MONTAGNAIS–NASKAPI BANDS AND FAMILY HUNTING DISTRICTS OF THE CENTRAL AND SOUTHEASTERN LABRADOR PENINSULA

FRANK G. SPECK

University of Pennsylvania

and

LOREN C. EISELEY

University of Kansas

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

Ethnological material dealing with the hunting territory concepts of the Montagnais-Naskapi Indian bands of the central and southeastern Labrador Peninsula is presented and analyzed in the light of present knowledge of the ecological relationships existing between these people and their faunal and floristic background. The frontier dividing the tundra from the forest is regarded as the factor determining to a considerable extent the practice of communal as opposed to dispersed hunting with its attendant patterns of family ownership of hunting territories. It is further observed that among some groups the two types of hunting system may both be practiced but under different environmental pressures. A sequence of phases in the development of the institution of the family hunting territory is tentatively proposed.

IN a past number of the *American Anthropologist* Speck presented material gathered in the field and compiled, with reports of earlier writers, the material obtained by him through a number of years' investigation of the constituency and territorial locations of some twenty-six local bands of the Montagnais-Naskapi Indians of the Labrador peninsula.[1] In the same article the attempt was made to give some of the social characteristics pertaining to these band subdivisions and to discuss economic features which seemed to influence the social pattern. The material used in the preparation of the article in question included some material that was still unpublished relating to certain bands in the eastern and southeastern regions of the peninsula. The purpose of the present report is, then, to bring out the data concerning the formation of those bands just referred to, giving the details from notes, made from 1922 to 1925, while work was proceeding in the lower St. Lawrence area. In the general article referred to above, reference was made to a series of reports previously published, which presented similar outlines of the bands in other parts of the peninsula. The present material covering the characteristics of the Ste. Marguerite, the Moisie, the Shelter Bay, the Michikamau, the Nichikun, and several other now almost disintegrated groups concludes the collection of material now on hand regarding the boundaries and family composition of the native divisions for this immense region.

The purpose in bringing out the material is to make available the long-shelved notes on the bands investigated over fifteen years ago as a contribution to our knowledge of the social framework of Algonkian peoples of the higher latitudes. Half a generation has elapsed since these data were recorded and inevitable changes have occurred in the bands.

A curious circumstance of the field work which produced the material offered in the study lay in the fact that the investigation of geographical ethnography was carried on before the region under consideration had been mapped. It was accordingly upon the geographical knowledge retained in the memory of the Indians and their ability to demonstrate it on the inadequate charts only available at the time, that the demarkations of hunting grounds were based. Several examples of the cartographic faculties of the hunters as made with pencil were obtained. They are reproduced in Figs. 1 and 2. For the limited areas which they cover they show details of surface of land and water the like of which will

[1] Vol. 33, No. 4, October-December, 1931, pp. 557–600.

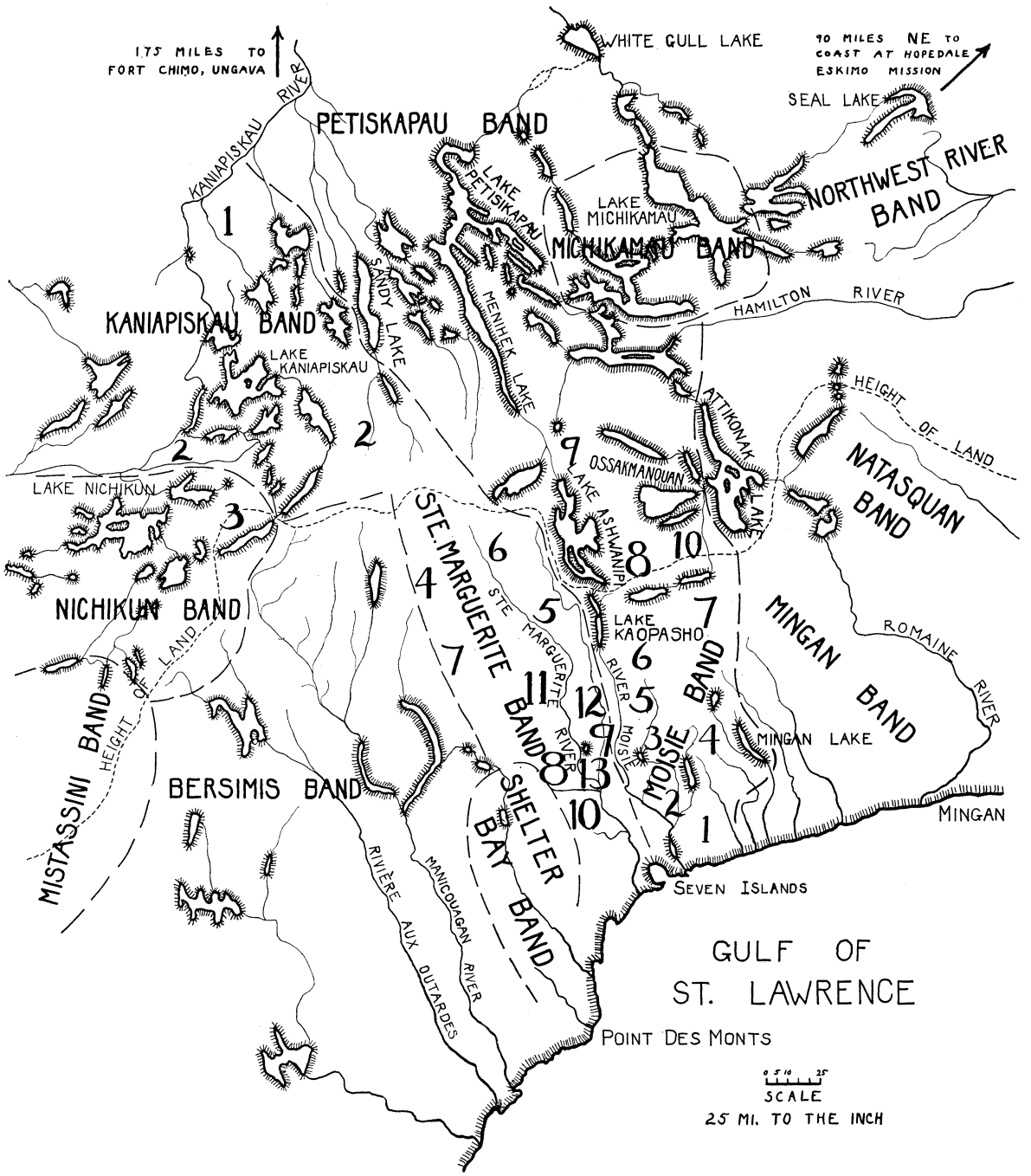

Chart showing distribution of Montagnais-Naskapi Bands of the Lower St. Lawrence and Labrador Peninsula, with approximate location (in numbers) of Family Hunting and Trapping Districts (1922–25). (Drawn by F. Staniford Speck.)

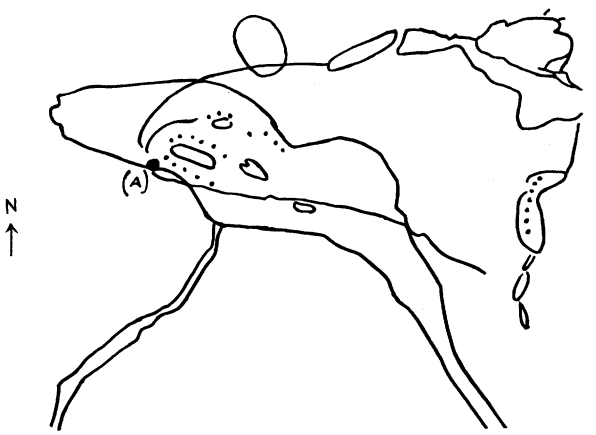

FIG. 1. Sketch map of Pien Andre's winter camp on *Kamacko'gan cakhi'gan* (lake) at head of branch of Ashwanipi River (near Petisikapau Lake) during mid-season separation period (1924–5). Drawn by himself.

Explanation.—At *A*, Andre's two-fire wigwam of caribou skin, his headquarters. The dots around the islands and along shore denote sets of fish-hooks under ice; 4 below the nearest island, 6 on north side of same island, 8 on far side of other island and along shore.

Division of Labor.—One man takes care of each set of hooks, three in all. Two men take road to mountains on northeast of big lake and go to lake system (upper right) for caribou. When wind blows too hard on this circuit to permit returning by same way over mountains, they turn southward to lake marked by fishing sets (dots on lake at lower right) and strike overland and across ice on big lake directly to headquarters camp *A*.

The continuous lines represent the routes taken by the men who tend the fishing and the trails of the hunters on land and ice.

not be indicated on printed maps for a long while to come.

In this cartographic interest the Montagnais-Naskapi seem to vie with the Eskimo. Their ability to represent the lake and river features of their own hunting districts as well as of more distant waterways and portages is a definite acquisition of their culture. Explorers of the Labradorean plateau have noted the accuracy of travel charts drawn upon sheets of birch-bark with charred wood from the days of Napolean Comeau and A. P. Low, down to the observations of Belanger and others, who availed themselves of the plottings to find a way in hitherto uncharted areas. The cartographic faculty has another bearing here upon our quest for details of the background of native land knowledge. It brings out the fact that geographic nomenclature is also a well-developed element of the hunting existence from one end of the sub-arctic forest civilization to the other. In recording the locations and tracts of hunting and trapping among the bands treated here, the names of most bodies of water were given by the men as known to them in their peregrinations. Some of the names entered are to be found in French or English orthography on the published charts available. Others, however, are apparently the names of lakes known only to the native habitués of the more remote regions. These have caused some vagueness in the delineation of band as well as family endroits. Undoubtedly corrections will later be made in the boundary indications given on the map accompanying the report when a more detailed geographical check-up shall have been made. The name listings in the present report will, however, serve as an indication of the familiarity possessed by the men, not only with the terrain itself but also with the unwritten literary nomenclature of their extensive ranges.

Reverting for a moment to the general field of inquiry, we may point out that in the social-economic systems of practically all the Algonkian-speaking peoples so far investigated (inhabiting the area between latitudes forty-five degrees and fifty-two degrees, between the Atlantic and Lake Winnipeg chiefly north of the Great Lakes and within the drainage of the lower St. Lawrence), the recently much-discussed institution of pre-

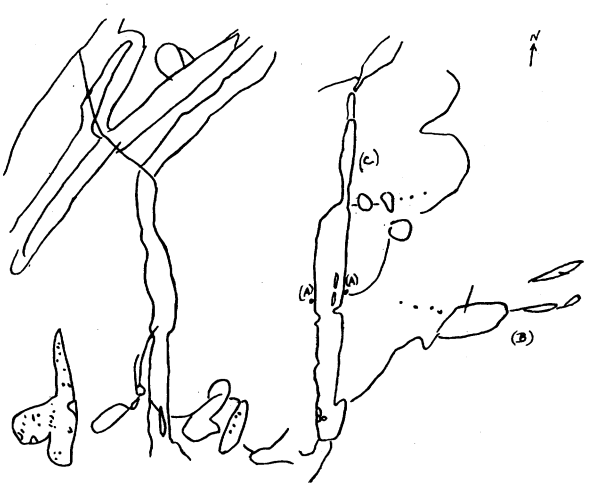

FIG. 2. Sketch map of districts hunted and trapped by Alexander Mackenzie's party, between Menihek and Petisikapau lakes, and on Petisikapau River during winter operations (1924–5). Drawn by himself. Lower left *Katsagwunəkajo* lake (dots denote islands), left center Petisikapau River, right center *Ketcemətеo pitcuan* Lake.

Explanation.—*A*, Alexander Mackenzie's headquarters camp, two divisions. *B*, at right and upper right center, location of marten trapping areas. Dots on land areas denote winter trails.

ëmpted paternally inherited family hunting territories has been observed. It does not occur in a single case in eastern North America among other than Algonkian tribes except where alien native culture has been in contact with them and may be suspected accordingly to have been modified in this direction by them. An instance of this is to be noted among the Iroquois who consistently fail to show possession of the trait except in the case of the Iroquois of Oka, P. Q., where it has been introduced through territorial adjacency and social association, even cohabitation, with Algonkian peoples.[2] At the same time we find that the hunting institutions of the Algonkian north of the fifty-second latitude undergo a change from the aspect of affairs that we encounter in the heavily forested region nearer to the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes. In the latter area the local bands are found subdivided into small family groupings that hunt by themselves throughout the winter, while in the former zone the family groups remain together forming the "large family" bands with more communal hunting customs than those just south of them.

The bands to be treated in this article include both types, and therefore some discussion will be included as to the meaning and possible history of this modification in social pattern of two purely hunting types of society whose other institutions and history seem to be practically identical in derivation. Before indulging in extended speculation as to what causes may have induced the separation of the types and what circumstances may have encouraged their development along one line or another, the substance of information on the make-up of the central and southeastern bands may be considered.

As our understanding of theoretical circumstances involved in the formation and subsequent trend of growth of these bands gets better, so too the collections of pertinent data will improve, and we shall acquire study material out of which should emerge some conceptions of their history superior to those now achievable. Dr. Hallowell's recent ideas, after consideration of cross-cousin marriage practices, actual and implied in the north, and the taking of geneologies, with his testing of matrilocal tendencies in the cohesion of families, exemplifies the kind of progress being made in our approach to an under-

[2] Horace T. Martin in his work on the Canadian beaver entitled *Castorologia* (Montreal 1892) makes a tantalizing reference to a portion of the old beaver hunting territory of the Six Nations lying between Lake Champlain and the St. Lawrence. He speaks as follows (p. 140): "In some cases in the interior of our country, near the height of land, these hunting grounds are still recognized as the rightful property of certain Indian families, and curiously, the line of descent is on the mother's side, so that travellers relate how many an old decrepit squaw is honored and propitiated for favors from her beaver reserve. These reserves were held with as much exclusiveness as a freehold estate in England, and to trespass or to poach on them meant to jeopardize one's life. The question of ownership involved all the mystic relations of the social career of the Indian geneologies, tribal affinities, questions of taste and preference, but also rested greatly in the first instance on the right of might. . . ."

This area, at the time of the French and Indian wars was, from a cultural standpoint, mixed Iroquois and Algonkian. It was really St. Francis Abenaki country—and the St. Francis Abenaki were largely influenced in culture during the historic period by the Mohawk. We have no direct evidence, however, that they adopted a maternal clan system, which would, of course, have placed mother right ahead of father right in respect to land.

Martin, who was not an ethnologist, may have been led into making the statement quoted above through a perfectly natural mistake. Among the northern Algonkian widows were title-holders to hunting land and so were often sought as wives by men who thereby got a hunting estate. Widows advanced in age are often married by young men for such a reason. This superficial observation could easily lead to interpretations involving matrilineal descent of the territories. It must be reiterated that we know of no other instance of *regular* descent on the mother's side though women may have potential claims upon a father's hunting territory should they have to resort to it to avoid famine in case a husband's tract should fail to yield sustenance for a year or so.

The senior writer's observations at Seven Islands are perhaps typical of the variation in practice which is observable even among the Algonkian. Speck found it possible to induce several of the hunters to discuss what they regard as a normal method of procedure in transmitting the use of their territories from one generation to the next. In recording the data on family history and control of the districts in family succession among the bands who make rendezvous at Seven Islands, a generalized statement was made which represents the sum-up of custom among these hunters. It seems that a hunter who works a certain tract of territory will say that he continues to occupy it by right derived from his father in most cases. Some of them reside with and work trapping and hunting grounds with the wife's father—patrilocal association. This affiliation arises when a hunter has no sons to receive the legacy of usu-fruct from his line. "His daughter brings her husband to join the father-in-law's family," was the customary response. Women and children thus had an option in living with either the father's or mother's family, according to the social opportunities offered by each, plus the need for their labor coöperation, and especially determined by the prospects of abundance of the food and fur resources of the lands on one or the other side of the family.

standing of the forces at work in moulding social structure among the northern Algonkian.[3]

Our conclusions will show the established truth of the assumption suggested in several previous articles that there are two types of social development at work among the northern Algonkian, associated evidently with their occupation of one or the other geographical zone types, the taiga or the tundra of the Labrador peninsula and the lower St. Lawrence and Hudson Bay area. Of the two types one is nomadic and communal in structure as regards the grouping of biological family units to form a collective band. It occupies the open tundra north of the forest zone where the Barren Ground caribou is an economic mainstay. The second type is based upon the more sedentary limited nomadic family principle and seems to remain confined to the coniferous forest area. The factor operating chiefly to determine the two is, we believe, traceable in large degree to the natural history of the game animals which alone furnish the natives of the Labradorean area with their subsistence. The governing factors may be recognized as lying within the influence of the seasonal changes affecting the movements of flesh-yielding and fur-bearing animals with its attendant stress and famine circumstances. Both types prevail in the social program of the same band at different seasons, that is, the collective family horde breaks up into the small-family group hunting as a biological unit within a limited often paternally inherited district, or vice versa. This is known as an actual fact from direct contemporary information and from printed statements of French and English authors who first encountered these famine-bred cultures of the subarctic.[4] The point deserves more weight in our study of the subject as investigation proceeds. Caron is one whose remarks are clear-cut and definitive enough to merit reference.[5] Alluding to the bands on the upper St. Maurice (the Têtes de Boule) he observes: "Mais la famine augmentant sans cesse, it fallut en venir à se séparer, en effet, par petites troupes les sauvages avaient pliés la chasse de résister à la famine, et si une troupe mourait de faim, et de misère, on pourait espérer que les autres seraient épargnées." ("But famine increasing without check it became necessary for them to separate. Accordingly, in small companies the Indians pursued the chase to avoid starvation, and should one company die of famine or of misfortune, it could be hoped that the others would be spared.")

Reference to the two modes of hunting just discussed is manifest in the remarks of Davies [6] who also knew the Montagnais-Naskapi well:

"Depending solely on the chase for a subsistence, they of course, lead an erratic life, following the deer [7] in their migrations from place to place; keeping generally together in large camps, a circumstance that frequently subjects them to the extremes of starvation; the game being soon destroyed, or driven to a distance from them—in this respect they differ from their neighbors the mountaineer Indians, who seldom or ever hunt together in large numbers, two families generally associating themselves for that purpose. . . . They are extremely liberal toward each other; whatever the hunter brings to camp is shared without reserve, in equal proportions among the whole community—this custom is not peculiar to them however, they possess it in common with all Indians who live by the chase. They are not fur hunters, nor is the mode of life they lead favorable to it; the chase of the deer leads them to the barren parts of the country, while the fur-bearing animals are only to be found in the woods; moreover, their favourite occupation furnishes them with all they require—they clothe themselves with deerskins—their tents are made of the same material, as well as their nets. . . . Their number is but small, 40 or 50 families comprise the total of those frequenting the posts of Ungava Bay."

In the preceding statements the habit observed among the northern and eastern bands of the

[3] The several grants of the Faculty Research Fund of the University of Pennsylvania from 1931 to 1933 have made it possible for Dr. A. I. Hallowell to carry out his expeditions in the field among Cree and Saulteaux, and for Speck to add to his earlier field notes obtained from the Montagnais of Lake St. John and surrounding bands accessible through them. Again in 1935 another grant (no. 286) by the same committee made possible a return to the bands of the southeastern coast as far as Eskimo River in the Straits of Belle Isle. Additions were then made to the material previously collected.

[4] This point has been approached in several previous statements, and Dr. D. S. Davidson has also used the same line of view.

[5] Abbé N. Caron, "Deux Voyages sur le St. Maurice." Trois-Riviéres, 1887–8, p. 128.

[6] Davies, W. H. A., "Notes on Ungava Bay," *Transactions of Literary and Historical Society of Quebec*, Vol. IV, pt. II, 1854, pp. 129–131.

[7] By "deer" Davies means caribou.

Montagnais-Naskapi, of starting the fall migration into the interior hunting grounds in a group hunting communally is brought out in clear terms. These bands remain in this type of social formation as long as game conditions permit, that is to say as long as the caribou can be followed and killed in sufficient quantity to support them. Should the caribou fail them, however, they are obliged to separate into small parties to save their lives and fall back upon the hunting of small game wherever they can find it for the remainder of the season. This means that they break up into family units comprising the man of the family, his wife, children and such dependents as he may have. The family group of this designation may also include his son or sons and their wives, or his daughters and their husbands, according to whether their residence is patrilocal or matrilocal. The latter circumstance raises a point of no little importance in the history of band affiliation among the northern tribes, one which Dr. Hallowell is weighing out in its bearing, likewise, upon marriage procedure.

It seems conclusive from the data at hand, then, that stress-conditions govern the breaking up of the communally hunting band into family units. And stress-conditions arise through the movements of the game. Thus the ruling element in the problems the natives of the northern districts have to face is the success or failure of the hunt for the Barren Ground caribou.

Matters are quite different in the economic circumstances of the bands of the southern and western portions of the Montagnais-Naskapi habitat, where the hunting environment is that of the forest, where game is more diversified and more abundant though smaller in size, and scattered through the forests. And here furthermore the moose enters into the economic system while the caribou is of the woodland race which runs in smaller numbers.

In the environment of the northern bands the struggle for existence is intensified by absence of forest, causing a less thorough dispersion of the game and a difference in its type. We hardly need attempt to outline the effect of the forest-covered hills mountains and swamps upon the life of animals and their distribution over territory, as contrasted with the conditions prevailing in the thinly forested or treeless tundra farther north. The animal life of the open regions is wide-ranging and mobile.[8] Hence the northern bands hunt in a horde formation, as do the wolves, in pursuit of the caribou which travel in hordes and upon which they depend so largely. The frontier dividing the tundra from the forest, to be concise, is the factor determining the character of animal life and the social-economic life of the Indians within and without these respective zones.

The question of change and decline in population of the bands under consideration, and in fact those of the Labrador Peninsula at large, has engaged the attention of statisticians of population, government officials, missionaries, traders and the Indians themselves for a long time. Speck commented upon some of the figures available from several earlier and later sources in a paper to which reference has previously been made. Taking the collective estimates of the population of the bands under consideration in this report, we have a total of 300 souls listed for Seven Islands in 1857, while the census of Indians in Canada of 1924 gave 380 for the same agency. The matter has much deeper implications than the mere question of survival, in the relationship between mortality among the natives, the rise and fall of populations in the different bands and the still little-known periodic cycles of abundance of animals; the so-called seven-year "plagues" affecting the animal population of the northern regions.

Seton and others have drawn attention to these problems. Elton, in a work which deserves the careful attention of anthropologists, gives considerable space to faunal fluctuation and migration in the Labradorean area.[9] He shows how an increase of mice, or even mosquitoes may affect, sometimes through a long chain of events, the movements of caribou, and hence the fortunes of man. He maintains that "there is hardly a single fur-bearing animal in Canada that does not fluctuate in numbers from year to year in a most striking way." [10]

Burt, in a recent paper,[11] makes some valuable

[8] Even the herbivores of the forest zone may not constitute an entirely static and reliable quantity. J. R. Dymond, for example, indicates that both the white-tailed deer and moose may absent themselves from considerable areas over long periods of time, and then again return. See J. R. Dymond and L. Snyder, "The Faunal Investigation of Lake Nipigon Region, Ontario," *Transactions of the Royal Canadian Institute*, Vol. 16, 1928, p. 247.

[9] Elton, Charles, *Animal Ecology and Evolution*, Oxford Press, London, 1930, pp. 18–23, 30–31, 40–42, 78. See also Murphy, R. C., "Conservation and Scientific Forecast," *Science*, n.s. Vol. 93, pp. 605–607, 1941.

[10] Ibid, p. 18–19.

[11] Burt, Wm. H., "Territorial Behavior and Populations of Some Small Mammals in Southern Michigan," *Miscel-*

observations on the size of the home range of certain of the smaller northern mammals, as well as pointing out many gaps in our knowledge of territorial range, particularly among the larger forms. He makes it clear, however, that the smaller fur-bearers are very limited in their range of movement under normal circumstances. The size of the area occupied by an animal is necessarily limited by the creature's ability to travel and its needs in terms of food and protection. Predators will tend to range more extensively. A rodent, ever in danger from enemies, must be thoroughly familiar with the area over which it ranges in order to survive. In Burt's own words "Animals that are moving about in search of a place to claim as their own are covering unfamiliar territory and are much more vulnerable . . . than are those in established territories."

Having noted these observations of Elton and Burt let us consider them in terms of their possible influence upon the hunting pattern of man. Elton has considered the tremendous fluctuation in numbers and area of movement of some of the northern animals. The significance of this to a hunting people is tremendous. In the course of his discussion Elton makes one statement of profound interest to the ethnologist: namely, *that the beaver is almost the sole northern fur-bearing animal the numbers of which have not been observed to fluctuate with the unsteady cyclic variability to be found among other northern forms of life.* The beaver, it must be remembered, was food long before he represented other forms of wealth. It now seems evident from these biological observations that he was a most reliable and steady source as well.

Consider further the comments of Burt upon the relatively small range of the rodents in general. The beaver has little chance to survive among fierce and powerful predators, such as the lynx and glutton, unless deep water is available as a retreat. They are thus, in the words of another zoölogist, "restricted to the water courses, reveal their presence by unmistakable signs, and build domiciles such as their lodges, which, though not furnishing exact information as to the number inhabiting them, are at least conspicuous indicators of family establishments. . . ." [12]

In other words, as the writers maintained in a previous paper,[13] an animal of great significance economically, even before white contact, is seen to be one the habits of which make it easily located even under arduous winter conditions, the range of which is limited, the stable home habits of which make it possible to husband by restraint in killing, and the need of proper stream conditions of which again foster a limitation of sites sufficient under scarcity to place a premium upon assured family ownership. Moreover, such an animal, dependent to a major extent upon aspen bark [14] is preëminently a creature of the forest and not the tundra zone. When its seeming freedom from cyclic instability is taken into account its human importance is accentuated. We are greatly in need, however, of a more detailed knowledge of the animal and human interrelationships of the whole Canadian region.[15] An approach to this aspect of the dove-tailing cycles of human and animal fluctuations in number will be a future step in the method of treatment of the economic problems of the area, under ecological methods.

Later, when the present collections of data shall have become records of a faded past era, we shall have to use them as we now use material placed on record, scanty as it may be, by investigators whose labors date back twenty years or more. The collections of matter offered in the pages to follow are accordingly enhanced by a time perspective now of almost a generation of age, since they represent conditions prevailing in family and band history between 1915 and 1925. Had we a record of affairs in these groups characteristic of the period say about 1900 and again

laneous Publications, Museum of Zoölogy, University of Michigan, No. 45, May 8, 1940.

[12] Johnson, Charles E., "The Beaver in the Adirondacks: Its Economics and Natural History," *Roosevelt Wild Life Bulletin*, Syracuse University Publications, Vol. 4, No. 4, 1927, p. 576.

[13] F. G. Speck and L. C. Eiseley, "Significance of Hunting Territory Systems of the Algonkian in Social Theory," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 41, No. 2, April–June, 1939, pp. 269–280. Most recently Hunt (G. T. Hunt, *The Wars of the Iroquois*, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1940) emphasizes the influences of the fur trade, especially the beaver trade, in causing aggressions of the Iroquois into the territories of the Algonkian.

[14] Warren, Edward R., *The Beaver*, monograph, American Society of Mammalogists, Williams & Wilkins, Baltimore, 1927, p. 17.

[15] Klugh, A. B., and McDougall, E. G., "The Faunal Areas of Canada," *Handbook of Canada*, University of Toronto Press, 1924, p. 202. "The difficulty of dealing with the faunal areas of Canada is greatly increased by the fact that data on the distribution of the animal life of the dominion is, as yet, very incomplete. There is not a single locality the whole fauna of which is known."

of 1880, the time perspective so much needed to demonstrate the change processes of the hunting societies could be visioned. Our first era of ethnological observation, however, must begin with that described here. The next is about now due after a lapse of nearly a generation of hunters' lives. It is then a happy thought that the material of the accompanying report concludes nothing, but on the other hand begins something which is now ripe to be reharvested by newer and better understanding and method.

Former Coast Divisions

That there was in former times a more or less permanent population resident on the immediate coast of the St. Lawrence is clearly shown in the early accounts. These refer to Tadousac and Seven Islands as centers of the Montagnais contacts from 1673 onward. We learn of this from numerous sources. In a letter attributed to a missionary of the Saguenay in 1720 appears the statement that Tadousac has been for a long time the gathering place for all the Indian natives of the north and the east.[16] Crépieul (1673–4), the Jesuit, gives a report on the natives of Seven Islands and Tadousac which were then centers of congregation for the coast Indians and those who emerged to trade and associate with their kind from the interior.

These groups, if they ever possessed an independent character, separate from their relatives who migrated annually from the hinterland then as they do now, have left no indication of their social composition lasting down to the present. Perhaps if they were originally band units they have in the course of time become entirely fused with the larger migrant bands, the former coast-dwellers from Tadousac to Seven Islands. The natives themselves are aware of the two populations, one holding to the coast, the other dwelling in the interior. These are respectively denoted *notci·mi·wilnu'ts*, "people of the interior," and *wi·ni·pe'gwilnu'ts*, "people of the salt-water." In another paper, comment has been offered upon the significance of these terms.[17]

A casual observer could well imagine the coast-dwelling populations to enjoy economic advantages superior to those of the inland hunters, assuming that the more abundant resources of the bays and gulf would provide a richer subsistence. This does not, however, seem to be the case. Any of the coast "mêtis," of the "petite chasse," would exchange his "job" for the life and fare of the "gros chasseur" of the far bush. He invariably does so when his vigor and fortitude secure for him an offer from a big hunter in need of a partner. For the "mêtis" it would mean escape from the precarious employment of a small sphere to the freedom, the adventure and possible greater profit of furs of the big woods. The coastal natives are by-and-large the "petites gens," the physically incapacitated, the near-bankrupt, the lazy, the indigent, the timid. One might also imagine the coastal families to claim prestige through their assimilation of white mores. But they could not assume it in the presence of the interior hunters. Prestige lies with the latter, socially and financially, as observed by Speck between 1915 and 1925.

Without pretending to solve the question presented by the confusion of testimony on the earlier history of these long-dissolved band groupings, it is now evident that the two bands, Ste. Marguerite and Moisie, which hunt and trap over the territories in question, have become amalgamated. Some of the details referring to the earlier natives of the coast districts will be taken up under the headings which treat of these two groups.

It is true at the present time that a strip of country bordering the Gulf is not regularly inhabited or worked for its fur and meat by any specific family tenants. According to the lay of the coast, its rock exposure, and scarcity of wood, the distances of the worked hunting ground may be as much as forty to fifty miles inland. For the most part these stretches are exploited for what natural resources they may yield by certain families which remain permanently in the neighborhood of the trading posts and fishing settlements. Most of them are of mixed blood. Their connections, along both social and occupational lines are with the posts. Routine follows the callings of the coast. In summer off-shore fishing in boats, filling various capacities in affairs between the posts and the hunters from the interior with their booty of furs when the exodus to the coast is on, taking employment from the settlers also to fill in time, in the fall hunting and netting seals, in the winter taking small game and fur wherever it can be found

[16] Rapport des Missions du Diocèse de Québec 1864, pp. 21–2, see A. E. Jones, S. J., *Mission du Saguenay*, Relation Inédite du R. P. Pierre Laure, S. J. 1720 à 1730, Documents Rare ou Inédites, Montreal, 1889, pp. 4–5. Also Jesuit Relations, vols. 54, 63 and 65.

[17] F. G. Speck, "Montagnais-Naskapi Bands and Early Eskimo Distribution in the Labrador Peninsula," American Anthropologist, Vol. 33, No. 5, 1931, p. 580.

pieced out again with employment from the posts, in the spring fowling and sealing until fishing opens up. We are at a loss to conclude the extent to which these pursuits would coincide with the economic cycle of an aboriginal population in their direct line of ancestry. It is possible that from early times there were subdivisions of the "Montagnais" who consistently clung to the coast in contradistinction to their higher-altitude-loving kindred, the so-called "Naskapi" of the hinterland. Yet one has the feeling all the while that their conditions have been considerably moulded by association with Europeans since the early establishment of the French fishing stations. Certain it is that assimilation with inhabitants of the latter has progressed to a degree necessary to be given full weight in the story of composition of the coasters.

Localities along the coast are, however, well known even by those whose permanent homes are strictly inland. The islands forming the Seven Islands group are enumerated by Sylvestre Mackenzie, chief of the Michikamau band and elected head man of the aggregation of groups at Seven Islands (1925). They were given as follows:

Kaictəbo′ ministu′k, "Big Island," Grosse Boule.
Acini′′uts'wap ministu′k, "Stone House Island," [18] Grande Basque.
Kawaba′pickats ministu′k, "White Rock Island."
Backwɔ′ ministu′k, "Basque Island," Grande Basque.
Mənawani′′s, "Little Island," Manowin.

In view of what has been said regarding the unassigned coastal zone, a section representing this strip has been left unmarked by boundaries of the bands when shown on the chart. It would also represent the recession of the Indians who live by hunting from the coastal margin of the peninsula, due to the disappearance of the game there resulting from the establishment of French-Canadian fishing stations at the mouths of rivers. In this connection the following faunal references from the Jesuit Relations [19] are of interest:

The first is a memorandum for a missionary to be sent to Seven Islands:

"He will find there next spring at various times about 150 persons, both adults and children. He will probably see all these—and perhaps others who come from the interior or *from the shore of the sea.*" (Italics ours.)

"The entire coast is of frightful aspect. There is not even the space of a drying ground of soil; it is all rocks, covered with very small trees of spruce and fir;—save the little birch, not one beautiful tree. There is no end to game, all marine birds. . . ."

"All along the coast, seals are to be seen, upon which the savages live during the entire summer."

Hind also yields interesting material on the coast division:

"When leaving the coast for the interior, many families have particular rivers to go up by, and often in a large body; but once a certain distance inland, the whole party break up and disperse into bands of two and three families each to pass the winter, and seldom see each other any more until spring; but before taking their final leave of each other a place is appointed to meet, and he or they who first arrive at the prescribed rendezvous (if having sufficient food to wait) keep about the vicinity until the whole party collect; they then go to fetch their canoes, wherever left when the cold sets in, and employ themselves, some in making new canoes others in repairing the old ones, until such time as the ice breaks up in the large lakes, and the waters subside in the rivers; they then move off in a fleet of canoes towards the sea, and generally make their appearance at the coast about the latter end of June." [20]

The fact that the location of these bands in the seventeenth century lay at the frontier of distribution of the Eskimo westward in the peninsula gives them a tinge of importance. While at present we do not know what the force of this circumstance may have been upon both groups it is, nevertheless, a circumstance to be borne in mind. A series of sources available for this distribution terminus of Eskimo has been collected and cited in the article quoted previously and to which we would now refer again.[21] Another extract from Hind (1853) which bears directly upon the Indians of the Moisie and their tranditional conflicts with Eskimo presents material worth quoting:

[18] The informant stated that a stone house had once been built here by the government, whence the name.

[19] *The Jesuit Relations*, Thwaites edition, 1899, Vol. 59 pp. 57–59.

[20] Hind, H. Y., *Explorations in the Labrador Peninsula*, Vol. II, 1853, p. 121, quoting a Wm. Chisholm who lived for forty years among the Montagnais as a factor of the Hudson's Bay Company.

[21] Speck, *op. cit.*, 1931, pp. 564–71.

"The mouth of the Moisie or Mis-te-shipu' River—the 'Great River' of the Montagnais Indians—enters the Gulf of St. Lawrence in longitude 66° 10', about eighteen miles east of the Bay of Seven Islands, and has its source in some of the lakes and swamps of the high table land of Eastern Canada. For centuries it has been one of the leading lines of communication from the interior to the coast, traveled by the Montagnais during the time when they were a numerous and powerful people, capable of assembling upwards of 'a thousand warriors' to repel the invasion of the Esquimaux, who were accustomed to hunt for a few weeks during the summer months a short distance up the rivers east of the Moisie, as they do now on the Coppermine, Anderson's and Mackenzie's Rivers, in the country of the Hare Indians and the Loucheux. The old and well-worn portage paths, round falls and rapids and over precipitous mountains on the Upper Moisie, testify to the antiquity of the route, independently of the traditions of the Indians who now hunt on this river and on the table land to which it is the highway.[22]

Moisie and Petisikapau Bands

There is some evidence to show that at a former period the families who dwelt in the region of Petisikapau Lake constituted a group about as well defined socially and economically as the other family consolidations which have been classified as bands by both Indians and whites. Through changes affecting the composition of the older units of the remote interior in the century past it seems that the Petisikapau horde has suffered a fate similar to that of the Kaniapiskau and Nichikun people recently, and which is overtaking the Michikamau group at the time of writing. The disintegration of the band has thrown its members into the population complex to the southward, nearer the shore-folk who make rendezvous at the Seven Islands post. Since the hunters from the Petisikapau endroits descend by way of Moisie River and associate with the people deriving their identity from the Moisie, they have become considerably fused and intermarried with this group. The Moisie Band derives its name from the river of the same name, which denotes its muddiness. The native proper name is, however, *Mictaci''pu*, "Big River."

The Indian family names of the preceding generations have been superceded. French surnames of the families which operate territories on the lower Moisie River indicate what has transpired in their history; extensive intermarriage with the French-Canadians of Côte du Nord, as the north shore of the St. Lawrence is politically and geographically designated.[23] Most of them show the mixture in some degree. They are bilingual for the most part. Some of the younger men will take employment, when it is possible, with the traders, prospectors, hunters, and lumber concerns, temporarily, as a form of economic relief if not of progress in the way of civilization.

Concerning the location and ethnic constitution of the Moisie Band, we quote from Speck:[24]

"Like the Ste. Marguerite band, the Moisie people seem to be of mixed extraction so far as original units are concerned. The families who operate nearer the coast may be the residue of a population of former times which belonged south of the Height of Land, and the northern families of those belonging in the interior. Whatever may be the explanation of the somewhat confused condition of affairs now it is fairly certain, from native sources of information, that it has not undergone extensive change within the last two generations. The families falling under this band classification number ten, and hunt and trap the territory up Moisie River and east of it to Mingan and Attikonak lakes, from the coast to the headwaters of Hamilton River beyond the Height of Land.[25] Also like the Ste. Marguerite Indians the majority of the families operate south of the divide, have smaller hunting grounds, and observe more closely the family system. The northern families seem to have connections with the limited nomads of the interior lake country whose populations have in

[22] Hind, H. Y., *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 9–10.

[23] Photographs of nearly all the adults of the group were made and the films are filed in the collections of the Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation, N. Y.).

[24] *Op. cit.*, pp. 584–585.

[25] These districts were located on the chart published in 1913 by Gustave Rinfret, Departement des Terres et Forets, Quebec, 1913, by finger of the men of the band who gathered to contribute to the investigation. Inexactitude was inevitable. Yet on the whole it was apparent to Speck that these hunters were not conscious of boundaries to any degree comparable with the land division sense of members of other bands investigated by him in regions where the limitations, both geographical and social, were more closely observed in native life. This condition was apparently due to a less distinct pattern of land proprietorship in the area of the eastern Montagnais-Naskapi. The marginal situation of these groups from the point of view of the communal versus segregated family methods of pursuit would seem to be a part of the question.

recent years become so dispersed. Upon the closing of the Hudson Bay Company's post at the mouth of Moisie River the band transferred its summer mission and trading center to Seven Islands. It has now (since 1915) no separate chief.

"In Hind's time (1861) the hunters from Ashwanipi Lake were referred to as the 'Aswanipi' band, which he says was dispersed in the nineteenth century to the north and east. This lake is now hunted by families which come under the name of the Moisie group who may have pushed northward since that time."

Speck's investigations yield the following data on the ten families, previously referred to, who make up the Moisie band:

1. Ange Picard hunts and traps in a small way from the falls of Moisie River upward for about 40 miles on both sides of the Moisie. The district is an unproductive one, from which the great game has been banished by increase in the coastal populations. With him as partner is Joseph Vollant, who has recently been so seriously disabled by an injury that he is an object of local charity. Both have mixed families of young children.

2. Philip and Tommy Moise (brothers), also Moise Vollant, use trapping grounds on both sides of Moisie River for about 30 miles above the forks of Moisie. These families are of mixed Indian and French extraction. Owing to conditions of sickness in the band at the time when their members were contacted the desired details of family make-up were not obtained.

3. Bernard Pinette operates in a territory beginning about 40 miles above the forks. His father, Bastian Pinette, from whom he takes his land, is now too old to hunt, and stays at the village of Moisie.

4. Magloire Regis has a location on Manitou River extending to Mingan Lake, some thirty miles inland, and east of the family heads thus far listed in this band. Magloire is brother to the ex-chief, George Regis (No. 5) of the Moisie band. In this direction we have an approach to the people of the Mingan Band. The latter has not been made an object of attention so far in the contemporary survey of the peninsula. We have no data on the composition of the family.

5. George and Delphis Regis (brothers) pursue their trapping and hunting each winter on both shores of Moisie River about 60 miles from the mouth. Information is lacking concerning their children. George Regis held the office of elective chief of the Moisie Band prior to 1922, representing the combined populations of the Indians from various bands assembling at Seven Islands. He was succeeded by Joseph Vachon (No. 10, Ste. Marguerite Band).

6. Johnny, Joseph, Charles, and George Vollant, brothers, cooperate in trapping and winter residence over a tract lying about the foot of Kaopasho Lake (*kaopa'co*, "narrow passage in middle") and headwaters of the Moisie, northeast branch. The informants who indicated their holdings on the chart included a lake to the northeast just below the Height of Land as an extension of their working area. This tract was inherited from their father, old Malek Vollant, who is now too old to make the peregrinations to and from the interior to the coast. He stays at the Seven Islands post.

7. John Marie Rock (*Djama'ni*, Indianized from the Christian names) and his son of the same name with wife, comprise a two-hunter partnership in a fairly large district about the Height of Land east of Kaopasho. Mamickau ("northeast") is the lake near their geographical center. It might be thought that the name Rock is a translation of *A'cini* "rock," a family name among the St. Augustin Indians far to the eastward on the Gulf, but it is not so considered, being ascribed, rather, to French origin (Rocque).

8. Charles Pilo's sons, Mili', François, and Sylvestre, congregate upon grounds lying at the head of Kaopasho Lake, on both sides, and northward into Ashwanipi Lake territory a little across the Height of Land, according to their indications on the work map used in the listing. No further information was recorded of their families. They held possession of the region from their father Charles, and trap in subdivisions of the grounds agreed to among themselves.

9. François Jérome and his dependents comprise the family group which winters on the north (lower) sides of Ashwanipi Lake. Further information is wanting.

10. Tommy Vollant, a member of the family of the same name (No. 6) localized on lower Kaopasho Lake, has extended his hunting and trapping routes to the northeast beyond the Height of Land covering the watershed of a series of large lakes around and west of Attikonak and Ossakmanouan lakes. These vast and barren stretches of plateau desert demand mobile habits of their human dwellers and closer boundary determinations are impossible to consider. We are led to conclude that the populations here live

and move more in a concourse than those of more abundant natural zones.

The families of Moisie classification so far enumerated are less restricted in their manner of hunting and trapping than those to the southwest toward Lake St. John, for instance. The scarcity of edible large game animals, the devastation of the region by annual bush fires, not to mention the growing encroachment of Canadian-French trappers in the European drift northward to exploit new areas, is having a destructive effect upon their game resources. Reactions upon the human inhabitants, who for so long have lived in relative equi-balance in these deserts, have been noteworthily destructive in the long run.

Petisikapau

The Petisikapau people, who, as we have already observed, have disappeared as a major and geographically independent group into the limbo of association with the Moisie Indians, derive their name from the lake of their ancient location, Petisika'pau. The term *pe'təsəga'pao* defines a body of water "narrowed in the middle," which seems admirably appropriate for its shore contour. The lake is noteworthy for having been the location of an early interior trading post, Fort Nascaupee of the Hudson's Bay Company founded in 1840, for commerce with the remote bands of the hinterland.

"The information upon which this and the following band are classified is extremely little," Speck records.[26] "There seems," he says, "to be an area of several hundred miles, according to Low, with a very sparse population. And from testimony obtained from natives at Seven Islands his claim is borne out, although a few of them from these endroits, east of Lake Michikamau north to the Kaniapiskau River, gave their identity as Petisikapau people and were so recognized by the others. My listing assigns six family heads to this group. I would not, however, insist upon separate classification as a band for these families, although they are listed as such for the present. The vagrancy of the hunters of this central region is a noteworthy feature of their lives, to which we may add the decrease of its population as causes contributing to the uncertain identity of its few remaining families. Both of these bands, if such they are, pursue the winter hunt for meat and caribou in collective groups. Hind refers in several places to 'Naskapi' from this lake and mentions a Petisikapau band of fourteen families, which has induced me to consider its classification as a band unit of the past if hardly one of the present.

"By the Indians at Seven Islands the name *Məne'yik wilnu'ts*, 'white spruce people,' is also applied to the inhabitants of Menihek Lake, a branch of Petisikapau, though I do not know how to discriminate between the two as band names. Were the records of old Fort Nascaupee, founded on Lake Petisikapau in 1840 and long since abandoned, available, some light might be thrown upon the affiliations of the natives by tracing their family names."

That the Indians constituting the Petisikapau band of former times have, since the time of Hind (1861), also become assimilated with those who then constituted the populations nearer the coast at Seven Islands is indicated by Hind's notes. He stated that the Petisikapau band then comprised 14 families.[27] We could not (1922–5) designate the few families who winter as far in the interior as the said lake under the caption of a distinct Petisikapau band apart from their coresidence and intermarriage with the coastal units about Seven Islands. A similar dissolution has been the fate of the band which Hind informs us to have been formerly located at Ashwanipi Lake but dispersed to the north and east in the 19th century, and which he designates as the "Aswanipi" Indians. The judgment of the hunters with whom the matter was discussed at Seven Islands was that the old Ashwanipi units had merged with coastal branches into the Moisie band. As such they will be considered in another section of this paper.

These observations concerning the remote families who winter in the high lake districts of the remote interior plateau are to be taken as founded upon the testimony vouchsafed by the heads of the same name-families with whom the matter was discussed at Seven Islands and checked with the statements of Henry Hind who sojourned with them eighty years ago. As our information stands it seems that the absorption of the interior bands into the coastal populations began with the movement of the Ashwanipi horde in the mid 19th century, joining with others to form the Moisie Band of later times, followed by the merging of the Petisikapau and Kaniapiskau families with these of the Ste. Marguerite Band, and lastly the dispersion of the Nichikun people to join temporarily with the

[26] Speck, *op. cit.*, p. 590.

[27] Hind, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 82.

general populations of the coast at Seven Islands. The Michikamau group it seems has withstood the tendency to break up better than the others.

As testimony of movements of this nature, we have mention by Hind [28] of a Naskapi hunter named Paytabais who had starved to death in the interior about 1857. This man, we are told, lived about old "Fort Nascopie." At the present time a man named Petabesh (*Peta'bec*) comes down to the Seven Islands post with the families from far inland, whether from Petisikapau or Michikamau it was not ascertained positively. It is likely that he carries the family surname first noted by Hind.

Old Napes Gregoine (*Gne'gwen*, Indianized French, Grégoire) and his son Napes, represent a family for which the information obtained was very unsatisfactory and confused. The upper environs of Menihek Lake down northward to Petisikapau, and embracing the area of *wutce'goci·pu*, "otter river" (unlocated on the charts) were given by several men of this name as the ancestral domains. The family was evidently dominant in the Petisikapau group of almost a century ago, having since merged with the Ste. Marguerite band in part. (See Ste. Marguerite, Nos. 5 and 6.)

Nabesh Gregwenish (*Gnegweni·'c*, "Little Gregwen") was given by informants as the hereditary hunter and trapper of a large area on lower Menihek and Petisikapau lakes. He is married to a daughter of Sylvestre Mackenzie, head man of the Michikamau group, and is closely associated with his father-in-law. No specific data on the family composition of these men were secured.

It should be noted here that the families who were centralized about Menihek Lake bore a distinctive name, if they lacked a separate classification, among the Indians at Seven Islands. The name *Məne'yik wilnu'ts* (or *i·nu't*) "white spruce people," was current, derived from the lake in question. It was not, however, thought to be specific enough to classify them as forming a distinct band, for which reason, at the time, their little understood associations were left open. Disintegration of the older interior hordes has left a chaos of identity in the subsequent groupings of these families.

Michéle Ambroise and his son Joseph, about 20 years old, hunted the environs of Petisikapau Lake from the shores northeast for a distance of some 70 miles. Since Michéle's death within the last few years his widow and son continue the work. Hind (1863) [29] mentions a hunter from the interior as Ambrosis, who held grounds at that time, about Nipisis Lake (Moisie Band No. 3), a body of water lying not more than about 60 miles inland from the coast. Ambrosis answers to a diminutive form of the name Ambroise, yet there is little more to identify these men as of one line of the same family in view of the distance separating the hunting grounds noted for them.

Louis Michéle. The records of the Moisie hunters include him as working a territory on Moisie river, aided by a young man, Pierre Dominique, 20 years old. But no further data on the relationships of these men are at hand.

Ste. Marguerite and Kaniaspiskau Bands

The Ste. Marguerite River is on one of the large and important streams draining the south central slopes of the peninsula and emptying into the Gulf of St. Lawrence a few miles west of Seven Islands Bay. It is called *Tcema`n·bi·ctuk*, meaning "River Parallel with Hills." The band that is allocated upon its waters bears the name *Tcema`n bi·ctukwilnu'ts`*, "River Parallel with Hills People." The band seems to have been one of old formation for we have mention of some of the families in Hind's narrative.[30] The ten families at the present time forming this group contain some old patronyms. A few notes concerning its habits will serve to bring out some characteristics.

Seven Islands Bay has been continuously the summer rendezvous of the band, in fact its exclusive resort until the movement began a generation ago for the hunters of the Moisie band to move over and spend part of their summer period with the Ste. Marguerite people. Even now the social monopoly of the Seven Islands trading post and mission rests in the hands of the Ste. Marguerite Indians. One part of the village is their quarter, the other houses remaining vacant until the families from Moisie have come to occupy them as they do late in July, during the last two weeks of the mission held annually for the natives of the combined bands of this section of the coast.

A very close connection exists between the Ste. Marguerite Indians and the Kaniapiskau families immediately north of them. There

[28] Hind, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 15.

[29] Hind, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 188.

[30] Hind, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 11 gives the same name (Ichimanipistuk) for the Ste. Marguérite in 1861.

would, indeed, be little reason to separate them were it not for their habit of using different local names for their groups and for the rather vague geographical boundaries that separate them.

These two divisions may possibly turn out to be divisions in name only when more is known of their former history. It would be necessary to know, for such a decision, just where the grandfather of the present elder generation of the Tcelnish families had his location in the interior. At this present period of time, the three family units of the name draw their sustenance from hunting districts far beyond the height of land in the Lake Kaniapiskau region, while only one having the Tcelnic patronym (*i.e.*, Alexandre) hunts south of the divide. It might be thought that a century ago the hunting would have been better nearer the St. Lawrence coast; hence a withdrawal of the old families toward the interior plateau with the retreat of the game in the same direction. This circumstance would, however, apply chiefly to the caribou. If we were to seek to connect the earlier story of the Tcelnic family name with similar patronyms elsewhere in the Naskapi territories we should be led afar since the same name occurs in several directions among the bands as far west, for instance, as Lake St. John.

Hind who knew this band fairly well in 1861, says that the first migration of the families from the interior to Seven Islands was two years before his visit there, bringing it in 1859.[31] He mentions the family name of Tcelnic (Chelneesh), and Otelne as being those of interior or proper Naskapi derivation.

Things have not changed so much in regard to location of bands and their movements in assembling at the Seven Islands post and mission since Hind's time (1861). The Ste. Marguerite band, which he referred to as Montagnais, then being as sharply defined from those he called Naskapi inhabiting the Moisie as far as Ashwanipi and Petisikapau as they are now.

The Kaniapiskau people are known among their confreres by the name of the lake (*Kaniapiskau*, "Rocky point"), which has for many generations been the pivotal center of their winter wanderings. A few notations we possess concerning them specifically may be summarized from the report of Speck in 1931:[32]

"The identity of this band, like that of the preceding, is known only on the authority of hunters from the region who were encountered and questioned upon the occasion of their annual migration to the post at Seven Islands. When questioned as to their affiliations they used the name given above, but it does not seem that there is much political consciousness to the few who answered to the classification. Low refers to Indians trading at Nichikun post who hunt about Kaniapiskau and down its discharge about fifty miles, but speaks of uninhabited areas between here and the western boundaries of the Indians from the Northwest River, and another such on both sides of Koksoak River from the Nichikun territories to where those of the Ungava hunters begin."

Again, investigations by Speck furnish data concerning members of the band:

1. Sylvestre Tcelnish hunts with his son Bastian. Bastian had six or seven children in all—two little boys between 8 and 12, a girl about 17, the rest younger. Since by his own declaration he had "too many mouths to feed" through hunting alone, he (Sylvestre) lured Tommy Jourdain to help him feed his family. Tommy, although a "son of a bitch of a good hunter" is a consumptive, but it is expected that he will marry Bastian's daughter. Tommy is a grandson of old Charles Jourdain. The men themselves furnished the data on this tract, the most northerly of which Speck obtained data. It lies northwest of Lake Kaniapiskau down Kaniapiskau River to Big Otter River to within about 50 miles of the big bend of the river and 200 miles from Fort Chimo.

2. Pierre (also Pielis) Tcelnish (*micenate'o*, "great approacher of game") is the last of his paternal line, and is related to the family mentioned above. He hunts with his son, Shimun Piel (Simon Peter), about 16, who does a man's work on the hunt and trap line with his father. They hunt the environs of *Pəckwute'o cakhi'gən*, "fire lake," and *Gawace'gəmət*. These waters lie southeast of Kaniapiskau Lake, and also just west of the lake, lying about 300 miles up the river from Seven Islands.

3. John Pierre (originally of the Ungava Band) married a daughter of Sylvestre Tcelnish, now hunts on grounds formerly held by Otelne, now deceased. (This territory was possibly allotted due to circumstances of family No. 1. It has not been inherited.)

4. Alexandre Tcelnish hunts with two grown sons, one married and one with a child. His grounds extend westward from Ste. Marguerite

[31] Hind, Vol. I, p. 4.

[32] Speck, *op. cit.*, pp. 590–591.

River at Riviére à la Bataille (about 51° 40′) and Portage de Manicouagan (which is the route to Manicouagan River some 60 miles distant about 40 miles west, *i.e.* over half way to Lake Tschimanicouagan on the Manicouagan.

5. Napeo Gregoire (Gnegwen), 40 years old, with two sons and two daughters, hunts between Ste. Marguerite River and Lake Aswanipi. This hunter and his family bear a low reputation among the men of the band for violating the credit allowances made by the post factor in advance of the winter hunt. The practice is deplored by the other members of the group as damaging the interests of them all in financial transactions with the factor. The older generation of this family is listed with the group or band wintering in the distant territories of Petisikapau and Michikamau lakes. The family surname may be identified with these far northern hordes. The confusion of first names and family names in the Gregoire line leaves us in a position which becomes most difficult to clear up.

6. François Gregoire and his two sons, Nabeo (married, with no children as yet) and Antoine (24 years old) hunt west of Ashwanipi lake and south of the Height of Land working the environs of two lakes still unmarked on the charts available, namely Chibougamou and Wabushkatso ("hare excrement"). Their next neighbor on the north was stated to be Nabesh Gregoire, a close relative. (The synonymy of family and personal names here again causes considerable confusion of identity.)

7. Tomah (Tamas) Otelne, "Tongue," is an old man 60 years of age, disabled through the loss of an eye, and retired from active hunting and trapping. He and his brother Nisham Tomah (Otelne) who died about 1923 (at the age of about 50) hunted together through life a tract on Manicouagan river (*mənikwa'gənictu'k*) about 60 miles long and 40 wide on both sides. It required about a month's travel, he stated, to reach the endroits from Seven Islands. He and his brother hunted the same territory worked by their father, and they thought the same held in the paternal line for generations back. He had had no daughters but four sons, with only one—Nabes Otelne—surviving, who operated with him until his death (1923). Nabes was known as a famous hunter by the factors of the Seven Islands Hudson's Bay Company Post. Philip (aged 21, and just married at the time these data were secured in 1923) will succeed to the paternal hunting district from now on, taking up his first regular hunt in this year. This terminates the male lineage of a famous and estimable line of hunters who had operated the same territory in male succession for at least four generations.

The character and personality as well as the hunting endroits of a Naskapi named Otelne are made the subject of some treatment by Hind. He leaves us in a difficulty, however, to explain the present hunting locations of the family to the westward of Ste. Marguerite river when he noted the location of Otelne in his time (1861) as being on Aswanipi (Ashwanipi) Lake.[33] Change of residence of later hunters of the Otelne lineage may be imagined to account for this through marriage and matrilocal shift. He also mentions another, Akaske ("Arrow," *akəsk*), whose name, however, was not so far as we know, transmitted as a surname in any of the regional bands.

Small Hunters

A categorical classification prevails in the ranks of the Indians who make their summer rendezvous at the Seven Islands post, between the great "illustrious" men who lead their lives in the far remote plateau and those of lesser fortitude and station who hunt and trap on the lower course of the Ste. Marguerite and Moisie rivers and tributaries. Among the traders the first ranking is designated the "big hunters", the second the "little hunters", or irregular men, since they frequently change their hunting districts by common arrangement. In this verbal distinction—there being nothing official in its application—we may recognize what has long been understood among the Indians themselves as constituting the divisions of the *notcimi'wilnu'ts*, "interior or remote forest people" (also known as *pi'i'*, "inside") and the *winipe'gwilnu'ts*, "salt-water, or coast, people." The latter are, moreover, now to a large extent mixed with French blood and assimilated in habits and properties with the Canadian *habitants*. Hence the lower esteem in which they are held. In the list to follow is given the series of those families so classified by informants at the post.

It is patently evident that the stage of the "little hunters" represents a later phase in the history of society and economy among the bands of the region considered here. This example of change with sequence should, however, be handled with caution in any overt attempt to apply it as a broadside for interpretation of his-

[33] Hind, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 248.

torical conditions among other bands. The hunting territory institution may as well have developed into the communal band type of economy as out of it if we take single instances of one or the other as the definite case for the whole area of Montagnais-Naskapi occupation.

8. Johnny Pilo, a mixed blood, about whose family composition information is lacking, has locations west of Ste. Marguerite River, about 80 to 100 miles north of Seven Islands. His family derivation was given as of the Moisie Band where others of the surname are listed. Whether however, his privilege is accounted for by marriage with Ste. Marguerite Indians, or by assignment through tribal or post authority was not ascertained. The tract he operates, as given, is from Rivière Vallée north about 35 miles to R. Gamache, and 25 to 40 miles back from Ste. Marguerite river.

9. Charles Jourdain, 75 years old, now retired from active hunting and trapping, had four sons and one daughter. Three sons are now living and hunt upon the same paternally inherited territory which old Charles Jourdain says his father and grandfather used before him. This provides another case of three or four generation occupancy of the same territory and continuance in the paternal line with patrilocal residence of married couples. The three sons, filial partners, are Teddy, Alexandre and Antoine. Antoine has recently married the daughter of his father's brother, an example of parallel-cousin mating. For this "privilege" he is obliged to pay a penalty to the priest at Seven Islands out of his next year's fur catch. The Jourdain territory lies east of Ste. Marguerite River northward from about Grande Portage and Lac au Poëlon to about R. Athanase, a stretch of about 25 miles, between Ste. Marguerite River and the northwest branch of Moisie River.

10. Joseph Vachon, nicknamed *Wacaucoje'p*, "Bay Joseph," works a territory adjoining the mouth of Ste. Marguerite from Seven Islands bay westward, and just back of the coast, to where the Shelter Bay families come down. His adjacency to the bay has earned the sobriquet. The tract is hardly more than 25 miles in breadth and is unproductive except for small game.

Vachon has held the nominal office of Chief of the Indians congregating at the Seven Islands post from a period dating around 1915 down to the time when these investigations were made (1925). He is consequently the official representative of the Ste. Marguerite and Moisie bands in matters relating to the Province. His authority is, however, insignificant, and is not recognized by Sylvestre Mackenzie, the head man of the families who come down from the remote plateau, *i.e.*, from Michikamau.

11. George Fontaine, a young man with several immature children, ascends the Ste. Marguerite to a location on its west bank north of the territory of Johnny Pilo, and works the country westward some 25 miles, stopping where Rivière à la Bataille comes in to mark his district from that of Alexandre Chelnish. Fontaine is a mixed blood who divides his efforts between trapping and working when opportunity comes at the Seven Islands post.

12. Joseph Oshogan (*oco'gən*, "hip bone"), concerning whose family composition no data were obtained, operated a district between the Ste. Marguerite and the northwest branch of Moisie river, 10 to 20 miles in depth, from about Rivière Athanase to near R. aux Pins, some 25 miles.

13. Joseph Fontaine, who bears the nickname *Mui'yak*, "Eider duck," and, as our data indicate, his brother François Fontaine (*Wucəpi·pi·*, "gall"), have a location on the east and west sides of Ste. Marguerite beginning a little below R. Dumais and R. Vallée, and extending north about to Lac au Poëlon. The Fontaines are small hunters and operate a small tract of some 15 miles of non-productive country largely depleted of its animal life. We have little to offer regarding their family which rates as French mixed-bloods.

It is worth noting in respect to preferred custom that the Ste. Marguerite hunters agreed, when the matter was opened for general discussion among them after the separate men and their families had been questioned, that some habitual principles were held to in the division of hunting and trapping land. The father of a family who has sons coming into activity will let the boys hunt one section while he does another. They plan to meet together only about once a month, during the course of the winter. Their working stock comprises between 200 and 300 traps. Exceptions are admitted in the arrangement when occasions arise to make readjustment expedient in the family economy. The meat and fur supply is not secured by the use of rifles to as great an extent as might be thought, for it happens that the Ste. Marguerite hunters in 1924 ordered only six new rifles for the following year's business. They now use 303 Ross-Lee-

Enfields, having changed from Winchester 40-4 for which they do not now care. Muzzle loaders are, however, kept in the winter camps as reserve weapons in case of emergency resulting from breakage of the more complicated machinery of the modern pieces which they are unable to repair.

Felony on the Hunting Grounds

A fair picture of the conduct of the Ste. Marguerite hunters could not be drawn without referring to statements made by certain of them concerning the unethical tendencies of members of the Fontaine families to "pull traps," *i.e.* to remove the contents of others' sets and possess themselves surreptitiously of the pelts within reach. A similar complaint was registered for some of the Jourdain family, though to a lesser degree. There was no hesitation among those who made these disclosures in mentioning such facts. Otherwise the irregularities cited were stated to be practically unknown in the conduct of the combined bands throughout the zone of their operations. The proper procedure for hunters in passing through the territory of others is to skin any animal found in the traps of the local proprietor and carry it until a time when they meet and it can be given to the owner of the traps and the trap line. An instance of the kind —reprehensible in the eyes of the men—was cited during the past winter when Alphonse St. Onge of the Ste. Marguerite group passed through the land of Joseph Mackenzie of the Moisie band, and found two martens there which he brought down to the post and sold.

It is most important in this connection to have a statement from the men themselves pertaining to their own beliefs as to what is the factor in restraint upon the petty larcenies of which they accuse certain of their band comrades, particularly in view of the circumstance that no violence is on record as a result of such misdemeanor. Neither is there reference in the discussions invited from their lips, to action by the so-called superior authority of the "chief." The only answer evoked from various sources was the explanation, given in the manner of a bated obvious result, that a spell of bad luck would ensue. The quality of fear is present and trespass has become imbued with a feeling of lurking menace from conjurational sources if not the supernatural resentment of the animals themselves to cause vague misfortune, sickness, game depletion, accident, or some other of the nameless dreads menacing their existence without let, to add to the trials of life. Approach to the question was much the same in response; nobody wished to be explicit as to the form of spiritual persecution that might follow. They seemed to understand this vagueness and expected Speck as well as others of a questioning mind to do so. Equally important was the conclusion that no retaliation either social or physical was ever enacted. No one, for instance, presumed that a hunter whose traps had been lifted would perpetrate a similar act of stealth upon his offenders. A generalized fear of a spiritual avalanche of bad fortune settled the repeated attempts to sound the reasons for ethical self-control in the matters of property rights in the forest domains.

The remarks just made apply to all the bands dealt with in this report. It might be interesting to add that in the vernacular of the traders who are most familiar with aberrations of this type, and who, indeed, occasionally see fit to rectify them over the counter, designate the prohibiting force as the fear of "hoodoo."

The evidence we have here of a protective force, spiritualistic in character, carrying a menace of retribution hovering over the family food-producing districts, is significant of deeper implications in regard to the history of land-tenure beliefs. It conveys a sense of basic originality, it would seem, for the land institution with which the religious concept dovetails. Could we discern more instances of practices fitting into the religious system of belief, a clearer idea of their age-place might be forthcoming. It will mean something in the understanding of the history of hunting territory institutions if a more extensive series of practices accumulate in our records to ground them in religious thought which we are accustomed to associate with antiquity.

In addition to the heads of families previously listed as big and little hunters, there are some half- and quarter-bloods who hunt irregularly over the country near the coast wherever they can find fur and flesh from season to season without being recognized as having preëmpted rights or any other form of claim to holdings. From the point of view of the interior hunters, they constitute a proletarian class and are considered more as Whites than Indians. Their occupations are varied; small hunting, trapping, intermittent labor for the Canadians of the coast, and guiding sportsmen in the hunting and fishing seasons. They are derived from the older families through second and third, or more,

generation mixture with the French *habitants*, having for the most part French surnames. And they reside permanently in houses in the village of Seven Islands in a quarter at the north end of the single long lane, following the shore of the bay, which forms the main street of the settlement. Batiste Picard, *Nabeoco'*, "Old Man," is one of the type who resides at the post, does odd jobs thereabout, interprets, mends canoes and on occasion makes a small trapping excursion into the bush to relieve matters. His sons hire out to explorers, sportsmen and to other Indians who need help in their territories and pay on shares. His brother Ange Picard, however, casually operates a small and depleted district on the lower Moisie (Moisie, No. 1) and consequently is listed with the Moisie band.

Shelter Bay Band

In 1925 the status of the several family groups comprising the Shelter Bay Band was very difficult to settle in regard to relationships and earlier history. The individuals comprising the band were almost completely merged with the general population of the combined offspring of the earlier more distinct divisions that now assemble annually at Seven Islands. The Shelter Bay individuals are all much mixed with French blood. Three families represent them:

a. Tcibäs St. Onge
b. Francis St. Onge
c. Malekis Vollant

That something of a separate identity has either remained from a former grouping or been developed since the days of intense trapping and trading with the Hudson's Bay Company and with the infiltration of alien blood may be shown in the name *Wəsakwopəta (a'n) wi'lnut'*, "People of the Portage," which has come to be locally assigned to them by other Indians. This name is derived from that of the river *Wasa'kwopata'gən ci·bu'*, interpreted as "Mossy Portage River", upon the waters of which they travel and hunt inland for about 100 miles. The St. Onge family claimed to have occupied this tract since the time at least of the grandfather of Tcibäs, who was approaching seventy years of age. Tcibäs St. Onge was the father of Francis. The latter was married, had a large family of children, and resided on the waters of the same river, having received a partition of the paternal district. The father of Tcibäs St. Onge was Dominique St. Onge whose age at the time of his death was above ninety. This man had the distinction of being mentioned by H. Y. Hind, previously referred to. Hind had considerable to do with the then young Dominique who, when Speck met him in 1913 was still active despite his age and living with his wife. He told Speck that he had had eleven sons of whom two only were living. His father, he asserted, was a Micmac from Gaspe, who had located on the north shore of the St. Lawrence and married a Montagnais-Naskapi woman, hunting the same territory that he had. There is, in consequence, some uncertainty as to the original content of this small band. It is probable that the mother of Dominique, the oldest of whom we have definite knowledge, may have been the inheritor of the Shelter Bay region which has since passed down through the male line to its 1925 holders. The other family head of the band, Malekis Vollant, was married to one of the St. Onge women, so here we have a case of matrilocal affiliation. The Vollant family, as noted, is properly attached to the Moisie Band. The Shelter Bay hunters on account of their nearness to the Seven Islands rendezvous spend much time at the post. They leave in November, come out from their hunting grounds once during the winter, arriving about January first, and leave again in February to stay in the bush until March. The distance from salt water is about 60 miles. There seems little more to note concerning the history and habits of this small band. It has no distinctive traits, and is evidently to be considered as one of rather recent foundation.

It should be noted, perhaps, that Speck found testimony to show that Tcibäs St. Onge and Malekis Vollant have moved from former hunting grounds on the lower Ste. Marguerite river to their present locations on Shelter Bay river. The statement is evidently more applicable to Malekis Vollant, since we know that his father (Malek V.) was affiliated with the people in the neighborhood of Seven Islands bay, and that they now are members of the same line in the Moisie Band. The three hunters and their wives, a brother of Francis, the five children of Francis, and one son and two daughters of Malekis, made a total of some fifteen members of this gathering. Three of the hunters had adopted patrilocal residence and two of them matrilocal residence at the time of inquiry (1925).

Nichikun Band

The Nichikun band has been dissolved as a social unit since the abandonment of the Hudson

Bay's Company at Lake Nichikun circa 1919. The band is indeed an old one, being indicated upon charts of the 17th century in the same location that we find it now. Some particulars were given in the article in the *American Anthropologist* referred to already.[34]

Members of this band were met with during several periods when Speck was working at Seven Islands in 1915 and 1925. Following the dispersion of the families of the band, he was told that some took up their residence with the Moisie Indians while others joined the bands west of them. The only mention of the Nichikun band that bears the mark of definite attention upon specific circumstances of this band is that of A. P. Low (1895), which is as follows: [35]

"These Indians belong to the western Nascaupee tribe. They speak a dialect closely resembling that of the Montagnais. The men are of medium height and fairly good physique. Some are tall and well developed, but the average height does not exceed five feet seven inches. Like other Indians they are sinewy rather than muscular. As a rule they are less cleanly than the Montagnais, taking little care of their clothes or persons; and they generally swarm with vermin. Owing to the small numbers of caribou killed in this region, the natives are forced to clothe themselves in garments bought from the Hudson's Bay Company. They live in wigwams covered with cotton, as they cannot get either the deer skin used in the north or the birch bark covering of the south."

"The hunting grounds of the Indians of Nichikun extend from the Height of Land on the southward, to the headwaters of the Great Whale River on the north. To the eastward they hunt as far as Lake Kaniapiskau and down its discharge about fifty miles. . . . The greatest number hunt to the westward of Nichikun, or about the headwaters and tributaries of the Big and East Main rivers."

"During the summer they subsist almost wholly on fish caught in nets in the lake. . . . During the winter the living is better for then . . . they are able to obtain . . . fresh meat. About a dozen caribou are killed by the people of the post during the year, besides beavers, muskrats and bears. Usually rabbits and ptarmigan are abundant during the winter season and are shot and snared as required. In some years, however, both rabbits and ptarmigan are not plentiful, and caribou are scarce. During such seasons the food supply is very limited, and great care must be taken to avoid starvation. . . .

"There are about thirteen families of Indians who trade at this post, but this does not represent all the people inhabiting this portion of the interior, as a number of families prefer to descend to Ruppert House and trade there. . . . Others living to the southward who formerly traded at Nichikun, now descend the rivers flowing into the Gulf of St. Lawrence."

Hind in referring to the natives who frequented the region about Pletipi Lake, which he says was three days' journey from Lake Mouchualagan inhabited by Montagnais, designates them as Naskapi.[36] It might seem from this that his informants regarded them as associated with the Nichikun who are nearest to them. Until, however, the composition of the populations making their rendezvous at the Bersimis post has been worked out this point will be left open. At the time when these records were made the men of the Nichikun band encountered at Seven Islands were so recently thrown into the newer associations of an alien adjustment that it was difficult to arrive at a clear understanding of the past and present grounds where they worked. They also seemed suspicious.

The list of families of the band at the time of their dispersion is as follows, given me by Joseph and Peter Hester, at Seven Islands:

Tcwa'li (one daughter, two sons)
(This man was chief, holding his authority for life. His father was chief before him.)
Joseph Hester [37] (two sons, one daughter)
(Peter Hester, Kokuc ("Pig")
(Débid (David)· Hester, Wapatci' ("Tomorrow Morning")
(three sons, two daughters) brothers
Alphonse St. Onge [38] (no children)

[34] Speck, *op. cit.*, p. 591.

[35] Low, A. P., "Report on Explorations In the Labrador Peninsula Along the East Main, Koksoak, Hamilton, Manicuagan and Portions of Other Rivers," *Geological Survey of Canada*, Ottawa, 1896, pp. 100–101.

[36] Hind, Vol. 1, pp. 197–200.

[37] Peter and Debid (David) Hester are the sons of old Joseph Hester who came originally from the Rupert House band. Joseph Hester had previously hunted with his father-in-law, Dominique, *Ntəgwənic*, "little medicine." He did not have much success over a period of four years with his affinal father-in-law. Then he returned to his paternally inherited tract in the year 1924. This individual case well illustrates the adventitious character of the hunting arrangement, determined by environmental circumstance rather than an exacting social pattern of behavior.

[38] Alphonse St. Onge (40 years old) son of old Tcibäs

Pieni·'c ("Little Pierre")	(no children)
Pilipi's ("Little Philip")	(four children)
Nte'bit'	(four children)
William Tcali (son of Tcwali, above)	(four children)
Ayi·'cuk'^{w} (meaning ?)	(no children)

Assuming that the wives of the family heads, listed above, were living, the band would total around 40.

Questioning disclosed the fact that the Nichikun families did not separate and hunt or trap alone on inherited hunting grounds, as do the Montagnais south of them. So far as conditions of the game and season will permit they all hunt together.

Speck was informed by the Hester men that before changing the trading route to the Seven Islands Post, they descended to the Rupert House in six-span canvas canoes. The change at the time of this visit (1910) had effected some striking results in their condition. The hunters listed had married or intermarried with French-speaking Indians trading at Seven Islands, had come under the sway of priests where they had hitherto been adherents of the Church of England and, in addition to their English were using Canadian French with no less fluency than the Seven Island natives.

Michikamau Band

The group now to be considered derives its name from Lake Michikamau and so bears the designation *Micikəmo'i·'nuts*, "Great Lake People." The area of land usage traditionally preëmpted by its members in support of life centers around this immense body of water which lies considerably north of the Height of Land.

The Michikamau horde is apparently the most integrated of the groups living in the central interior of the peninsula. The isolation of their habitat and the recency of their emergence from solitude into the confusing *milieu* of life at the Hudson's Bay Company's post at Seven Islands have tended to preserve their social independence and to fend off the disintegration through mixed marriages and adoption of French-Canadian ideals and manners. Sickness introduced by contact with the coastal populations has also begun to have its effects. The cohesion of the band depending largely upon caribou for food is nevertheless noticeable by contrast with others who hunt in segregated family fashion over a larger part of the year. The authority of its chief, Sylvestre Mackenzie, a leader by nature of his personality, authoritative and practical-minded, is pronounced, and may be a contributing factor to the unification of the horde. The salient data pertaining to this band, given in the report of 1931, from which summaries have been quoted for other bands, may be cited here:[39]

"The environs of Lake Michikamau, chiefly between this lake and Petisikapau, about 100 miles in extent, are embraced within the limits claimed by the hunters who give this name to their group.

"The band has not apparently attracted the attention of previous travelers or writers. Therefore it is upon the testimony of its chief, Sylvestre Mackenzie, and other members that I base my assumption of its existence as a band unit.

"The Michikamau Indians live and hunt almost continually as a community of grouped families. Only when pressed by famine do they separate and live upon small game. At other times it is the caribou that supports them. Under the jurisdiction of the chief, the group comprises thirteen family heads who are practically all related by blood and marriage.

"Until recent years this band went to Northwest River for trading purposes. Now its members in one large company make the long and dangerous descent from their distant lake to the post at Seven Islands by way of Menihek Lake, Ashwanipi Lake, and Moisie River each year."

The migrational cycle of this band to and from its interior domain to the coast at Seven Islands is interesting from the light it sheds on the matter of time and energy spent annually by the human drove in the peregrinations of trade. The chief, Sylvestre Mackenzie, gave Speck the outlines of his travel narrative in 1924. Punctually on August 1st the band leaves "salt water" (Seven Islands) ascending Moisie River, passing through Kaopasho Lake and then across the Height of Land, reaching Menihek Lake by about October

St. Onge, has no children of his own so he has adopted his brother's widow's son, now four years old, to bring up as a future helper. He winters and hunts a territory about 60 miles in diameter around Lake Attikopi Lake, which lies north of Nichikun, and also Eagle river and lake. His route begins about a day's journey by canoe from the former Nichikun Post. This man evidently represents a later distribution of hunters after the dissolving of the Nichikun band proper, since he is of a younger generation than Tcibäs who is a propriteor of the Shelter Bay Band.

[39] Speck, *op. cit.*, pp. 589–590.

5th. Here they camp to fish and hunt for a few days. Thence they move along by easy stages to Michikamau, hunting and fishing and reaching their destination at Michikamau by the end of October. From here they plan to separate into family groups for a season of trapping to accumulate fur. It is essential before this temporary dispersion that they decide upon the place where they are to gather—the first rendezvous of the winter. Sometime in November this takes place. From this time until toward the end of January they travel as a band, depending upon and following the caribou for food. This is the mid-winter hunt. Around the end of January, the great period of casualties should the caribou fail them, they separate again by families to pursue trapping in their habitually frequented tracts. About the end of March or the commencement of April the entire "gang" (a traders' term) comes together again at the customary rendezvous on Menihek Lake. Here an extensive encampment of tented families soon congregates as it has for many generations—incidentally a promising place for stratigraphic archaeological work when opportunity is afforded. From then until the commencement of May the convening of hunters and their families goes on and the horde prepares to descend to the coast with the harvest of fur. Early in May the flotilla gets under way moving southward over the Height of Land, through Ashwanipi Lake and down the Moisie River, arriving at the Moisie post almost punctually on the 25th of June. This completes the cycle of the annual migration from interior to coast. It should be noted that some families as well as individuals, who for various reasons are unable to undertake the trek, remain at the Menihek gathering place over the summer until the return trip of the southbound flotilla is due the first week of October. They subsist chiefly upon fish. A few, we are told, may refrain from the coast migration for many years, some never going down.

It is a matter of judgment to what extent we may conclude that the insistence of fur traders upon increase in the production of skins by the natives had the effect of adding an incentive to the economy of the Indians, obliging them to divide their time on the hunting grounds between hunting for food and trapping for pelts. The division of labor between the two activities as just outlined would seem to be an adjustment to the demands of trade, with pressure from without exerting a stimulus upon trapping as a competitive pursuit with food hunting. Assuming then that the food quest is an inevitable aboriginal occupation and that fur trapping has been accentuated since contact with Europeans, a chronological sequence may be postulated in the case before us. The economic pattern, either communal hunting in a horde or segregated family hunting throughout the entire winter or only part of it, can as well be conceived to fit the character of country and game by one system of pursuit as the other. The trapping activity, however, practically necessitates the separate family distribution of population over a wider area, and intensively in spots where fur-bearing animals abound. The magnitude of the recent change in the economic set-up of the Michikamau Indians is manifest in the fact that they now engage in the more arduous and consuming annual voyage from their hunting grounds to the Seven Island post than the trek to Northwest River as formerly. This procedure is in the endeavor to gain the advantages of better trade at greater expense of time and effort. Trade has become a moving impulse in their life calling. We may accordingly postulate the direction of change in the case of this band by placing the communal caribou hunting activity before the era of trapping in split-up family groups. But to apply the same gauge to every band in the Montagnais-Naskapi complex to prove the postulate would be to cheapen the methods of research by shape-shifting to a degree beyond the bounds of patience. To propose an explanation for economic change over a wide area of the north by assuming that the history of any one band is a recapitulation of the whole would be unjustified. In the theoretical discussion in our conclusion this fact must be carefully borne in mind.

A phase of the habit of preëmpting precincts needed or necessary in the course of their hunting, trapping and traveling reappears in the social actions of the hunters who come out from the interior down to the coast at the Seven Islands post as a usage-right once assumed then transmitted by traditional agreement is yet to be noted. The flotillas of hunters and their families in canoes arriving in late June continue to use the same sections of beach year after year as landing places. Each band beaching and unloading and later loading for departure customarily appropriates a certain stretch of the short line for its own use. And the family components have theirs. No formality, how-

ever, governs the action. Interference does not occur. It is possible to determine from a distance the identity of a family by the station it makes upon its arrival and beaching. The members of the Michikamau band for instance beach and camp at the north end of the sweep of sandy shore beyond the Hudson's Bay post lot. The Ste. Marguerite hunters make their stations nearer the company's grounds.

In the periods of the winter devoted to the business of trapping when the family units of immediate relatives—the small families specifically—break up to resort to the trapping grounds for limited seasons of isolated residence, they distribute themselves habitually in districts preëmpted by long-maintained use. Sylvestre Mackenzie, chief, indicated the principal hunters of his "tribe" and the whereabouts of their customary fur harvesting during the seasons of band disintegration just noted. Corroboration of the locations recorded were given by the men of the band who witnessed the task. The plotting was, however, a somewhat confusing procedure in view of the serious obstacles to be surmounted in identifying and in tracing grounds by well-known names of lakes and rivers which were not shown upon any of the maps obtained for the purpose from the Dominion Geological Survey. The results accordingly are offered with these imperfections well in mind. Mackenzie also stated that locations were made by the hunters subject to his chiefly approval and with general assent by the others having in mind the welfare of the whole horde during the hardest part of the winter. Several of the hunters voluntarily drew sketch maps in pencil of their trapping grounds with the situation of their temporary seasonal camps marked out and the nature of the fur indicated. These are reproduced in figures 1 and 2.

Recorded through the channels of information just mentioned, the family heads and the data pertaining to them appear as follows:

Nabes Gregweneesh, *Wa'tcəkutcec*, "Little woodchuck," a young man married to a daughter of Sylvestre Mackenzie resides with Sylvestre and follows him in his hunting and trapping movements. He marked off his area of operation as lying between Menihek and Dyke lakes when the season of separation for trapping comes. How to assign these hunters to bands is a question. The merging of the socially dissolved Petisikapau band with the families of the Michikamau area under Sylvestre Mackenzie is instanced in the case above where matrilocal residence has taken one of the Gregoire men directly into the Mackenzie family group.

Pien Andre, (26 years old) who bears the sobriquet *Mict Ben*, "Big Ben," traps over an area south of Michikamau Lake toward Attikonak Lake as well as to the southeast of Michikamau. This man prepared a sketch map of the district and movements within it which he and his companions worked the winter of 1924–5. It is reproduced in Fig. 1. One of the observations recorded of him is that he sets 25 marten traps a day on his route. This he regarded as his major harvest in fur.

Openauk, "Black man," traps, whose name is derived from the extreme darkness of skin characteristic of the family.

Bernard Gregoire, son of old Bernard Gregoire who died in 1924, now traps in company with his mother.

Bastien Dominique and one son trap.

David Dominique also traps.

Mathieu *Kabec* and Gabriel *Nisipi'c* trap as partners northeast of Dyke lake.

Domenique Doctor and adult son constitute a two family partnership.

William Atela'o, also Milwa'tem, "Likes it."

Joseph Germain.

Pierre Germain, *Menoka'bo*, "Stands firmly," and son who is married, make a two family group.

Gregoire *Pətciga't*, "crooked leg," brother of the Gregoire family men who move with the Ste. Marguérite hunters.

Peta'banu, "Brings the dawn."

Joseph Mackenzie, *Wabiya'n to'gi*, "Rabbit ears" so nicknamed from the peculiarity of his ears. Brother to Alexandre and Sylvestre Mackenzie.

Alexandre Mackenzie and son (For illustration of his hunting districts see Fig. 2).

Sylvestre Mackenzie (chief since 1922). Brother to Joseph and Alexandre Mackenzie.

Mathieu *Djokabesh* (*djo'kabec*, the proper name of the Montagnais-Naskapi hero-trickster of mythology, but a name not satisfactorily translated) who is married to the sister of Sylvestre Mackenzie, together with Gabriel Nisipish of a similar relationship, form a trapping partnership, and operate in the spacious area of barrens north of Michikamau Lake and toward Dyke Lake. This group of families usually moves together in ascending and descending from the interior to the coast. It was stated that they hold feasts and

CHART SHOWING POSSIBLE MODES OF DEVELOPMENT OF BOTH BAND AND FAMILY TYPES OF OWNERSHIP OF HUNTING TERRITORIES AMONG THE ALGONKIAN OF THE NORTHEAST

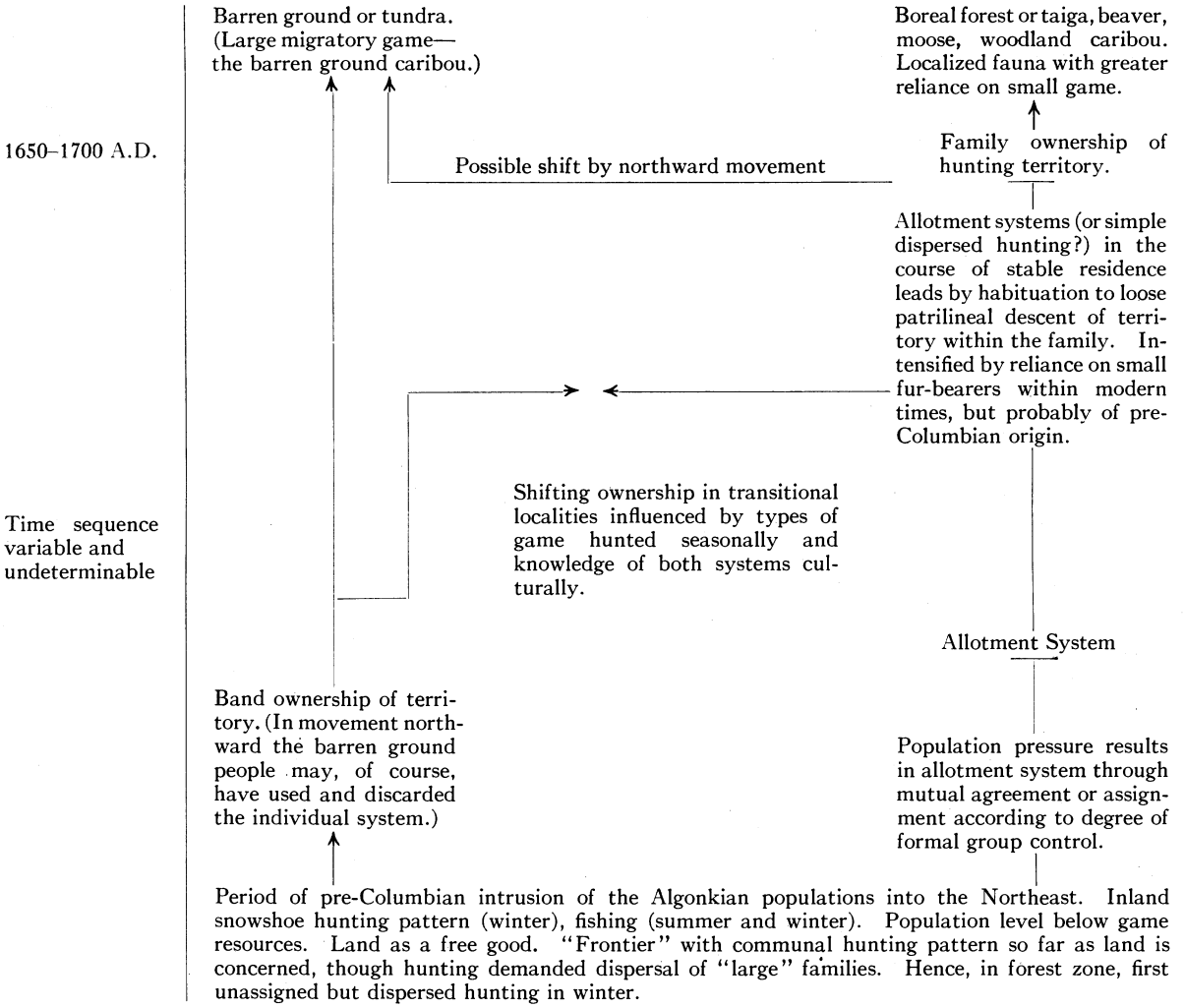

Chart showing distribution of Montagnais-Naskapi Bands of the Lower St. Lawrence and Labrador peninsula, with approximate location of family hunting and trapping districts (1922–25). (Drawn by F. Staniford Speck.)

dances at the times when they depart and arrive at their destinations en route.

John Pierre, or *Wa'pɔctan Piel* (*wa'pɔctan*, "marten") avowed himself to have been born in the Ungava district, hence a member of the Ungava Band. He still hunts a territory far northward of the grounds frequented by those men previously noted. There were, at the time of contact with him, no feasible means of designating on the map the area he tried to describe. In consideration of the fact that he moves from his grounds down to the coast to trade, joining the migration cycle of the Michikamau hunters, it was thought advisable to list his identity with the latter. This was done partly because of his submission during the treks to the authority of the Michikamau head man Sylvestre Mackenzie and his probable marriage connections there, but chiefly because of his interesting family makeup. *Wa'pɔctan Piel*, as he was commonly called, had no son but two daughters nearly of one age. These two women were "wives" at the same time of an active hunter, Ben Kabesh (*Kabe'c*, an alleged shortened form of the name *Djo'kabec* the proper name of the hero-trickster of mythology). It is probable that he is a member of the family

of this name which herds with the Michikamau group (see Mathieu Djokabec above). This instance not only illustrates marriage of the sororate pattern but matrilocal residence. By common repute Ben Kabesh married one of the daughters and went to live with his father-in-law in the same tent. It was not long before he had a child by each (of the "wives") in turn. He still dwells with Wápəctan as a partner in the chase. Marten trapping is a major pursuit with these men and is the source of origin for the sobriquet borne by Piel. This incidentally affords a view of the habit of acquiring personal name identity from the principal animal taken and killed by a hunter—personal "game-totemism" *ipse licet.*

It is evident from the information furnished by these men, fragmentary as it is, that the Michikamau band is a vital illustration of the basically communal hunting horde which under force of circumstances modifies its social procedure to the family type of residence during part of the winter. That the annual economic cycle is split into the several types of organization is the feature of importance here in our survey of hunting systems. It next remains to seek out the factors and influences which explain the variations observed and to piece out their historical sequence if possible by logical interpretation.

Conclusion

The conclusions which are derivable from the material we have just surveyed cannot, as yet, be grasped in their entirety. Too much needs still to be done in the field of circumboreal research before it will be possible to weigh to the full the influences, ecological in terms of game hunted, and cultural in terms of established tradition, which form the basis of property ownership among the lower hunters. Approached from the historical standpoint many questions arise. Does band ownership, for example, precede the family system? Does the assignment of land to individual families by the head man, as has been recorded in many instances, precede the direct handing down of territories within the family and is this latter method a purely historical development? Can a widespread succession be observed, or is local adjustment to local exigencies the only observable factor? These and many other questions present themselves for answer. Their shadow must inevitably be troubling to those who, like Morgan, and many present-day Russians, would see the culture of the lower hunters as representing a stage prior to the development of the institution of individualized property. The solution is not easily given because, though ecological patterns seem to have been paramount in the production of the system we have just surveyed, anything which becomes traditional within a human group may be perpetuated, furthered, or modified beyond what might be immediately expected in the case of a new culture intruding into the same environmental background. It may be that this has played its part among the Athapascans who seem to lack the concept save where there exists a reasonable suspicion of Algonkian contact. Elsewhere, the writers have hinted at the functional reasons for the development of the family hunting territory system. Let us attempt a more detailed descent into this pre-Columbian world and see if out of environmental and cultural interplay unmodified by white contact, any evidence exists for sequential stages in the development of an institution which strikes the social theorist as such a curious cultural excrescence to be found among primitive nomadic hunters.

In the first place, it is reasonable to assume that in any new, unpopulated territory being penetrated by wandering hunters small in numbers and not, as yet, pressing heavily upon the game supply, land will tend to represent an economically free good. This will tend to be the case whether or not the requirements of hunting demand united or dispersed effort. It is what we might term the "pioneer" period before the pressure of population and long-term residence create greater territorial consciousness on the part of the group. Such conditions must undoubtedly have fore-run the more intensive ownership patterns now present among the Algonkian hunters, but at what point in their range the change was initiated, how many times duplicated independently or spread by contact, we cannot answer. We can, however, definitely perceive two separate ownership patterns which, as previously indicated, are adjusted to the type of fauna exploited: the band ownership of hunting territory which obtains among those who pursue the migratory caribou herds of the tundra, and the system of family hunting territories, either by mutually agreed seasonal allotment or loose patrilineal inheritance which exists among the hunters of the forest zone who must exploit, in family isolation, the more scattered woodland caribou, the beaver, and like fauna.

Returning, however, to our postulated stage of pioneer penetration and "free" land, it may be seen that as population grows, and, in addition, remains in the new area, increased band concern with the territory and its wild denizens will take place. The band will grow ever more conscious of its dependence on a particular area and food supply.[40] (What indeed were the hunting policies of the plains area but the exhibit of a similar concern under the pressure of a larger, more politically conscious population?) Intrusion of new peoples will be resented. This will be the obvious limit of land consciousness so long as the group is pursuing more or less migratory game, such as the barren ground caribou, in a manner which demands not individual, but group effort. All that has really developed is some added consciousness, perhaps, of group need to protect its area of group exploitation.[41] This, of course, is the sort of situation which Morgan visualized as being omnipresent in the stage of savagery,[42] and implying an entire lack of individual property concepts in land. Land ceases to become a free good as population reaches the survival limit upon it under a given form of economy. The whole history of our pioneer west, from the free range to the coming of the small farmer illustrates this same basic struggle in another guise. Free land is frontier land and, indeed, Speck has observed a tendency for the hunting territories to be more restricted in size where settlement has been longest maintained.[43] Along with their undoubted distinct ecological adjustment the hunters of the subarctic are, in a sense, still pioneers where land is wide and population small. Thus may be postulated Stage I as a period of variable length and circumstance where land is practically valueless because the existing population is not capable of its full exploitation and there is plenty of choice allowable to both the single hunter and the group. This condition, in the case of the localized fauna, results at first in dispersed, but unassigned hunting activities.

Out of a certain degree of permanence of residence will then develop a sense of band territorial possession which, under ecological conditions leading to dispersion of effort in the hunt, may also trend in the direction of individual family exploitation of a given territory. This, it has been noted, may take the form of the allotment system either by the head man arbitrarily assigning territories for a season, or by mutual agreement among the hunters.[44] As we have noted previously this system may exist in conjunction with communal hunting and alternate with it among the same people in some instances.

It may be suspected that the allotment system by choice or assignment preceded the permanent family ownership system since at some point selection must have preceded continual occupation for a long enough period to set up traditional family occupation of one territory. The one, however, could easily pass into the other as

[40] Steward, Julian H., *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Socio-Politico Groups*, Bulletin 120, Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, 1938, p. 254. "It may be postulated that habitual use of the resource in question by the family, village, band or other group was a necessary condition for the development of claims to it." This comment by Steward, for another area, clearly indicates the ubiquity of this working principle.

[41] Herskovits, M. J., *The Economic Life of Primitive Peoples*, Knopf, 1940, p. 292. "Full-fledged communism in land thus means that land has no economic value at all except in so far as the holdings of a given tribe are contrasted with the lands of another entire tribal group whose encroachment on the territory of the first tribe is to be resisted by force."

[42] Morgan, Lewis H., *Ancient Society*, Charles Kerr & Co., Chicago, 1907 edition, p. 537. "Lands as yet hardly a subject of property, were owned by the tribes in common."

[43] Speck, F. G., "Basis of American Indian Ownership of Land," *Old Penn Weekly Review* of the University of Pennsylvania, Vol. 13 No. 16, 1915, p. 495. "Culture Problems in Northeastern North America," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. LXV, No. 4, 1926, p. 303.

[44] The allotment system through arbitrary assignment of territories by the headman is somewhat hazily presented in the literature. Dr. Cooper, for example, points to the weak and shifting character of the band and indicates that the so-called "chief" of the early writings may have been no more than the head of a large family splitting up the activities of his dependents upon his own territory by allotment, seasonal or otherwise. Unfortunately, particularly in the early writings, the band, in many cases, is not clearly distinguished from what may have been large land-owning families. In fact, as Steward has been led to suggest, in some cases large families may have eventually become patrilineal bands. The writers have elsewhere pointed out that allotment may also have been of more significance where the office of chief was invested with greater authority. We are inclined to concur with the opinion of Dr. Cooper that the allotment system is strongly in need of clarification and that a good deal of the early literature in particular is somewhat suspect on this point, though not as to the existence of the individual territories. See J. M. Cooper, "Is the Algonkian Family Hunting Ground System Pre-Columbian?" *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 41, 1939, pp. 71–72. Also Julian Steward's "The Economic and Social Basis of Primitive Bands" in *Essays in Anthropology Presented to A. L. Kroeber*, University of California Press, 1936, p. 339; and Speck and Eiseley, *op. cit.*, p. 277.

hunters raised on a particular territory could act more efficiently upon it. Families occupying a particular spot for any length of time would be bound by habit to utilize the territories each knew best and hence patrilineal descent of the loose flexible type which has been noted could be introduced almost imperceptibly. That in modern times true family ownership has been stimulated by the intensive exploitation of the fur-bearing animals may be admitted. Nevertheless, the weighty evidence for pre-Columbian game husbanding of such animals as the beaver is a potent argument for the existence of family territories of something more than a seasonal variety.[45] Why else would such care be taken of this non-migratory beast? Certainly the allotment hunter, unless his allotment were of a pretty permanent nature, would be less interested in restraining his cupidity. In fact Schmidt has argued that one incentive for the establishment of the family territory system lay in the fact that it made for better regulation and husbanding of the game resources and was more easily handled by the head of a family in relation to his children.[46] Indeed he goes so far as to suggest that perhaps the so-called assigning of land by the chief may, in some instances at least, have been no more than the adjustment of inheritance claims.[47]

Where, as in the higher arctic, human population is reduced to such a degree that the individual is forced to move over very wide areas or rely heavily upon the sea, property concepts in land are dimmed even though the life struggle is intense. But below, in the forest zone, where the brooks of a particular watershed may support a localized fauna which with husbanding may support a family in some faint degree of security, the aboriginal will grasp the desirability of outright possession more quickly because human competition in the life struggle is more readily apparent. And with every generation that a particular family holds such a tract where the supply is limited the more firm is the ownership pattern likely to become.[48] It must inevitably confront the careful student of the problems which we have been considering that in the search for the origin of the Algonkian family hunting territory system four approaches are possible. First, the already much discussed historical explanation, linking it with the fur trade—an explanation criticized elsewhere.[49] Second, an explanation entirely in terms of the ecological background. Third, as a survival, culturally, of an archaic Algonkian trait of which the origins are thus merely extended into a more nebulous past. Fourth, an explanation which would emphasize the ecological approach but leave room for the acceptance of possible cultural factors which may have extended or retarded the diffusion of the trait.

Dr. Cooper in his recent excellent survey of the hunting territory system [50] takes some note of ecological factors at work in producing the institution, but, without entering fully into this phase of the discussion, he points out the presence of somewhat similar developments in South America in a few instances, and seems to hint, at least tentatively, at the possibility of the pattern being an archaic survival in the New World. Also he brings forward a genuinely puzzling point—the apparent lack of a similar system among the northern Athapascans even though the beaver range is circumboreal.[51] This is admittedly a difficult problem, in part, we would emphasize, because so little is known in detail of the eastern Athapascan territory. Are we justified, for example, in assuming that conditions *are* entirely the same?

Dr. Steward after an intensive survey of band conditions in all parts of the world has expressed himself as being of the opinion that only rarely would individual land holdings on the hunting level of society be sufficient to sustain life, after the exceptional Algonkian pattern. In this connection, though recognizing our dearth of source

[45] See Speck and Eiseley, *op. cit.*, f. n. 11, p. 273.

[46] Schmidt, W., *Das Eigentum auf den altesten Stufen der Menschheit*, Münster, 1937, Band I, p. 152.

[47] Ibid, p. 154.

[48] Herskovits, *op. cit.*, p. 293. "The emotional attachment of men to the districts where they were born and to the particular localities over which they have exercised proprietary rights, as well as magical and religious considerations, are powerful non-economic forces which must be taken into account."

[49] Probably the most extended defense for the historical origin of the hunting territory system among the Algonkians is to be found in a work by Alfred G. Bailey, entitled *The Conflict of European and Eastern Algonkian Cultures*, New Brunswick Museum, monographic series No. 2, St. John, New Brunswick, 1937. It is interesting in connection with our previous emphasis upon the significance of beaver hunting that Bailey himself (p. 9) admits that the Indians "prize beaver above other animals" not only as food but for clothing, and this before the fur trade had been intensively developed.

[50] Cooper, J. M., "Is the Algonkian Family Hunting Ground System Pre-Columbian?" *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 41, 1939, pp. 66–90.

[51] Ibid, p. 81.

material, the writers would call particular attention to the following facts derived from Dr. Steward's previously mentioned article.[52] He points out in a cursory survey of the Athapaskan area that, in contrast to a population among the Algonkians ranging from one person per 5.3 square miles north of the Great Lakes to one person per 34.6 square miles in the eastern subarctic, the Athapascans average one person per 50 to 80 square miles with "some regions being virtually uninhabited."

We quote further: "The bands of the eastern or mainly Mackenzie Basin Athapascans are extraordinarily large in view of the sparse population, numbering several hundred persons each. This surprising size must be explained by the local economy. There are large herds of migratory musk ox and often caribou in much of the area. These are hunted more or less seasonally and collectively by large groups of people."

The facts just noted suggest a severity of life among the Athapascans not quite comparable to that region in which the hunting territory system achieves its clearest development. Instead we encounter greater reliance upon migratory game and the presence of that constant "frontier" of which we have spoken, where the coöperation of groups moving over wide areas in the struggle for life dims out familial localization and competitiveness. The trap-line ownership coming in in this area is a late development on the part of a people inclined more heavily toward the pursuit of migratory game and only taking up with individualized hunting in a serious manner as the beaver and other small fur-bearers assume more importance economically.[53]

We do not feel that sporadic cultural developments of a similar nature in other portions of the world need necessarily be linked with the Algonkian system as survivals of ancient waves of diffusion. It is not likely, in any case, that so fluid a concept would long survive unless based on group necessity. Certainly its loss among the arctic Algonkian hunters or their casual swing from one practice to another does not encourage its treatment as a static element of culture. Instead we view it as the response to conditions in a forest region not too productive in terms of large game, but having a small fauna (primarily beaver) which could be husbanded and manipulated rather successfully by individual families, whereas a large group might starve on the same territory.[54] Somewhere in the forests south of the barrens or tundra area the pattern began. It is known historically both north and south of the St. Lawrence. Whether apparently similar though less clearly elucidated practices in aboriginal Siberia represent similar adjustment or instead a cultural survival related to Algonkian practice is a difficult problem.

The ecological background conducive to the family exploitation of game resources grows, as we have indicated, out of conditions of family isolation which in turn are caused by the necessity of deriving sustenance from a not too rich, not too easily securable but definitely localized fauna which cannot be hunted communally. Against this background, of course, time will lend the authority of custom and the tradition once established may be intensified and carried far. The Algonkians are old in the forest region. Groups through movement and change of scene may have swung from the communal to the individual method and back again through the vagaries of historic chance. It must be recognized that while we feel the sequence we have indicated must have taken place in the evolution of the family hunting territory system at some point within the forest regions inhabited by the Algonkians; this is not tantamount to the acceptance of the tundra hunters of northern Labrador today as representative of an earlier undeveloped stratum. Indeed it is quite possible that pushing northward into this area of large caribou herds and dearth of localized game, these bands abandoned property concepts acquired in the lower forest reaches where such adjustments

[52] Steward, J. H., "The Economic and Social Basis of Primitive Bands," *Essays In Anthropology Presented to A. L. Kroeber*, University of California Press, 1936, pp. 339–340.

[53] The actual numbers of beaver in various parts of its range are not well known. Its vision is by some writers reputed poor and it needs an abundance of water to best protect itself from wild carnivores such as the lynx and wolverine. Hence to say that it is circumboreal in distribution is not to indicate its exact numerical or ecological importance to man in all parts of its range. Where bigger game was more significant the beaver even when present may not have been, culturally, of so much importance. A systematic, localized and detailed study of faunal-human relationships in the north has still to be made.

[54] H. T. Martin (op. cit. p. 136) emphasizes the winter reliance upon beaver as follows: "When . . . the autumn came, and passed rapidly into the severe winter experienced in nearly the whole of the 'Indian-Beaver' Territory, when the little vegetation that remained was shrouded under a deep covering of snow, when migratory birds, beasts and fishes had abandoned their former haunts, *then the Indian looked on the beaver colony as a providential arrangement to supply his wants.*"

had survival value. Doubtless such reversals of sequence have taken place more than once. Our only contention is that basically the concept of land as a free good must have underlain at some point the rise of the family held tract. Once the latter development takes place, of course, it may, as in the case of any other cultural element, be spread by diffusion among like peoples facing similar environmental necessities. It will not survive or be accepted where communal hunting of migratory game is the chief mode of subsistence. But the very fluidity of the adjustment itself suggests its intimate and sensitive reaction to factors far more heavily natural and environmental than traditional. Such is the nature of the schematized outline, which, for convenient visual purposes we have appended to this paper as an interpretation of the possible general trend of development of this institution throughout the northern woodland. And just as sensitively ecological, it is our firm belief, will prove to be the effect of environment upon land ownership concepts among the other lower hunters who have been less fully investigated at the present time.

With this interpretation in terms of natural background we can more readily cast aside that dubious schematism which persists in viewing the lower hunters as the representatives of an early and primitive collectivism. Instead, we are coming to view these hunters and seed-gatherers as we actually find them—men meeting a variety of environments in variable ways, and diverging accordingly in cultural response.