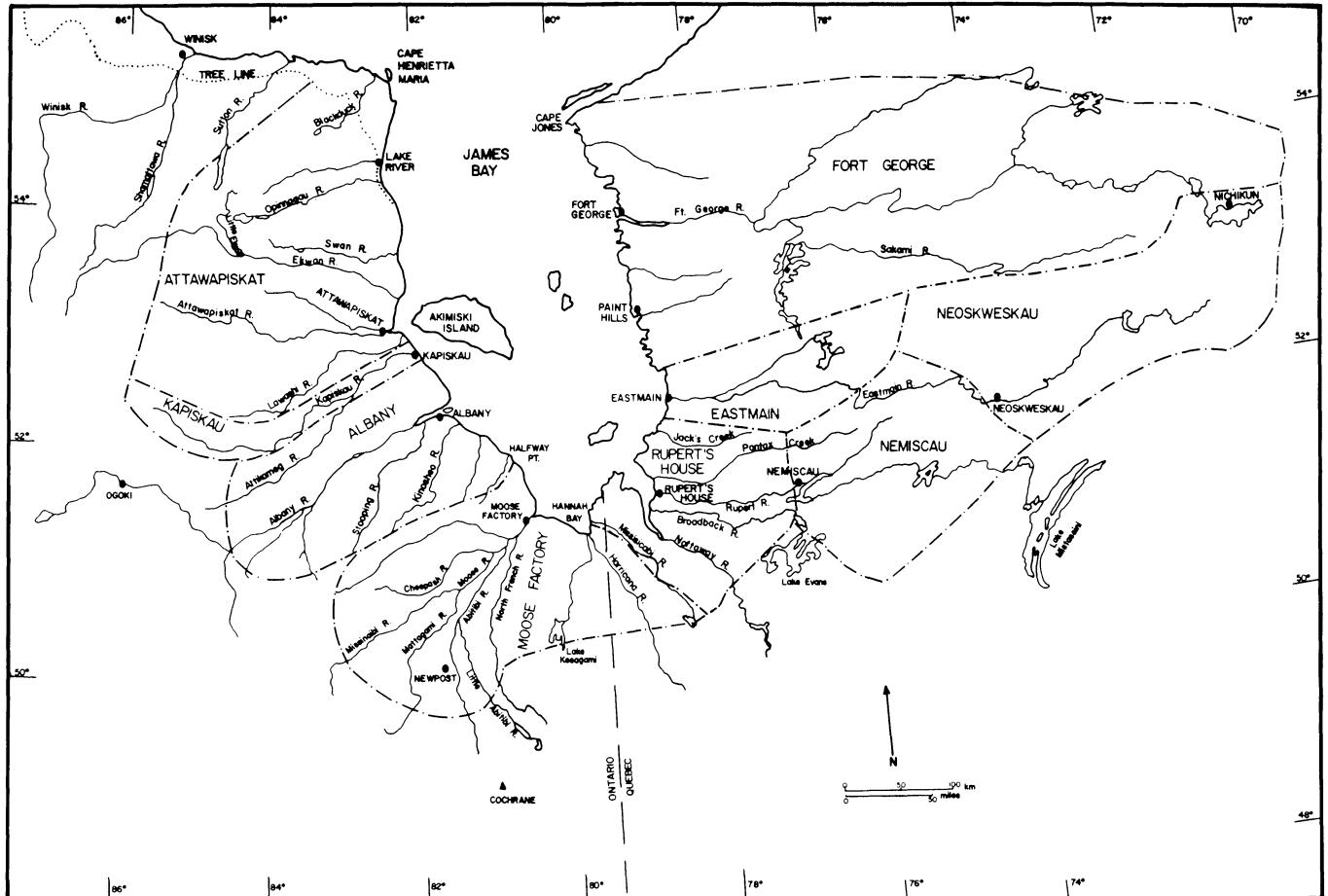

Figure 1: Generalized Band Areas, James Bay

JOHN M. COOPER'S INVESTIGATION OF JAMES BAY FAMILY HUNTING GROUNDS, 1927-1934

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La carte de Cooper, de 1932, des terres de chasse et tribus de la région de James Bay a été consultée pendant des années. En revoyant ses dossiers, il devint évident que Cooper avait l'intention de mettre au point cette carte en tenant compte des informations qu'il avait rassemblées par la suite. En utilisant ces données et ses cartes de travail, nous avons fait des corrections et nous avons indiqué les époques que ces diverses cartes représentent. En discutant des idées traditionelles des Cris au sujet des terres dont ils vivaient, nous avons été amenés à conclure que l'expression "terres de chasse familiales" est appropriée et doit être retenue.

Cooper's 1932 map of the band and hunting territories of the James Bay area has been consulted over the years. In reviewing Cooper's files, it became apparent that he had intended to revise the map in the light of material he subsequently gathered. Using these data and his working maps, we have made corrections and determined the time periods which the several maps reflect. Discussion of traditional Cree notions about the lands that sustained their livelihood leads us to the conclusion that the term "family hunting grounds" is appropriate and should be retained.

John M. Cooper's investigation of Northern Algonquian culture dates to the mid-1920s. Like many in that period, Cooper was interested in tracing distributions of cultural phenomena. One topic of particular concern was systems of land tenure. Cooper conducted fieldwork addressed to this and other questions first among the Tête de Boule (Attikamek) and then less intensively among the Ojibwa of the upper Albany River at Fort Hope, Rainy Lake, and Ogoki. From 1927 until 1934, he concentrated on the James Bay area, giving some attention to the Hudson Bay drainages as far as Winisk to the west and Great Whale to the east.

Based on his fieldwork and the sources then available, Cooper published two papers on systems of land tenure: "Land Tenure among the Indians of Eastern and Northern North America" (1938a) and "Is the Algonquian Family Hunting Ground System Pre-

Columbian?" (1939). A third article (1949) addressed more general questions of cultural regularities underlying land tenure systems in non-industrialized societies but did not refer directly to field data from the Subarctic. Cooper also published (1938b) a monograph on aspects of Cree hunting technologies titled *Snares, Deadfalls and Other Traps of the Northern Algonquians and Northern Athapascans.*

Cooper's article on land tenure (1938a) proposed the theory that differences in Indian land tenure systems in eastern and northern North America (including the Plains) may largely be attributed to the nature and distribution of the principal types of fauna and flora on which subsistence depended, together with the methods by which they were exploited. For hunting peoples who depended on migratory herd animals (buffalo of the plains, caribou of the tundra), communal systems of tenure and of hunting prevailed. In forested regions, where the principal resources, apart from woodland caribou and moose, were the non-migratory and relatively sedentary beaver and other limited-range furbearers, the non-gregarious and relatively small animals could be taken by individuals, accounting for the development of land tenure systems based on ownership in "severalty" or of exclusive exploitation. Especially where there was a system of conservation, as among the Northern Algonquians, Cooper suggested that a family would have a "reasonably dependable" return from year to year.

In his 1939 paper, Cooper discusses the probability that the Northern Algonquian family hunting ground system originated in precontact times. This article, together with papers by Speck (1915, 1923) and Speck and Eiseley (1939, 1942), have been central to the debate on this question. Cooper's 1939 paper depends primarily on material from the Tête de Boule of the upper St. Maurice River in central Québec to outline basic features of the family hunting ground system as a type case for the larger Northern Algonquian area, including James Bay.

Our objective in this paper is to present Cooper's field data on the family hunting ground system in the James Bay area. Cooper drew extensively on these materials for his two published articles and had begun collating the data on James Bay prior to his death in 1949. Some of the materials, particularly maps that have been consulted over the years by researchers, represent earlier working formulations that Cooper intended to revise or was revising. We have therefore reviewed all of Cooper's field notes on hunting grounds in the area under consideration, except for the material on the Tête de Boule.

Cooper talked primarily to men and used an interview format. With regard to hunting territories, in addition to seeking details on the boundaries of "band territories" and the locations of the grounds of specific individuals, he asked particularly about inheritance, trespass, and conservation. Based on material

gathered in 1932, he compiled a partial and very tentative map of band territories and the family grounds within some of the areas. His map and the accompanying lists describing individual holdings for the Moose Factory and Kesagami Lake, Rupert House (then Rupert's House), Fort George, Albany, and Attawapiskat areas have been consulted and copied over the years (see Note 1). Our re-study of Cooper's material indicates that: (1) Cooper intended to revise his 1932 map substantially in accordance with new data obtained in 1933 and 1934; (2) the hunting ground distributions for the several bands reflect several periods, and thus the 1932 map is potentially misleading; and (3) there is considerable "unevenness" in the data from band to band.

Thus our primary purpose is to clarify the data base, so that further discussion will rest on known premises. In this undertaking, we have also made use of Flannery's contemporary work in the 1930s in the James Bay area. Flannery was not concerned with hunting grounds per se, but in her unstructured interviews, mainly with the older women, she collected genealogical and other details that throw some light on the size and flexibility of the winter hunting group, as well as on prevalent attitudes about hunting grounds. Her data reflect the perceptions of those who had participated in the more traditional culture prior to 1900, rather than the then-current situation of the 1930s.

COMPILATION OF THE MAPS

Cooper worked at a great disadvantage in attempting to map both band territories and family grounds. Much of the northern area was poorly mapped, and many of even the secondary tributaries of the major rivers were missing on maps of the time. In fact, when Flannery was at Moose Factory in 1933, photogrammatic mapping of that area had just begun. As late as 1949, a whole section of the area south of the Albany River was still topographically unmapped. The map in Cooper's files which was clearly the basis for the 1932 map has no date or scale. It probably dates to the early 1920s, before the Temiskaming branch of the Northern Ontario Railway reached James Bay. To reconcile Cooper's working maps with the drainage systems, we have superimposed them on a modern map of the same scale (National Geographic Society map of the United States, 1978, scale 1:3,000,000, enlarged 128.5 percent, error margin one-sixteenth of an inch) and have made adjustments to conform with available descriptions given to Cooper. Usually this has involved minor shifting of lines to coincide with forks in rivers or confluences, but in some cases, particularly for the very poorly mapped west coast of James Bay, more substantial changes were made to bring the maps into better accord with the extent of the lands said to be used by families from Albany, Kapiskau, and Attawapiskat. Committing both band territories and individual holdings to map form involves using

arbitrary boundaries, which express the *relative* locations of lands used rather than absolute territorial units.

Figure 1 is a reference map of the James Bay area which outlines the generalized perimeters of the several named bands as described to Cooper by Cree respondents and Hudson's Bay Company/Revillon Frères Company personnel. The generalized perimeters of these bands are adjusted from Cooper's 1932 map to conform to geographical points indicated as the limits of band territories. Nevertheless, this is a composite map representing band boundaries recognized at different times over perhaps fifty years, from about 1870 to the 1920s. The map includes land areas associated with both "newer" bands, such as Kapiskau and Attawapiskat, and "older" band territories such as the one at Moose Factory, recognized as early as the mid-nineteenth century (see Note 2).

The data on family hunting grounds for the several bands are uneven both chronologically and in detail. Thus, they are described below individually. Figure 2 groups Albany, Moose Factory-Kesagami Lake, and Rupert House because the information on these bands' hunting grounds extends back three or more generations to the 1850s or 1860s. Figure 3 illustrates the post-Treaty Nine situation on the west coast of James Bay for Kapiskau and Attawapiskat, from approximately 1902 to the 1920s. However, in some instances, as with the "Kapiskau River Indians," references suggest continual use of family hunting grounds back several generations. Figure 4 includes Eastmain, Nemaska [Nemiscau], and Neoskweskau-Nichikun, all representing hunting grounds of families in the 1920s and 1930s. Figure 5 records the distribution of hunting grounds at Fort George at the time of Cooper's fieldwork.

The names of hunters and families collected by Cooper reflect continued use of single personal names for some older individuals whose brothers and other relatives often had Christian first names and were also sometimes referred to by their surnames—as for example, Old Napas and Joe and George Napas. Sons frequently took the father's first name as their surname. For instance, Jacob Wabaniskum's son at Rupert House was Tommy Jacob, and Stephen Rose's son at Albany was Patrick Steven (see Note 3).

ALBANY, MOOSE-KESAGAMI, AND RUPERT HOUSE

Albany

Information for the Albany section of the map (see Figure 2) was provided by Patrick Steven, a sixty-five-year-old Albany hunter who was at Moose Factory for the summer when Cooper talked to him in 1933. In addition to giving details of the places where

men were hunting, Steven indicated groups using the hunting grounds of their fathers or, in some cases, grandfathers. In response to Cooper's questions on earlier hunting grounds, Steven described some of the "Old Albany Families of fifty years ago" and the areas they hunted. He also provided a second list of the "Old Albany Men" he remembered, most of whom had died. This list (some sixty names) includes some Kapiskau and Attawapiskat men who went to Albany prior to establishment of the other west coast trading posts around the turn of the century.

Cooper did not fill in the Albany section on the large 1932 map but drew a working map of the hunting regions of the old Albany families, based mainly on Steven's descriptions. His efforts were especially hampered by the absence of even some of the major river drainages on maps. Steven's descriptions of geographical features, however, enabled us to make adjustments on Cooper's working map to correspond with the modern one. We have also entered several names of tributaries lacking on Cooper's map. The map reflects the general configuration of these hunting grounds about 1880.

Patrick Steven had hunted with his older brother and his father on the Kinosheo [Kinoje] (Jackfish) River (see item (3) in Appendix 1A). In the 1930s, Patrick Steven was hunting 150 miles up the Kapiskau River, but his grandson, Alex Steven, and his nephew, Walter Steven, still hunted in the old locale. His father's father, Stephen Rose, had four brothers, whose lands (14) were far up the Albany River, as far as Albany hunters were said to go, where they sometimes came in contact with Ojibwa from Ogoki (Martin Falls).

Two brothers named Alec and Henry Lazarus and their sons were still hunting in territory (17), where Old Lazarus, "head of the whole Lazarus bunch," but now too old to hunt, used to claim hunting rights. Among others still on traditional territories were Simon and Charly Kosis (12), David Wynn (10), Luke Goodwin and his sons (4), and Tommy William and his son, Johnny (16). Patrick Steven also spoke of a number of men who stayed at the post and did little or no hunting, the fathers of some of whom were said to have been "servants" of the Hudson's Bay Company or artisans, such as the Ferris (Ferries) brothers, whose father was a carpenter there.

The "Oldest and Largest Families of about 50 years ago" related by Patrick Steven (only a partial list) include the Rose family (Patrick Steven's father's father); the Titibineckam family, on the Kapiskau River; David Sagabaskam, on the Tcimahagan River; the Solomon family, at the head of the Stooping River; Sandy Lazarus, on the lower Stooping River; the William family, on the Chipie River; the Steven family, up the Kinosheo River and across the Stooping (Kwetabauhigan) River; and the Archibald

family, up to the head of the Kinosheo River and across to the Stooping River.

Moose Factory-Kesagami Lake

Cooper's main informant on the distribution of hunting grounds in the Moose Factory-Kesagami Lake part of the area (see Figure 2) was Simon Smallboy, a Moose Factory Cree who was seventy-nine years old in 1933. Cooper had talked extensively with Smallboy in the previous two years and in 1933 obtained information that formed the basis of working maps from which Cooper intended to correct his larger regional map of 1932. We have made the corrections indicated by the later working maps and by Cooper's notes. Thus the hunting ground map in Figure 2 shows substantial changes from the map consulted in the past.

Smallboy described in great detail the hunting grounds of the Moose Factory and Kesagami Lake area families as he remembered them in the 1870s, when he was a young man. He had always hunted (see Figure 2 and Appendix 1B) with his father on the same grounds (10) on both sides of French Creek (or North French River) that his paternal grandfather, Nanikwabewuskam ("Curly Head"), had occupied and where his own sons, Harvey and Simon, Jr., were hunting in the 1930s. He knew the territories of his grandfather's brothers (territories 3, 4, and 5). About 1875, Simon Smallboy married Ellen, a Kesagami Lake woman and the third of four daughters of Aniskowap (18), whose territory was one of three bordering directly on Kesagami Lake. Through these ties, Smallboy was also familiar with Ellen's family's hunting grounds. He had other ties to old Moose Factory families through his grandfather, who married the sister of Andrew and Henry Lisk. Through these Lisk brothers, who hunted together on the Abitibi River (8), Smallboy also had ties with their brother, Kadjiti (11), whose grounds were contiguous to those of Andrew and Henry Lisk to the southeast on the Little Abitibi River.

When Simon Smallboy was a young man, his father and paternal grandfather were still living, as were his grandfather's brothers, his paternal grandmother from the Lisk family, and other relatives. Details on the Kesagami Lake area were undoubtedly provided by Smallboy's wife, Ellen, who was a major respondent for Flannery in 1933 and 1935 and provided the detailed genealogical information that allowed us to reconstruct four generations of ties between Moose Factory and Kesagami Lake families. In addition, Smallboy's sister-in-law (Ellen's older sister) had earlier married a somewhat older man of the Patoc family (12), brother of Tcistcu (13) and half-brother of both Kitimini (14) and Opasigo (15). Simon Smallboy knew all these men.

This information from Simon Smallboy is possibly the most accurate for any of the band areas, being based on first-hand

knowledge of both the hunting grounds and hunters of his grandfather's generation. Thus Figure 2 probably reflects the hunting ground system at least as early as the 1870s—and perhaps even earlier. Older respondents, such as Easter Sabatim (née Fletcher), were related to several others named on the map and confirmed the information that Simon and Ellen Smallboy had given.

Smallboy indicated that the people to the west of his father's and grandfather's territory on French Creek were all Moose Factory families, while those to the east were from Kesagami Lake. A third group, located at Hannah Bay at the bottom of James Bay and along the Harricana River, was said to be composed of Hannah Bay Indians, who were closely related to the Kesagami Lake people, since both groups spoke the "r" dialect of Cree, as distinguished from the "l" dialect spoken by Moose Factory Indians, and the "y" dialect of Rupert House. An early reference to these groups is found in Hudson's Bay Company records at Albany. Before the Moose Factory Post was re-established in 1730, two closely related groups (probably the ancestors of Moose Factory and Kesagami Lake Cree)—the "Moose River Indians" and the "Sagomies" (or Salkemys)—went to trade at Fort Albany (Bishop 1984:34). A third group going in with them, the "Shaggomies" (or Shashioggame), may or may not have been the Hannah Bay Indians.

In the 1870s, both Moose Factory and Kesagami Lake groups usually traded at Moose Factory. However, when Willy McLeod (aged about sixty in 1933) was a boy, several of the Kesagami families occasionally went to New Post on the Abitibi River. McLeod remembered clearly that the Kesagami Cree from territories (13), (14), and (19) occasionally went in to trade and that the Moose Factory Wemistigoc family stopped by on its way to its grounds —(9), above New Post on the Abitibi River. In 1883, McLeod left New Post for Moose Factory. He remembered that Kadjiti, the brother of Simon Smallboy's grandmother and an old conjuror, was still a vigorous man. Of the other Moose Factory Cree, the four named in territory (1) were brothers. In 1930, the son of one of them, Angus Chum, still hunted where his father, Old Chum, had hunted. Hunting with Ekinegizik in territory (2) were his nephew James Gideon and another relative, Pinewik.

Although the area along the James Bay coast was considered "free" for anyone to trap and to hunt migratory fowl, territories (22) and (23), on the Harricana River, and (28) and (29), bordering James Bay, were considered grounds of Hannah Bay Indians, often referred to as "Moose Indians." In 1932, Edward Nemegus and Tommy Jacob of Rupert House stated that "in the old days," the lower Harricana was Moose Factory territory, "but now there are many Rupert House Indians there."

Rupert House

In 1933, Cooper interviewed Tommy Jacob and Edward Nemegus ("Trout"), who were elderly Rupert House coasters (see Figure 2 and Appendix 1C). Both had been employed occasionally in the summer by the Hudson's Bay Company, and Tommy Jacob was a goose hunter for the company. Nevertheless, both men had spent their winters hunting in the bush. Tommy and his older brother hunted with their father, Jacob Wabaniskum and his brother and the latter's sons, about sixty miles up the Rupert River (5). Edward Nemegus was reared from early childhood by his grandfather, Old Nemegus. With his sons, Henry and Reuben, Old Nemegus had hunting grounds (4) extending about 100 miles up from the coast on the Broadback River. Old Nemegus also had two brothers, Old Esau and Kapacicit, whose territory (3) was on the adjacent Nottaway River. Morantz (1983:63-64) informs us that Old Nemegus (Nemecoose) was one of five sons of Governor, who died in 1844, whose profile she gives along with that of his brother Nabowisho. Old Nemegus was considered a strict traditionalist. The location of Governor's territories on Morantz's map (ibid.:62) corresponds with that of Old Nemegus and his brothers on our map (4). Another prominent early-nineteenth-century family was that of John Hester. Cooper's respondents said that Whiskeychan was a Hester and that he hunted with George, Joseph, and David Hester. His territory (8) is on a creek that emerges near Sherrick Hill and corresponds with the grounds of Autawayham, the father-in-law of one of John Hester's sons (Morantz 1983:62, 71).

Although it reflects only about nine of the larger families, the Rupert House section of the map represents the same period as the maps of Moose Factory-Kesagami Lake and Albany, approximately the 1870s. From the Hudson's Bay Company records provided by Morantz, we know that one of these nine Rupert House-area families, Moyses Pekotio (6), was definitely an inlander family. However, J. S. C. Watt, manager of the Hudson's Bay Company post, told Cooper that there were about *forty family hunting grounds* of Rupert House Indians.

Data obtained by Flannery at Rupert House in 1937 suggest two additional family holdings that may date to the 1870s. Margaret Blackned (aged about eighty) said that after she married, about 1875, she always accompanied her husband to the Blackneds' "old hunting place" up on the Pontaskik River, where the hunting was good, until the area was destroyed by fire. Another old family ground not mentioned to Cooper was in the Cabbage Willows area within the large region indicated on Cooper's map as the lands of the Butterfly family (1). This family was said by Edward Nemegus and Tommy Jacob to consist of Moose Factory Indians who hunted on the Rupert House side of Hannah Bay, along with Sandy Tapis, who hunted near the point (see also (26) in Appendix 2). William and Simon Katebetuk claimed that their father's and grandfather's territory (1) had always been located near Cabbage Willows. The old Katebe tuk may

have moved into that area sometime after the former occupants, the Quapakeys on Morantz's map (1983:62), were killed, in the aftermath of the Hannah Bay Massacre of 1832 (Francis and Morantz 1983:159).

KAPISKAU AND ATTAWAPISKAT

Prior to establishment of Hudson's Bay Company trading posts at Attawapiskat and Kapiskau, about 1900, the people of the area designated in Figure 3 were accustomed to go to the Albany post to trade. As we have noted above, Patrick Steven included some of these people in his list of "Old Albany Families."

Cooper's main informant for the Kapiskau-Attawapiskat region was Willy Allen, an Albany man who was in his late forties in 1933. Allen had gone to the Attawapiskat Post in 1904, and had lived for seven years at Kapiskau. He indicated that while the Kapiskau Cree considered themselves distinct from the Attawapiskat Cree—as distinct as the Albany and Moose Factory bands—this was not the case about 1880. At that time, people on the Kapiskau River felt related to those on the Attawapiskat River. In former times, the region around the Attawapiskat post was a "fine fishing place," where many people gathered. The mouths of both the Kapiskau and Attawapiskat rivers enter James Bay a fairly short distance apart, at a protected channel between the shore of James Bay and Akimiski Island (see Figure 1).

Jimmy Acickic, an Attawapiskat Cree who was visiting Moose Factory in 1933, gave Cooper information on the Kapiskau hunting grounds. Additional data on the area north of the Ekwan River supplementing Allen's was provided by Willy Ethrington, who had moved from Albany to Opinnigau and was visiting at Moose Factory when Cooper talked to him briefly in 1932.

As in the Albany case, Cooper did not fill in the territories described to him on the larger map of 1932. Since the descriptions of hunting grounds were not sufficiently detailed to warrant delineating territorial boundaries, we have followed Cooper's working map by indicating the names of hunters in the approximate locations on the rivers around which they hunted.

Kapiskau

The territories now within the boundaries of the Kapiskau Band (see Figure 3 and Appendix 2A) were in place as early as the 1880s: Patrick Steven locates them on the Kapiskau River and describes two of them as being held by men of the "Old Albany Families," namely, Mitat and Titibineskam. Other Kapiskau hunters mentioned by Willy Allen and appearing on Steven's list of "Old Albany Men" were Picu, the brother of Mitat, and the brothers (perhaps half-brothers) of Titibineskam: Mikenak, Misenask, Man-

itu, and Kecuk. On this same list are two Scott brothers, John and Friday; Nikes and his two sons, Noah and John; and Solomon Mud and his son, Aldidj Solomon. Willy Allen and Jimmie Acickic located the territories of these families by naming the affluents of the Kapiskau River on which they hunted.

Attawapiskat

Willy Allen's information for the larger area of the Attawapiskat Band (see Figure 3 and Appendix 2B), supplemented by a few details provided by Willy Ethrington, refers to the localities where men were hunting in the twentieth century. We have underlined the names of men who were said to hunt where their fathers had hunted. Another informant, William Loutitt, very knowledgeable about traditional culture, told Cooper in 1927 at Albany that "in his time" the Cree language was extending up the Attawapiskat River and was spoken about two-thirds of the distance from James Bay to Attawapiskat Lake. Perhaps Cree hunters were extending westward at the expense of Ojibwa-speakers.

The patterns of hunting reflect the early-twentieth-century breakdown of the hunting ground system on the west coast of James Bay, following Treaty Nine. Willy Allen shows that even though some groups of men were still in the areas where their fathers had hunted, frequently their brothers, sons, or other relatives were going to quite different localities, and many were said to be "hunting all over." For instance, few sons of men with hunting rights near the Attawapiskat River still used these areas in the 1930s. Further, there was a dearth of claimants for about fifty miles up each of the Lawashi, Attawapiskat, and lower Ekwan rivers. Territories still in traditional use were mostly on the upper affluents of the Ekwan River and on the Little Ekwan River, and one family still occupied a territory way up the Attawapiskat River, nearer to Ogoki than to the Attawapiskat post. In the 1920s, Trout River and Trout Lake (now Sutton River and Sutton Lake) were being used by both Attawapiskat and Winisk Cree hunters, though it was said that the Winisk Indians never went as far east as the Opinnigau River. The sons of most of the Opinnigau River hunters moved to Lake River when its trading post opened.

According to Willy Ethrington, David Mitat (who left the Mitats' traditional territory at Kapiskau to join his father-in-law, Carpenter, on Cape Henrietta Maria) was still living with his three married sons all year round very close to the cape itself. They went into the Lake River post to trade two or three times a year and into the Attawapiskat post once every five years or so. This was the sole family living out on the barrens proper. Only two other families claimed rights to hunt on specific localities in the barrens: (1) James Carpenter, his two married sons, and a son-in-law, who lived quite some distance up a river that flows into James Bay near Cape Henrietta Maria, where there is an

extension of forest into the barrens along the valley; and (2) Xavier Gull, who with four grown but unmarried sons, lived eight to ten miles inland on a second river adjacent to the barrens. Gull had been there for some time after "he was kind of shouldered out of his own hunting grounds by someone else." Although other west coast Cree had described the communal hunting of caribou on the cape in the "old days," Ethrington stated that in the 1930s the barrens were used primarily for trapping fox: people from some distance south as well as Opinnigau traveled there for fox hunting in winter. According to Ethrington, "Anyone could hunt and trap there," except in the areas claimed by the three families mentioned above. Wooded lands were claimed by individuals or families, while most of the barrens area was regarded as communal grounds.

EASTMAIN, NEMASKA, AND NEOSKWESKAU-NICHIKUN

The data on Eastmain, on Nemaska [Nemiscau], and on Neoskweskau-Nichikun (see Figure 4) refer to the 1920s. Unfortunately, we have little descriptive material. The maps were drawn respectively by two Hudson's Bay Company men and a Revillon Frères Company district inspector during brief, separate interviews. Although Cooper discussed the boundaries while the maps were being drawn, few additional details on the hunters were recorded. When we compared the boundaries for Nemaska and Neoskweskau-Nichikun that Cooper had filled in on the large 1932 map with the recent map, we found that very few adjustments were needed to conform to the indicated river drainages and other topographic features. Cooper had not filled in the details for the Eastmain Band, and the original sketch map of the area did not synchronize with the modern map. Thus, for that area we have simply placed the names in positions relative to each other, without attempting to indicate boundaries.

Eastmain

A rough sketch map of Eastmain hunting grounds (see Figure 5 and Appendix 3A) was drawn for Cooper in 1934 by John Williams, inspector of the James Bay District for Revillon Frères, who was headquartered at Moosonee. Williams told Cooper that he was shipwrecked in James Bay in 1908 and had been on the east coast and hinterland ever since. He mentioned having been at a number of posts, including Neoskweskau and Eastmain, but it is not clear in what capacity or for how long. He apparently was conversant in the regional dialects and interpreted for Cooper at Rupert House for a couple of days in 1934. The names of the coasters are lacking on the map Williams drew, although Williams mentioned that coasters represented about half of the total population of the band, then about 300. The coasters, he said, used a "belt" extending from the coast inland thirty to forty miles for trapping

and fishing, with each group consisting of three or four families who were usually related and who had "fairly well defined strips" within this belt. This description suggests a situation similar to Fort George, although Jimmy Corston, son of a former Hudson's Bay Company manager there, told Cooper that there was no ownership of coves as there was at Fort George. Coasters usually went inland from the Fort George post to hunt and trap about the beginning of February, since there was usually "nothing on the coast" after that.

The hunting groups of the inlanders listed by Williams were composed of fathers and sons or of brothers and, in some cases, half-brothers. For instance, George Georgekic (6) had two half-brothers, Johnnie and Jacob, and a brother-in-law, Jimmie, who hunted with him. Williams said that Jimmie's son Charlie, however, stayed mostly on the coast and had not been inland for three years. The winter group of Andrew Meabo (Mayabo) (7) included his two sons Sammie and Charlie, his brother George, George's son-in-law, William David Visitor, and Visitor's brother, John David (see (5)). The Visitors' winter group (5) included John's son Sam Visitor, Sr., William's sons, Sam, Jr., and George, plus William's stepson, Albert Visitor. John Williams also noted that Albert Stocking and his son Walter were hunting both on their own land (4) and occasionally on that of the Tcikabo family (2), because the latter family had not been going inland every year as they had in the past.

Nemaska

The Nemaska [Nemiscau] map (see Figure 4 and Appendix 3B) was drawn by Wesley H. Houston, a young Hudson's Bay Company manager stationed at the Nemaska Post in the 1920s. J. S. C. Watt and his wife at Rupert House said that Houston was a very reliable respondent. Houston drew the map when Cooper interviewed him at Rupert House in 1932. His map of the Nemaska family grounds was drawn freehand, and Cooper adjusted the boundary lines in transferring it to his own regional working map. In the absence of other information, we have retained the map of hunting grounds as Cooper transcribed it.

The map represents Houston's understanding of the territories of Cree people trading at Nemaska while Houston was there. Consequently, the data correspond to a much later date than the information on the Rupert House map. Houston mentioned that Blacksmith (9) was originally from Mistassini and "had drifted" into the locality where he now hunted and that occasionally one or two Waswanipi Indians also hunted there. This is an indication of the kind of flux that Tanner has described for the inland areas at a somewhat later date (Tanner 1978). Houston also noted a narrow portage between the Broadback and Nemiscau Rivers which provided easy crossing between the Nemaska and Rupert House

grounds about thirty miles south of the Nemaska post, where hunters from both areas occasionally met.

Although Cooper's data on individual families are very limited for the Nemaska area, the information that Morantz provided us of hunters going in to Rupert House and Eastmain allowed us to identify some "inland families" that correspond to the families on Cooper's map, such as Maiskano (1) and Mattameskam (5).

Neoskweskau-Nichikun

This map was drawn by J. W. P. Sirrell, manager of the Neoskweskau post on Poplar Point. Cooper spent a brief time with Sirrell at Rupert House in 1932 but recorded no details regarding the hunters named. Although we have no other details on any of the families (see Figure 4 and Appendix 3C), apparently, following the closing of the Nichikun outpost of Mistassini, some hunters from that area were going in to Neoskweskau Post and using grounds shown on the map. Sam Iserhoff also told Cooper in 1932 that the Neoskweskau Indians met Fort Chimo Indians on the Nichikun side, and another informant, George Mason, said that Fort George Indians sometimes met Sam Gull (1), a Neoskweskau hunter.

FORT GEORGE

The information for this map (Figure 5) was obtained by Cooper at Fort George in 1932. The distribution of hunting grounds along the coast was compiled by Cooper from a very-large-scale map (five miles to one inch) drawn by a Hudson's Bay Company employee named E. Renouf and dated March 20, 1921. Renouf designates camps of hunters by their geographical setting and often names them. He showed the locations of nineteen coast hunters' camps and accompanied this with a list of the members of each camp—that is, by a list of hunting groups. In order to determine the composition of each group, Cooper elicited comments on these individuals in 1932 from David Loutitt, a fifty-five-year-old interpreter for Revillon Frères Company. Cooper then transferred the locations of each camp to his regional map, drawing boundaries between them.

The inland portion of the map was based on information given to Cooper in 1932 by Richard Mattew, son of Old Mateskwinamow, a Fort George Indian then ninety-two years old. Richard Mattew was employed at that time at Kanaaupscow, an outpost of Fort George, and was visiting his father when Cooper was there. He spoke excellent English and was knowledgeable about traditional culture.

The Coastal Region of Fort George

In 1932, it was estimated that there were about 700 Indians in the Fort George Band. Of these, about 550 were coasters (see Figure 5 and Appendix 4A). The boundaries of the territories extended inland twenty-four to fifteen to twenty miles and marked off the areas where hunters and their families lived for most of the year, in camps spaced at intervals along the coast. In each camp, the several commensal units (or households) had separate tents. It was also said that when people went to the Fort George post in summer, coasters and inlanders occupied separate areas around the post. In the winter, hunters worked out of their camps, traveling about ten miles inland to hunt and to trap (mainly foxes). Although they usually returned the same day, hunters sometimes went inland for a week, leaving families behind at camps. Several men who were reported to do this were John Chiskamash (5), Daniel Kitty (6), and John Martenhunter (13), each going up the river flowing into his territory. Goose hunting in the spring and seal hunting in winter were important activities.

Renouf's lists indicate that each camp had from two to eight men, who worked an area along the coast contiguous to the camp. Since David Loutitt did not know all the individuals, it is not obvious that all men in each camp were related. In almost all cases, however, the core of each camp appears to have been composed of brothers or fathers and sons, with larger camps incorporating perhaps several affinal relatives. For example, in camp 2, at Andrew Moar's Bay, the grounds were worked by the following: Mistachesik, his brother John, his cousin Deaf Boy, Deaf Boy's brother David, another cousin of Mistachesik named John Patcahano (or Pechanos), and John Patcahano's brother, David. The fathers of the above were all from one family. Another group of eight related men at camp 8, at Brandy River, included: three brothers named Thomas, John, and Dick Sealhunter; Thomas Sealhunter's son, Joseph Sealhunter; the Sealhunters' cousin, Sandy Sealhunter; and Old Cook and his two sons, Peter and Thomas.

Cooper's copy of Renouf's map does not show boundaries, and Cooper appears to have drawn the boundary lines at midpoints between the camps. Although somewhat arbitrary, these lines indicate the regular spacing and nearly equal size of the coastal hunting grounds in 1921.

The Inland Region of Fort George

It was estimated that the fifteen winter hunting groups indicated on the inland portion of the map (see Figure 5 and Appendix 4B) contained thirty-seven to forty commensal units, totaling about 150 individuals. As in other areas, the majority

of the winter hunting groups usually consisted of related men and their families. In two instances, the hunting grounds of close relatives were contiguous: John Fireman (23) is the brother of George and Thomas Fireman (25), and Third Bearskin (32) is the brother of Second Bearskin (33). In three of the groups, (20), (26), and (30), the men were apparently not related. Nine O'Clock (21) hunted with his brother-in-law, George Shem. The only correspondence between coastal territories and inland hunting grounds is that of the Bullfrog family, which had inland territory (19), and also coastal camp 16, at Scipio Lake, the camp of Old Bullfrog's son-in-law, Scipio. Old Bullfrog, deceased in 1932, had hunted with his two sons, David and Simon, and his son-in-law, Scipio (or Sipiu). In 1932, the inland grounds were apparently still referred to as "Bullfrogs' lands" (i.e., the sons). Some years they went inland to hunt, but if they stayed on the coast, they did so at the Scipio Lake camp, which on the 1921 list included John Marten, who was not known to David Loutitt as a relative of the three. Since both David Loutitt and Richard Mattew were speaking of current times in describing the men associated with coastal and inland lands, respectively, it would seem that there was only one family that used both areas.

DISCUSSION

Discussion regarding land tenure systems in the eastern boreal forest belt has focused on the degree of exclusivity of rights enjoyed by individual families to the resources of particular tracts of land (Rogers 1963; Knight 1965) and on native concepts of land ownership and use (Tanner 1979). Morantz (1978: 225) noted that the term "family hunting territories" is seen by most Algonquianists as somewhat problematical, since the work of Tanner and others has suggested that: (1) the "owner" of a territory is usually an individual, not a group of kinsmen; (2) the group exploiting a territory need not be composed of related individuals; and (3) it is not the land itself that is "owned," but the rights to the resources of a specific tract.

Tanner (1979) concluded that, in the case of the contemporary Mistassini Cree, "the principle of territory ownership is not based on any attachment to land as such" (1979:182-183). He acknowledged that the nature of the system he observed, characterized by highly flexible boundaries and groups continually breaking up as member families use other lands, is likely a concomitant of economic subsidies and the requirements of the beaver quota system (ibid.:219, 190). Tanner further suggests that the great flexibility in the way land use rights are apportioned today may be due to the fact that the contemporary hunting ground system was reinstituted only in recent decades, following its decline during the period of extreme game shortages earlier in the century. Tanner has suggested also that the most appropriate

way to characterize territorial units today is as "units of management" (1973:112).

We think it is useful, therefore, to discuss the nature of the hunting ground system as it was described for the mid- to late nineteenth century. Our discussion is intended to focus on the system as a way of life and on attitudes toward it, based on the experience of Cooper's and Flannery's respondents, rather than to address historical or other questions regarding its origin or evolution. First, however, we should mention the several categories of data regarding land tenure that are minimally represented in Cooper's field materials from the James Bay area. There are few data of a direct historical nature, apart from Cooper's activities in connection with the establishment of beaver preserves; virtually all early dates that we have arrived at are derived from cross-referencing events in the life histories of Flannery's informants, mainly women. In addition, there are few quantitative data on actual subsistence and fur production, or on regional and temporal fluctuations in game availability. Thus materials for assessing changes in land tenure in response to both environmental and trade pressures are limited. There is also little specific information on the role of coasters in provisioning posts, frequency of travel between the posts and hunting grounds, and other details of the coaster way of life in most parts of James Bay. Clearly, however, at least in the Moose Factory-Kesagami Lake region, there were no significant differences in the overall way of life of inlanders and coasters (as differentiated from post-based company families). Both inlanders and coasters had hunting grounds to which they annually returned for the winter cycle, and, as far as we can tell, their attitudes toward these winter hunting grounds were similar.

Family Hunting Grounds

Cooper recorded from a number of men from several regions that an individual referred to the particular lands where he habitually hunted as *nitastci* (my land) or *katcin'tohoyan* (the place where I hunt). On some parts of the east coast of James Bay, the concept of ownership seems to have extended to coastal bays, as expressed by a Fort George man: "If I hunt geese where my grandfather hunted, I call it *niwasam* (my bay)." In the 1920s, many of the bays carried the names of Cree individuals. The claim to a particular territory was recognized by others and was referred to both as the grounds of the oldest man of the group (i.e., Nemegus's grounds) or just as frequently, as belonging to a family (e.g., "those are the grounds of the Wemestigoc family"). The winter group that annually exploited the land was nearly always composed of the nuclear families of two or more related hunters—most often a man and his sons or several brothers. From the point of view of the hunter, the preferred situation was to hunt with one's own sons or brothers. Hunting without a close

relative was sometimes referred to as "hunting alone." For example, when Willy Allen noted that Thomas Noah from Attawapiskat was "all alone," he was referring to the fact that the man had no married sons but hunted instead with his brother-in-law, James Tumigatik.

The oldest man of the family group was the recognized "owner" of the grounds. His leadership influence in decisions regarding use of the lands depended not only on his accumulated knowledge of the terrain, the habits of the animals, and hunting techniques, but also, and even more important in the minds of many Cree, on his spiritual insight, which was presumed to increase with age. Thus he usually continued to exercise leadership in hunting even after he might no longer be able to hunt (Flannery and Chambers 1985). Whenever possible, family grounds were kept "in the family." The preferred pattern of inheritance was to pass the lands to sons when the head of the family died. If a man's sons were too young to hunt, his widow had the right to exercise her option to remarry and bring her husband to the family grounds, or to have someone else, not necessarily a relative, hunt the ground on shares until the sons matured. In cases when there were no sons, the deceased man's brothers could take over. As a last resort, the territory could pass to a son-in-law.

The two or more core families of the winter hunting group expected to and did return to their grounds year after year. They looked upon the grounds as "the place where we get our living," where they carried out their most important subsistence activities, and where hunting took precedence over trapping. Affective ties to the lands where they lived and hunted more than half the year were strong. The family hunting grounds were, in the words of Ellen Smallboy, "the place where I raised my children."

The composition of the co-residential winter group was tied to the domestic cycle of its individual families. Thus the group's size and composition were flexible and varied over the years. Although there was no set rule of postmarital residence, in most cases the wife joined her husband's family. It was not unusual, however, for a man to join his wife's family temporarily or permanently. A family might be invited to join the hunting group of a relative or friend, especially if game had been scarce the previous winter on their own grounds, or if other circumstances such as accidents or illness had reduced the number of hunters available to support the group. Widows often returned to the grounds of their parents if the parents were still living, or to other relatives, or in some cases were allowed to accompany unrelated families to their grounds. Thus group size and composition could vary according to changes in the domestic cycle and in accommodation to other social and personal circumstances, as well as ecological ones. The largest co-residential group that was mentioned to Flannery was of seven "families" (commensal units)

together one winter in about 1885, when, Alice Earless said, caribou were so plentiful that sometimes twenty were taken in one day. On one such occasion, Alice herself was given a whole caribou for her own use in making moccasins.

To illustrate the flexibility of the winter hunting group, we give below a case example of the kinds of changes that occurred over the married lifetime of a Moose Factory woman, Ellen Smallboy, mentioned above. This case example is taken from Ellen's extended discussions with Flannery of her life in the bush.

At the time Ellen married in about 1873, her husband, Simon Smallboy, was hunting with his father on French Creek (North French River), where his father's father had hunted. On her marriage, Ellen joined the family group, which included Simon's father, who had just lost his wife (Simon's mother), Simon's sister Christina, and Simon's paternal grandmother, who was very helpful to Ellen while she reared her family. When Ellen and Simon had been married only two years, a Kesagami man asked Simon's father if he could marry Simon's sister, Christina. Consent was given, and Christina went off to join the hunting group of her husband's father, Patoc, near Kesagami Lake. Ellen's older sister, Harriet, had previously married a Moose Factory man named Henry Seller and had joined him on his father's lands on Kwetebohagan River. On at least one occasion, this family spent the winter with the Smallboys rather than on Seller's territory, where Seller customarily hunted with his father and his father's brothers. When Ellen and Simon Smallboy's daughter married, Simon invited his new son-in-law, an Albany man named Thomas Katakwabit, to join him, since Simon's father was now getting along in years and would soon be unable to hunt. Shortly thereafter, Ellen and Simon Smallboy's two sons, Harvey and Simon, Jr., were married and brought their wives to the family grounds. Later, Simon's sister, Christina, was widowed, and after her children, too, had died, she rejoined Simon and Ellen on the Smallboy family grounds and remained with them. In 1933, Ellen and Simon were old, and Simon hunted only on the lower part of their grounds, nearer to the Moose Factory post. Their daughter and son-in-law had both died, but their sons, Harvey and Simon, Jr., and their families of two and four children, respectively, went as far as sixty miles up the French River.

This not uncommon example of continuity of use over some sixty years, and extending over at least three generations (actually four generations, going back to Simon's grandfather), contrasts with the "allotment" procedure described by Tanner (1979:185, 186) for the contemporary Mistassini Cree, in which "the owners discuss their plans for the following winter at summer gatherings, so as not to overlap in their activities." One might speak of "allotment" in the system of winter hunting described to Cooper only in the sense that the owner might tell

members of his own group where to hunt *within* the territory. However, at least two kinds of resource areas were "free and open to all": fishing places, and in the southern part of the bay (for example, at Rupert House), the coastal strip used for goose hunting. The "rules of access" to the goose hunting areas seem to parallel those described by Smith, who notes: "Although the traditional hunting grounds are still recognized, there are no traditional claims to areas where blinds may be erected on the mudflats at the mouth of the Moose River. Who ever builds his blind first, controls that area. Many hunters select an area and plan to return each year, but if they find someone else's blind already there, he would have to find an unoccupied site" (1984: 88).

As preparations began for moving inland from the post to the winter grounds, people also discussed where they planned to go for fall fishing. As groups traveled together inland to their grounds, they also discussed where they planned to gather at the end of winter for spring fishing. In the fall, cooperative fishing during fish runs was done at places like Smokey Hill on Rupert River, though each family dried its own supply of fish for the winter.

Location and Boundaries of Family Hunting Grounds

Tanner has also noted that because of the modern system of land use and the fact that traps are marked only at the edges of territories "as a warning to neighbours of their presence [suggesting that the boundaries are not commonly known], . . . there is a realization that [today] people do not carry around a firm and fixed idea of boundaries in their heads" (1979:185-186). We agree that the concept of "firm and fixed boundaries" is too closely tied to Western notions of real estate. The way territories were conceived of, however, in the late nineteenth century suggests more "boundedness" and permanence than perhaps is true in the present.

With regard to the definition of territories, even on the west coast of James Bay, where "anyone could hunt where they pleased" following the establishment of Treaty Nine, both old and young men could give detailed descriptions of the locations of individual holdings in the past as well as those still in use. The way they described territories differs little from descriptions given by respondents on the east coast and in the southern area. Territories centered on a drainage system, often tributaries of the major river systems which were the primary routes of travel. The inland lands were always described by reference to natural features of the terrain, such as river banks, confluences or forks of streams, sides of lakes, rocky points, rapids, and sometimes the distance from a post. The territories of families related by marriage were often contiguous, as in the example of

two sets of half-brothers having a common father. To the extent that "edges" of holdings were referred to (although the term "boundaries" was seldom used by Cree respondents), the boundaries of contiguous holdings were reckoned within several miles, by reference almost always to landscape features, and sometimes to the grounds recognized as belonging to someone else. Several examples given below illustrate the way the locations and extent of family hunting grounds were described to Cooper:

> Andrew Lisk hunted on Abitibi River and also on French Creek up beyond Smallboys. He hunted down Abitibi River to Red Rock; he never went up much past the fork of the Abitibi and Little Abitibi rivers on Abitibi River, but went some distance up Little Abitibi River, just west of Smallboys.
>
> Patrick Steven hunts about 150 miles up Kapiskau River into Atikameg River; he hunts between the Kapiskau, Atikameg and Albany rivers and crosses from river to river.
>
> Simon and Charlie Kosis hunt the Mitciskanicicsibi, which flows into the Albany River from the north, halfway between Albany Post and Chipie River. They hunt 50 miles up the river and on both sides of it. Their father hunted there.
>
> John Spence and his two sons and brother-in-law hunt together about 150 miles up Albany River, farther up than Cimahagan River which is about five miles up from Chipie River. They hunt as far as the forks of the Albany and Mamatawa rivers but the forks is the farthest limit.

Trespass

Many Cree indicated in general terms that trespass, in the sense of an unwarranted incursion on another's winter hunting grounds, was resented. It was recognized, however, that in order to reach their own territory, groups had to pass through the hunting grounds of others. So long as travelers observed the norms of expected behavior, they were not regarded as trespassers and could take what they needed as they passed through. For instance, no objection would be raised if they killed a caribou they happened to meet on the way. Although it was said by some that the skin should be given to the owner of the territory in acknowledgement of his ownership of the animals, there was no unanimity on that point. Food could be taken from a cache only in case of dire necessity, and then it was expected that at least some would be left. If cached food or other items were taken, the owner should be notified as soon as possible; otherwise he would

be offended and, as one man from Eastmain said, "he might even conjure against them." Most people did not mind if others came on their grounds to take minimal resources such as to pick berries, gather moss, or kill a ptarmigan, but others objected, claiming that such intrusions disturbed the game. In any case, people who were obviously not simply passing through would do well to identify themselves and state their reason for entering someone else's grounds. Otherwise, if they were detected wandering around, they might be suspected of intending to poach, or even of being a *witiko* (cannibal).

Again, if a hunter were chasing a caribou, a lynx, or a fisher on his own land and the animal happened to run onto an adjacent territory, he could pursue and kill the animal there with impunity, because, as an Albany hunter said, "these animals are always traveling and don't stay in one place in winter as beaver, marten, otter and mink do." Nevertheless, a deliberate incursion to hunt caribou without the owner's permission would probably have been looked upon as trespassing.

Poaching relatively sedentary furbearers, especially beaver, was deemed the most serious breach of the norms. Encroachment on another's land to take beaver was particularly resented because beaver, in addition to having exchange value for guns, traps, snare wire, ammunition, etc., was an important source of food. This was especially true, as our oldest Cree respondent recalled, in the days when little or no imported food was traded for furs.

As far as we could determine, resentment over poaching seldom led to confrontation. Less direct measures, such as "spoiling" traps (by urinating or defecating on them), were taken, to let the trespasser know he was found out. Complaints to the post manager were usually sympathetically received and sometimes resulted in the manager refusing to cancel the debt of a hunter who presented stolen furs. According to older Cree respondents, conjuring to harm the poacher was often resorted to in former times and was sometimes said to have caused the death of the culprit. Outright killing in retaliation for poaching was apparently unusual. The one case we recorded occurred possibly about 1860 when a Moose Indian, the younger brother of Kadjiti, was camped with his family while trapping furs on the hunting territory of an Abitibi Indian. Early one morning, the owner of the hunting territory, accompanied by two other men, came to the camp and fired point-blank, killing the man and his older son and sparing the wife and two younger children. In retaliation for the murder, Kadjiti conjured against the Abitibi man, who, as a consequence, was said to have died shortly thereafter.

SUMMARY

We have attempted to demonstrate that the term "family hunting ground" as originally used by Cooper and Speck not only is useful, but also accurately encapsulates both traditional Cree notions about the lands that sustained them and their way of life in the bush itself. To refer to the territory as a "unit of management," as Tanner has suggested, is certainly valid, since conservation of fur resources was a traditional practice. If the territory was large enough, a system of rotation was employed. The land was divided into sections, and one part was hunted one year, another the next, allowing the land to lie fallow for as much as three years. In citing his own experience, Simon Smallboy explained to Cooper that the reserved sections would not be touched, except when food was in extremely short supply. In addition, every man who had beaver on his land would, when harvesting them, leave enough untrapped so that their numbers would be replenished.

Substituting "unit of management" for "family hunting territory" shifts the emphasis given for the nineteenth century from the primacy of *subsistence hunting* to trapping. Although this may be consistent with the ideology of the twentieth-century Cree, it leaves the nature of the unit undefined. Moreover, it was integral to a viable hunting ground system to have enough flexibility to accommodate changing familial circumstances, the needs of families or individuals who could not survive alone through the winter for a variety of reasons, localized environmental variations in game availability, and the destruction of habitats by fire or other forces. This flexibility should not be mistaken for an absence of strong normative rules regarding territorial ownership and access to particular tracts of land.

NOTES

1. Morantz (personal communication) informs us that Cooper's manuscript report to Indian Affairs in 1933, "Land Tenure Systems among Canadian Indians" (Indian Affairs, RG 10, Volume 8620, File 1/1-15-15, Part 1), includes the lists locating the territories of the hunters and their families. This report was made in connection with Cooper's concern with the beaver conservation program in James Bay. The numbers on the lists in the report do not correspond to the numbers designating family hunting grounds on the maps presented here, except for coastal units at Fort George (see Appendices). Figures were prepared by Robert A. Verrey of the Archaeology Laboratory at Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.

2. Respondents referred to themselves as Albany Indians, Rupert House coasters, or inlanders, but never as "Cree" (cf.

Morantz 1983:12). We wish to thank Toby Morantz for providing us with historical information on a number of families on the east coast of James Bay.

3. To record Cree names, Cooper used a highly simplified version of *Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages* (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Volume 66, Number 6, 1916). We have further simplified Cooper's transcription by omitting diacritical marks. Vowels generally have the following values: *a* as in *father*; *e* as *a* in *fate*; *i* as in *pique*; *o* as in *note* and *u* as in *rule*. Consonants have English values, except *c* as *sh* in *shoot* and *tc* as *ch* in *church*. Many names in the text appear quite differently in the historical records—e.g., Tcitcu = Cheechoo; Canoc = Shanoush; Nemegus = Nemecoose.

APPENDICES

Winter Hunting Groups

1A Albany (see Figure 2)

(1) Moses Wesley and four sons: Daniel, Joel, James, and Isaac. Old Albany Family—John Wesley and four sons: John, Lazarus, David, and Samuel.
(2) Friday and his son, William Friday.
(3) Steven Rose (brother of (14)) and two sons: Thomas and Patrick Steven. Old Albany Family—three Steven brothers: Aldidj, Jerry, and James.
(4) Luke Goodwin and two sons: Tommy and Henry. Old Albany Families—three Goodwin brothers: Joseph, Isaac, and Thomas; two Goodwin brothers: John and Joe; William Goodwin.
(5) Sapie (Xavier) Loon and his son, Michel.
(6) Sapie Nikostadjin (locality uncertain).
(7) Unknown.
(8) John Hiwi, his father, and his two sons: Enoch and Thomas.
(9) Tommy Nicwabit (locality uncertain).
(10) George Wynn, his son Jimmy Wynn, and Jimmy's sons: David and George Wynn. Old Albany Family—two Wynn brothers: Jacob and Peter; George Wynn and his son, John.
(11) Sapie (Xavier) Sutherland, Sapie's brother, Simeon, and Jimmy (a relative).
(12) John Kosis and two sons: Simon and Charly.
(13) Two brothers: Willy and Alpheus Solomon.
(14) Four brothers: Archibald, David, Sam, and Robert Rose. Old Albany Family—brothers of Steven Rose (3).

(15) Four brothers: Sagabaciskam, Tcitcek, Kakakigan, and Isaac.
(16) Tommy William and his son, Johnny.
(17) Sandy Lazarus, Alec (probably Sandy's grandson), Alec's brother, Henry, and Henry's son, Frederick.

1B Moose Factory-Kesagami Lake (see Figure 2)

(1) Four brothers: Friday Sellers, Jacob Sellers, Old Chum, and Paskwudj.
(2) Ekinegizik, Ekinegizik's nephew, James Gideon, Pinewik (a relative), and Patcowagan (a relative).
(3) Sicigwen (brother of (4), (5), and (10)).
(4) Mekwadj and his brother, Kaniskic (brother of (3), (5), and (10)).
(5) Otap (brother of (3), (4), and (10)).
(6) Sabatam and Tcaban (relationship not known).
(7) Unknown.
(8) Two brothers: Andrew and Henry Lisk.
(9) Wemistigoc and his son Tcabic.
(10) Smallboys: Nanikwebewuskam ("Curly Head," brother of (3), (4), and (5)); his son, Smallboy; his grandson, Simon Smallboy; and his son-in-law, Thomas Katakwabit [Kataquapit].
(11) Kadjiti (brother of (8)).
(12) Patoc (brother of (13); half-brother of (14) and (15)).
(13) Tcistcu (brother of (12); half-brother of (14) and (15)).
(14) Kitimini (brother of (15); half-brother of (12) and (13)).
(15) Opasigo (brother of (14); half-brother of (12) and (13)).
(16) Sack family.
(17) Kotowan.
(18) Aniskowap (father-in-law of Simon Smallboy (10) and Patoc (12)).
(19) Kostcan family.
(20) Ndaha (or Ndanha).
(21) Cheena (Tcina), and his father, Nocan.
(22) Tepi family (called Davey).
(23) Wawacam (half-brother of (27)).
(24) Old Job.
(25) Tapes.
(26) Butterfly family (said to be their *real* grounds, but they are also indicated in the Rupert House area—see also 1C (1) below).
(27) Kwetchikam (half-brother of (23)).
(28) Tason (Tasanak).
(29) Three brothers: John, Sam, and Donald Jeffers.

— Families indicated as Kesagami Indians: Patoc (12), Tcistcu (13), Kitimini (14), Opasigo (15), Aniskowap (18), and Kostcan family (19).
— Families indicated as Hannah Bay Indians: Kwetchikam (27), Sack family (16).
— Families possibly known as Hannah Bay Indians: Tepi (22), Wawacam (23), Old Job (24), Tapes (25), and Butterfly (26).

1C Rupert House (see Figure 2)

(1) Cooper recorded that the Butterfly family was located in this territory, although it was uncertain how long they had been there—see also 1C (26) above. In 1937, Flannery recorded that Katebetuk (not on Cooper's list) and his two sons, William and Simon, were also located in this same general territory.
(2) Old Diamond, Joseph (his son?), Andrew and George Diamond (relationships unknown; "All Diamonds and all hunted together").
(3) Kapacicit and his older brother, Old Esau (both brothers of (4)); Henry and Jimmy Kapacicit (relatives), and Jimmy's son, Jimmie.
(4) Old Nemegus ("Trout"), his sons, Reuben and Henry, and his grandson, Edward Nemegus.
(5) Tommy Jacob and his brother; their father, Jacob Wabaniskum; Jacob Wabaniskum's brother and his sons.
(6) Moyses Pekotio (an inland family).
(7) Bobskin.
(8) Whiskeychan (Whiskey John) Hester; George Hester (a relative); George's brothers: Joseph and David.
(9) Old Kitchen, Old George, George Earless (son of Old George?).

2A Kapiskau (see Figure 3)

Names given in order from the coast inland

— Mitat family—originally located on the coast, later up the Kapiskau River; in 1932, all on Cape Henrietta Maria.
— Picu (brother of Mitat).
— John Natcajuan and his son, Josaiah (on the Old Albany list).
— Scott family: Xavier; Jimmy (a relative of Xavier); Jimmy's brothers, William and John; William's son, Alfred. Old Albany list—two brothers: John Scott and Friday Scott.

— Nikes, Nikes's brother, Apitcam, Nikes's son, Noah Nikes, Noah's brother, John Nikes. Three of these are on the Old Albany list.
— Solomon Mug (or Mud) and his son, Aldidj Solomon.
— Tibineskam (or Titibineskam) and his brothers (perhaps half-brothers): Mikenak and Misenask; all are brothers or half-brothers of Manitu and Kecuk, below.
— Two brothers: Manitu and Kecuk (brothers or half-brothers of the above three).

2B Attawapiskat (see Figure 3)
(Individuals whose names are underlined on the map were said to hunt where their fathers hunted.)

Lawashi River and Tributaries

— Abel Wesley and his sons: Alec, Thomas, and Willie.
— Jacob Saskiskamingasis (spelling error on map) and his step-grandson, Michel Kostadjin.
— Jimmie Acickic, his son, David, and his brother, Jimmie (nephews of Solomon Mug or Mud of Kapiskau).

Attawapiskat Post
(Families hunting in the area before the post was established)

— David Katakwabit and his son, Jimmie (related to Jacob Seal).
— William Nagodgi and his son, John.
— Thomas Wick, his married son, Antoine, and a younger son.
— Joseph Aiten (or Aitel) and his four sons: Jacob, Jimmie, Xavier, and Joseph.
— Jacob Seal and his son, Simeon.

Upper Attawapiskat River

— Thomas Noah and his brother-in-law, James Tumagatik.
— Andrew Okimauwininini, his brother's son, Philip, and his son-in-law, Albert Matinas.
— Thomas Tumagatic (or Tumagatik) and his brothers: Charlie and James.
— Xavier Okitigo, his brother, Joseph, and their cousin, David.

Between Ekwan and Lakitusaki Rivers

— Peter Ogimauwiliu and three sons: John, Joseph, and Philip.
— Philip Toket, his brother, Peter Toket, and Philip's cousin, Jacob Toket.
— George Paul Martin and two sons: Joseph and Philip.
— William Sutherland, William's brother, John, and John's two sons: Moses and Xavier.
— Napoleon Gull and his brothers: Brasson and Joseph.
— John Spence and his brothers: David and Joseph.

Ekwan and Little Ekwan Rivers

— John Kiwaki (or Kewake; "hunts alone"); John's nephews: Charlie, George, and Joseph Kiwaki (three brothers) ("hunt all over").
— Charlie Fireman.
— Matinas (his grandsons, Albert and Abraham Matinas, do not hunt where he hunted).
— John Kecuk, his sons, Xavier and Charles, and his nephews: Charlie and Emanuel Kecuk.
— George Wabano and his son, Jacob Wabano; Jacob's sons: Johnnie and Xavier Wabano; Jacob's brother's son, John Wabano; and John's son, Napoleon.
— James Longpeter and his son, John.

Hudson Bay Drainages

— David Kostadjin and his son, John.
— Jacob Toket; his three sons: Xavier, John, and David; and his half-brother, Joshen (Jacob Toket's father went to Cape Henrietta Maria from Attawapiskat "long ago").
— Carpenter family: Jimmy, George, Jake, Chabitis, and Joseph (relationships not known).
— David Tcakasam and three brothers: Joseph, Jacob, and John.
— Philip Swanson (his father hunted on Cape Henrietta Maria).
— Xavier Tcokomolun and his son, John.
— Andrew Edward and three sons: Peter, Jacob, and Patrume.
— Jacob Gull and two grown, unmarried sons.

3A Eastmain (see Figure 4)

(1) Coasters (no information).
(2) George Tcikabo and his son, Jacob.

(3) Wiabanekabe family—Bob and five sons: David, Henry, Johnnie, Bertie, and Abraham (this group also claimed the area used by the Stockings (4)).
(4) Albert Stocking and his son, Walter.
(5) Two brothers: John and William Visitor; John's son, Sam, Sr.; William's sons: Sam, Jr., and George; William's stepson, Albert Visitor.
(6) Three half-brothers (all inlanders): George, Johnnie, and Jacob Georgekic.
(7) Andrew Meabo (or Mayabo); Andrew's sons: Sammie and Charlie; Andrew's brother, George; George's son-in-law, William David Visitor; and Visitor's brother, John David.
(8) Moses family—two brothers: David and Alfred Moses; and three sons of David: Eddie, Johnnie, and Willie.
(9) Two brothers: Charlie and John Jonah.
(10) Canoc family: Noah; Noah's brother, Sam; and Noah's son, Isaac.

3B Nemaska (see Figure 4)

(1) George Maiskano.
(2) Wapatci family (see also 3C (7) below).
(3) Jimmikin (see also 3C (6) below).
(4) Sam Wapatci (see also 3C (7) below).
(5) Charlie Jolly, Cheezo family, and Mattameskam.
(6) Minister family.
(7) Tanosh.
(8) Ottereyes (two brothers).
(9) Jacob Blacksmith.
(10) Jolly family.

3C Neoskweskau-Nichikun (see Figure 4)

(1) Sam Gull.
(2) Joseph Chief.
(3) John Loon.
(4) P. Skanwe (?).
(5) Longchap family.
(6) Jimmikin family (see also 3B (3) above).
(7) Wapatci family (see also 3B (2) and (4) above).
(8) Jacob Rabbitskin.
(9) Luke Kebouna (?).
(10) David Paddy, Matue (Mattoosh), Brien family, Cakapo (Shacapo) family.
(11) Sam Rabbitskin.
(12) Josie Albert.
(13) William Edwards.

4A Fort George: Coastal Region (see Figure 5)

Camp 1, not named
Matchetan; Shaganash; Saweskum; Saweskum's son, Potts; Potts' son; Potts' brother, Matthew South; William Hough.

Camp 2, Andrew Moar's Bay
Mistachesik; his brother, John; his cousin, Deaf Boy; Deaf Boy's brother, David; Mistachisik's cousin, John Patcahano or Pechanos; John Patcahano's brother, David.

Camp 3, Paint Hills
Three brothers: Kanewamico, Tcukatci (or Choochee), and Atcenaia; Atcenaia's five sons; Tcukatci's sister's husband; William Swallow (relationship unknown); Naniskic and his son (relationship to the others unknown).

Camp 4, Comb Hills
Kanatewat, his brother or cousin, Kanapowsit, Simon Matches (related to Kanapowsit).

Camp 5, Beaver River
Two brothers: John and Moses Chiskamash; Samson Potts (son-in-law of either John or Moses and also a nephew of Potts in (1)).

Camp 6, Long Point
Two brothers: Robert and John Kakapat; Bosun George (stepson of Robert and John's brother, Bosun); John Kakapat's brother-in-law, Richard Rednose; Daniel Kitty (related to Rednose); Sam House (Sam Waskaigan; not known to be related to above); and Jimmy Tom (deceased).

Camp 7, Rupert's Bay
Two brothers: Thomas and Henry Rupert; their cousin, Peter House; Thomas's nephew, James Rupert.

Camp 8, Brandy River
Thomas, John, and Dick Sealhunter (three brothers); their cousin, Sandy Sealhunter; Thomas's son, Joseph; Old Cook and his two sons, Peter and Thomas (relationship to Sealhunters not known).

Camp 9, Paul's Bay
Paul (deceased?); Paul's son, Esgwabano, and Esgwabano's son.

Camp 10, Kepsu's River
Two brothers: Noah and Sandy Kepsu; Matches (not related to Kepsus, but a brother of Saganac (1)).

Camp 11, not named
Four brothers: Fat Boy, Tail Boy, Noah Lameboy, and Jacob Lameboy.

Camp 12, Passenequon River
Passenequon (the deceased Old Matahume's nephew); two brothers: William and George Matahume; Tcikapac (unrelated); Jacob Johnny Cook (relationship to others unknown); Moses Katacheput (relationship unknown, but a brother of Old Napas (14)).

Camp 13, Bishop Roggan River
John Martenhunter and his nephew, Abram Martenhunter.

Camp 14, Seal River
Old Napas (deceased); his sons, Joe and George Napas; Joseph Snowboy (Joseph's sister was the wife of Old Napas); Joseph Snowboy's son, Moses.

Camp 15, Cape Jones
Two brothers: William and Philip Snowboy (brothers of Joseph Snowboy (14)); Young Benjamin (relationship not known); Peter Duff (relationship not known, but related to the Kepsu family (10)).

Camp 16, Scipio Lake
Scipio (Sipiu) (son-in-law of Old Bullfrog); Old Bullfrog; his two sons, David and Simon; John Marten (relationship unknown).

Camp 17, Eskimo Camp
Tooktoo and his son; Tookalook; Akparook; Simon; Minari; Tousak and his son; Shouk; Mukpillo; Koomalook (relationships not indicated).

Camp 18, Little Cape Jones
Bill Fleming and his son, Richard.

4B Fort George: Inland Region (see Figure 5)

(19) Bullfrog family; see also 4A (16).
(20) Samson Nahacapo, Elijah Blackboy, and John Pitcanos.
(21) Nine O'Clock and his brother-in-law, George Shem.
(22) Two brothers: George and David Pibabano.
(23) John Fireman and his sons.
(24) George Head.
(25) Two brothers: George and Thomas Fireman (brothers of John Fireman (23)).
(26) Tommy Nahacapo, (nephew of Samson Nahacapo (20)) and John Wasebabano.
(27) David Picu.

(28) Two brothers: Peter and David Cox.
(29) Three brothers: John and David English Shoes and Sam Pasigamiskam.
(30) Wisapo and Jacob Pibabano.
(31) Rat family: Luke, David, John, and Rupert.
(32) Third Bearskin and his sons.
(33) Second Bearskin (brother of Third Bearskin (32)).

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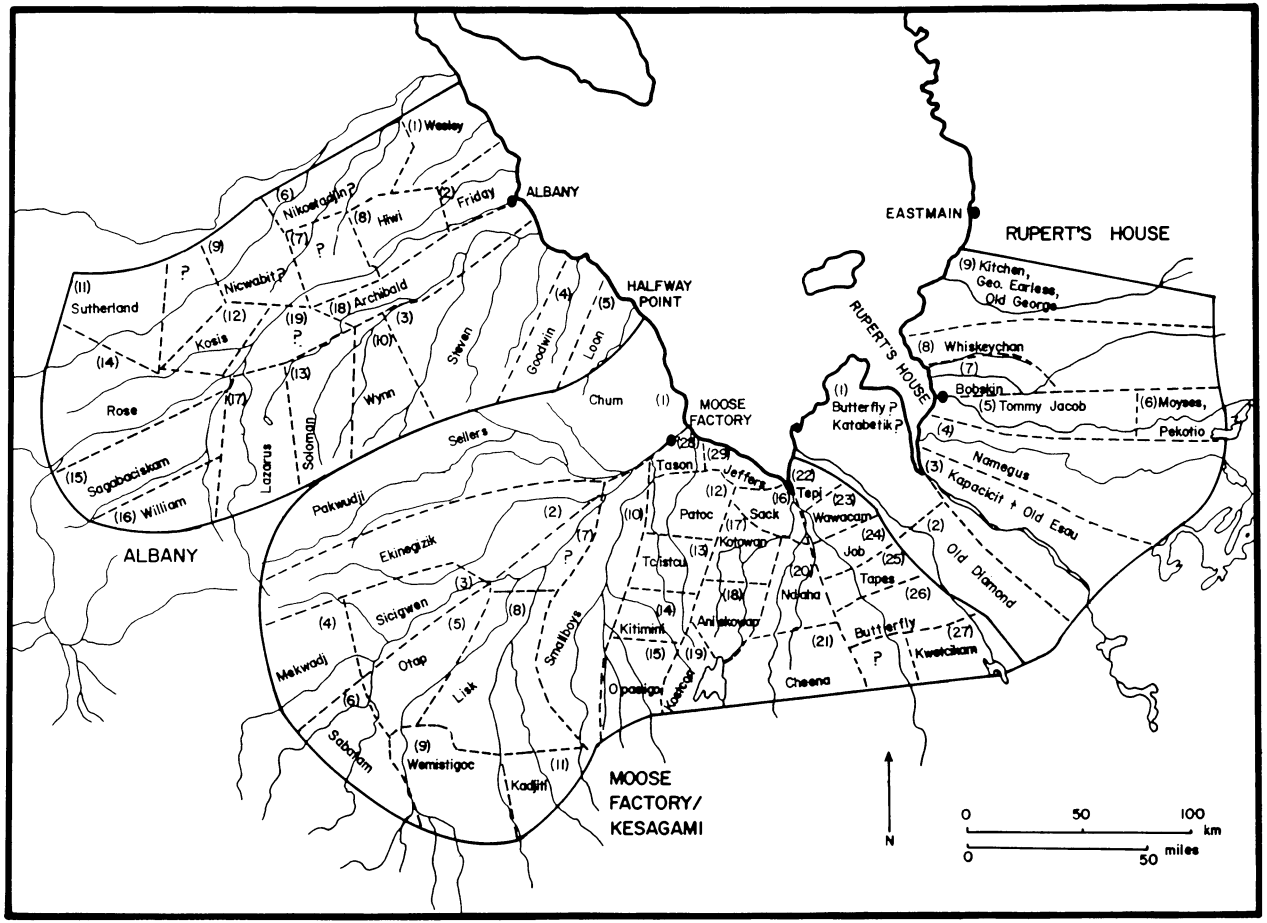

Figure 2: Hunting Ground Distributions: Albany, Moose-Kesagami, and Rupert's House Bands, circa 1880.

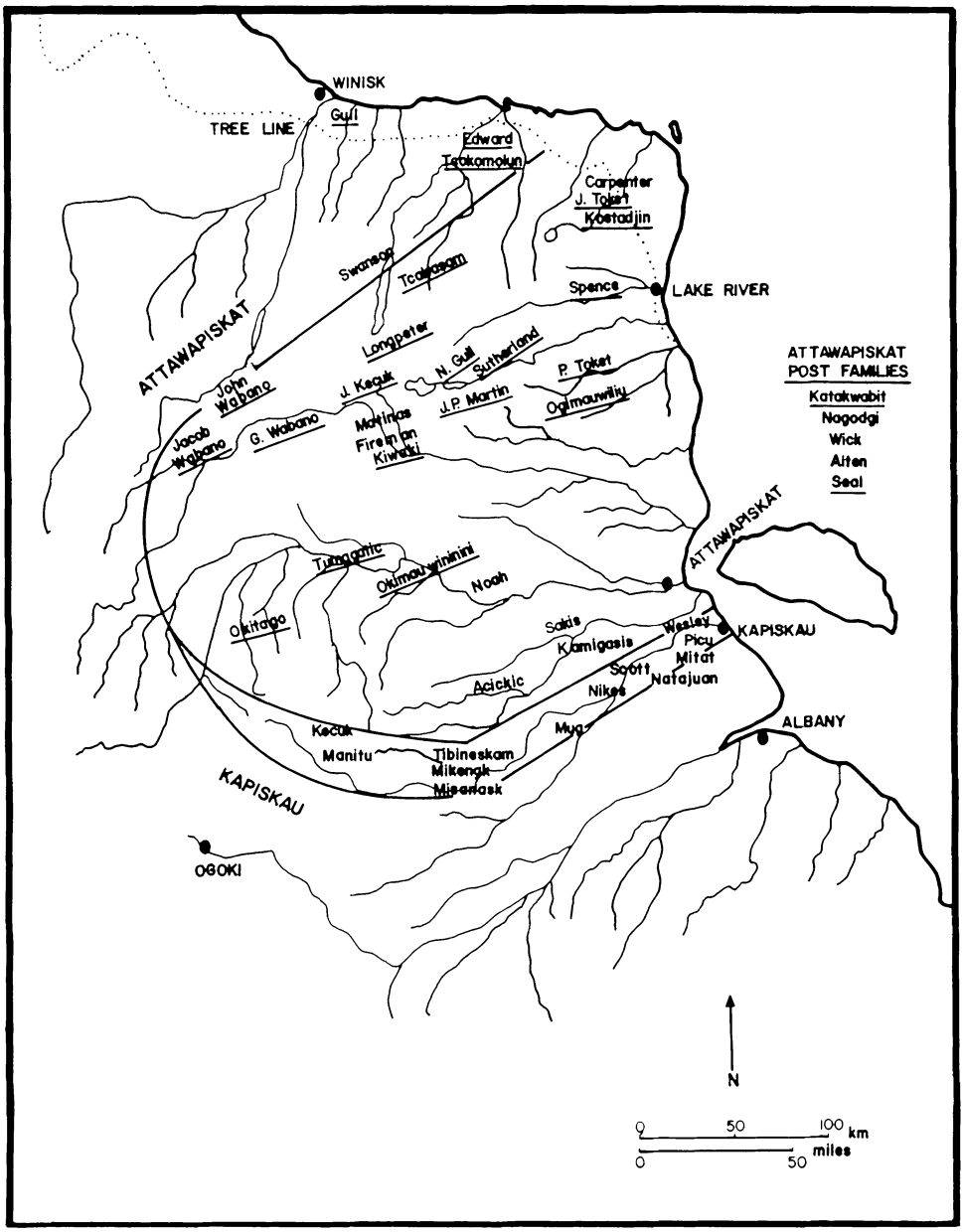

Figure 3: Hunting Ground Distributions: Kapiskau and Attawapiskat Bands, circa 1910.

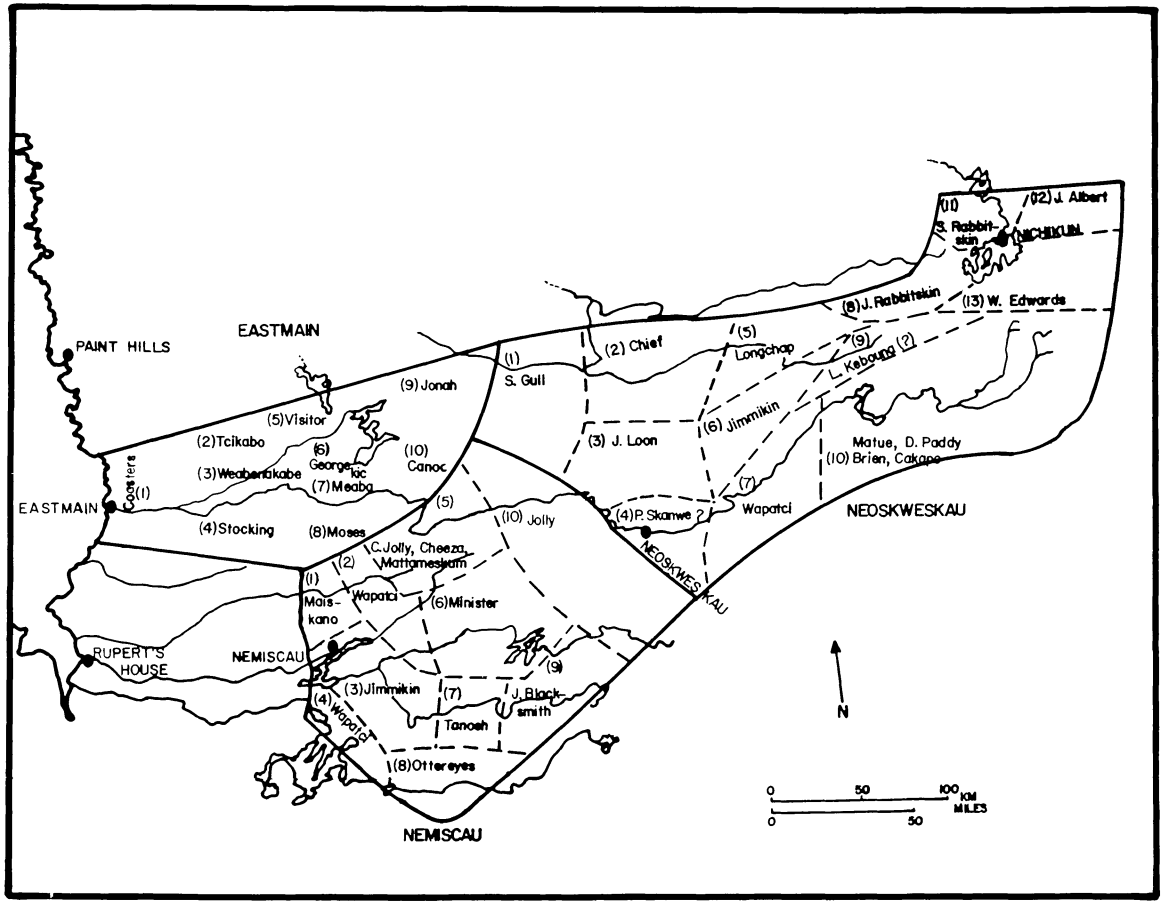

Figure 4: Hunting Ground Distributions: Eastmain, Nemiscau, and Neoskweskau-Nichikun Bands, circa 1930.

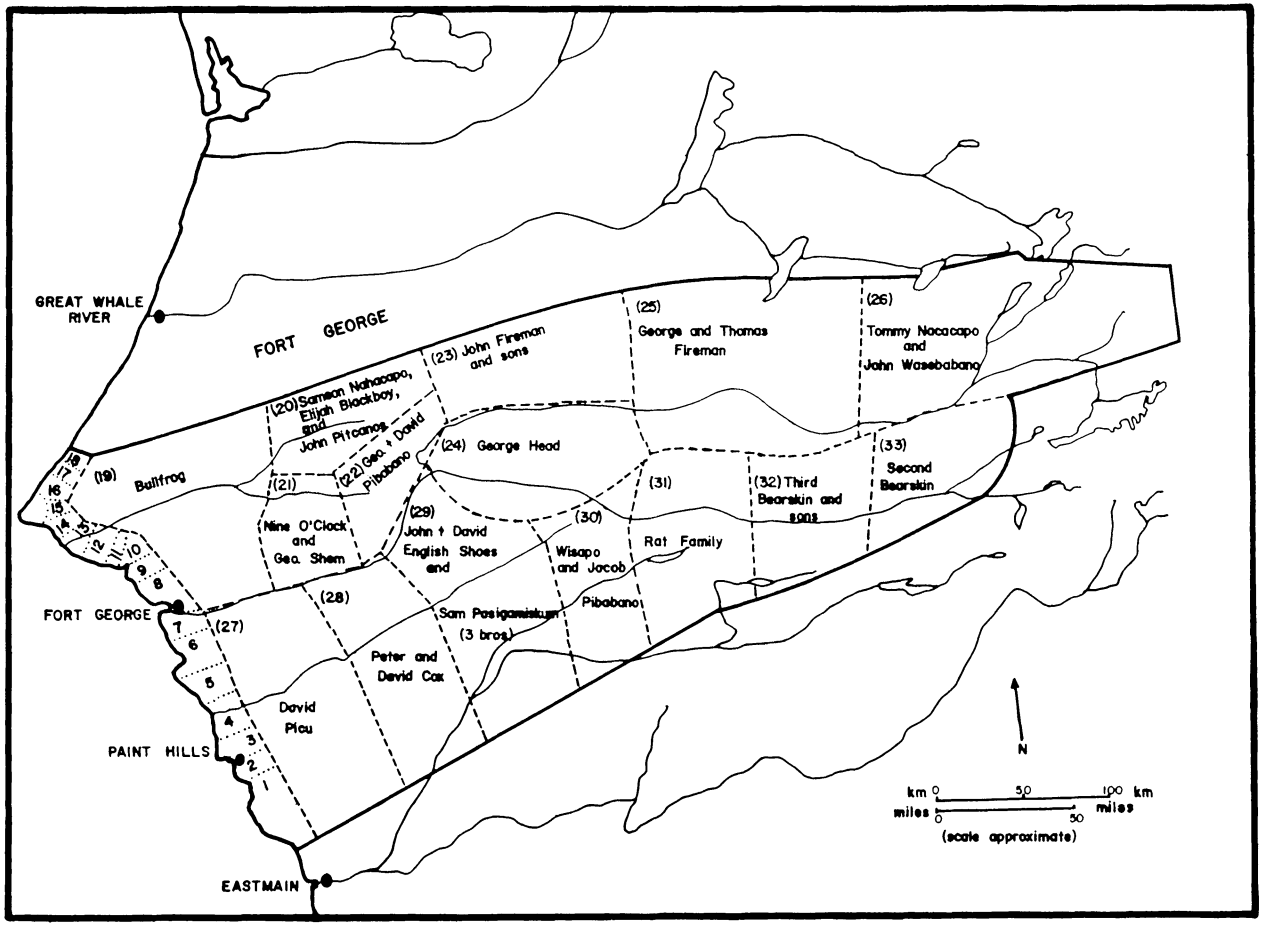

Figure 5: Hunting Ground Distributions:
Fort George, 1920-1930.