

Harvey FEIT

31 years old

Anthropologist

680 De l'Epée

Ottawa Ontario

duly sworn, is examined by Me James O'Reilly,
attorney for the petitioners.

MR O'REILLY:

Q Mr Feit, what is your present occupation?

A I'm an assisting professor of anthropology at Carleton University.

Q And what degrees have you obtained, sir?

A I have a B.A. from Queen's University, in Kingston. I have an M.A. from McGill, and I'm in the process of completing a Ph.D. at McGill University. The last, the M.A. and the Ph.D. are in anthropology.

Q How long have you been a professor of anthropology?

A The two years previous to this, I was a part-time visiting assistant professor at McGill University.

Q And is your work respecting the obtaining of your Ph.D. in anthropology at the present time, sir?

A Yes. My research and my thesis are now being written and typing off at the University.

Q And exactly, of course, what is the subject of your present work? Have you a title for it?

A It is called "The study of

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- A Yes, in the Fall of 1968, I began my field study of hunting and trapping of Waswanipi and that continued intermittently until the Fall of 1970. During the two years I was in the field itself for approximately 11 months total, during which time I lived with the Indian people at the... who were resident or spent the Summer at the towns of Matagami, Miquelon, Desmaraisville and Waswanipi River.
- Q Now, are there any publications which you have been involved in respecting your studies?
- A I published two papers in a Journal Recherches Amérindiennes-Québec, in 1972, and I have been the editor and primary compiler of a bibliography on the native people of the James Bay region of Quebec. That was also published by Recherches Amérindiennes.
- Q This Recherches Amérindiennes is that from... which institution publishes that, do you know?
- A It's an independent editorial board, located here in Montreal.
- Q And, are you familiar with the hunting and trapping territory of the Waswanipi bands?
- A Yes, I'm familiar with the hunting and trapping territory of the members of the Waswanipi bands who are resident of Matagami Waswanipi River, Miquelon and Desmaraisville.
- Q Now, would you look at exhibit P-4, which has been produced and the area which you see in green marked: Waswanipi hunting and trapping territory, re Mr.

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Gull, senior, and would you indicate to the Court whether that is the boundary of the Waswanipi bands hunting and fishing territory, approximately, or would you comment upon that?

A Approximately, I find it looks like what I know, but I would have included the areas to the North of his line.

Q To the North of his green line?

A At his green line in here, yes.

Q Yes. Would you mark down on exhibit P-4, to the North of the green line to which you are referring to, 'northern portion of Waswanipi territory'. In black pencil, please.

ME O'REILLY:

The witness has inscribed to the north of the green line bordering the Waswanipi hunting and trapping territory re Mr. Gull, Sr., the words "Northern Portion of Waswanipi Territory".

Q Now, are those the traplines inside that area that you have pointed out, are those traplines the traplines of members of the Waswanipi Band?

A Yes, all except the traplines on the very west side would be traplines of registered members of the Waswanipi Band. The territories on the farthest west are, to my knowledge, are traplines of people who are officially members of Abitibi-Dominion Band but who reside with Waswanipi families, and they are used presently by hunters from Waswanipi Band.

Q And, would you indicate this portion about which you are now speaking. Is that in between the Rupert House territory and the Waswanipi hunting and trapping territory? Or where is it?

A It could be this region.

ME O'REILLY:

The witness has made a pencil mark almost following the blue line being the western boundary of the Waswanipi hunting and trapping territory.

Q Would you press harder on the pencil and make another line and mark, please, "Abitibi"?

ME O'REILLY:

The witness has inscribed the word "Abitibi" on exhibit P-4 in the western portion of the Waswanipi hunting and trapping territory.

Q Now, are those traplines the exact boundary traplines of Waswanipi members, Mr. Feit?

A These traplines are the exact boundaries as I've seen them on maps provided by the Fur Service of the Province of Quebec. They are approximately correct for the traplines as they were drawn for me by the people at the cities of Matagami, Miquelon, Waswanipi River and Demaraisville. But the traplines as I saw them and as they were drawn for me, would vary in detail. That is, some of these would be divided; the boundaries would be a mile or so different at some points. They would be, they would be in short, a lot of minor variations but the general sense of it would remain the same.

Q Now, could you describe how the hunting and trapping territory of the Waswanipi Band is used by Waswanipi Band members?

A I'd like permission, Your Lordship, to refer to notes I've taken from my work that contain the figures. I have statistical material that I find difficult to quote from memory.

THE COURT:

These are your own notes?

A Yes.

THE COURT:

Yes, you have my permission.

I found that the primary method by which these traplines were used was that heads of families would leave the summer settlements, those settlements I've mentioned, in the middle to the end of October and would go out to their traplines where they would live in the bush on the trapline until usually late May. In other words, for roughly a seven month period. They would return, I should say, during the later half of May. I found that of the adult family heads of families in the region I studied, 52.6 percent of the men followed this pattern and during the seven months, they would normally make two visits to town; one for the Christmas-New Year holiday, during which time men would return to town from the middle of December to the middle of January. In other words, during that period people would be returning to town but the average length of stay would be under two weeks for any given hunter. And then they would return again in a similar pattern at Easter time. The rest of the seven months would be spent on their traplines. There were also 17.3 percent of the men who did this during part of the seven months, that is, they would go with some hunter who was there for the whole seven months but wouldn't themselves stay the entire period. Finally, there were 8.7 percent of the men who resided in the settlements of Matagami, Waswanipi River, Miguashan

and Demaraisville during the entire winter but would go out on short daily excursions using traplines that were near the town sites.

ME O'REILLY:

Q So, are you able to indicate in general terms how many adult Indians were hunting and fishing at that time?

A That would be, that would, the figures I've just given would add up to 78.6 percent of the family heads and that would be my, that would be the total number of family heads who were involved in hunting and trapping and catching their own game.

Q Now, of that percentage, how many of these people would live in the areas which, in the cities or towns which you have described, that is, Waswanipi River, Matagami, Miquelon and Demaraisville?

A During the winter, 8.7 percent; during the summer all of these family heads were resident at these settlements.

Q Now, what would these people do during the summer, those who return from their traplines in the winter, the Waswanipi Band members?

A Of the fulltime of the men who were heads of families who are fulltime hunting and trapping during the winter, approximately half would take jobs during the summer, while half would simply reside in the settlement during the summer without employment. If I describe, I think I can best describe the total family head pattern for the, head of family pattern for the winter and during the summer, there would be

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8.7 percent of the men had fulltime jobs and those jobs would continue all year through the summer.

66 percent of the men were working part time. 66 percent of the family heads. So that the, that would give a total employment of, during the summer time of approximately 74.7 percent of family heads. The remainder, the other 25.3 percent did not have any employment during the summers.

Q Now, would any of these people, according to your observations, who were working during the summer time, hunt and fish while not working?

A Of the people who worked during the summer time, yes. 36 percent of them worked only in the summer. 36 percent of the total of 74 percent worked only in the summer so that those men were available to go into the bush fulltime in the winter.

Q No, but during the summer, while these people had jobs, did you ever observe them hunting and fishing?

A Yes, people would go out on, people would have nets set for fish which they would simply use their canoe to go and check either early or late in the day. Many of the jobs were parttime jobs so that men were free every, whatever days they wanted to go hunting and trapping. Some men were only employed intermittently and would go for several weeks fishing and hunting during the summer and then would take a job for several weeks. So that during the summer, I would say, nearly 100 percent of the people, of the heads of families were in some way

gathering fish or game from the bush.

Q Had you any idea of what kind of food the members of the Waswanipi Band eat?

A Yes.

Q Would you describe to the Court, please?

A Yes, they kill and eat the big game, moose, caribou, beaver and bears. They also trap and some men eat otter, marten, muskrat, weasel, mink, lynx, hare. They also snare and get partridge, geese, loons and ducks and they catch and net the fish primarily, walleyed pike or doré, sturgeon, northern pike, whitefish and the red and white suckers and the barbotte.

Q Now, which percentage of the diet comes from country food or bush food and which percentage comes from store-bought food?

A What I have data on and what I have very precise information on is a sample of eight families who were in the bush during the winter and for those families I have a complete record of all the foods available to them, everything that they purchased, everything that they caught and was available for consumption. Among those...

Q Just a moment, please. How was that sample chosen by you or done?

A The sample is based on interviews and written records kept for me by the families in the first instance. That is, I would simply interview people on what they had caught and what they had purchased.

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These particular families also provided written records; daily records for me in a book I provided. This information was then double-checked and cross-checked, that is, I would interview not only the head of the family but several people in the group and I would check what was known about the group by other people. In other words, there was an attempt to establish scientific validity here and these figures have scientific validity in the sense that they are cross-checked and they're checked to the point where they're internally consistent.

Q Now, how were those eight families chosen? Was there any particular method used?

A No. Those families were simply the first eight families I met and that I became closest to as this part of the study was done at the beginning of my field research, so that the, there was no attempt to selectively choose the families in any direction.

Q In your opinion, do those eight families approximately represent the rest of the band?

A Yes, the statistics on the number of moose and beaver caught by these families average out to exactly the same average as the number of moose and beaver caught for all of those people who were in the bush during the winters and this leads me to believe that it's a good estimate of the average pattern.

Q Now, what were the results of that sample?

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- A The results were that 82.4 percent of the food available to these people was food that they caught in the bush and 17.6 percent was food that they purchased for themselves.
- Q Now, where were these families living when they were not in the bush, the eight families that we're talking about?
- A Six of them were resident during the summers at the Indian settlement near Matagami and two of them were resident, sorry, five from Matagami and three were resident during the summer at the settlement near Miquelon.
- Q Now, have you had occasion to deal with the value of fur catches of Waswanipi Band members?
- A Yes, I have.
- Q And do you have any statistics or comments on that?
- A Well, I've done a complete study of the income available to the Waswanipi people who lived at the four settlements I studied and for those people, fur sales were averaging 10.0 percent of their annual incomes.
- Q 10...
- A 10.0 percent.
- Q And where did the rest of their annual incomes come from?
- A 52.1 percent of their annual income was accredited to cash equivalents for the food they were catching. That is, I attempted to put a cash value on a pound of meat and did that at the rate of \$1.50 a pound.

and at that rate, of their total incomes, 52.1 percent was the value of the meat they would catch for themselves.

Q From the bush?

A From the bush, right. And 9.6 percent would come to them in the form of transfer payments, that is, old age pensions primarily, but also family allowances. 8.1 percent was coming to them in the form of welfare through the band allotment and 20.2 percent was coming to them in the form of wages that were earned.

Q From wages that were earned from employers having nothing to do with trapping, is that right?

A That's right, from, for wage labour.

Q Now, in your experience, were all the furs trapped sold?

A No, there's a significant difference between the number of animals that were caught in my statistics and the number reported to the Quebec Fur Service and that difference is primarily attributable to the use of furs by people themselves in making clothing and could use as trim in various garments.

Q And the animals that they use for clothing, are these also among the animals that you described as being eaten by the people?

A Yes, they are. I should say also that several of the skins of ^{big} moose, of course, moose and caribou are used almost completely for domestic consumption, that is, they're used to make clothing and to make equipment that's needed.

O Now, in your experience or your study, how do various members make use of traplines? Is it only the person who has a trapline who can go on his trapline?

A No, it isn't. People use their traplines, first of all I should say, on a rotational basis. I guess a good analogy would be a farmer who leaves his field fallow for a year in order to increase his harvest the following year so that traplines are used on some sort of a rotational basis, that is, a man attempts not to go to exactly the same area or part of a trapline that he was on the year before. This may involve rotating a portion of his trapline, that is, dividing it into sub-sections or it may involve leaving his entire trapline unused for a year or so.

This pattern of rotation means that men are constantly having to make arrangements with other trapline, people who have other traplines in their care in order to visit and use other traplines on various years and it means also that, well, first of all, that's the major reason for the pattern. It's also the case that no hunter ever goes to a trapline simply by himself. It's considered too unsafe for a man to hunt by himself and he always wants to have partners, that is he wants to be with at least one or two other hunters so that if sickness or other accident should occur, there's someone there to keep catching food and assure that no one is in danger. So that this also means that a man is regularly inviting other hunters to join him when he's going to his own trapline. In addition that describes the pattern as it occurs in the winter, where people are resident. In addition, people are simply crossing over one another's traplines and using them to get to their own. In other words, there's nothing that prevents a man from crossing a trapline and killing any of the animals except beaver, if that trapline is not his own and during the summertime people are often travelling with their canoes and crossing traplines that are not necessarily their own and catching fish there, hunting moose there, etc. So that these patterns don't require permission or anything. They're simply used that way.

Q So that according to you the trapline is for beaver.
Is that it?

A That's the way it is described by the Waswanipi to me.

Q In your experience, you mentioned the Abitibi Band. Have you observed whether the Waswanipi Band goes, as a general rule, into the Dominion Abitibi Band's territory or into the Rupert House trapping territory or vice versa or do they stick pretty well to their own territory?

A No, in the west region here where the Abitibi territory touches the Waswanipi territory, you can't tell which ground the man will go to by knowing which Band he is an official member of. Members of the Abitibi Dominion Band will be resident and using territories that are officially, traplines that are officially registered to Waswanipi Band members and vice versa.

Q But, what about members of Rupert House Band hunting or trapping in the Waswanipi territory? Is that rare or...

A I know of no instance of that happening specifically.

Q So, that in your experience Bands usually occupy a defined territory, is that correct?

A Yes, the territory is defined.

Q Now, have you had occasion to study any of the history of the Waswanipi Band?

A Yes, I've studied the history of both the Waswanipi Band and of the Mistassini Band that's adjacent to it and for the Mistassini Band there is considerably more history because it was on the major trade route

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between Lake St. John and James Bay and there are specific records of a group of people called the Mistassini living at Mistassini Lake as early as the 1640's that were....

THE COURT:

Just a moment, please.

QUESTION REPEATED.

MR O'REILLY:

Q Would you continue, please?

A Yes. And the, to my knowledge, the first record of anyone visiting Lake Mistassini would be Father Albanel, who was there in 1672 attempting to cross from Lake St. John to the mouth of the Rupert River and he was specifically stopped, when he approached Lake Mistassini, by a number of Indians he met who said that he should not continue his journey until he had met and spoken to their Chief and they called themselves the Mistassini and he stopped for a day until the Chief of this people could come and he could talk to him and they were quite friendly and he was welcomed and wished well on his journey to Rupert House and he continued then, down the Rupert River where he met people who were called the Nemiska people and then to Rupert House and then up the coast of the Bay where he met another group of people whose name does not ring a bell today, but

may well be the Eastmain people, giving his description of the location. The records of Mistassini continue. There are records from the 1700's. Louis Joliette established a post at Lake Mistassini during the 18th century and there was a Hudson Bay post established there late in the 18th century, which has been in continuous operation until today. The history of the Waswanipi people begins really with the Hudson Bay records because records haven't been brought to us from earlier than that period. In the Hudson Bay records there's a reference to the fact that there was a trader located at Cheashquacheston Lake, which would be Gull Lake today...

Q Would you continue from the Indian name...

A There was a....

Q It's also known as Gull Lake, is that...

A It's also known today as Gull Lake and there was a trading post there referred to by the Hudson Bay Company but not one of its posts, as early as 1793. The Hudson Bay Company itself established a post on Waswanipi Lake in 1819, which has been in continuous operation until 1965. Throughout the 19th century, there are references to the Waswanipi people by missionaries both from the Roman Catholic Church and from the Anglican Church, who continue to refer to the number of converts they've established there and generally assume the continuity of the people in their description. My own study of the more recent history, I've worked on the history of families

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within this century and the record that I've used there is an anthropological report that was published based on a written report made to the Geological Survey of Canada by Mr. Harry Cartlidge, who was the missionary at Waswanipi and he was there starting in 1913 and resided at Waswanipi from 1915 to 1927 and he reported in 1915 the number of household heads at Waswanipi and gave their names and where they had spent the winter hunting and trapping. And, of those I have tried to track genealogically the 68 heads of families who are in my sample today, in 1968 to '70 at the Settlements I mentioned and of those I've been able to indicate that 66 of the 68 are direct biological descendants of the people who resided there in 1915. 2 were not direct biological descendants and have moved from Rupert House to Waswanipi. The territory or the trapline they own is still part of the Rupert House trapline but they themselves have found it easier to locate themselves and join the Waswanipi Band. That accounts for the complete 68 heads of families today that resided, at the time of my study.

Q Now, are you able to relate the present day Waswanipi and Mistassini Bands to the groups of Waswanipi and Mistassini that you have just described, going back to the early 1900's, I'm sorry, to the early 19th century?

A My own search of documents....

MR. JAMES O'REILLY:

What is the answer?

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A Yes, my own search of the documents depends on published material and in the published material, there is one family in particular that can be very well traced back to the earliest reference in 1817 and that is the Isheroff family. A partial history of that family has been published by John Scanlan, Reverend Scanlan, in a publication called the Northland and he / recorded there after surveying the Hudson Bay records, the history of that family from 1817 up to people who are alive until, I believe that Canon Isheroff died in 1965 and he, himself, Canon Isheroff, has given a history of his own childhood which was at Waswanipi post. The Isheroffs themselves are now members of several Bands including Rupert, that is their descendants are now members of several Bands, including Rupert House, Mistassini and Waswanipi so that this is one family from my own study that I can say with confidence has been residing in that region since the beginning of the 19th century.

Q ME O'REILLY:
In your opinion the Rupert Band, do you include then the Rupert Band besides the Mistassini Band and the Waswanipi Band as being direct descendants of those Bands which were there in the 19th....

A There are members of those, in those 3 Bands, there are members who are direct biological descendants of the Isheroffs.

Q And, what about the Nemiska Band that you spoke of?
A I am not sure of the Nemiska Band.

- Q Are there any Isheroffs who are presently members of the Rupert House Band, the Mistassini Band and the Waswanipi Band?
- A Yes.
- Q Of all 3 Bands?
- A I haven't seen the latest Band list but, yes, on the basis of the ones I saw, yes.
- Q Okay. The ones you saw dated when, approximately?
- A They were various lists within the period from 1968 to 1972. They weren't all from one year.
- Q Now, have you had occasion to see the most recent fur statistics of the Department of Tourist and Game and Fish of Quebec?
- A The most recent statistics I saw were for the 1970-71 season.
- Q Dealing with the Waswanipi Band?
- A Dealing with the Waswanipi Band and listing the catches of each of the heads of families in that Band.
- Q Are those statistics consistent with the statistics that you just mentioned? Are they about the same or higher, lower, what are they?
- A They're very consistent. They almost match exactly the situation that I saw in 1968-69 and they represent a slightly higher catch than was the case in '69, '70 when I studied it, but the variation between them all is less than 10 percent.
- Q And, according to your studies, has there been an increase or a decrease in trapping by Waswanipi Band members or has it remained stable, what is the situation in terms of numbers over the years?

- A The figures I've seen from anthropologists who were making studies in the region from 1964 on, that is among the Waswanipi people, from 1964 on, indicate that from that period on, approximately 50 percent of the men have been full time hunters and trappers in the bush during the trapping season. My own figure was 52.4 or something like that and I would therefore conclude that the situation has been very stable between 1964 and 1970. If anything, I suspect there may have been a slight increase in part time hunting and trapping from the records.
- Q And, do you know when approximately Waswanipi Band members moved from one specific place, from the Waswanipi Reserve?
- A People started to move during the summertimes, during the late 1950's. They would go to the towns that were being established as the railway and roads were built into the region, in order to live more cheaply during the summer and to buy supplies more cheaply. The towns that were established in the early 1960's in this region could be supplied by railway and by road and you could get supplies cheaper at the stores in those towns than you could at the Hudson Bay Company store at Waswanipi post, which still had to have some sort of freighting system between the road and the post and that increased the cost so that people started to make use of the towns in the region in order to purchase goods more cheaply during the late 1950's. The decline in trade to the Hudson Bay post, made the post unviable as an economic proposition

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for the Hudson Bay Company apparently and in the spring of 1965, the Hudson Bay Company closed its store at Waswanipi post. At that point, the great majority of the Waswanipi people made a more or less permanent change of summer residence from their Reserve adjacent to the Hudson Bay store to Settlements around the towns of Matagami, Miquelon, Waswanipi River, Desmaraisville and Chapais.

Q Now, to return for a moment, you've mentioned that you've traced biologically Waswanipi Band members to 1915. In that list, did you notice whether there were any parents mentioned, carrying it earlier than 1915 and also what was the age, the mean age of the people who were in the 1915 list? Would you have any way of knowing?

A Unfortunately, there's no way of knowing that. There are people in that list who have married sons and who it would seem therefore, are, themselves were born at least 40 years prior to 1915. That is 2 generations before 1915 but there's no way of establishing that.

Q But that identifiable group, the Waswanipi Band members is the direct descendant of the....

A 1915 group.

Q Right.

A And of...

Q And of the group today?

A ...and on the basis of historical and not family evidence of the people who were there during the 19th century.

Q Thank you.

The witness is now cross-examined by Me Jacques Le Bel, attorney for the respondent, Soc. Developpement Baie James and Procureur general de la Province.

ME LE BEL:

Q In your testimony, sir, you gave percentages in connection with total earnings, that is, from salaried work, sale of furs, value of food, etc. Does it apply only for the eight families you surveyed or is it an average which applies to the whole band?

A It applies to the 68 heads of families who were resident in the settlements of Matagami, Waswanipi River, Demeraisville and Miquelon.

Q Do you have similar figures for the Indians spending the whole year at the settlement?

A No, I don't. This includes those people; this includes all people who are summer residents.

Q But you don't have separate figures?

A I do not have separate figures for them, no.

Q Now, according to you, sir, the introduction of schooling in the band, has it considerably changed the way of life of Indians?

A I have figures...I've tried to look into that question and my figures are, the last figures that are, would be complete in order to see whether people are, young people are using, going into hunting and trapping, significantly different amounts, are for the, all of the young people who

were born between 1940 and 1949. I have to use those figures because most of the people who were born after 1949 are still in school. For those people, 45 percent were fulltime hunters and trappers during the winter season and 20.4 percent were partime hunters and trappers, that is, 65.4 percent were involved in hunting and trapping, whereas 34.6 percent were not hunting and trapping during the two seasons that I studied the Waswanipi situation. I've also taken a look at how many of those people have experience in the bush, that is, how many of them might hunt and trap some years which I didn't record as opposed to those who have had no experience at all in the bush and could not go hunting and trapping and the figures there are that 12 percent have no experience hunting and trapping and 88 percent either did hunt and trap during the time I was there or hunted and trapped prior to that time and had experience as hunters and trappers. So that my general sense is that there is no major swing among young people away from hunting and trapping although there is a slight decline.

Q. On the other hand, isn't it true that the Indians who have attended school are more apt to salaried work, right?

A. I have figures on how many of them have taken jobs too, and I can tell you that 10.2 percent of the same group of young people had fulltime jobs and,

well, I won't breakdown the partimes but the total involvement, fulltime and partime in wage employment was 77.5 percent and 22.5 percent had no wage employment during the two years. I would say that 100 percent of them have had experience earning wages.

Q Is it possible for you to give us data concerning the Indians of Waswanipi Band between 23 and 32 years of age who attended primary school and high school?

A No, I don't have any information on that.

Q Now, all the changes brought in by the use of planes, ski-doos, other modern commodities, do you consider that those commodities have affected the Indian way of life?

A Yes, the Indian way of life has changed from what people said to me. It's become easier for them to continue the way of life that they have in the past, that is, new technology, new traps, ski-doos, to a limited degree, outboard motors, make it easier to be a hunter and a trapper than it was formerly.

Q It's easier for them to keep their way of life by the use of modern commodities?

A Yes.

Q And do you consider that the existence, and I'm talking about the road under construction right now, that this road will be of some help for the Indians? Do you consider, in other words, that the road could be one of the modern commodities I'm talking about?

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- A The road, my experience with the road that was built through Waswanipi is that people, people say that the road has, the road makes hunting and trapping in the lands on either side of it very difficult and my own experience with recording the catches of white hunters, for example, in moose, who hunt during the Provincial hunting season, shows that the road has a number of detrimental affects. For example, during the 1969-70 season, white hunters used the roads in the region to get to areas where they could hunt moose and they killed 33 moose, whereas the Indians of the region during the whole year have killed only 105. So that, somewhere on the order of one-third of the moose, one-quarter of the moose being killed now, are being killed by whites. On the other hand, my figures do show that some people do use the road as a means of access and...
- Q Those would be the positive effects, I was going to ask you the question. What you mean that you mentioned the detrimental effects of the road, on the other side they are, I presume, positive effects.
- A There are.
- Q Can you name them?
- A I think one is that again some commodities, the commodities that people buy can be brought more cheaply into the region and people have easier access to some parts of the land. But I should say that my own judgement on the balance between these

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two, I can only present the judgement that was made to me by the Waswanipi themselves and that is that they consider roads a very dangerous thing to their way of life.

The witness is now cross-examined by Me Jean Boulanger, attorney for the respondent, Societe d'energie de la Baie James.

ME BOULANGER:

Q All the figures, Mr. Feit, that you've quoted, is this information obtained directly from Indians or how did you get that information?

A Yes, it's all obtained directly from Indians in interviews and ⁱⁿ written records they kept for me. It's been cross-checked always but with a number of people. It's been checked for consistency and I myself made, I my self visited at least 17 camps on traplines during the period for anywhere between three days to three hours in order to observe myself that the situation was as it was being described to me by people.

Q But when you say checked, do you mean that you've discussed the figure again with the people who supplied you the information?

A That in part and part I would go hunting or fishing with the people there and see the land they were using to see whether, how many fish they were catching each time they took up a fish net, things like this.

Q I'm referring more particularly to the figures that you've given for that eight families chosen in the way you have described and where you have given 32.4 percent for country food and 17.6 percent for

food coming from stores. These eight families I would imagine, if I recall ^{well} your testimony, were those who were trapping seven to eight months per year?

A That's correct.

Q Are these figures given figures taken at the time that they were trapping?

A Yes, I was, I went into the bush to see one group of three of those families living together; the other five I did not see at their trapline, but I spoke to these families immediately before they left for their trapline, I spoke to them when they visited at Christmas, I spoke to them when they visited at Easter and I spoke to them when they returned from the trapline in the spring.

Q But my question is this: What period of the year does it cover?

A The figures cover the period from their leaving for the trapline in October until their return from the trapline.

Q It doesn't cover the period of time when they are living in those cities that you were mentioning?

A No, it doesn't. I guess the one figure I have for that, I have, those people brought back an average of 261 pounds of meat per family to the settlements with them as a catch, as a storage for use while they were in the settlement in the summer time. But I have no distinct figure for them for the summer period.

Harvey PITT
Cross-examination
Be Boulanger

Q | And you don't have any other sample taken for families who wouldn't live on trapping lines for that period of time?

A | No, I don't.

Q | You didn't think it would be appropriate to try to get that information?

A | Well, relative to this trial it would have been, relative to my studies...

Q | But you don't have it?

A | No.