

ATTAWAPISKAT CREE  
LAND TENURE AND USE

1901 - 1989

By

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ATTAWAPISKAT CREE  
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## Abstract

This thesis is an examination of Attawapiskat (James Bay) Cree land tenure and use from 1901 - 1989. Analysis is focussed upon continuities and changes and how these have been shaped by the State as it sought to encapsulate the Cree people. Despite the incursions of mainstream White society, it is argued that the basic integrity of Cree culture has remained intact. Indeed, land use has remained fundamentally important, and in fact, subsistence hunting is as economically and culturally important today as it was half a century ago. Similarly, while hunting for trade has been reshaped, and in some instances redefined, to meet the exigencies of changing times, there is still a reliance upon the land. In terms of land tenure, deliberate attempts at eradication of traditional Cree notions of territoriality only resulted in a temporary adoption of the externally imposed concepts, and then a subsequent abandonment of them in favour of their own workable patterns of land "ownership". Contrary to some commonly held "truths", the introduction of White "culture" and White technologies has not resulted in the destruction or erosion of Native culture. Thus, while a process of encapsulation was initiated, a simultaneous process of resistance was maintained by the Cree.

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## CHAPTER 1: RESEARCH PROBLEM AND METHODOLOGY

This thesis is an examination and analysis of the continuities and changes in Attawapiskat Cree land use and land tenure practices from 1901 to 1989. A fundamental element of this analysis is the role of the State and other non-Native incursions in these continuities and changes. For example, what effect (if any) did the implementation of the registered trapline system have on traditional notions of tenure? Did hunting for trade take priority over hunting for subsistence? What changes (if any) have there been in the makeup of hunting groups and/or hunting partnerships?

The thesis challenges a belief that has been held both by some anthropologists (Turner and Wertman, 1977, Trudeau, 1966, Liebow and Trudeau, 1962, Rogers, 1972) and indeed some members of Attawapiskat itself, that Cree land use is non-existent or in an irreversible decline. The thesis measures and analyzes land use activities and changing patterns of tenure in the context of Euro-Canadian encroachment. The analysis is both quantitative and qualitative. Harvest figures over the ninety year span are analyzed as well as the nature of relationships between the Cree and Euro-Canadians, especially the state.

The analysis does not examine the role of religion. There are two fundamental reasons for this. First, Tanner

(1979) has already done a commendable job documenting the role of religious ideology in Mistassini Cree production. Second, Honigmann (1981:223,224) has stated that between the late 17th century through the 19th century traditional Cree religious beliefs were almost entirely eradicated and replaced with Christianity. This contrasts sharply with the East Main Cree.

Similarly, the roles of wage labour economy and social assistance payments do not figure prominently in the analysis. The opportunities for wage employment are largely non-existent, being restricted to opportunities with the HBC, hospital and band council. In addition, governments do not release information dealing with government assistance on specific Native communities. It is the position of the writer that there is much more to be gained by examining what has been retained in the face of non-Native encroachment, rather than focussing on the issue of Native unemployment and welfare dependence. Rather, the intent is to examine large scale non-Native incursions and the retention of traditional practices in the face of these incursions. Another possible approach is a monetary analysis of subsistence hunting. However, this approach was not taken as it was seen to simply duplicate the work of Rushforth (1977), Brody (1981) and Berger (1977).

One must distinguish between land use and land tenure. Crocombe (in Lundsgaard, 1974:1) helps make this distinction. He notes first that "land" refers to space on, above and below the surface of the earth. "Rights to the land", i.e.,

rights to land use apply to things growing in, living on, attached to, or contained in the land or water. He further notes that land use is the physical exploitation of land by humans, and that land use is conditioned by land tenure. 'Land tenure' is used to refer to social, behavioural, political and exploitative patterns of behaviour exhibited by a person or group of people with regard to land. Thus, land use and land tenure are closely intertwined, insofar as the latter is a system of behavioural patterns which serves to control a society's use of environmental resources; that is, a society's "land use". Land tenure, then, is best seen as a "system of interpersonal and intergroup relations through which [people's] relationship with part of his environment is mediated" (Lundsgaard, 1974:15).

Research Problem:

Framing the research was the notion of "encapsulation". Bailey (1969:147-149) articulates the notion of encapsulation in which the dominant or encapsulating society or culture, through greater political resources, larger size and more specialized political roles, subsumes the subordinate group or society. In addition to these prerequisites for encapsulation is an essential difference in values and ideas about human nature and the 'natural' condition of human communities and the relation between man and nature. These centre upon such notions as accumulation of wealth, personal prestige and honour, the common good, control of nature, etc. These are, then, essential

differences in 'world view'.

Bailey's basic argument is that politics is essentially played out like a game, and as such has rules. These rules determine who can (and will) play, and which moves are legitimate and which are not. However, in the case of indigenous peoples everywhere, the game and the rules have been predetermined by the encapsulator. Thus, much everyday political activity involves manipulating the rules of a given system to achieve whatever rewards are to be had. In Canada, a classic example of how the rules may be manipulated is to be found in Aboriginal hunting rights. While the right to hunt geese is included in the treaties, this may be denied because of the law under the Migratory Birds Convention Act. Natives, of course, recognize their rights to geese because of treaty provisions. The government, however, states that federal legislation in the case of disputes overrides any treaty right. Hence, the government contends that the MBCA takes precedence over treaty rights. How strongly this will be enforced is at the discretion of the government: manipulation is the operative word.

Bailey (1969:149-151) sees a number of forms encapsulation may take: 1) nominal, in which the larger society cannot or chooses not to interfere with the smaller; 2) the predatory stance, in which the encapsulator does not interfere with the encapsulated as long as tribute is paid; 3) integration, which Bailey defines as radical change, if not abolition. To this we may add; 4) abolition as an

alternative unto itself, independent of integration; and, 5) indirect rule, in which the dominant society does not interfere with the weaker as long as the latter adheres to the former's normative pattern (Rodman, 1987:unpublished mss). Within the Canadian context most of these approaches have been utilized in various places at different times.

A number of criteria will determine the nature of encapsulation including resources, economic interest in the subordinate society, tolerance of the subordinate's cultural practices, and distance from the encapsulator's core. These need to be borne in mind as we examine Attawapiskat land use and tenure.

There exist three basic responses to encapsulation (or intended encapsulation): acquiescence, resistance and compromise (Rodman, 1987: unpublished mss.). Canadian Indians in Canada have, at various times, attempted all of these. Today, though, there is a hybrid response: resistance through negotiated compromise, with the aim being self government, which by virtue of its goal of disengagement implies resistance, but its strategies are consistent with the larger political system of Euro-Canadian society.

Comaroff (1985) has examined patterns of resistance among the Tshidi - an African people - to European domination. She notes that frequently among the powerless, "the attempt to reassert control, to return to the world some form of coherence and tractability, continues" (Comaroff, 1985:260). But it is misleading to seek such resistance solely in the large scale movements for, as she observes,



"if we confine our historical scrutiny to ... revolution successfully achieved, we discount the vast proportion of human social action which is played out, perforce, on more humble scale" (1985:261). The point, then, is that one must also look for the subtle, the tactful, the diplomatic and the apparently apolitical, for evidence of resistance. And, of course, resistance is evidenced in both continuity and change, when those continuities and/or changes are in opposition to the dictates of the dominant society. In the Attawapiskat case, this contention is demonstrated repeatedly.

Scott (1985), in a similar vein, notes what he labels "everyday forms of resistance": foot dragging, dissimulation, false compliance and feigned ignorance; actions which may do little to alter a subjugated situation in the short run but may be more effective than overt rebellion in undercutting repression. Thus, when the encapsulator and encapsulated manipulate the rules of the game, each is attempting to make a statement about the past, present and future. They are, according to Scott offering "a critique of things as they are as well as a vision of things as they should be.... [They are writing] a kind of social text ..." (Scott, 1985:23).

Azarya and Chazan (1987:126,127) state that one form of resistance open to the encapsulated is "self enclosure", which entails a reduced use of state channels, but does not involve deviance from state regulations. Examples of this

include moving from urban to rural habitation, producing for subsistence rather than for trade or export, and renouncing positions of high visibility that may increase one's exposure to state pressures. Further, self enclosure may involve "a retreat to traditional forms or to narrower bases of solidarity" eg. regional or ethnic. These traditional structures are protected bases to which one returns when "more autarchic and familiar settings are sought against uncontrollable fluctuations in employment, cost of living, or arbitrary political rule". Examples of these are found repeatedly in Attawapiskat history since the turn of the century: deliberate returns to their own workable systems of land tenure, a return to hunting for food over hunting for trade, and - in the modern era - adoption of a locally controlled school and locally maintained police force. In the 1980s a regional council and regional harvesters association were created.

The State has pursued (consciously or not) the encapsulation of Native people in this country through such measures as the Indian Act, the various treaties, a complex bureaucracy, and various and sundry forms of legislation. The degree of encapsulation is reflected in the fact that there are fourteen federal ministries or departments alone dealing with Native people, in addition to (in some instances) provincial ministries/departments (Purich, 1986:125). This reflects, as well, Bailey's contention that encapsulation is a function of greater political/legal complexity of the encapsulator. The Attawapiskat First

Nation also comes under the conditions of Treaty 9 (1905 & 1929) which further subjects them to Euro-Canadian control (see Long, 1978a, 1978b). And, as is well known, the conditions under which treaties were signed, and the obligations and responsibilities contained therein, are under considerable debate.

One must distinguish between encapsulation and assimilation. In the latter the emphasis is upon the cultural. In areas in which there is cultural diversity, but with one group predominating, there will be pressure for the subordinate groups to alter their basic culture and assume a broad based, homogenous cultural solidarity, i.e. that culture held by the dominant group. Assimilation may be a voluntary step, or achieved through coercion.

Encapsulation differs, however, in its emphases and its goals. One might safely argue that a subordinate society never seeks encapsulation. Encapsulation implies loss of sovereignty, loss of power, and oftentimes loss of economic self sufficiency. The encapsulator cares less about cultural retention than it does about restricting the economic and political strength of the subordinate society (note the shape and response to encapsulation discussed above). Encapsulation, then, implies wresting economic and political strength from the subordinate society. Assimilation does not necessarily have these objectives. Indeed, one might assimilate and thrive in the dominant society (change one's name from Schmidt to Smith and any American boy can become

president). If one is a member of the encapsulated society, these aspirations are greatly curtailed. Encapsulation, then, is ultimately control.

In this thesis, in addition to legal/political institutions i.e., the "State" proper, other forms of Euro-Canadian incursions such as the church(es) and the fur trading companies, principally the HBC and Revillon Freres, are considered. Insofar as these represent the interests of Euro-Canadians, they will be examined and analyzed as encapsulating factors. Further, they both served to considerably alter the traditional culture of Native people in James Bay. It should also be noted that the fur trading companies linked the Cree with the world economic systems in that the HBC was a company controlled from Britain and subject to fluctuating fur prices abroad. The effects of these ultimately trickled down to the Cree trapper in James Bay.

The argument is not going to be made a priori that such intrusions were to deny the Attawapiskat people their culture, or are inherently detrimental. Rather, the argument is made that over time the various Euro-Canadian forms of incursion served to initiate a process of encapsulation upon the Attawapiskat First Nation. However, it is also suggested that one cannot assume that this process is a fait accompli. The data reveal that while the process of encapsulation was being undergone (as it continues to be, albeit at a lesser intensity), there was (is) as well a concomitant Native effort at retaining their culture. Thus,

while one might argue that Treaty 9, the Indian Act and other forms of legislation have politically and legally subjugated the Cree, the people have not acquiesced and in many fundamental ways have retained their culture. There is a simultaneous process of resistance. These are in evidence in protests against restrictions on the goose hunt, and in fights over reserve land. Thus, it might be suggested that while they are linked to the State, they have not been totally dominated by it. As will be shown, these twin processes of encapsulation and resistance have resulted in new initiatives and patterns of land use and tenure on the part of the Attawapiskat Cree.

During the initial stay in Attawapiskat in 1988 it was suggested to me that 10% or less of the population was involved in any land use activities. This raised a number of immediate questions. Is this contention (as voiced by a number of people) true? If so, why has land use dropped so dramatically? If it is not true, why is this perception held by local people? What factors have shaped their view of themselves? These concerns remained with me as I conducted fieldwork.

This thesis challenges, then, an intuitive understanding held by many non-Natives and Natives that land use activities are declining or have declined as Euro-Canadians move into the north. Among anthropologists, there is no consensus regarding the prevalence and future of subarctic land use. Rogers (1972:133) wrote that

The environmental changes that have transpired have not been as forceful in altering the Mistassini's way of life as contact with Euro-Canadians. At first it was the fur trade, then the missionary, and, finally, the tourist and industrial personnel. During the present century, this contact with outsiders has increased tremendously, and soon the way of life of the Mistassini will be totally altered, becoming much closer to that of the West (emphasis mine).

Presumably, this "total" alteration includes a decline in hunting, fishing and trapping. Henriksen (1973:115) acknowledges the incursion of Whites into Labrador but also recognizes the potential for Naskapi co-existence with Euro-Canadians, with the former remaining on the land. He stresses the importance of protecting these cultures from disintegration and of helping them find an effective bargaining position vis a vis the outside world. His statements are forceful; he states that it is "our duty" to help other cultures "resist" the intrusion of our culture. The Naskapi would be able to exist without "relief" if they were given a little more assistance in the utilization of the resources of the Davis Inlet area.

In western Hudson Bay, Trudeau (1966) and Liebow and Trudeau (1962) considered the effects of non-Native incursion on the Winisk Cree. By 1955, Trudeau argues, the Winisk Cree had gone "From a trapping and hunting economy ... to a wage-earning economy, and ... year round residence at the post" (1966:ii). Liebow and Trudeau observed that people stated that they "lived better", "dressed better" and "nobody starved to death anymore" (1962:202). Perhaps most

interesting is the observation that almost all men chose wage labour over trapping when confronted with an actual choice. This was in spite of contentions that neither activity was more desirable than the other. The reasons for ultimately choosing wage labour, they conclude, lie in the fact that wage labour provides security, and whether working or not, one can get emergency rations from the government, missionary, HBC or other Cree (1962:204). They further note that hunting for fresh food was perhaps the most important single activity displaced by wage labour (1962:201).

Perhaps Brody most eloquently addressed the "sentence of death" he sees as having been imposed on hunting societies by "an accumulation of judgements" made by White society (1983:xi). In spite of this decree, he ponders how these same hunting cultures have "somehow repeatedly escaped their execution" (1983:xii). In his analysis of the Native economy (1983:190 - 215) Brody details the extensive use made of the land by the Beaver, and how this economy is "a hidden one". Most significant, however, is that in comparison to Attawapiskat seven years later, there was a declaration among the Beaver that "virtually everyone is a hunter and trapper" (1983: 209). People want to believe that hunting is alive.

Elsewhere in the western Subarctic, Asch (in Watkins, 1977:47- 61) attests that despite conscious and unconscious efforts to pressure the Dene to abandon their traditional culture, it has not only survived, but "traditional economic, social, and political institutions and values persist, and in some cases flourish" (1977:60). Rushforth, in a brief but

detailed analysis, finds that that there has not been a decrease or increase over the years in the numbers of Bear Lake (Dene) Indians involved in land use activities (in Watkins, 1977:39). Like other researchers, eg. Turner and Wertman (1977), he notes a restructuring of partnerships and scheduling, i.e., short hunting/trapping trips from the village as opposed to "wintering over". And, he notes that in 1974-75, 27 to 42 per cent of their food was met through traditional subsistence activities (1977:43). In terms of perception of land use, there is an interesting comparison between the Bear Lake Dene and the Attawapiskat Cree. Rushforth notes that despite permanent residence in Fort Franklin since the 1950s, and the concomitant exposure to White culture, the Dene have retained much of their traditional culture and most of their traditional values (1977:44) Part of this is the recognition of the value of a bush-oriented life and the foods and materials it provides. This contrasts with Attawapiskat, where such recognition is not widespread. The findings of Asch and Rushforth are largely consistent of those of the Berger inquiry. Berger (1977:43) outlines in detail the production of fur and game for the MacKenzie valley populations, and of course, the need to retain a hunting culture, as well as noting the difficulties quantifying this production.

Turner and Wertman (1977) do not foresee the continuation of a bush-oriented economy in Shamattawa. They note how "a return to pre-contact conditions or even the



conditions of the fur trade-traditional period is neither possible nor desired by the Shamattawa Cree" (1977:40). They conclude that "The young must become more or less resigned to participation in the wider economic system strictly in Euro-Canadian terms unless they want a meaningless existence as wards of the state" (1977:95, emphasis mine). They note, however, that there is widespread opposition to this both at Shamattawa and elsewhere, but the impersonal welfare system and other forms of government control have wrested away any face to face contact and hence, interaction and grounds for compromise.

This study may be viewed, then, as a testing of the intuitive assumption (on some parts) of the demise of hunting economies. It examines in detail one community and its exploitation of its traditional lands. It is thus a retesting of the conclusions of Brody, Turner and Wertman, Asch, Rushforth, Rogers, and Henricksen.

#### Research Methodologies:

The research strategies for the study combined the methodologies of the ethnohistorian and the ethnographer. In order to document land use historically it was necessary to conduct archival and literature searches. In the field, interviews, participant observation and - to a limited extent - questionnaires, were utilized. These methods were instrumental in determining both the extent and nature of land use today as well as changing forms and perceptions of land tenure. Finally, during the process of interviewing, informants were also asked to map out their land use areas.

The results of this mapping are included here.

Each of these methodologies will be discussed in turn. Literature Review. Before departure for the field and archives, a considerable amount of reading pertaining to the research topic was done. Broadly speaking, the literature consisted of three categories of reference: 1) land use and tenure of contemporary hunters and gatherers generally 2) land use and tenure of Subarctic Canadian hunters, and 3) that literature pertaining specifically to Attawapiskat. In terms of the first category the literature focussed largely on those studies conducted among the Australian, African, and North and South American hunters and gatherers. Included (among others) were works by Hiatt (1983), Lee (1979), Myers (1982, 1986), Peterson (1975, 1979) and Williams (1982).

An extensive review of Subarctic studies was undertaken. In recent years, patterns of tenure and use within the Subarctic have received considerable attention, with a proliferation of monographs the result. Included in these (but by no means exhausting the list) are Siechihovitz's Kayahna Land Use Study (1985), Turner and Wertmann's Shamattawa study (1977), and Tanner's Mistassinni work (1979). In addition, a special edition of Anthropologica, edited by Bishop and Morantz (1986) examined a number of land tenure and land use issues. These all proved invaluable in helping formulate the structure of the study and by providing a basis for theoretical and

ethnographic comparison.

Honigmann has produced the bulk of the published material on Attawapiskat, having published prolifically during the 1940s, 50s and 60s. While his main concerns were not land related, his works are useful in establishing historical and ethnographic context. Of particular use are his "Ethnographic Reconstruction" (1956) and "Foodways in a Muskeg Community" (1961), both of which provide rich ethnographic detail. In addition to Honigmann, Cooper conducted research in the James Bay region, including work with informants from Attawapiskat. His concerns at times paralleled those of this study, and proved invaluable. It is due to Cooper's work (especially his Aboriginal Land Holding Systems, 1933), and Flannery and Chambers revisions of his work (1986) that we are able to draw comparisons of hunting territories from the turn of the century to those in 1989. Hoffmann (1961) and Nonas (1963) also worked in Attawapiskat pursuing matters unrelated to land tenure and use.

An initial trip to Attawapiskat had been made in the fall of 1988, funded by The Presidents Committee on Northern Studies, before the fieldwork was undertaken. Actual fieldwork took place between January and May, 1990. Thus, the researcher was not unfamiliar with the community when fieldwork began. The literature review was also invaluable insofar as it placed the community in both ethnographic and historical context.

Archival Search. The archival material was found chiefly

through three institutions: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC - formerly Department of Indian and Northern Affairs), the Hudson's Bay Company, and Ministry of Natural Resources. Lesser amounts of material were found at the Ontario Native Affairs Directorate. All of the above provided willing and exceptionally competent help and co-operation.

The Treaty and Historical Research Centre of Indian Affairs, upon telephone request, located and localized relevant material pertaining to Attawapiskat land use and tenure. That material which they did not have on hand but was available through the Public Archives Canada was referred to the researcher by the appropriate file number. Thus, archival research at Indian and Northern Affairs was undertaken at both the Treaty and Historical Research Centre and at the Public Archives. Not surprisingly, much of the data obtained from these records were of an administrative nature, much of it relating to reserve land. However, there was material relating to such important aspects as the establishment of goose hunting camps, a commercial fishing industry which existed briefly in the James Bay area, the annual goose hunts, etc. The bulk of the archival data from the Treaty and Historical Research Centre came from the Fur Files and Reserve Land Files. A great deal of it was in the form of memoranda and correspondences between various supervisors and superintendents from the James Bay district. In addition, there are letters and other forms of

correspondence between (among) the band, missionaries and other bureaucrats. However, by far the bulk of the material is from the Fur and Reserve Files and originated from bureaucrats.

The Hudson's Bay Company records provided considerable data pertaining to the early years (1901 - 1930) of the store in Attawapiskat. The primary sources were the daily journals, of which there are five volumes covering the years 1919 - 1931, and the Annual Reports. The latter contained the fur harvest records for the various posts; thus, they provided extensive quantitative data. The daily journals were fascinating in and of themselves as they related the day to day activities of the settlement. Furthermore, they provided data on the traditional territories of family groups, and the annual cycle of land use activities.

The Ministry of Natural Resources (MNR), particularly the Wildlife Branch, was generous in providing reports of studies on land use activities by the James Bay people. Of importance were two studies in particular pertaining to goose hunting specifically and land use generally. These are the studies by Prevett, Lumsden and Johnson (1983) and Thompson and Hutchison (n.d.). In addition, fur harvest records covering several years were obtained. The MNR data were crucial to the study.

Interviews. The initial part of the Attawapiskat study consisted of interviews with the heads of households. There are 240 residences in Attawapiskat; 220 are occupied. Contact was made with every occupied house and requests were

made for interviews. Only 15 heads of households denied the request. The denials were made for a number of reasons. In several cases the household heads were women who were "shy" and hence reluctant to speak to a stranger, although accompanied by a local interpreter. In one case, a man demanded considerable remuneration for speaking to the researcher. In two cases, reluctance was expressed out of fear that the government would bring changes regarding the hunting and fishing rights of the people. In addition to these fifteen people, there were also about ten families who were unavailable because they were in the bush. These were largely members of two family groups, locally referred to as "bushmen", who typically spend up to fifty-one weeks a year in the bush hunting, fishing and trapping. However, extrapolating from the available data, one can make estimates of total community consumption. These estimates are submitted in the analyses which follow.

There is a caveat, however, to trying to extrapolate from available data. For example, we may fairly safely discount four of the "refusals" as having minimal impact upon our harvesting figures because they are women; hence, likely do not hunt moose, geese, or caribou. However, trying to assess the consumption of the bushmen is much more problematic. A case in point is a man who spends fifty one weeks a year in the bush with only his mother and a dog. One would expect this man to be a significant hunter of moose, goose and caribou. Not so. In 1989 he killed only forty

Canada geese and sixty waxies. He killed one moose and no caribou. The bulk of his diet comes from beaver (200 annually he says [?]), and fish.

We should not minimize or overlook the point being made. It is exceptionally difficult to estimate the kill figures for people who live in the bush for most of the year. There are full time wage earners in the village who kill far more game than the individual cited above, who is a "bushman".

Yet another factor is the distribution of game. Attawapiskat territory covers a large amount of land, and the resources are not distributed evenly. Moose tend to be rare or non-existent in the more northerly areas while caribou are more abundant, especially in the area of Cape Henrietta Maria. For these reasons as well, one must be cautious about making estimates or assumptions about the harvesting of bushmen. One man might kill numerous caribou but no moose, and vice versa.

For the contemporary harvest data which follows in Chapter 6, the basic figures are based on 95% of the community households. A community projected estimate, including the remaining 5%, is accounted for as well, and is discussed under the various species.

As Cree is the language of everyday conversation an interpreter was required for the majority of the interviews. I was fortunate to have the assistance of a very skilled interpreter who also has extensive knowledge of contemporary and historic Attawapiskat. With his help,

interviews were conducted which addressed fundamental aspects of land use: the spring and fall goose hunts (number of kills, hunting partner(s), days hunting, location of camps, etc.), moose and caribou hunts, trapping (years active, partners, species trapped, schedule, etc.), fishing, berry picking, location of graves and historical and cultural sites, small game and bird hunting, firewood cutting, uses made of bush resources, (eg. sleds, snowshoes, mitts) etc. Equally important, the interviews addressed the question of continuity (or change) in patterns of land tenure. For example, informants were questioned regarding the intergenerational transmission of territories, the make-up of hunting and trapping partnerships and/or groups, the rights of kin and non-kin to traditional lands, the implications of the MNR registered trapline system on traditional lands, notions of "trespass", and related issues.

It should also be mentioned that while interviews were with the heads of households, the questions asked addressed use by all family members. For example, tallies of goose kills, as well as moose and caribou, included those of sons (wherever possible). Similarly, women's roles were not neglected as it was taken into account that women frequently trapped, snared, fished and gathered berries. And, of course, they make considerable use of "bush" materials in the making of mitts, moccasins, bedding, etc. Where a woman was head of the household she was interviewed directly.

While the interviews tended to follow a certain



structure, that is, questions addressed key issues, there was also a flexibility built in which allowed informants to state their concerns and positions regarding (for example) the highly unpopular MNR trapline system. Thus, while as many as five or six interviews might be conducted in a ten hour work day, the norm was three or four.

There were also "informal" and unscheduled talks with informants which followed upon previous formal interviews. For example, an encounter in the band office or post office might have the effect of prompting a man to bring up an issue which he had neglected to mention earlier. These, too, were subsequently recorded in my notes.

Questionnaires. At the end of the third week of interviews the process of writing up a comprehensive questionnaire was begun. It took three weeks to determine the types of questions which needed asking. When it was completed, the questionnaire was 17 pages in length and contained over one hundred questions in over a dozen categories. Having completed the questionnaire, a competent Cree translator was hired who translated it into Cree. This done, a number of bilingual townspeople were hired to administer the questionnaire. A considerable amount of time was spent going over the questionnaire with the administrators to ensure their familiarity with it. When all were comfortable with it, they were sent out into the community to administer the questionnaire to those people who had already been interviewed. (They had been advised that there would be a followup questionnaire). The administrators were asked to

remain with the respondents as they completed the questionnaire in order to answer any queries. For those who spoke only Cree or elected to answer in that language, answers were recorded on an English copy for the benefit of the researcher. Given the fact that the questionnaire was available in both English and Cree, and that a bilingual administrator remained while it was answered, it was hoped that any potential problems would be alleviated.

The questionnaire, unfortunately, was not a particularly reliable or congenial research device. Many of the concerns it addressed had been dealt with during the interview stage. Therefore, it was seen by respondents as repetitive. In addition, its considerable length was problematic in that many people were reluctant to spend the thirty to sixty minutes it would take to answer the questions. Also, the specificity of the questions (eg. the number of times you eat country food during a certain season or how many fish do you catch at a particular time of year) proved difficult. Approximately forty questionnaires were returned, in various stages of completion. These were incorporated into the existing data file for the appropriate household. However, it was found that the questionnaires were not useful and posed difficulties for both respondents and the local people who had been hired to administer them.

Participant Observation. The researcher lived during his time in Attawapiskat with a very capable research assistant in his mid twenties who was the son of the chief. A certain

amount of informal participant observation was engaged in due simply to this fact. The everyday realities of cutting and hauling firewood, fetching water, listening to conversations in Cree, and witnessing the skinning of marten, otter and weasel were instructive. In other activities, the researcher participated in ice fishing, the spring goose hunt, public meetings (regarding band takeover of education as well as the James Bay Trappers Council), and the winter carnival events. These were all in the company of local people, familiar with the activities and eager to share them. They were educational in ways that significantly transcend interviews or library research. Further, they provided a basis for elaboration upon certain principles and normative patterns of Cree life.

The goose hunt especially was valuable. A number of trips were made with two different individuals who were quite anxious to share with me, and teach me about, the science of the goose hunt. The goose hunt, I came to learn, is far more than the procuring of game or the (semi-)annual revival of a centuries old tradition. It could only be in the context of experiencing the hunt that I could come to appreciate the importance of this and other events.

This study dealt with a significant population and entailed extensive interviews. Therefore, considerable time was needed to meet with the various families in the community. While the writer did make several one day excursions goose hunting, ice fishing, and gathering firewood, he did not spend prolonged periods in the bush. In

part, this was due to operating on the interpreter's schedule; it was also due to the need to be in town to meet with people when they were available. Finally, the nature of the research did not necessitate spending weeks in the bush.

Mapping. During the process of interviewing, informants were asked to indicate upon a map where they conducted their various activities; for example, spring and fall goose hunts, trapping territories, fishing sites, and grave sites (among others) were indicated. In the case of older informants who were no longer active, their former territories or sites were indicated. A number of ends were met through this process.

- 1) Contemporary land use sites were mapped.
- 2) By mapping today's areas comparisons with maps of other researchers, eg. Cooper, could be made.
- 3) Attempts can be made to determine continuities among family groups. As will be discussed in subsequent chapters, land tenure practices in Attawapiskat have been subject to considerable modification over the years. Mapping hopefully can help identify these changes.
- 4) The mapping exercise provided a valuable opportunity for informants to expound on their notions of tenure and their relationship to the land.

The analysis of data was an ongoing process beginning with fieldwork in Attawapiskat. Fieldnotes were organized on computer disks and genealogies were begun with informant interviews. Continuity was established through use of Cooper's work conducted earlier this century. Also during the fieldwork stage a three way comparison of

hunting/trapping territories was initiated (with the help of Joe Louttit, the research assistant) using field data, MNR's maps of trapping territories and Cooper's map of hunting territories.

Intensive analysis of data was begun upon coming out of the field in May. It is hoped that a comprehensive understanding of the continuities and changes in Attawapiskat land use and tenure has been reached.

## CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW: SUBARCTIC LAND USE STUDIES

Several anthropological works have dealt with the issues of land tenure and land use in the subarctic. This section will examine the literature dealing with the origin of hunting territories, subarctic land use and harvesting studies, and what is understood of present subarctic land tenure.

Historically, one of the main debates (if not the main debate) in subarctic land issues has been the origin of hunting territories. While this is not a major issue in this thesis, it is worth briefly reviewing the respective positions and their protagonists.

Steward (1955) and Jenness (1932) see the hunting territory as being a post-contact phenomenon, while Speck and Eisley (1939), and Cooper (1939) contend that it is pre-contact in origin. Leacock (1954) wrote what has become a classic (if considerably debated) work on the Montagnais family hunting territory. In response to Speck, Eisley and others of the first half of the century, she argues that 1) such private ownership of specific resources as exists has developed in response to the introduction into Indian economy of sale and exchange which accompanied the fur trade and 2) that it was these private rights - especially to fur bearing animals - which laid the basis for individually inherited

rights to land.

Speck et. al. argued for the aboriginality of territories on the basis that hereditary land rights were fundamental to social organization where subsistence was based largely on small game. Leacock rejects this on several grounds: 1) it has not been satisfactorily demonstrated that small game was of primary importance prior to the fur trade; 2) the theory rests on the dubious assumption of aboriginality of conservation practices; 3) the existence of real population pressure remains unverified; 4) although Speck was aware that the hunting territory fades out among the southeastern bands, he failed to take into account the significance of this distribution.

Lips (1937) was much assisted by Speck, and is close in his approximation of Speck's ideas. He notes that hunting and trapping rights of one's own ground, normally anxiously guarded, may be broken if the stranger passing through the territory is in need of food.

Leacock's work is significant, if only for the research and debate it generated. It is based on both historical and field data and is well researched and argued. While the debate surrounding territories still exists, if somewhat abated, The Montagnais Hunting Territory and the Fur Trade remains a pivotal monograph.

Garigue (1957) distinguished between band and family territories and noted the protocol that prevailed over their uses. He observed that families became associated with specific areas, even when the whole band hunted as a group.

As Bishop would later argue, Garigue was aware of the effects of game depletion on territory size (1957:122).

Rogers (1963) argues that there are four (five, including externally imposed trapping territories) land tenure systems possible within the eastern subarctic. At the time of contact the type in use is simply unknown. What he contends is that hunting territory systems developed with the introduction of a fur trade economy. With the acculturative process implicit between Whites and Natives new attitudes toward conservation, trespass and property rights developed. For Rogers, then, the historic forms of hunting territories may be seen as the product of acculturative processes, if we understand acculturation to be changes in behaviour as a result of first hand contact between two or more groups.

Bishop (1970, 1974) contends that for the northern Ojibwa it was "the shift to small game, working in conjunction with a growing population in an area dramatically depleted of necessary peltry, that led to the emergence of hunting territories. ... the loss of ... caribou and moose, and the forced reliance on hare and fish constituted the crucial factor in the development of family hunting territories" (1970:15). Bishop sees a lessening of territoriality with a return to big game, and the development of territories with the demise of big game. Bishop, then, assumes an eco-demographic approach to the historical basis of land tenure. His contentions are based on extensive



historical data, especially the HBC archives, and on field work in one location in northern Ontario. While his concerns are not identical to ours, and his interpretation of events is somewhat more catastrophic, his attention to process is useful.

In the modern period, there have been several major land use and land tenure studies in the subarctic. Henriksen's (1973) work focusses on the duality of Naskapi culture. At the time of his study they still spent their winters inland but the rest of the year in Davis Inlet. Henriksen observed that as a result of the migratory nature of caribou herds - the Naskapi's primary game species - the boundaries of their territories are determined by the distance they wish to, and are able to travel. Further, there is no person or persons having rights to territory or resources. Leadership and hunting group structure are likewise flexible. Three major considerations are taken into account in hunting group formation: 1) environmental conditions, 2) prestige and leadership, and 3) kinship and sentiments.

Because there are no individual or group territories as such among the Naskapi, Henriksen is somewhat constrained in his discussions of such concepts. Nonetheless, his analysis of the reasons for this lack of "private" territory and the factors contributing to hunting group formation are insightful and astute. He brings an eco-social analysis to bear on the issues.

Rogers' Quest for Food and Furs (1973) is a relatively brief but considerably detailed work documenting resource

harvesting among the Mistassini Cree. It is essentially ecological but non-theoretical, as opposed to his 1963 work on hunting territories. In the 1973 monograph the emphasis is upon documenting the means by which different species are taken and prepared for either consumption or trade. In addition, the distribution and consumption of these species are examined. Like the present study, the importance of the land for subsistence purposes is noted. Rogers (1973: 77) states that 70% of the food consumed by the Mistassini in 1953-54 came from the bush.

As a more theoretical study than Rogers, Tanner (1979) in Bringing Home Animals, deals with the "religious ideology and mode of production among the Mistassini Cree". From this stance, he also examines land tenure, concluding that "Cree ideology proposes that property relations with respect to land are a matter of mystical relationships with animals, while Cree social ideology suggests that it is a matter of inheritance" (1979:202).

In a number of papers, Feit (1973, 1987) has taken an ecological approach to his analysis of Waswanipi (to the south of Mistassini) Cree subsistence. One of the foci has been game management and conservation practices. Within this general framework, he has addressed decision making processes in land use as well as the viability of the hunting/gathering culture. In the post-James Bay Agreement era, Feit (1985, 1986) has examined traditional notions of leadership and decision making, vis a vis the James Bay Development project.

These notions of leadership, he observes, are rooted in the stewardship of territories. A recurring theme of Feit's, (eg. 1982) is the place of the Cree within the nation-state, a position he sees as potentially precarious but in which the Cree have retained cultural integrity and will likely continue to do so. It is within this latter consideration that there are similarities between Feit's work and this one.

Turner and Wertman (1977) conducted an analysis of Shamattawa (northeast Manitoba) Cree social organization. As Bishop, Leacock, Rogers and others did, the "fur trade factor" was brought into play in a consideration of land use and tenure. After examining the literature, including Speck, Easley, Cooper, et al, they reach some intriguing conclusions. Their essential conclusion is that Shamattawa society functions at four distinct levels: the domestic group, the primary brotherhood, the secondary brotherhood, and the band. What is interesting is that today, two thirds of active trappers work singly or in pairs, without a larger co-operating group, eg. the family. There is a growing tendency for a formal partner over family members (1977:13).

They conclude that

...the present reality of Shamattawa social and economic relations and the kinds of pressures exerted on them by participation in the fur trade probably meant a progressive nuclearization and individualization of production groups but without the development of family hunting territories and with the retention of a traditional logic of relations at all levels within the band. People at Shamattawa hunt and trap "anywhere"; meaning across a range defined by the knowledge and expertise of

the people they have aligned themselves with as partners and companions (1977:93).

To a certain extent, the concerns addressed by Turner and Wertman overlap those of the present study; for example, both studies address the affects of the fur trade on "partner" relationships and notions of tenure. Additionally, in both Shamattawa and Attawapiskat there were/are assertions that people hunt and trap "anywhere". How this is defined, however, differs somewhat.

One of the most extensive land use studies conducted to date in Ontario is that of Sieciechowicz (1985). Her document, The Kayahna Region Land Utilization and Occupancy Study, focusses on the area under the Kayahna Tribal Council in northern Ontario. There were four objectives to the study: 1) to map the full extent of each individual's land use activities over his/her lifetime 2) to conduct interviews - with questionnaires - with the individuals to record all pertinent quantitative data in support of the map data 3) to conduct a general discussion with the interviewee, but to include questions related to control and ownership of the land, customary rights to the land, and "the extent of and perception of communal hunting lands as distinct from other hunting lands" 4) to compile genealogies.

Sieciechowicz's work is valuable for its data content and its scope. One of her goals was to describe

the social reasons for land utilization patterns: how lands of varied utility and value are distributed among different groups, how stability in use and control is achieved and maintained

through a lifetime, how customary rights to the land are transformed over generations (1985:7,8).

In brief, it was to demonstrate, from a social perspective, the particularity and internal logic of land utilization and tenure of the Nishnabe-Aski of northern Ontario. Unfortunately, This aspect - the social - is never made particularly clear. As a land use study, the work succeeds, but as a project geared to revealing and explicating the social dynamics underlying that use, it needs development.

Nelson presents what might be called "land use" studies of the Kutchin (1986) and the Koyukon (1983), both in the western subarctic. In the case of the latter, he offers us a detailed account of the Koyukon knowledge, belief and behaviour concerned with the natural world. The Kutchin study focusses upon modes of environmental exploitation and upon the knowledge and techniques associated with general survival. Neither work is concerned with statistical detail as is, for example, Rogers' 1963 Mistassini study, but both are ethnographically rich, being based upon extensive participant observation. Nelson sees private territories and traplines as being post contact phenomena for both the Kutchin and the Koyukon. In the case of the former, traplines are not vast tracts of land with recognized encircling boundaries, but networks of trails and lakes that are used by a family or individual year after year. Ownership is based on continued use; an unused trapline could be taken by anyone wanting it. The trapline is an exclusive territory for fur resources only; a person may hunt

or fish where s/he pleases, although it tends to be on his/her trapline. Hence, a trapline-territory evolved, either out of White induced pressure, or as a need to avoid conflict (1986:286,287).

Much of the same pertains to the Koyukon, although Nelson notes that there is a fluctuation in subsistence ranges as game populations increase or decrease. In this, he is reminiscent of Lips' observations regarding the Montagnais. Among the pre-fur trade Koyukon only fishing sites were exclusively owned. Within the band, mobility is the essential tool, territorial freedom the essential concept. Like the Kutchin, food species may be harvested anywhere, while territorial regulation applies to non-prey species, i.e., fur resources. Fishing exclusivity still obtains (1983:273 - 280).

The oft-quoted and colloquially named "Berger Inquiry Report", i.e., Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland: The Report of the MacKenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, remains a landmark document. The MacKenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry was appointed to examine the social, economic and environmental impact of a gas pipeline in the Northwest and Yukon Territories, and to recommend the terms and conditions that should be imposed if a pipeline were built. The staff for the hearings visited numerous communities, listened to almost a thousand Native people speaking English, French, Loucheux, Slavey, Dogrib, Chipewyan and the western Inuit dialect. This testimony was in addition to that given by a number of

non-Native geographers, anthropologists, sociologists and biologists, as well as those who spoke in favour of the proposed development. Similarly, other data, eg. Traders Fur Record Books, documented the extent and nature of land use. Contemporary and historical documentation were studied and analyzed. The result, as we know, was a recommendation for a ten year moratorium on any development. The present study has borrowed heavily from the methodology of the Berger Inquiry, relying as it does on biologists' studies, historical documentation and fur records, and in its attempts to interview as many people as possible. The weights used to calculate country food consumption were also those cited in the Berger Inquiry Report.

More recently, Feit (1991:109 - 134) has indicated the ways in which various agendas - political and personal, ideological and academic - can influence and shape perceptions of Native territoriality. By examining the development of government policy regarding aboriginal peoples, as well as Speck's own academic and intellectual development, Feit elucidates the linkages between "policy advocacy and ethnological theory". Over time Speck's assertions became virtually reified in the anthropological literature; despite, as Feit notes, the fact that they were developed out of dubious fieldwork, diverse Native populations, different social, colonial and political contexts, and the fact that they were perpetuated through different media for different audiences.

Perhaps the most comprehensive overview of northern

Algonkian territoriality was presented in the Who Owns the Beaver issue of Anthropologica (Volume 18, Nos. 1 & 2, 1986). A number of scholars offered insightful and original perspectives on issues pertaining to subarctic Algonkian territoriality. One of the most intriguing of these is Mailhot's observations regarding the Montagnais-Naskapi of Sheshatshiu, a population which - like the nearby Naskapi studied by Henriksen - does not have territories as such. Rather, "social mobility" and "social negotiation" are the critical factors. Thus, rather than think in purely structural terms, we are obliged to consider social dynamics and social behaviour. Mailhot observed, as did this writer in Attawapiskat, that people contend that they "can hunt anywhere". And, as in Attawapiskat, there is an implied condition to this statement: if you have kinship links. The difference between the Attawapiskat and Sheshatshiu cases, however, is the absence of recognized territories in the Montagnais-Naskapi instance. Thus, while there is a social mobility extant in Sheshatshiu, in Attawapiskat this same mobility is overlaid on recognized territories. In Sheshatshiu, "it is a spatial projection of operative kinship ties at that precise moment in time".

Craik likewise considered the "I can trap anywhere" statement, but noted that it must be evaluated "as a statement having more sociological impact than significance to hunting strategy or rights to resources." Craik's arguments, then, stress the need for an ethnographic



(or, in the jargon, an "emic") understanding of local processes. He states that "the system is maintained by social pressure which regulates the adherence to a set of implicit though widely known rules concerning the access to resources". What Craik is suggesting is that the approaches traditionally employed in the understanding and analyses of territoriality need to be re-examined; particularly important is the need for more detail. He, as Feit would do in 1991, criticizes Speck for his lack of detail and wide generalities.

Scott's contribution provides a vivid contrast to the Attawapiskat situation. He notes the complex structure and relationships inherent in Cree territoriality, examining the psychology which underlies notions of leadership and "hunting bosses". A hunting territory owner or boss is one with knowledge, the ability to co-ordinate the activity of others, and hunting strategy. How these relate will vary within given contexts and with different species being hunted. The contrast with Attawapiskat is particularly pronounced in the structure of the goose hunt: in eastern James Bay, Scott contends, "of all productive activities, goose hunting is the most communal in nature". In Attawapiskat, the goose hunt is a much more singular activity with the largest percentage of hunters hunting alone (see Chapter 6). The contrast between the two merits further research by subarctic scholars.

The remainder of the Anthropologica volume examines the communal origin of territories (Bishop), a re-examination of Cooper's work in western James Bay (discussed below), and an

examination of the relationships between kin relations and land stewardship in Kasabonika and Wunnummin Lake (Sieciehowicz).

In western James Bay (the region studied for this dissertation) there have been three major studies conducted which examined resource use in whole or in part. Honigmann looked at patterns of food consumption - including "country" food - and trapping, during 1946 - 48 in Attawapiskat. These were reported in his 1961 monograph Foodways in a Muskeg Community. It is rich in detail.

Prevett et al. studied the waterfowl kill by Cree hunters in James Bay and documented their results in a 1983 article. They spoke with 97% of male Indian potential hunters and concluded that 87% hunted waterfowl. Their study was conducted from 1974 - 76.

Thompson and Hutchison (n.d.) conducted an extensive study of resource use in James Bay between 1981 - 83. Like those involved with the Prevett study, Messrs. Thompson and Hutchison are biologists with the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources (MNR). The Thompson and Hutchison study examined virtually all aspects of resource use and the numerous details are represented on graphs, charts and tables. The Honigmann, Prevett, and Thompson and Hutchison studies will be referred to throughout the thesis.

#### Methodology Review:

The present study is at once a harvest survey, a land-use study, and an examination of the effects of White

incursion into the James Bay hinterland. Given the nature of the thesis it is useful to examine more closely the nature and methodologies of "harvest" and "land use" research, as well as Hugh Brody's examination of non-Native and Native contact in northeastern British Columbia; specifically, the implementation of the registered trapline system which also figured so prominently in Attawapiskat.

Usher et al. (1985) conducted an evaluation of Native harvest survey methodologies in northern Canada, focussing on the James Bay and Northern Quebec (JBNQ) study and a number of studies which followed in the Northwest Territories. In their terminology, "harvesting" refers to hunting, fishing and trapping by all methods. Native harvest statistics are "counts, or estimates, of the number of each species of fish and wildlife taken over a specified period of time, in a specified area, by a particular group of Native people" (1985:7).

It is useful to note similarities and dissimilarities between the JBNQ surveys - which "achieved their negotiated and stated objectives" - and the present study. Usher et al. state that the JBNQ study produced data that are considered to be reliable and verifiable by a large and diverse set of users; and that success is attributable in part to the fact that the objectives, design, and control of the project were negotiated among equals. In contrast, the NWT studies have been less successful because of careless application of the JBNQ model, and to different political and institutional circumstances (Usher et al., 1985:129).

The JBNQ study was conducted in two phases: Phase 1 asked [male] hunters aged 18 and over to recall harvest data, while simultaneously data collection instruments were designed, tested and reviewed. One third of male hunters aged 18 and over were involved and stratified according to age. These age groups were 18 - 26, 27 - 45, and 46+.

During Phase 2, harvesters, i.e. male hunters, trappers and fishermen, were provided with diaries for the following year in which to record their harvests continuously on a weekly or monthly basis. Fieldworkers would visit the Cree yearly and the Inuit three or four times a year, and complete a questionnaire in order to consolidate the harvesters' records. This phase ran four years with the Cree (1975 - 79) and for five years (1975 - 80) for the Inuit.

It might be suggested that it is this prolonged sampling that distinguishes Native harvest surveys from other methods of estimating Native harvests. Usher et al write

The systematic surveys .. referred to as Native harvest surveys are distinguished from other methods of estimating Native harvests chiefly by the following criteria. They seek to record the actual numbers of each species taken, by specific time period and geographic location, continuously over a period of years. ... These surveys have usually been conducted on a co-operative basis ... (1985:249).

"Harvest surveys", then, are concerned with the systematic accumulation of reliable, verifiable data pertaining to fish and wildlife taken by a given population,

in a given region over a number of years. Fundamental to this process are "recall data" in which individuals are asked to remember their harvests from previous years (three years in the JBNQ surveys, one year in this study). Usher et al. note that individual harvesters have a "pretty good" idea of not only what they themselves take, and from where, but also what their immediate social group - household, family, hunting group, or even village - has harvested in recent years. The present study has also found this to be true to a certain extent: hunters recall numbers of kills for several years. However, in the present instance these numbers are recalled for certain species - notably moose, goose, and caribou. Small game and fish harvests are less well remembered and one is lucky to get even a rough estimate of the number of kills. In terms of the three major species, however, kills are remembered (even in the case of waterfowl) to the last individual kill. Many men in Attawapiskat can tell you quite accurately how many moose or caribou were killed in the community by each hunter over the last couple of years.

Usher et al. observe that the verification studies undertaken in the second phase of the JBNQ surveys indicated that the Phase 1 recall data did not differ significantly from Phase 11 data. Overall, they observe that for most species of fish and wildlife, there is no alternative to a recall survey for ascertaining harvests. The exceptions where this does not apply include those species whose harvest is controlled by quota (applies mainly to the NWT); species

whose circulation is controlled by permit, i.e., furbearers; and species with harvests concentrated in time and space, for example, large sea mammals and sea bird colonies (Usher et al, 1985:131-133). Only the second situation applies to Attawapiskat.

Usher et al (1985:136,137) state a number of "principles" that are most likely to guide the design of a harvest survey that puts a priority to levels of Native harvest (as opposed to putting a priority to resource management objectives, or economic planning objectives). These will now be addressed in the context of this thesis.

a) Harvesters will be identified on the basis of social, cultural, and legal criteria.

b) Species to be included will be all of those taken and used in some way by the harvesters.

c) Harvest will probably be equated with economic production, to show what the group in question takes from the land for its benefit. Production, or numbers killed and retrieved, is what harvesters are most likely willing and able to report.

d) The survey will be of finite length, but sufficient to smooth out such factors as animal population cycles, abundance or scarcity of certain species, and related matters. This, they suggest, usually takes four or five years. There may also be a concern to relate this data with historical statistics.

e) The primary reporting interval should be annual.

Monthly or seasonal subtotals will not necessarily enhance the achievement of primary study objectives.

f) Geographic coverage will be desired primarily for the area in which the Native group asserts an interest.

g) Neither additional biological nor socio-economic data are required for a survey of this type. Usher et al. further state that if such information is sought, it will be for purposes other than the primary one.

h) The primary product of the survey will be the annual community summary tables. They further add that there is no intrinsic reason to present data at any lower level of aggregation, or to link these data with any other phenomena, at either the community or individual level, although the researchers or Native group in question might have reasons to do so.

The present study adheres closely to the principles laid out by Usher et al. Where deviations occur, it is a matter of degree. For example, the species included in this study are those deemed to be culturally relevant, not all of those taken. As corroborated by the Thompson and Hutchison studies, the species not included in this study are taken in minute numbers. Similarly, the Attawapiskat people saw no need to identify fish by species, they were identified simply as fish, and attempts to have this broken down further were resisted. Given that this study was initially proposed by the Attawapiskat people, and done in co-operation with them, their decisions as to what is important, must be considered. Likewise, the four or five year study period could not, for

practical reasons, be employed. Nonetheless, the study, in conjunction with the Thompson and Hutchison study (which itself covered only two years), provides a continuity check over a seven year span and serves as a historical referent. Finally, socio-economic (mainly social) data are included because of the ethnohistorical nature of the thesis, and the consideration given to the role of the state. All other aspects of Usher's principles have been adhered to.

It is worth noting two other points. Usher et al state that a 70% - 90% sample should be strived for, and that "if Native harvesters had confidence in the surveys, as indicated by their willing participation, then they themselves would have confidence in the results". As noted elsewhere, this study had a 95% (of total households) participation rate, and the results approved by the chief incumbent at the time of the survey, as well as his successor.

It remains to distinguish between harvest studies (or surveys) and land use studies. This distinction has not been made consistently in the literature, and is more often implied than stated. Usher et al suggest the differences when they state that

Some users did not make a clear distinction between harvest data and land-use data. Mapping the location of kills is to map hunter success, whereas mapping land use is to map hunter effort, as well as hunter interest in land, however that might be defined legally (1985: 122).

These differences are made apparent when one looks at the Labrador Inuit land use and occupancy studies (Brice-



Bennett, 1977). Whereas the harvest studies analyzed by Usher et al. are concerned with kill statistics, land use studies imply a documentation of a greater range of use and occupational activities. The Labrador Inuit Association studies were undertaken to "document and define the nature and extent of land use and occupancy". The maps that were developed "delineate the areal extent of land/sea use for individual species and present ecological and cultural information that relates to patterns of land use".

Land use was documented for five Labrador communities. The information provided in these studies was all derived from informant interviews, with the exception of the brief historical sketches. The methodology was similar in all cases: interviews were conducted by fieldworkers (sometimes with an interpreter) and map biographies - "the details of an individual hunter's experience and travel in pursuit of game" - were compiled informally during the house to house interviews. These were subsequently modified and composite maps made. Sample size ranged from 41% of the men in Rigolet (Ames, in Brice-Bennett, 1977:279) to 88 % in Nain (Brice-Bennet, 1977:98).

In the Labrador cases, sampling was not always random. Ames, for example, in his Postville study, interviewed people on the basis of "age and of experience in hunting, trapping, and fishing in the area" (1977:205), and interviewed only males. Similarly, Schwartz (1977:243) in his study of Makkovik land use, "concentrated on informants

whose knowledge and experience in the region was greatest".

In contrast to the cases above, this study sought to interview all heads of households, regardless of sex and experience in hunting, fishing and trapping. 95% of household heads were interviewed. The emphasis I placed on obtaining cultural data is shared with the Labrador studies, although the foci differ in some instances. Burial sites, and historical and cultural sites were identified in both the present study and the Labrador studies. The latter in some cases noted place names while this study does not.

Neither the Labrador studies nor the surveys cited by Usher et al make reference to firewood cutting and berry picking which the present study does. These were deemed important by the local population. In the case of firewood, the depletion is almost at a crisis level.

In the Labrador instances, map biographies were an important component of the studies; as they are in the present case. The Attawapiskat maps in some instances detail use activities as far back as the 1940s for some hunters. Of equal importance in this study is documenting and analyzing user effort; that is, the amount of time and expense spent in pursuing land use activities. An interesting comparison is noted with Ames, (in Brice-Bennett, 1977:235) who observed in Postville that

Although full-time employment has increased, the frequency of hunting and fishing trips by snowmobile and speedboat and the distance of such trips has also increased, because the time necessary for them has shortened. In other words, today the people can use their land with almost

equal efficiency and with much less difficulty.

In Attawapiskat, a similar, although not identical scenario has been created. It should be noted that Usher et al (1985:123) state that "there is a consensus that effort data would be useful to have, but few [harvesting studies] placed high priority on them". This was considered a priority in Attawapiskat.

There are several similarities, then, between the Labrador Inuit studies and the present one. The primary differences lie in the greater historical component of the present study, including the role of non-Native incursions, and, in some instances, the different types of data sought. The similarities, however, outweigh the dissimilarities.

In northeastern British Columbia, Brody (1981) spent a year participating in the life of the Beaver. The work was commissioned in response to the proposed pipeline project and his task was to document the land use of the original inhabitants. It is interesting to note that Brody does not make a clear distinction between land use and harvesting studies. He makes the following observation on the history of land use studies:

The first of these land-use and occupancy studies was designed in 1973. ... Following the study of Inuit use and occupation of the Northwest Territories, similar projects were carried out among the Inuit, Settlers, and Naskapi-Montagnais Indians of Labrador, the Dene of the MacKenzie River basin, the Indians of the Yukon, the Inuit and Cree of northern Quebec, and two Ojibwa communities of northwestern Ontario. The methods used have varied. Some

researchers strove for comprehensive data on wildlife harvests and the domestic economy. Others have paid close attention to the nature of internal colonialism and its effects on Indian life. ... But all of these projects have shared two main objectives: a demonstration of the extent of land use and the elucidation of the peoples' land use systems (1981:147,148).

There are three underlying themes in Brody's Maps and Dreams: maps as cognition (cognitive maps), the conflict of Native and Euro-Canadian economic, political and cognitive realities, and the viability of hunting and gathering cultures.

It is the conflict between traditional Native and non-Native realities that bears examination for our purposes, particularly the usurpation of Beaver lands for White purposes. The implementation of registered traplines in James Bay is documented below, but it is useful to note how the processes described by Brody for the Beaver were very similar to those in James Bay. In both cases there were attempts to give the impression that the regulation of traplines was in the best interests of aboriginal people and in both cases they were preceded by treaty signing - Treaty 8 in the Beaver case, Treaty 9 in the the James Bay case. Similarly, in both northeastern British Columbia and in James Bay the encroachment of non-Natives into the area precipitated a perceived need to regulate trapping. As Brody observes (1981:88,89) "...the trapline issue took over where the treaty left off. ...Indians everywhere were urged to register lines and accept the rules of the newest colonial game".

In British Columbia, as in James Bay, those who were sympathetic to the Native cause came to the ultimate conclusion that the registration of traplines was in the best interest of Native people. In the Cree case, the argument was submitted by anthropologist John M. Cooper to the Canadian government during the 1930s. In British Columbia the same argument was given; namely, that in order to prevent the Indians from falling into even greater poverty, and to avoid losing what resource base remained, they would have to fight the White settlers on their own terms. This meant establishing rights to the land entrenched in the registration of traplines which began in the 1920s (Brody, 1981:88,95). As Brody notes, this was in fact a severe limitation on Indian land use that had no legal basis at all.

In British Columbia the Beaver continued to retreat into the hills as Whites moved into their territories. Brody argues that as long as they slipped away into their own domains and their own lives, the Indian system remained strong (1981:98). Interestingly, the traplines came to hold special meaning for the Beaver.

By twists of history and confusion over realities, the trapline has come to mean to the Indians something tantamount to the terms of the Treaty. Although they continue to insist upon and to exercise their right to hunt on Crown land wherever they can, it is registered traplines that they hold to be especially and irreversibly theirs. For a long time, the government had led them to believe this. ... once again, the truth appears to be changing (1981:99).

In Attawapiskat, such was not the case. The Cree

rejected the registration of traplines from the virtual outset, and after approximately fifteen years the system had been rejected in practice, if not in theory. The system generated considerable animosity between the Cree and the government (especially the Ministry of Natural Resources, formerly Lands and Forests), but more importantly amongst the Cree themselves. It was these internal conflicts which ultimately led to the rejection of the system. It may be suggested that it is due in large part to the virtual absence of non-Native trappers in the Attawapiskat territory in the latter half of the 20th century, that allowed for the rejection of the system. Conversely, the greater presence of Euro-Canadians in northeastern British Columbia might prohibit such a rejection in that region.

Brody concludes that environmental effects - good or bad - are inseparable from the individual and social well being of a people whose domestic economy, historical experience and sense of identity are focussed on the land and its resources. Brody's work is based on intensive participant observation and historical documentation, and his insights are often profound. His works are not published in traditional monograph form; rather, they tend to be narrative. However, the importance should not be underestimated. Like Rogers and others, he stresses the importance of the land in diet: three Beaver communities consumed averages of 1.0 lb/person, 1.13 lb/person and 2.24 lbs/person respectively. He notes that "fresh meat is the primary strength and most important item of the hunting

economy" (1981:201).

The present thesis parallels many of the studies cited above, albeit the similarities vary in given cases. While we are concerned with tenure, attention is not paid to the question of the origin of land holding systems. Our time frame is 1901 - 1989. Thus, the works of Speck, Bishop, Rogers (1963), and Leacock do not figure prominently in the thesis. Nonetheless, like Bishop and Leacock, the writer acknowledges the importance of process and the "fur trade factor" in shaping land use and tenure. But the predominant concerns of these writers are not wholly shared. On the other hand, there is a similarity to Rogers' 1973 study in terms of the concern with consumption and distribution of resources. The present Attawapiskat study is likewise concerned with "the quest for food and furs", albeit over a ninety year span and within the considerations of non-Native incursion. In this latter sense, the present study shares much with Feit's (1982) concerns as well as Henriksen's (1973). It perhaps shares less in common with Tanner's (1979), which is more concerned with the role of ideology.

The Sieciechowicz study is of a larger region than the one presented here. She addresses some aspects of use that this one does not, eg. travel routes, but is lacking in hard data in other areas, eg. fur harvests, moose and caribou kills. Like the present study, she addresses, albeit in a general way, White incursions and their implications. These she calls "critical events". Thus, there are

similarities between her study and this thesis.

While Turner and Wertman (1977) focus on social organization, they also consider the role of the fur trade and note the changing nature of trapping partnerships. This, too, is examined in this thesis, although more in the context of White incursion and the introduction of White technology. Obviously, the Honigmann, Prevett, and Thompson and Hutchison studies share much in common with the present one, given that they were conducted in either western James Bay generally and/or Attawapiskat specifically. However, all of these were limited in their temporal framework to four years at most, and in terms of the two MNR studies, they did not really consider the social and cultural aspects of resource use. Honigmann's work, as discussed above, was primarily concerned with "foodways" and while he discussed White incursion, it was not a primary concern. Hence, a major difference between the present study and his is the role of non-Native incursion. Similarly, the thesis addresses more directly land use, and the changes that have evolved. There are quite obvious similarities to the Labrador Inuit land use studies, already mentioned above. Brody's concern with history, especially the history of Native and non-Native contact, as well as his acknowledgement of land use in Native economies,, are reflected in this thesis. Finally, the principles of conducting harvest studies, as outlined by Usher et al, are adhered to.

In brief, then, the present study seeks to examine continuities and changes primarily in land use and secondly



in land tenure over time. An essential component of this examination is the role of non-Native incursions and the effects that they have had. Therefore, while the study shares much in common with the works cited above, the concern with longitudinal considerations and quantitative and qualitative data, make it unique.

### CHAPTER 3: ATTAWAPISKAT - THE ETHNOHISTORICAL CONTEXT

#### The Physical Environment:

The community of Attawapiskat lies 1,000 kilometres by air north of Toronto, to the immediate west of Akimiski Island on James Bay. See Figure 1. It is one of seven communities (Winisk/Peawanuck, Attawapiskat, Kashechewan, (Fort) Albany, Moose Factory, New Post and McCreebec) that make up the region known to the indigenous Cree as Mushkegowuk askii. These communities have a total population of about 7000 people (4977 Status Indians in 1980 (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC), 1980). Attawapiskat itself has an estimated population of 1100 with 240 residential houses in the community (Reg Louttit, p.c.). The original reserve (as determined by the 1929 adhesion to Treaty 9) is one hundred miles inland on the Ekwan River, and was hardly, if ever, used for any prolonged period of time.

It is hard to describe what Attawapiskat is like physically - it is tempting to explain it in terms of what it lacks by southern Canadian standards. Nonas (1963) conducted fieldwork in Attawapiskat and in his thesis opened with a description of the community and environs:

The land of the Attawapiskat Cree is muskeg country, swamp country; a country of flat clay bogs cut by rivers, crossed by creeks and lakes and fields of mud, and deep forest stretches; of empty coastal mud-flats and the darkness of the

bush; a land of shallow, slow tidal rivers come suddenly alive with cold winds off the bay; of narrow twisting creeks cut by low rapids; of deep, cold fish lakes and mud. It is a country of flat, wooded shoreline, as grey as they are green; of thick willow patches and rooted thickets; of small disappearing open spaces in tall spruce forests as dark as dusk, and mossy summer trails that sog a foot and a half at each step.

Attawapiskat is situated at 52 degrees 55' Latitude and 82 degrees 25' Longitude. It falls into that geographical area known as the Hudson Bay Lowlands (or Hudsonian Biotic Province), which characteristically are flat and poorly drained (Gardner, 1981:7). Tree species are somewhat limited to black spruce and balsam, with occasional willow, poplar and tamarack. Surprisingly, residents report picking nearly fifteen species of berries, with cranberries predominating.

Climatically, Attawapiskat is similar to other subarctic communities: long, cold winters with surprisingly warm summers, albeit with cool nights. The summer of 1989 was quite hot; local people point to the fact that on at least one day it was the hottest location in the country. This, of course, was an aberration. Temperatures recorded from July 21 to August 2, 1989 recorded a high of 34 degrees Celsius (taken at 4 pm on July 24) and a low of 11 degrees taken at 4 am on July 27. The coldest temperature recorded for the period from January to the end of April 1990 was -34 Celsius at 8 am on February 17. On April 2 it reached 12 degrees C. at 4 pm., the warmest it reached in that four month period. This was considered a "typical" winter and

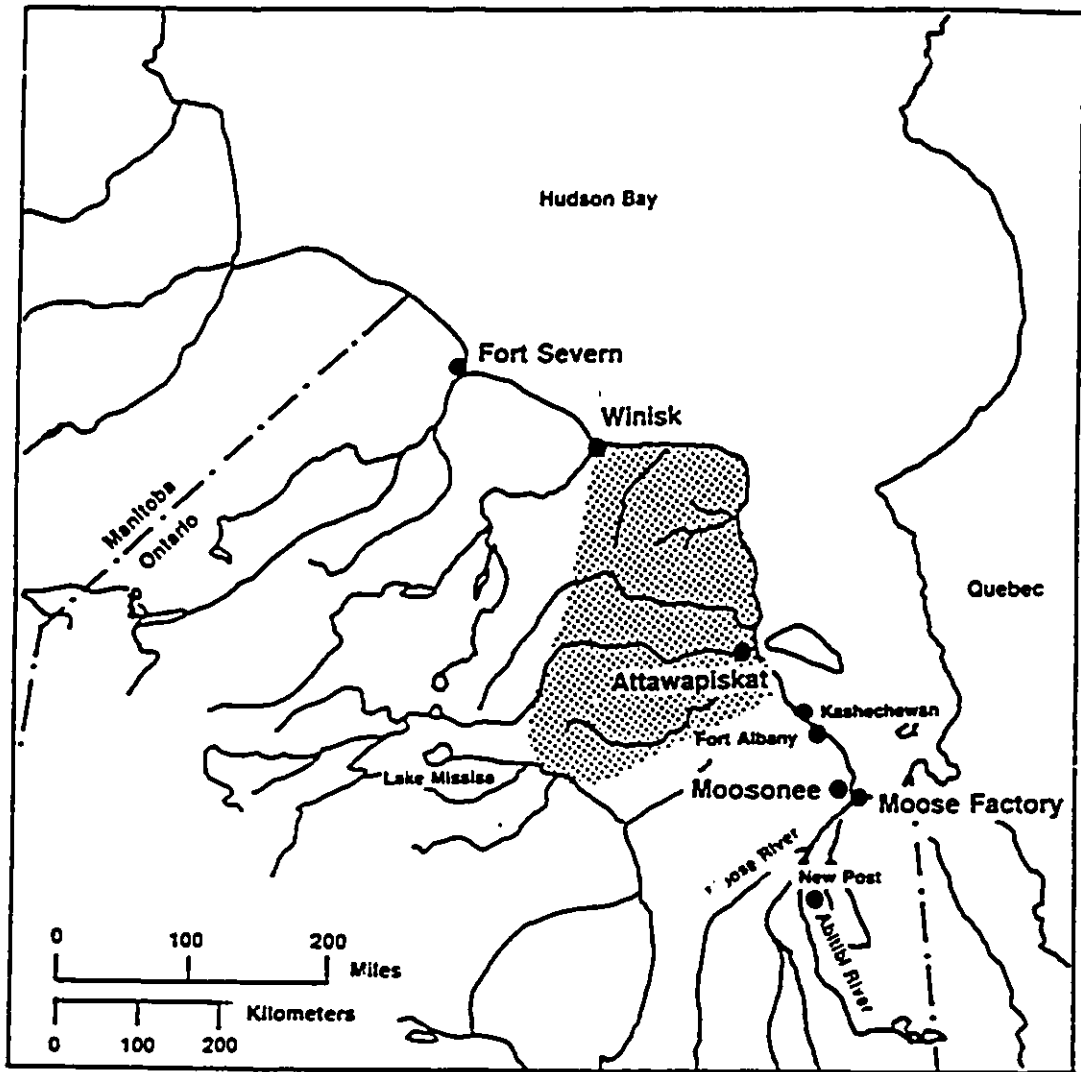


Figure 1: Mushkegowuk Region Showing Attawapiskat Territory

early spring. Winds frequently contribute to a considerable wind chill factor. Breakup is typically the first or second week of May, freeze up at the middle of November.

There are no official meteorological records for Attawapiskat specifically and the nearest Environment Canada station is located in Fort Albany (David Humphries, Ontario Climate Centre, pers. comm.). However, weather conditions are quite similar, the communities both being on the coast and Attawapiskat being only eighty kilometres north of Fort Albany. Bryan Smith of the Ontario Climate Centre generously provided meteorological data for Fort Albany. These data appear in Table 1.

#### Historical Overview of the Attawapiskat Cree:

The name "Attawapiskat" can be interpreted as "the opening in the rocks" (Reg Louttit, pers. comm.). The local priest interprets it as "there is room to pass between the rocks" or "deep water between high rocks". According to the local priest, when the Cree first arrived by canoe, they saw the Attawapiskat River from James Bay. At the mouth of the river were two big rocks which did not appear to leave room for a canoe to pass in between. As they approached closer, they exclaimed "Ka tawak piskaw which in English means "there is room to pass between the rocks" (Vezina, 1978: 1).

The people of Attawapiskat traditionally occupied a large area that extended from Kapiskow River in the south to Hudson Bay (Cape Henrietta Maria) in the north, and from Akimiski Island to Lake Mississa in the west. The Kapiskow

TABLE 1  
 MEAN DAILY TEMPERATURES (DEGREES CELSIUS) FORT ALBANY  
 1971 - 1985 (a)

Year	January	February	March	April	May	June
1971	- 21.7	- 16.3	n/a	n/a	4.3	13.8
1972	- 23.7	- 23.1	- 14.0	n/a	5.6	12.8
1973	- 18.2	- 20.8	- 6.5	- 4.2	5.2	10.6
1974	- 26.5	- 21.3	- 16.4	- 6.7	2.9	14.9
1975	- 21.0	n/a	n/a	- 3.6	8.2	13.3
1976	- 25.0	n/a	n/a	- 1.1	4.9	14.2
1977	n/a	- 17.1	n/a	- 3.1	8.0	n/a
1978	n/a	n/a	n/a	- 3.7	4.1	9.1
1979	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1980	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1981	- 20.2	- 12.1	- 8.1	- 4.0	4.0	11.4
1982	- 23.7	- 20.8	- 12.4	- 8.2	7.9	10.7
1983	- 18.9	- 18.2	- 13.9	- 3.4	2.2	15.4
1984	- 23.9	- 13.6	- 14.1	2.2	4.8	11.9
1985	- 22.8	- 22.1	14.6 [sic]	n/a	3.4	10.4
Means	- 22.3	- 18.5	- 6.8	- 3.4	5.0	12.4

YEAR	JULY	AUGUST	SEPT.	OCT.	NOV.	DEC.
1971	15.3	n/a	11.7	n/a	- 4.4	n/a
1972	15.2	14.0	9.4	1.0	- 5.8	- 20.3
1973	16.7	17.2	9.2	6.4	- 3.2	- 16.0
1974	16.4	13.5	8.2	0.2	- 3.1	- 13.3
1975	16.1	16.3	9.2	6.0	- 3.7	- 18.2
1976	16.8	15.7	8.8	3.3	n/a	n/a
1977	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1978	11.6	12.2	7.9	2.6	- 8.3	- 19.6
1979	16.4	15.0	n/a	n/a	- 4.7	- 10.6
1980	n/a	17.6	7.4	1.4	- 6.1	- 21.3
1981	17.8	15.8	9.5	2.0	- 1.6	- 10.6
1982	14.8	12.2	9.6	5.0	- 6.8	- 14.9
1983	16.4	15.0	10.4	4.4	n/a	n/a
1984	16.3	16.4	6.2	4.2	- 5.4	- 19.9
1985	12.0	12.5	8.6	2.6	- 8.7	- 21.9
Means	15.5	14.9	8.9	3.2	- 5.0	- 16.7

(a) SOURCE: Ontario Climate Centre (Environment Canada)

River flows northeastward, emptying into James Bay about thirty five kilometres south of the community. The people, however, travelled (and continue to do so) considerably inland, i.e., southwestward, along the river in search of moose and other game. Lake Mississa is about one hundred kilometres inland from Attawapiskat, while the Hudson Bay coastline lies an equal distance to the north. Today, people from the community continue to exploit this vast region in pursuit of both food and furs.

The Attawapiskat Cree were originally not a coastal people but widely distributed in the forest (Honigmann, 1961:16). The smallest social unit was the household comprising two nuclear families, frequently headed by brothers or men who had married sisters. This might be extended to include a man doing bride service (Honigmann, 1981:221). Residence patterns were flexible, being bilocal or neolocal, although Honigmann suggests (1953:811) that prior to contact (1850), marriage was associated with patrilocal residence, after matrilocal bride service which normally lasted a year or two. There is reason to believe that in the pre-contact period cross cousin marriage was preferred.

Two to five families (Honigmann, 1956:58, suggests maybe as many as eight or ten) represented a microband, which often travelled together. These bands were held together by kin bonds, and recognized an informal leader. His status was based upon age and wisdom. Constituent microbands, linked through affinal ties, created the macroband which represented fifteen or so families. While no specific term was applied

to these units, each occupied a particular river drainage, aware that other people occupied adjacent drainages (Honigmann, 1956:59).

The annual cycle, as practised by majority of the people until mid 20th century, was centred on the migratory patterns of waterfowl and caribou. Spring saw the movement of people from the inland areas to the coast to hunt moulting ducks and to await the geese flying north. Honigmann (1956:32) notes that in the extreme north, the tundra of Cape Henrietta Maria and adjacent barren grounds accommodated caribou throughout the summer and families went there. The arrival of cold saw people move back inland to hunt caribou and moose. Rabbits as well were more accessible to snaring during the winter. The arrival of Europeans enhanced this pattern as waterfowl were easier to procure with shotguns. The annual cycle is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4.

It has been noted that "contact" in reality did not occur until the mid 19th century, although material culture had been altered through goods received through trade at Fort Albany beginning in the 1700s. The degree to which material culture was altered is open to debate. Father Vezina of the Oblates contends that older people in 1978 still remembered using bows and arrows to kill small game (Vezina, 1978) while Honigmann (1981:219), contends that informants in 1947 scarcely knew that the region's Indians formerly made stone axes and knives. However, Mary Spence, an Attawapiskat elder, recalls the making of bone needles and



awls, as well as the making of birch bark canoes (Attawapiskat Elders, 6,7). And, in 1990, people still make snowshoes from "bush" materials, including the lacings, webbing, harness, frames, as well as boots, moccasins, and mitts. Perhaps Honigmann overstated the degree of assimilation.

Acculturation, as opposed to assimilation, (the former term suggesting culture change, the latter total or near total culture loss) was quite rapid when it reached Attawapiskat. The Roman Catholic church was rapidly followed by two fur trading companies, the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) and Revillon Freres, the latter of which was bought out by the former within three decades. Treaty 9 was signed in 1905, and Attawapiskat received its reserve on the Ekwan River in 1930 although life continued around the post. Disease, starvation and further White incursions followed over the years. A hospital opened in 1951. The first airplane service began with weekly flights, operated by Austin Airways, in 1957 (Vezina, 1978:12). It would not be until 1974, with the construction of an airstrip, that daily air service became a reality.

A number of changes brought mixed blessings. In 1976 Special Constables (Native Police Officers under the direction of the Ontario Provincial Police) began working in Attawapiskat. That same year John R. Nakogee School opened its door which accelerated the settlement of families in the village on a year round basis. In 1979 television arrived in Attawapiskat, while a year later the first direct-

dial phones appeared (Vezina, in an addendum to 1978:13,14).

It is nearly impossible to obtain historical population data on Native communities (John Valentine, Statistics Canada - Aboriginal Data Unit, pers. comm.). Prior to 1971 figures were compiled only in aggregates for northern Ontario. Further compounding the picture is the fact that both Statistics Canada and Indian Affairs conduct population surveys, but in different manners. The latter simply adds or deletes names to band lists as people are born or die. Their census is essentially an administrative list, and additions and deletions may take months or years to be incorporated into the "official" figures. They are, then, lax on "double counting". Statistics Canada, on the other hand, conducts a "snapshot" census (their term), based on geography. Essentially, Statistics Canada will arrive on a reserve on a given day and literally count the number of people on the reserve at that particular point in time. It is, by their own admission, prone to error and invariably undercounts the population as the census takes place in June when large numbers of the population are in the bush. Therefore, both the Statistics Canada and Indian Affairs population figures are questionable due to weak census methodologies (John Valentine, pers. comm). Nonetheless, population figures from both sources are included below in Table 2 for comparative purposes.

TABLE 2

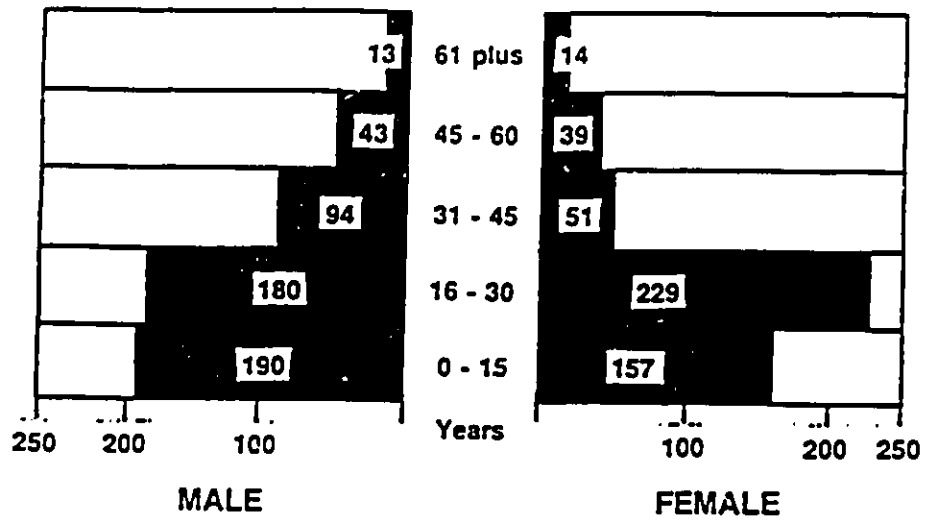
## ATTAWAPISKAT POPULATION 1976 - 1987

	Statistics Canada	Indian Affairs
1976	705 (resident)	-----
1981	690 (resident)	-----
1986	did not participate	-----
1987	-----	1655 (band members) 985 (on reserve)

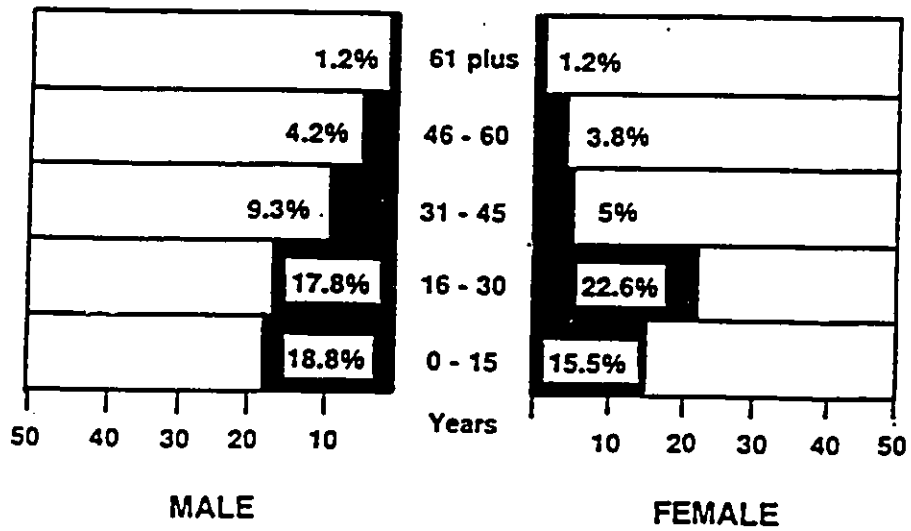
Contemporary Attawapiskat

There are about 1100 people in Attawapiskat today, and the population is a young one. Fully 75% of the population is under the age of thirty. There are about three hundred students enrolled in the locally controlled elementary school, with approximately another seventy travelling to Timmins, North Bay and Moosonee for secondary school. There are about twenty seven college and university students attending school outside the community. In addition, there are approximately fifteen mature students doing academic upgrading in preparation for academic or vocational training. Comparative demographic data are presented in the accompanying population pyramid in Figure 2.

Today, the daily language of conversation remains Cree; however, only the older generation (those generally aged fifty or older), are unilingual. Most of those under fifty



Population Pyramid in Total Numbers



Population Pyramid in Percentages

Figure 2: Population of Attawapiskat

have had some White schooling and thus speak some English. The Euro-Canadian influence is felt by the presence of the Hudson's Bay Company (now Northern Stores), the hospital, the school (the community assumed control of the school in April, 1990), and the airport which brings itinerant White professionals of various persuasions into the community on a virtually daily basis. Two airlines service the community daily. The Church, of course, is omnipresent, as it has been for ninety years. It is Roman Catholic, the priest is an Oblate, and he conducts services in both English and Cree. The current priest is quadrilingual, speaking Cree, Ojibwa, French and English, and has been in the north for decades.

Unemployment is high in Attawapiskat, as it is in most northern Native communities. One estimate puts it at approximately 75%. This is misleading, however, because it ignores the numbers of full and part time trappers, as well as those who procure subsistence from the land. In addition, there are seasonal goose hunting guides, firewood vendors, artists, interpreters, self employed hoteliers, sled makers, and other "unclassified" employed people.

Not surprisingly, the White institutions and the band office offer the most opportunity for full time, remunerative employment. The HBC employs approximately thirteen local people, the hospital, about fifty. The school, prior to the community assuming control, employed twenty one local people. It is likely to employ more people, in the form of teaching assistants and other para-professionals and

professionals, as it goes along. The band office has a staff of about thirty people.

These opportunities for employment are not sufficient, however, given the population. During 1989/90 there were 217 people (between the ages of twenty one and sixty four) on welfare, unemployment insurance, and other forms of financial aid. Additionally, there were thirteen people collecting old age security (pension), and forty three single mothers collecting family benefits. Government policy does not allow the release of community specific social assistance payments; however, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada does give provincial averages. In 1989/90, the average Ontario on-reserve family received \$10,052 annually in social assistance payments. This amount was paid out to an average family of four individuals (Lana Martin, pers.comm.). With this meagre amount, harvesting for products of domestic consumption becomes critically important.

The community has twenty seven business/service organizations, including Gabe's Goose Camp, Bell Canada, the Radio/T.V. station and the Roman Catholic Mission. There is a volunteer fire department which has a full time chief, and fifteen volunteers. There is also an emergency response team which includes a dozen primary members and a dozen alternates. There are close to forty commercial buildings in the community.

Birds traditionally have played a fundamental role in subsistence (as documented in the HBC Post journals and by Honigmann), and continue to do so today. Canada geese and

"wavies" (the local term for Blue Geese and Snow Geese collectively) are shot and eaten in large numbers during both the spring and fall. Virtually all adult males (well over 90%) participate in goose hunting. Other avian species of importance are willow ptarmigan, sharp tailed grouse, and various shorebirds. Spruce and ruffed grouse, cranes and owls are taken in much lesser numbers.

Moose and caribou continue to play an important role in subsistence, although Honigmann, (1961:i) contends that the country is "chronically poor in such valuable large game animals as caribou, moose, and beaver". A significant number of men continue to hunt moose, while the accessibility of caribou renders their hunting more expensive and problematic. Nonetheless, caribou are still taken in considerable numbers and the meat is shared throughout the community. Marten, muskrat, fox (both red and arctic, but mainly the former), weasel, otter, and rabbits are all found in the region. This last species is frequently snared for food purposes.

Fishing is done for both recreation and subsistence. It seems that historically whitefish might have played a more important role in subsistence than it does today (see, for example Honigmann (1961) and the HBC Post journals). In 1930 it would appear that while whitefish is still netted, pike, suckers, speckled and other trout species, and pickerel are also taken in large numbers.

## CHAPTER 4: LAND TENURE OF THE ATTAWAPISKAT CREE

### A: Introduction

An analysis of Attawapiskat land tenure today must begin with an examination of what is known of Attawapiskat land tenure in the early decades of this century. Because of the vastness of the topic of land tenure and the proliferation of literature that has been produced addressing northern Algonkian practices, we will limit our discussion mainly to the Mushkegowuk area, and focus on Attawapiskat, incorporating other Cree groups only where particularly relevant. The intent is not to deny the importance or relevance of the considerable work done by people like Leacock (1954) among the Montagnais, or Bishop (1970) and Dunning (1959) among the northern Ojibwa. Rather, my focus reflects the recognition that the specifics of environment, local history, and the nature of non-Native incursions upon Native cultures all play crucial roles in the development of land tenure principles and practices. One need only compare, for example, the territorial practices of the Innu of Sheshatshiu (Mailhot, 1986) with more southerly Montagnais to gain an appreciation for the diversity of forms of tenure which are found in the eastern Subarctic. Among the Cree alone there are considerable divergences. Therefore, we will focus our



attention on the Mushkegowuk Cree generally and the Attawapiskat Cree specifically.

Cooper (1933) contends that the "traditional" pattern of tenure began to break down in the 1930s. That is to say, he believed that the family hunting territory system was no longer recognized and respected by a large number of the "West Main" Cree, and a pattern of "hunting all over" was the norm. That observation, if true, renders a comprehensive (and comprehensible) analysis and discussion of land tenure historically and today difficult. Therefore, this chapter is divided into a number of subchapters. First, we will examine perceptions of the traditional land tenure practices, i.e. up until the 1930s and the "breakdown" of the aboriginal pattern. This subchapter will include early ethnographic studies as well as archival data gathered by both this researcher and others. Following this is an examination of non-Native incursions beginning with the arrival of the Church and the HBC. Field and archival data from 1989/90 will form the basis for a discussion of contemporary land tenure in Attawapiskat. Finally, a comprehensive overview and discussion of the evolution of Attawapiskat land tenure ideology and practices will be made.

#### B: Traditional Attawapiskat Cree Land Tenure

It is essential to define one's terms when dealing with such contentious issues as land tenure. Honigmann essentially saw three units of social organization

(1956:58,59). Insofar as the nuclear family rarely occupied a dwelling alone, frequently (ideally, he queries) two brothers-in-law lived together, being held together by the attachment of the sisters. To this unit might be added an aged parent or parents. Variations might include two brothers forming a household, and perhaps a son-in-law performing bride service.

The microscopic band represents 2 - 5 (and perhaps as many as 8 - 10) families who might aggregate around a good fishing site, such as an inland lake or present day Attawapiskat. These represent fluid bands, the members of which were often kin and recognized a leader of limited authority (1956:58). He was leader by virtue of age, wisdom, knowledge, ability, shamanistic powers, and oratory skills.

A larger, "vagner, non-corporate unit", the macroscopic band consisted of 10 - 15 families, and occupied a particular river drainage. Both Cooper (1933) and Flannery and Chambers (1986) have documented the traditional occupancies of these drainages in the Mushkegowuk region, listing family groups and drainages with which they were associated. According to Honigmann's informant, no particular name existed in the dialect for this particular social unit. The unit presumably was held together by affinal ties between the constituent micro-bands. Macro-bands were restricted to their particular river drainage (hence, territory), by knowledge of an adjacent band's occupation of neighbouring drainages.

What is essential to recognize, however, is that the

ancestors of today's Attawapiskat band occupied all the territory from the Kapis'kau River in the south, to Hudson Bay (Cape Henrietta Maria) in the north, and from Akimiski Island in the east to Lake Mississa (150 miles inland) to the west. This has been contended by the present day chief and council, is supported by documentation in the archives of the HBC, and was documented by Honigmann. Evidence is cited below in Chapters 4 and 6. Today's Attawapiskat band then, includes those people who occupied the Lake River, Opinaga, Attawapiskat proper, Lawachi, and Kapis'kau River drainages (hence, these people were in and of themselves macro-bands). Thus, the term "Attawapiskat" does not only apply to those people who occupy(ied) the Attawapiskat drainage system, but also to all the people falling into the boundaries specified above. Honigmann (1956:24) states that the numerous bands never constituted a formally recognized group. However, the HBC journals indicate that there was a recognition, by both traders and Indians, of family groups associated with certain territories who traded into Attawapiskat. Hence, there was a recognition of "Lake River" or "Opinaga" or "Lawachie" Indians who were all associated the Attawapiskat Post. The "Attawapiskat Band", as such, however, is a formal recognition bestowed by the Canadian government via Indian Affairs.

Cooper (1933:1) contends that aboriginally in the eastern Subarctic the "hereditary individual or family hunting territory system prevail[ed]"; this being a system

whereby "all the land within the tribal [sic] limits is owned and occupied by individual Indians or by individual families." Under this system "every foot of the land ... is owned by somebody". Cooper quite emphatically states that this was the system operating among the Moose, Albany, Kapiskau, Attawapiskat and Winisk Indians during the 1930s.

According to Cooper, this system is hereditary in nature, passing from father to son(s), or to son in law, or - in rare instances - through the widow to a new husband if she remarries. Ordinarily then, the family hunting ground is owned by the father or by the family as such and is inherited by the man's sons when he dies. Morantz (1986) referring to the east side of James Bay, contends that nephews also inherited territories, and unoccupied lands could be claimed even by non-relatives. This last argument would certainly be the exception, not a general rule. Following this, it is not surprising to find that where this system still obtains the individual hunting territories have been in the family for generations.

The question of "individual" versus "family" ownership is an issue of debate. While Speck (1927, 1931) referred to the family hunting territories, Morantz (1986) contends that "Speck was wrong. Rights to the animals were clearly vested in individuals." She further notes that references (from the HBC journals of the mid 19th century) to hunting territories are always in terms of the individual, rather than the winter hunting group.

There is a danger involved in doing comparative studies

of even very similar groups. Speck's contentions were based on fieldwork among the Montagnais of Lac St. Jean, and the Montagnais-Naskapi of the Labrador Peninsula and Nouveau Quebec, as well as Ojibwa and Micmacs. Morantz's work is based on archival data (as is much of the present study) pertaining largely to East Main Cree. Can one extrapolate from one group to another? Did Speck expect his arguments re. the Montagnais and Naskapi to apply to East Main Cree? And should we be cognizant of the fact that HBC journals are written by Europeans with European biases, and hence, must be treated with certain circumspection?

The HBC journals for Attawapiskat cover only the period from 1919 to 1931. If we are to accept the observations of the traders as accurate reflections of the Indians' understanding of their concept of land tenure and territoriality, then there is a basis for the argument that rights were vested in the individual. We have, for example, the following entries (all emphases mine). "David Kenkay left for "his" lands today" (January 26, 1920). "John Chakasim, having gone to Wm. Nakogee's hunting ground, returned today... " November 22, 1922). "Jos. Carpenter arrived at the post at noon and left for "his" hunting grounds two hour later" (March 25, 1931).

Flannery and Chambers (1986:108-144) re-examined the work of Cooper. They note, as Cooper did, that reference to hunting territories was as much to the oldest male of the group (eg. Old Abraham's land) as it was to a specific family

(Paulmartin's land). However, the recognized "owner" was the oldest man of the family group. The preferred pattern of the hunting group was that of a man and his sons, or a man and his brothers. They observe as well that hunting without a close relative was sometimes referred to as "hunting alone". This referred to even those who hunted with a brother in law. Flannery and Chambers refer to a case cited by Cooper of Thomas Noah, who was said to "hunt alone" although his partner was James Tumigatik, his wife's brother.

Cooper states that the family hunting ground is inherited in the male line, usually from father to son(s), sometimes from brother to brother, or from father in law to son in law. Further, under certain conditions it may be held in trust by a widow for her children who are not of hunting age or it may pass through the widow over to a new husband whom she marries (Cooper, 1933:2). It is also possible, according to Cooper, that a father may donate part of his hereditary hunting ground to a son who comes of age and marries. On this last point, Cooper fails to elaborate. What is meant by "donate"? What becomes of the land after the son dies?

Virtually all of these possible scenarios regarding the transmission of territory are still to be found in Attawapiskat in 1990. Father-son combinations, brother-brother alliances, and father in law - son in law partnerships are still to be found.

There was a recognition of ownership both on the parts of the individual or family owners and the rest of the band.

The recognition of ownership implies that there were rights and privileges associated with this ownership. Berry picking, fishing, and the shooting of large game for food while passing through another's land was not resented. What was resented, however, was the trapping of furbearers on another man's land. Such actions often led to quarrels, violence, and the taking of life "in the olden days". Witchcraft was also used as a retaliatory measure (Cooper, 1933:2).

Cooper also contends that Indians could, and did, ask for permission to hunt on another's land if one was having particularly poor luck on one's own territory. Permission was customarily given, and indeed voluntarily offered by him who was better off. As will be discussed below, this practice still obtains today (at times) in Attawapiskat.

Cooper (1933) has referred to the Cree conservation practices of leaving breeding stock of furbearers, eg. taking four beavers from a colony of seven, and of rotating the land to allow it to replenish. This practice has been well documented in the eastern Subarctic. The concept of conservation also implies notions of ownership, boundaries and trespass, serious considerations for any discussion of territoriality and land tenure. Morantz has noted that

To undertake conservation measures implies a fairly well developed notion of private ownership of non-migratory animals... Conservation practices suggest the planning of the utilization of resources and therefore the necessity of agreed upon boundaries within which certain designated individuals control

the harvesting of the animals (1986).

Honigmann (1956:64) noted that traditionally hunters "walked" anywhere or fished in any stream within the territory of the macroscopic group (his quotation marks). He contends that the notion of territorial ownership by families did not appear until after the arrival of the Hudson's Bay Company. Rather, one might indicate first "discovery", therefore a claim, upon a beaver lodge, by notching a nearby tree. Similarly, fishing sites were not "owned" but open to common use.

Preston (n.d.:66) adds to this that prior to 1937 families had hereditary fur (but not food) hunting areas with "fluid" boundaries. These were recognized, but not without dispute. There was a strip, as well, along the coast which was generally open to common use, which was frequented by foxes. Food could be hunted anywhere. Flannery and Chambers (1986:127) note, as does Cooper, that fishing and berry picking are not restricted to family territories. They add, however, that in the southern part of the Bay the coastal strip utilized for goose hunting was open to all. Given the primacy of waterfowl in Attawapiskat diet, and the fact that although hunters today often utilize the same goose areas year after year, there is nevertheless the belief that one can change locations as circumstances demand, it is likely that the coastal goose hunting areas have always been "open to all".

Honigmann's position on the "ownership" of territories



contrasts somewhat with that of Cooper and Flannery. He contends that "prior to white contact, family owned hunting territories were unknown in the country, a band of several related families generally occupying a large portion of a river drainage" (1948:119). He notes further that within the band territory families travelled freely and were unhindered if they wished to join other bands. What one appears to be dealing with here is semantics, i.e., the definition of "own" and "ownership", insofar as Honigmann states that "one may speak of ownership in the sense that particular families enjoy the right to exploit (but not to alienate) the resources of such land". What is implied then, is exclusive use rights but not rights of disposal. Territories, such as they were, did not extend back far in time, according to Honigmann. He states that:

Apportionment of the Attawapiskat area among families with a coastal strip free to everyone was introduced relatively recently under the direction of the Hudson's Bay Company post manager. Families were allocated territories where they and their parents were presumed to have traditionally trapped. Such traditions, however, cannot be assumed to extend far back in time.

What one is faced with when comparing the stances of Cooper and Honigmann are 1) differences in conceptions of "ownership" and 2) differences in perceptions of aboriginality of tenure. What also needs discussing is definition of "traditional".

In terms of our first problem, one needs to ask a number of questions: what do we mean by "own"? What is owned? Following upon these questions, one must ask what constitutes violation of "ownership", i.e. what constitutes theft or trespass?

There appears to be a degree of consensus upon what is owned, if not on what constitutes ownership. Cooper has stated that berry picking, fishing and killing of game while passing through another man's land are all acceptable practices. However, poaching or trespass in the sense of trapping and hunting is strongly resented as an injustice, as an infringement on strict rights (1933:2). Similarly, Honigmann (1956:64) noted that people "walked" anywhere or fished in any stream within the territory of the macroscopic group, and that people set fish weirs as they pleased, never disputing rights to a particular site. Preston (n.d.:66) likewise noted that any person could hunt for food (game) anywhere.

Flannery and Chambers (1986:128,129) are more specific in terms of the killing of game. A hunter might take what he needed as food while passing through another's territory to reach his own. Among some Cree there is the expectation that the skin of a game species killed for food would be given to the owner of the territory in acknowledgement of his ownership of the animals. On this point they did not find unanimity. In 1990, the current research also found this to be true, albeit the giving of the skins also had a more

pragmatic aspect. The hides are made into mitts, gloves and boots. It should also be noted that the skins are sometimes given to anybody who might use them, not just owners of the land. In Attawapiskat today, younger hunters are not always aware of whose land they are on when big game is killed.

Flannery and Chambers (1986:129) also observed that some people objected to the picking of berries, gathering of moss, and killing of ptarmigan, claiming that such behaviour disturbed the game. The simple fact of being on another's land, without the asking of permission, or if not simply passing through, might be grounds for suspicion of poaching.

It is the nature of big game which allows them to be hunted with impunity on another's land under certain conditions. Because they do not remain in one area, it may be necessary to encroach on another hunter's territory to complete a chase that was begun on his own. Thus, the completion of a hunt on another man's land is allowable because game do not remain sedentary. However, the deliberate trespassing to kill moose or caribou, i.e., the hunting on another man's land without permission, is disallowed. Intent is the crucial point. Or, perhaps, game is associated with the territory where it "yards".

What there does appear to be unanimity on is the fact that furbearers, especially beaver, were considered the "property" of the man (or family) who "owned" the land. As noted above, Cooper sees trapping on another's land as trespass and an "infringement of rights". Honigmann, in addition to his observations regarding the demarcating of

beaver lodges, also notes that "it was illegal for somebody to set one trap upriver from another when no stream entered between the two points" (1956:64).

Flannery and Chambers (1986:129) state that poaching relatively sedentary furbearers, especially beaver, was deemed the most serious breach of norms. This was especially so when it involved encroachment on another's land to take beaver, because this species provided both food and trade potential.

Hansen (1989:1), in reference to Subarctic Algonkians generally, distinguishes between the rights of the group and the rights of the individual.

The resources that were taken by the group members for barter or sale to Euro-Canadians were generally considered to be the "property" of the group, although furs were considered to be the property of the individual trapper. Other resources that were used domestically were considered to be "free goods" and members of neighbouring trapping groups were usually free to enter the trapping territory of others in search of food. However, any outsider who trapped in the group's trapping territory was considered to be a trespasser by the trapping group.

Cooper argues that violation of the norms regarding poaching and theft of furbearers "often" led to retaliation in the form of serious quarrels and - in the old days - violence, the taking of life and witchcraft. These actions, he notes, were "for the purpose of revenge upon the trespasser". He further contends that the system of ownership and resentment at and punishment for trespass "is

and has been thoroughly upheld by current public opinion and the recognized moral and economic code of the Indians themselves" (Cooper, 1933:2). Preston (n.d.:66) refers to "occasional disputes" over the "fluid" boundaries which were recognized. Honigmann (1961:119) suggested that "Among Indians disputes regarding illegal trapping are rare". Flannery and Chambers (1986:128,129) note that many Cree indicated that trespass, in the sense of an unwarranted incursion on another's hunting grounds, was resented. Unlike the contentions of Cooper, they argue that direct confrontation between the disputing parties seldom occurred. Rather, less direct measures, such as spoiling traps by various means was the norm. Thus, the perpetrator knew he had been found out. Flannery and Chambers also state that formerly conjuring (again, an indirect method) was also done to inflict serious harm on the poacher. Outright retaliatory killings were rare.

Morantz (1986) dates the earliest reference to trespass in the James Bay area to 1745. She notes as well correspondence from 1777 in which the chief trader at Moose Factory told his counterpart at Albany of the encroachment of five Albany Post families on a Moose Factory Indian's land, obliging the latter to leave his own grounds. Thus, it appears that notions of trespass, poaching, and encroachment existed in the 18th century, substantiating the notion of individual (or family) territories. Morantz offers further evidence from the 19th century of a distinct hunting

territory system, one that predates any intervention by the HBC.

To discuss trespass and poaching, one must acknowledge boundaries. Boundaries, of course, are of two kinds: physical and social. The former may be designated by landmarks, or - in the cases of European and Euro-Canadian cultures - by fences. Social boundaries are more subtle and are established and defined by relationships between individuals and among groups of individuals. For example, in the Cree case, the household, micro-bands and macro-bands all establish various degrees of "social boundaries". Social boundaries do two things simultaneously: they include some and exclude others. In the case of ethnic groups, for example, social boundaries are created and maintained by such things as language, religion, and endogamy. Among such groups as the Amish and Mennonites, there exist as well physical and geographical boundaries in that there are discernible physical settings in which these groups live to the exclusion, or virtual exclusion, of others.

It has been noted (Honigmann, 1961:119; Preston, n.d:65; Hansen, 1989:33) that the family hunting/trapping territory normally occupied a river drainage. The degree of rigidity of boundaries is disputed. Flannery and Chambers (1986:127) tend to question Tanner's (1979:185-186) contention that "[today] people do not carry around a firm and fixed idea of boundaries in their heads." They suggest that "the way territories were conceived in the late 19th century suggests more "boundedness" and permanence than

perhaps is true in the present". They state that on the west coast of the bay; i.e., that area including Attawapiskat where "anyone could hunt where they pleased" (their phrase and quotation marks) following Treaty 9, both old and younger men could describe in detail the locations of individual holdings in the past and those still in use. Natural features of the terrain and sometimes distance from the trading post were used to demarcate the territories (1986:127). The "edges" of contiguous holdings were reckoned within several miles, with reference to landscape features and sometimes to lands "belonging" to someone else.

Cooper (1933:1) contends that all of the land within a 'tribe's (sic) territory is "owned" ', with heights of land, chains of lakes and other natural features functioning as boundaries. These are "fairly well known" to the individual Indian of the given band. Hansen (1989:3), on the other hand, states that the territories were circumscribed by an unmarked, yet "understood" boundary. The fur resources within the territory were the property of those who usually trapped in that area.

These, then, are the various perceptions and interpretations of Attawapiskat Cree land tenure principles and practices at the time of Euro-Canadian incursion into the region at the turn of the century. It remains now to examine the non-Native encroachment into the area and the ramifications of the same on the Cree relationship to the land.

C: Euro-Canadian Incursions 1901 - 1952 And Changes In Land Tenure

Cooper noted in 1933 that the "traditional" hunting territory system, as he interpreted it, was in decline and that there was "widespread demoralization and extreme poverty among most of the Indians throughout [the] very large territory in which the family hunting ground system ... prevailed" (Cooper, 1933:5). This he attributed to a "series of linked causes and effects":

The partial breakdown of the family hunting ground system has led to the breakdown of the conservation system; the breakdown of the conservation system to the stripping of the land and the enormous diminution or disappearance of the furbearing animals (and to ... game animals), the diminution of the fur bearing animals to the present very widespread pauperism and undernutrition, amounting to near starvation, pauperism leading to widespread demoralization and mendicancy as well as loss of self respect and self dependence.

Cooper's basic contention, then, is that the traditional system was in decline, bringing with it a number of concomitants. To what may this be attributed? He argued that in the more southerly areas a contributing factor was White encroachment in the forms of railroads, mines, farms and trapping. In the more northerly areas, including James Bay, he contended that the Indians themselves had gotten the



impression that they no longer had government recognition of their family hunting grounds. They were further under the impression that the government not only did not recognize but definitely denied such rights. Cooper believed that it would be "relatively easy to correct [these] impression[s]". His proposed solution was "clearly to be some form of recognition or guarantee, - perhaps by some form of leasing or land patent or by some form of recognition similar to that given for mining claims, - of the traditional individual and family hunting grounds..." (Cooper, 1933:Appendix A:1). This, he argued, would in turn lead to a relatively quick restocking of the land and to economic independence and self support of the Indians. It was a White solution, incorporating White notions of ownership and White values.

Cooper notes that the Indians themselves sought government recognition of their traditional territories. Further, he adds that "the Indians ... have been drifting rapidly from private ownership of real property to a system of communism in property holding. The chief remedy seems to be a reversion, from the present drift towards communism, back to private land ownership" (Cooper, 1933:Appendix A:4).

Cooper's main informants for the Attawapiskat data were Willy Allen from Albany, Jimmy Acickic (Shisheesh) from Attawapiskat, Willy Ethrington from Opinaga, and William Louttit (Flannery and Chambers, 1986:117,118). It was from these men that Cooper was able to gather much of his information. It was Allen who suggested that even though

groups of some men in the early decades of the 20th century still exploited areas that their fathers had hunted, frequently other men of their families were said to be "hunting all over", a phrase still echoing in Attawapiskat in 1990. Flannery and Chambers (1986:118) note that few of the sons of the men listed as having hunting rights to territories near the shore of the Attawapiskat River still utilized these areas in the 1930s while on the Lawachie, Attawapiskat, and lower Ekwana Rivers there were few claimants for about 50 miles up each of the rivers.

It is submitted here that while Cooper's cited reasons for the "breakdown" of the old system may have some validity, one must look more closely at the nature of relations and the nature of the process of relations between the encroaching Euro-Canadian forces and the Attawapiskat people.

Although the period of acculturation on James Bay's west coast began in 1685 when Fort Albany succeeded the establishment of Rupert's House and Moose Factory farther south, for the Attawapiskat First Nation, intense contact did not begin until two centuries later.

In the 1850s missionaries from the Oblates of Mary Immaculate (O.M.I.) began travelling to the Attawapiskat region (Vezina, unpublished paper, 1978). The Oblates contend that the visits to the region were in part encouraged by the impressive turnouts of 200 to 300 people at their services. Probably of equal importance was the fact in 1852 the Anglican minister from Moose Factory was visiting Fort

Albany and was able to convert former Catholics as well as non-Christians to his faith (Honigmann, 1961:14). The rush to convert Cree souls was on. A Roman Catholic mission was established in Attawapiskat in 1893-94, followed by a permanent church and residence in 1912. The process of encapsulation was initiated through competition for Cree souls.

The encapsulation of Native people, perhaps especially in the north, has been a process that feeds and nurtures the various agents of the encapsulating Euro-Canadian society. It is ironic that while the State mandated itself the guardian of the aboriginal people, and created the Indian Act for the purpose of assimilation (implying that Natives were somewhat less civilized than Euro-Canadians; hence, somewhere in a state between barbarism and savagery), it was precisely those alleged traits of "savagery" that were needed by the Church and fur traders. The Church legitimized its being in James Bay by the need to convert the Cree to Christ and to educate them in fundamental White ways. Similarly, without the Cree there could be no fur trade. Both the Church and the traders were working for a perceived higher order; the former for the Christian God, the latter for Euro-Canadian business. Thus, while on the one hand there is condemnation of the "other", in this case the Cree, the reviled "other" serves the fundamental purpose of legitimizing the actions of Euro-Canadian agents. It becomes not a process of encapsulation, but of elevation to an eventual state of sameness with the

encapsulators (recognizing, of course, that Euro-Canadian society is not a classless, homogeneous society). Honigmann (1962:7) noted in 1948 that "the priests encouraged the Indians to idealize White customs and urged the people to show "proper respect for Whites". Motivated by a sense of moral correctness, the process of encapsulation unfolds, with the various agents of the state (the ubiquitous White triumvirate of Church, fur trader, and policeman) bringing White religion, White economics, and White justice to the hinterlands.

Bailey (1969:149) has told us that certain criteria (resources, economic interest in the subordinate society, tolerance of the subordinate's cultural practices, distance from the encapsulator's core) will determine the nature of encapsulation. These will also determine the "speed" of encapsulation. Though relatively unaffected by the fur trade for two hundred years (the result of "trade at a distance"), the arrival of the HBC and the Church in Attawapiskat at the turn of the century greatly accelerated the process of encapsulation.

The case of Attawapiskat, as is the case with all Indians involved in the fur trade, provides a unique context for encapsulation. The Cree were at once a resource in themselves, as well as being a tool for other resource extraction, i.e., furs. While being a resource item for the Churches, in terms of being souls to convert (turnouts of 200 - 300 at Attawapiskat in mid 19th century, it is

claimed), they were also the means of extracting wealth for the fur traders, having skills that few Whites could hope to acquire. While Cree culture might be "less than White" in its qualities, it met the needs of those who needed them to legitimize their being in the north.

If one doubts the the role of Indians as "resources" and tools of the State, one need only consider the Beothuks of Newfoundland. It is argued by this writer that they disappeared as a result of the fact that they did not fulfill any function in the White interests in Newfoundland. Europeans there sought fish, not furs, thus, the Indians had no active role to play. With no fur traders or missionaries there to safeguard the Indians' (and therefore their own) interests, the Beothuks were doomed. Upton (1977) has made a similar argument. The agents of the State have reasons to keep Natives alive, if suppressed. These reasons need not be philanthropic.

Having argued that the process of encapsulation is motivated as much by self interest as it is by concern for Native interests, it is not surprising to find the various State agents working in conjunction, however subtle or unintended. With the establishment of the mission in Attawapiskat, the fur traders quickly followed. Their relationship is noted in comments by C.C. Chipman in his Annual report on the Fur Trade for 1901-1902:

The section of country between Albany and Severn for many years, until quite recently, had not been much hunted, but the establishment by the Roman Catholic

Church of Mission Stations at the mouth of the Weenusk and Attawapiscat has drawn Indians to the Coast and those points and necessitated the Company also establishing there (HBC Archives, dated February 3, 1903) (my emphasis).

In this way, the various agents of the Euro-Canadian State aided and abetted each other in the encapsulation process. With personal, albeit different interests in the Cree, each sought to constrain and shape the behaviour and ideology of the subordinate society.

In 1906 Revillon Freres (referred to by the locals as the "French Store") also established a post in Attawapiscat. The combined influence of the Mission and the fur companies were to have profound effects upon the people and the resources of the area. This included changes in traditional patterns of land use and tenure.

A Roman Catholic boarding school run by the Brothers at Fort Albany had begun accepting Attawapiscat children in 1902. It was a mixed blessing. Today almost every adult is literate in his or her mother tongue, but with literacy came numerous shifts in traditional social structures and demographics, as the missions and newly arrived fur trading companies drew more and more people from the interior to the coast (Honigmann, 1966:205).

We can speculate that the residential school in Fort Albany had, to some degree, altered the basic family and social structure. With children in school for several months a year, the traditional patterns of social organization would have been altered and - it might be suggested - this had

ramifications for the perpetuation of traditional skills. Undoubtedly, the demographics of the region were altered as people moved in greater numbers to the proximity of the posts and mission.

Some of the the effects of the mission, schools, and fur companies were articulated in 1941 (but undoubtedly felt years earlier) by Dr. Orford, Indian Agent at Moose Factory, in a letter to the Secretary of the Department of Indian Affairs. He stated that he had received numerous complaints of trespassing, observing that trappers from Albany "were filtering into [the Moose Factory area] and assuming trapping and hunting grounds which the Moose Indians normally consider their own private domain" (cited in Hansen, 1989:28). Apparently, the Albany Indians were fully aware of their trespassing and explained that they were doing so because they believed that they were better trappers and hunters than the Moose Indian people, and because the Attawapiskat Indians were moving into the Albany Indians' territory, and because the Albany Indians' children were going to school at Moose Factory and they wanted their traplines to be close to their children (ibid:28).

It is important to realize that (as mentioned above) documentation of trespass by Albany Indians upon Moose Indian territory goes back two centuries. What is fundamental here, however, is that one might explain this change in behaviour by looking at changes wrought by White movement into the region, notably the residential school system. We must

also note that trespass is assuming a "ripple effect" down the coast, from Attawapiskat to Moose Factory. No longer is trespass restricted to neighbouring bands, rather, it has assumed region wide proportions. However, one should also note the sheer number of changes occurring in the early twentieth century. One must not look for mono-causal explanations for the "breakdown" of traditional patterns of tenure, and its concomitants of trespass and poaching. Rather, close contact of Native and non-Native cultures brought rapid and radical changes which need to be examined.

It has been noted (above) by Honigmann that with the mission and fur traders, the population at Attawapiskat increased dramatically. Honigmann (1961:16) has hypothesized that this increased population density followed a decimation of what little large game existed in the area. Honigmann (1981:224) suggests that for the west coast of James Bay generally, this decimation obliged large winter bands to break up into one, two, or three family units. Also, larger numbers of people facilitated the spread of diseases, many of them fatal to the Cree. Thus, we find in the first half of this century disease and starvation rampant. The years of 1902-03 saw some of the best hunters die from disease and starvation (HBC Arch. B.3/b/102), a pattern that was followed in 1903-04. The pattern of disease and starvation would occur sporadically over the next several decades, most notably in 1901, 1928, 1930-31, and 1946-48. A number of explanatory points must be stressed here. Honigmann (1961: 15,16) states that while starvation



occurred it probably was less often fatal after the arrival of the Church and HBC as these two institutions were able to provide foodstuffs and better nourishment. Better nourishment, he suggests, increased life expectancy. Also, he contends that the increasing population which began in the later 19th century, is attributable to increasing immigration from inland and northern regions (discussed below). Finally, Reg Louttit of Attawapiskat observes that every period of starvation has been preceded by severe flooding which has eradicated virtually all but avian species (pers. comm., 1991). Thus, the apparent contradiction between increased population and disease and starvation is rendered more comprehensible when one factors in immigration, increased life expectancy, and available European foodstuffs.

In spite of the initial optimism of the traders it also became apparent that the region was not an unlimited source of furs. As the decline in large game animals was occurring (a result of the interplay of the new technology introduced by the traders, eg. guns, increased population drawn to the mission, school and trading posts, and possibly natural game cycles), the fur trade companies were spurring trappers on to produce more furs.

An intense rivalry between companies emerged and incentives were offered to produce more furs. The intensity of this rivalry is suggested by the 1921 and 1922 Annual Reports from the James Bay District. In 1921 it was noted that:

Reviillon Freres are adopting what they intend to be an aggressive policy...Reviillon Freres have secured a hold on the trade of Attawapiskat from which it will be difficult to shake them .. They have always paid great attention to this Post, considering it their most profitable Post, they have given it of their best in men and supplies... HBCA Annual Reports from District Officers, 1921:186).

In 1922 it was observed that:

Only at Attawapiskat Post...have Reviillon Freres been at all aggressive. ...they very early in the Season adopted a policy of 'unlimited debt'. .... Attawapiskat is considered as the stronghold of the Opposition... (HBC Annual Reports from District Officers, 1922;159).

The other side of this observation, of course, is that the source of the wealth being enjoyed by Reviillon Freres and the HBC, was the Cree people. Liquor, large trapping outfits offered on credit, and even houses to exceptional trappers were all part of the incentive packages offered (Honigmann, 1961:15). It is quite apparent that by the second decade of the 20th century, the process of encapsulation, in terms of economics and religion, was in full force.

With the emphasis placed on the hunting for products of trade as opposed to hunting for products of subsistence, it was inevitable that there would be a reduction of furbearers in the region, one that was never particularly rich. Simultaneously, both the mission and the fur traders were providing the people with Euro-Canadian foodstuffs, thereby hopefully reducing the possibility of starvation while

concomitantly intensifying the shift in a hunting for subsistence to hunting for trade attitude. Thus, a number of factors came into play which influenced the resource base and ultimately, it is argued, traditional approaches to land tenure: an increasing population in the region (many from Sutton Lake, Sutton River and Winisk River), accessibility to guns and steel traps, high prices for furs as a result of competition, and intensive pressure on the part of the companies to produce (Honigmann, 1962:15,16). What must also be considered, however, is the possibility of an underlying shift in ideological perceptions of Man's place in the environment and his relationship to it. The goals and objectives of the missionaries and fur traders in James Bay were at odds with the fundamental cultural values and beliefs of the Cree. The missionaries sought to recreate the Cree in their image. This by necessity meant changing their social, economic, political, and religious beliefs, all of which were inextricably part of their relationship to the land. The fur traders, for their part, did their best to keep the Indians on the land, rewarding them with European trade goods and, at times, liquor. Traditional beliefs and attitudes were seen as inconsequential in terms of the need to produce furs.

The mission sought to "civilize" and Christianize the Indians by introducing sedentary Euro-Canadian economic pursuits and activities, such as the sawmill and garden. With this, of course, came a shift in the belief and value systems. With the help of the denominational boarding

schools the missionaries succeeded in implementing a new religious belief system while attempting to eradicate the old one.

At mid-century, the aboriginal past was reinterpreted as a time of sorcery and evil, when the devil allied himself with shamans (Honigmann, 1958:60, 1966:205). Thus, in some respects, the Attawapiskat Cree have embraced Christianity's notion of what pre-contact life was like. But, while it seems that traditionally there was always uncertainty associated with travel and the quest for food, there also existed a relatively elaborate set of agents or powers that worked for the benefit of man and which functioned to restore order in an unpredictable world (Honigmann, 1965:65). These, it seems, were abandoned by the West Main or Mushkegowuk Cree, in contrast with the East Main where much of the traditional beliefs and rituals continued to be respected (Honigmann, 1981:224). The degree to which this shift in religious/ideological practice affected resource harvest is hard to measure but must be borne in mind in any examination of land use historically. The fur companies' insistence on fur production, and the availability of foodstuffs from the mission and fur companies' stores, must have affected traditional notions of conservation and reverence for the land, yet these factors were present on the east coast as well.

The Church promised a better life for the Natives. This is a de facto assumption. The fact that today all

members of Attawapiskat are Christian (all but five are Roman Catholic, four of those are Anglicans, one is Pentecostal) (Vezina, unpublished paper, 1978:3), suggests that conversion, at least ostensibly, was successful. While replacing traditional beliefs with something else, Catholicism did not provide for all of the spiritual and physical needs of the Cree. While providing ritual and ceremony and the promise of an afterlife for those who believed, the Church did not alleviate all hardships. As noted above, starvation persisted and mission support was inadequate.

The basic shortcoming with the Church was that it promised much but did not alleviate suffering. Nor did it provide the Natives with a "replacement" set of beliefs that allowed them to cope with the travail of a hunting/trapping life. The religious ideology that Christianity had replaced was a complete one; one that acknowledged hardship but provided the spiritual means with which to cope. The religious encapsulation, in one sense, was partially complete. The missionaries had convinced the Cree that pre-Christian life was spiritually evil and dangerous. The frequent periods of starvation and disease (both introduced in part by White traders and priests) helped to drive the point home. The bush was materially as well as spiritually dangerous. Nonetheless, the fur traders insisted upon fur production.

The issue, then, is that while the fur companies and the mission promised (either by implication or directly) a

better life economically, materially and spiritually, neither could change the physical suffering of the Indians. And, indeed, the two major Euro-Canadian forces at times appeared to be in contradiction with each other. Therefore, the expectations of the Indians vis-a-vis the Church and the traders during times of hardships were not met. The source of material wealth and the source of the new religion could not always be counted on to alleviate the suffering.

Preston (n.d:65) notes in reference to Attawapiskat that in 1947, it was observed that "people don't like to go very far in the bush, for fear of starvation, and boast if they do go far". One man did not want to go upriver "because I do not know that area and might get lost". Today, there are people in Attawapiskat who either remember themselves or who remember being told by their parents, of being afraid to leave the post out of fear of "dying in the bush". The possibility of starvation and disease, and the teachings of the Church found a basis in reality: the bush, which had sustained them for uncounted generations and which could be dealt with on its own terms through traditional skills and cosmology, was to be feared. People did die in the bush.

Peter Patrick and Jacob Anashoppie came in today. Report Attawapiskat Indian died of starvation during the winter (Weenusk Post Journals, June 6, 1930).

... arrived today from his camp starving and also sick. ... ..his family ... had nothing to eat when he left them (March 21, 1920).

David Ookiitigoo's wife arrived at the post and reported that her husband was sick and that they were entirely out of "grub" (March 13, 1930).

Cooper (1933) gives us a clue to changing perceptions and land tenure patterns. He refers to the following hunters: George Edward who "hunted near Winisk with his father before the latter died, now hunts at Attawapiskat and never leaves the Post". "John Swanson - only at Post. Father hunted on Cape." John Takasam (Chookasim) who "stays at Post".

To their credit the Church and the fur companies did attempt to aid the poor and destitute during periods of stress. The records of the HBC make numerous references to the issuing of rations:

Issued rations to...destitute Natives  
(February 1, 1930)

Issued rations to sick and destitute  
Natives ... (July 26, 1930)

Nonetheless, one must regard the response of the fur companies to the Natives' plight as ambiguous at best. While there are weekly references in the journals to the issuing of rations (and, at times clothing) to the sick and destitute, it is also apparent that the profits of the stores were a priority:

Frank Rickard and Dan Wesley came in this evening and reported being nearly starved, their families having had

nothing to eat for two days. I gave them some grub but can't do much for Frank as he has an old balance (January 24, 1920).

Issued rations to ... destitute Natives ... .....brought a few skins to trade, the half value of same being retained for his debt at Albany (March 14, 1931).

The Church, for its part, also offered help to the sick and starving. Honigmann (961:17) quotes one Attawapiskat resident:

Since the government has been in the Bay the people have been hard up. I don't know how people would have been if the priests had not helped. They had a big potato garden and they did their best to feed the Indians with potatoes when the country was poor. They couldn't give enough lard when they didn't have too much for their own use but they did the best they could to give us a little.

While not to deny the undoubted decency of intent through the giving of food, one must examine the underlying message of this philanthropic benevolence. It is rather clear: life as the Cree knew it was evil and dangerous; the more desirable ideology was that offered by the Church: White education, White religion, and subsistence based around the garden, the farm and the sawmill. As was plainly visible the Churchmen and the traders were not subject to disease and starvation, indeed, they had surplus goods to share - if they wanted to. Life as the Cree knew it was not only dangerous, it was unrewarding and undesirable. And the "superiority" of the White man and his ways were reinforced.



Honigmann's (1961:17) same informant stated that appeals to the Post's managers and doctors for food were met with admonitions to "Go out and trap" when there were no furbearers left. The relationship that had been established, one that was relatively symbiotic when times were good and animals abundant, was drastically changed.

One must attempt an analysis of the relationship that existed between the Cree and Whites in Attawapiskat from a Cree perspective. Cree society is one which is based upon a number of given assumptions: egalitarianism, balanced reciprocity and political leadership that amounts to little more than primus inter pares. These must be examined in turn to appreciate the unfolding of events during the lean years in the first half of the century.

Basic anthropology informs us that in egalitarian societies a member has as much right (with some exceptions) to the resources of that society as do any other members of the society. Thus, a poor hunter is not discriminated against because he is not as proficient as his brother. Therefore, he cannot be denied food because he is a poor hunter (or having poor luck due to game shortages); nor can he be denied the right to be heard. Admittedly, this is an ideal type. As Rogers (1972:123) phrased it for the Mistassini Cree "...it is not the land itself but rather the resources of the land that are considered the property of the group, although not in absolute terms". He concludes by noting that a man has the right to take game whenever he finds it if he and his family are starving.

Similarly, in Cree society the basic system of exchange is reciprocity, that system which is found universally among hunters and gatherers. In its simplest form reciprocity rests upon the fundamental understanding that there is an exchange of items of, in some sense, equal value. There need not be an immediate exchange; rather, it is understood that at some point all exchanges will balance out and everyone will be satisfied.

Finally, it is essential to note that among the Cree political structure is largely informal, based on age and sex. The "leader", such as he is, has informal influence and does not have the means to enforce his decisions or his advice. Honigmann (1957: 369) has stated of the Cree that "ambivalence characterizes thinking about leadership. Indians regard firm leadership as desirable and yet no pleasure comes from exercising power. Too great evidence of power is resented and feared by those whom it affects".

To understand how these function in the Cree world we can quote from Honigmann and cite some examples from 1990 fieldwork. Honigmann (1956:58) explains Cree leadership (and reciprocity):

... members [of a band] recognized a kind of leader (or "boss"). This man advised his followers on the basis of his expert knowledge, telling them where to travel for meat or fish. ... "in the old days no Indian had the right to tell the people what to do. The people together decided." A leader represented a "wise man" ... who helped others to make advantageous decisions. Atooket [an informant] pointed out that the band chief [sic] "gave orders because he was

the oldest in the bunch ... because he know all about things." A leader worked industriously so that he frequently had surplus meat to distribute to his followers who, however, were often his kin.

In 1990, men stated that leadership as such does not really exist. Rather, when out on the land one man assumes a greater role in decision making because he is the older, wiser, and knows the land. One man, for example, had as his partner his brother in law. He observed, however, that he made the decisions because it was "his land" and he knows it better than his brother-in-law.

In much the same way that people (especially leaders) distributed food decades ago, it is being distributed in the village today. Elsewhere in this thesis it is observed that men will frequently share food with between six to ten families. In one instance after some caribou were killed, eight different families/groups (including the hospital) were given caribou meat by one hunter. Five of these were in some way related. Two were not (the third being the hospital). I inquired as to the relationships of those who received meat, and was told that although some people were not related it was not unusual, nor was it shameful or embarrassing, for non-kin to ask for food (a number had, in fact, come to the house asking for a share of the meat). It was expected, I was told, that one would share, especially since the hunter in this case had no wife or family to feed. If he ever needed meat, he could expect to receive some from those to whom he had given. Honigmann (1953:815) observed that

borrowing of food by married persons even from a parent is not unknown.

Egalitarianism is reflected in part by attitudes towards leadership and how leadership is perceived. The fact that leaders had no coercive power, and that men and their families could and did change bands and territories reflects an essentially egalitarian attitude. A society is not made up of equals if one person or persons has coercive control over others. Hence, the Cree were (are) essentially egalitarian, and this is reflected today in attitudes towards use of land and access to resources.

How, then, does this relate to Cree-White relations in Attawapiskat? The initial relationship was seen by Indians as one of equals. Between the fur traders and the Cree there was a balanced reciprocity, insofar as when furs were abundant they were produced by the Indians for the items they desired or needed. Similarly, the post journals contain references to gift exchanges between the traders and Indians of food and other items such as clothing, when times were good. In terms of the Church, they gave up their non-Christian ways in return for the blessings of the White man's god.

But the White institutions operate within a different set of guidelines. The fur traders are business and profit oriented and, in the words of Governor Simpson "It is fair to say that our major purpose is not philanthropic". Their society does not operate under notions of reciprocity, egalitarianism and informal leadership. Therefore, the

expectations of the trader and the Indian are not similar; and when times are difficult for the trader, profits and productivity take priority. Thus, the order to "Go out and trap" is a reflection of the trader's primary motivation and the dictates of the company for which he works. In non-Native society competition produces leaders, and the trader stepped out of his perceived role as an equal in the eyes of the Cree to assume a leader role in maintaining and perpetuating the trade he was there to establish. The basic assumption that the Cree held, i.e., that the trade existed between relative equals, was violated. This basic trust was violated by the withholding of goods and foodstuffs in times of need. Thus, on a number of counts the traders overstepped what was understood to be a relationship between equals: they withheld goods from those in need, they assumed an aggressive leadership role by giving orders, and they denigrated the most competent of trappers. When times were good, the traders could be depended upon for material items, when times were bad, they could not be depended upon. A fundamental Cree tenet was breeched.

The Church fared better in the eyes of the Cree. Honigmann (1981:225) suggests that for the most part the Roman Catholic fathers were respected. No doubt, this is partly due to their invariably learning the Native language, and to the visible integrity of their religious convictions. In addition, in Attawapiskat the mission's garden kept the Indians supplied with potatoes during periods of starvation.

For its part, the Church required every Indian who used its sawmill to reciprocate by cutting and hauling one log for the mission for every log which they cut and hauled for their own use (Vezina, 1978:3, unpublished paper). Through it all, though, there was the belief that somehow the Church was working for a higher order, a better way of being.

Sometimes people like to mistreat a dog ... And when they do, the dog ... will dodge or put their head down. That's just how it was with us in the past, when the White man first came to us. They thought of him as a God. That's what my mother told me. They thought the priest was a God. She was so wrong, ... (James Carpenter, Attawapiskat Elders: 27,28)

When the missionaries came from the south..., they did not think much of our ways... It's always been like that..., when an Indian does anything they don't think much of it. They think the Indian is too humble. .... That's how it is. ...when we speak, they don't want to listen, ... (John Mattinas, Attawapiskat Elders: 35).

Bailey has suggested that encapsulation is a function of the greater economic resources of the dominant society. As demonstrated in Attawapiskat this was indeed the case, as economics in association with cultural differences, led to further subjugation of the Cree people. And it is clearly the fur companies who - in times of difficulty - have economic control.

Issued small outfits of necessities to several of the coast hunters who are now to commence fox trapping" (November 4, 1930) (my emphasis).

[A number of hunters] report having very poor hunts, as they say, that most of their time is occupied hunting food, now that they only receive very small amounts of advance before leaving for their hunting grounds (March 1, 1931) (my emphasis).

What occurred, then, was that the terms of trade had been altered. Items for trade become economic weapons, items to be used or withheld.

But the trader must be understood in terms of his society. He is a minute but vital part in a much larger society, that of the HBC itself and the world, insofar as the individual Bay posts are subject to the vagaries of the world market in furs. This concern with the larger society, of which he is the representative to the Cree people, is reflected in the Post Journals:

The price of rats at Holt and Renfrew are up to \$5 today (May 10, 1920).

Rats are up to \$6 today (May 18, 1920).

Business is very quiet this spring due to the Indians making poor hunts and to the low fur values as compared to last spring (June 3, 1921).

The White trader, while being part of the encapsulating machinery of the Euro-Canadian society, was also part of the encapsulated. His movements and decisions were largely determined by the policies of the Bay and the

markets of the world, far beyond his control. While this is not to obfuscate the issues, one must be cognizant of the fact that Whites in the north function under constraints not of their making.

But this is not to suggest an "Indian as victim" scenario. The HBC journals suggest a manipulation of the traders as a coping strategy:

A number of the inland hunters ... who did not pay were permitted to trade their entire winter catch at Weenusk, despite the fact that the Company's manager at that post had a list showing the amount of debt each Attawapiskat native had on leaving for his hunting grounds last fall (May 30, 1931).

All of the above discussion serves to illustrate that the initial relationship between the HBC and the Church, and the Cree had been altered. Able to wield economic control, the HBC was able to change the rules of the game. The Native-non-Native relationship in Attawapiskat would be largely played in White terms.

It is time now to turn in more detail to the government - the one major remaining encapsulating factor. With the Church and the traders in the Bay, it was inevitable that the government would shortly arrive. As Honigmann (1961:16) has written "With two trading companies in the area, the time had come for the Canadian government to conclude a treaty with the Indians."

As noted by Long (1978) economic factors prompted the



signing of Treaty 9, namely economic "development" in the south and economic depression in the north. The Albany River marked the dividing line between the north and south. Logging, hydro-electric development, minerals and farming had all been undertaken in the so-called New Ontario. These in turn meant the building of roads and railroads in these areas. Ontario, unlike Quebec, intended to meet its obligation to extinguish Indian territorial rights (Long, 1978).

The depletion of game and furbearers in conjunction with an increase in population served to create endemic poverty and hunger. Long (1978) notes the relief paid out to Indians in Attawapiskat following the treaty signing of 1905: \$32.41 in 1906-7, \$716.19 in 1909-10, \$2,959.00 in 1923-24, and \$9,155.51 in 1929-30. What these figures suggest is an increasing entrapment within the economic pattern created by hunting-for-trade as opposed to hunting-for-subsistence.

The suggestion that there was economic depression north of the Albany does not preclude non-Native interest in that area. Robert Bell of the Geological Survey of Canada had travelled the Attawapiskat River in 1886. In 1901, Dowling, also from the GSC "explored" the Ekwan, while his colleague McInnes went down the Winisk (Long, 1978). Thus, while there was the ostensible intent to alleviate the suffering of Natives in the North, there existed as well an economic and political interest north of the Albany River.

The Attawapiskat band was included with the Albany

Indians in the signing of Treaty 9 on August 3, 1905. According to Long (1978) "the Treaty 9 commissioners were given no latitude in negotiating the terms of the treaty; these terms were decided before the Commissioners left Ottawa". Essentially, then, the treaty was a take or leave it offer. Fumoleau (cited in Long, 1978) states that the Indians "were simply submitting to the inevitable".

Furthermore, Morrison (1986) notes that Treaty 9 is significant in that it was the first time that a province took an active role in the negotiations. But, he notes (as does Long), what was there to negotiate? The only negotiations were between the provincial and federal governments.

...let us suppose that some of the Indian people had refused. What then? Ontario ... would have continued with the settlement and development of the lands anyway. That fact, coupled with the province's claim to veto power over the treaty terms, had effectively removed any negotiating power the Indian people might have had. The treaty commissioners .. were perfectly aware of this (Morrison, 1986:32).

Treaty 9 was a fait accompli before the commissioners even approached the Indian bands. The governments never intended negotiations. Later, Duncan Campbell Scott would write that "...there was no basis for argument. The simple facts had to be stated...the King is the great father of the Indians, watchful over their interests, and ever

compassionate" (Morrison, 1986:23). Paternalistic to a great degree and totally subsuming in its intent, Treaty 9 would pave the way for subsequent non-Native incursions. In the words of one Attawapiskat elder, "in 1905 it was said that things would not change. But things changed so fast. The culture and language, etc." (Janet Nakogee, Attawapiskat Elders,:16).

It would appear that for the most part the Cree had great expectations in terms of what the treaty would provide. Long (1978: frontispiece) quotes an Albany spokesperson:

From our hearts we thank thee, O Great Chief, as thou hast pitied us and given us temporal help. We are very poor and weak. He (the Great Chief) has taken us over, here in our own country, through you (his servants). ... Thou hast helped us in our poverty. Every day we pray, trusting that we may be saved through a righteous life; and for thee we shall ever pray that thou mayest be strong in God's strength and by his assistance. ...we and our children will in the church of God now and ever thank Jesus. ....

The prayerful attitude expressed here indicates the religious hopes of the Cree for the new regime. For the most part, the reception was similar wherever the commissioners went. Morrison (1986: 43) cites the warm reception the commissioners received at Moose Factory, Matchewan and New Post. What is important to note here is how much the Cree have internalized the White religion, the White paternalism displayed toward the Indians, and the demonstration of reciprocal obligations. Implicit in this statement is the expectation of help and in return a

commitment to the White God and faith.

The issue of Native understanding and expectations of the treaties have been debated since the treaties were signed. Morrison emphatically states, that, based on the commissioners' notes from their travels, that Indians were invariably told that hunting and fishing rights "would not be taken from them". What this amounts to, he argues, is a serious misleading of the Indian people as to the exact nature of the agreement they were signing. Based on this he contends that most of the Albany River bands (hence, Attawapiskat) would not have signed had a clear explanation of the treaty terms been presented (1986:49).

Morrison (1986:51) cites an example of the guarded answers which the government submitted to Native queries. Chief Newatchkigigswabe of Long Lake Post thanked the government for its generosity (including annuity) and hoped that provision would be made for their sick and destitute because they found it difficult to make a living. The commissioners tried to guard against "such unrealistic expectations", telling the people that the government was always willing to help those actually requiring help, but that the Indians must rely as much as possible on their own exertions.

James Wesley is a Cree historian at Kashechewan. He quotes Commissioner Scott on August 3, 1905:

There will not be any legislation governing trapping, hunting animals and hunting birds and fishing, if you are in favour of the treaty. If something happens to you as to sickness or need of

help the Government will help you, all the people from Albany, Attawapiskat, Winisk, Fort Severn. will have this help. This will be all for now, I will give you one hour to think it over. If you do not accept this treaty, the government will do whatever it wants with you. Where we have come from, all the Indians have agreed to sign treaty; if you don't you will find it hard for yourselves... (Morrison, 1986:53).

There are considerable grounds to argue that the people signing the treaty did not have very much idea as to what they were signing. Janet Nakogee, an Attawapiskat elder has said that "The ones who signed didn't know or understand very much when the land was signed for, because it was the first time they heard about this agreement.... They did not know how things would change. That is why they signed ..." (Attawapiskat Elders:18). And, as noted above, the people were given one hour to decide, under the duress of threat.

It has been argued here throughout that the process of encapsulation is very much a function of the various state agents working in harmony, whether intentional or not. This has been demonstrated on a number of occasions: the Church following the traders into Albany, the latter following the former into Attawapiskat, and the federal and provincial governments working together to "negotiate" Treaty 9. The HBC and federal government also negotiated to determine the fates of those Indians in what was then the Northwest Territories. In 1904, Indian Affairs had told the HBC that no people living beyond the Albany River in the NWT would be included in the treaty signing process. However, on July 6,

1905, (while the commissioners were in the field), the government, under persuasion by the HBC, issued an order-in-council empowering the commissioners to set aside reserves in that area between the Albany River, the District of Keewatin and Hudson Bay and to admit to treaty any Indian living in that area (Morrison, 1986:58). This, in part, was due to a mistaken belief that these large, disparate groups of Indians represented a "community of interest" for trade purposes. That is, for purposes of trade and for purposes of government administration, all the Native people in said region were recognized as being one unified group, regardless of any traditional social or political social groupings that the Indians themselves might recognize. Under these conditions, Attawapiskat was included as part of the Albany Band. During the next several years the more remote groups began to pressure the government for separate band and reserve status. Thus, in 1930, under the conditions of the adhesion, the Attawapiskat Band was recognized and given a separate reserve on the Ekwan River. They were separate and apart from the Fort Albany Band to which they had originally belonged (Morrison, 1986:59).

The degree of poverty in the north is suggested by the petitions that were submitted by various bands to the government. Long (1978) cites one of these petitions from Severn, written by Chief James Stone in 1915, prior to the adhesion.

... My band of Indians include Weenusk Post, 110 miles east of this place, situated on Hudson's Bay. We would like to join in a Treaty as the other Indians at York Factory on the west of us, or Albany, Fort Hope, Osnaburgh, Attawapiskat on the south of us.

... We are practically surrounded by the Indians who get help from the Government, and our hunting grounds in this cold northern climate are very poor, and we would be very pleased to be able to join in any of these treaties, now ... that white men are coming into this northern country we will be driven from our land.

If the HBC was able to initiate its encapsulation through the use and manipulation of its greater economic resources, the government was able to implement Treaty 9 through its greater political machinery, i.e., Acts of Parliament, duly elected representatives, government ministries, and the (theoretically) backing of the (White) Canadian public. As noted above, the implementation was the product of negotiations among the provincial and federal governments and the HBC. The Cree were becoming increasingly bureaucratized. Against this conglomerate, symbolized by flags, and Mounties, and flotillas of canoes, the Indians - demoralized, famished, weakened and impoverished as they were by White encroachment - could offer little resistance. Further, in light of the promises made, what advantage was there in resistance?

In much the same way as the traders in Attawapiskat, Albany and elsewhere represented a much larger society

outside, the commissioners represented a political and social system that by virtue of its size, complexity, and self-legitimation, could subsume the Native communities it encountered. And the process by which the treaty signing process unfolded virtually guaranteed its acceptance by those upon whom it was imposed: consciously misleading people with vague and ambiguous statements, utilizing considerable pomp and ceremony, guarantees of annuities in times of privations. By the time of the second summer of "negotiations", the discussion period that the commissioners "allowed" the Indians was increasingly unnecessary (Morrison, 1986:43).

It is essential to examine the signing of Treaty 9 from a government perspective. Undoubtedly, it was believed that the legal and political right to enter into treaty was unassailable. Having mandated itself the role of guardians of the Indians under Section 91 (24) of the BNA Act, and having developed the Indian Act in order to fulfill this role, there was, in the eyes of the government, no issue. Lending additional credibility to their action was that the government was following precedent established by the British crown and codified in the Royal Proclamation of 1763, i.e., entering into treaty and paying for lands taken by the government. Furthermore, any treaty that was signed was done in the interests of the majority of Canadians. One of the fundamental reasons for the extinguishment of aboriginal rights in northern Ontario was to gain access to the resources of that region. Therefore, they enjoyed not



only a legal and political right, but a moral obligation to non-Native Canada. Economics, Bailey reminds us, will determine the nature of encapsulation.

There is still considerable anger in Attawapiskat regarding the alleged promises made by the government. Honigmann (1949:25) states that "Psychologically, the Attawapiskat Cree has defined the government as a responsible protector and 'giver' from whom sustenance may properly be expected". The Cree expected that they would "never be hard up" for anything and that the government would supply what was needed. Further, it was understood that no Indian would ever starve. Given that starvation was common during the winters of 1902-03 and 1903-04 in Attawapiskat, one can appreciate their concerns and expectations in this matter.

Following the signing of the treaty starvation occurred in 1909, '28, '30-31, '34-'36, and '46-'48. Assistance from the government was little or non-existent. In 1934-36 the government responded to starvation by providing lard and flour (Vezina, 1978:10). It is on the basis of incidents like these that the Attawapiskat people contend that the government has failed to meet its obligations to them. And, despite all best intentions, attempts at talks with Indian Affairs representatives often met with failure.

A number of the inland hunters returned today to meet the Indian Department commissioners who are due at the post tomorrow (July 24, 1930).

Natives who returned from inland to await arrival of Indian Department commissioners preparing to leave for their hunting grounds (July 30, 1930).

All inland hunters now preparing to leave for their hunting grounds, being unable to await the arrival of Indian Department commissioners any longer (July 31, 1930).

Indian commissioners arrived about 2 pm (2 hours and 40 minutes from Weenusk) August 1, 1930).

What was undoubtedly frustrating was the fact that while there existed the expectation of help from the Church and the HBC on "moral" grounds, there was the expectation from government on the basis of legal obligation. And this help was seldom forthcoming.

The signing of Treaty 9 was the final major Euro-Canadian incursion in the lives of the Attawapiskat Cree. The coming of the Church affected them religiously and culturally, the fur companies brought them into a new economic sphere, but the treaty signing would tie them forever into the government. All subsequent changes would be legitimized by government dicta.

Finally, in terms of the "breakdown" of the traditional family territory system, one must examine closely the role of the government and its representatives. The degree to which the State had an impact is suggested by a letter from John M. Cooper to Frank Speck, dated October 14, 1933.

In those sections of the Indian territory

in which the Indians are under treaty (in Ontario particularly) I have been told over and over again by the Indians that immediately after the treaty the Indian agents began systematically drilling it into the Indian mind that henceforth there was no such thing as family hunting grounds and that each Indian had the right under treaty to hunt wherever he pleased All along the Albany River and all along the west coast of James Bay this systematically carried out policy has been an enormous, perhaps the chief, influence that has broken down the whole land tenure system (emphasis mine). (John M. Cooper Papers, B. 7-9, "Indian Affairs Department, Canada", Catholic University Archives).

Plus ca change. If this is indeed true, the registered trapline system which was to follow was enacted by the government to correct their own policy implemented with the signing of Treaty 9. If the government did encourage the Cree to give up their family territories, it would not be surprising if they followed the suggestion, given the depletion of resources and the fact that they had been admonished to give up their ways and follow the example and advice of the White man. It is interesting to note as well, that Dr. Orford's observations of trespass by Indians from Attawapiskat and Albany were first articulated in 1941, twelve years after the signing of the treaty. Perhaps the Indians did heed the government, for it was in the '30s that Cooper also observed the "breakdown" of the system. The government, in implementing the registered trapline system, quite likely was acting to correct its own blunder.

Of the various non-Native incursions into James Bay that directly affected land tenure and use, it is the registered trapline system that has perhaps received the most criticism from the Attawapiskat people. The reasons for this are not surprising for it is this system that was most obvious in its intent, most measurable in its consequences, and blatant in its impact.

Brody (1981:88,89) has contended that the registered trapline system in British Columbia was an attempt to bring what were considered the Indians' unusual economic practices into line with ideas of ownership and exclusivity in the interests of rational production for a market economy. He argues that Indian interests were not a priority, but nonetheless Indians everywhere were urged to register lines and accept the rules of the colonial, i.e., Canadian powers. This, he contends, was the first direct attack upon and restriction of Indian life.

The registered trapline system was the culmination of a number of Euro-Canadian efforts designed to cope with general fur and game scarcity and the "breakdown" of the "traditional" harvesting strategies and practices of Native people. While apologists suggest that the system was introduced at the request of aboriginal people, it is fair to suggest that its implementation was as much a response to the needs of the fur companies and to the movement of non-Natives into the region.

In 1928 Duncan Campbell Scott informed Walter Cain,

the deputy minister of Lands and Forests (Ontario) that "the Indians residing in the District of Patricia [hence, Attawapiskat] are much exercised over the rapid disappearance of the furbearing animals" which they attributed "to the inroads of white trappers". Scott suggested to Cain that he hoped that the latter would suggest to his government "the justice of setting apart various tracts in which the Indians shall have the sole right to take game, or that the game laws may be so modified as will preserve to the Indians a continuance of living" (Morrison, 1986:68).

The invasion of White trappers was attributable to rising fur prices during the 1920s, which brought non-Natives into areas previously only exploited by Indians. Anderson (1937:9) suggests that as increasingly large numbers of Whites encroached on traditional lands and trapped beaver indiscriminately, Indians were obliged to do likewise, irrespective of traditional laws of conservation. "[The Native] naturally tended, like the white trapper, to kill everything in sight, because if he did not, some other trapper would". The result was a "free-for-all exploitation", reaching a climax between 1922-29.

The registered trapline system is ultimately the result of a number of endeavours, beginning with the HBC. In Quebec, the Company in conjunction with the provincial government established their first modern beaver sanctuary at Rupert's House in 1931 (Anderson, 1937). Covering an area of 7,000 square miles, it employed those Natives whose territory

it usurped, as "game guardians". Some fifteen families were thus employed and paid by the company (as per contractual obligations with the provincial government), and every summer eight to ten survey parties of Indians were sent out to make an annual inventory of beaver lodges in the sanctuary.

Following the establishment of the Rupert's House endeavour, the Charlton Island beaver sanctuary was re-established in 1934, having initially been developed eighty years previously. In its second incarnation the sanctuary was under the control of the federal government (in its capacity as administrator of the NWT, which owns the islands in Hudson and James Bay). Twenty breeding beaver were imported from southern Ontario and placed on the island, in the hope of restocking the island's only viable resource.

The third modern sanctuary was established on Agamiski (Akimiski) Island in 1935, again in agreement with the federal government, when eight beaver were placed on the island. An additional fourteen were relocated there the following year. As well, in 1936, the only adult pair of the initial eight placed on the island produced a litter in 1936 (Anderson, 1937:11). The strategy was to revive the numbers of beaver through the sanctuary so that they could restock the depleted numbers on the rivers of the west coast of the bay. So rare were beaver in the 1930s that Anderson observed that several of that generation of Attawapiskat Indians had never seen one (1937:11). Although the preserve was established in 1935, when Honigmann visited Attawapiskat in 1947/48, the Indians had had only two trapping seasons on

the Akimiski sanctuary (Honigmann, 1961:11).

Following the creation of the Akimisi (Agamiski) preserve, another was established at Albany, and another near Attawapiskat in 1944 which would last until 1951 (Preston, n.d.). The Attawapiskat preserve extended from the "Kapiskaw" River on the south to latitude 54'30 north (ten miles above Lake River) and west to longitude 85 (eight miles west of Sutton Lake (Honigmann, 1961:11). With the development of the beaver preserves there was a mapping of the various family territories and the registration of senior males as "talley-men", setting of individual "quotas" and mapping of hunting group "territories" (Preston, n.d.). These concepts, Preston notes, are rough approximations of Cree notions. Thus, there was the ostensible effort of having the preserves/sanctuaries bear some similarities to what the Cree were accustomed. The setting of territories was to ensure the accuracy of the head count of beavers and their lodges (Preston, n.d.:66). The trader at Attawapiskat acted as an intermediary between those who disputed boundaries, reconciling their differences and usually establishing precise boundaries along creeks.

In the late 1940s, in an effort to keep the territory system strong, the manager assigned areas, ostensibly along "traditional rights" (Preston, n.d.:66). The underlying assumption is that this would guarantee rights and ensure an economical use of resources. To this end he apportioned tracts to two or three related or unrelated families.

However, despite urging from the manager to conform to the pattern established, people did not adhere to the dictum. As Preston observes, (n.d:67) kinship organization is stronger than territory organization.

There was for a while a process of consultation between the government and the Bay. Increasingly, Ottawa and the provincial government assumed more authority while consultation diminished (Preston,n.d). In 1952 (officially, 1948), the Ontario government personnel assumed control of the federal government/HBC beaver preserves, making them into licensed and registered traplines.

One must examine both Native and government expectations of the registered trapline system to appreciate the reactions of the Attawapiskat First Nation to the system. As noted above (cited by Honigmann) the Cree had come to see the government as a provider, and expected from the government help in times of need. The concerns of the Cree were essentially threefold: protection by the authorities from White trappers encroaching in the north, hence, a recognition of their "rights" to the land, and protection from starvation.

And what of the government? The transition to the registered trapline system in the Attawapiskat region was one more step in regulating trapping throughout the province, a process that had begun years earlier in more southerly regions. The province had, since the late 19th century, been establishing legislation to control hunting and trapping activities in Ontario (Hansen, 1989). Honigmann (1961:119)



suggests that the policy was to prohibit White trappers from operating in the country north of Cochrane. As well, licensing Indians to trap particular grounds would afford Natives protection against encroachment by members of their own community. Honigmann suggested that there was encroachment by people from Winisk as well as by Ojibwa people. What this latter contention suggests, however, is yet another paternalistic overture on the part of the government, protecting Indians against unscrupulous Whites as well as against themselves. It must be stated, however, that in some areas there was legislation allowing Indians to trap, to the exclusion of White trappers. During the 1920s for example, when beaver and otter populations were declining, north of the CNR line only resident Indian trappers were allowed to trap these species (Hansen, 1989:35).

The problem however, is that the imposition of the registered trapline system is but another piece of legislation which hindered and restricted Native people. Furthermore, it extended the net of encapsulation even further: in theory, Aboriginal people are the "responsibility" of the federal government; the registered trapline system brought them under further bureaucratic control, this time under the auspices of the provincial government. The Registered Trapline System was entrenched in legalese and, in strict Euro-Canadian terms, spelled out the terms and conditions of use.

...regulations stipulated, among other things, that a person granted a "Trap-

Line License" would "have the exclusive right to trap fur-bearing animals on that portion of Crown Lands described in the License." The area described in the "Trap-Line License" was referred to as a "trap-line area" and was assigned a number by the Ontario Department of Lands and Forests (now MNR) (Hansen,1989:30).

The legislation went on to outline other conditions: no person could hold more than one Trap-Line License at any time, the holder could trap in open season one beaver in each beaver house in the area covered by the license but only where he reports at least five houses in his application. Further, the 1947 regulations under the Game and Fisheries Act, 1946 also stipulated that the holder of a "Beaver License" could trap a limit of 10 beaver in open season in an area that was not a registered trapline area but was land owned by the applicant. In short, the system reflected the White, legalistic, bureaucratic machinery which created it, and did not acknowledge the conservation traditions of the Cree. Further, it was, in Cree terms, far too rigid, too restrictive, and impractical. Elders in the community in 1990 comment on the system:

The government [allotted] territories, and this led to aggression among the people.

Hate, anger and conflict started when MNR started [the Registered Trapline].

The truth of these words are shown in some informants' comments:

A lot of people were protective about their land, not letting others use it,

but I was not.

It was my father's land, but now I "own" it because I have the permit (#2332). I allow my sons and sons in law to trap because they have no land of their own. People trap all over but I don't understand why unless they are invited.

Other concerns of a more pragmatic nature are voiced by other informants:

The MNR interfered by asking people to [obtain] licenses. ... The MNR system was too inflexible, too impractical. The area was too small, therefore, it restricted people into a land of insufficient resources.

Especially important is the fact that the trapline system was couched in White culture. The notion of "exclusive" right, for example, is essentially foreign to Native culture. But it is apparent that in some instances, traditional ideas and ideology were altered, and thus, some Cree seem to have internalized at least some of the dominant Euro-Canadian values.

There is a lot of conflict if people don't share the same view and beliefs regarding the land. The government system made some people change their views, so we didn't all think the same way.

It is important to realize that in many cases the registered trapline system was allotted along the lines of traditional family territories, although the extent to which this is true is difficult to determine. When this did occur, though, problems arose when the need to procure game became a reality. A number of elders in Attawapiskat indicate that their moose and caribou hunting areas were one and the same

with their trapping areas whereas previously a different set of "rules" governed the hunting of game.

Anybody can hunt and trap on my land. A long time ago anybody could trap on my father's land but then the government set up the grid [the registered trapline system] and things changed.

What changed were peoples' attitudes and expectations of behaviour as a proprietorial attitude that had never existed before took hold. Particularly among older men - those in their fifties, sixties, seventies and eighties - there is a tendency to restrict moose and caribou hunting to their own territories, although they are receptive to the idea of other people using their land. When moose or caribou are scarce there may be a reluctance to hunt them outside of their territory.

I hunt moose and caribou irregularly now. Last moose hunt was two years ago. Last caribou hunt was 10 years ago. Moose and caribou are not common in my area now.

What the government failed to recognize was that there was a logic to what appeared to be a "breakdown" in the traditional system. Cultures are dynamic, cultures adapt and change when situations warrant it. Thus, while there was trespass and encroachment, these were not new and traditional culture had ways to cope with breaches in protocol. And while people were seen to be "hunting all over" this must not be understood to be a chaotic, random rambling. Rather, hunting all over reflects the environmental reality of the times. Further, it reflects conventional social

understandings. The depletion of large game in the Attawapiskat region following the arrival of the fur companies and the Church (and the concomitant large immigration to the coast) necessitated new adaptive strategies. And, of course, the new economic realities introduced by the fur trade also meant shifts in traditional subsistence patterns. The system that emerged was one that acknowledged a depletion of both furbearers and large game in addition to the new material culture. It was also one which might have reflected the demands of the Indian agent following the signing of Treaty 9. However, at the same time there still existed a recognition of traditionally held territories. What changed, then, was the nature of relationships between people in terms of land use.

What is argued here is that what Cooper defined as a "breakdown" in the traditional system was, in reality, a system in process. Cultures are not static. The demands of a new economic system being introduced, coupled with an increasing population and a dwindling resources base, made a change in the "traditional" system a necessity. Hunting all over was essential to survival. Today when people today refer to the allegedly halcyon days when "people hunted all over" it is a harkening back to a time when Cree norms prevailed regarding land use. Territoriality, land tenure, land use - they are all fundamentally sets of relations between persons or groups of people and the land. To look at the shifts in traditional land use in the '20s and '30s and

label it a breakdown is to miss the essence: what was occurring was rather a change in the nature of the relationships among the people.

So what went wrong with the system? A number of ill conceived ideas plagued the registered trapline system in Attawapiskat.

An examination of the trapping areas indicates a disproportionate number of people exploiting the area immediately around the community. Hence, the informant's comment above regarding the insufficient resource base for the numbers of people. While ostensibly allotting territories along traditionally held family territories, the fact that such a large number exists near the coast suggests that a significant number of territories did not follow this pattern. As noted by Honigmann, the Attawapiskat people were not aboriginally coastal people. The abrupt allocation of a significant number of people in a relatively small area, bound by imposed Euro-Canadian standards of behaviour, would inevitably lead to conflict.

The allotment of tracts to unrelated (as well as related) families undoubtedly contributed to the system's malfunctioning. As evidenced in numerous studies, both today and historically, kin links are fundamental in hunter-gatherer societies. To some extent, this tenet appears to have been overlooked in the apportioning of territories among families.

Similarly, the apportioning of territories did not recognize the vagaries of game. The Attawapiskat people had, at the time of the implementation of the system, experienced numerous periods of starvation. The restriction of hunters to bounded territories thus had a considerable impact on their ability to pursue game. Bearing in mind that the implementation of the system also altered notions of propriety, conflicts, it would seem, would be inevitable.

Yet another fundamental reason for the resentment and ultimate rejection (as it has been, for all intents and purposes) of the MNR system is the fact that it virtually ignored Cree notions of territoriality. The implementation process did not incorporate Cree protocol of land and resource use. Rather, there were instead fixed boundaries and rules regarding "exclusivity" of use. The system reflected the traditional government attitudes of paternalism that existed at the time. The consultation process, such as it was, established boundaries, designated "talley-men" and established quotas. These, Preston, reminds us, are only rough approximations of Cree concepts. Furthermore, they constitute only a minute part of the complex whole that makes up Cree relationship to the land. The MNR registered trapline system was in essence, a foreign one imposed on Cree people.

There is also a sense of formality with the MNR trapline system, a formality that is the function of the

codification and registration of the various territories. This formality is in direct opposition to the informal (yet equally valid), flexible system that obtained in the so-called "traditional" system. It might be argued that this codification and formality, in association with the deliberate efforts to convince Indian people of the superiority and "rightness" of Euro-Canadian systems, led to the internalization and acceptance of the system which one still finds today in Attawapiskat, albeit in small numbers. Thus, a stage was set for dispute - a dispute between those who adopted the new system and those who did not.

The formalization and codification of trapping areas also meant that these areas were no longer the purview solely of the Cree. The relationship between Cree and land was no longer mediated only by environmental, spiritual, and kinship concerns but was now enjoined by the State. The rules which had governed tenure, based on age and sex, had now been usurped in part, by an outside body. There was a cognizance that the larger society, as manifested by the MNR, had entered into traditional land use activities.

Finally, one must examine the expectations that the system brought with it. Given experiences of the Indians (starvation, disease, White encroachment by trappers), and through misrepresentation and misunderstanding (Hutchins, 1986:19) the Cree expected that the registered traplines would recognize and protect their treaty rights. It was Cooper who in 1933, advised the federal government that the Natives in James Bay sought "some form of recognition or



guarantee of the individual and family hunting grounds" (1933:Appendix A:1). Unfortunately, the form this guarantee took did no such thing. Government officials operated under the assumption that registration provided no substantive protection against competing land uses (Hutchins, 1986:19). Brody (1981:99) has observed that "in Canadian law, registered traplines grant no hunting rights and no protection against other activities that would destroy the wildlife on them".

Hutchins goes a step further in criticism of the system.

...the very existence of traplines has been used to deny the survival of aboriginal rights and titles. Not only is it argued that government regulations respecting the establishment and management of trapline systems may indicate an intention to exercise complete dominion over a territory inconsistent with the survival of aboriginal title, but the very fact that the trapline system is a more individualized form of land use has led to conclusions that it does not fit the test of lands held in common for the use of benefit of an "organized society". To complicate matters, impacts on one or a limited number of traplines might well be judged not to affect sufficiently the rights and interests of a collectivity so as to justify enjoining development activity (1986:17).

In the end the MNR registered trapline system only served to exacerbate the very problem it sought to correct. The Attawapiskat people argue that problems of conflict and aggression were initiated with the imposition of the system. Perhaps this is an idealized notion of what the pre-MNR

period was like. Regardless, the community today contends that adherence to the system was abandoned fifteen or sixteen years after its introduction. The problems it caused, they argue, in terms of fighting and restrictions on hunting and trapping, rendered it unfeasible. This is not say that it does not exist on paper; it is still there. Rather, the people do not subscribe to it in any way. Instead, they work out their own resource harvesting practices among themselves. It is a system, as was the "hunting all over" strategy, in process.

#### D. Contemporary Attawapiskat Land Tenure

Any attempt at analysis of contemporary Attawapiskat Cree land tenure is inevitably faced with a barrage of apparent contradictions of both theory and practice. These contradictions are the products of 1) the academic literature that has been written about the West Main (Mushkegowuk) Cree, as discussed above in section "B", 2) the historical events of the last ninety years which impinge on the people and their land use (see section "C" above), and 3) what appear to be discrepancies among both ideologies and practices and between these ideologies and practices among the people themselves. Thus, land tenure is not, and has never (in the last ninety years) been straight forward or easily defined and explained.

One cannot isolate a point in time and delineate a unilinear evolutionary process culminating in a land tenure principle or principles which obtains today in Attawapiskat.

In the community today there is a divergence of positions regarding "ownership" of land and protocol regarding its use. While one cannot quantify the strength of a commonly held ideology, we can state that in the Attawapiskat case two positions hold sway: One is the commonly held view that "people can hunt anywhere". This position dates back several decades and, as discussed above, was noted by Cooper in 1933. As will be discussed, this stance has assumed a political dogmatism, and is used to refute the registered provincial trapline system.

To have validity, an ideology must have an underpinning of logic, a rationalization for its being. The logic and rationale underlying the "hunting anywhere" ideology is suggested by informants' statements. These statements are rooted in the most irrefutable of bases - the religious. "The Creator made the land to be used". "Only God can own the land". "It is a free country". "Nobody can own the land". One could, as well, argue that the ideology is rooted in traditional notions of (non) ownership, as perceived through Cree eyes.

The other, conflicting, position is not so much an ideology as it is a recognition of traditionally held family hunting territories. The discrepancy between the "hunting anywhere" ideology and this position is to be found in peoples' statements. "I own the land because I inherited it from my father and grandfather". "I own the land because MNR [Ministry of Natural Resources] (or the government) gave it

to me". "I own the land because I hold the license (or permit)". "My family has always used this land". If the "hunting anywhere" ideology is based upon religious grounds, the "ownership" stance finds its rationale in both Cree tradition, i.e., that of the family "ownership" of territories, and the perceived legitimacy of White legal/political bureaucracy.

One could easily reconcile these two positions through a variety of means, eg. these are social statements and are not meant to be finite legal/political decrees. However, actions "on the ground" indicate that in many instances behaviour follows ideology. One finds, for example, that a couple of older trappers strongly adhere to the allotment of territories by MNR. They do not hunt or trap outside "their" land and strongly voice their objections to those who "hunt and trap all over". For them, there should be no issue: territories were assigned and people should abide by the government's dictum. There are also others who do not trap around Attawapiskat because their traditional family lands are not in close proximity to the community. In other words, they strongly respect traditional family territories and would not trap on land that is not theirs. Yet other people trap "anywhere" because a) that is where the beaver, marten or mink happen to be most plentiful or b) it is conveniently close to town. However, it should also be noted that some people (mostly men aged fifty or older) who do move from their "own" territories into someone else's, ask permission.

When one examines the protocol which governs notions of land tenure in Attawapiskat, one begins to realize that it is not so much rights to land which prevail; rather it is the rights to the resources. In particular, there is evidence to suggest that rights to resources are species specific, and that certain social expectations and obligations with regard to these different species apply. Yet another dichotomy which must be borne in mind is that of hunting for subsistence versus hunting for trade.

There are other social understandings, however, that also must be explored. In Attawapiskat it is understood that trespass and poaching do not occur until the animal is caught. "Anybody can trap on my land as long as they don't steal". "Anybody can trap on my land from outside the family. Relationships are not based on blood, but upon a sharedness of the trapper's lifestyle". "I'm not aware of territories in a general sense, but I'm aware of my father's land. Nobody can own the land, but an animal is "owned" once it is trapped". "Animals belong to people only once they are trapped or shot". These statements will become meaningful as we examine the protocol which prevails in Attawapiskat regarding trapping, hunting and fishing.

Of the various natural resources harvested by the Cree, none is pursued with more enthusiasm and anticipation than the spring and fall goose hunts. The majority of hunters report using the same hunting areas that their fathers (or fathers - in - law) did, demonstrating continuity. This

continuity, however, must not be confused with the continuity of traditional family lands. Rather, in most cases they are sites that were used only for the seasonal goose hunts. Thus, continuity is such for semi-annual, relatively brief periods. Nonetheless, there is a longitudinal pattern to most goose hunting sites, demonstrating strong kin links to the land.

However, the expectations are not rigid; some hunters have more than one preferred location, alternating between or within seasons. Similarly, a number of hunters may establish temporary blinds near the community during the early part of the season, during which time they will make day trips to their blinds. Later, during the peak of the season, they will move to their more permanent sites for the remainder of the fly-over.

Two factors which affect notions of tenure as they pertain to waterfowl hunting are the numbers of hunters (well over 90% of men aged 15 to 65) and the numbers and availability of geese. The fact that most men return to the same sites reflects a number of concerns: 1) it is a proven area for goose hunting; 2) in some instances it is on traditional family lands; 3) frequenting of sites over the years creates knowledge of predictable patterns; hence, a social equilibrium and set of expectations regarding dispersal of hunters over the landscapes is created and maintained. Encroachment and usurpation of goose hunting sites is neither expected nor occurs; there are unspoken understandings. These patterns are maintained by two

factors: one is the predictability of the geese - their numbers have been constant or increasing for decades. Thus, there is no competition for them (neither would there be if they were scarce, one may speculate). The second reason has to do with conventional understanding of the coastal strip where most fowling occurs. It was observed years ago by Honigmann (1961:119) that the coastal strip was open to everyone. When the HBC apportioned tracts of land, the coastal area was deemed to be "open".

It would be folly, though, to expect that the dictum of the HBC would alleviate any notions of trespass or territorial violations. We have seen how the externally imposed registered trapline system was tried and rejected in favour of a local system. It is argued here that the Cree themselves have worked out a viable system of land tenure and use regarding the goose hunt. It is this, as well as the nature of the hunt itself that allows for a smoothly working system. The spring goose hunt, in particular, is as much a celebration of life as it is a primary source of subsistence. Beginning in early March, the community virtually hums in anticipation of the hunt which begins six weeks hence. Honigmann (1961:79) posits that the "wavy" hunt is one of the few emotional releases for the Cree people.

Given that the goose is a celebration, as well as a minor competition (to see who gets the first bird of the season), the emotional framework surrounding the twice yearly hunt works against notions of trespass and transgression. The

hunt is a holiday, a a period of feasting and thanksgiving, a celebration. Food is abundant and easily accessible in contrast to the energy, exertion, expense and time invested in the uncertainty of trapping or moose and caribou hunting.

The nature of game will determine the protocol which prevails regarding its use. Caribou and moose are not sedentary as are, for example, beaver. Neither are they directly transformable into cash. However, moose and caribou do provide thousands of pounds of meat which is distributed throughout the community. In addition, the pursuit of both of these species quite often entails the crossing of numerous territories.

Moose hunts typically occur in the fall but occasionally in the winter. Caribou hunts invariably are in the winter. The former almost always involve the traversing of the major rivers (the Lawachie, Kapiskow, Albany, Attawapiskat, and Ekwan) which cut through family lands. Caribou hunts are usually conducted January through April when the snow is crusty and involve long distance search for, and pursuit of, the caribou. Again, numerous family lands may be criss-crossed in the quest for caribou.

A set of social "rules" (more correctly social expectations) prevails regarding the hunting of moose and caribou. During the fall hunts along the rivers, moose are "anybody's game", regardless of where they are found. During the winter, however, moose will not be shot on another person's land, should they be come across. This probably has to do with the vulnerability of moose at this time, when they



are hampered by the deep snow. Under such conditions, moose could easily be cleaned out of a given area fairly rapidly. It may also be that, at this time, it could be taking food away from those people who are staying on the land for the winter. Further, it might be because moose are moving less and staying in a 'yard'. Caribou, however, are pursued across vast distances and are not subject to such restrictions. They are "anybody's game". It was suggested by a number of men that the protocol regarding caribou hunting was still "being worked out".

The social relations which obtain among trappers are complex, exacerbated by the large number of traplines assigned in close proximity to the community. In addition to this complication is the volatile nature of the fur business and the cyclical nature of fur populations. Finally, there is also a "species-specific" protocol which figures into the formula. This is based on the value of the fur, the degree of sedentarism exhibited by the species, and the difficulty associated with its capture.

Relations to ancestral lands are complex. Rights to land are based upon time spent and experience gained on a piece of land. One man, for example, stated that he "spent [his] entire life in the bush until five years ago" [he is now 76 years old]. He "trapped on land that [his] father trapped and hunted on. However, he concluded that because "nobody is using the land now, anybody can use it, nobody owns it".

Rights may be conferred upon an individual even if one has never spent time on the land. These rights are conveyed through the parent who, in turn, used the land. For example, one man who was born on Akimiski Island, trapped there between the ages of 15 to 25, then trapped elsewhere with his father-in-law. Following that, he worked for the Bay at an inland outpost store. While there he sought and received permission to exploit the surrounding area from the land's "owner". Although it was the mid 1950s when he last trapped on Akimiski, both he and his sons (who have never trapped or hunted there) have rights to the land. Similarly, another man trapped on his uncle's land and his cousin's land. He did not trap on his father's land because his sons were going to school and he wanted to be close to his sons. He asked and received permission to use his relatives' land. Nonetheless, his sons have a right to their father's and grandfather's land even though they have never used it. This position was taken by several individuals who have similar experiences. Another man stated "as long as my bothers are trapping, even if I am not, I belong to the land". Rights to land are gained through experience on the land and through kin links to the land.

It is also clear that while ideally land is inherited directly from father to son, at times it may pass through a man's widow. One man, well over eighty years old (and whose mother is frequently referred to in the HBC journals as an active widow), stated that his father died when he was young but his mother continued trapping. Therefore, it was his

mother's land. His son was his trapping partner and the land is now being used by him.

Yet another man inherited his land through attrition and then had it "legitimized" by the MNR. He was raised on his father's land, and when the latter died another man introduced him to the land he now claims as his own. Initially, there were several people using that particular tract, but as they "thinned out", only he remained and when the Ministry allotted traplines, this piece was allotted to him. He asserts that a number of hunters were proprietorial about their government allotted land, but he never was. This individual was also a tallyman for the ministry.

Further confusion is created when trappers (typically younger men) claim to trap on land that is "open" or for which there is no acknowledged "owner". This is due in part to the considerable number of trappers licensed for the immediate vicinity of Attawapiskat. An examination of the licensed trapping grounds illustrates the considerable congestion around the community. In contrast, the further one travels away from the village, the larger the trapping territories and the fewer the number of license holders.

But "open land" also has a specific meaning. In practice, it means that one may set up traps on land that is not being used by its present owner. For example, a trapper had heard of an abundance of a particularly valuable species in the proximity of the community. He set out on his "ski-doo" and travelled until there was no evidence of traps.

Here he set up his own temporary trap line. He was completely aware of who "owned" the land, but because that section was not being used (possibly because it was "resting") it was acceptable to trap there on a temporary basis. Also figuring into this particular equation is the population cycle of the species.

Beaver, otter and marten are important species for a number of reasons. They are particularly valuable as furbearers, they are comparatively difficult to catch, they are sedentary (hence, subject to unscrupulous depletion), and they are relatively scarce. Additionally, beaver is highly valued as a food item. For these reasons, trappers respect the rights of territory "owners" to these animals and will not trap them on land other than their own. Under certain conditions this rule might be relaxed; for example, during periods of high populations. Also, a man might ask permission to trap on another's land.

Rules generally do not apply to such species as muskrat and fox. These are not especially rare, or valuable, and they are comparatively easy to trap. Wolves also fall into this category; albeit for different reasons. They are quite scarce and to catch one is considered more luck than anything else. Also, trappers will not spend the time and energy for dubious results (see Chapter 7).

Berry picking sites and small game harvesting areas are open in Attawapiskat. That is, people will pick berries anywhere although some families have preferred areas that are used by tradition. Rabbits and ptarmigan are generally

snared or shot within a maximum ten mile radius of the community or camp, with three miles the norm. Territories do not apply to these resources.

Likewise, fishing sites are open. As discussed elsewhere, there is not a high value placed on fish as food, and this may account for the fact that people can, and do, fish "anywhere". While some people state that their sites are on traditional family lands, an equal number also claim to fish anywhere. A significant number of people claim to have discovered the sites themselves or to have been introduced to them by "friends". One man stated that "his father and a bunch of other people" used the site years ago. There were also some observations that Winisk people also share sites with Attawapiskat Cree.

The "I can hunt anywhere" statement, then, is ultimately and truly a social statement. Fish, small game and berries may literally be harvested "anywhere". In terms of hunting and trapping, a hunter, having been introduced to land by a relative (usually a father-in-law, brother -in-law or cousin) can hunt or trap anywhere. The operative word is kinship, for a hunter is always related to the person who "owns" the land.

CHAPTER 5: ATTAWAPISKAT CREE LAND USE: 1901 - 1952

The previous chapter examined in detail the major non-Native incursions into the Attawapiskat region. These incursions put into motion the process of encapsulation and its accompanying resistance. As one examines this process over time, a discernible pattern emerges: an initial, apparently innocuous incursion by the church and the fur companies, a codification of relationships between the Cree and the state as embodied in the registered trapline system and Treaty 9 and, as will be examined in the following chapter, an assumption of non-accountability on the part of state in terms of its relationships with the Cree. The initial encroachments, appear to be subtle, almost innocuous, and the Cree for the most part, are accommodating. Their resistance, when it is manifested, is equally subtle. Both the fur traders and the church, to greater or lesser degree, allowed the Cree some autonomy. In brief, they did not exert any legal or political control. Subsequent incursions, however, are rooted in law and the government bureaucracy. Any resistance mobilized by the Cree would contravene the dictates of the governments.

This period, then, demarcates the time frame of major non-Native incursions into the Attawapiskat region: the fur companies, the church, Treaty 9, and the registered trapline

system. It is also characterized by starvation, disease, shifts in the pattern of traditional land tenure, and great demographic changes in terms of numbers and concentration of population.

An examination of land use indicates a systematic, consistent, and logical exploitation of resources. This patterning, however, is not inflexible or rigid; rather, it is modified and adapted to exigencies as they arise. As noted elsewhere, the Attawapiskat region is (to quote Honigmann) "chronically poor" in such large game species as moose, caribou and beaver. Thus, there is a considerable reliance upon fish, waterfowl, and small game and birds. This "chronic shortage" must be borne in mind as we examine land use, for the periods of great starvation occurred in the period under discussion. The Cree adopted a number of strategies to cope with these stresses.

This chapter will be divided into a number of subchapters in order to facilitate presentation and comprehension of data. We will examine a) hunting for subsistence products, b) hunting for trade products, c) women in the economic sphere (both subsistence economics and capitalist economics), d) discussion and conclusions.

#### A: Hunting for Subsistence Products

Unlike hunting for trade products, it is difficult to quantify and delineate patterns of hunting for subsistence products. Prior to Honigmann's 1948 analysis Foodways in a Muskeg Community there had not been any systematic

examination of exploitation of resources for consumption purposes. Further compounding the problem is the fact that it is (and was) impossible to keep track of the resources harvested by those people who reside in the bush year round. Therefore, extrapolation from the extant data is difficult at best.

The material to follow is therefore derived from a limited data base, mainly the work of Honigmann, the Hudson's Bay Company and a government study.

...commercial trapping in lieu of subsistence hunting and fishing has made the people occupational specialists in a complex international society. They no longer supply all of their needs - tools, clothing, food, containers, and shelter - from the products of the forest but draw on the resources of several continents for steel, woolens, cottons, tea, tinned meats, sugar, cordage, lamps, radios, gasoline and other goods. In return they pay their bills annually with the furs of the beaver, fox, mink, muskrat, and marten (Honigmann, 1961:58).

One is tempted to ask what the point is of the above quotation. The Attawapiskat Cree had been obtaining goods from "several continents" for at least a century (via trade at Albany) when Honigmann wrote these words. It had been a number of generations since "all of their needs" had been met through the forest. But what is most disconcerting about the article "Attawapiskat - Blend of Traditions" is that the tone is almost regretful - that because the Cree were no longer entirely dependent upon the bush, they were less than Cree. This suggestion is made even stronger by the phrase "commercial trapping in lieu of subsistence hunting".



According to Webster "in lieu of" means "in place of" or "instead of". Following this, Honigmann is saying that the Attawapiskat Cree have replaced subsistence hunting by commercial trapping. Such was not, and is not, the case. The two need not be mutually exclusive. In fact, beaver - a prime fur bearer - is also a source of considerable meat. Furthermore, the phrase "occupational specialist" implies a loss of skill needed for the pursuit of game for food. That is, while the Attawapiskat people might be proficient trappers, they are less than skillful hunters of moose, goose or caribou. Such is not - and was not - the case. Then - as now - there was a reliance upon the bush for subsistence. Culture, being dynamic, changes. With apologies to Dr. Honigmann, we cannot freeze-frame the Cree c. 1400 and keep them there untouched in perpetuum. But they remain Cree.

Honigmann (1961) wrote the definitive work on subsistence and consumption patterns at midcentury in Attawapiskat. Based on fieldwork from July, 1947 to June, 1948 he produced copious amounts of data concerning diet, trapping and hunting patterns and results, and overall economics within the community. His period of study coincided with one of the numerous starvation periods which have occurred in the region.

To best appreciate the cycle of subsistence hunting, it must be examined in terms of the seasonal round. This pattern obtained throughout the first half century and beyond.

As suggested by the HBC journals two yearly patterns

were in effect, essentially defined by the proximity of one's land to the post. Throughout the James Bay literature, these have been associated with the "Inlanders" and the "Coasters". It is fair to suggest that the distinction between the two groups (culturally and socially) is perhaps much more sharply defined on the Quebec side of the bay than it was in the Mushkegowuk region. Particularly this is true of Attawapiskat, where the people aboriginally were inland people.

Hunters typically arrived from their lands in May and June, after (generally) interim trips to the post in midwinter or early spring for supplies. Historically, the arrival date in the post is a function of the distance of the territory from the post, the weather conditions, and the productivity of the hunting/trapping season. "All the Attawapiskat Indians are now in" (June 2, 1920). "Most of the Opinaga Indians are in too" (June 12, 1920). "The first contingent of northern Indians arrived this afternoon" (June 16, 1923). "First lot of inland Indians came in this morning" (June 2, 1925). "Northern Indians still along the coast" (June 24, 1925). "[Indians] arrived late in the evening ... having left their camps owing to the early thaw in March. Serious business, this year especially" (May 20, 1927). For those who were coasters or whose lands were in greater proximity to the coast, the preceding month or so (roughly April 10 to the beginning of or mid-May), provided the opportunity to procure the bountiful harvest of geese

which sustained them over the long summer months. For the inlanders, the relative lack of geese inland was offset by the usually greater abundance of larger game (including beaver) in the hinterlands beyond the post. During the 1920s (and perhaps until as late as 1946/47 when Honigmann did his work) there was a discernible pattern whereby the inlanders and others would depart for their lands after only a brief stay of a few weeks. This is in contrast to what was noted by Nonas (1963), who at the beginning of the sixties found that people viewed Attawapiskat as home for "three or four months a year". "Busy with Indians who are leaving for winter" (August 15, 1927). "Outfitted Jacob and David Chakasim for winter this afternoon" (July 19, 1930). "All inland hunters now preparing to leave for their hunting grounds..." (July 31, 1930). "Indians now leaving for winter" July 10, 1928). "Almost all of the Inlanders having taken up the advances prior to their departure for the winter" (July 14, 1928). "Fixed up last of the departures" (July 18, 1928).

It is quite apparent, then, that in the first three decades of this century Attawapiskat did not serve as a "summer home" for a substantial number of people. There was a virtual total reliance on bush food on a near year round basis on the part of a large number of people. This contention is in opposition to later findings by Honigmann (1961), Hoffman, 1957:50) and Nonas (1963:1) who found people residing in the village for anywhere from two to four months over the summer. This is not to suggest that there was not a

three to four month village residency on the part of some Attawapiskat Indians (undoubtedly Coasters whose lands were near by) but rather, the point is that summer sedentarism was not the norm for all of the Attawapiskat Cree. Further, while waterfowl were and are of inestimable importance to the people, it is apparent that some Cree bypassed the greater abundance to be found on the coastal flyways in favour of the resources inland.

The staple bush foods during the spring and early summer were fish and waterfowl, with geese being the favoured and most commonly killed birds. Honigmann (1961:99) states that geese constituted half the food supply in Attawapiskat during the mid 1940s. Coincidental with the spring arrival of the geese is the emergence of muskrat, which by virtue of their numbers were sought for both their food value and fur. Men typically alternated between goose blinds and muskrat traps during the spring goose migration.

Waterfowl hunting, Honigmann (1961:150) tells us, is a food getting activity in which the greatest interest and positive emotion are invested and from which the people derive their choicest foods. This is as true today as it was seventy years ago. It is as important as much for its social and cultural components as it is for food it brings to the table (see Chapter 7).

The importance of waterfowl in the diet is evidenced by the continued hunting of the birds year after year. In 1947-48 the population of Attawapiskat was 470. Honigmann

(1961:152) was able to arrive at the following harvest figures, presented in Table 3, for waterfowl kills and consumption. It is important to note that due to weather conditions, this particular period was considered by the Cree not to have been a particularly good one for geese. To appreciate these figures, bear in mind the population in 1947 and compare the kills with 1951, 1952, 1974 - 77, 1981 - 83, and 1989, in the pages to follow. The data provide clear evidence of sustained, measured resource use.

TABLE 3  
(a)  
WATERFOWL CONSUMPTION (1947 - 48)

Species	Food Book (N = 17)	Interview	Average	Estimated Total Consumed
"Wavy" (Fall) (Blue & Snow Geese)	83	63 (N=19)	73	5840
Wavy (Spring)	9	2 (N=23)	5.5	440
Wavy (Total)	92	65	78.5	6280
Goose (Fall) (presumably Canadas)	4	4 (N=19)	4	320
Goose (Spring)	11	24 (N=23)	17.5	1400
Goose (Total)	15	28	21.5	1720
Duck (Fall)	34	15 (N=19)	24.5	1960
Duck (Spring)	12	9 (N=23)	10.5	840
Duck (Total)	46	24	35	2800

(a) SOURCE: Honigmann, 1961:152

NOTE: The information provided by Honigmann came from "food books" maintained by informants and from interviews with other informants.

We may use a formula employed in Attawapiskat to extrapolate from Honigmann's data. Informants suggested a consumption rate of 1.75 pounds per adult per meal twice a day during the seasons when goose is available, i.e. late spring, summer and fall. Approximately 25% of the population is unable to eat meat because they are too young (under two years of age), too old or too sick.

Based on Honigmann's figures the total weight of waxies would be 21,195 pounds; of Canadas it would be 13,975 pounds for a total of 35,170 pounds of meat. At a consumption rate of 1.75 pounds per meal this represents 20,097 meals. At two meals a day this means 10,048 days of goose eating. Attawapiskat's meat eating population in 1947 was 351 people (75% of 468) thereby supplying the population of meat eaters with 3 1/2 pounds of goose a day for 29 days. If we substitute the figures used in Attawapiskat today (4 pounds per waxy, 7 per Canada) the goose harvest would last for 32 days.

The breakdown of consumption cited above must not be interpreted strictly. One must bear in mind the not inconsiderable harvesting of ducks, fish, and other species eg. muskrat, game birds and rabbits. One must also be aware that the 3 1/2 pounds of meat per day per person might be high; women and younger people might consume less. Finally, the 1947 harvest figures are low, according to Honigmann, and evidence from subsequent studies (including this one) suggest it was. Regardless, the point is made - geese and other waterfowl were and are fundamentally important in the diet.

The discrepancy in the fall and spring kills in terms of species reflects the availability and number of the birds during the seasons. The Canadas, for example, are the first to arrive in the spring; hence, the greater number of that species in the earlier part of the year. Also, hunters (in 1990) suggested that waxies tend not to spend much time in James Bay in the spring on their way to more northerly breeding grounds. Finally, it is interesting to compare the figures above with the observation of Barnston (1862, cited in Prevett et al, 1983:191), who cited a kill figure of 30,000 geese (all species) in Attawapiskat and Fort Albany (and Kashechewan) in 1862. In Prevett et al (1983) the mean for these communities in the 1980s was 39,632. A sustained, measured yield indeed.

It is also interesting to note the apparent greater reliance upon ducks earlier this century than today. While ducks are shot in 1990, they do not appear to be actively hunted the way they were previously [See Chapter 7: Contemporary Land Use]. This could be a reflection of a number of factors: a preference for geese; a greater availability of geese; a greater availability of other game eg., moose and caribou; a cost/benefit factor, i.e., a greater amount of meat gained from shooting geese over ducks.

There are reasons to believe (largely anecdotal) that people simply prefer goose on the basis of taste - and since geese are abundant in recent years, they are shot as opposed to ducks: a simple case of taste and availability coinciding. In the 1920s and '30s, however, there was a concerted effort at hunting ducks. "Aleck Wesley [shot] four wavies and ten ducks" (May 19, 1927). "Indians returning from marsh with a few ducks" (July 16, 1929). "Outfitted [Ekwan hunters] and their families for "loon hunting" (May 30, 1927) (*italics in original*). "Quiet day in the store as most of the Indians are off hunting ducks" (July 15, 1927).

What these entries suggest is not only a considerable reliance on ducks but also a seasonal pursuit of them. As the dates suggest duck hunting tended to occur after the spring goose hunt (although not exclusively so). Therefore, duck was a welcome and available option during the lean summer months. Also, ducks were a viable trade item, as is discussed in the subsection dealing with hunting for trade.

It is not surprising then to find a large reliance upon waterfowl and fish as subsistence foods, particularly during the summer, as Honigmann maintains (1961:1) that these were the only species that could be relied upon in large numbers when store food could poorly be afforded. Fish were caught year round but especially during periods when other, more favoured foods, were unavailable. It is suggested that this ready availability rendered fish somewhat less desirable as a food item than, for example, moose or caribou. Also, there is a belief that fish is less "tasty" than is other



meat. Yet another observation is that fish does not result in a feeling of satiety, as does "regular" meat like moose.

Fishing was typically women's work and it was they who set the nets, especially in the late spring and fall when whitefish, the most commonly eaten species, was on its migration. Whitefish travel from the rivers to the bay in late spring/early summer and then back inland in September and October until freeze-up. In fact, the only time when whitefish were infrequently eaten was in late winter and midsummer, when few or no whitefish can be expected (Honigmann, 1961:146). Conversely, people in Attawapiskat in 1990 report fishing "all year 'round".

It seems that whitefish were perhaps more important in the diet in the early decades of this century in comparison with the 1980s. This is not to suggest that whitefish is unimportant; rather, today more numbers of fish of different species are taken. Honigmann's Foodways in a Muskeg Community stresses the crucialness of this species, whereas today it is just one of many species commonly caught, including suckers and "trout", the latter a generic name for speckled, lake and other trout. There are at least three possible explanations for this change. It could be that there are fewer whitefish today than previously. Secondly, the possibility exists that with the greater abundance of large game and (it would seem) geese being killed (as well as more store food in the diet), fish do not figure in the diet (generally) as they did previously. Thirdly, people might be

fishing specifically for other species.

What is essential to note is the undeniable importance of whitefish in the pre 1950 era, not only as a subsistence item but as an item for trade (See Part B Hunting for Trade Products, this chapter) and also as dog food. "A number of White Fish are now being caught in the river opposite the post [sic]" (October 24, 1929). "Natives around the post now getting a few white fish in the nets" November 8, 1930). "White fish are now fairly numerous; the Natives in the vicinity of the post are getting fair quantities in the nets daily" (May 22, 1931).

While fish were and continue to be "free goods" there was a protocol which prevailed regarding their capture. Essentially, then as now, families were free to put up their nets or hooks anywhere. No resentment was expressed, nor trespass inferred, if one group established its nets upstream from another group. Social conventions hold, however, that a feeder stream enter into the main river between nets so that the lower nets may be supplied with fish (Honigmann, 1961: 146). The number of nets which were set was a function of the work (or number of people) needed to check them and the productivity of the nets themselves. Honigmann (1961:146) observes that nets must be checked frequently lest they become tangled under their own weight and are thus no longer able to trap fish. Also operating on net productivity is the season: during the heavy migration periods it might be necessary to check nets two or three times daily; the norm would be once a day. In the winter once every three or

four days was the norm during the 1940s (Honigmann, 1961:146).

As reliable as fish generally are, they too, are subject to availability cycles, possibly influenced by the weather (Honigmann, 1961:145). This pattern of availability reveals itself not only in seasonal runs but also within smaller time frames and geographical areas.

The seine was tried just below the rapid this morning but there were few fish. Some hauls were made in the evening at the point of the island, where a good catch was made, and up near last year's scene (or seine) of activities, but here were not so successful (October 22, 1928) [pun in original].

Honigmann monitored fish harvests in the fall of 1947 and recorded the data. These are presented in Table 4.

Unfortunately, some fundamental information is missing from these data. For example, what is the period between the dates when these nets are checked? On November 19, for example, is it the same net that is checked four times or is it four different nets? Such information would be useful for analytical purposes, but is missing in Honigmann's account. For comparative purposes, in 1990 informants suggested that approximately 40 fish (different species, including whitefish) are taken weekly in one net over the course of the winter. Winter supposedly is the poorest time of the year for catching whitefish.

TABLE 4  
ATTAWAPISKAT FISH HARVEST, AUTUMN 1947<sup>(a)</sup>

Date	Number of Fish	Comments
October 13	15 (two nets)	"Still too warm"
October 17	10 (two nets)	
October 20	8 (one net)	"No fish"
October 23	40 (two nets)	
October 28	20 (two nets)	
October 28	5 (two nets)	
October 29	21 (three nets)	
November 6	70 (one net)	"Not much. One hundred would be many"
	80 (two nets)	
November 7	10 (two nets)	
November 11	30 (two nets)	
November 11	42 (three nets)	
November 16	30 (one net)	
		Nets from this date on are under the river ice.
November 19	20 (one net)	
November 19	8 (one net)	
November 19	30 (one net)	
November 19	25 (one net)	
November 21	15 (one net)	
November 24	3 (two nets)	"Fish are extremely scarce" This was blamed on the fact that the ice was still unfrozen downriver and the fish were not moving up.
November 24	5 (one net)	
November 24	4 (one net)	

(a) SOURCE: Honigmann, 1961:147

As noted above, and discussed in detail in the subchapter below, fishing was typically women's work, and as suggested by the archival evidence, lent itself to women's work groups who set and maintained the nets. "Mary Kamalatsit and Christina Toomagatsik arrived at the post from a fishing place up the river" (March 14, 1930). This is not

to suggest that fishing was exclusively the domain of women, as the flexibility of Cree culture would preclude such rigidity. Indeed, as autumn approached, and the fall run of fish preceded or coincided with the return migration of waterfowl, the need to procure large numbers of fish and geese for the coming winter was addressed by all family members. "Jacob Tookate, Sr. and John and George Edward left with their families for the coast where they will remain for several weeks hunting fish" (August 19, 1930).

There were few other fish species pursued with the vigour that was expended on whitefish. In the eleven years of HBC post journals, only trout is mentioned by name as being pursued by the Cree (February 1, 1930). Honigmann (1961) lists jackfish or northern pike, speckled and lake trout, sucker (carp), wall eye (yellow pickerel), ling (loche), and scurgeon as other fish species which were consumed. A table of their rates of consumption is included in Part D below.

During the summer months few other resources were pursued with any effort, as people lived on fish and the large numbers of geese which were usually harvested during the spring hunt. Evidence from 1990 suggests that an average hunter often shoots enough geese in the spring hunt to sustain him and his family until the fall hunt. Honigmann's data above indicate that this would be unlikely in the 1940s. Typically, by June the spring kill would be exhausted. Therefore, the diet would be supplemented with further ducks and rabbits (if available) during the summer

months until the arrival of geese in the fall and the return migration of whitefish.

The arrival of fall, of course, meant the return of a large harvest for those Attawapiskat hunters who stayed near the coast. The data above (adopted) from Honigmann (1961) suggests the rate of goose kills in the fall. Historically the fall goose hunt has produced more waxies than Canadas, while in the spring the opposite is true. Little has changed in the hunting of geese since Honigmann's fieldwork; men still go out to blinds, typically with kinsmen such as sons, brothers, sons-in-law, or uncles. Decoys are used to lure the birds within range. Charred wooden decoys are used for Canadas in the spring, white waxy wings in the fall. Blinds normally are set half a mile apart so as not to interfere with each other's hunting. Considering the importance of geese as food, and the emotionally charged nature of the hunt, there is little dispute or disagreement. It is understood that there is no shooting after dark because that affects the geese and frightens them away. There is no clamouring within groups of men for the first shot, for that indicates greed and aggression.

One element of the goose hunt that has persisted over the generations is the prestige of being the first in the community to kill a goose in a particular season. Hunters who have been fortunate enough to accomplish this can relate in minute detail the facts and circumstances surrounding their kill. Seventy years ago this was still a coup".

"First goose killed on Saturday" (April 28, 1924) [This is quite late in April for the first kill, which "tradition" in Attawapiskat says is always on the 10th. It was on the 11th in 1990]. "The first goose was seen" (April 17, 1929). "Allan shot the first goose right in front of his house" (April 28, 1929).

In terms of food availability, autumn much resembled spring when, to a large extent, whitefish and goose migrations overlapped. While not a universal practice, both fish and geese (waxies) were dried in preparation for winter consumption. Also, in fall berries were picked in great quantities, an activity in which children played a considerable role. Honigmann (1961:147) cites an average of 9.5 quarts per family, 760 quarts (estimated total) consumed per year by the village. In comparison with the somewhat meagre faunal resources, the Mushkegowuk region has a considerable variety of berries, people in 1990 identifying up to ten species which are picked and eaten. As innocuous as berry picking may seem, it was not without its hazards.

Aleck Wesley's daughter who was out picking berries at 8 o'clock tonight failed to return. All hands went off to look for her but at midnight had not found her (August 28, 1923).

There is no indication if the child was found.

Thus, we have an ecological distinction between the inlanders and the coasters in the fall. Geese and other waterfowl remain relatively available along the coast until

quite late in the autumn. "Wavies going south in big flocks" (October 25, 1927). "Wm. Allan returned from hunting having killed nearly 100 ducks..." (October 21, 1921). Thus, there existed the possibility of a greater and longer dependency on geese, especially if efforts were made to preserve them by drying. Inland, there existed a greater reliance upon fresh fish, especially just prior to freeze up when whitefish are particularly plentiful. As well, the coming of autumn marked the greater availability of rabbits and ptarmigan, particularly for the inlanders whose supply of geese (had they accumulated one) was usually exhausted.

Following the fall goose hunt the people gradually started moving back to their lands for the winter trapping season. Honigmann (1961:155,156) addressed the conundrum which faced the inland hunters. Inland families were obliged to leave the coast before being able to amass large stocks of geese because to delay departure might mean having to wait until the ice was firmly frozen or might delay arrival at the trap line until late in the season. As a result the average inland family used one third less geese for food than did the average coastal family. Elsewhere we have discussed the movement of people to the coast where the goose migration guaranteed a source of food. For the inlanders, fish remained a staple, supplemented by rabbits, grouse and "partridge".

Winter, of course, is the peak trapping season. During the first half of the century it was interrupted by trips to the post at Christmas as well as Easter. For the



inlanders, trapping provided an opportunity to combine into one endeavour both subsistence and trade hunting, for beaver supplied both meat and fur. By the 1930s, beaver were available only inland.

Honigmann (1961) distinguishes between the inland and coastal patterns during winter, wherein the latter group tended to leave their families at the post while the former did not, taking them deep into the bush where game was more available. With the opening of the Akimiski preserve to trapping in the mid 1940s more beaver meat found its way to the post. It is fair to suggest however, that the inlanders probably had a more varied diet than the coasters. The latter group during the winter tended to subsist (as suggested by Honigmann's "Food Tables" during the 1940s) on dried wavy, rabbits, and occasional beaver. The coasters hoped for "moose meat to find its way down the river". None did in 1947/48. The inlanders, in contrast, had greater access to moose, caribou, and beaver, as well as ptarmigan and rabbits, the staples of the coasters during the winter. Among both the coasters and the inlanders, women play an important role in procuring both these species. Among the former group, women would go out in small groups some distance from the post to snare rabbits, spruce hens and ptarmigan. Those women inland would set up snare lines around the camp, contributing to the family's subsistence and trapping income.

The lack of moose and caribou obliged people to rely

heavily on smaller game. Data from Honigmann (1961) and the federal government (1951, 1952) are presented below in Tables 5 and 6. These suggest how volatile the population cycles of Attawapiskat primary game species were in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Data are also included for James Bay as a whole.

TABLE 5  
GAME TAKEN BY JAMES BAY INDIANS 1951 & 1952

Species	(a) 1951	(b) 1952
Moose	191	480
"Deer" (White tail?)	7	40
Caribou	41	125
Geese	14700	35490
Ducks	1000	30000
Grouse	1000	5000
Hair Seal	?	35

(a) SOURCE: Agency Report on Game Taken by Indians on Reserves for Food, 1951. The James Bay population was 1,862 in 1951.

(b). SOURCE: Agency Report on Game Taken by Indians on Reserves for Food, 1952. The James Bay population was 1,840 in 1952.

TABLE 6

GAME TAKEN BY ATTAWAPISKAT INDIANS FOR FOOD 1946-48, 1951, 52

Species	(a) 1946/47	(a) 1947/48	(b) 1951	(c) 1952
Moose	50	15	63	20
Caribou	14	11	22	?
Geese	?	?	5000	10700

(a) SOURCE: Honigmann, 1961. The population of Attawapiskat was 468 in 1947.

(b) SOURCE: Agency Report on Game Taken by Indians on Reserves for Food, 1951. The population of Attawapiskat was 669 in 1951.

(c) SOURCE: Agency Report on Game Taken by Indians on Reserves for Food, 1952. The population of Attawapiskat was 600 in 1952.

It should be noted that the data from the Agency Reports ... are "rough". H.R. Conn who submitted the data stated that it was not "an entirely accurate picture of the Indian game take". Nonetheless, it is the only study, outside of Honigmann's, undertaken prior to the 1970s and its figures are suggestive, if not 100% accurate.

Based on the archival records, and the academic literature that has been written, there are reasons to believe that perhaps there is a greater abundance of large game, i.e., moose and caribou, than there was during the 1901-1952 period. Or, perhaps, modern technology in the forms of better firearms, outboard motors, and snowmobiles allow for a greater number of kills than previously. Whatever the reason, there are considerably more moose and caribou being killed today than at any point in the first half century.

The Hudson's Bay Company post journals cover the period from 1919 to 1931. These journals offer considerable insight into the daily life of the posts, including hunting and trapping by both the natives and post personnel. While there are references to geese, ptarmigan, ducks, loons, bears, seals, and the ubiquitous furbearers for trade, there are very few references to moose and none to caribou. One would expect that when rabbit and fish are bought as meat for the post personnel as the numerous journal entries attest, moose and caribou would be sold in the same manner. It does not, however, appear to be that frequent an occurrence. It is hard to believe that in over a decade of journal entries, the absence of references to caribou is simply an oversight, when such trivial matters as the purchase of rabbit and fish are religiously noted.

The appearance of big game in the Attawapiskat region was, as suggested by the post journals, a matter of significant rarity to generate considerable excitement. "We hear talk of moose being close to the fort but very few are being killed" (January 29, 1920). "We are receiving plenty of moose meat now. John [illegible] and Jacob [illegible] off for a load and John Nakogee brought us a load" (February 3, 1920).

When moose was available to the Cree it was both a prized subsistence food and a valued item for sale as "country food". "Jeremiah came in with a red fox and a little moose meat" (April 4, 1923) "Bought some moose meat from [illegible] Toomagatik today" (October, 6, 1927). The

scarcity of moose is suggested by the following entry: "Big William brought in our first snack of moosemeat since the end of the summer today" (December 11, 1922).

What is most interesting to observe about the hunting of moose in the period under discussion is that virtually every reference to moose hunting occurs in late March or April in contrast to the overwhelming tendency today to fall hunting. "Jacob Tookate killed a moose yesterday .." (March 29, 1924). "3 moose were killed yesterday half a day from here ...." (April 12, 1924). Undoubtedly this is due to the ease of killing during the early spring. A number of reasons have been suggested for this. The spring snow will support a man on snowshoes while it will not support a moose. Others claim that moose are weak after the lengthy winter; hence, less able to escape a hunter. Yet others claim that moose are "disoriented" in spring and are thereby susceptible to approach by a skilful hunter. The killing of moose was not (and is not) only achieved by guns. Snares have been used, and continue to be so in Attawapiskat today, by at least one man.

With the arrival of spring people started to move toward the coast in anticipation of the spring goose hunt. As noted above, not all people arrived there in time for the hunt, nor did all stay at the post for the fall hunt. But a number did, and the returning geese, and the emerging muskrats, promised meat for a number of weeks. Some people in Attawapiskat today continue to eat muskrat.

## B: Hunting for Trade Products

Historically, Attawapiskat has proved to be an erratic post in terms of its fur production. This is undoubtedly due to the scarcity of fur bearers in general, as well as population cycles to which they are subject. Nonetheless, the area proved to be one in which the fur industry concentrated their efforts, particularly the Revillon Freres company.

It is difficult to avoid giving a Euro-Canadian slant to any fur trade history, given that generally history is written based on archival and other evidence written by non-Natives. The approach here will try to avoid such bias. Nonetheless, it is essential to place Native trade within the larger framework, for the context within which the fur trade played itself out was influenced by the larger Canadian and international society.

The Attawapiskat fur trade essentially begins when C.C. Chipman, in his Annual Report on the Fur Trade for outfit 1900-01 remarked in the section dealing with the Albany River District that

...The country to the North of the Albany will be better hunted by the establishment of an Outpost at Athawapiscat, which, with the reduction in expenses which is to be looked for, ought to bring about better results (HBC Arch., Commissioner C.C. Chipman to W. Ware, February 7, 1902).

Previously, Alexander Milne, who had inspected the Company's stores in the Albany district during June, 1901, had recommended such an outpost for winter use only, noting that there was already a Roman Catholic Church at Athawapiscat [sic] River. Milne included with his report a copy of a letter from George McKenzie (officer in charge of the James Bay District) dated Albany, June 21, 1901, to Junior Chief Trader David Armit, officer in charge of Albany:

I have decided to establish Atawapiscat [sic] to be connected to Albany as an Outpost. The master of the sloop ...could be placed in charge with instruction to trade only in even barter, and under no consideration to give any debt except ammunition, and that only in small quantities - to be paid for out of the first hunt they bring in.

It will be necessary for you to take a run up there, as soon as convenient, and report to me the nature of the trade to be done ...

There were sound economic reasons to establish a post at Attawapiskat. "[The Indians] frequently waste much valuable time during the hunting season in travel to Albany. ...[The post] will be a distinct encouragement to Indians to hunt more zealously while the only expense .. will be the wintering of a Servant.. (HBC Arch.B.3/e/29). On July 18, 1901, Armit, in the company of P. Faries, J. Carpenter, J. Hunter and W. Loutit, left Albany for Attawapiskat. He was back on the 22 of July "having made the quickest trip known of." He reported his trip to McKenzie in a letter dated July 27.

... I left here on the 18th ... ..found the places [at Attawapiskat] spoken to

you ..all too low and exposed to ice also liable to get flooded the only apparent safe place being near where the R.C. Church is which I decided on. ... Sufficient timber can be got for the building from a mile & a half to two miles, this they will ralf [sic] down what sawing required will be done in the bush ...

... Wood is scarce being mostly small poplars until the Rapid is reached; above that it is reported to be more plentiful, ...

I do not see that the place will be anything else but a fur Post..., there may be a possibility of killing porpoises...

The distance from the mouth of the South branch to the place decided upon (which is on the North bank of the River) is about 8 miles as near as I can judge.

I think that by the last week of September the places will be completed (HBC Arch.) B.3/b/100, fos. 357-8).

The four men who accompanied Armit had remained behind and returned on August 20th after having constructed "two houses 20 X 16 .. sufficient for the present" and on September 7, 1901 Armit reported to McKenzie that he was sending the boat to Kapisko and "Attawapiskit", "taking Barrels Salt and Ammunition for the Goose hunt and as much Flour as the boat could carry for the trade at Attawapiskit" (HBC Arch.B.3/b/100, fo.367). Old Louttit [Peter Louttit "A"] was to look after the goose hunt and the camp until George Linklater arrived. Linklater departed Albany on foot on October 22, 1901, under instructions to "trade nothing but Furs and Feathers, and a little food for Dogs what you think will be sufficient". He was also advised to



"give no advances as it is thoroughly understood that it was only for trade purposes, this place was put up ... (HBC Arch. B.3/b/100, fo.378). Peter Louttit "A" was back at Albany on November 2.

The initial reports from Attawapiskat suggest the promise of a bountiful fur harvest, but also indicate the volatile nature of a primary industry. Armit wrote to MacKenzie on January 16, 1902:

...furs are numerous.... Foxes are reported fairly plentiful, but hard to trap, very few of the good hunters had come in to Attawapuskat, what furs taken there are chiefly poor people that stay around that place fishing. Most all the Indians have gone inland as they can make nothing of the Foxes, no one has arrived from Agrunisko [sic] Island, it is expected that they have done well as it is good for Foxes...(HBC Arch. B.3/b/100, fo. 394).

In the Annual Report of 1902, Armit was able to state that "the Winter Post at Attawapuskat [sic] has answered the purpose well and has been of good use". No advances were given to the Indians at this time, simply straight trade and collecting of Albany accounts (HBC Arch. B.3/b/100, fo.481). C.C. Chipman, the Commissioner, wrote to London in his Annual Report on the Fur Trade for 1901-02 that the Attawapiskat trade was "now efficiently catered for and the expense in Staff and equipment which [had] been incurred [had] been fully justified". Furthermore, the "Outpost ... kept at Attawapiskat during the winter [brought] excellent results" (HBC Arch. dated February 3, 1903). The fur trade for the Albany district in 1901-02 was profitable, due to the "great

abundance" of fur bearers. It was not to last.

The winter of 1902-03 marked the first of several periods of starvation and depletion of furbearers and country food in the Attawapiskat region. Nonetheless, the Bay encouraged trade in furbearers, prompted by the arrival of opposition. The fact that many of the Indians were severely ill and undernourished seemed to matter little. In his instructions to George Linklater February 23, 1903, Armit encouraged him to "[get] all the furs you can as it is reported .. that we are to have opposition" (H.B.C. Arch. B.3/b/102, fo.52).

The summer of 1903 saw plans for an outpost on the Ekwan River to accommodate the trade in the northern regions. The purpose of this post was to "have the principal Rivers guarded between this and the Cape". He also instructed Linklater "to keep the Indians coming in here as much as possible so as to keep them from meeting [the] opposition" (HBC Arch. B.3/b/102, fo.67).

Starvation and sickness plagued the Attawapiskat Indian throughout 1903-04. In June, 1903 Armit reported that most of the Indians, including the best trappers, had done poorly in comparison with the previous season because of sickness and the want of food (HBC Arch. B.3/b/102, fo.79). Six months later, the news was equally grim. Sickness was still rampant and many of the best hunters were so indisposed that they could not even travel to their hunting grounds. The concern was that this "will throw back the winter trade very

much" (HBC Arch.B.3/b/102, fo.113).

The trade for the following winter was indeed slow but activities would pick up over the next decade. A letter from Armit to McKenzie dated March 17, 1904 stated that "Very little trade has been done at Attawapiskit this winter the Indians have not come in as formerly, the prospects for Otter is good, Marten uncertain, none of the Inland Indians from the Marten country coming ..." (HBC Arch. B.3/b/102. fo.133). In 1906 Revillon Freres - "the French Company" - opened a post in Attawapiskat "under the charge of Mr. Daillaire, a French-Canadian, and a Roman Catholic". It would provide stiff competition for the Bay over the next couple of decades, frequently securing the bulk of the trade. The Report on the Trade of Albany District, Outfit 1908-09 claimed "the competition to be very keen and active, the Revillons agent being an ex H.B. man and very enterprising" (HBC Arch.B.3/b/103, fos. 777). The "enterprising" nature took the form of large advance credits and other incentives.

Starvation again plagued the region in 1909 and saw a significant number of Indians, including some from Winisk, staying at the post. A lack of caribou was one of the main reasons for hunger. But - as seems characteristic of Attawapiskat and environs - the pendulum swung the other way, and by 1914-15, the post was again being seen as a potentially lucrative one, if only for the opposition. The Annual Reports from District Officers, 1914, suggested that Attawapiskat be run as an independent post (rather than as a sub-post from Albany), because it was "an important Post,

especially in good Fox years, 124 Indians making it their trading headquarters". 1914 was not a particularly good year for the Bay in terms of the fur trade in Attawapiskat. This was largely due to the inexperienced manager and his unfamiliarity with the book work involved. It was also due to the aggressive trade of Revillon Freres. It was also observed that Revillon Freres had made its presence felt "taking more than their share of the Fur, and consider it one of the best Posts they have in the Bay...". In contrast, Attawapiskat "show[ed] up worse than any other Post in the District [for the reasons cited above]. Valued at the tariff of 1913, returns showed a decrease of over \$20,000" (Fur Trade Reports, 1914-15:55).

In 1915 there was an upswing, returns totalling \$6241 more than in 1914, with an increase in fisher; silver, cross and red fox; lynx; mink and otter (HBC Arch. A74/45 p.45).

By 1916-17 Attawapiskat was holding its own in the fur trade. In the Annual Reports from District Officers, 1916, it was observed that "Attawapiskat is almost equal to that of Albany. The returns ... show an increase of \$4868 over the previous Outfit". Attawapiskat was hailed as "a very important Post ..." The fur harvest showed an increase in all but fisher, otter and wolf, which were slightly less than 1915 (HBC Arch. A74/46, p.104). A comparison of the 1916 and 1917 fur harvests for the Bay is shown in Table 7 below.

TABLE 7  
 PRINCIPAL FURS COMPARISON (ATTAWAPISKAT) 1916 - 1917 (a)

Species	1916	1917
Black Bear	5	8
Beaver	58	31
Ermine	43	285
Fisher	22	26
Cross Fox	137	149
Red Fox	347	442
Silver Fox	27	24
Lynx	164	89
Marten	141	86
Mink	221	204
Musquash	2424	2069
Other	246	113

(a) SOURCE: Annual Reports from District Officers - Outfit 1917  
 HBC Arch. A74/47

These figures hint at the tremendously erratic nature of the fur trade in general in James Bay and in particular in Attawapiskat. Subsequent figures (to be given below) illustrate dramatically the game fluctuations and, as well, the ability of the Cree to prognosticate on game population cycles. It is also important to bear in mind that these figures represent half or less of the Attawapiskat fur harvest, in that Revillon Freres was taking a considerable number of furs.

Revillon Freres had been building up considerable business in the decade it had been in Attawapiskat. By 1918, Attawapiskat was "almost the biggest Fur Post of James' [sic] Bay", and it was acknowledged that at the helm of the

opposition was "the smartest and most successful of Revillon's Masters" (HBC Arch., Inspector L. Tomanet to the Fur Trade Commissioner, Inspection report on the James Bay District, June, 1917 to June, 1918). The report concluded that Revillon's business - "sorry to state" - was much better than the Bay's. It was at this time that Attawapiskat established outposts at Opinaga and on Akimiski Island.

The intense rivalry between the companies would escalate until the takeover of Revillon Freres in 1936. There is little doubt that it was in large part due to the increasing demands of the companies that the depletion of furbearers occurred towards the end of the 1920s. The preoccupation of the Bay with their main opposition (there had also been a free-trading company - Dory and Spence - during 1930-31 (Preston, mss: 1990:32) is noticeable in the Annual Reports:

Messers. Revillon Freres Bros. have stations at the following points:  
Moose Factory  
Attawapiskat with outposts at Opinega and Weenusk  
At Attawapiskat, which has been their stronghold in the District, I consider that they are losing ground ...

(Annual Reports from District Officers, 1920:112, 122,123).

The historical records say little about Dory and Spence other than it folded in 1931 "after being in business in Attawapiskat for several years" (Annual Reports from District Officers, 1931-32).

In 1921, G. R. Ray, the District Manager, wrote that

"Revillon Freres have secured a hold on the trade of Attawapiskat from which it will be difficult to shake them....they have given it of their best in men and supplies... "Annual Reports from District Officers, 1921:186). Ultimately, the aggressive policy of Revillon Freres would be the downfall of the company in Attawapiskat, as their policy of "unlimited debt" brought in more furs but less profit. In 1921/22 they had 55 1/2% of the furs at Attawapiskat and 40% of the furs at Opinaga (where the Bay also had an outpost), but the latter organization was increasing its profit (Annual Reports from District Officers, 1922:159). In 1936, the HBC absorbed their competition (Honigmann, 1961:15).

It is important to note that Revillon Freres was a major operation. Ray (1990:153) observes that in the James Bay area, only this company provided vigorous competition for the Bay. The former company had roots in the fur business going back to 1723 in Paris. It was in 1902 that one company took first steps to establish itself in eastern Canada, and by 1903 Revillon Freres had twenty three establishments coast to coast. By the beginning of World War 1, the "French Company" was providing stiff competition for the Bay in James Bay and Athabasca River/Peace River country (Ray, 1990:93).

Ray (1990: 160,161) chronicles the takeover of Revillon Freres by the HBC. He notes that (despite their strong showing in Attawapiskat), their hard times began in the 1920s. Between 1921 and 1926, despite years of experience and considerable resources, the company lost \$335,000

overall, due largely to the fact that post operating expenses exceeded the profit margins earned on merchandise sales. The company began to retreat from the north. In 1925 Revillon sold their operations in Labrador to the HBC, and in the spring of 1926 negotiations began for the sale of controlling interest in the remaining fur trade business. According to the terms of agreement the HBC secured 51 per cent of the stock of Revillon Freres. Direction of the French company was left in the hands of the current managers.

Ray notes that the takeover had several significant implications for the Bay and the fur business. The directors did not seek to eliminate competition which they saw as "sane and reasonable" and they feared adverse reaction from both Natives and government at the loss of competition. Therefore, the Bay sought to run Revillon Freres as a separate entity without the merger becoming public knowledge. They sought by this means to regulate debt, curtail trade in unprime fur, reduce labour costs, and implement other cost saving measures (Ray, 1990:161).

Such a pacific takeover was not to be as rumours of the merger circulated within the industry and among Natives. RF and HBC managers often refused to co-operate, contrary to instructions. Finally, in 1934, RF had to liquidate their assets to pay debts. The HBC made a buyout offer which was initially refused, but the following year RF sold three James Bay posts and eight Athabasca-MacKenzie posts to the HBC. In 1936, Revillon Freres sold their remaining Revillon Shares to the Hudson's Bay Company.



And what of the Cree during these three decades of intense fur trade rivalry? Honigmann (1961:15) contends that the period must have been an "exhilarating" one as "both organizations spurred them on to intensive trapping by offering more and more alluring prizes for furs at several outposts". If it was exhilarating, it was not to be without a price. Liquor, large outfits on credit (unlimited credit by Revillon Freres), transportation to trap lines and even houses were offered to those trappers who could secure a good number of silver fox pelts. Many of these incentives appear to have been initiated by Revillon Freres managers, Honigmann contends (1961:15). The ultimate result, not unexpectedly, was the depletion of furbearers.

It was also during this period that we begin to see a shift in demographic patterns, with a population "boom" in Attawapiskat, as people moved to the coast. Concomitantly, there is change in traditional patterns of tenure as hunters spread out to secure the highly prized furs. "All the coast Indians are said to be away up inland now" (March 12, 1923). "James Mud left for Fox River this afternoon where he will spend the spring hunting musquash" (April 16, 1930). James Mud (according to Cooper, 1933) was originally hunting 100 miles inland along the Lawachie River, but turned to hunting in the Fox River area. "Thos. Weesk and Family [sic] left for their 'spring' hunting grounds this morning" (April 24, 1930, quotation marks in original). This last entry might suggest the spring goose hunting area; however, according to

Cooper the father of Thomas Weesk hunted in the vicinity of Attawapiskat post while Thomas hunted on Akimiski Island. An entry on September 14, 1929 states that "Thomas Weesk and John Pakany [?] and families left for Agamiski Island ... where they will remain for the first part of the hunting season". Again, what is suggested by these entries is the possibility of movement from territory to territory over the course of the season. Perhaps the most telling example of changes in land tenure and use is provided by other entries. "Wm. Etherington arrived from Lake River... (July 17, 1929). "Wm. Etherington arrived from I'berry [?] Island for some supplies, he intends spending the remainder of the hunting season on Agamiska [sic] Island " (February 25, 1931). Willie Etherington was originally from Albany; his two sons hunted at Lake River. When he first went to Opinaga some Indians (at least Tookates) objected to his hunting and trapping in the vicinity of the post (Cooper, 1933). Etherington, then, is a good example of the change in land tenure behaviour: an Albany man and his sons utilizing a number of territories from Albany north to Opinaga and Lake River and including Akimiski Island. The objections to his encroachment in Opinaga might have been objections based on the fact that he was an "Albany" man, as opposed to an Attawapiskat Cree. Regardless, it is apparent that during the late 1920s, strict adherence to family territories were beginning to loosen. The reasons for this must be attributed to dwindling resources (both fur and food), a burgeoning population (especially from Sutton Lake, Sutton

River and Winisk (Honigmann, 1961:16) ), and - it is argued by the Cree - the arrival of White trappers in quest of the beaver during the peak years of 1922 - 29. The movement of Cree people to the coast, of course, was the result of the availability of trade goods, and to be near the geese which were now easier to procure with guns. Additionally, one must consider the fact that there were White trappers inland. Finally, the intense competition between the companies made the fur market very attractive as the Bay and Revillon Freres offered their incentives.

The degree to which the changes in land tenure occurred is visible in Honigmann's data of 1944-48. At that time he observed that fully 43% of the listed Attawapiskat trappers operated within sixty miles of the post (Honigmann, 1961:121). While this may not appear remarkable, it is essential to remember that Attawapiskat people were originally an inland people, whose territory covered 15,000 square miles (Nonas, 1963:1). While at that time (and even today), there were people exploiting the inland resources, their number was considerably lower in proportion to the total number of hunter/trappers than in the past. The irony of this is that people had been told of the more plentiful game and furs to be had inland but were reluctant to venture far up the streams, out of fear of starvation and disease (Honigmann, 1958:58,64). By this time, of course, sickness and hunger had already been far too frequent occurrences, and peoples' fears were legitimate.

Table 8 below (adapted from Honigmann, 1961:123) details the spatial distribution of trappers for the period 1944-46.

TABLE 8  
Spatial Distribution of Trappers in Attawapiskat 1944-46 (a)

Average Distance From Attawapiskat (Miles)	# of Trap Lines	# of Listed Owners	Average # Visiting 1944-45, 1945-46
0 - 20	4	10	7.0
21 - 40	4	25	13.0
41 - 60	2	7	6.5
61 - 80	4	13	10.5
81 - 100	4	13	10.0
101 - 120	3	6	3.5
121 - 140	3	13	9.5
141 - 160	2	4	1.5

(a) SOURCE: Honigmann, 1961

The significance of these data will be addressed below, when we examine trappers' incomes.

It is both interesting and useful to look at the fur harvest of the mid 1920s, when the peak years were being experienced. While we do not have harvest records for Attawapiskat specifically for 1924, we do have figures and a "prospectus" for the James Bay region generally. What is interesting to observe is Native prognostications for the following year. "...Indians report good prospects of a coloured fox year" (HBC Arch. A74/53). Indeed, the harvest of coloured foxes did increase. Tables 9 and 10 compare furs purchased and prices paid from 1923 - 1925 in James Bay.

TABLE 9  
 COMPARISON OF FURS PURCHASED - JAMES BAY DISTRICT 1923-25 <sup>(a)</sup>

Species	1923	1924	1925
Bear, Black	234	212	252
Bear, White	13	19	3
Beaver	6239	6762	5602
Ermine	826	1164	598
Fisher	66	70	58
Fox, Silver	82	71	188
Fox, Cross	410	378	831
Fox, Red	1235	1021	2379
Fox, White	3051	736	1383
Fox, Blue	15	10	12
Lynx	153	427	739
Marten	3888	2400	2783
Mink	2202	3878	3387
Musquash	23698	26385	21764
Otter	1229	1551	1433
Skunk	74	118	179
Wolf	23	33	57
Wolverine	5	--	1

(a) SOURCE: HBC Arch A74/53, A74/54

TABLE 10  
 AVERAGE PRICES PAID BY POSTS FOR FURS, 1927 <sup>(a)</sup>

Species	Moose Factory	New Post	Albany	Attawapiskat
Bear, Black	10.00	-----	8.60	7.10
Bear, White	-----	-----	10.60	10.60
Beaver	14.42	12.53	14.26	11.17
Ermine	.57	.40	.55	.51
Fisher	46.50	-----	54.68	45.16
Fox, Silver	134.73	-----	120.15	98.35
Fox, Cross	27.83	-----	30.73	24.71
Fox, Red	13.66	10.75	10.39	9.85
Fox, White	17.50	-----	17.39	21.89
Fox, Blue	-----	-----	-----	26.50
Lynx	14.88	-----	14.77	13.26
Marten	20.13	16.65	19.66	19.14
Mink	6.57	6.18	6.02	6.13
Musquash	.96	.73	.71	.97
Otter	26.66	26.70	24.70	23.59
Skunk	1.69	-----	1.55	-----
Wolf	8.00	-----	12.62	9.79

(a) SOURCE: HBC Arch. A76 31/5/27

The late 1920s were the end of the peak trading period in the first half of the century. The overall harvest figures for 1927 show some decrease over the previous year, and also show trade in rabbits, the first time that this species shows up in the fur records. See Table 11. This is indicative of the period of fur decrease and starvation that would follow in 1928. That year the Cree were sustained by potatoes from the mission's garden. The halcyon days of the fur trade were close to being over.

TABLE 11  
ATTAWAPISKAT FURS COLLECTED 1926 and 1927 (a)

Species	1926	1927
Bear, Black	6	6
Bear, White	11	3
Beaver	89	65
Ermine	173	337
Fisher	34	39
Silver Fox	23	46
Cross Fox	303	191
Red Fox	787	504
White Fox	65	298
Blue Fox	--	2
Lynx	38	15
Marten	69	113
Mink	443	358
Muskrat	5537	6899
Otter	240	235
Skunk	2	---
Wolf	7	5
Wolverine	-	1
Rabbit	??	962

In 1927 the Bay in Attawapiskat purchased \$483.74 in country food.

(a) SOURCE: HBC Arch. A76 31/5/27)

What one increasingly finds over the years (beginning in the late '20s), is a proportionally higher production of small game furs (weasel or ermine, mink, muskrat, squirrels), as the important furbearers (marten, beaver, otter, lynx, fox) become more rare. It seems that over time, only the muskrat has been a constant. It is also important to note that the Attawapiskat people have continued (to the best of their abilities) to attempt a viable living from a land of increasingly meager opportunities. Honigmann (1961:121) observed that in the period from 1944-48 about one third of the listed hunters did not use their grounds because of ill health, age, or the fact that they were not residing in the area. In other words, all able bodied men (and those women who needed to) who were in Attawapiskat, worked their lands. In spite of well grounded fears of death in the bush, and the potential availability of assistance from the White presence in the community, conscious decisions were made to pursue a hunting/trapping economy. Harvest figures for the years 1932 to 1940 are given in Tables 12 and 13 below for Attawapiskat and then Lake River, an outpost of Attawapiskat. Note the considerable reliance on small furbearers, especially musquash. Also, at this time other species, notably skunk and squirrel, begin to be harvested. These were largely ignored during the boom years of the '20s. In contrast, the beaver is virtually absent from the figures.



TABLE 12

(a)

ATTAWAPISKAT POST FURS HARVESTED 1932 - 1940

Species	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940
Bear, White	2	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Bear, Black	4	2	1	---	---	---	---	---	---
Beaver	11	39	8	8	---	---	---	14	---
Ermine	1084	1471	1013	478	188	488	1822	629	315
Fisher	4	3	6	14	6	5	3	2	1
Fox, Silver	8	5	38	24	18	5	7	4	1
Fox, Cross	43	61	165	118	123	43	53	54	7
Fox, Red	162	159	576	396	309	194	204	227	24
Fox, White	100	23	45	99	9	7	6	--	8
Fox, Blue	---	---	---	1	---	---	---	---	---
Fox, Bastard	--	---	---	3	---	---	3	6	---
Lynx	9	19	44	16	4	4	5	---	---
Marten	4	2	6	2	3	2	4	2	1
Mink	386	984	875	182	181	278	292	287	376
Musquash	15899	10975	7379	4406	5157	7343	11968	9511	10199
Otter	158	202	220	91	165	164	176	187	185
Skunk	---	---	---	---	---	2	2	15	31
Wolf, Timber	--	---	1	1	---	---	---	---	---
Squirrels	---	---	---	---	---	---	316	1858	2002

(a) SOURCE: HBC Archives

TABLE 13

(a)

LAKE RIVER FURS HARVESTED OUTFITS 1932 - 1940

Species	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940
Bear, White	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Bear, Black	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Beaver	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Ermine	---	---	---	136	50	440	1931	1014	283
Fisher	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Fox, Silver	---	---	---	6	4	3	7	6	1
Fox, Cross	---	---	---	32	30	26	56	42	8
Fox, Red	---	---	---	115	127	117	234	220	46
Fox, White	---	---	---	84	3	15	42	22	39
Fox, Blue	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Fox, Bastard	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	9	--
Lynx	---	---	---	---	---	1	---	2	---
Marten	---	---	---	---	1	4	3	5	---
Mink	---	---	---	16	25	153	147	123	322
Musquash	---	---	---	526	547	3137	9574	7607	11024
Otter	---	---	---	6	22	44	30	41	50
Skunk	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1
Squirrels	---	---	---	---	---	---	742	774	1169

(a) SOURCE: HBC Archives NOTE: No furs were purchased from the Lake River Outpost until Outfit 265, i.e., 1935, hence the lack of figures in the first three columns.

Again, it is important to note the growing reliance upon smaller but more easily accessible (if less profitable) furbearers (muskrat, squirrels, mink) as the primary species became increasingly rare. This switch to more easily accessible and more numerous species must be seen as an adaptive strategy in the face of adversity. And, as noted below, the transition to less lucrative but more procurable species helped initiate a more broadly defined role for women.

From 1940 to 1950 the dearth of furbearers continued with a corresponding decrease in harvesting. As noted above, Attawapiskat trappers continued to ply their trade irrespective of the hardships it entailed. The fur harvest data for 1941 to 1950 are presented in Tables 14 and 15.

These figures are illustrative for a number of reasons, but especially for the way in which they graphically state the cyclical nature of animal populations. At the outset of the fur trade in Attawapiskat, it was hoped that it would be a productive post for foxes. The tables immediately below show dramatically how even a "good" region for a particular species, i.e., the fox, is subject to the natural population fluctuations. As is quite apparent, 1940 and 1948 were the low point of this species cycle, producing unusually low harvests, and illustrating the need to exploit other species. This fact, plus others, need to be borne in mind as we examine trappers' incomes.

TABLE 14

(a)

ATTAWAPISKAT - FURS HARVESTED 1941 - 1950

Species	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950
Beaver	---	8	---	25	---	58	122	273	336	279
Ermine	840	3144	1079	211	452	1142	649	222	566	2360
Fisher	1	---	2	2	---	---	---	---	---	---
Fox, Silver	---	7	8	15	11	40	9	---	---	1
Fox, Cross	22	68	43	73	91	316	52	6	15	37
Fox, Red	87	261	158	235	311	1121	203	23	17	108
Fox, White	10	31	1	1	---	14	7	2	---	---
Fox, Blue	---	3	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Fox, Bastard	2	4	1	2	3	---	---	---	---	---
Lynx	1	10	3	17	7	4	---	---	---	---
Marten	--	2	3	4	1	---	1	---	---	---
Mink	673	906	502	289	279	208	51	78	194	275
Musquash	16207	7747	4100	3881	3064	1828	1428	2828	5899	3627
Otter	238	139	236	306	242	225	192	147	171	174
Squirrel	2048	1464	2874	2653	5744	2714	2665	2573	4028	985
Skunk	55	53	147	141	240	145	105	24	10	32

(a) SOURCE: HBC Archives

TABLE 15

(a)

LAKE RIVER FURS HARVESTED 1941 - 1950

Species	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950
Beaver	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Ermine	673	2094	931	93	242	465	542	162	655	1891
Fisher	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Fox, Silver	4	10	5	11	11	34	3	3	2	4
Fox, Cross	34	74	31	56	76	168	36	3	12	14
Fox, Red	115	346	98	160	212	626	110	12	42	48
Fox, White	44	85	7	5	13	82	60	18	44	166
Fox, Blue	---	---	---	---	---	1	---	---	---	---
Fox, Bastard	4	12	3	---	4	---	---	---	---	---
Lynx	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Marten	---	---	---	2	---	---	---	---	---	---
Mink	344	121	93	111	50	45	47	62	78	95
Musquash	6790	3948	2215	2570	2110	1351	1502	2809	4236	2854
Otter	50	11	27	44	31	25	54	55	92	67
Squirrel	1405	1021	2585	2851	2890	1328	898	3074	2292	906
Skunk	2	5	2	14	61	13	12	3	21	14

(a) SOURCE: HBC Archives

There was a moratorium on beaver harvests within the beaver sanctuaries, established in 1935 on Akimiski and in 1944 near Attawapiskat. It was not until 1946-47 that the first beaver were harvested on the Akimiski sanctuary. Beaver also had been rendered "extinct" in the coastal areas several years prior to the years cited in the tables immediately above. Therefore, those people whose lands were affected by the coastal depletion of beaver or by the beaver sanctuaries would have their incomes greatly curtailed in comparison to those who trapped inland where this species was more readily available. Yet another factor is the inclusion of a high number of trap lines within close proximity of the village (as noted above). The 43% of the trappers operating within 60 miles of the post in 1944-46 accounted for 36% of the average income. The 57% of the trappers operating beyond 60 miles earned 64% of the average individual income (Honigmann, 1961:121) [NOTE Honigmann states that these figures pertain to average income, what he apparently meant was 36% and 64% of total income]. A substantial reason for this discrepancy lies in the greater number of resources inland, especially "free" beaver. Conversely, what must also be considered is the fairly large population of trappers, i.e. those trapping near the post, exploiting a modest area of meager resources. There is little reason to believe that there was a discrepancy in skills between those who trapped inland and those who did not. Thus, the difference in income must be seen as 1) a function of difference in resources, 2)

amount of time spent in pursuing those resources, 3) the size of the trapping family unit. In this instance, wives and sons, should they be part of the trapping unit, may provide considerable assistance; hence, contributing to a greater income. Tables 16 and 17 detail trapping incomes in Attawapiskat from 1944 - 1947.

TABLE 16  
DISTRIBUTION OF TRAPPING INCOMES AMONG FAMILIES  
(a)  
IN ATTAWAPISKAT 1944-1947

\$ Range	1944 - 45		1945 - 46		1946 - 47	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
\$ 0 - 100	10	10.5	6	6.5	36	34.7
101 - 200	13	13.5	7	7.5	18	17.3
201 - 300	22	23.1	13	13.0	17	16.3
301 - 400	15	15.7	18	18.0	6	5.8
401 - 500	8	8.4	6	6.0	5	4.8
501 - 600	8	8.4	8	8.0	7	6.7
601 - 700	1	1.0	7	7.0	1	0.9
701 - 800	0	0.0	8	8.0	2	1.9
801 - 900	3	3.1	2	2.0	1	0.9
901 - 1000	2	2.1	9	9.0	1	0.9
1001 - 2000	3	3.1	5	5.0	1	0.9
2001 - 3000	0	0.0	1	1.0	0	0.0
Not Available	10	10.5	10	10.0	9	8.6
Totals	95	99.4	100	100.0	104	99.7

(a) SOURCE: Honigmann, 1961:127

TABLE 17  
TOTAL AND AVERAGE INCOMES DERIVED FROM TRAPPING  
ATTAWAPISKAT 1944-1947

Years	Total Income	Average Family Income
1944-45	\$30,800	\$362.00
1945-46	\$40,800	\$542.00
1946-47	\$22,700	\$238.00
1947-48	\$41,097	\$513.71

(a) SOURCE: Honigmann, 1961:128

These figures are meaningless without context. The more than doubling of family income between 1946-47 and 1947-48 is due to the opening of the Akimiski Island beaver preserve in 1946-47. Secondary and tertiary reasons are the fluctuating fur markets and the animal population cycles discussed above. Overall, Honigmann (1961:128) states that the "chronically low incomes" for the Attawapiskat Indians are due to reduction of furbearers as a result of too intensive trapping, the ill suitability of the area to maintain species diversity, and a relatively great concentration of human population along the coast.

Finally, one must examine other aspects of commercial hunting, i.e., the hunting of country food for trade. There has been a tendency to overlook this aspect of Native/non-Native relations in the north, although in the Attawapiskat case at least, it played a significant role. This was particularly true during lean times. And the production of



country food considerably enhanced the roles of women in both the domestic and public domains (for a discussion of the status and roles of women in these "domains" see the subchapter "Women in the Economic Sphere").

It is most useful to examine the trade in country food in terms of 1) who (in terms of geographical proximity to the post) did the trade, 2) the items traded, and 3) the temporal patterning of trade. One typically associates the production of country food for post use with the "Home Guard" Cree; historically a select (not elite) group who, by virtue of their proximity to the post, were able to supply it with country produce (Ray, 1978:41). In the Attawapiskat case, it is evident that such trade was not restricted to those whose lands bounded the post. While the archival evidence suggests that the significant majority of such trade was conducted by the so-called Post Families, it is also quite apparent that Inlanders and others conducted trade in country food.

A number of individuals are repeatedly referred to in the journals as provisioners to the Attawapiskat post between 1919 and 1931. This includes the Wesleys (Abel, Alec, Thomas and William) all of whom hunted the Lawachie River. Cooper (1933) does not consider them a post family; in fact they are sometimes associated with Albany. "Big William" Nakogee is cited as often providing country food. While the "Nagodgis" are considered by Cooper to be a post family, he also states

that William hunted "Swan River" near the Attawapiskat River. There were apparently two Swan Rivers; on today's maps only one is designated and it is between the Attawapiskat and Opinaga Rivers and does not meet the former. The Weesks (particularly Aleck, for whom Cooper has no reference) were frequent provisioners. They apparently were a post family who hunted on Akimiski as well.

John Tookate was the son of Jacob Tookate. The father originally hunted (according to Cooper) along the Opinaga River, but between 1919 and 1931 hunted "at Attawapiskat". In addition to John, he had two other sons Xavier and David. They were frequent conveyors of country produce. Jacob's father hunted Cape Henrietta Maria. Following 1931 Jacob hunted the Lawachie.

In actuality, one might argue that there was an equal distribution of country produce if one looks at the provenience of that food, if not solely the volume or amount. For example, there is evidence of hunters from the Kapiskow River (John Nakogee), Cape Henrietta Maria (Joseph Carpenter) (NOTE: he is referred to in the journals as simply being "inland"), the Lawachie River (James Mud), Swan River (James Spence) and Little Ekwan River (John Longpeter) all providing country produce. Others (eg. Joseph Okitigoo) are simply reported as arriving "from inland". Akimiski Island is often referred to as being a source of hunters who provisioned the post.

The point of the above discussion is to illustrate that contrary to a generalized perception of the fur trade, post provisioners were not solely those whom we label as "Home Guard". The circumstances surrounding Attawapiskat post, eg., a chronic shortage of game and, and at times, furbearers, a large traditional territory, and a fur trade exacerbated by intense rivalry between companies, might have affected the typical role allocation. In our instance it is apparent that there was not a limited number of "Home Guard" Cree provisioners. Rather, hunters from virtually all corners of Attawapiskat territory participated in the currency of country food.

The trade in country food is important for a number of reasons. First, it expanded the traditional exploitable universe to a significant degree. The Cree were not restricted to conventional furbearers in terms of marketable resources. Standard trade was no longer restricted to beaver, marten, lynx, and fox. Second, this trade did not oblige the Cree to step out of their traditional roles as hunters and gatherers. Instead, through the pursuit of country food for trade they were able to merely extend their efforts in their own food search to accommodate that which would be traded. Third, in times of scarcity of furbearers, the market in country food could be expected, within limited reason, to offset the economic hardship. Fourth, it expanded the role of women within the economic realm. This is discussed below.

The inventory of traded country foods reads like a list of the subarctic flora and fauna. The Cree provided a large range of food items, from berries to moose meat, to the post. The only significant species missing in the historical records as country food is caribou, and its absence does not necessarily indicate that it was not, in fact, traded.

While waxies (blue and snow geese) and "geese" i.e. Canada geese, predominate as country food, a number of other species were bartered. "Jos. Carpenter arrived from inland with a quantity of fish to trade" (October 29, 1930). "Abel and Alex Wesley arrived from Lawachie today with rabbits and waxies" (November 29, 1923). "Indian women bringing quite a few berries" (September 6, 1923). "Jeremiah came in with a red fox and a little moosemeat" (April 4, 1923). The volume of this trade was substantial with one entry recording a trade of one hundred ducks and three waxies, while on the same day (September 16, 1922) a trade of "over 300 ducks" was made. Elsewhere (March 14, 1923) four hundred rabbits were purchased. The Attawapiskat people also fulfilled a vital function in the feeding of the post's dogs. While fish and rabbit were staples of human consumption, they also were prized dog "feed". "The team from Agamiski brought 300 rabbits for dog feed" (February 12, 1923). "...a load of rabbits for dog feed" (March 13, 1923). "...purchased a supply of fish from several of the Natives for dog feed" (September 6, 1930). It is apparent that feeding the post's dogs could be a virtual full time

occupation as four days later the following entry appears "...purchasing a supply of fish from the Natives for dog feed", while less than two weeks later (September 22, 1930) the post was again "trading fish for dog feed".

It was not solely smaller animals like geese, ducks, rabbits and fish in which the Natives traded. The data suggest that it was in the procurement of larger species that Natives excelled and thus filled a vital role in the larger post community. "Alec Wesley and John Chakasim returned with ...2 seals - which will come in handy for dog's feed" (January 5, 1924). On September 18, 1923 10 seals are reported as having been killed, four going for dog food while the remainder were put aside for "winter use". Nine days later, three more seals had been purchased and "put away for dog feed". Elsewhere in the journals, there are references to the use of bears for dog food. On September 12, 1927 an entry records buying three "white" bears from Joachim Spence and Philip Tookate for "dog grub". The latter hunted at Lake River and up Opinaga River, while the former (it is believed) hunted along the Swan River between the Attawapiskat and Opinaga Rivers or possibly at Lake River as well. Honigmann (1961:161) suggests that seal is not eaten except in cases of extreme need. Rather, as suggested here, it is fit for dogs. Of bears (both polar and black, it is assumed) stomach, liver kidneys and brain are avoided for food, the paws eaten only in times of extreme need. In 1990 it was stated that "only the Inuit eat seal".

It is also useful to examine the context within which much of the trade in country food took place. While there always existed a country food trade it is apparent from the records that it was enhanced during periods of fur scarcity. Thus, we find increasing references to Cree bringing in country food to trade but little or no furs. "Charles Kayshooke, Jr. arrived from inland bringing a few fish to trade and reports having killed only 1 otter since he visited the post last month" (December 26, 1929). This is particularly true beginning in late 1929 and through to 1931 (the end of the HBC journals). This period, of course, is one of scarcity in furs, following the "fur boom" of the 1920s.

The increasing references to trade in country food (there are about five times as many references to trade in country food during the lean years of the fur trade as during the boom years) must be seen as an attempt to retain a hunting economy in the face of adversity. What is equally compelling is the fact that as little time as possible was spent at the post; essentially enough to negotiate trade and depart. "Jos. Carpenter arrived at the post at noon and left for hunting grounds two hours later" (March 25, 1931). "John [Chakasim] and son who arrived last night left again for their hunting grounds this morning" (March 31, 1931). "David Mud, Jr. and step son arrived from inland in forenoon. ... Left again, afternoon" (April 24, 1931). The reason for

these abrupt visits is simple: when country food is scarce, it is especially so in proximity to the post. Ergo, the imperative need to get back to one's lands as quickly as possible to resume the hunt for meat. To spend time at the post is to waste valuable time that is better spent hunting elusive prey.

One might question why, if country food and furbearers are both scarce, would people trade in country food instead of hoarding it for one's own use. The reason is not so perplexing. The items which were (or had become) essential for hunting and trapping were obtained from the HBC. This includes things like steel traps, bullets, guns, matches, snare wire. In addition, food staples like flour, lard, sugar and tea were also available only from the stores. The options were limited, but one could deal in what one could produce through one's labours; i.e., country food, to barter for those items which allowed one to produce more. This is not to suggest that there was hoarding of country food to the point of hunger in order to trade. Rather, after meeting their own needs first people then traded in country food in order to obtain those items needed to survive on the land. Experience had shown that neither the Bay nor the government could be relied upon to help the Cree during periods of hardship. But one could try to retain one's independence and dignity through one's labours. Thus, an increasing trade in country food during the lean years.

C: Women in the Economic Sphere

Kupferer (1988:46) speaking of the "Swampy" Cree generally has noted that traditionally the work of women was valued, that men did not lose status if they engaged in what was typically women's work, and that older women - widowed or childless - often had reputations as good hunters. Similarly, Honigmann (1961:59) denies the existence of any rigid sexual division of labour; men, women, and children often participating in diverse tasks.

Traditionally, there were certain tasks allocated to women. Fishing is one of these, as is rabbit (and sometimes ptarmigan) snaring in the winter. These are not the exclusive domain of women, however, as both men and youngsters continue to fish and snare in 1990. Rather, women typically assumed these activities, and frequently made all-women group excursions out of these endeavours (Honigmann, 1961:91), creating a "picnic" like atmosphere. More importantly is the fact that women, by virtue of being the more active of the sexes in procuring fish, rabbits and small birds, might have at times been the major providers of food items. During periods of starvation this particularly might be true as small game replaced moose and beaver in the diet. This suggestion makes for an interesting comparison with the !Kung San, a society in which women as well provide the bulk of the diet (Lee, 1979:309).



In the late twentieth century, however, as shotguns, snowmobiles, and outboard motors have made hunting easier and more productive, the productivity of men has undoubtedly increased while that of women has increased less (ignoring the role of women today in paid positions). Nonetheless, Honigmann (1961:152,153,157) cites the following estimated figures for food consumption for 1947/48 (see Table 18). It should be noted that this was a period of peak starvation and scarce country food; rabbits were particularly hard to come by (Honigmann, 1961:158). It should also be stated that food items typically procured by women are poorly remembered; hence, these estimates are likely low. Also, Honigmann cited the total weight in ounces; the weights have therefore been converted to pounds.

TABLE 18 (a)  
SMALL GAME AND FISH CONSUMPTION IN ATTAWAPISKAT 1947/48

Species	Quantity Consumed	Total Weight (lbs) Before Cooking
Ptarmigan	480	660
Spruce Hen	480	660
Grouse	720	990
"Partridge"	808	1111
Rabbit	4,770	7453
Whitefish	18,720	15,210
Ling	640	2320
Jackfish	1,640	5330
Trout	680	722.5
Coastal Sucker	2,460	1998.75
Inland Sucker	200	200
Walleye (Pike)	440	880
Sturgeon	80	1040

(a) SOURCE: Honigmann, 1961

Women (and to a lesser extent children) played a significant or dominant role in the harvesting of all these species. The cumulative total of this produce compares favourably with the 15 moose (8,906.25 pounds), 11 caribou (1,375 pounds) and 400 beaver (7,125 pounds) killed by men. While women contributed significantly to the diet, the difference lies in the fact that qualitatively more importance is attached to the produce provided by men.

Fish are not really highly valued - in comparison to meat, for example. ... The capture of fish is not usually accompanied by excitement or great pleasure. In brief, they are a routine food only slightly more attractive than ...flour and rolled oats. To these facts is related the allocation of most fishing to women (Honigmann, 1961:149).

While one could make an eloquent Marxist feminist criticism of these observations, suffice it to say that the reason for the low value placed on fish and the high value placed on meat, lies in their relative availability; hence, desirability. The reality of the situation, i.e, that Attawapiskat is not a particularly biotically rich region, results in a premium on those items which are not readily accessible. That, of course, includes moose, caribou and other large game. The argument might also be made that fish is a "monotonous" diet, and that in Attawapiskat, it is perceived as a food that is not particularly filling or providing of energy.

Honigmann (1981:224) has suggested that the depletion of resources - both for food and for trade - contributed in

part to the diminution in size of the winter hunting group. It is difficult to measure how this decrease in size affected the roles of women and younger people in terms of division of labour, but it is not unreasonable to suggest that there was a change in domestic roles. While it is beyond the scope of this thesis, this is a hypothesis worth examining.

What is interesting to note, however, is that in the early decades of this century, probably due to the depleted environment, rapacious disease, and restructuring of social groups, women and younger people began seem to play a more diverse role in economic activities.

Honigmann (1981:221) observes that for the West Main Cree, in the 17th century, Indians typically chose several "chiefs" to take charge of the trading for their people. A "chief" spoke for his people, requesting the trader's consideration. How long this custom persisted is unknown, but by 1920 it is clear that in Attawapiskat, women and "boys" had assumed some of the "chiefly" duties. "Alex Weesk's boy arrived from coast for some supplies" (October 17, 1929). "...James Mud's wife arrived from Lawachie with a few ermine to trade" (December 9, 1929). "Wm. Nakoge Sr.'s wife arrived with several musquash in evening" (May 25, 1930). This is not to argue that women and boys had assumed control; rather, that their roles in conducting trade had expanded.

It is suggested here that if there was a decrease in the size of the winter hunting group (and an increasing scarcity

of resources would suggest that, by necessity, there was), then women and younger people would assume more varied and active roles. The HBC records suggest an unusually large number of single family winter groups, particularly during the periods of peak starvation. Rogers (1969:28) in reference to the Eastern Subarctic generally, has stated that the winter hunting group was typically ten to fifteen people in number, comprising two to four families. This, of course, represents (in the ideal form) one or two groups of trapping partners. Tanner (1979:45) observes that in Mistassini, informants spoke of a preferred form of large hunting groups of four or five commensal units, but which could only rarely be used because of resources. In this preferred form, as well, there are trapping partnerships of two or more men. Honigmann (1981:224) indicates that the hunting group was eventually down to one to three family units in the West Main region.

With hunting groups essentially one family units (in some cases) it is not surprising to find boys and women taking over the role of "partner". "Aleck Weesk's boy came in with several ermine to trade" (November 9, 1930). "Jacob Issapie's Boy [sic] came in from Equan River in afternoon" (December 1, 1930). "Joseph Mud's wife arrived from Fox River with a few rabbits to trade" (April 28, 1930).

It was the inherently flexible nature of Cree society (eg. informal leadership, mobility between hunting groups, unrigid sexual division of labour, permeable territorial

boundaries) which allowed for the development of expanded roles for women and children during the early decades of this century.

It is clear that women did not function solely as adjuncts to their husbands. There are numerous instances of women working as independent hunters and trappers. "A few old widows coming in now and again with rats [muskrats]" (November 10, 1923). "Mary Kamalatsit arrived in the afternoon" (May 28, 1927). "Widow Janet [was] in today with [a] small hunt" (March 18, 1929). "Widow Janet and widow [illegible] arrived today pm" (June 11, 1929).

A number of the inland hunters came in with their final hunts - Chas. Fireman, Matthew Okimaw, John Longpeter, Jr., Joseph and David Okitigoo, Janet Martinas, ... (May 30, 1931).

The HBC records support the contention that women played a fundamental role in economic activities. It is apparent that women not only provided the needed foodstuffs for their own use but turned harvested goods into trade items. In this area a wide range of harvested goods was used in bartering. "Some women brought in a few ducks" (September 15, 1922). "Indian women bringing quite a few berries" (September 6, 1923). "Some women came in during the day with a few fish" (May 15, 1923). "James Mud's wife arrived from Lawachie with a few ermine to trade" (December 9, 1929).

In addition to being a viable trapping and economic partner, women were indispensable in the bush in times of

disease and starvation. Given the new structure of the winter hunting groups, i.e.. often reduced in size, men oftentimes had to rely on their wives and partners for their very lives. This sometimes took heroic proportions.

David Okitigoo's wife arrived ... and reported that her husband was sick and that they were entirely out of "grub" (March 13, 1930).

David Ookitgoo's [sic] wife was brought to the post today by John Chakasim's and Alex Wesley's wives in a semi-conscious condition. Indians who had passed her camp had noticed that she had no fire, so the two women mentioned above left the post this morning to search for her and found her in the condition stated. This woman left the post on the 14th for her husband's camp but was only able to proceed a few miles as she had frozen her feet (March 19, 1930).

When Honigmann undertook the research for Foodways in a Muskeg Community it was a period of scarce resources. This fact helps to illustrate the significant contribution of women to the household diet. Honigmann (1961:91) cites the case of a number of women who spent ten days in early March at Amiskosiipii, ten to twelve miles north of Attawapiskat. After leaving their children in the care of older sisters and a grandmother, they set out their snare lines for rabbits. One woman caught twenty-five rabbits, one spruce hen and ten squirrels (some women also had rifles). Another women killed thirty seven rabbits, and four spruce hens. Portions of these kills were distributed among other families. Given that it was a bad year generally, and especially for rabbits which were at the bottom of their population cycle, this was

a major contribution to the community larder.

In sum, it is argued here that the role of women, both in terms of their provisioning of food and in their overall status within the fur trade economy, merits re-examination within the Mushkegowuk region. Such an exercise would contribute greatly to existing "feminist" literature of the fur trade (eg. Brown, 1980; Van Kirk, 1980, S. Preston, 1982).

#### D. Conclusions and Discussion

This chapter has examined land use from 1901 (the arrival of the HBC) to 1952 (the implementation of the registered trapline system by the Ontario government). It was a period of numerous economic and social changes for the Cree. Paramount among these were greater integration into the economy of the fur trade and shifts in patterns of land tenure. However, it is argued in this chapter and throughout this paper that integration into the economy was not at the expense of hunting for subsistence and that hunting for trade did not replace hunting for food. Further, changes in tenure must be seen as adaptations to environmental and demographic changes.

In addition to subsistence hunting and hunting for trade there were other aspects of land use which merit mention. Some of these were of a direct nature, others were "indirect" but called upon Native familiarity with their land. A number of Cree were involved in log cutting for the HBC, working for wages. This, of course, was in addition to

the wood cut for their own use [see Chapter 7: Contemporary Land Use for a discussion of the extent of wood use by today's Attawapiskat people]. "Some Indians brought down a raft of wood about 6 miles" (September 22, 1919). A number of men who did "log work" were active trappers who cut logs in the off season. "Log men started this morning for their camp with a week's supplies [sic] as they intend staying out for the week" (April 5, 1920). "Quite a number of Indians are now on the post for Christmas. Four or five of them are off chopping in the bush for the Company" (December 21, 1922). After the logs had been cut there was the opportunity for other work. "Indians hauling wood for \$7 a pile, 6 X 8 X 4" (January 25, 1929). Presumably, this hauling of wood was by dog team, and not manpower.

Traditional Cree skills were also employed by the Bay in other areas. "Two Indians are sawing canoe lathings at \$35 per" (May 4, 1921). "R.V. Cook left for the north accompanied by three native guides George [illegible], Alex [illegible - Wesley?], and David Koostachin" (August 2, 1929).

There is yet another area in which the Cree participated, if inactively. Cultivation and gardening are not "traditional" Cree endeavours, but in 1912 the Oblate Mission began to cultivate a large garden. One villager, Joseph Nakogee, also began cultivating a garden on the island below the village. When he left, the mission enlarged his plot and for the next forty years this garden was worked



(Vezina, 1978:5). Honigmann (1961:137) recorded that in 1947/48 there were two Indian gardens in operation. One belonged to an elderly widower (Joseph Nakogee?) and the other was a community garden. The latter produced twenty 75 pound bags of potatoes which were distributed to at least thirty families. Thus, each receiving family was given about fifty pounds of potatoes.

Despite these efforts, gardening has not persisted strongly in Attawapiskat. The Mission farm eventually was phased out, and today the community garden is tended by less than half a dozen volunteers.

As noted in this and the previous chapter, this period marked the greatest changes in Attawapiskat society, characterized by conscious and deliberate attempts on the part of the state to bring the Cree under non-Native control. Bailey (1969:181) has observed that the difficulty facing all encapsulated structures is how to maintain themselves by finding adjustment with a changed environment. "Environment" he defines widely: "a new law, a new ideology, a new technique of cultivation, a tender-hearted or rigid administrator, or many other things, singly or in combination ..." (1969:191). It is quite apparent that there were dramatic changes to the cultural and natural environment of Attawapiskat between 1901 and 1952.

This chapter has demonstrated the continued reliance upon the land by the Attawapiskat First Nation, despite State incursions and repeated periods of game and furbearer depletion. Times of hardship were been met with social

reorganization (eg. diminution in size of hunting group, redefinition and expansion of traditional roles), shifts in economic strategy (eg. emphasis upon trade of country food when furbearers are non-existent), a restructuring of traditional ideas of land "ownership" and tenure, and pursuit of more numerous and accessible, if less valuable, species when beaver is scarce.

It has been illustrated that a number of conventionally held ideas about the Cree in general, and the Attawapiskat Cree in particular, may not be as accurate as previously believed. Among these is the notion of prolonged summer residence at the post. While this may be true for some groups, eg. the coasters or "post families", the data indicate that not all families resided for the summer months in the community.

Similarly, while there existed so-called "post families", it is evident that a sizeable number of inland and other families helped provision the posts. Particularly this is true during periods of minimal furbearers.

The role of women as family provisioners needs to be examined more closely. Attawapiskat (and possibly other Mushkegowuk bands) might be a unique case, given the "chronic shortage" of big game, but one cannot deny the considerable amount of food provided by women. One might suggest that the Attawapiskat case is typical for the subarctic generally, but is overlooked by most researchers. Rabbits, fish, partridge, ptarmigan and other birds are all provided by women. While

they are not prized food items like moose, goose and caribou, they provide a substantial portion of the annual diet.

Finally, at the risk of sounding repetitive, the evidence clearly indicates that hunting for trade did not override hunting for subsistence. A number of journal entries (quoted elsewhere in this thesis) definitively state that during times of stress, the Cree could not be compelled to give up their quest for food to accommodate the trader's demands for more fur. This, in conjunction with the semi-annual goose hunts, are ample evidence of the continued reliance upon country food. The quest for furs did not not "replace" the quest for food.

CHAPTER 6: ATTAWAPISKAT CREE LAND USE: 1953 - 1985

This period is characterized by the "opening up" of Attawapiskat to Canada and the world via greater provision of government services, communication and transportation access. In this thirty two year period the community received telephones, television, daily flights in and out of the community, community health care and education. There was continued land use during this period as well, and perhaps as a result of the greater access to society at large as well as the access from government and other representatives from society, the Attawapiskat Cree found themselves at times defending their rights to the land.

If, then, the period from 1901 - 1952 was characterized by the initial Euro-Canadian encroachment and subsequent codification of relationships, the following three decades saw the state assume a position of non-accountability to the Cree. Following in the footsteps of the traders and church the government, through Treaty 9 and the trapline system, had furthered the encapsulation of the Attawapiskat people. Firmly buttressed by the legalities contained in and implied by the Indian Act, the treaty and the trapline regulations, the period from 1952 - 1985 saw the government consider alternative uses for traditional Attawapiskat lands, while ignoring Cree requests for a new, more strategically located, reserve.

The significant aspect of the government's considerations is that they were conducted in a covert manner, without consultation with the Attawapiskat people. In one case the government intended to make the Akimiski region into an RCAF bombing range. In another, Akimiski was being considered as a relocation site for an Inuit population. The Cree were, in the eyes of government, an encapsulated people, not worthy of consultation or consideration. As Bailey contends, encapsulation is a function of the perceived economic needs and greater political complexity of the dominant nation. However, the Cree were not acquiescent. Indeed, as the encapsulation process became more rigid and defined, the patterns of Cree resistance concomitantly became more formal.

Throughout this period there was a continued population growth with concomitant demands upon the environment. Withal, however, the Attawapiskat Nation continued to rely upon the land to sustain them as it had for generations. The latter half of the century brought new forms of commercialized land use, some introduced from outside, others locally. These were incorporated into the local economy, as the population sought to maintain that precarious balance between use and over-exploitation.

This chapter will examine a) hunting for subsistence products and b) hunting for trade products. In addition, we will examine c) threats to traditional land use. The chapter concludes with d) a discussion and conclusions.

Part A: Hunting For Subsistence:

As noted elsewhere in this chapter, we are somewhat limited in our knowledge of subsistence and trade hunting for this period. Without the extensive HBC archival data (post journals and harvest records) our information pool is somewhat limited. What we do have, however, are two major government studies; one from the 1970s and the other from the 1980s. The former examined only waterfowl harvesting while the latter was quite extensive, examining virtually all bird and mammal species in the James Bay area.

While these two studies are of undoubted importance, it leaves the researcher with virtually no data from the period 1953 to the early 1970s. One must extrapolate from the minimal amount of material one has.

We do know that in the latter half of the century moose and caribou are much more frequently killed than in the first half. This information may be deduced from the two available studies and from informants' statements in 1990. The fact that virtually every male over the age of fifty in Attawapiskat has killed moose and caribou, many on a regular basis, suggests a significant increase in the availability of these species. (The age of fifty is used here because a fifty year old man in 1990 would have been thirteen years old in 1953; hence, just starting an active life as hunter).

To help put into perspective the increase in the number of moose and caribou, and the degree to which they have been hunted between 1953 and 1985, it is useful to look at some statistics. In 1990 forty-seven men over the age of fifty were interviewed. Of these forty-seven, only five indicated that they had never hunted moose or caribou. An additional six stated that they had hunted moose, but not caribou. None hunted caribou to the exclusion of moose.

It is extremely difficult to extrapolate from the Hudson's Bay data, but one might venture to say that even fewer moose and little (if any) caribou were killed during the 1920s and '30s. The reasons for a greater number of large game, i.e., moose and caribou, being killed today reflect in part the increasing mechanization of hunting in the post 1950 era. Outboard motors and snowmobiles, as well as advances in weapon technology, have greatly helped subsistence hunters. Caribou in particular, are more accessible due to the snowmobile.

It is important to note that there are differing perceptions regarding the availability of moose and caribou. Some hunters for example observed that either or both species were "rare" or "scarce". This might be interpreted to mean that a) there are either fewer moose/caribou today than a given number of years ago or b) they are "scarce" in their areas. The latter is probably true. In a study done by Thompson and Hutchison (n.d.) for example, only one moose was killed in Winisk between June '82 and June '83. A number

of Attawapiskat families have their grounds near Winisk; ergo, a man stating that moose are rare in his area might indeed be making an accurate statement if he hunts in that region. The same holds true for caribou. Thus, the discrepancy between an apparently large number of moose and caribou being killed, and a man's statement that either species is rare, is not a contradiction, but reflects the northerly location of caribou and southerly location of moose.

It might also be mentioned that increasing age does not necessarily reflect decreasing time spent hunting these two species although poor health is a major factor in deciding not to hunt. The point is that men continue(d) (we are talking up to 1985 in this chapter) to hunt as long as they (were) are able.

Thompson and Hutchison (n.d.) conducted an exhaustive study of resource harvesting by the Natives of the Hudson Bay Lowlands. Their data are extensive and very detailed covering birds, mammals, fish, fuelwood, and trapping. Their study period is 1981/82 and 1982/83. Their data in some instances corroborate that of this study, in other areas there are discrepancies. Presented in Table 19 are data from Thompson and Hutchison for Attawapiskat only (n.d.:84,85).



TABLE 19

Estimated Moose Harvested by  
Attawapiskat Hunters June '81 - June '83 <sup>(a)</sup>

	June '81 - June '82	June '82 - June '83
Number of people recorded hunting moose	25	40
Number of moose killed in sample	37	106
Moose killed per hunter	1.5	2.7
(b)		
Estimated moose kill	76 (55 - 95)	116 (107 - 126)

(a) SOURCE: Thompson and Hutchison , n.d.

(b) Based on male and female hunters between 14 and 75 years of age that reported moose hunting.

Some observations regarding the Thompson and Hutchison data need to be made. There are several variations within their data, eg., considerable differences in harvest figures for caribou. Conversations with one of the researchers (Bill Hutchison) confirmed that these differences reflect normal and natural fluctuations; they are not attributable to any social, cultural or demographic changes, fluctuations or aberrations within the communities (William Hutchison, pers.

comm.). Therefore, Mr. Hutchison assured me, variations in kill figures, time spent hunting, and numbers of hunters are indicative of the availability of species and the environmental and meteorological conditions suitable for their pursuit. For example, he suggested that if there was a greater number of caribou killed in a particular year, it reflects that caribou were abundant and accessible. Similarly, he suggested that if the moose kill was down it was because river conditions were not optimal for the travelling necessary to hunt moose in the fall and/or other natural factors), not because men were absent from the community or preoccupied in building houses or other form of wage labour. He noticed no social conditions which might account for differences. The differences, Mr. Hutchison assured me, are naturally occurring variations, not aberrations.

In the Thompson and Hutchison data above we notice a considerable discrepancy from one year to the next in terms of kills. In the moose data, the number of kills increases by fifty per cent from one year to the next. This might reflect any number of factors: moose population; sampling techniques (or error); increased employment opportunities on the reserve, hence fewer hunters (although 1990 data suggest that employment does not adversely affect hunting); hunting conditions (some hunters find that river conditions determine whether or not they hunt). It is interesting to note that in Honigmann's work he found a three hundred per cent increase

in moose kills from one year to the next. This might suggest population fluctuations within the species. What also might explain the differences is the availability of other species, eg. geese and caribou. Perhaps the greater abundance of one will lead to a decrease in the hunting of another.

One aspect of moose hunting in which there is variation between the Thompson and Hutchison data and the present study, in part, is in the amount of time spent moose hunting. Again, this discrepancy might be attributable to their sampling techniques or the particular years of study. In 1981/82 they found a mean of 3.5 days/hunter, in 1982/83 it was a mean of 6.5 days/hunter. The latter is consistent with findings in 1990. The range for the first period was 1 - 7 days, for the second 2 - 12 days. 1990 data found a range of two to fourteen days, with a mean of 7.38 days.

In terms of caribou, Thompson and Hutchison again found a considerable discrepancy between 1981/82 and 1982/83. Their data for caribou kills are presented in Table 20. In these and subsequent tables, "range" refers to the smallest and largest number of a particular species killed by a hunter, and - in the case of totals - the smallest and largest possible total harvest based on the individual "ranges".

TABLE 20

Estimated Caribou Harvested by  
Attawapiskat Hunters June '81 - June '83 <sup>(a)</sup>

	June '81 - June '82	June '82 - June '83
Number of people recorded hunting caribou	14	23
Number of caribou killed in sample	46	199
Caribou killed per hunter	3.3	8.7
Estimated caribou kill <sup>(b)</sup>	94 (64 - 135) (range)	217 (195 - 246) (range)

(a) SOURCE: Thompson and Hutchison, n.d.

(b) Based on male and female hunters between the ages of 14 and 75 years of age who reported caribou hunting.

As with the moose data we find considerable discrepancy from one year to the next in terms of the number of kills; in the case of caribou a difference of well over one hundred per cent. As suggested above, a number of factors might account for this difference. What is undeniable, however, is that there was, and continues to be, a significant dependence upon caribou in the second half of the century that is not as apparent in the first half. Perhaps a reason for this is the greater accessibility of caribou through the use of snowmobiles. This will be addressed below.

The approximate time spent hunting caribou as determined by Thompson and Hutchison corresponds to that found by the present study. In 1981/82 they found a mean of 5.1 days/hunter spent caribou hunting. This is based on a sample of fourteen hunters with a range of three to eight days. For 1982/83 they determined a mean of 6.8 days, based on a sample of twenty-two hunters. The range was two to fifteen days. The average in 1990 was 4.9 days with a range of one to fourteen.

There might be the temptation to explain the long term increase in the number of moose and caribou kills as a simple relationship to increased Cree population. However, if we examine the relationship between population and moose and caribou kills over time we still find that there is an increasingly large number of these species being killed. Table 21 relates moose and caribou kills to population.

TABLE 21

## Population and Moose and Caribou Kills 1946 - 1983

Year	Population (-/+ over previous year)	Moose kills (-/+ over previous year)	Caribou kills (-/+ over previous year)
1946/47	(a) 467	(a) 50	(a) 14
1947/48	(b) 470 (+.0067%)	(a) 15 (-333%)	(a) 11 (-21%)
1951	(c) 669 (+43%)	(c) 63 (+420%)	(c) 22 (+100%)
1952	(d) 600 (-10%)	(d) 20 (-317%)	?? (??)
1981/82	(e) 1000 (+66%)	(e) 76 (+380%)	(e) 94 (+327%)
1982/83	(e) 1000 (---)	(e) 116 (+66%)	(e) 217 (+130%)

(a) SOURCE: Honigmann, 1961.

(b) SOURCE: Honigmann, 1966

(c) SOURCE: Agency Report on Game Taken by Indians on Reserves for Food, 1951

(d) SOURCE: Agency Report on Game Taken by Indians on Reserves for Food, 1952

(e) SOURCE: Thompson and Hutchison, n.d.

There are several ways of examining these data. One might look at the simple number of moose and caribou kills in terms of increase or decrease, determine the ratio of moose/caribou kills to population, or look at the number of kills exponentially. The most meaningful question is about

the relationship of moose kills to population: it is apparent that the population of Attawapiskat is increasing - is there a concomitant increase in the number of moose and caribou kills, or has it decreased?

It is quite apparent that there is a dramatic increase in the amount of moose and caribou killed and eaten in Attawapiskat over the last forty five years and that this increase is not solely dependent upon an increasing population. It is unfortunate that the Honigmann data are taken from a particularly poor year for country food, because the 1946-48 data might not reflect (indeed, do not) reflect typical moose and caribou years. However, if we acknowledge 1951 and '52 as more typical years, we can definitely see that the growth in the rate of consumption of caribou has exceeded the growth rate of population increase, while the consumption of moose has remained consistent with the rate of population growth.

To put the moose and caribou harvest into an even more clear perspective, it is useful to determine the harvests as a ratio to human population. That is, how many people are there per moose/caribou killed? Table 22 below examines this relationship.

TABLE 22

Moose and Caribou Kills per Capita 1946 - 1983

Year	Moose Kills	Caribou Kills
1946/47	1:9.34	1:33.35
1947/48	1:31.33	1:42.72
1951	1:10.6	1:30.4
1952	1:30	??
1981/82	1:13	1:10.6
1982/83	1:8.6	1:4.6

These calculations illustrate dramatically the reliance upon moose and caribou and how this reliance has increased for caribou and remained consistent for moose over time. There might exist the ill-conceived notion that the increasingly technological world that has encroached upon the northern communities has eroded their relationship with the land. Such is not the case. Rather, technology, in the form of snowmobiles, outboard motors, and other tools have allowed the Cree to make better use of the resources that they have. In a community where beef steaks sell for fifteen dollars each, hunting is not a sport or a luxury, it is a necessity. And, as examined in the next chapter, such use has not diminished in the last decade, nor has it resulted in a diminution of resources.



The observations of Thompson and Hutchison in terms of moose and caribou hunting are, in the main, consistent with this study. They observe that most moose are taken in the fall (which appears to contrast with the 1930s data), and most caribou in the winter and spring, particularly March, April and May. This finding is similar to the 1990 data. Likewise, they concluded that Native moose hunting areas were situated along the major river corridors or coastal streams while most caribou were taken along the coast or inland. In Attawapiskat, the latter pattern prevails. They also noted the importance of snowmobiles in accessing caribou in the interior. Finally, they also noted the importance of the harvesting of moose and caribou to Native communities, observing that a comparatively small number of moose/caribou harvesters does not reflect a minor dependency on these species. The meat from both these animals was (is) distributed to numerous households throughout the community (See Chapter 7: Contemporary Land Use).

Study after study has indicated the unabated reliance upon goose hunting in James Bay. All of the men over fifty whom the present study addressed reported goose hunting. Some, of course, for health reasons, no longer hunt. We will again attempt to extrapolate "backwards" to determine goose harvest from 1953 - 1985. We are fortunate, however, in having two major studies to draw upon; that of Prevet et al from the 1970s and Thompson and Hutchison from the 1980s. While this chapter addresses land use within a particular block of time, we will compare the work of the two studies

above with Honigmann's and others from previous years. One of the objectives of the present study is to determine continuities and changes over time; thus, we cannot simply look at the thirty-two year span in isolation.

Thirty-seven of the forty-seven men over the age of fifty with whom we spoke still hunt geese. This statement, however, must be modified: some hunt only in the spring, many do not hunt as extensively as they used to. Nonetheless, they still hunt and kill a large number of birds. A somewhat surprising result of the figures quoted showed up in the quantification of the data: despite the fact that some hunt only one season, and others don't kill as many geese as they used to, the average per hunter is virtually the same as government studies for all hunters in Attawapiskat. In other words, men over fifty who still hunt, kill as many birds as do younger hunters, although they might spend less time (eg. only spring) actually hunting.

In the present study, hunters were asked a number of questions relating to goose hunting. In addition to questions regarding where they hunted and why, and with whom and for how long, they were asked how many of each species they killed last spring and fall, would this be an average kill, and if not was it high or low. Also, reasons for the variation from the norm (if there was one), were sought.

To reiterate, the point of addressing only men over the age of fifty (in this chapter) is to try to establish a quantitative profile of land use between 1953 and 1985. By

drawing upon their present use patterns and/or their recollection of previous use, we can try to recreate the norm for the period under discussion.

Of the thirty-seven men who still hunted, eight did not hunt in either the spring or fall hunts, i.e., they hunted in one season or the other but not both. Thus, their annual count of waterfowl kills were low. A number (seven) indicated that their seasonal kills are now less than previously because they no longer provide for large families and/or their sons provide them with goose.

These potential skewing factors are offset by a couple of hunters with exceptionally large numbers of kills. One man reported killing 500 - 600 geese, another 400. A third man claimed 635 geese and 70 ducks. Two other hunters killed over 200 geese each (235 geese plus 100 ducks, 232 geese plus 50 ducks). It should be mentioned that these truly are exceptional - two to four times the average - and in Attawapiskat there is resentment and disgust expressed (by some people) at these very large kills. By those who harbour such sentiments, it is seen as overkill and indicative of greediness.

What the present study found was remarkably similar to that of Thompson and Hutchison (see below). There was an overall annual kill of 130 geese (all species) per hunter (this might be 133.4, as one hunter reported killing 500 - 600 geese, another 30 - 50). The annual "wavy" (blue and snow geese) kill was 57.18 birds, with an average of 45.56 being taken in the fall and 11.62 in the spring. Canada

geese (or simply "geese") were harvested at an annual rate of 72.89 birds per hunter per year, with an average of 54.89 being killed in the spring and 18 in the fall. Ducks were killed in far fewer numbers and a correspondingly fewer numbers of hunters killing them. There was an average of 10.56 ducks/hunter being killed in the spring, and 12.18 ducks/hunter in the fall. In sum, the average waterfowl harvest (ducks and geese) is 152.81 birds per hunter for men over the age of fifty.

Prevett et al (1983) conducted a major study of waterfowl kills by James Bay hunters for the period 1974 - 76. They contacted 97% of male Indian potential hunters in James Bay. Their data are presented below in Tables 23, 24, and 25 (Prevett, J.P., H.G. Lumsden, and F.C. Johnson, 1983).

TABLE 23

(a)

Participation in Waterfowl Hunting - Attawapiskat 1974-76

Potential Hunters	% Inter-viewed	% Active	% Active Hunting		Mean # Days	
			Spring	Fall	Spring	Fall
196	98	85	98	86	9	10

(a) SOURCE: Prevett, et al., 1983

TABLE 24  
 Waterfowl Kill Attawapiskat 1974 - 76 <sup>(a)</sup>

Species	Fall	Spring	Total
Snow Goose	6280	2924	9204
Large Canadas	914	5456	6370
Small Canadas	576	329	905
Brant	9	96	105
Ducks	2315	872	3187

(a) SOURCE: Adapted from Prevett, et. al. (1983:188)

TABLE 25  
 Average Waterfowl Kill By Attawapiskat Hunters 1975 - 1977 <sup>(a)</sup>

Species	Spring	Fall	Total
Snow Goose	18.1	43.5	61.6
Large Canada	33.2	6.3	39.5
Small Canada	2.0	4.0	6.0
Ducks	5.3	16.0	21.3
All Waterfowl	58.6	69.8	128.4

(a) SOURCE: Adapted from Prevett, et. al., (1983:189)

It is important to note that the figure above includes ducks, a figure considerably lower than that found by Thompson and Hutchison (n.d.) and the present study.

It is also important to note some trends observed by Prevett et. al. They noticed that the James Bay Indian kill was approximately 13% of the total hunting kill of the Tennessee Valley Population, 9% of the Mississippi Valley Population and 7% of Hudson Bay Lesser Snow Geese. The Cree apparently are not contributing to goose overkill. It is useful to compare their Attawapiskat-specific data with the data of the present study as it pertains to hunters over the age of fifty. Prevett found that 70.6% of the Snow Goose bag was killed during the fall, this study found that the number was 80%. Similarly, their Canada kill was 77% in the spring, the current study had 75% of the Canada kill being made in the spring. Finally, Canadas constituted 42.5% of the total Attawapiskat goose kill. This study found that the figure was 56%. This figure, however, is not that striking for Prevett et. al. make the following observation: "The kill of Snow Geese has apparently increased by a factor of 2, and that of large Canada Geese by a factor of 3, since the mid-1950s." (Prevett et. al., 1983:187). In the next chapter we will examine goose kills for 1989 and make comparisons.

Thompson and Hutchison also examined waterfowl harvests in James Bay between 1981 and 1983. Their results confirmed Prevett et. al.'s results of a decade earlier: waterfowl are the primary source of country food for the Cree in terms of

preference, abundance, and enthusiasm with which they are hunted. In some respects their results are quite similar to those of the present study, especially in terms of number of birds harvested and time spent hunting.

Thompson and Hutchison (n.d.) reported 97.5% and 98.1% of potential waterfowlers hunting in the fall and spring of 1981/82 respectively. For the following year it was 88% and 93.8%. The results of their study are presented in Tables 26 and 27 below. The numbers in brackets represent the ranges.

The Thompson and Hutchison study found significantly different results in terms of number of days spent waterfowl hunting, when compared to Prevett et. al.. The former study found a mean of 21 days/hunter (range 3 - 47) for the summer and fall of 1981 and of 17 days/hunter (range 1 - 93) for the spring of '82. For the 1982/83 season the figures were 22.3 (7 - 62) and 15.2 (1 - 93) (n.d.: 68,69). The Prevett study (1983:187), in contrast found means of 9 days for the spring and 10 for the fall for the years 1974 - 77. The findings of the present study for 1989 are much more in line with that of Thompson and Hutchison.

In terms of subsistence, moose, goose and caribou are the main species, at least in terms of preference. In sheer numbers, however, fish are at least equally important. Small game and birds must also be considered in analysis of land use. Thompson and Hutchison's waterfowl data are presented in Tables 26 and 27.

TABLE 26  
 Estimated Waterfowl Harvest Attawapiskat 1981 - 83 (a)

	Summer/ Fall '81	Spring '82	Summer/ Fall '82	Spring '83
Canada Geese	1705 (1639-1771)	12,854 (12494-13213)	3283 (3185-3381)	12,010 (11781-12241)
Small Canada	3454 (3305--3622)	41 (14-107)	2484 (2410--2557)	14 (11-22)
Snow Geese	16,694 (16,228-17,161)	299 (188-459)	11,742 (11489-11996)	2096 (1965-2227)
Ducks	3,605 (3479-3730)	412 (321-503)	2987 (2899-3075)	1050 (997-1102)

(a) SOURCE: Adapted from Thompson and Hutchison, n.d.

TABLE 27  
 Mean Waterfowl Bags Birds/Hunter in Attawapiskat 1981-83 (a)

	Fall '81	Spring '82	Fall '82	Spring '83
Canada Geese	5.7 (1 - 50)	40.2 (3 - 150)	16.7 (1 - 80)	46 (3 - 150)
Small Canadas	11.7 (3 - 32)	10 (6 - 14)	12.6 (2 - 31)	4.3 (2 - 7)
Snow Geese	52.5 (18 - 170)	14.6 (2 - 40)	47.8 (2 - 180)	24.9 (1 - 200)
Ducks	11.6 (1 - 42)	5.2 (2 - 14)	14 (2 - 42)	9.2 (1 - 40)
TOTAL	81.5	70.0	91.1	84.4
TOTAL '81/'82 Geese only	151.5 134.7	TOTAL '82/'83 Geese only	175.9 152.7	

(a) SOURCE: Adapted from Thompson and Hutchison, n.d.



It should be noted that elsewhere Thompson and Hutcheison (n.d.:70) compute the mean total waterfowl bag (except Brants) as 119.9 (1981/82) and 124.7 (1982/83) for Attawapiskat. It is unclear how they arrived at these means based on the figures cited above.

People today in Attawapiskat are often reluctant to volunteer figures for small game, bird and fish harvests, out of fear of being inaccurate. The reasons for this are easy to understand: these species are not considered as important in the diet as are the others and they do not entail as much effort to procure. Hence they become "routine", and for hunters their numbers are not easily recollectable. Thus, in 1990 hunters did not readily volunteer figures even for contemporary harvesting of small game and birds. Any attempt at "backward extrapolation" would be feeble at best.

Thompson and Hutchison, (n.d.) however, do provide us with statistics regarding these "mundane" food items. These data are presented in Table 28 below. For comparison, 1990 data on small game are presented in the following chapter.

It is interesting to note the decrease in the number of snowshoe hares taken in 1982/83 over the previous year. This is undoubtedly due to the downturn in the animal's population cycle. One should also note the concomitant increase in the number of shorebirds taken during the same year of the low rabbit harvest. The Thompson and Hutchison data for small game and birds are shown in Table 28. The top two lines under each species are the estimates, the lower two lines are the reported harvests per hunter.

TABLE 28  
 Small Game and Bird Harvest  
 Attawapiskat 1981/82, 1982/83 (a)

Species	1981/82	1982/83
Willow Ptarmigan	1418 (total) (1263-1574) (range) 7.7 (mean) (2 - 20) (range)	1092 (1033-1151) 10.5 (1 - 24)
Sharp-Tailed Grouse	1250 (1118-1382) 6.6 (1 - 20)	1506 (1437-1575) 10.7 (2 - 28)
Spruce Grouse	35 (22-50) 1.4 (1 - 4)	101 (91 -117) 1.8 (1 - 6)
Ruffed Grouse	217 (181-254) 2 (1 - 8)	66 (61-71) 1.8 (1 - 6)
Crane	109 (85-135) 1.6 (1 - 4)	55 (50-60) 1.4 (1 - 4)
Owls	148 (117-178) 1.9 (1 - 4)	111 (101-122) 2.1 (1 - 4)
Hawks	178 (141-216) 2.2 (1 - 6)	367 (346-388) 3.3 (1 - 8)
Snowshoe Hares	2041 (1881-2201) 8.9 (2 - 30)	138 (161-219) 8.2 (1 - 17)
Shorebirds	10 (4-40) 5 (5)	1798 (1656-1939) 29.9 (18 - 57)

(a) SOURCE: Adapted from Thompson and Hutchison, n.d.:77-80.

While not disputing the veracity of the data offered by Thompson and Hutchison, it might be suggested that even the snowshoe hare figures from 1981/82 are low. The snaring of hares is not limited by age or sex, and in the bush a number of full time trappers live virtually exclusively on hares and fish. Any estimate must take into account these dozen or so families. In 1990, some people (not full time trappers) reported taking up to fifty rabbits a week during the period from December to February. While this is exceptional, it indicates the difficulty of establishing estimated kills.

The degree to which the Attawapiskat Cree were (are) dependent upon country food is suggested by a letter from Harvey (Superintendent, Indian Affairs) to Matters (District Manager, Indian Affairs) dated August 7, 1957. The letter recounts a band meeting at Attawapiskat in which the band requested the purchase of a 150' seine net "to enable [the people] to put up a supply of dog food and edible fish for the winter". They also requested "wood for the Old People", shot shells and gilling twine". These last items were going to be provided "unless otherwise advised" (RG 10, Volume 6961, File 486/20-2, Harvey to Matters, August 7, 1957).

The requests for a seine net and wood illustrate how important these two items are in the everyday lives of the Attawapiskat people. It was noted earlier how suitable firewood has never been particularly abundant and with the passage of time the procurement of same involves greater distances and effort. Thompson and Hutchison have attempted

to quantify the number of trees consumed as fuel. These data are presented in Table 29. Again, it is suggested by the writer that these can - at best - be rough estimates. It is nearly impossible to take into account firewood burned in the bush on brief or extended forays. In Attawapiskat today people contend that the burning of wood in houses is dependent upon the age of the house, the weather (which is of course variable), and the type of wood and the species of tree. In 1990 a number of residents could not offer an estimate in the number of cords burnt. Thus, attempts at quantifying the number of trees is indeed rough. Nonetheless, the estimates of Thompson and Hutchison are valuable and reflect a concern of all members of the community, i.e., increasingly inaccessible firewood.

TABLE 29

Total Estimated Trees Harvested Attawapiskat 1981/82, 1982/83 <sup>(a)</sup>

Trees Cut 1981/82	Trees Cut 1982/83
30,182 (28,944-31,420)	76,204 (74,414-77,994)

(a) SOURCE: Thompson and Hutchison, n.d.: 108

It is very difficult to explain the greater than 100% increase from one year to the next. In 1990 95% of the

houses were heated by wood-burning stoves; presumably, this would be so in the period 1981-83. Nonetheless, these authors claim that these estimates are probably quite close to the true values. The figures, incidentally, equate to 100 - 250 trees per family/year (Thompson and Hutchison, n.d.:32), and next to the goose hunt tree harvesting was the second most important resource use activity in the Mushkegowuk region, according to the authors. Arguably, for Attawapiskat in particular, it might be the most important activity, given the lack of alternative heating.

Fishing has continued unabated over the years, with whitefish being the most common species caught. Thompson and Hutchison report that most Attawapiskat fishers tend to work the Attawapiskat River up to 100 kilometres from the coast. Some families, though, went as far as the junction of the Mississa and Attawapiskat Rivers and north along the coast near the Ekwan River (Thompson and Hutchison, n.d.:29,31). Thompson and Hutchison fish harvesting data are presented below in Table 30.

The data presented immediately below attest to the continued high reliance upon fish generally, and whitefish in particular. Again, no explanation is offered for the considerable discrepancy from one year to the next; in part, it may be attributable to population cycles or weather factors. Thompson and Hutchins suggest that the fishery (for domestic use) is the fourth most important activity in the

Mushkegowuk region after fuelwood gathering, waterfowl hunting and grouse shooting. For Attawapiskat, this surely isn't so, and has not been so, as an examination of fish and grouse harvests attests.

TABLE 30

Estimated Fish Harvest (in kgs)

(a)  
Attawapiskat 1981/82, 1982/83

Species	1981/82	1982/83
Brook Trout	2492	3588
Whitefish	23,254	50,802
Pike	2270	3137
Walleye	2476	2781
Suckers	1758	4854
TOTAL	32,250	65,162

(a) SOURCE: Adapted from Thompson and Hutchison, n.d.: 101, 102

## B. Hunting for Trade Products

It has been suggested in this thesis that the period 1901 - 1952 is that of "great encapsulation" - the time frame in which the government and other Euro-Canadian institutions saw fit to bring the Cree under legal, political, religious and economic domination and control. The following years might be seen as the period of "opening up", that time when - through transportation and communication technologies - the world came to Attawapiskat. This, however, was not totally a bad thing for through a judicious use of these new technologies, the people of Attawapiskat were able to increase production of their traditional hunting and gathering activities.

To appreciate how the introduction of various technologies impacted upon land use activities, one must first examine a number of demographic changes in the community. First, the early and mid 1950s saw the beginning of regular air traffic in and out of Attawapiskat. The first helicopter flight arrived in September, 1953 while 1957 - 58 saw Austin Airways begin regular weekly flights to Attawapiskat and other James Bay communities. These were then changed to twice, then thrice weekly flights. Previously, all of the communities had been allotted four or five trips a year for mail service. It was not until 1974

when the Ontario Ministry of Transport built an airstrip that daily flights become a reality (Vezina, 1978:12).

The implications of this new air service are seen in population figures for the community, which had always been unstable. Simply, many of those people in the community who no longer found that the land could support them, moved southward to Albany, Moosonee, Cochrane or Timmins to find work in other areas, eg. lumbering or on railroads (Honigmann, 1958:58). This, it might be argued, relieved some of the pressure on the land. Studies have shown that when predators are removed from an area, the prey species - such as moose and caribou - will replenish. In this case, once a large number of Cree had moved south, such might have been the case. However, it would be simplistic to assume that that there is a monocausal relationship between a decreased population in the 1950s (since the 1940s) and an increase in moose or caribou kills. Nonetheless, such a situation might be one of several factors leading to increased production in harvesting activities for both food and fur. Table 31 shows Attawapiskat's changing population.

What these figures suggest, then, is a fairly rapid depopulation following the introduction of air service to the community, a factor which likely had an impact on the taking of resources from the bush. This depopulation was followed by a return to population increase in the late '60s and early '70s.



TABLE 31

Attawapiskat Population - 1918 - 1983

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1918	-	33 elderly, widows and orphans on HBC "destitute list" (HBC Post Journals)
June 18, 1930	-	42 canoes of hunters from Equan and Lake River (HBC Post Journals)
July, 1947	-	467 people (Honigmann, 1958)
1947/48	-	470 people (Honigmann, 1961)
March 31, 1951	-	669 people (James Bay Agency Report on Game Used by Indians on Reserves)
March 31, 1952	-	600 people (James Bay Agency report on Game Used by Indians on Reserves)
1955	-	300 people (Honigmann, 1958:59) "a census carefully carried out"
Summer, 1955	-	400 people (Vezina, 1978:12)
Summer, 1955	-	"about 350 people" (Hoffmann, 1957:31)
1961	-	400 people (Nonas, 1963:1)
May 31, 1972	-	"1143 registered Indians" [This is undoubtedly misleading, representing those on the band list - most researchers suggest that approximately 30% of any band is off reserve] (THRC File 486/30-5-91, Ryan to Zlotkin, August 3, 1972)
1978	-	385 people (Vezina, 1978:9)
1981 - 1983	-	(1000 estimated) (Thompson and Hutchins, n.d.:116)

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Surprisingly, our knowledge of hunting for trade in Attawapiskat between 1953 and 1985 is in many respects more limited than for the previous half century. This is due, in part, to the fact that there are no HBC journals after 1931

and also no HBC harvest records after 1950. Government documents for harvests are sketchy (if available). On the other hand, we do have data on other forms of commercial harvesting. These are useful and indicate a shift in traditional hunting for trade patterns after the mid century mark.

Despite the drastic reduction in the number of furbearers during the first half of the century, the Attawapiskat First Nation continued to trap to the best of their abilities. At times, however, their efforts appeared to be thwarted by an unproductive environment, bureaucracy and relations with traders. A letter from W. J. Harvey, Superintendent of the James Bay Agency to F. Matters, the Regional Supervisor, outlines some of the band's concerns as these were articulated at a council meeting:

The Chief pointed out that the Attawapiskat country was a very unproductive area, the Indians having to travel long distances to make a living and that only those fortunate enough to have their health and a fair hunting area were able to eke out a living similar to their blood brothers further South.

A request for help to those who did not receive adequate credit from the local traders was made by the Band Council as a whole and the writer promised to take this up with the proper authorities.

Councillor Iahtail requested that each trapline should be covered by one license only and that each member of the head trappers [sic] family not be required to pay an additional license (RG 10, V.6961 File 486/20-2, Harvey to Matters, August 7, 1957).

Two of these issues - the unproductivity of the

region and the licensing of trappers - still concern the band today. In a letter to W. J. Harvey dated September 4, 1957, J. H. Gordon of the Welfare Branch, explained that the Indians request that each trapline be covered by one license only "would be a matter of grace" by the Ontario Department of Lands and Forests who were (are) authorized not only by provincial regulations, but also under the terms of the Fur Agreement, to impose a license fee on all trappers without respect to racial status (RG 10 V. 6961 File 486/20-2 Gordon to Harvey, September 4, 1957). The Cree would find ways over the years to cope with this problem.

As indicated in the subchapter on subsistence hunting, the harvesting of food from the bush continued; in fact, actually increasing during the period under discussion. Other factors must be considered for the increased harvesting. A dwindling population is not sufficient to explain the pattern.

A number of factors served to coalesce the population around the trading post in the second half of the century. In 1953 the first students were enrolled in the Attawapiskat School, a day school which was largely religious in its instruction. Initial enrolment was fifteen students. In July, 1955 the government started building the first four houses in the community, and twelve months later construction of the first streets began (Vezina, 1978:12). What this development indicates is a State-driven move to sedentize the Cree of Attawapiskat, through the implementation of "desirable" goods and services. In addition to the

forementioned houses, roads and school a hospital (St. Mary's Hospital) had been established in 1951.

These changes were not necessarily unwelcomed: the Cree had been living near the post for years, partaking of the goose hunt and trading. However, there are some in the community today who contend that the perceived decrease in harvesting activities (including trapping) that occurred was a direct result of such things as the school (particularly the new school which opened in October 1976), and that it cannot be considered a move for the better. However, as discussed in the subsistence subchapter, reliance upon the bush has not decreased; rather, it is the nature of this reliance and the forms and means by which the harvest is extracted which have changed. When the moose, caribou and goose harvests have shown steady increase over time, one cannot argue that the Attawapiskat Nation does not rely on the bush.

A government report from 1963 suggests that trapping was still a viable part of the Attawapiskat economy.

...we were very pleased with the results of the trapping in [Attawapiskat] and the fact that most of the families are earning a fairly decent living from the fur this winter. A check was made on all relief recipients .. and three quarters or better of these on dollar value assistance were old persons, widows, and those who were not able to earn their own living due to physical handicaps. A few others on the list were assistance cases of a very temporary nature ... (RG 10 Volume 6963, File 486/20-2, Quarterly Report, James Bay Agency, Quarter ending January 31, 1963)

The increased localization of people around the community meant that the nature of trapping would change. A number of men found jobs with the mission and the Bay. In 1961 Nonas observed that the mission employed ten men at a rate of \$3.50 a day, while the Bay "hired fewer still, and paid less". Previously, the mission had paid workers in script. The Bay "chore-boy" was an old man who hauled "load after load of water, wood, and garbage and was paid twenty dollars a month" (Nonas, 1963:10). Nonetheless, these jobs were readily taken when they became available.

With the school, hospital, mission and trader in the community, as well as the possibility of wage employment, it was inevitable that the structure of trapping would change. Not as many men (or families) would stay out for months at a time during the winter and spring; rather, an increasing number would replace the trapline cabin with their village house as the point of departure for checking their traps. This became particularly true in the 1960s, as snowmobiles replaced the dog team and snowshoes as the primary means of winter transportation.

It is virtually impossible to overstate the importance of the snowmobile in subarctic Native life. Dog teams were never as prominent in Attawapiskat as they were elsewhere and prior to the arrival of "skidoos" much winter travel was on snowshoes. Honigmann suggests both the travail of winter travel in the "pre-skidoo" period and the respect and prestige accrued to those who fared well under adverse

conditions. He states that people were not fond of winter travel and "are particularly proud when they successfully come through difficult weather" (1961:125). The snowmobile, with its extended range and speed far in excess of dog teams, revolutionized trapping when it was introduced to Attawapiskat. The Bay sold the first two snowmobiles there in 1962. Six years later they sold twelve, and in 1976 it sold a record sixty-two machines in one year. Since then, the Bay has averaged about fifty "skidoo" sales a year (Vezina, 1978:13).

Along with snowmobiles, two - way radios or "transceivers" were also introduced into Attawapiskat. These allowed hunters to go into the bush and yet retain contact with the community. The fear of starvation and death in the bush that had characterized much of the community earlier could to some degree be dissipated through this means.

In brief, the considerable influx of communications and transportation technology allowed for a greater number of options to trappers. Further, the opportunity for full or part time wage employment also made part time trapping a possibility for those who did not care to leave their children behind in town to go to school while they trapped. During the 1950s, '60s, '70s and early '80s a number of new strategies were developed.

A number of families continued to trap year round, returning to town infrequently to trade. These trips into town would be during the summer and at Christmas. For others trapping became a part time activity, made easier by

snowmobiles. In both of these instances there was effort made to take children into the bush so that traditional skills could be learned. This is reflected in the large numbers of younger men who today still hunt and trap.

For a large number of families the benefits of transportation technology were reflected in two new patterns of bush access. A typical trapper would canoe into his territory in the fall, carrying his snowmobile. At Christmas he would "skidoo" back to town. The reverse pattern occurred in the spring. This is still the norm for a number of trappers today.

Other trappers would sometimes fly into their camps, arranging for Christmas pickup ahead of time. For some, whose lands were quite distant from Attawapiskat this arrangement was made also for the goose hunts. These trappers are the ones who frequently have two-way radios, a vital link between them and outside help should it be needed. In the 1970s, the Ministry of Natural Resources initiated a programme to fly trappers into their camps and also back at the close of the trapping season. This service is maintained free of charge by the ministry (Vezina, 1978:5).

It is tempting to look at the rapid changes wrought by White incursion into the the north as inevitably detrimental to "traditional" culture, and in many cases this may be so. However, there have been some positive aspects to the technologies brought in by outsiders - witness the increased accessibility of trapping territories and the constant

communication links between isolated camps and the community allowed by outboard motors, snowmobiles, and radios.

One must also bear in mind that other factors impacted upon the degree and nature of land use, namely availability of resources and the option of working for regular wages. In this regard, it is important to note that the availability of transportation and communication technology allowed for the option of part time or full time trapping as the availability of resources permitted. In other words, in those seasons when there was a bountiful harvest of furbearers to be had, a hunter could - if he had the material resources in the form of snowmobile, guns and traps - avail him/herself of these furbearers. Hitherto, a person whose lands were a hundred or more kilometres away was quite restricted in terms of pursuing trapping on a part time basis. Indeed, a hunter could conceivably spend months in the bush for minimal or no returns. With a snowmobile, however, the same hunter could make a return journey of two hundred kilometres in a day or so of travelling. To put this into perspective, a HBC post entry from 1930 is provided. "Patromay Carpenter arrived from inland bringing the first part of his hunt - 2 mink" (December 22, 1930). In contrast, in 1990 a young part time trapper was informed of the large marten population in the region. The trapper set out on his snowmobile, set his traps approximately fifty kilometres away and during the next week and a half caught half a dozen marten and an ermine. It necessitated just a few trips of approximately two hours each on the skidoo. This part time



trapper was also employed as an interpreter and was self employed selling firewood. The point, however, is that since the introduction of snowmobiles the options open to trappers have increased. With the return to population increase during the 1970s this option was important in terms of employment. Whereas in the pre-skidoo era trappers were relegated to trapping or welfare, in the post 1950s, trapping - on a part time or full time basis - may be pursued. And there is little evidence to indicate that trapping decreases once full time wage employment is attained.

The most disruptive factor between 1953 and 1985 was not downswings in game population or the introduction of technology: it was the carryover of the registered trapline system. This has been addressed in detail elsewhere in this thesis. It should be stressed, however, that its implementation provides a valuable lesson in the cross cultural imposition of unilateral dicta. Suffice it to say that the registered trapline system was adhered to by the Cree for only fifteen or sixteen years (until the mid 1960s) and then essentially rejected in favour of their previous practices. The resentment, anger and distrust that was a product of the system disappeared with its abandonment. It is interesting to note that the Cree adapted readily to environmental, technological, and economic change, modifying and reshaping their land use practices to meet these new challenges. Legal and ideological shifts imposed by the new trapline system, however, were too overwhelming: when this

threatened to destroy the very foundation of Attawapiskat society through threats, violence and feuding the essentially foreign trapline system was discarded in favour of what they knew worked for them.

As noted at the outset of this chapter, there are few data available pertaining to trapping harvests. What we do have, however, are figures specifically for Akimiski Island for the period between 1959 and 1962. At the time the island was still a HBC beaver preserve. These data are presented in Table 32.

Table 32  
Akimiski Fur Harvest 1959 - 1962 <sup>(a)</sup>

Species	1959	1960	1961	1962	Total
Beaver	129	578	82	121	910
Cross Fox	37	30	24	37	118
White Fox	1	--	5	2	8
Red Fox	88	52	38	25	203
Silver Fox	--	3	--	7	10
Rats	35	265	135	5	440
Lynx	--	9	---	6	15
Marten	--	1	---	--	1
Ermine	--	3	22	14	39
Squirrel	--	46	57	15	118
# of Trappers	No Record of Trappers	6	9	6	

(a) SOURCE: THRC File 44/20-4

One of the trappers working on Akimiski throughout 1960 - 62 (and possibly beyond) was a woman, Caroline Wheesk. Cooper notes that Thomas Wheesk 's lands were on Akimiski, while other data from 1910 suggests that they were a "post family".

Annual fur harvest data may vary depending upon how the season is defined, eg. September 1 to September 1 as opposed to April 1 to April 1. Thus, we have different figures for the year ending June 30, 1961. That year, according to the RCMP the fur harvest on Akimiski was as follows: 1 lynx, 298 muskrat, 63 squirrel, 23 weasel, 86 beaver, and 67 fox (red, cross and white). This represented (according to the Mounties) an increase of 31 "rats" and one squirrel, with an overall decrease, especially in beaver (THRC 44/20-4, N.W.T Game Ordinance Annual Report, Year Ending June 30, 1961).

Extant and available data on fur harvests for Attawapiskat are scarce. Presented in Table 33 are fur harvests for two years, made available by the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources.

TABLE 33  
 ATTAWAPISKAT FUR HARVESTS 1971/72 AND 1981/82 <sup>(a)</sup>

Species	1971/72	1981/82
Beaver	1229	1183
Mink	121	139
Marten	9	122
Otter	82	231
Lynx	204	61
Muskrat	2191	3026
Red Squirrel	122	75
Weasel	55	31
Coloured Fox	61	203
Arctic Fox	169	81
Timber Wolf	--	21
Black Bear	--	2
Polar Bear	--	5

(a) SOURCE: Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources (Wildlife Branch)

It remains to compare the harvest of these furs with the harvests from previous years to determine the degree of hunting for trade. It has been suggested and argued that the amount (or degree or level) of hunting for subsistence has increased appreciably over the years, as determined by the sheer number of moose, goose and caribou kills. When these figures are calculated on a kill/population ratio they still support the argument for greater subsistence hunting than previously. We shall use the same method of comparison (harvest/population) to draw conclusions.

Since we do not have yearly population figures for Attawapiskat, a direct comparison is problematic. What is detailed below are harvest figures for those years for which there are available population statistics. What is shown in Table 34 are harvest figures and populations for available years and the per centage increase or decrease of 1971/72 and 1980/81 over 1950. The latter year was chosen for comparison because 1946 - '48 were considered bad years for furbearers. However, they are included here for comparative purposes. In those years when there was no harvesting of a particular species, simply the increase/decrease is indicated.

TABLE 34

Comparison of Fur Harvest 1947, '48, '50, '71/72, '80/81

	(a) 1947	(a) 1948	(b) 1950	(c) 1971/72	(c) 1980/81
Beaver	122	273	279	1229	1183
Ermine	649	222	2360	55	31
Fox, Silver	9	---	1		
Fox, Cross	52	6	15		
Fox, Red	203	23	108		
Fox, White (d)	7	2	---	169	81
Fox, Coloured				61	203
TOTAL FOX			124	230	291
Lynx	-	--	--	204	61
Marten	1	--	--	9	122
Mink	51	78	275	121	139
Muskrat	1428	2828	3627	2191	3026
Otter	192	147	174	82	231
Squirrel (e)	2665	2573	985	122+	75+
Skunk	105	24	32	---	---
Black Bear	---	--	--	---	2
Polar Bear	---	--	--	---	5
Timber Wolf	---	--	--	21	2

- (a) SOURCE: Honigmann, 1961. The population of Attiwapiskat was 468 in 1947 and 470 in 1948
- (b) SOURCE: HBC Archives. The population of Attawapiskat was 669 in 1951.
- (c) SOURCE: Ministry of Natural Resources, Wildlife Branch. The population of Attiwapiskat was 1143 in 1971/72 and 1183 in 1980/81.
- (d) MNR lists foxes as "Coloured", "Arctic" & "Grey"
- (e) MNR lists only "Red Squirrel"

It is quite apparent from the above data that hunting for trade - when measured on a per pelt basis - did not diminish between 1952 and 1985. When correlated with population, fur harvests for the most part (and in terms of major furs) showed an increase between the years 1950 and 1971/72 and 1980/81. These figures, however, do not tell us

everything. We do not know, for example, how many people were trapping at these various points in time. Are these increases the product of a smaller number of more active hunters or do they reflect an overall increase in the numbers of trappers and their production? Data are lacking on the numbers of trappers. On the other hand, we do have the observations of the 1963 Quarterly Report (above), wherein it is observed that, generally speaking, people made a "fair living" at trapping.

There are other points which must be noted. The data do not tell us how many part time trappers there are as opposed to full time. Perhaps these concerns need not grasp our attention, for, as discussed above, the incursion of White institutions (the hospital and school, for example) and White technologies allowed for the conscious choice of part time over full time trapping, if one wanted that option. With what data we have though, we can argue that hunting for trade between 1952 and 1985 has remained relatively consistent and in terms of a pelts to population ratio, increased somewhat in major fur species, i.e., beaver, fox, lynx and marten. Thompson and Hutchison (n.d.:44) state in their study of the James Bay area resource harvesting, that beaver and marten are the most important furbearers in the region. It might be suggested, then, that while the harvesting of certain species may be down, in terms of the most important species, activity is increasing. Perhaps there is a cost benefit approach being taken to

trapping, with effort being expended on those species which promised greater financial reward.

Two developments in Attawapiskat between 1953 and 1985 were the creation of goose hunting camps and a commercial fishery. The latter was only of a short duration, being adversely affected by a number of factors endemic to the hinterlands. The goose camps are still in operation and offer employment to a number of people.

The commercial fishery was in operation less than a decade and in many respects is reminiscent of the economic development schemes chronicled by Driben and Trudeau for the Fort Hope band (1983). The program began with test fishing for sturgeon in the Attawapiskat River in 1958. The tests themselves were inconclusive, the Indian guides stating that the water was too high and too dirty for fishing at the time, but should be better later in the season (RG 10, V.6962, 486/20-2, Turner to Harvey, July 21, 1958). It was not until 1962 that the James Bay Indian Agency applied for sturgeon fishing licenses for the Ontario portion of the bay; the Quebec side was already conducting commercial fishing. The licenses applied for were for the French, Albany and Attawapiskat Rivers (RG 10, V 6963, 486/20-2, James Bay Indian Agency Superintendent's Quarterly Report).

A report on the James Bay fishing industry dated December 21, 1962 records the Attawapiskat sturgeon catch for 1962.



TABLE 35  
 (a)  
 ATTAWAPISKAT STURGEON CATCH 1962

Date	Number of Boxes	Number of Pounds/ Size of Fish	Value
16/8/62	one	64 (small)	\$65.28
23/8/62	three	298 (medium)	\$303.96
1/9/62	one	131 (medium)	\$133.62

(a) SOURCE: RG 10 V. 6963, 486/20-2, James Bay Sturgeon Fishery

The very nature of the bay mitigated against any successful commercial fishery without considerable financial outlay. Hunter, of the Fisheries Research Board of Canada (Arctic Division) submitted a draft report on the west coast fishery in 1963. In it he stated that

[Studies] affirmed readings of temperatures of 15 degrees celsius. Such being the case, any fish not removed from the nets within a very limited time would result in a second class product. Winds and rough water along the west coast of James Bay are likely to prevent regular tending of nets so that the above situation may often occur (RG 10 V. 6963, File 486/20-2, Hunter to Gimmer, July 24, 1963).

He also noted an improper size and use of netting in the James Bay fisheries. These had been provided by the Indian Affairs Branch.

In his report, Lapp (Regional Supervisor, North Bay) observed that unless the high cost of transportation could be kept to a minimum the fishery operation would continue to

function on a marginal basis without sufficient revenue derived to pay the cost of nets and other necessities (RG 10 V. 6963, 486/20-2 Lapp to Indian Affairs Branch, December 21, 1962). He noted how high transportation costs resulted in decreased revenue to fishermen (they received forty-four cents a pound when sturgeon was paying \$1.02/pound). Lack of communications between the fishery and the carrier resulted in a number of unnecessary trips to pick up parts. All of this resulted in high operation costs, a problem that he suggested could be partially alleviated if fish camps were provided with radios.

The commercial fishery persisted for a few more years despite the cost. In 1966/67 219 pounds of large sturgeon were taken out of Attawapiskat. At \$1.52/pound they paid \$332.88. In the overall James Bay fishery there was a gross loss of \$11,764.20 that fiscal year (RG 10 V. 6963, 486/20-2). There are no further data on the fishery after 1967.

In Attawapiskat in 1990 there are less than half a dozen people who are aware that the commercial fishery ever existed. Those people who remember it can offer some explanations for its demise. They maintain that it was pursued on a trial basis only, and that the effort put into it on the government's part reflected that fact. The equipment provided was not the proper type (see Hunter's comments, above). Furthermore, the transportation provided to fly fish out was not reliable. Between unreliable scheduling of flights, and those flights which were

legitimately kept grounded by bad weather, a great deal of the fish catch went bad. Thus, they maintain, the project was scrapped. Today, however, a commercial fishery might be a viable operation because of daily flights in and out by two airlines, and freezer capabilities to keep the fish until it might be flown out.

The Chookomoolin family tourist camp began nearly thirty years ago and remains a very successful operation. Goose camps are an important source of income for the James Bay Cree, four being in operation on the Quebec side and two in Albany at the time the Chookomoolins applied for their license.

The family started proceedings for the establishment of their tourist camp in 1962, applying for a license and support through V. M. Gran, Superintendent of the James Bay Agency. The latter was quite supportive, contacting and seeking the support of the the Fish and Wildlife Branch of the Department of Lands and Forests. He pointed out that tourism was an increasingly attractive possibility, now that the Sutton-Hawley Lakes area "no longer came in the area defined as hinterland." Transportation and communication had opened up the Attawapiskat region.

At the time provincial regulations forbade the establishment of any permanent tourist outfitters in wilderness areas, such as that occupied by the Chookomoolins. Gran pleaded their case:

...the Chookomoolin family .. are treaty  
Indians .. and have grown up and trapped

in this area for many years. The father of these young men operated a trading post there several years ago, which was quite successful until the fur dropped off and trapping declined generally. The Chookomoolin brothers still trap this area, year after year.

The Chookomoolin brothers have ... built several substantial log buildings on Hawley Lake .. and have accumulated a considerable amount of good equipment such as canoes, boats and motors, tents, cooking utensils, etcetera ... With very little financial and supervisory assistance from our department they could set up ... a camp and we are certain make a success of it.

...

... They would continue to trap .. in the winter to round out their economy (THRC 44/20-4 Gran to Clarke, April 24, 1962).

It is interesting to note how two phenomena - the decline in the fur industry and the "opening up" of the region - help to set the stage for the establishment of the camp. It is also important to note the initiative of the Chookomoolin family and the support from Gran.

Clarke responded positively albeit with some concerns for the standards of the operation. In his letter to Battle, of the Economic Development Division of Indian Affairs, he advised "fairly regular inspection of the facilities to ensure that they meet a reasonable standard of accommodation". Battle, for his part acknowledged that money might be available for such an enterprise under a revolving fund, and observed that the "Chookomoolin family is well and favourably known to .. our staff". While admitting that they were "honest and thoroughly reliable" he had reservations regarding their lack of business experience and management skills (THRC 44/20-4 Clarke to Battle, May 17, 1962; 44/20-4

(D1) Battle to Clarke, May 31, 1963).

Lapp applied for a \$3000 loan from the revolving fund on behalf of Joseph and Louis Chookomoolin for the purpose of purchasing additional equipment. The Department of Travel and Publicity had issued them permit 1138, thereby granting them the sole right to operate as tourist operators in the Hawley Lake region. In submitting the loan application, Lapp noted that the applicants were ambitious, honest and dependable, and "strongly recommended [the] application without hesitation" (THRC 44/20-4, Lapp to Indian Affairs Branch, June 28, 1963). At the same time, Gran was in correspondence with the Department of Travel advising them to forward the permit to him so that it could be sent to the Chookomoolin brothers "by the first available aircraft going into Hawley Lake". He outlined their inventory: accommodations for 16 guests, two boats and two canoes, four outboard motors, and four men who were all licensed guides.

The government's remaining concerns were to be addressed at a meeting in Cochrane between Department of Travel and Publicity and Indian Affairs. These included proposals to finance the Chookomoolins for any buildings, materials, and equipment they might need; to provide them with handling of finances and bookkeeping until "they demonstrated the ability to handle [them] themselves"; to provide for on the spot advice and guidance in connection with camp operation; to provide for camp advertisement; to ensure that no other license be permitted for at least two or

three years until the Chookomoolin Camp was firmly established; and to suggest rates so that nobody was over- or undercharged and that the Chookomoolins were ensured a reasonable and normal rate of profit (THRC 44/20-4 (F) Grant to Superintendent (James Bay Agency, August 2, 1962). At the meeting held on August 13, 1962 these and other issues were addressed. A number of people confirmed that the Chookomoolin family was fully capable of running a camp efficiently, that rates for the camp be on par with goose hunting camps elsewhere on the bay (\$300 for a complete trip), and that such a blanket charge would result in a greater revenue to the Indians. It was decided that an agent be appointed in Moosonee to handle advertising. The only concerns remaining at the end of the meeting were securing of funds to enlarge and improve existing buildings, and to purchase small equipment such as cooking utensils, and to ensure exclusive rights to run a tourist business in the area. It was expected that the camp would be in operation within a year.

As noted above, the Chookomoolin goose and fishing camp has been in operation now for close to thirty years. It is essential to examine the reasons for its success. There are a number of reasons that might be suggested. First, it was an endeavour that was proposed by the family, not one that was imposed from without. Therefore, the motivation for success was personal, not bureaucratic. Second, the hunting and fishing camp is a project that is consistent with traditional economic activities. It is a form of employment

that draws upon the education, skills and expertise that the family and employees have gathered through their own life experiences. Third, the camp does not interfere with other economic and subsistence activities. The family pursues trapping and hunting after the goose and fishing seasons. Thus, the camp is incorporated into the traditional seasonal round. Fourth, the camp was able to get off the ground and mobilized in large part due to the enthusiastic and unreserved support of the government. The various departments coalesced in their approval and guidance. Fifth, the fact that this was (is) a family project is not a small consideration. We have discussed the importance of the kin groups as economic units and holders of tenure; the emergence, perpetuation and success of the Chookomoolin tourist camp may be partly attributable to the fact that it is a kin based endeavour. There is a collective responsibility to make the project successful. Sixth, two factors - the decline in the fur industry and the opening up of the area through transportation and communication - provided an impetus for a new economic endeavour. These factors, in conjunction with the family's ambition and industriousness, fuelled the success of the project.

Today, the camp remains successful and family members take pride in it. Family members stress the many positive aspects of the camp: the outdoor living, the opportunities to educate the public about life in the bush and the Cree culture, the fact that it is a business built by

their own hands on their own lands, the opportunities to practice their own harvesting activities, the famous and "important" people they have met through the camp (mainly politicians and professional athletes).

During this period there was another goose camp built, this one under the initial control of the government. In 1959 the Attawapiskat band had approached the Indian Affairs Branch with the idea of establishing a camp on the Kapiskow River which at that time was also the site of a Native Game Sanctuary. Allegedly, John Nagagee, Jr. of Albany had been encouraged in this pursuit by a Mr. Gagnon, a conservation officer from Moosonee (THRC 44/20-4 Matters to Chief, Welfare division, Ottawa November 30, 1959). The idea was initially vetoed under the reasoning that "the area remain closed to sports hunting and that the resources be reserved to the Indians and local residents whose requirements are for food, not fun" (THRC 44/20-4 Gordon to Regional Supervisor, North Bay, December 4, 1953 [sic]).

It was 1969 before the government established another camp in the Attawapiskat area. In August of that year a \$2500 loan was approved for the establishment and development of a goose hunting camp, in the name of the Attawapiskat band. The financial administration would be under the supervision of the Department of Lands and Forests. Eventually, in 1977 the camp would be turned over to local native control. This will be examined in the next chapter.



### C. Threats to Traditional Use and Occupancy

There were a number of external threats between 1953 and 1985 which impinged on the people of Attawapiskat and their way of life. Some of these failed to materialize but nonetheless suggested the vulnerability of their position and indicated the fragility of the hunting/gathering culture. vis a vis the larger nation-state. An examination of these reveals the machinations of the bureaucratic process; a process that is often unbeknownst to those whom it may ultimately affect.

Had it materialized, one of the most devastating intrusions into the Attawapiskat territory would have been the suggested RCAF bombing and gunnery range. In a letter from the Department of National Defence to the Deputy Minister, Citizenship and Immigration dated 10 May, 1957, the government stated its intentions (THRC 44/30-1):

The Royal Canadian Air Force is desirous of establishing a bombing and gunnery range in the James Bay area. The area selected is approximately 25 by 50 miles and its co-ordinates are as follows:

53	32" N
54	20" N
79	40" W
80	20" W

Bombing will be carried out by radar or visual bomb sight methods employing photoflash or concrete filled bombs containing small flash charges for spotting purposes. Air to air firing exercises will be limited to the use of .5" and 20 mm calibre guns.

...it will not be practicable to carry

out a visual search of the range prior to commencement of bombing or firing. ...

The range encompasses [areas] where it is understood a small number of Indians hunt occasionally. It would be appreciated if this Department could be advised of any objections you may have to the proposed establishment of this range. The proposal has been concurred in by the Cabinet Defense Committee.

This proposal is remarkable for a number of reasons. One of these is the initial confusion it created regarding the exact location of the suggested range. In a letter dated May 16, 1957 addressed to H.J. Harvey (Superintendent, James Bay Agency), W. C. Bethune (Superintendent, Reserves and Trusts) located the range as being "southeast of Akimiski Island and encompassing East Cub and Gray Goose Islands" which were not on his map. He also inquired as to whether Indians resided in, or travelled in that vicinity. He concluded his letter with the advice that the matter should be treated as confidential for the time being, "but if and when the area is being [used] by the R.C.A.F. Indians who might be in the area should be cautioned to stay away" (THRC 44/30-1, Bethune to Harvey, May 16, 1957).

A number of correspondences between (and among) government employees dated May 17, 1957, reveal the considerable confusion regarding the exact location of the proposed bombing site. This confusion might be humorous except for the very real potential for the loss of human life and suffering. The letters also reveal a casual, almost cavalier attitude towards the issue. The first letter is from F. Matters (Regional Supervisor of Indian Agencies) and

is addressed to W.C. Bethune (Superintendent, Reserves and Trusts).

.....

The map references given place the suggested locations northwest of Akimiski Island ....

There is little or no Indian traffic in this area. The odd Hudson's Bay Company boat may be far enough off shore, about four miles, to be within the range. Indian canoes stick quite close to the shore.

If the area were south-east of Akimiski Island it would be between Attawapiskat and Albany [??] and thus in the Indian hunting territory. (THRC 44/30-1, Matters to Bethune, May 17, 1957; my emphasis)

It was apparent that there was no agreement on where, exactly, the proposed bombing site was located. Bethune wrote to Harvey on May 17. "...we tried to identify the location of the area as lying Southeast [sic] of Akimiski ... It is now found that ... this area is about forty miles northeast of this Island [sic]" (THRC 44/30-1 Bethune to Harvey, May 17, 1957, emphasis mine).

The last piece of extant correspondence regarding the bombing range is from H.M. Jones to F.R. Miller, Deputy Minister, Department of National Defence. In it he states that there are no Indian Reserves "within a reasonable distance" of the area described, but that there are Indians "living around the coast". Because he did not have "the full facts" regarding the movement of these Indians, he was awaiting a report from the Indian superintendent at Moose

Factory (THRC 44/30-1 Jones to Miller, May 17, 1957).

Nobody today seems to be aware of the bombing range that was proposed in 1957 for James Bay. Inquiries to Indian Affairs in 1989 and 1990 brought blank responses. People in Attawapiskat were unaware that their region at one time was being considered as a military training ground. And therein lies a matter of grave concern. The communications exchanged were all, not surprisingly, confidential, but the unfamiliarity demonstrated with regard to the proposed site is disconcerting. So, too, is the somewhat casual attitude displayed toward the Cree who inhabit(ed) the area. Without consultation with the people, without environmental impact and social impact assessments, government bureaucrats and administrators were sufficiently happy to "caution Indians to stay away if and when the R.C.A.F. made use of" the area. One can only speculate on what would have transpired had the proposal gone through. And with an apparent unawareness of the issue thirty-three years later, we do not know what killed the idea. Its relevance lies in what the proposal said about State intentions and Native concerns. The Innu crisis in Nouveau Quebec and Labrador is not without partial precedent.

The Attawapiskat people recognize Akimiski Island as being part of their traditional lands, by virtue of having lived and hunted on it for centuries. The rights to this land have come under question from a variety of sources. A brief, aborted attempt to usurp these rights was initiated in the early 1960s. The attempt never reached beyond the

conversational and memo stages, but it, too, illustrates dramatically how Native people are often left out of the negotiating process, and hence, are vulnerable to encapsulation.

A memorandum from V. M. Gran (Superintendent, James Bay Agency) to the Regional Supervisor, North Bay, dated July 5, 1962, states that "Mr. Jock Fyffe of Northern Affairs, ... was attempting to get possession of [Akimiski] for relocation of Eskimo people". The point of his (Mr. Gran's) letter was to inform the Regional Supervisor that the necessary action was being taken to insure "that [Akimiski would be] retained for Indian trapping" (THRC 44/20-4 Gran to Regional Supervisor, North Bay, July 5, 1962).

Subsequent communications between the various administrators within the Departments of Citizenship and Immigration (housing at the time Indian Affairs) and other departments reconfirmed the legal right to maintain Akimiski Island as a fur sanctuary. A letter from K. J. Christie, Acting Chief, Resources Division of Northern Affairs and National Resources dated 10 July, 1962, contained in duplicate a Land Reservations Form. This stated that "The whole of Akimiski Island in James Bay, N.W.T. containing approximately 1143 square miles ... have [sic] been reserved in the name of Indian Affairs Branch and are so noted in our records". The date of the reservation is 26 June 1962, less than two weeks before the initial conversation between Jock Fyffe of Northern Affairs and V. M. Gran. It should also be

noted that in the original communication between Gran and Lapp (Regional Supervisor, North Bay) the former referred to "discussion relative to [Akimiski Island] coming under the control of the Province of Ontario and consequently under ... Lands and Forests."

Neither of the two proposals for Akimiski came about. The Inuit were not relocated to the Island, and it was not given to Ontario. But, as in the case of the proposed bombing range, the Inuit relocation proposal indicates how political machinations behind the proverbial scenes, may impact upon those who lack political power. The encapsulation process is in part a function of greater political resources.

The Mushkegowuk Cree have been subjected to frequent RCMP and MNR authority arrests for violating provincial and federal game laws. This particularly is true with regard to the spring and fall goose hunts (see, for example, The Globe and Mail, November 11, 1987). These crackdowns on the part of the Mounties and others are a result of the discrepancies between Treaty 9 hunting and fishing rights and the Migratory Birds Convention Act restrictions.

The degree of frustration felt by the Indians is suggested by a number of letters exchanged between (among) some James Bay Cree and various government officials. With regard to an unspecified incident where ducks had been shot and the guns of Indians seized, Matters, Regional Supervisor of Indian Agencies, issued the following memorandum to Harvey of the James Bay Agency:

.....

Although I might agree that Indians are entitled to shoot such birds under the terms of Treaty, I certainly think that such should be restricted to those who do not have permanent employment and who are living what is termed the Indian way of life.

[It is] more important to protect the food supply of the true Indians than be concerned about some who have permanent employment shooting more than the law allows...

...the privilege of getting such birds is strictly restricted to those Indians who are not permanently employed or live up the coast where fresh meat etc. is not readily available (THRC 44/20-4 Matters to Harvey, September 5, 1957, emphasis mine).

With the benefits of thirty-three years of enlightened thinking we can appreciate the unfairness of such dicta: the divide and conquer attitude of arbitrarily separating the permanently employed from the "true Indians", the total disregard and disrespect for treaty rights, and the paternalistic notions of "we know what is best for you". The assimilationist attitude that had so pervaded government thinking is never more apparent than here: an Indian is an Indian because he hunts. A working man (in the Euro-Canadian sense) cannot be an Indian.

The despair, sense of divisiveness and futility with respect to the game laws are all expressed in a letter by Laurence Cheecho (alternately spelled Chechoo by Indian Affairs). The letter is lengthy, but to edit it for length, grammar and spelling is to reduce its essence and

poignancy.

Mr. Matters:

We feel, that the Game Officers are going too deep with the treaty Indians. As the present game law states, if an Indian has a permanent job. he is classed as a white hunter. But the game Officers are after not only permanent employees also the ones that are working on odd jobs. I'm working for Indian Agency when ever he has any work to be done. But I don't consider it as a permanent work. And yet they class me as a permanent workman. Can't hunt without a gun license and not kill more than the limit. I put up a little argument over it. But I was told flatly not to go out hunt unless I know where I stand.

This I can not understand how they can class treaty Indians two ways, when a treaty Indian is bettering himself he is classed as a white hunters and at the same time he is still [sic] a treaty Indian living in the Indian reserve. Why discourage the treaty Indian when he is trying to better himself, thats the way I look at it.

Talking to the Game Officers I understand there will be new Games Law, that will come out next fall, If an Indian works three months a year, he will be classed as a white hunter. This game law must be deeply considered first before they enforce it, take the Moose Band Indians that living here, there is only six or seven permanent employees at the Hospital. Most of them are depented [sic] on trapping and a few on odd jobs, if these trapper and other don't make anything over their trap line, what they gonna [sic] do they have to find work if they want to live, or starve themself through the summer to portect they hunting rights. They tell me, they trying to perserve the area for those treaty Indians that needed it, it is good idea if thats the case. But why do they put pressure on the treaty Indians too! After all there are 85 per cent of the treaty Indians are depented on the game for their winter use. I would like very



much if you could bring our problem to the game official as soon as possible. We are very much disturb, we don't know exactly where we stand. We always had in mind this was our treaty rights, given to us, when our forefathers sign the treaty with people representing the Crown.

We will appreciate very much if we hear from you as soon as possible.

Yours,

Laurence Cheecho  
Chief, Moose Band  
Councillors  
(THRC 44/20-4(A) Cheecho to Matters,  
September 30, 1957)

The letter is lengthy, but illustrates dramatically the sense of frustration felt by a group of people whose very lives and fates are held in the hands of an essentially foreign culture. The confusion over treaty rights, the anxiety expressed over proposed changes in the laws, the very sense of anxiety felt by changing expectations regarding hunting rights which have been revoked - these are all expressed. Matters' response was that if unrestricted hunting were to be allowed, it would not be long before there would be no geese left. Another government official found "little grounds for complaint".

In the early 1960s propagandizing in some American newspapers and magazines also posed a potential threat to traditional semi-annual goose hunting. These articles evoked a defensive reaction on the part of the Canadian government.

The Minneapolis Morning Tribune (July 7, 1964) story said in part:

The fuse is sputtering on what could be a major explosion of sportsmen's protests over the wholesale slaughter of wild geese by Indians - who are being subsidized by the Canadian government to do the hunting.

...

... There are no restrictions on when and how many birds or animals they can kill.

And the Canadian government is subsidizing the kill by furnishing the Indians with shells.

...

"At the village of Fort Severn, it is estimated that the Indians killed 35,000 geese last year with government shells," [said Vern Jones, a Fort Frances bush pilot].

At Fort Albany, the estimate was 80,000 geese last season (THRC, 44/20-4 (D3))

The article goes to estimate the total Canadian kill "in the hundreds of thousands". Indians, the reader is told, kill many of the geese while the birds are resting or in the flightless moulting stage. Another strategy allegedly used by Natives is to kill "several" birds with one shot while the geese are bunched together on the water.

An ostensible American authority who allegedly "knows more about the Canadian waterfowl situation than any other American" stated that "I know this situation exists, and I have told the Canadian authorities about the resentment building up here. It just has to stop".

The danger of such an article lies not only in its misinformation (which it was subsequently proven to be by

the Canadian authorities) but by the vast readership to which it is exposed. The article was later carried in Canadian daily papers (THRC 44/20-4 (D3) Conn to Munro, November 3, 1964). One can only wonder if the same readers later read the correct figures and information.

The Indian Affairs Branch and Department of Lands and Forests (later Ministry of Natural Resources) conducted their own research. The total Indian kill for 1963 for James Bay breaks down as follows: Canadas 8109, Wavies (Blue and Snow Geese) 19,862, Ducks 5254. "Sports" hunters killed 422 Canadas, 10,478 Blue and Snow Geese (combined), and 1818 ducks. The government did issue shells to Indians at the rate of 17,000 per year (1961, '62, '63), realizing, of course, that these are used all year round in the pursuit of other game, not just waterfowl. Shells were issued in cases of 500 with 12 cases each going to Moosonee-Moose Factory and Fort Albany, and 10 cases to Attawapiskat (THRC 44/20-4 (D3) Conn to Munro, November 3, 1964; THRC 44/20-4 (F) Jackson to Regional Supervisor, Fort William, Oct 7, 1964). Jackson pointed out that in the Moosonee-Moose Factory area, sports hunters killed 1327 more wavies than the Indians did in their combined spring and fall hunts.

Finally, another struggle the Attawapiskat Nation faced was not a "threat" to their livelihood but a very real battle for a reserve. The earliest record of the band's struggle to get a suitable reserve is found in a petition forwarded by Bishop Belleau (O.M.I.) on behalf of Chief Alex Wesley, two of his councillors and nearly two hundred band members. The

date of the letter and petition is August 31, 1954. According to the bishop they had initiated requests a year earlier.

In his covering letter, the bishop stated that the reserve at Ekwan had been chosen only by the chief and councillors without consultation with the band. At that time (1929) a better choice could have been made, as it is one hundred miles inland and occupied by nobody except those whose hunting lands are there. In their letter, the band "respectfully request[ed] that the site of our Reserve be established along the West Coast, of James Bay in the vicinity of the Attawapiskat Trading Post and the mouth of the Attawapiskat River" [sic]. They cited their reasons: the other reserve had never been inhabited, nearly all the members of the band traded at the Attawapiskat post and resided there part of the year, there were "a few very good" fishing spots near the mouth of the river, and the land was good for gardening. In addition there was a church [actually two, one Roman Catholic, the other Anglican], a day school run by a nun, a fifteen bed hospital, and a Hudson's Bay Store (THRC 44/30-5, A Request by the Chief, Councillors and Indians of the Attawapiskat Band...).

The process leading up to the establishment of the present reserve is a study in the machinations of bureaucracy. A number of memoranda passed back and forth between various administrators between 1954 and '58. A letter dated January 26, 1955 from Matters to an unidentified

person succinctly states the government's concerns.

One point that will have to be cleared is the attitude of the Anglican Church. Would they be satisfied to have the reserve located alongside the Roman Catholic or would they want an extension on the west side to take in their adherents.

.....

The area acquired should only be what is required for a village site and firewood.

During the last five years the migration south [of Indians from Attawapiskat] has been very rapid. ... ..it will continue.

It is expected that some [Indians] will continue to live in their old homes. Therefore, it will be necessary to acquire a reserve and proceed with a housing program for this group. This latter should not be of such a character that it will deter them from moving south (THRC 44/30-5 (A) Matters, January 26, 1955) (emphasis mine).

In 1959 Chief Xavier Tookate again brought up the subject of a new reserve in a letter to the government. "Alex Wesley was chief when he brought this matter up with J. S. Allan, Indian Agent then. It was agreed then that they would send somebody .. to survey this new site for a reserve, nothing has become of it as yet" (THRC 44/30-5, Tookate, September 29, 1959). In response to Chief Tookate's concern, Matters sent a memo to the Superintendent in Moose Factory and the Regional Supervisor in North Bay, advising them that the Attawapiskat people had not been advised of the "progress that [had] been made toward establishment of a reserve". This was "because negotiations

had been going on between [the] Head Office and Toronto". Plus ca change. Matters suggested that the Chief be advised that action had been taken and that they had not been forgotten. Five years after the initial petition had been submitted the government saw fit to inform the band of the "progress" that had been made (THRC 44/30-5 (A) Matters to Superintendent, Moose Factory and to Regional Supervisor, North Bay, October 23, 1959).

The final outcome of the petition begun in 1954 was that the Attawapiskat band received, on November 4, 1963 a reserve of 325 acres at the mouth of the Attawapiskat River. The original reserve, in contrast, was 104 square miles. This represents 66,816 acres. The discrepancy in size is obviously startling. The new reserve (91A) cost the government \$200. The band's original proposal for a reserve was all the land from one mile north of the main channel of the Attawapiskat River, south to the north bank of the Lawachi River and inland for seven miles (THRC 44/30-5 (A) Matters to Hall, February 25, 1955). Allan, Superintendent of the James Bay Agency, demonstrated some concern for the band. In a letter to the head office of the Indian Affairs branch in Ottawa he outlined a number of his concerns regarding the proposed reserve. He also suggested that consideration be given to an area along the river bank, east of the R.C. mission to the bay. This would have been a strip approximately six miles long by one mile deep and taking in the two lower islands, the uppermost of which was cultivated and "should be reserved by the Indians". Allan also

suggested that terms be provided for an extension of said area to cover the 104 square miles of the original reserve in the event that the government consider it favourable to transfer the old reserve from its original location to the one proposed. In other words, he was willing to entertain the idea of the creation of a new reserve equal in size to the old one (THRC, no file #, Allan to Indian Affairs Branch, January 24, 1955). Matters, conversely, in a letter to an unidentified recipient suggested that the new reserve commence at the eastern boundary of the Roman Catholic Mission and go east for one mile on the shore and be a half mile in depth, in order to allow room for the building of houses (THRC 44/30-5 (A) 44/30-5 (R.7) Matters, November 13, 1956).

Today the Attawapiskat people have their new reserve, albeit it is much smaller than the original one on the Ekwan River. It has a number of conveniences: the airport, hospital and school. However, it does have other concerns including unclean water and susceptibility to flooding. These problems remain unresolved.

The fact that the majority of these "threats" failed to materialize should not leave us unconcerned. Their significance lies in the way that they were constructed: the Cree were unaware of the proposed bombing range, they were uninformed of behind the scenes talks of Inuit relocation. The media presentation of the James Bay Cree killing "hundreds of thousands" of geese with government supplied

shells was beyond their control.

The scenarios presented above all have to do with "power" and the lack of it. "Power", we are told, is the ability to bring about compliance or obedience to one's will. How this comes about is through greater political and economic control and through authority. This last named, in turn, is granted through a recognized "office". Through complex political machinery and greater economic resources the government is imbued with power. This power is given legitimacy by the authority of its office and its mandates, i.e., the BNA Act and the Indian Act. These mandates concomitantly strip the Indian people of power, rendering them wards of the state.

In the "goose slaughter" incident, the larger society through its control of the media was able to create a fiction which the Cree people, through lack of capital and media control, were unable to fight. The defence offered by the government was as much a defence of its own policies, and reflection of its public face, as it was a genuine concern for the Cree.

What these incidents also indicate is the vulnerability of the Cree in particular, and hunting societies in general. Brody (1981:xi) has stated that "The hunting societies of the world have been sentenced to death". However true this may be, if they have been, it is rooted in the powerlessness of hunting societies within the parameters of nation states. The encapsulation process strips small scale societies of political and economic legitimacy while the State creates



and codifies the constraints of their bondage.

Knowledge and information are crucial tools in the exercise of power. Thus, when these are withheld or used manipulatively, the powerful person or institution or state is better able to exercise his/her/their power. The dramas that were enacted in the examples above illustrate how knowledge and information were employed in deciding the possible fate of the Attawapiskat people. The Cree were never informed of plans for a bombing range, or relocation of the Inuit, or possible transferral of Akimiski to Ontario. Nor were they informed for five years of the government's plans for a new reserve after the Cree initiated the move. The fact that the plans for the bombing range and Inuit relocation did not materialize reflects changes in the government's agenda not concern or benevolence for the Cree.

However, one should not assume passive, acquiescent acceptance of a pre-determined fate on the part of the Cree. As indicated in Chapter 4, the Attawapiskat people have demonstrated resilience and willingness to adapt to change. The struggle for the reserve illustrates concrete efforts at ameliorating their situation. The strategies invoked for bringing about their reserve reflect thought and analysis: using the bishop as middleman, clearly stating their case with sound fundamental reasons (including proximity to White institutions - the Church, school, hospital), including a petition with 200 signatures (surely every adult in the community as the population of Attawapiskat in the summer of

1955 was 400 (Vezina, 1978) ), and patiently waiting for the bureaucracy to respond. These are not the actions of people who quietly accept encapsulation. However, when the dominant State withholds information, such resistance is hampered. Knowledge is potential power.

D: Discussion:

There is a tendency among both the lay public and anthropologists to view industrial, capitalist intrusions into the hinterlands occupied by hunters and gatherers as inherently and unequivocally detrimental to the latter group (see, for example, Bodley's Victims of Progress, 1982 and Anthropology and Contemporary Human Problems, 1983). One cannot deny that European and Euro-Canadian penetration of the north brought innumerable negative affects: disease, starvation, radical social change, eradication of traditional languages and religions, loss of political autonomy.

As the second half of the twentieth century began in Attawapiskat, the community was still reeling from much of these adverse effects. But the next thirty five years would also see the arrival of new Euro-Canadian material culture - items which were not inflicted upon the people, but which could be selected and utilized through conscious choice. Herein lies a fundamental consideration. While the Cree were able to maintain some autonomy in the making of some decisions, eg. dealing with hunting, the make up of social units, and other domestic issues, throughout the twentieth century much of their collective fate was largely in the

hands of the State, many times unbeknownst to the Cree themselves. This truism has been demonstrated time and time again from the signing of Treaty 9, to arbitrary decisions by the Church and HBC, to the imposition of the registered trapline system.

One could argue that with such relative powerlessness and the sense of futility it engenders, traditional land use activities would dwindle and wane. One could certainly understand if such were the case; especially in light of the paucity of resources to be found at the close of the 1940s. But in the 1950s and beyond, the degree of land use activity (as measured in resources harvested/population) remained consistent, and indeed increased in some cases. In part, it is argued, this is due to the increasing ease of such activities made possible by the introduction of such items as snowmobiles, two way radios, all terrain vehicles and (the continued availability of) outboard motors. These were all items which had practical, utilitarian value for a traditional lifestyle, and which rendered the same more viable in the face of the increasing localization around the post.

These items made trapping and hunting an optional part time or full time activity, a choice many hunters and their families did not have earlier in the century. With pressure from the State to keep children in school the choice was often long term separation from the family or not trapping. This was no longer the sole option.

Thus, it is argued here, one choice the Cree did have -

to adopt those items of Euro-Canadian culture which would help them in traditional activities - was made, with the ensuing result of greater production of "country food" and higher priced furs. A concomitant of this, however, is the further option of taking those wage labour jobs made available by White institutions - the Church, hospital, and school - in the community. These wage labour jobs, it must be stressed, have not resulted in lower resource use.

The importance of Cree conscious decision making (as opposed to accepting decisions made by the State) is reflected in the success and failure of two commercial resource use activities: the Chookomoolin tourist camp and the commercial sturgeon fishery. These were discussed at length in the chapter. Suffice it to say that the success of the former and demise of the latter lies in part due to the fact that one was initiated by the government and the other was established and maintained by the Cree themselves. Other reasons for respective success and failure have been addressed. These two "case studies" provide valuable lessons in both resource use policy making and Native - government relations.

While there was increased land use activity throughout this period, the relative powerlessness of the Cree remained undeniable. The negotiations going on which directly impacted upon the Attawapiskat people - proposed bombing ranges, resettling of Inuit to Akimiski - are indicative of the considerably weaker position of Native people vis a vis

the State. However, it is just not that these talks existed: it is the fact that the Cree are perceived to be so insignificant that the government did not see fit to include them in negotiations. Such actions epitomize powerlessness. Implicit in the government's actions is an assumption or belief that Native reliance upon the land is non-existent or unimportant, or at least so in comparison with White needs or wants. A corollary of this assumption is that Native culture is secondary to non-Native culture. Furthermore, the codification of relationships between the State and the Attawapiskat people, eg. Treaty 9 and inclusion under the Indian Act, gave legitimacy to any subsequent actions undertaken by the government. Hence, in the eyes of the latter there was no perceived need to consult with the Attawapiskat people on such issues as the proposed bombing range in their territory.

One must, however, distinguish between powerlessness and acquiescence. Native people in Canada have been powerless (but increasingly less so) because of a deliberate, systematic and concerted effort at encapsulation by the dominant Euro-Canadian society. Nonetheless, as evidenced throughout this thesis there have been attempts (many successful) at resisting this encapsulation. Whether it be through trading at Winisk when credit was disallowed at Attawapiskat, or petitioning for a new reserve, or consciously readapting to former patterns of tenure instead of adhering to the MNR trapline system, or establishing one's own goose camp: these are all forms of resistance.

Resistance, by definition, cannot be acquiescence. It should also be noted that within this period the Cree themselves adopted more "sophisticated" (at least in White terms) forms of resistance, using petitions and White allies to fight their causes for them. Therefore, just as the State codified their relationships with the Attawapiskat people, they too would "codify" their demands.

We have defined power (above) as the ability to bring about compliance. By this definition, it is hard to say the Native people have "power". At the same time, the Attawapiskat Cree have not acquiesced, but have quietly and patiently resisted, creating their own forms of disengagement from the State. And their relationship with the land has continued, although being reshaped to meet the exigencies of the time.

## CHAPTER 7: CONTEMPORARY ATTAWAPISKAT LAND USE

This chapter examines land use in Attawapiskat in the contemporary period, i.e., 1986-89. The data, however, come largely from 1990 fieldwork, hence, focus on harvesting from 1989.

In addition to documenting hunting for subsistence (which has continued unabated), this chapter will examine hunting for trade. Included in this discussion will be a number of initiatives by local people which rely on continued land use but as well are remunerative. This includes the operation of tourist camps, construction and sale of sleighs, the selling of firewood, and the marketing of handicrafts.

These initiatives are reflective of the recognition of new realities in Attawapiskat, namely, that while subsistence hunting is always productive the fur market is increasingly volatile. To compensate for this there is a diversification of land use activities, including the trapping of specific species which promise the greatest return for time and energy expended.

This diversification of land use activities is paralleled by a number of other endeavours by the community to break out of the encapsulation that the state sought to impose during this century. These include the assumption of

local control of education, the initiation of a pilot project for a local justice system (one of two in Ontario) and, along with other Mushkegowuk communities, organized protests against the enforcement of the Migratory Birds Convention Act.

There are other areas of land use which are considered in this chapter which too often are ignored elsewhere. These include the significance of graves and cemeteries, historical and cultural sites, and the construction of utilitarian and artistic handicrafts and tools. Finally, attention is also focussed on the Attawapiskat community garden, which contributes a considerable amount to the village's diet.

As in the previous three chapters focussing on land use, this one will be divided into a number of subchapters including a) hunting for subsistence products, b) hunting for trade products, c) other forms of land use, and d) discussion.

#### A: Hunting For Subsistence Products

The data from 1990 unequivocally demonstrate a continued, if not increased, reliance upon the land to meet the community's food needs. This continued reliance is commensurate with increased population, and the data also reveal that there is, as well, considerable sharing of food within the community. Thus, those who are unable to hunt for themselves are provided for by those who can.



It is not surprising to find that the goose hunt remains a staple of the community, providing vast quantities of meat. 1990 data reveal that fully 92% of households participated in the goose hunts during 1989. There is little unevenness in terms of participation by age, with men (although not women) of all ages participating in equal numbers. It would appear that only two factors will keep adult men from participation in the hunt: age/infirmity and being provided for by kin. One man, for example, who was fully capable of hunting did not because his sons provided for him out of their own hunts.

Data from 1990 are presented below. The figures represent waterfowl kills from 1989 spring and fall hunts. In the previous chapter reference was made to the hunting activities of those men over the age of fifty. For analytical purposes and for comparison, the data presented below will be grouped into those hunters over and under the age of fifty. It is interesting to note that in terms of sheer numbers of birds killed there is little significant difference between these groups. However, there are differences in the distribution of these kills among species and between seasons. See Table 36. These differences will be addressed below. The ultimate total bags, however, are almost identical. The averages cited represent the distribution of hunters by age: men over fifty years of age are 30% of the total hunting population, those under fifty but over eighteen are 70% of the total hunting population.

TABLE 36  
 ATTAWAPISKAT AVERAGE WATERFOWL KILL PER HUNTER  
 SPRING & FALL 1989

	Canadas		Wavies		Ducks		Total
	Spring	Fall	Spring	Fall	Spring	Fall	
Fifty & Over	54.89	18	11.62	45.56	10.56	12.18	152.81
Under Fifty	61.66	11.13	24.47	32.49	7.56	11.84	149.15

Balancing these figures over the age spectrum (30% of hunters over the age of fifty, 70% under), the typical hunter in Attawapiskat kills 150.24 waterfowl annually. This figure comprises 72.69 Canada geese, 56.94 wavies and 20.38 ducks.

It would be virtually impossible to overstate the importance of waterfowl in the Attawapiskat diet. Clearly, this importance is increasing over the years, if one compares these data with those of Honigmann and others. In a previous chapter an analysis was made of the total meat contribution made by Canada geese and wavies. Again, using the formula of four pounds per wavy and seven pounds per Canada, it may be argued that each hunter is contributing 736.59 pounds of

"goose" and wavy meat to his household. To this must be added 40.76 pounds of duck (at two pounds of meat per duck) for a total of 777.35 pounds of meat annually.

Such a large volume of meat represents 444.2 meals (at 1.75 pounds of meat per meal). Given that waterfowl is generally consumed twice a day when it is available (according to informants), this equates to 222.1 days of meals per person, or close to seven and a half months. The average household size in Attawapiskat is five people of whom four will eat meat (Joseph Louttit, pers. comm.), so on a per household basis the waterfowl kill will feed an average household for 55.5 days. [NOTE: Indian Affairs suggests that the average Aboriginal household in Ontario is four people, in the north somewhat larger. In Attawapiskat it is five.] It is important to note that while we are examining these data in terms of averages, one must be cognizant of the range of harvests. For example, one hunter who goes out during both the spring and fall hunts, killed "only" thirty Canadas and forty five wavies. Another hunter shot a total of 630 Canadas. These differences are partly a function of family size. Informants suggest that hunters increase their kills (particularly wavies and ducks) in relation to family size. Thus, it was suggested that 100 Canadas, 150-200 wavies and fifty to sixty ducks is not unusual for a "typical" family. In comparison, one hunter suggested that a single man might kill 100 Canadas, thirty wavies and ten ducks.

It is also important to note that in comparison with

moose and caribou hunting, the goose hunts are relatively easier in a physical sense. Therefore, older men who might be reluctant to undertake a hunt for these former species continue to engage in the goose hunts. While moose and caribou hunts are usually a week or so in duration, a hunter can hunt geese on a day to day basis from his house, and in this way secure a substantial amount of meat. It is not surprising, then, to find a significant number of men who have long since given up moose and caribou hunting but who nonetheless bag large numbers of geese annually. If these men are single, widowers, or men who reside only with their wives after their children have left home, the goose hunts provide them with meat for a considerable period of time.

Fewer men participated in the fall hunt than in the spring. A couple of reasons were offered for this. First, it was suggested that hunters don't like being out when "sports" hunters were out. Second, as noted in this chapter, a significant number of men (over forty) function as guides for the sports hunters, thereby removing them from their own hunts. This last argument is questionable as some people suggested that one of the benefits of guiding is that you can hunt and get paid for it. Third, the fall hunt coincides with the ideal moose hunting (ideal because some hunters hunt them at other times) and some people suggested that the availability of moose meat reduces the need for goose.

This is not suggesting a waning importance of the fall goose hunt. It still remains vitally important and, as

suggested by the harvest figures, hunters are killing more birds than previously to feed their families.

Hunters in Attawapiskat spend an average of 10.52 days hunting geese in the spring. This figure represents a range of one day to forty five days. Men typically make a couple of one day excursions at the outset of the season (often trying to bag the first goose of the year), before going to their camps for prolonged stays of a week or so. Transportation is by snowmobile during the spring hunt.

The fall hunt averages 9.2 days, with a range of from one to sixty days. As the hunt occurs before freeze-up, transportation is by canoe. Thus, hunters spend an average of twenty days to procure 222 days of meals.

In contrast to what has been described for the east coast, the Attawapiskat hunt appears to be a much more individualized endeavour. The largest percentage of hunters (22%) indicate that they hunt geese alone. The only hunting partnership approaching this number is that of father and son (18.5%). This particular partnership undoubtedly includes men and their adolescent sons who have not yet started hunting independently. Young men typically start independently hunting geese in their late teens.

In contrast to father-son partnerships the percentage of all other partnerships drops dramatically. Brother partnerships (11%) and cousins (10%) are the only significant combinations.

While the individualized nature of the goose hunt might suggest the absence of a kinship component, there is a

temporal nature to the hunt which supplies the kinship link. Seventy four per cent of all hunters indicated that they hunt in the same areas that their fathers did. An additional 4% hunt where their fathers-in-law did, while 1% hunt in areas in which their uncles hunted. Only 2% indicated that they hunt geese "anywhere", while the remainder (19%) claimed to have hunted in areas that they had "discovered" themselves or had been introduced to by friends. However, two important points must be stressed. A significant number of hunters who indicated that they hunt in areas where their fathers did not hunt, are from outside the community, eg. Winisk or Albany. Thus, their fathers did not have opportunity to establish a "traditional" hunting site. Further, a number of hunters indicated that their fathers' lands were quite distant from the community; ergo, their (the fathers') usual goose hunting areas were likewise too distant to access from Attawapiskat. The point that must be established, then, is that the norm is for goose hunters to hunt in areas utilized by the previous generation. Therefore, there is temporal continuity demonstrated in the selection of hunting sites. This continuity concretizes kinship links to specific hunting sites. This is particularly interesting because when the hunting territory system was "established" by the HBC the coastal zone (which is where most goose hunting takes place) was ostensibly a "neutral zone" for the purposes of the goose hunt. While it is not suggested that there is a formality to the goose hunt

which include notions of propriety regarding hunting sites, what is suggested is the informal recognition of "traditional" goose hunting sites.

One can safely argue then that goose hunting continuity is firmly entrenched in the intergenerational use of hunting sites. Further, while the actual process of hunting, i.e., building a blind, setting decoys, and shooting, might be a largely singular activity, the reality is that hunting is in many ways more communal than suspected. It is often the case, for example, that related hunters, especially fathers and sons, will establish blinds in close proximity of each other. Blinds are often half a kilometre or so apart, so in reality while men might "hunt alone", kin are literally and figuratively close.

In contrast to what appears to be the norm during the first half of the century, the harvesting of caribou continues at a significant rate. While the numbers of hunters are not exceptionally high, there is considerable sharing of caribou (and moose) meat, and the average hunter kills a number of caribou.

During the period from January, 1989 to December, 1989 there were twenty-nine reported active caribou hunters. These hunters killed an estimated 132 caribou (range 127 - 137). To this we must consider the population with whom we did not speak, a total of about twenty households, including ten "bushmen" families. Statistically, only one of the non-bushmen families is likely to hunt caribou. In Chapter 1 it

was noted that even though a bushman spends all but a week in the bush annually, it does not guarantee that he is a big hunter of large game. Therefore, informants suggest that the bushmen families - in total - are likely to kill between thirty and thirty-five caribou a year. This figure, plus another four being killed by town families suggests a total village kill of 168 caribou a year. Reported, documented kills, however, are 132. MNR figures for 1981/82 indicate an estimated ninety-four caribou killed (range 64 - 135), and an estimated 217 killed for the following year with a range of 195 - 246 (Thompson & Hutchison, n.d.:85). The present research suggests an average annual kill of 4.175 caribou per hunter (3.3 in 1981/82, 8.7 in 1982/83; Hutchison & Thompson, n.d.:85). The current data then, suggest an unabated reliance upon caribou over the decade. Thompson & Hutchison report fourteen hunters in 1981/82 and twenty-three in 1982/83.

Hunters generally hunt caribou "after freeze-up" to April when there is sufficient snow for snowmobiles. Within this broadly defined season, however, a couple of months predominate as the preferred time for caribou hunting. Twenty-eight per cent of hunters indicated hunting in March, 22% in February, 17% in April and 11% in December. Not surprisingly, the two peak months for caribou hunting coincide with the ideal snow conditions as well as that time when the fall goose and moose meat have likely been exhausted and the spring hunt is still several weeks away. Hunters in 1989 spent an average of 4.9 days (range 1 - 14) in pursuit of



caribou, a figure not inconsistent with the findings of Thompson and Hutchins (n.d.:96,97) for 1981/82 (average 5.1, range 3 - 8) and 1982/83 (average 6.8, range 2 - 15).

Berger (1977:24) suggests that a caribou yields approximately 112 pounds of meat, therefore 132 caribou represent 14,836 pounds of food; 168 caribou (our projected estimate including "bushmen") represent 18,816 pounds. Hunters typically share their kills; each successful hunter distributing meat to an average of from six to ten other families.

The nature of caribou, and the fact that hunters share the meat extensively, preclude the barring of access to one's lands. Thirty-six per cent of hunters indicated that they knew whose land they hunted caribou on, although the "owner" of the land was not one of the hunting group nor was he close kin. Twelve per cent of hunters hunted caribou on their father's land. Another man hunted on his grandfather's, another on his cousin's, a third on his trapping partner's land. An additional 18% stated that they hunted caribou "anywhere" because caribou "move around". One hunter related how they had to pursue caribou for nearly seventy-five kilometres before making a kill. Only one man indicated that he did not know whose territory he had hunted caribou on.

What the foregoing suggests is a recognition of rights to land but a concomitant recognition of the right to kill game for subsistence purposes. A number of men (18%)

suggested the unreasonableness of expecting a hunter to restrict himself to a given territory when pursuing a highly mobile animal such as caribou. Caribou, it was said, vary in their location from year to year. Furthermore, given that men often hunt in groups of three to six, and each will share with six or more people, it is not unlikely that the "owner" of the land will benefit regardless of whether or not he is part of the hunting party. Finally, as one informant stated, one "does not own an animal until it is killed".

In contrast to the spring and fall goose hunts where "hunting alone" was the norm, caribou hunters invariably hunt in partnerships, often in groups of three or more. The rigours of the hunt, taking place as they do over several days and under the harshest of weather conditions, demand safety in numbers. The potential dangers of mechanical breakdown dozens of kilometres from the village, in the dead of winter, virtually preclude solitary hunting although two men indicated that they do hunt caribou alone. They were exceptions. Yet another practical reason for hunting in groups is that often there are multiple kills: one group of four hunters killed sixteen animals. A number of sleighs are required to haul such large numbers of animals back to the village.

However, there are social considerations of which one must be cognizant. The selection of a partner for caribou hunting does not appear to be random, and indeed it seems that specific kin are sought as companions in the hunt. Twenty-four per cent of caribou hunters stated that they

hunted with their brothers-in-law, while another 24% indicated that they hunt with their cousins. Brothers constituted 14% of partnerships, while "friends" made up another 10%. This last named, however, is misleading as "friends" is often a generic term for such relationships as second cousins. Seven per cent of hunters stated that they hunt with "anybody" while stipulating that they "usually hunt with cousins".

With between approximately 50 - 55% of hunters selecting brothers -in-law or cousins as their hunting partners, it may be suggested that the caribou hunt provides an opportunity to reinforce the extended family kinship links. As well, it might simply reflect a desire to hunt with members of one's peer group. In this sense, the hunting partnerships may be analogous to the more formal age-grades found in other societies. The number of supra-familial partnerships contrasts sharply with the number of hunters who reported hunting with their fathers (10%) or with their sons (5%).

When initial attempts were made to quantitatively analyze the moose hunting data from 1989, the writer was struck by what appeared to be an exceptionally high number of kills. However, the total annual kill, while high, is actually lower than that suggested by the MNR for 1982/83. Hunters in Attawapiskat killed 114 moose between January 1989 and December, 1989. This figure represents actual reported kills. Including our additional twenty families,

we might add 20 kills for a total of 134 moose. In contrast, MNR data (Thompson & Hutchison, n.d.:84) indicate 76 killed in 1981/82 (range 55 - 95) and 116 in 1982/83 (range 107 - 126). The current Attawapiskat data indicate an average kill of 1.7 animals per successful hunter, in contrast to 1.5 in 1981/82 and 2.7 in 1982/83 (Thompson & Hutchison, n.d.:84). In part, the large moose harvest is attributable to an aberration in the form of a young hunter who returned from a four year absence from the community and became an especially active hunter and provider for a number of families. This man, in association with a nephew, a brother-in-law, and a friend, killed seventeen moose over three trips. Thus, 15% of the total village moose kill is credited to one hunter.

Perhaps, though, we should not be concerned with what appear to be large kills (and, as noted above, the 1989 kill did not exceed the kills of some previous years). As documented earlier, the caribou harvest increased by 230% from 1981/82 to 1982/83. The delineation of "large" and "average" number of kills then, is to a considerable extent arbitrary. What determines whether there will be community success in bagging an adequate number of game species is the number and accessibility of that species, and the optimal environmental conditions under which to pursue it. For example, when hunting moose there must initially be a significant moose population (itself dependent upon such factors as the severity of the previous winter and abundance of browse for food), adequate river depths to provide for the canoes from which the men hunt, and suitable fall weather

conditions. Presumably, these conditions were met in the fall of 1989. Additionally, the needs of the community in terms of food will also dictate how many moose are killed. A poor goose season, for example, might very well be expected to result in greater effort expended in hunting moose.

Autumn is the favoured time for hunting moose. Sixty two and a half per cent of hunters indicated hunting during the month of October, 22.5% during September, and 7.5% during either of those two months. Others (only one hunter in each instance) stated that they hunted in August, November, January and February. Moose are usually hunted along the major waterways, including the Kapiskow, Lawachi, Attawapiskat and Ekwan Rivers. In 1989, 62 hunters (not all were successful) spent an average of 7.38 days hunting moose, with a range of two to fourteen days.

According to Berger (1977:24), a moose yields 438 pounds of meat, therefore 114 moose represent 49,932 pounds of moose meat brought into the community, while 134 moose (the projected community total) represent 58,692 pounds. As with caribou, a moose kill is inevitably distributed among six to ten families. Again, using the formula of 1.75 pounds of meat per meal twice a day, a moose kill provides a hunter with 128.5 days of meals. An analysis of moose kills on a community basis is much more useful for establishing the significance of subsistence hunting. It has been suggested that there are approximately 900 people in the community who eat moose meat (1200 minus 100 who are over 65 and too ill to

eat meat, and an additional 200 under the age of two years who do not yet eat meat). Beginning with our 58,692 pounds of meat from 1989, and utilizing the figure of 3.5 pounds of meat per day/person, every meat eating resident of Attawapiskat is provided with moose meat for 18.6 days. Using the same analysis, caribou meat provides these same people with meat for just under six days. It must also be stated that the 3.5 pounds/day/person is undoubtedly high, as it was suggested by an adult, active male. If one considers younger children and women the average rate of consumption is undoubtedly lower.

As with caribou hunting, the pursuit of moose is invariably a team effort, involving partners. However, the makeup of these partnerships does not appear to be as circumscribed as in caribou hunting where brothers-in-law and cousins partnerships comprise approximately 55% of the relationships. Rather, in moose hunting partnerships 28% are brothers-in-law, 19% are brothers, 17% are cousins. The remainder of partnerships are made up of father and sons (8.5%), "friends" (which might include relatives) (8.5%), unidentified relatives and "friends" (6%), alone (6%), and nephew and uncle (4%).

Again, one can speculate on the reasons for these types of partnerships. As noted above, two possible explanations might be desire to extend and reinforce supra-familial kin links, and the conscious desire to hunt within a peer group, i.e., with one's own age-mates. It was observed above that the only hunting that incorporates father/son partnerships in

meaningful numbers is the goose hunt. Traditionally, the goose hunt was one of a boy's earliest introductions to hunting, and the boy was exposed to it in the company of his father over a number of years. Informants suggest that a boy will receive his first gun at around the age of seven or eight (usually a .410 shotgun), and begin accompanying his father on goose hunts. Thus, the apprenticeship stage for a young hunter is about ten to twelve years, during which time he is mastering numerous skills relating to hunting and firearms. Having built upon this foundation of knowledge, by the time a young man starts hunting moose and caribou in his late teens or early twenties, he is ready to establish partnerships outside the nuclear family, eg. with cousins and brothers-in-law. The particular rigours of moose and caribou hunting - one hundred mile long trips and twelve to fourteen hour days - necessitate strength and experience which are gained after the long apprenticeship. Only after these are gained can a man seek companions other than his father who is at once his partner and mentor. These new hunting arrangements are reflected in the number of suprafamilial partnerships among moose and caribou hunters.

Sixty four per cent of all households reported doing some fishing during 1989, while an additional 13% reported fishing occasionally or in the recent past. Fishing is adapted to the weather and water conditions, with three main types of strategies used: gill nets, baited hooks, and rod and reel. The latter is particularly practised as

"recreation" after breakup.

The MNR study by Hutchison and Thompson did an admirable job of quantifying the fish harvests in the Mushkehowuk region. They were able to quantify the fish harvests according to species, something this study attempted to do, but regrettably found impossible. Respondents were reluctant (understandably so, it was thought) to break down their fish catches by species; rather, they simply estimated their catches on a weekly or other temporal basis identifying in a general way what they caught. For example, a person would say that he caught forty to fifty fish, including whitefish, speckled and lake trout, every five days in his nets. Attempts to get further information was met with not a small amount of incredulity. Later, I was informed that an elder in the community had mentioned on a Wawatay radio programme that a researcher "had wanted him to identify all his fish catches by weight and species". Apparently, this received considerable laughter on the air and throughout the broadcasting area. I had attained Andy Warhol's promised fifteen minutes of fame (or perhaps, infamy).

It is estimated from the 1990 data that 53,855 fish are caught annually in Attawapiskat (range 45,895 - 61,814). This estimate is based on the number of people who indicated fishing, their seasons and their estimated catches, plus the bushmen. This latter group is especially important in our consideration, because it was suggested by a number of informants that fish figure prominently in their diets. By way of comparison, Thompson and Hutchison (n.d:101,102)



estimated 32,250 for 1981/82 and 65,162 for 1982/83. In their analysis whitefish predominated (23,254 in 1981/82, 50,802 in 1982/83). There is no way of determining the ratios for 1990, although informants did state what species they sought. The MNR study indicates five species in their inventory of harvested fish: brook trout, whitefish, pike, walleye and suckers.

What the data do clearly indicate, however, is a continued undiminished reliance upon fish as a subsistence item. The current statistics fall midway between the catch figures of 1981/82 and 1982/83, suggesting that fish remain a crucial group of species for meeting food needs. Of the total 54,813 fish caught, only 962 were caught by rod and reel - so-called "recreational" fishing, as opposed to those caught by nets or baited hooks. And the fact that these were caught by rod in no way diminishes their relevance or importance as food items.

In contrast to moose, goose and caribou hunting, fishing is very much a family activity, with the vast majority of respondents indicating that they fish with wives and families. Only the "recreational" fishermen (who, incidentally, eat their catches) indicate fishing with supra-familial members. In these cases, partners are typically cousins, uncles or nephews, and brothers-in-law.

There appears to be no rigid guideline or rule regarding fishing sites. Fifty-four per cent of informants indicated that they fished at sites where their fathers had,

while 39% indicated that they had "discovered" their own fishing sites or had been introduced to them by friends. Three and a half per cent of informants fished where their fathers in law had, while another 3.5% used their uncles' sites. There appears to be no hard and fast rule governing selection and use of fishing sites.

Similarly, there does not seem to be any fixed season for fishing. In a number of papers, Honigmann has suggested that fishing is used to supplement diet during the summer between the goose hunts. In contemporary Attawapiskat, one is hard pressed to find such firm statements. Rather, a number of people fish year round while an equal number are likely to fish at intervals during the year, when the situation warrants it. Several informants suggested that they fish "occasionally during the year". Likewise, fishing may last from "1/2 day three times a year" to "year round fishing". The only consistent pattern is for recreational fishers among whom a slight majority (54%) indicate that they fish after breakup, for an average of two to three days.

It is difficult to measure the amount of small game and birds harvested in Attawapiskat. This is due in part to the fact that men often shoot ptarmigan and snare rabbits while moose and caribou hunting, and also because boys will frequently hunt on one day forays. These efforts are generally so commonplace that they are unrecalled. Hence, when asked the question "do you or members of your family hunt or trap small game or birds?" the answer is likely to be "no". The reality, of course, is the opposite.

With this thought in mind, it is stated here that 48% of households in Attawapiskat pursue small game and birds according to the 1990 data. Thompson and Hutchison (n.d.) have observed that with the exception of snowshoe hares and willow ptarmigan, the harvesting of other small game is likely to be incidental to other hunting. (For example, in 1981/82 only 10 shorebirds were killed, and only 35 spruce grouse, in comparison to 1418 willow ptarmigan and 2041 snowshoe hares). This study is in agreement with that statement. Therefore, "small game and birds" is basically synonymous with ptarmigan and "rabbits".

The nature of small game harvesting renders quantification problematic. A number of people, for example, indicated that they snare rabbits or shoot ptarmigan "on occasion" or "when the opportunity presents itself". One man stated that he takes up to fifty rabbits on occasion but could not firmly state when he snared rabbits because "it varies". Another man indicated that he snares rabbits "every day" but would not volunteer an average catch. A very conservative estimate, then, indicates that in 1989 3061 snowshoe hares were caught in Attawapiskat. This estimate is again based on those who indicated snaring, their seasons and catch or range of catch. We may add 1000 to this figure to include the bushmen who rely heavily on small game. An estimated total community snowshoe kill then, would be 4061.

While rabbits may be snared all year, the preferred months are those between freezeup and April, with November

and December predominating. March is also a common rabbit season, likely because it immediately precedes the arrival of geese and meat is often low. The snaring of snowshoe hares is not restricted by age or sex, and while adult men most often do the actual trapping, women, boys and girls also run snare lines. Similarly, while hunters will establish snare lines when in the bush, most often they are established within a three mile radius of the community, allowing access by the very young or very old who often monitor them (Joseph Louttit, p.c.). Snowshoe hares are the preferred species of those who pursue small game, being snared by 54% of the small game and bird hunters.

Ptarmigan are harvested by 29% of those who pursue small game and birds, being most often shot but occasionally snared as well. They are typically procured during the winter months (November to March, particularly November and December). As with the snowshoe hare harvest figures, the estimated ptarmigan harvest is higher than that cited by Thompson & Hutchison for 1981-1983. Calculations based upon the 1990 data give an estimated ptarmigan harvest of 2197 (range 2061 - 2334) for the community in 1989. To these reported figures we may add 500 for the bushmen for a total of 2697 ptarmigan killed in 1989. In contrast Thompson & Hutchison (n.d.;77,78) state harvests of 1418 for 1981/82 and 1092 for 1982/83.

Hunters also report hunting spruce grouse, although not nearly in the numbers of either snowshoe hares or ptarmigan. Total estimated kill for Attawapiskat is 117 in 1989, a

figure not inconsistent with the Thompson and Hutchison MNR study (35 in 1981/82, 101 in 1982/83).

Berry picking is of less importance (but is by no means unimportant) than either hunting or fishing in the Attawapiskat economy, with only 39% of households indicating active berry picking in 1989. An additional 18.5% indicated that they pick berries "occasionally" (although not that year) or had picked berries in the past.

Informants suggest that as many as fifteen different species of edible berries grow and are picked by the community. These include (in local vernacular, in some instances) strawberries, blueberries, cranberries, raspberries, gooseberries, blackberries, mooseberries, muskegberries, headberries, bakeapple berries, currants, rabbitberries, whiskyjack berries, moss berries, and sugar plum berries. [NOTE: No claim is made for accuracy. Because these are in many instances local terminologies, there may be repetition. Fieldwork was done in winter and spring, therefore, the berries were not viewed. The names, however, are Attawapiskat First Nation's own].

Cranberries are by far the most frequently picked and consumed, with approximately 39% of all berry pickers harvesting that species. In decreasing order of importance are gooseberries (12%), mooseberries (9.2%), strawberries (8.5%), blueberries and raspberries each being consumed by 7%, and bakeapple berries being picked by 5% of all berry pickers. The other species cited in the paragraph above are

all picked by less than 3% of the community berry pickers.

Berry pickers do not restrict themselves to one species; rather, they pick an average of 3.9 different species (range one to ten). Similarly, those community members who pick berries do so in large amounts. Data suggest that the average household picks an average of 4.49 gallons of berries annually, with a range of two to ten gallons. On a community level this represents just under 301 gallons of berries being harvested by the community annually. When shared among the community, this amounts to 1.4 gallons for every household in Attawapiskat. If one takes into account only the younger and middle aged, this amount increases, as a number of seniors (those over sixty-five years) indicated that they "used to pick more when [they] were younger." The norm for seniors is two to three gallons of berries yearly.

There is no division of labour when it comes to berry picking with husbands, wives, husbands and wives, children, and families picking in equal numbers. For many households, berry picking is a family affair, amounting to a Sunday "outing" in the late summer and early fall. Similarly, no protocol obtains where berries may be picked, as people harvest them "everywhere". The only exceptions occur in those cases where people happen to know of exceptionally bountiful regions, eg. one family habitually picks berries on Akimiski Island, another on the Ekwana River. These are not "owned" sites, however; they simply happen to be productive areas where the families traditionally go.

## B: Hunting for Trade Products

Contemporary Attawapiskat sees an undiminished reliance upon the land for commercial purposes. In comparison with earlier years, however, hunting for trade has been reshaped and redefined in accordance with both a volatile fur market and opportunities for other economic endeavours.

In trying to quantitatively determine the extent of land use one is inevitably confronted with discrepancies and contradictions in the data. To illustrate, one man - "a bushman" - claims to kill an average of 200 beavers a year. Given that one source (MNR) claims that the entire village produced 323 beavers in 1988/89 and 247 in 1987/88, the claim of 200 beavers for one trapper seems high. Similarly, the numbers of actual hunters varies depending upon one's source. Fieldwork in 1990 determined that there was a minimum of 42 active hunters during the 1989/90 season. To this must be added approximately a dozen "bushmen" who were out of town, plus a handful of others who were unavailable for other reasons. Ten other people had trapped within the last two years, another five had trapped within the last three years. In contrast, another source claimed that there were 27 trappers in 1988/89 and 52 in 1987/88. The informant observed, however, that in the former season "not all trappers could have bought licenses". However, the present

data correspond very closely (both sources indicating 52 trappers in 1987/88) in certain respects. To put this into perspective, fifty-two of the 174 households interviewed had family members trapping within the previous two years. This represents 30% of the households having a member actively trapping. It must be borne in mind that this is conservative because of the "bushmen" and others who were unavailable.

Trapping in Attawapiskat has been shaped by a number of external considerations in the contemporary period: a wildly fluctuating fur market, the availability of species, the high cost of maintaining a trapping economy, and the impacts of increased localization and sedentarism around the village, eg. the need to keep children in school and the opportunities for wage labour, and a world-wide protest against the fur industry. Despite all of these considerations a significant number of people in the community state that trapping is their preferred way of life and many plan to return to it if they have been obliged to give it up.

Seventy-eight people stated that they had been trappers "in the past", i.e., prior to the 1987/88 trapping season. (This cut-off date is the author's arbitrary baseline, not theirs). This represents 45% of the total sample who had trapped in the past. Twenty-two (28%) gave up trapping for either age or health reasons. Three stopped trapping for "personal" reasons while six stated that they quit trapping because it did not pay enough or that it was too expensive. Thirteen (17%) indicated that they had a choice of trapping or working full time elsewhere and chose the latter. Another



nine or 11% did not cite a different job as their reason for quitting, but did indicate that they are now working at something else. Nineteen of the seventy-eight did not give clear reasons why they quit trapping but none had assumed other jobs. Others had left the community, or had no snowmobile (also a financial reason) or had other reasons. There were forty-two active trappers in the community in 1989/90. While the majority of these people did not have other full time occupations, ten (or 24%) of them did work full time at other jobs. This quite obviously indicates a considerable amount of part-time trapping being conducted.

This part time trapping reflects another shift in trapping in the contemporary period. When one examines fur harvest records for the last couple of years, it is apparent that there is a concerted effort to maximize returns for effort expended. Simply stated, it appears that trappers focus on those species which bring the most monetary return. In turn, this means concentrating efforts on those species which are a) plentiful, in close proximity to the community and easy to catch, such as muskrats, and b) those which might not be in such large numbers, but if caught are profitable. In 1989/90, such was the case with marten. Typically, muskrats are caught at five to seven times the rate marten are, but the latter are worth (generally) between \$70 to \$140, while the former bring \$3 to \$5. In between these two species are others such as lynx, mink, otter, beaver, fox and wolf. In recent years, these have not been caught (with the

possible exception of beaver) in the same numbers as marten and "rats". The reasons for this have to do less with the value of the fur (although they have been worth less than marten in recent years) than with the fact that these animals (generally) are fewer in number and much more difficult to catch. Therefore, in good rat and marten years (the former are almost always available) effort, gas and time will be geared toward these species, which promise return on the investment. It might even be suggested, as one informant stated, that trappers are becoming "specialists" in procuring certain species.

The environmental niches occupied by certain species, as well as the expertise and technology employed by the trappers, allows for species specialization. For example, the marten - or more correctly pine marten - is an arboreal weasel that subsists largely on squirrels and jays. Trappers will exploit this niche, i.e., pine and other coniferous trees, in their pursuit of the marten. Thus, traps will be set in trees for marten. Likewise, traps are set in proximity of beaver lodges and dams, or near otter "slides" for that species. With an intricate knowledge of their environment, the Cree are able to specialize in the most profitable species.

It is important to note that even within the Mushkegowuk askii region, the availability of a species near one community does not guarantee its presence in another. However, the indications of such a profitable species in a community's environs promises considerable reward for those

with the skills and means to harvest them. As noted in the previous chapter, when word of mouth indicates that marten are present, trappers with the proper tools can get their share of the resources.

If it seems that there is too great a concern with the economics of trapping, one should examine closely Appendix 1, The Economics of Hunting and Trapping, which itemizes the monetary cost of subsistence hunting and trapping. It is economics of trapping which has most affected trapping in Attaapiskat, and it is the maintenance costs which often seem to be the most debilitating to those who want to trap. Thus, when one speaks to trappers who have given up their profession, it is most often for economic reasons; either because it is too expensive an endeavour, e.g., the cost of purchasing and running a "ski-doo", or because the prices for furs are down. In either case, the returns from furs cannot justify the expenses incurred. One man, for example, quit trapping around 1965 because "it was too expensive". This was approximately the time that snowmobiles were introduced. Thus, we can better appreciate the decisions of those who opt for regular remunerative employment instead of trapping, which is characterized by game population cycles and a volatile market. A decision to choose a desk bound job at the band office is not easily made, and the fact that roughly one quarter of all active trappers choose to continue trapping after full time employment attests to the desirability of the former for some.

For trappers whose lands are close to the community (and the vast majority of registered trap lines are close to the village), the profits to be gained from a good marten season will offset the financial cost of trapping. Ironically, it is those people who are wage-labour employed who often are better able to afford to trap. The income from their wage employment supports the economic costs of \$6000 snowmobiles, \$5/gallon gasoline, and steel traps. It is for this reason that there is still considerable part time trapping, and concerted effort at killing those species which promise profitable returns. It also helps explain the considerable number of trap lines within close proximity of the community.

Cited in Table 37 are harvest figures for 1987/88 and 1988/89. Two sets of data are given. One is from MNR, the other from Informant A, who shall remain anonymous. Also given are the prices paid for furs, as stated by Informant A, as well as the number of trappers. Table 38 gives marten harvest figures for different years.

When examining these data with those of earlier years, one finds substantiation for the argument that effort is put forth when financial returns are most promising. For example, marten furs have been worth two to three times that of any other fur (with the exception of fisher, of which there was only one produced in recent memory) and the harvest of marten pelts has increased significantly.

The "species specialization" found among some Attawapiskat trappers is exemplified by a young trapper. He traps only marten with his partner. He makes day trips on

his snowmobile, in an area that is convenient for him. His trapping season is from November to February. By January 24, 1990 he had trapped twenty-one marten, when marten were paying well over \$100 for an average pelt. He is not unique. Many, if not most, trappers trap only marten or a combination of marten, otter, beaver, mink and muskrat. One elderly widow (79 years old) was still trapping in the fall of 1989, taking five marten, two minks, and twenty muskrats. Another young man traps only during the month of December. He and four others who trap in the same region share a main camp, but then spread out on their separate traplines for a week at a time. He traps only marten.

One must be cognizant of the fact that the discrepancies in these figures might be attributable to population cycles, but they might also (and probably do) reflect the relative value of the fur. For example, the very large number harvested in 1987/88 undoubtedly reflects the fact that the average price paid was \$107.30. In comparison, mink paid \$48.50, the second most profitable species (with the exception of the solitary fisher). The following year the marten harvest dropped by approximately 400 pelts, but the value of the fur was also lower by over twenty-five dollars. In 1987/88, marten alone brought nearly \$70,000 into the community.

TABLE 37

## ATTAWAPISKAT FUR HARVESTS 1987/88, 1988/89

Species	(a)		(a)		(b)
	1987/88	Avg. Price	1988/89	Avg. Price	1988/89 (MNR)
Beaver	247	\$27.00	293	\$28.00	323
Mink	55	\$48.50	57	\$42.00	79
Marten	650	\$107.30	254	\$80.37	328
Otter	74	\$37.40	71	\$39.85	74
Fisher	1	\$149.31	--	-----	-
Fox, Coloured	28	\$30.00	11	\$25.00	36
Muskrat	685	\$4.60	1813	\$2.73	1688
Arctic Fox	80	\$8.50	50	\$31.25	50
<b>TOTAL INCOME</b>		<b>\$86,669.41</b>		<b>\$40,628.32</b>	

NOTE: The number of trappers in 1987/88 was 52. In 1988/89, the number was 27. The "number of trappers" represents those who actually bought licenses, not the actual number trapping. The two are not necessarily the same.

(a) SOURCE: Informant information

(b) SOURCE: Ministry of Natural Resources

TABLE 38

## MARTEN HARVEST 1971/72, 1980/81, 1987/88, 1988/89

	(a)	(a)	(b)	(b)	(a)
	1971/72	1980/81	1987/88	1988/89	(MNR)
Marten Killed	9	122	650	254	(328)

(a) SOURCE: Ministry of Natural Resources

(b) SOURCE: Informant Information

The anti-fur lobby has had major impacts upon trapping everywhere. Building up its momentum throughout the 1970s, and reaching a peak in the mid '80s, the fur industry was rocked by a force from which it has never fully recovered (Globe and Mail, December 28, 1990). A number of trappers and former trappers articulated their concerns with the animal rights people. One trapper stated that he "used to trap full time but the demand for fur is low today" so he traps alone (as opposed to with his brothers, who used to be his partners). Today, he makes day trips (feasible with snowmobiles) and traps marten, beaver and otter. Another man, who trapped while also working at the band office, gave up the former occupation because "today people don't pay for fur, and it is too expensive an occupation". Another thirty-five year old man who last trapped two years ago (beaver and marten) stopped "because of the lousy market conditions" and will return when the market is better. Another former trapper who trapped full time from 1978 to 1984 stated simply that he stopped because it "does not pay enough to trap".

To fully appreciate the impact of the anti-trapping lobby, one need only look at a couple of newspaper articles from early January, 1991. An article appearing in the January 5, 1991 Toronto Star noted the following:

The Ontario Trappers Association, under attack by animal rights activists and beset by plummeting fur prices, went into receivership yesterday.

....

.. sales have dropped from \$30 million in 1987 to 9 million in 1990.

In the last two years the number of Ontario trappers have [sic] fallen to 11,000 from 16,000.

The main reason for the decline, according to the [sic] trappers' association, was the drop in fur prices.

Beaver, especially hard hit, sold for an average of \$11.80 per pelt in 1990, down at least 50% from 1989 (Fur Trade Group Faces Collapse, Toronto Star, January 5, 1991).

The Ontario Trappers Association was the only trapper-owned fur auction in the world. This gave it considerable advantage in paying fair prices for its furs. This concern was noted in the Globe and Mail, January 7, 1991.

Buyers for large fur companies - notably Hudson's Bay Co. - will move in and buy trappers' stock ...

... this sets back trappers... by 40 years.

...

As long as trappers could auction their fur directly to European buyers .. they could get full value for their product. With Hudson's Bay acting as go between .. this will no longer be the case.

...the Hudson's Bay Co. will buy [the furs], but they'll only pay a portion of the value ("Company's Collapse Called No Threat to Fur Trade", Globe and Mail, January 7, 1991).

The concern with the Hudson's Bay Company finds support in Attawapiskat. Trappers state that with the Ontario Trappers Association they may sell their furs only at select times of the year, notably the end of December and end of February. At these times, however, they receive "full" price



for their furs. In 1990 for example, marten would bring about \$120 - \$140 from the OTA. Thus, if you could afford to wait, you were guaranteed a fair price. The Bay, on the other hand, would buy the furs at any time. Knowing that trappers had no other outlet, except when the OTA was buying, they could afford to pay less than "full" price; typically, according to informants, about half. Trappers, then, are in a tough situation: most cannot financially afford to wait to unload their furs at the OTA, but are loathe to sell them for a lower price to the Bay. Unfortunately for the trappers, however, the economic reality is that they must sell them locally in order to provide for themselves and their family. With the demise of OTA the situation is likely to get worse.

Shortly after these articles appeared in the papers, the HBC declared that it, too, was closing their auction operation.

There are a number of goose and fishing camps operating in the region which offer seasonal employment to the Attawapiskat First Nation in the forms of cooking, camp maintenance, and perhaps most importantly, as guides. The two most important goose and fishing camps (in terms of providing employment) are Chookomoolin's tourist camp and Gabe's Goose Camp, operated by Gabriel Spence (sold by him during the summer of 1990 to another local Native person). The history of the former was detailed in Chapter 5. Gabriel Fireman, another local person, owns and operates a fishing and moose hunting camp.

Gabe's camp is located five kilometres from the village on the coast. It consists of sleep camps, cook camp, a small store for general merchandise, deep freezes for preservation of shot birds, a generator for electricity, and a sauna. The sleep camps are heated with wood.

Between 1967 and 1979 the camp was owned and operated by the Ministry of Natural Resources, but during the late '70s the ministry decided it should be controlled and operated by Natives. Gabe assumed ownership and changed prices, the brochure and the hunting season. The camp is operated only in the fall and he hires approximately fifteen guides a season for four to five weeks. In addition, he hires three or four cooks. Since 1980 the season has run from September 15 through October. Guides use their own canoes. While to date the camp has been only a goose hunting outfit, plans were underway to expand into a fishing camp during the summer of 1990.

People who have worked as guides are virtually unanimous in their positive attitudes towards their experiences. A number of people have worked as guides for years. The average guide working in 1989/90 had four and a half seasons experience, with a range of one to twenty-eight years. Of the forty-three people who worked at the camps during 1989, only four had negative feeling towards their jobs. This translates into 93% job satisfaction. Complaints generally focussed on the hunters who "wanted to shoot all the geese", who "were uncooperative", and who were "crybabies". One guide said that he is "gradually

disapproving" of guiding, while another said that it is hard work for inadequate money, but nonetheless he finds it "fun".

Despite the handful of concerns (articulated by less than 8% of active guides in 1990), most people who work for the camps enjoy it and seek re-employment. Reasons tend to be as much intrinsic as economic. The opportunities to meet people and socialize, to share Cree skills and knowledge, to be out on the land and to demonstrate the quality of Cree life, were all expressed as reasons for satisfaction with the job. Other people found the job enjoyable because it provided opportunity for their own hunting. Further, it is satisfactory because "it is what [the Cree] have been educated in". There are economic reasons as well - in addition to salary, approximately half the hunters tip.

Some local people have expressed concerns and doubts about guiding. Two people - neither of whom has ever worked as a guide - articulated, albeit vaguely, their concerns. One observed that "guiding needs examining closely", while the other suggested that "guiding is a form of employment for people if properly controlled". Both of these people have permanent jobs.

The goose, moose and fishing camps are certainly not a panacea: they offer only short term, seasonal work and with the exception of the owner/operators, nobody is going to make exceptional amounts of money. Operators hire only those guides who have their own equipment: canoes, motors, gasoline, decoys and food for their own meals. Daily take-

home pay is about fifty dollars. Their benefits, however, lie in the fact that they are locally owned and operated; therefore, they are economically autonomous. The high level of job satisfaction, the continued rehiring of people, and the very fact that they have been in existence for decades now all attest to their viability as businesses as well as economic opportunities for local people.

But there is more to the camps. They are means of providing income for local people in ways that are consistent with "traditional" Cree culture and lifestyle. It would be understandable if the Attawapiskat people resented outsiders arriving in their community to hunt what for them is a subsistence species. Such resentment hardly exists. Rather, guides are cognizant of the fact that the southerners who arrive are the proverbial strangers in a strange land. The Cree guides are working for employers who are neighbours, if not kin, and providing expertise far beyond the ken of the hunters for whom they guide (lifetime subscriptions to Sports and Field notwithstanding). At Gabe's Goose Camp, there are two hunters per guide, and the guide is in virtual total control, preparing the blind, setting out the decoys, and often calling the geese (without the benefit of a commercial goose call). Oftentimes they pluck the geese for the hunters. The brochure for Gabe's Goose Camp subtly reminds the hunters to "keep low and still until your guide says 'okay'". Those of us who have experienced the goose hunt can appreciate the true art and science that go into it. Guiding, then, allows the hunter to utilize a lifetime of

skill, knowledge and experience, and to be compensated financially for it. Further, it does not interfere with his own pursuit of food for his family. In brief, guiding is a remunerative, self-enhancing, self-gratifying form of employment. And - given that non-Native hunters are restricted to five geese per hunt - there is an awareness that "sports" hunting is not detrimental to flock populations. Honigmann (1961:79) has suggested that the goose hunt for the Cree is comparable to the annual vacation for a factory worker: it is anticipated and revelled in. If this is so, one might stretch the metaphor and suggest that goose guiding is a virtual paid vacation for the Attawapiskat Cree. What is fundamental to understanding the appeal of guiding for local people is an appreciation for the work environment. And the environment is one in which the Cree guide is totally familiar and one in which he has mastery: "his" hunters are not familiar with, and do not have control over, his environment. Furthermore, his "employer" - such as he is - is most likely a cousin or uncle. Few jobs anywhere provide such conditions.

The success of the goose camps have generated an interest among some Attawapiskat people in the potential for other forms of "tourist" operations. One elder was seeking backing for a "retreat" at his camp. Another, younger, man is considering an "adventure travel" type of resort wherein people could conceivably travel from Attawapiskat to Polar Bear Park, possibly by horseback. The former possibility had been presented to the Band; the latter (in the spring of

1990) was still a thought and little else.

The importance and relevance of these ideas is that they represent an interest in utilizing the land in a way that is not detrimental to it, while simultaneously putting to profitable use the knowledge and expertise of the local populace. While there may not be a yearning to leave Attawapiskat for the outside, there is an interest among the majority of the population in meeting the outside and presenting to outsiders their culture and lifestyle. Indeed, as discussed above, one of the prime attractions of guiding is the opportunity to meet strangers and socialize. Hence, the projects proposed above (and possibly others) would meet the criteria established by the goose camps: local control and autonomy, utilization of the land in a non-exploitative way, employment for local people, the creation of a mutually beneficial intercultural nexus, and an opportunity for the Cree to put their lifetimes of knowledge, skills, and expertise to work.

A number of community people have profited economically by the selling of firewood. The vast majority of houses in the community are heated by wood, and the average home burns approximately 31 1/2 cords of wood a winter. (This figure is admittedly very rough: a number of people were reluctant to give estimates, many guessed, and some gave ranges. Some people suggested as few as 2 1/2 cords a year, others 300+. The estimate of 32 1/2 cords is arrived at by averaging the estimates given by informants. A number of community people suggested it was fairly accurate,

if not 100% precise). The amount of wood burned is a function of the age and condition of the house, the latter in turn a function of the former. The house in which the writer stayed was one of the newer (but not one of the newest) and burned approximately 2 1/2 cords a month during the winter.

A number of people - particularly the elderly with no family, and those who work at wage jobs - are obliged to buy firewood. An interesting exception is a seventy-nine year old widow who cuts her own (30 cords/year). She also still traps.

As noted earlier in this thesis, the procuring of firewood has always been a problem in Attawapiskat. Suitable trees are literally few and far between. One resident, originally from Winisk/Peawanuck, but living in the community for nearly three years, stated that he buys his firewood because he does not want conflicts over wood rights. This statement says more about the scarcity of firewood than it does about proprietorial attitudes towards it. One resident approached the government about establishing a reforestation project to help alleviate the problem in the future but his suggestion was essentially ignored. Today, residents travel an average of 8.4 miles, i.e. nearly 17 miles return, to cut firewood. Forest fires in recent years have not helped the situation.

The selling of firewood poses somewhat of a moral dilemma for some people. It is essentially an issue of profitting by providing a necessity for those who cannot provide for themselves. Nonetheless, firewood is a

necessity, and a number of people sell, or have sold, firewood. In 1990 there were thirty-six people who reported selling firewood within the previous year, and an additional eight who had sold firewood in the past. While there does not appear to be a fixed rate for wood, prices seem to range from between \$60 to \$90/cord, with about \$75 being the average. Those who sell wood are discernible in the community by the large number of cords arranged behind their homes. These sellers frequently stockpile the wood the year before, allowing it to dry over the summer. When winter arrives the wood is ready to be burnt without the danger of creosote buildup.

The HBC journals are replete with references to rafts of wood being floated down the river to be used for firewood. This is still a preferred technique for transporting wood, and is becoming increasingly more so. With the ever rising cost of gasoline, "rafting" is an economically cheaper way of transporting large amounts of wood. As well, wood is cut and hauled in the winter time using snowmobiles, but the high cost of gasoline is increasingly leading to the "rafting" of wood after breakup. Similarly, the cost of using all terrain vehicles is prohibitive.

A number of people in the community make and sell handicrafts. Mitts, gloves and moccasins are made and sold by women. These typically are of moose or caribou hide, and decorated with beads. As well, other forms of arts and handicrafts are made from "bush" materials, including



tamarack geese, snowshoes and wood and stone carvings. Children and teenagers are often the liason persons between the artisans and their buyers, who often are resident teachers and transient professionals who are working at and/or dining at the hospital.

It is difficult to establish the number of artisans/craftspeople and the amount of work they produce. Caribou hide gloves and mitts typically sell for \$85, while a tamarack goose may be purchased for approximately \$15 - \$20. The same goose sold for \$79 at Toronto's Royal Ontario Museum earlier this year. The production of these and similar items, and the eagerness with which they are sought by visitors to the community, suggests that there might be a viable market for the products elsewhere. One does not have to be a cynic to doubt that the artisan is getting the bulk of the \$79 from the goose sold at the ROM.

At least one entrepreneur has found a niche in the Attawapiskat economy selling snowmobile sleighs. Using mostly wood he cuts himself in the bush, he constructs sleighs on assignment, selling them for \$500 - \$800. In the year prior to the study he had sold fifteen such sleighs. By March of 1990 he had made and sold eight more. In addition, the proprietor of a local grocery and dry goods store also sells locally made sleighs, although not in the numbers of the above mentioned individual. These sleighs are an indispensable part of the local "tool kit", being used for the hauling of such items as wood and water. hunting and trapping gear, geese during the spring hunt, and groceries.

C: Other Forms of Land Use:

There are other forms of land use by the Attawapiskat Cree which must be acknowledged. These are in the forms of grave and historical/cultural sites, provenience of artistic materials and utilitarian tools, the community garden, and Cree medicine and pharmacology.

It is relatively easy to measure the significance of subsistence hunting (eg. so many pounds of meat per hunter) or the monetary economics of goose hunt guiding for southerners. However, it is considerably more difficult to assess the significance of burial sites in the bush for a culture whose kinship links are of paramount importance and for whom the land is fundamental to their culture.

Despite the fact that people have been gravitating around Attawapiskat for nearly ninety years and that there is a graveyard (actually, two graveyards) in the community, 69.9% of all household heads of all ages are aware of burial sites in the bush. These are not solely incidental, singular graves. When asked how many burial sites they were aware of, fully 30% stated that there were "lots", meaning they do not wish to count or identify them. In addition to this thirty per cent, one man said that he was aware of over sixty burial sites, another knew of over one hundred! One can only appreciate the importance of these graves by stepping into the shoes of their descendants. By considering for a moment the reverence with which we hold the graves of our own

deceased, we can come to identify with those members of the Attawapiskat First Nation whose ancestors are buried on the land.

Burial sites are of significance in any culture, for they are the repository of the dead, and the respect of them by the living. The mere fact that cemeteries exist and are visited are testimonial to their importance to those who live. The dead, indeed, transcend time, for they live in the memories who survive them, and who carry on their names and who try to emulate those who have gone before.

For the Cree the grave sites are yet another temporal and spiritual link to the land. Even if the present generation were to never hunt moose, goose or caribou, their ancestors are interred in the bush, providing a permanent conduit between them and the land. It is this connection which the Cree never want to see broken. And the fact that such a high percentage of the present generation is aware of these special places is indicative of the importance placed upon them. It is incumbent upon them to know of their existence and to respect them.

In addition to the gravesites, a number of people are aware of other places which are of historical and cultural importance to the community. These include Aboriginal battle sites (at least two - one between the Cree and the Inuit, another between the Cree and the Iroquois), former summer gathering sites, a communal loon hunting site, winter gathering sites, old trading posts, old habitation sites

(Lake River), places where shamanism was witnessed, sites where "Sasquatches" were seen, battle sites where the British and French fought (one informant saw a bell from an old ship, The Lord Strathcona). These historical and cultural sites are virtual "texts" of Cree history and lore - and indeed, they contain not a small amount of European history. In all, twenty-three people were able to speak with certainty of historical/cultural sites with which they were familiar and were able to locate on a map.

What is remarkable about these observations is the consistency of the reports - most were verified by other informants. For example, seven people were familiar with the "summer gathering site" at which people met after breakup and socialized, played games and hunted loons. Six people were familiar with the battle site between the Cree and the Inuit. Other sites were of a more personal nature: one man witnessed the footprints of a "Sasquatch" (his term), another was familiar with a place where his grandfather told him he had witnessed shamanism.

Whether these sites are of public or personal knowledge, they are important for the meanings they hold for those who are familiar with them. To the Cree, the Inuit battle site (in which eleven Cree and sixteen Inuit died) is as meaningful as the Plains of Abraham are to Anglo and Franco-Canadians. The sites are not just locations in space (unidentified to the rest of the world but very familiar to the Cree), they are also temporal markers. They are places of meaning, and by being such they take on emotional,

cultural, historical and even ideological significance. Events shape history and history shapes cultures. The Attawapiskat First Nation seeks to retain its history and its culture.

A vast array of artistic and utilitarian items are made by the community from materials gathered from the land. When trying to determine the extent of craftsmanship that exists in the community, initial efforts were usually met with the reply that "I [we] don't make anything". However, when proffering a list of items (eg. snowshoes, bedding, paddles), people would invariably respond with "Yes, I make bedding and snowshoes". Thus, the caveat: the data here are conservative, there is more use made of "bush" materials (wood, feathers, moose and caribou hide) than is indicated. Those items that are believed to be especially low are indicated with an asterisk. The reasons for the non-acknowledgement of craftsmanship are essentially those for the harvesting of small game and birds: the performance of these activities (snaring rabbits, shooting ptarmigan and making of tools/artwork) is so routine it is mundane, hence, almost forgettable. This, of course, is in contrast to goose hunts which are semi-annual, or moose hunts which are (generally) annual. The basis for the contention that certain items are made more frequently than indicated is empirical and anecdotal: I either saw many more than would be suggested by response or other people indicated that the item is made and/or used frequently. Wing dusters are a case

in point. Numerous households have them for cleaning; few indicated that they are made. Similarly, tent poles are cut and used every time a tent is taken into the bush: few people indicated their use. The same holds true for hide stretchers (every trapper has them), decoys (ditto), slingshots (every pre-adolescent and adolescent boy has them), and down bedding made from the goose harvest.

It is not surprising that when considering land use many people forget the plethora of domestic articles made from the bush. See Table 39. However, were they to be cut off from this supply, the Cree would be subject to considerable financial outlay, as well as being denied the use of their traditional skills and artistic expression. For example, sale prices for goose down duvets in Toronto are \$149 - \$179. The Cree (men and women) make these from the birds they shoot for subsistence. Denied the option of making their own bedding, it is completely within the realm of possibility that to pay for bedding of similar quality, a family would have to pay nearly \$1000. The same argument (if not the same cost) holds true for the numerous articles of everyday use: sleighs, tent poles, gloves/mitts, decoys.

The construction of domestic articles, then, is both a cost-saving measure and an outlet for cultural and artistic expression. It is virtually impossible to measure the former and it is impossible to measure the latter. In addition, a number of people in the community sell their wares to visitors. This is discussed elsewhere in this chapter.

TABLE 39

## ITEMS MADE FROM 'BUSH' MATERIALS - ATTAWAPISKAT 1989

Item	% of households	Item	% of households
Snowshoes	26%	Spoons	9%
Tikanagans *	3%	Gloves/Mitts *	40%
Moccasins	35%	Bedding *	29%
Pillows *	11%	Decoys *	27%
Coats	4%	Carvings	4%
Sleds	41%	Boots	<1%
Scrapers	<1%	Hats	2%
Pants	<1%	Bags (Sleeping/ Clothing)	<1%
Paddles *	34%	Nets	1.5%
Shovels	7%	Toboggans *	3%
Snow/Sunglasses	<1%	Knives	<1%
Socks *	1.5%	(Wing) Dusters	1.5%
Tent Poles *	4%	Cabins	1%
Ropes *	1%	Lacings *	2%
Toys	1%	Stretchers (for fur) *	1.5%
Canoes	1%	Slingshots	1%
Snow Scoops	2%	Bow & Arrow	1%
(Emergency) Skis (for ski-doo)	1%	Hockey Sticks	1%
Ladles	1%		

NOTE: \* indicates a low estimate

In 1912 the Oblate Brothers established a garden behind their mission while at the same time Joseph Nakogee, a local man, built one on an island below the village (Vezina, 1978:5). When he left, the Oblates assumed control of his garden until 1970 when they turned the island farm and all of its equipment over to the band. According to Father Vezina (1978:6) the garden produced "excellent crops of potatoes" for three years but in the fourth year a late spring ruined the potato field and "discouraged the Band from continuing ...its garden...".

The garden on Potato Island has apparently been resurrected for there are now five volunteer gardeners (incidentally, only one man mentioned it to me). Four of the five men are related. The potatoes are grown and sold locally, and according to the gardeners the garden produces 325 seventy-five pound bags of crops annually, i.e., 24,375 pounds of potatoes a year. This is obviously a significant amount, equating to twenty pounds of potatoes for every man, woman and child in the village.

The gardener with whom the writer spoke is quite enthusiastic about gardening, observing that it is better in the long run than hunting because it is more predictable than hunting and "lasts longer" as meat is consumed quickly. To him, hunting and gardening are comparable; he sees both as ways of using the land in productive ways that are non-injurious. For economic reasons, he would like to see more people garden.

Seventy-one households (41%) indicated that they were



familiar with traditional Cree medicine. This familiarity is not restricted to single remedies or the powers of single pharmacological plants. Rather, the degree of familiarity is high, with the average practitioner familiar with approximately seven remedies (6.77) with a range of from one to fifteen. The significance lies in the fact that these are not only known, but practised. People find curative powers in a range of natural substances including tamarack for stomach cramps, skunk scent glands for colds, otter scent glands for snow blindness, beaver castoreum for cuts, cones for painkillers, bullrushes for absorbents, and similar uses.

D: Discussion:

When initial contact was made with the Attawapiskat community in 1988, some members of the community (both Native and non-Native) suggested that less than 10% of the Attawapiskat First Nation was involved in land use activities. This reaction, it is feared, is far too often typical. Superficial examinations (we cannot call them analysis) reveal little. The data and analysis in this chapter clearly indicate that land use - in many ways - remains strong and continues to be an important part of the Cree economy and culture.

The Attawapiskat community is clearly linked with the outside world, and this fact must be acknowledged and worked into any analysis of land use. For example, simply because the majority of the community does not spend its winters in family hunting groups trapping, does not mean that trapping

does not exist. Rather, as discussed above, the economic reality of trapping in 1989/90 demands that trapping be redefined and reshaped to meet financial exigencies. These include trapping those species which promise the most monetary return, incorporating trapping into other employment opportunities, carefully weighing the advantages of trapping to other forms of employment, and rescheduling trapping so that it makes the most economic sense. The reality is that trapping has become an uncertain occupation and trappers must weigh their options. In spite of this, however, given a choice, a large number of Attawapiskat people would choose trapping over other forms of employment. For many, however, the initial financial outlay and the uncertain fur market preclude making that choice. The reader is again referred to Appendix 1. With these observations, however, between four and five dozen Attawapiskat people continue to trap, a number of them on a part time basis, indicating the continued interest in trapping as an economic pursuit and in the culture of which it is a part. While the structure of trapping might have changed, eg. single day excursions, no partners, species specialization, the desirability of trapping remains undiminished.

The Attawapiskat Cree, however, have found other income generating endeavours that help offset an unsure fur industry. Linkage with the outside world has created a local tourist industry, notably in the goose and fishing camps. These goose camps provide regular, if very seasonal work. While wages are hardly exceptional, the hours do not conflict

unduly with their own subsistence hunting, and the opportunity for tips (from approximately half the hunters) exists. Fulfilling the needs of local people also provides some employment. The construction and selling of sleighs and provisioning of firewood are two local industries where people have found niches.

Reality also demands that people eat, and nowhere is the demonstrated continued land use more apparent than in subsistence hunting. In terms of the three major species - moose, goose, and caribou - there has been no decrease, and indeed there is evidence of increase, of hunting for subsistence purposes over the last century. These three species alone contributed 234,843 pounds of meat to the diet. This equates to over 213 pounds of meat for every man, woman and child in the community. [NOTE: Average weights are very difficult to determine. Among other things, one must consider sub-species variation and cultural variations in what is considered edible, eg. beaver tails, and goose feet and eyes. Brody estimates that a moose yields 450 pounds per animal, and beaver eighteen pounds (1983;201). Rogers estimates fifty pounds less for moose and more than doubles Brody's estimates for beaver. In Attawapiskat, informants state six hundred pounds for moose, forty pounds for beaver]. In addition, the community ate over fifty thousand fish, and thousands of rabbits and ptarmigan. We must not ignore as well the fact that a significant amount of meat is brought into the community through the process of trapping

for trade purposes. Beaver, for example, yield an average of 17.4 pounds of meat per animal (Berger, 1977:24). In 1989, this meant 5,620 pounds of additional meat brought into the community. Thus, one might argue that the land provides nearly a pound of meat per person per day. On the basis of this evidence, one can argue that subsistence hunting does not merely supplement the diet, but is literally essential to the diet. The Attawapiskat Cree, it might be argued, could conceivably be undernourished or face starvation if denied access to hunting and fishing for their own needs, as has been documented for the hardship periods earlier in this century. The table below illustrates the major sources of country food in Attawapiskat and their contributions to diet.

TABLE 40  
ATTAWAPISKAT COUNTRY FOOD CONSUMPTION 1989

Moose	Caribou	Waterfowl	Fish	Rabbit	Ptarmigan
58,692 (lbs)	18,816 (lbs)	157,335 (lbs)	54,813 (total fish)	7716 (lbs)	2157 (lbs)
Beaver		Berries			
5620 (lbs)		301 gallons			

NOTE: All weight estimates based on Berger (1977:24).

Needs are of three basic types: the biological, the psychological and the social. The land, the Cree inform us, is fundamental to their culture. From the land the Attawapiskat First Nation derives one of their basic

biological needs: the need for food and nourishment. Moose, goose and caribou, whitefish, and berries are all harvested, and have been for countless generations. This is as true in 1990 as it was in 1901.

The land, an informant told the writer, "restores us". Another informant stated that the goose hunt was important because "people go away and are alone with the land and can think". And, as noted earlier in this chapter, the land holds the ancestors. The land, in brief, provides the means for meeting psychological needs.

Finally, in the process of meeting the primary biological need of food, i.e., in establishing the moose and caribou hunting partnerships (the so-called derived needs), the land meets the third set of human needs - the social. The basic human need for companionship, for peer groups, and for human warmth is met in part by the need to visit the land in search of food.

When the Cree state, then, that the land is of fundamental importance to them, it is not mere cliché or metaphor. It is simply the truth. The land is at the essence of Cree culture. The Bay may provide "store food" but it does not hold the final place of grandparents, nor does it create the kin link between brothers-in-law. The school or hospital may offer employment but, in Marxian terms, the worker is alienated from his product; whereas the hunter is part and parcel of the product. He is "of the land".

When the writer was told that less than 10% of the

people were using the land, he was somewhat skeptical. Surely more people were active than that. However, the extent to which the land is being used came as a surprise. In virtually every aspect of conceivable land use there is a significant number of active people. Those people with whom I spoke in September, 1988, were - to put it bluntly - quite wrong. Access to the land and the resources it provides - physical, social and psychological - is still fundamentally important as we enter the 1990s.

## CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSIONS: CONTINUITIES AND CHANGES

This thesis has examined continuities and changes in patterns of land use and land tenure in one particular region, Attawapiskat (James Bay), Ontario. While doing so it has examined the encapsulatory nature of the State and non-Native incursions into the region, and how Attawapiskat land use practices have responded to them. The analysis has been both quantitative and qualitative, focussing upon both harvest statistics and the nature of Cree adaptation to Euro-Canadian incursions.

The thesis has also challenged an intuitive understanding that Native reliance upon the land is in decline, an understanding that is held by some anthropologists and Cree alike. Perhaps this understanding is not that surprising given the rapid changes that many subarctic peoples, including the Attawapiskat Cree, underwent. In ninety years much of the traditional religion disappeared, Euro-Canadian schools were imposed, and permanent homes were built in the community. Also during this period there were dramatic and rapid environmental changes as both game and furbearers underwent population shifts.

Thus, the thesis may be seen as a retest of similar studies conducted elsewhere in the subarctic. However, in

contrast to the findings and predictions Trudeau made for Winisk (1966), men often prefer trapping as an occupation and still seek and prefer fresh country food over store bought food. These findings for Attawapiskat are consistent with those of Asch (1977) and Rushforth (1977) who found traditional economic pursuits still persisting in the western subarctic. The contrast lies in the perception of land use activities between the Bear Lake Dene (Rushforth, 1977) and the Attawapiskat Cree wherein the latter group does not see land use activities as being prevalent. Like the findings of Turner and Wertman (1977) this thesis found a restructuring of hunting and trapping group partnerships, although it did not find, nor does it predict, a decline in land use activities. These findings are discussed in detail below.

Attawapiskat presents an interesting and useful case for land use and land tenure analysis because its history of close contact with Euro-Canadians is comparatively brief. It is for this reason meaningful comparison with other Mushkegowuk First Nations is difficult. For example, Moose Factory and Fort Albany were among the very first posts to be established by the Hudson's Bay Company. Honigmann (1981:218) notes that Moose Factory was established in 1671, closely followed by Fort Albany and Fort Severn. In comparison, New Post was established in the latter half of the 19th century and saw most of its adult male population eradicated by disease in the first half of the twentieth century. In the 1970s most of the New Post band lived in



Moosonee (Honigmann, 1981:230). As we saw in this thesis, the history of Native and non-Native contact in Attawapiskat essentially began in the opening years of the twentieth century.

These different histories have resulted in disparate types and intensities of acculturation. Those communities in the more southerly areas, eg. Moose Factory and New Post, were more affected by the proximity of White miners, farmers, loggers, free traders, the railroad, tourism and other forms of Euro-Canadian encroachment. These incursions had tremendous impact on the communities, so much so that the post at New Post, for example, was eventually abandoned and relocated elsewhere in order to better compete with "free traders" in the early decades of this century. This year there is apparently only one licensed Cree trapper in New Post (Preston, pers. comm.). One must consider the historical, cultural, economic and other reasons for this.

It is not just the differing histories that must be considered, however, but also the environment and the resources available to each community. While the Cree of the Mushkegowuk region see themselves as members of the larger Mushkegowuk community, and while fundamentally they share the same ecosystem (The Hudson Bay Lowlands), the resources are not evenly distributed. This was dramatically brought home during the fieldwork in Attawapiskat. A brief trip to Moose Factory presented the occasion for the writer to chat with a Moose Factory trapper. When I observed that Attawapiskat was enjoying one of the best marten years in memory, he noted

that there had not been one marten caught all season in Moose Factory. The same situation holds true for other species, as well, notably for Arctic foxes.

For these reasons comparison between (and among) Attawapiskat and the other Mushkegowuk communities is beyond the scope of this thesis, if not impossible, within one scholarly work. While it is useful to conceive of the region as a cultural whole, its disparate histories and uneven distribution of resources renders comparisons quite problematic.

It is impossible to analyze 20th century Attawapiskat land use and tenure without including as a component of that analysis the Cree relationship to the State and other non-Native incursions. This would include the Church(es) and fur companies. These institutions, including the government, intentionally or not, initiated a process which had as its ultimate goal the subjugation of Aboriginal people: the government by political and legal control (including supplanting indigenous Cree political systems with the elected chief and council), the fur companies by attempting to wield total economic control, the Church by replacing Cree theology with Christianity. This subjugation was put into force through the White society's complex political machinery, greater technological and economic resources, and inherent belief that what they were doing was right for the numerically greater White society to the south, and ultimately, for the Cree. What they initiated was a process

of encapsulation. Encapsulation, then, implies a subsuming of the subordinate group, a subsuming which is indiscriminatory and engulfing the economic, political, religious, and social practices of the encapsulated group.

There are inherent dangers in examining the process of encapsulation, notably that of confusing normal social and cultural change with perceived conformity to the dominant group. For example, archaeologists have confirmed the existence of vast trade networks from the Gulf of Mexico to northern Ontario prior to the arrival of Europeans. Similarly, Henry Hudson's first contact with northern Native Americans in 1611 was with a solitary Cree hunter seeking to trade with him. What this indicates, then, is the existence of trade among Native societies which long pre-dated European arrival. Therefore, when the Cree in James Bay (and Natives elsewhere) became involved in the fur trade, the concept of trade was not new, nor were they initially encapsulated by it. Rather, they were an integral part of patterns of exchanges of valued goods for both Europeans and Indians. Without an awareness of these pre-contact trade systems, however, the neophyte anthropologist or historian would assume that the Native population was swept up in this vast commercial conglomerate. Such a stance, of course, denies Native history and culture.

For the Attawapiskat First Nation, the "normative pattern" established with European traders existed from the establishment of the post at Fort Albany until the building of the post at Attawapiskat at the turn of the century.

Thus, for this period, it was trade at a distance, with the Attawapiskat Cree largely restricting themselves to periodic trips to Albany for the sole purpose of trade.

However, Euro-Canadian interest in the Mushkegowuk region was not to be restricted to furs; hence, the trader would not be the sole Euro-Canadian in Attawapiskat. The missionary, the government, the medical and educational professionals - all would have interest in the Attawapiskat Cree, and all would seek to modify one or more aspects of their being: their economic system, their religion, their culture, their pharmacology. Encapsulation is a multifarious, many tentacled beast.

There is yet another consideration: White society extended beyond the shores of the Bay to Europe and elsewhere. The Cree, by virtue of being prime actors in the fur industry, were ipso facto tied to the outside world. Shifts in the world fur market would have direct impact upon the Cree hunter in James Bay. "Go out and trap", he was told, "the market is good and we want your furs". The market, though, is volatile and when times were bad the White trader - as much a part of his culture as the Cree hunter is of his - could not afford to be generous. "Go out and trap", he told the hunters, "if you want supplies". However, the land had never been excessively bountiful, and furs were scarce. Families starved at the post and in the bush. The hunter bore the brunt of market fluctuations thousands of miles away.

Through all of this the missionary, who had his own agenda, had been doing his best to convince the Indians not to go out on the land but to stay near the post that he might educate the hunter and his family in the ways of Christianity, Euro-education and agriculture (yes, agriculture on James Bay). The messages conveyed by the trader and missionary were conflicting. To his credit, however, the missionary will be remembered as doing his utmost to feed the Cree during periods of starvation.

The final step in this process of encapsulation was the most formal: the legitimization of White control. Bureaucrats arrived and essentially told the Cree to give up "the land" or else. The decision had already been made hundreds of miles away in Ottawa to usurp the land. In one of the last vestigial Victorian attitudes towards Indians - that they are childlike and incapable of making rational decisions - the government had made the decision for them. The land will be surrendered by treaty.

With such power, of course, other government dicta were made unilaterally and without consultation. The registered trapline system was implemented, irrespective and often ignorant of the problems and conflicts it might engender among those upon whom it was imposed. Power and authority do not need to listen to subordinates.

Withal, have the Cree been encapsulated? Conversations with some local people would lead one to believe that they have. Some of the Attawapiskat First Nation appear to have bought the White society's notion that Aboriginal people have

lost their "Native-ness". Some non-Natives in the community espouse the same position. As noted at the outset, some local people believe that less than 10% of the population still use the land. As is apparent, this estimate is considerably off the mark. Why does this perception exist? A number of explanations seem reasonable. First, while the structure of land use has changed, the "traditional" perception has not. To some, unless one is in the bush for fifty or so weeks a year, one is not "using" the land. Thus, the week long moose, goose, and caribou hunting trips do not qualify as using the land. Second, in a similar manner, in the eyes of some, part time trappers or those who do so for shorter periods of time are not "using the land". Third, one cannot deny ninety years of acculturation. For decades, White influences have suggested that the bush was dangerous, and that a sedentary life around the village was more desirable than a hunting and trapping culture. One young man suggested to me that he did not use the land because he and his wife "live like White folks". As it turned out, he was an ardent goose hunter and fisherman. A final reason is simply the fact that much of the land use that is done is routine: cutting firewood, fishing and snaring, for example. These are mundane activities in comparison with moose and caribou hunting. If one does not hunt big game, one's perception of these activities might not qualify as "legitimate" land use.

In contrast to Brody's (1981) finding then, that the

Beaver wanted to believe that people still hunted and used the land, the Attawapiskat people tend in many cases to be unaware of the degree of use that still exists. Nonetheless, when the various forms of land use are itemized, eg. hunting, firewood gathering, and berry picking, the reality of the extent of use is driven home. Similarly, the importance of these activities, beyond their role in subsistence, is apparent in that virtually all respondents indicated that they will continue to hunt geese, pick berries and so on.

Honigmann made the following observation regarding the Attawapiskat Cree as they were in 1961:

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) (Honigmann, 1981:226,227).

One can say with certainty that the Cree in 1990 still do not see themselves as "becoming White" (despite the contention of one young male) and, indeed, one gets the impression that there is a strong and growing sense of one's identity as being Cree. This identification is particularly reinforced when one speaks with (particularly older) people regarding their hunting and trapping, for it is in these activities that the differences between White and Cree interests in the land are sharply drawn. As discussed above, the relationship between the Cree and their land is highly

personal and intimate. Thus, when legislation is enacted or enforced - such as the Migratory Birds Convention Act, the registered trapline system or the establishment of Polar Bear Park - there is a certain amount of questioning and resentment. How can White legislators from the south know and appreciate the land as well as we do when we were born and raised here? Furthermore, White interests in the land are not personal or cultural or even clearly defined. In the eyes of the Cree, White interests in their land are vague at best and they are definitely perceived as being potentially harmful to Cree interests.

The argument here then, does not assume a loss of Nativeness. If one wants to have Indians living in traditional conical lodges, wearing leather and fur clothing, and travelling exclusively by snowshoes during the winter, then one might argue that encapsulation is complete. One does not find that today in Attawapiskat, although there are snowshoes being made and used, tents are taken into the bush, and caribou and moose hide mitts, gloves and moccasins abound.

However, a fundamental tenet of culture is that it is dynamic. Cultures change and this implies change in both material and non-material culture. Just as Euro-Canadians have adopted snowshoes, canoes and kayaks (all of Native origin) for recreational purposes, so too have the Cree adopted outboard motors, snowmobiles and chainsaws to facilitate life in the bush.

And this is the essence of the argument: while



technology has changed, while the structures may have been altered, and new strategies adopted for coping, the basic integrity of Attawapiskat culture has remained intact. To reiterate, one must not confuse normal cultural and social change with perceived encapsulation, nor must one confuse structural modification with structural replacement.

Throughout the first fifty years of the Attawapiskat post fur trade there was adaptation to the new Euro-Canadian incursions, including incorporation of some aspects of material and non-material Euro-Canadian culture and integration into the fur trade economy. However, hunting for trade did not come at the expense of hunting for subsistence. Indeed, the HBC journals are replete with references to traders encouraging the Cree to give up their quest for country food in favour of furs. And, when times were hard, trade in country food supplemented trade in furs.

Similarly, times of hardship meant social reorganization including downsizing of the hunting group, and redefining and expanding of the traditional age and sex roles. These changes, however, did not alter the basic fundamental importance of the family. Adaptive change, not elimination or replacement, occurred. Honigmann's observations as noted above, still apply in 1990. The Attawapiskat Cree are still adapting to White incursions.

In the area of traditional notions of tenure, the changes were perhaps more radical. The depletion of furbearers, and the "chronic shortage of big game", resulted

in a shifting from the traditional family held territories to a notion of "hunting anywhere". This latter was likely encouraged by Euro-Canadians in their quest to produce more furs. But even this was modified by the Cree, who moderated the idea with their own notions of propriety and conduct. Later, when the government sought to regulate the traplines, the Cree would simply try, and then abandon this unworkable system and adhere to their own practicable systems of use. Such are not the actions of encapsulated people.

It is often suggested that the introduction of technology precedes the breakdown of traditional cultures. Such was not the case in Attawapiskat. Indeed, the introduction of Euro-Canadian technology in the latter half of the twentieth century enhanced land use and actively promoted a diversification of land use options. Two way radios, snowmobiles, outboard motors, all terrain vehicles - all facilitated the pursuit of hunting, trapping and fishing. It is not surprising, then, to find subsistence hunting increasing in the 1950s and beyond while trapping remained constant.

With White incursions in the form of schools, hospitals, and stores, a number of options became open to the Attawapiskat people. Men could work at stores and trap part time, women could work at wage labour and their husbands trap full time, or both could work at wage labour. In terms of major changes over the ninety year span, it is those which occurred in trapping that are perhaps the most noticeable. First, there is considerably more diversity in terms of the

temporal framework of trapping. While there are still some trappers who stay in the bush for most of the winter (if not most of the year), there are considerably more who go out for days or weeks at a time, returning to town. There are even more who make day trips to check on their traps. These changes reflect a number of factors: the permanent housing in the community, the interest in keeping children in school (hence, whole families cannot go to the bush), the incredible flexibility made available by snowmobiles, the economics of trapping (discussed below), and the redefinition of "territories". Since the intense localization of people around the community, increasingly more people have opted to trap closer to Attawapiskat.

Another major change is that because people do often trap close to town, there are more people who trap without partners. Although this is not yet the norm, it is yet another option available because of the proximity of many traplines and the availability of snowmobiles.

Because of the high cost of trapping (beginning with \$6000 snow machines and five dollars a gallon gasoline), trapping is, in some instances, a part time occupation. For some people, the cost precludes pursuing trapping full time for a dubious financial compensation. However ironic, those who work full time elsewhere can better afford to trap on a part time basis because they can afford the initial financial outlay for equipment. This is reflected in the nearly one quarter of all trappers who work full time at other jobs.

Also reflective of the high financial cost and dubious rewards of trapping is the fourth major change in the Attawapiskat fur industry. That is, the increasing specialization of trappers. Declining financial returns, escalating financial costs and uncertain animal populations have served to make a number of Attawapiskat trappers selective in what they trap. Typically, marten, beaver and muskrat (two species that generally promise fair prices, and one species that is easily caught in large numbers) are the target species. In light of recent developments this pattern will likely continue.

Hunting for trade has also meant the adoption of new strategies that are not inconsistent with traditional use. Beginning in the early part of the century when trappers began dealing in country food and cutting logs for wages, and continuing through to the establishment of goose camps, the Cree have sought to create income generating opportunities that do not imperil the environment or adversely affect traditional institutions such as the family.

Income generating land use activities created by the Cree have been successful largely because they have allowed the Cree to remain in control. They have not been imposed from without but rather conceived, nurtured and sustained by the Cree themselves. This includes the goose and fishing camps, firewood sales, sleigh sales and the trade in traditional arts and handicrafts.

There are perhaps two remarkable things about the hunt for subsistence: one is that people still hunt for their food

at all and second, that there still exists a very strong kin basis to the hunts. Anthropologists who work in the subarctic may not find the first point that surprising, although non-anthropologists probably do. After all, since the mid 19th century we have been told that the Indians are "dying out" as "a culture".

The Attawapiskat Cree still do hunt for the bulk of their protein and this pattern shows no signs of diminishing. The goose hunt remains vitally important, both as a means of supplying food and as a training ground for young boys in hunting and bush skills. Proportionally, there are probably more geese being taken today than in earlier years. Continuity is maintained as men seek out those spots where their fathers or fathers in law before them hunted. In this way the land mediates the kinship ties between generations.

Caribou and moose are being killed at a constant, if not increasing, rate. The percentage of moose and caribou hunters has not decreased since Thompson and Hutchison's 1980s study, and the number of animals being harvested remains high. And, as the Cree have been doing for countless generations, the meat is distributed among community members. This distribution, as well as the crucial hunting partnerships - not randomly nor haphazardly made - serve to nurture and sustain the all important kinship ties.

Throughout this century, then, while the White society was seeking encapsulation there was a simultaneous resistance on the part of the Cree. This is evidenced in a number of

everyday and major acts: seeking trade at different posts when the HBC refused credit, an unwillingness to focus energies on the hunt for trade when hunting for subsistence was a priority (although not in the trader's eyes), a decade long fight for a recognized reserve on the coast, and a perennial battle with the "authorities" over subsistence hunting, most notably the goose hunt. As recently as 1987, the newspapers carried accounts of the Cree hunters' battle to hunt geese for subsistence purposes (see the Globe and Mail, November 6, 1987). Region wide concerns over proposed damming have also brought the Attawapiskat First Nation together, and closer to other Mushkegowuk First nations to resist further White subjugation.

Other initiatives in Attawapiskat also demonstrate disengagement, albeit not necessarily related to the land. These include the presence of an Amerindian police force on reserve, local control of education, and most recently, local control of the justice system.

The process of encapsulation in Attawapiskat was one of increasingly formalized and restrictive actions on the part of Euro-Canadians. The fur trading companies and missionaries linked the Cree with larger White religious and commercial institutions but these relationships were not, in any true sense, codified. Treaty 9 and the registered trapline system were inextricable links with the Canadian government and these were formal and codified. If politics is played out like a game, as Baily suggests, then the Euro-Canadians set the rules by which the game would be played and

the State sought to control the actions of the Cree.

The Cree, however, could and would respond with their own forms of resistance to this intended encapsulation. These responses would become increasingly formal and sophisticated, paralleling the actions of the State. From the early days of making conscious decisions to trade with one trader over another, to the submitting of petitions in more recent years, the Cree would not merely acquiesce to State demands.

However, the Attawapiskat people are very cognizant of the fact that change occurs, and part of this change involves continued and increased contact with White society. To this end, the economic initiatives that a number of them have been involved in necessitate, and indeed, invite White participation. These include selling of handicrafts, the goose camps, and other proposed tourist developments. All of these involve continued use of the land. However, they all also involve use of the land on their terms. While there exists a dependency upon the government, the Attawapiskat Cree have also retained a strong relationship to their land. Total encapsulation has not been achieved.

APPENDIX 1

THE ECONOMICS OF HUNTING AND TRAPPING

Trapping and subsistence hunting are expensive propositions. It is not until we examine in detail the financial outlay involved in the hunter's equipment can we appreciate the true monetary output involved in this lifestyle.

I am totally indebted to Mr. Joe Louttit, of Attawapiskat for the following data. Joe is a most astute observer of social behaviour and societies, both his own and others.

The following tables represent the financial outlay for a typical male in the thirty to sixty age range. By the age of thirty, a man has usually acquired the tools of his trade. The first table below outlines initial cost, average "life" span, and usage and maintenance cost per year. The second table breaks down usage and maintenance costs for three, six, and nine years.

ITEM	COST	AVG. LIFE	MAINTENANCE PER YEAR	USAGE COST PER YEAR
"SkiDoo"	7000	3 years	1200	2625
Sled	200	3 years	50	----
Boat	4000	15 years	100	parts ---- oil
Outboard Motor (20 hp)	4500	10 years	100	875 gas
ATC (4 or 3 Wheel)	6000	6 years	100	1750
One Shotgun	500	15 years	10	200
One Rifle (30-30)	400	20 years	10	oil 100 shots
One Rifle (.22)	300	20 years	10	100
One Tent (10' X 12')	500	10 years	10	---
Traps (60 pcs.)	650	20 years	--	---

\$24000 (c)

\$1590

\$5650

\$7240



MAINTENANCE AND USAGE COST EVERY THREE YEARS

Item	3 Years			6 Years			9 Years		
	M.C	U.C.		M.C.	U.C.		M.C.	U.C.	
Skidoo	3600	7875	7000	3600	7875	7000	3600	7875	
Sled	150	----	200	150	----	200	150	----	
Boat	300	----		600	----		900	----	
Motor	300	2625		600	5250		900	7875	
ATC	300	5250		600	10500	6000	300	5250	
Shotgun	30	600		60	1200		90	1800	
30-30	30	300		60	600		90	900	
Tent	30	---		60	---	500	90	---	
Traps	--	---		--	---		--	---	
	4770	16950	7200 (c)	5790	26025	13700 (c)	6210	24600	
	\$21720 (3 yr)			\$31815 (6 yr)			\$30810 (9yr)		
	\$84345 total for 9 years (maintenance and usage)								

(c) \$44900 initial outlay and replacement costs of tools

APPENDIX 2

THE SEASONAL BOUND = ATTAWAPISKAT

Month	Activity						
	Geese	Moose	Caribou	Trapping	Fish	Berry	S/G <sup>1</sup>
January							
February							
March							
April							
May							
June							
July							
August							
Sept.							
Oct.							
Nov.							
Dec.							

This chart illustrates the most intense months of harvesting of various resources.

<sup>1</sup> S/G means "small game".

APPENDIX 3

WAGE EMPLOYMENT AND LAND USE IN ATTAWAPISKAT 1989

The chart below illustrates the major land use activities of household heads who were employed full time in 1989. The numbers indicate how many of a particular species, eg. moose or caribou, were killed by the individual in that year. It is important to realize that moose and caribou are typically killed by men in groups, therefore the number of hunters is also indicated. An "X" indicates that there was a hunt(s), but the hunters were not successful. "O" indicates that the individual participates in the activity "occasionally" but not in 1989; O/87 indicates the most recent year. "P" indicates that the individual participated in the activity "in the past" but has no intention of returning to the activity (in contrast to "occasionally" which indicates an intention to return to the activity). "P/5" indicates the most recent year of activity. " - " indicates that the individual does not engage in the activity. "C" stands for Canada geese, "W" for wawies, "D" for ducks.

Age	Moose	Goose	Caribou	Trapping
39	2	90 C/90 W	O	P/10
34	-	160 C/100 W 55 D	-	fox, marten, mink beaver, otter, muskrat
27	X	40 C (fall only)	-	P
34	-	70 C/50 W/78 D	-	-
49	P	P/10	-	P/25
30	X	80 C/80 W/5 D	-	P/8
33	O/88	65 C/50 W	9 (3 men)	P/10
39	3 (2 men)	10 C/10 W	P/10	P/9
35	4 (3 men) *	40 C/65 W	O/88	marten, otter
27	O/87	P/3	-	-
53	P/25	50 C/ 40 D	P/25	P/25
71	P/5	sons provide	-	P/10

20	-	17 C/ 11 D	-	O/85
29	-	20 C/ 3 D	-	-
43	-	18 C/57 W/ 30 D <sup>+</sup>	-	P/12
25	6 (3 men)	X (won't estimate)	5 (4 men)	marten, muskrat
42	3 (2 men)	30 C/45 W/ 10 D	O/84	P
42	1	60 C (spring only)	P/10	P/10
52	3 (2 men)	50 C/82 W/ 10 D	P/5	marten
51	X	60 C/ 75 W (spring only)	2 (4 men)	P/7
31	O	50 C/15 W	P/5	-
61	P/6	105 C/70 W/ 20 D	P/8	P
67	2 (4 men)	X (won't estimate)	P	P
50	-	35 C/100 W/ 100 D	-	-
36	-	40 C/ 25 W	P/5	P/20
38	-	70 C/ 35 W/ 15 D	P/10	P
29	-	5 C/ 4 D (spring only)	-	-
38	-	17 C (spring)	-	-
25	-	15 C/ 10 D (spring only)	O/86	marten
39	-	27 C/ (spring)	P/11	-
50	P/10	sons provide	P/4	P/3
25	-	33 C/ 70 W/ 2 D	-	-
28	P/2	200 C/230 W	11 (2 men)	fox, marten

44	X	P/3	P/6	-
33	-	65 C/ 50 W/ 17 D	-	-
41	P/15	70 C/ 110 W/ 25 D	P/7	P/15
41	-	60 C/ 60 W	P/3	P/25
43	X	96 C/ 50 W/ 10 D	P/15	P/16
42	-	O	-	P/15
59	4 (4 men)	100 C/ 132 W/ 50+ D	-	beaver, marten
38	1 (2 men)	10 C (spring)	-	P/25
52	P/16	100 C/ 75 W/ 25 D	P/16	P/16
50	X	60 C	16 (4 men)	X (species unknown)
41	P/9	40 C (spring)	P/15	P/15
43	O	30 C/ 30 W/ 20 D	-	P/25
42	5 (2 men)	125C/ 30 W/ 9 D	-	P
44	3 (2 men)	30 C/ 30 W/ 5 D (spring)	O/87	P/20
30	3 (2 men)	50 C/ 100 W/ 5 D	2	marten, fox, beaver
24	O/88	70 C/ 30 W/ 30 D	-	-
?	P/3	50 C/ 110 W	5 (2 men)	P/4
26	-	64 C/ 10 W 17 D	P/10	P/13
41	X	-	-	-
67	P/15	25 C/ 15 W/ 8 D	-	marten

\* Originally from Albany. In Attawapiskat three years.  
+ A poor season, his average is 160 Canadas and wavies.

Within the community of Attawapiskat 92% of all adult males hunted waterfowl. Of those who are employed full time, 88% hunted waterfowl in 1989. The community average bag was 150.24 birds per hunter; of those employed full time the average bag dropped to 116.59 birds per hunter. The average bag consisted of 55.7 Canadas, 46.6 "wavies" and 14.29 ducks.

In 1989 there were 62 active moose hunters in Attawapiskat. Nineteen of these 62 were employed full time (or 30.6% of the 62). In addition, two others hunted in 1988, four others in 1987. Twelve (63%) of the nineteen employed moose hunters were successful in their hunts and killed a total of thirty-eight moose, or 33% of the total moose kill of 114 animals.

There were 29 active caribou hunters in Attawapiskat in 1989 and these men killed 132 caribou. Six (20.6%) of these 29 were employed full time. These six killed 34 caribou or 26% of the total caribou killed in 1989. It would appear that all trips after caribou were successful.

There were 42 active trappers in Attawapiskat in 1989, 10 or 24% were employed full time. The majority of these trapped marten or marten in association with other species.

#### APPENDIX 4

The participation in one form of land use does not imply activity in another. There were 62 active moose hunters in Attawapiskat in 1989. Of these, 22 (35.5%) also trapped. This represents 52 % of the total trappers in the community. Twenty-four (39%) of the 62 active moose hunters hunted caribou. These 24 comprise 83% of the total caribou hunters in the village.

Twelve (19.35%) of the 62 moose hunters were active hunting moose and caribou and in trapping, i.e. in all three activities. There appears to be no age correlation with regard to being active on the land: two of the men were between the ages of twenty and thirty, four between the ages of thirty and forty, two between forty and fifty, two between fifty and sixty and two over sixty. Nineteen (30.6%) of the 62 active moose hunters were active in moose hunting and one other activity (either trapping or caribou hunting).

One man of the 62 active moose hunters never hunted waterfowl, two hunted them "occasionally" and one had been in jail during the goose seasons. Two had hunted geese "in the past". All others hunted geese, albeit four in the spring only.

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