1913, chiefly in the interests of the Geological Survey of Canada, I spent some weeks with the Indians at the head of Lake Timiskaming, on the boundary between Ontario and the Province of Quebec.

These people are officially known as the Timiskaming band of Algonquins, numbering 241 in 1911, and located at their old headquarters in a village, North Timiskaming, 3 miles above where the Rivière des Quinze empties into Lake Timiskaming. The Timiskaming band has partially taken up farming through contact with French Canadians. Consequently the information obtained here is not of as high a grade as that secured from the Timagami band, which is of the same general type. The general results of my investigations up to this point warrant classifying the Timiskaming Indians as a branch of the Algonquin group, itself a subdivision of the Ojibwa. The Timiskaming people have, however, become greatly influenced by contact with the true Ojibwa only a few score miles to the west of them. This has resulted, through contact

and intermarriage, in the modification of some fundamental Algonquin characteristics, both in social and material life. The characteristic traits of the Algonquin group appear more genuinely in the Lac des Quinze band, about 25 miles east of the Timiskaming people, and also in the bands at the southern end of Lake Timiskaming, the Mattawa and Kipawa bands. In a general introductory paper which I am trying to prepare on the complicated ethnic affinities of the Algonkian bands to the north, more specific information will be presented on the inter-relations and areas of culture distribution of the different groups.

Although a collection of ethnological objects was made with accompanying data on material culture, especially decorative art, while visiting the Timiskaming people, this chapter will deal only with some phases of social organization. Timiskaming myths and folk-lore are published in another paper of this series. The chief object of my visit to this band was the investigation of the hunting territorial divisions which I have found to be so characteristic of all the northern tribes of the Algonkian stock so far visited.¹ I subsequently discovered that the Timiskaming Indians did not present so fruitful a field for these researches as the Timagami band of Ojibwa, where the family hunting territorial divisions and totemic clans exist side by side in the same group. For this reason I am referring the main discussion of this dual social classification to the third chapter of this paper, devoted to the Timagami band.

THE ALGONQUIN BANDS.

The Timiskaming Indians may, I feel safe in saying, be definitely classified as a modified branch of the Algonquin group of the Ojibwa (Algonquin being a tribal designation distinct from, but included in, the term Algonkian, which refers to the whole linguistic stock). The modification mentioned is due to a secondary influence of the Ojibwa neighbours on the west and northwest, namely the Timagami and Matachewan bands.

¹ This statement covers the Montagnais, Naskapi, Cre. Ojibwa, Algonquin, Têtes de Saules, Penobscot, Micmac, and Wabanaki.

The Timiskaming people call themselves *Sagi'wan'icna'bi* "Head-of-the-lake people," from their location and ancient village at the head of Lake Timiskaming. Some forty years ago there was a Hudson's Bay post there, and archaeological finds on the point at the hamlet of North Timiskaming indicate an aboriginal headquarters at the same place. The term Timiskaming itself, according to native testimony, is a corruption of Algonquin *Temia'gamiñ* "deep lake". The name of the present headquarters of the band is *Oba'djonasa'giñ* "narrow current at mouth of river," which describes the topography of the village at North Timiskaming. Lake Timiskaming bears the name *Oba'djionasa'ñ-sagahi'gan* "narrowed-current lake," referring chiefly to the topography at Ville Marie farther down the lake, where there was also an ancient native headquarters and later a Hudson's Bay post.

The Timiskaming Indians regard as belonging to their own dialectic and cultural group: the Lake Abitibi Indians, *Abitibi-anicna'bi* "Blue-water people"; the Grand Lake Victoria Indians, *Ketci-sa'giñ an'cna'bi* "Big-outlet people"; the Quinze Lake Indians, *Ki'no'ngani'cna'bi* "Long-sand-point people"; the River Desert and Maniwaki Indians, *Tagzi'bi'ñ an'cna'bi* "Hungry-river people"; the Mattawa Indians, *Matawasi'bi an'cna'bi* "Mouth-of-river people"; and the various bands along the Ottawa river, known as *Kici'si'bi an'cna'bi* "Big-river people." This embraces practically the whole of the division classified as Algonquin. Most of these bands, it may be added, possess the same general distinctions in material culture, except that the more northerly bands, of whom the Timiskaming constitute one, had no agriculture, mat-covered wigwams, porcupine quill work, ash-splint basketry, and rush matting, as the necessary materials are absent in their latitude.

HUNTING TERRITORIES.

The social units composing the band are the families, which consist of individuals related by descent and blood together with other women married to the men of the family. These

See Phonetic Key at end of paper for meaning of characters used.

families are patronymic, the family name providing a surname for the group. Individuals, of course, may have special nicknames derived from some personal characteristic, some deed, or an animal, but the classifying name of identity seems to be the family surname, the nickname being a sort of secondary modifier.

The matter, however, which constitutes the main bond of union and interest in these groups is the family hunting territory, in which all the male members share the right of hunting and fishing. These hunting "lots" or territories (*nok'i'wak'i'* "hunting ground") are more or less fixed tracts of country whose boundaries are determined by certain rivers, ridges, lakes, or other natural landmarks, such as swamps and clumps of cedars or pines. Hunting outside of one's inherited territory was punishable occasionally by death. More often, however, trespass was punished by conjuring against the offender's life or health. Each family, as a rule, had some shaman in its ranks who could be called upon to work malefic influence upon a member of another family who was known to have intruded. In this way we can see how, in the community of old, a much involved system of cross-conjuring must have grown up, often, as the Indians themselves state, causing more or less of rivalry and feuds between certain families. Sickness in general came to be attributed to these sources, it is claimed. Permission, however, could be obtained by a man to hunt in another's territory. This happened frequently as an exchange of courtesies between families when the game supply of one or the other had become impoverished. These privileges were, nevertheless, only temporary, except in a few cases where they were obtained through marriage. It was customary, for instance, in case a family had a poor season on its own domain, for it to obtain a temporary grant of a certain lake or stream from its neighbour, so as to tide over until a better season. When it was necessary in travelling to pass through another family territory, permission was generally sought at the owner's headquarters before passing on, and if by necessity game had been killed to sustain life, the pelts were carried to the owners or delivered to them by some friend. This gave the proprietors the right in the future to do the same in the territory of their trespassers.

These arrangements were matters of tradition and were remembered in detail by the families concerned.

The rights in the hunting territories were inherited paternally. Occasionally, to adjust matters, an old man would subdivide his district among several sons, thus creating new family groups, though, of course, these would recognize mutual privileges to a certain extent. For the most part, the territories were fairly rigid and permanent. Only a few changes are remembered to have taken place within the range of tradition.

It is interesting to note that the large and attractive islands in Lake Timiskaming were common property, or more properly reserves, to be occupied and hunted on when the families came together in the spring for their social reunion. One of these, known as Chief island, is called *Ogi'ma'mina'si* "Chief island," and was the property of the *Mazi'nigi'jik* family, from which the band chief was most frequently chosen. Here the chief had a regular camp and many families would, upon occasion, camp around him, using the islands, which teemed with game, for their supplies while at the gathering. The hunts which took place at these times were communal, bands of hunters driving the game from the centre of the island to the shores, where hunters were posted waiting in canoes. Then the meat obtained would become common provender for the assembly.

The chief, *ogi'ma'*, was a man chosen for life, generally from the *Mazi'nigi'jik* family, on account of his strength and wisdom.

Economically these family territories were regulated in a very wise and interesting manner. The game was kept account of very closely, so that the proprietors knew about how abundant each kind of animal was, and hence could regulate the killing so as not to deplete the stock. Beaver were made the object of the most careful "farming," the numbers of occupants, old and young, to each "cabin" being kept count of. In certain districts, moose, or caribou, were protected during one year, in other districts the next year. The killing of game was regulated by each family according to its own rules.

Marriage was a matter determined entirely by the old people of the families. The wife went to her husband's family and lived there. The children then belonged definitely to the father's family, and inherited their hunting rights in the

paternal territory. In cases of poor seasons at home it was, however, frequent for the husband to visit his wife's people and hunt, perhaps for several winters, on his father-in-law's grounds.

When the male claimants to a territory became extinct, it was divided up among the relatives in other family groups.

It would have been desirable to obtain some explanations or myths concerning the origins of these bands, but it is safe to state that none now exist, as I questioned the elders of each group and family.

Furthermore, these family divisions are not primarily concerned with animal totemism, which exists here also, although, as will be seen further on, the totemic descent being paternal, there will be a more or less permanent association between the hunting territory bands and certain totems. The main point is, however, that the hunting territory groups have developed by inheritance through individuals, irrespective of totemic communalism, and that the hunting territory names or titles, as we might call them, have also grown out of what originally were personal nicknames. This will appear more clearly in my presentation of the Timagami material. No taboos of diet or killing are found concerning these family groups. They are purely social and economic. Again, as regards the names, it might be added that some can not be definitely translated because of their great antiquity. Moreover, some of them have originated in child's talk, for example *Oyu'cen*, which is thought to be a child's pronunciation for *ogwu'si's* "son." Personal nicknames are very often derived from such expressions of children learning to talk.

In the above brief résumé I have defined the most important facts that I learned regarding these hunting territories among the Timiskaming people. As the main object of this chapter is not to define or discuss the phenomenon in detail, but to present the data relating specifically to this band, I will add the actual facts secured from members of the different families themselves. It is my hope in the future to fill in the gaps as far as possible, listing geographically the hunting territories and families in the various bands through a large portion of northern Canada.

In the accompanying table, the number in the first column refers to the correspondingly numbered area in the subjoined map of hunting territories; in the second column is given the family designation or title; in the third, its explanation; the fourth gives the totem, to be discussed later; while the fifth column gives the general bounds of the territory.

In the first group, comprising seven families, are the original constituents of the Timiskaming band, so far as is now known. Some have about lost their identity through intermarriage with outsiders.

In the second group of families are given those who have become more or less affiliated with the Timiskaming band, though not originally members of it. Such attachments, due to migration and intermarriage, are always going on in these communities and must be reckoned with in any social study. Some of these families, as is noted, came originally from the Matachewan band of Ojibwas, others have come from Abitibi stock, still others from the Timagami country. The pressure on the Timiskaming territory seems to have been constantly from the west, the result of the continuous northward and eastward drift of Ojibwas from the Lake Huron and Lake Superior regions. This scheme provides us with a concrete and presumably fairly accurate illustration of how territorial encroachments occur among the natives.

TOTEMS.

In the third column is given the totem. This represents the clan organization, which is of secondary importance in the social organization of these Indians. The family territorial groups form a much more active bond of kinship than the clan relationship. For this reason, considering the weakness of the clan institution among the other Algonquins eastward, it would seem natural to attribute the clan system here to the influence of neighbouring Ojibwas, with whom there has been considerable intermarriage.

The clan here is a group with paternal descent and the exogamic regulation. The emblem of the clan is an animal, which is called *nto'tem* "my kin," the familiar term employed by

ethnologists. The totem is simply regarded by these Indians as an emblem of a group of people, related through their fathers, who may be encountered even in different tribes. Thus, the Timiskaming and Timagami people of the same totem consider themselves as distant relatives. There are no religious taboos entertained in connexion with the totem, nor is descent traced from it. The idea underlying the totem here seems to be, in brief, the idea of relationship between individuals who have inherited, through their fathers, a certain secondary nationality in the tribe, the emblem of which is the particular animal or totem. As may be inferred from the paternal reckoning in both the totemic and territorial groups, each hunting territory remains permanently in the same totemic group.

In the Timiskaming band are three totems distributed through the families: the Kingfisher, *ogi'oki'ma'nisi*; the Caribou, *at'i'k*; the Rattlesnake, *cici'kwe*. The totems of some of the other families now extinct in the male line are not known.

The same totems are found among the Timagami Indians. The fact that the families in both bands are related by marriage and descent, leads one to feel that the Timiskaming totems may have been derived directly from encroaching Ojibwa families in comparatively recent times.

CHAPTER II.

FAMILY HUNTING TERRITORIES OF THE DUMOINE RIVER AND KIPAWA BANDS OF ALGONQUINS.

In this short chapter are given the family hunting territories of two bands of the Algonquin tribe, lying along the Ottawa river, eastward from the territories of the Algonquins of Timiskaming. These data, which extend our knowledge of the family claims considerably to the eastward, were obtained from Benjamin McKenzie, of the Timiskaming band, who had been raised from childhood by Po'nis, the proprietor of Territory 14, of the Dumoine River band. McKenzie had hunted over the whole of this territory as far as the Coulonge and had been taught the territorial bounds by his guardian as a safeguard against trespassing. As the Dumoine band has disintegrated, we have no available means of checking these boundaries. Although coming from one informant, there is no reason to doubt the correctness of the information.

The Dumoine River band of Algonquins called itself *Ki'we'gomawicoma'bi*, "Turn-back-lake people", from the name of Lake Dumoine. They seem to have lost their separate identity. McKenzie says that they became mixed in with the Fort William Indians of the Coulonge river when he was but a young man.

As to the Kipawa band, I had some difficulty in identifying the territories with precision, as the claims have become confused owing to removal, the encroachment of the whites, and intermarriage with other Indians and with whites. The name *Ki'paw* denotes a "narrows beyond which the river widens". These people are also of the Algonquin tribe and are now located near Mattawa.

Socially and economically we find the same characteristics prevailing here as in the Timiskaming and Timagami bands which are respectively treated in the first and third chapters of

this paper. It is hardly necessary, therefore, to repeat the facts concerning paternal inheritance, trespass regulations, and the conservation of game in each of the family groups.

Dumoine Band.

No.	Family Name.	Translation.	Hunting District.
12	Ya'ndakwe.	"Changing colour clouds."	East arm of Grand Lac Dumoine east of Coulonge river, south of Height of Land.
14	Po'nik.	"Light."	South of proceeding between Dumoine river and Coulonge river.
15	Chimagan (Simon).	"Spear."	Dumoine river east to Lake St. Patrick and south to Ottawa river.
16	Nak we'gi'ik.	"Middle of the sky."	West of Dumoine river from Ottawa river north to Grassy lake.
17	Mewa'w'utwe.	"Nice morning."	West of Grand Lac Dumoine from preceding district north to Height of Land.

Kipawa Band.

18	Mi'kori ma'gan (Antoine Simon)	"Red soldier" ¹	Ottawa river east and south from Lake Obushing (Besuchéon) to Moganassibi river.
19	Kwakwa'ni (Basil).	Derived from "kwakwa" baby talk in calling for a drink of water.	North of preceding to Kipawa river.
20	Ky'eta (Joseph).	(?)	Indefinite information gives this band a district east of Lake Kipawa.

¹This is also "red spear" or "red-coated soldier."

CHAPTER III.

FAMILY HUNTING TERRITORIES AND SOCIAL LIFE
OF THE TIMAGAMI BAND OF OJIBWA.

INTRODUCTORY.

In my work among the Algonkin tribes of northern Ontario in the summer of 1913, one of my objects was to learn something of the conditions under which the characteristic family bands, with special hunting territories, exist in a region where the totemic clan organization also prevails. Consequently, from Lake Nipissing northward I followed the line of contact between the Algonquins,¹ Ojibwa, and Cree, obtaining data from the Ojibwa of the Nipissing band, the Algonquins of Timiskaming, Mattawa, and Dumoine river, and the Ojibwa of Timagami, as well as supplementary material from those of Mattagami, Matachewan post, and Lake Abitibi.

The best opportunity for investigating this social-economic organization was afforded by the Ojibwa of the Timagami band located, for their summer rendezvous, at the Hudson's Bay post on Bear island in Lake Timagami. The small size of this band (ninety-five souls in 1913) enabled me to make inquiries, so far as I could plan them, on a number of points concerning the life of the individual and the social group.

As regards the history of the Timagami band itself, evidences seem to support the assumption that these people are part of a steady northward drift of Ojibwa-speaking tribes from the Great Lakes. The Timagami themselves say that their ancestors came from near Sault Ste. Marie (*Pawatiq* "at the rapids"). The vanguard of this migration seem to be the northerly extending bands at Matachewan post and Flying post, while the Timagami are more of a northeastern extension,

¹Their territories lie north from Ottawa river to Grand Lake Victoria and from Lake Two Mountains westward to Lake Timiskaming.

having pushed their way into the boundary of the Algonquins of the Timiskaming band. Inter-marriage characterized the spread of the Ojibwa among other bands, while the assimilation of manufactures, customs, beliefs, and art has resulted, after a few generations, in producing intermediate types which are either fundamentally Ojibwa or superficially so. This northern and eastern pressure of the Ojibwa seems to correspond to their western and northwestern movement as recorded by Mr. Skinner.¹ The Timagami people are conscious of this tendency in their group, attributing it to the necessity of seeking new hunting grounds by crowding on the Cree and Algonquins in the more northern tracts in order to replace their own territory in the Great Lakes region now being spoiled by the white people.

I hope to extend subsequently the region covered by my territorial survey, represented in part on the accompanying map, so that as many as possible of the contiguous territorial boundaries of all the northern and northeastern tribes may be marked down. Then we shall be able to give actual boundaries not only to tribal groups but to dialects and to the distribution of elements of culture. This material may, moreover, prove to have some value in the field of Indian administration, should it ever be possible to reconstruct the boundaries of the native family claims in Ontario and Quebec.

BANDS AND HUNTING TERRITORIES.

As might be expected, the family band with its special hunting territory (*nda'k'im* "my land") is of primary importance here, as it is throughout the whole region occupied by the northern Algonkian hunting tribes. The general characteristics of this social grouping have been already dealt with in the preceding chapter on the Algonquins of the Timiskaming band. It seems hardly necessary to repeat the general details of proprietorship, trespass, conservation of animal resources, and ideas of inheritance and marriage prevailing among the Timagami people, as they are substantially the same as among their previously discussed neighbours. I was, however, told that the Timagami divided their districts into quarters, each year

¹ *Notes on the Eastern Cree and Northern Sibleux*, Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. IX, Part 1, 1911, pp. 11, 117-118.

hunting in a different quarter of the family territory in rotation, leaving a tract in the centre as a sort of "bank" not to be hunted over unless forced to do so by a shortage in the other tract. At such a time the family would move into this reserve and live upon it until the other tracts had replenished themselves. The institution of the hunting territory was held to by the Timagami until quite recently. They still make some effort to regard their district boundaries. I was able, in consequence, to make a careful record of the district, clan, name, and other features of the different proprietors. For two weeks, while at Bear island, I had the heads of the families themselves engaged in marking their territories on the map which is here reproduced. The results are shown upon the map itself. It is believed that the territorial bounds there defined are as correct as it is possible to make them. The Indians themselves realized the importance of the subject, and, probably for the first time in their lives, settled matters in black and white which had formerly been merely entrusted to memory. In addition to this, a diagram census of nearly the whole Timagami band, showing the family and territorial affinities, totems, and individual names, is given. In this way the social structure of a definite band may be concretely studied.

The original Timagami families seem to have numbered twelve, the proprietary names of which are as follows:

Family Hunting Territories of the Timagami Band.

No.	Family Name.	Translation.	Totem.	Hunting District.
10	Wabimuk'wa.	"White bear."	Loon.	East of Timagami lake to Rib, Net, White Bear, and Rabbit lakes. Kibim'gwa, his brother, who married in the Timiskaming band, had a tract eastward to mouth of Montreal river.
21	Neboog'gwa.	"One side wing."	Loon.	East of Timagami lake to Rabbit lake and south to Red Cedar lake.

Family Hunting Territories of the Timagami Band—Con.

No.	Family Name.	Translation.	Totem.	Hunting District.
22	Cuma'kise.	"Old body."	Caribou.	South arm of Timagami lake, west to Manitowipagi lake, south to Sturgeon river.
23	Caya'gwag'zi.	"Coming up hill."	Loon.	West of Timagami lake to Otobika lake, south to Sturgeon river.
8	Kae'ye.	"Tomtit."	Loon.	Whitefish lake east to Montreal river, south to Sandy inlet, Lake Timagami.
24	Wenda'bezi.	"Coming down."	Rattlesnake.	Surrounding Lady Evelyn lake.
25	Aya'nda'ekwe.	"Sun passing across a cloud."	Kingfisher.	Otobika lake west to Sturgeon river.
26	Kanimo'ekama.	"Standing solidly."	Kingfisher.	Sturgeon river east to Florence lake and north to McVee lake.
27	Ke'ke'k.	"Hawk."	Rattlesnake.	Surrounding Macobe lake.
27a	Moo'bi.	"Giant man."	Beaver.	Florence lake east to Otobika lake.
28	Kobo'je. Pik'e'djek.	"Ue'f'beak." "Pile of mud."	(?)	Both sides of Montreal river north to Elk lake fromERRY lake.

¹ Moo'bi, who is still living, almost a centenarian, is a Georgian Bay Ojibwa who came north and married one of Ke'ke'k's daughters many years ago. Consequently Ke'ke'k gave him a portion of his territory in the southern part.

Family Hunting Territories of the Timagami Band—Con.

No.	Family Name.	Translation.	Totem.	Hunting District.
29	Menira'wac. Sida'we.	"Spirit man." (no meaning)	(?)	From Mirror lake to Gowganda lake and north through Long Point lake.
30	Djokwuni'gan.	"Holding a child."	Kingfisher.	Smoothwater lake to Gowganda lake.
31	Pawagi'dok'we.	"Sun rising on top of sky."	Kingfisher.	North of Sandy lake to Duncan lake.

Hunting Territories of Other Bands Adjacent to the Timagami.

Mattagami Band.

No.	Family Name.	Translation.	Totem.	Hunting District.
32	Oci'mi git.	"Scab" (?)		Tract east of Mattagami lake.
33	Wa'pion'gpi.	"Braided guts."		Sandy lake west to Nebwag-wiss river.
34	Pita'liga.	"Waves coming toward me."		A long tract west of Sturgeon river.

Whitefish Band.

No.	Family Name.	Translation.	Totem.	Hunting District.
35	Ole'pando. Osa'was.	(no meaning). "Yellow."	Rattlesnake.	Had same territory west of Sturgeon river. Osa'was was Ole'pando's nephew. It is said that Osa'was' father was a Spaniard.
	Tai'dji.	(no meaning).	(?)	Have no territory, since there are only several women left. Their husbands were allowed to hunt with Nobe'pene of the Timagami band.

Hunting Territories of Other Bands Adjacent to the Timagami
—Con.

Nipissing Band.

No.	Family Name.	Translation.	Totem.	Hunting District.
36	Ca'bogi'jik.			Red Cedar lake south to Lake Nipissing.

Timiskaming Band.

- 1 Mazi'nigi'jik
7 Kitei'bien
6 Wa'boni'eana'bi
2 Wa'bigi'jik
11 Ca'bodis
37 Ka'teirdji.
38 Twen
39 Wa'wre'ski'zik

(See table in Chapter I)

We can get some idea of an older order of distribution, when there were fewer hunting grounds, by considering the territories possessed by the bands a generation or so ago. It seems that many of the present districts are subdivided tracts, two or three sons of a former proprietor having received portions after the death of their father and founded new families with new proprietary names.

Thus *Wabi-ma'kwa* (10), *Caya'guogusi* (23), and *Kane'cj'e* (8) were brothers who received their allotments after the death of their father. These contiguous territories had previously formed one. *Cumca'cki-we* (22) and *Nebane'gwun'e* (21) were also brothers who received their portions from their father. The same is true of *Wenda'ban* (24) and *Ke'ke'k* (27); of *Kami'no'hama* (26), *Dja'kwunigan* (30), and *Pawegi'dak-we* (31); and of *Pi'ta'tigps* (34), *Wapi'ta'gi'ji* (33), and *Oci'mi'git* (32) of the Mattagami band. As will be seen by referring to the census list, the groups of brothers are necessarily of the same clans. This may account for the contiguity of clans

in the same districts where former larger hunting territories have been split up into smaller sections among sons. If it were possible to pursue the historical inquiry further back, it might appear that the founders of these northern drifting Ojibwa bands were members of a few clans of the Great Lakes Ojibwa who migrated northward in search of a better game country within the last hundred years or so.

An interesting example of how territories may be loaned in part to other families in time of need is afforded by the narrative of Second Chief Oje'cewa'kwasi'no'winini (Aleck Paul), describing his experiences while staying with the chief of the Matachewan band.

"One time I went to visit Chief Michel Batiste (of the Ca'badis band) at Matachewan post near Elk lake. He gave me three miles on a river in his hunting territory and told me I could hunt beaver there. I was allowed to kill any young beaver, and one big one, from each colony. He told me not to go far down the river because another man's territory began there. Said he, 'Don't go down to where you see a tract of big cedars.' And I did not go there. This grove of cedars was the measure of his boundary. Later he gave me another lake where I could hunt marten. I stayed with this chief several months and he wanted me to stay longer. Then I left and came back to my own country. Afterwards I made another visit to the territory of the Dja'kwunigan family (Timagami band), because this man was a friend of mine and he had often been permitted by my father to hunt on our land. He had almost been like a brother to him. Then I came back here."

CLANS AND TOTEMS.

Among the Timagami people, who are true Ojibwa, the clan groupings are still recognized, though not with the emphasis that is given them by the Ojibwa farther to the south. This is due to the fact that their trend of migration is northward, away from their sources of culture. The clans are characterized by animal totemic names. Descent is reckoned through the father. Marriage must take place outside of the clan, although

there is one case in the Timagami band of two people of the same clan who married; special provision in this case was made because the husband was a half-breed. It was thought that this outside blood would prevent a marriage between too closely related people. This idea of avoiding close marriage is explained by the Timagami people as the basis of clan exogamy.

The totem (Ndo'dem "my own emblem" seems to be as close to an analysis as the Indians can give) is regarded as an emblem which designates the group, and of which the members are proud in the same way, according to the Indians, as the Americans are proud of the eagle or the British of the lion. In the Timagami band no descent from the totem was claimed. The old men at Timagami think that the totem nickname originated from the abundance of some particular animal in the old hunting territories, which later became a mark of identity for the proprietors. No dietary taboos exist in regard to the totem nor are there any special clan rights, chiefs, or face paintings. The Timagami clans are four in number:

Mank "Loon"

Ogi'ckv'ma'ni'si "Kingfisher"

Cv'ci'gure "Rattlesnake"¹

Ami'k "Beaver"²

An outside family of Saulteaux or Cree blood has brought in the *Kag* "Porcupine" totem to the Timagami band, and an Indian from the Mattagami post has introduced the *At'ik'* "Caribou" totem in recent years.

WISANA.

Another idea of some importance in the social classification of the individual is the *wi'sa'na*. This term denotes some animal which, shortly after the birth of a child, comes near the wigwam, apparently to see the baby. Sometimes its coming is delayed until the child is a year old. Practically all children

¹ The earlier southern home of the Timagami people is indicated by this totem, as there are no rattlesnakes as far north as Lake Timagami. The Indians claim the northern limit of the reptile to be French river.

² The Beaver clan was brought in a generation ago by a Georgian Bay Indian, Mibabi, to whom a portion of territory was given by *Ka'viesc* "Hawk".

have this experience and treasure the name of the animal all their lives for some reason which they cannot definitely explain. The creature, it seems, is generally of the opposite sex of the child. It is looked for and expected by the mother. Practically everybody in the band knows everybody else's *wi'sa'na*. As will be seen from the census list, the *wi'sa'na* may be any kind of animal and has absolutely nothing to do with the totemic animal. The two seldom coincide. Often the child carries the name of the *wi'sa'na* until some episode in life earns for him a nickname. There is no taboo against killing the class of animal, though the actual creature that comes to visit the baby is never disturbed or molested, even though the family may be in need of food at the time and the *wi'sa'na* a desirable game animal. It seems that the *wi'sa'na* may, until we know more about it from other cognate sources, be regarded as a sort of minor individual totem. The *wi'sa'na* of each individual in the band will be found marked in the proper column in the census list following.

CENSUS OF THE TIMAGAMI BAND.

In the accompanying table are given the agency roll name, totem, family territorial affiliation, *wi'sa'na* or animal visitant, and individual name or nickname, with remarks, of all but one or two members of the Tima gamiband:—

NAMING.

When a child is born the parents make a feast and invite all the relatives. Later, when the child is about a year old, the mother generally appoints some old man or woman, selected on account of certain good qualities, to give the child a name. At this time another feast is held, during which the name-giver lifts up the infant and announces the name he has chosen for it; in a few words he or she bestows the name upon it. Then, as the food is passed around among the assembly from right to left, the child is also handed from one to the other, and each guest kisses it. This little ceremony makes public the name, which is retained without change through life, unless it should happen that some funny episode in the person's career should give rise to a nickname. It may also happen that a child grows up without ever having the naming feast given for him. Then, of course, he simply has to acquire one by being nicknamed among his relatives or associates. Names of the latter sort are, however, considered inferior.¹ Many of them are merely syllables of baby talk which grow into the names of the little tots who utter them because they sound "cute" to their folks. In the list just given the two sorts of names can readily be distinguished.

These really poetical names, among which sky and weather terms predominate, are derived from the particular time of day or night or the condition of weather prevailing when the child is born. The names are mostly composite terms combined with "man" or "woman." They not only have an aesthetic value, being euphonious as such to the Indian ear, but disclose a creditable appreciation of nature on the part of the natives.

CHIEFTAINSHIP.

In the native political organization of this band the head official was the chief, *opi'ma*. There was also a second chief,

¹ Some nicknames given to white people illustrate how the Indians seize upon some characteristic sound or term. A Mr. Weaver was known among the Timagami people as *Ki'chi'wa'k* "Big Beaver," by a corruption of the sound of the English name; Mr. Montgomery as *Ki'chi'paj'a* "Big Gum"; Mr. Southard as *Ki'chi'ni'wasa'pi* "Big Southerner"; Mr. Woods, the H. B. Co. factor, as *A'is'wewa'si* "Stout man." On account of my interest in old time lore, I secured the nickname of *Ois'waka'waka* "Stout man."

ani'ke' o'gi'ma "Next to Chief," and a third official known as *mi'zi'maue* "Man who collects (for the chief)."

Under the old regime the head chief and the second chief had about the same rank. If one was absent on a hunting expedition, or incapacitated in any way, the other would officiate. Their duty was to regulate contact between the band and neighbouring bands or tribes and the government. They were always supposed to be planning for the interests of the people in one way or another. They took care of widows and orphans and it was their duty to preach occasionally on the rules of the camp or upon topics in which they thought the people needed instruction or encouragement. In this lecturing the second chief would generally do the talking, announcing that the chief had so and so to say. Should any member of the band behave in a way that was considered offensive or detrimental to the band, in other words, do wrong, the chief would call a meeting of all the men who would discuss the matter and decide what reprimand or punishment to administer. The second chief would publicly announce the result. The first chief seems to have had some personal control, inasmuch as he could go into the family camps and warn them against this or that violation of the common welfare, whether trespass or offense. There seem to have been no clan chiefs. In time of war, it is remembered, the chief was the head. He decided the fighting policy of the band, where to camp, where to move, when to retreat, when to advance, and the like. Or, if unable to go himself, he would apportion so many men to another responsible leader, whom he might appoint as his proxy. The chief seems also to have been expected to learn conjuring in order to send his *ma'ni'u* to fight against enemies or rivals.

As regards the third man in rank, the *Mi'zi'maue*, his main duty seems to have been to collect money or provisions for feasts, councils, or for the expenses of the chief's travels in visiting wherever he might consider his presence required. Another duty of this official was to distribute meat to the families when it was brought to camp.

New chiefs were elected to office in the following way. The men of the band, forming the elective body, sat around in a circle. Some old man, serving as a master of ceremonies,

would say, "This man is going to be chief," announcing the name of some candidate who had been previously agreed upon. If the choice was agreeable to the assembly, they would reply "che", "Yes". Then he would tell the nominee to stand up and shake his hat. After this was done, the assembly would rise, yelling "He! he!" and waving their hats over their heads in token of assent. This mode of election was followed in the case of the three officials. An old chief would often appoint his own successor, who, it seems, could be of any totem, the only restriction being that he must be a born member of the band.

In the accompanying table showing the chiefs as far back as they can be remembered by the Timagami people of to-day, we can see concretely that the officers were distributed in the different bands and totems, that chieftainship was for life, and that a man would commonly rise from the position of second chief to that of head chief upon the death of his predecessor.

Chronological¹ List of Chiefs of the Timagami Band.

HEAD CHIEFS.		SECOND CHIEFS.	
Name.	Totem.	Name.	Totem.
1. Ne'bane'gwan'e "Feathers all over", 1800-1835 (time of white man's coming).	Caribou.	Ke'ke'k "Hawk."	Rattlesnake.
2. Ke'ke'k "Hawk," 1835-1850.	Rattlesnake.	Ka'bami'gwan'e "Moving together" (family of White Bear).	Loon.
3. Kane'ic "Little bird," 1850-1870 (founder of Kane'ic territory).	Loon.	To'nehe (no meaning) There was no Misi'nawe.	Loon.

¹ All dates are approximate.

² Ne'bane'gwan'e's father was chief before him. There were no white people present at that time (before 1800). He took part in "the great Ojibwa war." This may refer to the Pontiac war of 1763.

Chronological¹ List of Chiefs of the Timagami Band—Con.

HEAD CHIEFS.		SECOND CHIEFS.	
Name.	Totem.	Name.	Totem.
4. To'nehe, 1870-1888; also had name of Mays'gwan "Right man". (He was life chief).	Loon.	Wa'wigi'jik "Round day-light" (Frank White Bear). There was no Misi'nawe this term.	Loon.
5. Oda'kawa'sige'wini'ni "Watching daylight coming to shine" (John Paul), 1888-1900 (family of Kammo'-kanni).	Kingfisher.	Wa'wigi'jik "Round day-light" (Frank White Bear). Misi'nawe: Ten'is'ic (no Loon meaning) (family of Nehose'-gwan'e).	Loon.
6. To'nehe (no meaning), 1900-1910, (oldest brother of Frank White Bear).	Loon.	Frank White Bear (same as preceding).	Loon.
7. Wa'wigi'jik "Round day-light" (Frank White Bear), 1910.—	Loon.	Oje'owa'kwan'no'wini'ni "Sighing at wood in trees man" (Alec Paul).	Kingfisher.

¹ All dates are approximate.

MARRIAGE.

Unions between young people were contracted by the old folks. They would choose some young girl for a man who they thought should marry. The marriage was celebrated by no feast, dance, or ceremony, when the first wife was taken. The man would simply build a wigwam and make a canoe and household utensils. The old folks would lead the girl to the new household, where the couple would live together. Of course they would take care to have the husband and wife of a different clan, and, in their own way, would seek to combine compatible dispositions. Polygamy was in vogue among these

people. After the first wife a man would simply arrange personally with other women whom he might desire, and take them to his wigwam on his own account without any semblance of a ceremony. The Indians claim that husband and wife seldom separated in the old days, although there was no restriction against separation. The children in such a case would belong to the father. The term for husband or wife, which is used reciprocally, is *ni'wi'tigema'gan* "the one who lives with me"; "I marry" is *ni'ni'bau*.

KINSHIP TERMS.

All non-vocative forms are provided with prefixed first person possessive pronouns.

English	Ojibwa: "my—"	Vocative
Father	{ <i>nu'ee</i> <i>nda'dam</i>	<i>da'ta</i>
Mother	<i>ninga'</i>	<i>dju'dju</i>
Grandfather	<i>ni'mico'mas</i>	<i>ni'jo'masim</i>
Grandmother	<i>ni'ko'komas'im</i>	<i>ko'kamas</i>
Son	<i>ningwo's</i>	<i>ningwo's</i>
Daughter	<i>ninda'nis</i>	
Grandson	{ <i>no'ces</i> "grandchild"	
Granddaughter		
Brother (general term)	<i>ni'djki'we</i> (used only by males)	
Older brother	<i>nisa'yee</i>	
Younger brother	{ <i>nici'mec</i>	<i>Ka'wan</i> "cousin" (girl speaking)
Younger sister		
Older sister	<i>nimi'ses</i>	<i>Ka'wan</i> "cousin" (boy speaking)
Sister (general term)	<i>nimi'</i> <i>nindawe'ma</i> (used reciprocally by brother and sister)	
Father's brother	{ <i>nimico'mec</i> (also step-father) <i>nici'cec</i> (preferable term) (also: mother's sister's husband)	

Father's sister	<i>ninu'cec</i> (preferable term) (also: mother's brother's wife; step-mother) <i>nizi'g'as</i>
Mother's sister	<i>ninu'cec</i> (also: father's brother's wife)
Mother's brother	<i>nici'cec</i> (also: father's sister's husband)
Father's sister's son	<i>nidjkiweka'wan</i> <i>ninda'wemaka'wan</i>
Mother's sister's son	<i>nidjkiweka'wan</i> (also: mother's brother's son) <i>ninda'wemaka'wan</i> (preferable term) (also: mother's brother's daughter)
Mother's sister's daughter	<i>nidjkiweka'wan</i> <i>ninda'wemaka'wan</i>
Girl cousins (by mother's sister)	<i>ninda'ng'ecce</i> (reciprocal)
Boy cousins	<i>nidjkiwekewan</i> (reciprocal)
Sister's son	{ <i>nindo'jimas</i>
Sister's daughter	
Brother's son	
Brother's daughter	{ <i>ni'naha'ngani'kweem</i> (lit. "my pleasing, satisfactory, woman")
Son's wife	
Daughter's husband	<i>nini'ngucen</i> ("satisfactory man")
Father-in-law	<i>ni'ji'nis</i> (man or woman speaking)
Mother-in-law	<i>ni'zi'k'asis</i> (man or woman speaking)
Brother-in-law	<i>ni'ta</i>
Sister-in-law	<i>ni'nim</i>
Step-son	<i>ningwo'ska'wan</i> (man or woman speaking)
Step-daughter	{ <i>ninda'niska'wan</i> (woman speaking) <i>nindo'zi'mi'ka'wan</i> (man speaking) <i>ni'ta'wage'tcipan</i> (lit. "one that I brought up")
Adopted son	{
Adopted daughter	

BURIAL.

Originally the Timagami people buried their dead largely in trees. The bodies were wrapped in blankets and clothing, sometimes encased in bark, and then placed in the branch of a spruce tree some distance from the ground. Some picturesque point in the river or lake was chosen, where it was thought they enjoyed seeing their living kin-folk passing by on their journeys. In later times tree burial seems to have been used more for the poorer class of people or for those who died in winter when the ground cannot be dug.

The people of the better class were frequently buried in the ground beneath the fireplace in the centre of the wigwam in which they had died. Then the wigwam would be moved.¹ Another method of burial was to dig a hole, line it with rocks, deposit the body therein, dressed and ornamented, provide it with bow and other available property, and cover the whole with a pile of cobble-stones brought there by the members of the family. The body was always laid upon its back. The Indians say this cairn burial was practiced to protect the body from being eaten by wild animals.

HUNTER'S TABOOS.

Individually the men had many special taboos concerning the game which they killed. One man, for instance, when he brought home game, would always make a practice of eating certain portions, such as the head of the beaver, the knee of the caribou, or the tongue of the caribou. Sometimes he would share the privilege with his son or male relatives. Another hunter would always make a practice of eating the heart when he killed a bear. On the other hand, some hunters would never eat beaver; others would not eat the beaver's head.

These taboos are explained as having developed from individual experiences. One man, for instance, would not eat a fisher because once, when he had killed one and eaten it, although he was very fond of it, he became very sick. Another man had a dream in which he was warned not to eat beaver

¹ This reminds one of the custom found among the Muskogean tribes.

heads. He believed that as long as he did not eat a beaver head he would continue to have good luck in finding beaver anywhere and any time. When he killed a beaver, he always cut a piece of the breast meat and ate it on the spot to preserve his power to kill beaver. Owing to the fact that some people are reluctant to divulge their secret taboo, it is difficult to get as large a collection of these as might be desired.

Hunters always placed the antlers of moose and caribou upon a trimmed tree stump, where they may be seen by passers by as an evidence of respect on the part of the slayer. To omit doing this is thought to weaken one's power as a hunter. The skulls of beaver as well as of other large animals are always placed in the branches of a tree near where they have been killed.

The bear in particular is honoured by having his skull painted with a black stripe from nose to occiput and another stripe perpendicular to this across the crown; a black spot is put in each quarter. Then a spruce tree is trimmed of bark, but left standing in its natural position; the skulls are tied to the trunk, and ribbon streamers are tacked to the top of the tree and red bands painted around the peeled portion at intervals. The bear is a much respected animal.

DANCES.

The dances of the Timagami band are mostly occasional performances which take place as an accompaniment to feasting, chief-making, welcoming strangers, and sometimes before or after the hunt. While staying at Bear island I had occasion to witness several of these dances. Those still performed are the Feast Dance, Bear Dance, Duck Dance, and a common Round Dance, while the Pipe Dance is now obsolete.

The Feast Dance (*ma'gucce uci'm'o*) is a celebration in honour of someone who has provided a feast for the camp. The guests are invited in the afternoon, and the food is shared from a common place where it has been spread upon the ground, each guest being provided with his eating utensils. Tobacco is distributed after the feast. When evening comes on, the chief performs the Feast Dance in honor of the donor. He

wears some extra apparel and carries a drum in his hand to accompany his singing. When I saw the dance, the chief had a woven rabbit skin robe over his head and shoulders. While singing the Feast Song, inserting a few words at times in honour of the feast maker and drumming, he dances before the assembly. Soon he threads his way in and out amongst the people, continuing his song, and when he has gone through the ranks of the spectators he dances back to the feast ground and ends his dance.

The Bear Dance (*mak-wə'cim'o*) is a rather simple performance in which the men and women, in no particular order form a large circle, with the leader at their head. Several of the men carry rattles made of tin cans containing pebbles. The circle of dancers led by the chief, who carries a drum and sings the Bear Dance song, then starts around counter-clockwise. The leader sometimes dances backwards, turns around, stoops, and in other ways imitates the bear. Generally some attempt is made nowadays by the leader and the men who rattle to wear Indian costume in part, donning feathers, blankets, or bead-work. The circling keeps up until the song is finished. The idea of this dance seems to be to honour the bear by imitating him.

The Duck Dance (*Ci-ci'pci'mo*) is another performance of which the Timagami are quite fond. It seems to have been influenced by European dances. The orchestra consists, generally, of a violin upon which some old reel or hornpipe or French jig is played. Formerly, they used the drum. The dance begins with two files of partners, the men on one side and the women on the other, side by side. All facing the musician, they begin walking backward and forward together. After doing this three or four times, the men swerve to their right and the women to their left, circle around and meet again at the head of the line. Then the partners hold hands, forming a bridge, and the couple behind passes under the bridge, takes position in front of the first couple, also holding hands, while the next couple then has to pass under two hand bridges and fall in place before the preceding ones. The whole company resumes its original position in this way by passing under the bridge and forming a new link in its lower end. This circling

and bridging is done several times. The next figure changes altogether. From the parallel line formation side by side the first couple faces right about and starts to thread in, first to the right and the left of each of the other couples as they in turn come to the head of the line and follow the first couple toward the rear. The whole movement simply becomes a swerving chain figure in which each couple alternately passes to the right and to the left of the one coming toward it. Sometimes a modern waltz turn or two is introduced between these movements. On the whole, this is said to come from the native Duck Dance in which the object was to represent the movements of a flock of drakes and ducks. At the end of the dance the performers all quack two or three times. This is purely a pleasure dance.

The common Round Dance is an outdoor performance generally performed at the camp. One man sings any one of a set of tunes, which seem to be mostly improvisations in which humorous passages are often introduced, accompanying himself upon a drum which is suspended from the branches of a tree. The dancers form a circle, generally with the men at the head of the line, some carrying rattles. Then they begin trotting around to the left quite close together, in time to the music. There is very little form to the dance. It seems to be for the most part merely a form of amusement in which women and children join in for the sake of excitement. At irregular intervals the dancers may face right about and circle in the opposite direction a few turns.

The Pipe Dance (*upwə'panahwə'cim'o*) used to be performed when visiting other bands. This differed only from the one already described in that the dancers form the figure outline of a pipe while dancing. This is no longer performed.

Upon the occasion of a feast which I gave to the Indians at Bear island, they performed the Feast Dance and went through the others, after which there were speeches by the chiefs and myself. Then pipes and tobacco were passed around. After another dance or two the assembly dispersed. On the next day more tobacco was distributed and another Round Dance given.

Phonetic Key.

- a, as in *father*, of medium length; α , lengthened.
 e, open; e', long as in North German *Bär*.
 e', longer than e and close in quality.
 i and i', short and long in close vowels.
 o, close and of medium length.
 o', longer than o and with lips more protruded, almost like au of English *taut*.
 α , dulled form of short a, like u of English *but*.
 a, short obscure vowel of uncertain quality.
- b—p, bilabial stops varying between true sonant and intermediate surd-sonant.
 d—t, alveolar stops varying between true sonant and intermediate surd-sonant.
 g—k, medial palatal stops varying between true sonant and intermediate surd-sonant.
- s and z, surd and sonant dorsal sibilant pronounced with tip of tongue deflected to lower alveolar (applies only to Timiskaming Algonquin; in Timagami Ojibwa s and z are normal).
 c and j, surd and sonant sibilant corresponding respectively to English sh and z of *azure*.
 tc and dj, surd and sonant sibilant affricative corresponding respectively to English ch and j.
- m, as in English.
 n, as in English.
 ŋ, palatal nasal like ng of English *sing*.
 w, as in English.
 r, as in English.
 h, as in English.
 * (following g), aspirated semi-closure of lips.
- ̣, nasalized vowel.
 ̤, aspiration following vowel or consonant.
 ̥, very weak surd guttural spirant (found only in Timagami Ojibwa).
 ̇, denotes that preceding vowel or consonant is long.
 ˊ, main stress.
 ˋ, secondary stress.

Group I. Families and Hunting Territories of the Timiskaming Indians.

No.	Family Name.	Translation.	Totem.	Hunting District.	Remarks.
1	Maa'ni gi'jik	"Striped coloured sky"	Kingfisher.	West of Lake Timiskaming between Matabitchuan river, Rabbit lake, and Ottertail river.	The leading family of this band usually furnishes the chief.
2	Wa'bi gi'jik.	"White sky."	Caribou.	Northwest of Lake Timiskaming, basin of Wabi creek.	
3	Wadaw'e'sia.	"Game animals hunt" (?)	Kingfisher.	East of Dawson point north of Quinze river to outlet of Quinze lake.	Also known as <i>Mu'kade'nin'i</i> "Black Man," on account of his dark colour.
4	Ogu'een.	"Son" (derivation).	(?)	East of Lake Timiskaming, south of Quinze river to line of Ville Marie.	Family extinct in male line.
5	Ka'tei'dji.	Derivation of "small"	(?)	South of Ogu'een almost to Kipawa river.	He had a brother of same name belonging to Matabechuan band (family also extinct).
6	Wa'beni'o'a'bi	"White Indian."	Kingfisher.	South of Wa'bi gi'jik to Bay lake.	These two were brothers who had removed share of father's territory.
7	Kitci'dien.	(?) "Big Pierre," or possibly derived from baby talk.	Kingfisher.	West of Lake Timiskaming to Montreal river and Bay lake.	

Group II. Encroaching Families from Neighbouring Bands Who Came to be More or Less Identified by Inter-marriage or Associated with Timiskaming Band.

8	Shane'eje.	"Tunic"	Loon.	West of Montreal river and Bay lake.	Timagami band, brother of Wa'beni'o'a'bi.
9	Ka'limi'gwu'e.	"Row of feathers."	Loon.	Montreal river west to Rib lake, White Bear lake, and Rabbit lake. Line not definite.	Son-in-law of Wa'beni'o'a'bi, to whom this territory first belonged, of Timagami band.
10	Wa'bi mo'k'wa.	"White bear."	Loon.	From Ka'limi'gwu'e west to Lake Timiskaming, though properly including Ka'limi'gwu'e.	One of the leading families of the Timagami band.
11	Ca'badia.	Probably corruption of Jean Baptiste; possibly derived from baby talk.	(?)	West of Wa'bi gi'jik almost to Montreal river.	Belonged properly to Matabechuan band.
12	Noe'ato.	Derivation of "nursing" in child's talk.	(?)	East of Quinze lake.	This man was of Abitibi origin, known also as Joseph Rogers.
13	Wa'ri'dji.	Derivation of "small"	(?)	West of Blanche river and Pound lake.	Belong to Matabechuan band with headquarters at Elk lake. This band is a kind of mixed Algonquin-Ojibwa band whose affinities are not well understood.

Name.	Totem.	Family.	Wisa'na.	Nickname.	Translation.	Remarks.
1 Frank White Bear.	Loon.	Wabi nia'k wa.	Mangobine' eje ("loon bird").	Wa'wigei'jik.	"Round daylight" (Chief).	No child living.
2 Michel White Bear.	"	"	Ma'k wa (bear).	Omo'ngoi'jik.	"Nice sky, day."	
3 Tonene.	"	"	A'jitekuje'u, (little cross bill).	Maya'gisis Tonene.	"Bright sun," (Child talk; no meaning).	Lives near Abitibi (old chief; see list of chiefs).
4 Mrs. Ogiwegono (née Tndji).	Caribou.	Tndji (Nebone'gwanu).	(?)	(?)		Belongs to Whitefish Lake band.
5 John George Teanizute (dead).	Loon.	Nebone'gwanu.	(?)	Teanizute.	(No meaning).	
6 John George Teanizute jun.	"	"	(?)	Pini'natzi.	(No meaning).	Baby talk for "Crazy little fellow," some child called him this when playing with him.
7 Angélique Teanizute.	"	"	(?) Caca'woni bi'ni (swallow).	(none).		
8 Angele Blaney (rel. Teanizute).	Caribou.	"	Gitei'gitei'gane'eie (tomtit).	Kitei'nakwa'tei Na'u'kwagi'jigo'k'we.	(No meaning; baby talk) "Noonday woman."	Married white man.
9 Agnes Blaney (half-breed).	"	"	Cvei'p (duck).	Pen'ngwana'ni.	"Nose nam" (baby talk).	
10 Mrs. Petrant (née Egwana).	Loon.	Wabi ma'k wa.	Wawa'keec (red deer).	E'ndasu'tenka'tegi'jiko'k'we.	"Everywhere shining sky woman."	
11 Old lady Cat.	Caribou.	Wa'bigi'jik (Fimiskanning band).	Gitei'gitei'gane'eie (tomtit).	Ko'k'waks.	"Grandmother."	One of the oldest women in band.
12 Old man Cat.	Battleaxe.	Ke'ke'k.	(?)	Pi'zi'uw.	"Lynx"	So called by old people when he was young, because he played in the sand.
13 Michel Cat.	"	"	Wa'gou (fox).	Da'midzu.	(Baby talk).	So called by his children.
14 Antoine Cat.	"	"	Wabu'a (rabbit).	(none).		
15 John Cat.	"	"	Cangwee (mink).	Tearma'ek.	(No meaning).	
16 Jesse Cat.	"	"	Pi'ne' (partridge).	(none).		
17 Old Pete Mowbi.	Beaver.	Ke'ke'ke' (shared by marriage).	Pi'ne' (partridge).	Wenu'skuze'jik.	"Blue sky, day."	
18 Old lady Mowbi.	Loon.	Wabi ma'k wa.	Kaka'ni'ni (moss owl).	Wenu'ni'be'late.	"Nicerly rumbled hair."	

Name.	Totem.	Family.	Wis'wa.	Nickname.	Translation.	Remarks.
21 Cbadis Misa'bi.	Beaver.	Ke'ke'k.	Wawa'kkee (deer).	(none).		
22 Louise Misa'bi.	"	"	Ehe'bi'k (spider).	Na'n'wac.	(Baby talk; no meaning).	
23 Juliet Misa'bi.	"	"	Mys (moose).	O'meno'seno'k'we.	"Cloud passing well woman."	Weather names are generally derived from condition of weather at birth.
24 Moses Misa'bi.	"	"	Owi'ekwe (robin).	Meme'noga'bowate.	"Standing well."	
25 Anna Misa'bi.	"	"	Wadji'gobineci (fisher bird).	Ki'wca'simok'we.	"Cloud going back and forth woman."	
26 Madeline Cat.	Rattlesnake.	"	Bi'ne'cje (little bird).	Wa'tsogo.	"There he is" (wa-sago).	Derived from baby talk.
27 John Egwuna.	Caribou.	Wabi'ma'k'wa.	Ehe'bi'k (spider).	Ka'bea'nakwat.	"Clouds always moving."	
28 Jane Egwuna.	"	"	Mys (moose).	Paba'mapano'k'we.	"Goes around with daylight woman."	
29 Josephine Egwuna.	"	"	No'noka's (humming bird).	(none).		
30 Archie Egwuna.	"	"	Wa'guc (fox).	Kiciwa'bigun.	"Big flower."	
31 Ellen White Bear.	Loon.	"	Ogi'eki ma'n'ai (king-fisher).	Miso'tegi'jigo'k'we.	"All over sky woman."	
32 Isaac Egwuna.	Caribou.	"	No'noka's (humming bird).	Ka'gi'ge'bine'ai.	"Always be bird" (as long as they last).	That is, may he live as long as birds exist.
33 Mary Egwuna.	"	"	Gi'teigi'teigane'cje (tomtit).	Ni'ta'wi'gan'.	"Growing ripe."	That is, day growing ripe, or mature.
34 William Picabo.	Kingfisher.	Kane'cje.		Pi'ca'bo.	"Tea water."	
35 Mrs. Lucy Picabo.	Loon.	Neban'egwuna.	(not known).	(none).		
36 Charles Picabo.	Kingfisher.	Kane'cje.	Otei'damu (red squirrel).	Paba'mi'gi'jik.	"Daylight going all over."	
37 Minnie Picabo.	"	"	No'noka's (humming bird).	(none).		
38 George Picabo.	"	"	Ki'no'wana'ge'cje (white throated sparrow).	(none).		
39 Alex Paul (Chief).	"	Kamino'kama.	At i'k (caribou).	Oje'cewa'kwasi no-wini'ni.	"Noise of wind sighing through trees man."	There was a roaring wind when he was born.

Name	Totem	Family	Wixwix	No'kwan	Translation	Remarks
42 Charles Paul	Kingfisher	Kamino'kama	Mys (moose) (animal came a month later)	Wepus'be	"Painter man"	Named after very old man, so he will live to be old.
43 Mary Angele Paul	"	"	Im'antni' (ance)	Kwe'ye	"Little girl"	So called because she is only daughter.
44 Mary Ann White Bear	Caribou	Wabi'mok'wa	Ungu' (easel)	Kwa'te'wok'we	"Quick coming daylight woman"	Alutis band; married a Timagami man.
45 Anna Kolu'je (nee Egewana)	Loon	"	Wabus (rabbit)	Walo'ek'we	"Rabbit woman"	Married Elk Lake Indian and lives there.
46 Margaret Cayn'a'si	Battlesnake	Caya'g'si (by morning)	Bi'ne'u (bald eagle)	Pai'ishowe'k'we	"Stabbing woman"	
47 Philomen Twen	Caribou	Twen	Wa'tu'ja's (martin)	Me'mna'wanig'jig'ok'we	"Happy daylight sky woman"	
48 Mrs. Antoine Cat (nee Misa'li)	Beaver	Misa'li	Oka'pandj'kuc (wren)	Ni'ganala'k'we	"Woman seated ahead"	Given by old Ke'ke'k.
49 Sophia Misa'li	Beaver	"	Wabu's (rabbit)	Is'masino'k'we	"Moving cloud woman"	
50 Nisett Misa'li	"	"	Wabu's (rabbit)	Ni'huw'egi'jigok'we	"Standing daylight woman"	
51 Meloise Misa'li	"	"	Pa'panet'ngai (small winter hawk)	Omi'nawa'bano'k'we	"Coming nice daylight woman"	
52 Old man Misa'li	"	"	(?)	Misa'li	"Giant"	
53 Old lady Misa'li	Loon	Wabi'mok'wa	Kais'e (gull)	Ogi'ta'bano'k'we	"Top of daylight woman"	
54 Sophie Cat	Battlesnake	Ke'ke'k	P'ne' (partridge)	Kwi'kwe'aps	"Big girl"	Named from child's talk.
55 Joe Cat	"	"	Tende'a's (bluejay)	Ktei'kwi'wisa	"Big boy"	Named from child's talk.
56 Yamma Cat	"	"	Pa'kala'kwan (chicken)	O'wana'makwa'k'	"Staying good cloud"	This name was given on morning of July 9, when there was a calm and clear sky with few clouds stationary in north. Name given by old Misa'li.
57 Nersis Kwe'gomu	Kingfisher	Djekwmi'gan	Ogi'eki'nawisi (kingfisher)			His father was Whitefish band Indian, now deaf; orphan.
58 Frances Paul (wife)	Kingfisher	Kamino'kama (fisherman)	Wabus (rabbit)	Maja'wabano'k'we	"Daylight rising on end"	

Name.	Totem.	Family.	Wim'na.	Nickname.	Translation.	Remarks.
61 Henry Mackenzie.	Kingfisher (very distant relatives.)	Aya'ndokwe	Ni'gik (otter).	(none).		
62 Ben Mackenzie.	"	"	Kaka'sksnedji' ai (song sparrow).	(none).		
63 Flora Jane Mackenzie.	"	"	Bine'eje (small dark blue bird).	Widjiji'a.	(Baby talk).	
64 Maggie (Paul) Petrait (sister of Frances Paul).	Kingfisher.	Kamino'lama.	Papa'paocrgsi (winter hawk).	Sa'segi'jigo'k'wa.	"Proud daylight woman."	sa'sega "well dressed."
65 Louise Egwuna.	Loon.	Wabi'ma'k'wa.	Pi'na' (partridge).	Ma'ma'wegi'jigo'k'wa.	"Entire daylight woman."	
66 Sandy Teidji (her son).	Caribou.	Tei'dji.	Mys (moose).	Wa'wic.	(No meaning; his own baby talk).	
67 Cecile Baker (half-breed).	Loon.	Wabi'ma'k'wa.	Omo'kaki (toad).	Pi'ta'bano'k'wa.	"Early dawn woman."	Born early in the morning.
68 Frank Baker (half-breed).	"	"	Wuoc'gi (great blue heron).	Skwe'n'gic.	"Round guts."	The child used to utter this word.
69 Walter Baker (half-breed).	"	"	Ki'no'wona'geci'e (white throated sparrow).	Sa'ganac.	"Englishman."	Because he is half English.
70 Mathias Nebene'gwun'e.	"	Nebane'gwun'e.	(?)	Te'ndu.	(No meaning; baby talk).	Old father showed the baby when two days old to his brother baby and he said "That's Te'ndu!"
71 Aleck Mathias.	"	"	No'nokas (woodpecker).	Kiji'bide'gick'win'ni.	"Going fast sky man."	Condition of sky; in addition "man;" so he may grow big and strong.
72 Miles Mathias.	"	"	Ki'no'wona'geci'e (white throated sparrow).	Ma'negi'jik.	"Lots of days."	So named that he might live long.
73 Michel Mathias.	"	"	Kaka'bici (mouse owl).	Kteimi'guan.	"Big feather." "quill."	To make him grow strong and big like a quill.
74 Mary Ann White Bear (dead).	"	Wabi'ma'k'wa.	(?)	Ni'dja'ai'dje'.	(No meaning; baby talk)	
75 Mrs. John Teidji.	Ki'nu'se "I'ke."	Nebane'gwun'e (by permission, as his daughter married John Teidji).	Cka'ka'jek (goldfinch).	We'ndjoki'ga'boi'k'we.	"Come to earth and stand towards daylight woman."	From Whitefish band.
76 John Teidji (dead).	Caribou.	Nebane'gwun'e (by permission)	Pahi'gome'kak'i (rough-back toad).	Tei'dji.	(No meaning).	
77 Enma Teidji.	"	"	Ki'no'wona'geci'e	Ka'gaga'bano'.	"Forever daylight"	

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NO. 9

NOTES ON THE HUNTING ECONOMY
OF THE ABITIBI INDIANS

BY
WILLIAM H. JENKINS
THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA



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NOTES ON THE HUNTING ECONOMY
OF THE ABITIBI INDIANS

WILLIAM H. JENKINS

The Catholic University of America

In late August and early September 1937, the writer had an opportunity to visit the Lake Abitibi Indians at La Sarre, Lake Duparquet, and Amos, in Quebec Province, Canada. The visit was made to secure information for a paper on the geography of these people.

This paper is not written to give a fully rounded picture of the people, but rather to give a brief overview of their hunting economy, and to show a relationship of a primitive group to their environment.

There is no bibliography included, because practically nothing has been published about the ethnology of the Abitibi. Any reference used will be found in the footnotes. The writer extends thanks to Dr. Cooper for the use of his field notes (1927) and for aid in the preparation of this paper, and to Mr. Diamond Jenness for permission to read and quote from the McPherson manuscript, in the National Museum of Canada.

The data presented in this paper, unless noted otherwise, are taken from the writer's field notes.

What little is known about the history of the Abitibi is summarized as follows: "the first recorded notice of them is in the Jesuit Relation for 1640. It is said in the Relation of 1660 that the Iroquois had warred upon them and two other tribes in the same locality. Du Lhut (1684) includes them in the list of nations of the region N. of L. Superior whose trade it was desirable should be turned from the English of Hudson Bay to the French. Chauvignerie (1736)

seems to connect this tribe, estimated at 140 warriors, with the Têtes de Boule. He mentions as totems the partridge and the eagle. They are reported by the Canadian Indian Office to number 450 in 1878, after which date they are not officially mentioned."¹

LOCATION

The writer found that the tribal territory extends from ca. 48 degrees north latitude to ca. 50½ degrees north latitude and from ca. 78 degrees west longitude to approximately 81 degrees west longitude.

Ethnologically the Abitibi are bounded on the west by the Ojibwa, on the north by the Cree, on the east by the Montagnais, and on the south by the Temiskaming, Algonkin.²

SIZE

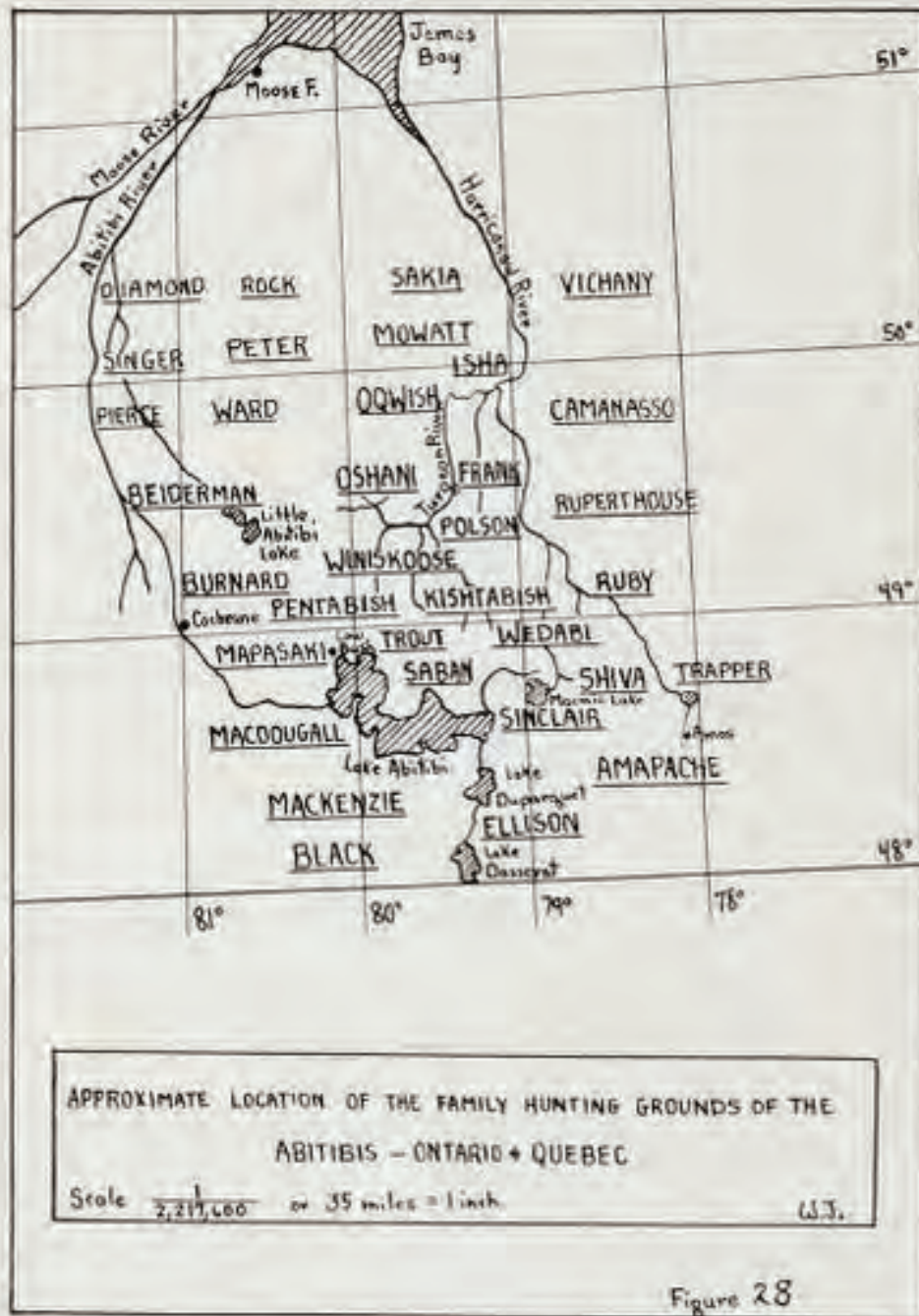
The territory on which the tribe hunted was one hundred and forty miles wide and about one hundred and sixty miles long, and includes roughly twenty-two thousand, four hundred square miles. At the present time, towns, mining centers, roads, railroads, and farms, have reduced the territory by almost fifty per cent (estimate).

THE LAND

The topography of the region is rather simple. The southern boundary is a divide, rising to an average height of thirteen hundred feet, extending from Amos southwest to Lake Dasserat then west to Sesekinikai. From the divide

¹ Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30, Part I, p. 2. That the Abitibi of 1936 were in any real sense connected with the eighteenth century ancestors of the modern Têtes de Boule is more than doubtful.

² Map, *Aborigines of Canada*, 270 A, Department of Mines, Canada, 1932. *An Ethnological Study of the Abitibi Indians*; an unpublished manuscript by John T. McPherson, National Museum of Canada, 1930. "The Band is an off-shoot of the Ojibway Indians, one of the best known and most widely distributed tribes of the Algonkin stock" (p. 6).



The government of the Abitibi Indians is now in the hands of an appointed chief. Most of them are opposed to the idea of a chief and have as few dealings with him as possible.

7. FAMILY HUNTING GROUNDS

In the old days, each family had its own family hunting grounds.¹⁸ When a man died his land was passed on to his widow or eldest son. The father was the head of the family and took full responsibility. He assigned the sections of his hunting grounds to his sons for hunting. Trespass on an Indian's lands was resented and the killing of a fur-bearing animal would lead to trouble.

The writer secured the following list of the families hunting in the Abitibi territory. The lists of names of adult members include mostly males and are in many cases incomplete. The approximate location of the respective family hunting grounds is given on the accompanying map (fig. 28).

¹⁸Cooper, field notes: "Very few Indians now have them (hunting grounds) but formerly every Indian had his own family hunting grounds. When a man died the ground was inherited by his sons or by his wife. If he had no wife or children it might be willed to his younger sister or to a friend. A young boy would get a piece of hunting ground from his father when the boy grew up. The father told the son where to hunt on his (the father's) land. When a boy married, sometimes he would hunt with his wife's people, sometimes with his own people. Wedabi's own hunting ground was inherited from his father, and his great grandfather. In the olden times, if a man trespassed on another man's hunting ground he would be told not to do so."

30 CATH. UNIV. OF AMER., ANTHROP. SER., NO. 9

<i>Family Name</i>	<i>Adult Members</i>	<i>Band of Origin</i>
1. Kistabish (Kista'bie)	Noah, Incas, Charles, Henry	Abitibi
2. Mowatt	Jean Baptiste, James, Sam, John, Andrew, Emma, Pierre, William	Abitibi
3. Polson	Philip, George, Joe, Charlie	North Temiscaming
4. McKenzie	Old Cheese, Joe, Benny, Jolinnie, Willie, David	Abitibi
5. Trapper	Joseph, James, Edward, Joe, Obadiah, Roland, William	Rupert House
6. Oshani (Ustan)	Charles, Lizzie, Bertram	Rupert House
7. Diamond	John, George	Rupert House
8. Pentabish (Pentabi'e)	Michael	Abitibi
9. Singer	J., Mary	Abitibi
10. Oqwish (O'kwic)	Philip, Joe	Abitibi
11. Shiva (Civá)	Thomas	Rupert House
12. Camanasso (Kamaná'so)	Roland	Abitibi
13. Wedabi (Woda'bi)	William, William Jr.	Abitibi
14. Mapasagi	Babbale	Abitibi
15. Amapatche (Ama'patei)	Jean Baptiste	Abitibi
16. Beiderman	Albert	½ Abitibi & ½ White
17. Barnard	John	Abitibi
18. Ellison	William, James	Abitibi
19. Istabish ¹⁹ (Ista'bie)	Frank, Matthew, David, Henrietta	½ Abitibi & ½ White
20. Isha (I'ca)	John, Widow	Abitibi
21. Vichany	Maggie, Isha	Abitibi
22. Thomas	Rauken	½ Abitibi & ½ White

¹⁹ Istabish (19), Thomas (22), Wischee (33), Moses (35), Wild (36), and Macha (37) are listed on the Hudson's Bay Company rolls at La Sarre as among the Indians trading there where the Abitibi Indians trade. My informants, however, could give me no data on the location of the hunting grounds of these six Indians. Some of them at least are hunting by arrangement on hunting grounds of Abitibi Indians.

JENKINS, ABITIBI HUNTING ECONOMY

31

<i>Family Name</i>	<i>Adult Members</i>	<i>Band of Origin</i>
23. MacDougall	Jimmie	Abitibi
24. Saban (Sá'ban)	James	Abitibi
25. Rock	Widow	Abitibi
26. Ward	Jeannie	Abitibi
27. Black	Bella	Abitibi
28. Winiskoose (Winisku'se)	Katherine	Abitibi
29. Sakia	David	Abitibi
30. Ruby	George	Rupert House
31. Rupert House	Johnnie	Rupert House
32. Sinclair	Reuben	Rupert House
33. Wischee (Wí'stei)	Henry	Rupert House
34. Trout	Reuben	(?)
35. Moses	Widow	(?)
36. Wild	Charles	(?)
37. Macha (Ma'tcá)	Mrs. George	(?)
38. Pierce	(?)	(?)
39. Peter	(?)	(?)
40. Frank	(?)	(?)

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Hudson's Bay Company. Kenogamissi River District

- History and function of this entity
- Controlling Entities
- Subordinate Entities
- Archival records series created by this entity

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History and Function

Name Kenogamissi River District

Dates of Existence 1794-1892

Function The Kenogamissi River District functioned as a fur trade district in the Southern Department and Montreal Department.

Administrative History The Kenogamissi River District administered the posts in the Kenogamissi River region between 1794 and 1892. From 1794-1821, it acted as a sub-district of the Moose River District and was part of the Southern Department from 1810 until 1889. From 1774 to 1822, Kenogamissi served as the district's administrative headquarters. Matawagamingue took the helm from 1822 until 1892.

Between 1794 and 1822, the posts and outposts that the Kenogamissi River District operated were: Kenogamissi, Frederick House, Matawagamingue, Flying

Post, Pushquagamy Lake, Wowayaston Carrying Place, and Wyaskash Lake. After 1822, the district only operated three posts: Matawagamingue, Flying Post, and Matachewan.

The Kenogamissi River District received its supplies from Moose Factory via Long Portage. Moose Factory servants dropped them off at this site, at which point Kenogamissi servants picked them up. After 1843 or 1844, Kenogamissi servants were required to travel to Moose Factory to get these supplies. At this time, returns also began to decline, since local aboriginal hunters were attracted to free traders in the Lake Huron area. These factors led to the transfer of the Kenogamissi River District to the Montreal Department in 1889. In 1892, the district was dissolved. Matawagamingue and Flying Posts merged into the Lake Huron District, and Matachewan moved to the Timiskaming District.

Other names Kenogamissi District
 Kinogumesssee District
 Kennoogumissee District
 Kenogamissi River Department

Key People [Click here for a list of Key People involved with this Entity](#)

[Top]

Controlling Entities

Kenogamissi River District reported directly to the following entities:

1794-1821 [Hudson's Bay Company. Moose River District](#)
 1821-1889 [Hudson's Bay Company. Southern Department](#)
 1889-1892 [Hudson's Bay Company. Montreal Department](#)

[Top]

[Click here for a list of entities that reported directly to Kenogamissi River District](#)

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[7479](#) Kenogamissi River District reports (Kenogamissi)

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yvon h. couture

LES ALGONQUINS



RACINES AMÉRINDIENNES

DIA
E99.A349
C67

ÉDITIONS HYPERBORÉE

yvon h. couture

LES ALGONQUINS

Racines amérindiennes
ÉDITIONS HYPERBORÉE

C.P. 96 - Val d'Or, Qué. J9P 4N9



quoiens du sud. Ces populations auraient fréquenté la région à une époque assez reculée. "A compter d'il y a sept mille ans, des petits groupes y sont probablement venus chasser et pêcher,..."². De plus, les outils les plus anciens trouvés à l'Île-aux-Allumettes (sur l'Outaouais), ont été datés de 6,500 ans B.P.³.

Nous avons donc des preuves suffisantes pour affirmer que l'Outaouais est occupé par des populations algiques, et ce, depuis une époque bien antérieure à la construction des premières pyramides en Egypte.

Le territoire algonquin

Nous avons vu que le bassin hydrographique de la rivière des Outaouais constitue le territoire où vivent habituellement les Algonquins. Nous avons vu également qu'ils avaient occupé une partie de la vallée du St-Laurent pendant une période de temps assez longue.

C'est suite au départ des Iroquoiens du St-Laurent, qui ont émigré vers le sud (Ontario et état de New-York), vers le milieu du seizième siècle; que des bandes algonquines sont venues occuper une partie de ces territoires vidés de leurs populations.

Les Algonquins sont venus occuper la rive nord du fleuve. Leurs nouveaux territoires se sont étendus de l'embouchure de l'Outaouais à la rivière Batiscan. Ils ne semblent pas avoir occupé la rive sud du fleuve. Des populations abénaquises s'en étant déjà emparée.

L'intérieur des terres était déjà occupé par d'autres tribus algonquiennes: Attikamègues et Montagnais. Leur occupation semble donc avoir été restreinte à une lisière de territoire comprise entre les rivières l'Assomption et Batiscan. Ces Algonquins étant des chasseurs, ils devaient parfois s'enfoncer assez loin vers le nord pour assurer leur subsistance. Les territoires fréquentés par eux de façon habituelle n'étaient donc limités que par ceux déjà occupés en permanence par les Algonquiens du nord. Cette lisière pouvait donc avoir une largeur de près de cent kilomètres.

Leur hégémonie sur cette bande de territoire a commencé à s'affaiblir avec l'arrivée des Français au début du dix-septième siècle et la colonisation qui s'en est suivie. Les Iroquois y ont mis fin de façon définitive vers 1650, en prenant le contrôle des deux rives du fleuve entre Montréal et Québec. Les Algonquins qui avaient échappé à leurs ennemis se réfugièrent dans les missions ou s'enfuirent vers le nord, très loin à l'intérieur des forêts. Ils ne purent jamais reprendre le contrôle de cette région.

Les Algonquins restés dans la région de l'Outaouais, connurent les mêmes malheurs. Au plus fort des incursions iroquoises, plusieurs se réfugièrent auprès des postes français fortifiés; mais la plupart remon-
tèrent vers les hauts de l'Outaouais. Ce reflux de population obligea
probablement, dès le milieu du dix-septième siècle, plusieurs familles
algonquines à aller s'établir sur la hauteur des terres (l'Abitibi).

Des familles criées habitaient déjà le bassin de la Baie James, adjacent
à l'Abitibi; et des mariages eurent lieu entre les deux nations.

Après la signature de la paix entre Algonquins et Iroquois, les Algon-
quins dispersés au nord, à l'est et à l'ouest, se réunirent à nouveau
dans le bassin de l'Outaouais. Ils reformèrent la nation et la firent à
nouveau prospérer au dix-huitième siècle.

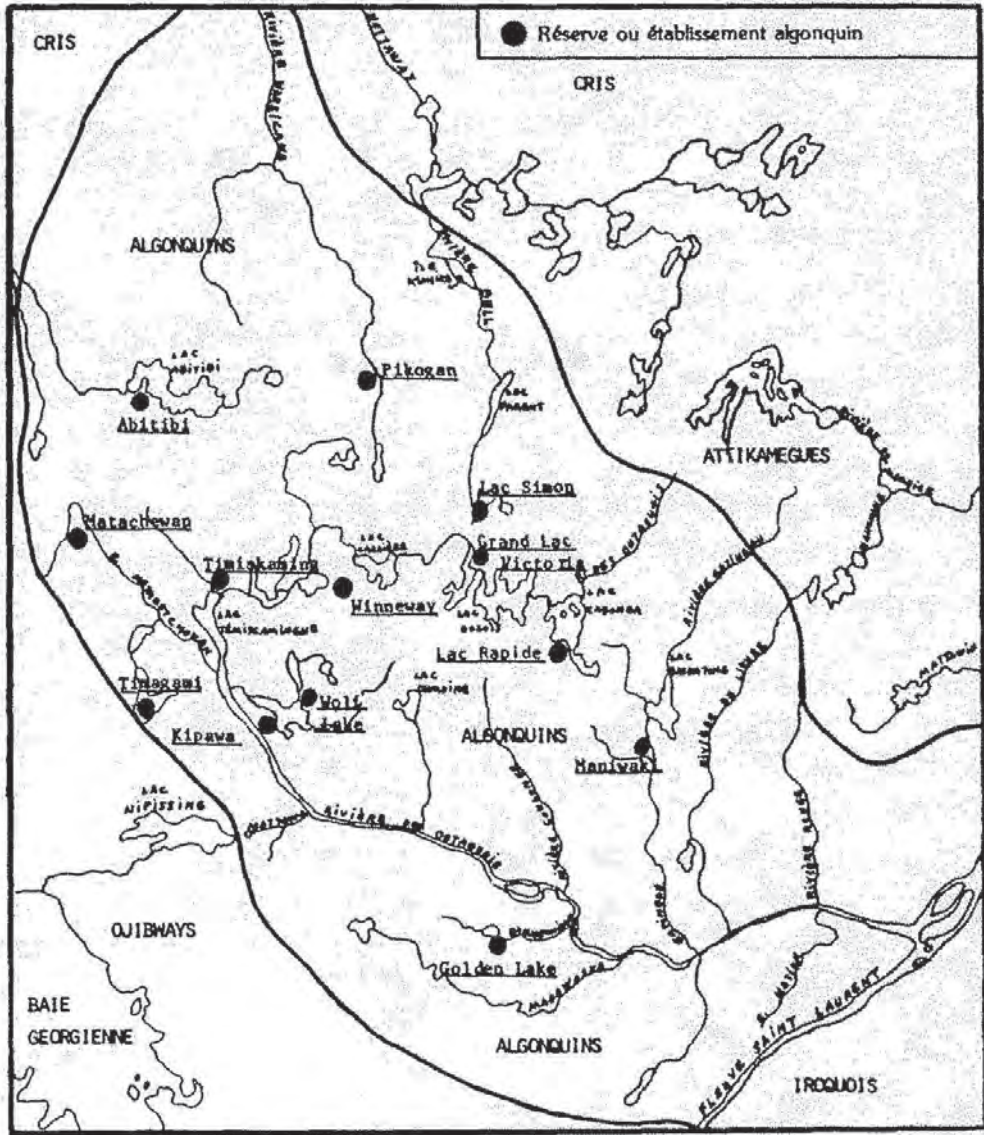
La colonisation du Bas-Outaouais au dix-neuvième siècle, repoussa
encore une fois les Algonquins vers le nord. Ils s'implantèrent alors
solidement et définitivement sur presque toute la région de l'Abitibi,
et même sur une partie du versant de la Baie James.

La colonisation de l'Abitibi, au début du vingtième siècle, amènera
un mouvement inverse: des Cris descendent de la Baie James pour
se rapprocher des centres commerciaux.

Sur la carte du territoire algonquin, que vous pouvez voir ici, on trouve
plusieurs endroits où les Algonquins rencontraient régulièrement leurs
voisins: Cris, Attikamègues, Ojibways. On peut même ajouter que
les régions situées dans l'environnement immédiat de la ligne que nous
avons tracée comme frontière du pays algonquin est souvent occu-
pée simultanément par deux nations distinctes.

On remarque souvent que les noms de ces lieux de rencontre com-
mencent souvent par "matta" (ce qui signifie justement "rencontre").
A "Mattagami", par exemple, on rencontrait encore il y a quelques
années, un campement d'une centaine d'Amérindiens; Cris et Algon-
quins. Vivant en bonne harmonie. La région de Senneterre ("Nado-
wek") est fréquentée par plusieurs nations. Les plus nombreux sont
cependant les Cris, les Attikamègues et les Algonquins. Mattawa, lieu
situé au coeur du pays algonquin, fut longtemps un lieu de rencontre
important pour des Ojibways et des Algonquins appartenant à diver-
ses bandes.

Au cours des 17e et 18e siècles, des Algonquins se sont répandus
vers l'ouest en passant par la Mattawa. Ils se sont mêlés aux Ojibways
des Grands Lacs, aux Saulteux et aux Métis de la région des prairies.
Ce sont les fourrures qui les ont attirés vers l'ouest.



2. Le territoire algonquin.

Les "Vrais Hommes"

Il est presque certain que la tribu algonquine n'existait pas dans le territoire occupé par elle présentement il y a six ou sept mille ans. Leurs ancêtres habitaient déjà l'Amérique mais où vivaient-ils exactement? On ne le saura peut-être jamais.

Nous savons par ailleurs avec certitude que les populations habitant l'actuel pays algonquin à cette époque, étaient des chasseurs nomades, tout comme nos Algonquins modernes avant d'être confinés sur des réserves.

Après avoir été un lieu de migration, puis un lieu de passage, le bassin hydrographique de la rivière des Outaouais deviendra le berceau de nombreuses nations algonquiennes.

Il est possible que toutes les tribus "anishnabek" soient originaires de cette région. Le courant migratoire ayant toujours circulé d'est en ouest entre l'Outaouais et la région des Grands Lacs, vient étayer cette hypothèse.

Les Algonquins de même langue, habitant cette vaste région s'étendant entre la rivière des Outaouais et le lac Supérieur, incluant presque toute la région des Grands Lacs, appartiennent au peuple "Anishnabe". Ce sont outre les Algonquins; les Outaouais et les diverses tribus ojibways (Mississaugas, Nipissings, Saulteux, Saugeens, Chipewas, etc...). Tous les hommes appartenant à ces tribus et nations se nomment eux-mêmes "Anishnabek", les Vrais Hommes. Ils se reconnaissent tous comme faisant partie d'un même peuple.

"Anishnabek" est le pluriel de "Anishnabe": Vrai Homme. Ce terme est utilisé ou prononcé de façons variables suivant les régions. On rencontre aussi au singulier: "Anish-Nah-Be", "Anicinabe", "Anishinabe", "Nishnawbe" et parfois "Anishwabe". Ces termes sont tous des régionalismes ayant la même signification. Nous leur préférons l'orthographe utilisée plus haut, c'est-à-dire: "Anishnabe". Non seulement à cause de sa justesse, mais aussi parce qu'elle peut être comprise facilement d'un bout à l'autre du "Pays des Vrais Hommes".

Selon la tradition algonquine, on aurait baptisé les hommes ainsi après que les animaux eussent perdu l'usage de la parole. On voulait bien s'identifier par rapport aux animaux. Ce terme fait également référence à l'homme en tant que mâle: "nabe": mâle.

Les "Anishnabek" sont des Algonquiens du Centre-Est. Ce groupe comprend plusieurs nations aux cultures assez semblables. On y trouve

aussi bien les Cris que les Micmacs, les Mohegans et les Wampanoags; en passant par les Delawares (Lenni Lenape) et les Pottowatomies.

Le groupe du Centre-Est se subdivise lui-même en deux types; le Type Nouvelle-Angleterre et le Type Central. C'est à ce dernier groupe qu'appartiennent les Algonquins et les autres "Anishnabek".

L'Algonquin présente toutes les caractéristiques raciales habituelles de l'Amérindien typique. L'arrivée de ses ancêtres en Amérique a précédé de beaucoup celle des Inuit (Esquimaux) et des Dénés (Athapaskans). C'est pourquoi il se différencie beaucoup plus au point de vue racial, des habitants du nord de l'Asie que ces derniers. Les ancêtres des Algonquins furent peut-être des paléo-sibériens. Ce n'est pas sûr; des découvertes archéologiques récentes viennent attester que des hommes habitent l'Amérique depuis plus de cent mille ans. D'autres découvertes pourraient nous prouver qu'une "race amérindienne" est apparue en Amérique et que nos Algonquins n'appartiennent pas à la race mongoloïde ou jaune.

L'Algonquin est généralement grand; il est presque aussi grand que l'Iroquois. La taille de l'homme d'âge adulte dépasse en moyenne de plusieurs centimètres celle du chasseur des forêts boréales (Montagnais par exemple).

Voici ce que dirent à ce sujet les missionnaires qui les rencontrèrent au début du dix-neuvième siècle, au Témiscamingue. "Ces Algonquins sont généralement d'une taille ordinaire et bien proportionnés... Leur teint est légèrement cuivré et leurs cheveux sont longs mais ils n'ont point de barbe⁴."

Après l'établissement des postes de traite en pays algonquin, un certain métissage s'est produit.

Les employés de la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson étaient pour la plupart de jeunes Ecossais célibataires. Plusieurs d'entre eux, las de leur solitude, ont épousé des Algonquines. Leurs nombreux enfants préféraient la vie des bois. Ils se sont parfaitement intégrés au sein de plusieurs des bandes algonquines. Leurs descendants se sont perpétués jusqu'à nos jours. C'est pourquoi il y a eu un apport racial d'origine celtique chez plusieurs bandes algonquines.

Avant l'arrivée de l'homme blanc

Quand les Français qui remontaient le St-Laurent et l'Outaouais, rencontrèrent des Algonquins pour la première fois; ils purent se rendre compte qu'ils connaissaient déjà les blancs par leurs alliés les Monta-

“Many Tender Ties”

**Women in Fur-Trade Society
in Western Canada, 1670-1870**

By Sylvia Van Kirk

“There is indeed no living with comfort in this country until a person has forgot the great world and has his tastes and character formed on the current standard of the stage . . . habit makes it familiar to us, softened as it is by the many tender ties, which find a way to the heart.”

JAMES DOUGLAS
Fort Vancouver, March 1842

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DEDICATION

*To the memory of my grandparents,
who sought new horizons in Western Canada.*

Factory the next year, prior to going on furlough, his daughters' education was curtailed, as the school at Moose had not proved very successful.

All of these first schools in Rupert's Land were short-lived because the schoolmasters showed considerably more interest in the fur trade than in their pupils. Ultimately, the extent to which mixed-blood children were exposed to civilizing influences depended upon the initiative of individual fathers. The efforts of some of the officers to teach European morality is evident in the orders for books sent to England; *Aesop's Fables* was a common request and *Duties of Woman* was ordered by John Best at Albany. Unfortunately, one is left to speculate on the influence its precepts may have had on Best's daughter, Catherine, who became the country wife of Chief Factor William Thomas.³³ Before he retired to England in 1815, George Taylor, the sloopmaster at York, evidently took pains to teach his Indian wife Jane and their family of eight children clean and industrious habits. Two of his daughters, Mary and Margaret, were widely admired, not only for their beauty, but for their "civilized" womanly qualities.³⁴ Chief Factor James Sutherland also devoted considerable time to instructing his children; in 1823 his daughter Sally was described by Reverend John West as "one of the best informed and most improved half-caste women" he had seen.³⁵ Captain Franklin noted that the children of the Orkney servants received a little education and showed a distinct improvement compared to those of the French-Canadian voyageurs who were left to grow up in ignorance.³⁶ While the North West Company never attempted to implement a plan of education for the children of its servants, a few concerned bourgeois such as Daniel Harmon and David Thompson endeavoured to teach their own children, and those of their colleagues, the basics of English and some simple prayers.³⁷

Laudable as the efforts of the traders to civilize their daughters may have been, in effect, they were to place them in a vulnerable position by making them increasingly dependent upon white male protectors and the comforts of the fur-trade post. For a mixed-blood woman who lacked close ties to her Indian relations or was unaccustomed to the hardship of their

existence, life was fraught with danger after the withdrawal of white male support through death or retirement. Hudson's Bay Company officer Edward Jarvis understood this when he pleaded with the London Committee to be allowed to bring home his native family in the 1780s; he was particularly concerned about his wife because she was "the daughter of an Englishman" and had few or no Indian friends.³⁸

One of the most tragic illustrations of the fatal cycle of dependency that could be created was the case of Mary Norton, the daughter of Governor Moses Norton and an unidentified Cree woman. Norton lavished tender care and luxuries upon his daughter, and his will reveals great concern about her future welfare. Shortly before his death in December 1773, Norton, endeavouring to secure ample provision for Mary, added a codicil to his will instructing his executrix to raise his daughter's annuity to thirty pounds, five of which she was to give to her "aunt", Meo, See, tak, ka, pow. Norton's executrix, his English wife Sarah, was apparently able to ignore the codicil in favour of the less generous terms of the original will and only remitted ten pounds a year to the Committee to be divided equally between Mary and her "aunt".³⁹ Upon her father's death Mary did not have to go to live with her Indian relations, for Samuel Hearne was at last free to pursue his desire to make her his country wife. Hearne professed the utmost abhorrence for Norton; yet he idolized his daughter whom he extolled as an example of pure and virtuous womanhood. Mary's "benevolence, humanity, and scrupulous adherence to truth and honesty" he declared, "would have done honour to the most enlightened and devout Christian."⁴⁰ Unfortunately when Hearne surrendered Prince of Wales's Fort to the French and was taken prisoner in 1782, Mary was abandoned to her Indian relatives. During the bitter winter that followed she starved to death. Hearne charged that she had perished "a martyr to the principles of virtue", but the Indians would not willingly have let Mary die. Her helplessness likely imposed too heavy a burden upon them when starvation conditions prevailed and many other Indians died.⁴¹

Increasingly the fur traders began to acknowledge a kind of collective responsibility for the fate of their female offspring.

Concern for the welfare of their children led to the development of an informal system of guardianship among the bourgeois of the North West Company. When Roderick McKenzie retired from the Indian Country in 1803 he entrusted the supervision of his three mixed-blood children to his friend John Stuart. Then when the eldest daughter Nancy married, her husband, J. G. McTavish, took over responsibility for her younger sister until she too found a husband.⁴² Marriage was an important factor in the future of a mixed-blood girl since her role would be primarily defined within the framework of being a wife and mother. The Indian custom of paying a bride price to the parents of the girl was no longer operative; instead, in many cases, fur-trade fathers began to provide their daughters with dowries as was customary in their own country. The wealth of some of the officers enabled them to dower their daughters handsomely: each of the six daughters of retired Chief Factor Thomas Thomas and his Cree wife brought one thousand pounds to their marriage.⁴³

In the Hudson's Bay Company, Committee policy had been at least partially successful in restricting marital unions to the upper ranks, and initially most of the marriageable mixed-blood girls were the daughters of officers. Understandably, these officers viewed incoming junior officers as the most promising husbands for their daughters, and this pattern of intermarriage was repeated many times over in the Company.⁴⁴ As the long-time trader Charles McKenzie observed:

. . . Chief Factors are in the way of portioning their daughters very high . . . They think their alliance is enough and they take care to monopolize all the most promising young men for Sons in law.⁴⁵

Inevitably there were not enough incoming officers to go around; younger daughters might just as often be married to respectable servants or to the mixed-blood sons of officers. Among the Nor'Westers, the 1806 ruling against marriage with pure-blooded Indian women can be seen as an attempt to ensure that the large number of marriageable mixed-blood girls now available would find husbands within the fur trade to support them. In the North West Company, there were few marriageable daughters of the bourgeois in comparison with the large number

of mixed-blood women who were the daughters of the French-Canadian engagés. Numerous examples of bourgeois who married the daughters of voyageurs or freemen can be cited, one of the most famous being Daniel Harmon. In 1805, after refusing several offers of an Indian wife, the moralistic Harmon consented to marry Lisette Duval, the fourteen-year-old daughter of a French-Canadian.⁴⁶ The youthful age of Harmon's bride was not unusual; according to Captain Franklin: "The girls at the forts, particularly the daughters of Canadians, are given in marriage very young; they are very frequently wives at 12 years of age, and mothers at 14."⁴⁷

Within the framework of the North West Company, the marriages between bourgeois and the daughters of the engagés cut across both class and racial lines; such unions may have served to foster the feeling of Company solidarity, "the North West spirit", which transcended distinctions of rank. It was a source of pride to more than one engagé that his comely daughters had become the wives of bourgeois. Ross Cox tells the story of a redoubtable old voyageur, Louis La Liberté, who felt he could address himself with familiarity to one of the Company's proprietors because he was father-in-law to three wintering partners.⁴⁸ A significant proportion of the bourgeois who were absorbed into the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821 — Peter Warren Dease, Thomas McMurray and William McIntosh — had country wives of French-Indian descent.⁴⁹

Apart from the pressures that fathers exerted to secure advantageous matches for their daughters, there were many other reasons why incoming traders found young mixed-blood women desirable wives. A fur trader's daughter possessed the ideal qualifications to be a fur trader's wife. This child of the fur trade was a symbol of the fusion of European and Indian cultures; she knew no other way of life than that of the Indian country. If she was not as hardy as her Indian mother, the mixed-blood woman was still much better able to cope with the not inconsiderable rigours of life at a fur-trade post than a white woman would have been. Even in the late fur-trade period, it required considerable fortitude to be a trader's wife:

They must follow them [their husbands] to the most savage and remote stations, and take part in all the

privations they encounter. . . . However, like the wives of army subalterns they are mostly born to it, have looked all their days to such a vagabond life as their natural lot, and have no wishes beyond it.⁵⁰

Throughout the fur-trade period, the women of the forts, who were ultimately mostly mixed-bloods, remained an important element in the labour force. From their Indian mothers, mixed-blood girls learned and in turn passed on those native skills so necessary to the functioning of the trade: making moccasins, netting snowshoes and preparing pemmican. They were expert needlewomen, and their skill, in fashioning mittens, caps and leggings, became increasingly useful. Governor Simpson recorded, "it is the duty of the Women at the different Posts to do all that is necessary in regard to Needle Work." Mixed-blood women became renowned for their beautiful and intricate bead and quill work.⁵¹ The mixed-blood wife, skilled in native ways, could be of great assistance to the running of her husband's trading post. Charles McKenzie, who spent many years in charge of a small post at Lac Seul, praised his industrious wife Mary, a daughter of Nor'Wester William McKay and Josette Latour. As late as the 1850s, McKenzie was writing to his children:

Your good Mother . . . is still as brisk as a Bee — She must take her hunting exercise. . . . I believe She snared upwards of 600 Rabbits this winter — merely to give them to the people — whose wives do not set a snare.⁵²

McKenzie had such confidence in his wife that he left her in charge of the post during his necessary summer absences.⁵³

In addition to performing traditional Indian tasks, the women at the forts took on a more "civilized" range of domestic duties. They were responsible for at least an annual spring cleaning of the fort buildings. Washing and scrubbing — two domestic arts unknown to the fur-clad inhabitants of a dirt-floored Indian tepee — became an integral part of their routine. The clerk James Hargrave wrote to a friend: "the Dames" at York Factory were kept "in Suds, Scrubbing & Scouring."⁵⁴ The women also took an active part in planting and harvesting potatoes which were the mainstay of the subsistence agriculture

practiced around many posts. At Moose Factory in 1830, the women with the aid of their children gathered in 196 bushels of potatoes.⁵⁵ At the posts along the Saskatchewan, the industry of the women was particularly essential. "The women here work very hard" declared Chief Factor John Rowand at Fort Edmonton, "if it was not so, I do not know how we would get on with the Company work."⁵⁶

With her ties to the Indians and her familiarity with native customs and language, the mixed-blood wife was in a position to take over the role of intermediary or liaison between Indian and white without becoming a source of conflict as had been the case on occasion with Indian women. John Rowand's marriage to Louise Umfreville can be credited with increasing his influence among the Plains Indians. Mrs Rowand brought a band of horses to her marriage which over the years grew to the substantial number of over two hundred head. Since horses were a symbol of wealth and prestige among the Plains Indians, Rowand was understandably regarded as a considerable personage.⁵⁷ Métis girls were often excellent interpreters. The daughter of an old voyageur Cayenne Grogne could speak Cree, French and Mountainy (Chipewyan) fluently which made George Simpson desirous of securing a match between her and one of his clerks.⁵⁸ In writing of fur-trade life in the period after the union of the two companies, Isaac Cowie paid tribute to the mixed-blood wives of the Hudson's Bay Company men; many of the gentlemen owed much of their success in overcoming difficulties and maintaining the Company's influence over the natives to "the wisdom and good counsel of their wives."⁵⁹ Occasionally, a mixed-blood wife was known to have saved the life of her husband owing to her understanding of Indian characteristics. The Nor'Wester John Haldane was reputedly spared his scalp because of his country wife who had been able to intercede with some hostile Indians during an incident at Rat Portage.⁶⁰

In April 1828 when stationed in New Caledonia, the young clerk James Douglas had wed *à la façon du pays* Amelia Connolly, the daughter of his superior, Chief Factor William Connolly, and his Cree wife. Only a few months later the timely action of Amelia and the interpreter's wife, Nancy Boucher,⁶¹

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Fort Timiskaming and the Fur Trade



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To

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**The Pedlars and
 the Approach of
 the Hudson's Bay Company
 1760-88**

The surrender of Quebec in 1759 brought British merchants to Canada in the wake of the army, some from the old country, others from the colonies to the south. Furs were the principal lure and, often in partnership with French associates, these new men rapidly revived the Canadian trade. French traders had been active in the Saskatchewan country since the days of the elder Verendrye but for a few years after 1763 the road to the northwest was barred by the Indian unrest which culminated in Pontiac's War. The upper Ottawa and James Bay area, on the other hand, was not only close to Montreal but remote from the Indian troubles, and during the 1760s the activity of Montreal traders there upset, almost overnight, the balance of trade which had existed between the Hudson's Bay Company and the French. Suddenly the officers at Moose Fort found their returns sharply diminished.

The Moose Journals do not mention the French withdrawal from the interior until the spring of 1761, another reason for thinking that the French traders remained at their posts in the area after 1758. On 13 June, 1761, the factor at Moose Fort noted that the French had abandoned their forts, that the *coureurs de bois* were unable to get supplies from them, and that the Indians must perforce soon come down to him or to Albany to trade. But his complacency was short-lived. Only six weeks later some inland Indians arrived at Moose, accompanied by a homeguard Indian who had persuaded them to visit the Bay, and the factor discovered, to his chagrin, that they had already traded with Englishmen in the interior. Worse still, the Moose Indian himself had exchanged all his small furs with eight Englishmen on the Nottaway River and had clothed his whole family in English cloth and French shirts and coats, the latter presumably stock left at the posts by the former traders

or stored in Montreal in the Indian's words,

The Moose Journal belonging to the 'Pedl' referred to the independent waters of the Moose I the Nottaway River, 1 Abitibi.² Especially irli tion that they were, ir land Indians exchange for the lighter goods, li and then came down t found too heavy to tra able to supply, like th these 'troublesome' ge to offer. Moreover, as even go to the expense carry off the cream o effort to remedy the si stop trading⁴ and ther successful and by 177 explore the interior as a

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James Grant was twenty years. His fir associated until 1783. Michilimackinac and ing. The following ye they carried on the Thomas Dunn of Que

17 Pedlars and Approach of the HBC 1760-88

or stored in Montreal warehouses. The English, the factor added, were, in the Indian's words, 'as thick as Muskettos.'¹

The Moose Journals of the 1760s complain particularly of two posts belonging to the 'Pedlars,' as the Hudson's Bay men contemptuously referred to the independent traders in the interior. One was on the upper waters of the Moose River, presumably Fort Abitibi, and the other on the Nottaway River, perhaps Waswanipi or another outpost from Fort Abitibi.² Especially irksome to the Moose Fort officers was the realization that they were, in a sense, subsidizing the Canadian trade. The inland Indians exchanged their best furs (fine beaver and all their marten) for the lighter goods, like cloth and luxuries, which the 'Pedlars' brought, and then came down to the Fort for articles which the Canadians either found too heavy to transport (guns, powder, shot, and twine) or were unable to supply, like the Brazil tobacco which the Indians preferred. For these 'troublesome' goods they had only summer furs or inferior beaver to offer. Moreover, as one factor ruefully noted, the Canadians need not even go to the expense of wintering but could come up in the spring and carry off the cream of the furs before the Fort was clear of ice.³ In an effort to remedy the situation the Moose Fort officers first threatened to stop trading⁴ and then lowered their tariff, but neither expedient proved successful and by 1770 the London Committee was urging them to explore the interior as a preliminary to building posts inland.

Who were the men from Canada trading south of James Bay in the early years of British rule? Unfortunately we have very little information about them. We do know, however, that in 1764 William Grant of Quebec (or St Roch, as he was also known, from his place of residence), an Albany merchant who had come to Canada three years before, supplied Richard Dobie, a Montreal Scot, with goods for Timiskaming. Dobie appears to have continued trading in Timiskaming until about 1776, apparently acquiring a respectable fortune and probably consolidating the trade in his own hands. In that year, however, Moose Fort learned of a change of management at Abitibi Lake⁵ and the British fur trade licences for 1777 show that a James Grant was trading in Timiskaming.⁶

James Grant was interested in the Timiskaming trade for almost twenty years. His first partner was John Porteous, with whom he was associated until 1783. In 1782 Grant and George McBeath sent canoes to Michilimackinac and McBeath may also have had a share in Timiskaming. The following year Grant joined forces with Daniel Sutherland and they carried on the Timiskaming business until 1786. Other firms, Thomas Dunn of Quebec and the two partnerships of Charles Grant and

18 Fort Timiskaming and the Fur Trade

John Blackwood and of John Grant and Robert Griffin, were also concerned in the Timiskaming trade during these years, although neither the nature nor the extent of their involvement is clear. Charles Grant was a connection of William Grant of Quebec and John Grant was Dobie's son-in-law.

Apparently John Grant was a poor businessman and perhaps because of this, or simply from the general hazards of the trade, Grant and Griffin failed. In 1786, unable to pay debts of something over £1900, they assigned their third interest in the Timiskaming posts to Dobie. On 30 March 1787, Dobie also purchased for £2900 the rights and assets of Sutherland and Grant in Timiskaming, and those of Thomas Dunn and John Blackwood (the surviving partner of Grant and Blackwood), at the same time extinguishing the claims of Dunn and Blackwood on Sutherland and Grant. That same day he concluded a seven-year agreement with James Grant to carry on the trade of Timiskaming and Rivière Dumoine, Grant to be the wintering partner and himself to supply the goods and provisions. During the first three years of the contract his interest was to be two-thirds and Grant's one-third; after that they would share equally.⁷

The year, 1787, in which Dobie resumed his interests in Timiskaming, was one of the most significant in the history of the Canadian trade for it marked the emergence of the North West Company as the dominant force in the trade. As the early 'Pedlars' had penetrated farther and farther into the northwest they had come up against two major problems, the difficulty and expense of transporting increasing quantities of supplies over greater distances and the need for much larger amounts of capital to conduct a rapidly expanding trade. Their augmented numbers, too, made competition bitter and often resulted in ugly quarrels (sometimes even involving murder) between rival traders settled in the same area. Recognizing these drawbacks, a number of the 'Pedlars' began to make private agreements among themselves for carrying on the trade on a temporary basis. Soon, however, the opening up of the rich Athabasca country and the exciting prospect of the apparently illimitable extension of the trade north and west made a union of interests not only more attractive but imperative. In 1779 a group of traders in the interior had formed the first so-called North West Company and their association, although initially small in size and on a yearly basis, grew steadily during the early 1780s until, in 1787, it absorbed its principal remaining rivals in the northwest, Gregory, McLeod & Co. Shortly afterwards, Simon

19 Pedlars and Approach of the HBC 1760-88

McTavish and Joseph Frobisher joined forces in Montreal to form the firm of McTavish, Frobisher & Co., which became the North West Company's agents.

Another factor influencing the union of the Canadian traders in the northwest was the advance of the Hudson's Bay Company into the interior. Until the 1770s, except for sending emissaries inland to persuade the Indians to come down to the Bay to trade, the English had remained at their factories on the Bay for their French rivals, although a nuisance, had been handicapped by relatively modest resources, both in leadership and capital, and the Company had continued to secure sufficient furs to supply its markets. The new Canadian traders, however, were not only increasing in number every year but commanded considerable capital and, in the face of dwindling returns and profits, the Hudson's Bay Company was forced to adopt a policy of offence. In 1774 it built its first inland post, Cumberland House, on the Saskatchewan, and others followed rapidly.

The two companies thus aligned against each other in the northwest were entirely different in structure and organization. The Hudson's Bay Company, operating under a royal Charter which duplicated those of the English colonies in North America, claimed to be the actual proprietor of much of what is now Canada. Its Board of Directors, the London Committee, secured the financing and determined the general policy, while its employees, the officers and servants in the country, carried on the trade. The Canadians, on the other hand, were a loose federation of individual traders who had agreed to join forces for a limited number of years for their mutual benefit. Their governing body was the assembly of agents and wintering partners, which met in July each year, first at Grand Portage and later at Fort William. To the rendezvous came the winterers with their furs and the agents with their supplies and the policy for the next season's business was hammered out, together with any other necessary regulations for the conduct of the concern. From 1798 on, the agents and wintering partners were equal in status and powers, a situation which worked well in good times but which, in bad, tended to divisiveness. The profits were shared every year, too, which meant that no reserves were built up, and while the democratic nature of the association made the traders inland, in general, much more enterprising in pushing the trade than the employees of the Hudson's Bay Company, the English, with their greater cohesiveness, central administration and capital funds, were in a better position, as it proved, to sustain the long-drawn-out struggle which began in 1787.

20 Fort Timiskaming and the Fur Trade

The agreement of 1787 put the Nor'Westers in control of most of the Canadian trade in the northwest but in districts closer to Montreal, like Michipicoten and Timiskaming, the trade remained in the hands of independent firms. There the process of centralization was delayed for a number of reasons; distances were shorter, costs lower, prospects limited in comparison with the northwest and the pressure of the Hudson's Bay Company less noticeable. Nevertheless, the situation south of James Bay was by now very different from Dobie's early days, when the 'Pedlars' in Timiskaming had traded practically without interference from the Hudson's Bay Company.

Although increasingly perturbed by the decline in their returns and profits after 1763, the Hudson's Bay officers at Moose Fort had been slow to comply with the London Committee's wishes to explore the country and build inland posts. Perhaps this may have been partly due to an understandable hesitation to embark upon such a radical change of tactics, but principally it was a question of practical considerations. Not only did they suffer from a shortage of canoes, which could not be built on the Bay because of the absence of suitable birchbark, but they had neither the complement of men nor the quantity of European provisions necessary for voyaging. Above all, their servants were inexperienced in wilderness living and lacked the skills indispensable for travelling inland. It was not until the summer of 1774, therefore, the year in which Cumberland House was established, that the Moose Council finally acceded to the Committee's repeated urgings and sent a clerk, John Thomas, with three Indians, to explore the country towards Abitibi Lake, with a view to settling there.

Thomas was the first Moose Fort officer to visit a Timiskaming post and, according to the custom of the service, he kept a Journal of his voyage.⁸ Although he did not include many place names, he reported the geographical features of the country through which he passed and they reveal that he did not follow the Abitibi River, taking instead the more direct (if less practicable) road up the French, Kiasko, and Nettogami rivers to lakes Agaskagou and Kesagami, to the latter of which he referred as 'Mesackamy.' Beyond this point his Moose guide was unfamiliar with the country but Thomas was fortunate enough to fall in with an Indian who traded at Moose and who provided him with another guide. At the same time the Indian warned him that the journey to Lake Abitibi would take ten days and that very little game was to be had along the way, so Thomas and his men remained a few days longer on Lake Kesagami to catch and dry fish for provisions.

21 Pedlars and Approach of the HBC 1760-88

The new guide defected two days after Thomas resumed his journey, protesting that he was afraid of starving and that he was indebted to the 'Pedlars.' Nevertheless, Thomas and his companions continued along the road they were following, 'the Mesackamy Path.' Formerly, Thomas noted, it had 'been much used but seemingly this year has not been trode by a single individual, as the Grass is grown in the Paths and theres no Tracks of any Body or Tenting places, there is Still Standing Beacons, which I imagine has been done by People in the Pedlars Interest.'⁹

After a few days Thomas met an Indian who sketched a map of the road ahead, and two days later the party reached a large river, travelling up it to the lake which formed its source. Thomas believed the river to be the Harricanaw but that river is much farther east and this one was probably the Turgeon, its largest tributary. It is clear from Thomas's description, however, that he was not on Turgeon Lake but on Joe Lake, the source of the Patten River, a tributary of the Turgeon. So, puzzling out Thomas's route on the modern map, one concludes that he went from Lake Kesagami to the Burntbush River, down it to the Turgeon, up the Turgeon to the Patten, thence to its source, Joe Lake, and finally, over the Height of Land into Rivière la Reine and Lake Abitibi.

Thomas apparently knew that the Canadian post was on the south side of the lake, for the day after his arrival he crossed the lake in a southwesterly direction in search of it. Failing to find the 'Pedlars' there, his situation was now serious. He and his men had eaten very little for three days, they were out of powder and shot, and had only one torn net left. But during the next forty-eight hours they met friendly Indians, who gave them fish and promised to direct them to the 'Pedlars.' Leaving his own Indians in camp, Thomas went with them to the Canadian post.

Thomas's description of Fort Abitibi provides a colourful picture of a rough and primitive early Canadian trading station, in decided contrast to the relatively elaborate English factories on James Bay. Its occupants, he recorded, were

2 French Men, one French Woman and a Childe, and an Indian Olde Man who is Master of the Settlement, in the absence of the French Master, who is gone to Montreal. his name is Pano. the Woman I understand is his Wife, they are of the Roman Catholicke Religion by the Cross over their Gate, and DIEU SEUL in Capital Letters over their Bed, which is Feathers. one of them who calls himself Pano's Brother, cou'd speak a little broken English, he tolde me he was a Native

22 Fort Timiskaming and the Fur Trade

of Montreal, that he was one Month Six Days coming from thence, that they had 27 times to carry their Canoes which they bring their things down in, some of which Carriages are very long; he said tho they were so long coming that in 14 Days they cou'd return, as going with the Streame, he asked me several Questions relative the Country I came from, as how many Men we had, how many Carriage Guns, whether we had a Taylor, an Armourer, a Bricklayer, a Cooper, a smith a Mason &c. &c. what Wages they had, I told him we had Sixty Men, 24 Carriage Guns, that we had all the Tradesmen he mention'd. who are at 50£ p. Annum Each, that we had Cattle, Hogs and Poultry, in Plenty, and Plenty of Cabbages & other kind of Garden Stuff, He said, dat is very fine Country, he ask'd several other Questions which I cou'd not Understand, but neither ask'd me my Name nor the name of my Master, the other two did not Understand English nor any of them very little Indian, their House which put me in mind of a Barn, is Logs of Cedar notch'd at the Ends and let into Each other & about 4 Inshes [sic] Space between Each Log. which is fill'd with Loam mix'd with Hay, the Roof is of Cedar Bark, the Fire Place is of Stone & Clay, their Windows Paper instead of Glass, their Warehouse a Seperate [sic] Building from their Dwelling House. Built after the same manner, they are Building a New House, round these Houses they have one Row of Stockades, which are Trunnell'd, instead of Naild, Neither is there any Nails in their Buildings, they have no fastening to their Gate, nor any Locks, but one to their Warehouse, & one to the Door of the Apartments where they Lay; if the Indians were Evil minded they might shoot them in their beds, through the spaces between the Logs where the Clay has fell out, they have about a dozen small Cabbage Plants, and about the same Number of Lettuces; - they are upon the Entrance of a River call'd Woo,pa,che,won leads S. upon which River 7 Days Journey from thence going with the Stream is the settlement called Woo,pa,che,won, which is at the Entrance of a Lake as the Indians say ... the French Men ... told me Pano their Master would be back in the Fall of the Year ... Treated me with the greatest Civility & Friendship with an invitation to return another Year ... NB, the Frenchmen, in the Winter, Quit the House, and live in a Log Tent about 50 Yards below the Factory.¹⁰

It is clear from Thomas's account that the Fort Abitibi of his day was in the same general location as de Troyes', at the mouth of the Duparquet River, and Woo,pa,che,won, of course, was Fort Timiskaming. Both posts probably belonged to Richard Dobie, who appears to have owned the Timiskaming posts until 1776. The master's name, Pano, was no doubt a shortened form of Panneton, since we know that a servant of that name, perhaps this former master or the brother whom Thomas met, was at Fort Abitibi in 1788. Two years after Thomas's visit, how-

23 Pedle

ever, an Indian report been master of Abitibi his wife and niece, deli accompanied him from N that Englishmen had district.¹¹

The departure of Pano of James Grant's but it also reflected cha Montreal end of the bu ish (more particularly, the colony, and they, in country, often relatives was not entirely a matt and became more comy ucation to manage the standard were probably Pano would soon find tl for the owners of distri ally continued to emple on their own account or After staying two nig and set out on his retu He arrived at Moose Fo in actual travel. Estim miles an hour, he calcu tibi to be some three hu

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23 Pedlars and Approach of the HBC 1760-88

ever, an Indian reported to the governor of Moose that Pano, who had been master of Abitibi for many years, had returned to Montreal with his wife and niece, delivering his charge to two Englishmen who had accompanied him from Montreal in the fall of 1776. The Indian also said that Englishmen had replaced all the other French masters in the district.¹¹

The departure of Pano and the other Frenchmen was probably the result of James Grant's taking over the Timiskaming posts from Dobie but it also reflected changes in the character of the Canadian trade. The Montreal end of the business was rapidly coming into the hands of British (more particularly, Scottish) merchants, who continued to arrive in the colony, and they, in turn, were bringing out young men from the old country, often relatives, to fill the positions of clerks and winterers. This was not entirely a matter of nepotism or greed for as the trade expanded and became more competitive, it required men of greater ability and education to manage the posts. Canadians who could meet the necessary standard were probably not affected, at least for a time, but masters like Pano would soon find themselves demoted. Demoted, not fired, however, for the owners of districts like Timiskaming, so close to Montreal, usually continued to employ such men, if only to prevent them from trading on their own account or as agents of other interlopers.

After staying two nights at Fort Abitibi, Thomas rejoined his Indians and set out on his return journey, this time following the Abitibi River. He arrived at Moose Fort eight days later, having spent a hundred hours in actual travel. Estimating his average progress at three and a half miles an hour, he calculated the distance from Moose Fort to Fort Abitibi to be some three hundred and fifty miles.

Thomas's journey was only the first of several exploratory expeditions undertaken within the next few years from Moose and Albany, the two English factories on James Bay. Canadian pressure from the south by the Ottawa route bore most directly on the Moose trade but both factories were subject to the opposition of Canadian traders on Lake Superior, who approached the headwaters of the Moose and Albany rivers from Michipicoten. During the summers of 1775 and 1776 Edward Jarvis investigated the route from Albany to Michipicoten by the Missinaibi River, the great west branch of the Moose, and visited the Canadian post there. In 1776, too, the Moose Council established Rupert House at the mouth of the Rupert River (the former site of Charles Fort, captured by de Troyes), in order to operate more effectively against the

24 Fort Timiskaming and the Fur Trade

Canadian traders on the Nottaway River and Lake Nemiscau, while Thomas made another successful journey westward up the Moose. On the basis of Jarvis's and Thomas's reports the Moose Council then decided to build a post on Lake Superior, first settling a halfway house on the Missinaibi River.

The site chosen for the new intermediate house was about half a mile above the mouth of Wapiscagami Creek, which flows into the Missinaibi approximately a hundred and twenty miles southwest of Moose Fort. Wapiscogamy [sic] House was established there between May and August 1777, one of three to be built inland from Moose Fort that year. Generally speaking, the Hudson's Bay Company called their inland stations 'Houses,' while the Canadians preferred the term 'Forts.'

During that same summer of 1777 Thomas repeated Jarvis's feat by reaching Michipicoten from Moose, but he decided against settling on Lake Superior because of the shallows and rapids of the Michipicoten River. Instead he built a house on Missinaibi Lake, at the head of the Missinaibi River where, so local Indians assured him, he would get plenty of rabbits in winter and geese in spring. His experience proved quite the contrary. During the winter of 1777-8 starvation drove him and his men to Wapiscogamy House, of which he took command. He returned to Missinaibi House for a few days in the summer of 1778 and again in 1779, when he left two servants in charge, but they abandoned the post in May 1780 because of the unfriendliness of the Indians, who afterwards burned the deserted buildings. Another Moose Fort establishment, built by George Atkinson in 1777 on the north side of Kesagami Lake, was equally short-lived. There was little trade there and the cost of maintaining it, to say nothing of the difficulties of transport, led to its abandonment after a couple of years.

The Moose Council had been dissatisfied with the location of Wapiscogamy House from the beginning but, unable to decide on a better site, built a more elaborate establishment there in 1781, at the same time changing its name to Brunswick House in honour of George III, who was also Duke of Brunswick. The London Committee was outspoken in its disapproval, being convinced that temporary and inexpensive structures, which could be given up or moved if conditions warranted, were more suited to the exigencies of the inland trade. And indeed, Brunswick House was to be no more satisfactory than the more modest Wapiscogamy. It was finally abandoned in 1791, after another Moose establishment, built on Micabanish (modern Brunswick) Lake in 1788, had proved more popular with the Indians. Micabanish House was then renamed New Brunswick.

25 Pedlars and Approach of the HBC 1760-88

All these new Moose posts were situated in what the Hudson's Bay Company regarded as its own territories. Charles II's Charter of 1670, following the pattern of other royal charters relating to the English colonies in North America, had granted to the Governor and Company 'all those Seas, Streights, Bays, Rivers, Lakes, Creeks, and Sounds, in whatever Latitude they shall be, that lie within the Entrance of the Streights commonly called Hudson's Streights, together with all the Lands and Territories upon the Countries, Coasts and Confines of the Seas, Bays, Lakes, Rivers, Creeks and Sounds aforesaid, that are not already possessed by or granted to any of our Subjects or possessed by the Subject of any other Christian Prince or State,' such territories to be known as Rupert's Land. It had further decreed that Rupert's Land should not be 'visited, frequented or haunted, by any of the Subjects of Us, Our Heirs or Successors, contrary to the true meaning of these Presents,' and had ceded to the Company 'full Power and lawful Authority to seize upon the Persons of such English, or any other Our Subjects, which shall sail into Hudson's Bay or inhabit in any of the Countries, Islands or Territories hereby granted to the said Governor and Company, without their Leave or License,' the offenders to be sent to England and punished under the law. It was on the basis of this charter, together with its own subsequent treaties with the Indians and the prior British claim to occupation of the Bay, that the Company asserted its right to extend inland and insisted that Canada and Hudson Bay were separate provinces. The French, on the other hand, held that all the treaties, rights, and charters which applied to Canada, the St Lawrence, the Great Lakes and southwards, were equally applicable to the north and the 'Baie du Nord.'¹²

After 1763, with both regions now British, the problem of ownership of the territory inland from Hudson Bay became more acute. Although the Company's charter had been confirmed by Parliament in 1692, it had been only for a period of seven years and later attempts to renew it had failed. The Canadians pronounced it worthless or, at best, applicable only to the coast. If the upper country were no longer Indian land, they argued, then it belonged to the French by right of exploration and they were heirs of the French. The Hudson's Bay Company had no legal right to it, beyond the privilege of trade which all British subjects shared. They could settle where they liked and the Company could do nothing about it.

In the face of such reasoning, the Governor and Committee found themselves in a very awkward situation. In order to assert their right to the land and dislodge their opponents, they either would have to resort

26 Fort Timiskaming and the Fur Trade

to direct action of some kind, possibly militant, or appeal to the British government to uphold their claim. Whatever course they chose, however, would bring a challenge to their charter and although publicly they defended its validity, privately they had misgivings about its chances in a court of law. Besides, they were realistic enough to recognize that they could never resort to force; the only safe and practicable solution was to oppose their rivals in every quarter by building posts inland, even settling across the Height of Land, as in Lake Superior, if it should prove expedient.

Brunswick House (by 1780 the only survivor of the three posts so recently built inland by Moose Fort) had been established, as we have seen, to oppose the Canadians at Michipicoten and lay well outside the limits of the Timiskaming district. So it was not until 1785, when the Hudson's Bay Company settled on Frederick House Lake, that the owners of Fort Timiskaming began to notice the effects of competition from James Bay.

Although the Governor and Committee had been pleased with Thomas's success in reaching Lake Abitibi and had decided on building there as soon as possible, it was clear to them that, before establishing any more posts inland, their officers must become better acquainted with the country. To this end they sent Philip Turnor, the first qualified surveyor they had ever engaged, to Moose Fort. In 1781, accompanied by George Donald, a young trader with some surveying experience, Turnor surveyed the road from Moose to Michipicoten and then made two unsuccessful attempts to reach Kesagami Lake, presumably to map Thomas's route to Lake Abitibi. The following May, again with Donald, he set out to survey the road by the Abitibi River.

Although Turnor's Journal has not survived, his map fortunately has and J.B. Tyrrell plotted it in the volume of Turnor's journeys which he edited for the Champlain Society. Furthermore, on his return to Moose Fort Turnor left Lake Abitibi by the La Reine River and Tyrrell's description of his route not only confirms the speculations about Thomas's outward journey but fills in the missing links. After crossing the Height of Land from the La Reine, Turnor travelled down the Patten to the Turgeon, up the Burntbush, by portages and small lakes to the Kattawagami, again by portages to Newnham Bay on Lake Kesagami, westward to Lake Agaskagou, and finally down to the Moose River by way of the Nettogami and the French rivers.¹³

When the Governor and Committee received Turnor's report, they

27 Pedlars and Approach of the HBC 1760-88

determined to lose no time in building a post on Lake Abitibi and their general letter of May 1783 entrusted the task to him. But La Perouse's daring raids on York and Churchill that summer (a French contribution to the cause of American independence) resulted in another year's delay. The English factors on James Bay, fearful for their own posts, recalled all their men from the interior, including Turnor, who had been master of Brunswick House since his return from Lake Abitibi. It was not until the summer of 1784, therefore, that he and Germain Maugenest, a Canadian who had deserted to the English at Albany and had been sent to Moose Fort for the express purpose, were able to set about implementing the Committee's instructions.

Even then, however, Turnor did not settle on Lake Abitibi. Warned by local Indians that venison was scarce there, he established himself at the junction of the Abitibi and Pusquachagama rivers (modern Frederick House River), a strategic site in the centre of the Abitibi Indians' lands. The Moose Fort records referred to the new post as 'towards Abitibi.' But the fisheries proved inadequate and the following year Turnor moved to a new site on the southeast shore of Lake Waratowaca (Frederick House Lake), building his house on the sandy ridge along which the Ontario Northland Railway and the highway from Timmins to Iroquois Falls run today.¹⁴ The site is now marked with a plaque erected by the Historical Branch of the Public Archives of Ontario. Although Frederick House (as the new post was called in honour of George III's second son) was a disappointment to the Moose Council from the beginning, being expensive to supply and collecting few furs, it was nevertheless to prove a thorn in the flesh of the Canadians at Fort Timiskaming.

Until Frederick House was established, the only Timiskaming posts known to Moose Fort, apart from the unnamed station up the Nottaway River, were Abitibi and Timiskaming. Now another post belonging to Fort Timiskaming came to the notice of the Company's servants. It was situated up the west branch of the Montreal River on Lake Mistinikon and Turnor referred to it as the *Sowe, a, wa, me, ni, ca* Settlement, of which Mistinikon is patently a modern version. The Canadians, however, called it *Langué de Terre*. On 28 December 1786, the master of this post arrived at Frederick House, accompanied by his clerk, a servant, and an Indian, to return, as he put it, the many visits which the English had paid to Canadian posts. Turnor welcomed them 'in the manner the Hon-ble Companys Servants has often been treated by them,'¹⁵ and they stayed four days, informing him that they intended to settle near him

32 Fort Timiskaming and the Fur Trade

brought me had been conceal'd or the Canadians (who had been at their Tents) would have taken them from them for Debts that was due - and that they are confident some Indians that I enquired after (unless they arrive soon) are intercepted by the Canadians as they not only promis'd me but them also that they would not if they could avoid it let the Canadians have their Furs.²⁶

It is a nice question whether Thomas's attitude to Indian debts was any better than his opponents'. Even if the means the Canadians used to entice the Indians were unethical, still they had some right to the furs which would pay those debts and in trying to secure them, the Company's officers, too, laid themselves open to reproach. They could, of course, justify their actions on the ground that the Canadians were trading on lands belonging to the Company, but the truth was that competition in the fur trade was never fair and its excesses finally so notorious that monopoly was the only way out.

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The Hudson's Bay Company Settles on Lake Abitibi 1788-95

In the spring of 1788 a new figure appeared in the Timiskaming district in the person of Æneas Cameron, the first of a succession of Camerons who were to be concerned in its affairs during the next hundred years. He had recently arrived in Canada from Jamaica, where he had apparently been unable to find employment to his taste, and Dobie engaged him as a clerk for beleaguered Fort Abitibi, promising him that if he should decide to remain in the country (and provided James Grant were willing), he would offer him part of his own share in the post.

Cameron had had no experience of the fur trade but his education and family connections, in a business where such connections meant so much, probably accounted for the generosity of Dobie's terms. He was born in northeastern Scotland about 1757, in Strathavon (pronounced, and sometimes even spelled, Stratha'an), the beautiful glen of the Avon River in upper Banffshire, near Tomintoul. His father, Alexander Cameron, farmed the small holding of Iverchabet in the parish of Kirkmichael, and his mother was Grace Grant of Glenloch, a neighbouring property in the same parish. Grace Grant was a sister of the John Grant of Glenloch (later of Kilgraston) who was Chief Justice of Jamaica from 1783 to 1790, and of Francis Grant, a wealthy planter in the same island.

Grace Grant's mother was also a Grant, of Inverloch, another small holding in Kirkmichael, and William Grant, the eldest son of that family, was by now well known in the Canadian fur trade as William Grant of Montreal. He and Dobie were business associates and friends but they may also have been more closely connected through Dobie's son-in-law, John Grant, the former shareholder in the Timiskaming posts. This John Grant was almost certainly related to the Jamaican Grants¹ and probably to William Grant as well. In either case, Dobie and Cameron would have shared a family connection.

34 Fort Timiskaming and the Fur Trade

As for James Grant, he and Cameron cannot have been entire strangers, for Grant came from the same parish of Kirkmichael as Cameron himself and William Grant. Although there is no suggestion in James Grant's letters to Cameron of any blood tie between them, perhaps he, like Cameron, was related to William Grant. Even if he were not, however, their common background would have made the new clerk all the more acceptable to James Grant.

Æneas Cameron went to Fort Abitibi in the spring of 1788, where, as we have seen, opposition from Canada was particularly active. Dobie & Grant's rival was Beaubien Desrivieres of St Paul Street, Montreal, whose principal fur trade interests were at Lake of Two Mountains. The Iroquois village there furnished most of the men, as well as provisions, for his Timiskaming venture and the Montreal firm of Todd, McGill & Co. seem to have supplied the goods. Desrivieres was not only interfering with the trade at all the Timiskaming posts but also in Rivière Dumoine, a convenient approach to Grand Lac. At Abitibi his trader was a man named St Germain, while another, Coursolle, traded for him at Langue de Terre. In Rivière Dumoine he had managed to persuade one of Dobie's own engagés, Joseph Godin, to enter his service and the enraged Dobie was not only suing Godin in the Montreal courts and hiring 'bullies' to capture him on his way down the Ottawa but resorting to every possible legal means to prevent Desrivieres from profiting from Godin's services.² Apparently his measures were successful for in December 1788, Godin returned to his former employers.

Ambitious, hardworking, shrewd, vigorous, and indomitable, Richard Dobie personified the freebooting days of the early Canadian trade. Beginning as a 'Pedlar' in the Timiskaming area as early as 1764, he invested the money he made there in becoming a merchant and supplier of others. The natural frankness of his letters to Æneas Cameron makes reading them almost like meeting him, while the deficiencies in spelling and grammar only add colour to his picturesque and uninhibited style. His principal concern during the spring and summer of 1788 was to supply the Timiskaming posts generously, thereby pressing his opponent to the limit, and he sent up nine hundred pieces (about ninety pounds each) to Fort Timiskaming. At the same time he assured Cameron that the previous year (the first of his association with James Grant) he had supplied almost two hundred more than Daniel Sutherland had done in any of the four years in which he held the posts.³

Meanwhile at Fort Timiskaming, following the practice of the Cana-

35 HBC Settles on Lake Abitibi 1788-95

dian trade, James Grant was doing his best to entice Desrivières' men from him and encouraging Cameron to do the same on Lake Abitibi. In October 1788, he reported to Cameron that he had received a letter from Coursolle at Langue de Terre, enclosing a list of his furs and making some proposals which he did not understand. His opponent had promised, however, to visit him during the winter and perhaps then they might come to some agreement which would 'detach him from the old Raskal I wish you could attempt something of the kind there.'⁴

The winter and spring of 1789 were terrible months in Canada. The previous summer's harvest had failed and 'the hungry year' which followed saw the price of bread soar above the purses of the poor. In his first spring letter to his colleagues in Timiskaming, Dobie sorrowfully recounted the pitiful conditions prevailing in the colony; despite the assistance of the more fortunate, many had died of starvation. As a result, even though he had personally visited all the villages around Montreal, he had had the greatest difficulty in securing provisions for the posts and so far had accumulated only sufficient 'pease' to supply the voyageurs. In addition, he had sent men to Vermont, New Hampshire, and almost as far as Albany, but up until now they had not returned. He had succeeded however in contracting with 'a Yankee' for two hundred bushels of Indian corn, to be delivered at St John's (on Lake Champlain), although he was not counting on it; 'you know nothing can be depended on from those fellows until it is in hand.'⁵ As a substitute for the required flour, he intended to send up two bags of biscuit and as soon as the season began, Grant and Cameron should send out fishing parties day and night.

To add to Dobie's anxieties, he had learned that Desrivières had procured about a hundred and fifty bushels of corn and sufficient flour for his posts from the Lake of Two Mountains Indians and was now trying to get his canoes off first. The earliest brigade to arrive at Fort Timiskaming, Dobie warned Grant and Cameron, would bring news of the scarcity of provisions and they must be careful to assure their Indians that the Fort would have plenty, especially for those who had not traded with Desrivières. 'That old Rascal is Villian [sic] enough', he declared, 'to tell the Indains [sic] that we cannot supply them this year with a grain of provisions, & that they must all *come to him*, or perish for want - and you should inform your Chieftains far & near, that we shall prove Disriver [sic] has deluded them, and has utter'd to them many falshoods [sic] and abundance of ill grounded Lies.'⁶ Fortunately, by the time Dobie's canoes were at last able to start for Fort Timiskaming after a

36 Fort Timiskaming and the Fur Trade

late spring break-up, his emissaries had not only brought back plenty of Indian corn and grease but the 'Yankee' had kept his bargain and the Timiskaming posts were assured of abundant provisions.

During the winter Dobie had also been busy enlisting the support of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Sir John Johnson, against the inroads of Desrivieres' Iroquois, whose ruthless hunting methods had terrified the timid Timiskaming and Abitibi Indians. He had managed to persuade Sir John to write a reassuring letter to them and to provide suitable gifts and he now proposed to pay a ceremonial visit to the posts in May in order to present them. His letter indicates the kind of presents which pleased the Indians.

For your Lords & Copper Couler'd Chieftains vizt 3 very fine & handsome Mad-dels, 3 Laced Coats beautifull, 3 do - Hats - do, 6 Silver Arm abands, 3 pr. of English colouers, with a Belt of wampum one end of which Sir John Johnson is to hold & the other end the Indians at Temiscamingue and abitibie is to hold you will of course inform all your Indains [sic] far and Near of this mighty present, to which I Suppose we must add a Keg of Rum, Black Tobacco & a little Vermilian - N.B. we must be exceeding carefull that we do not avail ourselves of any insinuations in our favor relating Trade - because the Rascal Disriver with the assistance Cuning McGill, will make matters sound in at headquarters to Sir John's prejudice - the present will be handed with a Speech from Sir John Johnson - the purport of which will be that the Indains have been mislaid by bad Wirds, vild Lies against us and the English in genl. - and that the Lake Indians and Chiefs had no Business among them and in future if any Chiefs came amongst them to frighten or [indecipherable] our Indians Some one two or three must come down to inform Sir John, and he will give our Indains [sic] ample satisfaction.⁷

As it turned out, however, Dobie did not arrive at Fort Timiskaming until the beginning of June. Perhaps ill health delayed him for, despite Cameron's urgings, he decided against proceeding as far as Fort Abitibi, pleading 'a Shattered Constitution,' already 'stretched' by the journey so far. He hoped, he told Cameron, that the Abitibi Indians would be satisfied with Sir John's gifts and speech and his own appearance at Fort Timiskaming, where he would wait for Cameron to bring down all his 'Indain [sic] kings and Queens and as many of thier Subjects ... as possible, without detriment to making packs.'⁸

A cassette, forwarded to Cameron that summer, provides an interesting sidelight on the more personal side of fur trade life, as well as sug-

37 HBC Settles on Lake Abitibi 1788-95

gesting that the style of living at Fort Abitibi had improved considerably since Thomas's visit fourteen years before. It included 'a Highland dress, 2 pr. do Hose & Garters, 4 lb. Snuff, 4 lb. Tob^o, 2 tooth brushes, 1 Buckle do, 2 velvet stocks, 1 round, 2 pr. Sheets, 1 Ratten [Ratteen] Jacket a Present from RD.'⁹

During the summer of 1789 Desrivières' trader at Langue de Terre, Coursolle, gave up his post, handing over his goods to Dobie & Grant at a fair valuation,¹⁰ and although St Germain continued to hold on at Abitibi Lake, it is clear that by now Grant and Cameron were far more worried about the effect on their trade of the Hudson's Bay Company's opposition at Frederick House. In October, Grant warned Cameron to watch out for the Timiskaming chief, who intended to winter near Lake Abitibi and had told some Indians that he was going to visit his old friends on Hudson Bay, and Grant's letter suggests that he and Dobie were contemplating building a post in the neighbourhood of Frederick House.

In May 1790, Cameron himself visited Frederick House in the company of John Mannall, a Hudson's Bay clerk whom he had met on Lake Abitibi. William Bolland, the master of Frederick House, had sent Mannall to waylay Indians there but on reaching the place where he intended to camp, Mannall had discovered that Cameron had been there since the beginning of March. As a result, Mannall had secured only a few furs which he traded in the night for brandy.¹¹ Cameron stayed two days at Frederick House, afterwards reporting to Grant that he had seen two Indian women there who belonged to Langue de Terre.

During that summer St Germain finally abandoned his opposition on Lake Abitibi and from then on the owners of the Timiskaming district never had to contend with any further competition from Canada. It is true that two years later there was a brief alarm that the Montreal firms of Forsyth, Richardson & Co. and Todd, McGill & Co., who were being pushed out of the southwest trade by the Americans, might oppose the North West Company and also interfere in Timiskaming, but the threat failed to materialize. Again, although David and Peter Grant mounted an opposition to the North West Company from 1793 to 1795 and there were fears that they might also go to Timiskaming, the rumours came to nothing. After 1790, except for a random foray or two into the southern fringe of the Timiskaming district, it was a straight fight between the owners of the Timiskaming posts and the Hudson's Bay Company in which the Canadians always had the upper hand.

38 Fort Timiskaming and the Fur Trade

Cameron remained in charge of Fort Abitibi for several years. About 1792 he went to Grand Lac and was succeeded at Fort Abitibi by Alexander McDougall, who had been at the post at least since 1788. The Timiskaming servants at this time were mostly French, as their names reveal; Laplante, Lepine, Laframboise, Blondeau, L'Écurier (or so they spelled it), Lalande, Lamotte, Mallet, and Sabourin, to mention a few. Some of the clerks were French, too, St Amant, Chenier, Constant, and Panneton, but the majority were Scots like Cameron and McDougall, Donald McKay, Donald Grant (known as Bonhomme), Hugh Ross, Alexander Gordon, and Peter Grant (James's uncle). During Cameron's tenure of Fort Abitibi Donald McKay and the two Grants were apparently at Langue de Terre, Neil McKay at Grand Lac, and James Grant and Alexander Gordon at Fort Timiskaming. A man named Charles Phillips was in charge of Rivière Dumoine and remained there for many years, although he does not seem to have enjoyed the confidence of either James Grant or Dobie. Grant referred to him as 'that raskal Phillips,' while Dobie, who pronounced him 'a Spark, of such talents that no pouer but the Devil's and his own can Solve,' was constantly enjoining on Cameron the need to watch him and bring down his furs.¹²

As far as the disposition of their servants was concerned, Dobie and Grant maintained strength wherever opposition was fiercest, keeping outposts and men equally mobile. Moreover, the Canadians travelled widely in search of furs. Alexander Gordon, for example, went from Fort Timiskaming almost to Lake Huron in the spring of 1790 and immediately after his return, set out for Wanapitei Lake and Lake Nipissing. At the latter, Denis de la Ronde was carrying on a private trade. Other places are also mentioned which we now have no means of identifying.

Dobie did not go up to Fort Timiskaming in the summer of 1790, sending his apologies 'to all, Kings, Queens &c' for disappointing them, but his spring letter, conveying the news of the recent London fur sales, must have heartened both Grant and Cameron. All furs, except bears, had fetched better prices than the previous year and Timiskaming fine beaver had sold for the highest price, a shilling and sixpence more than the best North West. If the new venture of selling furs direct to China were successful, their beaver would be worth much more in 1792. 'I am certain,' Dobie optimistically assured Cameron, 'when the post of Temiskamingue and the posts depending thereon are all brought to frugal and Regular good Rules, no person here nor in any quarter depending on this province will have fairer prospect of gaining money than you and

39 HBC Settles on Lake Abitibi 1788-95

Mr Grant – the Trade here and particularly via Michimackina and Detroit are entirely overdone, at the latter place I don't think there is more than two or three that can be trusted with sixpence.¹³

Cameron went down to Montreal that summer and the terms of a new arrangement between himself, Dobie, and James Grant appear to have been worked out, subject to an inventory of the goods and buildings. By the following April, however, Dobie was much less sanguine about the future of the Timiskaming trade, although apparently still convinced that if the country business were reorganized, Grant and Cameron could make money. Economy must be their watchword. 'The leading and main Spring of this important object,' Dobie explained to Cameron, 'is in my opinion, to be obtained through the following measures *only*, Industry, Saving, knowledge, and above all consideration to discharge all Superfluous and iddle [sic] Clerks, you and Mr Grant at your respective Posts, with five more Judicious, Honest and Saving Clerks on reasonable wages is enough, and if the Indains [sic] must Drink inundations of Rum, Consume provisions, and Tobacco &ca. &ca. they by degrees must be weeded from Consuming those very expensive articles.'¹⁴

Yet three days later, when Dobie dispatched the Timiskaming account to the fort, it is clear that he was a much worried man. He and Grant, he pointed out to Cameron, had 'lost emmensly' during the first three years of their partnership and although Grant insisted that it was impossible, he was satisfied that the only way to put the business on a sound basis was for them to prepare an exact list of the required supplies.

You and Mr Grant must *draw a line* to follow in *management*, and you may rely *that line will be* punctually followed here on my part – my former experience in the Post Trade clearly evince me, forty pices of Strouds (say forty Bales assorted Goods) is enough for the annual supply – you may consider the following surprising tho' it is truth, 1764 I only sent up 30 pieces Strouds, and the Spring of 1765 I brought down 118 packs 90 livres each french wight in which there was not a single musquash, and the Beaver in quality at that time was 50 pct. better than it is now, and you will still think it more surprising few or no goods was put in at less than 75 pct. and many at a cole 100 pct. by Wm. Grant of Quebec – and during the time I had that post beaver, otters Cased Cats did not sell for more than half of last year's price, notwithstanding all those disadvantages I earned money handsomely annually, you'll say no doubt times is Changed, I allow it, but folloug. a obvious lossing Trade will be in us madness and great folly.¹⁵

41 HBC Settles on Lake Abitibi 1788-95

The sale of the Timiskaming posts might presumably have put an end to Cameron's immediate chances for a share in the business but Dobie assured him that, if James Grant were willing, William Grant had no objection to his coming in for a third interest and would discuss the matter with him when he went up to Fort Timiskaming in the spring of 1792. William Grant also wrote to Cameron in a similar strain. Yet nothing seems to have come of these promises. Probably there was some reasonable obstacle to Cameron's becoming a partner, for he remained on good terms both with his new associates and with Dobie, who protested that it had been out of his power to do anything about it. In the autumn of 1793, however, when James Grant was unable to winter at Fort Timiskaming because of ill health, Cameron took over the command of the Timiskaming posts and the following summer was offered a share in the business.

Meanwhile the pattern of the next fifteen years, during which Timiskaming was to enjoy its greatest period of expansion and influence, was taking shape. Grant, Campion & Co., free of opposition from Canada and perhaps in a position to command more capital than Dobie, immediately set about establishing a post on Frederick House Lake. The Moose Council countered the move by building two new posts in the Timiskaming district, one of them the long projected house on Lake Abitibi, and the Canadians, in their turn, then established yet another post dependant on Fort Timiskaming.

As early as 1787, when Donald McKay visited Turnor at his new post on Frederick House Lake, Canadian plans to settle in the neighbourhood were already in train. The failure to implement them was probably the result, first of the financial misfortunes which led to Dobie's resumption of the business, and then of the necessity for combatting Desrivieres' opposition. In the fall of 1792, however, Isaac Constant, a clerk from Fort Abitibi, at last built a post on Devil's Island, just offshore from Frederick House itself. The new post appears to have been supplied from Fort Abitibi and the Hudson's Bay men referred to it as 'Wa,na,ta,ongar,' apparently the Indian name for the island.¹⁷

The rivals were soon at loggerheads. The English blamed Constant's bullying tactics but these were, in fact, only the standard practice of the Canadian trade in dealing with opposition. In the spring of 1793 the Canadians were reinforced by Peter Grant from Langue de Terre and André Chenier from Fort Abitibi¹⁸ and, with such a concentration of power against them, the occupants of Frederick House found themselves

42 Fort Timiskaming and the Fur Trade

in an unenviable position. But James Grant, too, was worried. 'I am really at a loss what to do about that Fort Frederick,' he wrote to Cameron at Grand Lac, 'be so good as to lett me have your opinion as soon as possible even if you was to send a small Canoe.'¹⁹

The next step in Canadian strategy was revealed during the summer. While the master of Frederick House, John Mannall, was at Moose Fort conferring with Governor Thomas about the new opposition, his second in command, Robert Folster, reported to headquarters that the Canadians were busily engaged in getting goods to Fort Abitibi, with the object of making a settlement at Moose in the spring. At the same time they were continuing to exploit to the full the classic methods of opposition on Frederick House Lake. Since early July, Folster complained, they had had four men with two tents around his post, and two more on Devil's Island, to prevent the Indians, who were accustomed to trading at Frederick House, from coming in. They had told him that they did not care about their own trade, since the Indians intercepted at Frederick House would go to the other Canadian posts. The Devil's Island post, Folster added, was the only Canadian house to be strongly manned; the others had only two men and a master, although they expected to have more during the winter.²⁰

In addition to building on Frederick House Lake, the Canadians at Fort Abitibi were pressing hard on Moose by way of the Harricanaw River and now, threatened with their coming down to the Bay itself, the officers at Moose at last decided to establish a post on Lake Abitibi. As a preliminary, they instructed George Gladman, one of their most promising young clerks, to reconnoitre Lake Abitibi and then visit Fort Timiskaming, where they were also considering settling. Governor Thomas was particularly anxious to learn more about a large river emptying into the southern part of Lake Abitibi which, the Indians had told him, came from a lake well situated for trade and country provisions; perhaps it might be a suitable location for the new post.²¹ In the meantime boats, carrying provisions, would attempt to ascend the Abitibi River, while the goods would come from Frederick House.

Gladman left Moose Fort in March 1794, reaching Frederick House at the beginning of April. 'Two men from FH came running over the Lake to meet us, and secure our Furrs supposing We were a Tribe of Indians,' he remarked sardonically in his Journal, 'and soon after a Canadian clerk & one of their men met us under the same mistake.'²² Thereafter he was never out of sight of the Canadians, who followed him wherever he went.

43 HBC Settles on Lake Abitibi 1788-95

On 11 April Gladman resumed his journey, closely attended by his opponents, and arrived five days later at the entrance to Lake Abitibi. There two clerks from Fort Abitibi (one of them Donald Grant), accompanied by two servants, took over the watch from the Frederick House men. The ice being still in the lake, Gladman waited for it to clear, busying himself in fishing and looking for furs. On one occasion he invited Grant, whom he perceived had no meat with him, to dine on bacon and partridges, in order, he explained to his *Journal*, to preserve a good understanding between them, and because the Canadians had so often entertained the Hudson's Bay men.²³

On 26 April Gladman's party finally set off eastward across Lake Abitibi, the Canadians at their heels. Two days later the lake narrowed and they 'Entered a River Went SE and arrived at the Abbittibi Settlement which consists of two small low Dwelling Houses and a wholesale and retail Store, it stands on a point looking into the Lake. - Pitched my Tent on the opposite side in view of their House and about 300 yards distance.'

'There are about Twelve Trading Indians here,' Gladman continued,

some have Traded, and all their Furs are in the Canadians Possession, indeed I perceive but small hopes of getting much Trade here this Year as our Arrival is so unexpected to the Indians and the Canadians watch so closely. Two of them pitched a Guard Tent within a few yards of mine. - Went over and paid a Visit to Mr McDougall the Master of the Canadian Settlement, who received me with much Kindness, and observed that he hoped however opposite our Interests were as far as regarded Trade, We might live on Terms of Personal Civility together though he said, at the same time we must Expect when a Pack of Furs was to be got our Zeal for our Employers would create temporary Disputes, but they would avoid Personal Animosities, which I assured him was equally opposite to my Sentiments.²⁴

Gladman remained on Lake Abitibi until the end of May, exploring its shores and looking for furs. The Canadians kept regular watch on his tent and followed his men everywhere. Soon he moved to their side of the river (presumably the western side since he settled about a hundred yards west of their house), so as to be in plain view of the Indians coming and going to the Fort. The Canadians recalled most of their men from Frederick House, which left Mannall free to join Gladman. It was he who explored the river to which Thomas had referred, apparently the La Sarre. After ascending it to a large lake running south (Macamic

44 Fort Timiskaming and the Fur Trade

Lake), on his return he met an Indian who told him that most of the eastern Indians came into the river at a small portage below the lake. Mannall therefore concluded that Lake Abitibi was the best location for the new post,²⁵ while Gladman pointed out that the eastern end of the lake would be preferable to the western. The three sizeable rivers which emptied into it there within a short distance of one another, he argued, would free it from ice, and thus open it for trade, much earlier in the season.

Before leaving for Fort Timiskaming, Gladman set down some perceptive observations on the Canadian trade at Abitibi and the prospects for the Hudson's Bay Company.

Abbitibi House is a very old Establishment and the Indians about it, in general, are as much attached to them as our home Indians are to us, which would operate very much (at least for some time) against a Settlement made by us here – The establishment will be very expensive and I doubt little productive for some time, for besides the above reasons, the Canadian Servants are well acquainted with the Country and more dextrous in Canoes, than the generality of our Men and will upon our Settling here have a number of them; these they will pour out into every Quarter and effectually secure most of the Indians Trade; And it is their constant practice in this part of the Country to seize all the Peltry the Indians have, without allowing them the Liberty of Trading where they (the Indians) choose, and as a plausible pretence for this they constantly keep their Natives in debt to them. To give a proper Check to the Canadian influence, it will be proper that our Settlement here should have Ten good men at least, and to stand an equal chance with them in going about after Indians, they should be supplied with not less than Six Months European Provisions, – they always furnish their People off in these Expeditions with Victuals in profusion. – I am also surprized at the quantity of Rum they give them, which must also be done by us to secure the necessary Influence over the Natives, with these advantages I should hope our People would be successful. – For Provisions, Rabbits are very plentiful about Abbitibi Lake and Fish not scarce. – One of the Gentlemen concerned in this Canada Company told me in Conversation that 'in the Year 1769 they made 75 Packs on Abbitibi Lake, but now they think themselves well paid if they procure Thirty' – This Year I do not think they made much above 2000 beaver by all I could learn; and many of the Indians I believe who used to Trade at this Place now resort either to Moose Fort or Eastmain.²⁶

The Abitibi Indian whom Gladman had engaged to take him to Fort Timiskaming failed to turn up and he was obliged to set off on his own.

45 HBC Settles on Lake Abitibi 1788-95

The following day he met James Grant on a lake which, he reported, he reached by way of a small creek, where the current was with him. It is puzzling how this could be, for the route generally followed from Lake Abitibi to the Height of Land was up the Duparquet River. By whatever route Gladman reached the lake on which he met Grant, however, it would appear to have been Lake Duparquet, for Grant would be travelling the usual road. Grant greeted Gladman cordially, pressing him to return to Fort Abitibi with him and then accompany him back to Fort Timiskaming but Gladman, doubtless with some regret, 'thought proper to Decline.'²⁷

Although Grant took the Canadians, who were still following the Hudson's Bay party, back to Fort Abitibi, Gladman was unable to prevail upon the few Indians he met to act as guides, even when he offered them all the goods he had. He did, however, glean some information from them and proceeded by trial and error, only once becoming sufficiently discouraged to consider giving up and waiting for Grant. As they travelled south, the Hudson's Bay men saw the face of the country change from the plenty of Lake Abitibi to a barren land of craggy mountains, where they could neither snare rabbits nor catch fish, but after some thirteen days on the road, the scenery once more reverted to low, pleasant shores, covered with ash, elm, birch, and poplar trees, interspersed with occasional stands of pine. Soon they came in sight of a large lake which Gladman assumed to be Lake Timiskaming and his conjecture was confirmed the next morning by James Grant himself, who overtook them in camp. Hoisting sail, they accompanied him down to the Canadian post at the narrows.

From his own observations, Gladman correctly located Fort Timiskaming in latitude 47°17'N. Beyond it, he noted, as far as he could see, the lake ran south-southeast for about four miles, then tended westward, forming a river again. His description of Fort Timiskaming is the first one there is for the post and is therefore quoted in full.

The Houses stand on a Point on the Et side stretching into the Lake on a high Situation, another point projects from the opposite side making a narrow Channel only ¼ Mile across, thro' which a strong Current runs to the So-ward. The Houses consist of a Wholesale and Retail Warehouse, a House for a Master and Clerks and another for Men all at right angles within Pallisadoes. Ten or Twelve Yards higher up on the Point there are two other commodious dwelling Houses one for the Master and the other Mr Grant's in which they reside, those are very neatly fitted up, with printed Cotton Curtains, the Walls neatly papered and

50 Fort Timiskaming and the Fur Trade

ans hath Goods nearly fully equal to ours, in every Article, coarse Twine excepted and some things they better us in, especially Callico and French cotton shirts, their Deer Skins are not many, but one is worth two of ours.³⁶ It was James Grant who had personally selected the calico for the shirts sent to Timiskaming.

Liquor for the posts was a problem for both sides during these years of war in Europe. In 1795 Grant, Champion & Co. found the price of West Indian rum so exorbitant that they sent up on trial a quantity of 'high wines' (rectified spirits) in addition to the rum supplied. The French had used brandy in the fur trade and the Hudson's Bay Company had been forced to follow suit but French brandy was expensive in England and sometimes difficult to obtain, so the Committee also sent out a raw sort of gin, not very popular with anyone, known in the upper country as 'English brandy.' Rum had come into the trade by way of the English colonies which, under the colonial system, had close commercial ties with the British West Indies. After 1763 the same laws applied to Canada and since many of the merchants engaged in the Canadian trade came from Albany and New York, rum replaced brandy in the north-west.

Mannall reported to Moose that his Indians preferred the Canadians' rum to Hudson's Bay brandy and the Abitibi Indians apparently did, too. Folster requested that his brandy not be distilled (presumably he meant diluted); 'it makes it so mild', he told Thomas, 'that the Indians drink it like Water, and it does not affect the brain.'³⁷ He also expressed astonishment at the amount of liquor the Canadians gave the Indians, declaring that it was nothing to find ten to fourteen gallons in an Indian's canoe during the summer and that Fort Abitibi had gone through fourteen pipes (a hundred and five gallons each) in one year.³⁸

In order to strengthen the taste of the liquor being supplied and make it more pleasing to the Indians, Thomas sent a recipe to all the Moose posts in 1795. 'The Brandy is all double Rectified Spirits,' he explained.

Three gallons of it will take two gallons and a half of Water to lower it to the strength of common English brandy. One of the Kegs marked thus 0, has three gallons Tincture Capsicum, a proportion of this is to be put in that you mix for the Indians to give it additional strength and heat. One pint of the Tincture *itself* put into ten gallons of Brandy will make it stronger to the palate, and will warm the stomach more than one gallon of spirit of Wine, it may be made stronger with the Tincture if desired, but then more Water must be added or else it will heat the mouth too much. the Person who performs this operation can always judge by the taste.³⁹

51 HBC Settles on Lake Abitibi 1788-95

In 1796 the Committee's general letter communicated the news that all British distilling had been suspended in an effort to save grain. English brandy could not be had at any price and the directors had accordingly substituted 'molasses spirits.' But it was very expensive, they pointed out, costing four times as much as the brandy they had sent out the previous year, and the traders should extend it by experimenting with various mixtures.⁴⁰ 'Among the Kegs of Rectified Spirits,' Thomas therefore advised his officers, 'you'l [sic] find one called Red cordial made according to the Instructions I have received but as it's not very palatable I have found it necessary to add a little Sugar and Pimento to that I have made for Factory use. I send you a Receipt [sic] of the proportions in case you find occasion for it.'⁴¹