LOCATION OF FUR TRADE POSTS & PRINCIPAL TOPOGRAPHIC FEATURES IN EASTERN JAMES BAY

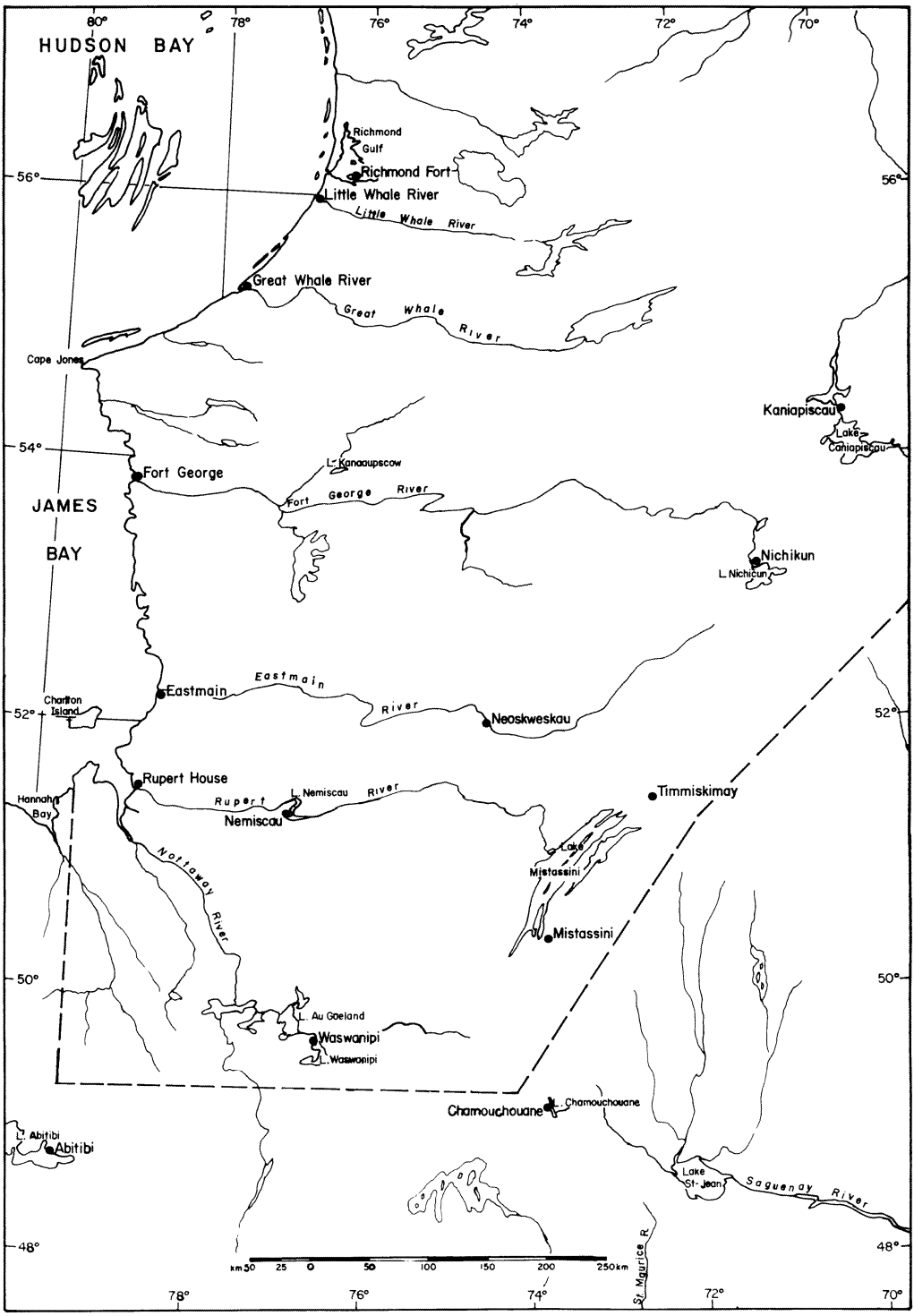

Figure 1

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON FAMILY HUNTING TERRITORIES IN EASTERN JAMES BAY

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La littérature relativement vaste développée pendant les derniers soixante-dix ans a rendu possible l'analyse des composantes de ce qu'on appelle généralement "les territoires de chasse familiaux." En utilisant les données d'observation récupérées dans les archives de la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson des 18e, 19e et 20e siècles pour l'est de la Baie James, on a pu isoler la plupart de ces composantes. Étant donné ce contexte historique, on a examiné et évalué les arguments en faveur d'un développement ancien ou récent d'un tel régime foncier. On a tenté d'élucider le rôle joué par le commerce de la fourrure dans ce premier développement.

The relatively extensive literature developed over the past seventy years has made it possible to analyze the component features of what has come to be termed the "family hunting territory system." By using the observational data found in the eighteenth-, nineteenth-, and twentieth-century records of the Hudson's Bay Company for eastern James Bay, most of these features were isolated. Given this historical context, the arguments presented in favor of early or recent development of such a land tenure system were examined and assessed. An attempt has been made to explain the role of the fur trade in this earlier development.

There has always been a historical perspective in the anthropological literature on the Northern Algonquian family hunting territory system, especially since this literature seeks causes and/or origins. Few studies, however, have explored the issues by examining the full documentary record for a single geographic region, principally because the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company, a primary source permitting such examination, were not accessible to the public until relatively recently. One objective, therefore, is to draw out these historic data and demonstrate their value for systematic study of Northern Algonquian land tenure. A corollary to this objective is to show how ethnohistorians might use historic records to reconstruct cultural systems (such as family hunting territories) even though the records themselves might not refer to such anthropological concerns. Finally, it will be shown how historic materials can be used to test the validity and/or universality of some extant

anthropological formulations. For example, on the question of the age of family hunting territories, there has evolved a substantial body of anthropological reasoning centering on what new elements, such as credit, high-powered rifles, or store-bought food, gave rise to this system. Thus, these arguments, incorporating principles of social organization and change, can be tested against the historic data spanning a lengthy period (see Note 1).

This paper discusses the results of a historical investigation of archival records for the James Bay region of Québec, which begin in the early eighteenth century. The James Bay region of Québec (see Figure 1) lies roughly in the center of the Québec-Labrador peninsula and encompasses the eastern coastlines of Hudson and James Bays from Richmond Gulf in the north to approximately the fiftieth parallel in the south. Inland, the territory stretches to include the lakes and headwaters of the rivers that drain it. Today, the inhabitants of this vast region refer to themselves as the Cree of Québec. In the anthropological literature, they are variously termed "East Main Cree," "Eastern Cree," or "James Bay Cree."

Archival records consulted for this essay were the journals, correspondence, district reports, and account books of the Hudson's Bay Company. Records for the James Bay region of Québec go back to the 1730s and continue on through to the 1940s. In the twentieth century, federal Department of Indian Affairs documents, which focus on beaver conservation and the establishment of beaver preserves and registered traplines, supplement Hudson's Bay Company materials.

METHOD

One cannot rely on the narrative accounts of early traders, missionaries, and explorers because they are ambiguous or simply do not fully treat the subject (see Morantz 1984:67-69). Further, the archival records, though extensive, often do not specifically address anthropological questions. To correct for this lack of direct information, I extracted from the anthropological literature those features that have been described as essential to the functioning of the family hunting territory system. Although fur traders may not have mentioned hunting territories, the component parts of a territorial system might still be identifiable in the detailed chronological records.

Four component features considered prerequisites for the existence of the system are identifiable in the anthropological literature: (1) trapping for exchange; (2) individualization, as for example in the form of small-sized, family-based winter hunting groups and the granting of credit to individuals; (3) the notion of trespass; and (4) conservation practices. Evidence of

each of these features will be extracted and noted at the earliest time recorded in the archival records. By examining these data within specific spatio-temporal and sociocultural contexts, it is possible to distinguish those features of the family hunting territory system which may have been carried out in the eighteenth century, at a time before the records made specific references to land tenure practices of any kind.

TRAPPING FOR EXCHANGE VERSUS TRAPPING FOR SUBSISTENCE

The requirement that a family hunting territory must be based on significant trapping for exchange purposes is a feature in the works of both Leacock (1954:6) and Rogers (1963:84). These scholars postulated a late incorporation of significant exchange activities in Northern Algonquian societies. Leacock founded her position on a dichotomy between food and furs, believing that an exchange economy meant abandonment of subsistence activities in favor of store-bought foods. However, inland Cree hunters in the eastern James Bay area derived their subsistence from a variety of animals and fish including beaver. The beaver is both an important food and fur animal, providing about fifteen to twenty pounds of food and a pelt, which in 1753 could be traded for two chisels, one skein of twine, or five pounds of shot (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, B.3/d/61:13d).

The first good figures that can be analyzed for the amount and type of furs traded appear in the 1753 journal for the Eastmain Post on the east coast of James Bay, along with the approximate number of hunters who produced these furs. Analysis of these figures (see Morantz 1983a:111) shows that fifty-nine hunters brought in 1753 some 2,200 beavers, or an average of thirty-seven beaver per hunter. By comparison, hunters trading at the same post in 1827 averaged only ten beaver per capita: beaver fur (used in the felting process to make hats) had become less favored in Europe and was also declining in numbers in James Bay. Muskrats, foxes, and marten, known as "small furs," became more valued. Thus trade in beaver pelts was very significant prior to the nineteenth century. Cree hunters did not have to wait for the availability of store food in the twentieth century in order to participate in an exchange economy. They were able to, in general, produce and store enough foods, such as caribou, beaver, and fish, to devote some time to trapping essentially non-food animals, such as muskrats and foxes. Thus, in the mid-eighteenth century, Cree hunters in James Bay were able to produce enough beaver that the two economic pursuits of obtaining food and furs complemented each other.

This situation did not characterize the entire James Bay region. In the more northern part, closer to the tree line, the Cree lived largely off the large caribou herd. Evidently, by choice, they remained marginally involved in the fur trade,

trading for their few "necessities" with whale oil and caribou hides. It was not until the late nineteenth century that these Cree became drawn into trapping for exchange purposes, and then they did so by changing their socioeconomic organization (see Morantz 1983b:122).

Bishop (1970:13; 1978:226) advances an ecological explanation for the emergence of family hunting territories among the northern Ojibwa. He found that, rather than a shift to store food, declining resources and a growing population led to a shift away from dependence on caribou and moose to a dependence on hare and fish, thereby reducing the size of the winter hunting group and restricting their mobility within smaller territories. In northern Québec, this change did not take place as dramatically as in northern Ontario. Although the number of beaver taken in the James Bay region declined by the mid-nineteenth century (Morantz 1983a:111), the region did not become depleted of either beaver or caribou. Further, as noted above, the eighteenth-century James Bay Cree were generalists in their subsistence pursuits. Their seasonal hunting cycle depended not on the migratory habits of caribou but rather on a variety of migratory and non-migratory animals.

During years when hare and fish were available, these James Bay Cree were highly dependent on these food resources. Cobbage was the homeguard captain—the leader of the Indians who resided near the trading post—for Eastmain; in the winter of 1764-1765 he complained that "Patridges and Rabbets are so very scarce Inland that he cannot hunt Beavr" (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, B.59/a/34:14d, December 30, 1764). Similarly, fish were relied upon, particularly in the fall, when the Cree tried to store smoked and dried fish to help them through the winter (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, B.59/a/35:17d, May 5, 1766). Fish were also a trade item for those near the Eastmain Post, as, for example, when two "northward" Indians traded "two Sled Loads of Fish" (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, B.59/a/33:7b, December 5, 1763). Thus hare and fish were always "back-up" resources and were resorted to periodically during the winter. In eastern James Bay, however, they did not become the staple of the diet nor was there a radical shift in the resource base, as documented by Bishop for northern Ontario in the nineteenth century (see also Rogers and Black 1976).

In summary, in eastern James Bay the subsistence base did not alter drastically, nor did a dichotomy develop between hunting for food and for furs. This evidence is in contrast to that employed by others to explain the development of conditions permitting the rise of individualized hunting territories.

INDIVIDUALIZATION

Both Leacock (1954:6) and Knight (1965:29) stress, as a prerequisite for family hunting territories, an initial change from communal group subsistence to individual family activities. As a baseline that represented a more traditional social organization, Leacock (1969:9) took the winter hunting group of the Montagnais (a neighboring Northern Algonquian people), as depicted by the Jesuits in 1634, when the group numbered between ten and twenty people, or two to four families. By contrast, the analogous "trapping unit," which Leacock discovered during her own fieldwork at Natashquan in the 1950s, was "seldom more than a pair of families" (Leacock 1954:22).

Thus the central issue concerning individualization is the size of winter hunting groups in early historic James Bay and later reductions, if any. In 1754, the trader John Longland at Eastmain recorded a conversation with Cobbage. Longland had asked why his "winter Quarters" were a "Great way off," and Cobbage replied: "Did I not come for Skins . . . then I must Go where I can Gott them for if we stay a Good many to gather you will gott no Skins" (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, B.59/a/23:3d, Oct. 13, 1754). Longland added in his journal: "I find that to be True for where there is 3 or 4 famelys in one Tent they Do nothing but Contrive for there Belley and not Look out for furrs" (ibid.).

This passage suggests that in the 1750s, three or four families in a winter hunting group were nearing the upper limit. This size was still standard in the early nineteenth century, when district reports for Eastmain and Rupert House listed who hunted with whom (see Morantz 1983a:91). Even in the 1920s, when he wrote his Rupert House district report, George Ray, the Hudson's Bay Company district manager, had the impression that four or five families constituted a winter hunting group: "A sole Indian family is seldom found either in the bush or on the coast; almost always they are found in camps of at least four or five families and with very little distance between their own and neighbouring camps" (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, DFTR 13/1921: 182).

At the same time, two-family co-residential units were not uncommon. Thus, at Eastmain in 1823 a father and son were said to be together and starving (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, B.59/a/107: January 29-30), and in 1840 a man and his sister's husband intended to winter together in the Mistassini region (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, B.133/a/23: August 22). Obviously, the determining factor in the size of these groups was the food source. Beaver and/or caribou would sustain a larger group than fish and hare or muskrat and mink. Thus from the eighteenth to the twentieth century, two-family groups were alternative subsistence strategies to three- and four-family groups.

Knight (1965:30) saw the trend toward individualization as being caused by moose replacing caribou as a major food source in the southern James Bay region, thus necessitating less cooperative hunting, and by the rifle replacing the less efficient musket. Both these phenomena occurred in the early twentieth century. Although Knight (1965) does not discuss the size of twentieth-century hunting groups, his field notes, on deposit at the National Museum of Man in Ottawa, indicate that he encountered two- and three-family winter hunting groups among the Rupert House and Nemaska people (the latter near Lac Nemiscau). As seen above, however, these smaller hunting groups were features of Cree social organization in the nineteenth century and very likely in the eighteenth century, as well.

The Influence of Credit

The practice of extending credit to single hunters is seen by Rogers (1963:84) as an individualizing process, causing a shift from communal ownership. Rogers assumed that this debt system was an outcome of the "highly evolved fur trade of the late nineteenth century." Since the Hudson's Bay Company records have become available for research, we now know that credit was granted to individuals in the James Bay area in the early eighteenth century. Although records for the Eastmain Post began only in 1737, credit was mentioned as being a practice in the Albany records of 1696 (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, B.3/d/7:17). It was part of the French way of conducting business in the region in 1732 (Normandin 1732:117); as early as 1626, Champlain indicates that it was already a trade practice in New France (Castonguay 1987:76).

Although the Hudson's Bay Company was not pleased about having to extend credit, it recognized as early as 1723 that credit would "hinder them From goeing to the French" (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, B.3/a/12:5, September 14, 1723). That credit was extended to individuals was clear in a 1738 letter from Moose Fort to London; the practice was lamented, because if an Indian chose to go to the French instead, became sick, or died, the debt was lost, for "here is no executors" (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, A.11/43:15d). In 1739, London officials of the company tried to put a stop to credit, but at Eastmain the homeguard captain, Musta-pa-coss, argued successfully for its continuation by claiming that the company no longer traded the poorer-quality summer beaver. "Trust" was necessary, he said, to provide the Cree with the means to take the furs, "or else theire wold be but letle trade." Joseph Isbister, the master at Eastmain, added: "So I trusted ye Capt. and some of his gaurd [*sic*] a small matter as much as I thought they culd well pay and no more . . ." (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, B.59/a/4:7, September 12, 1739). Even a century later, when the company had a monopoly of the fur trade, it was never able to abolish credit.

These examples show that individualism, in the form of smaller winter hunting groups and credit entrusted to individuals, was already present in the eighteenth century. One need not posit such individualism as a recent development.

TRESPASS

The central issue in any discussion of land ownership must be trespass, and there is much discussion of this subject in the ethnographic literature. As Bishop (1970:7) states, "There can be no trespass without boundaries and no resentment if ideas concerning rights are not present." For her part, Leacock (1954:7) dismissed trespass as a "sheer impracticality" among the Montagnais until the late historic period. She noted that food was the primary concern of the Montagnais, and when in need, a band simply moved into another's territory. Only with the availability of store food, which was a late development, could trapping for exchange become significant enough to permit a delineation of family hunting territories. Rogers (1963:85) commented similarly that trespass was not "consistent with the Montagnais idea that all resources were free goods," a notion, he added, for which there is no evidence until the late nineteenth century.

The earliest reference to trespass in the Hudson's Bay Company records for the eastern James Bay region appears in 1745 in a strongly and clearly worded passage by John Mitchell, the Eastmain postmaster: "All ye Rivers yt. are Near us are very scarse of fish in ye winter season = Ever [sic] Indian hath a River or Part whear ya Resorts to ye winter season & in som are More fish yn others. But ya count it a Trespass to kill anything in one anothers Leiberty for Last winter one of our Indians did not kill one Martain & I asked him ye rason. He sade another Indian tould him all ye martains Be Longd to him so he sade he lived on dear & Som Rabbits" (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, B.59/a/12:17d, March 2, 1745). This 1745 reference to trespass includes only animals which were involved in the fur trade such as marten. Deer (i.e., caribou) and hare were primarily food items and so were considered free to all.

There is also other eighteenth-century evidence from the Hudson's Bay Company records. In 1777 the chief trader at Moose Factory, Eusebius Kitchen, wrote to his counterpart at Albany Post, to the northwest on James Bay, that an Indian named Moosetuckeye had informed him that five Albany families had encroached on Moose River, which Moosetuckeye called his ground: "They have been there since Christmas and was there at the time the thaw came which obliged him to leave his ground. I have been twenty years now resident at Moose and Albany and never heard of such a thing before" (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, B.135/b/5: 25). In 1779, Kitchen wrote: "However ready an Indian may be to leave his birthplace, natural inclination sways him back joined to the

jealousy of the Indians whose country he goes to usurp . . ." (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, B.135/b/7:5). Similarly, in 1794, an Indian named Cannishish informed Nelson, the Eastmain postmaster, that "he was drove off his ground at Menistickawatton" (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, B.59/b/13:4d).

The 1745 statement from the Eastmain records indicates that, for the Cree of the time, trespass presupposed exclusive rights to hunt/trap animals over a specific tract of land, though outsiders passing through, if in need, had a right to take animals for food. All these quotes also indicate a sense of property or trespass among the eighteenth-century Cree; otherwise hunters would not have complained about encroachment and plunder. The fact that they lacked the means to control trespass does not negate its existence or observance.

CONSERVATION

The practice of conservation, we are told in the literature, implies a fairly well developed notion of private ownership of animals, particularly of non-migratory animals. Conservation practices suggest a process of planning the use of resources and therefore the necessity of agreed-upon boundaries within which certain designated individuals can control the harvest of animals. Bishop (1974:125) terms the idea impractical as long as individuals move around a great deal and prefer to remain in larger groups. Knight (1965:28) dismisses beaver conservation as "neither present nor feasible formerly," while Leacock (1954:35) states categorically that "there is no indication of conservation being practiced." This, however, turns out not to be the case.

In 1824, there is a long passage by Beioley in his district report from Rupert House describing the sparing of cub beaver, and all beaver in summer, when possible. Beioley further comments: "I believe that in regard to beaver on their own grounds they do in most instances pay attention to it but in travelling through the country to and from their trading posts. . . . it is not likely they will hesitate to shoot a beaver or any other animal that comes in their way" (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, B.186/e/6:8). In 1842, a letter in the Rupert House correspondence book from the chief trader outlines a system whereby "they alternate years work different sections of their lands, leaving such to recruit two and even three years" (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, B.186/b/43:15). Similar remarks are found in the records dating from 1831 for Abitibi Post, south of James Bay. These are the earliest direct references to conservation practices in the James Bay records. A lack of similar pertinent remarks in the eighteenth century does not necessarily indicate the absence of conservation practices.

Although most references to what can be construed as conservation measures refer to beaver, there are occasional references to conservation practices regarding caribou, as in the year 1820 (Davies 1963:26) and polar bear in 1818 (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, B.59/a/98:5, July 28). In both these cases, it was mentioned that the Cree did not take more animals than they could use. Thus, the practice of conservation seems to have been a feature of Cree society, at least by the early nineteenth century. This would have permitted or may even have required a system of resource/land ownership to regulate such measures. Although the Hudson's Bay Company records of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century are not definitive evidence of the operation of such a system, they show that such a demarcation of individualized hunting territories was *possible*.

NINETEENTH-CENTURY LAND TENURE PATTERNS

The previous sections focused on eighteenth-century Hudson's Bay Company evidence for family hunting territories. Such evidence is not specific, since the records refer ambiguously to "his" or "their" "grounds" or "winter quarters." Thus I have examined the constituent parts of the family hunting territory system. The nature of the evidence, however, changes in the company's nineteenth-century records, because of the company's new requirement that its chief traders submit annual district reports, giving accounts of the hunters, listing names, family size, and relations as well as reports on their hunting. What follows are examples of traders' references to hunting territories from the first of the district reports in 1814, apparently in response to a questionnaire from London about hunting grounds.

In 1814, the Moose Factory district report contained the following remarks: "They have a kind of custom of retaining their own Ground but as to property or exclusive right I think would not be contended for" (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, B.135/e/1: 4d, 1814). The Neoskweskau report noted: "They are in no ways rigorous in claiming an exclusive right to particular grounds. An industrious habit [sic] may hunt on all his neighbours grounds. They may when intoxicate remonstrate and give him a blow or so which is the farthest I have known" (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, B.143/e/1:3, 1814). From Eastmain it was reported: "They are not very particular as to the extent of ground which each Indian claims as his own. Depradations [*sic*] are committed by all parties and seldom resented 'till intoxicated with liquor when sometimes serious quarrels ensue" (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, B.59/e/1:5d, 1814).

Although most writers on this subject have disputed the existence of individual hunting grounds before the twentieth century, these statements prove otherwise. What each of these three company traders was describing was probably his own

perception of what led both Tanner and Feit, writing of the present-day individual hunting territories in James Bay, to portray hunting territories as flexible systems. Tanner (1973: 103) comments that hunters may not use their own territories every year or may exchange hunting privileges; Feit (1978:947) notes that "all community members have rights to the casual and occasional use of all land and resources, but the owner of a hunting territory has effective responsibility. . . ."

Hazy representations of hunting territories in the records, such as that which appeared in 1814, do not continue into the 1820s. For instance, Beioley, district chief at Rupert House in 1823, reported: "It appears to me that the Coast Indians and the majority of the inland Indians who visit Ruperts [*sic*] House are tenacious of their property in their lands and are not pleased when other Indians encroach on them" (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, B.186/e/5:9d).

In other reports, Beioley and other post managers noted the location of some of these territories. At Moose Factory, similar descriptions are also found, as this one from 1827: "There are 36 Indians . . . belonging to the District, a few of whom occupy very valuable hunting lands. . . . These Indians have each a tract of Country to which they claim an exclusive right and are Tenacious of encroachment by others" (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, B.135/e/18:1d).

It has been proposed that the Hudson's Bay Company was instrumental in the formation of these hunting territories (see Bishop 1974:210; Ray 1974:203). Evidence of this comes from the following report to London in 1828 by the governor of the company, George Simpson: "We are endeavouring to confine the natives throughout the country now by families to separate and distinct hunting grounds, this system seems to take among them by degrees and in a few years I hope, it will become general but it is a very difficult matter to change the habits of Indians . . ." (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, D.4/92:5d).

However, even though the company may have tried to implement such a scheme elsewhere (as perhaps among caribou hunters), it certainly could not claim to have done so in James Bay. The above quotes dating from 1814 and the 1820s indicate that "separate and distinct hunting grounds" already existed.

Throughout the company's nineteenth-century records, references to hunting territories are found not only in summations or reports, as shown above, but also in chance remarks about individuals. For example, in discussing Maskeshan's hunting abilities in 1828 at Waswanipi in the southeastern James Bay region, Corrigal comments that "he has no ground to hunt on, his lot about Gull Lake is all burnt . . ." or that Napanash brought in a very

small hunt "for him who is possessed of extensive and good hunting ground" (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, B.227/e/6: 9-9d).

It seems curious that the reports of 1814 indicate a seemingly less well-developed system than do references of ten to fifteen years later. These early passages of 1814 also read quite similarly. They are perhaps not so much independent formulations as the collective wisdom of the time, merely repeated. For example, parts of Daniel Harmon's (1957:237) description of hunting territories (published in 1822) are identical to the 1824 description by the Abitibi trader quoted below. Whatever the explanation, the data show some form of family hunting territory system by 1814, or even earlier. It is doubtful that this system was transformed so rapidly to the extent suggested by the more positive descriptions one finds in the records in the 1820's. A more realistic explanation would be that in 1814 traders were seeing "disorganization" by European standards. Ten years later, their collective perception or understanding of these territories had probably changed. In fact, traders came to liken the Indian land tenure system to the European one. In 1824, an Abitibi Post trader wrote: "The limits of the territory which belong to each Family are as well known by their neighbours as the lines which separate farms are by Farmers in the civilized world so that very seldom do they encroach upon one another's land to kill the beaver" (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, B.1/e/4:1).

Records for each decade in the nineteenth century refer to family hunting territories. Thus, in 1851 we find that "Capisisit . . . [left] to protect his lands from the encroachment of the Hannah Bay Indians" (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, B.186/a/82:23d, October 17, 1851). In 1896, a geological surveyor, A. P. Low, published the following observations of Indian life in northern Québec: "Each family is supposed to own a portion of territory with the exclusive hunting rights to it. The territory is generally divided into three parts, each part being hunted over in successive years, and in this manner the fur-bearing animals are allowed to recuperate . . ." (1896:50).

Such comments continue into the twentieth century. In 1913, Armand Tessier, an Indian Affairs agent at Pointe Bleue in the Lac St. Jean region of Québec, wrote about the Montagnais in *L'Action sociale*: "Accompanied by his family, the Indian carries on his operations over a tract of land along a river or in the neighbourhood of a lake, and that is what he calls his 'hunting ground.' That is his patrimony. It has been bequeathed him by his father who himself got his from his ancestors. From father to son these hunters have at the same place followed the fur animals, killed the beaver each year . . ." (Indian Affairs, RG 10, Volume 6750, file 420-10). Similarly, in a letter to Indian Affairs dated October 29, 1927, Harry Cartlidge, an Anglican missionary at Waswanipi, stated: "Until very recently the only hunters in these territories were Indians and they realizing that hunting

was their only means of livlihood, hunted diligently but intelligently. By this I mean divided his lands into sections and hunted on the sections alternate winters, and in this manner conserved the fur-bearing animals . . ." (ibid., 420-10 A). In 1939, Dr. Tyrer, Indian Affairs agent at Moose Factory, wrote to his superiors in Ottawa: "It is just an understood fact that the Indian will keep to his own ground" (ibid., Volume 6747, File 420-8 10).

This review of evidence shows that family hunting territories were in place by the nineteenth century. The evidence also indicates that by the mid-eighteenth century, a number of the principal components of this system, such as individualized ownership of certain resources and a notion of trespass, were being observed.

COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

The foregoing discussion of the elements of the family hunting territory system indicates clearly the inadequacy of many explanations advanced by anthropologists as to why such a territorial system might have developed. Examples of such explanations would be the twentieth-century introduction of store food and the high-powered rifle, later and more intensive involvement in the fur trade, increased and recent individualization, and the privatization of property. The one recurring variable described by almost all writers, beginning with Speck, that cannot be dismissed as irrelevant is the focus on beaver pelts. To explain why this is the case, Algonquian societies where beaver hunting was minimal or non-existent need to be examined (see Note 2).

One such society was the Weagamow Ojibwa of the period from 1880 to 1920. These people have been described by Rogers and Black (1976:25-26), who investigated their exploitation range system for subsisting primarily on fish and hare. They also apparently had a family hunting territory system, but Rogers and Black do not explore the relationship between the two. A further examination in this context would greatly aid our understanding of family hunting territories.

Northern Algonquian Caribou Hunters

In the eastern Hudson Bay region of Québec, there were Northern Algonquian caribou hunters. The descendants of these people are today variously called Cree or Naskapi, depending on which post they settled around in recent times. At Great Whale River on the southeastern Hudson Bay coast they are known as Cree whereas at Fort Chimo on the Ungava Bay coast (later at Schefferville) they are called Naskapi. They are distinguishable in the

Hudson's Bay Company records as people who lived beyond the tree line and subsisted on the great migrating caribou herds.

A review of the land use patterns of these Cree/Naskapi people indicates that in the mid-nineteenth century, they spent alternate winters in the tundra and in the boreal forest regions to the south, inland from Fort George on northeastern James Bay (see Morantz 1983b:69). This seasonal and/or annual movement back and forth was made in order to trap enough furs (primarily marten, fox, and a few beaver) to trade for goods such as ammunition, twine, and tobacco.

It is not clear from the records whether these people had hunting territories when they were trapping marten or fox inland from Fort George. Certainly there were Fort George "coasters" who annually hunted north of Fort George (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, B.77/e/6:4, 1824). There are, however, no references to conflict over hunting lands between coasters and the more northern people, though some of the latter were said to hunt south of Fort George. In 1838, Thomas Corcoran, post manager at Fort George, noted that the northern Indians congregated about the post that year to hunt fox and marten (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, B.77/e/8:12). Their hunts were poor, because, Corcoran says, the Indians were "in so small a compass" as deer were numerous that year on the coast, providing them with an abundance of food so that they did not need to disperse. Other forest-dwelling hunters trading at Fort George had family hunting territories, as for example, Jitshin (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, B.77/a/12, May 29, 1839).

As research on the Hudson's Bay Company's archives for the posts at Fort George and Great Whale River continues, it will be interesting to note when family hunting territories developed among the more northern peoples while they were occupying "fur country." One can then associate this development with other socioeconomic conditions to delineate possible causal factors. Interviews conducted at Great Whale River in 1978 (Archéotec 1978:7.19;27.1) indicate that, at least in the twentieth century, hunting lands were associated with a particular individual and handed down from father to son or son-in-law.

Another Northern Algonquian group, the Montagnais, also did not develop an economy based on trapping beaver. The Montagnais are located along the lower north shore of the St. Lawrence River, and their hunting lands stretch far back into the interior in an area adjacent to the James Bay region. It was hoped that a recent foray into the district reports for some of the posts on the lower north shore, such as at Seven Islands (Sept-Iles) and Mingan, would yield statements about Montagnais land tenure. These might conform to, or conflict with, the statements found in the James Bay records discussed earlier. No such statements were found. Records for these posts begin later, in the 1830s and

1860s, when the ethnographically rich district reports were no longer submitted. Marten were the principal furs, though some beaver were also traded. In order to trap marten, hunters needed enough caribou for food (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, B.344/b/1: March 24, 1855). Hunters trading at Seven Islands in 1851 were primarily "interior Indians," who did not use the resources of the coast; those attached to Mingan and other posts eastward hunted seals (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, B.344/b/1:10d, November 10, 1851). Although archival research on posts frequented by the Montagnais was not extensive, it supports Leacock's view that on the lower north shore of the St. Lawrence, beaver were not the principal furs traded.

Comparative Material on the Athapaskans

Since most writers on Athapaskan Indians in the western Subarctic are frustratingly silent on territoriality, except to say that individualized or family hunting territories did not exist, it is difficult to employ comparative material on the Athapaskans. Although we are told that the Athapaskans regarded resources as free to all, there are surprisingly few details about how these resources were managed or allocated under a territorial range system (see, for example, Helm 1965, 1981:271-360; Smith 1982).

Yet, where anthropologists have commented on these hunting arrangements, their remarks have a familiar ring. For example, in his study of the Colville Lake Hare, a boreal-forest people of the lower Mackenzie River valley (Northwest Territories), Savishinsky comments: "Theoretically, therefore, all individuals have equal access to resources and lands within the band's range, a pattern consistent with the flexible exploitable territories of the aboriginal and early contact periods. However, each family at Colville Lake does have a number of favorite sites for trapping camps and the association between particular households and these locations is well known within the band. Thus, there is a *de facto* community pattern of land and resource use based on habit, tradition, usufruct and family membership" (1978:4).

Savishinsky (ibid.:6) explains that this patterned use of hunting and trapping lands serves as a "spacing device" which distributes people over an area, minimizes the potential for competition over fur animals, and reduces the chances of overexploitation. He further notes that this distribution combines flexibility and stability. Later (ibid.:8), he refers to "the association of families with hunting and trapping territories," and says that, although the territories are far from rigid, there are advantages in terms of familiarity with a particular region.

Similarly, in writing of the Kutchin in Alaska, Nelson (1973:156) observes that "traplines are areas in which individ-

uals or families have exclusive rights to all furbearers. These rights explicitly do not include any resources other than fur animals and other kinds of game are hunted without respect to territoriality."

In light of these statements about Athapaskan peoples, one wonders what the accepted view of Athapaskan land tenure would have been had Speck conducted fieldwork among some of them.

ISSUES IN THE LITERATURE

At its beginning, this essay proposed to evaluate, using historical data, some of the earlier statements about the family hunting territory system and the anthropological principles of social organization and change that were said to underlie this form of land tenure among Northern Algonquians. Such an evaluation is now possible with hindsight developed from recent archival research. Although Leacock and Speck have been the most influential writers on the hunting territories of the Northern Algonquians, the emphasis here will be on Leacock's work on the Montagnais. Much of Speck's work is descriptive and based on fieldwork among many Northern Algonquian groups; by contrast, Leacock's analysis is more speculative, is based on appeals to reason, and contains evidence drawn from selected historical and ethnographic records. Speck and Leacock were writing about two different ecological zones, and each was correct about some claims. Nevertheless, since both writers were trying to establish global truths about hunting territories, their arguments must be viewed as intended for wider application.

Although Speck (1927) devoted many pages to showing deviation from the norm at Lake St. John (Lac St. Jean, south of the James Bay region) and Mistassini (in the southeastern James Bay region), his rather formalized accounts of the hunting territory system, combined with the accounts of others, and with Leacock's strident denial of such an aboriginal or early system of "privatization," have created many of the problems discussed in the literature. For instance, Knight (1965:29) states that the "long-run minimum conditions did not allow sub-arctic hunter-trappers to compartmentalize general band areas into permanently delineated tracts given over to the exclusive use of particular families." The impression created from both "camps" is that the hunting territory system was rigid and exclusive. No wonder Athapaskan scholars have avoided discussion of such a system or failed to consider it as a subject of research.

In fact, family hunting territories were not so much chunks of real estate as "units of management" for animals, as Tanner (1973:105) has so aptly described them. Similarly, Feit (1978: 965) reminds us "that hunting territories are flexible and adaptable units for managing animal resources and harvesting activi-

ties." The 1745 example of family hunting territories given earlier by Mitchell, the postmaster of Eastmain, indicated that rights to marten were in question, not the use of land per se. Mitchell's statement also indicated that food animals such as caribou and hare were free for the taking. Some eighty years later, in 1825, the trader at Mistassini refers to Stacemow's "beaver grounds" (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, B.133/a/9:8; June 19, 1825), while fishing spots were termed "neutral ground" by the Rupert House chief trader (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, B.186/e/6:8, 1828).

Further, as Tanner and Feit have found for the present, hunters could and did leave their hunting grounds and join others on their lands. The custom of desisting from fur hunting if a close relative died sometimes forced hunters off their usual hunting grounds (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, B.59/a/109:19d, May 1, 1825). For instance, having lost a child in 1824, Natchikauppo was "not likely to go over the same Ground again this year—means to spend the ensuing Winter with Misnahaigonish" (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, B.186/e/6:6, 1824). At other times, people vacated their own lands because these were "burnt" (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, B.227/e/6:9, 1828), when they preferred spending winters fishing instead of hunting (ibid.), when a hunter had "no lands of his own" and hunted with someone else (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, B.186/b/44:95, 1842), or when hunters hunted on someone else's lands because that person hunted on theirs (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, B.133/a/14:26d, April 16, 1829). The ideal was that hunting lands were to be inherited by sons, but brothers, sons-in-law, and nephews also inherited, and unoccupied lands could even be claimed by non-relatives (see Morantz 1983a:125).

Another right to a claim is expressed in a 1929 letter by James Watt, Hudson's Bay district manager at Rupert House: "One of the advantages in the old days when the Indians held their lands was that in the event of death of the head of the family, the widow could usually make a desirable marriage again on the strength of her lands, and in this case the children would be provided for; in the event of her not marrying, she could get someone to kill the beaver on shares . . ." (Watt, Papers, Letter 40, August 17, 1929).

Thus, although the family hunting territory system was definable and recognizable, it was not definitive. Other arrangements were made according to personal or ecological circumstances. Further, as seen earlier, hunters rotated their hunting activities over different sections of their lands, often in three-year cycles. It therefore seems more accurate to depict family hunting territories as flexible rather than to describe them in terms of "permanently delineated tracts," "exclusive use," or "compartmentalized."

Hunting Territory and Hunting Group

Another important issue is the distinction between hunting territory and hunting group. By seeing hunting territories as an outgrowth of the individualization of hunting groups, Leacock (1954:7, 25) held that the development of territories was dependent on the shrinking size of groups. Thus, hunting territories could not arise so long as the size of winter hunting groups was larger than one to two families. By contrast, Rogers (1963: 77-86) analytically separated these two units of organization and did not see one as necessarily dependent on the other. Instead, Rogers saw other variables—ecological, religious, and socioeconomic—as controlling the size of the winter hunting group. During his own ethnographic research among the Mistassini Cree, Rogers found that the preferred winter hunting group consisted of four nuclear families sharing one hunting territory. He postulated that the average size of winter hunting groups has remained constant since the time of contact and that these groups have remained independent of association with a territory. Four families is also the size that both Tanner (1973:105) and Feit (1978:1057) have found for the present day. That size is also consistent with nineteenth-century Hudson's Bay Company archival data.

Individualization

In her discussion of hunting territories, Leacock (1954:24, 26) set forth a model of individualization. She saw the third and final stage as one of little differentiation between the Indian and non-Indian trapper. Feit (1978:497) objected to this acculturative model, arguing that in terms of social organization, production of food versus furs, sources of cash income, and the extent of their dependence on government sources, the Waswanipi Cree have not reached and are not moving toward these acculturative end points. In addition, the historical data do not show this progression. On the contrary, a historic reconstruction of nineteenth-century Cree social organization (see Morantz 1983a) shows remarkable similarity to present-day ethnographic accounts (cf. Feit 1978; Tanner 1979).

The previously discussed dichotomy between hunting for exchange and hunting for subsistence has two subsidiary issues that merit discussion. Leacock (1954:3), Knight (1965:39), and Bishop (1970:9) all hinge their analyses on large game hunting as the determining factor in Algonquian social organization prior to the fur trade and throughout its early stages. Accordingly, the social organization, consisting of large winter hunting groups, was seen as honed toward hunting migratory big game animals, and this was thought to preclude development of individualized hunting territories. This may have been true of the lower north shore and northern Ontario, but these researchers ignored the

possibility that some Algonquian societies may have practiced a "mixed economy," based on both large and small game, instead of relying overwhelmingly on only one species. Historical documents have now shown that in the eighteenth century the Cree of eastern James Bay relied on both large and small game. Further, archaeological evidence from this region indicates that this was also the case in prehistoric times. Analysis of prehistoric winter camp sites indicates small group size, consistent with that found for historical times (Denton 1981; Morantz 1984:70-71).

Leacock (1954:7) states that a switch to dependence on store food facilitated development of hunting territories. This idea is not supported by historical evidence. For example, as late as 1911, large quantities of store food to sustain a winter hunting group were *not* being purchased by the Cree of Rupert House or Mistassini (Anderson 1961:106)—yet Hudson's Bay Company records indicate clearly defined hunting territories in the area some one hundred years earlier (see also Bishop 1970). Similarly, in his account of the Waswanipi Cree in the 1970s, Feit (1978:509-517) argues that production for use (i.e., wild food, also known as "country food") was still paramount over production for exchange (i.e., furs that could be traded for food).

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRESENT-DAY SYSTEM OF HUNTING TERRITORIES (REGISTERED TRAPLINES)

Hunting territories continue today in the James Bay region and are now known as registered traplines. The Québec government allowed establishment of a "beaver sanctuary" as early as 1932 (Watt, Papers, L. A. Richard letter, March 17, 1932). Registered traplines are a system set up by the Cree, the Hudson's Bay Company, and the federal and provincial governments, beginning at Rupert House in 1938 (Indian Affairs, RG 10, Volume 6754, File 420-10-4-1 Part 2: Memo, December 23, 1940). Under the registered trapline system of the 1940s, a targeted section of land was subdivided into a number of "family group" areas and placed under the "family head man who was appointed as a guardian or tallyman" (Indian Affairs, RG 10, Volume 6755, File 420-10-4-1, Part 3: Old Factory Beaver and Fur Preserve Report, 1942).

Indian Affairs officials believed that they had modeled the system on the traditional Cree system. C. W. Jackson, Chief Executive Assistant of Indian Affairs, wrote on December 15, 1942: "Our field officers in organizing a fur preserve revert to the ancient family system of land tenure, which predates the discovery of this continent and under which each family has a definite area in which to trap. These family areas have well defined boundaries such as streams and heights of land and the Indians respect them . . ." (ibid.).

Both this letter and another from the Indian Affairs agent at Moose Factory dated May 30, 1947 (Indian Affairs, RG 10, Volume 6749, File 420-8-2-1 1), where the agent refers to "registering the Indian trap line on the established Family trapping ground system," make it clear that the Indian Affairs view of Cree hunting territories was influenced by John Cooper (see Flannery and Chambers in this volume). In the early 1930s, Cooper produced a report for Indian Affairs: "Land Tenure Systems among Canadian Indians" (Indian Affairs, RG 10, Volume 8620, File 1/1-15-15, Part 1, 1933). Prior to Cooper's report, federal officials tended to refer to an individual's hunting ground, as in the earlier quotation from Tessier.

Knight (1965:28-29) claimed that registered traplines were the first "private control of tracts" in the eastern James Bay area. Further, Knight argued that such private control became possible only when a significant amount of income was forthcoming from sources other than hunting and trapping. Knight's evidence was based on testimony that he collected from Rupert House hunters in the summer of 1961. The hunters told him that when they trapped in the past, "they tried to clean an area out," and that "you could hunt and trap where you wanted" (ibid.:32). Knight's own field notes, however, indicate that not all of his informants' testimony was consistent. As regards conservation, one hunter said that he would leave a beaver house, while another said "We had to shoot everything in those days so that we could live." Referring to the days before the registered trapline system, some hunters said that "one could trap wherever one wanted," while others made comments such as "each man has his land and when he dies he leaves it to one of his sons." Unfortunately, Knight's field notes do not indicate how he presented hunting territories to the hunters in his interviews with them. Had he indicated this, we might be better able to understand these contradictions. In addition, if Knight had had access to the historical records now available, he would not have been troubled by these contradictions, as his notes in the margins of his field notes indicate was the case. Further, one has to be critical of Knight's sources on hunting territories, as Preston (1987) has pointed out that his informants were primarily coasters, whose part-time hunting and trapping were carried out close to the post.

Competition with Non-Indian Hunters

Beginning in the late nineteenth century, Indian Affairs records show that Indians in southern Québec were finding themselves in competition with non-Indian hunters for caribou and furs (Indian Affairs, RG 10, Volume 6750, File 420-10, October 7, 1898). By 1926, with the opening of the Temiskaming and Northern Ontario Railroad, James Bay began to be affected by this type of competition on its southern perimeters. After 1932, the region

was directly affected by the extension of the railroad to Moosonee and of air service to the region. In 1931, there had been complaints that fourteen non-Indian trappers, backed by a merchant in Kapuskasing, Ontario, were flown into the Eastmain region with enough supplies for a year's stay (ibid., 420-10 A, October 29, 1931). Even before that, two non-Indian trappers had reached Fort George in 1929 (ibid., October 8, 1929).

In their correspondence, Indian Affairs officials expressed horror that non-Indian trappers used methods very alien to those of the Indians. They accused non-Indians of "robbing" the Indians by "cleaning out" an area, using poison in their traps, and dynamiting beaver houses (ibid., July 7 and 22, 1926; October 29, 1927). In reaction to this devastation, Indian hunters behaved by doing the same thing. For example, at Grand Lac Victoria (in the Abitibi region of Québec) in 1927, they began "slaughtering them [animals] if they hear of strangers in the area" (ibid., Report June to October, 1927). The term "strangers" referred to both non-Indians and other Indians. Further, as animals in one area were exterminated by non-Indian trappers, Indians occupying these lands were forced onto other Indians' lands to trap.

The James Bay area was not immune to such encroachments; in 1929, Watt reported to his superior that although the Indians there used to "respect each others hunting lands," they "nowadays did not." Watt had seen the same phenomenon in 1910 when he was manager at Manouane Post in the St. Maurice region of central Québec, where, with the arrival of non-Indian trappers, the Indians were beginning to infringe on each others' rights. By the time Watt became manager at Rupert House, the beaver had already declined drastically in number. This, combined with non-Indian encroachment, helped Watt formulate his concept of beaver preserves, first established in Québec in 1932 (Watt, Papers, Letter 40, August 17, 1929). These preserves regulated beaver hunting by the Indians of a region, usually by first decreeing several "closed seasons" on beaver trapping, and then establishing quotas for each district. Four years earlier, a "hunting reserve" had been established in the Grand Lac Victoria area. Although this reserve was originally intended to restrict the use of moose and other large game on the reserve to Indians, in 1936 these restrictions were also extended to furbearing animals (Indian Affairs, RG 10, Volume 6751, File 420-10X 5: Report of the Grand Lake Victoria Indian Hunting Reserve, 1942).

It seems, then, that the contradictions that Knight was encountering in 1961 regarding the pre-registered trapline system were due to the earlier period of encroachment and scarce animal resources that sometimes forced the Cree to forsake their hunting territory system. An analysis similar to Watt's was provided by Cooper (ibid.:6-7) in his report to Indian Affairs. Cooper speaks of the "breakdown of the family hunting ground system" due to the encroachment by white trappers on the southern limits of the area

inhabited by Indians. For the interior of the James Bay region, Cooper attributes this breakdown to the Indians' perception that the government not only "does not recognize but definitely denies such rights." Increasing government interference in the form of hunting regulations and game wardens may have undermined the Cree moral sense of their traditional hunting territories. A thorough assessment of the judgments made by Cooper and Watt must await the day when the wisdom of the oral history on this subject can be combined with documentary records.

The purpose of this brief review of the history of beaver preserves in Québec has been to show that if Knight, and possibly other researchers on the Northern Algonquians, had had access to the historical records used for this essay, their analyses of hunting territories would have been very different. If Knight had known that Rupert House people had hunting territories in the early nineteenth century, he would have attributed the contradictions in his informants' testimony to other processes rather than concluding that there was no "ownership of particular tracts."

CONCLUSION

This essay has employed historical data to elucidate several issues related to Northern Algonquian land tenure. Since systematic use of historical records is a relatively recent element in the hunting territory debate, a wide-ranging focus has been maintained. Armed with new archival data, I could examine the extensive literature on hunting territories in order to probe the soundness of some of the earlier assumptions about Subarctic Algonquian social organization, specifically land tenure systems and how these changed during post-contact times. In a sense, the theme of this essay is the utility of the historical records in resolving or helping to resolve theoretical debates.

This recent search of newly available records has revealed that historical processes had differential effects on the social organization of various Algonquian groups. For example, the fur trade affected the socioeconomic arrangements of the northern caribou hunters more than the Algonquians further south in James Bay, who were already drawing on a wide range of animals for support. In the hunting territory debate, one must establish clearly the ecological zone and hunting patterns of hunting groups. As Dyson-Hudson and Smith (1978:37, 24) have pointed out, territoriality is a hunting strategy that individuals "may be expected to choose," but only in a habitat where "critical resources are predictable" and therefore will be "most efficiently exploited."

This important distinction in habitat must be made. Although Leacock (1982:160) admonished us to examine a society's history carefully and to define the realities of its economy, neither her

1982 article nor her earlier ones did this. Instead, she overgeneralizes to speak of "northeast Algonkians" (1954:43) and the Montagnais-Naskapi of the Labrador peninsula (1982:161) without reference to the particulars of each group or area. Speck (1931:576-77) distinguished "two types" of habitat and hunting for the Labrador peninsula, and there were likely more. He also noted that caribou hunting was communal, which he thought precluded the development of family territorial "subdivisions."

Such distinctions are not to be found in Leacock's work. Her analysis of the social organization and factors inherent in social change due to involvement in the fur trade is indeed supported by some historical evidence, including a reduction in the size of hunting groups, a trend away from communal hunting practices and toward individualization, changes in subsistence patterns, and so forth. There is a proviso to this, however. Leacock's analysis of drastic changes holds only for barren-ground caribou hunters and cannot be extended to all Northern Algonquian groups, as she implies in her writings. Where beaver and other small animals were already a significant element in the diet of hunters, group size was already sufficiently reduced and adequately individualized to accommodate additional trapping of furs and the barter of these furs to Europeans.

Concerning the specific components that have been identified for the hunting territory system (e.g., (1) increasing trapping for purposes of exchange, (2) individualization, (3) trespass, and (4) conservation), a search of the historical records has revealed that the dichotomy of food versus furs did not apply to the James Bay Cree of 200 years ago. Furs very often supplied food, and vice versa. Nor was there evidence of a progression toward a smaller winter hunting group. In fact, the size and structure indicated for the mid-eighteenth century are consistent with those found in ethnographic studies conducted in the past thirty years. The fact that the various French companies, the Hudson's Bay Company, and the North West Company all extended credit to individuals in the early eighteenth century (if not before) is a strong signal that the James Bay Cree were capable of functioning as individuals. Further, the taking of credit implies some notion of the private ownership of furs. Since trespass is mentioned in this connection in the 1740s, the concept of private ownership was apparently extended to the land that housed furbearing animals. As for conservation, mention is not found in the historical records until the early nineteenth century and then is discussed as though such practices were well entrenched. This suggests that conservation measures had already been observed for some time.

Does the evidence for those features that characterize the family hunting territory system offer proof that this system functioned? Is the whole a sum of its parts? Although this would lead us into a theoretical discussion that cannot be resolved

here, other questions also seem relevant. Were the specific components of the system only in their incipient stages of development? Did the fur trade "intensify" rather than "initiate" these hunting territories, as Snow (1968:1145) argues for the Wabanaki? Lack of evidence precludes an authoritative response.

Practices pivotal to the functioning of family hunting territories were already in play some 250 years ago. That is the earliest period for which we have records. Prior to the late seventeenth century, there is no archival evidence for the James Bay region. While the fur trade and perhaps other factors may have influenced the James Bay Cree before this, claims for the system as either of aboriginal origin or post-contact development through involvement in the fur trade will have to be based on other kinds of evidence and arguments.

NOTES

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1. This paper is based on earlier research and analyses (Morantz 1983a:108-128). Some of the data and findings are repeated to help illustrate the points being made, as well as the method employed.

2. A problem for anthropologists to consider is one raised by Knight (1965:41) where we must distinguish between the requirements for establishment of such a hunting territory system and those maintaining it. If such territories arose as a result of the hunting of beaver, would such territorial practices continue to be observed once beaver hunting disappeared or greatly lessened in importance?

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