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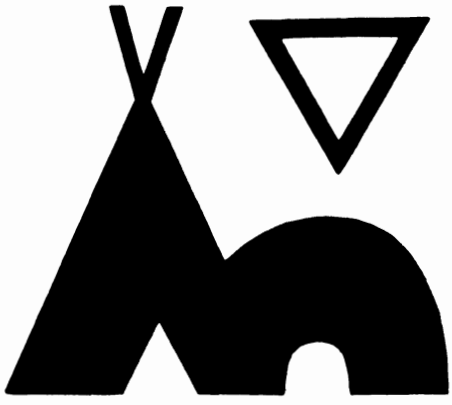

NUMÉRO SPÉCIAL/SPECIAL ISSUE

À QUI APPARTIENT LE CASTOR? LES RÉGIMES FONCIERS ALGONQUINS DU NORD REMIS EN CAUSE

WHO OWNS THE BEAVER? NORTHERN ALGONQUIAN LAND TENURE RECONSIDERED

Sous la direction de/Guest Edited by
CHARLES A. BISHOP
TOBY MORANTZ

COLLABORATEURS/CONTRIBUTORS

Fikret Berkes, Charles A. Bishop,
M. Elizabeth Chambers, Brian Craik, Regina Flannery,
José Mailhot, Toby Morantz, Richard J. Preston,
Edward S. Rogers, Colin Scott,
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Dédicace/Dedication

Ce volume est dédié à Edward S. Rogers
en reconnaissance de ses contributions
remarquables aux études algonquiennes du nord.

This volume is dedicated to Edward S. Rogers
in recognition of his landmark contributions
to Northern Algonquian studies.

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PREFACE

Edward S. Rogers remarks in this volume that for several decades he thought that the issues surrounding the Northern Algonquian system of land tenure had been resolved. After Leacock's 1954 study of Montagnais land tenure (The Montagnais "Hunting Territory" and the Fur Trade. American Anthropological Association Memoir 78. Menasha, Wisconsin: American Anthropological Association), it became orthodoxy to view the European fur trade as giving rise to this individualized and privatized form of territoriality. Beginning in the 1960s, more intensive regional, ethnographic, and historical studies began to undermine some of the specific tenets of the general theory. By the 1970s, it was becoming evident to a small core of specialists that an accumulation of data pertaining to a variety of times and areas, combined with theoretical and conceptual refinement, was challenging the applicability of the general theory itself.

Awareness of these new developments in the field led to a decision to present and discuss in public forum recent research findings and the ideas that these findings generate. A symposium was held during the joint annual meetings of the Canadian Ethnology Society and the American Ethnological Society in Toronto, Canada, May 9-12, 1985. Unfortunately, Eleanor Leacock, whose work is central to the debate, was unable to attend because of prior commitments. Now, her untimely death has robbed us of her valued insights.

Although the idea for this volume began with that symposium, this volume is considerably different. A stimulating paper by Harvey Feit titled "Eastern Subarctic Hunting Territories: Evidence and Interpretations" was committed for another publication and does not appear here. Shortly after the conference, we learned that Regina Flannery and Mary Elizabeth Chambers had been reworking Father John Cooper's and Flannery's own field notes on hunting territories, and these researchers were invited to make a contribution. We are especially pleased to have their paper because it incorporates the important evidence collected by two of the pioneers of Subarctic research.

The papers and commentaries in this volume raise a great many issues that need not be itemized. Rather, we intend to offer a few brief comments on several topics that are not adequately discussed. First, the history of the debate centering on Algonquian land tenure should be seen not simply as a parochial concern of a small group of regional specialists, but rather as interconnected to a number of broader issues such as questions of fundamental characteristics of precontact culture. The focus of this debate on substantive questions of aboriginality, private or communal property, and the impact of colonialism on small-scale societies elevates the debate to the theoretically significant in social theory. Consequently, its importance to studies of band societies in particular, and social evolution in general, cannot

be ignored. Thus, so much would be revealed about the development of anthropological ideas over the past seventy-five years that a thorough history of the debate is warranted.

Second, the current disagreements in the literature stem from four main problems:

1. There has been a tendency to generalize from particular cases to the Northern Algonquians as a whole.

2. Because of its greater accuracy and detail, some scholars still tend to push the ethnographic evidence acquired through fieldwork back in time. Consequently, history gets collapsed into the ethnographic present, and important changes are disregarded. We suggest that those who choose to ignore history are doomed to become part of it.

3. There is a failure to define concepts adequately and to make assumptions explicit. This results in a lack of comparability among the studies. Also, concepts present data in an either/or fashion rather than permitting scholars to view, for example, hunting territories along a continuum or to conceive of them as oscillating among several types in both the short and the long run.

4. The issue as to whether certain institutional features among Northern Algonquians are a consequence mainly of internal development or of external stimuli needs further refinement so that an appropriate balance can be attained.

Although the above problems have not been entirely ignored in the literature, they require further scrutiny. We suggest that the history of the debate over Northern Algonquian land tenure forms can be seen in dialectic terms, the thesis being developed by Speck, Cooper, and Lowie, who championed the precontact origins of the family hunting territory system. The antithesis—that family hunting territories were a response to the postcontact fur trade—first emerged in the writings of Diamond Jenness and Alfred G. Bailey, and culminated in the influential work of Eleanor Leacock. The trend towards synthesis is currently underway and reflected in the papers presented here. What is now required is theoretical and ideological flexibility of the type demonstrated by Edward S. Rogers, who has altered his own position in the light of new findings.

We thank the authors for their cooperation and for these important contributions to a reexamination of Northern Algonquian land tenure forms. Although Richard J. Preston has not formally written on family hunting territories, we have all benefited over the years from his cogent observations on the subject, and we are especially pleased that he accepted our invitation to set some of these down for us. Likewise, we are very grateful to Edward S.

Rogers for his reappraisal and direction as encapsulated in the Epilogue. Rogers has been too modest about his role in the ongoing controversy. His detailed and non-categorical discussions of Mistassini hunting territories, along with the very important distinctions he drew twenty-five years ago between group and territory, are still valid and have guided many of us newer researchers in our search for more balanced representations of family hunting territories. We thank him for his stewardship in this.

We also would like to express our appreciation to Kathryn Molohon for her invitation to us to publish this work in ANTHROPOLOGICA, for her faith in all of us getting it done, for the innumerable tasks she personally and professionally undertook in producing this, for her gentle nudging, and for her good humor throughout. We wish her very well in her continuing and capable editorship of ANTHROPOLOGICA.

We are grateful for the assistance of William Donoghue, Simon Laflamme, and Robert Toupin, who graciously helped with the French text. We are also extremely appreciative of the hard work contributed by Carolyn Malott and, especially, by Lucie Sabel. We would also like to thank Franz Sabel for his gracious help with computer techniques, including graphics, and Crystal Sabel and Candie Sabel for their bilingual good cheer.

We are, as well, most grateful to the Ontario Heritage Foundation for a grant in aid of publication. Elizabeth Price, senior consultant of the Ontario Heritage Foundation, is to be commended for her professionalism and kind patience. This grant made possible the expert copy-editing services of John Parry.

Charles A. Bishop
Toby Morantz

Montréal, Québec
July, 1987

INTRODUCTION: REFLECTIONS ON TERRITORIALITY

Richard J. Preston
McMaster University

Our problem is, and will continue to be, raising the level of debate on the nature of Northern Algonquian "family hunting territories." The debate traces back to Frank Speck, who began fieldwork on the north shore of the St. Lawrence River in 1908 and continued through the 1930s, when his data were corroborated by John M. Cooper's, for the James Bay region. Since publication of Leacock's 1954 monograph, based on fieldwork in 1950 and critical of the Speck-Cooper hypothesis, we have developed a debate that draws its complexity from regional and historical variations, the practical and ideological needs of native land claims, the entry of "critical theory" and ecological methods in ethnology, and the growing intellectual heterogeneity of anthropology.

In consequence, we are faced with several different rationalizations of the Northern Algonquian attitude to ownership, specifically of territory. As we all know, establishing the historical processes of core concepts like property is an ambitious goal and in this instance has led to protracted controversy. Writers have often premised their argument on a particular understanding of our limited data, or what the Indians of the past would likely have done or thought. We cannot help but oversimplify actual behavior, thoughts, and feelings as we generalize, and this is likely to result in assumptions about simplified or "characteristic" Indian attitudes that relate to getting a living on the land.

Tanner's paper leads us through samples of classic anthropological types of explanation: old quotes (that prove our point about territoriality), deductive reasoning (if conditions were thus, consequences would surely be . . .), "authenticity" (territories emerged from within the native culture and are not an artifact of external relations), "alienation" (territories emerged, but forced by the trauma of domination), "multiple empirical systems," and, finally, the question of whether what we can find now (since we do not know about the origins) is historically plausible by virtue of being well integrated with the culture. Here again, we are directed to the need for adequate data to obtain specific processes and relations. Tanner's discussion of property and of the relations of households provides a much-needed theoretical corrective to the literature. He also labors over the relationship of Leacock and Marx in view of what Marx really said.

Bishop, searching for the origins of different forms of territoriality, emphasizes sociopolitical and ideological factors (among Indians of both the St. Lawrence-Great Lakes region and

the eastern Subarctic) and argues plausibly that there were precontact cultures with territoriality of some kind. With a general and comparative method, employing ethnohistoric data, he makes a "should" argument (if I were an Indian, I should have . . .) about animal harvesting and overharvesting, based on cost-benefit analysis, and a "might" argument (if I had been an Indian in that situation, I might have . . .) about territories developing for defense of ground, in both pre- and postcontact exchanges. A sense of (collective) territory seems to be a necessary precondition to the particular form of exchange Bishop calls "passage tax," whereby one group expects compensation for allowing another group to pass through its country. This is one example of a need to protect and claim recognition of rights to a valuable resource (prestige and/or property). In general, Bishop finds that native cost-benefit attitudes often come down heavily in favor of short-term benefits and (unfortunately) at objectively rather high costs.

Morantz asks what non-Indians on the east coast of James Bay, writing what have become historical documents during the fur trade period, were thinking and saying about what the Indians were doing, that we may relate to the issue of territories. She finds a rather remarkable continuity on essentials. Trapping for exchange, hunting group size, debt to individuals, trespass, private ownership, and conservation all appear fairly early in the records (during the eighteenth century), and continue to appear. In the nineteenth century, there is clear and sufficient evidence for territories. Of course, the retort may be made that the earlier fur trade was sufficiently dynamic to bring all of this about. Morantz provides specific ethnohistoric data to supplement, and sometimes persuasively correct, later interpretations of ethnographic and ecological data. The continuity that Morantz finds is comparable to that found in settlement pattern and tool-kit data of the archeology of the region. Morantz emphasizes historical changes in collective wisdom, including both ours and theirs, with regard to territoriality, property, and so on: collective wisdom is adaptable—it may and does vary on a central theme or cultural pattern to suit circumstances, such as ecological differences or the European trade.

Mailhot's essay urges us to think in dynamic behavioral terms rather than in structural terms; the value of this approach is also seen in Scott's essay. There are (now, and probably in the past) no individual territories for Mailhot's area (overlapping that studied by Leacock), but rather an ideology of mobility. This is reflected in rejections of the question when people were asked about individual ownership of territory. This is also where we hear the comment, "I can trap anywhere." It would be easy to understand this statement as claiming that there is no problem of exclusivity of access to land, no problem or even conception of trespass. Perhaps then there is no selection of who may legitimately hunt where, and no organization in people's

apportioning themselves on the land. Territoriality risks becoming merely our preoccupation and our delusion.

Mailhot's extensive data show that there is, instead, a socially "structured mobility" comparable to Sieciechowicz's argument on kinship and economics at Kasabonika Lake. Any given individual is not going to trap "anywhere." Instead, he or she (in many areas of the north, some widows or other unmarried women were known as good trappers) will trap only in some places, selection of which is negotiable annually in terms of social ties of kinship, affinity, congeniality, and practicality. Thus there is more negotiability than most authors have recognized in the past. *Social negotiation* is the crucial characteristic of native psychology for determining territoriality—how best to allocate or use kinship so as to obtain and distribute food and furs congenially and effectively. This point comes out in Sieciechowicz's paper as well—with so much variation, we are not going to get much more than cumulative error by talking too abstractly about territoriality. We must look at actual cases and processes in order to make sense of our main query.

Flannery and Chambers do what is urgently needed: review one major contributor (Cooper) to see how his published materials relate to his own field data. In a thorough and judicious update, they establish the different time lines, which stretch well back into the nineteenth century, as well as the differential adequacy of the various reports given to Cooper. They then blend this with Flannery's own data on related topics and synthesize a revision of Cooper's statement, including maps. We would benefit greatly from comparable examinations of the data base on which others, including Speck, Leacock, and Knight, have built their arguments. Here, we are given a characterization of the data and a persuasive restatement in a scholarly tone that recalls Cooper's original. I detect in this essay an authorial tone approximating the characteristic Indian attitude of pragmatic accommodation to external factors.

Berkes is concerned more with general ecological principles than with native concepts and provides an interesting (although perhaps determinist) model. He uses cost-benefit analysis as an analytical principle. The social scale of territorial groups that control access to and stewardship of an area will generally fluctuate as an inverse function of the intensity with which people pursue the more predictable, abundant, and desirable food-animal resources. Berkes is the only non-anthropologist in this volume —he is a biologist. In consequence, Indian attitudes tend to be implicit rather than explicit in his analysis.

Scott's essay examines activities in the 1980s. I find this method extremely persuasive and refreshing. Scott gives us several contemporary contexts of territoriality and emphasizes the importance to the Cree of knowledge about the characteristics of

game. Different kinds of hunting require appropriately varying strategies, and people who know a great deal about these are likely to be the hunting bosses. Here, the concept of ownership, mistakenly and ethnocentrically construed in early papers based on acculturation theory, is given a radically ethnographic definition. Being an "owner" or "boss" implies an active relationship of knowledge, coordination of others' activities, and caring and providing, whether as parent to child or hunting leader to group. Scott implies that hunting knowledge is *embodied in action* that yields success, which yields respect, which in turn gets a person the position of "boss," in new situations where coordination is important. Scott premises a Cree psychology in which knowledge is power or control, with the moral purpose of nurturing the common good.

Craik's essay reviews Speck, Leacock, Davidson, and other major contributors and says that although we have used both the culture area approach and systemic studies, precise ethnographic understanding has been lacking and is badly needed. Craik shows that "I can trap anywhere" is not necessarily a concrete statement of practical strategy but rather a subtle, social (rather than ecological) comment. If a person *did* refer to a place where he or she could not trap, the person was socially "in trouble" and excluded from joining one or more hunting groups. Perhaps, for example, as Craik said during the conference discussion period, he could not trap in his father-in-law's group because he did not get along with him. It is a social comment rather than a literal statement about "where I have trapped, or where I am likely to trap in the future." The native psychology emphasized by Craik is characterized by planning strategies in terms of past performance and future preferences.

Sieciechowicz, like Scott, describes the contemporary case. Her emphasis is on the continuing interplay between kin relations and land stewardship, and the results are both multiple and gradual. That is, environmental factors are mediated through variables of kinship and economics, resulting in a wide range of social scale (hunting group)/land tenure (territory) forms, which wax and wane over time. From her two village cases, Sieciechowicz hypothesizes a more or less cyclical transformation in kinship and economics from expanded (communal, as in her Kasibonika Lake case) to compressed (individualized, as in Wunnummin Lake) relations. The variation occurs in response to fluctuating exogenous factors, such as environmental supply of animals and fur trade and government intervention. A case for cultural drift, first outlined by Sapir (1921:147-170), is latent here.

In summing up this volume, I suggest that there is an issue that most of us who have written on this topic (except Flannery and Chambers) have not adequately considered. Many authors fail to evaluate painstakingly not just method and theory but also the specific *empirical* bases for *other* anthropologists' arguments. We

have heard repeated references to Knight and Leacock, who have made, or who have been used by others to make, very large claims on the basis of a youthful summer's fieldwork. Data obtained in a short time may be important and reliable, but the possibility is great that they may not be. A strong, general, abstract argument may, and probably will, overwork its restricted basis in empirical knowledge.

Most of the essays here are the reports of people who have made relatively small claims on the basis of much more precise and extensive fieldwork. This highlights a real imbalance in the territoriality debate between what an author knows, specifically and for certain, and what he or she claims is generally the case. By painstakingly and critically assessing the empirical grounding of each author's claims, we can improve the level of debate and the adequacy of our explanations.

Where will the improvement lead us? What are we trying to find out? As Murphy (1971:35) quips, we may have been arguing about the answers for so long that we have forgotten the questions. What is, and was, actually going on, in terms of "territoriality"? By what patterned moral attitudes and decisions, or cultural rules, have Northern Algonquian peoples, throughout history, construed their environment as relations to a specified place, as relations to specified subsistence events, and as relations to specified persons and groups?

I think that this is what we are trying to find out. We are in search of subtle, historico-ethnographic knowledge. We must discern characteristic or patterned native behavior and statements, including some that may not normally be given in direct response to questions, as well as some knowledge that (like the rules of kinship or grammar) is not necessarily put into words, and is perhaps embodied more in attitude and action than in conscious thought or reflection.

In other words, part of the knowledge we seek is psychologically deep: notions imbedded in many specific practical actions, combined in memory and, perhaps, like rules of kinship or grammar, only implicitly known (and not analyzed into conceptions), responded to as intuitively correct in daily life, and little reported to others. This makes our data, and our interpretation of them, problematic, whether they are archival or ethnographic. What we are given explicitly is the statement "I can trap anywhere." We must get to the implicit "I can say that I get along well enough with the people here to consider the possibility of eventually wintering with any of these local groups." This indicates the social context of our query and is only the beginning of its conceptual answer.

Perhaps this is the place to summarize the collective wisdom of these essays with regard to some psychological characteristics

of the Northern Algonquians. We have more or less explicit suggestions of:

1. an adaptable collective wisdom;
2. readiness for pragmatic accommodation to external factors;
3. cost-benefit attitudes that often come down heavily in terms of short-term benefits;
4. a sense that knowledge is power or control; and
5. an expectation of negotiability in personal relations, characterized by planning strategies in terms of past performance and future preferences.

These seem to me a fairly credible scope and characterization of some of the psychology of Northern Algonquian cultures. Taken as a whole, our authors have a fair collective wisdom, or at least intuition, regarding the people they describe.

We also get conceptions about actions, ideals, or rights constituting a sense of property. We are trying to find the basis on which property (recall Tanner's commentary on the meaning of the word) and sharing incorporate some cultural principles of organization and selection, emphasizing particularly people and food, and also myriad and variable secondary elaborations according to time and place. This is where the complexity sets in, as it certainly should. The question "Were family hunting grounds aboriginal?" now appears too general and too simplistic. We cannot give a good answer without deconstructing the question, fundamentally reconceptualizing it, and, in the process, addressing the real complexities that the old question has revealed.

These essays have addressed several aspects of this complexity. When game is manageable, and the extreme example is Scott's case of geese, people may use elegant management systems. When people are manageable, and the extreme example is Sieciechowicz's Kasabonika Lake, people may enjoy the luxury of being little organized against trespassing. When other people, however, are a problem, people may use defense systems against trespass, as Bishop points out.

Clearly, people will have different, but nonetheless patterned, opinions about what those rules are today and were in the past. We have variable opinions about rules, and so do Northern Algonquians. As Sieciechowicz showed us, half of the people may leave the community on the death of the leader, and the other half may stay. Half think or intuit that one way of acting is best; the others believe that another way is best. A similar variance within cultural consensus is found with us, as our continuing debate on the nature of property shows.

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THE NEW HUNTING TERRITORY DEBATE:

AN INTRODUCTION TO SOME UNRESOLVED ISSUES

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Les débats sur l'origine et la nature des systèmes de contrats territoriaux chez les Algonquins du Nord, y compris les territoires de chasse, se sont poursuivis parce que des questions variées sont demeurées insolubles et aussi parce que ces questions se rapportent aux théories générales de l'évolution humaine et raciale. Le débat est passé d'une phase "classique," mettant l'accent sur les questions d'origine, à une phase "post-classique," préoccupée par la fonction et la pratique de la chasse territoriale chez les Algonquins avant le contact. Cet article examinera ces questions à la lumière des idées marxistes sur des thèmes comme l'usufruit et différentes formes de la propriété privée et communale. L'article propose que nous continuions à considérer le système de la chasse territoriale non pas comme un phénomène isolé, mais plutôt comme une forme structurale avec des manifestations variables.

Debates over the origin and nature of land tenure systems among Northern Algonquians, including hunting territories, have continued because various issues remain unresolved and also because these issues concern general theories of human social evolution. The debate has progressed from a "classic" phase, focused on the questions of origins, to a "postclassic" phase, concerned with the function and operation of hunting territories among precontact Algonquians. This essay will examine these issues in light of Marxist meanings for such terms as usufruct and various forms of private and communal property. It is proposed that we see the hunting territory system not as a single phenomenon but more as a structural form with variant manifestations.

For many years, the "hunting territory debate" was a small but regular fixture of North American anthropology. Its concern with the kind of land tenure system used by the aboriginal Northern Algonquians, and particularly with the origins of this system, ensured it as an issue that held the prolonged interest of a number of regional specialists. But the debate was also over a more general issue in human social evolution, especially in relation to the theories of Morgan, Marx, and Engels.

The debate began with two articles by Speck (1915a, 1915b), which described "family hunting territories" among some contemporary Algonquian Indian groups. Speck and others, including general theorists like Lowie (1920), believed this "discovery" was a direct empirical challenge to a key element in the marxist evolutionary position: that at the hunter-gatherer stage, land and the basic resources used in production did not exist as "private property" but were held "communally." Those who disagreed with Speck and Lowie, such as Bailey, Jenness, Steward, Leacock, and Hickerson, believed that the aboriginal Algonquians, like all other hunter-gatherers, did indeed hold their land and resources communally and that the territories had arisen only after European contact, as a direct result of the fur trade.

Other important matters, however, have been raised in the debate, some of which have, in my view, been obscured by the issue of aboriginality. To emphasize this point, we can divide the debate into two periods: earlier (classic) and later (postclassic). The classic phase lasted from Speck's initial articles to Leacock's monograph on the subject in 1954. During this phase, the single issue that dominated discussion was simply that of the aboriginality of the institution; the principal method used by both sides to support their positions was ethnohistoric reconstruction, using mainly archival, as well as some ethnographic, sources. For many, it was Leacock's work, using both ethnographic and ethnohistorical material, that finally dislodged Speck's position and ended the debate.

Scholarly discussion did not end there, however, but moved into the postclassic phase, in which questions concerned the function and operation of hunting territories in postcontact Algonquian society and economy, rather than their origin. A variety of issues have been raised, as indicated by the following sample (reflecting my own particular interests), such that these and other topics under discussion effectively constitute a new and distinct debate. Did the postcontact hunting territory operate as a unit of fur and game management (Feit 1973; Tanner 1979), and not merely extend private property rights over fur to the animals before they were caught (Rogers 1963)? Leacock raised the distinction between land tenure rules that applied to hunting for food and those that applied to hunting for fur (Leacock 1954:2; Rogers 1963:70-71). I have suggested that this distinction does not have the significance that others have attached to it (Tanner 1979:182-202). Knight questioned whether hunting territories could have survived in the long run even under conditions of fur trade contact (Knight 1965; Tanner 1987). He claimed that Speck's championing of the aboriginal hunting territory concept had a contemporary political aspect: it assisted the Hudson's Bay Company in maintaining its monopoly over Northern Indians (Knight 1968, 1974; Tanner 1987). Finally, does the periodic movement of personnel between different territories

constitute a system of exchange of hunting privileges between territory owners (Tanner 1979:195-197)?

Leacock's 1954 monograph not only ended the classic debate, it also contributed to the postclassic one; the line between the two phases cannot be drawn too precisely or absolutely. Several issues already broached during the classic phase continue to be discussed. For example, did the specific form of hunting territories (or the fact of their absence) among different Algonquian groups represent environmental variations—adaptations to local conditions, such as southern (closed crown) versus northern (open crown) forest, and forest versus tundra (Speck and Eiseley 1939; A. Cooper 1942; Hallowell 1949; Feit 1969)? About the residential group most closely connected to the hunting territory (often called the "hunting group"): is it structured on the model of an extended family group, a lineal or ambilineal kin group, or a group using a pragmatic combination of consanguineal, affinal, and "partnership" links? And is there an underlying model that can encompass the whole range of ethnographic cases (Speck 1915b; Dunning 1959; Turner and Wertman 1977; Sieciechowicz 1982)? What about the mode of succession employed for postcontact hunting territories (Speck 1923; Tanner 1971)? Must there be specific rules of "trespass" in order that the hunting territory can be said to exist (Lips 1947; Rogers 1963; Tanner 1979)?

Moreover, Leacock's monograph did not end entirely the debate over the question of origins. In an historical study of hunting territories among the Mistassini, Rogers proposes that this form of land holding was not preceded by band ownership of land, as Leacock's model suggests. Rather, during the aboriginal period multifamily hunting groups returned year after year to more loosely defined "hunting ranges" (Rogers 1963:82). Turner and Wertman (1977:12, 31) find no historic evidence among a northern Manitoba Cree group for such a system. They believe that the present "trapline" system was simply imposed by the government. Yet on the Québec side of James Bay, Morantz (1983:128) has discovered archival evidence showing that hunting territories were in existence by the mid-eighteenth century, a century earlier than previous researchers had acknowledged. Finally, Feit (1983) has argued that the aboriginal Algonquians could have used hunting territories in the management of their resources.

The postclassic debate concerns itself with how the features of postcontact Algonquian land tenure systems are related to other aspects of the society. Until now it has been commonly argued that the specific features of the hunting territories were more or less directly determined by external material factors —that is, by the ecosystem, by the economics of fur and meat foraging, by the coercive influence of traders and missionaries, and by the state on the lives of hunter-trappers. As an explanation for the land tenure system, this kind of answer seems at best partial: it does not explain the apparent close integration

the hunting territory system now has with the social structure and cultural values of the various Algonquian groups.

Nevertheless, Leacock's 1954 monograph did bring a halt to the challenge to the marxist social evolutionary position on the origins of private property which had been launched by Speck, Lowie, Cooper, Eiseley, and others. A classic debate became instead a classic case study and an object lesson. The result was the emergence of an "orthodox" position on the origins of hunting territories which is accepted by the discipline in general, just as, according to Leacock (1972:19), the opposite idea of aboriginal land ownership by hunters became accepted following Speck's "discovery." A number of anthropology textbooks (e.g., Harris 1968:357-359; Bock 1969:391; Murphy 1979:132-133) and comparative studies (e.g., Murphy and Steward 1956) use the hunting territory as an illustration that confirms the generalization that aboriginal hunter-gatherers do not recognize the concept of land as private property. For a different conclusion, however, see Hoebel and Frost (1976:123).

Recent research on hunting territories has changed the focus from a single, narrow issue to a variety of questions about the actual operation of hunting territories as a land tenure system in specific ethnographic and historic cases. Yet the ability to address these issues has remained conceptually mired and tied to forgotten ideological issues. As a result, fewer advances have been made in land tenure studies for Northern Algonquian peoples over the past twenty years than for hunting and gathering peoples elsewhere, such as Australian aborigines and among African hunter-gatherers (Leacock and Lee, eds. 1982, passim).

ABORIGINALITY AND AUTHENTICITY

Although there as yet may be no single, explicit theoretical focus regarding the postclassic work on Algonquian hunting territories, a major theoretical concern remains to determine how best to represent in a totally integrated way contemporary Algonquian land tenure systems, including those with hunting territories. For example, do contemporary arrangements represent systems of "private property" or of "usufruct"? This issue, to be discussed later, was neglected during the classic debate. These are only two of a variety of terms that have been applied without much attention to analytic clarity and the theoretical significance of terms. Postclassic studies may provide a much clearer understanding of land tenure, but such an understanding could again throw wide open a whole theoretical issue which the ending of the aboriginality question was supposed to have settled.

Before we examine the theoretical concepts that might be used in the description of Algonquian property rights, we need to take into account the empirical range of land use forms, with or

without territories. Until this is done, the "aboriginality" question is, in effect, a debate about the origins of an institution which we do not understand. To put it another way, Rogers (1963:83) may well be right that contact with the fur trade brought about a change from the "hunting range" to the "hunting territory," and Leacock (1954:7) may also be correct in asserting that the fur trade changed the pattern of land use by promoting a reduction in the size of winter residential groups. But until we know far more precisely what a "hunting range" as opposed to a "hunting territory" entails, and until we understand more precisely how land tenure patterns of large and small groups differed, we cannot know whether these kinds of changes actually marked an evolutionary change in the concept of land ownership as hypothesized by marxist theory. Asking questions about the origin of an institution that is so poorly understood, and has a virtually undocumented history, may be somewhat premature.

I remain skeptical about the resolution of the "aboriginality" issue for other reasons. A clear answer to the question of aboriginality involves ethnohistoric and prehistoric reconstruction, which, as Lee et al. (1968:146) state in a similar context, depends on evidence slanted in the direction of formal rules. The evidence from available archival and oral history sources regarding the applicability of concepts like land ownership to the circumstances of an earlier era tends to be weighted toward statements about ideal culture rather than to be based on detailed observations of actual behavior. Moreover, as they are recorded in historic documents, these kinds of statements have usually first passed through a non-native person and are thus likely to have been reinterpreted ethnocentrically in the process.

Lee's point is well illustrated by the classic phase of the Algonquian hunting territory debate. Participants on both sides used incomplete or ambiguous data to arrive at rival reconstructions of prehistoric or historical land tenure and argued about how this or that system changed or remained unchanged over time. To a large degree, reconstructions were made on the basis of deductive arguments (i.e., given conditions A, B, and C, the system would have to have been X), even though there was seldom enough evidence to arrive at such definitive conclusions. The most frequently used deductive type of argument has been that based on ecological conditions. While such deductive arguments may be useful for generating new hypotheses, the most important contributions made by ecological anthropology recently have been by way of inductive arguments, based on detailed empirical observation. Hypothetical-deductive arguments need empirical verification.

Much of this deductive work is best treated as more or less speculative, owing to the imprecise nature of the historical data. Since the actual range of practices included within human

culture is so wide, few valid conclusions about its limits can be arrived at deductively. Moreover, some of the classic debate also included a number of unverifiable assumptions and questionable deductions on both sides of the issue. The lack of unambiguous evidence should certainly not prevent us from asking questions, but we should treat the answers thus obtained with some caution.

The debate has been conducted at the interface between field ethnography and archival ethnohistory and has involved an overlapping of these two kinds of data and of methods. Much of the ethnohistorical reconstruction has been undertaken by those trained in other aspects of the discipline. Morantz (1983:4) has recently demonstrated that many of those ethnographers who have used historical materials in order to address the hunting territory question have made some glaring methodological errors. Yet she is rather kind to ethnography when she states, without any apparent irony: "Unlike fieldwork anthropology, historical anthropology or ethnohistory has not yet developed a well-defined prescription of how to conduct the study." The results of her own research suggest that this claim for her sub-discipline is too modest, while her reference to a well-defined fieldwork method is overly generous, judging by existing ethnographic descriptions of Algonquian land tenure systems.

The classic debate also had an important ideological component. Speck was a proponent of the early-twentieth-century school of "culture history." Knight (1974:358) has seen Speck's support of the ideal of aboriginal land ownership by the Algonquians as linked to his romanticism and political conservatism. He quotes a passage by Speck that implies he was a racist, and appears to suggest that support for native land rights by Speck was a form of segregationalism.

In my view, Speck's approach to research, including his land tenure work, involved a romantic search for "authenticity." To paraphrase Deschênes (1979:27), Speck's conception of culture, and thus his choice of which cultural traits to study, were determined by the requirement that these traits express the "traditional" way of life as perfectly as possible. Speck tended to play down any other influences as much as possible. For example, this attitude is exemplified in Speck's statement that since precontact times "There has been little alteration in the *spirit* of Montagnais-Naskapi culture, despite the many material innovations they have acquired from Europeans" (1935:20, emphasis in the original). Phrased differently, a recurrent, if sometimes hidden motive or explanatory concept that emerges through Speck's writing, including his work on the hunting territory, was a version of the doctrine of survival. That is, he wanted to show a strong, basic tendency toward cultural continuity. This is similar to the point made for the Ojibwa based on psychological data by Speck's contemporary colleague, Hallowell (1946).

By contrast, the major opponents of the idea of aboriginal hunting territories were challenging not only the age but also implicitly the authenticity of the institution. They emphasized the radical disjunction between colonial mercantile capitalist traders and protocontact hunter-gatherers. Where Speck barely mentions the effect of the fur trade, discussing, for example, "the decline of the natives" only as a result of disease and missionary influence (1935:15-25), writers such as Leacock and Hickerson held that contact between the two led inevitably to the rapid subordination of the Indians by the traders. Regarding the political implications, if Knight (1968, 1974) is correct in saying that Speck's work in effect supported the Hudson's Bay Company's monopoly, were not the opponents of the idea of aboriginal hunting territories also politically motivated? Some opponents of aboriginal territories critically examined the exploitation of Indians, laying the responsibility for social disruption, poverty, and starvation on the traders, the missionaries, and the government's laissez-faire Indian policy. It can be argued that Speck's opponents also had a hand in public policy, for example, in influencing the state's subsequent decision to reduce the power of the Hudson's Bay Company and to direct Indians toward educational and economic futures other than as hunters and trappers. This policy has itself recently come under considerable criticism, not least by native political leaders themselves (National Indian Brotherhood 1972).

THE PROBLEM OF "PROPERTY"

Although the ostensible point of the classic debate about aboriginality was a theoretical issue concerning the forms of property in human history, terms like "property" and a host of related terms are introduced but never clearly distinguished. In the debate, these terms are usually treated as unproblematic, and the concepts they entail are left virtually unanalyzed. The resulting conceptual simplicity may well reflect a pioneer level of anthropological theorizing. In more recent commentaries by those opposed to aboriginality and where reference is also made to the analytic framework of Morgan, Marx, and Engels (e.g., Harris 1968; Leacock 1972), participants seem to use an oversimplified set of marxist theoretical concepts covering the variety of forms of property relations. They rely mainly on the simple opposition between "private property" (or "individual property") and "communally owned property" (or "primitive communism").

In the article just cited, Leacock (1972:12-16) provides some useful cautionary words about disputes over marxist ideas. She warns against treating Morgan's and Marx's evolutionary stages in an inflexible and doctrinaire manner, which she says is not characteristic of the work of these authors themselves. She also warns of the tendency among Western academics to create

straw men out of marxist ideas. One might comment that her very point is illustrated in the debate on the aboriginality of hunting territories. For instance, she explicitly sets out to oppose the implications for evolutionary theory of Speck and Lowie's ideas. In so doing she allows hunting territories to be a test case of the marxist theory of property. This is unfortunate, given her conclusion that territories are not actually a form of ownership. If they are not a form of ownership then they cannot be the test case for marxist theory of property. This issue seems to hinge precisely around an inflexible and doctrinaire claim about the evolutionary stage that Morgan and Marx knew least about.

Leacock's doubts that hunting territories were "property" were first expressed somewhat tentatively at the start of her 1954 study. She states (1954:2) that hunting territories are "more properly a form of usufruct than 'true' ownership"—a reference to Cooper's (1939:70-71) claim that hunting territories were "true" ownership "in our sense of the term." In the rest of the study (1954:6, 27, 31, 39) she uses the term "ownership" in quotation marks, presumably to stress her doubts about its applicability. She does not suggest, though, that as a form of usufruct, hunting territories are a precapitalist form of land tenure. Rather, she seeks to show that they are a recent phenomenon related to the influence of the fur trade and chooses not to develop her usufruct idea. Moreover, much of her argument depends on hunting territories representing both an aspect of the tendency toward individual accumulation and the emergence of the private property idea among the Montagnais, who prior to contact had a system of primitive communism. Further, Leacock never analyzes the various terms to show why she accepts "usufruct" but not "ownership."

Thirty years later, Leacock (1982:161-162) restated her position far more definitively on ownership and usufruct. Hunting territories are a "privatized form of land use," and Speck and Cooper were incorrect to speak of "privately owned hunting territories." "Hunting lands and all resources but furs were communally owned even into the present—only the furs of furbearing animals on lands a person was trapping were considered the person's property." Also, "such regularization of individual usufruct rights to trapping grounds as existed had followed involvement in the fur trade and was not aboriginal."

In stating that the Algonquians treated land as "communal property," Leacock, like others in the debate, has not dealt with the possibility that if there are communal rights to land they are held by the hunting group rather than by the band as a whole. Speck's ethnographic description is not clear on this point, in part because the concepts he used are not clear. While one individual is reported as being the owner, or what I have called the "title holder" (Tanner 1979), a group of up to five or six

nuclear commensal families, in practice, shares the rights to use of the land. Speck most often used the term "family-owned territories," thereby suggesting that the landholding group is effectively an extended family with a patrilineal tendency (i.e., a local clan without any generalized lineage ideology beyond the group's attachment to its territory). As far as the debate was concerned, however, Speck also chose to treat hunting territories as "private property," without further refinement.

My point is not that territories are or are not communally owned by the hunting group. I am concerned here more with the conceptual and theoretical problems than with empirical confirmation or refutation, which may not be the same for all Algonquian groups. In the classic debate little acknowledgement was given to the idea that "ownership" can cover a number of kinds of rights (not in the sense of formal, ideological principles, but in terms of actual practice). For example, there is the right to use, the right to give or to withold permission for its use by another, the right to exchange, and the right to bequeath. Social anthropologists have found it useful to group "rights" as practiced into various kinds of "bundles." The bundle labeled "ownership" does not in all ethnographic circumstances include exactly the same set of rights. This conception of ownership does not appear to me to be incompatible with Marx's statements about property. What is needed is a description of the form of ownership of hunting territories that would specify the rights enjoyed by all persons involved. It could be that some rights of ownership are held by an individual, others by part of the hunting group (e.g., the extended family), and still others communally by the whole group.

MARX ON PRIVATE PROPERTY

Let us deal first with the distinction between "individual property" and "private property." In Marx's work (1975:166-180), the term "private property," around which the hunting territory debate supposedly revolves, is a very complex and important concept. It signifies a special kind of ownership right, involving, in effect, a far greater concentration of rights than "individual ownership" or "individual possession." Marx accepts the existence of "individual ownership" at the very simplest level of a hunting and gathering society—of tools, for example —and states that even at that level "residences . . . always appear in individual possession." It is clear, however, that "individual ownership" or "individual possession" is quite distinct from "private property."

Marx recognized two forms of "private property": "self-earned private property" and "capitalist private property":

> Private Property, as the antithesis to social, collective property, exists only where the means of labour and external conditions of labour belong to private individuals. But according as these private individuals are labourers or not labourers, private property has a different character. The innumerable shades, that it at first sight presents, correspond to the intermediate stages lying between these two extremes. The private property of the labourer in his means of production is the foundation of petty industry. . . . [Petty industry] attains its full classic form only where the labourer is the private owner of the means of labour which he uses; the peasant of the land which he cultivates; the artisan of the tool which he handles as a virtuoso. (1964:139)

Moreover, this "self-earned private property" has historically become concentrated in fewer and fewer hands, converting it into "capitalist private property" at the same time as all material production became converted into "commodities." Marx describes the ideology of private property in capitalist society:

> The right to private property is . . . the right to enjoy and dispose of one's resources as one wills, without regard for other men and independently of society: the right of self-interest. . . . Individual freedom . . . together with this application of it, forms the foundation of civil society. It leads each man to see in other men not the *realization* but the *limitation* of his own freedom. But above all [private property] proclaims the right of man "to enjoy and dispose *at will* of his goods, his revenues and the fruit of his work and industry." (1975:229-230)

Marx's distinction between these two forms of private property, both of which can, in my view, be identified as ideal types in our society, draws our attention to the analytic ambiguity, not to mention the ethnocentricity, of "property" in "our sense of the term." In the cases I am aware of, Algonquian territories are never "owned" by anyone other than those who work on them; they cannot be sold, accumulated, or used by the owner to accumulate surplus production. Labeling them private property in "our" sense of the term thus tells us very little and is actually misleading. If they are private property, they are examples of Marx's concept of "self-earned private property."

Marx accepted Morgan's judgment that hunters and gatherers recognized land as clan-based communal property, but this question is an empirical matter. Outside Australia, there is little evidence of hunters and gatherers with such organizational forms. There is also little evidence to indicate that prehistoric North-

ern Algonquians had a social structure of this order, particularly given the presumable tendency of bands to break up and become scattered in isolated residence groups for much of the year. While the original human hunters and gatherers had contact only with other hunters and gatherers, prehistoric Algonquians had been in trade contact for some time with agricultural, pottery-making groups to the south. If trading furs (taken when carrying out subsistence activities) for useful goods can alter the system of rights to land, then some consideration needs to be given to the effect of their prehistoric trade relations on Algonquian property concepts.

OWNERSHIP OR USUFRUCT?

How does one decide if the concept of "ownership" or of "usufruct" applies to the well-documented cases of hunting territories? Bloch's (1975) conception of property, which draws on both Marx and social anthropology, is of a relationship between people, not between people and things. As such, it is a system of rules of differential restriction, grounded in the social relations of production in a society and therefore reflecting the division of labor. It includes both a *behavioral* component—the actual pattern of privileged access, use, and conversion enjoyed by some individuals or groups but not others—and an *ideological* one—a formulation of this pattern in the form of explicit rules, together with an ideological representation and legitimation of those rules.

One aspect of the term "private," as applied to property, refers to the way this social relation is ideologically misrepresented in some societies. For example, capitalist ideology equates property with personal freedom: private property is (mis)represented as the right to enjoy or dispose of possessions freely and arbitrarily, without regard for others. The real nature of this relationship is that of exploitation of surplus labor of those who do not own capital by those who do. In capitalism, "property" rights to land, however, are not actually all bundled together into a single relationship between owner and society. If I own property, various other individuals (my kin, neighbors, tenants) and groups (municipal, special interest, etc.) can also exercise certain rights toward the property in relation to the rest of society.

Is the Algonquian hunting territory a form of property that is ideologically misrepresented by the society within which it occurs? Bloch (1975) has distinguished between societies in which property relations are ideologically misrepresented and societies in which those relations are represented for what they are, i.e., social relations. He shows that misrepresentation occurs not only in capitalism and is due to the existence of inequality. Such

misrepresentation functions to legitimate the extraction of profit or surplus labor power.

If we are to investigate whether land ownership is communal, with certain rights held by usufruct, or involves private property, we must consider the way rights to resources are represented ideologically. For the Mistassini Cree, for example, the ideology of rights of access to land and to land-based material resources sometimes represents them correctly as social relations over labor organization between members of the family and between the families in a hunting group.

At other times, however, one may be given by informants a series of seeming misrepresentations: denial of the existence of territories (people can hunt anywhere they want), religious statements (God owns the land, the animals do, or the animal masters control the land for each species), or references to social relations (between individuals with religious power and particular animal populations, either a species in general or the particular animals that inhabit the land in question). While these may indeed be misrepresentations in the marxist sense, their purpose is not to justify material inequality or to allow exploitation of the surplus labor of some members of the hunting group by others. The religious system, within which most of these ideas fit, presents a model of the relationship between man and animals of a territory as an individual one.

Note that these religious data do not deal with land as such. They do, however, legitimize the right to kill animals in general and, occasionally, one individual's greater legitimacy with regard to a particular local population of animals. For example, I was told of a case in which a man was following a moose until it crossed into his neighbor's territory. He went to the neighboring group's camp and asked the inhabitants if he could continue following it. They said no—they would kill the animal themselves. Nevertheless, when they tried to kill it the animal escaped in a manner unusual for moose—the implication being that this was a supernatural punishment to the group for being stingy. It is an oversimplification of practice (both ideological and behavioral) to say that in this group there is a communal right to hunt anywhere and that territory owners have rights only to the fur of furbearers.

I believe that we can best deal with this religious aspect by acknowledging two kinds of products: the food and hides of the animals, which are subject to exchange involving generalized reciprocity, so that property is not used to justify material inequality; and prestige and religious power, which the hunter accumulates. As an old man, a hunter may claim credit for using his religious power to enable a young hunter to be successful. From this he can get only a token material reward, such as special portions of meat. In a sense, the ideology makes up for

his inability to produce materially for the group. Thus any misrepresentation is in order to justify *equalization* of rewards, not inequality.

There are other vestiges of a private property ideology connected to Mistassini hunting territories. The territory has a title vested in an individual, who is the hunting group leader. While he has no material privileges from his position, it is with reference to this individual and his wife, within the set of social linkages, that decisions are made as to who may or may not belong to the residentially defined hunting group. It is also with reference to him that title to the territory is inherited.

We need to look further into this distinction between private and communal property. Marx (1973:493) describes the property relation as the individual's conscious relationship to the conditions of production, which is realized only in the process of production itself and arises in the division of labor. Therefore, private property is present in all human society, if only in a limited form, including primitive societies with no more than a division of labor between family members. Capitalist private property, however, implies the existence of a class without property: the social relation expressed in private property is that between proletariat and capitalist.

Usufruct means the right to make use of resources for specific purposes while other, more general rights to these same resources are held by another person or group. In its use in anthropology, however, this more general level of rights is not always made explicit when the concept is applied to a particular ethnographic case. Three other possible criteria for use of the term usufruct might be suggested, although they need not all be present in any one example. First, in cases of land tenure ideology, it might be used to distinguish between purported relations people have with land and relations they have with particular resources. "Usufruct" would apply to the latter. Next, it could indicate a rule that people's right to use resources depends on their continued occupancy of the area where the resources are located; an individual or group that moves away loses these rights. Finally, "property" could refer to a whole set of rights "bundled" together, with "usufruct" reserved for a few or less important rights.

Regarding the idea that hunting rights are part of an overarching ownership by the band, little evidence exists that the band as a whole has any corporate land-owning function except through government legislation. The band is not involved in the inheritance of hunting territories from one family to the next. Hunting territories are passed from one actual user to another (ideally along kin lines), without reference to more general rights by the band as a whole. For the Waswanipi Cree, Feit (1982:386-387) argues that the communal right to hunt anywhere

was of significance only during travel to and from a territory. Given the residence pattern, hunting territory owners who decide who resides on their territory effectively control the use of *both* subsistence and fur resources. I (1979:183) have noted the same thing for the Mistassini Cree. It has yet to be made clear that the concept of usufruct properly describes rights to hunting territories.

THE FUTURE OF THE DEBATE

One way to reformulate the question of hunting territories would be to avoid for the time being the issue of their aboriginality and to ask whether they are an *Algonquian* institution. What is their relation to other aspects of the culture? Are they grounded in the cultural values of the group or an "outside" institution, not internalized by the community and inconsistent with the rest of the culture? For example, I would say that the system of registered traplines used by the Mistassini Cree, although introduced by the government in 1948, had not yet become internalized by 1970. As Turner and Wertman (1977:13) have commented for a similar system introduced to the Shamattawa Cree in the early 1940s, trappers treat the imposed system as no more than "a troublesome annoyance." Other examples of foreign institutions are the elected band chief, as described for Rupert House (Waskaganish) by Kupferer (1966), and the settlement council of a Déné village in the Northwest Territories described by Beyer Broch (1983). Such foreign institutions may become internalized in time, examples being Christianity and the credit system among the Mistassini Cree.

I suggest that we focus on whether the historical hunting territory system was well integrated. I am not suggesting giving up the idea of the hunting territory as a single institution, substituting instead diverse and unrelated types of hunting land tenure systems. I propose that we continue to see it as a single phenomenon, but more as an underlying structural form, which may or may not have a surface institutional realization, circumstances permitting, in any given instance.

Using such an approach, we can consider the new direction of the postclassic hunting territory debate. We can examine, for example, the implications of Knight (1965) and Turner and Wertman (1977), who suggest that even recently, hunting territories in the communities they observed were not internalized but merely imposed. This contrasts with my own conclusions from work among the Mistassini Cree. Further, I would hope that by leaving aside arguments over speculative historical processes (without, however, neglecting documentary material), scholars can begin to use historical and contemporary ethnographic cases—not as ammunition to be hurled at "the other side" but as comparative ethnographic evidence.

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TERRITORIALITY AMONG NORTHEASTERN ALGONQUIANS

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Depuis que Frank Speck décrivit le premier le système de chasse familiale algonquin du nord-est, les spécialistes ont essayé de rendre compte de ses origines et de son existence dans l'espace et dans le temps. Parce que les études historiques ont contesté le caractère aborigène de ce système, l'évidence séduisante qui suggère le pré-contact avec le territoire a été ignorée et/ou justifiée en termes de facteurs d'un commerce historique de la fourrure. Étant donné qu'elles influencent les modèles d'usage de la terre, les données du territoire des Grands Lacs du Haut-Saint-Laurent et des forêts boréales du Québec et de l'Ontario sont examinées en termes de développements sociopolitique et économique. Depuis que quelques groupes du début du 17ième siècle dans la région des Grands Lacs du Haut-Saint-Laurent semblent avoir été divisés en rangs sociaux, il appert que les positions socialement importantes ont été en relation étroite avec le système régional des transactions relatives aux alliances, ce qui comprend l'entretien des frontières sociales. Il est aussi suggéré que les positions socialement importantes ont été étroitement reliées au contrôle territorial de l'échange des richesses. Quoique les peuples préhistoriques de la forêt boréale qui faisaient partie du système d'alliances avaient aussi des territoires indéfinis, les développements ultérieurs au contact avec les Européens aident à expliquer les très anciens exemples de ce phénomène.

Since Frank Speck first described the Northeastern Algonquian family hunting (trapping) system, scholars have attempted to account for its origin and spatio-temporal existence. Because historical studies challenged the aboriginality of this system, enticing evidence suggesting precontact territoriality has been ignored and/or explained away in terms of historic fur trade factors. Inasmuch as they influence land use patterns, data from the St. Lawrence-Upper Great Lakes area and the boreal forests of Québec and Ontario are examined in terms of sociopolitical and economic developments. Since some early seventeenth century groups in the Upper Great Lakes region appear to have been socially ranked, it is shown that socially important positions were closely related to a regional transactional alliance system that included the maintenance of

social boundaries. It is also suggested that socially important positions were closely related to the territorial control of exchange resources. Whether prehistoric boreal forest peoples who were part of the alliance system were also territorial is uncertain, although postcontact developments help to explain very early examples of this.

There is now a large literature on Northeastern Algonquian land tenure and land use, focused particularly on the so-called family hunting territory system. Since this system is now assumed to have emerged after contact (Leacock 1982:167), there has been considerable attention devoted to the conditions under which it developed and persisted. Various ecological, economic, and acculturative factors have been documented to explain the emergence of individual and seemingly private rights to certain animal resources within roughly bounded regions. So far, so good.

Questions remain, however, concerning the starting point from which these changes occurred. Given the argument that individualization and privatization, sometimes equated with increasing sociocultural atomism, are postcontact trends, aboriginal Indians are then assumed to have practiced some form of communal land use characteristic of an ideal model of egalitarian foragers. Thus, according to Leacock and Lee, among such societies as the Cree and San there is collective ownership of the means of production, "the land and its resources—by a band, 'horde', or camp" (1982:7-8).

While there may indeed have been foraging societies that closely approximated the egalitarian model, problems arise when all Northeastern Algonquians are forced into this mold. Communalism, in fact, appears to have been a matter of degree. So much attention has been devoted to disproving that individually owned territories could exist among aboriginal Indians that there has been no attempt to understand other forms of territoriality. In addition to good evidence for boundary defense and "tolls," there is the indirect suggestion that particular sorts of resources were territorially controlled by specific groups.

Further, the nature of territorial practices (and the lack of them) appears to have been closely related to other sociopolitical factors. Although indirect and even limited direct European trade antedates the early historic records by as much as a century in some regions, the evidence suggests that groups living near the Great Lakes and Ottawa/St. Lawrence valleys were ranked rather than egalitarian societies. Chiefs were more than simply "first among equals," although their power was limited. At elaborate funerary feasts, feasts of the dead, closely resembling Northwest Coast mortuary potlatches, gifts validated hereditary

or quasi-hereditary chiefly positions. There is some evidence for their precontact existence on a reduced scale.

The degree to which any group approximated the egalitarian ideal varied with both geography and time. The most egalitarian groups appear to have been those furthest north of the Great Lakes/St. Lawrence watershed. Some groups became ranked during the early historic period. As opportunities for political and economic gain lessened following contact, all Algonquians shifted to increasingly egalitarian patterns—and individualistic ones, insofar as needs were being satisfied through the fur trade. The forces that gave rise to individualistic trapping patterns also opened the system and blurred, blended, and ultimately erased status differences.

Early-contact sociopolitical organization varied regionally as well as temporally, as it probably had among prehistoric Algonquians. Since forms of land tenure are related to other cultural variables, it will be argued that those Algonquians who deviated most from the egalitarian model were also the most territorial in regard to certain resources. Undeniably, the historic fur trade initiated territorial behavior among the most egalitarian groups as furs grew increasingly important to their lifestyle and/or as these groups began to emulate the territoriality of those around them. The data, however, make an equally robust case for arguing that, among other groups, the fur trade intensified existing forms of territoriality.

To assess the nature of territorial behavior at any given time and place, we must place such behavior within the context of other cultural variables. Among the most important of these were sociopolitical relations within and between groups. In usual systemic fashion, certain aspects of these relations derived from, as well as themselves generated, territorial behavior.

Two interrelated aspects of territoriality operated during early historic and probably prehistoric times. The first aspect pertained to boundary defense between groups. Members of one group might prevent those of another from passing through their lands to trade with a third group. Or, if permission were granted, sometimes the traveling group was expected to give a portion of the goods to be exchanged. What was being defended was not the land per se but a position in a regional transactional network that facilitated access to luxury/prestige goods which, when exchanged or given away, bestowed prestige on the donors. Extrapolating from C. A. Smith's discussion of regional exchange networks, we can say that such a system need not involve markets (regular, periodic, or even occasional), that it "has no central place," and exchange is "regularly interrelated by trade, but the flows are primarily horizontal. . . . This kind of system may be found in regions where [trade] is disassociated from [central

place] provisioning, or it may involve a kind of trade irrelevant to urban centers" (C. A. Smith 1976(1):33).

There were, to be sure, trade rendezvous, some quite regular, but the evidence indicates that regional exchange networks were predicated essentially on a series of links in a trade network. The positions and their varied occupants have come to be identified as components in the "middleman system of exchange," which controlled and regulated the flow of goods through the maintenance of geographic and social boundaries. Though the postcontact fur trade intensified and perhaps even exacerbated the problematic dynamics of initiating, sustaining, and elaborating upon particular positions in the system, many, if not most, of these networks antedated European influences. Among protohistoric Algonquians, such links helped to maintain alliances and provided information and favors in time of need. The symbolic and sociopolitical value of goods may often have been more important than the ostensible primary purpose. This may have remained true for a short time after European goods entered the system.

As the historic fur trade expanded and grew in importance, however, and as furs came to be the chief medium of exchange, the commodity value of items quickly came to dominate. There was a florescence of ritual activities and a geographic expansion of the middleman/boundary defense system. The increase in material wealth offered new opportunities to enhance prestige, but the westward movement of European fur traders undermined chiefly positions by destroying their trade advantages. Chiefs and their kinsmen found themselves in competition with each other and also with emerging entrepreneurs, often in areas where fur and game had become exhausted. To stay on top, they had to move further west, ahead of the Europeans. This many of them did, until they too were engulfed by the expanding fur trade (Bishop 1974:308-326).

So long as competition among Europeans for furs remained, attempts to maintain middleman roles and the desire for trade goods made for so dynamic and volatile a system that there was a decline in earlier values attached to social linkages or prestige markers and to transactional processes themselves. Although trade rituals, involving Indian captains and Hudson's Bay Company and North West Company fur traders, persisted into the nineteenth century, once Europeans ceased giving deferential treatment to these persons, their special status, but perhaps not their prestige, was destroyed.

The second aspect of territoriality involves, in its later manifestations, the familiar hunting territory system described by Speck and others. While individual territories were probably a strictly postcontact phenomenon, territoriality probably was not. Territoriality, where it existed, in both pre- and protohistoric times was instituted to control access to the resources of ex-

change by group leaders (trade chiefs or "big men") with the support and collaboration of their groups. In precontact times these resources might have included anything from copper mines to beaver lodges. Provided that the quantity of beaver pelts exchanged was regular and relatively large, it is suggested that a chief might determine where the families of his band would trap; that is, an allotment system would exist. Territoriality, then, would have been a group concern under the aegis of the chief, who would represent his band in matters of trade and diplomacy. As the European fur trade grew more important, beaver and other fur bearers became the objects of defense strategies among Indians where such behavior had not previously existed. Likewise, group territoriality, the allotment system, gave way to individual/family forms once captains lost support, perhaps quite rapidly near newly established centers of trade. Then individuals who formerly gave their furs to the captains to be exchanged could now trade directly with Europeans.

Territoriality, in defense of regional networks or spatially defined resources, existed not because any particular group needed the resource for local consumption (even though this was usually the case) but rather because that resource could be exchanged in a predictable fashion for other desired materials unavailable or in short supply locally. If a group in a particular favorable position in the network could amass a sufficient quantity of valuables, the chief and leading men might host a feast or giveaway. While the explicit purpose of these feasts was to resuscitate the dead, especially chiefs, and to validate publicly the heirs to chiefly positions, the chief and his associates of the host group could demonstrate their social importance through acts of generosity and conspicuous consumption. Such events were often characterized by dancing, gambling, and non-ritual trade.

During the protohistoric period some groups were able to extend their networks and acquire more fur pelts than they could have obtained previously because of the influx of new and highly coveted items into the system. Certainly they could amass more furs through trade than they could have trapped themselves within the areas they exploited for subsistence purposes. This desire for trade goods had the effect of depleting the supply of furbearers in an ever-widening area around the home ranges of pivotal middleman groups. Local scarcity, however, probably did not motivate conservation if furbearers could be obtained from other groups in sufficient numbers to meet trade needs. Indians apparently believed that reincarnated animals and/or game spirits would maintain a sufficiency, provided that Indians did not breach taboos and/or were not the objects of sorcery. They perhaps recognized that leaving a breeding pair of beaver in a lodge would allow the stock to be replenished, but under postcontact conditions of intense competition they would be inclined to exterminate them, lest others take them first. Later, when

Indians exchanged scarce pelts directly with European traders, they would again emphasize conservation. The fur traders themselves encouraged such practices (Bishop 1970, 1978).

Several implications can be drawn from the above. (1) Early historical examples of territoriality suggest that it may have antedated European intervention. (2) Defense of certain resources developed out of regional transactional alliances that controlled the flow of exchange goods and elevated the status of the chief participants. (3) Territoriality existed to protect local resources from members of other groups who would have been able, with direct access, to circumvent and/or undermine the position of those with whom they had an alliance. Indeed, this was no small concern, and there are historically documented attempts at such deception. (4) Aboriginal territoriality was a group phenomenon since the resources were funnelled through the chief, who in turn redistributed materials for which the resources were exchanged to members of his band. (5) When the exchange resources were furbearers, particular families and/or individuals would exploit sectors of the group's foraging range determined by the chief and elders. (6) Because of the Indian world view involving the special relationship between humans and animals, territoriality existed in the absence of true conservation practices among pre-and protohistoric Algonquians. While Indians recognized that by not killing all the beaver in a house there would be some for the future, reincarnation would have the same results. Conservation to promote sustained yields rather than leisure became important later, under altered ecological and trade conditions. (7) Finally, territoriality was not a simple reflex of ecological necessity, intended to maximize or optimize energy return per unit of foraging time. Models derived from Optimal Foraging Theory work best when applied to twentieth-century foragers. Such models, however, might also be applied to protohistoric Indians, provided that ideological and sociopolitical variables are incorporated and weighted appropriately in explanations of behavior (E. A. Smith 1983).

Detailed long-term studies of the Northern Algonquians, such as those of Bishop (1974) and Morantz (1983), identify some of the factors that help to explain change. But the data base, primarily fur trade records, tends to give priority to ecological/economic factors at the expense of ideological and sociopolitical ones. While the material conditions cannot be neglected in any adequate explanation of territorial behavior, especially under marginal subsistence, neither can social and cognitive ones. As Gledhill and Rowlands state:

> Economic and socio-political conditions cannot . . . be separated, and both are equally "material": we cannot understand economic processes in the narrowest sense in isolation, but neither can we argue that real development trajectories are determined by purely "cultural"

> or "political" process. . . . [T]heorizing about long-term socio-economic change . . . involves us in the construction of models of total social systems in which ideological, political and economic processes are linked to each other in a dialectical interplay rather than as determinate levels in a social formation. . . . What we are trying to grasp, then, are dynamic processes which generate spatial and diachronic variation in individual and socio-political units. (1982:145, 148).

An approach that considers all facets, similar in scope to that of Rogers (1963) for the Mistassini, would seem appropriate.

Data to support the above model will be drawn from historical records for two regions, the Upper St. Lawrence-Ottawa Valley-Upper Great Lakes area and the boreal forests of Québec and Ontario. Clearly, the two areas overlap somewhat. Obviously, coverage of such vast areas will require simplification of spatio-temporal variations and permutations. By treating two regions separately, however, we can highlight and explain the differences. Simplification helps to resolve some theoretical problems emerging from more detailed but geographically restricted studies.

There is always the danger of misinterpreting or reading too much into early historical sources (Trigger 1976(1):17). These records contain the biases of their authors and are far from complete. Nevertheless, when taken as a whole, they permit reasonably accurate reconstruction of sociocultural processes. Comparative ethnographic data and ethnological models facilitate interpretation. Further, no matter how good the studies based on recent field work, their results cannot simply be extended uncritically to earlier periods on the assumption that Indians will necessarily behave in similar ways under what are inferred to be similar conditions.

AN OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERRITORIALITY

While there is no consensus concerning what constitutes territoriality (Dyson-Hudson and Smith 1978; Malmberg 1980; Cashdan 1983), the term will be defined here as *the exclusive use by humans of one or more culturally identified and defined resources within a specified area by a specified individual or group.* Ideally, resources should be spatially bounded and/or controlled by a specified individual or group so as to permit defense or defensive communication (Dyson-Hudson and Smith 1978:23). Although anything, whether beaver pelts or leisure, with use-value may be categorized as a resource, it is analytically useful to restrict discussion to resources with both corporeal substance and exchange/consumption value. For example,

while leisure may be a highly valued resource, attempts to maximize or optimize it among foragers are related to foraging efficiency strategies and as such are indirect. Leisure can be defended only by maintaining or reducing efforts involved in the production of corporeal goods. If, in turn, these corporeal goods are scarce, they may be the object of defense strategies and hence territorial behavior.

To date, most studies of territoriality among foragers look at subsistence resources. But territoriality can involve non-subsistence resources also. Further, defense and control of the latter can lessen subsistence efficiency and increase risks, a point sometimes ignored in Optimal Foraging Theory or where simplistic cost/benefit models are employed. Here, then, *a resource is any corporeal good that can be consumed and/or exchanged and is valued for its economic, social, political, and/or symbolic qualities.*

Rules of exclusive access may be only part of what constitutes territoriality. Territorial rules may also restrict how and with whom resources may be consumed and/or exchanged. A sub-type of exchange rule involves the management and maintenance of regional transactional networks. Rules of access and exchange are aspects of social organization: they define relations both within and between social groups with respect to the "who, when, where, and how" of resource exploitation, exchange, and consumption. When such rules become highly formalized and ritualized, usually other, related features of social organization affect, and are affected, in the process.

Territoriality and resource management need not go hand in hand. Where they do coincide, as among the Waswanipi (Feit 1973) and many other contemporary groups, they are a means not only of increasing harvesting efficiency but also of conserving resources, to sustain yields. Together, they presuppose scarcity, either periodic or ongoing. In modern cases, they are applied also to basic resources—foodstuffs and/or fur pelts exchanged for store necessities.

Resource management, however, can exist without defense strategies, where outsiders cannot or do not threaten the resource or take more than is required to satisfy basic needs. In the absence of defense mechanisms, resource management does not imply scarcity but, rather, may simply be a means of optimizing leisure. Thus, insofar as paleolithic affluence characterizes aboriginal foragers, subsistence resources were managed either deliberately or unwittingly as a byproduct of optimizing leisure or some other valued material or activity. Since Indians understood well the habits of game, they may have consciously regulated kills to reduce effort, even though they usually explained animal population dynamics supernaturally. It is unlikely, however, that they applied territorial regulations to

the basic resources needed to sustain life. Among Northeastern Algonquians it is merely coincidental that beaver were the object of territorial behavior: defense rules existed primarily because pelts were an important exchange item, not because beaver flesh was a valued food.

Territoriality need not involve resource management and can, under certain conditions—contrary to Hardin's (1968) "tragedy of the commons" view—lead to over-exploitation. Where this occurs, territorial defense may simply be designed to keep others out, with the owners having little regard for or understanding of the consequences of their own exploitative behavior. It sometimes involves a scorched-earth policy.

Finally, a situation can exist where neither territoriality nor resource management exists. This arrangement characterizes areas only recently occupied by new arrivals. Over-exploitation is possible, as in the case of the emergent Northern Ojibwa (Bishop 1974:246-249, 277-283) and, conceivably, the Paleo Indians (P. S. Martin 1973). Probably more than one form of land tenure existed, either at the same time in different geographic areas and/or among the same group, depending on seasonal/annual resource use patterns.

In his study of the hunting group-hunting territory complex among the Mistassini, Rogers (1963) considers alternative aboriginal land use forms. He (1963:82) suggests that a hunting range system was basic. In it, a group possessing no exclusive rights to the resources returns to roughly the same area each year. This, I argue here, was the basic form for subsistence materials among all aboriginal foraging Algonquians north of the St. Lawrence/Great Lakes region. Although Rogers, like most recent Subarctic scholars, rejects the idea that hunting territories were aboriginal, his view would apply only to more remote, northerly groups. Algonquians further south, it is hypothesized, were territorial, but rules applied to prestige/exchange resources, not subsistence ones.

UPPER ST. LAWRENCE-OTTAWA VALLEY-UPPER GREAT LAKES ALGONQUIANS

Groups located between Québec City and Sault Ste. Marie were influenced by Europeans by at least the early sixteenth century. The fur trade had become a major concern of Europeans and Indians several decades before good historical records appear. It would be naive to think that Indians further west, in the central Great Lakes region, and perhaps as far north as James Bay, were unaware of European goods by the late sixteenth century. Modification in Indian sociopolitical and economic organization had probably already occurred by the time of Champlain's visits to Huronia.

The issue, nevertheless, is not whether change had occurred, for cultures are constantly in flux, but rather the nature of the changes. Were these early shifts qualitative or quantitative? Did they radically transform Indian society or did they simply elaborate upon existing themes and trends? One's answer depends as much on one's theoretical orientation as on the almost nonexistent data. It is argued here that—except along the St. Lawrence, where Indians experienced direct contact with Europeans—groups further inland, both north and west, simply elaborated upon indigenous institutional structures. Their even more isolated neighbors, in turn, may, through association, have adopted patterns to facilitate transactional relationships. It is maintained, though, that radical change did not occur for most Indians until after the 1630s, when many groups were dislocated and/or reduced in numbers by Iroquois raids and epidemics, such as smallpox. Not until the Huron were routed in 1649, however, were many interior and western Algonquians directly affected; and for even more isolated Cree, further north, radical change may not have occurred until after the 1670s, when Hudson's Bay Company posts were established along the coast. Even then, in the area east of James Bay, processes appear to have been gradual and accretive rather than sudden and dramatic (Morantz 1983:157-161). The historical record can be employed to assess the nature of change, provided that one controls spatio-temporal factors.

There were twenty to twenty-five identifiable groups exploiting the resources on or near the main water route between Québec and Sault Ste. Marie during the early seventeenth century. The size of groups varied, seemingly according to resource densities and seasonal variations in availability. Groups moved about seasonally, separating when foods became more difficult to obtain and gathering when they were more plentiful or concentrated. The Jesuits who traveled the route to Huronia usually described it as having, among other food, abundant fish and game (Thwaites 1896(21):239-241; Cleland 1982). Granted, there may have been belt-tightening during the winter, but starvation doesn't seem to have occurred until epidemics and Iroquois raids weakened and dislocated groups after the 1630s.

Something approximating a home range system was perhaps in effect here, just as Rogers (1969) suggests was the case further north, albeit the size of the nothern ranges was somewhat smaller. There is no evidence that groups prevented others having access to subsistence resources, although inability to gain access to foods may have been an indirect byproduct of boundary defense of prestige/luxury materials.

The early historical records indicate that most or all St. Lawrence-Great Lakes Algonquians were linked into one or several exchange systems. Exchange may indicate, among other things, a lack of access to some particular resource(s). However, if

concern for boundary recognition is the crux of an encounter, the "exchange" of a gift for through-passage may involve receipt of a good not scarce or needed. In either case there are some good examples in the *Jesuit Relations*. When some Abenaki were attempting to reach Trois-Rivières in 1637, Father LeJeune (Thwaites 1896(12):189) remarked that a Montagnais captain went to block their passage:

> These Barbarians have a very remarkable custom. When other nations arrive in their country, they would not dare pass beyond without permission from the Captain of the place; if they did, their canoes would be broken to pieces. This permission to pass on is asked for with presents in hand; if these presents are not accepted by the Chief, not being minded to let them pass, he tells them he has stopped the way, and that they can go no further. At these words they have to turn back, or run the risks of war.

It is moot as to whether the "presents" were required because they were locally unavailable or as symbolic markers of control. These Abenaki had come to trap beaver and trade, not to obtain food. Beaver had become an important exchange resource to the Montagnais, and so such intrusion was perceived as trespass and a threat to their own trade. Whether this was an aboriginal "toll" system cannot be determined—1637 is late in terms of postcontact fur trade activities. If it developed after contact, then the Montagnais may have obtained it through the formalization of an exchange relationship with Algonquian neighbors to the west. Indeed, there are earlier examples among these latter peoples.

Perhaps the most celebrated example of boundary defense pertains to the Allumette (Kichespiirini) Algonquians of the Ottawa Valley. As early as 1609, Champlain reported that these people tried to prevent the Huron from reaching the French (Biggar 1922(2):71). The Allumette had probably long been controlling access to European goods on the Ottawa route and continued to do so until disease and the Iroquois devastated them. In 1613, they prevented Champlain from visiting the Nipissing (Biggar 1922(2):285). Twenty years later, LeJeune (Thwaites 1896(6):19) wrote that these Algonquians, "in order to monopolize the profit of the trade, prefer that the Hurons should not go down the river to trade their peltries with the French, desiring themselves to collect the merchandise of the neighboring tribes and carry it to the French; that is why they do not like to see us go to the Hurons, thinking that we would urge them to descend the river, and that, the French being with them, it would not be easy to bar the passage."

The Allumette were not the only people to control an important trade network system. From the earliest observations by Champlain, the Nipissing had a well-traveled, and probably close-

ly monitored, trade route to the Kilistinon (Cree) of the James Bay area. Prior to the 1630s, beaver pelts obtained by the Huron from the Nipissing were made into robes, there being insufficient game in the vicinity of the large Huron towns to clothe the inhabitants. Probably, then, the Huron-Nipissing alliance had developed during the century and a half prior to Champlain's trek to Huronia.

There are numerous examples of formal exchange alliances and monopolistic boundary defense patterns pertaining both to other groups and to later periods. While some later cases of boundary defense may have been postcontact extensions that preceded the expanding fur trade, many examples cannot be explained away so easily, contrary to Brasser (1971:261-262). They appear too well established at too early a date. Further, the protocol of trade seems too formalized and complex to have developed within a few years after contact. For example, the Huron right to trade with the Algonquians was a lineage prerogative rarely breached in early years (Heidenreich 1971:221-222, 233). There is, however, historical evidence that the institution was later extended to other groups and/or elaborated upon. For example, by 1636, expanding opportunities were also producing clandestine trade among the Huron (Thwaites 1896(10):223-225), as was seemingly the case in the Abenaki example. The system was not simply imposed on Indians by Europeans, nor did it develop only in response to European intervention. Rather, many early postcontact examples represent an elaboration and/or extension of indigenous institutions under conditions of relative political and economic self-sufficiency and autonomy.

Like the Nipissing, the Ottawa had well-established and time-honored trade networks both to the Petun and to the Algonquian groups north and west of Lake Huron (Biggar 1922(5):103). Champlain said that the Ottawa ". . . have several chiefs, each ruling in his own district. . . . They . . . go in troops to various regions and countries, where they traffic with other nations, distant four or five hundred leagues." The Ottawa also appear to have traded eastward, though there is little evidence that more than a handful had travelled to Québec prior to 1650. For example, Paul Ragueneau (Thwaites 1896(35):239) reported that "the Outaoukotwemiwek . . . are tribes who scarcely ever go down to the French settlements." This suggests that they either were prevented from making the trip by the Hurons or Nipissings and/or continued to observe the proper protocol in regard to trade alliances.

The destruction and/or dispersal of the Huron, Nipissing, and Ottawa Valley groups by war and disease during the 1630s and 1640s, however, left the gateway open after the Iroquois threat subsided. Quick to fill the breach, the Ottawa claimed that "the great river [Ottawa] belongs to them, and that no nation can launch a boat on it without their consent" (Thwaites 1896(51):

21). More westerly Algonquians, often subsumed under the label "Ottawa," traveled with them as their guests.

Further west, and just prior to the Huron dispersal, Ragueneau (Thwaites 1896(33):149) reported that the Saulteurs of the St. Mary's River region between lakes Huron and Superior required the French "to obtain a passage, if we wished to go further and communicate with numerous other Algonquin Tribes" living about Lake Superior.

It would seem that territorial rules applied only to the right to trade and to obtain exchange goods, and not to the right to exploit subsistence necessities. Rules of sharing and hospitality may have prevented the development of rules of exclusivity for basic food needs. Rather, boundary defense during the early seventeenth century probably emanated from sociopolitical relations among peoples. Groups appear to have exploited foods seasonally in predetermined areas, but nothing suggests that others were prevented access.

Indeed, where subsistence resources were concentrated in space and time, several distinct groups might gather at the same locale. For example, in the *Relation* for 1669-1671, Claude Dablon stated that the Saulteur live at Sault Ste. Marie "as in their own Country, and others being there only as borrowers. They compromise only a hundred and fifty souls, but have united themselves with three other Nations which number more than five hundred and fifty persons, to whom they have, as it were, made a cession of the rights of their native Country; and so these live here permanently, except the time when they are out hunting" (Thwaites 1896(54):133). While this union probably occurred after contact, the close relationship among the groups probably would earlier have provided reciprocal access to food ranges. The rich whitefish fishery in the St. Mary's River was a great attraction to numerous Indian groups: "It furnishes food almost by itself, to the greater part of all these peoples" from the surrounding area (Thwaites 1896(54):129-131).

During the years that the Ottawa were living at Green Bay and Lake Superior (1650-1670), the moose population on Manitoulin Island, which the Ottawa apparently had vacated, appears not to have been exploited by Indians, perhaps out of fear of the Iroquois. During the winter of 1670-1671, however, Nicolas Perrot, then living with the Amikouet, stated that they and the Saulteur, who were wintering in the same area, went hunting with snares on Manitoulin and killed "more than two thousand four hundred moose . . ." (Blair 1969(1):221). This might seem a wanton kill (if the figure is correct), but Indians had seemingly depleted the game along the north shore of Lake Huron to provision an important feast of the dead in the summer of 1670, hosted by the Amikouet to honor the recently deceased captain of that group. Indeed, game remained in short supply along the north shore: a year

later, at the mission at Mississague, Dablon (Thwaites 1896(55): 135) reported that "[a]ll those poor people had . . . been suffering from a famine, and . . . reduced to a fir-tree diet."

Whenever food was available, any group in the region might exploit it. Originally, beaver may also have been free to all, at least in areas where their pelts were not traded. With the growth in importance and volume of trade with other groups, including Europeans, Indians quickly came to overexploit beaver. LeJeune in 1634 discusses overexploitation among the Montagnais; if they could be induced to become farmers,

> beavers will greatly multiply . . . When the Savages find a lodge of them, they kill all, great and small, male and female. There is a danger that they will finally exterminate the species in this Region [Trois-Rivières], as has happened among the Hurons, who have not a single Beaver, going elsewhere to buy the skins they bring to the storehouse. . . . Now it will be so arranged that, in the course of time, each family of our Montagnais, if they become located, will take its own territory for hunting, without following in the tracks of its neighbors; besides we will counsel them not to kill any but the males, and of only such as are large. If they act upon this advice, they will have Beaver meat and skins in the greatest abundance. (Thwaites 1896(8):57-59)

Lack of territorial exclusivity and conservation was of concern to the French, and policies were being implemented to promote family hunting territories, so as to ensure conservation. Probably other Indians whose lands had been denuded of game were being told the same thing. That these policies had taken firm hold in some areas is attested to by Alexander Henry, who in 1761 reported: "The Algonquins, of the lake Des Deux Montagnes . . . claim all the lands on the Outaouais, as far as Lake Nipisingue; and that these lands are subdivided, between their several families, upon whom they have devolved by inheritance. I was also informed, that they are exceedingly strict, as to the rights of property, in this regard, accounting an invasion of them an offence, sufficiently great to warrant the death of the invader" (Henry 1969:23).

Other exotic materials, including copper from Lake Superior (Thwaites 1896(50):265-267; 54:153), lead from Iowa, in addition to pigment, mats, nets, pottery, and chert, were also exchanged. Whether Iroquois or Michigan-style pottery was traded into the region north of the Upper Great Lakes, and whether the women who made the pots were married to northern men, are uncertain. Perhaps both were occurring, although, according to Wright (1981:94-95), "[t]he drawing of women from adjacent regions where they had participated in completely different ceramic traditions is

regarded as the major reason for this bizarre heterogeneity of pottery styles."

By at least the early seventeenth century, columella shells from the Atlantic seaboard had become the special-purpose money of the entire St. Lawrence-Great Lakes region. LeJeune (Thwaites 1896(5):61), for instance, reported in 1632 that, for the Montagnais, their "gold and silver, their diamonds and pearls, are little white grains of porcelain." These "porcelain collars" were employed to establish alliances, validate positions of chieftainship, and resuscitate the dead and were placed in graves. These shell beads came gradually to be replaced, or at least accompanied, in transactions by beaver pelts, as the fur trade expanded.

Among the Hurons, individuals of particular lineages controlled trade with other tribal groups. According to Brébeuf: "There is also a certain order established as regards foreign Nations. And first, concerning commerce; several families have their own private trades, and he is considered master of one line of trade who was the first to discover it. The children share the rights of the parents in this respect, as do those who bear the same name; no one goes into it without permission, which is given only in consideration of presents" (Thwaites 1896(10):223-225).

Since such lineage trade among the Hurons suggests Algonquian counterparts and similar protocol, I argue that some Upper Great Lakes Algonquians—with well-established, regularized, and ancient inter-group alliances—had developed descent principles analogous to those of the Huron. For example, while the Huron possessed matrilineal clans, most groups later designated Ojibwa had patrilineal clans (Hickerson 1962; Bishop 1976). Alliances, even before contact, were a means of establishing exchange relations, which, in some cases, generated descent principles through which formal rights to trade could be regularized, monopolized, and maintained. A breach of these rights was viewed as an act of hostility, since it threatened the political position of the group and of its leader, in whom those rights were symbolically embodied. Such rights were jealously guarded, especially by the leader, who had the most to lose from transgressions. After contact, however, the opportunities for trespass increased in proportion to the volume and conditions of trade.

Such an alliance system, involving formal relations among structured groups, may have come about through the ripple effect of Mississippian developments in the Midwest during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. At the time of contact, an elaborate alliance system is in evidence. Other Algonquians further north and east, more peripheral and hence less equal partners, may have been organized more loosely, forming groups based on ties among males related by blood for purposes of trade, but which remained primarily bilateral for subsistence purposes.

Algonquians near the north shore of Lake Huron had captains or chiefs who were either eldest sons of former chiefs (Thwaites 1896(55):137) or were adopted by the deceased chief's relatives (Blair 1969(1):84). As lineage heads, their primary function was to represent their kin group in trade and war. Thus, while their positions were ascribed by tradition, their prestige depended on personal achievement. Prestige could be enhanced by war heroics and by extending and enlarging political and economic links. To accomplish this, chiefs and their kinsmen had to extend their control over the resources of exchange and/or monopolize alliances with resource suppliers. Asymmetry would then result, when peripheral groups were forced to trade at a disadvantage while centrally located ones demanded, and got, handsome profits.

Chiefly offices also required validation. I suggest that in prehistoric times a successor to a deceased chief was required to give a small mortuary feast—a feast of the dead—to validate his claim and to resuscitate the name of his deceased predecessor. These feasts served essentially the same function as mortuary potlatches on the Northwest Coast. Although Hickerson (1960:87) suggests that aboriginal Algonquians lacked such feasts, evidence of a late prehistoric ossuary burial on Bois Blanc Island in the Straits of Mackinac hints at group solidarity and hence a feast of validation (McPherron 1967:289-293). Further, groups structured by unilineal rules that extended to chiefly offices needed some means of both honoring the high-status dead and publicly validating a successor's claim (Hickerson 1960:91). Thus, in addition to initiating intertribal alliances (of considerable importance during the seventeenth century), the feast of the dead could publicly certify political/territorial claims and enhance prestige.

During the seventeenth century, the European fur trade "led to serious changes in intertribal relations; new commercial relations required a broadening of political perspectives, a growing emphasis on external relations, the necessity for alliances and planned diplomacy" (Hickerson 1960:87). For at least a short period, the feast grew greatly in magnitude and scale to include many different groups and huge expenditures of food and other goods. Like mid-nineteenth-century potlatches, these early-contact feasts contained demonstrations of power by the chiefs. At a feast hosted by the Nipissing in 1641, the chief of each visiting group stands up in his canoe and

> throws away some portion of his goods to be scrambled for. Some articles float on the water, while others sink to the bottom. The young men hasten to the spot. One will seize a mat, wrought as tapestries are in France; another a Beaver skin; others get a hatchet, or a dish, or some Porcelain beads, or other article,—each according to his skill and the good fortune he may have. There is nothing but joy, cries, and public

> acclamations, to which the Rocks surrounding the Great Lake return an Echo that drowns all their voices.
>
> When the Nations are assembled, and divided, each in his own seats, Beaver Robes, skins of Otter, of Caribou, of wild Cats, and of Moose; Hatchets, Kettles, Porcelain Beads, and all things that are precious in this Country, are exhibited. Each Chief of a Nation presents his own gift to those who hold the Feast, giving to each present some name that seems best suited to it. (Thwaites 1896(23):211)

Later, after the Nipissing chiefs had been chosen to replace those chiefs who had died and for whom the feast was held, the new chiefs "gave largess of a quantity of Beaver skins and Moose hides, in order to make themselves known, and that they might be received with applause in their Offices. . . . The presents that the Nipissiriniens gave to the other Nations alone would have cost in France forty or even fifty thousand francs" (Thwaites 1896(23):217). Approximately 2,000 Indians attended this feast.

So competitive had the general situation among Indians become by the late seventeenth century that the aboriginal ethic of generosity had attained new dimensions. According to Nicolas Perrot (Blair 1969(1):135): "Although such generosity may be astonishing, it must be admitted that ambition is more the motive for it than is charity. One hears them boast incessantly of the agreeable manner with which they receive people into their houses, and of the gifts that they bestow on their guests—although it is not denied that this is done smilingly and with all possible graciousness." Some Indians who lived near or with the French had abandoned the pretense of generosity and had become "as selfish and avaricious as formerly they were hospitable" (Blair 1969(1):134-135); individualism and individual hunting territories soon replaced collective rights to resources and/or collective territoriality.

In the highly capricious context of the seventeenth century, Algonquian trade chiefs and their followers had to go ever further afield to tap new fur sources in order to maintain and/or enhance their fame and to satisfy their new material wants. As a result, virtually all Northern Algonquians were rapidly drawn into the expanding European fur trade.

BOREAL FOREST ALGONQUIANS

In the boreal forests north of the St. Lawrence-Great Lakes region resided various peoples often lumped together as Kilistinon, Montagnais, or some other designation. Although the size of the ranges exploited as well as seasonal activities varied regionally, boreal forest groups had more similarities than

differences. Many of these groups were egalitarian, others less so, apparently supplying Indians to the south with moose hides and beaver pelts. Among the trappers, some form of territorial control may have extended to beaver lodges. Perhaps some of these Cree also consciously practiced resource management; according to Pierre Radisson, as late as the 1660s they still scorned to catch beaver in traps and "kill not the young castors, but leave them in the water, being that they are sure they will take him again, which no other nation doth" (Adams 1961:147).

This situation was soon to change. As the French fur trade spread northeast and northwest of the St. Lawrence-Great Lakes region after mid-century, a system of local trade captains was extended and elaborated upon by boreal forest groups. As new groups became part of the expanding trade system, the resources of trade—beaver lodges—came to be coveted and defended, first by leaders on behalf of their groups, and later by individuals (or partners) who exploited on a regular basis particular tracts of fur-bearing territory. Under these new conditions, any attempts to manage resources for future use would have been undermined quickly by the heavy demand for furs. The kind of resource management described by Radisson could exist only under relative stability.

Probably neither territoriality nor resource management was part of the adaptive strategies of the most egalitarian bands of Indians. What is the evidence?

First, the earliest records describe northern foragers as extremely mobile. Provided that they did not exchange regularly the pelts of animals, which might have caused them to kill more than they needed for local consumption, mobility might have latent conservation effects, assuming that the minimal predator level was higher than the prey's minimal recovery level (Brightman 1987). It is maintained, however, that the conscious intent of mobility was to reduce energy costs that would other-wise increase as game in an area grew scarcer, not primarily to allow game to recuperate. Further, because of the vastness of the area which a group might exploit, any particular group or segment of it might not return to precisely the same region each year. However, knowledge of an area would facilitate exploitative efficiency. When a group planned to exploit a different area in the future, which was probably a frequent strategy, there was no reason for selectively killing game. Regardless of how well Indians understood the habits of animals, given a lack of understanding of biomass systematics they could not have known that their hunting strategies were either reducing or increasing the overall game population, which in the absence of territories would have been available to all. Likewise, resource management alone is best suited to harvesting large quantities of a particular species not threatened by outsiders, as may have been the case among the Cree described by Radisson. In the absence of

agreed rules of access, management would be detrimental, since resources spared by one group might be taken by another.

Second, Algonquian beliefs regarding animals were not conducive to resource management designed to maintain sustained yield. Game spirits had to be treated with respect, and the bones of dead animals properly disposed of. Such customs were to ensure that a dead animal would be reincarnated and that game would be available whenever needed. Thus killing animals could not reduce or exterminate them. Indeed, some Indians appear to have believed that exactly the opposite would occur. According to Andrew Graham (Williams 1969:154), the Cree near western Hudson Bay "never have any thought to provide for the future, but lie in their tent and indulge their enormous appetites. They kill animals out of wantonness, alleging the more they destroy the more plentiful they grow." If this statement accurately reflects Indian beliefs, it may indicate a postcontact ideological change, designed to justify killing additional game for purposes of exchange (Brightman 1987). As Leacock (1954) has argued, however, a conceptual distinction between production "for use" and "for exchange" is questionable, since in both instances production was for use value by the producers (Tanner 1979:10-12). Further, some prehistoric Cree had probably produced pelts for exchange to Indians to the south.

Indian beliefs about animals, then, reinforced and were reinforced by values concerning the manner in which needs could be satisfied, whether by exchange or use production. Thus, apparently indiscriminate killing to Indians was not so, albeit the consequence was overexploitation. Such practices, rather than being evidence of a breakdown of the aboriginal belief system, as C. Martin (1978) suggests, were evidence of its vitality (Bishop 1981). Indeed, the idea that the more animals killed, the more there would be, could have a basis in practical observation. Regions temporarily abandoned because of increasing energy costs tend to rebound rapidly, perhaps creating the illusion that animals are inexhaustible and that hunting them would increase rather than reduce their numbers (Brightman 1987). One could argue then, contrary to the Protestant work ethic, in favor of the benefits of being lazy—lazy, of course, being defined ethnocentrically in Western terms.

Earlier it was suggested that some northern peoples may have been territorial in regard to furbearers prior to European intervention. If this is correct, such territoriality may have developed in the following manner. Defense strategies could have arisen when beaver (and perhaps other fur pelts) became important exchange items. When the symbolic and/or material value of exchanges between two or more groups became sufficiently regular and important, representatives would emerge to regulate the flow of such items. When exchanges occurred, rituals would be held to symbolize the alliance and also to elevate the status of the

chief participants. If chiefs monopolized this right to trade and the high status accorded it and transmitted these attributes in an orderly fashion to an heir, as among groups near Lake Huron, ego-focused descent groups would emerge—the corporate patrilineal clans of the Ojibwa. Following the death of such traders, mortuary feasts would announce their high status and validate the right of succession. Among more northerly peoples less able to monopolize transactional networks and transmit them to heirs, charisma, personal abilities, and probably luck would determine trade chiefs (Williams 1969:169-70; Ray and Freeman 1978:67-68). During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, most trade chiefs maintained high status throughout their lives, perhaps because Europeans continued to recognize it. When trading, Indians would observe a strict itinerary of activities that clearly distinguished and elevated the position of the chiefs. Historic trade rituals were almost certainly modified versions of aboriginal forms. These rituals were so important that, according to Ray and Freeman (1978:55), had Europeans ignored them, Indians probably would have refused to trade.

Trade chiefs who represented their followers at the trading post were obligated to give away most of what they received. Generosity thus established and maintained support and, when given public recognition, exalted the status of the chief. During the early historic period, the status of trade chief may have been higher than in prehistoric times, because more goods were distributed and because Europeans participated in trade rituals. However, new opportunities to circumvent chiefs opened to aspiring individuals. Success as a trade chief depended both upon the willingness of others to provide support and also upon the goodwill of the European chief trader.

The position of trade chief among boreal forest peoples was either prehistoric or an early historic extension derived from and modelled after southern forms. Probably the most important items that Northern Algonquians provided were animal hides, especially moose, caribou, and beaver. Where beaver pelts were traded regularly with southern groups for other materials, trade chiefs would have wished not only to control access by others (boundary defense) but also to protect the resources of exchange from outside threats. Under these conditions territorial defense strategies applied to beaver lodges could arise where such lodges would have become the private property of the group. The leader of a group, along with group elders, would allot sections of a group's territory to family units.

Assuming that early contact developments paralleled or elaborated upon precontact models, a few historic examples suggest that the above argument pertaining to the manner in which territorial rules developed is correct. In 1647, Jerome Lalemant reported that the Attikamek residing north of Trois-Rivières "all assemble, each one in its own district, on certain days of the

year; and, although they have their own limits, if any one advances upon their lands, or rather into the woods, of his neighbors, that occurs without quarrel, without dispute, without jealousy" (Thwaites 1896(31):209).

Prior to the 1640s, the Attikamek may have been peripheral to developments along the St. Lawrence. Nevertheless, within a few years a trade fair came to be held at Necouba Lake in which the Attikamek participated. They soon came to occupy an important position in the trade in beaver pelts. By the late seventeenth century they had become distinctly territorial, with control in the hands of the leaders: "It is the right of the head of the nation . . . to distribute the places of hunting to each individual. It is not permitted to any Indian to overstep the bounds and limits of the region which shall have been assigned to him in the assemblies of the elders. These are held in autumn and in spring expressly to make this assignment" (Le Clercq 1910(2):237).

Five trade routes to James Bay are described in the *Jesuit Relations* for 1656-1658 (Thwaites 1896(44):239-243). While it cannot be determined whether they were all precontact, they became increasingly important as the European fur trade expanded during the seventeenth century. One of these routes was traversed by Father Albanel in 1671-1672. En route he met some Mistassini Indians, who threatened to charge him for passage through their lands. He stated: "It is no new thing for the Savages, obeying a maxim of their policy or of their avarice, to be extremely cautious in granting strangers a passage, by way of their rivers, to distant Nations" (Thwaites 1896(56):171-173). Given this policy, and Albanel's account of a major trading locale on James Bay, one can speculate that an allotment system of land tenure may have emerged in this region, as may also have been the case on the west side of James Bay (Oldmixon 1931:382).

In an allotment system, if similar to the one described among the late-seventeenth-century Attikamek, some leaders, along with tribal elders, determined where other Indians could hunt and enforced territorial boundaries. When Hudson's Bay Company posts were established in areas with an allotment system, local chiefs welcomed the traders, perhaps because they thought that they could control the distribution of a larger and locally available quantity of goods. The authority of leaders near coastal stores, however, was reduced when other Indians took the opportunity to trade directly with the Europeans. Where this happened, the territories assigned earlier by captains, in some cases, continued to be occupied and guarded by the same families but without the control of a centralized authority. This appears to be precisely the situation described by Morantz (1978) for some eastern James Bay Cree during the 1740s.

CONCLUSIONS

In areas where beaver became an important exchange item, territorial defense mechanisms could have arisen among prehistoric Algonquians. Indians under stable conditions could selectively harvest certain species of game, doing so not to promote conservation but rather to reduce foraging effort. While beaver in any given house might all be killed, Indians believed that reincarnation would prevent their extermination. Selectivity was practiced when large numbers of animals were being killed. If demands for the resource grew too great and/or the resource was threatened by others, extermination could result. In the area north of Huronia, this appears to have happened even before the European fur trade had a significant effect. Such a situation explains why the Nipissing and Ottawa had well-established routes to the north and northwest of the areas they occupied. Among some groups it appears that an allotment system of territoriality developed, as a means, I have argued, to guard and control the symbols of social status derived from transactional relationships. Such relations were of social, political, economic, and symbolic importance. Clearly, however, allotment systems were not intended to conserve resources, given Indian beliefs.

The suggestion that some Northeastern Algonquians, particularly the Montagnais, were less than egalitarian might seem to challenge current arguments, unless it is assumed that the European fur trade was responsible for generating social and sexual inequality (Leacock 1978). While this fur trade and European settlements along the St. Lawrence had an enormous effect on Indians, the model of change developed in this essay should apply, whether such inequality and territoriality ante- or postdated contact. Thus we can never be certain that the Montagnais were quite as egalitarian as Leacock suggests, especially since contact antedated historical accounts by at least several decades. The egalitarian model developed by Leacock and Lee (1982) may apply in some areas. The problem, however, is determining whether our examples truly fit their model.

For some, the argument developed here may be too speculative and the supporting data too sketchy. There is, however, some useful comparative evidence. The Carrier Indians of interior British Columbia were involved in a transactional trade system that extended to the Northwest Coast prior to the arrival of North West Company traders. In addition to trading European items acquired from the coast, the Carrier also exchanged strings of dentalium shells; these strings, like eastern wampum, according to Daniel Harmon (Lamb 1957:244), "constitute a kind of circulating medium, like the money of civilized countries. Twenty of these beads, they consider as equal in value to a beaver's skin." Each village had at least one chief and one or more "men of note" whose positions were obtained matrilineally and validated at mortuary potlatches. Demonstration of status involved the distri-

bution of beaver flesh, which, along with the pelts, was the property of the chief and nobles. Although the relatives of the nobles trapped for them, other Indians were barred from taking beaver on the noblemen's territories. The early-nineteenth-century Carrier were structurally very similar to many early-seventeenth-century Upper Great Lakes Algonquians. It would certainly be expected that these Algonquians practiced forms of territoriality not unlike their western brothers.

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

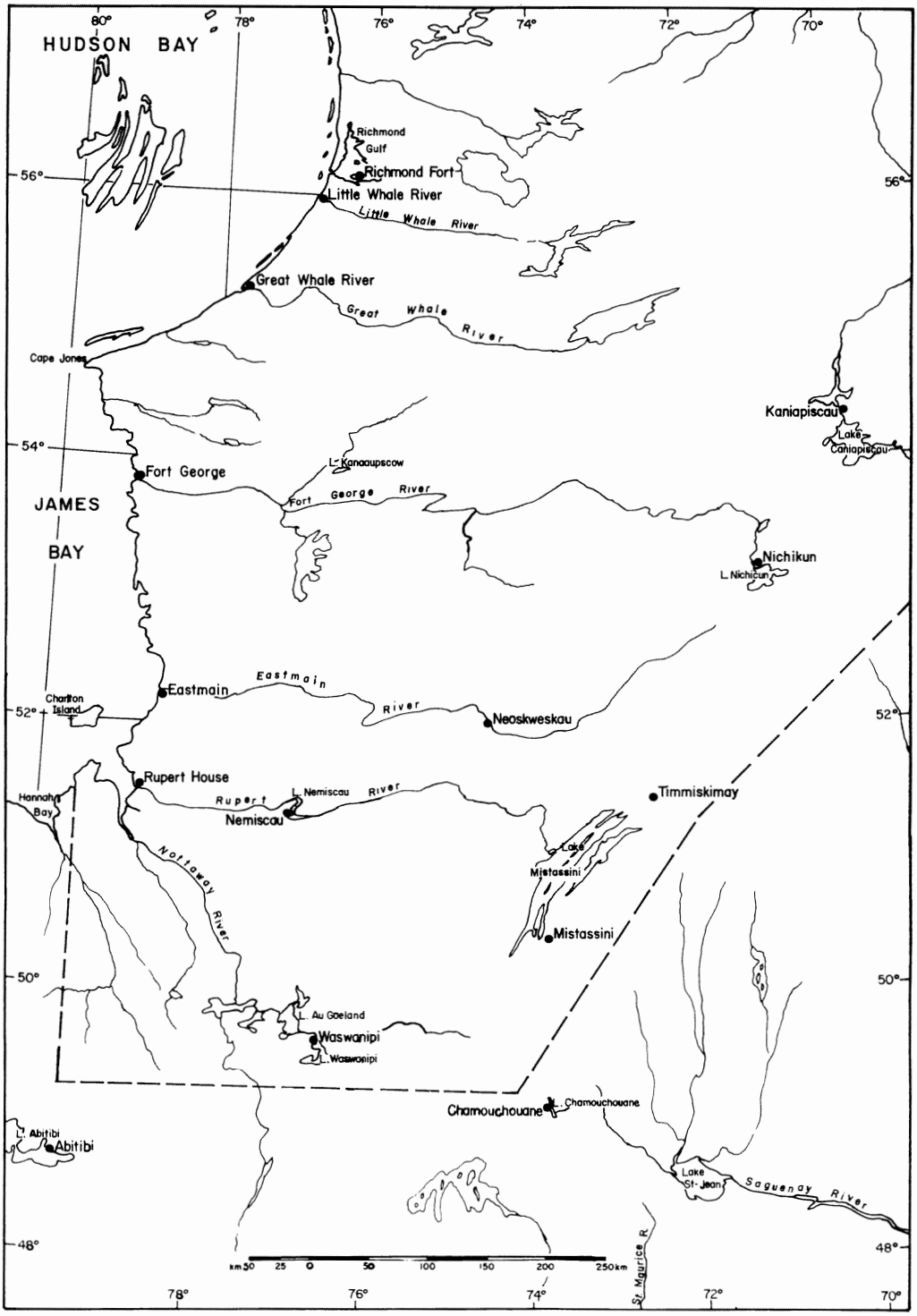

Figure 1

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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1	Sheshatshit	5	La Romaine
2	Davis Inlet	6	Natashquan
3	Schefferville	7	Mingan
4	Saint-Augustin	8	Sept-Iles

Figure 1: Montagnais-Naskapi Communities of the Eastern Québec-Labrador Peninsula.

TERRITORIAL MOBILITY

AMONG THE MONTAGNAIS-NASKAPI OF LABRADOR

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Nous savons relativement peu de choses sur le mode d'occupation des terres dans les régions qui n'ont pas vu l'émergence d'un système de territoires de chasse. Les écrits portant sur l'est de la péninsule Québec-Labrador ou bien mettent l'accent sur la mobilité territoriale et la fluidité des groupes ou bien font appel au modèle des régions fixes où les groupes retournent année après année.

A la lumière de données recueillies à Sheshatshit, l'auteure soutiendra que la mobilité fait partie intégrante des patterns d'occupation territoriale au Labrador. Elle démontrera que la répartition des individus sur le territoire est la projection dans l'espace des relations sociales changeantes qui existent dans la bande.

Relatively little is known about territorial occupation in areas where a system of hunting territories has not developed. Studies on the eastern part of the Québec-Labrador Peninsula either stress territorial mobility and group fluidity or present a pattern of fixed areas where groups return on a regular basis.

Data collected at Sheshatshit point to the fact that mobility is an integral part of land occupancy patterns in Labrador. The distribution of individuals over the territory is here seen as the spatial projection of dynamic social relations existing within the band.

Preliminary analyses of data provide insights into territorial mobility among the Montagnais-Naskapi of Sheshatshit (formerly North West River) in Labrador. This corpus of data is still being analyzed, and final results will eventually appear in a volume on social structure and organization at Sheshatshit (see Note 1).

This study of territorial occupation deals strictly with winter distribution of Sheshatshit Band members. It attempts to reconstitute occupational patterns from about 1900. The aim is to determine where, when, and with whom Sheshatshit Band members hunted during this period.

I sought from the outset to avoid the tendency of most ethnographers, beginning with F. G. Speck, to draw a static sketch of territorial occupation and instead to examine its dynamic aspects. Those who have described the system of individual hunting territories have emphasized its structural rather than dynamic elements, and those who have dealt with land occupancy in areas where such a system does not exist have either exaggerated territorial mobility or treated it as secondary.

Although there is a considerable body of literature on hunting territories among the Northern Algonquians, only three studies bear on central Labrador. Leacock's (1954) well-known study, of the emergence of hunting territories and the fur trade, is based on data collected mainly at Natashquan but also in part at Sheshatshit. The volume published by the Finnish geographer V. Tanner (1944), from data collected in Labrador during the summer of 1937, contains a section on territorial sub-groupings of the Sheshatshit band. The only detailed study, however, of territorial occupation in Labrador is that carried out by A. Tanner (1977) for the political association of the Labrador Indians.

FLEXIBLE BANDS WITH CHANGING MEMBERSHIP

V. Tanner (1944) and Leacock (1954) reported the absence of individualized hunting grounds around Sheshatshit. In light of information originating with the neighboring Moisie Band, Tanner came to believe that this was the result of the breakdown of an older system of organized hunting territories. Leacock took exactly the opposite tack by asserting that such a system had never existed in central Labrador, although changes in hunting and trapping patterns at Sheshatshit indicated that just such a system was emerging in the early 1950s. My own data, which agree with recent findings by A. Tanner (1977), indicate that individual hunting territories in central Labrador still do not exist and most probably never have.

First, there are no words in the Sheshatshit dialect to speak of such a reality. Terms such as *nitassi* (my land) or *nimeshkana:m* (my path) (referring to a trapline) are not used by Sheshatshit speakers (see Note 2). The only exceptions are individuals who have immigrated as adults from the neighboring Sept-Îles Band, where a system of individual hunting territories has developed. In the current Sept-Îles dialect, the term *nitassi* (my land) and the neologism *ninatu:un-assi* (my hunting land) are common. You will even hear *nisha:kaikanim* (my lake) (referring to the main lake on one's hunting ground) and *nishi:pi:m* (my river) (referring to the river used as a main travel route to one's hunting ground).

One can get a perfectly sensible answer from any adult of the Sept-Îles Band with a question such as *Ta:nte tekuannit*

tshu:ta:ui usha:kaikanim? (Where is your father's lake?). The majority of the Sheshatshit people consider such a question not only unintelligible but also stupid. The only possessive form of the term *assi* (land) used in the Sheshatshit dialect is *nitassi:na:n* (our land). According to the context, it refers either to the band territory or to the ill-defined territory claimed as "Indian land" (see Note 3).

An organized system of hunting grounds would, moreover, be incompatible with the general features of the bands inhabiting the eastern part of the peninsula. Leacock's (1969 and 1981) evidence indicates that until about 1950 extreme flexibility and mobility were the predominant characteristics of social organization in that area. The territorial boundaries of the band were vague, and members, both male and female, changed bands at will. This mobility was the result of band exogamy and the tendency to matrilocal residence. Leacock identified this mobility, together with many choices open to an individual, as the basic features of bands in the eastern Québec-Labrador Peninsula.

The large circulation of personnel between the bands of Mingan, Natashquan, La Romaine, and Saint-Augustin has been well documented by Leacock. That they operated as a social and marital network is reflected in the distribution of Montagnais-Naskapi dialects within the peninsula: the four bands still share a common dialect.

In central Labrador, inter-band mobility was equally great. Of the 239 married individuals (alive or deceased) whose cases were examined, only thirty percent were born within the Sheshatshit Band, of parents also born in that band. Thirty percent had immigrated, and forty percent, although born in the band, had at least one immigrant parent. Thus in central Labrador bands were open units having continuous relations with one another.

This is especially true of the Sheshatshit Band. Situated at the heart of the eastern half of the peninsula, it is in the center of a wide kinship network that can be best represented as a spiderweb. Genealogical connections extend in all directions: southwest, to the Sept-Îles and Mingan Bands; northwest, to the Davis Inlet and Fort Chimo (now the Naskapi Band of Schefferville) bands; and south, to Saint-Augustin, La Romaine, and Natashquan (see Figure 1). Given imprecise boundaries and changing band membership, how are the winter hunting parties organized within the band? What rules, if any, govern their distribution during the winter?

According to Leacock, hunting groups in the eastern Québec-Labrador Peninsula are unstable and informal units. Their personnel are constantly changing along consanguineal or affinal and patrilineal or matrilineal lines, as well as through bonds of friendship. "The composition of these parties and the grounds

they exploit shift from year to year and from winter to spring" (Leacock 1981:68). Territorial occupation in central Labrador seems to follow no pattern—extreme fluidity is its only constant.

V. Tanner's description follows more extensive fieldwork and goes somewhat further. It corresponds to Rogers's (1963:82) "hunting range system." Tanner (1944) defined six areas of the band territory to which a certain number of families returned each year (see Figure 2).

A. Tanner (1977) presented a similar model. He gathered a substantial mass of data on the activities of hunters in the Labrador interior from 1900 through 1970. The model divided the center of the peninsula into six sub-regions, each one corresponding to the range of a particular herd of caribou. Although only four of these regions agree roughly with those outlined by V. Tanner (1944), A. Tanner claims that each is exploited repeatedly by an identifiable sub-group, and he lists the male hunters who make up each group. Neither of the Tanners, however, makes any reference to social organization.

How can one reconcile the changing, elusive situation described by Leacock and the model of fixed areas described by the two Tanners? In both cases, it appears quite clearly that the description is influenced by the method of data collection. Much of Leacock's data amounts to sketchy life histories, collected from a restricted number of informants, which emphasized inter-band mobility, while the Tanners relied heavily on mapping. In view of this problem, I was aware that any attempt to describe patterns of territorial occupation in Labrador would call for extremely precise and detailed data.

DATA COLLECTING AND PROCESSING

Detailed life histories obtained through tape-recorded interviews form the core of the data that I collected in Sheshatshit. These rest on a large genealogical data bank pertaining to the whole eastern Québec-Labrador Peninsula (see Mailhot 1984). Thirty-two individuals, including ten married couples, were interviewed by the Montagnais-Naskapi-speaking author. Their ages ranged from forty-two to eighty-eight years, with the average being fifty-eight. I interviewed eighteen women but only fourteen men, thereby intentionally introducing a feminine bias in the sample. In doing so, my purpose was to counter the opposite bias one finds in the literature on hunting territories, from which women are surprisingly absent, a fact that cannot be ignored by any scholar, and one that I, as a female ethnographer, would like to correct.

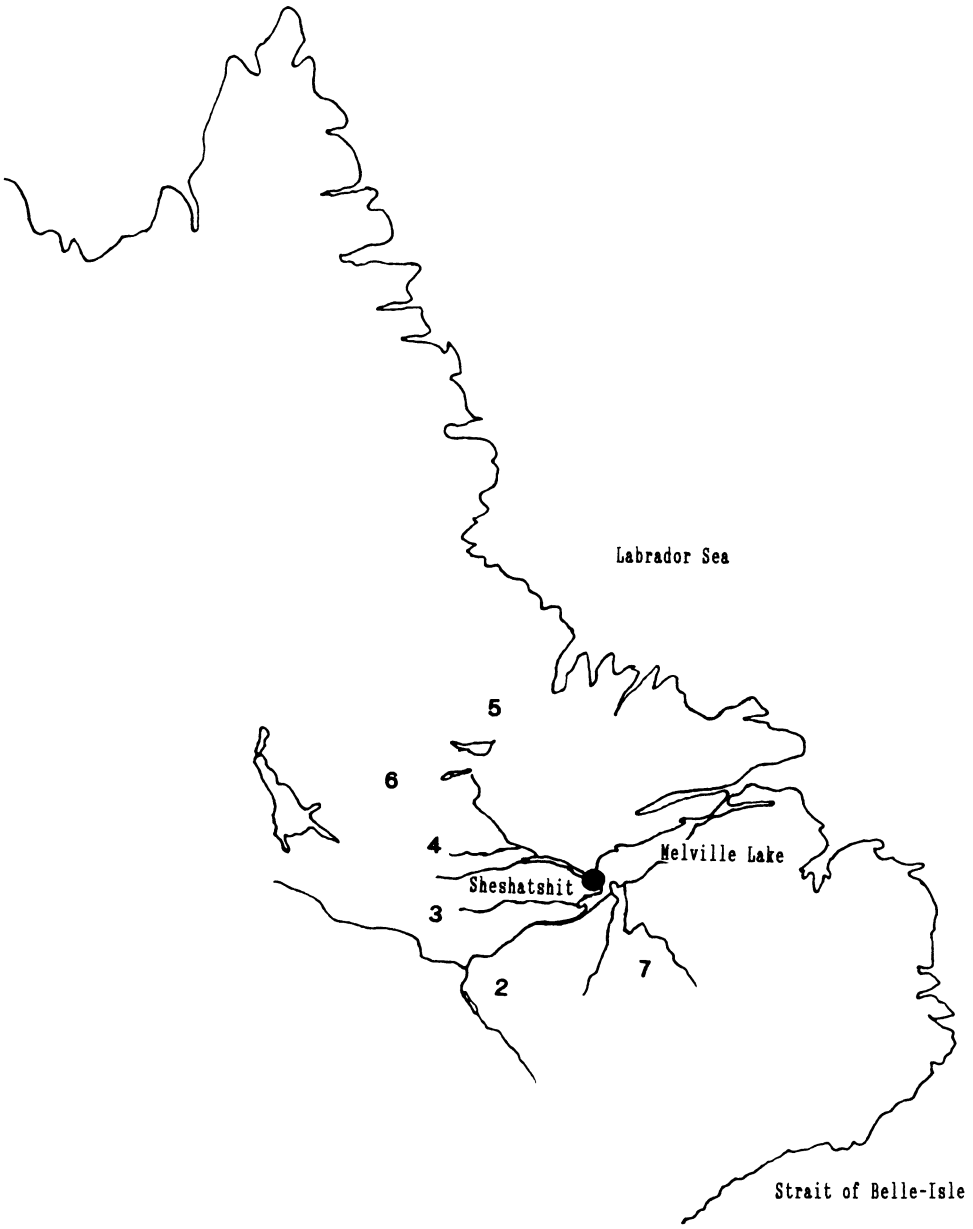

Figure 2: Hunting Areas of the Sheshastshit Band (according to V. Tanner 1944:585).

Historical Cases of Hunting Groups

The purpose of these interviews was to collect the greatest number of cases of historical hunting groups of which people would have clear recall and so could locate in space and time. Time markers used during the interviews were memorable events of the subject's personal life, such as the year his or her father, mother, or grandparent died, the year a parent remarried, the day a younger sibling was born, or the winter before his or her own wedding. This method allowed for not only the gathering of information about events on which people could report accurately but also the precise dating of each case. The dates of birth, marriage, death, and burial have been compiled for many hundred individuals of the Sheshatshit and neighboring bands from church records kept at the Québec and Labrador missions between 1920 and 1963 and from two censuses, dated 1935 and 1945. All dates compiled for each individual were filed on computer. By combining the oral history with this data base, it is possible to date each hunting group.

With reference to these time markers in their life histories, subjects were asked where exactly they were on the territories at that time—in Montagnais-Naskapi, *Ta:nte tshitishikushpi*? (Where did you go inland?). The predictable answer is a Montagnais-Naskapi place name—either a precise location (such as a lake or mountain) or a general area or the river along which the group traveled inland. No mapping was done during the interviews, but a toponymy study was carried out separately to locate all place names mentioned in the interviews.

Information was also gathered on the composition of each hunting group thus detected. In answer to the question *Auentshe tshiui:tshima:ti:t*? (Who are those you went inland with?), informants provided a more or less complete list of the individuals belonging to their own hunting group. In cases of children born inland, the names of the midwives attending their births were collected. This is information the women retained for each one of their numerous children.

Memorable Places

Aside from hunting groups, the places of births, deaths, and burials in the interior were elicited from a great number of Sheshatshit Band members. Many of the people interviewed knew the exact place of death and burial of some of their close relatives, even though they had not witnessed the event. Widows and widowers could state the place of birth of their late spouse; mothers remembered the place of death of children who had died at an early age. I also drew up lists of individuals buried in the different graveyards of the area, some located in the interior and others on the shores of Lake Melville.

Statements and Generalizations

The corpus of data includes general statements about where a particular person usually hunted. These statements were either volunteered by interviewed subjects or prompted with the question *Ta:nte ta:pan nu:tshimi:t?* (Where was he/she in the interior?) or else *Ta:nte natu:ui:pan ma:n?* (Where did he/she hunt usually?). A distinction must be made between the "general statements" triggered by these questions and others, which I call "generalizations," that refer to a specific time period. Some examples of the latter would be: "During my childhood we always were at such a place until my mother died," or "For the three years I lived with uncle X, we always went inland in such a direction." Again, dates of such events filed on computer allowed the dating of these periods.

Knowledge of the Land

I have also investigated the knowledge the interviewed subjects had of the Sheshatshit Band territory. In Montagnais-Naskapi, the concept of knowledge, when applied to a person or to a place, is conveyed by the verb "to see," so that "knowing" necessarily implies direct experience. If one states that he or she "knows" a place, it means that he or she has been there. People also talked about places that they had never visited. This information, too, is revealing of their personal experience of the land. Therefore sentences such as "I have seen such a lake many times," or "I have seen it only three times in my lifetime," or "I have never seen it" were extracted from interviews and regarded as data on territorial occupation.

The overall method described here has its limitations. It does not take into account either the nature of economic activities in the interior or the exact route followed by a hunting group during one hunting season. It also does not pretend to reconstruct each single hunting group to which an individual has belonged or the distribution of all Sheshatshit Band members over the territory for a given period. In both cases this would be an impossible task. The method used permitted only the collection of spatio-temporal markers for as many individuals as possible and for the longest possible historical period.

Data Processing

These data are computer processed using a simple data base management system. Once extracted from the original interview, each piece of evidence is entered into a separate computer record which includes the following fields: place, region, access route, relative date, absolute date, trading post (at departure and re-

turn), members of hunting group, and kinship relation to ego. The type of data is specified on each record: case, general statement, generalization, place of birth/death/burial, place seen, and place never seen. Data entry is currently in process; the projected size of the file is six to seven hundred records.

The computer will then be able to sort individuals who have been associated with a given place or the different places a given individual has used. It will compile the composition of all hunting groups for a given place or for a given person. It will also draw up lists of general statements about a specific individual that had been gathered from different informants or compare facts and general statements about the same person.

PRELIMINARY RESULTS

Preliminary examination of the data has provided me with some interesting insights. A comparison of the general statements that informants made with their territorial history, as reconstructed from the facts, shows the interviews to contain two types of contradictory statements. On the one hand, people often said things like: "A person went here and there—he didn't always go to the same spot" or "We went from place to place—people can go inland with whomever they wish." Leacock noted that for Natashquan people, it was desirable to have visited the largest possible expanse of territory. At Sheshatshit it was clear that, given this ideology of mobility, subjects tended to exaggerate their real knowledge of the territory.

On the other hand, informants often spoke of particular areas they or others frequented. The area attributed to a given individual, however, often changed with the person interviewed. Depending on the context, the informant often referred to different regions as the ones to which he or she usually went. In reality, these different statements are all true when the time factor is taken into consideration. Generally, when an individual says "I have always been at such-and-such a place in the interior," he or she is, in fact, speaking of one place among many frequented at one particular time of his or her life.

Structured Mobility

I cannot agree with Leacock's (1981) claim that in Labrador the membership and territory of hunting parties change from year to year and even from season to season. I also do not agree with V. Tanner (1944) who suggests that the same families return every year to the same regions. Territorial occupation in that area seems characterized by what I would call "structured mobility." A. Tanner (1977) encountered the factor of mobility in his at-

tempt to construct a model where each sub-region was exploited by a given group. In his list of hunters for each of the six sub-regions, nearly half the names appear in more than one group. In identifying a certain list of men with one region, he is forced to add that members of hunting parties also trapped in numerous other regions as guests of other groups. Such a model implies that every individual identifies with a certain area and that numerous incursions into other regions can be explained by something like an "exchange of hunting privileges" between groups, an expression used already by Speck (1917:91).

My own data indicate that mobility, rather than being an exception to the rule, is an integral part of land occupancy patterns in Labrador. This mobility, however, can be described only in reference to social relations, which determine the distribution of individuals over the territory. This is clear from an examination of the life histories (see Note 4). For example, one informant, who joined the Sheshatshit Band around 1926, continued to hunt in region 6, where he had hunted previously with one or the other of several half-brothers and while trading at the Sept-Îles Post. After his marriage to a widow born in the Saint-Augustin Band, he alternated between region 1, where he now hunted with his new in-laws, and 4 and 6, where he associated with a wide assortment of his own blood relatives. When part of area 6 was flooded following the construction of a dam, he confined himself to 1 and 2.

When this man was interviewed by A. Tanner in the mid-1970s, he stated that his usual area had been region 2. When I interviewed him in 1982, he stated it was 6, and most people in the community thought he had always hunted in 1 . . .

A second subject, a woman born within a sub-group of the Davis Inlet Band, migrated to the Sheshatshit Band and took a husband. For the following seven years of her marriage she alternated between 3, where she coresided with some of her in-laws, and 5, where she associated either with other categories of in-laws or with some of her blood relatives, who had previously emigrated from the Davis Inlet Band. In 5 she also occasionally joined relatives who still traded at the Davis Inlet Post.

A third subject, a man born in the Sheshatshit Band, spent his childhood in 6 with brief incursions into 5 and 1. After his marriage, he stopped going to 6 and spent most of his winters in 2, where his father-in-law mostly hunted at the time. He then also occasionally hunted in 1, 3, and 4.

The Access Key to Territory

We see, then, that although an individual does not return each year to the same region, there is a definite factor that

determines where he or she does go. Someone hunts in a particular area because of connections with others who hunt there at that time. In other words, an individual's presence in one particular region is not explained when they identify it as their habitual grounds, but purely in terms of social relations. These social ties provide the "access key" to different regions, whether within or outside the band territory.

Naturally, these relations are constantly changing. In Labrador, until the late 1950s, the demographics of Indian groups were characterized by especially high mortality and birth rates. Kinship networks of each band member were thus affected in an ongoing way by births, marriages, and deaths, and these rapidly modified the structure of groups.

Mobility in Labrador was generally extensive, but certain people were more mobile than others. Those who are part of extended, dynamic kinship networks will obviously benefit from a larger set of choices than those with less extended networks. Logically, individuals whose personal and family history is like a thickly woven fabric of adult deaths, remarriages, numerous births in the nuclear family, and successive adoptions will tend to acquire a more diversified territorial experience than those whose family history is of relatively thinner cloth. Exogamy, too, is a factor, either at the level of the band or within its subdivisions. A detailed examination of marriage cases might reveal that less mobile individuals belong to kinship groups with a tendency to endogamy.

Complex and Extended Kinship Networks

Overall results of the analysis of the composition of hunting groups cannot be presented here, since compilation of the data is not yet complete. Preliminary examination of approximately one hundred cases, however, indicates that individuals tend to associate equally along matrilineal or patrilineal lines as well as with affinal or consanguineal relatives. This agrees with Leacock's findings.

Surprising is the breadth of kinship ties involved in the formation of hunting groups. Not only all categories of close relatives but also complex and remote family ties play a role. This can be seen more clearly in the composition of a few hunting parties briefly outlined below (see Note 5; see also Figure 3).

In case one, ego chooses to hunt with a couple to whom he is doubly related, although these connections are quite remote. The next three cases illustrate the effect of numerous remarriages and the resultant extension of the kinship network. In case two, the two men at the bottom have no common biological parent, yet they consider themselves close relatives and hunt together. In

case three, a man hunts with his own parents as well as with a man born from his second spouse's previous marriage. In case four, a man and his son belong to the same hunting group as the man's new in-laws from a second marriage. In case five, we see an example of extended kinship ties, linking woman A and man B.

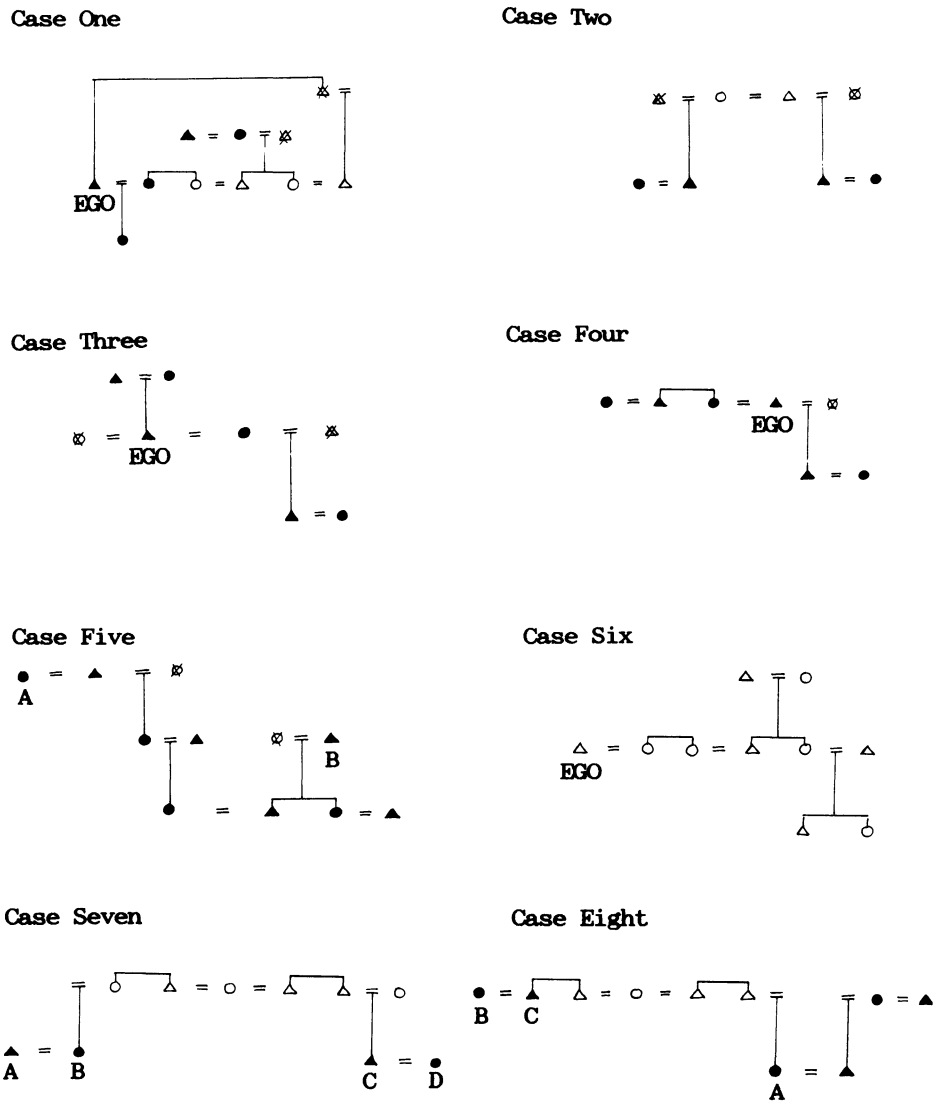

Figure 3: Diagrams of Hunting Groups (Symbols in black represent members of the hunting group).

Even where an individual's genealogy contains no multiple remarriages, he still may choose to associate with people to whom he is related through a long and complex chain of connections. Case six illustrates such an extended chain of affinal kinsmen. Each of these individuals could theoretically belong to ego's hunting group.

The kinship system increases the number of relatives among whom one can choose hunting partners. Sheshatshit kinship terminology includes several categories of classificatory relatives. In case seven, four people have hunted together because B and C refer to each other as "brother" and "sister," even though they are apparently distantly related. Affinal relations between the other individuals are classified as close, since A and C as well as B and D call each other "sibling-in-law of the same sex." Finally, in case eight, a woman and her husband belong to the same hunting group as the woman's classificatory uncle and aunt. In the local kinship terminology, A calls B and C "aunt" and "uncle"—the same terms she would apply to the actual sisters and brothers of either of her parents.

We see clearly how the Montagnais-Naskapi kinship system works to maximize one's network of relatives, be it consanguineal or affinal. Almost any kinship connection may provide potential hunting partners. Fictional kinship ties through adoption and godfatherhood increase even more an individual's circle of relatives. Friendship, I find, is much less common as a basis for hunting partnership than Leacock assumed.

What we are dealing with, then, is a system where access to territory is based directly on social relations. Relations are extremely complex and extended, and the choices open to an individual are many and varied. This is the key to the territorial mobility we find in Labrador and also to the repeated declaration by Sheshatshit people that "you can hunt wherever you want." However, this statement should be completed with an additional clause: ". . . if you have kinship ties everywhere."

Although kinship networks are generally very extended, this does not mean that everybody is related to everybody. Some people have a much wider network than others. Recent immigrants, for instance, have more relatives in their band of origin than in their band of adoption. Those who joined the band as married adults do not have the set of affinal relatives they would have if they had married into the Sheshatshit band. In spite of these differences, each adult in the community can name individuals to whom he or she is not related in any way. These are the ones who are excluded as potential hunting partners.

The distribution, therefore, of band members across the territory during a given hunting season is a direct function of extant social relations—a spatial projection of operative kin-

ship ties at that precise moment. Labrador could be viewed as a kind of large chessboard where the pieces are in constant motion, but, as in chess, these pieces do not move in just any direction.

TERRITORIAL MOBILITY AND HUNTING TERRITORIES

In concluding, let me stress that the type of territorial occupation outlined here does not seem incompatible with the existence of individual hunting grounds. Several interview subjects who had migrated from the neighboring Sept-Îles Band still considered a certain area in the latter band territory "their land," even though an examination of their life histories revealed that they had spent very little time there. They moved around within the Sept-Îles Band territory in the same way as Sheshatshit Band members did in theirs, hunting in various regions and accumulating a wide knowledge of the land over the years.

This type of mobility was reported by A. Tanner (1971:78-79) for a group where a system of individual hunting grounds had developed. He examined, over a ten-year period, the distribution of seven territory owners of the Nichikun Band and calculated the number of years that each of them spent on his own territory. The astonishing average is 4.7 years! Mobility for the overall band is even greater, since those who own no territory circulate from one area to another. By interpreting these facts as an exchange of hunting privileges, Tanner, it seems to me, has not drawn the appropriate conclusions.

So far, descriptions of territorial occupation have not integrated the factor of mobility. In areas where there is a marked circulation of individuals (Leacock 1954; Knight 1965), it is concluded that there is no system of hunting territories, and in areas without such a system, mobility is treated as a minor phenomenon. The core of the hunting territory model is an individual's rights to the resources of a particular territory. This model is difficult to reconcile with the ideology of territorial mobility, which appears to be very widespread. The firm belief held by Algonquian hunters that they could hunt where they wished was reported by Leacock (1954) for Natashquan, by Knight (1965) for Rupert House, and by A. Tanner (1973) for Mistassini. I have noted its existence at Sheshatshit, but I have encountered it also in all the Montagnais-Naskapi bands where I did fieldwork—even where a system of hunting territories has long existed.

I would suggest that the kind of territorial occupation described for central Labrador can incorporate all these variations: the model of hunting territories described in the literature, the effective mobility of individuals over the territory, and the widespread ideology of territorial mobility. In fact, whether or not a system of individualized hunting territories has

developed in a given area, we would still be dealing with the same model of territorial occupation—one that reflects a dynamic social organization.

NOTES

1. Data for this study were collected during the winter of 1982 within the Sheshatshit Sociolinguistic Variability Study, a multidisciplinary project financed by the Institute of Social and Economic Research at Memorial University in St. John's, Newfoundland, Canada. The analysis of the data on social structure and organization of the Sheshatshit Band was carried out with a grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

2. The presence of a concept within the semantic system of a given group points to the existence of the corresponding reality in the real (or imaginary) world of that group. However, the absence of a given concept does not by itself constitute proof of the non-existence of the corresponding reality.

3. In the English discourse of the Naskapi-Montagnais Innu Association, the term *nitassi:na:n* is systematically used in replacement of "Indian land," "Indian territory," and even "Labrador."

4. For the purpose of these examples, I have used V. Tanner's subdivisions of the Sheshatshit Band territory. Numbers correspond to hunting areas as outlined in Figure Two. My own analysis is not yet complete but I suspect that the results will be close to his.

5. Although these cases show that distant kinship connections can be the basis for hunting partnerships, I do not want to imply that this corresponds to a statistical norm. The final analysis of hunting groups will likely emphasize that people associate more often with closer relatives.

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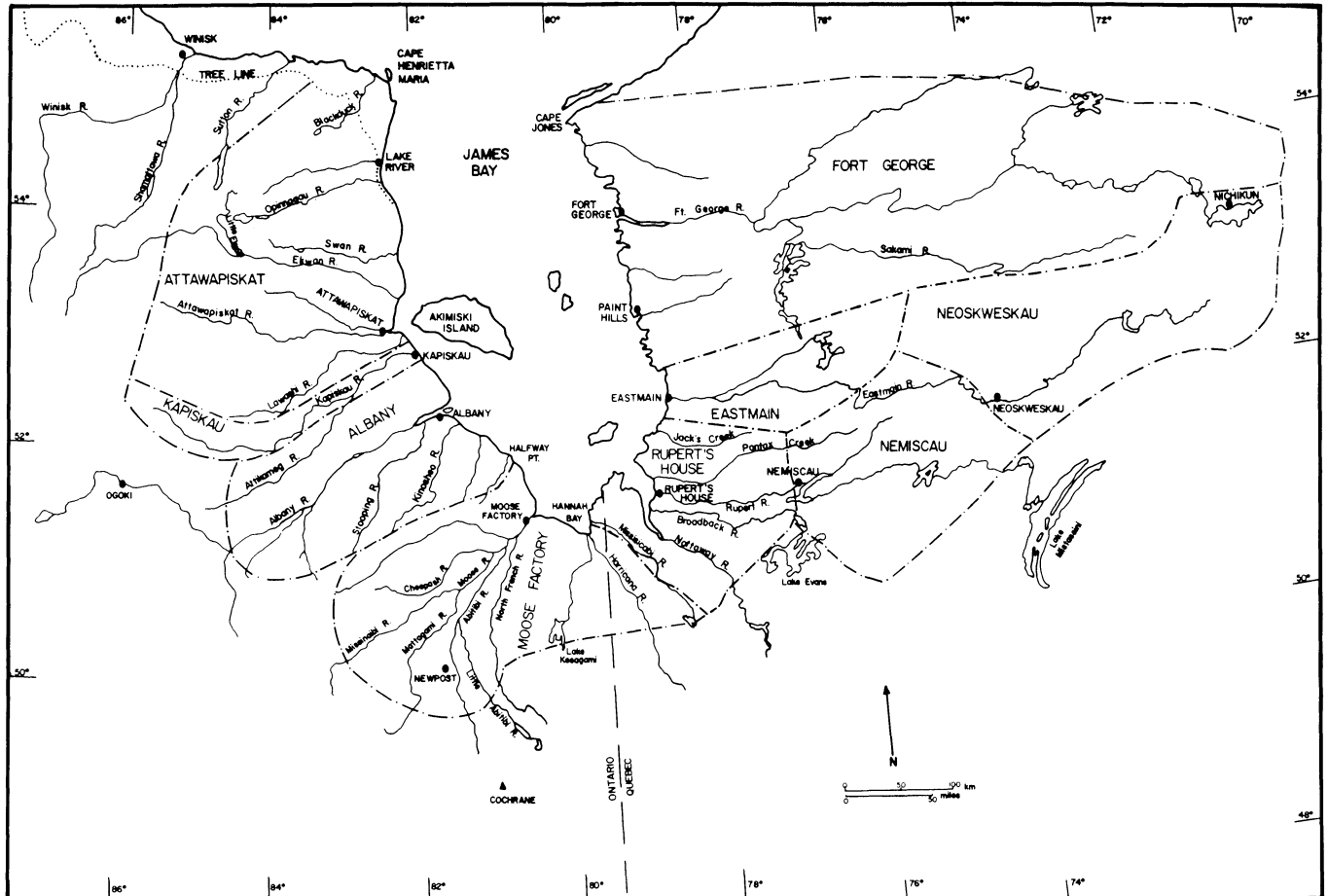

Figure 1: Generalized Band Areas, James Bay

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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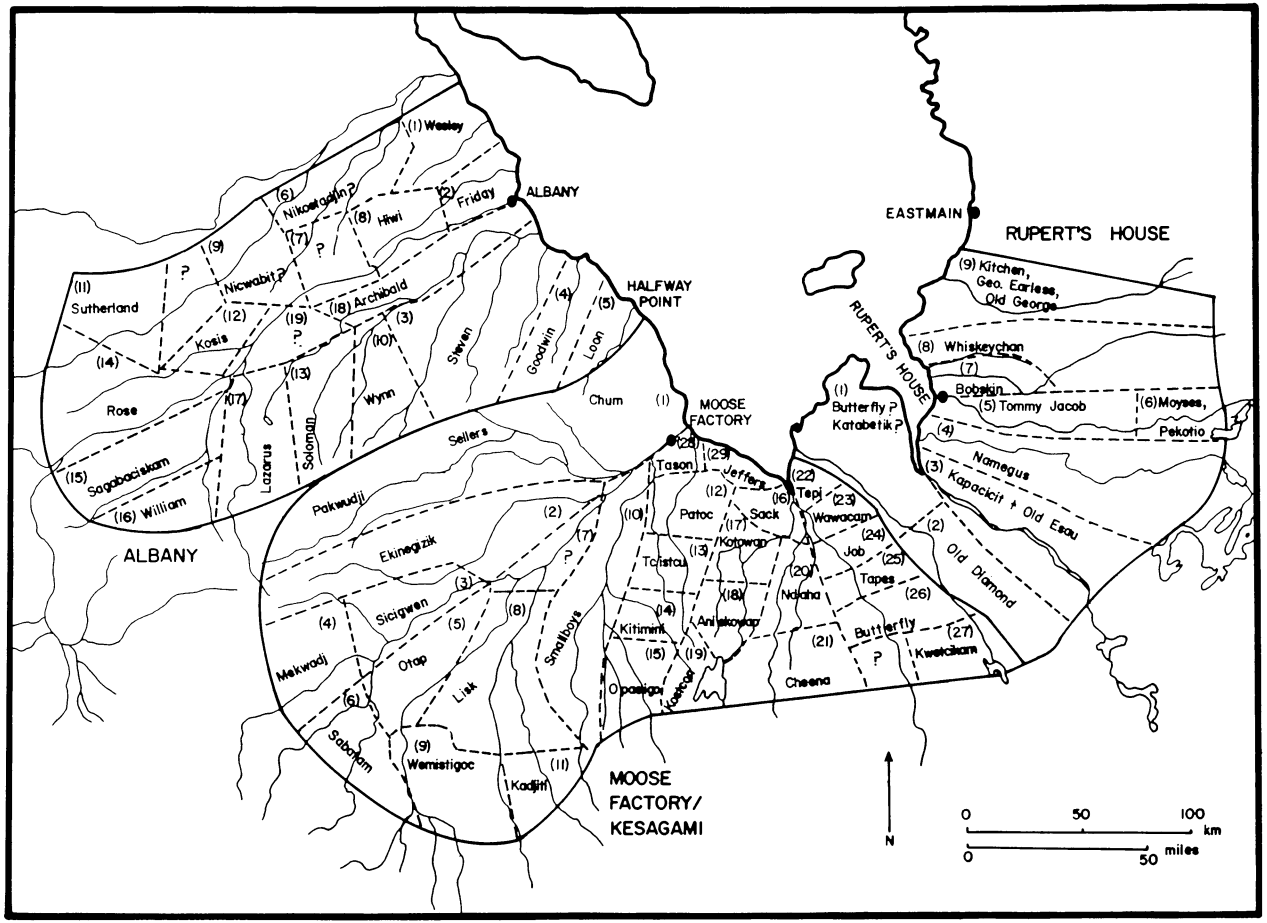

Figure 2: Hunting Ground Distributions: Albany, Moose-Kesagami, and Rupert's House Bands, circa 1880.

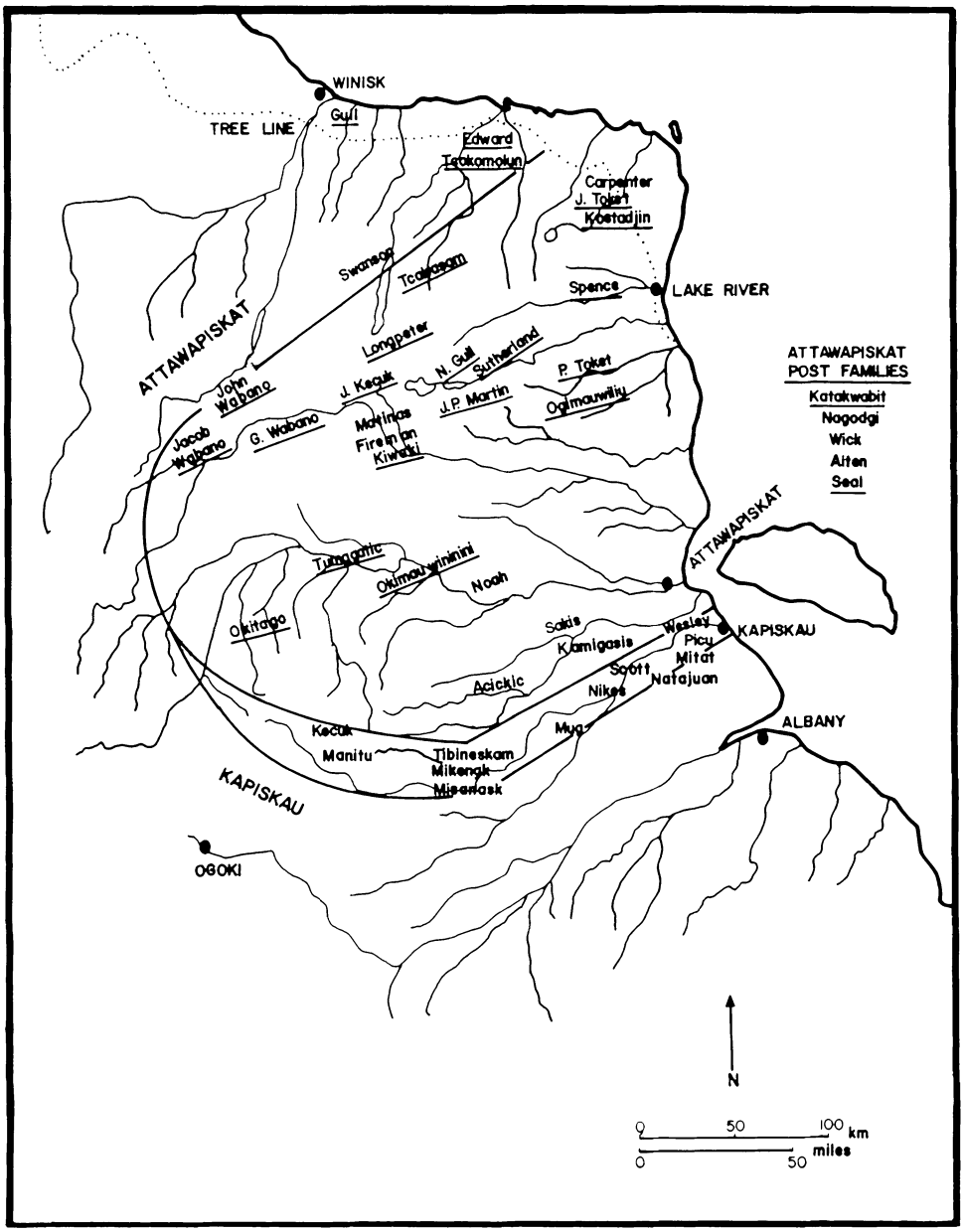

Figure 3: Hunting Ground Distributions: Kapiskau and Attawapiskat Bands, circa 1910.

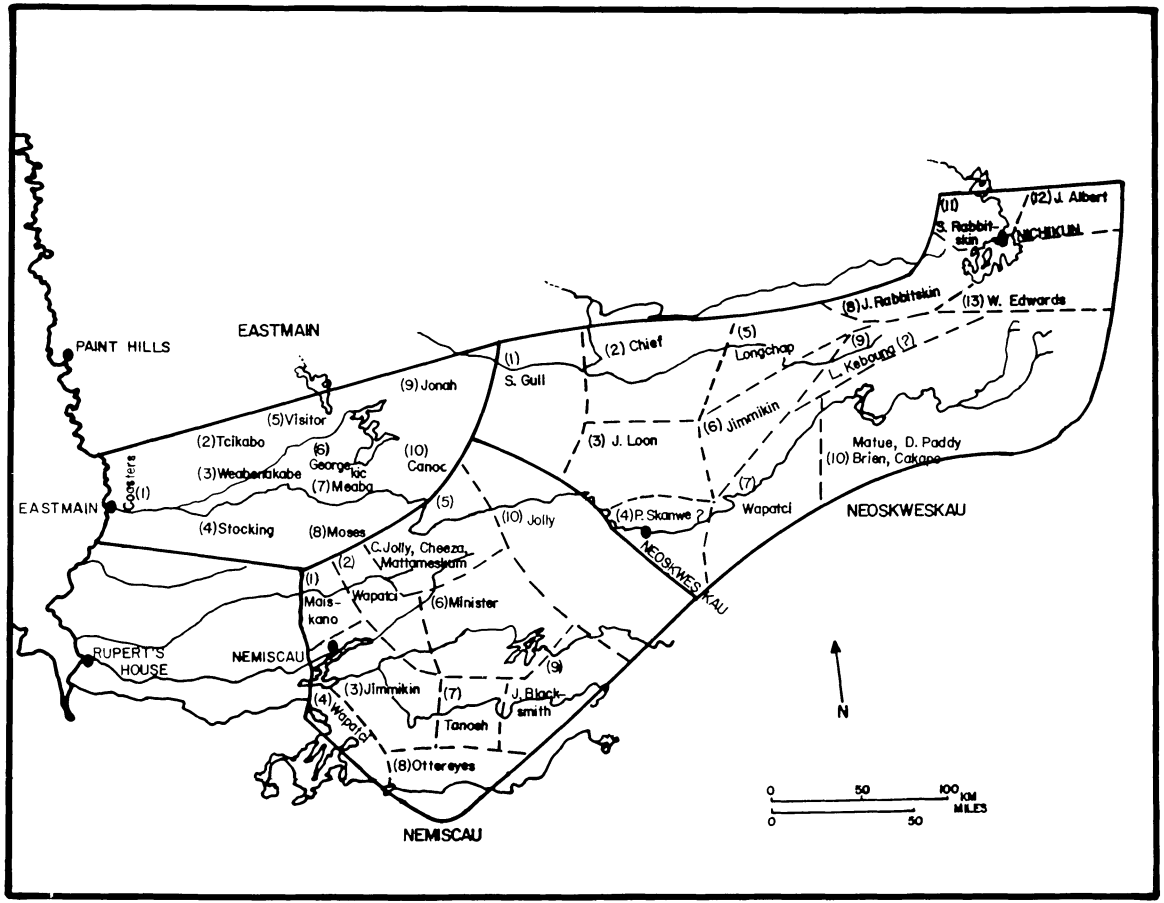

Figure 4: Hunting Ground Distributions: Eastmain, Nemiscau, and Neoskweskau-Nichikun Bands, circa 1930.

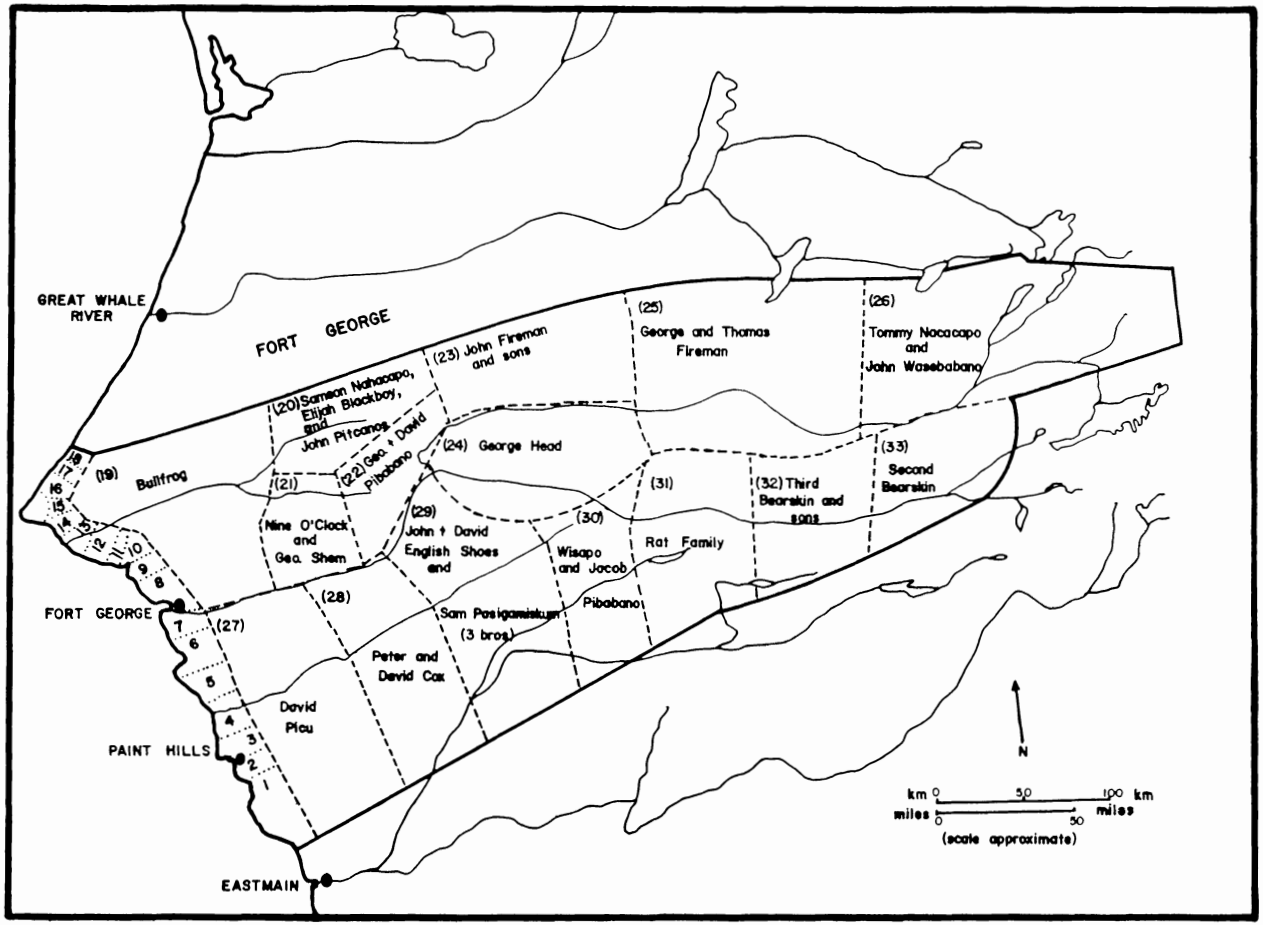

Figure 5: Hunting Ground Distributions:
Fort George, 1920-1930.

COMMON PROPERTY RESOURCES AND HUNTING TERRITORIES

Fikret Berkes
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La territorialité dépend de l'intensité de l'usage qui est faite d'une région et de ses ressources, et selon lesquelles on ne peut parler de territoires que lorsque les bénéfices découlant de leur possession sont plus grands que les coûts liés à leur défense. Ainsi, un modèle explicatif des territoires de chasse doit être dynamique afin de s'adapter aux changements dans l'intensité de l'utilisation des ressources, et dans les institutions de la propriété commune tels que ceux gouvernant la territorialité.

Selon le modèle proposé dans cet article, les modèles d'utilisation des ressources vont du contrôle fondé sur la communauté au contrôle fondé sur la famille avec intensification, comme dans la commercialisation des prises de castors. Cependant, si le contrôle basé sur la communauté ou la famille se rompt (comme dans le cas d'une intrusion), certaines conditions d'accès peuvent être créées en résultat de l'épuisement des ressources. Les institutions de la propriété commune peuvent être rétablies avec la réaffirmation du contrôle local des ressources.

Territoriality is related to the intensity of use of an area and its resources, and territories are possible only when the benefit of holding a territory exceeds the cost of defending it. Thus an explanatory model of hunting territories needs to be dynamic to accommodate changes in the intensity of resource use and common property institutions such as those governing territoriality.

According to the model proposed in this paper, resource use patterns shift from community-based control to family-based control with intensification (as in the commercialization of the beaver harvest). However, if community- or family-based control breaks down (as in the case of intrusion from outside the area), open-access conditions may be created, with resultant depletion of the resource. Common property institutions may be restored with the reaffirmation of local control of the resource.

Family hunting territories among various native groups of the eastern Canadian Subarctic have been dealt with by some scholars as an isolated and unusual phenomenon perhaps linked to the fur trade (see Tanner in this volume). However, territorial use of resources is widespread throughout the world. There are examples involving many resource types (wildlife, fish, forests, edible wild vegetation, grazing lands, some agricultural lands); documentation is available from just about every part of the globe. Debates on Northern Algonquian family hunting territories have largely ignored the relatively large theoretical literature on territoriality and common property resource use in general. Thus reappraisal of family hunting territories may benefit from relevant experience elsewhere and the theory based on that experience.

A territory has been defined by E. O. Wilson (1975) as "an area occupied more or less exclusively by an animal or group of animals by means of repulsion through overt defense or advertisement." From an ecological point of view, territoriality is generally considered a practice with survival value; it is an adaptation to help establish a match (not a fine balance) between population size and the resources needed to sustain that population. As Pyke et al. (1977) state, "If an animal had such exclusive use of an area, then it could 'manage' its resources for 'sustained yield' rather than maximize the initial yield at the cost of poorer yields later." As a social phenomenon found in diverse human groups, territoriality appears to be used commonly by the local group to control outsiders' access to a resource. A selective survey of fishing societies reveals that control of access, not territoriality per se, is important (Berkes 1985). In many cases closing access makes it possible to avoid "the tragedy of the commons." Members of a group that practices territoriality or forms of access control reap the benefits of their own restraint. By contrast, under open access conditions whereby there is a "free-for-all," an individual resource-user has strong incentives to deplete a resource today as efficiently as possible; whatever is left behind may be harvested by someone else tomorrow.

This paper will argue that territoriality may be considered an aspect of control of access within a common property resource management system (see Note 1). Territoriality is a topic in its own right in animal ecology but part of the larger subject of common property resource management in human ecology. Animal groups and individuals may have territories, but human groups have common property institutions, which include decision-making arrangements, rules for resource harvesting and sharing, as well as territorial practices (see Note 2). Detailed ethnographic studies show that territoriality among Northern Algonquians does not exist by itself but is an integral part of a religious ideology that governs hunting practices (Tanner 1979).

In approaching the hunting territory debate, first, two relevant principles of ecology will be described. Second, these principles will be applied to the land tenure system of the Chisasibi (formerly Fort George) Cree in eastern James Bay, Québec. The information used is based on a series of sessions in 1984 and 1985 with a self-selected working group of the local Chisasibi Cree Trappers Association. Third, the question of the origin of family hunting territories will be addressed with a model to describe the relations of some of the major variables.

PRECONDITIONS FOR TERRITORIALITY

In general, it is held that territoriality is possible only when the benefits from holding a territory exceed the costs of defending it. The concept was originally borrowed from cost-benefit studies in economics and used in ecology for analyzing the feeding territories of birds (Brown 1964). It was adapted for use in ecological anthropology by Dyson-Hudson and Smith (1978). These authors considered that a resource must be sufficiently predictable and abundant to permit the development of a geographically stable territorial system for its use. However, ongoing work in ecology suggests at least one additional condition. It has been found that territoriality occurs within certain maximal and minimal limits in the abundance of the resource in question (e.g., Carpenter and MacMillen 1976). It does not occur if the resource is very scarce, relative to demand, or superabundant.

Figure 1 shows the three conditions that generate territoriality: resource productivity and predictability must be relatively high, and the resource must be limiting.

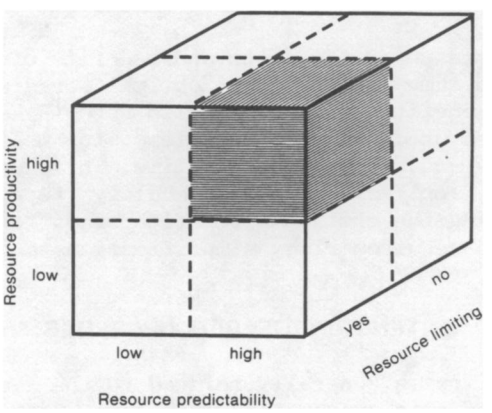

Figure 1: Ecological Determinants of Territoriality in Resource Use: The Resource Should be Relatively Productive, Predictable, and Limiting.

Each of the three axes is arbitrarily divided into two parts; in reality, there would be a continuum. While resource productivity is relatively easy to measure using ecological techniques, there is no commonly accepted method of measuring whether a resource is limiting or predictable. Nevertheless, experts can usually agree on whether a resource type is predictable or not. For example, in the northeastern boreal forest, moose is a predictable resource (Feit 1973; Winterhalder 1981), but further north, caribou is not. Beaver is a predictable resource, as most stationary resources must be. Even though it is a migratory species, Canada goose is a predictable resource for the Cree because it is found in the same areas and habitats from year to year, much in the same way as some other migratory species, such as Pacific salmon (Berkes 1982).

While Figure 1 specifies three of the more important conditions for the formation of territories, there are other points and qualifications. For example, resources are culturally defined. Shellfish resources, in particular mussels (*Mytilus edulis*), are abundant in some places in James Bay. They are, however, almost never used by the Cree. By contrast, on the British Columbia coast, native groups not only use shellfish as food but also have territories based on them (Richardson 1982). Related to the requirement that benefits must exceed costs of defense, Oakerson (1986) has pointed out that defensibility requires *excludability*; that is, are the holders of a territory able to limit outsiders' access? Another requirement is *divisibility*; that is, could the resource feasibly be divided into individually or family-held units? However, we must not overemphasize defensibility. Where areas to be defended are large, some system of cooperation and reciprocal use-rights with adjacent territory-holders may well develop. This is indeed the case with current hunting territories in the James Bay area.

Further, measuring the costs and benefits of territoriality is not easy. The same is true for "optimal foraging strategies," in which cost-benefit analysis is also used (Pyke et al. 1977). Ecologists have used two "currencies" to measure costs and benefits: energy and, less commonly, time. While optimal foraging theory has been applied in human ecology (e.g., Winterhalder 1981), quantifying the costs and benefits of different harvesting strategies often requires risky simplifications and assumptions.

INTENSITY OF RESOURCE USE

Territoriality is generally related to the intensity of use of an area and its resources. This consideration adds a time dimension to the preconditions of territoriality. The best documentation of the principle comes not from biological ecology but from ecological archaeology and history. Over time, the demand upon a resource changes with population pressure and technology.

The usual trend, of course, is toward increasing intensification of resource use. The increasing pressure on grazing lands in ancient Europe resulted in the fencing of common pastures; similarly, the increasing pressure on common field agriculture resulted in the emergence of private ownership of agricultural land.

The increasingly intensive use of fish and wildlife resources produces more tightly organized common property institutions. In less tightly knit institutions, communities may control outsiders' access to a resource but allow their own members equal access to it, under commonly accepted rules of resource use. In the case of more tightly organized institutions, there may be a "nesting" of rights; the community controls the resource but certain members have special rights and duties in use and coordination of use. Historical data on reef and lagoon tenure in Oceania indicate the full range of institutions from the least tightly organized to the most (Johannes 1978). For example, with depopulation following colonization, individual and family fishing territories (more intensive use) disappeared in parts of Oceania, leaving intact the more general fishing territories (less intensive use) of groups of villages (ibid.).

A good example of nested fishing rights may be found among the Nishga of the northern British Columbia coast. There, the Nishga tribe as a whole claims the entire watershed of the Nass River. Individual Nishga communities claim parts of it, and individual senior fishermen/family heads claim "ownership" of specific salmon fishing sites along the river (Berkes 1985). Nishga salmon resource use is perhaps at the most intensive level and as "advanced" as it could possibly be, since it is not possible to privatize individual fish.

Does the commercialization of the resource give rise to territories? The Nishga fishery supports both commercial and subsistence harvests; it is not easy to study the effect of commercialization on territoriality in the subsistence fishery because the commercialization of the salmon fishery throughout the Pacific northwest destroyed native use-rights systems, creating open access (Richardson 1982). Perhaps more informative is experience in northern Borneo, where longhouses have traditional fishing rights to the streams and lakes within their territories. These rights tend to be enforced loosely in most areas. However, in the Tinjar-Bunut area, where commercial fishing is now carried on, there is rather strict enforcement of fishing territories by each longhouse (Dwight Watson, personal communication) (see Note 3).

Commercialization intensifies resource use; so does population growth. The anthropological literature documents the effects of population growth. Smith and Young (1972) argued that population growth and agricultural development by intensification

in Mesopotamia spurred each other in a positive feedback relationship. Population growth facilitated increased production through adoption of more intensive land use practices and technology—first the digging stick, then the hoe and, later, the plow (Smith and Young 1972).

It is not yet clearly established that common property institutions evolve with more intensive use of resources. This idea, however, appeared to be one of the emerging principles of common property use at a recent conference on this subject (National Research Council 1986). Evidence concerning different kinds of resources in various parts of the world suggests that common property institutions emerge as a previously superabundant resource becomes relatively scarce. Intensification may also result in privatization, where the nature of the resource allows (e.g., agricultural land). Or it may result in the breakdown of common property institutions, if the local community loses control of the resource and/or if demand for the resource becomes too great for existing institutions to cope with it. These ideas will be explored with a model, following a description of the existing Cree hunting territory system in the James Bay area.

CHISASIBI CREE HUNTING TERRITORIES

The Chisasibi Cree use hunting territories in a manner generally similar to the Mistassini Cree (Tanner 1979), the Waswanipi Cree (Feit 1978), and the Wemindji Cree (Scott 1983). There are currently two kinds of hunting territories: for beaver, with a "beaver boss" (*amiskuchimaau*) in charge; and for goose, with a "goose shooting boss" (*paaschichaauchimaau*) (see also Scott in this volume). These resources, however, are not considered to belong to individuals or families. Hunters say: "Land cannot be bought or sold, it cannot be individual property. Land will still be there after people die. Land really belongs to God; He put the animals there" (see Note 4).

For lack of a better word, many Cree, when speaking in English, refer to "ownership" of the land. But the mechanics of transfer of such "ownership" make it clear that the Cree do not see land as "real estate":

> I own the land on which I hunt and trap. When I was a young hunter, my uncle owned that land. One day the old man said that he was in the process of handing the land over to me. "You will look after this land, take care of it as a white man would his garden," the old man said. "It is up to you to protect, preserve, make rules where necessary and enforce good hunting practices. You will look after it as I have shown you in the past. You will also look after your fellows and share what you have on the land if they are willing to practice their way of life," the old man said. My uncle

> handed down the land to me as his elders handed it down to him. He gave me the land to look after; he did not sell me the land or ask for anything in return. (Berkes 1984-1985)

"Ownership," according to the Cree, involves keeping traditional law and order in that area, ensuring that the land is not abused, and overseeing the sharing of resources. Thus, it makes sense that "ownership" rests with the beaver or goose boss, the senior hunter, who knows the area best and is most able to fulfill these two functions. As the Cree point out, "the boss is really given not the animals but the *responsibility* for distributing the wealth of the land."

In the traditional Cree sense, "ownership" (*nitipaaihtaan*) of the land and animals is different from the "ownership" (*nitipiiwaawuiiun*) of personal property, of things that can be bought and sold. *Nitipaaihtaan* really means control, custody, and stewardship. Vincent and Mailhot (1982) indicate that the Cree word *tipaaihtan* (or *tipenitam* in Montagnais) translates literally as: "He matches, fits it, to his thinking"; idiomatically, "he has control, mastery over it." The term is commonly used whenever notions of "power" and "control" are implied. Contexts indicate that this word combines the meanings "to manage," "to be responsible for," "to have power over," "to be the master or boss of," and "to control" (José Mailhot, personal communication).

Analysis of the duties and responsibilities of hunting bosses, as described by Chisasibi Cree hunters, shows that the term *control* describes very well the day-to-day function of the hunting boss. The beaver boss's duties and responsibilities include the following:

1. No one can trap on a given trapline without his permission.
2. He sets the beaver quota; that is, he determines how many beaver may be safely harvested from that trapline.
3. He sets the dates for the trapping season. For example, at the end of March, beaver traps should be taken out of the water, and so he gently reminds his trappers to do so.
4. He ensures that no traps are left behind at the end of any trapping season.
5. He reminds his trappers to stay within the boundaries of their proper trapping area.
6. If hunters happen to wander into other traplines while in pursuit of other game and spot a new beaver lodge, it is his responsibility to pass this information on to the beaver boss of that other area.
7. In some traplines where there may be more than one camp (or group) of hunters, he may delegate authority to the leader(s) of those other camps.
8. With game other than beaver, it may be necessary that the hunter who knows the area best direct the hunt; often this hunter is the beaver boss. Hunting leadership was especially

important in the past when, for example, caribou were scarce and extreme care had to be taken in the hunt.

9. If people are passing through a trapline, it is expected that they will kill what they need for food. Normally, however, they will inform the beaver boss that they intend to be on his land and what their activities will be.
10. People will take what they need of staple resources such as fish and small game without prior permission. But if they are going fishing and small-game hunting for, say, a week, then it is expected that they will inform the beaver boss.

The goose boss's responsibilities include the following:

1. To hunt in a given area, others are expected to obtain his permission and agree to hunt under him.
2. He makes the hunting plan in consultation with others.
3. He decides where as well as how the day's hunt is going to take place.
4. He rotates his hunting locations to let areas rest and the geese feed unmolested.
5. He tries to ensure that no one: shoots into major feeding flocks of geese;
6. shoots on a calm day, scaring the geese and spoiling the hunt for the others;
7. shoots a half-hour after sunset and before sunrise;
8. builds a fire in the open, as fire scares away the geese;
9. hunts on a Sunday (hunters should group themselves on Sunday to make it easier to enforce the no-hunting rule).
10. The goose boss ensures that all the hunters in his group get an equal chance to shoot and obtain the food they need.

In general, the boss acts as a gatekeeper, controlling access to the resource. But he does this for the benefit of the community as a whole. He maintains the traditional law and order in an area. Since the rules have already been accepted by the hunting community as a whole, he is merely enforcing the consensus. A hunting leader who abuses his authority and/or violates rules himself may lose his authority (and there are examples of this in recent times). The boss derives his authority from the community, and if he does not serve the community well, he will come under social pressure (see Note 5).

The hunting leader regulates relations not only between hunters and game but among hunters. Especially important is the sharing of game:

> Sharing of the wealth of the land is central to Cree culture. Sharing is especially important at the time of need. When you give your kill to someone, you are showing respect to that individual, honoring him. At the same time, sharing at the time of need brings respect/reputation to the hunter who does that. If I were a visitor to your bush camp, you

have to share your food as best you can. This is a show of respect for a visitor. It is assumed that a visitor is tired and hungry, as he would have had to cover a long distance through the bush to get from one camp to another.

In some cases, hunters may decide to pool their harvests. They may divide the kill equally, regardless of who did the actual killing. This may be done with fish, ducks, guillemots, muskrats—animals that would be harvested in large numbers. Once this was done even with beavers. While not an everyday practice, redistribution of the harvest by pooling ensures equal shares. It also signifies mutual respect among the hunters and establishes friendship bonds among them.

Families sharing a bush camp may decide to keep their catches separate. However, if one family does not kill anything for a day or two, and the other families do, there will be sharing. Such sharing within a camp works both ways, because sometimes one group and other times another group may be short of food. Sharing among families ensures that all get enough to eat, and forms bonds among them. As the tallyman (beaver boss) has responsibilities for the distribution of the harvest, it is he who oversees that justice is done in sharing food.

In some cases, not only food but animals may also be redistributed. A successful hunter may decide to give his animals to someone else. Say there are four families sharing a bush camp and trapping together on a trapline. This one hunter finds a new beaver lodge. He goes back to the camp and takes with him a piece of wood with toothmarks made by a beaver from this new lodge. At first, he does not mention his find to the others. After having food and drinking tea, he mentions the new lodge. Then he takes the stick cut by the beaver and hands it to the person he wants to give the beaver to. He says, "I give you the beaver lodge." This individual becomes the owner of the lodge and all the beaver in it, as if he had found it himself. (Berkes 1984-1985)

The material summarized above indicates that the family hunting territory is merely a small part of a larger resource use system with rules, practices, and ethics. Focusing only on territoriality and on one species (beaver) gives a distorted picture of the overall resource use system. The Cree themselves do not make a distinction between "commercial species" and "subsistence species." Hunting bosses restrict access to all resources, some resources more than others. All resources are subject to the overriding principle that no one can prevent a person from obtaining what he needs for his family's survival. That principle applies to all species, including beaver. There is, nevertheless, a dynamic tension between the hunting boss's authority and the right of each band member to hunt for his needs.

The beaver has a special place in the resource use system: it is an important species, for both meat and fur, and is easier than other species to manage by territories. By contrast, the otter, another important fur species, is not a sedentary animal and cannot be managed by territories. The hunter who encounters an otter does not go looking for the "owner" of that territory; he shoots the otter first and informs the hunting boss later.

Goose hunting practices are particularly relevant with regard to the family hunting territory controversy. The catch of Canada goose (*Branta canadensis*) is the largest item in the Chisasibi harvest. In harvesting effort (kilograms per person-day), the productivity of goose hunting is much higher than that, for example, of fish (Berkes 1979). The goose is not a commercial species. In the oral history of Chisasibi, goose territories are linked to the Hudson's Bay Company's provision of ammunition to senior hunters so that they would procure geese for their post. But this cannot be the sole explanation for the existence of goose territories: Although the Hudson's Bay Company was also active in Waskaganish (Rupert House), there are no goose territories there.

The difference between Chisasibi and Waskaganish must lie with differences in the nature of the land and resource. Rupert Bay offers easy access to all hunters of the community. Thus, in Waskaganish, the resource is not divisible; no hunter could control access or defend the resource against others who do not want to submit to his authority. By contrast, in the Chisasibi area the coast is extremely indented and the distribution of geese is patchy. There, local knowledge becomes very important in coordinating and executing the harvest.

In Chisasibi, the goose territory system has recently been revamped and rejuvenated in response to the crowding of the coast. Since the early 1970s, more and more inland beaver trappers have joined the spring and fall goose hunts on the coast. What occurred is explained by the Cree hunters:

> The goose boss system is historically old. But it is especially relevant and important in the 1980s because there are large camps with ten to fifteen families and forty to sixty hunters, rather than two to three families and some ten hunters. This makes it essential that there be someone in the camp in a leadership position to organize the hunt and to see that the proper practices are used.
>
> The goose boss system was almost abandoned in the years leading to the James Bay Agreement (1975). This was because the agreement was interpreted by some people as giving individual freedom to all hunters. But the system was revived a few years later when it became clear that uncon-

> trolled individual hunting meant lower kills for everyone. (Berkes 1984-1985)

The rejuvenation of Chisasibi goose hunting territories is a good illustration of Brown's (1964) concept of "economic defensibility" in practice. The resource in this geographic area is intrinsically divisible and defensible. Yet unless there is consensus within the community of hunters that rules of territoriality must be enforced, the resource is not economically defensible. That is, the goose boss cannot afford the time and energy to patrol his hunting territory to make sure that only authorized hunters are present and following the proper procedures—unless he is backed up by the community as a whole. Only when it finally becomes clear that the open access is resulting in a "tragedy" for all, in terms of loss of productivity, will the community of hunters decide to reinforce the goose territory system. Only then can the goose boss exercise his control.

While the system does not work perfectly (some of the younger hunters still abuse it), backing by the community enables the goose boss to enforce the rules and makes it difficult for those who refuse to submit to his authority. Once more, community interest takes precedence over individual self-interest. The users are not helpless in the "tragedy of the commons"; they take corrective action. The goose boss does not, and cannot, pursue his own self-interest, either. Rather, he is the executive who supervises resource use in the interest of the community. Members of his family assist him; they are well qualified to do this because, in general, their knowledge of the land is better than that of other hunters with traditional territories elsewhere.

A quick survey of the major animal resources exploited by the Chisasibi Cree shows that the conditions specified in Figure 1 are good predictors of whether or not a resource will be used on a territorial basis. Canada goose and beaver are both productive and predictable resources in the Chisasibi area, the former on the coast only, the latter everywhere. They are also limited, not superabundant, resources. By contrast, fish and small game are considered "staple" resources, always available at some level of abundance and non-limiting. There are no territories based on these resources. Nevertheless, the hunting boss prefers to be informed about intensive fishing and small game hunting in his area; once in the bush for more than a few days, a hunter has access to all the other resources as well. (In other geographic areas where fish, such as Pacific salmon, is a critical resource, there may be fishing territories.) Among other animal species, black bears and moose are valuable, although in the Chisasibi area they do not occur in sufficient abundance to warrant territoriality. The situation with these two species in Chisasibi is comparable to that of beaver in Whapmagoostui (the Cree part of former Great Whale River). There are registered traplines on the

books but no functional beaver territories; beavers are not abundant enough to make territories worthwhile.

Caribou have reappeared in the Chisasibi area only in the 1980s; it is difficult to say whether this species could be used on a territorial basis. The families who traditionally occupied the northeastern Chisasibi area were caribou hunters, great travelers who wandered over vast distances looking for caribou herds. Although caribou is a productive and critical resource, it is unpredictable and therefore unlikely to require hunting territories.

HUNTING TERRITORIES: A MODEL

The use of common property resources generally changes over time, as does territoriality. These changes would not necessarily be unidirectional; there may be cycles in resource use systems over time. In the eastern Subarctic, evidence indicates what appears to have been three great cycles in the abundance of beaver since the beginning of the fur trade (e.g., Feit 1978). Thus, an effective model of hunting territories must be both dynamic and able to accommodate cycles in resource use patterns and abundance.

The model also has to identify major variables important to hunting territories. The model proposed in Figure 2 identifies the following variables consistent with the argument in this paper: intensification of resource use caused by population growth and other factors; commercialization (specifically, the fur trade); technological change; and the creation of open access by such factors as periodic and destructive competition among fur producers and buyers. The creation of open access conditions is assumed to destroy local control mechanisms and common property institutions, including the practice of territoriality.

According to the best evidence at hand, including oral history in Chisasibi, the most likely state of affairs at the time of contact is shown on the left side of Figure 2. The land was held in common at the level of the band or sub-band. For example, there were groups of families who traditionally occupied the Seal or Roggan Rivers area in the north coastal part of Chisasibi. There were different groups in the interior, the ancestors of Chisasibi inlanders, many of which did not move to the coast until the late nineteenth century. Local groups may have been fairly stable, with hunters exploiting land most familiar to them. As the Cree prefer to express it, hunters are more likely to be successful when "the land is familiar with them." There was much fluidity, and hunting lands were not clearly demarcated. The proposed model is not dependent on the above assumption, and one could just as well start with the assumption that there were at that time family hunting ter-

ritories. Subject to the ecological preconditions outlined above, hunting territories are ecologically feasible with or without the fur trade.

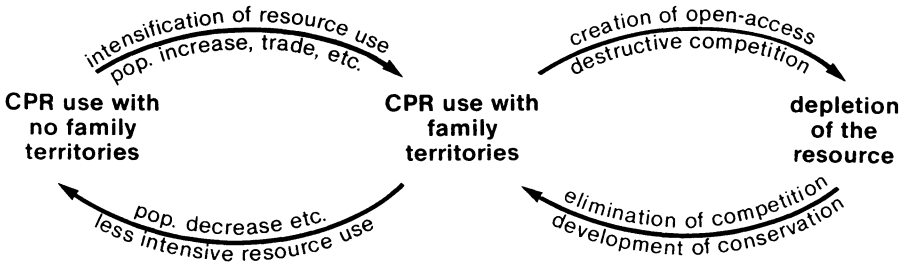

Figure 2: The Relationship Between Common Property Resource (CPR) Use and the Development of Common Property Institutions and Conservation Practices: A Systems View.

Family hunting territories were more likely to appear, however, with intensification of resource use because increased rates of exploitation necessitated more careful husbanding of the resource. Although the fur trade triggered more intensive use of beaver, marten, lynx, fox, and even Canada goose resources, intensification, not fur trade, was the control variable according to the model (see Note 6). Intensification could have been caused by changes in technology and population growth, even in the absence of the fur trade. After 1670, the demand to create a surplus resulted in the tightening of the rules and practices of common property resource use. After the start of the fur trade, greater care had to be taken with the harvest. Hunting bosses thus became more important. Over time, these new institutions may have remained stable or reverted to a more loosely managed system when there was a reduced market for fur or depopulation due to epidemics.

If the appearance of family hunting territories from the more general community hunting territories is one possibility, the creation of open access conditions is the other (Figure 2). Destructive competition between two rival fur companies vying for market control, itinerant fur trappers (Francis and Morantz 1983:130-132) with no regard for the local resource use systems,

and the coercion of the local trappers themselves all appear to be part of a recipe for depletion of the resource (see Note 7). While the story is familiar to students of the fur trade, the key aspect of the failure of the territory system, according to this model, is the creation of open access. The trapper can no longer reap the benefits of his own restraint. Once local control has failed, if the trapper does not harvest the resource first, someone else will. A true "tragedy of the commons" is created, and the native trapper (or the native bison hunter in the West) becomes both the villain and the victim in the depletion of his resource.

Nevertheless, the system is likely to recover. Diminishing returns to the trapper make it unlikely that beaver would be completely depleted thoughout large areas. However, with overhunting, the yield will diminish until there is a resource collapse, which may result in the demise of the less viable fur companies as well, making likely a merger or consolidation. That, in turn, would result in generally more cautious, conservation-oriented approaches on the part of the surviving fur company. Alternatively, the government may decide to protect the fur producer from outside competition and also initiate conservation measures involving closed seasons and beaver preserves. Since the resource in question is renewable, it should recover with protection. The key aspect of recovery is not biological conservation or the economic wisdom of the fur companies, but the restoration of closed access. Just as living resources can recover from past abuses, so common property institutions apparently bounce back when the local community can once more control and manage land and resources.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

There are ecological and economic principles that specify boundary conditions regarding territoriality in general: resource productivity and predictability must be relatively high, and the resource must be limiting.

To understand resource tenure systems in general, and the family hunting territory system in the Canadian eastern Subarctic in particular, I have suggested a shift of emphasis from territoriality to common property resource management. Territoriality is merely one practice regulated by institutions for common property resource management. These institutions also make up and enforce rules regarding, for example, hunting practices and the sharing of game.

Common property institutions and practices change over time, and respond to conditions of resource scarcity. With increasing demand on a given resource, for example, management often becomes more intense, and there is a gradual restriction of access to the

resource. Common property institutions weaken under open access but may be reinstituted when closed access is restored. An explanatory model of hunting territories has to be dynamic and capable of accommodating such cycles in resource use patterns and animal abundance.

According to the proposed model, the fur trade was not the primary reason, or "control variable," for development of the family hunting system; intensification of resource use was. Could territoriality be an aboriginal institution? An answer to this depends upon the nature and importance of the resource. Beaver and goose hunting territories are ecologically possible in the eastern James Bay area; hunting territories for caribou, fish, and small game are not. The fur trade was no doubt important in the intensification of the use of the beaver resource, and may have triggered the shift of the resource use pattern from community-controlled to family-controlled territories.

NOTES

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1. The term "common property resources" is used here in the sense of communally owned resources (Ciriacy-Wantrup and Bishop, 1975).

2. Institutions involving common property resources are, by definition, communal. In response to a referee, there are no such things as individual institutions; individuals act as "stewards" on behalf of the community, as in the case described by Scott in this volume. (In Wemindji, goose hunting territories make sense only in the context of hunting and food-sharing rules and decision-making arrangements.) Here the term "institution" is used to refer to all these arrangements collectively. The practice of territories is only one aspect of the common property institution. In Wemindji, territories do not represent the privatization of the resource; they serve collective interests.

3. The work of Morantz (1983) shows that "trading captains" emerged with the evolution of the fur trade in eastern James Bay. It is not clear whether these captains led the beaver harvest as well. Perhaps a leadership structure developed in parallel with the need to husband scarce and valuable

resources; that is, intensification of the harvest led to the emergence of more tightly organized common property institutions.

4. All of the quotations used in this paper are hunters' words put in proper written English, as requested by them. They have been checked over by the hunters and revised as necessary.

5. The interpretation of family hunting territories as private property is in error. Beaver and goose bosses clearly have stewardship duties, not *private* rights. Demsetz (1967) and others who have used Algonquian hunting territories to illustrate the emergence of private property as an economic institution have erred in their selection: hunting bosses are part of the common property resource institution, not of a new private property institution (see also Tanner in this volume).

6. The model is relevant to the "tappers and trappers" argument of Murphy and Steward (1956): Trade in wild products results in the breakdown of the culture of unstratified native societies, to be replaced by "individual families having delineated rights to marketable resources." With commercialization, communally held common property resources may be replaced with family-controlled common property resources. It is questionable, however, that this represents privatization (perhaps so with the tappers, but less likely so with the trappers). It is questionable also if such a transformation of the common property system should be called "cultural breakdown."

7. Morantz (1985:141) observes: There was enormous pressure on the Cree in various parts of James Bay to abandon their usual conservationist practices and kill whatever animals they found. This was happening at a time when there was a "boom" in prices, the period of the early 1920s . . . Anderson, the Hudson's Bay Company district manager, described this period as a "free for all" and for him it explained why the beaver were nearly exterminated.

   Although southern James Bay was most affected, the northern region saw its share of white trappers too beginning in 1929. Then two Swedes were said to have been trapping around Fort George, using poison . . . In 1931, an Oblate priest at Moose Factory, Father Emile Saindon, complained to the Indian Affairs superintendent that planes were bringing in white trappers to Eastmain. They were outfitted by a merchant and expected to produce at least $2,000 in furs . . . These trappers were being dropped off about 200 miles inland from Eastmain.

Morantz (personal communication) points out that the Fort George area saw fewer white trappers than the areas further south and suggests a "boomerang effect" created by open access further south.

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HUNTING TERRITORIES, HUNTING BOSSES AND COMMUNAL PRODUCTION AMONG COASTAL JAMES BAY CREE

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Cet examen des différentes activités productives (chasse, trappe, pêche) des Cris de la Baie James indique que la production de la fourrure pour le marché ne parvient pas à expliquer la présence ou l'absence du complexe du chef de la chasse en territoire de chasse. En effet, ce complexe n'est pas, ainsi que l'ont cru quelques anthropologues antérieurs, un exemple de propriété privée naissante ou d'usufruit privatisé. Le chef de la chasse est un leader politique et un gardien de richesses, il n'est pas un propriétaire. Les caractéristiques des territoires de la chasse des Cris concordent avec l'aspect communal et égalitaire de leurs relations qui dominent les activités productives fondées sur le territoire. Cette analyse corrobore l'opinion que le complexe territorial et ses variations sont des adaptations ancrées dans la connaissance des Cris des caractéristiques du gibier, y compris les stratégies appropriées du contrôle de la chasse et du gibier.

This examination of the different productive activities of James Bay Cree hunters/trappers/fishermen indicates that fur production for the market fails to account for the presence or absence of the hunting territory-hunting boss complex. Indeed, this complex is not, as some earlier anthropologists believed, an instance of incipient private property or privatized usufruct. The hunting boss is a political leader and resource custodian, not a private owner. Cree hunting territories are consistent with the communal and egalitarian relations that dominate land-based production. This analysis supports the view that the territorial complex and its variations are adaptations anchored in Cree knowledge of the characteristics of game, including appropriate hunting and game management strategies.

The argument that commodity production precipitates private territories among hunting societies—a position that became orthodoxy in anthropology following its early statement by Leacock (1954) and its popularization by Murphy and Steward (1956)—has come under serious scrutiny by Marxist and non-

Marxist anthropologists alike. This development is connected to a new recognition of the resilience of the social relations of communal hunting, which, in many cases, have withstood centuries of involvement with capitalist economic and political forms.

Leacock (1982) continues to argue that tendencies toward privatized usufruct or ownership are typical of egalitarian societies that have embarked upon commodity production for a capitalist market. Partial support for this view is provided by other recent works (Bahuchet and Guillaume 1982; Morris 1982), but there is no longer a consensus or perhaps even majority allegiance to this view. Anthropologists are taking a second look at forms of ownership they encounter among modern hunting societies and are facing up to the complexities of distinguishing indigenous property forms from those that arose in the course of extremely varied colonial histories. Recent ethnography (e.g., Feit 1978, 1982; Hamilton 1982) brings to our attention various contemporary forms of individual "ownership" of resources that do not preclude communal access to the means of production, and that are instances of neither private property nor privatized usufruct, although they have sometimes been mistaken for such.

The misidentification of Algonquian territories as private property or privatized usufruct, and their misattribution to commodity production, are based on an incomplete ethnological understanding of the institution and an unreasonably narrow emphasis on fur as opposed to subsistence production. Hunters' dependence on trade notwithstanding, it has become clear from recent research that the economic importance of fur trapping, relative to subsistence hunting and fishing, was overestimated in the acculturative models of Leacock and Murphy and Steward; that trapping never displaced subsistence harvests as the principal source of economic welfare in most of the Subarctic; and that trapping as an activity was generally supplementary to and often compatible with subsistence hunting (see Note 1).

Closer attention to a more representative array of productive processes demonstrates that the Algonquian institution of "territories" with individual "owners" is hardly restricted to commercially-oriented production and that the institution is misrepresented by the application of property concepts more appropriately attributed to capitalism. This essay discusses the main productive contexts of the territorial complex among Wemindji Cree hunters of eastern coast James Bay, with special emphasis on subsistence goose hunting. This is to clarify the concept, practice, and *raison d'être* of the hunting territory-hunting boss system.

GROUNDS AND BOSSES

Among the Wemindji Cree of eastern coast James Bay, *ntuuhuu uuchimaauch*, translated by English-speaking Cree as "hunting bosses," control certain productive activities on their respective *ntuuhuu aschii* (hunting grounds). Cree often gloss the hunting boss as the territory "owner" when speaking in English. But the relationship might more accurately be characterized as political rather than proprietary.

A boss *tapaiitam* (decides about, or governs) certain productive activities on his territory—literally, "He matches it, fits it to his thinking" (Vincent and Mailhot 1982). Etymologically, the *-im-* of *uuchimaau* (boss, leader) suggests a relationship with *yimuu*, (he speaks), and perhaps there is also a connection between *uuchimaau* (he distracts) and *uuchihaau* (he drives him from it) (Brian Craik, personal communication; see Note 2).

Feit (1978) has argued that the Waswanipi territory leader acts, on behalf of the group, as custodian of certain ecologically sensitive resources. The point is equally valid for Wemindji Cree. The hunting boss decides about the times, places, and methods for taking certain animals on his territory, so that good hunting will be available on a perennial basis. The hunting boss's right to govern the exploitation of certain resources does not entail the right to deny others access. A number of households typically have usufruct rights in a given territory and cannot be refused access by the hunting boss. If he fails in his responsibility to promote the productive success of others who have rights to the territory, or inhibits their access without reason, his control slips. His decisions will be ignored, and a replacement will eventually be installed, by consensus of the hunting group and the wider community.

A given household is not necessarily restricted to the territory where it possesses primary right of access. Most people frequently use more than one territory, from season to season and year to year, by obtaining invitations from different hunting bosses. The system of territories, bosses, and invitations provides, then, for orderly redistribution of hunters to resources.

THE CONTEXTS OF TERRITORIALITY

The hunting territory-hunting boss complex is not present in all productive contexts. Different territorial patterns are associated with the three principal land-based production processes: winter hunting and trapping, fall and spring goose hunting, and summer fishing. In attempting to explain these differences, it becomes clear immediately that production for subsistence versus production for the market is not the central criterion. Territo-

ries and hunting bosses are as strongly developed for subsistence goose hunting as for winter hunting and trapping (see Note 3). Nor should it be supposed that, historically, this complex arose in the productive context of trapping and automatically invaded other contexts. While territories are strongly developed for goose hunting, the strategy for summer fishing and some small game hunting remains practically aterritorial.

Cree knowledge of the characteristics of game, coupled with social relations for its exploitation, provides the best explanation of these variations in territorial practice. When I say available "social relations," I am referring to three strong tendencies in Cree society. The first is respect for the knowledge and leadership of hunting bosses and elders, anchored in these individuals' ability to make effective decisions about activities on the land. The second is the cooperative kinship and friendship groupings that surround these core individuals. The third is the relative autonomy of the household, which possesses most of the basic skills needed to make a living on the land. These three features are of course central among those identified by Sahlins (1972) as typical of societies organized around domestic production.

As a production process, fishing normally requires only the cooperation inherent in the complementary roles of husband and wife within the household. Fishing camps are comprised of usually one, occasionally two, households (see Note 4). A husband and wife team sometimes has a site where it customarily pitches its tent and sets its nets. As a matter of common knowledge and courtesy, the spot would be used by others only if it were unoccupied. Beyond this consideration, however, people are free to fish where they choose. The larger territorial divisions for goose hunting and winter hunting and trapping, and the authority of hunting bosses, are largely irrelevant for fishing.

There is never any shortage of good fishing sites for those who wish to use this resource. The intervention of a hunting boss under these conditions would usually be regarded as unwarranted interference (see Note 5). Here, then, household autonomy is most fully apparent. People enjoy the variety implied by productive autonomy in some seasons and communal production in others.

In winter hunting and trapping, occasions for cooperation among households are more numerous. Winter hunting and trapping are typically conducted by camps comprised of three or four male hunters, a similar number of adult women, and five or six children. Each camp hunts and traps on one of twenty territories within the Wemindji community area, which is about sixty miles in width from north to south along the James Bay coast and over 180 miles in length, extending inland. Experienced hunters from a camp often trap beaver alone, but sometimes work in teams, and

all the hunters in a camp cooperate to kill and transport moose, caribou, and black bear.

Household autonomy is also offset by the authority of the *amiskw uuchimaau* (beaver boss), who leads activities on each territory. At Wemindji, beaver is the most important winter food species, as well as the most important fur species. By annually rotating camps within his territory, and limiting the kills of larger sedentary game, the beaver boss ensures continued good hunting of animals that could potentially be overexploited (see Note 6).

GOOSE HUNTING

Goose hunting during seasonal migrations along the coast of James Bay is the activity to which this essay devotes particular attention (see Note 7). Of all productive activities, goose hunting is the most communal in nature, owing in large measure to the particular characteristics of the game and the coordination demanded of hunters for best results. Inland families join coastal families for the hunts. During goose migration, population along the coast is therefore much denser, especially during the universally popular spring hunt. Camps are bigger, with six or seven male hunters in a typical camp, as many adult females, and a dozen or more children.

Usually, the beaver boss of a coastal territory will also be a boss for goose hunting on that territory. Some territories are subdivided to accommodate the larger number of hunting camps, and each of these camps will usually have a senior hunter (*paaschi-chaau uuchimaau*), who is called the shooting boss. The shooting boss regulates the times and locations at which geese will be hunted, with a view to maintaining their optimum long-term availability to hunters.

Cree hunters contrast highly mobile geese to the sedentary beaver and moose. From autumn to spring, beaver are confined to the area of their lodges and accumulated food supplies. They generally remain in the area even when relocating to a new lodge in summer. Local populations of moose, similarly, tend to remain in particular areas. Experienced hunters, especially bosses, are well aware of trends in these populations and regulate them by controlling exploitation. Geese cannot be controlled in the same way. Although a number of goose hunting practices do have a conservation effect, habitat availability and kills by sport hunters on the Atlantic and Mississipi flyways are the major determinants of population trends (see Berkes 1978, 1982).

In the hunting of geese, a separate and no less important resource management issue arises. Geese anticipate hunters in the coastal James Bay environment and communicate appropriate behav-

ioral responses to other geese. They will not return to a hunting spot that has been used too regularly or where they have been frightened too badly. A flock that notices that another flock has flown a safe path will tend to follow, rather than fly an independent course. Young geese learn their flying and feeding patterns from older, experienced ones. These responses are cumulative. Learned responses to human hunting practices, therefore, can easily spread through entire populations of geese. This consideration makes territorial exploitation, under the coordination and supervision of shooting bosses, especially important (see Note 8).

Hunters say that they always wait to see which way the shooting boss is going to go. The boss is expected to be a model of wise hunting practice and able to lead other hunters in productive hunting. He is also capable of indicating appropriate measures of hunting restraint to ensure that attempts to maximize kills on a day-to-day basis will not undermine long-term access. All experienced hunters discuss when and where to hunt and what strategy to employ. Action independent of the shooting boss is regarded as an open challenge to his authority (see Note 9).

Ideally, the Cree will allow only those geese actually fired-on to become aware of human presence. Elaborate precautions are taken to minimize all visual and auditory signs of hunters' presence. Camps, equipment, and hunters are meticulously camouflaged. Shooting on calm days is avoided because the sound of shooting carries a considerable distance without a wind to muffle and disperse it. After a particularly productive day, when a high proportion of geese in the area have been exposed to shots, hunting is called off for a day or two to give the geese a "rest." Shooting after dusk is taboo, because the flare from a fired shotgun is said to be especially visible and frightening to geese at night.

Of particular importance is the rotation and "resting" of hunting sites. Each goose hunting territory includes one or more coastal bays where migrating geese gather for two or three weeks to rest and feed, as well as peripheral islands, ponds, creeks, lakes, and ridges to which geese fly from the bays for diurnal feeding. At any given stage in a seasonal migration, a territory must have at least two or three hunting sites in rotational use so that no site is visited on two days running. All hunters who use a territory on a given day are expected to accompany the shooting boss to the one site, allowing all other sites to rest. In this way, the geese who sojourn on the territory will not learn to expect hunters in a particular place and indeed will be able to find refuge at most sites on any given day.

The bays where geese concentrate require the most careful handling. To disturb these concentrations too early in the migration discourages the build-up of a large population on the

territory and damages hunting later. It takes the kind of experience a shooting boss possesses to discern at just what point in the season the optimum local population has been reached, so that the highly productive goose "drives" in the bays can begin (see Note 10). The prime moment varies from year to year, depending on weather and habitat quality.

The leadership of the shooting boss ensures that hunters will act in unison at sites that have been saved for a communal drive. A hunter who enters such an area on his own can spoil a good hunt for all others who depend on the area and will be made to endure considerable disrepute and embarrassment.

Major concentrations of geese must be hunted during the correct wind conditions, which vary according to the topography of hunting spots. Otherwise, the harvest obtained will not warrant the disturbance to so many geese. Again, it requires intimate knowledge of a territory to know the flight and feeding preferences of geese under variable conditions of weather, feed, tides, etc.

As the season progresses, wind patterns change. Hunting geese in the bays with an adverse wind can cause their premature departure. Geese driven from a bay late in the spring migration, when there is a south wind, for example, might fly to points north rather than return at the end of the day.

If management considerations of the kind discussed are ignored, a number of negative consequences ensue. Fewer geese stay around for shorter periods of time. Geese on the territory become increasingly anxious about the presence of hunters and adjust their behavior accordingly. They avoid spots where they have been badly frightened or over-hunted. They begin to fly higher between feeding grounds, staying out of shotgun range. They fly increasingly after dusk, when hunters have stopped shooting. By day, they fly in greater numbers to inland feeding spots, which are widely scattered and represent more difficult human access. Or they begin to fly safer inland migration routes. Inasmuch as these forms of behavior are socially transmitted, it can take years for damage, produced by careless or uncoordinated hunting, to mend.

CONCLUSION

Knowledge of the game and attendant hunting strategy is essential in accounting for the presence or absence of the hunting territory-hunting boss complex and its specific variations, in a given productive context. Goose hunting territories are respected and maintained because they are socially recognized as effective units for the coordination of hunting by expert hunting bosses. All mature hunters know that the institution

contributes to the collective good by fostering maximum harvests within the longer-term limits imposed by the geese's capacity to adapt to hunters.

This recognition is tempered by a strong egalitarian ethic. If a hunting boss's authority fails to result in collective benefit, due to inexpert decisions or unwillingness to share hunting opportunities, other hunters do not respect his decisions about the use of his grounds and a localized breakdown of the informal rules may occur until new leadership is initiated and accepted.

Certainly it would be a mistake to regard hunting territories at Wemindji and neighboring eastern Cree communities as forms of privatized tenure or as direct responses to commercial fur production. It may be that this statement applies more generally throughout the Subarctic. The custodianship of sensitive animal resources by senior Cree leaders has valid parallels, perhaps, in such institutions as the ownership of waterholes by senior !Kung of the Kalahari Desert. The social relations needed to reproduce the Cree territorial complex—that is, the relative autonomy of the household, cooperation in production for mutual security and benefit, and respect for the authority of knowledgeable individuals—are commonly encountered among aboriginal societies having a domestic mode of production.

In certain ecological contexts, trade may have reinforced the institution of territories through increased emphasis on beaver, aboriginally an important subsistence species. Management of beaver by knowledgeable custodians is socially and ecologically beneficial. As well, there are equally important advantages to hunting territories in the management of important non-fur subsistence species.

In no productive context at Wemindji is the hunting territory-hunting boss complex a symptom of the decline of communal production; indeed, it is precisely where cooperation between households is most important that the complex is strongest. It does not appear that mere involvement with capitalist economies at the level of commodity production is a sufficient condition for the erosion of indigenous systems of tenure or for the fundamental transformation of communal productive relations.

NOTES

1. It is clear from a variety of research that, dependence on trade items notwithstanding, subsistence products remained the primary economic "income" of most northern natives throughout the fur trade period and well into the post-1945 "wages-and-welfare" era (Salisbury et al. 1972a, 1972b; James Bay and Northern Québec Native Harvesting Research

Committee 1976-1980; Berger 1977; Feit 1978). During the wages-and-welfare period, transfer payments and employment have displaced fur income as principal sources of monetary income.

2. Another derivation is suggested by Braroe (1975:144). The equivalent of *uuchimaau* in the Plains Cree dialect is a derivation of the verb "to give." Perhaps Braroe is referring to the verb "he gives him food," or *shimaau* in the East Cree dialect. Certainly, generous sharing of resources is closely related to the ability of the hunting boss to secure respect for his authority.

3. In terms of the economic replacement value of the product, winter hunting and trapping have generated far more value in food than in fur up to the present time. Although hunters became dependent on fur income for firearms, metal tools, some clothing, and emergency supplies during the traditional fur trade period, this did not eliminate their primary dependence on bush food.

4. Summer fishing for trout and whitefish along the James Bay coast is most often conducted by single households. In summer sturgeon fishing, it is more common for a pair of households to share air charter costs to inland fishing locations and to camp together.

5. A similar observation applies to snaring hare and shooting grouse on forays from the settlement, activities for which hunters are not expected to consult a hunting boss or to respect the territorial divisions pertaining to manageable game populations, which are more sensitive to Cree predation. Although hare, grouse, and fish are subject to the same general principles of respect and non-wastage as all game, their population cycles are not seen as responsive to game management. At high points in their population cycles, they are almost inexhaustible; at low points, virtually unavailable.

6. Here, I make only passing reference to this system. It is carefully documented by Feit (1978) for the nearby community of Waswanipi.

7. Although over ninety percent of the geese harvested are Canada geese, significant numbers of snow geese and brant are also taken. The territorial strategy discussed here applies to the hunting of Canada and snow geese.

8. The hunting territory-shooting boss system described here is also practiced in the adjacent Cree communities of Eastmain and Chisasibi.

9. There are, however, certain zones that are less sensitive from a goose management point of view, where hunters may go on their own initiative. Space does not permit a discussion of these here.

10. This procedure and others are discussed in detail in Scott (1983). There are important differences in hunting methods at each stage of migration and between spring and fall migrations. In the interest of brevity, I have confined myself to goose hunting in general.

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MAKING A LIVING IN THE BUSH:

LAND TENURE AT WASKAGANISH

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Pour gagner sa vie dans la brousse il faut connaître le pays et les techniques nécessaires. Cet essai illustrera les stratégies dont se servent les Cris de Rupert House pour utiliser leurs territoires de trappe. Des facteurs idéologiques et physiques seront analysés pour montrer comment ces territoires sont exploités, au moyen d'une variété de stratégies qui tiennent compte de l'étendue et du caractère du territoire aussi bien que des besoins individuels des trappeurs. L'histoire de l'exploitation des ressources dans la région sera invoquée afin d'en isoler les facteurs décisifs qui ont été impliqués dans le changement des approches des Cris à l'utilisation de la terre.

To make a living in the bush, one must have both a knowledge of the land and the necessary skills. This essay illustrates game plans with which the Rupert House Cree make use of their trapping territories. Ideological and physical factors are reviewed to demonstrate how trapping territories are exploited through a variety of strategies that take into account the size and nature of the territory and the needs of individual trappers. The history of resource exploitation in the area is used to isolate factors crucial to changing Cree approaches to land use.

This essay looks at how discrete hunting-trapping territories form part of the land use pattern of the Waskaganish Cree. (Waskaganish, also known as Rupert House, is located on the southeastern coast of James Bay, in Québec.) The debate on hunting territories found in the anthropological literature has tended to center on the hunting territory, never adequately defined, rather than on the activities undertaken by a specific group in hunting, fishing, trapping, and gathering—in other words, in making a living off the land.

The focus on "territory" incorporates a whole complex of traits (including known boundaries, marked boundaries, defense, and inheritance of territory) that assumes a degree of rigidity or formalization out of keeping with the way of life of the people. My concern stems in part from this apparent lack of fit between the levels of territorial and societal organization.

Is too much being read into the statements of informants? Is too much organization imputed by the anthropologist? Does the anthropological focus on "territory" introduce too much into the analysis that is unintended and is more the anthropologist's artifact and less the way of life he or she is studying? Is there a level of organization hitherto undiscovered? Are such institutions as initial matrilocal residence and cross-cousin marriage only incipient and underdeveloped forms of social organization?

When viewed in historical perspective, these questions become exceedingly complex. Are the hunting territories, for example, remnants of previously more clearly defined complexes? Alternatively, are they a product of more recent circumstances? If so, what factors are relevant to conducting such an analysis?

The intention of this essay is to demonstrate that the study of hunting territories requires more detailed ethnographic information than that which has been brought to bear in the classical studies of Speck and Leacock on hunting and trapping territories. This applies whether or not all the historical questions are indeed answerable. The relevant issues must derive from a detailed consideration of land use. To explain why this is so requires a brief review of some of the literature.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Much of the writing on Algonquian hunting and trapping territories has been generated by the desire to explain the apparent anomaly of hunting peoples having specialized or formalized organization. The widespread presence of this phenomenon among different Algonquian groups was noted (Davidson 1928; Speck 1942), but for some years it was studied as though the differences were of little consequence to the analysis. It was presumed that some historical key might be found if only the complex could be mapped. In his zeal for filling in the map, Speck often seems to have tired of reporting the detail needed to document all aspects of the hunting territories. In reference to the Kipawa Band he noted: "Socially and economically we find the same characteristics prevailing here as in the Temiskaming and Timagami bands which are respectively treated in the first and third chapters of this [study]. It is hardly necessary, therefore, to repeat the facts concerning paternal inheritance, trespass regulations, and the conservation of game in each of the family groups" (Speck 1915:9-10).

However, these details are needed to assess the complex as a whole. Under what circumstances were groups able to conserve game, to whom did trespass rules apply, and what happened when the rules broke down? Speck's study, rather than being systemic, tended to respond to the methodological concerns of the day, namely, the delineation of culture areas. For example, while

viewing trespass regulation as part of the hunting territory complex among the Lake St. John bands, he casually noted: "Resentment against trespass is not especially strong" (1927: 389). In Speck's work, it is unclear how the different elements fit together in any one community and set of ecological circumstances. Differentiating crucial and peripheral factors did not seem to concern him.

Leacock (1954) introduced another category of considerations. She focused on and refuted Speck's claim that such territories are aboriginal in nature. Using historical and contemporary evidence, she suggested that the territories are a relatively new phenomenon arising from a shift from subsistence strategies to ones based on production for exchange. She saw the Montagnais of the lower north shore of the St. Lawrence River as becoming more reliant on store-bought goods and food and less on integrative, community-wide support. Cash or credit from the sale of furs was breaking down the community circle of cooperation and changing the man/land relation to one of individual ownership over discrete trapping and hunting areas.

Leacock emphasized the economic causes of change—a shift in social relations. This is, however, doubtful: historic data from the lower north shore suggest that inter-ethnic conflict caused change. I. H. Lavallée, M.D., of Sept Iles, Québec, in a letter of July 1935 to Indian Affairs, states: "The Indians do not exaggerate, their game lands are massacred by the whiteman who have no scruple in violating the game laws. Further, they appropriate the Indian game lands and the latter have to drift further away" (Indian Affairs, RG 10, Volume 6750, File 420-10A). The situation seems to have worsened, as is reported in *Action catholique* (1939) on December 9: "Tense situation developing between White People and Indians of the North Shore; the Indians claim that white people do not have the right to hunt certain parts of the area. An open dispute is taking place. It is said that some camps have already been pillaged." (Indian Affairs, RG 10, Volume 6750, File 420-10A).

A model that incorporated these historic data might have better accounted for the facts put forth by Leacock. Leacock's and Knight's models are based on propositions and facts that generally remain at the level of assertions or are peripheral to the main argument. These claims must be examined to develop well-founded models.

The factors isolated by Leacock are worthy of further investigation. For example, she distinguishes between pre- and post-trapline. People of the north shore were more dependent on migrating caribou in the earlier period than they were later. Moreover, the trappers formerly used their knowledge of hunting techniques to derive a living wherever they wandered. Older hunters spoke of their earlier travels and of the fewer restric-

tions on exploiting certain areas. One must, however, evaluate such testimony within the context of broader changes in land use. If the area was "one hunt," what did this mean during different seasons, when different resources were exploited? Did people wander randomly over the entire area? If not, what were the strategic (ecological and social) considerations of the hunters which allowed them to best exploit their own circumstances?

Answers to such questions would allow one to address the coordination of activities between hunting groups. Perhaps non-territorial rules governed exploitation. There may have been need not so much for territorial defense but rather for intergroup cooperation, depending on the resources exploited. Defense of boundaries may not have effectively controlled access. An alternative method may have been coordination of effort. The implications of such a strategy depend on the case. An "open hunt" could in fact have ranged from unrestricted to limited opportunities.

In his study of Rupert House (Waskaganish) hunting territories, Knight (1959) did not accept Leacock's arguments. Rather, he saw territories as imposed by the Hudson's Bay Company and little affecting activities of Rupert House hunters. He recorded men who said that they could hunt anywhere—according to Knight, without regard to territories. He also reported that people sometimes set off for the winter hunt without a clear idea as to where they would spend the season. The argument that store food would tide a trapper over and thereby lessen his dependence on the community was not acceptable to Knight; he noted many non-economic reasons for relying on other people. For Knight, the growth in the moose population increased individualization among hunters in recent times. This, and moose frequenting the same habitats as fine fur animals, allowed for an increased food return to the hunter, who could focus on fur trapping. Trapping groups could gain minimal independence from each other.

Other authors have introduced further considerations. Bishop (1974) queried the relation between the location of trading posts and the distribution of territories in northern Ontario. Rogers (1963) noted the association between a particular territory and a grouping larger than the nuclear family, called the family hunting group or the extended family. Tanner (1973) stressed the importance of Cree concepts of land, animals, and ownership for territoriality. Both Tanner (1973) and Feit (1973) saw territories as management units. Feit has examined inheritance, hunting and trapping techniques, and territories.

Clearly, hunting territories must be viewed within the context of detailed analysis of many different types of information. Moreover, our terms should stem from, or make sense of, the ethnographic context, not simply be applied without question.

WASKAGANISH TRAPLINES TODAY

I will now describe the current situation in Waskaganish and comment on previous analysis of territoriality there. Also, I will depict territoriality as it relates to hunting and trapping strategies.

There are now thirty-two traplines in the area of Waskaganish, covering ninety-five percent of the exploited land. Nineteenth-century areas and numbers are uncertain, but population figures of 205 and 250 for 1838 and 1858, respectively (Francis and Morantz 1983:173), suggest about fifty hunters in that period. Waskaganish today exceeds 900 people, an increase of 330 percent. However, many adult males hunt only part-time; they do not trap in winter but join the spring and fall goose hunts. There are about 100 full-time trappers and about 108 casual hunters. Thus the number of full-time hunters/trappers has only doubled since the mid-nineteenth century.

The full-time trappers manage their winter hunting and trapping by forecasting the numbers of animals they expect to harvest. Furs comprise part of their income; wage labor and special income supplement payments for hunting add to their earnings. Generally speaking, a hunter assesses a particular area, either a whole trapline or part of it; the quality of information varies, depending on experience. Due to increases in schooling and alternative job opportunities, experience is not a simple function of age. A person may begin hunting and trapping for a living after he is fully grown and perhaps has a family. Older people often provide helpful information.

Some hunters are better than others at applying what they have heard or learned from experience. Certain people observe details and integrate these into a more general understanding of the land. For example, one of the Waskaganish hunters observed burned trees at various times and places and was told of earlier burns. He linked these data to obtain a detailed account of the extent and timing of burns and of the present vegetation pattern.

How the territory is used depends on its likely products, potential employment, and possible opportunities, such as invitations to hunt on others' lands. There is, thus, an assessment of options and needs. Cost of travel and equipment and cash and food needs of the family are all taken into account. Since the 1940s travel may have involved the use of airplanes, outboard motors, and snowmobiles as well as in-town residence. Assessment of costs and needs also affects land use strategy.

There emerge two patterns of land use. First, an area can be trapped out and left "fallow" for one to five years to allow the beaver population to increase. Second, restricted trapping can be conducted every year, leaving breeding stock for the next and

allowing for continual, low-level exploitation of small traplines, with only one annual trapping management unit. That is, most of the hunters tend to conceive of their trapping territories as containing one or more units which are exploitable from certain camps, using certain means of travel. These areas contain a minimal set of requirements (camps, roads, types of resources) to sustain a season's hunting and trapping activities. Territories with two units are sometimes managed on a "skip cycle": the trapper leaves his line every third year to trap elsewhere. Sometimes an adjacent untrapped area of the next trapline will act as a feeder zone and allow for continuous trapping of a two-unit line. Similarly, some hunters with three units will leave one upstream unit untrapped to act as a feeder zone for the rest of the area, again allowing for continuous trapping on two units. Three units tend to be the minimum for continuous trapping. There are some exceptions to this pattern. For example, one man took five families to his trapline which is large enough to accommodate two internal units, and trapped it out. He had not trapped the line for four years and did not intend to return to it for a couple of years. The strategy is altered to fit opportunities for wage labor in the community. Overall, however, the territorial strategy is basic and reflects a desire to maximize chances for a successful hunt.

The size of traplines is quite varied, but the biggest variation can be explained historically and ecologically. For example, the largest traplines are all south of Waskaganish. Trappers there explain that the large area of unproductive muskeg is responsible for the large size. More land must be covered to make a living. Further, Abitibi band trappers used to work part of the area until the late 1930s, when the Hudson's Bay Company and the federal government set up a beaver preserve, forcing their withdrawal. Also, trappers from Moose Factory had hunted over part of this area at various times. Construction of the transcontinental railway line (south of Waskaganish) in 1911, and of the extension of the railway line to Moosonee, adjacent to Moose Factory between 1922 and 1932, also drew these other Indian groups southward. Consequently, the area was left to Waskaganish trappers. Earlier, supply routes for Abitibi and Waswanipi-Gull Lake posts and fur trade competition probably affected the distribution of trappers in the area. All the smaller traplines appear to have been created since the beaver conservation projects of the period from the 1930s to 1960s and have been owned by descendants of former Hudson's Bay Company employees since the 1930s.

The surface areas of the thirty-two Waskaganish traplines are summarized in Table 1.

TABLE ONE: WASKAGANISH TRAPLINES TODAY

	Number of Traplines	Surface Area (km^2)
Group 1	5	100-300
Group 2	9	300-500
	10	500-700
Group 3	4	700-900
	1	900-1,000
	1	1,100-1,300
	2	3,000+

In group 1, four of the five traplines are close to the post (within thirty kilometers) and are fairly recent. In group 3, seven out of eight traplines are located south of town, as far as 210 kilometers away; the one exception, 702 square kilometers, is northeast of town. Most traplines are from 300 to 700 square kilometers in size and contain two or three internal management units.

The one hundred full-time trappers associated with Waskaganish spread their winter trapping activities over a maximum of thirty-two traplines. Within these areas, they must decide which management units will be hunted. About eighty-three management units are distributed among the thirty-two traplines.

The consensus among the Waskaganish trappers is that there is not much room for increasing the number of trappers on the land. The resources are being exploited to the maximum. The system of territories and internal management units is generally for the trapping of beaver and fine furs. There are exceptions, however, since fine fur animals are thought of as moving across the land during cycles of abundance. Trappers will take any opportunity to kill high-return furs, especially lynx, but trapping other fine furs tends to be confined to travel routes to beaver traps or other resources. Also, one trapper may sometimes allow another to hunt in a portion of his trapline, but killing only fine furs and small game, not beaver. This type of arrangement is sometimes made when a family wants to be on a trapline near its village or when an elderly man wants to trap a few animals close to the village. Examples include a man unable to undertake strenuous activities who wished to live near the village on his brother's line. Another man did not want to hunt on his recently deceased brother's line and so asked if he could spend the winter on a corner of another trapper's line. Avoidance of a deceased man's territory is usual: there is a Waskaganish belief that when a man dies, the animals leave the territory in search of him.

Spatial organization is a necessary part of the exploitation of animal resources by present-day Waskaganish hunters. Whether

this type of organization was always necessary and occurred under different conditions is not easy to determine. Evidently, however, a strategy of land use challenges Knight's view that hunters often set out without a clear idea of where they would spend the winter. Moreover, on many of these traplines, moose and caribou are seldom present. Thus Knight's suggestion that the presence of moose enhances the chances of confining hunting and trapping to a territory also does not seem to be supported. The Waskaganish area has woodland caribou in small numbers. Local accounts often described the hunt as performed by one to four hunters. In the Waskaganish, groups of three or four caribou are found in the fall; only about once in ten years, in the spring, is found a herd of twenty or more (up to fifty) caribou.

At Waskaganish there appears to be an adaptation to a fairly evenly distributed, though sparse, population of small game and fur-bearing animals. Whether territories with well-defined boundaries were present in the past or not, they exist today. The situation some years ago allowed for a dispersal of population across the land. Rather than requiring boundaries and sanctions against trespass, the sparseness of the population necessitated contact with neighboring groups.

In the past, conjuring was used to establish contact with other groups. Important themes in conjuring included the use of the *wapimocakoman*, a bark container of water that provided a means of seeing over distances. Dreams and unusual occurrences are other examples of conjuring practices. There seems to have been considerable anxiety over the health of others and at times over the health of one's own group. Concerns were related to the need to establish contact between groups. When a person came upon another's trail he felt obliged to follow it to the other's home. This is still the case today, although to a lesser extent. As a result, the whereabouts of each hunting group becomes known to the others. Inevitably some activities of both groups end up being coordinated by the eldest male, who knows the area best. Today, such a person is referred to as the "tallyman" or "trapline head," while the traditional boss (*ocimaw*) of a camp is distinguished by the local trappers if there is a difference between the two. As one trapper said of his father, "He gave me the trapline, so I am the tallyman, but he is still the boss (*ocimaw*)."

SUMMARY

Both Leacock (1954) and Knight (1959) played down the importance of knowledge of a particular territory in favor of knowledge of the techniques of travel and resource exploitation, which allow for mobility throughout a given trapping and hunting territory. Knight based his conclusion partly on one informant, who indicated that he felt free to hunt anywhere.

Knowledge of a specific territory is vital to making a living from that territory, and we must therefore re-examine Knight's interpretation. First, Knight's study was based on data from three individuals; two were not the oldest in their families and had not inherited their fathers' hunting territories. For some years, both men had hunted in Ontario and also on other men's territories, along with the owners. The third man had acquired territory through reallocation of land by the Hudson's Bay Company during the beaver conservation program. In other words, Knight's sample contained no traditional trapline heads.

Nevertheless, we must consider this one informant of Knight's claim that he could hunt anywhere. The statement seems better understood as sociologically based rather than as reflecting a statement of hunting strategy. It would be uncommon for a trapper to admit to a newcomer that he is unable to hunt in a particular area or with the owner of the area, or unable to obtain the owner's permission to hunt there. Conversely, but unlikely, the speaker could have been referring to moose hunting or hare snaring, and may have felt that he could kill these animals anywhere. In my experience, even these activities are undertaken with the permission of the owner. Moreover, this is a small society. While a trapper would likely grant another's request, this would affect the network of reciprocity that binds the community: at some point there would be a return in kind. The exercise of rights is bracketed by the larger hunting group and community context. A couple of examples will illustrate this.

Three families were together on one trapline. A large beaver lodge visible from the camp had remained untouched by any trapper for the first month of the season. Seeing that nobody claimed it, one hunter set traps at the lodge. This caused a minor controversy. The first to see a lodge has the right to trap it. Another man claimed the lodge, since he had seen it from a plane. By accepting all three hunters on the hunt, the head of that territory had set aside his prior claims in favor of first sighting. In this case, the one who had set his traps left them there but the kill from that lodge was only one two-year-old beaver. If the kill had been larger, it might have developed into a greater controversy.

In another example, a man heard of a moose that had been seen at a certain place. He went there and killed it. This caused comment around town: the one who had seen and reported the moose had thereby established his right to kill the animal. In a similar way, a hunter in the bush might know where a moose is browsing and decide not to disturb it. He might walk around the area on the snow, so as to be sure of its location, and indicate to others his prior right.

Today, hunting territories have more or less clear boundaries. These boundaries are often disputed, and there are tres-

pass sanctions. For example, a man came across a trap set at beaver lodges on a stream that he thought belonged to him. He therefore tore up the traps and put them on the bank. He was criticized for this in town. It was thought that he should have left the traps set and informed the owners that they were trapping on his land. Once the question of stream ownership had been resolved, it then would have been incumbent upon those trappers at least to turn the pelts over to the owner of the stream. The general rule is respect for another's "road," even if at times the other's road seems to violate your rights.

Last, the issue of a trapper's ability to travel anywhere, without detailed knowledge of the terrain, needs to be addressed. Three facts are relevant to this point: First, the Eastern Crees have a word *nihaciiw* meaning "he hunts on land he has not seen before." This is probably cognate with *nihasim* (son-in-law) and so suggests that patrilineal descent operated in the Waskaganish for some time, or at least that sons-in-law are unlikely to know one's territory. Initial matrilocal residence may also be reflected here. Second, in certain places, particularly in regard to fishing techniques, prior knowledge is necessary. For example, lakes where fish can be driven into a net periodically saved people from starvation. Third, whether hunting moose or beaver, hunters always consult one another about the land. This knowledge is at a premium. A person going to hunt in a new area will go with someone who knows the terrain.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In summary, the traplines near Waskaganish are becoming increasingly more defined, as are the rights to these territories. There are, however, still few immediate sanctions on trespass. Rather, the system is maintained by social pressure, which regulates adherence to implicit but widely known rules of access.

A similar system of social pressures operates during the spring goose hunt. For that hunt, there is a considerable investment in time in a particular place. The location of all the hunters' blinds is worked out by indirect negotiation: each man indicates his intended location through others, often his wife. However, certain older hunters always go to the same places and so increase the stability of the arrangements. When the jockeying for position is finished, the hunters set off to build their blinds and camps.

For the fall goose hunt, the system has broken down in recent years. The hunt used to be well organized, as families would live in camps on the coast. Hunters did not travel all around the coast but rather waited for the right weather conditions. However, families now seldom establish camps on the coast

but stay in town. Moreover, bigger canoes and motors have allowed travel in weather conditions that were formerly prohibiting. The hunters therefore travel to where they think the wind is blowing toward shore. Their movements, however, are uncoordinated and unrestricted, and so groups often spoil one another's chances of killing geese. People now comment that the frequent movement of hunters around the coast has made the geese skittish, so that they avoid regular flight routes near the blinds.

This example serves to demonstrate that the close coordination of effort is one ingredient in the long-term success of the hunt. The challenge for the Cree trappers and hunters will be to continue to promote this coordination in the face of increasing pressure on resources and changes in access.

The foregoing has demonstrated that a Cree hunter must process and evaluate a wide range of sociocultural and environmental information, which suggests that the hunting complex is not just a simple reflex of European contact. Many anthropologists have focused on external variables as underlying explanations or causal factors for the development and/or persistence of family hunting territories, but clearly one must first understand the total hunting complex.

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NORTHERN OJIBWA LAND TENURE

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La recherche cartographique dans le nord de l'Ontario, au Canada, a montré qu'il est possible de distinguer deux modèles radicalement différents de territoires d'exploitation pour deux communautés voisines d'Indiens Cris. Ces deux communautés ne reproduisent pas les facteurs historiques de l'exploitation territoriale de la façon dont cela est présenté dans les écrits relatifs au régime foncier pour l'est subarctique depuis les cinquante dernières années. Cet article propose que ces facteurs (tels la structure et l'organisation sociales) peuvent être plus significatifs dans la détermination des modèles d'utilisation de la terre que dans ceux indiqués par les écrits.

Research on mapping in northern Ontario, Canada has revealed two critically different patterns of land use for two adjacent Cree Indian communities with roughly equal populations but dramatically different histories. These two communities do not replicate historical correlates of land use in the manner projected in the land tenure literature for the eastern Subarctic over the past fifty years. It is suggested that factors such as social structure and organization may be more significant in determining land use patterns than those indicated in the literature.

This essay is an exploration of the dialectical relationship between the requirements of organizing a hunting-gathering economy and the internal logic of a kinship system as developed by the Northern Ojibwa of northwestern Ontario, Canada.

The relationship between kinship and economics can be regarded only as dialectical, as kinship is neither autonomous nor entirely determined by productive organization. Nevertheless, the overall form of Northern Ojibwa kinship organization is inextricably linked to a particular economic form. Among the Northern Ojibwa, when economic production is stressed due to ecological/environmental changes, kinship organization is affected by the economic stress and is compressed and altered in response. And, at these and at other times, the requirements of kinship organization may affect the organization of economic endeavor. The effects of ecological/environmental changes on the structure of hunting-gathering groups are well documented (Bishop 1974; Rogers and Black 1976; Feit 1983).

Most research on subarctic land tenure systems has concentrated on ecology. This research has tried to prove either the aboriginality of family hunting territories (Speck 1915a, 1915b, 1923, 1927; Feit 1983), its contemporary legitimacy (Labrador Inuit Association 1977; Nahanni 1977), or its non-aboriginality (Leacock 1954; Knight 1968; see Note 1).

The purpose of this essay is to explain the range of forms of organizing control over land within a particular period—specifically the contemporary one—and region—such as northern Ontario. I suggest here that the multiplicity of land tenure forms found in northern Ontario and throughout the Subarctic is a result of the dialectical relation between kinship and economics and is not due solely to environmentally determined factors. In other words, this range of forms suggests that relatively widespread or common ecological conditions reveal localized social groups at various stages in the development of the dialectical relationship; local group organization is not simply the result of localized environmental conditions. Thus communities using similar ecological niches may emphasize different kinship principles when organizing the exploitation of resources. This selectivity in turn produces different patterns of land tenure. In this essay, I shall contrast the principles structuring different land tenure patterns in two communities: Wunnummin Lake and Kasabonika Lake.

The empirical data were collected during the period 1975-1980. Thus my comments on the dialectical relationship will be restricted to that period, although it is tempting to apply the implications of this relationship to past and present in the eastern Subarctic.

LAND USE PATTERNS: WUNNUMMIN LAKE

Northern Ojibwa social organization provides four land use patterns: community hunting land, or "homeland": the total land area, continuously used by the people resident in the community; patronymic aggregate lands, or patronymic territories: lands used for trapping, fowling, winter fishing, and most hunting by sets of co-residential units (see Map 1); co-residential unit areas: lands within patronymic territories used by specific sets of commensal units; and individual traplines: the specific routes of individuals from within the commensal units, used either alone or with members of one's own commensal unit, patrilaterals, affines, or a category known as "dodem" (partner).

All four patterns are present in Wunnummin Lake (settled in 1964, population 315), but there is a definite and clear emphasis on patronymic territories. Most individuals will use two but no more than three separate territories during their lifetime. Each commensal unit has access to one, and at most to two, patronymic

territories through filiation and affinal ties. Thus all trapping and fowling and most hunting and winter fishing of each co-residential group is relegated to specific patronymic territories. Within each patronymic territory, there is a further subdivision of areas/trapping routes to be used by each commensal unit. These land use decisions are made on a seasonal/yearly basis by members of the patronymic unit. There are seven patronymic territories in the Wunnummin Lake homeland.

Kasabonika Lake

Kasabonika Lake (population 435) is an old, well-established community and is different from more recent settlements, such as Wunnummin Lake, which is fifty miles southwest. Its land use pattern is markedly different. Of the four patterns noted for the other Kayahna communities, only one is discernible in Kasabonika: the pattern of the communal hunting band, or "homeland" (Sieciechowicz 1985). In other words, although people carry out their activities in the same way as their neighbors at Wunnummin Lake, and hunt with kinsmen, affines, and household members in specific areas along traplines, they are not associated with specific areas and traplines.

The difference in the pattern of land utilization from that found elsewhere in the Kayahna region arises from two factors. The first is that trapping is organized differently. The second is that a stable population has always been in residence, for at least part of the year, in this location. Trapping arrangements are sorted out late in the summer in order to avoid overlap in the use of areas. Thus, in Kasabonika Lake, there is no exclusivity of territories. Rather, there is a great deal of movement within the homeland.

The particularity of the Kasabonika Lake pattern can be best understood in terms of the particular kinship and affinal arrangements that have developed within this community. The kinship network consists of a set of patrilaterally linked households of the same patronym that constitutes the core of the community. A number of other patronymic groups are intermarried into this core at the fourth and first ascending generations. Individuals who have married core patronym spouses are themselves considered related to the core patronym. Through marriage, they reaffirm their affiliation.

Of the twenty-nine households interviewed at Kasabonika Lake, only two were not related to the core set of families within the first or second degree. Except for two, all trapping households interviewed were linked either as parallel or cross-cousins of the first degree or were exclusively parallel cousins of the second degree. They formed a cooperating and interactive

set of trappers, hunters, and fishermen—in essence, a pool of potential economic partners for one another.

Given the close fraternal core present at Kasabonika Lake, a number of cooperative economic associations are open to individuals. That is, all core trappers, within certain limits of amicability and household preference, have available an array of possible trapping partners. Individual trappers do indeed take advantage of this situation. Every core trapper uses at least two, and on average about six, different areas. Most areas are used in association with different partners.

Individual areas are characteristically circular, cutting across a number of patch types (Winterhalder 1981:68). The sizes of the areas used are within the range found at Wunnummin Lake. In these respects, the trapping pattern of Kasabonika Lake is identical to that found elsewhere in the region.

Strong control over the community's homeland is maintained through the pattern of trapping and other activities. Limited external contact is maintained with four of the Kayahna region communities: Big Trout Lake, Wapakeka Lake, Long Dog Lake, and Wunnummin Lake. Given its highly uniform kinship and affinal network, the Kasabonika Lake homeland is in essence one undifferentiated patronymic territory, in contrast to the heterogeneous kinship and affinal arrangements at Wunnummin Lake, with its seven distinct patronymic territories.

KINSHIP AND LAND TENURE

For a longer-range view of the effect of kinship on land tenure, it is necessary to state two basic and well-documented premises. First, in the early historical period, there existed in the Subarctic large communal hunting groups or bands which used large territories, according to the availability of big game (moose or caribou). When game was lacking, the groups would separate into smaller co-residential units, which would then concentrate on exploiting smaller game (fish and hare) in more localized territories (Rogers and Black 1976). Second, there is an irregular cycle to this extension and compression of social groups (Bishop 1974; Rogers and Black-Rogers 1976; Feit 1983).

Though both tenets were evident in northern Ontario in the past, two questions remain unanswered. First, how did the system work from the point of view of the interacting people? From observations in a number of northern communities, I knew that the decision for a set of households to separate from an extant community did *not* occur suddenly but took years of discussion, argument, ill-feeling, and eventual consensus. When the break finally occurred, it was anti-climactic (Sieciechowicz 1982). Second, was there a slower process of reorganization involved in

the transformation from a small to a larger group? If so, how did this process unfold? The communal hunting group seemed very different organizationally from the family or small group.

Semi-Permanent Settlement

The Ojibwa in northern Ontario reside semi-permanently in villages, where principally housing and local health and education facilities are available. There are three types of semi-permanence. In the first and most common form, people are away from the community for much of the year. Individuals who trap, hunt, fish, or harvest wild rice can be away for up to two-thirds of the year. The second type is associated with newly married couples (see Note 2), where one of the partners, usually the husband, is from another settlement. Husband and wife may decide to remain in the wife's village if the local people are receptive to outsiders; if not, within a few years the couple may move to the husband's village.

The third type results from the signing of treaties and sedentarization. At the time of treaty signing, groups of distantly related co-residential units were often determined to be a "band" for administrative purposes and encouraged to settle in a single village. Thus, for example, the Wunnummin Lake people and the Muskrat Dam people went to live at Big Trout Lake village, as did other groups from surrounding lands. In time, people belonging to different "band" segments experienced the strain of close community living, as well as the difficulties associated with residing so far from their lands. Consequently, in the early 1960s, many band segments began to leave their host communities in order to establish their own communities either at the site of their summer meeting places or at other ancestral locations. The breaking-off process continues today. Several of these communities created in the 1960s, such as Wunnummin Lake, are undergoing further fissioning. In certain instances, some co-residential units regroup in new communities while others join kinsmen in established communities.

During the past twenty years, commensal and co-residential units have become associated and identified with fixed places or community sites, unlike the past, when these might be found at different locations within a territory. This process of sedentarization also means that since the signing of Treaty Nine there has been progressively less population movement and community composition has stabilized. Stability was fostered initially by the presence of schools, nursing stations, and cooperative stores, and more recently by the growth of small, local, band-owned businesses.

The Seasonal Cycle of Economic Activities

Even though people today are more bound to the community site, they continue to value the seasonal cycle of economic activities. At both Wunnummin Lake and Kasabonika Lake, trapping, hunting, and fishing are important sources of food and cash as well as familial and individual prestige.

In the early twentieth century, the seasonal round of activities was as follows. In the early fall, pairs of commensal units (the minimally economically-viable units) would move to their trapping grounds. In mid-winter, several commensal units would either gather at the juncture of a couple of trapping grounds or travel to a trading-post community. Late in February, commensal units might regroup to trap, but the activity would be carried out at the minimal economic-unit level. In May, co-residential camps would be established along rivers or lakes where trout or whitefish could be netted. By early summer, many of the commensal units that had been together in mid-winter gathered at one of the larger lakes, such as Wunnummin or Kasabonika.

In the 1920s, a few families from the Wunnummin Lake region traveled south to the Osnaburgh House-Pickle Lake area during the summers. There, the men worked at the newly opened gold mines; their wages provided some financial independence from the Hudson's Bay Company debt-credit system as well as enabling families to outfit more completely for the next trapping season.

The composition of the social group changed, depending on activity and time of year. When large game was plentiful, commensal units would not feel pressed to go out onto their respective traplines until the spring. At these times of abundance, the commensal units remained at the summer encampment. Co-residential units would be camped along a lake shore, relatively near to, but not necessarily in sight of, each other. This arrangement has been maintained to this day in some communities, notably at Pekangekum. In Wunnummin and Kasabonika Lakes, houses of co-residential units tend to be grouped together but, in contrast to the pre-settlement pattern, all houses are situated quite close together.

Kinship and Land Tenure Today

With the increased economic stability afforded by transfer payments (Knight 1968), along with more permanent settlement and the retention of seasonal activities, kinship principles, which structured relations between the commensal units, co-residential units, and bands, became more prominent. In the pre-settlement context, in contrast, the three basic kinship features—bilaterality, same-sex sibling solidarity, and a preference for cross-cousin marriage—were always moderated by strong pragmatic con-

siderations. These features are no longer tempered to the same degree.

Not all three kinship features, however, characterize all Northern Ojibwa communities. For example, at Wunnummin Lake, bilateral kin are crucial as is same-sex sibling solidarity, but there have been few first cross-cousin marriages in the past five generations. Bilateral relatives help one gain access to trapping grounds. Thus one maintains close ties with maternal, paternal, and affinal kin, since one's own lands may not always be productive. Ideally, a spouse's trapping territory should be distant from one's own (see Note 3).

After marriage, women retain secondary rights to the lands their parents had used (Sieciechowicz 1982). Thus women may and often do stay on or return to their fathers' trapping grounds with their husbands. This is practicable only if the men have an amiable relationship and the woman's brothers or her male parallel cousins are willing to share the land. The husband may use these lands for his lifetime in partnership with his brothers-in-law. His sons also have the right to use these lands, through their mother's secondary rights and their father's use of them. Nevertheless, sons' rights are never quite secure unless they marry one of their maternal cross-cousins (MoBrDa or MoFaBrSoDa).

Although bilaterality is important in the egalitarian distribution of *access to* lands, there is a patrilateral emphasis in the *securing* of access to lands. This patrilateral emphasis is further supported by the fact that at Wunnummin Lake there are seven clearly demarcated patronymic territories. Certain families, such as the Mckays or Bigheads (see Map 1), are associated *with* particular territories. Male members of these families are the principal trappers within the patronymic territory. Their rights to the territories are strong and are based on several generations' use of the same lands. In any single patronymic territory, there are additional trappers who do not have such strong claims to the territory, although the succeeding generation may strengthen its ties to the lands by marrying cross-cousins in the core patronymic group.

In contrast, bilateral kin at Kasabonika Lake secure one's *connection to the community*. These links, in turn, secure access to trapping areas. In Kasabonika, there is just one patronymic territory, the Andersons', which corresponds with the totality of the community's territory, its homeland.

In late summer, elders and trappers discuss and allocate the lands. Thus, at Kasabonika Lake, men may use from five to seven different trapping areas in their lifetime, whereas at Wunnummin Lake, a trapper will have used two or three.

At Kasabonika Lake, first cross-cousin marriage is much more prevalent than at Wunnummin Lake, as is the preference for pairs of sisters to marry pairs of brothers. Apparently, where the tie to specific tracts of land is weaker, as at Kasabonika Lake, there is a perceived need to strengthen social cohesiveness through close intermarriage, thereby securing incontrovertible rights of access to lands. Where the ties to specific tracts of land are strong, as at Wunnummin Lake, marriages are based more on the need for commensal units to have several dependable working relationships than on the need to bind people more closely together.

One possible explanation for the differences between the two communities is that one form may eventually transform into the other. That is, the Wunnummin Lake pattern of land tenure and social organization may transform into the Kasabonika Lake pattern. In fact, there is evidence that this is happening. For instance, intra-band ties are becoming more important than inter-band ties at Wunnummin Lake, and disapproval of band exogamous marriages (especially of women marrying outsiders) is increasing. A number of commensal units peripherally related (see Note 4) to the core patronymic groups have moved to other communities where their kinship ties are stronger. Almost half of the membership of four of the core patronymic groups (Mamakwa, Sainnawap, Gliddy, and Winnepetonga) have expressed a strong interest in relocating. A few commensal units have been discussing a possible move to re-establish the old community of Big Beaver House (the Mamakwas) or to move to Kingfisher Lake (the Sainnawaps). Two other co-residential units have been considering moving to Summer Beaver (the Winnepetongas) and to Long Dog Lake (the Gliddys). The latter move seems most imminent. All these units have more affinal and kinship ties outside Wunnummin Lake than with Wunnummin Lake residents.

Should all these departures take place, there would remain in Wunnummin Lake only one numerically strong patronymic group, the Mckays. The situation, then, would be similar to that of Kasabonika Lake. If, however, these commensal units were to remain in the community, preferential marriage to more distant but locally resident cross-cousins would strengthen the social ties of these families, which would otherwise be peripheral to the core groups. In that case, the community would tend to fold in on itself. One can predict that a Kasabonika-like pattern will emerge, centered around the numerically strong McKay patronym, given several generations of distant cross-cousin marriages. Cohesiveness would be maintained by increasing identification with a specific place, greater social and economic interaction, and multiple marriage ties. The possible transformation is predicated upon two factors: first, that all conditions remain as they are; and, second, that a fairly long period be allowed.

Though a lineal principle of inheritance was not and is not adhered to in Northern Ojibwa kinship organization, with sedentarization this principle may be said to be emerging in both Kasabonika Lake and Wunnummin Lake. At Kasabonika Lake, the inheritance of access to community lands is critical to an individual's economic survival, whereas at Wunnummin Lake access to patronymic lands is crucial; lineality is an important factor in both cases. If territory and community become more exclusively associated with a single patronymic group and are supported by band endogamy together with cross-cousin marriage, bilineal or ambilineal principles may become entrenched.

In sum, at Kasabonika and Wunnummim Lakes, kinship principles formally structure relations between social units and the means for gaining access to land. They thereby determine the two forms of land tenure.

Pre-Settlement Social Organization and Land Tenure

It follows from the above discussion that one can offer some comment on the nature of the composition of various groups and on their forms of land holding prior to sedentarization.

Family hunting territories in northern Ontario developed over a long period through the interplay between the economic changes necessitated by commercial fur-trapping and the requirements of subsistence production. Distinct trapping grounds became established as commensal units became involved in the commercial fur trade. Certain conditions, however, usually restricted the family hunting or trapping ground system from developing any further.

Once the pattern of family hunting grounds became established, it could continue, not because it was particularly suitable for the fur trade, but because small game subsistence required small group structural organization. A co-residential form of organization was never intended to be restricted to a single trapping area, as Leacock (1954) and others seem to imply. It was an effective means of organizing for seasonal small game exploitation, but extensive kinship links provided access to other lands, when necessary. I would speculate that the requirements of the fur trade led to greater exclusivity with respect to trapping, so that access to trapping areas became more jealously guarded and proportionately more time was spent trapping. In addition, during the nineteenth century, fewer but very dependable kinship links were emphasized.

In northern Ontario, in the years just prior to transfer payments, economic activities on family trapping grounds were very precarious, as Knight (1968) has described for Rupert House during the 1920s and 1930s, when there was a severe game short-

age. Essentially, more land was required to meet production needs than was available to any single group (Winterhalder 1980). When family trapping grounds could not meet food requirements, they were abandoned and co-residential groups fragmented into commensal units, which dispersed to look for subsistence. Often this was at the doorstep of the local Hudson's Bay Company post. When near-starvation was followed by a short period of well-being, commensal units would regroup to exploit again the replenished beaver stocks on their traditional lands, thus repeating the cycle. Governor Simpson provides evidence for this type of "feast and famine" economy for the west coast of Hudson Bay in the 1820s (Ray 1974:21). Thus, in most parts of the Subarctic, the combination of commercial fur-trade requirements with economic/environmental conditions precluded full development of the social organizational forms that would have been most appropriate for longer-term economic security. Therefore, on the one hand, the family trapping ground system became associated with commercial fur-trapping, as there was no other way to organize production given the individualizing pressures of the trade; on the other hand, because the family trapping ground pattern was unstable, it could never be maintained for any length of time. Accordingly, the commercial fur-trade period was characterized by a series of "boom and bust" cycles.

In this fairly dismal picture, there were probably pockets of groups that were more isolated and thus not as involved in the fur trade—for example, the Naskapi (Morantz 1980)—and others that maintained themselves on family trapping territories by turning to sturgeon resources when beaver stocks were depleted (Winterhalder 1980). Such factors as isolation and alternate large food resources may account for the development of the Kasabonika Lake pattern of production and land tenure.

A study incorporating a longer time perspective might document that some northern Ontario hunting and trapping groups, in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, were restructuring into the Kasabonika Lake pattern. The antiquity of the Kasabonika Lake community tends to support this hypothesis. The old community site was the location of an outpost from at least the 1880s (see Note 5).

In Kasabonika Lake, co-residential groups initially established family trapping territories. As other resources were available, when beaver were scarce, social groups did not need to fragment to survive. At these times, the hunting territory system was weakened but not abandoned, as communal access to sturgeon, along the Ashweig River, was favored. Unlike fur pelts, sturgeon meat was shared. Kinship then functioned to support wider integration of the band, which progressively organized itself into a close-knit social unit using a large homeland or band territory. Since a communal and consensual form of organization already existed when furbearers reappeared, commercial trapping was

conducted within this setting. The requirements of commercial fur trading were now accommodated within a communal and consensual framework. Individual access to trapping lands was secured by community fiat. Lands could be managed more effectively, and trappers could trade their furs on an individual basis, without harming the unity of community organization.

Although a singular example, the Kasabonika Lake situation indicates the fallacy of associating a single form of social organization with the commercial fur trade. One might see the individualization of trapping grounds as the only viable solution as a first step in accommodating the commercial fur trade. Furthermore, to this day, the principle of egalitarianism persists among the Northern Ojibwa. Given the high value of this ideal, it was no doubt disjunctive to hold to an egalitarian principle, utilizing exclusive trapping territories. However, if one thinks of the family trapping arrangement as an initial step in a process, then egalitarianism and economic production for the fur trade could be reconciled.

A contributing factor supporting the selection of the individualized trapping ground in northern Ontario was that nineteenth-century traders insisted on dealing with individuals, not with groups or their representatives. This must have created difficulties for communally organized groups that predicated their co-existence on sharing. Another factor was that the sedentary habits of beaver facilitated the fissioning of bands into minimal economic units instead of requiring the restructuring of sharing and cooperative relations within the communal band.

In both the fur-trade and settlement periods, the family trapping ground and band boundaries were and are fluid. In the recent past, the communal band used land as it required, and its territorial boundaries were fluid, shifting and changing for economic and social reasons. Nevertheless, the core area of a band's territory remained constant, so that bands were associated with specific lands over long periods. Accordingly, one can view the transition from family (Wunnummin Lake type) to communal grounds (Kasabonika Lake type) as an attempt to re-establish a band's social boundaries. As social ties within the band become more significant, the band as a whole validates access to hunting lands, in contrast to the family hunting ground system, where rights to specific lands were individualized according to membership in a patronymic group.

In summary, because secure economic conditions now prevail in northern Ontario, it is possible to discern the influence of the kinship system on patterns of land tenure among the Northern Ojibwa. There are two aspects of this influence: first, there is a processual development from individualized to communal trapping grounds; and, second, in the contemporary period, the process

discerned may have existed in the past and is relevant to the aboriginality of the family hunting ground system. Further, in the historic period, the latter form of land tenure may not have been stable, for economic reasons. It is not stable today, for social reasons.

CONCLUSIONS

From a comparison of Wunnummin Lake and Kasabonika Lake, one can conclude that although economic factors such as involvement in the fur trade may influence the initial structure of a community's reorganization, both the commercial fur trade and transfer payments contributed to rather than singularly determined the reorganization of land tenure. Further, kinship configurations ought to be more central in the dialectical analysis of Northern Ojibwa and other subarctic land tenure systems.

NOTES

1. These represent only the earliest or best-known proponents of the respective arguments.

2. In many contemporary Ojibwa communities, there is a marked preference for village or community endogamy.

3. Absent in both Wunnummin Lake and Kasabonika Lake is the concept of certain groups being the givers of wives and other groups being the receivers.

4. Peripheral relatedness means fewer than two close affinal links to the core patronymic groups.

5. The community was relocated further west along Kasabonika Lake in 1964.

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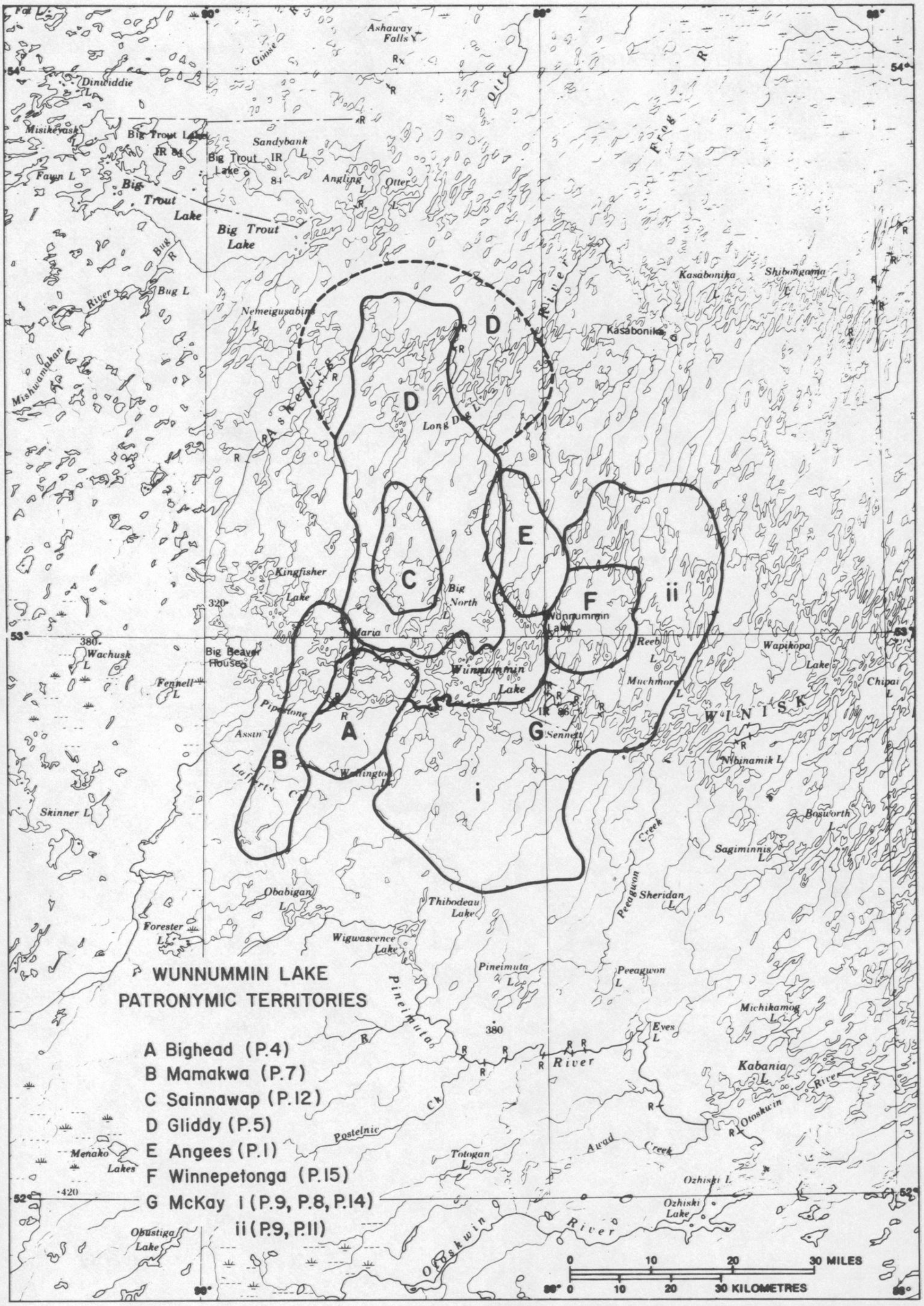
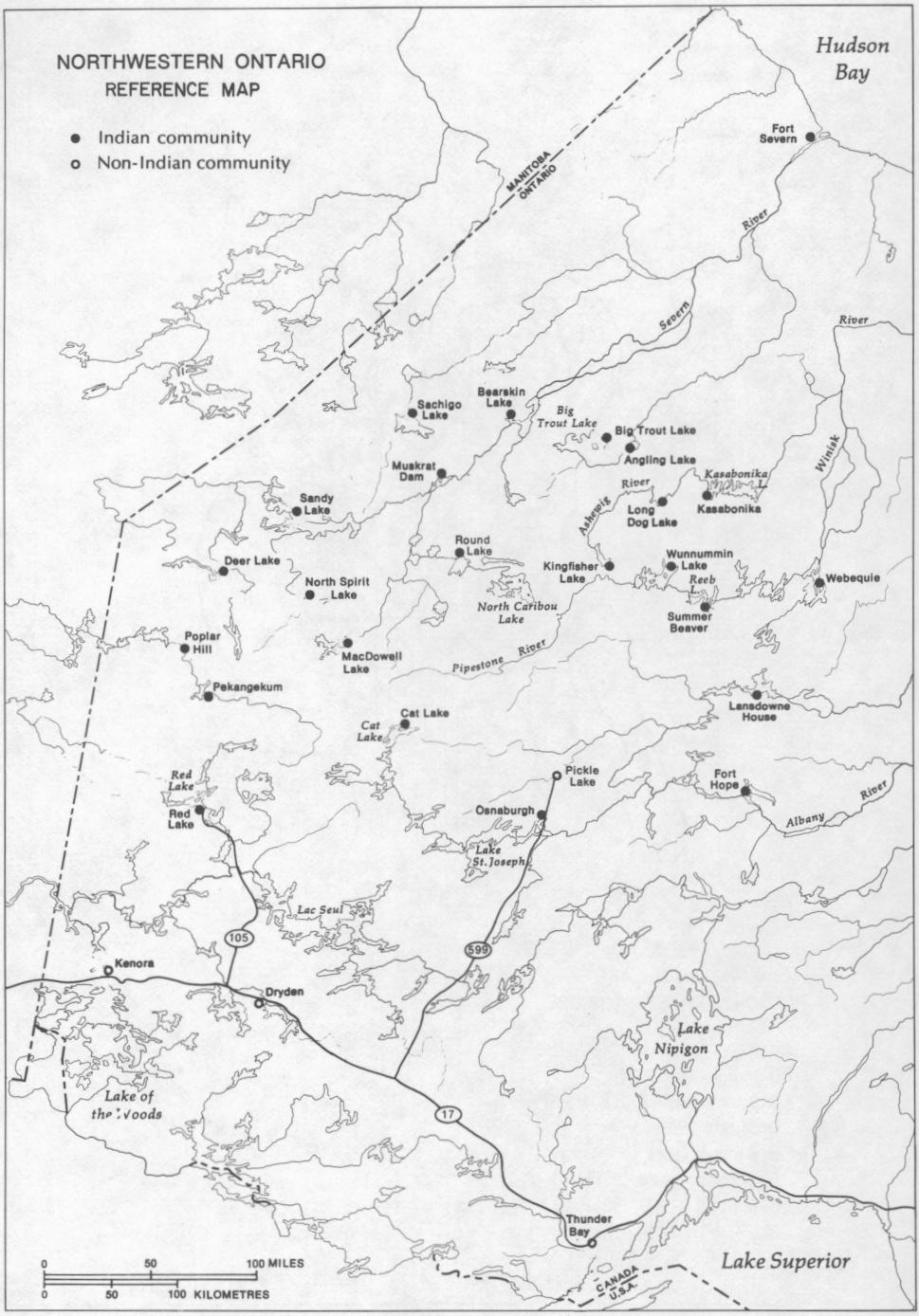

WUNNUMMIN LAKE
PATRONYMIC TERRITORIES
A Bighead (P.4)
B Mamakwa (P.7)
C Sainnawap (P.12)
D Gliddy (P.5)
E Angees (P.1)
F Winnepetonga (P.15)
G McKay i (P.9, P.8, P.14)
ii (P.9, P.11)
Big Trout Lake
Wunnummin Lake
Kasabonika
Big Beaver House
Winisk
Otoskwin River
0 10 20 30 MILES
0 10 20 30 KILOMETRES

Map 1


NORTHWESTERN ONTARIO
REFERENCE MAP
● Indian community
o Non-Indian community
Hudson Bay
MANITOBA
ONTARIO
Fort Severn
Severn River
Winisk River
Sachigo Lake
Bearskin Lake
Big Trout Lake
Big Trout Lake
Angling Lake
Muskrat Dam
Kasabonika L.
Kasabonika
Ashweig River
Long Dog Lake
Sandy Lake
Round Lake
Deer Lake
North Spirit Lake
Kingfisher Lake
Wunnummin Lake
Reeb L.
Webequie
North Caribou Lake
Summer Beaver
Poplar Hill
MacDowell Lake
Pipestone River
Pekangekum
Lansdowne House
Cat Lake
Cat Lake
Red Lake
Red Lake
Pickle Lake
Fort Hope
Albany River
Osnaburgh
Lake St. Joseph
Lac Seul
105
599
Kenora
Dryden
Lake Nipigon
17
Lake of the Woods
Thunder Bay
Lake Superior
CANADA
U.S.A.
0 50 100 MILES
0 50 100 KILOMETRES

Map 2

EPILOGUE: REEVALUATIONS AND FUTURE CONSIDERATIONS

Edward S. Rogers
Royal Ontario Museum

For centuries land and water have been subjects of controversy. Wars have been fought and innumerable lives lost to wrest control of some part of the globe from others. The struggle continues.

From a European point of view, what the land could produce through the sweat of one's brow (i.e., tilling the soil), or what lay hidden under the earth's mantle (i.e., was accessible through mining) was of utmost importance. At times, furs and timbers for ships were equally valuable. From an Indian point of view, the spiritual significance of the land or "mother earth" was of major importance. Within the universe, all life was one. This was not the viewpoint of Europeans, who believed that God created the universe for the exclusive use of humans. Nevertheless, Indians used the food, raiment, and shelter that "mother earth" provided.

Throughout the world, indigenous peoples are now seeking control of land and resources which were acquired by Europeans by various means over the past 500 years. Indigenous people believe they have a right to manage and preserve the land for their descendants, and to obtain compensation in the form of money, self-government, or other considerations for having lost their rights to aliens. Canadian Indians, Métis, and Inuit are now taking their claims to court. Examples of this litigation include the Baker Lake Inuit of the Northwest Territories, the Nishka of British Columbia, the Timagami Ojibwa in Ontario, the Lubicon Cree in Alberta, and the James Bay Cree in Québec. The "battlefields" of former times, such as Hannah Bay, Henley House, Mica Bay, and Batoche no longer exist. Often, with little knowledge of native people, their land, or their history, the press, environmentalists, politicians, and anthropologists come to the "rescue" only to muddy the waters of an already confused situation over Indian "title" to land.

From an ethnological perspective, "land tenure" is a complex issue. This is especially true because each culture has its own distinctive view of its relationship to the land. Indians of the eastern Subarctic in Canada represent one example of this complex relationship. Although ethnological interpretations of Subarctic Algonquian land tenure have varied over time, three phases can be identified. These three phases, as designated by Tanner (see this volume), are termed the "classic," "postclassic," and "neoclassic" viewpoints. The "classic" view states that family hunting territories existed before contact, while the "postclassic" view argues that family hunting territories arose after contact, primarily as a result of the fur trade. The modified, "neoclas-

sic" viewpoint includes conceptual refinements discussed by the authors in this volume.

Beginning in the early decades of the twentieth century, scholars such as Frank G. Speck, A. Irving Hallowell, and John M. Cooper began to examine how Algonquian-speaking Indians in the eastern Subarctic of North America dealt with land and its resources (the "classic period" described by Tanner in this volume). On the basis of what these investigators thought they had been told, they concluded that a form of individual or family land tenure (i.e., not communal) existed among Subarctic Algonquians. As early as 1915, Speck called this the "family hunting territory" (1915a, 1915b). He and his colleagues concluded that the "family hunting territory" system of land tenure had existed from "time immemorial."

Soon, other scholars proposed that the European fur trade had been responsible for the origin of the family hunting territory among Subarctic Algonquians (the "postclassic period" described by Tanner in this volume). Diamond Jenness was one of the first to question the arguments advanced by Speck and others that family hunting territories existed amongst Subarctic Algonquians in precontact times. Jenness (1935) ascribed this form of land use to European intervention, specifically the fur trade. Eleanor Leacock (1954) concurred, and carried the argument forward. Other scholars made further refinements, specifying additional factors or events to account for the emergence of the "family hunting territory" which followed the arrival of European traders in the eastern Subarctic (e.g., Rogers 1963; Knight 1965).

By the late 1950s or early 1960s, I assumed that the issue of land tenure among Subarctic Algonquians had been resolved once and for all, and that "hunting territories" came into existence after the arrival of Europeans.

This assumption was challenged by investigators such as Toby Morantz and Harvey Feit, who began to undermine my conviction. The reevaluation of my thinking was further hastened when I listened to papers presented in an all-day session organized by Toby Morantz and José Mailhot for the Canadian Ethnology Society meetings at the University of Toronto, May 9-12, 1985. Scholars who spoke in this session convinced me that after several decades of my previous viewpoint, it was time to reexamine the complex topic of Subarctic Algonquian land tenure and resource use.

In spite of the extensive literature on the land occupied by the original inhabitants of North America, we still know very little about Indian relationships to land and its resources, especially in the Subarctic. Fortunately, there are scholars who continue to labor very hard at understanding the wisdom of Indian elders and the remarks of traders and other Europeans preserved in archives.

The thoughts expressed at the symposium noted above represent a third phase in the ever-evolving view of land tenure among Subarctic Algonquians. As a rule, present scholars are not concerned with *when* hunting territories arose (i.e., whether they arose before or after the arrival of Europeans) or how the land-use system was adapted to ensure the survival of Subarctic Algonquians in their varied environments. Rather, current scholars emphasize how Subarctic Algonquians managed the resources provided by the lands they occupied. Critical attention is given to "conservation," the concept of "ownership" of the land and/or resources, and to "trespass" on "my/our land." However, these topics were not neglected by the scholars who first dealt with land tenure among Subarctic Indian people as a whole.

FUTURE RESEARCH

Stimulated by the Canadian Ethnology Society symposium, I began to rethink "land tenure" as practiced by Subarctic Algonquians. Future research may clarify issues that I believe have not been adequately dealt with, including environmental and socio-cultural considerations, and European and Métis contacts with Indians. Though a new generation of scholars has made great strides in probing the complexities of relationships between Subarctic Algonquians and the environment where they have made their living for millennia, further lines of inquiry may help resolve some of the varied opinions expressed in the published literature to date. A fuller understanding of Indian/land relationships within the eastern Subarctic will be gained only by examining all relevant data.

Finally, what are the ethical implications inherent in research on land tenure among the native peoples of Canada? This topic has become emotionally charged, to say the least. Indian land claims being debated in the courts pit scholar against scholar.

Environmental Considerations

To understand better how Indians were able to survive the harsh conditions of the eastern Subarctic, various aspects of the environment must be examined in considerable detail. The subarctic environment was not merely a static backdrop against which one viewed the "noble savage." It was forever changing, and Indians had to be constantly alert and adaptive. Aspects of the environment are not presented here in any order of importance; to individual Indians, perhaps all aspects were equally vital.

1. **Climatic changes** no doubt affected the availability of certain species upon which Subarctic Algonquians depended at times, as for example changes that occurred during the Little Ice

Age circa 1500-1750. Was this deterioration in climatic conditions responsible for the reduction in moose and caribou in the central Subarctic? What happens when snow accumulation is too deep for the survival of moose and caribou? Subarctic Algonquians had to devise new subsistence strategies if they were to survive, and these may have affected land tenure. There were also climatic alterations of lesser amplitude, including years when little snowfall meant that beaver lodges were easily discovered, but that moose and caribou escaped even the fleetest hunters because they were not impeded by deep snow (see Note 1). There were also years when the situation was reversed, and caribou were easily hunted (see Note 2). Sometimes the land was flooded in the spring, drowning many muskrats and curtailing the production of wild rice (see Note 3). What happened in 1816, the year without a summer (Catchpole 1985)? Subarctic hunters must have had mechanisms for dealing with these events. What modifications in land use did they make to cope with serious climatic events?

Although the role of fire in human life has been studied, little attention has been paid to the effects of forest fires on Subarctic Algonquians beyond the work of Feit (1969) for the Waswanipi area. What were the adjustments of Algonquian hunters when vast areas were destroyed and the intensity of fires was so great that not even a mosquito survived? Where did the hunters and their families go, and with whom? We might begin in Ontario, where fire maps have been prepared since 1920, and could be correlated with the registered trapline maps which were first plotted in 1947 (see Note 4). Combining these maps might yield insights about the effect of fire on Indian lands. This might lead to further field investigations which could try to unravel the social implications of fire. It is also important to note that the "fire rotation period" for the boreal forest is approximately sixty to one hundred years (Wein and MacLean 1983: 11).

2. **Game cycles** (see Note 5) are another variable to which mere lip service has been paid when examining resource use and land tenure among Subarctic Algonquians. Hare fluctuate in numbers from practically none (see Note 6) to a great abundance (see Note 7) every seven to ten years. The grouse population also rises and falls every so many years (see Note 8), and ruffed grouse periodically undergo drastic fluctuations in numbers (Godfrey 1966: 110). Geese fluctuate randomly. Some summers, many goose eggs fail to hatch due to adverse nesting conditions on the Arctic islands and/or the slaughter of adults to the south in the fall and winter. In the past, game hunters supplied the American market with immense quantities of geese. An age class of fish may be destroyed due to adverse conditions on spawning grounds (see Note 9). What happened when many or all of the species upon which the Indians depended crashed at the same time? Is this what happened at the turn of the century (1899-1900), when there was "nothing to eat" (see Note 10)? What did Indians do when only a

few food species were available and were not located in the same general area?

3. **The spatial distribution of resources** varied throughout the eastern Subarctic. Many plant, fish, bird, and animal species occurred widely, but there were other species, some of which were important to the Indians which inhabited restricted locales throughout the year. Among these spatially-restricted resources were berry patches, groves of maple trees, stands of wild rice, sturgeon, and lake trout.

Another form of restricted distribution occurred seasonally among certain species. For several weeks once or sometimes twice each year, these species assembled in certain areas in greater numbers than usual. Examples of this were caribou crossing the Severn River in the spring (see Note 11), whitefish during the fall spawning runs (Rogers and Black 1976), suckers during the spring (see Note 12), and millions of waterfowl, principally geese, which were found in the marshes bordering James and Hudson Bays in the spring and fall. These features of the landscape have rarely been mapped, and never over time. Given such distribution patterns, all of the resources upon which Subarctic Algonquians depended did not exist in every hunting territory. How did people accommodate these variable conditions?

4. **The production of trade items** which were desired by traders was certainly significant. Some of these items included waterfowl quills, castorum, sturgeon roe, swan feathers, caribou hides and meat, hare hides, and wild rice. Other resources, especially furs, were in even greater demand. Beaver provided both food and fur, as did hare and caribou when their skins were in demand. However, a lack of coterminous distribution, either continuously or periodically, of one or more fur-bearing species with food animals often caused problems for fur trappers (see Note 13). How did Indian hunters solve this problem, especially when desired fur bearers such as marten were located far away from adequate food supplies of fish, hare, or caribou?

5. **Resource productivity** increases westward within the North American Subarctic from the Labrador Peninsula to Alaska. What effect did this have in the past and what effect does it now have on the concept of land tenure among subarctic hunter-gatherers? Territoriality is believed to be more efficient when food is sufficiently abundant and predictable in space and time. When reverse conditions prevail, non-territorial behavior may be more efficient (Sack 1986:32). If this is the case, why have Athapaskan-speaking Indians in the western Subarctic of North America rarely been reported as having territorial boundaries such as those found among the Algonquian-speaking Montagnais of the eastern Subarctic?

6. **The size of fish** was significant in the Subarctic. In the past, certain species of fish might have grown much larger than is generally the case at present. These species include lake trout, sturgeon, and whitefish. A recent example of a lake trout from Lake Athabasca, Saskatchewan tipped the scales at 102 pounds (Scott and Crossman 1973:223), while a sturgeon caught in Lake of the Woods in Ontario weighed 234 pounds (ibid. 1973:86), and a sturgeon taken at Batchawana Island in Lake Superior in 1922 weighed 310 pounds. There are also lake whitefish weighing twenty pounds or more in the Great Lakes. One whitefish caught off Isle Royale, Lake Superior about 1819 weighed forty-two pounds (ibid. 1973:272). A sturgeon weighing 650 pounds was recently found in Lake Washington in the United States. Although obviously not found everywhere in the Subarctic, these large fish would have rivaled other species as a food resource wherever they occurred, and might have altered the subsistence strategy of Subarctic Indians.

Cultural Considerations

Indians in the eastern Subarctic had beliefs and behavior patterns which affected territoriality in one way or another. A few of these are mentioned below.

7. **Demographic patterns** among Subarctic Algonquians have been given little attention to date. Although some notice has been paid to both population size and the number of square miles allocated to each man, woman, and child, we must also consider the ratio of males to females born to each family, as there was sometimes a preponderance of one sex. Family size ranged from childless couples to polygynous families consisting of several dozen members (see Note 14). How were offspring distributed across the landscape to ensure the continued survival of the population? What were the adoption, marriage, and residence patterns of Subarctic Algonquians, and what role did these customs play in land tenure? Abandoned orphans and ostracized adults must also be taken into account when examining land tenure. Detailed genealogies should be collected in the field wherever possible, and then traced back through time by means of archival sources.

8. **The technology of Subarctic Algonquians** and what they acquired from traders must be considered when examining land tenure. What artifacts were both indigenous to subarctic peoples and lacking in the Old World? What did Indian trappers acquire from traders? What was the quality of trade goods, and what quantities were exchanged? No doubt these two factors changed over time. Although the steel trap and the gun must always be kept in mind, these are not the only items that affected land use in the Subarctic.

9. **Sociopolitical organization** and the varied terminology used for different social units among Subarctic Algonquians must be clarified, especially where this behavior relates to territorial boundaries. What was an aboriginal "band" in the eastern Subarctic? Certainly it was not the same thing as the "trading post band" or the later "government/treaty band" or "settlement." Speck, for example, was never clear as to what he meant by the term "band." What is the difference between "communal property," "common property," "individual property," "personal property," and "private property"? How many families must work together to be considered "communal" as opposed to "atomistic"?

How did the Subarctic Algonquians themselves define or view various sociopolitical units ranging from the largest to the smallest? When does one leave one's "own land" and enter that of a *stranger* (usually a territory where the inhabitants were to be feared)? What is trespass? Is stepping over the "boundary" of one's next door neighbor the same thing as crossing a faraway line, beyond which live "strangers"? In short, where and how do we—and Subarctic Algonquians—draw boundaries?

10. **The influence of religious beliefs and behavior patterns** on land-use practices and the relationships of Subarctic Algonquians to their environment have been studied, but much more work needs to be done. Formerly, when a member of a Subarctic Algonquian group died, his or her group refrained from taking any more fur animals that season (see Note 15). In some instances, the group moved to another area. All resources for home consumption were considered free goods which were available to all wherever they were found. But where was the boundary for the concept of free-goods from the viewpoint of the individual Indian? Does the fear of witchcraft promote small hunting groups, regardless of environmental conditions? If this were the case, then hunting-territory size in the Subarctic would not be regulated by the productivity of the land. Finally, were certain areas in the Subarctic taboo to exploitation for spiritual reasons, or did they remain unused for practical reasons?

THE EUROPEAN AND THE INDIAN

Traders, missionaries, government agents, and other Western Europeans came to North America from Britain, Scotland, the Orkney Islands, France, Scandinavia, and elsewhere. All had distinctive ethnic backgrounds, and all were motivated by different religious convictions. Each group dealt with Indians in various ways, including with respect to land use. Because they were literate and left written records in numerous archives, many Western European immigrants have been accepted as authorities on Indians.

But what of the veracity, objectivity, and cross-cultural perspectives of these recorders? With few exceptions (Black-Rogers 1986; Mailhot 1986), their accounts have yet to be critically examined with such points in mind. What did a trader mean when he recorded in his journal that such and such Indians had returned to their "hunting lands" or "hunting grounds"?

Western Europeans have been imbued with a concept of "Indian hunting grounds" through presentations of the concept of "manifest destiny" by historians and novelists. This concept of Indian land use was meant to contrast with that of European farming communities, where limited plots of land became important after the break-up of the commons, and individualization became the way to succeed.

11. **The role of traders** was significant in that they sometimes tried to influence the way Subarctic Algonquians used the land. For example, traders told Indians where to trap in any given year, and what size hunting group to use in a particular territory. They also promoted conservation measures among the Indians (see Note 16).

12. **The role of missionaries** had less impact than that of traders, but missionaries hoped that Subarctic Algonquians would become more sedentary. In that case, it would be easier to oversee their religious practices.

13. **The role of the government and perhaps anthropologists** (such as Frank G. Speck) in promoting a particular concept of land ownership among Subarctic Algonquians has no doubt been significant. What was the impact of federal legislation such as the Migratory Birds Act, or provincial legislation and regulations such as game laws, on Indians who formerly knew only their own customs? What was the role of men such as Jack Grew and Hugh Conn in the implementation of registered traplines which took place in the 1940s?

LAND CLAIMS: AN ETHICAL ISSUE

"Are Expert Witnesses Whores?" (Kousser 1984; Bourgeois 1986)

14. **Ethnocentric viewpoints** have often appeared in many studies of Indian land tenure to date. If the concept of Indian land tenure existed at all in the minds of non-Indian scholars, it tended to be modeled after Western European concepts. Do we believe what we want to believe? The answer is often yes. Thus, we must always be on guard, especially in this age of litigation over Indian land claims.

Both comprehensive claims (i.e., regarding land) and specific claims (i.e., regarding treaty obligations, hunting and

fishing rights, etc.) are now before the courts or in preparation for adjudication. More and more "expert witnesses" are being called upon by plaintiffs (usually Indians) and defendants (usually the federal or provincial governments) to testify on behalf of clients. Although academics have traditionally debated their views through the medium of publication in scholarly journals, the issues are no longer the innocent disagreements that once occurred in these journals, although they may at times be equally vitriolic. Claims made by native people for what they believe to be past wrongs, and the millions of dollars sought in compensation for such wrongs, are also under scrutiny. The historic and academic validity or evidence for the conclusions drawn by Indians are being tested in the courts. Accordingly, expert witnesses called upon to testify in court are under oath "to tell the truth."

But what is "the truth" regarding land tenure among Subarctic Algonquians and others? As we have seen, anthropologists have held varying views over time about the antiquity of hunting territories. Which one of the three views on Subarctic Algonquian land tenure does an expert witness advocate? First, there was the "classic" view where scholars argued that family hunting territories existed in precontact times. This was followed by the "postclassic" view which argued that family hunting territories arose after the arrival of Europeans, primarily as a result of the fur trade. Finally, there is the modified view which might be termed "neoclassic," and which contains the conceptual refinements expressed in papers in this volume. Scholars have recently focused on how Indians now use the land. In so doing, they imply (if not categorically state) that systems of game management and use which are today associated with family hunting territories have considerable antiquity. Does this viewpoint support precontact land tenure, as argued in the "classic period"? Through an examination of archival documents, other scholars suggest that family hunting territories existed earlier than was previously thought.

Canadian courts sometimes base their rulings on aboriginal rights on particular dates relating to Indian legislature, such as the Royal Proclamation of 1763 and the Robinson Superior-Huron treaties of 1850. Thus, expert witnesses must do meticulous homework. At the same time, they are likely to be caught in the cross-fire of the conflicting opinions of other anthropologists. Finally, the narrowly-confined views of the legal profession ensure that most members of this field will have little or no understanding of the (sometimes extreme) cultural differences between peoples throughout the world.

NOTES

Acknowledgements. I wish to thank Dr. Toby Morantz for inviting me to prepare this discussion, and for her generous help in completing the manuscript. I also wish to thank my wife, Dr. Mary Black-Rogers, for her critical reading of this work, and Mrs. Shirlee Anne Smith of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives for her continued interest and invaluable assistance over many years.

Many of the citations from trading post journals are quoted from notes taken by E. S. Rogers which were not always exact copies. Some of these notes are mere summaries of the information in the document.

1. February 1791 (letter from Cat Lake): ". . . there is so little snow they can kill no deer . . ." (Provincial Archives of Manitoba/Hudson's Bay Company Archives B.155/a/5:fo. 15); December 1743: ". . . not being able to kill deer for want of more snow on the ground . . ." (B.135/a/14:fo. 20d); February 1744: ". . . a very hard starving winter with them all, there not being snow enough, and consequently no deer to be caught . . ." (B.135/a/14:fo. 26). November 1762: ". . . partridges plentiful but not snow enough yet to try a partridge net . . ." (B.198/a/4:fo. 16).

2. 1820-21: ". . . All of the above Indians did well in winter. Snow was deep on the ground and they killed several deer . . ." (B.133/e/2:fo. 3).

3. June 1847: ". . . they all complain that there are no muskrats to be found all have frozen in their holes during the winter by the water being so low . . ." (B.220/a/10:fo. 18 and 20d and B.220/a/11:fo. 2a and 3d); September 1827: ". . . the extreme height of water prevents them from being able to find any muskrats to kill . . ." (B.220/a/5:fo. 2d).

4. Ontario Department of Lands and Forests (now the Ministry of Natural Resources of Ontario).

5. See Elton (1942), the "father" of the study of animal population dynamics.

6. February 1780 (letter from Fort Severn): ". . . rabbits are exceedingly scarce . . ." (B.198/a/24:fo. 22); December 1847: . . . no rabbits to be found no where, which is the complaint all over . . ." (B.220/a/10:fo. 34d and 35d and B.220/a/11:fo. 12); December 1848: ". . . no rabbits to be got . . ." (B.220/a/12:fo. 17d and B.220/a/13:fo. 22); January 1849: ". . . they are starving for want of rabbits which is the call all over this season . . ."(B.220/a/13:fo. 24d); December 1849: ". . . no rabbits to be found all over the country on this quarter" (B.220/a/15:fo. 18d); March

1850: ". . . complains of starving for want of rabbits, which is the case all over the country on this quarter" (B.220/a/34:fo. 22d); December 1880: ". . . rabbits are scarce this year . . ." (B.220/a/43:fo. 74); March 1888: ". . . no rabbits no place all around . . ." (B.220/a/44:fo. 70d); December 1890: ". . . rabbits are reported to be very scarce . . ." (B.155/a/90:fo. 4d).

7. February 1820: ". . . rabbits and partridges are plentiful . . ." (B.186/b/3:fo. 16).

8. November 1762: ". . . partridges plentiful . . ." (B.198/a/4:fo. 16); April 1767: ". . . there has been caught by the nets above 9,000 partridge since December last . . ." (B.198/a/8:fo. 28d); November 1779: ". . . partridges very scarce . . ." (B.198/a/24:fo. 12d); February 1780: ". . . partridges are exceeding scarce . . ." (B.198/a/24:fo. 22); December 1847: ". . . no partridges . . ." (B.220/a/11:fo. 12).

9. November 1844: ". . . the Indians all complain of the same, they cannot take fish as usual all around the neighbourhood of this lake . . ." (B.220/a/6:fo. 24); March 1888: ". . . no fish to be got—going to be a pretty hard spring all around this lake . . ." (B.220/a/44:fo. 70d).

10. April 1899: ". . . country provisions have failed in all directions . . ." (B.186/a/107:fo. 47).

11. April 1762: ". . . news of the deers' crossing above . . ." (B.198/a/3:fo. 25); April 1769: ". . . Home Natives to await passing of deer to southward as usual in the spring season deer plentiful within three days to northward . . ." (B.198/a/11:fo. 23); June 1773: ". . . deer crossing in many thousands twenty miles up this River going northwards. . ." (B.198/a/17:fo. 43); May 1775: ". . . numbers of deer crossing river to southward about four miles above Factory . . ." (B.198/a/19:fo. 35d); June 1778: ". . . no deer lately crossed owing to the cool weather that has kept the insects immobile not infesting the animals and causing them to move about . . ." (B.198/a/22:fo. 40); June 1781: ". . . they say few or no deer have crossed . . ." (B.198/a/6:fo. 35d); April 1786: ". . . deer arrive about river about 30 miles up . . . Indians saw six deer crossing river to northward about half mile above . . ." (B.198/a/33:fo. 28d).

12. March 1818: ". . . the Indians are getting plenty of suckers from the weir . . ." (B.125/a/1:fo. 9).

13. March 1827: ". . . where they turned back they saw marten tracks but had nothing to live upon . . ." (B.220/a/4:fo. 16); December 1847: ". . . no rabbits this season, which

will be much against the fur this season, and no partridges also . . ." (B.220/a/11:fo. 12).

14. For example, Captain Utchechauk in 1795: ". . . the father of 23 children, 16 of which is sons . . ." (B.155/a/10:fo. 25d).

15. April 1830: ". . . one of them unfortunately has lost his father and the other his wife which losses according to their custom prevents them from hunting furs this winter." (B.133/a/15:fo. 38d).

16. December 1844: ". . . for I am very much averse to an Indian interfering with anothers lands in these things." (B.77/a/19:fo. 17d).

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Regina Flannery is an emeritus professor of anthropology at Catholic University in Washington, D.C. in the United States. During the summers of 1933, 1935, 1937, and 1938, she did fieldwork in the James Bay area of Canada, where she worked extensively at Moose Factory and Rupert House and visited Albany, Attawapiskat, Eastmain, and Fort George. In 1944, she also made a brief visit to Lake Mistassini in northern Québec, Canada. The majority of her respondents were older Cree Indian women who had experienced adult life in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Her data complement those of Father John M. Cooper, who interviewed mainly Cree Indian men in the same geographic area.

José Mailhot est une chercheuse autonome dont les champs de prédilection sont la linguistique et l'ethnologie des populations algonquiennes du Nord-Est. Ses travaux de recherche ont jusqu'ici porté sur la lexicographie, la dialectologie, la mythologie, l'ethnosémantique (zoologie, géographie et toponymie), de même que sur l'ethnohistoire des Montagnais-Naskapi du Québec et du Labrador. Le début de ses travaux ethnologiques sur Sheshatshit remonte à 1963.

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Edward S. Rogers served in the European Theatre during World War II and received his Ph.D. from the University of New Mexico in the United States. From 1963 until his retirement in 1986, he

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Colin Scott received his Ph.D. from the Department of Anthropology at McGill University in Montréal, Québec, Canada, where he is now an assistant professor. During graduate and post-doctoral studies spanning the past decade, he conducted academic and applied research on several aspects of the modern subsistence economy and culture of the James Bay Cree, including knowledge and ritual in hunting ecology, support strategies for subsistence harvesters, community-based development, political discourse, and aboriginal rights.

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