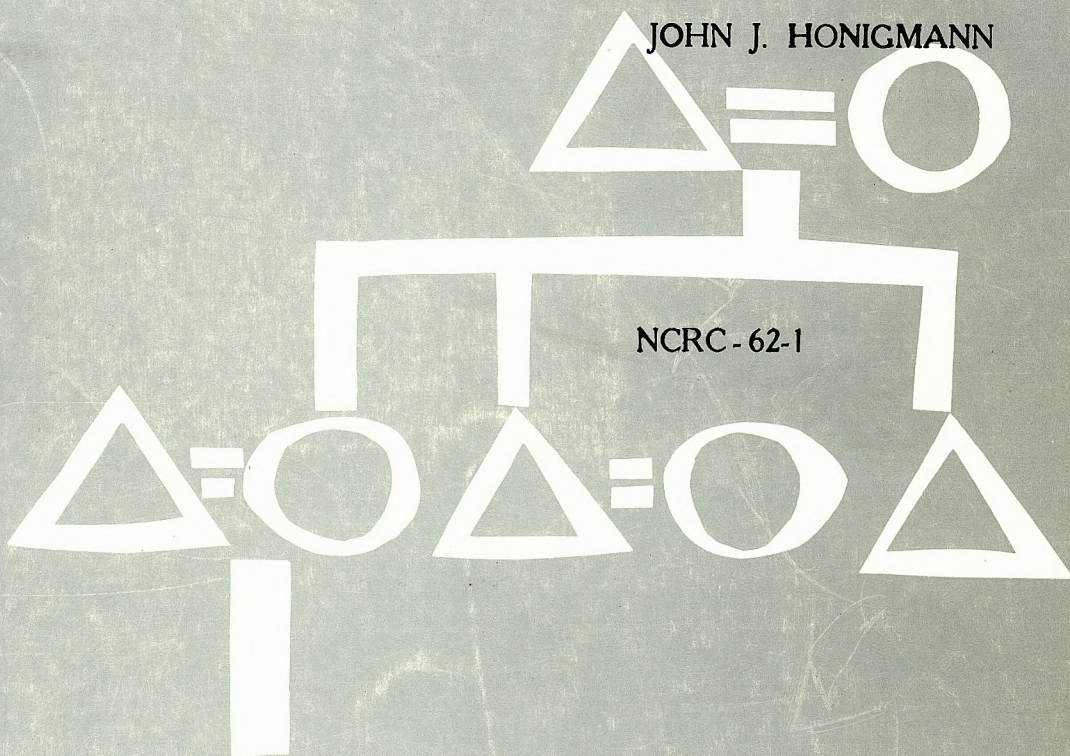


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FOODWAYS IN A MUSKEG COMMUNITY

JOHN J. HONIGMANN

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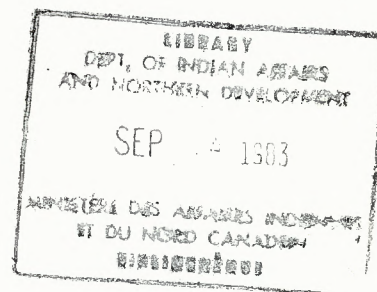
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FOODWAYS IN A MUSKEG COMMUNITY

An Anthropological Report on the
Attawapiskat Indians.

by

John J. Honigmann
in 1948



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and National Resources, Ottawa.

INTRODUCTION

Anthropological field work among the Attawapiskat Indians living on the west coast of James Bay, Ontario, was carried out within the period from July 27, 1947 to June 6, 1948. The accompanying report presents a picture of the lifeways of these Cree speaking people. The purpose is, first, to show the extent to which the people's food habits are determined by social and environmental factors; second, to outline some of the paths which a planned development program could follow in an attempt to improve the native diet and make the Indians more self-sufficient, and, third, to present a body of information that would be useful to government officials charged with administering the Attawapiskat and other, culturally related, Indian groups. The report is also intended to supplement the findings of the medical party who examined the health of the Indians in August, 1947.

The Attawapiskat Indians constitute a society in which, for reason, people expect to be hungry and to lack food. They also behave as though they were hungry, without sufficient food, and other necessities of life and as though they were chronically threatened by starvation. In other words, this is a group of people currently characterized by unrealistic food anxiety who in the not too distant past often faced serious starvation conditions. To-day an improved standard of living is made possible by relief and family allowances. Not only was country food, other than fish and waterfowl, relatively scarce in the country during 1947-48 because of an acute downsweep in the fur bearers' cycle, but most of the country is chronically poor in such valuable large game animals as caribou, moose, and beaver.

Psychologically the efforts of the society to earn a more adequate standard of living are blocked by factors that promise to be at least as difficult to readjust as the shortage of game in the environment. This shows up in work habits. The people are most strongly motivated to work when, in proportion to the effort that must be expended, there exists the promise of a large reward of fur or meat. In a poor area such as Attawapiskat (where only waterfowl, fish, and usually, muskrat can be depended on to occur in large numbers) work habits of this type are particularly uneconomical, although they may be psychologically congenial. Together with this system of motivation the population shows strong dependency traits - a desire to be sheltered by governmental relief from the exigencies of an impoverished environment. Public assistance is not regarded as a temporary stop gap but rather as an obligation which administrators are duty bound to provide. Chronic anxiety supports the people in their dependency.

A large concentration of population in the southeastern corner of the Attawapiskat area does not help matters. Population is still increasing at a slow rate, due to the introduction of medical facilities. The concentration of people along the coast is largely related to the ease of shooting the abundant waterfowl in this sector and to the desire to be near the stores.

Whether an action program chooses to bypass or utilize the non-Indian social groups now in relation with the natives, some account will have to be taken of the total system of social organization in the area. The Hudson's Bay Company and the Roman Catholic Mission are two important groups influencing the lives of the Indians. Of the two the Mission occupies the position of greatest significance. For many years this body has regarded itself as partly responsible for the material and religious well being of the people. Intellectually they have also made an important contribution through developing almost one hundred percent literacy in the native language. Within the Indian community itself men are regarded as the responsible leaders. While women undoubtedly have influence, their role is a retiring one. Parents exercise successful control over children. There is only a slight tendency for grown sons to leave the area in search of work. Thus, in their relations with whites as well as amongst themselves the Indians are harmoniously organized. Expected conflicts occur, of course, but are acute rather than chronic. Despite its economic disequilibrium Attawapiskat cannot be regarded as a socially disorganized community.

An action program aimed at increasing self-sufficiency in Attawapiskat will face two general problems. First, means of education and propaganda will have to be found if it is desired to increase or at least maintain present levels of country food production, including berrying, gardening, and fishing. Second, the withdrawal of relief is largely dependent on raising income. The beaver conservation program initiated by the Hudson's Bay Company increases earnings to some extent but the full effects of that undertaking cannot be looked for before 1955. It must be realized that success in the second objective, raising income, can threaten the production of country food. A higher standard of living, measured by the consumption of imported food, may result in the neglect of country food products, like fish, and is thereby apt to lead to an unbalanced diet. Avoiding this development while at the same time increasing self-sufficiency would seem to depend on both steps being simultaneously and systematically undertaken. It is also expected that a rehabilitation program will not neglect providing improved medical and educational facilities for the Indians.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Sincere thanks are made for the co-operation extended to me by Messrs. R. N. Duncan, Hudson's Bay Company manager at Moose Factory, Ontario; P. Houston, previous manager for the Company at Attawapiskat, and C. MacArthur, present manager at the latter post, and David Wynne, the independent trader. Mr. MacArthur gave lavishly of his time to supply much of the quantitative material on relief, family allowances, and income from wages. He and David Wynne also made available to the medical party information on which preliminary estimates of nutritional aspects of diet could be based. I am grateful to Mr. W. Anderson, Fort Albany post manager, Rev. J. Bte. Parent, O.M.I., Rev. G. Loiselle, O.M.I., and Rev. J. Laguerriere, O.M.I., for their hospitality and co-operation. Miss R. Crow, public health nurse of the Department of National Health and Welfare, and Dr. T. J. Orford, formerly of the James Bay Indian Agency were helpful in many ways. Rev. Brother O. Laflamme, O.M.I., supplied details pertaining to the establishment of trading posts in Attawapiskat. The Indian Affairs Branch and the Superintendent of Indian Health were courteous in permitting my family and myself to travel on the launch attached to the Moose Factory Indian Agency. The Borden Company, Canada Packers Ltd., and Canada Cannery Ltd., very kindly provided a considerable portion of our food. Dr. G. Gordon Brown extended a thousand services in addition to critically reading this report and furnishing useful suggestions. The co-operation of the Indians must also be acknowledged. To mention only a few names, my thanks are due to Messrs. George Kiiokii, Fred Mud, James Katakwapit, Emil Nakogii, and my interpreter, John Faris of Moose Factory. To Miss Anna Wesley I am grateful for translating several Indians' records which were turned over to her after I left Attawapiskat. Mrs. Irma Honigmann critically read early drafts of the manuscript and contributed to the editing.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
INTRODUCTION	
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	
TABLE OF CONTENTS	
TABLES	
FIGURES	
CHAPTER I:	1
Plan and Scope of the Study	1
The Anthropologist	3
Method	5
Outline	8
CHAPTER II: THE SETTING	9
Physical Environment	9
History	12
Demography	19
CHAPTER III: COMMUNITY, FAMILY, AND INDIVIDUAL	31
Community Organization	31
White Groups	31
Indian Community	45
Interpreters	50
Family Organization	52
Individual Life Cycle	61
CHAPTER IV: FOOD AND ECONOMY	72
Annual Cycle and Seasonal Diets	73
Summer	73
Fall and Early Winter	77
Winter	88
Spring	98
Sources of Food	99
Relief	101
Family Allowances	110
Marketing and Income	114

	<u>Page</u>
CHAPTER IV: FOOD AND ECONOMY (Continued)	
Gardening	137
Collecting	140
Fishing	143
Fowling	150
Trapping and Hunting	156
Cost of Living	169
Preparation of Food	181
Preservation	188
Eating	193
CHAPTER V: RECOMMENDATIONS	206
Problems	206
Possible Solutions	207-
APPENDIX A: A Note on Language	212
BIBLIOGRAPHY	214

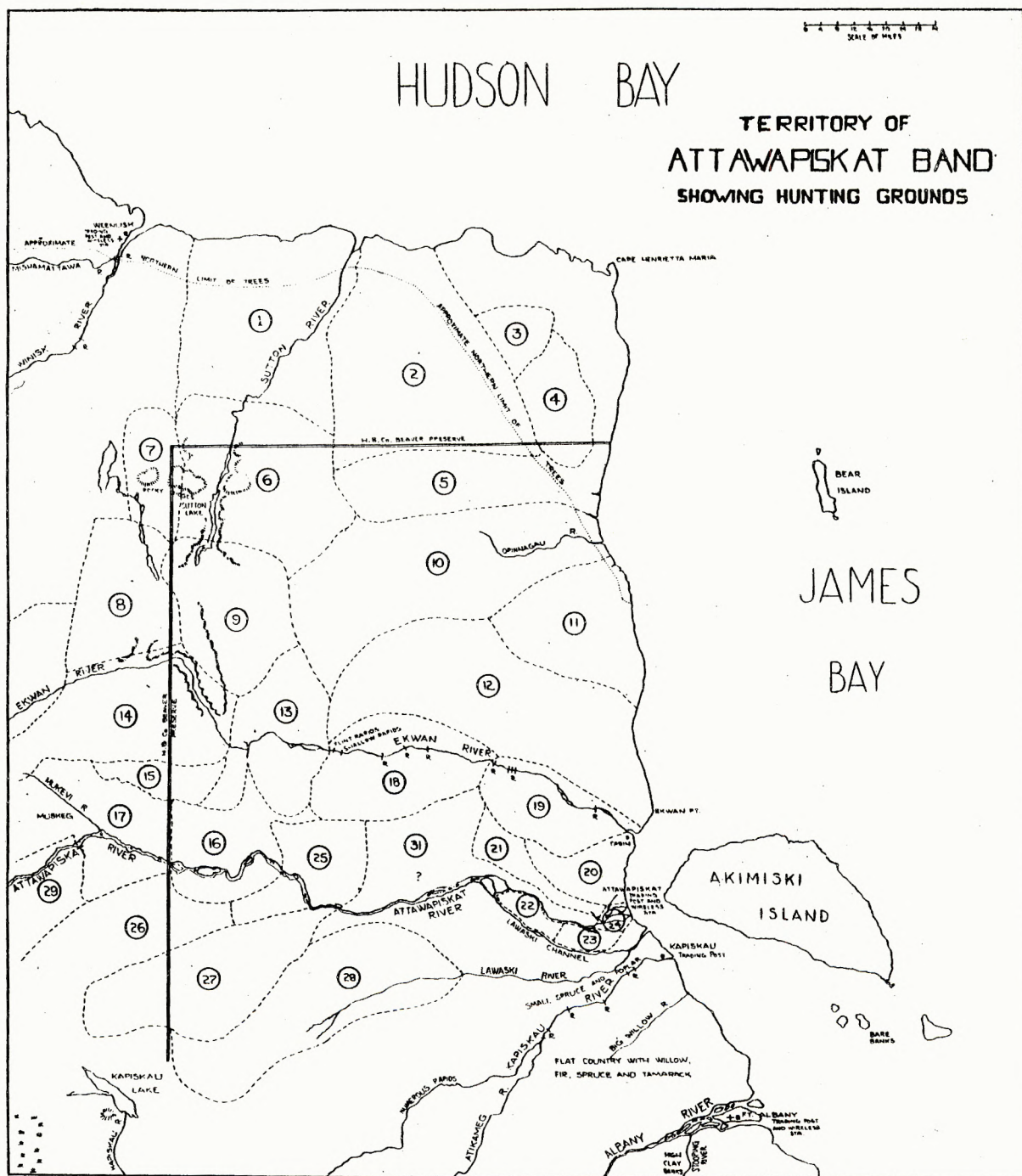
TABLES

	<u>Page</u>
1 Marital Status and Family Composition of the Resident Population.	20
2 Able Bodied Male Hunters and Trappers.	21
3 Distribution of Resident Population by Age Groups	22
4 Births and Deaths in James Bay Area (1946).	25
5 Distribution of Births and Deaths by Monthly Intervals.	26
6 Distribution of Deaths by Approximate Age.	27
7 Temperatures of Dwellings in Attawapiskat Post.	53
8 Kinship Terminology.	54
9 Sample Mid-summer Diets.	76
10 Sample Early Fall Diets.	79
11 Sample Late Fall Diets.	84
12 Sample Early Winter Diets.	86
13 Sample Winter Diets.	91
14 Government Relief to Attawapiskat Indians.	102
15 Authorized Basic Rations.	103
16 Distribution of Rations in Attawapiskat Post.	105
17 Sample Food Shortages Among Families on Relief.	109
18 Family Allowances to Attawapiskat Indians.	110
19 List of Food and Clothing Authorized for Issue Under Family Allowances.	112
20 Prices of Staples in Attawapiskat Post.	117

	<u>Page</u>
21 Distribution of Attawapiskat Listed Trappers by Trapplines.	122
22 Spatial Distribution of Attawapiskat Post Listed Trappers.	123
23 Spatial Distribution of Lake River Post Listed Trappers.	123
24 Distribution of Trapping Incomes Among Families.	127
25 Total and Average Incomes Derived from Trapping.	128
26 Amounts Paid in Wages to Attawapiskat Indians.	131
27 Collected Food Products of Attawapiskat Indians (1947-48).	141
28 Types and Amounts of Fish Eaten (1947-48).	145
29 Autumn 1947 Fishing Data.	147
30 Types and Amounts of Fowl Eaten (1947-48).	152
31 Types and Amounts of Animals Eaten (1947-48).	157
32 Weekly Incidence of Country Foods in Diets (1947-48).	164
33 Equipment Owned by Charlie Kiiokii (March 18, 1948).	170
34 Equipment Owned by George Kiiokii (March 18, 1948).	172
35 Equipment Owned by Maggy Katakwapit (March 18, 1948).	174
36 Equipment owned by Jacob Ajtail (March 24, 1948).	175
37 Equipment Owned by Fred Mud (March 19, 1948).	177
38 Trapping Trip of Raphael Wabino (45 days).	179
39 Trapping Trip of Fred Mud (71 days).	180
40 Inventories of Cooking Utensils.	182
41 Extent of Breast and Supplementary Infant Feeding.	201

FIGURES

	<u>Page</u>
1 Map of the Attawapiskat Area.	ix
2 Population Pyramid of the Attawapiskat Resident Population.	24



CHAPTER 1

Plan and Scope of the Study

The material presented in this report constitutes an anthropological study of the lifeways or "culture" of the Indians living at Attawapiskat, a trading post settlement located half way up the west coast of James Bay, Ontario, Canada. The term "culture" is to be understood in its technical meaning, denoting the system of behaviour and ideas found in a specific collectivity of people. Ethnographic research in Attawapiskat was carried out as part of a larger general health study and had as its aim the investigation of health and nutritional conditions among two Canadian Indian groups in the James Bay region. The anthropologist was expected "to discover the social problems underlying the health needs and to find ways of coping with them"(22).¹

This is not the first time that social science assistance has been demanded to help solve medical and nutritional problems. Teamwork between the two disciplines originally grew out of the realization that the food habits of a group, which manifestly influence health and general well being, "are interwoven with the entire way of life of the people." Consequently, if these habits are to be changed, leverage points must be looked for in that life style (23:14). It cannot be expected that points at which change can be introduced will ever be the same in two social groups, although the chances of finding this to be the case increase as the total cultures of two groups coincide. Unfortunately, the James Bay Indians, with their strong economic dependence upon water fowl and their otherwise depleted country, cannot be regarded as typical of northern Canadian Indians in general. However, as was hoped when the present study was authorized, it is still to be expected that the experience gained by introducing and testing an action program in any or both of the communities intensively studied by the medical and social sciences will be useful in extending at least some aspects of rehabilitation to the sixty-five thousand other sub-Arctic forest Indians having roughly similar ways of life. As Loomis and Grisham have pointed out, in community rehabilitation it is advisable to first test out and locally experiment with remedies before inaugurating them wholesale (16:28).

A planned development program, therefore, was the ultimate goal toward which the James Bay study directed its efforts. The complex nature of the problem which such a program will have to face has been stated by F. F. Tisdall. "We do not know as much as we should as to what motivates the Indian. We have to find out what incentive we can place in front of him. The Indian is very different from us. We have to find out how the Indian can be encouraged,

1. Numbers in parentheses signify the pertinent bibliographic items and page references.

how his work can be diversified, his efforts diversified, so he can make himself self-supporting, so he can obtain the food he needs..." (4:10). According to G. Gordon Brown, "When it comes to a matter of changing diet or improving diet, one is particularly involved in the whole social structure of a people. One has to focus at the beginning on how food is procured, what division of labour is necessary in procuring it, how the food is prepared, how it is divided within the family. Those points are all strongly and intimately related to the social life; and until we know that inter-relationship we cannot attempt to motivate them, to make any change. We would not know how a change would be taken... In addition to that we want to find out what to them makes life worth living, and what are the goals for which they strive; because any change again must be related to the particular striving which they have" (4:16-17). It has been one of the intentions of the writer to secure facts bearing on these points and to present the data systematically so that they might usefully guide an action program.

The anthropologist has also accepted certain goals for a rehabilitation program -- ends like better physical and mental health, greater freedom from anxiety, and economically greater self-sufficiency. A number of suggestions presented in this report are directed toward the end of developing Indian life ways toward greater nutritional and adaptive efficiency. For example, it is expected that steps may be taken to introduce some degree of specialized production and marketing. This appears to be a precondition for increasing the self-sufficiency of the Indian family by bringing it away from its present near subsistence level. Envisaged is an evolutionary growth of existing bush Indian culture comparable (but not necessarily parallel) to the evolution undergone by European culture in the past ten thousand years. Such a point of view is almost exactly contrary to the practice of attempting to substitute the white man's habits for native behaviour patterns.

Having accepted certain values, the anthropologist felt it was his job to specify probable means by which they could be realized in Attawapiskat. It is possible for science to say something like: "If x is introduced in certain ways (p, q...) into a particular social situation, then x will probably be accepted and the consequences will be a, b, c..." But no man as scientist can yet prove that x, p, q, or any of their consequences are "good". It would also be desirable to ascertain whether the Indian welcomes the ends and means which are placed before him. If they do not impress him favourably, then to impose them (e.g. hospitalization) is of course possible but such a procedure would not be in accordance with the more basic values held in our own society. In other words, the anthropologist does not intend to endorse a manipulative program to be undertaken either out of authoritarian zeal or humanitarian idealism. Rather he expects that a reorganization policy will define a direction for the population to follow freely or reject. In Margaret Mead's words, it is hoped that the leaders of a planning program will participate with the Indians "in a reorganization of values and attitudes" (17:69, 1:570).

Quite apart from its application to a possible rehabilitation program, much of the information included in this report may be useful to government officials (including Indian Agents) charged with administering the Attawapiskat and culturally related Indian groups. Administrators may be aided by a comprehensive picture of the conditions under which their subjects live and the habits to which the latter are accustomed. By immersing himself in the life of a people for even a year an anthropologist, aided by his training and point of view, endeavours to secure a relatively objective picture of a community's organization such as administrators are usually not in a position to obtain. It also seems desirable to know the emotional repercussions which follow administrative decisions and the traditional forms of reference in which the government and its programs are interpreted. What use a particular administrator makes of such information depends upon the traditional policies to which he is bound as well as upon his personality. The governing of African people, to offer only one instance, has gained much from prolonged contact between anthropologists and administrators of native affairs (2). In the United States, administration of Japanese evacuees similarly benefited from the co-operation of social scientists and administrators (15). One cannot resist pointing out that American and Canadian industry exercises far greater care in selecting supervisory personnel and in rewarding them than has hitherto been taken by the Canadian government in choosing men for the post of Indian Agent. Yet this man is the Dominion's representative with whom the people have most frequent contact and who makes real that vague personage, the government, as well as its policies. One result of present methods of selecting these officials is that men now charged with "field" administration of Indians too often lack skill in applying the principles of human relations and are too far removed from the policy making executives. These factors can prevent the fullest use being made of anthropological data. A simple example of how knowledge can elucidate problems of administration and illustrating in elementary fashion the proposition that "the Indian is different from us" is provided by the case of an Indian Agent receiving a statement of relief issued to an Indian family. An item specifying two axes caught his attention and led him to demand whether one axe was not sufficient for a family. The answer is, no. Every family needs at least two axes, one to be taken by the man when he leaves his family to work in the bush while the other is needed by the women or children to cut wood in the husband's absence.

The Anthropologist

Social science lacks the rigorousness of the physical sciences. In the former disciplines the human factor of the investigator still plays a great role in the observations which he makes, interprets, and reports. Hence anthropologists have suggested that a reader is often aided in estimating the

reliability of ethnographic observations and the validity of interpretations by information concerning the person who made those operations plus a comprehensive description of the conditions under which the research was conducted.

The anthropologist who studied the Attawapiskat Indians is a citizen of the United States and had spent three previous seasons in field work, totalling eleven months, among bush Indians in northern British Columbia. The work was financed by grants from the Department of Anthropology of Yale University and other sources. The objects of these earlier studies included reconstruction of aboriginal Indian lifeways as well as the systematic study of Indian personality (7, 9, 10, 11, 12). Preparation for such investigations included professional training in cultural anthropology and psychology. The anthropologist's strongest interest has been channelled into the study of personality characteristics in different social groups and this may account for the attention given to psychological matters among the Attawapiskat people. The current study was made without the benefit of any specialized training in nutrition although attention was directed to the reports of other social scientists who had investigated food habits. No previous work in the field of action oriented research had been attempted. In accepting the appointment as research anthropologist the author was impressed with the opportunity to gain experience in the field of applied anthropology as well as to contribute toward an improvement in the social and economic status of the Canadian Indian. Non-scientific interest in Canadian Indian welfare predates the appointment. Thus in 1944 a contribution by the writer appeared in the Canadian Forum discussing Canada's Indian problem and criticizing certain governmental policies pertaining to Indian affairs (8).

In June 1947 the author first visited Attawapiskat for three days, accompanied by the Indian Agent and a party of two other anthropologists. On July 27 he returned with his family, again on the government launch. The fact that he was twice presented to the people against a somewhat official background is probably important in appraising the type of rapport subsequently established with the Indians. The latter persisted in considering him an agent of the government sent to investigate hardship and this influenced the kind of information that most freely flowed in his direction. For two months the writer lived in a tent on the property of the Hudson's Bay Company at a point daily passed by a large number of people. It was apparent that this location was not unfavourable to rapport, the family being consistently visited by women and children. At the end of September this tent became an office as the family moved into a one room cottage located several yards away. Shortly after this move severe illness forced his family to go to Toronto, leaving the anthropologist alone in the field. The departure of his wife and the children probably affected field work to the degree that relatively

close interpersonal contacts were no longer possible with women or total families. Previously it had been hoped that his wife could eventually establish such relations. It is impossible to be objective enough to estimate how the strain of anxiety produced by illness may have influenced field work. On November 29th the anthropologist travelled to Moosonee via dog team and thence to Toronto to prepare an interim report. On February 8, 1948 he left Toronto but was unable to secure plane transportation from Moosonee to Attawapiskat until February 18. The second period of field work terminated with the writer departing by plane on June 6.

Method

It will be admitted that a year is not sufficient to understand fully even a small group of people like the Attawapiskat Indians. There is also the question of how representative the period was, since it followed the winter of 1946-7, when fur and country food was scarce, and included a winter (1947-8) when these resources were even less available. How much different a picture would have been obtained if field work had been carried out in a winter favourable for trapping is a question that cannot be answered. The present report, however, contains a body of information hitherto not available concerning the northern Canadian Indians. Its reliability and validity may be partly judged with reference to the methods under which the underlying field work was carried out.

Like most anthropological studies to date, this one has been relatively general in its method. By this is meant that relatively little quantifiable data have been obtained, the reliability of the observer has not been specifically checked by having an independent investigator duplicate his observations, objective devices to replace the fallible human observer were not available, and not all hypotheses could be subjected to critical tests and hence remain guesses. In general, due to problems of rapport and language (the latter necessitating the inconvenient presence of an interpreter), it was not possible to go far beyond reportable or observable facts, for example, to complex motivational states.

The facts presented in this report were obtained through two main lines of investigation which may be called interviewing and observation. An early lack of a suitable interpreter made interviewing difficult. This, together with the fact that no Indians spoke English well, recommended that the investigator learn something of the local dialect. Study of the language began with the assistance of a local missionary who spoke fluent Cree and the consequent knowledge proved invaluable for conducting brief and relatively uncomplicated conversations with the Indians. With more time available, six months devoted solely to intensive language study could well

have preceded any actual research and would probably have made an interpreter unnecessary for much of the work. During the preparatory period, ethnographic work was constantly carried out with two or three male informants who spoke broken English. In October an interpreter was engaged but previous relations with two willing Indians, who spoke a little English, were continued. Conversation with these men increasingly utilized the native language and the accumulated hours of association were eventually rewarded by increased rapport.

Following the anthropologist's return to the field in February, every family visiting in the post prior to the spring muskrat season was interviewed in order to obtain a picture of winter life and a list of what country foods had been obtained. Two types of interviewing may be distinguished. In the first subjects were asked specific questions while in the second people were invited to speak of their problems and aspirations. Many apparently casual conversations, conducted with or without an interpreter, fell into the second category. Special mention must be made of psychological testing undertaken with the Rorschach test, a series of inkblots to which subjects are requested to give associations. When interpreted these responses throw much light on motivations which are otherwise difficult to verbalize. About fifteen Attawapiskat adults and a dozen children (some of the latter at the residential mission school in Fort Albany) were tested. The results are not yet fully available.

The second aspect of investigation, observation, consisted of visiting dwellings (socially as well as with the direct aim of questioning); observing routines of buying, food preparation, travel, and child care; loitering with Indians, and visiting bush camps located relatively close to Attawapiskat post. Photography constituted an auxiliary technique employed along with observation. About four hundred pictures were taken and the negatives turned over to the Department of National Health and Welfare. In addition to using techniques which required the association of the observer and subject, a number of families were made responsible for keeping daily records of the type and amounts of country food consumed. Materials for such records were provided and the "food books" were inspected as frequently as possible. The technique proved to be of great value for keeping under simultaneous observation a number of families scattered in space and was originally suggested by Dr. F. F. Tisdall. In several cases men leaving the post to trap were encouraged to keep journals of their activities as well as records of the food they ate. From data obtained in interviews and from information recorded in the food books calculations were made of the numbers of various animals eaten in 1947-48. Fur purchase records of the traders provided another source of data concerning the potential food supply in previous years. On the basis of the food book data the seasonal incidence of the various game products was calculated (Table 30).

Throughout the first five months of residence in the post the relationship between the anthropologist and the people remained somewhat discouragingly formal. After his return from Toronto, however, the situation improved considerably. The reticence which the people typically display toward strangers, especially white strangers, was largely gone in February and the anthropologist spontaneously became a party to several community problems for whose solution his advice and help were sought. Nevertheless true familiarity never developed. The formality of the Indians seems due to several factors, including the fact that the writer was perceived as a government agent, the language barrier, the absence of strong ties with any particular family such as might have been obtained by taking up residence alongside that unit, the reserved nature of the Indian in the presence of people whom he does not know well, and finally, the character of the people's previous relations with whites. The last factor deserves a further word of comment. The Attawapiskat Indians (and the Indians of the west coast of James Bay in general) are distinguishable from Indians whom the writer had previously encountered in the northwest by the quality of deep respect bordering on servility which they reserve for whites. Contact between the two ethnic groups is underlain by this attitude, which seems partly a result of the enforced social isolation demanded over many years by the Hudson's Bay Company employees. Although sexual unions between the two groups occurred up to two generations ago, respect for the Indians appears to have been lacking. Whites, other than Company personnel or missionaries; have rarely entered into interpersonal relations with the Indians, a factor which is at once a result and a cause of the fact that few Indians possess a command of English. Lack of wide social relations with whites in turn causes white visitors to be received with the same attitudes that developed toward post managers, who seldom had time or inclination to associate with Indians once the day's business was finished. The teachings of the Roman Catholic missionaries, who have been established in the area since before 1890, more indirectly contributes toward the contemporary pattern of Indian-white relations. The priests encourage the Indians to idealize white customs and urge the people to show "proper" respect for whites. Such instruction keeps alive the feeling of a wide gap between the two groups.

On the other side of the relationship, the anthropologist's attitude toward the Indians was marked by permissiveness and interest. When hearing complaints he was careful not to side with the government or any other white group. Criticism of Indian lifeways was consciously avoided but admiration and interest were freely expressed. Co-operation was extended to the people whenever possible, especially when illness recommended contacting the Indian Agency physician. In the end the role with which the anthropologist found himself saddled was not one that he had deliberately created. Rather it grew out of the sense in which his work was

apprehended by the community. He became a person who was there to "listen to the troubles of the people" and, whenever possible, to be approached to secure immediate action for the relief of problems. In addition he was known as the "folktale boss" (atenoke'win oo'kimaw) because of his fondness for listening to accounts of bygone days. All whites with definite missions in the area receive the appellation 'boss' but with a qualifying word to distinguish them from the boss (ookimaw), the Hudson's Bay Company manager. It is obvious that such interpretations of his role caused a certain filtering of the information communicated to him. He was much more apt to hear about the troubles than the pleasures of the Indians. The obvious correctives were applied--energy was directed to learning about those things from which the Indian derived pleasure and the sheer weight of "trouble reports" was not allowed to determine the final picture of Attawapiskat culture.

The final report of the anthropological study was begun in the field. This procedure allowed opportunity to fill some gaps that became apparent only in the writing. Points which were not clear or testimony from several informants that conflicted could also be investigated. Finally, several hypotheses emerged in the process of writing which it was possible to partly validate by additional questioning and observation.

Outline

Apart from the introduction, four main divisions constitute the framework of this report. Initially the geographical setting of Attawapiskat society is described together with a brief historical sketch of events in the area. Demographic matters are included in this first division, which is followed by a section headed, "Community, Family, and Individual". Material presented in that second division is designed to furnish a broad perspective for understanding the more specific data on food and economy which follow. In the third division, "Food and Economy", the reader will find information on how the Indian secures a living, the details of food preparation and eating, and many of the conscious and unconscious ideas pertaining to matters of food. Finally the author presents to the Committee a summary of his recommendations for a possible reconstruction program whose eventual goal is seen as encompassing a general improvement in the health and welfare of the Indian.

CHAPTER II

THE SETTING

Physical Environment

To visualize the geographical setting of Attawapiskat the reader may in his imagination travel the one hundred and sixty miles that separate the village from Moosonee, railhead of the Ontario Northland Railroad. With fair weather the journey occupies between seventeen and nineteen hours during which the voyager travels almost out of sight of the extremely flat shores that constitute the west coast of James Bay. The water is relatively shallow on this side of the Bay. From high water mark a strip of low mud covered with grass extends inland, in some places over a mile. Travelling by sled along the coastal marshes presents a problem since dry wood for camping is scarce and in winter at nightfall vehicles must often be drawn inland a considerable distance to the willows, where lower wind keeps the snow soft. Since the sleds function best on the crusted snow and ice of the frozen Bay and rivers, their navigation is extremely laborious on soft snow. Comparable problems present themselves in summer, unless wood is carried in the canoe (5:83-84). The irregular tides, which are enormously raised by north wind, must also be guarded against by campers during the seasons of open water. Beyond the coastal marshes comes a strip of willow and juniper brush and finally the spruce forest with its muskeg (ma'skek). This wooded swamp extends inland at some points for one hundred and fifty miles (20:15).

Numerous creeks and rivers enter the Bay along this coast, including (from south to north) the Albany, Kapiskaw, Lawashi, and Attawapiskat. These streams have no distinct valleys but cut through beds of clay. Before reaching their estuaries, the streams separate into many channels which, although they may flow with fresh water until a couple of miles from the coast, are affected by the tides for many miles inland. The Attawapiskat River enters James Bay opposite the west tip of Akimiski Island, which lies about ten miles to the east. Large craft are usually obliged to wait at the mouth of the Attawapiskat River for a favourable tide before venturing up the main channel. As soon as conditions permit the boat moves slowly between buoys consisting of black painted gasoline drums. These have been put out jointly by the Hudson's Bay Company and the Roman Catholic Mission, both of whose vessels call at the post. For several miles the boat travels between the grassy banks dissected by numerous "gutways" or sloughs. Gradually the willows are entered. Ten miles from James Bay anchor is dropped opposite the trading post of Attawapiskat (Figure 1).

From here the river, occasionally marked by shallows and rapids, and flowing between white limestone cliffs (from which the stream probably received its name) continues inland over two hundred miles to Lansdowne Lake, a large body of water which is the seat of Lansdowne House Post.

The Attawapiskat Indians do not travel more than about one hundred and twenty-five miles up this stream, or to about the confluence of Big Lake River, where a rude winter trading post (known locally as a "camp trade") is operated by the Hudson's Bay Company and tended by an Indian.

Seen from the river Attawapiskat post is not a particularly impressive spectacle. Poised on top of a bank averaging from fifteen to twenty feet in height, the outstanding feature of the settlement is the Roman Catholic Church whose bell tower rises forty feet in the air to dwarf the tents and frame houses that stretch east and west on either side. Toward the western end of the village are the Hudson's Bay Company buildings, including the warehouse, store, and residences for the interpreter and manager. These structures are painted white with red roofs while the Mission buildings are done in cream with green roofs.

Boats cannot tie up to the wharf at Attawapiskat. Hence a canoe takes passengers to shore while freight is loaded into scows which then tie up at the wharf where Indian labour makes swift work of unloading the goods and carrying them to the warehouse. A board sidewalk runs along the top of the river bank and extends from the Company's fenced property half way to the east end of the settlement. Tents and dwellings are located varying distances north of this sidewalk, whose upkeep is the joint responsibility of the Mission and the Company. The functions of the walk are to bridge drains and ditches and to help avoid walking in the damp earth, which, after a heavy rain or during the spring thaws, constitutes a vast pond. Yet Indians proudly claim that Attawapiskat is dry and cite Moosonee as an example of a settlement where muskeg leaves the ground always wet. Actually muskeg surrounds Attawapiskat post and provides a fertile breeding ground for the mosquitoes that make a calm summer night agonizing to endure. In winter the surrounding bush is considerably more hospitable to a traveller equipped with snowshoes.

For the Indians Attawapiskat post is the social and commercial hub (but not the geographical centre) of an area comprising about fifteen thousand square miles. This district will hereafter be referred to as the Attawapiskat area. Eastward Attawapiskat trappers visit Akimiski Island while south the people travel only to the nearby Lawashi River. West by southwest, up the Attawapiskat and Lawashi Rivers, they range for one hundred and twenty-five miles. Most of the population is located north of the post. In winter a part of the group is served by a Company outpost located near the mouth of Lake River, one hundred miles north of Attawapiskat. Fifty miles north of Lake River post is Cape Henrietta Maria, where the waters of Hudson's Bay begin. Indians do not usually trap on the Cape in winter but travel about fifty-five miles northwest of Lake River post. A few families have winter camps as far as eighty or ninety miles inland from that place in the area.

around and west of Sutton Lake and here one Indian does a little trading with supplies purchased in Moosonee every summer and occasionally at Lake River in winter. The Sutton Lake district is distinguished from other parts of the Attawapiskat area by its rocky ridges which rise to heights of about four hundred and forty feet. Access to the region is usually by travelling up the Ekwan River, a stream entering James Bay twenty miles north of Attawapiskat. West of Sutton Lake, trappers encounter Winisk and Ojibwa Indians, the latter coming north from Agoki.

Extending from Kapiskaw River on the south to latitude 54°30' north (ten miles above Lake River) and west to longitude 85° (eight miles west of Sutton Lake) is the beaver preserve leased by the Hudson's Bay Company and now in the process of being stocked with beaver. Stocking has not yet begun in the northwest corner of the block. Another beaver preserve is located on Akimiski Island, where several Indian families spend the winter and spring. While the mainland preserve is not yet open to exploitation, 1947-48 was the second season since the land was acquired for fur farming purposes by the Company in which beaver were trapped on Akimiski Island.

About one hundred miles inland along the Ekwan River is the Attawapiskat Indian Reserve, an as yet unsurveyed piece of ground, which the people will probably relinquish in favour of a more accessible location.

The Attawapiskat area is a part of the Hudsonian Biotic Province, an ecological assemblage characterized by conifers like the spruce and balsam, as well as tamarack, poplar (cottonwood), and willows. Birch and cedar are lacking along the lower rivers but are reported to occur sporadically farther inland. Black spruce (min'ahek)¹ is found exclusively near the coast with white spruce (sesaka'tik) growing on somewhat higher ground. Timber from the lower sections of the rivers is apt to be twisted, making it hard to split and playing havoc with axe handles. Low and high bush cranberries are the commonest berries found throughout the area. Fauna also vary according to distance from the coast. The entire region supports the fox, muskrat, otter, squirrel, weasel, skunk, and rabbit. Inland the bear, lynx, and marten have become relatively scarce. Caribou and white bear are occasionally killed in the northern portion of the district and moose are occasional visitors, about fifty being killed in the winter of 1946-47. Beaver were once plentiful all over but currently have had to be reintroduced in the coastal region. On Akimiski Island, at least, they have been reported as failing to thrive and the flatness of the mainland coastal strip is also viewed as unfavourable for beaver so that, in the opinion of some, the animal is not multiplying as rapidly at Attawapiskat as was the

1. For key to pronunciation see Appendix A.

case at Rupert's House. Wild beaver are still trapped farther inland. Blue, snow, and Canada geese (the two former varieties being locally designated "wavies", probably after the Cree whe'wheho /pl. whe'whehak/) and ducks head the list of game birds. They are shot in great numbers along the coastal marshes in fall and spring. In winter spruce hens, willow grouse, and ptarmigan are occasionally taken. Other birds include the plover, gull, owl, loon, and swan, but the latter is extremely uncommon. The lower stretches of the rivers in most years can be depended upon for a fair supply of small whitefish, sucker, and ling while wall-eyed pike (dore) and jackfish occur frequently on the upper courses. Speckled trout are caught on Akimiski Island as well as along the Ekwan and Upper Attawapiskat Rivers. Sturgeon and lake trout remain farther inland and do not play important roles in the diet. Seal as well as an occasional white whale enter the lower river courses and may be taken for dog feed.

Like in most of northern North America, summer days in Attawapiskat are hot followed by cool nights. Winters tend to be long and cold. Although the temperature in the latter season is not as low as in the landlocked interior of northern Canada, the almost constant winds are extremely severe and make cases of frostbite not unusual. The coldest official temperature recorded during the winter of 1947-48 was -54°F . at Moosonee; this is close to the all time low and extremes as great as this are rare. At the end of the long fall of 1947 one of the lowest temperatures unofficially recorded at Attawapiskat was -12° at 8:00 A.M. on November 26.¹ Following the anthropologist's return (on February 18) the coldest temperature was recorded at 9:00 P.M. on March 7 when it was -25° . The rivers freeze around the middle of November. Although travel on James Bay with dogteam begins around this time, conditions are not yet favourable, the brine preventing the ice from freezing solidly. Planes will not ordinarily attempt to alight on the river before the middle of December. Thaws appear about the middle of March and the rivers generally break up around the middle of May. By the end of May in an average year the ice has been fully flushed into the Bay.

History

The general purpose of the following historical account is, first, to relate certain current Attawapiskat problems to their past, where many may have had their genesis, and second, to permit an administrator to see a rehabilitation program in a "time dimension" against which relief measures will acquire a good part of their meaning.

1. The thermometer had a southern exposure; with a northern exposure readings several degrees lower could have been expected.

At first glance it would appear that the Indians of Attawapiskat and the west coast of James Bay have enjoyed nearly three and a half centuries of contact with Europeans, counting from 1611 when Henry Hudson is believed to have wintered at the foot of that arm of water until the present. Such an impression is contrary to the facts. A few southerly Indians may have encountered Henry Hudson just as others may have seen the vessel of Captain James in 1633 when it passed between Akimiski Island and the mainland enroute to England following a winter in which scurvy decimated his crew on Charlton Island near Rupert Bay (13). Indirectly the west coast Indians were affected when, in 1661, de Groseilliers and Radisson travelled from the foot of the Bay as far as York Factory acquiring furs. From this date forward the natives were to be involved in the fur trade. In 1668 these Canadians founded Fort Charles near the present site of Rupert's House, an action followed in 1670, by the establishment of the English Company of Adventurers Trading into Hudson's Bay. Additional establishments soon followed at Moose Island and Fort Albany. In 1686, on the feast day of Ste. Anne de Beaupre, that settlement was conquered by the French and named in honour of the saint. The English retook Albany in 1693 (8:70ff) but still to-day the Roman Catholic Mission site south of the post is referred to as Lac Ste. Anne. The effects of these military operations on the Indians cannot of course be fully gauged. They must have contributed to the picture which the Indians formed of the white strangers. The relatively large size of Fort Albany probably also impressed the people, who themselves had never made log cabins and knew of no building larger or more complex than the earth walled tipi. For over two hundred years Fort Albany continued to introduce the west coast population to European manufactured goods and food. Besides a cooperage plant a blacksmith shop was established here to make iron traps and other implements after imported models. Even cattle were imported to keep the factory's¹ staff supplied with fresh food. This staff consisted largely of "servants" brought from Scotland and bound by contract to remain a specified number of years with the privilege of renewing their service if they chose. A number of the men mated with and sometimes married Indian women. The unions produced many metis, most of whom apparently again married Indians. In later years servants included metis brought from southern Ontario. Every fall thousands of geese were shot and preserved in brine; they supplemented beef in the servants' winter rations. However imposing the description of Fort Albany sounds, its influence was not so great as to dominate completely the lives of the people

1. Speculation on the word "factory" and "factor" is cleared up in a brief note appearing in The Beaver for September 1947. A factory is defined as "A house or district inhabited by traders in a distant country.../or/ the traders embodied in one place." According to Johnson's dictionary (1787) a factor is "An agent for another; one who transacts business for another."

who lived in the northerly Attawapiskat area. There is no reason to suppose that all of the Indians living in the latter place travelled to the factory and those who did remained only briefly during the summer. It seems likely that early contact with Europeans most directly affected the Indians living south of the Attawapiskat River, some of whom may have been permanently attracted to Fort Albany and points farther south. Probably the Attawapiskat Indians traded little fur for food until the early Nineteenth Century. Even then the prices paid for fur were an important factor assuring that imported foods did not upset dependence upon fish and meat. Often during the early historical period the Indians met lean years during which the population was reduced and (very much as in the case of animals) in that way kept within the limits of what the land could support. It must be remembered that until 1869 this country, like much of northern Canada, or Rupert's Land, was not under the responsibility of the Canadian Government but belonged to the Hudson's Bay Company which had received it by charter from Prince Rupert (first governor of the Company) in 1670.

The presence of the European traders and their staffs likewise appears to have exercised very little influence on Attawapiskat social behaviour. Thus wife exchange occurred until about sixty years ago. Aboriginal shamanism, designed to bring success in hunting and to foretell the future, persisted until even more recently. On the other hand steel tools, metal utensils, guns, fabrics, and foods like tea, rolled oats, flour, and sugar were relatively quickly taken over. As late as one hundred years ago, however, Indians in the most northern part of the Attawapiskat area were still wearing caribou skin garments.

With the beginning of missionary activities in the Attawapiskat area the values and behaviours of the people began to undergo much more intensive change. Persistent missionary endeavour along the west coast dates from 1848, the year when the Rev. R. P. Laverlochere, O.M.I., during his summer visit, baptized a large number of Indians at Moose Factory and Fort Albany (24:13ff). Following 1852 the Anglican minister from Moosonee visited Fort Albany and won a number of former Catholic as well as pagan families into his church. In 1853 the Roman Catholic, French speaking Oblates penetrated as far as the Kapiskaw River (better than midway between Albany and Attawapiskat) and soon thereafter began to visit regularly Attawapiskat during the summers. Permanent Catholic and Anglican missions were established at Fort Albany in 1892 but the Roman Catholic mission was later moved to Lac Ste. Anne (1931), apparently as much to forestall contacts between Catholic and Anglican Indians as to escape spring flood conditions at the post. Flooding, however, was not avoided by this shift. A Catholic boarding school, accommodating mainly west coast children, was established at Fort

Albany in 1902, and in succeeding years it became an important centre of religious instruction and publication. Many Biblical translations, prayer and hymn books, and other religious materials (including a small magazine) in the Cree syllabic alphabet have issued from the duplicating machine of the Lac Ste. Anne mission. It is largely due to this program of publication that one can speak of a Cree literature. Throughout the west coast the missionaries were also assiduous in teaching younger generations to write and read in the syllabic alphabet. In this task the priests receive early co-operation from parents and as a result almost every adult and older child in Attawapiskat is literate in his mother tongue.

The first permanent Catholic missionary settled at Attawapiskat in 1912, although the original church (a relatively large structure still standing in 1948) had been built there as early as 1893. An Anglican church was constructed on Akimiski Island between 1919 and 1922 but was soon abandoned and another erected in Attawapiskat by 1928. Lack of a sufficient congregation at this post gradually led the Albany clergymen to discontinue their visits. The Protestant structure still stands at the extreme west end of the settlement. Under the pressure of Catholic missionary endeavour in the Attawapiskat area there soon occurred the almost complete eradication of aboriginal ritual as well as profound modifications in family life and marriage. Elementary medical care was introduced for the sick. However, bilingualism did not take hold, the missionaries setting themselves to learn the speech of their congregation.

About 1893-94 the Hudson's Bay Company established a post in the Attawapiskat area, probably near the estuary of the Ekwana River. Another turning point in the lives of the Attawapiskat people was at hand. In 1904-05 an opposition fur trading company, Revillon Freres, established a store at Attawapiskat. The rivalry that ensued between the two organizations continued for about thirty-three years, or until the newcomers were absorbed by the Company in 1936. The intervening period must have been an exhilarating one for the Indians as both organizations spurred them on to intensive trapping by offering more and more alluring prizes for furs at several outposts (including one on Akimiski Island). Liquor was offered to attract trade, large outfits were furnished on credit together with transportation to the trap lines, and even houses were provided for exceptional trappers who succeeded in securing good numbers of that most valuable pelt, the silver fox. Many of these incentives appear to have been pioneered by Revillon Freres managers. The result of the intensive trapping encouraged by these techniques may well have contributed to the depletion of many fur bearing animals in the area. Other factors dating from this period must also be taken into account to explain this decline in resources. At the same time that the traders were holding out

high lures for furs and depositing more guns and traps into the hands of the Indians, the country began to experience the effects of a greater concentration of population than it had hitherto seen. There were two reasons for this increase. First, starvation probably became less often fatal as the use of European foodstuffs became more common and as guns began to increase the number of fowl and game animals which a hunter could kill. Increasing population probably began to appear in the late nineteenth century. Although the death rate probably continued high (as it still does to-day), better nourishment also began to extend life expectancy. The second factor responsible for the upward population trend in the Attawapiskat area, which in turn may have led to the depletion of animal resources at least near the coast, was the migration of families from inland and northern regions, including Sutton Lake, Sutton River, and Winisk River, to the coastal area between Attawapiskat and Lake River. This movement was probably determined, first, by the desirability of living in ready access to the traders' foods, second, to be near the feeding grounds of geese and other fowl now that the shotgun had made their killing easy, and third, by the attractive high fur prices which competition in Attawapiskat had created. Internal evidence forcefully suggests that originally the Attawapiskat Indians were not a coast dwelling people but were widely distributed in the forest. One of the strongest pieces of evidence for this statement is the absence of the sled in aboriginal times, when people relied on the toboggan for transportation. The latter vehicle is unsuited for ice travel, such as coastal hunters frequently experience, but is a common feature of northern woodland life and serves to distinguish bush Indian from sea-ice Eskimo culture. The Eskimo largely lack the toboggan. Following contact, the Attawapiskat Indians received the sled from white sources. The crudity of contemporary sleds is further evidence of their recent development. Interestingly enough it is said that the Montagnais Indians of southern Labrador also did not visit the coast until the middle of the Nineteenth Century. Prior to that traders sought them in the forest (26, Vol. II, 629-630).

With two trading companies in the area, the time had come for the Canadian Government to conclude a treaty with the James Bay Indians. So, on August 3, 1905, the Attawapiskat people were included with the Albany Indians in Dominion Treaty No. 9 (3:6-7). The fact of having concluded an agreement with the government did not immediately alter the conditions under which the Indians lived. As long as furs were fairly plentiful, world market conditions favourable, and competition between the opposing traders keen, the people remained relatively well off. Without such ideal conditions, however, the alleged promise of a Dominion representative (the Treaty Commissioner?) that henceforth no Indian would starve would itself not guarantee against want. Episodic periods of hunger have been frequent in the last few decades of James Bay history. One such year came about 1928,

described as a time when "everybody in the post had sunken cheeks--they were so hard up." One man, who left his family to seek relief at the post in that year, reported receiving only fourteen pounds of flour for a family that included eleven children and his wife. This man said:

"Since the government has been in the Bay the people have been hard up. I don't know how people would have been if the priests had not helped. /The speaker belongs to one of the two related, non-Catholic families/. They had a big potato garden and they did their best to feed the Indians with potatoes when the country was poor. They couldn't give enough lard when they didn't have too much for their own use but they did the best they could to give us a little. The mission had for dog food high-smelling seal blubber. That's what we asked for to use as grease. We ate it but it didn't taste very good. Dr. ---- was agent in the Bay for the Government at that time. Although an Indian might be sick and not able to work, he got no help as long as he could stand on his feet. Lots of people got sick trying to force themselves when expected to do that. When a man was laid up, then they helped him. Relief clothing was sent here for only old widows to get. We, however, had to pay a dollar a pair to get pants. Twenty years ago people were so hard up they were wearing burlap on their feet for moccasins. Post managers and doctors called us lazy when we asked for food. They said, "Go out and trap." This when there wasn't anything in the country to catch. One post manager shut the door of his house in my face when I came into the post at night with no food. He said to come back in the morning. This was about 1928. Now we are not poor, nobody is starving, and everybody has clothing."

World War I affected Attawapiskat more immediately than the second World War. Whereas in 1914-15 over half-a-dozen men left Attawapiskat, joined the army, and eventually cut timber for sawmills in England and Scotland, nobody was recruited for military service following the outbreak of war in 1939. Several of the men who have seen overseas service are still living. It is hard to say how much of an impression their experience has left upon them. The return of the soldiers instituted a period of heavy, illicit brewing and drinking in the post which, however, was countered by the earnest opposition of the Roman Catholic missionaries. The second World War was responsible for a limited amount of labour recruiting in James Bay. About a dozen Attawapiskat youths left to work in southern Ontario and about half that number are still employed in tanneries near Acton and Guelph. Labour on the railroad which runs south from Moosonee has also led a few families to leave the area.

Generally, however, such labour is sought only incidentally in summer or when a family visits Moosonee to secure hospital care for one of its members. A large proportion of the money earned goes for luxury clothes (coats, suits, dresses), liquor, and gambling.

Two further events in Attawapiskat history deserve mention. The first of these was the occurrence in November, about 1922, of an epidemic of an unknown respiratory disease which is reported to have taken many lives. Early winter conditons and the absence of radio communication prevented the solicitation of medical assistance. In July 1943 another serious epidemic broke out. This time the disease was measles. Two temporary hospitals were established in the post but could not prevent the deaths of at least forty-one children and young people, including sixteen boys and twenty-four girls.

To-day the Attawapiskat people show no fond hearkening back to the past, no cherishing of traditions and memories. When people speak of the old days it is to recount tales of hunger and hardship from which they are happily free. Yet in its material aspects life to-day is closer to the aboriginal pattern than is the case among many of Canada's Indians. Examples include the low incidence of houses compared to tents and tipis and the primary importance of travel or bush life for securing food. In other northern regions where fur resources are rich, bush life is also still important but energies are primarily concentrated on fur trapping, the results of which permit the purchase of food and other modern conveniences. The poor environment of the Attawapiskat people prevents this shift in economic emphasis. Informants sometimes say that people are better off to-day than in former times. "They have many things to-day which were not available before. They also have the church, and every day they go to church. Also to-day they have just one wife... also they have no kosapa'tcikan / a building for shamanistic rituals/." However the same informants also declared that since living on the white man's foods people have become more unhealthy. Such expressions appear to reflect a discontent with contemporary life that nevertheless cannot be solved by returning to the past. On the other hand no contempt for Indian culture is apparent among any group (except possibly the interpreter) or among the young. Such confusion of allegiance will become a real threat to personal adjustment and social control when once a sizable proportion of the population loses native skills (like the ability to speak the language or to spend long winter periods in the bush). Anthropologists are aware that such losses are readily translated into defensive contempt for traditional lifeways (19:352).

It cannot be said that the Attawapiskat Indians are strongly motivated to reach assimilation with Canadian society. In the first place, too little

is known of the culture patterns of that society and, in the second place, local stores carry relatively few of the goods which might symbolize white status. Finally, the amount of earned income is too small to allow any but the most necessary purchase of food and equipment, although in previous "good" years radios, sewing machines, and gramophones were acquired by a few families. Acculturation, by which is meant specifically the acquisition by Indians of traits from Canadian society, appears to be significantly more advanced at Moose Factory, and Fort Albany than at Attawapiskat. In the two former places, for example, more young people speak English, more women wear purchased garments, and a far greater proportion of canoes are equipped with outboard motors. Improvement of economic conditions in Attawapiskat will undoubtedly be accompanied by greater acculturation with all the advantages and problems that this process engenders.

Demography

Although almost all of the Attawapiskat population probably possesses, in some degree, Caucasian ancestry, all legally hold the status of Indians and identify themselves as Swampy Cree people (omooskekowak). The language they speak is a dialect of Algonkian, which in turn is a linguistic stock still spoken in some form from the Labrador peninsula to the great Plains and includes such groups as the Naskapi, Ojibwa, and Blackfoot.

Although the official census of the Attawapiskat band lists a total population of 645, as of July 1947, the group of Indians studied at that time contained only about 468 persons. The latter figure, which will hereafter be referred to as the Attawapiskat resident population, represents a density of about .031 per square mile. The difference between the two figures arises from the fact that a number of individuals officially listed as members of the Attawapiskat band are hospitalized or currently reside in Fort Albany, Moosonee, and elsewhere. The designation "Attawapiskat band" has been coined by the Indian Affairs Branch. Actually the population is divisible into a number of local groups who derive their identity from the river drainages in which they hunt and trap. In this report it will sometimes be advantageous to distinguish two major groups, people trading at Lake River and those trading at Attawapiskat post or at the winter outpost maintained about one hundred miles up the Attawapiskat River.

The marital status and family composition of the resident population (as of July, 1947) is indicated in Table 1.

TABLE I

MARITAL STATUS AND FAMILY COMPOSITION
OF THE RESIDENT POPULATION

<u>Type of Unit</u>	<u>Number of Such Units</u>	<u>Number of Persons</u>
Husband and wife without living offspring ¹	9	18
Husband and wife without unmarried children	9	18
Husband and wife with one unmarried child ²	10	30
Husband and wife with two unmarried children	12	48
Husband and wife with three unmarried children	13	65
Husband and wife with four unmarried children	9	54
Husband and wife with five unmarried children	8	56
Husband and wife with six unmarried children	8	64
Husband and wife with seven unmarried children	4	36
Widows	13	13
Widowers	6	6
Man separated	1	1
Widows, widowers, and unmarried mothers with one unmarried child ³	12	24
Widows or widowers with two unmarried children	4	12
Widow with four unmarried children	1	5
Widow with six unmarried children	1	7
Woman separated, living with two unmarried children	1	3
Individuals with group membership unknown	8	8
Total		468

The number of able bodies male hunters and trappers (including family heads, their sons, and widowers) is shown in Table 2.

1. The bulk of these families contain relatively young persons.
2. Unmarried sons working or living outside of the Attawapiskat area have not been counted, neither have widows or unmarried mothers. Children attending boarding school have been included as have adopted children where foster parents were known.
3. Including three unmarried mothers.

TABLE 2

ABLE BODIED MALE HUNTERS AND TRAPPERS

<u>Year</u>	<u>Married Men and Widowers</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Total</u>
1945-46	81	29	110
1946-47	80	31	111
1947-48	78	32	110

These figures reveal about one hundred and ten males who are capable of sustained hunting and trapping, that is, of providing fresh meat and money income, in a population of 468 people. Of this total number of providers about thirty are boys who, it may be expected, are not capable of and do not exploit the environment as thoroughly as do the approximately eighty mature men. It must not be thought that these males are the only economic producers in the community. Youths also bring a little game to the home while women tend fish nets and also occasionally trap. It is no exaggeration to say that one out of two persons in this subsistence society is actively engaged during some part of the year in producing food or money for himself or the group to which he is attached.

A tabulation by age and sex of the resident population as of July, 1947, is presented in Table 3.

In Figure 2 a pyramid of the population, graphic representation is given to the unhealthy trends apparently affecting these people. The concave structure of the graph reflects the high mortality at early age, the high birth rate, and the concentration of old people for whom the community itself makes relatively little provision. Whether the unhealthy trends are due to malnutrition, an absence of medical attention, or both, is a problem that the anthropologist is not equipped to answer. Some caution is necessary in interpreting the information in both table and graph due to the fact that, as Indians have pointed out, the census rolls (from which the tabulation was mainly derived) are likely to contain errors in regard to age. Some of the errors are unavoidable, since birth years are quickly forgotten and, in the case of elderly individuals, impossible to secure from other sources. Many birth records were lost in the fire that destroyed the mission residence about 1941. According to a communication received in August, 1948 from the Indian Agency at Moose Factory, in 1947 twenty-three births and fourteen deaths occurred in the Attawapiskat population. It may also be pointed out that eighteen children in Table 3 attended the Roman Catholic boarding school from about August, 1947 to the middle of June, 1948.

TABLE 3

DISTRIBUTION OF RESIDENT POPULATION BY AGE GROUPS

Age	Male	Female	Total	Age	Male	Female	Total
-1			19	46	2	3	5
1			13	47	2	0	2
2	4	8	12	48	2	0	2
3	9	9	18	49	2	1	3
4	4	5	9	50	0 8	5 9	5 17
5	4 21	6 28	10 81				
6	4	6	10	51	0	3	3
7	6	6	12	52	4	0	4
8	7	11	18	53	1	1	2
9	3	7	10	54	0	0	0
10	4 24	7 37	11 61	55	1 6	1 5	2 11
11	9	8	17	56	0	0	0
12	5	5	10	57	0	1	1
13	4	4	8	58	2	0	2
14	7	4	11	59	1	0	1
15	1 26	4 25	5 51	60	1 4	0 1	1 5
16	4	7	11	61	3	2	5
17	7	2	9	62	0	1	1
18	0	2	2	63	1	2	3
19	3	4	7	64	0	0	0
20	5 19	4 19	9 38	65	1 5	2 7	3 12
21	5	6	11	66	3	6	9
22	7	6	13	67	0	0	0
23	3	1	4	68	2	0	2
24	1	6	7	69	0	0	0
25	5 21	2 21	7 42	70	0 5	1 7	1 12
26	4	5	9	71	1	2	3
27	4	4	8	72	1	1	2
28	2	3	5	73	1	1	2
29	6	2	8	74	2	2	4
30	3 19	1 15	4 34	75	2 7	0 6	2 13
31	2	4	6	76	0	2	2
32	2	2	4	77	0	0	0
33	3	2	5	78	0	0	0
34	5	6	11	79	0	1	1
35	2 14	2 16	4 30	80	0 0	0 3	0 3

TABLE 3 (Continued)

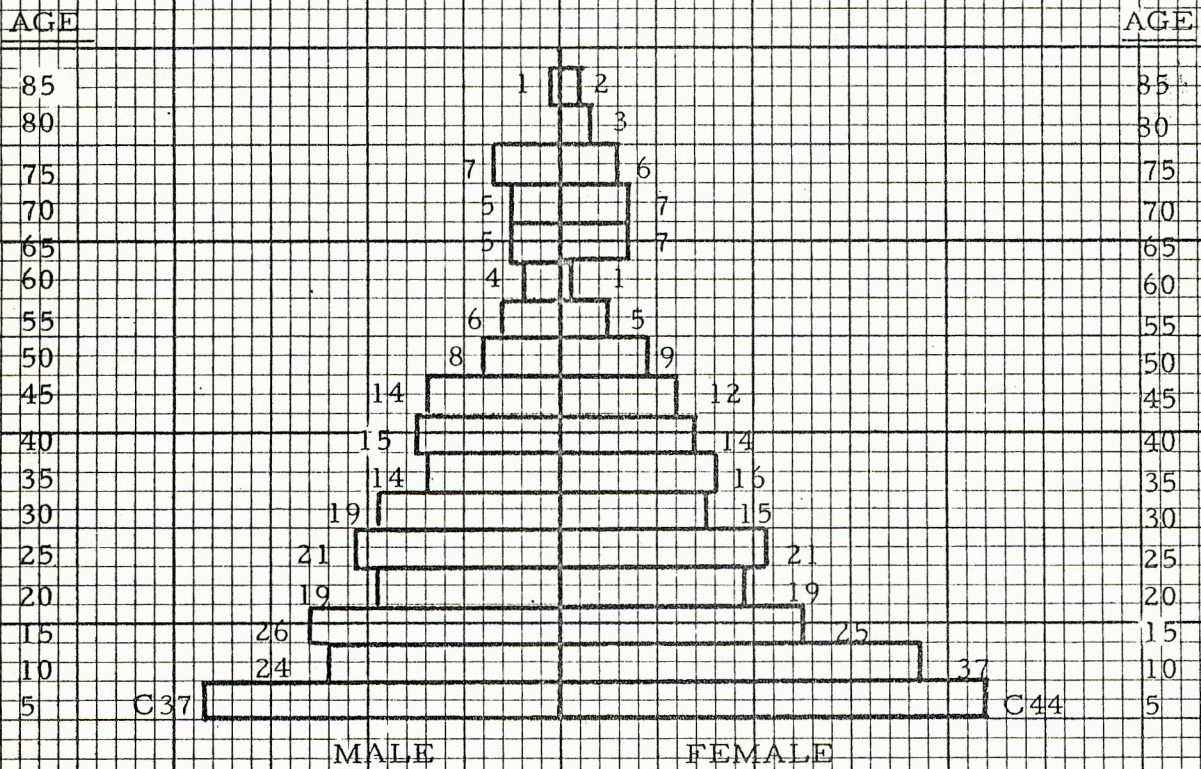
Age	Male	Female	Total	Age	Male	Female	Total
36	5	3	8	81	0	2	2
37	3	2	5	82	0	0	0
38	0	2	2	83	0	0	0
39	2	4	6	84	0	0	0
40	5 15	3 14	8 29	85	1 1	0 2	1 3
41	6	6	12	468			
42	6	2	8				
43	1	0	1				
44	1	3	4				
45	0 14	1 12	1 26				

* Exact sex not determinable by information supplied.

Births as well as deaths are generally reported to the Roman Catholic Mission for registry. When either of these events occurs in the bush, away from the post, registration is likely to be delayed. In the case of births, such delay, as well as the Indians' disinterest in remembering events according to an exact calendar, often leads to forgetting the exact date of nativity. About twenty-five percent of the birth entries in the mission registry give only the date of baptism. Baptism, however, always occurs well within a year of birth. Information of births is usually immediately sent by radio to the Indian Agency at Moose Factory. Acknowledgement of the report comes in the form of authorization for the parents to receive family allowances for the child. Only one case came to light in which a birth apparently had not been reported within a month of the event. The infant in question died and a record of death was sent to the Indian Agency which claimed that no individual by that name was listed in its records. Births from Attawapiskat mothers residing outside the area are not entered in the mission records but the information is secured by the Indian Agency. Thus that office recorded thirty-three live births in 1946 of which only twenty-nine occurred in the district and were also registered at the Mission. When deaths are reported by Indians the missionaries request the place of mortality, the location of burial, and the disease from which death occurred. Since in the overwhelming number of cases no physician is present, causes of dying are not adequately known and this portion of the death certificate is often left blank. In the event of a child dying, the information is at once transmitted to the Indian Agency so that family allowances may be terminated.

FIGURE II

POPULATION PYRAMID - RESIDENTS OF ATTAWAPISKAT,
JULY, 1947



Each Space Represents Two Persons

For a few years prior to 1947 vital statistics were partially analyzed by the staff of the Indian Agency but this has apparently been discontinued. When percentages were estimated it was with the total official census for a particular year rather than with the resident population for that period. In part this may be explained by the fact that births and deaths occurring to band members residing outside of Attawapiskat are always included in official statistics together with those taking place within the area. A tabulation of births and deaths in James Bay, prepared by Dr. T. J. Orford, for the period from January 1 to December 31, 1946, is given in Table 4. Based on the total census figure of 625 persons, this table indicates crude birth and death rates in 1946 of 52.8 and 36.8 per thousand respectively for Attawapiskat. This represents a very high annual birth rate as well as a great incidence of mortality. The vitality index for 1946 is therefore about 143.4. The infant death rate for that year stands at 212 per thousand infants.

TABLE 4

BIRTHS AND DEATHS IN THE JAMES BAY AREA (1946)

<u>Band and Official</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Births</u>	<u>Deaths</u>	<u>Deaths under 1 year</u>
Moose	(500)	26	7	2 (77/1000)
Albany	(650)	41	31	10 (244/1000)
Attawapiskat	(625)	33	23	7 (212/1000)
Rupert's House	(400)	27	11	6 (222/1000)
Fort George	(850)	39	52	11 (282/1000)

Table 5 shows the distribution of locally occurring births and deaths by monthly intervals (page 26). The material for the period 1925-1930 was obtained from birth and death records of natives kept by managers of the Hudson's Bay Company. The entries were discontinued in 1930. The largest body of entries is for the period between August, 1925 and August, 1930, but within these limits gaps are apparent. For example, no birth entries appear for the last quarter of 1929 and only one entry appears for the last quarter of 1928. Undoubtedly many births and deaths were not reported to the post managers during this five year period. Errors in entering the exact date of birth also appear likely. The material for 1942-47 was obtained from the Roman Catholic Mission, whose earlier records, already explained, were destroyed by fire. Statistical calculations have not been attempted for this information because all births

TABLE 5

DISTRIBUTION OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS BY MONTHLY
INTERVALS

Interval	1925 - 1930		1942-May 31 1948		Total Births	Total Deaths
	Births	Deaths	Births	Deaths		
January	11	10	8	7	19	17
February	20	9	4	7	24	16
March	9	8	7	4	16	12
April	5	3	6	3	11	6
May	6	2	5	1	11	3
June	14	2	14	5	28	7
July	14	6	5	43	19	49
August	18	7	5	8	23	15
September	9	9	13	4	22	13
October	7	4	6	0	13	4
November	7	6	4	4	11	10
December	13	1	5	3	18	4
Month Unknown	3	5	32	2	35	7
Totals	136	72	114	91	250	163

are probably not recorded and population figures remain in doubt for much of the period covered in the table.

Looking at the columns in which the data from both sources are combined, it will be perceived that more recorded births occurred in the period from July 1 to September 30 -- when the population is concentrated

at Attawapiskat Post -- than in any other quarter (first quarter, 59; second quarter, 50; third quarter, 64; and fourth quarter, 42). This would indicate a higher frequency of conception in late fall and early winter. These latter seasons, or the period from October through December, constitute a time when game birds occupy an important role in the diets of the Indians, who have then largely quit the post. The seasons also follow summer, when marriages are concluded. The next highest quarter (January 1 to March 31) points to a high rate of conception in spring and early summer. Late April and May is the period when game birds return and some of the most desirable food is again relatively abundant. Both fall and spring are eagerly looked forward to by the Indians. No further explanation of the significance of the correlations offers itself. It may be pointed out that summer parturition would lend itself well to professional nursing and medical care for both mother and child, were such facilities available in the settlement during that season. The many deaths in July are the result of the measles epidemic in 1943. If this month is disregarded, high mortality may be noted for the mid-winter period (January through March). It needs to be emphasized that the figures for total births and deaths here reported cannot be compared, as evidence suggests that not every such event was entered between the years 1925 and 1930.

Of all reported births in the period from 1925 to 1930, 71 were males and 65 females. From 1942 to 1947 there were 53 male and 60 female births. Of the total recorded deliveries, 124 were males and 125 females.

Table 6 presents a tabulation of deaths at various age levels. Because of the fact that little attention is paid to chronological age most of the information pertaining to age of death is frank approximation on the part of the recording agents. Nevertheless, the data are probably reliable in revealing high infant and child mortality rates, greater for boys than girls.

TABLE 6

DISTRIBUTION OF DEATHS BY APPROXIMATE AGE

Age	1925-1930		Total	1942-May 31, 1948		Total
	Males	Females		Males	Females	
-1 mo.	7	6	13	6	4	10
2 mos.	2	1	3	2	0	2

TABLE 6 (Continued)

Age	1925-1930		Total	1942-May 31, 1948		Total
	Males	Females		Males	Females	
3 mos.	0	1	1	0	2	2
4 mos.	0	1	1	0	0	0
5 mos.	2	0	2	1	0	1
6 mos.	0	0	0	1	0	1
7 mos.	0	0	0	1	0	1
8 mos.	3	1	4	0	0	0
9 mos.	1	0	1	0	0	0
10 mos.	0	0	0	1	0	1
11 mos.	0	0	0	0	0	0
1 yr.	6	1	7	2	2	4
2 yrs.	2	1	3	2	2	4
3 yrs.	2	0	2	0	0	0
4 yrs.	0	1	1	1	2	3
5 yrs.	0	1	1	1	3	4
6 yrs.	0	1	1	3	4	7
7 yrs.	2	1	3	2	1	3
8 yrs.	0	2	2	3	0	3
9 yrs.	1	0	1	0	0	0
10 yrs.	0	0	0	1	1	2
12 yrs.	0	0	0	1	2	3
14 yrs.	0	0	0	1	0	1

TABLE 6 (Continued)

Age	1925-1930		Total	1942-May 31, 1948		Total
	Males	Females		Males	Females	
16 yrs.	0	0	0	1	1	2
17 yrs.	0	0	0	0	1	1
18 yrs.	0	0	0	0	1	1
19 yrs.	0	0	0	1	0	1
20 yrs.	0	1	1	0	1	1
21 yrs.	0	0	0	0	1	1
22 yrs.	1	0	1	1	2	3
24 yrs.	1	1	2	0	2	2
26 yrs.	1	0	1	0	0	0
28 yrs.	0	0	0	1	2	3
30 yrs.	0	1	1	1	1	2
31 yrs.	0	1	1	1	0	1
32 yrs.	1	0	1	0	1	1
35 yrs.	0	0	0	1	0	1
40 yrs.	1	1	2	0	0	0
46 yrs.	0	0	0	1	0	1
50 yrs.	3	0	3	0	1	1
60 yrs.	0	2	2	0	1	1
65 yrs.	1	0	1	1	1	2
75 yrs.	1	1	2	1	0	1
80 yrs.	1	0	1	0	0	0
85 yrs.	1	0	1	0	0	0
93 yrs.	0	1	1	0	0	0
95 yrs.	0	1	1	0	0	0
"Baby"	0	0	0	1	0	1

TABLE 6 (Continued)

Age	1925-1930		Total	1942-May 31, 1948		Total
	Males	Females		Males	Females	
Age Unav.	1	3	4	3	7	10
Sex Unav.						2
Totals	41	31	72	43	46	91

CHAPTER 3

COMMUNITY, FAMILY, AND INDIVIDUAL

Individuals do not live their lives alone. They do not atomistically fulfil their needs and aspirations. In Attawapiskat, as elsewhere, the individual is bound up in a network of interpersonal relations. His wants and his ways of realizing them are shaped and limited by the wants and values of the various groups to which he belongs. Administrators have always been aware of the fact that they deal not with discrete persons but with groups. Any action program in Attawapiskat will likewise have to recognize how individual behaviour and potential change are connected with the way each person is linked to other people from the moment of birth. The intention of the present division is to make the reader acquainted with the degree to which various groups influence Attawapiskat lifeways. The following division, called "Food and Economy", will demonstrate how those lifeways are related to the food resources of the local area.

Community Organization

White Groups

The distinction must be kept in mind between the total local community in Attawapiskat and the Indian community. The total community, which will be described first, contains the following groups: Whites (mainly the Hudson's Bay Company and Roman Catholic Mission personnel), Indians, and the interpreter's family. The last mentioned unit is culturally marginal to both whites and Indians, although it is probably most closely affiliated to the latter. Each of these groups is structurally related to the others. Their interrelationship is further limited by their respective policies and values. Knowledge of these attitudes is a prerequisite for understanding the limits of intergroup relations and the possibilities of organizing those relations. Furthermore, each group has a structure of its own, limiting its fluidity and behaviour, which must be grasped if the respective unit is to be co-ordinated in a reorganization program.

Instead of discussing the whites in Attawapiskat as a body it will be more clarifying if the permanent, constituent sub-groups, the Company and the Mission, are described separately. It will, of course, be clear that in this sociological discussion the anthropologist is less concerned with any particular post manager or missionary than with the status which the individual occupies in the community. Personality differences, for example, between post managers or their families, are important but it is also true that each family, to some extent, accommodates itself to the position it is traditionally expected to occupy. Concerning the manager's expectations,

even before he comes to Attawapiskat, it is significant to note that the post is generally reputed to be an unfavourable one in which to be situated. Hence transfer to it may be resisted when possible. All the reasons for this unpopularity are probably not clearly recognized by post managers themselves. They include, however, not only the isolation of the area, the poverty of the people, and the poor fur yield but also the fact that the manager's status in Attawapiskat is perceived to be limited by the high status of the Mission.

For several years the white personnel of the Hudson's Bay Company in Attawapiskat has consisted of the post manager and his family. The land accommodating the manager's residence and the commercial buildings occupies a considerable area. This space, always kept carefully neat, is completely enclosed by a picket fence. Fences are at once symbols of social distance and barriers to social mobility. While in itself such a device would not discourage Indians from visiting the Company personnel, it indicates that the latter are set apart from the rest of the community. On the other hand, the fence also serves the practical end of protecting the property from the Mission's cows, which in summer are permitted to graze freely through the village. The modern house of the Company personnel is also distinguished from the dwellings occupied by the Indian community. Thus it has electric light, carpeting, efficient stoves, and comfortable furniture. It is not likely that Indian visitors would be able to relax amid such unfamiliar surroundings. Furnishings are simple in the store and office, and it is here that the principle contacts between the two groups take place.

The post manager is himself a part of a complex social structure. His role as a trader has been shaped by business training and by his experience as clerk and manager in other parts of northern Canada. Considerable guidance is given his behaviour by directives issued from the main office of the Hudson's Bay Company in Winnipeg. These instructions are received by radio from Moose Factory. In return he is required to prepare voluminous but largely formal reports for that office. Periodically the affairs of the post are inspected by the district manager, who serves as an important link between the policy making executives of the home office and the isolated personnel. Apart from his commercial activities the post manager, without additional remuneration, also carried out a number of services for the Indian Agency. In this he is guided by directives received from the Indian Agent at Moose Factory or from administration headquarters in Ottawa. In other words, the manager is not a free agent in his dealings with the Indians. While he has considerable opportunity informally to influence affairs in the Indian community, most of his activities require the sanction of his superiors or the administrators of Indian Affairs. Similarly, in a reorganization program, the informal co-operation of this man would probably depend upon preliminary formal authorization having been received from his superiors in Winnipeg. It is well known that the

Company is not adverse to lending its services to the Government. Of course, the time of the post manager is sufficiently taken up with his regular duties to leave him rather little freedom for additional, extensive administrative activities.

Although visitors to the post often regard the manager as possessing a considerable knowledge of Indian Affairs, in actuality his information is more limited. He is not, for example, trained in anthropological analysis. As a result, he may neglect the aboriginal roots of present day Indian culture. His deductions interpreting complex native behaviour are essentially a layman's. The most common manifestation of this limitation is with respect to religious avoidances or rituals. Where any such ideas survive, they may be branded as superstitions by the manager or laughed at. The primarily commercial interests of the trader may also cause him to misinterpret items of native life which appear to threaten the success of the Company. Thus, the fact that Indians may not be motivated to work for the Company is not understood and may be dismissed as evidence of "laziness". The Hudson's Bay Company itself has never regarded it as necessary either to train their employees as human administrators or to secure a body of theoretical information concerning their native clients. It is quite true that, superficially at least, the lack of such knowledge has not interfered with the organization's successful business career. Another reason for the manager's limited knowledge of the Indian community is his lack of an extensive system of communication with the Indians. As a buyer of fur he easily learns of their trapping activities or their wants regarding imported food and manufactured appliances. But communication of a non-commercial sort does not flow freely in his direction nor is it particularly sought for. The fact that post managers do not often speak fluent Cree further serves as a barrier to communication. It is not uncommon to find the post manager deeply sympathetic to what he regards as the impoverishment of the Indians. Sometimes he also has a pat formula for bringing them up to a higher standard of living. The formula, however, is usually derived from the mythology of western society, which regards poverty as the "fault" of the individual and prosperity as the certain reward of hard work.

The Attawapiskat post manager exercises both formal and informal roles. In his formal role the "boss" supplies Indian trappers and their families with imported food, tools, and ammunition. In return for those goods which are not credited to relief or family allowances the Company receives the labour of the Indians and, more important, their fur. The greatest part of the Company's profit comes not from sales but from trading in fur. Similarly, the keenest competition between the Hudson's Bay Company

and a rival trader¹ is not associated with the sale of goods but with the purchase of fur. The policy of the Company operates to encourage industrious trapping through a system of rewards and punishments. A man who traps large quantities of fur is praised, respected, and assured of as generous a credit the following fall as circumstances allow. A poor trapper is penalized by having credit curtailed and by enjoying small respect with the trader. The manager also directs the semi-annual surveys of the beaver preserves. He employs beaver guardians and other labourers from among the more responsible and assertive men in the community. To favour men with assertive personalities is a characteristic tendency of a post manager and one that is easily explicable. The trader is guided by the values of his own society, in which success often follows from being able to compete assertively in interpersonal situations. Under such conditions the outstanding personality, the man with "leadership qualities", tends to be highly evaluated. When these sentiments are transferred to a native community it is with little knowledge of how the people themselves conceive of the ideal person. In general, the Attawapiskat Indian is not at ease with an assertive individual. Yet the latter is most frequently rewarded by the Company. The manager is thrown into considerable confusion, however, when assertiveness becomes directed against himself.

As already pointed out, the post manager acts as unofficial liaison officer between the Indian Agency and the Indians. When current problems in the village come to the agent's attention, he may consult the manager personally or by radio to learn the latter's opinion. Not infrequently the administrator is guided by what he learns from the trader. It would seem that the radio facilities of the Company invite much more extensive co-operation between that organization and the Indian Agency than exists between the latter and the Mission. A certain amount of close working is of course required by the fact that the Company is the local agency for relief and family allowances. Indians expect the post manager to be closely involved in the administration of their affairs. The family of the manager is host to the Indian Agent during the latter's visits to Attawapiskat but this role is also extended to almost any white persons who visit Attawapiskat with official business or scientific interest.

The informal role of the manager is perhaps more largely determined by his personality than are the formally ascribed duties specified above. The informal role also tends to expand proportionately to his length of residence

¹ In Attawapiskat the "Independent" trader is an enfranchised Indian living in Moosonee. His affairs in the village are handled by a salaried Indian clerk of local origin. It has not been deemed necessary to discuss in detail the role of these people in community affairs.

in the community. In recent years, it would appear, a post manager has remained in Attawapiskat about three or four years before being transferred. To illustrate his informal role, a manager may encourage Indians to develop some type of community organization, promote athletic field days, stimulate sanitation, or provide motion picture entertainment. Managers or their wives sometimes furnish a limited amount of medical assistance to natives, assist in difficult deliveries, and solicit expert medical advice by radio from the Indian Agency physician at Moose Factory. Purely social relations between the Company personnel and the Indians are practically non-existent. The post manager is not usually invited to private feasts, only briefly visits public feasts, and does not usually entertain Indians in his home.

The Indians look to the Company primarily for the opportunity that it gives them to trade and work. Social distance between them and this white group is much greater than between Indians and the Mission. One way in which distance is manifested is in the deep respect, bordering on shyness, accorded the post manager in all but purely commercial relations. The shyness is even more pronounced toward the manager's wife with whom the people have less opportunity for coming into contact. Prepared to display these reactions to any white family that occupies the Company residence, the Indians in this way assign a traditionally prepared role to the post manager from which the latter, regardless of his intent to be friendly, finds it difficult to escape.

While trappers do not openly announce the fact that they reserve fur to sell at the independent store, they likewise do not try very hard to conceal it. At any rate, they are to some extent aware of the significance of competition. Voluntary trade with the Company tends to be greater than with the free trader largely because of the greater stock carried by the former.

In general, the directive role of the post manager is slight. He can solicit labour in return for wages but personally exercises little power apart from his commercial role. That is to say, the Indians do not look at him as a leader in community affairs. Nevertheless they may be concerned about his influence with the Indian Agent or the law enforcement agencies and so modify their behaviour sufficiently to conceal from him evidence of drinking and quarrelling. In case of prolonged quarrelling, representatives of the community may solicit his help. Aspects of an action program entrusted to the manager (and these remarks apply equally to the missionaries) would automatically assume an official complexion but unless the people were inclined to co-operate with such a program, the prestige alone of the post manager would not be sufficient to carry it to completion.

The second white group in Attawapiskat, the Roman Catholic Mission, consists of two priests and five brothers, all of whom belong to the missionary order called Oblates of the Immaculate Conception. The fact that Oblates have behind them a long history of missionary endeavour in the Canadian North serves to bolster their morale and lend a feeling of authority to their position. Considerably more power is derived from the feeling of participating in the work of the Roman Catholic Church and from recognizing strong religious values in that organization. In Attawapiskat the affairs of the Mission are guided by the Director, who is the senior priest and reports to the Episcopal See at Moosonee. Once or twice during the summer the Bishop visits the Mission. On these occasions he also renews his personal friendships with the Indians. Throughout the rest of the year he is kept aware of conditions affecting the religious community. In his turn the Bishop is a member of an extensive policy making hierarchy that reaches to Rome. The efficient management of missionary affairs, however, rests in the hands of Canadian ecclesiastics.

Perhaps it is significant that a fence does not enclose the Mission buildings as it encloses the premises of the Company. There is also considerably more mobility between the Indians and the Mission than with the Company. Natives, brothers, and priests worship in a common building. Recreational space set apart for Indians is provided in the Mission residence where the Director also has his office and dispensary. The furnishings and decor of the residence are considerably less modern than those of the Company house. Indians, however, are not usually received socially in this building except when a bride and bridegroom are invited there to take their wedding breakfast and on New Year's Day, when tea is reported to be served to Indian callers. Although segregation of the sexes is followed both in church and in the residence, there is every reason to assume that this is congenial to the Indians who on other public occasions likewise separate according to sex.

The Indians' most intensive relations are with the priests, although they frequently assist the brothers in work like logging, sawing lumber, and gardening. It is officially expected that all members of the religious community will learn the Cree language. For the priests this is especially important, inasmuch as preaching, confession, and personal consultations with Indians are always conducted without an interpreter and in the native language. Facility with the language helps cement close interpersonal relations between the two groups. In addition the formal role of the missionaries is itself designed to promote such friendly relations and to inspire confidence. As a result the priests enjoy a much more fluid system of communication with the Indians than does the post manager. Yet the missionaries' understanding of native affairs is considerably coloured by dogma, which sometimes interferes with objective understanding. On the

whole, however, priests who have had long residence in this part of James Bay can fairly well predict Indian behaviour. These considerations suggest that the Mission can be of considerable assistance to a community organizer once support for his program has been received from the Church at the appropriate levels of authority.

The activities of the missionaries fall into four main divisions: religious, educational, medical and economic. In their religious role the missionaries celebrate Mass and evening devotions, hear confessions, and administer the other sacraments, including marriage. All but two of the resident Indian families are Catholic and an overwhelming proportion of the Catholic individuals, while they are in the post, heed the Mission bell and attend religious services twice daily. During their absence from Attawapiskat the people are deprived of a priest's services. The Lake River people are visited by one of the missionaries at the post there during the Christmas season and again in the spring. Church going appears to be an intensely satisfying experience for the Indians, who wash and otherwise try to improve their appearance before attending service. On Sunday a restful air pervades the village for nobody would think of working on that day. On religious holidays which fall on week days men may congregate in the company store to smoke and talk but no trading is done. Both the Hudson's Bay Company and the Indian community further observe Sundays by displaying the national emblem, the chief hoisting the flag presented to him by the Indian Agency. The Mission on that day displays a religious banner from the roof of the residence. Nearly everyone wears his relatively new clothing on Sunday. At Mass, the congregation, accompanied by organ, participates in the service with hymns, many of which were learned while the singers were pupils in the Mission boarding school at Lac Ste. Anne, Fort Albany. Women sing with greater vigor than men and appear to derive considerable satisfaction from their active participation in religious ritual. Their assertive role in church contrasts rather sharply with their normally retiring public behaviour. Both sexes are proud of their religious activities. Informants particularly stressed the fact that when it is Sunday no Attawapiskat Indian works, not even when he is on the trap line or camped near the wavy grounds. In case of urgency, however, such severe attitudes are dropped, as when the Hudson's Bay plane once arrived on Sunday with freight to unload. Informants mentioned with reproof a former Company manager who demanded that a river freighting crew depart on Sunday. It is said that an accident befell these men in which one canoeer lost his life by drowning. By some the accident is regarded as divine punishment. Anglicans who live in Attawapiskat, like the interpreter's family, manifest the same avoidance of work on Sundays and participate in family religious devotions. Ritualized avoidance of meat on Fridays is not ordinarily demanded of Catholic natives, this commandment of the Church having been set aside by the Bishop and a commandment forbidding mixed dancing

substituted. Dogma is made vivid to the people by means of small religious images, several of which are found in most homes and are even carried to the trap lines. Most families own a large illustrated catechism printed in Cree orthography.

The educational (including propaganda in that term) activities of the Mission are also conducted in the Cree language and are regarded by the priests as almost equal in importance to their religious duties. The main channels for education include the Sunday sermons delivered from the altar, the boarding school located outside of Attawapiskat, the day school, and informal contacts between missionaries and Indians. A dogmatic element predominates in the Sunday sermons. That is to say, they are mainly concerned with expounding the Gospel previously read or with confirming the people's moral behaviour in some respect. For example, the anthropologist heard that once in the announcements from the altar, which precede the sermon proper, a priest urged the people not to loll on the riverbank as the spectacle would make a bad impression on white visitors to the post.

Although stressed in church, religious instruction is by no means neglected in the two types of schools. But there it is probably equalled or overshadowed by intellectual matters. In the boarding school, of which the Director of the Lac Ste. Anne Mission is principal, education is in the hands of the Grey Nuns, a number of whom are of French Canadian extraction. In 1947-48 at least one Attawapiskat girl, namely Anna Wesley, assisted in teaching the younger grades. Instruction is given in writing both English and Cree, reading, arithmetic, and practical subjects like sewing. No formal instruction in cooking is available but older girl pupils may be selected as servants for the Mission and in that way receive opportunity to work in the large Mission kitchen under the direction of a sister. Communication with students is in both English and Cree; a few select pupils may also learn to speak French. Discipline in the school is apt to be severe and this is a feature against which considerable irritation is expressed by some former pupils and a few parents. The ages of the eighteen Attawapiskat children attending school at Lac Ste. Anne range from seven to thirteen. Attendance tends to be restricted to two or three years.

Day school is conducted in Attawapiskat during the summer and during much of the fall and winter, except when most of the families are at the wavy or muskrat hunting grounds or while the assistant priest is travelling. The school in use during the period of field work was crude but a new building was begun in the spring of 1948. Average daily attendance in the day school is about nine or ten with the pupils ranging from six to fourteen years of age. Children who have left Lac Ste. Anne may continue to day school for a year or so. The curriculum includes, besides religion, simple

arithmetic and instruction in English and Cree literacy.

In both educational systems the teachers manifest an authoritarian approach to students which is in contrast to the deference that characterizes the adult-child relations within the household. On the other hand, teachers also express affection for students and it is interesting to see how young children seeing a priest abroad will run to clutch his arms and cassock. Rarely are children seen to manifest such enthusiastic and demonstrative emotional behaviour toward their own parents.

There are a few young men in Attawapiskat who express great bitterness toward their school days. Not only is the harsh discipline criticized but also the food served and the fact that the schools did not teach them English. The rebuttal of the missionaries to the latter criticism cannot be wholly ignored. They point out that certain students remained in school long enough or applied themselves sufficiently to emerge with the ability to talk English. Apparently many of the children are not strongly motivated to learn the foreign language, just as their parents are reluctant to express themselves that way. More appropriate techniques for teaching the language may be the solution. Margaret Mead has said: "Where the official language of school is neither the language of play nor of family affection, but only the languages of an often formidable learning situation, this separation between the emotions associated with the two languages may provide a considerable barrier to effective literacy." (19:353). It is also likely that students more quickly learn to understand their teachers than to speak to them in English, perhaps because too little opportunity is given for practice in the latter skill. One of the main reasons for dwelling at this length on the problem of learning English is the fact that many adults in Attawapiskat admire that accomplishment and apparently believe that their adjustment to whites would be facilitated if they were bilingual. Actually this attitude may indicate that a transition to bilingualism is at hand. Until now English speaking was of little use but with people going to work in Moosonee or along the railroad and with white contact increasing in the village (as a result of the visits of doctors, nurses, and the anthropologist), a greater advantage is coming to be seen in the ability. People are frustrated by not being able to realize easily their need. Also the strong sense of shame accompanying failure and the fear of ridicule prevent most men from attempting to learn English by trial and error. Few Indians seem to value highly the almost one hundred per cent literacy in the Cree language that characterizes the community. This ability is largely a result of Mission training, although instruction in reading and writing the syllabic alphabet is also given in the home by parents. Some adults have learned at least to read Cree without ever having gone to school.

Asked for their suggestions regarding improved educational facilities, a number of people favoured a boarding school located in Attawapiskat. Opinion was divided between having the school operated by the Church or government. It would seem that the more responsible elements in the Indian community desire a boarding school operated under the auspices of the Mission. The concern over secular education which characterizes the Catholic Church in many parts of the world is, of course, not absent in Attawapiskat. It is not likely that the missionaries could be won over to a secular educational system in the North in which they did not actively participate.

Informally the missionaries provide education through consultations and informal chatting. In such conversations Indians learn simple (and not always accurate) facts of natural science, like the causes of eclipses, tides, and aurora; methods of handling imported food to avoid its spoilage (i. e., not to allow canned tomatoes to freeze), and principles of hygiene and sanitation. The Mission also occasionally shows silent moving pictures in Attawapiskat.

Inadequate training and poor facilities limit the priests in their medical role. Indians may come to the dispensary for relief of illnesses (in an emergency they will even call at night) or the priests visit the sick-beds. In general, the missionaries must remain content to administer patent medicines and to suggest simple routines like rest and warmth. When serious illness is suspected a diagnosis may be solicited from the Indian Agency physician via radio. This man will then prescribe as well as he is able, or else he may send a plane to remove the patient to the Moosonee hospital. Sometimes in winter the Mission moves sick natives by dogsled to its hospital at Lac Ste. Anne. For several months in the year, during the shortly after the winter freeze-up and again at the spring break-up, local conditions make it dangerous for planes to land at Attawapiskat. Attawapiskat is also isolated for a period before break-up and after freeze-up, not because local water conditions are dangerous for a plane but because of temperature inequalities between the plane's base in central Ontario and in James Bay. Thus, even though the ice is solid at Attawapiskat, the lake at South Porcupine, where the air base is located, may not yet be able to accommodate a plane on skis. Similarly, when pontoons begin to be used in open water in the south, northern points are still icebound. Medical facilities might be more readily available to Attawapiskat natives if planes changed from pontoons to skis and vice versa at Moose Factory.

Economically, the Mission provides work for a number of Indians, supplies a certain amount of relief, sells food and clothing, and purchases some fur.

In their attitudes the missionaries appear to be primarily concerned with the moral development of their people. A prevailing opinion among them is that the Indian is childlike and that racially his intellectual development is inferior to that of whites. As a result Indians are assumed to be more apt to fall into sin and must be protected from stimuli to immorality. Thus the people are regarded as better off in Attawapiskat than outside, where contact with whites would be accompanied with many occasions for committing evil. Indians are also warned to avoid looking at pictures in Life and the Saturday Evening Post, which, it is felt, might prompt indecent thoughts.

While there is evidence of some ambivalence in the relations of Indians to missionaries (mainly expressed in criticism of the latter's work), the priests, nevertheless, enjoy an enormous personal popularity, which they maintain and cultivate anew through techniques of hand shaking, joking, and other expressions of friendliness. Authoritarianism distinguishes their attitude in school and when they speak formally on religious topics. However, in more informal interpersonal situations they show evidence of knowing that an unmitigated authoritarian, or bossy, approach is unwise and likely to provoke resentment. Hence they often cajole the Indians and use humour to take the sting out of their direction. Indians accept the claim of the missionaries that the Church has driven the devil from the country and replaced evil with good. Thus Catholicism is perceived to have been a valuable contribution to the life of the people. One has the feeling, difficult to verify in the time available, that the Indian receives a sense of deep psychological safety from the Church, as well as deriving from it much that is interesting, entertaining, and religiously significant. Looking toward the future, however, suggests that the present relatively even tenor of relations between Church and Indian community is going to be upset. Already one of the prelates speaks of the Indians becoming "impudent" in their dealings with the missionaries. Gradually, the diffusion of new ideas into Attawapiskat will cause the people to question the authority of the priests and, perhaps, to disbelieve some of the religious teachings. In the generations before a new system of authority is worked out some individuals will experience considerable conflict as a result of such inevitable change. An additional burden will be imposed upon administration if, as is possible, this personal conflict comes to be reflected in social problems like excessive drinking, illegitimacy, parent-child hostility or misunderstanding, and factional strife.

The high status enjoyed by the Mission in Attawapiskat and the power thus automatically conferred, suggest the usefulness of the organization for furthering an action program in Attawapiskat. At least the feelings of the Mission must be considered before undertaking any such program. While the Hudson's Bay Company also enjoys high status, this institution is primarily established in the locality for commercial purposes. The Church,

however, has traditionally fused both religious and practical objectives, using one to further the other. To interfere with the practical ends of the Mission would undoubtedly alarm the hierarchy and would not be conducive to securing their sincerest co-operation. It may, therefore, be suggested that if a reorganization program is interested in avoiding unbalancing the status of the Mission in Attawapiskat this organization must be closely integrated in any action program. Specifically, the Church would provide an efficient channel of communication with the people during the early days of a program or during the absence of an administrator.

The Mission schools also suggest themselves as a readily available agency for implementing social change, although to use them would probably entail some alteration of the curriculum and pedagogical methods. There is need in the area, as the missionaries also recognize, for a thoroughgoing educational survey which could, perhaps, be carried out by an educationalist co-operating with an anthropologist. If education is to be successfully accomplished in the North, it is necessary to know the incentives under which the pupil will study and learn. If these incentives are different from our own, then classroom methods will have to be modified and adapted to the local conditions (19:349, 351). For one thing, Attawapiskat parents are apparently only willing to allow their children to attend school for an average of about two years. In this time as much necessary instruction must be given as possible. This can only be done by devising a special curriculum designed to provide a clearly defined sum of knowledge. Evidence further suggests that the span of attention in the Indian child is less than that of white children. The missionaries recognize this factor and break up the teaching program by introducing such features as play and singing periods. The anthropologist heard parents condemn recreation periods as wasteful; children, they said, need not be taught to play. What would probably be more desirable, in view of the limited time for education available, is to devise a type of education which will be less formal and to gear playing, singing, and manual activities to learning. Considerable research is called for before these suggestions can be implemented.

A word must now be said about those regular white visitors to Attawapiskat who, during their presence, become members of the community. The Roman Catholic Bishop is one such person. His summer arrival and departure take on ceremonial qualities that dramatically symbolize his particular status. Thus his visit is reported to be initiated with a procession along the sidewalk. For the occasion the walk has been lined with balsam saplings loosely planted in the earth. A drum, played by Indians, is another feature of the procession. Special religious services occur during the period of the bishop's stay. During his stay he visits all of the family dwellings and personally recruits or rejects students for the boarding school or for training as nuns and brothers. In the summer of 1947 two youths

followed him to Lac Ste. Anne, where they were to be prepared for the Oblate brotherhood. When he leaves, after about two weeks, the Mission boat may also take aboard the boys and girls who are going to attend school in the coming year. The departure is marked by most of the Indian men and youths lining up along the bank with shotguns. Then, with charges provided by the Mission, they fire a series of volleys as a parting salute.

No extensive ceremony greets the annual summer visit of the Indian Agency party come to pay treaty money to the population. As during any visit of Government personnel, the chief displays the national emblem. The accompanying Mounted Policeman also wears his official uniform, including the familiar red tunic and holstered revolver. During the course of the visit the Indian Agent, assisted by the staff interpreter, hears requests for relief and attends to necessary official business. Decisions of the Agent affecting the whole group are communicated through the Company manager or the chief. The policeman may investigate complaints that have been brought to his attention by the Mission or occasional Indians. Such complaints include the non-repayment of small loans and illicit wine making. No particular tendency was noted for the policeman to use the chief in his dealings with the Indian community. On the other hand, the magistrate from Cochrane, in the course of his unexpected visit during the late winter of 1948, dealt at some length with that Indian official and left a very favourable impression on the latter. The policeman's status makes him much feared and Indians do not readily utilize his presence to settle interpersonal difficulties. Apart from the treaty voyage, the government physician and Agent may make several trips to Attawapiskat. Generally, two annual visits are expected by the people, one in summer lasting about three days and another in winter during which the doctor's stay is likely to be much shorter. A band meeting is a feature of the summer visit and every three years this is an occasion for the Agent to supervise the election of new Indian officials. In 1947 the band meeting continued for several hours and provided an opportunity for the more vocative spokesmen of the Indian community to voice complaints against the Hudson's Bay Company (for the alleged mishandling of relief), the Mission (for mistreatment of school children at Lac Ste. Anne and for aggression practised by one of the local missionaries against a youth), the chief (for not performing his job efficiently), and particular Indians (who were accused of neglecting aged relatives). The principal speaker was a highly dominant, atypical man who was later reported to have apologized to the post manager and Bishop for his remarks. Following the meeting, the Indian Agent consulted with manager and missionaries regarding the complaints which he had received. The two accused groups denied or explained most of the allegations.

In the past two or three summers a public health nurse attached to the Agency has been stationed at Attawapiskat for several weeks at a time. Eventually it is proposed to establish a small nursing station in the post with quarters for a permanent nurse and two or three beds for emergency patients. At present inoculations for the prevention of childhood diseases are administered in the dispensary of the Mission while the nurse herself boards with the family of the Company manager. In the company of a young girl interpreter she also makes daily visits to dwellings where there is a history of serious disease or current illness. The status of the nurse is much respected but she is not feared--except by young children to whom her appearance, associated with needles, has become a conditioned stimulus for tears and hiding. Parents co-operate in bringing children for inoculations although, when many repeated visits are demanded, they become somewhat restive and impatient. A mothers' clinic was conducted during the summer of 1948 at which attendance was somewhat irregular but improved on one occasion when the nurse requested the chief to summon the women's presence. In general, the nurse exhibited awareness of the status of chieftainship in the community and mediated a considerable portion of her affairs through that office.

Other white visitors include provincial game officials, who remain briefly and talk to the Indians in a body without paying particular attention to the chief. The development of beaver preserves under government auspices at Attawapiskat will probably increase the frequency with which these officials will visit the post.

The preceding description of the white community has already indicated, to some extent, how the various white groups are interrelated. Every attempt is made to maintain cordiality in the relations between the two most important of these groups, the Hudson's Bay Company and Mission. Visiting occurs back and forth and facilities or equipment are freely loaned. It must be kept in mind that each of these organizations is characterized by quite different backgrounds and values. As a result they have few basic interests in common. The Company families tend to be non-Catholic, of English or Scotch extraction, and more worldly than the missionaries. The Mission personnel, on the other hand, are Catholic, of French-Canadian extraction and less worldly. While the priests are academically trained, in contrast to the Company personnel, they have enjoyed a considerably limited participation in the wider society. Their popular reading tends to be confined to religious magazines and newspapers and they do not often listen to current radio entertainment. The post manager is engaged in commerce primarily, the priests in proselyting. Where the Company personnel are interested in seeing the Indians "advance" to better economic status and adopt the habits of whites, the Mission, while by no means ignoring the advantages of material comfort, decries many

tendencies toward acculturation, including lipstick, rouge, slacks for women, and dancing. The divergent backgrounds and value systems constitute an effective if intangible barrier between close interpersonal relations between these two groups. Further evidence for this statement comes from reports that certain post managers in the past criticized unfavourably to Indians the activities of the Mission. The reaction of the natives to such disparaging remarks tends to be one of agreement with the boss, an attitude probably influenced by their desire to win the good opinion of the manager. The transient members of the community, except the Bishop, share closely the point of view and values of the Company personnel. It is logical, therefore, as well as convenient that Indian Agent, nurse, and doctor should be received in the manager's house when they visit the post.

Indian Community

No tribal name characterizes the Attawapiskat Indians. The term, omooske'kowak, ("People of the Muskeg"), is shared by other Cree speaking Indians along James Bay and inland as far as Norway House. Although the people are not formally woven into a sharply defined unit, this does not mean that they lack a feeling of group belongingness. It seems likely that the feeling of identification with a large group is a relatively recent thing, dating from the time when Indians from the many river drainages began to gather regularly to see the missionaries at the site of Attawapiskat post. The establishment here of a store further developed this attitude. Even to-day, however, the sense of group membership is not pervasive enough to include firmly the Lake River people, although the beginnings of such an affinity are present. Minor barriers can also be discerned between the Akimiski Island and the mainland group, and between the far inland people and those families who trap nearer to the coast. Although the point was not systematically verified, the readily available evidence suggests that marriages do not frequently occur between members of families trapping in very distant sectors of the Attawapiskat area. All of these schisms may emerge more importantly in the future when people from diverse localities are detailed to trap beaver in close association on the mainland preserve. Antagonism has already begun to appear between the Akimiski trappers and those men from the mainland sent to that island for beaver harvesting. Administrative measures to promote a greater sense of unity would, in the long run, probably prove valuable.

As far as the formal social organization of the Indian community is concerned, there is, first, a simple structure of officialdom which is predominately the product of whites. Second is the division of nine-tenths of the Attawapiskat area into trapping districts, each occupied by a number of families. This second feature of organization will be fully described in connection with fur trapping later in the report.

The political system of the Indians is headed by a chief (oo'kimawkan, literally "boss thing" or "artificial boss"), who is assisted by three councillors. All officials are elected, under the supervision of the Indian agent, for a period of three years. Informally, the selection of a chief may be decided on several weeks before the arrival of the Agent. The men in small groups first of all decide whether the incumbent leader is to be reappointed. When sentiment pro or con is clearly established, discussion begins concerning a new candidate. At the band meeting the nominees (assuming there are more than one) are pushed forward to be voted upon. White groups in the community may readily become aware of who is favoured for office but there are no data concerning the degree to which they influence voting. Election is a public matter in which the men publicly announce their preference. The new official is then invested by the Agent with a metal badge of office. Women take no direct part in the elections or in public life generally. Male informants agreed that a woman could never be chief. "Women," one man said, "are just like children." More explicitly, it was pointed out, women would be afraid to take an active part in public assemblies and would be too shy to speak before a group. These attitudes agree with the qualities desired in a chief. He must not be too old, must be accomplished as a public speaker, and must be wise--"just like a white man". Flowery public speaking, replete with metaphors, is distinctly unpopular in the community, at least when it is carried to extremes. On the other hand, directness in speaking is consistently avoided even in more intimate relations, apparently for fear of giving offense. The ability to speak English might favour a man's position in the chieftainship race, provided he possessed the other qualities of poise, age, and intelligence. The term "wisdom" (kiske'nitamowin) in Attawapiskat connotes to a lesser degree abstract knowledge than the ability to trap, hunt, and travel effectively and, what is more important, to live harmoniously with one's fellow men. For example, to gossip unfavourably about people, a characteristic imputed to all women without exception, is clearly indicative of a lack of wisdom. So is aggressiveness. To live wisely is also to live morally or right (kwaj'esk). A married man who pursues other women enjoys small status in the community and would not likely be chosen chief. Obviously not all of these virtues are readily encountered in a single man. Any chief, therefore, is bound, in some degree, to fall short of the expected standards and so may somewhat disappoint his subjects. All former chiefs known or mentioned to the writer were Attawapiskat post trappers; none were Lake River men.

Under the previous Indian Agent the chief and councillors began to receive extra relief rations for their work. In other words, the native administrators now receive a remuneration for their duties and presumably can devote more time to their work.

Theoretically the chief executive is supposed to administer the affairs of both the Attawapiskat and Lake River people. During the greater part of the year, however, he lacks contact with the more distant group so that the Lake River councillor exercises what local leadership is required. The total role of the chief in community affairs is relatively slight. Most importantly he mediates between the Indian Agent and the people. Thus he relays instructions from the Indian Agency (usually received via the Hudson's Bay Company) to the group. In this role he approaches the people directly without operating through the councillors, whose formal duties are even fewer than the chief's. If the official matters are important enough to apply to many people, the Indian Agent may bypass the chief and communicate directly with the people at a band meeting. Or he may entrust the missionaries to announce decisions from the altar. In early July, 1947, the chief and the Lake River councillor were authorized by the previous Agent to request the Company to give relief to needy families not receiving regular rations. The two men were also made responsible for verifying the fact of need by inspecting the dwellings. It is certain that they never exercised this latter directive; to do so would have caused great offense. When the new Indian Agent began to receive the relief accounts, which the Company in Attawapiskat had sent to Ottawa, he found several items questioned by the staff of the Welfare Division and in turn warned the chief to be cautious in distributing assistance. At about the same time he completely abolished the authority of the Lake River councillor to administer relief. To a large extent, apart from the experience gained by the Indian Agent and the Indians, this first experiment in utilizing native administrators was a failure. The Lake River councillor, apparently was unable to refuse any requests for assistance and so issued a large volume of goods with little judgement regarding need. The chief, on the other hand, at least once his issues began to be questioned by the new Agent, became hyper-cautious in meeting his people's requests. He aroused great resentment when he promised several people to ask the manager to issue them clothing but later neglected to do so. As a result, the applicants were subjected to an embarrassing refusal when they came to the store. By early spring, 1948, most families were bypassing the chief and going directly to the Company to make their requests. It would seem that the failure of this experiment was largely due to the fact that no provision had been made for any white group to assist closely the chief or the Lake River councillor in their administrative duties for which they were little prepared.

Additional functions of the political authorities include organizing the building and cleaning of outhouses, planting the community garden, and settling interpersonal conflicts between Indians. In this latter duty the chief visits people who are quarrelling and either administers a reprimand or urges them to mend their ways. He has no power to impose further punishment. The executive is also charged with organizing young men into work teams to

cut logs for public buildings, like the two houses for widows and widowers built in 1947-48. The workers in turn are paid for their services in the form of relief.

In the execution of his obligations the chief faces a number of problems. A political system embracing close to one hundred families is not part of the tradition of the Indians who, up to less than one hundred years ago, lived in large family groups under the authority of the oldest, active male. The practice of inter-familial authority, therefore, or political organization, is neither clearly understood nor sympathetically observed. Too intense a display of authority by the chief executive is resented by the people who, at the same time and out of their contacts with whites, feel that the chief must be "strong". The evolution of a strong chieftainship would partly depend upon the Company, Mission, and Indian Agency more and more utilizing that office in their dealings with the people. This they are not ready to do because in their eyes the administrative ability of the chief and councillors is inefficient, time consuming, and wasteful. A previous manager for the company is reported to have even bitterly insulted the chief to the latter's face. With even the greatest encouragement, the development of chieftainship in Attawapiskat will be limited by two important factors, of which a community organizer should remain aware. First is the fact that in this community no pleasure is normally derived from having power over other people. There is no pleasure in leadership for its own sake. The raison d'etre of authority (in community as well as in family) is service. The leader is expected to help and guide others for their good and so to win their praise and good opinion. Incidentally, the same role is expected from the law enforcement and administrative agencies of the Dominion government (ki'tciiookimaw, great boss). The policeman and judge are praised when they encourage good behaviour by pointing out ethical goals. (Here lies an important foundation for the esteem in which the Mission is held). Not only should these authorities help the people to behave ethically but the Government in particular should help the people to adequate living conditions by providing assistance in the form of relief, health facilities, or through administering the beaver preserve. This attitude is clearly expressed in the following remarks of an informant:

We didn't get what we were promised when the treaty was signed. We were promised that the government would watch over us so that we wouldn't be hard up for anything. The government would supply what was needed. We were also promised that the Indian would never starve, that the government would feed us if we were hard up. Now it is only two years since relief was given out at Attawapiskat (an obvious error in fact). Last winter is the first time that everybody got relief around here. Other times they gave

a little when the Indians were hard up. I wouldn't blame the government for this but the agents. They did not treat the people right.

Authority without tangible benefits is not only unappreciated but resented. The second factor limiting the development of political roles in the community is the absence of any formal status hierarchy in the population. There are no families who, by wealth or birth, are regarded as best suitable to be leaders. Prestige comes to anybody who works industriously and successfully. It does not derive from hoarding the results of such work. Also prestige cannot be limited by anybody except the individual himself. This he may do by refusing to work or by violating ethical rules, whereupon his status automatically declines. Ageing lowers status by interfering with the person's ability to work, hence an old man is not regarded as suitable material for chieftainship. During the prime of life, however, everybody can theoretically strive for prestige or to keep the status which he has already won. It is important to realize that the type of work through which prestige can be attained is limited and includes trapping, hunting, fishing, house building, and the maintenance of equipment in good condition. A chief can secure a certain increment in status by administering well but he will also lose prestige if he consistently neglects activities like trapping and hunting. In a society where there are no inherited statuses and where every man has available roughly the same opportunities to create his own prestige, it would be a slow task to establish convincingly the superiority of one man's authority or to develop the status of chieftainship to a point where it would command the respect of the rest of the group. As already indicated, the people are consciously not opposed to political organization. Association with whites has made them familiar with the value placed on leadership and they themselves now want to realize this value.

Apart from the formal organization of the Indian community which has just been discussed, there is of course, an informal organization. Projects which in scope transcend the family are accomplished by men getting together with or without the chief, and carrying them through. A councillor assisted by his sons and a few neighbours built a dwelling for the aged in the late summer of 1947. In the winter of 1948 a dominant man appealed to the anthropologist to radio the Indian Agent for authority and extra relief rations so that he could get a team of men to build a second widows' building, in accordance with the wishes of the previous Indian Agent. Although the chief bitterly resented this usurpation of his authority, the building was completed in less than one week's time. An exceptionally dominant widow regularly accommodates one or more aged and sick people in her rather large home. She is proud of this role although she would prefer to receive some tangible recognition from the Agent. Another

example of informal organization is reported to have occurred several years ago when three boys ran away from the boarding school at Lac Ste. Anne and lost their lives in the spring break-up. The chief and his councillors investigated and learned that the boys had fled after being punished for some slight misdemeanor. They reported back to the Indian community and for some years thereafter a number of families refused to allow their sons to attend the school. Their resolution showed signs of having spent itself by the summer of 1947, but the matter was reopened at the band meeting held in July. These examples, slight as they are, indicate that, although the Indians are essentially political individualists, they are nevertheless capable of group co-operation, especially when such co-operation answers readily understood needs. Leadership in these projects varies; often, however, they depend upon a dominant individual for their inception and execution.

Like all natural communities, Attawapiskat includes both a male and a female sex. Distinct roles are expected from each of these. In general, men exercise greater public power but women are likely to exercise considerable influence in family relations. Public association between the sexes, even between man and wife, is most unusual except after dark, when some adolescent boys and girls contrive to meet. Mixed play groups cease at about six years of age. In the eyes of men, as previously mentioned, women lack poise and wisdom. By gossiping, an activity of which women are reported to be fond, they are said to provoke quarrelling between families. Women are also popularly presumed to be sexually more assertive than men, and this is regarded as akin to weakness of character. It is a fact that girls often initiate teasing to boys who, if the opportunity is not suitable for reciprocating, walk by with haughty indifference. Despite its conventional meaning, the anthropologist several times heard the word for person (in'iniw) applied to men in distinction to women.

The social role of women need not be underestimated on the basis of these remarks. Although unassertive in public groups, their economic status in the family gives them a type of power that a community organizer will probably find indispensable. The use of female leaders in the community would have to be handled cautiously. Not only does jealousy exist between them but women are socially not permitted to interact with men. These considerations did not interfere with the Government nurse satisfactorily utilizing a twenty-two year old unmarried, but atypical girl as interpreter.

Interpreters

The interpreters employed by the Hudson's Bay Company are people who were born and raised in Moose Factory, Fort Albany, or other parts of James Bay. They are usually members of the Anglican Church. Usually one

interpreter at a time is present in Attawapiskat, where he is likely to have distant kinship ties with several families. He and his family live in a cottage within the fenced off Company area. All the interpreters possess more formal education than Attawapiskat Indians. Their values and attitudes are to a considerable extent derived from whites, whom they tend to emulate with respect to such things as food and clothing. Although interpreters refer to the Attawapiskat population as "Indians", they sometimes also identify themselves by that term, indicating some ambivalence of status. Without advertising the trait too directly, they also tend to feel superior to the Indians. The latter, in turn, show overt respect for interpreters, an attitude related to the admiration felt toward any Indian who shows a command of English as well as the fact that public speech is a much esteemed ability. Most Attawapiskat youths, who know a smattering of English, stammer and otherwise show great confusion when they are asked to interpret. Apparently the role of interpreter connotes great power or status.

The most important duty of the interpreter is to translate the Indians' requests into English for the post manager and the latter's speech to the people. Interpretation is interspersed with many "he said", which not only lend a peculiar rhythm to the vernacular speech but also appears to have the function of divorcing the interpreter from any personal endorsement of either the English or Cree speaker's remarks. Apart from interpreting, interpreters also engage in selling and fur buying. Since most Attawapiskat men and boys at least occasionally use the Company's premises for loitering and conversation, the interpreter's position behind the counter is a desirable one from which to learn about the affairs of the community. Additional information, gained through his wife's visiting, is also relayed to him. Some of the gossip obtained by the interpreter through these channels is assimilated in a frame of reference that, as already explained, is dominated by white values and prejudices. If the information is later passed on to the post manager, it reaches the latter in a form that he can understand and that agrees with his prejudices. The interpreter provides one of the important channels at the disposal of the manager for learning about the Indian community. In his turn the interpreter relays news about the outside world and Company personnel to the people. Generally speaking men in that status exhibit great loyalty to the Company, in which they have put in long service. Gossip, however, is a precious commodity in the North and there is seldom enough for any to be neglected. Social intercourse between the interpreters and the Indian community is greater than between the former and the Company personnel.

The interpreters promise to be of considerable informal service to a community rehabilitation program if their co-operation and sympathy is early cultivated. It would be useful to ascertain that any interpreter understands the concrete aims of rehabilitation inasmuch as the local Indians will probably bring their questions and general uncertainty to him for clarification.

Family

With a few exceptions each biological family occupies its individual dwelling. The exceptions include those cases where one spouse resides for a period of time with his marriage partner's parents, where two brothers-in-law share a house, or where grandparents live with the nuclear family group. It may be noted that the word for family, ote'naw (sometimes pe'ak otenaw, "one family"), does not have this meaning in all parts of James Bay. It is apparently a word which has only recently come into that usage. Elsewhere in James Bay the term denotes a village or settlement. To-day in Attawapiskat the word for village is ii'tawn (the English "town") or wa'skhajkan ("house", meaning the Company store).

Family dwellings vary in construction. In summer, when the population is gathered at the post, the Lake River people occupy simple tents and cover the ground with spruce bush. Attawapiskat post people live in either wooden houses, roofed with lumber or with canvas; tent frames, floored and partly walled with lumber and covered with a tent; or tipis, conically shaped canvas shelters. For winter use only one or two families own log houses in the bush. Most of the remaining population lives in the earth lodge (sing., askii'kan), consisting of a large tipi structure covered by a double thickness of canvas. The lower outside walls are piled with sod and earth in the fall and later with snow reaching halfway to the peak. With a stove and plenty of wood cut and stocked inside next to the door, such a house remains comfortable even though the outside temperature is twenty-five or more below zero. Indians asserted that although water will freeze in a wooden house during a midwinter night, it will remain liquid in an askiikan. For protection from wind the earth lodge is often placed in a clearing well sheltered by tall willows. The site of the askiikan is occupied for varying periods, depending upon how long the family remains in the bush. When men leave the family in winter to trap they do not build elaborate structures of this type. Instead they erect tents, floored with brush.

Several attempts were made to test the temperature of a series of dwelling types in Attawapiskat post. The data are presented in Table 7. All degrees are Fahrenheit. It will be noted that heat loss is rapid and severe. Any activity requiring the door to be opened or closed frequently causes the house to cool sharply. It will also be seen that the log building, used by the widows, does not compare favourably to the tent frames. An explanation for this may lie in the fact that the canvas roof on the former house contained several large holes caused by burning cinders from the stovepipe.

Half a dozen outhouses are available in the post for the same number of families. Even these are not used by all members of the family. It is much more common for men, women, and older children to relieve themselves in the willows behind the village or, when the group is in the bush, to use the willows surrounding the campsite. On winter nights walking even a short distance from the dwelling is avoided, with result that the melting snow of spring shows the ground around a house to be covered with faeces. In the bush campsites are not reoccupied during following years. In Attawapiskat, however, the ground in spring is raked clean of debris (including several inches of wood chips and discarded spruce brush) which is then burned. While the weather remains cold, young children, if toilet trained, urinate and defecate indoors in tins.

TABLE 7

TEMPERATURES OF DWELLINGS IN ATTAWAPISKAT POST

<u>Date</u>	<u>Dwelling</u>	<u>Time</u>	<u>Outdoor Temperature</u>	<u>Indoor Temperature</u>
2:20:48	Tent frame A	10:00AM	0°	North end: 47° South end: 65° (stove here)
2:20:48	Tent frame A	10:30AM	0°	North end: 44° South end: 67°
2:20:48	Tent frame A	11:30AM	5°	North end: 28° (door opened South end: 56° frequently for wood, etc.)
2:23:48	Tent frame A	10:30AM	-4°	North end: 56° South end: 70°
2:25:48	Tent frame A	11:00AM	17°	North end: 54° South end: 70°
3:2:48	Tent frame B	4:00PM	6°	North end: 73° South end: 74° (stove here)
3:2:48	Tent frame B	4:30PM	6°	North end: 85° (stove South end: 85° newly fed)
2:20:48	Small tent	11:40AM	5°	North end: 47° (stove in South end: 43° middle)
2:20:48	Small tent	Noon	5°	North end: 49° South end: 47°

TABLE 7 (Continued)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Dwelling</u>	<u>Time</u>	<u>Outdoor Temperature</u>	<u>Indoor Temperature</u>
2:20:48	Small tent	2:30PM	8°	North end: 49° South end: 52°
2:23:48	Small tent	9:00AM	-10°	North end: 75° South end: 59°
2:23:48	Earth lodge	11:00AM	-4°	North end: 48° (stove in South end: 57° middle)
3:2:48	Log house	10:00AM	2°	East end: 32° (stove in West end: 42° middle)
3:3:48	Log house	6:00PM	0°	East end: 78° West end: 72°
3:6:48	Log house	6:00PM	-12°	East end: 32° (wind from West end: 43° east)
3:9:48	Log house	6:00PM	-2°	East end: 33° (strong NW West end: 28° wind)
3:10:48	Log house	6:00Pm	-6°	East end: 66° West end: 64°

TABLE 8

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

<u>Relationship</u>	<u>Term</u>
My grandfather (pat. and mat.)	<u>ni'mocom</u>
My grandmother (pat. and mat.)	<u>no'koom</u>
My father	<u>no'tawii</u>
My mother	<u>nkaw'ii</u>
My father's brother	<u>no'komis</u>
My father's sister	<u>ni'siikoos</u>
My mother's brother	<u>nisis'</u>
My mother's sister	<u>nito'sis</u>
My father's brother's wife	like mother's sister
My mother's brother's wife	like mother's sister
My father's sister's husband	<u>nistaw'</u> (man speaking) like mother's brother (woman speaking)
My mother's sister's husband	like father's sister's husband

TABLE 8 (Continued)

<u>Relationship</u>	<u>Term</u>
My son	<u>niko'sis</u>
My daughter	<u>nta'nis</u>
My elder brother	<u>nistes'</u>
My elder sister	<u>nimis'</u>
My younger brother, or sister	<u>nicim'</u>
My father's brother's children	like brother, sister
My father's sister's son	like father's sister's husband (man speaking)
	<u>nii'tim</u> (woman speaking)
My father's sister's daughter	<u>nii'tim</u> (man speaking)
	<u>nta'koos</u> (woman speaking)
My mother's brother's son	like father's sister's husband (man speaking)
	like father's sister's son (woman speaking)
My mother's brother's daughter	like father's sister's daughter (man speaking)
	like father's sister's daughter (woman speaking)
My mother's sister's children	like brother, sister
My grandchild	<u>no'sisim</u>
My brother's son	<u>ntoo'cim</u> (man speaking)
	<u>na'kacim</u> (woman speaking)
My brother's daughter	<u>ntoo'cim iskwew'</u> (man speaking)
	<u>nha'kan iskwew'</u> (woman speaking)
My sister's son	like brother's son
My sister's daughter	<u>nha'kan iskwew'</u> (man speaking)
	like father's sister (woman speaking)
My husband	<u>ni'napem</u>
My wife	<u>niwii'kimakan</u>
My mother-in-law	like father's sister
My father-in-law	like mother's brother
My son's wife	like brother's daughter
My daughter's husband	like brother's son
My brother's wife, wife's sister, husband's sister	like father's sister's daughter
My sister's husband, wife's brother, husband's brother	like father's sister's son

In addition to these terms, the missionaries have introduced the notion of a godparent-godchild relationship. This, however, does not define behaviour except that there may be an occasional gift exchange between the two parties and marriage between them is prohibited.

A study of the ecology of Attawapiskat village reveals a tendency for related families to group their dwellings together. Thus a married daughter's camp is located twelve or fifteen feet from her mother's while in other cases married sons live close to parents. In some cases brothers and sisters are clustered together. During summer the Lake River people camp in a body at the east end of the settlement. Even where related families do not spend the winter together on the trap line, early summer may find them living closely associated in the village. A family usually occupies the same quarter of the settlement from one year to the next. Any reorganization of housing would probably meet with resistance if these spatial preferences were overlooked.

As already suggested by the fact of related families preferring to remain in close spatial relation, interpersonal contacts in Attawapiskat are strongly regulated by factors of kinship. This does not mean that members of unrelated families will not associate with or visit each other. It does mean that the most intensive contacts regularly to occur are between people who recognize themselves to be kin. The terms below designate the recognized forms of relationship. They indicate the limits within which behaviour is defined by tradition. Beyond those limits there are no regular principles guiding individual behaviour. Then the person is on his own and relatively more insecure concerning what is expected of him in behaviour and what he may expect in return. Indians use kinship terms primarily as terms of reference (i. e. in talking about another individual Ego says "my brother"). Only a few terms are used in address, as when the person speaks to his grandparents or parents, and to grandchildren who are below the age of about ten years. In other relationships the individual's name is used or, more commonly, any form of personal designation is avoided.

It will be noted that in this kinship system not all degrees of biological relationship are recognized but that various such ties are classified together. For example, the father's brother's and mother's sister's children are grouped with brothers and sisters. This does not mean that an Indian cannot distinguish between his "real brother" and his "cousin". He may do so descriptively in his own language or use the English word "cousin" to define more carefully the relationship when speaking to a white man. It will also be seen that in the case of some kindred, men and women recognize relationship by different words. This is particularly important in connection with cross cousins (i. e. children of one's mother's brother or father's sister). Among the reasons for distinguishing these relatives according to the sex of the speaker and the sex of the cousin is the fact that a person is not only allowed considerable freedom with cross cousins of opposite sex (who are singularly called niitim) but can marry this relative. Permission for such marriage has been granted by the Church, although particular missionaries are not

favourably disposed to unions of that type. The classification of sisters-in-law and brothers-in-law with cross cousins is probably related to the time when siblings-in-law often married following the death of a spouse. The familiarity bound up in the niitim relationship also permits a man to be at ease with his wife's sisters when they live with him in the same dwelling or, vice versa, a woman with her husband's brothers in cases where she moves into her husband's family.

Despite the range of kinship, the biological family remains a relatively self-contained unit and in some respects resembles the family in urban American society, which is also highly independent. Although a child may occasionally eat in the house of his maternal aunt and other relatives, each family in Attawapiskat is solely responsible for the care of its own children. The family also is, to a large extent, an independent economic unit. This degree of family primacy limits economic production. With minor exceptions a family can eat only as much food as it can kill, gather, or buy. Income for purchasing, in turn, depends on the amount of fur a man, his wife, and sons can trap. Even then, while a man and woman buy food and clothing for all members of the family with the proceeds of their trapping, a grown son is to some extent free to spend his income at his own will. The father may suggest the purchase of some food for the household and the boy will almost certainly buy himself new clothing or equipment, but decisions to do so rest with the latter. Hence unmarried sons working away from Attawapiskat send little of their earnings to parents. After marriage, a son's income is used to provide for his own family. In many cases this leads to the relative neglect of aged parents who are no longer able to provide for themselves. A subsistence economy, it may be suggested, leaves little surplus of either food, time, or energy with which the nuclear family can care for indigent relatives. At any rate, such obligations have not developed in Attawapiskat. Not even wood is ordinarily collected for aged parents, despite the fact that a previous Indian Agent promised relief to men who supplied their parents or other relatives with food in winter. It is interesting to note that the present Agent resented that arrangement, saying that it was a duty of sons to supply assistance without being rewarded for it. The status of the aged is also too weak to provide them with any power for commanding service from able-bodied, younger relatives. In some societies the great respect reserved for age becomes a guarantee of the care of oldsters who have power to command consideration. In Attawapiskat (and elsewhere in the northern forest) the respect in which a person is held follows from work. When the human body wears down and energy becomes depleted, prestige also deserts. Illness has much the same effect, although then the period helplessness is more transitory and the loss of status not immediate. The sick are helped casually rather than regularly. But nobody traps for a sick man with the result that his standard of living is bound to decline.

There remains now the problem of examining the structure of the nuclear family and its life within the dwelling. While the husband is considered the most responsible member of the group and therefore exerts the greatest leadership, in important decisions he acts only in agreement with his wife. Despite the importance of relief and family allowances in the Indians' food supply, the husband still regards himself as economically responsible, the person on whom the well being of the family depends. As a matter of fact, the effort and skill which he displays as a hunter and trapper remain of considerable significance for providing the group with many necessities of life. The community is quite ready to condemn any family head who, through indifference, neglects his domestic obligations. As already pointed out (and the point will be further elaborated in discussing the motivations that enter hunting and trapping), a sense of family responsibility is not the only psychological factor which drives men to work. In addition, industriousness and skill in certain occupations confer other prestige satisfactions at the same time that they produce the goods needed for subsistence. The status of the husband also includes liability for debts contracted by unmarried children and his wife. Children and spouse are never expected to pay a father's debt. A man is also responsible for accidental damage caused by child's play as well as for injury caused by leaving tools in dangerous situations. Indemnity for accidental injury, however, even when resulting from negligence, is not expected.

Considerable economic co-operation exists between husband and wife. Each sex expects the co-operation of the other within the family and any failure to extend such aid may be sharply resented. The extent to which this interdependence is demanded is interesting. The anthropologist heard a sixty-six year old woman's complaint that her seventy-four year old, second husband "never works at anything" and that she is left with all the household chores, including wood-getting and canoe paddling. The husband is partly paralyzed and rationally could not be expected to take part in these tasks. Emotionally, however, the woman resents her exclusive responsibility. In normal cases the husband does the bulk of trapping and hunting, repairs the house, cares for and manufactures equipment like the canoe and sled, and goes into the bush to get wood. In general he does not so much perform the more strenuous work as the duties that require a member of the family to go afield from home or which demand the greatest amount of skill. A woman also traps but closer to the camp. She also leaves the dwelling to visit her fish nets. Mostly, however, she is occupied around the home, preserving food, cooking, sewing and washing clothes, caring for children, and splitting wood. Younger married men frequently perform the latter task, perhaps as a result of the criticism levelled by missionaries against the practice of leaving wood cutting to women. In all of these duties, including work with an axe, the woman is assisted by daughters. Girls begin to

play economically useful roles somewhat earlier than boys, who do not normally accompany fathers into the bush until past puberty. Prior to that time they are not expected to assist in female-allocated household tasks. Children, of course, labour only within the range of their abilities but the writer regularly observed two eleven and twelve year old girls split an evening's supply of wood while their fathers were away from the post trapping. A woman's responsibilities greatly increase even more when she is widowed than while her husband goes to trap. As a result of the fact that men and women must be prepared to undertake at least temporarily tasks allocated to the opposite sex, one cannot speak of a rigid sexual division of labour in Attawapiskat. Rigidity is further reduced by the practice of men and women sometimes co-operating in tasks. Thus man, wife, and children will all help load or unload canoes and sleds and a husband may accompany a wife while she is setting or visiting a fish net. He holds the canoe steady while she works. There is no question but that Indian women work harder than white women. On the other hand it must be kept in mind that their ability to do so is not questioned by the men. Informants expressed the theory that a healthy woman is apt to be stronger than a man. Nevertheless, it is generally felt that a woman should not too soon resume heavy duties after pregnancy. If there are no older daughters to relieve her when she is in that condition, the husband will care for the wood supply and visit the fish nets. A wife's economic duties are not seriously interrupted by menstruation. The great amount of time which women spend close to home should not suggest that they are constantly working. The pattern of domestic life is slow in Attawapiskat. With only one room to live in, little time is occupied in duties like cleaning. Meal preparation, as will be seen, is not an elaborate undertaking. Thus women have much time to rest, play with infants, or even to visit or be visited by nearby relatives. Certain seasons of the year, of course, are marked by greater industry than others.

Family property is of two types, corporate and individual. Goods which are required to fulfil the economic roles of both spouses, like the house, canoe, and money, are corporately owned by the family. With regard to money, the wife turns her income over to the husband who allows her what is needed. She may also buy at the store and charge the purchase to her husband's account. The evidence suggests that men feel a strong sense of control over corporately owned goods which they manufacture or earn. At the same time the wife exercises an undeniable counter-balancing right to use these possessions. The writer, however, witnessed two quarrels in the course of which the offending women quit the house or were locked out of it by the husband. Individually owned goods include the tools used by each spouse; the fishnets and cooking utensils, which are owned by the wife, and the clothes of each spouse. The mother owns the clothes of her children and continues this control in the case of a daughter's effects until the girl marries.

Nevertheless parents will not usually dispose of toys or clothing to which a child is attached without first seeking the latter's permission or promising to replace the item. A son owns the apparel which he buys once he has begun to trap profitably. Treaty money for a very young child is spent by the parents, although a seven year old may receive fifty cents for his own use. A woman is usually free to spend the money which she receives in treaty.

A wife can lend her husband's property (for example, a gun) in his absence, but could only sell such of his equipment as is easily replaceable. If a husband is not too far distant, it is expected that he would arrange such deals. The husband has similar rights of alienation with respect to goods owned by the woman.

Inheritance of family property is an informal process. In general the widow takes preference over the children but the rights of the latter are recognized, especially in the case of sons. Objects used by men, like guns, usually come into the possession of boys old enough to use them. Of several sons, the eldest holds stronger rights to his father's property, but this would probably not be true if he were already married. In general inheritance norms are fluid and hard to establish. Goods are not abundant enough to make this matter a serious problem. Succession of rights to trapping districts will be discussed below. The debt left at the traders' stores by a deceased family head is cancelled. Apparently it has long been the policy of the Company to make no effort to collect from the widow or surviving parent and this policy has now become a firm part of the community's customary law. Thus it was said that no Indian would try to collect from a widow or children money owed to him by a deceased man.

Everything points to the fact that the family is a relatively stable unit. There is a record of only one church-recognized separation and this was a case in which the husband's mental disease was a responsible factor. Divorce, certainly frequent in the period before white contact, is unknown. Nevertheless periods of tension are not uncommon within many families. Usually these follow from either grounded or ungrounded jealousy on the part of a man or woman. Jealousy is narrowly defined and always refers to a suspicion that the partner has been intimate with a member of the opposite sex. Much jealousy is apparently aroused by gossip, a woman starting the rumour that so and so spoke to a man on a specific occasion. In time the rumour reaches the subject's spouse, whereupon he brings an accusation of adultery. The result is quarrelling which may develop into physical violence. Not only do men hit women but an angry wife will also attack her husband. Quarrels between women are often in retaliation for malicious gossip. Another reason for quarrelling is revealed in the following instance. In March, 1948, when several quarrels flared, a fifty-year old man became angry with his wife because she was unwilling promptly to begin

stretching some beaver skins. Brief violence followed an exchange of harsh words. Neighbours, and particularly relatives, try to restrain interpersonal hostility but there is also a tendency among people not to become too closely involved in the quarrels of others. For this reason, rather than directly interfere, neighbours will appeal for the intercession of the chief or a white man. This scarcely means indifference to neighbours' quarrels. On the contrary, any expression of hostility greatly disturbs the community. Furthermore, unease tends to mount as people realize their helplessness and inability to take decisive action. An anthropologist, Julius E. Lips, has noted the same tendency among the tribes of central and northern Quebec. He writes that "the community at large reacts vigorously only in such instances in which the peace of the community as such has been violated; that is, the offenses of constant trouble-making and murder" (15a: 469). One may be tempted to interdict the gossip system because of its major responsibility for many disturbances. Gossip, however, depends on a vulnerability to shame for its effectiveness. The Attawapiskat Indian is less prone to feel guilty for immoral and unconventional behaviour than he is likely to become ashamed of it should neighbours discover his offense. Publicity is insured by a vigorous gossip system, which, therefore, must be regarded as well nigh indispensable for social control among a people who lack not only a strong sense of guilt but also organized police authority.

Individual Life Cycle

In the native system of ideas conception is explained as the result of the male spermal fluid entering the womb and there "stopping" the menstrual blood. In logical accordance with this theory, cessation of menstruation (pil'simohaspinewin) is regarded as the earliest sign of pregnancy. However, amenorrhea is recognized as a phenomenon distinct from pregnancy. Thus seven girls or women were specified to the anthropologist as not menstruating. Three of these also appear to be barren. Native theory also holds that repeated copulation is necessary "to make the baby". The effect of this belief may be to reduce the fear of conception in premarital sex relations.

In two cases brought to the writer's attention menarche occurred at about twelve years (the age of one girl was verified as twelve years and two months). This was regarded as the usual age for female puberty. During menstruation some women sleep apart from their husbands, wear special clothes, and use a different blanket. These clothes and the menstrual pad of flannelette to catch the flow are not washed in the dwelling but in the bush behind the village. Soap is not used. When they have dried the clothes are brought into the house and stored in a bag under the bed. During menstruation women are very much afraid of catching cold, the results of which, it is thought, may be fatal in this period. Hence menstruants do not go outdoors more than is necessary and sometimes avoid clothes washing as

well as the tending of fishnets. Dysmenorrhea is by no means unknown but a critical estimate of its degree and incidence cannot be offered. A popular belief regards heavy or long enduring menstruation as correlated with excessive interest in the opposite sex.

There is a belief that youths tend to become lazy when they marry. A previous Company manager also said that newly married youths tend to trap more poorly. But since young married men also tend to ask for higher credits, perhaps the failure to pay back the sum advanced is not so much due to poorer trapping as to inability to quickly bring performance up to the level of aspiration. At any rate, this popular notion of laziness following marriage conflicts sharply with the fact that boys are expected to assume a heavy burden of responsibility once they found a new family. Marriage sharply alters the role of the unmarried adolescent, who shared little economic responsibility, enjoyed few major duties, and was master of his own time.

Practically all adolescents elect to marry although the age seems to be somewhat delayed in Attawapiskat compared to other Indian groups. Boys tend to marry between nineteen and twenty-two, girls between eighteen and twenty. In other words, young people of both sexes remain unmarried during most of their adolescence, a period when girls are controlled by parents to a far larger degree than boys. This is a situation that would appear to be conducive to considerable premarital sex experience with consequent problems of parent-daughter conflict and illegitimacy. That we do not find a high incidence of these phenomena in Attawapiskat is apparently due to the role of the Church as well as the people's own strongly developed ideas of morality. The two factors are undoubtedly related.

Marriages between close kindred (other than cross-cousins) is disapproved of by Indians and effectively prevented by the missionaries. The community also feels that, although the groom should be somewhat older than the bride, any great disparity of age is unwise. Marriages are arranged by young people who then report their intentions to parents. The fathers of the couple meet, agree to the marriage amidst much joking and a ceremonial handshake, and then visit the Mission. A few family genealogies reveal the pattern of brother-sister exchange, a man, for example, marrying a girl whose brother later weds the man's sister. The marriage is celebrated by a Sunday nuptial Mass, which is followed by a wedding breakfast tendered by the Mission and, finally, a family feast to which many families are invited. The wedding gown and veil are provided by the Mission, the groom wearing a business suit and tie. Although deferred consummation of marriage is not expected, couples who were not previously intimate are said to shyly hold off sexual relations until several days after the wedding.

Children are desired, especially for the help they will give parents when they are grown. Apparently value is also seen in the numerical growth of the local population. Occasionally coitus interruptus is utilized to forestall conception but this practice seems to be definitely limited. Most of the young men have seen mechanical contraceptive devices introduced from Moosonee and Moose Factory. While their function is understood, the instruments are largely regarded as novelties. Sex preference was denied. Boy babies, it was pointed out, grow up to be hunters and trappers while girls are useful for the help they can give the mother in household tasks.

Every family is able to calculate the approximate time when a pregnant woman will deliver. The plans of the group are somewhat determined by this event. There is no reluctance to leave the post if a wife and her husband know that a related and capable old woman will be available in the bush to help deliver the baby. On the other hand, if the family expects to be isolated in the bush, then departure will be delayed until several weeks after the infant's birth. Although idleness in pregnancy is said to make for a big baby and a difficult delivery, a husband encourages his wife to work lightly during the later months of this state so as to avoid spontaneous abortion or other complications. The mother is also advised to rest from ten day to two weeks after delivery. That women do not, or are not able to, heed this advice is indicated in the following remarks of an informant:

My wife seems to be getting worse with every baby. I think it is her own fault. She doesn't stop working when I tell her. I tell her she should rest two weeks after delivery, she only rests one week at the longest.

Illegitimacy is severely censured. A girl who gives birth to a child out of wedlock will experience difficulty in securing a husband and, with the tacit approval of the Mission, is expected to suffer a long period of shame. Therefore both the Mission and her parents will make an effort to induce the putative father to marry the girl he has impregnated. Usually this is not too difficult to accomplish, provided the girl has not been promiscuous. If, however, the girl has a reputation for "walking" (i. e. promenading long into the night), then she will not be regarded as a desirable wife nor will any one boy believe himself to be responsible for her condition. Premarital intercourse confined to lovers is reportedly not uncommon; and, while not exactly approved, is more or less expected. Such relationships are expected to lead to marriage, whether or not pregnancy ensues. In the language of informants "good parents" see to it that their daughters do not become promiscuous.

Birth takes place with the woman seated against a support for her back. The husband may also be present and during delivery assists by standing over the woman, holding her hands. The baby is delivered on a blanket. After being washed it is wrapped in a new rabbit skin robe. Umbilicus and placenta are wrapped in a cloth and cached in a tree. "We don't just want to throw it away", an old woman said. "That way the dogs could get it and the people would get a sickness." Even an uncomplicated birth creates a tense situation for the family concerned. A new father is especially likely to be nervous and upset. Prayers occur during labour and also after the birth. Still greater strain is produced should difficulties be encountered in delivery. The same old woman, commenting upon the birth in which the cord was wrapped under the arms and around the neck of the child, said, "I was surprised that I could do the work alone with my poor eyes. I guess God helped me and that's why I could do it." Duration of labour may be gauged from the following reported figures: in a seventh delivery labour endured about four hours; a ninth delivery labour lasted seven hours; a third delivery labour lasted two and a half hours; a first child labour lasted over twelve hours. Unless a girl's mother or mother-in-law act as a midwife, the woman serving in this capacity expects to be paid for her services. Five dollars is a fair compensation.

Details of feeding infants and children will be found below under the section headed "Eating".

Baptism occurs as soon after birth as the services of a priest are available. In the post the ceremony is performed within a few days. A name may be proposed by any relative or may be suggested by the missionary, who may also appoint godparents. A large majority of children bear French-sounding names but even English names which contain sounds difficult for Cree speakers to pronounce are assimilated to the local phonetics. Thus Sara becomes see'na; Raphael, na'pahen; Mary, mee'nii; Marius, ma'niioos; and Joachim, ca'can. Adults like children are consistently referred to by their Christian names (less often by nicknames), so that it requires special questioning to obtain the family name. The latter names are patrilineally inherited. A widow, however, may cease to be referred to, or to identify herself by, her deceased husband's name, instead reverting to the name by which she was known before marriage.

During the first year of life a child spends most of its time in a soft baby pack, which is lined with sphagnum moss to absorb the excretions. In the house the pack rests on the parents' bed or in a swinging hammock and is laced tightly enough to prevent the child from being able to move its legs. The arms, however, are usually exposed after a few months. Outdoors, when the woman visits or goes to church, the pack is transferred to a cradle board which is carried over the mother's shoulders. A wooden

hoop passes about eight inches in front of the infant's face. This serves to prevent injury should the cradle with the baby fall face forward. Across the hoop the mother also draws a curtain of bright cotton print. In winter an extra shawl is laid over the curtain for extra warmth. During the first few months of life, a child is removed from the baby pack whenever it is necessary to change the diaper moss and for breast feeding (but not for bottle feeding). During the interval of freedom the mother plays with the child, stimulates it affectionately, and rocks it vigorously while singing or cooing nonsense syllables. Now, too, the child is permitted to crawl. The moss in the baby pack is changed about three times during the day and sometimes at night when the baby wakes. In winter, moss is always warmed before being allowed to come into contact with the infant's skin.

Infants as well as young children receive considerable attention from adults of both sexes, although the bulk of affectionate handling is derived from the mother and any older sisters who may be available to share in their care. Resentment against young children is likely to be provoked when, in a public place (like the church or store), they attract attention by boisterousness or disorderly behaviour. At such times the harassed mother whispers a sharp reprimand to which she adds a brusque shake or a mild cuff. Punishment is never severe except when it involves threats of illness, the devil, or vaguely identified environmental forces. In the home either parent will reprove a child or administer a slap when, for example, a child pulls objects off the table, climbs on the table, or acts aggressively to a younger sibling. Masturbation, which is apt to appear at about three or four, is punished with more severe scolding and chastisement. Children are warned that insanity and hell fire will follow autoerotic play but castration threats are not used. Toilet training begins at about the age of two. A child who continues to soil himself is shamed. Nocturnal control is expected by about the age of three. There is evidence for believing that the pressures of toilet training intensify during periods when a dwelling with a lumber floor is occupied and are relatively light while the family lives in the askiikan.

As already stated, mothers are in closer interaction with children than fathers. Not only does this follow from the ideal expectation that child care is woman's work, but the man of the family does not spend as much time at home. In the bush he is actively engaged in food and fur production while in the post he spends many daytime hours in association with other men. Young children below the age of five spend most of their time close to the dwelling, playing with other youngsters from nearby families. At a later age in the post boys go farther afield, roaming all over the village. Girls, however, spend the day in the house and only in the evening will a group spend one or two hours promenading along the sidewalk. The play of girls is generally much less boisterous than that of their brothers.

Beyond the age of five or six, when the child has begun at least occasionally to participate in the society beyond his home, boys develop considerably greater poise than girls. While girls giggle and are shy to speak to strangers of either sex, most boys, after an initial period of hesitation, respond to questions intelligibly if not volubly. This greater self-possession is retained by men, women not overcoming their more intense shyness until they are mature enough to have had one or two children. In old age women display their greatest dominance. It is not likely, however, that underneath the overt expressions of poise either sex at any time experiences strongly the sense of resourcefulness or self-esteem. Low self-esteem is a predominant characteristic of the Attawapiskat Cree and is particularly manifested in relations with whites. As will be further demonstrated in this report, low self-esteem, when it interferes with the productive efforts of the people, prevents full use being made of the resources of the local environment.

The age of five or six is also an age at which children, particularly boys, are expected to wean themselves somewhat from maternal care, protection, and cherishing. Below that period, for example, children brought to the nurse for inoculations are undressed by the mother and held in the woman's arms while the needle is readied and applied. They also show more or less fear of the procedure. Beyond six years the child undresses and stands alone. He also strives not to betray any evidence of pain or fear, although his pronounced stolidity is often testimony of the strain through which he is passing. The emotional weaning that comes at about the age of five is a gradual phenomenon and has its roots even earlier in the child's life. Thus the inception of the independence that the youngster begins to develop may be seen in the matter-of-fact care that is demonstrated by the parents of both sexes once a child is capable of walking and is trained in toilet habits. However, the fact that toddlers receive less attention and affection than lap babies or infants is only because they do not have the need to seek out these rewards. A hurt or puzzled child can always come to the mother's lap and be comforted. Parents themselves, however, do not pursue the youngster with attention. Similarly young children are vigilantly protected from injuries that parents foresee but they are not smothered by overprotection. The effect would seem to be early training for independence with the assurance of knowing that a source of emotional security is never far, should it be needed. Gradually, as has been suggested, the source comes to be less and less directly utilized. Perhaps it is only in a society where punishment includes the threat of the loss of the parents' love that the reality of such love must be constantly tested at the expense of the child's growing initiative.

Does the Attawapiskat child, then, grow up to be a secure individual? The evidence points to the contrary and leads to the conclusion that the population consists of deeply anxious people. This anxiety appears in a

number of forms. First is the phobic fear whose intensity in some people is great enough to interfere with the pursuit of a livelihood. Symptoms of such fear include the inability to spend a night alone in the bush, to travel alone, or to even leave the dwelling after dark. In two or three cases anxiety takes the form of psychotic episodes, including hallucinations, compulsive washing, and dissociated periods of intense activity and even violence. Accident proneness appears to be another characteristic related to the high anxiety level. Probably two out of three adults will, if questioned, reveal at least one serious accident which incapacitated them for several days or weeks. In many cases the individual has been incapacitated by several accidents. Injuries are mainly caused by axeing the leg or foot in the course of chopping wood. Other cases involve gunshot wounds obtained as the result of accidentally discharging weapons. The explanation offered by missionaries for this frequency of accidents is that the people are careless in handling their equipment. A further possibility is that this carelessness is in turn related to the anxiety component of the personality. Like phobic fears, accidents may relieve a man from the obligations of striving for fur and food in a difficult and niggardly environment. In a society where division of labour between the sexes is loose, the incapacity of a man does not necessarily spell severe hardship. He can still rely on his wife to supply such a basic food as fish while relief will provide a slim but potentially adequate source of other staples. Anxiety also finds projection in hallucinatory phenomena. Among these is the otcibwew' fantasy. The otcibwew is supposed to be a white man whom Indians encounter at night in the post or in lonely parts of the country. Several such encounters were reported during the period of field work. The otcibwehak are feared, although it is sometimes said that they are merely white men who are lost and approach the Indians not to harm the latter but to request information. The language barrier, it is explained, makes communication between the two groups impossible. Hence the white men remain lost and are persistently being encountered. It seems likely that the otcibwew belief is a projection of the anxiety which Indians feel in relation to whites, whose language they are frustrated in mastering. Also indicative of anxiety is the belief in ghosts to which is closely related the tendency to perceive ghostly sounds (tcipaj'hiitam, "he perceives an event of ghostly origin"). Noises include gunfire, wood chopping, weeping, or a gramophone playing. Always there is no other person in the vicinity who could possibly be responsible for those sounds. The meaning is clear--somebody in the family (perhaps a person in the hospital) will soon die. Ghostly sounds are probably a projection of the anxiety which Indians feel in connection with illness and death.

It is difficult to be certain as to what social factors are responsible for the anxiety of the Attawapiskat Indian. In part the phenomenon may be related to the fact that, even as infants, people have often been hungry. Thus

it sometimes happened that a mother's milk supply became inadequate due to her own malnutrition and hunger. Beyond the age of nursing many Attawapiskat children were forced to share periods of acute starvation with parents. The parents' apprehension of hunger may also communicate itself to children and there is the possibility that, apart from acute hunger, chronic malnutrition in childhood may have caused the personality to develop in this direction. Childhood discipline through threat may be another responsible factor as may anxiety regarding illness.

There can be no doubt that people are apprehensive of illness (akosiw'win; a'kosiw, "he is sick"). Such fear is often realistic, for sickness is doubly painful in a society where both the rewards of material comfort and intangible prestige depend upon mobility and self-exertion. With illness a familiar experience as well as one in the face of which even the local whites are helpless, it is not remarkable that the Indian should be strongly upset by this phenomenon. White people in urban societies have been brought up with the idea that there exist specialists (physicians) who are equipped to deal efficiently with illness. Sanitation and hygiene are taught to urban children with the assurance that by following the rules they will tend to avoid disease. Indian children do not receive such fortifying preparations. Belief in shamans (sing. mitew') has long ago been destroyed or interdicted as devil worship and no new satisfactory beliefs, other than resignation to the will of God, have arisen to take its place. It is no wonder that, as the missionaries point out, people become fatalistic in the face of illness and readily make up their minds that they will die. The prospects of hospitalization furnish little comfort to either the patient or his family. People do not want to leave Attawapiskat to be hospitalized under strange surroundings. Furthermore they lack the faith that hospitals are equipped to cure. Little success met the efforts of the previous Indian Agent to promote hospital treatment in Moosonee by also allowing the patient's family to stay at the same place supported by relief. Resistance to institutional care will be one of the most serious problems for an action program to overcome. Probably it will not be overcome until several generations have been taught to think of hospitals in practical terms and until more people have overcome their reluctance to move far afield from their families and kinsfolk.

Most individuals are ready to admit a natural theory of disease. Although they do not understand the germ theory in all its ramifications, there is an idea that cleanliness of the body, house, and village are conducive to health. Ideal appreciation, however, does not automatically lead to action. Cleanliness tends to be thought of as a gross thing, with the result that women keep their homes neat, scrub floors every Saturday, spill slop away from the dwelling, wash with soap, and so on, but do not sterilize dishes or baby bottles, and use unsterile cloths for bandages. This suggests that

a community program would experience little trouble in communicating a more complete theory of sanitation. There would, however, be a long wait before people modified their habits to a point where they would regularly observe minute sanitary precautions. Despite the theory of natural causation, occasionally a physical disease or mental ailment is ascribed to sorcery, which is sometimes supposed to have been performed by unspecified old men. Undoubtedly a white visitor does not readily hear all beliefs of this nature.

Apart from coughs, colds and accidents inflicted by tools and instruments, the following are some illnesses which were reported or observed during the period of field work:

Snowblindness. The intensity of the returning spring sun reflected by the snow quickly impairs vision. This does not always promote acute snowblindness but causes the eyes to ache, sting, and become inflamed. Dark glasses are worn as a matter of routine by most men during March and April. The illness is sometimes treated with an infusion of tea leaves applied to the eyes for two or three hours on a piece of paper or the corner of a towel. Breast milk dropped into the eyes is also reported to be efficacious.

Muscle aches. Particularly the arms, legs, and shoulders become afflicted and particularly in men beyond the age of thirty-five. The missionaries call this rheumatism. Indians blame the condition on immersion in cold water during youth.

Venereal disease. One adolescent girl was reported to have been infected in Moosonee. She was ostracized by the community, slandered, and said to have been rejected for the Lac Ste. Anne boarding school after other families told the bishop that they would not allow their daughters to attend if she was admitted.

Abdominal pains. A man, aged forty-two, was briefly affected. He had been hospitalized in Cochrane two years previously. The promise of the physicians to operate had not been fulfilled.

Haemorrhage from the mouth. A forty-two year old man became ill in midwinter, following a hundred mile walking trip to the post. He recovered without medical attention. Another thirty-seven year old man reported three mouth haemorrhages in

the past four years. This is the father of the victim of partial paralysis mentioned below.

Partial paralysis of girl aged three. Her appetite declined, she vomited, was constipated, and the right leg so affected that she gave up walking. Several months later the left arm became affected. There were repeated convulsions. Informed by radio, the Agency physician prescribed for constipation and also recommended barley gruel to overcome vomiting. The post manager gave the mother concentrated fish oil. Both parents were much upset and felt the girl would die. A fatal illness was diagnosed by the physician who saw the girl in June 1948.

Abdominal pains presumed to be localized in the ovarian region. One woman has been getting such pains with increasing intensity during the past six years. Another woman became ill and included such pains in her complaint. According to the Director of the Mission the latter woman was hospitalized for ovarian trouble a few years previously and had been warned that her illness might recur, whereupon she should be taken to the hospital. Medical attention and a plane were solicited by radio without response. Her husband declined the offer of the missionaries to take her to Lac Ste. Anne by dogsled.

Neck sores. Several young men showed or reported open wounds. One of these youths had been hospitalized in Moosonee the previous summer but became lonesome and was taken back to Attawapiskat. Living in the dwelling with him during the winter of 1947-48 were two adults and two boys, aged sixteen and twelve. Treatment included washing the wound thrice daily with Lifebuoy soap and a cloth rinsed between uses. The anthropologist undertook to have cheesecloth provided in relief and instructed that the pieces of cloth were to be discarded after use.

Mixed symptoms. A woman complained that her grandson did not eat except one meal a day. He also coughed and recently had been ill with what appears to have been a chest cold. The boy did not care to play outdoors but hung around the house. The child had not been x-rayed by the medical party. He showed a swelling under his left armpit which sometimes seemed to break below the surface of the skin. The former Agency physician saw this swelling some time ago.

Vomiting and malaise sporadically affected a number of children toward the end of September, just after meat from geese and ducks began to occupy a substantial part of the diet. An infectious disease was suspected by the missionaries.

Death (ni'piw, "he dies") is usually conceived as due to natural causes. When death is presumed to be inevitable, many friends and relatives of the patient assemble in the dwelling to keep watch with members of the immediate family. The priest also comes and there may be group singing of hymns after he has administered the last sacrament. Singing is said to promote comfort in situations of illness and is often demanded by a sick person or his family. Following death, a corpse is washed with warm water and soap by an old woman and invested in new clothes. It is then wrapped in a white shroud which is tightly pinned around the body. If death occurs in the post, the body is removed from the dwelling and carried (or drawn on a sled) to the charnel house behind the church. Here it remains until the Oblate brothers have made a coffin. In summer the delay between death and burial may amount to a day or two, in winter it is sometimes longer. Following a Requiem Mass the body is buried in the cemetery lying at the western end of the village before one comes to the grounds of the deserted Anglican church. Most of the townsfolk, as well as one missionary and acolytes carrying censer and cross, accompany the corpse to the burial ground. The Mission bell tolls during the funeral procession and continues while the short interment service is being read. Quiet tears may be shed by women and girls who were intimately acquainted with the deceased. The men betray emotion only by their somber looks. In neither sex do we encounter paroxysms of grief or hysteria, which suggests that these people are accustomed firmly to inhibit emotional expression. After the service people disperse, perhaps leaving a few elderly women to finish their rosaries by the newly filled grave. Unbaptized infants are not buried from the church and are not admitted into the cemetery.

In Attawapiskat we find the usual conflict of ideas regarding the fate of souls. On the one hand the spiritual entity of the person is said to go to either heaven, hell, or purgatory. On the other hand people believe that the deceased may return as a ghost (tciipaj'), a guise in which they are strongly feared. The cult of the dead includes frequent prayers in church for their spiritual welfare and also cemetery visits on Sunday afternoons in summer. Sentiment toward the dead is not strongly developed. It could not be expected among a people who are little rooted in either past or future. Memory of forefathers stops with the second ascending generation and even then few persons can remember the names of all four grandparents. Hardly one adult will be found who can speak of his great grandparents.

CHAPTER 4

FOOD AND ECONOMY

As the seasons age and slowly change, the occupations of the Indian also alter, particularly those activities which are directed to exploiting the area's natural resources. For this reason the annual cycle of activities and the seasonal diets are closely related to one another. Both in turn are partly determined by the simultaneous changes occurring in the natural environment. The fact is, that the Attawapiskat Indian is closely dependent upon his environment -- much more directly so than the urban resident in American or Canadian society.

Living in close harmony with the environment has its consequences not only in the Indian's health (through the food he can get and the hazards of his mode of life) but also on his domestic arrangements and community organization. When people are frequently shifting their habitations in search of food and furs relatively little energy is apt to be spent in constructing permanent dwellings. Nor does a high degree of horizontal (place to place) mobility lead to the long-standing organization of large communities. This has the effect of reducing the incidence of problems of leadership and interfamilial social control. When such problems do arise, however, techniques for their solution may be found lacking or difficult to apply. Formal education, closely integrated with family life, becomes difficult when the community assembles only briefly. This has led to the development of the boarding school in the North. It appears, however, that what is learned in residential school does not readily modify traditional patterns of living, probably because of the vast differences between life in the alien educational milieu and in the family setting.

The preceding paragraph enumerates some of the problems which a community reorganization plan will encounter in the Attawapiskat area, factors which have their roots in the society's close dependence upon its physical environment. It follows that an action program can be most effectively devised on the basis of a sound knowledge of the annual cycle of the community. It will probably also be necessary for an action program to be modified by, or adapted to, that annual cycle. This does not mean the adoption of modest goals. On the contrary, the aim of changing Indian culture to make it more satisfactory to the people without destroying its underlying, traditional values is an ambitious undertaking and one that would seem to be possible only when accompanied by the assumption that different ways of life contain intrinsic merits which are worth preserving. This appears to represent the position taken by William Zimmerman, Jr., Assistant Commissioner of the United States Indian Office, when he spoke before the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons on May 19, 1947. He said:

"...we believe that the Indian can still remain an Indian and be adjusted to his white neighbours. He can fit into the general scheme and preserve some parts of his peculiar culture and yet live happily, and be adjusted to his environment. I think the basic point is, we do not believe in applying pressure to force him into a pattern (4:1197).

The annual cycle to be described is based upon observations made among those people who throughout the year trade into Attawapiskat post. While some phases of the cycle may be similar among the Lake River Indians, in other respects there are undoubtedly differences. Too little contact was had with the latter group to permit the inference that all of the following data likewise apply to them.

Annual Cycle and Seasonal Diets

Summer

When the flooded rivers of spring have receded, generally early in June, the season of high water (minoo'skamin) gives way to early summer (mekwa'niipin). Most of the Indians have returned to the post and toward the end of June the Lake River people in their canoes also arrive at Attawapiskat for a brief four to six week stay, during which they meet the diocesan bishop and generally renew friendships. Summer days are warm and long. The tempo of life is languorous and pleasant. Intensive visiting is carried on and news of the winter's experiences is exchanged. The arrival of boats is noted with considerable enthusiasm. The Hudson's Bay craft bring supplies among which new designs of dry goods and novelties may always be expected. A high spot of summer is the visit of the government launch bearing the party that has come to pay treaty. Occasionally there are other visitors, mainly scientists undertaking research in the local area, in whom the Indians are interested but with whom they are also extremely reserved. The long evenings give abundant opportunity for groups of unmarried boys and girls to promenade and the heavy sound of boys' shoes continues into the night. Everywhere in evidence are children, many of whom in middle June returned home from the residential school where they had been since the end of the previous August. Some of these latter children may join their age mates, who have passed the winter in the bush, in attending the day school taught by a local missionary. Several times during the summer there will be Sunday weddings followed by feasts to which most of the community is invited. Each morning and evening the church is filled as people come to make their devotions.

White people in Attawapiskat are frequently frustrated by the fact that men are not eager to work in summer, despite the fact that this is, as will be illustrated below, a season of monotonous diets. The mission experiences difficulty in securing help to cut timber in the bush and the traders find it impossible to procure firewood in this season. The explanation for the phenomenon lies largely in the people's own definition of summer as a time of leisure and relaxation while winter is regarded as the period for strenuous work, striving, and responsibility. The attitude toward summer as a season of rest is stronger than the desire for the small income which labour would earn. The government nurse received much the same explanation when she asked a group of women why the men avoided work in summertime. Men work all winter, was the reply, and they want to rest in summer. The nurse's next pointed question, whether women did not also work in winter, promoted only laughter. Her question was logical as far as it reflected the premises held in Canadian society. It was meaningless to the women who both in winter and summer complement the activities of the men. When husbands work hard, women work hard; when men relax, women undertake to secure as much country food as the country will yield. They become the food providers and do not feel themselves suffering from an indignity. The men have fulfilled the role that was expected of them.

Other factors interfering with summer labour are the mosquitoes and muskeg, which make the bush a painful and uncomfortable place to be; the heat, the extraordinarily strong dislike of perspiration, and the fact that there is little personal satisfaction derived in wage labour for whites. Heat and perspiration could be alleviated to some extent by modifying summer dress habits but such change is not likely to occur. Winter underwear and woolen socks continue to be worn by the men; windbreakers are worn by girls, boys, and men, and women do not appear in public without the woolen shawl that is so characteristically a feature of Attawapiskat. To some extent, too, the picture of deliberate summer idleness is more apparent than real, for there are few traditional male allocated tasks that can be done in that season. The period for fur trapping has expired. There are no food resources in the neighbourhood to hunt. The geese have continued northward and large game, like moose and caribou, is lacking. Fishing with nets is customarily women's work, hence continues to be done by that sex. A few of the younger men secure a few young or moulting ducks throughout the summer but not in such amounts as to affect materially the general diet. Perhaps too the expectation that summer will produce a shortage of country food depresses morale. The nutritional poverty of the diet may directly reduce the level of available energy. For the latter two hypotheses there is no clear evidence.

A few men do attach themselves to Mission and Company as labourers, including youths, family heads who did not trap successfully during the winter, and men who are motivated to please the local whites by emulating the latter in work habits. Beaver guardians also have early summer duties to fulfil. Each year during this period a few men are occupied in building houses for themselves to occupy during the summer stay in the post and again briefly in midwinter. Travelling two or three miles from the post for firewood is occasionally necessary in summer but this duty will be relegated to grown sons if there are any in the family. Little wood is burned in summer, hence wood getting consumes little time.

While the men visit, converse on the bank or in the store, and are engaged in the other activities mentioned above, women wash clothes, sew in the dwelling or under the shade of a canvas awning erected alongside the house, prepare food, collect and dry moss for babies' diapers, and make new fish nets. The latter activity increases in frequency toward late July, as the period of better fishing begins to be looked forward to. Daily the women who have already put nets into the water travel by canoe to visit them. In the evening people saw and split sufficient wood to start the morning fire.

Summer patterns of living suggest that this would be a suitable period to reach the majority of the community with educational techniques, health facilities, or to organize them in a rehabilitation program. As a matter of fact it is now that the government nurse is stationed in Attawapiskat for a short time and when the visit of the doctor allows the people to receive medical attention. The Mission utilizes the period to educate particularly those children who do not attend residential school. While the short stay of the Lake River people would prevent their intensive participation in any summer program, most of the population spends at least three months in the post during which they could be reached by a community organizer or other workers.

In early summer the diet still includes geese and fish which have been killed and preserved in May. With the end of June, however, most of the geese have been eaten and people begin to rely heavily upon purchased foods. Meanwhile the number of family members eating has increased due to the children arriving home from school for their summer holiday. Table 9 reports the meals eaten by two families during the mid-summer period. Family A consisted of a young man of thirty-nine, his wife, sons fourteen and twelve, and daughters six and three. The woman was confined on July 25. Family B included the chief, his wife, and six children ranging from eighteen to three. The data was collected by the government nurse. When milk is not specified as accompanying tea, flour and lard were probably added to the beverage. Although not specified, flour and rolled oats in tea

TABLE 9

SAMPLE MID-SUMMER DIETS

<u>Date and Family</u>		<u>Breakfast</u>	<u>Dinner</u>	<u>Supper</u>
July 19	A	Bannock with corn syrup, tea	Bannock and tea	Fish, bannock, tea
	B	Bread, bannock, tea with rolled oats	Dry moose meat, bread, tea with rolled oats	Rolled oats, bannock, tea with milk and sugar
July 20	A	Rolled oats, bannock, tea	Two fish, bannock	Bannock, tea
	B	Bread and tea	Bannock, tea with rolled oats	Bannock containing raisins, tea with rolled oats
July 21	A	Bannock with corn syrup, tea	Duck, tea with milk	Bannock and tea
	B	Bread, tea with flour	Pork and beans, bread, tea with milk and sugar	Rolled oats, tea with milk and sugar
July 22	A	Milk, bannock, tea	Pork and beans, tea	Bread, tea
	B	Bannock containing raisins, tea with flour	Pork and beans, tea with milk and sugar	Fish, tomato juice, bread, tea with milk and sugar
July 23	A	Rolled oats, bannock, tea	Bannock, tea with milk	Fish, bread, tea
	B	Bread, tea with flour	Fish, tomatoes, bread, tea with milk and sugar	Bread, tea with milk and sugar
July 24	A	Pablum, bannock, tea	Bannock, tea with milk	Klik, bannock, bread, tea
	B	Rolled oats, tea with milk and sugar	Duck, tomatoes, bread, tea with milk and sugar	Pork and beans, bread, tea with milk and sugar
July 25	A	Duck, tea	Bannock, tea with milk	Fish, tomatoes, bannock
	B		Klik, bread with corn syrup, tea with milk and sugar	Klik, tomato juice, tea with milk and sugar

are nearly always accompanied by lard. Porridge, cooked from rolled oats or Pabulum, also always contains lard as well as milk when eaten by adults or older children. The frequency with which tomatoes and tomato juice appears in the following menus is explained by the fact that these commodities had just been received in family allowances. Family allowances are heavy in July because for several previous months none could be obtained by families away from the post. Family B received thirteen tins of tomatoes and seven tins of tomato juice in July. Food totalled \$37.15 in the accumulated months' allowances while clothing was received to the value of \$86.00. The large amount of clothing was made possible by the fact that the group also drew six monthly relief rations (for the details of monthly rations see below).

Toward the end of July or at the beginning of August, when early summer has given rise to summer proper (nii'pin) the diet improves somewhat. Fishing becomes more productive and ducks weigh down more heavily the game bags of the young men who visit the flyways in the coastal marshes. As during most of the year, a family with one or two late adolescent sons is in a more fortunate position nutritionally than a family containing children too young to hunt. The head of the family is not apt to make as many trips to the coast for ducks or overnight trips upriver for rabbits as are young unmarried men. The poorest diets are likely to be found in families where, together with the absence of older boys, illness or old age prevent the head of the family from hunting. Widows too are in an unenviable position. However in August a company of two or three old ladies is apt to travel a few hours downriver and make camp at a place which they recall has always been a dependable fishing site. On Saturdays they return with the tide to be at hand for Sunday worship.

Beginning in late July the Lake River families leave Attawapiskat post and fish as they travel northward along the coast and the inland along Lake River and smaller streams.

If rabbits are abundant, summer may see these animals figure more prominently in the diet than was apparent in 1947. The greater frequency of fish and rabbits, however, will not be sufficient to remove the feeling of the people that summer is a poor time for country food.

Fall and Early Winter

In early September, when the morning landscape is frost covered and cold northeast rains carry a note of winter, the Indians speak of autumn (takwa'kan) beginning. The post is less populated. All the Lake River and some inland families have taken their leave. The children are already back at school. The post tempo declines still more as men and boys, alone

or with their families, journey to the goose hunting grounds along the coast where they set up temporary or permanent camps. Night falls earlier now and the promenading is limited largely to girls whose families remain in the post, although boys are seen on weekends when they return to the post from temporary wavy camps. In the speech of the Indians this is a "busy" time. "Everybody is busy hunting waxies now or are on their way into the bush. Before the waxies go away people want to kill as many as possible in order to have food for the winter." Compared to summer it is indeed a time of considerable activity. While the men travel to the marshes and spend the days in blinds the women pluck and clean the geese for eating or drying. Not all geese are dried and the proportion which is so prepared varies between different families. In many cases only the viscera are removed and the birds hung with their feathers in the expectation that the cold weather will preserve them. Grease is prepared by catching the drippings of the fowl as they dry over an open fire or by frying the intestines to rend their fat. Fish are also dried in fall. From the permanent wavy camps men make journeys to Attawapiskat post to secure family allowances. Relief rations, however, are generally taken in advance for the period that the family expects to be gone.

As the productivity of wavy hunting decreases and the weather gets colder people begin to make snowshoes, parkas, moccasins, and mittens (earlier in the inland bush where there are no geese to kill). Time must be taken to accumulate firewood, but along the coast where most of the population is concentrated and where there is only dry willow for fuel, women can easily do this work.

From the description of autumn's activities and from what will be added below concerning the emotional importance of those routines it should be apparent that few things will be allowed to interfere with carrying out these seasonal patterns. Community arrangements, however, are such that a few women, not necessarily incapacitated by illness or age, always remain in the post during these weeks. The Roman Catholic mission is planning to engage these women for canning duties undertaken in behalf of other families who will bring in the surplus of game birds, a portion of which will be turned over to the canners as payment for their work. Similar arrangements could be worked out if at a future date vegetable foods are available for canning. The same plan could be applied to midwinter canning of meat. The fall season, however, would not lend itself to making contact with large numbers of people, educationally or otherwise.

It is apparent diets in autumn improve over their summer quality. The arrival of the waxies has been awaited with great eagerness and their hunting is undertaken with much enthusiasm. At least from the standpoint of taste, goose is a most desirable food; snow and blue geese,

collectively called wavy, furnish the bulk of the meat. Fat, flavourful, easy to procure in large numbers with a shotgun, they produce a dramatic contrast to the summer food supply. As much as trapping, if not more so, goose shooting dominates the Indian's thinking. People who point out that the Indian appears to have few opportunities for emotional expression ignore the fact that wavy hunting offers exactly this release. The activity is more than work or duty. It cannot even be compared to the pleasure which white sportsmen find in fowling. The two seasons, fall and spring, when the geese fly are among the high spots of living. In emotional importance the wavy season is to the Indian what vacation time is to an industrial worker or what religious fiestas are to the rural Mexican. Yet geese do not supply all the food of autumn. Fish nets are still kept in the river and for inland people fish remain the staple food, supplemented by rabbits. For the old, who depend upon gifts of wavy, fish also continue as the staff of life. In 1947 the first wavies arrived during the week of September eighth and reached their peak as food in the week of September twenty-ninth, to continue fairly heavily during the month of October.

Table 10 presents the early fall diet of Fred Mud and his wife, a childless couple (Family A). It also reveals the manner in which food is apportioned between husband (H) and wife (W). The woman was confined on December 9. Family B includes Fred's parents-in-law. Family C represents George Kiiokii, his wife, and two sons, eight and three.

TABLE 10

<u>SAMPLE EARLY FALL DIETS</u>				
<u>Date and Family</u>		<u>Breakfast</u>	<u>Dinner</u>	<u>Supper</u>
Sept. 16	A	H: 1 whitefish boiled with rolled oats and lard; 2 pcs. bread with butter; 2 cups coffee with milk, sugar.	H: 1 whitefish fried; bannock with raisins and butter; two bowls ¹ tea with milk, sugar.	H: 3 cups berries with flour, lard, and sugar; 1 pc. bread with butter, 1 cup coffee, milk, sugar.
		W: 1 pc. bread with butter, 1 cup coffee.	W: 1 whitefish, 1/2 pc. bannock with butter; 1 bowl tea, milk, sugar.	W: 2 cups berries as above; 1 pc. bread with butter; 1 cup tea with milk, sugar.

1. A bowl equals about two cups.

TABLE 10 (Continued)

<u>Date and Family</u>		<u>Breakfast</u>	<u>Dinner</u>	<u>Supper</u>
Sept. 16	B	H: 1 whitefish boiled with rolled oats and lard; 1 pc. bread with butter; 3 cups coffee, milk, sugar. W: 1 boiled white- fish; 1 pc. bread with butter; 1 cup coffee, milk, sug- ar; 1 bowl berries, flour, sugar, lard.		
	C	2 whitefish fried; bannock with raisins, lard spread; tea, milk, sugar.	Beans cooked ¹ with lard; bread with lard; tea, milk, sugar.	Bannock with raisins spread with lard; tea, milk, sugar.
Sept. 17	A	H: 1/2 duck boiled; 2 pcs. bread with lard; 2 cups coffee, milk, sugar. W: 1 whitefish fried; 1/2 boiled duck; 1 pc. bread with lard.	H: 2 whitefish boiled; 2 bowls berries cooked with flour and lard; 2 pcs. toasted bread with butter; 2 cups tea, milk, sugar. W: 2 boiled white- fish; 1 cup tea, milk, sugar; 2 bowls berries, as above; 1 pc. toasted bread with butter.	H: 2 slices bread with butter and jam; 3 cups tea. W: 1 fried plover; 1 pc. bread with butter; 1 cup tea.

1. Throughout the year this family is exceptional in the number of times cooked dried pea beans are served. The explanation lies in the fact that the physician authorized these to be included as "extra" in the monthly relief ration. When the supply of dried beans was exhausted at the store dried peas were substituted by the manager.

TABLE 10 (Continued)

<u>Date and Family</u>		<u>Breakfast</u>	<u>Dinner</u>	<u>Supper</u>
Sept. 17	B	H: 1 boiled duck; 1 fried whitefish; 1 pc. bread with lard; 2 cups coffee, milk, sugar. W: 1 fried white- fish; 1 broiled plover; 2 pcs. bread with lard; 2 cups coffee, milk, sugar.		
	C	Rolled oats with lard, milk, sugar; bannock with raisins spread with lard; tea, milk, sugar.	2 ducks boiled with rolled oats and lard; bannock with raisins spread with lard; tea, milk, sugar.	3 whitefish, fried bannock with raisins and butter; tea, milk, sugar.
Sept. 18	A	H: 2 whitefish fried; 1/4 lb. moosemeat from winter boiled with wavy grease from spring; 1 pc. toasted bread with butter; 1 cup coffee, milk, sugar. W: 1 whitefish fried; 1/4 lb. dry moosemeat as above; 3 potatoes fried; 1 pc. bread with butter; 1 cup coffee, milk, sugar.	H: 1 whitefish fried; 1 slice bread with lard; 1 plate mission beans; 2 cups berries, as above; 3 cups tea, milk, sugar. W: 1/2 whitefish, fried; 1 pc. bread with lard; 1 cup berries as above; 1 cup tea, milk, sugar.	H: 1 plate mission beans; 1 slice bread with lard; 2 cups tea, milk, sugar. W: 3 cups mission beans; 1 pc. bread spread with lard; 1 cup tea, milk, sugar.
Sept. 18	C	Rolled oats, lard, milk, sugar; ban- nock with raisins and lard spread; tea, milk, sugar.	Beans boiled with lard; bannock with raisins and lard; tea, milk, sugar.	3 ducks boiled with rolled oats and lard; bannock with lard; tea, milk, sugar.

TABLE 10 (Continued)

<u>Date and Family</u>	<u>Breakfast</u>	<u>Dinner</u>	<u>Supper</u>
Sept. 19 A	H: 1 duck with 1 cup rice boiled in the stock; 1 pc. bread, butter; 1 cup tea, milk, sugar. W: 1/2 duck with about 2 cups rice; 1 pc. bread with butter; 1 cup tea, milk, sugar.	H: 1/2 tin Klik, 1 fried whitefish; 1 pc. bread with butter; 2 cups tea. W: 1/2 tin Klik; 1 pc. bread with butter; 1 cup tea.	
C	Bannock with raisins spread with lard; tea, milk, sugar.	2 whitefish fried; beans cooked with lard; bread with lard spread; tea, milk, sugar.	2 whitefish boiled with flour; bannock with raisins, lard spread; tea, milk, sugar.
Sept. 20 A	H: 1 whitefish fried; 2 pcs. bread with butter; 2 cups coffee with milk, sugar. W: 2 potatoes boiled with flour and lard; 2 pcs. bread with butter; 1 cup coffee, milk, sugar.		
C	Bannock with raisins, lard spread; tea, milk, sugar.	Beans cooked with lard; bread, lard spread; tea, milk, sugar.	Rolled oats cooked with lard, milk, sugar; bannock with lard spread; tea, milk, sugar.
Sept. 21 A	H: 1 whitefish fried; 1/2 duck boiled; 2 pcs. bread with butter; 3 cups rolled oats cooked with lard, milk, sugar; 2 cups coffee, milk, sugar.	H: 1 duck, boiled; 1 pc. bread with butter; 1 cup tea.	H: 2 whitefish, fried; 4 potatoes, fried; 2 pcs. bread, butter; 2 cups cocoa, milk, sugar.

TABLE 10 (Continued)

<u>Date and Family</u>	<u>Breakfast</u>	<u>Dinner</u>	<u>Supper</u>
Sept. 21 A	W: 1 whitefish fried; 1 pc. bread with butter; 2 cups rolled oats as above; 1 cup coffee, milk, sugar.	W: 1/2 duck, boiled; 3 cups rolled oats, as above; 1 slice bread with butter, 1 cup tea.	W: 1 whitefish, fried; 1 slice bread, butter; 2 cups tea, milk sugar.
C	Bannock with lard; tea, milk, sugar.	3 whitefish, fried; bread with lard; tea, milk, sugar.	Bannock with lard; tea, milk, sugar.
Sept. 22 A	H: 4 cups rolled oats, cooked with milk, sugar, lard; 2 pcs. bread with butter; 2 cups coffee, milk, sugar. W: 1 whitefish ¹ fried, 2 cups rolled oats; 1 pc. bread with butter; 2 cups coffee, milk, sugar.	H: 1 whitefish, fried; 1 plover, broiled; 2 pcs. bread; lard spread; 1 cup tea, milk, sugar. W: 1 whitefish, fried; 2 pcs. bread, lard spread; 1 cup tea.	H: 6 potatoes boiled with flour; and lard; 1 slice bread, spread with lard; 2 cups tea, milk, sugar. W: 3 potatoes as above; 1 pc. bread, lard spread; 2 cups tea, milk, sugar.
C	Beans cooked with lard; bread with lard spread; tea, milk, sugar.	2 whitefish, fried; beans, as above; bannock with raisins, lard spread; tea, milk sugar.	Bannock with raisins, lard spread; tea, milk, sugar.

Table 11 illustrates the role of wavies in the autumn diet. The records were obtained from George Kiiokii's family of four, including two children eight and three (this is Family C in Table 10). Potatoes are not apt to be eaten in this period by families who are living away from the post.

1. According to the husband, he did not eat fish at this meal because he was not hungry.

TABLE 11

SAMPLE LATE FALL DIETS

<u>Date</u>	<u>Breakfast</u>	<u>Dinner</u>	<u>Supper</u>
Oct. 4	3 whitefish fried in lard; bannock spread with butter; tea, milk, sugar.	Wavy, boiled with lard, 10 small potatoes, rolled oats added to a stock; bread with butter; tea, milk, sugar.	3 whitefish fried in lard; bannock with raisins and butter; tea, milk, sugar.
Oct. 5	Bannock with raisins and butter; tea with milk, sugar.	Wavy, boiled with lard, 10 potatoes, rolled oats; bannock with raisins; tea, milk, sugar.	3 whitefish fried; prunes cooked with sugar; bannock with butter; tea, milk, sugar.
Oct. 6	3 whitefish, fried; bread with butter; tea, milk, sugar.	Wavy, boiled with lard, 10 potatoes, rolled oats; bread with butter; tea, milk, sugar.	Wavy, boiled with ten potatoes; bannock with raisins, butter spread; tea, milk, sugar.
Oct. 11	3 whitefish, fried; bannock, raisins, butter; tea, milk, sugar.	Wavy, boiled with 10 potatoes; bannock with raisins, butter; tea, milk, sugar.	3 whitefish, fried; bannock, raisins, butter; tea, milk, sugar.
Oct. 12	2 ducks, boiled with lard; bread, butter; tea, milk, sugar.	Wavy 10 potatoes; bread with butter; tea, milk, sugar.	3 whitefish, fried; bread with butter; tea, milk, sugar.
Oct. 13	Beans cooked with lard; bread with butter; tea, milk, sugar.	3 whitefish fried; bannock with lard; ¹ tea with milk and sugar.	Wavy boiled with 10 potatoes; bannock, raisins lard; tea, milk, sugar.
Oct. 14	Wavy, boiled with 8 potatoes; bannock with raisins, lard; tea, milk, sugar.	Beans cooked with lard; bannock with lard; tea, milk, sugar.	3 whitefish boiled; 8 potatoes added to stock; bannock with raisins; lard spread; tea, milk, sugar.

1. Use of butter as a spread does not last long after the issuance of family allowances. Very little butter is purchased for cash.

Among families camped near the wavy grounds, geese figure still more often in the late fall diet, particularly if no fish nets have been set. Here bannock is apt to be spread with wavy grease while the fried intestines of the fowl are eaten occasionally to conserve the supply of birds. At noon two men shooting in the marshes may broil a couple of ducks or a wavy to eat with tea and bannock. In the evening they share the fowl that have been cooked for the family meal.

With the southerly flight of the last wavies (generally around the end of October) snow begins to settle on the ground and the increasing cold hastens the freezing of the rivers. When solid ice has formed, shortly after the middle of November, the season of early winter (mi'kiskaw) has set in. People have been preparing for the onset of the cold since the beginning of autumn although the bulk of snowshoe making and preparation of the earth packed winter lodges begins only after the heaviest part of the wavies has quit the area. Then families leave the coastal wavy camps with their stocks of birds either to return to the post or, more commonly, to move inland near timber. Here earth lodges or tents are set up and banked with brush until snow falls and provides material for additional banking. Much wood must be gotten in early winter, for now the daytime fire is never allowed to go out. Mikiskaw is a period when freshly caught fish and preserved wavies are important mainstays of the diet. Rabbits too are increasing rapidly as snares are constructed in the bush and the frozen muskeg invites the animal to migrate coastward. The period just before freeze-up, in some years, is a time when fish can be netted in great abundance along the lower Attawapiskat and other rivers. The low water in the fall was blamed for the fact that no large fish runs occurred during 1947.

With early November the beaver guardians begin to count the beaver houses on their respective territories and commence to set snares and metal traps for fox and other animals. While they are occupied in the bush they also encounter opportunities to shoot grouse, spruce hens, and ptarmigan, all of which add variety to the diet. The final southward flight of the wavies results in a momentary depression, informants pointing out how "half the food" was leaving the area, but the oncoming cold soon gains the forefront of attention. People enjoy winter's first bold appearance. The cold is not yet too intense for comfortable outdoor travel but is enough to freeze the muskeg and rivers, thus permitting use of dogs. Men are also enthusiastic about beginning their trapping. Hopes surge regarding the number of fox and other skins that will be gotten and the money which the pelts will earn him. These hopes are revealed in dreams such as the one obtained from a mature man in early November: "I shoot the moose. I kill three in the winter. Everybody eat; they buy moosemeat." In a year when trapping promises to be poor, optimism quickly changes to despair,

or resignation. The following fragment from Fred Mud's journal, dated December 10, 1947, indicates a typically restrained reaction to one such poor winter: "I see in the bush not many rabbits and no animals, no moose, caribou, otter, or mink. This country is no good... I see many rivers and creeks, but no otter. Nobody sees mink or squirrel. Fox are lacking."

Attawapiskat post is relatively deserted in mikiskaw. Once the river has solidly frozen, however, an occasional sled arrives with a man who, having been isolated during the period of freeze-up, ran short of flour, baking powder, or lard and now comes to secure the necessary supplies. The main movement toward the post does not come until Christmas. Then the Indians arrive from as far as eighty miles north and west as well as from Akimiski Island (there has probably been some concern over there lest the channel separating the island from the mainland not freeze over in time for the holidays). Coming to spend the holidays at the post affects the diet. In 1947 country food consumption took a sharp drop during the weeks of December 22 and January 29. The consumption of fish increases, probably because the cold helps fishing and because women returning to the post (which has always been considered to be a good fishing site) promptly set nets under the ice. Christmas means inter-family visiting. Gifts are distributed by the Hudson's Bay Company and Mission, and at New Year's a dance is usually held to which many people come to look if not to participate. There is also a New Year's feast, the eatables for which are provided by the Company. Most of the coastal families, or those who hunted geese before going inland, contrive to save Canada geese or waxies to eat on Christmas and New Year's days.

Table 12 reviews the early winter meal patterns of two sample post families. Family A contained Maggy Katakwapit, her adult widowed son, and the latter's son, a child of seven. Family B contained George Kiiokii, his wife, and children eight and three (this is family C of Table 10 and the family whose diet has been given in Table 11.)

TABLE 12

SAMPLE EARLY WINTER DIETS

<u>Date and</u> <u>Family</u>	<u>Breakfast</u>	<u>Dinner</u>	<u>Supper</u>
Nov. 19 A	Tea with flour and sugar.	2 whitefish fried; tea with milk and sugar.	5 whitefish fried with intestines; bannock; tea.

TABLE 12 (Continued)

<u>Date and Family</u>		<u>Breakfast</u>	<u>Dinner</u>	<u>Supper</u>
Nov. 19	B	Wavy, 10 potatoes and rolled oats added to stock; bread with lard; tea, milk, sugar.	Wavy, 10 potatoes; bread with lard; tea, milk, sugar.	3 whitefish fried; bannock with lard; tea, milk, sugar. In course of day children ate 3 dry fish.
Nov. 20	A	2 dry fish; tea with flour, lard, sugar.	3 dry fish; bannock; tea, milk, sugar.	1 wavy; bannock; tea with sugar.
	B	Rolled oats with milk, lard, sugar; bannock with lard; tea, milk, sugar.	Beans cooked with lard; bread with lard; tea, milk, sugar.	3 whitefish fried; bread with lard; tea, milk, sugar. In course of day children ate 4 dry fish.
Nov. 21	A	Tea with milk and sugar.	3 dry fish; fried fish intestines; bannock, tea.	Wavy cooked with rolled oats; bannock; tea, milk, sugar.
	B	Beans cooked with lard; bread with lard; tea, milk, sugar.	Wavy cooked with 10 potatoes and rolled oats; bread, lard spread; tea, milk, sugar.	3 whitefish, fried bread with lard; tea, milk, sugar.
Nov. 22	A	Bannock, tea, with milk, sugar.	Bannock with jam; tea, flour, lard, sugar.	Tea with lard and sugar.
	B	Beans cooked with lard; bread with lard; tea, milk, sugar.	Wavy cooked with 10 potatoes; bread with lard; tea, milk, sugar.	3 whitefish, fried bread with lard; tea, milk, sugar. In course of day children ate 3 dry fish.
Nov. 23	A		Bannock with jam; tea.	Wavy; tea with flour, sugar, lard.

TABLE 12 (Continued)

<u>Date and Family</u>	<u>Breakfast</u>	<u>Dinner</u>	<u>Supper</u>
Nov. 23 B	Rolled oats, with milk, lard, sugar; bread with lard; tea, milk, sugar.	Wavy with 10 potatoes; bread with lard; tea, milk, sugar.	Beans cooked with lard; bread with lard; tea, milk, sugar. In course of day children ate 2 dry fish.
Nov. 24 A	Bannock; tea, milk, sugar.	Tea, flour, lard, sugar.	Bannock with jam; tea, milk, sugar.
B	3 whitefish, fried; bread with lard; tea, milk, sugar.	Wavy, 10 potatoes; bread with lard; tea, milk, sugar.	3 whitefish, fried; bread with lard; tea, milk, sugar. In course of day children ate 3 dry fish.
Nov. 25 A	Bannock; tea with flour, lard, sugar.	5 dry fish, tea, milk, sugar.	Tea with milk, sugar.
B	Rolled oats with milk, lard, sugar; bread with lard; tea, milk, sugar.	Wavy, 10 potatoes; bread with lard; tea, milk, sugar.	3 whitefish, fried; bannock with lard; tea, milk, sugar.

Winter

The conclusion of the midyear holiday season has nothing to do directly with the end of mikiskaw but the intensifying cold and icy winds are certain cues that winter proper (piipoon') is here in all its bitterness. (It is proposed to ignore the designation mekwa'piipoon, "early winter", inasmuch as informants did not appear concerned with this calendrical subdivision). In winter two divergent patterns of activity occur, both of which have different consequences for the diet. These patterns may be distinguished by calling one the inland pattern and the other the coastal pattern.

Not long after New Year's most of the inland trapper's leave the post and return to their traplines where, in 1947 due to the scarcity of game, many of them spent much of their time hunting for food. Intensive fur trapping occurred only farther inland among families whose trapping grounds lay outside of the beaver preserve boundaries and who were thus eligible to trap "wild" beaver. Relatively few families possess such

locations. Three or four inland trappers left their families in Attawapiskat post during this season while they trapped beaver beyond the preserve. Of these, two men started beaver trapping only at the end of February, having spent the previous two months in the post. Despite these variations in the pattern, generally inland people spend the bitterest part of the winter in the bush with their families. Just as in mikiskaw, they supplement country food with the advanced relief rations that they carried off after Christmas on their sleds. Many will return again at Easter or shortly before the spring thaw for another load of supplies to last them through the period of break-up when travel is difficult and trapping for rats becomes intensive.

In contrast to this inland pattern, those men whose traplines are located relatively close to the coast leave their families in the post after Christmas until nearly spring. With fox trapping unprofitable after early January (the coastal people depend heavily on foxes for their income), mink and otter scarce in 1947, and mainland beaver not yet abundant enough to permit their trapping, there is little to attract these men back to their trap lines with their families. However, on Akimiski Island the Company's beaver preserve has begun producing sufficient beaver for trapping. The quota set for these animals is also more than the Akimiski trappers can fill by their own efforts. Hence in 1948 the Company manager detailed about fourteen additional men to take animals from the Akimiski lakes and streams. Like the Indians with traditional trapping privileges on the island, these men left their families in the post during January, February, and March while they several times crossed and recrossed the channel with sleds. The men remained away about ten days at a time, each time returning to Attawapiskat with beaver meat and pelts. Each visit to the post lasted about a week. While one or two men made only one expedition to Akimiski for beaver, others made three or four. Many then discontinued going, even though the quota of beaver had not yet been filled. To explain this reluctance to continue what might seem to be work rewarding in food and fur, informants stated that the low water and resultant heavy ice in the creeks and lakes of the island had caused beaver to starve to death, making their trapping unprofitable. Hostility between the regular Akimiski trappers and the newly assigned men may also have been partly responsible.

It seems generally true that the enthusiasm which is an important motivating factor in the Indian hunter and trapper is keenest when his efforts promise to bring him not a few but many animals. This is well illustrated in the hunting of geese and the trapping of rats. Both are animals easy to secure in large numbers. Toward the exploitation of both the Indian is moved by considerable enthusiasm. Whereas in some other societies relative scarcity of resources might recommend harder work, among the Indians scarcity is quickly perceived as disappointing so that efforts tend to relax rather than intensify. Despite individual exceptions, this statement applies equally to the exploitation of fish, rabbits, berries,

as well as larger game. As might be expected, language gives further evidence for the generalization. A single word, ma'tew tends to be used to express the idea "It is scarce" and "it is lacking", although when something is totally absent the speaker may reinforce his statement by saying "it is completely lacking" (mita'nii matew). Before condemning the attitude which has just been described it is important to realize that the Indian does not regard trapping as unpleasant. Compared to many American workers he enjoys his work although particular inconveniences associated with it may be deplored. It is exactly this enjoyment which becomes threatened by fruitless endeavour. Not accustomed to strive fruitlessly the Indian readily abandons an activity when it ceases to be productive and thereby enjoyable. He then looks for some other means of securing food or else subsists temporarily on the food obtainable in relief and family allowances. The fact that the Indian finds pleasure in his work does not deny that his work often brings hardship. Winter travel, for example, especially through the bush where dogs are not used, is extremely onerous but it is made worthwhile by the rewards which the trapper expects to find when he visits his traps. From this it should be clear that to alter the Indian's habits of trapping would require changing his basic outlook on work. This is likely to be extraordinarily difficult and the results might well be that he would experience greater discontent with regard to his general status. There is no evidence that the American attitude, which regards work as rewarding for itself alone as well as for its results, is the most conducive to an adjusted personality. The Indian too sets great value on striving and work. But he will not readily continue an activity unless its results are readily apparent and fairly abundant. Obviously the state of mind described here also serves to reinforce the close dependence on environment discussed above. Seasonal changes bring abundance of certain resources, like geese. When these appear the bulk of effort is directed toward their exploitation, leaving little time or inclination to glean country products available to a lesser degree. This attitude also helps one to understand why agriculture is not likely soon to acquire enthusiastic acceptance. Plowing and then waiting several months for the results of one's work to be apparent is not in the tradition of the Indian.

To return to winter activities, it is difficult to predict whether the custom of leaving wives and children in Attawapiskat post will continue once the time has come to trap the mainland beaver preserve (about 1955). One reason why it is likely that post residence will be maintained for some time lies in the fact that the parts of the preserve lying adjacent to the post are being most heavily stocked and therefore are apt to be the first to become productive. Post residence of women and children could perhaps usefully lend itself to a rehabilitation program. During 1948 women living at the post remained occupied with their customary duties of child care, wood getting, and sewing. In addition they secured food from rabbit snares, fish nets, and baited hooks. Rabbit snares are generally set within a few hours'

journey from the post. In early March a number of women (many of them related) teamed together to travel to nearby Amiskosiipii, ten or twelve miles north of the post, where they camped. From this point individual women fanned out to set snares leaving all the children in care of elder sisters and an old grandmother. Week-ends several families returned to the post in order to attend Sunday Mass. The snares set often caught spruce hens and ptarmigan and women who owned guns brought down additional such small game. The fact that the winter of 1947-48 was a poor year for rabbits did not make their expedition profitable, although it obviously held recreational appeal for the participants, being regarded somewhat like an extended picnic. In the ten days spent at the rabbit camp one woman accompanied by four children secured twenty-five rabbits, one spruce hen, and ten squirrels. Another woman with three children and an infant killed thirty-seven rabbits, four spruce hens, and four Canada jays. Not all of the rabbits caught were eaten by the latter family but were distributed to old people in Attawapiskat post. This woman made three trips between the post and the rabbit camp. Visiting the snares occupied about six hours daily once the trail had been broken. She quit going to Amiskosiipii because there were "no more rabbits."

In the early evening, when their chores are finished, women in the post visit. The lengthening days allow some time for the young people to walk on the sidewalk. Soon, however, cold drives the promenaders to seek shelter, the boys congregating in the home of the Indian clerk serving the free trader, the girls visiting each other's homes or loitering in the widows' building till darkness falls or until wary mothers come to fetch them.

Table 13 illustrates some winter diets. Family A is George Kiiokii's group, containing two sons (S), eight and three, Family B represents Fred Mud, his wife, and three months old infant. They are families C and A respectively of Table 10.

TABLE 13

SAMPLE WINTER DIETS

<u>Date and</u> <u>Family</u>	<u>Breakfast</u>	<u>Dinner</u>	<u>Supper</u>
Feb. 24 A	Bannock with lard; tea milk, sugar.	Beans cooked with lard; bannock with corn syrup, tea, milk, sugar.	Rolled oats cooked with milk and sugar; bannock with corn syrup; tea, milk, sugar.

TABLE 13 (Continued)

<u>Date and Family</u>	<u>Breakfast</u>	<u>Dinner</u>	<u>Supper</u>
Feb. 24 B	H: 1/2 Rabbit, boiled; 1 whitefish fried; 1 pc. bannock with jam; 2 cups tea, milk, sugar. W: same but with only one cup of tea.	H: 1/2 rabbit boiled; 2 cups mission beans; 1 pc. bannock with jam; 3 cups tea, milk, sugar. W: Same but with only 1 cup of beans and one cup of tea.	
Feb. 26 A	Rolled oats cooked with lard, sugar, milk; bannock with raisins and butter; tea, milk, sugar.	Mission beans; bread with butter (corn syrup for children); tea, milk, sugar.	H: 2 pcs. bread, lard; 2 bowls tea, milk, sugar. W: Same; children half the above quantities.
Feb. 27 A	H: 4 potatoes cooked with flour and lard; 2 pc. bread, lard; 2 bowls tea, milk, sugar. W: 4 potatoes as above; 1 pc. bread, lard; 1 bowl tea, milk, sugar. S(8): 2 potatoes, 1 pc. bread, lard; 2 cups tea, milk, sugar. S(3): 2 potatoes; bread, lard; 1 cup tea, milk, sugar.	H: 3/4 bowl mission beans; 1 pc. bread with wavy grease; 1 bowl tea, milk, sugar. W: Same S(8): 1/2 bowl beans; 1 pc. bread with wavy grease; 2 cups tea, milk, sugar S(3): 1/4 bowl beans; bread, wavy grease; 1 cup tea, milk, sugar.	H: 1 bowl mission beans; bannock; lard spread; 2 bowls tea, milk, sugar. W: Same but with only 1 bowl tea. S(8): 1/2 bowl beans; bannock, lard spread; 2 cups tea, milk, sugar. S(3): 1/4 bowl beans 1/2 pc. bannock; 1 cup tea, milk, sugar.

TABLE 13 (Continued)

<u>Date and Family</u>	<u>Breakfast</u>	<u>Dinner</u>	<u>Supper</u>
Feb. 28 A	H: 2 cups rolled oats cooked with lard, milk, sugar; bannock with lard; tea, milk, sugar.	H: Forward half of one boiled rabbit, minus limbs but containing heart and lungs, also one hind leg; one dipper stock to which lard and rolled oats had been added in cooking; bannock with lard; tea, milk, sugar.	H: 3 potatoes cooked with flour and lard; bread with jam; tea, milk, sugar.
	W: Same	W: 1 hind leg, 2 fore-legs, 1 bowl stock; bannock with lard; tea, milk, sugar.	W: 4 potatoes; bread with jam; tea, milk, sugar.
	S (8): Same	S(8) 1/2 the rear half of carcass containing kidneys; 1/2 bowl stock; bannock with lard; tea, milk, sugar.	S(8): Same but only 2 potatoes.
	S (3): Same	S (3): Same	S (3): Same
Feb. 29 A	H: 1 bowl rolled oats; bread with jam; tea, milk, sugar.	H: 1 hind leg of rabbit cooked with lard, flour, potatoes; 3 potatoes, 1 cup stock; bread with jam; tea, milk, sugar.	H: 1 pc. bread with jam; 1 bowl tea, milk, sugar.
	W: Same	W: Same	W: Same
	S(8): Same but 3/4 bowl rolled oats.	S(8): Front half of rabbit carcass minus legs containing head and brain, heart, and lungs; 8 potatoes; 1/2 cup stock; bread with jam; tea, milk, sugar.	S(8): 1 rabbit foreleg, 1/2 pc. bread with jam; 1 cup tea, milk, sugar.

TABLE 13 (Continued)

<u>Date and Family</u>	<u>Breakfast</u>	<u>Dinner</u>	<u>Supper</u>
Feb. 29 A	S(3): Same	S(3): Rear half of carcass minus legs, including liver; 2 potatoes; stock; bread with jam; tea, milk, sugar.	S(3): Same
Mar. 1 A	Rabbit legs for children; bread with jam; tea, milk, sugar.	Mission beans, bread with jams; tea, milk, sugar.	Mission beans; bread with butter; tea, milk, sugar.
Mar. 2 A	H: 1 rabbit foreleg, 1 hindleg, stock containing rolled oats, lard; bread with butter; tea, milk, sugar. W: Same but including liver. S(8): Front half of carcass with heart and lungs. S(3): Rear half of body with kidneys	Bread with butter; jam available for children; tea, milk, sugar.	Bread with butter; tea, milk, sugar.
B			H: 2 whitefish fried; raisin bannock with jam; 2 bowls tea, milk, sugar. W: 1 whitefish fried; half portion raisin bannock with jam; large cup tea, milk, sugar.

TABLE 13 (Continued)

<u>Date and Family</u>	<u>Breakfast</u>	<u>Dinner</u>	<u>Supper</u>
Mar. 3	<p>A Rolled oats cooked with milk, sugar, lard; bread with butter; tea, milk, sugar.</p> <p>B H: About 1 lb. beaver meat (one hind-quarter); raisin bannock with jam; 1 1/2 bowls tea, milk, sugar.</p> <p>W: About 1/4 lb. beaver meat; small pc. bannock; 1 large cup coffee, milk, sugar.</p>	<p>9 potatoes cooked with flour and lard; bread with butter; tea, milk, sugar.</p> <p>H: 1 ptarmigan; 1 bowl of stock containing rolled oats large pc. raisin bannock with jam; 2 bowls tea, milk, sugar.</p> <p>W: 1 bowl ptarmigan stock with rolled oats; small pc. bannock; 2 bowls tea, milk, sugar.</p>	<p>Bread with jam; tea, milk, sugar.</p>
Mar. 7	B	<p>H: 2 whitefish, fried; small pc. bannock with corn syrup; 2 bowls tea, milk, sugar.</p> <p>W: 1 whitefish, fried; small pc. bannock with corn syrup; 2 cups tea, milk, sugar, lard.</p>	<p>H: 1 hindquarter rabbit with stock containing flour and lard; 2 pc. bread with corn syrup; 2 1/2 bowls tea, milk, sugar, lard.</p> <p>W: 1 forequarter rabbit; 1 pc. bannock with syrup; 1 bowl tea, milk, sugar, lard.</p>
Mar. 8	<p>B H: Head of one beaver boiled with flour, lard (brains removed and eaten by informant's father); 5 potatoes boiled with lard; small pc. bannock with syrup; 2 bowls tea, milk, sugar.</p>	<p>H: 2 bowls beans cooked with lard; 2 pcs. bread with lard; 2 bowls tea, milk, sugar, lard.</p>	<p>H: 7 potatoes cooked with flour, lard; 1 bowl rolled oats with lard; large pc. raisin bannock with marmalade; 1 bowl tea, milk, sugar, lard.</p>

<u>Date and Family</u>	<u>Breakfast</u>	<u>Dinner</u>	<u>Supper</u>
Mar. 8	B W: Marrow from upper joint of one hind-quarter; 3 potatoes; small pc. bannock with syrup; 2 large cups tea.	W: 2 large cups beans, 1 bowl tea, milk, sugar, lard.	W: 3 potatoes, small pc. bannock, 2 large cups tea.
Mar. 9	B H: 1 bowl beans cooked with flour and lard; 1 large cup raisins boiled with flour and water; raisin bannock, no spread; 2 potatoes cooked in lard; 2 bowls tea, milk, sugar, lard. W: 1/2 bowl beans; 1 large cup raisins; small pc. bannock; 2 potatoes; 1 bowl tea, milk, sugar, lard.		
Mar. 10	B	H: 1/4 wavy (purchased), 1/2 bowl stock containing flour and lard; small pc. bannock with lard; tea, milk, sugar, lard. W: 1/8 wavy, 1 large cup stock, small pc. bannock, large cup tea, milk, sugar, lard. (Rest of wavy shared with man's parents)	H: 7 potatoes cooked with flour and lard; bannock with corn syrup; 2 bowls tea, milk, sugar, lard. W: 4-5 potatoes; bannock with corn syrup; 1 bowl tea, milk, sugar, lard.

<u>Date and Family</u>	<u>Breakfast</u>	<u>Dinner</u>	<u>Supper</u>
Mar. 11 B	H: 1 forequarter beaver with rolled oats and lard; 2 pc. bread with corn syrup; 1/2 bowl tea, milk, sugar, lard. W: Same portion beaver; 1 pc. bread, corn syrup, 3/4 bowl tea, milk, sugar, lard.	H: 1 hindquarter beaver with lard; small pc. bannock with raisins, no spread; 1 bowl tea, milk, sugar. W: 1 forequarter beaver, small pc. bannock; 1 bowl tea, milk, sugar, lard.	H: 2 whitefish fried; 1 plate mission beans; 1 pc. bread with lard; 2 bowls tea, milk, sugar, lard. W: 1 whitefish fried; 1/2 plate beans; large pc. bread with lard; 3/4 bowl tea, milk, sugar, lard.
Mar. 12 B	H: 2 plates rolled oats cooked with lard; large pc. bannock with lard; 1/2 bowl tea, milk, sugar, lard. W: 1 plate rolled oats; small pc. bannock with lard; 1 bowl tea, milk, sugar, lard.		

Beaver, which has been widely distributed by the Akimiski trappers when they return to the post, disappears from the diet before the end of March. The supply of wabies has now grown very slim. Fish remain scarce and if no moosemeat finds its way downriver (none did in 1948) then rabbit becomes the main country food in late winter. Now too people are beginning to grow impatient with the cold and look forward to spring, as much for the warmer weather as for the returning geese. Impatience with remaining in the post also grows. All of these factors, plus perhaps a deficiency of Vitamin C in the diet,¹ may be responsible for the tension which piled up in March 1948 and contributed to a flurry of interfamily and intrafamily aggression. As the month finally ends the Akimiski

1. Personally communicated suggestion of Dr. Elizabeth Chant Robertson.

trappers return their families to the island to remain there until early summer. Other families also begin to drift from the post.

Spring

The moist, melting snow announces spring (sii'kwoon). Everybody enjoys the first spell of milder weather, although people are aware that before the arrival of summer they will again see snow borne on cold north winds. With the coming of April the days tend to be clear and, in contrast to winter, long. There are long drawn out twilights in which the eastern sky deepens to a dark blue while in the west flesh tints glow and reflect on the snow long after the sun has set. The evening air is still and crisp in the post carrying the shouts of playing boys, the mournful howl of a dog, the jagged tune of a gramophone.

Warned by the thaws the last loiterers pull up their fish nets, collect their advance rations, and hasten to quit the village, their canoes aboard their sleds. The settlement in this season becomes more deserted than at any other point of the annual cycle. Even the old widows leave the post before break-up and travel a few miles to the southerly Amiskosiipii where they will set a few traps for muskrats. Men working in the bush perceive spring with mixed emotions. They welcome the mild weather but travelling with a sled becomes difficult in the cloying snow. The mud thaws and drops from the runners and dogs struggle ineffectually to move the suddenly heavier load. To overcome these difficulties men often travel on nights when the moon is bright, starting at twilight when frost begins to freeze the surface of the snow. Having left the post people gather along the coast and set up muskrat camps on hillocks of high ground. Everyone is busy accumulating firewood so as to be prepared for the high water which will isolate them for some time. Inland the ice in the rivers breaks earliest. Gradually the broken ice extends toward the coast. Generally by the latter quarter of May (earlier in 1948, later in 1947) water flows unimpeded as far as the Bay. The river free and swollen signals the end of spring and the beginning of minoos'kamin ("high water"), the shortest season of the year. Several times in this season the high water in the Attawapiskat River, damned by ice floes near the coast, backed up and flooded the post.

Break-up is always an exciting period in the North but it is also a time marked by some apprehension. A long drawn out spring may have unpleasant or even dangerous consequences for families who have spent the winter in the bush and now find their stores of flour and lard becoming low. With snow gone from the ground their sleds are useless. The rivers filled with huge ice floes hold them prisoners in the country. They are

unable even in an emergency to reach the post and replenish food supplies.

In the spring attention focusses on two further phenomena: the arrival of Canada geese and ducks (waxies come later) and the emergence of the muskrat. Although the calendar month of April is called nis'kapiisim ("goose moon"), actually it is the new moon of March which is designated with that title. Thus, almost a full month before the geese arrive people are made conscious of their imminence. The boys old enough to hunt (and their younger brothers too) go around uttering goose calls, the survival of an old custom of greeting the Goose Moon and an expression of the exuberance which the moon's promise awakens. Half the food supply is on its way back to Attawapiskat! Indians also try to predict the date when the first goose will be seen. Almost simultaneously with the first flight of geese (on April 17 in 1948) the muskrat leaves his winter den and comes through the honey-combed shore ice. This animal is valued for his fur (the price is relatively low but the numbers that can be killed somewhat make up for that, his edible meat, and because, being plentiful in the muskeg and marshes of the area, he is easy to trap. Yet bad muskrat years have been known and if these coincide with a poor fox year, summer will be a period of extreme poverty for the people.

Minooskamin (or late spring) is a busy time for both sexes. Women, in addition to their duties of child care and cooking, like to earn pocket money by rat trapping. As in the fall they are also engaged in drying geese for use in early summer and also dry a few muskrats. Men oscillate between rat traps and the goose blinds. Always when people work one eye is kept to the sky and the sight of ducks or geese promptly leads to coaxing them nearer by calling.

Toward the end of May the first trappers straggle back to the post and fish nets are returned to the river. The early arrivals have one more task to complete before the period of summer relaxation is won--planting the communal garden. This takes place in early June and, in contrast to some other phases of the annual cycle, is marked by little eagerness or anticipation and often by some tendency to procrastination.

Sources of Food

In contrast to urban societies, in which practically all food is secured from markets (i. e. stores), Attawapiskat economy is not so exclusively dependent on marketing. Nevertheless the living generation of Indians cannot recall ever having lived without using some of the imported food merchandised by traders. It is no exaggeration to say that the people cannot conceive of life without such purchased staples as lard, flour, sugar,

tea, and baking powder. From the frequent use of these staples derives the popular dictum, expressed by whites and metis, that the Indian practically survives on flour, lard, and tea.

The strong need for imported food is expressed in the following remarks made by a mature, intelligent informant:

Since the white man brought the white man's food things have been different with the Indians growing up -- since country food started falling off and white food came in. That's why the Indian finds it hard to make a living. He was brought up on white man's food. People on this side of fifty years of age are just like white men in living. We can't live on straight country food, although we try to. Country food seems to suit us only when we use it alongside food we get from the stores. Former generations could live comfortably on country food and use the soup of meat for tea. But us people, we can't do that now. I am extremely frightened that the government will stop this relief. Then we'll be hard up. We couldn't live on fresh food alone. It would be the same as putting white people on fresh country food alone.

The same point was made by another speaker:

I don't think that store food alone can keep the people healthy. It doesn't give them enough strength like country food. This time, March 25, 1948, there's nothing to kill and I have to get food from the store. Canned meat, if one uses it, doesn't leave one strong. That's how it is with me. The old people who use bannock very much are not done well by it. It doesn't leave them strong... The best thing for me is a little meat, i.e. fresh meat, bannock, and tea every day. Of course not just tea but also milk and sugar.

The neat compromise suggested by the latter informant says nothing about the complex process of learning which has preceded modern appetites like his own and which is continuing to modify the food preferences of his children. The most serious aspect of this process, to which reference will recur several times in this report, is the fact that increased dependence on store food appears to be correlated with a reduction in the use made of country food in general, although specific country foods (notably moose, caribou, and geese) will probably continue to hold a high place due to a variety of historical and other factors. In association with a tendency to energetically exploit only the most abundant and easily

secured food resources (see below) the diminishing interest in country food products promises to lower the nutritional status of the group more and more as marketing becomes an increasingly dominant channel of food getting.

It must be pointed out that the community is not precisely homogeneous with regard to the role played in the diet by imported food. Most of the people who cluster around Attawapiskat post in the winter and more particularly those families who spend much of the winter in the settlement use the greatest variety and quantity of these staples. At the opposite extreme are found the far inland trappers, especially four families who leave in August and do not again settle near a trading post until late May. These people reportedly use practically no milk in the winter and few of the items allotted in family allowances. They rely heavily on flour, lard, tea, baking powder, and rolled oats, as well as fresh meat and fish. Upon their return to the post they show no eagerness to buy a variety of other products but spend a large portion of their income on new equipment, like canoes and sewing machines. None of the far inland families receive regular relief rations and rarely have they secured equipment in relief.

Eight principal sources of food are utilized by the Attawapiskat Cree. These are: relief, family allowances, trade for cash or on credit, gardening, collecting, hunting, trapping, and fishing. Animal domestication is not practised.

Relief

The extent to which government relief has grown in recent years may be gauged by referring to Table 14, which includes the amounts issued through the Hudson's Bay Company since autumn 1942 at both Attawapiskat and Lake River posts. Years refer to the business period of the Company, which runs from June 1. through May 31. The figure for 1947-48 is an estimate advanced by the manager.

It is important to keep in mind that relief issues include ammunition, clothing, tenting, and other supplies as well as food (ntoo'konoon mii'tcim, "doctor food", or ki'tciiookimaw miitcim, "government food"). The proportion of relief issued in food is probably greater than for all other goods combined. In the calendar year 1947 the mission distributed about \$500.00 in relief and probably similar amounts in the years preceding. The Government does not reimburse the Church for such grants.

TABLE 14

GOVERNMENT RELIEF TO ATTAWAPISKAT INDIANS

<u>Period:</u>	<u>1942-43</u>	<u>1943-44</u>	<u>1944-45</u>	<u>1945-46</u>	<u>1946-47</u>	<u>1947-48</u>
Amount:	\$2952.28	2431.84	3630.85	6628.60	10,530.97	17,000.00 (estimated)
Per capita ¹	\$ 6.28	6.03	7.73	14.11	22.41	36.17 (estimated)

The fact that in 1946-47 over \$10,000.00 worth of goods went to the assistance of the Indians (as compared to about \$11,000.00 in family allowances and about \$23,000.00 in earned income) cannot help but have profound significance for the foodways of the Indian community. In the first place it may be considered a recommendation that some measures be instituted to remedy the conditions which make it necessary, at least in a poor fur year, for the people to derive thirty percent of their living from assistance. With relief the Indians have been spending more money for goods than they are able to earn, the ratio of spending to earning being about 1.32 to 1 (including family allowances in earnings). Relief further means that the food consumption of the population is regulated to a considerable extent by the quantities and items fixed by the Indian Affairs Branch in Ottawa (see Table 15). Particularly this affects the diets of the older people, who are not eligible for family allowances and do little trapping which would provide them with fresh country food and additional purchasing power. Older people follow a diet which in all seasons is primarily constituted of flour, lard, and tea. Other families too, when meat is lacking, fall back on this diet. The stability of the flour-lard-tea diet is at least partly maintained by the limited selection of foods admitted in relief. Certainly families receiving assistance who have been allowed dry beans, peas, and milk show a willingness to use them. If food habits, then, are partly determined by the relief schedules, part of a nutritional action program could consist in finding ways either to circumvent relief or to secure modifications in the list of foodstuffs that are allowed to flow through this channel.

A majority of families (including the widowed) received some assistance during the period of field work. Thus the average amount of relief is low and probably will not be more than about \$140.00 per family receiving regular assistance. Two types of relief exist, basic rations and "extras". During most of the year about seventy-five Attawapiskat and fifteen Lake River cases receive regular weekly rations in accordance with the schedule prepared by the Indian Affairs Branch (Table 15).

1. Per capita figures are based on a resident population of 470 persons.

TABLE 15
AUTHORIZED BASIC RATIONS¹

Item and Unit	Ration Number 1		Ration Number 1½		Ration Number 2		Ration Number 3		Ration Number 4	
	4 wk	5 wk	4 wk	5 wk	4 wk	5 wk	4 wk	5 wk	4 wk	5 wk
	mo.	mo.	mo.	mo.	mo.	mo.	mo.	mo.	mo.	mo.
Flour, lbs.	16	20	24	30	32	40	48	60	64	80
Baking Powder, lbs.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Sugar, lbs.	2	2½	3	3¾	4	5	6	7½	8	10
Oatmeal, lbs.	4	5	6	7½	8	10	12	15	16	20
Shortening, lbs.	4	5	6	7½	8	10	12	15	16	20
Tea, oz./lbs.	½	10oz	¾	15oz	1	20oz	1½	30oz	2	40oz
Soap, bars	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Matches, bxs.	4	5	4	5	8	10	12	15	6	20

A few families regularly receive such extras as milk (canned and powdered), dry beans, or dry peas above the basic ration (see Table 16). During the visits of the Indian Agent people have their best opportunity to ask for extras and it is then that the bulk of clothing and other supplies is authorized. The extent to which relief will be authorized to any except widowed, aged, and otherwise incapacitated persons depends to a considerable extent on the personality of the Agent. Indians who have had experience with a liberal administrator are apt to misunderstand or resent a successor who is less generous. Ideally no relief is supposed to go to able bodied men who, when they are not trapping or hunting, refuse to perform necessary

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1. Approximate values of commodities (1947-48): flour, .05 lb.; baking powder, .30 lb.; sugar, .20 lb.; oatmeal, .10 lb.; shortening, .35 lb.; tea, \$1.00 lb.; soap, .15 bar; matches, .04 box. Thus the approximate monthly value of the Number One ration is about \$4.20.

work around the post, such as clearing willows, securing wood for the aged, and so on. Actually this rule is not strictly enforced in Attawapiskat and it would probably be difficult to find enough useful work in summer for the number of family heads and grown sons drawing assistance. Furthermore, mature men are not likely to undertake such duties with enthusiasm or willingness.

Table 16 indicates the distribution of rations in the early winter of 1947 among individuals trading into Attawapiskat post. Children at school have been excluded from the count. It will be noted that the amount of relief is not strictly determined by the size of the family. For example, single adults, as well as families containing up to five members receive the small Number One ration. Two single adults receive the one-and-a-half ration and two families containing children. There are several reasons for the absence of a more perfect correlation between size of ration and size of family group. People who have been at the hospital in Moosonee in several cases continue to receive extra rations that were first allotted to them upon their discharge. Medical reasons are also responsible for other cases in which extra foods (notably milk) have been added to the basic ration. In one case a young unwed mother living with her family has been granted permission to receive only milk and rolled oats. She draws no basic ration for herself and child. Finally, dominant personalities who are not shy to ask for greater assistance during the doctor's visit may have their ration increased. Retiring individuals, on the other hand, are apt to retain the same basic ration.

Although one or two men stated very strongly that they received no assistance from anybody, there is no evidence suggesting that the majority of Indians ever feel any constraint in receiving relief. Rather there is a readiness to be helped which, of course, is related to the difficulty of the people to realize their conception of a comfortable living by trapping and hunting alone. There is no attitude of shame related to receiving. Conversely the Indian sees no moral value in remaining independent of another's help. To bestow assistance or gifts (especially gifts of food) promotes great pleasure in the recipient as well as some in the donor. Hence it is found that an Indian will never refuse anything which he is offered, not even a cigarette though he may at the time already be smoking one. Probably such attitudes can be expressed as stemming from dependent motives in the Indian personality. Relief arouses very strong demands to have such assistance continued. In other words, relief seems to encourage psychological dependence (but not to cause it!) and thereby clashes with the policy of the government to restrict assistance to emergencies and to help the Indian become more self-sufficient.

TABLE 16

DISTRIBUTION OF RATIONS IN ATTAWAPISKAT POST¹

Size of Family	Number of Rations									Number Receiving Extras only	Number Receiving Basic Ration
	1	1	2	2	3	3	4	5	6		
1 Adult	16	2									3
1 Adult, 1 Child	2	1	5							1	2
1 Adult, 2 Chld.	2		1								1
1 Adult, 3 Chld.	1	1									1
2 Adults	2		7		1						2
2 Adults, 1 Child	3		4		2					1	2
2 Adults, 2 Chld.			6	1	1		2 ²				2
2 Adults, 3 Chld.			1		1		3				5
2 Adults, 4 Chld.			1		4	1	3		1 ³		4
Totals ⁴	26	4	25	1	9	1	8		1	2	22

An explanation for the Indian's passive-dependent attitudes is not to be sought in relief itself, which merely brings them to expression, but may be looked for, first, in the traditional passivity of the people toward those in authority, aboriginally the spirits, to-day the government (6a, 9, 27:213)-- and second, in the fact that historically these people have experienced several periods of acute starvation. It is only within the present decade that anything like a dependable food supply has been available to the population and that, of course, has come as a result of the introduction of a generous relief policy supplemented by family allowances. Probably few children over ten years of age have lived a normal life in the sense of having had sufficient food available at all times. Many children were nursed by mothers who knew their breast flow was inadequate for the suckling. Even at present food shortages and consequent hunger may occur when individuals trapping in the bush fail to secure the animals upon which they counted to fill their

1. Lake River cases have not been included in this tabulation.
2. These are the families of two councillors trading at Attawapiskat post. Because of the husbands' positions they each receive a relatively large ration.
3. This is the chief, who receives extra rations for his work.
4. The sum of all columns exceeds the total number of cases (75) receiving rations by the twenty-two families in the last column.

needs. The following account was given by thirty year old Fred Mud:

Last year with my father I went up the Lawaci River and after one and a half months we ran out of flour, sugar, and lard. There were no rabbits or game. We drank only tea. Every day I drank tea three times, without flour, lard, or sugar. I ate no meat. Every day I walked. Soon my face began to get very thin -- only a little flesh. Six days I was like that. For two days I had not even tea to drink. I could hardly stand up. My stomach shrank because I had no meat. Up the Lawaci I saw a small lake and I made a fish hook from a pin. I angled for fish in the ice / it was March / and I killed six jackfish. Very nice! I saw a big jackfish too. We drank water after eating. After that I could stand up and walk again. I came back here. I was nearly dead that time in the bush and I was afraid. I drank tea with milk and sugar first when I came back and after that I was very sick in my stomach. I began to vomit. My father was very upset.

Another informant volunteered a recital of near starvation conditions that faced his family just before break up in 1939 and necessitated a perilous trip to the post for food. In about 1934 a family head died of starvation and exposure eight miles from Attawapiskat. He had been enroute to the post in order to secure food for a family that included several grandchildren. The winter of 1928-29 was another period when country food was very scarce. That year two men and a fifteen year old youth, who were hunting caribou, lived in hunger for seven days. "We ate only one willow grouse ... and another we shot but it was too riddled with shot to eat. We had no tea or flour. At last we had to use sticks to keep ourselves walking. When we got to the tent we received fish to eat from my mother. We got sick then. One fellow couldn't stand up for ten days after he ate those fish."

The Indian designates a period of near starvation with the verb a'niimiipaniw which, literally translated, means, "It is upset" or, better, "It is a time of distress and hardship." There is every reason to conclude that such times of hardship must have left their mark in the society's system of values. The anxiety with which the Indian regards the possibility of losing relief and his generally insecure outlook on life are at least partially products of the strain under which the population has lived. Just as starving rats hoard when they finally receive food, it may be suggested that similar frustrations occurring in human infancy and childhood lead to an exceptionally high evaluation of food and a demand to be taken care of with food. Even though a particular individual may have escaped actual food threats, it cannot be overlooked that he is brought up in a social group whose conversation often dwells on that topic.

The experiences associated with food in Attawapiskat suggest that the whole outlook on food is probably quite different for the Cree than for most white groups. Public assistance too is perceived in distinctive terms. The Indian acts as though he were still in the grip of imminent starvation and food shortage. Although patently unrealistic, such an anxious view of life profoundly colours the native's relations with administrators. It is likely that to ignore the sentiment would be to intensify still further the people's insecurity.

White persons dealing with the Attawapiskat Indians are sometimes opposed to a liberal policy of relief. They blame assistance for the fact that Indians will not work for wages in summer and also allege that relief is "spoiling" the people. It is possible that their resentment may be partly due to the attitude common in Canadian society that in most cases it is shameful to be dependent on public assistance. It may be further related to the conception of property among Canadians as something which enhances the ego and has display value. With this attitude goes the acquisition of goods beyond amounts required for immediate use. It has already been pointed out that the Indian does not feel it shameful to receive help. Examination reveals that his property ideas also differ from those which are common in urban civilization. The Attawapiskat Cree do not regard property as having inherent ego value. They do not seek to acquire goods for prestige purposes. The quantity and value of the goods (other than food) which an individual owns have little emotional significance apart from the fact that they are useful. Goods are first for use and not display. Clothing may be a partial exception to this principle but again clothes must be worn before they bring status satisfactions. The large wardrobe idea is without meaning in a community like Attawapiskat.

It is also said that the Indian is made "lazy" by relief. Apparently this means that assistance will keep the Indian from striving for fur, country food, and from engaging in wage labour. This statement appears to be derived from too narrow a view of native motivation. The anthropologist sought particularly to verify this hypothesis and is now convinced that if valuable resources are plentifully available in the area, relief will facilitate their exploitation. Supported by assistance in the form of two or three month's supply of staple food the Indians will have little fear of encountering hardship in the bush even though he may take his family far from the post. When economic resources are scarce in the area the situation confronting the native alters. Under such circumstances the tendency may well be to wait in the post until another period of the annual cycle with more abundant opportunities comes around. Relief may support this attitude but is not the sole cause of the behaviour. Similarly in summer relief supports cultural attitudes which define that season to be a period of relaxation. Relief, however, is not responsible for the point of view. Relief also supports the tendency of men to leave wives and children in the post when one of these members shows signs of illness. In general men are not anxious to go off

for long periods without the emotional and material comforts that a wife can provide.

It cannot be denied that there are individual abuses of relief but such cases are relatively few. They include about half-a-dozen family heads who during the winter of 1947-48 did little trapping or other work, partly through fear that such work would cause their assistance to terminate. It is certain that relief was not the sole cause of their behaviour. Even before contact with white men Indians were familiar with the unwilling worker in their midst who demanded the active hunters to provide for his family. Three of the family heads who did little intensive trapping in 1947-48 seem to belong in this category; another man appeared to be kept in the post by a chronically bedridden wife, while a third individual was convinced that a surgical operation performed two years previously required him not to exert himself before another year.

Also indicative of abused relief may be the reported tendency of a very few family heads to ask for and hoard supplies like clothing, tenting, and roofing materials for which they have only vague prospects of need or use. Other abuses may arise from the administration of assistance being largely in the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company, without supervision within the community itself. The Company is not in a position to know accurately the economic status of particular families. As the previous manager explained, an Indian can ask for relief at the store while selling his fur to the competitor. In turn, while the manager may personally decry large relief, his Company stands to benefit in at least two ways from generous assistance. In the first place relief is responsible for a large proportion of the company's business in this area where cash sales are not great. In the second place, if a trapper can in poor years be outfitted through relief the Company does not risk advancing debt which it suspects will not be soon repaid. Thus in 1948 muskrat trappers visited the Company not so much to request debt, which could be allowed in only a few cases, but to collect extra issues of relief. The high level of relief administered in Lake River in the fall of 1947 was apparently related to the same factor.

By building on the values of self-striving and hard work, which the Indians hold along with dependency trends, it would probably be possible to organize relief in such a way as to deny assistance -- with the community's approval -- to anyone who, if able to do so, is unwilling to help himself. Incorporated in a broader rehabilitation program, enforcing relief by this principle may be a means of engineering the more intensive exploitation of neglected and relatively scarce country products.

Although in many cases relief supplemented by family allowances and some fresh meat or fish provide families with what they regard as an adequate food supply, shortages do occur among individuals who subsist primarily on relief. The supply of tea, for example, is likely to be exhausted about ten days before the end of the month for which relief was issued. Some information on shortage of food among persons receiving assistance was secured for the month of March, when country food was scarce. Sixteen out of eighteen persons interviewed admitted running short of some items. Sample data taken only from families primarily dependent on relief are presented in Table 17.

TABLE 17
SAMPLE FOOD SHORTAGES AMONG FAMILIES ON
RELIEF

<u>Description of Group</u>	<u>No. of Rations</u>	<u>Nature of Shortage¹</u>
Man, 64; two unmarried daughters, 33 and 29 (older girl died 3:23).	2	Ran short of tea about 3:22 and had to curtail tea drinking except for one cupful received from a neighbour.
Man, 75, and wife, 67.	2	Ran short of sugar about 3:20 and tea about 3:27. Received these from married son who is not on relief.
Woman, 67; grand-niece, 7; two other old people share her dwelling.	2	Ran short of tea because she shared it with others living in her house, who themselves ran short. Also receives family allowances for one child.
Widow, 67.	1 1/2	First ran short of sugar, then lard; tea began to run out toward the end of the month. Received these three items from neighbours and the mission.
Woman, 51.	1	Ran short of sugar about 3:16, tea about 3:22. Received sugar from neighbour but had tea left from previous month's ration.

1. All interviews were conducted on April 2, 1948. Prior to that day relief had last been issued about March 3.

Family Allowances

The Indians of Attawapiskat receive family allowances (awa'cicak mii'tcim, "children's food") not in cash but in goods to the amount that family size and composition entitles them to. Issuance began in October, 1945, and the annual amounts since then are shown in Table 18. Years refer to the business period of the Company, running from June 1 through May 31. For 1945-46, however, the period starts with the first allowances on October 1 and ends May 31. The figure for 1947-48 is an estimate suggested by the manager.

TABLE 18

FAMILY ALLOWANCES TO ATTAWAPISKAT INDIANS¹

<u>Period</u>	<u>1945-46</u>	<u>1946-47</u>	<u>1947-48</u>
Amount	\$7252.30	\$11,753.97	\$13,904.06
Per Capita ²	15.50	25.11	29.71 (estimated)

As was pointed out to be true of relief, there is also no question but that family allowances determine to some extent the quantity and quality of foods eaten by both adults and children during most of the year. During the winter, however, because of the fact that family allowances are not issued in advance like relief, several families who do not visit the post are unable to use these foods for relatively long periods at a time. Other families who return only once or twice during that season take a relatively high proportion of their accumulated allowances in clothing. It seems reasonable to expect that if allowances were not allowed to accumulate over several months less clothing would come to be issued in this way. The problem of a clothing supply would of course remain to face the people.

About eighty-four family units, or slightly over four hundred adults and children, derive some food from family allowance issues. By no means is such food eaten by children alone. Deprived from benefitting in the foods distributed through this channel are childless couples, couples whose

1. Including the Lake River population.

2. Per capita figures are based on a resident population of 470 persons.

children are over sixteen years old, and widows and widowers who are not supporting children. When the food issued in family allowances (in value probably slightly more than half of the amounts shown in Table 18) is divided among four hundred persons the quantities consumed per individual are apt to be low.

The types of food and clothing authorized by the Indian Affairs Branch for issue in family allowances are indicated in Table 19. An asterisk before certain items indicates that these products are not stocked except in the period from mid June to September. A double asterisk denotes foods not carried at Attawapiskat (at least not during the period of field work). Bread is baked for sale by the Roman Catholic Mission but no family allowances are issued through this organization. Allowances, like relief, are solely administered by the Hudson's Bay Company, whose role in determining the food to be consumed by the Attawapiskat Indians is thus seen to be not inconsiderable. Should outside conditions affecting the wholesale markets or the erroneous estimates of the manager lead to insufficient supplies or cause stocks of certain foodstuffs to be depleted before the arrival of the spring boat, then these items will not be available in allowances. Evaporated milk, tinned soups, and butter became exhausted due to an interplay of these conditions early in the winter of 1947-48. Since shortening and lard are not authorized for issue through this channel, families were forced to use shortening purchased or supplied in relief in place of butter.

Family allowances are given on a stated day (usually the first Tuesday) of the month following radioed authorization from the Indian Agent. Despite good communication facilities, delays sometimes occur in individual cases. Thus a man who had a son born in November 1946 reported in July 1947 that he had not yet drawn supplies for the new addition to his family. The fault for such delays is alleged to lie with Ottawa officials who do not authorize the Moose Factory Agency to accredit the child. Several children have been cut off allowances although parents claim that they are not yet sixteen years old. Here the fault lies in the inaccurate age records kept by the Indian Affairs Branch and Mission. The birth register of the latter organization, it will be recalled, was destroyed by fire prior to 1942. Considerable time elapses before attempts to reaccredit a displaced child are successful. Still another problem interfering with the efficient distribution of allowances results when the Indian Agent unwittingly continues to authorize such food for children who are attending residential school. It is not often that a parent will call such a discrepancy to the manager's attention and when the Mission finally reports the enrollment of the child, one or two months' supplies may have been overdrawn. The records must then be balanced by denying allowances to those children of the family who are still at home. In one case two months had elapsed before a woman was

TABLE 19

LIST OF FOOD AND CLOTHING AUTHORIZED
FOR ISSUE UNDER FAMILY ALLOWANCES

FOODS

(Specially selected to augment and supplement the Indian diet with foods that will give Indian children proper nutrition).

- Milk, ** fresh,¹ evaporated, or dried
- Canned tomatoes or tomato juice
- Grapefruit juice
- Rolled oats
- Pablum - for children up to 8 years of age
- Pork luncheon meat - (Spork, Klik, Prem, etc.)
- Dried prunes and apricots
- Cheese
- Butter, fresh or canned
- ** Eggs, fresh
- ** Eggs, grade "A" dried in powdered form (Canadian product)
- ** Green vegetables
- Flour, Canada approved vitamin B
- * Oranges
- Peas and beans
- Sugar, corn syrup, or molasses
- Marmalade or jam
- ** Fresh meat
- *** Bread
- Tinned soups

CLOTHING (FOR INDIAN CHILDREN)

Layettes	Flannelette and woolen material
Gum rubbers	Woolen underwear (fleece-lined must not be supplied)
Yarn	
Thread	Shirts
Needles	Mitts
Boots and moccasins	Soaps, laundry and toilet
Dress material	Toothbrushes
Caps	Toothpaste and tooth powder

1. Items preceded by a single asterisk are in stock only between mid June and September. Those marked by a double asterisk were not carried by the Company during the term of field work. A triple asterisk denotes that the food is sold by the Roman Catholic Mission but is not issued in family allowances.

TABLE 19 (Continued)

SPECIAL LIST

(An emergency list which is to be issued only on authorization of the Indian Agent to cover special circumstances)¹.

Rifles or shotguns	Axes
Canoes	Files
Ammunition	Saws
Nets	Traps and snare wire
Canvas	Cooking utensils
Camp stoves	

discovered to have overdrawn for two school children. In November the foster mother was told that she could not collect any allowances for two months, despite the fact that a baby had been born in October. As she was now short of food, temporary relief had to be issued by the post manager. Although families discontinue receiving allowances for children attending residential school, Mission authorities do not believe that any parents have yet sought to keep children at home in order to continue drawing these benefits.

Some attention was paid to items requested by Indians which could not be allowed by the post manager because they were not on the approved list. A frequency check list of spontaneous oral choices reveals tinned luncheon meat, powdered milk, evaporated milk, prunes, rolled oats, and jam to be most often requested. These were followed by tomatoes, tomato juice, and butter. Assistance in choosing may be given by the manager, who is accustomed to recommend cheese, tomatoes, and milk. Indians reported that a previous manager under rare circumstances allowed tea on family allowances and a part Indian clerk serving the Company is alleged to issue tea regularly as well as lard. Indians argue that children consume both tea and lard, hence these foods should be provided for them. People who receive relief as well as allowances draw little flour and sugar through the latter channel.

The Attawapiskat Indians compared to the general Canadian population are not only limited qualitatively in the food they can secure in family allowances but also quantitatively. Although the Indian receives his allowances in goods rather than cash, the amounts in which these goods are received is fixed by the cash allowed in other parts of Canada. Higher prices in the North, caused by transportation problems, reduce the buying power of the dollar (See Table 20), so that less goods are received than would be the case if the Indians lived "outside". In one respect the Indian was fortunate in 1947-48. Because supplies had largely been ordered in the

1. Few or no items from this category were issued in Attawapiskat during field work.

spring of 1946, the effects of rising prices were delayed. Beginning in the summer of 1948, however, the inflated value of foodstuffs was expected to reach Attawapiskat so that the people there would receive still less than hitherto for their family allowance dollar. Their diet will doubtlessly be affected to a greater extent than has been the case in outside Canada where increased living costs were partly balanced by rising incomes.

Marketing and Income

Three main marketing channels exist in the Attawapiskat area. Through them the Indian secures food and other commodities in exchange for income derived primarily from wage labour and fur trapping. These sources of trade are: the Hudson's Bay Company, containing the largest stock of foodstuffs and operating part time branch stores at Lake River and Big Lake River; a free trader, whose stock is smaller and whose facilities within the area are confined to Attawapiskat post, and the Roman Catholic Mission, which sells mainly baked bread, cooked beans, lard, salt pork, cooked rhubarb, lumber, and a little clothing. In addition to using these trade centers less than half-a-dozen men may visit the Hudson's Bay Company at Winisk and Kapiskaw, the traders at Fort Albany during the course of the winter, and at Moose Factory and Moosonee in the summer. Only men trapping a distance west of Attawapiskat and near the headwaters of the Winisk River will make the trip to Winisk post on the shores of Hudson's Bay. Families visiting their children at the residential school in late winter buy a few items at Kapiskaw and Fort Albany, while the very few families who go to Moosonee in the summer sometimes buy relatively large outfits at that place and at Moose Factory. One further source of food deserves mention, an Indian free trader who operates on a very small scale near Sutton Lake in the northwest district of the Attawapiskat area.

While the Indian can sell his fur (paki'tinam, "he or she delivers it") to any of these retail outlets, in general most is sold to the three primary sources (Company, free trader, and Mission) from whom also most purchasing is done. Fur sold to the Mission is resold to the Hudson's Bay Company. While some fur was sold at Winisk in the winter of 1947-48, most of the income earned in that way was taken as a credit and applied to purchases in Attawapiskat.

Two types of purchasing may be distinguished. In the first type immediate needs are fulfilled by men and women going to the store and securing what they need for the next few days. Much of the day-to-day buying is in the hands of women, a custom which is not found universally in the North, where sometimes women's purchases are restricted to dry goods while the man buys the food (11:108). Children do little marketing in Attawapiskat, not so much because they are felt to be incapable but because

girls are shy to visit the store where men congregate and because parents are often unwilling to delegate the pleasure that comes from this occupation. When a man shops for food it is only after consultation with his wife. Cash to buy usually is either advanced by the husband or the purchase may be charged to the family account. It is interesting to note that when an Indian brings foodstuffs (other than unplucked waterfowl) to a neighbour's home he wraps them in paper or places the food in a covered dish, which may be further put in a bag. Small quantities of goods sold by the traders or Mission are not usually wrapped but larger sales are placed in boxes, unless the purchaser provides a gunny sack or other container. No resentment was ever expressed toward the practice of selling food unwrapped.

In the second type of marketing, goods are bought for a relatively long future period - for the time when the family will be at the goose camps or on the trap line. Large scale purchases (including the collection of advance relief rations) are generally made by men, often after a preliminary consultation with the trader to ascertain how much credit is available. Midwinter visits to the posts by men are also marked by large scale buying and now too men will secure accumulated family allowances as well as another advance of relief. The return of the trappers in early summer results in still a different type of buying, but now mainly large items of equipment and luxury goods, like guns, shawls, canoes, tenting, gramophones, and radios are bought by men with the proceeds of fur sales.

Both types of buying are referred to by the verb co'pakew, "he or she buys". The term is obviously adapted from the English word "store".

In explanation for the sexual division existing between the two main types of buying habits, informants said that men bought the relatively large outfits because they were too heavy for women to carry home. Nevertheless women are often obliged to take away sixty or seventy pounds of goods when they call for family allowances and relief. For this purpose they come supplied with a large gunny sack to which some rope is attached to make a carrying strap. It is remarkable to see the ease with which these heavy bags are slung over the shoulders so that the carrying line passes around the outside of the arms and in front of the chest. Prior to leaving for the bush in autumn women may shop for drygoods that are intended for winter clothing as well as for needles, thread, and other items which their sex is accustomed to use.

Since the channels through which purchased food flows to the table are controlled by both the husband and wife, it is clear that education in buying habits must be directed to both "gatekeepers". In order to be effective such education will have to be meaningful in terms of the psychology of the spouses. What attitudes operate in purchasing or in the selection of food? Consciously both sexes will say that they try to provide food which will

be "good" for their children, meaning, foods that will keep the family healthy. The well being of children, then, is ideally an important value governing marketing. To put too much stock in this conscious statement will be to discover sharply the fact that children's health and the nutritional qualities of food are not the only factors operating in buying situations. If they were, then altering food habits would be easy. Each spouse also wants to provide food for the table that the adults will like. The parents' own food preferences, which were shaped in childhood, determine to a large extent the foods that children will most often eat and for which the latter will develop appetites. Finally, cost governs buying habits in Attawapiskat as elsewhere. It is the least important factor in the winter and spring, when people have money from fur sales, but is important in summer and fall when accumulated income is largely gone and wage labour brings in only a small trickle. The cost factor is probably not of outstanding importance in influencing diet. This is mainly due to the fact that tastes are still limited and because a large proportion of foodstuffs, secured on relief and family allowances, represent no direct outlay of money. The fact that women, who to a large extent govern day to day marketing, have been to residential school more frequently than men does not promise to be immediately useful for rehabilitation purposes. Only a few women, who were employed in the Mission's kitchen, received cooking instruction while at school and none were given lessons in marketing.

Large scale purchasing in fall and midwinter may be undertaken after some preliminary consultation with a spouse but since staples like flour, lard, sugar, and baking powder provide the bulk of such supplies and because men are roughly aware of the quantity in which they will be required, consultation is not apt to be exhaustive. Men do not select their outfits from meticulously figured estimates and it is somewhat surprising that shortages in the bush do not occur more often than is the case. Furthermore such purchases are usually made with the expectation of securing a considerable supply of game; if meat proves to be scarce, purchased staples are more quickly exhausted. The purchase of large outfits is little or not at all governed by problems of transportation but rather by available credit and the amount of relief to which a family is entitled. There is not the slightest question but that if Indians had the means to secure more of certain foods in the fall they would also contrive to get the commodities to the winter camp. Where the family is large and the outfit great, additional canoe trips might be necessary to accomplish moving the outfit. In winter transportation will be more complicated due to the lack, or poor condition, of dogs. In a number of cases witnessed, men and women leaving Attawapiskat were forced to assist dogs in drawing sleds. Sometimes individuals drew sleds because they lacked animals for traction. However, midwinter purchases are primarily required because insufficient food was or could be taken away in autumn.

Prices in July 1947 and March 1948 of some common imported foods sold at the Hudson's Bay Company in Attawapiskat post are shown in Table 20. The table also draws attention to those foods which were unavailable toward the end of the winter. As a result of increased transportation costs, prices tend to be slightly higher at Lake River and Big Lake River than at the main post. The free trader in Attawapiskat usually meets company prices but occasionally charges somewhat more for a few things. It will be noted that prices are not reckoned in coin smaller than a nickel and this is also true when Indians trade amongst themselves. Pennies are used only to buy postage stamps.

The people are not skillful traders and, while they enjoy trade relations, do not indulge in trading for its own sake. There is never any haggling over purchases or sales. On the other hand little reluctance exists to return damaged goods and the attitude "let the seller beware" governs not only relations with the traders but between Indians themselves and is a firmly established canon of customary law.

TABLE 20

PRICES OF STAPLES IN ATTAWAPISKAT POST

<u>Item and Unit</u>	<u>July 1, 1947</u>	<u>March 15, 1948</u>
Apples, dried, lb.	.45	.45
Baking Powder, lb.	.30	.30
Beans, dry, 8 lbs.	1.00	exhausted
Beef, spiced, tin	.35	exhausted
Beef tallow, lb.	.35	.45
Butter, lb.	.95	exhausted
Cheese, 1/2 lb.	.30	.30
Coffee, lb.	.90	exhausted
Corn Syrup, 2 lbs.	.50	.50
Flour, 98 lbs.	5.50	5.50
Flour, 49 lbs.	2.75	2.75
Honey, 4 lbs.	1.05	1.05
Klik, tin	.45	.45
Jam, apricot, 4 lbs.	1.10	1.60 ¹
Jam, blackberry, 4 lbs.	1.00	1.60 ¹
Jam, plum, 2 lbs.	.85	.85
Matches, doz. boxes	.40	.40

1. This price is for a different brand than was sold in July, 1947.

TABLE 20 (Continued)

<u>Item and Unit</u>	<u>July 1, 1947</u>	<u>March 15, 1948</u>
Milk, condensed, tin	.30	.30
Milk, dry, lb.	.60	.60
Milk, evaporated, tin	.20	exhausted
Molasses, 2 lbs.	.65	.65
Oatmeal (see rolled oats)		
Pablum	.50	.50
Peaches, tin	.35	exhausted
Peas, dry, lb.	.10	.10
Plums, tin	.30	exhausted
Pork and beans, 28 oz. tin	.35	.35
Prunes, lb.	.30	.30
Raisins, lb.	.30	.30
Rolled oats, 6 lbs.	.65	.70
Shortening, lb.	.40	.45 ¹
Soaps, bar	.15	exhausted
Sugar, white, lb.	.20	.25 ¹
Sugar, brown, 2 lbs.	.35	.35
Tomato juice, tin	.30	.30
Tomatoes	.30	.30
Tea, lb.	1.00	1.20 ²

An extremely crude estimate suggests that at the time of the study approximately one quarter of the earned dollar went for food and the remainder for clothing, equipment (including household goods), and tobacco. More exact proportions and the precise influence of relief and family allowances on this apportionment of earned income could be discovered easily by a domestic economist working for a summer in Attawapiskat.

Purchasing depends on income. The following are the main types of income in Attawapiskat: proceeds of trapping; wages for services, including remuneration of beaver guardians; sales of seal, feathers, country food products, and manufactures; rentals; pensions, and treaty payments. Although these incomes will be discussed as though they were cash payments it must be understood that relatively little cash changes hands in Attawapiskat. The seller or worker for the most part receives a credit for his goods or services against which he buys from the stores or Mission. The amount of

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1. The supplies of shortening and sugar were exhausted in early May.
 2. This price is for a different brand than was sold in July, 1947.

currency in circulation is limited and in the spring of 1948 both stores ran short of cash and had to hold off allowing any to fur sellers. It is reported that prior to a few years ago no cash was allowed for fur, the seller being forced to spend his credit in the store where he had sold his pelts.

It is now proposed to discuss the organization of the most important source of income - fur trapping.

Ownership of a trap line (askii', "ground") in Attawapiskat is without legal validity as far as Canadian law is concerned. That is, these territories are not officially registered in the names of the family heads who exploit the resources of such land. Nevertheless one may speak of ownership in the sense that particular families enjoy the right to exploit (but not to alienate) certain tracts of land. Apportionment of the Attawapiskat area among families with a coastal strip free to everyone was introduced relatively recently under the direction of the Hudson's Bay Company post manager. Families were allocated territories where they and their parents were presumed to have traditionally trapped. Such traditions, however, cannot be assumed to extend far back in time. Prior to white contact, family owned hunting territories were unknown in the country, a band of several related families generally occupying a large portion of a river drainage. Within this band territory families travelled freely and were also unhindered if they wished to join other bands. But mingling with relative strangers was no more customary then than it is to-day. At the time of their introduction, trap lines were not unreservedly accepted, a family not remaining on its ground year after year but often freely wandering across boundaries. To-day there is evidence that free mobility is declining. The system introduced in Attawapiskat does not allocate a territory to one specific family. Rather each block is assigned to a group of usually related families under the principle of multiproperty rights (Figure 1).

The present policy of the government is to prohibit white trappers from operating in the country north of Cochrane. As long as the regulation remains in force, registration of trap lines is probably not required. Interested parties have suggested, however, that licensing Indians to trap particular grounds would afford natives protection against encroachment by members of their own community as well as against an invasion by white trappers that might conceivably follow a change in the political complexion of the Government. Among Indians disputes regarding illegal trapping are rare. In the extreme northwestern sector of the area, where boundaries are not firmly established, there is some resentment of alleged encroachment by Winisk and Ojibwa people.

Inheritance of rights to trapping lines ideally follows the patrilineal line, children of both sexes (but usually the sons) inheriting the father's ground on which the widow is expected to support herself as long as she is able. However this simple theory is complicated in practice, daughters

sometimes bringing husbands to take a place on the family's ground. These men then transmit ownership rights to their sons. In other cases the son retains residence on the trap line of his parent, the wife leaving her family after marriage. Such an arrangement may result in unease or friction - a young wife being unwilling to cut herself off too completely from her parents. The matter may then be compromised by the couple spending some time every year with the girl's people, for example, visiting her father's country to trap muskrat. A relatively unusual type of transmission of trapping privileges concerns Charles Kiiokii who married Agnes, the sister of David Spence. The latter man asked Charles to come to the Spence line where Charles has remained. The brother of Charles objects to the arrangement pointing out that Charles belongs with his family ground. Gabriel, son of Charles, followed his father and is listed as one of the owners of his uncle's line (trap line No. 12 in Table 21). A widow may inherit trapping rights on her sons' ground but is never listed or described as an owner. When Mary's husband, Joachim Spence, died he had been trapping with his brother, David. The widow left her brother-in-law's line, however, and returned to her father's ground. Her sons continue on this land thus realizing descent from the maternal grandfather in a society where patrilineal transmission is given as the rule! These examples indicate that time spent on and experience gained with a particular piece of ground confers some rights to future exploitation. This is further shown in the case of Mary Wesley, a widow, who affirms rights to a particular trap line on the grounds that she went and remained there after the death of her husband, a Fort Albany Indian, who had no trapping ground in Attawapiskat. Other informants think that she is better entitled to her son's trap line.

An administrator asked to interfere in problems of trap line inheritance will have to move carefully. There is too limited a body of "case law" on which to base decisions and no fixed principles by which the Indians are willing to be covered. The administrator should be aware of the consequences of allowing himself to be rigidly governed by the fiction of patrilineal inheritance, to which he may be sympathetic from his own society. To insist on this principle may mean favouring the most dominant leaders in the community, since these are the men who can successfully insist that sons bring their wives to live in the family whose ground they will then eventually inherit.

In Table 21 will be found a list of trap lines, their distances from Attawapiskat and Lake River posts, a grade number indicating their relative size, and the number of men using and entitled to use those territories. In developing this information the trap lines were first plotted on a map (the Company has maps showing the number and location of trap lines) and the distance from the approximate geographical center of each to the respective

trading posts measured. The resultant mileage was rather arbitrarily called the "average distance" separating trap line from post (columns three and four). Next, from a list prepared by the Company, was determined the number of trappers (including fathers, married and unmarried sons) in whose names each of the trap lines was listed (column five). These figures represent the number of listed "owners" or trappers. From information locally available the distribution of these listed trappers was ascertained for the winter of 1947-48 (column six). The figures do not add up to the total number of trappers in the community because a few family heads are not yet listed with the Company for trap lines or else have never declared their sons to be operating as mature trappers. Listed trappers visiting two or more trap lines in the course of the winter have been included in this tabulation the necessary number of times.

The information in Table 21 does not mean that all of these men or their families spent the entire winter on the respective trap lines. Especially when a line is located close to the post, some men live in settlement with their families and travel alone to their traps. In other cases the lines were visited by the whole family prior to Christmas and again in the spring. In column seven is given the number of listed trappers "permanently" residing on the respective trap lines during 1947-48. These represent men and their families who spent no time or only a few nights in the post from autumn to spring. Corresponding data could not be obtained for the Lake River group. Akimiski Island is included as a trap line although it has not been given a number nor are the boundaries of the trapping area precisely defined. Quite a few men who spent some time on other trap lines went to that island in the winters of 1946-47 and 1947-48 to capture beaver from the Company's preserve.

Table 22 reveals that in the two seasons, 1944-45 and 1945-46, an average of 43 per cent of the listed Attawapiskat trappers operated within sixty miles of that post. Available figures indicate that these men earned 36 per cent of the average individual income reported by Attawapiskat post trappers. The 57 per cent of the trappers operating beyond sixty miles from the village earned 64 per cent of the average individual income reported by the Attawapiskat post trappers. The greater earnings can be partly accounted for in terms of a greater animal population, especially "free" beaver, being available far inland. No beaver are included in the earnings of the Akimiski Indians, who did not begin to trap those animals until the winter of 1946-47. The data also indicates that in the two years under survey probably about one-third of the listed owners did not visit their ground, either because of ill health, age, or the fact that they were not residing in the area.

TABLE 21

DISTRIBUTION OF ATTAWAPISKAT LISTED TRAPPERS
BY TRAP LINES

Trap Line Number	Size ¹ Grade	Average Distance from Posts (Miles)		Number of Listed Owners ³	Number Visiting in 1947-48	Number Per- manently Residing on Line (1947-48)
		Attawa. Post	Lake R. Post			
1	3	152	88	? ⁴	?	?
2	3	136	52	3 L. R.	3	?
3	1	136	40	3 " "	3	?
4	2	120	24	4 " "	4	?
5	2	104	24	2 " "	1	?
6	3	128	80	5 -- ⁵	2?	?
7	2	152	104	1 Atta.	1	1
8	2	128	-- ²	3 "	3	0
9	2	116	88	3 "	3	2
10	3	88	32	5 L. R.	3	1
11	2	68	32	5 Atta.	5	4
12	3	60	-- ²	5 "	4	3
13	2	88	-- ²	3 "	1	0
14	3	144	-- ²	3 "	1	0
15	2	112	-- ²	3 "	2	2
16	2	96	-- ²	4 "	4	3
17	2	128	-- ²	8 "	6	6
18	2	64	-- ²	2 "	3	0
19	2	32	-- ²	2 "	4	0
20	1	12	-- ²	5 "	4	0
21	1	26	-- ²	6 "	4	2
22	1	20	-- ²	1 "	1	1
23	1	8	-- ²	2 "	1	0
24	1	2	-- ²	2 "	1	0
25	2	68	-- ²	1 Atta.	1	1
26	2	100	-- ²	3 "	3	2
27	3	96	-- ²	3 "	3	3
28	3	80	-- ²	6 "	2	1
29	2	120	-- ²	?	?	?
30	2	32	-- ²	11 "	7	6
31	2	50	-- ²	2 "	2	1
Akimiski Island	3	32	-- ²	5 "	15	0

1. Grade One trap lines contain from 64 to 200 square miles; a Grade Two line roughly 500 square miles; and a Grade Three line roughly 1000 square miles.
2. The distances of these lines from Lake River is great and the Attawapiskat post trappers operating here do not ordinarily visit the former store.
3. The abbreviation L. R. and "Atta." indicate that the listed owners are generally designated as Lake River or Attawapiskat people, respectively.
4. It was impossible to discover to whom this ground belonged.
5. One of the men on this line is regarded as an Attawapiskat Indian; the other four are Lake River people.

TABLE 22

SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF ATTAWAPISKAT
POST LISTED TRAPPERS¹

Average Distance from Attawapiskat (miles)	Number of Trap Lines	Number of Listed Owners	Average Number Visiting 1944-45 1945-46	Average Annual Income 1944-45 1945-46 ²	Average Income per Visitor 1944-45 1945-46
0 - 20	4	10	7.0	\$2360.50	337.21
21 - 40 ¹	4	25	13.0	4095.00	315.00
41 - 60	2	7	6.5	3054.50	469.77
61 - 80	4	13	10.5	3700.00	352.38
81 - 100	4	13	10.0	3287.50	328.75
101 - 120	3	6	3.5	1440.40 ³	411.54
121 - 140	3	13	9.5	6175.00	650.00
141 - 160	2	4	1.5	356.00 ³	237.33

TABLE 23

SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF LAKE RIVER POST
LISTED TRAPPERS

Average Distance from Lake River (miles)	Number of Trap Lines	Number of Listed Owners	Average Number Visiting 1944-45 1945-46	Average Annual Income 1944-45 1945-46	Average Income per Visitor 1944-45 1945-46
0 - 20	0	0	0	-	-
21 - 40	4	14	10.5	\$6097.50	580.71
41 - 60	1	3	1.5	1052.50	701.67
61 - 80	1	3	?	2830.00	-
81 - 100	1	?	?	?	?

1. Including Akimiski Island.

2. This is the average annual income computed from the combined 1944-45 and 1945-46 earnings of all the listed trappers who reported earnings. In other words, the seven men trapping closest to the Post together earned an average annual income of \$2360.50.

3. Information lacking from one or more trap lines.

Information with which to determine the spatial distribution and earnings of the Lake River trappers is too incomplete to permit useful calculations. Apparently, according to Table 23, greater proportionate earnings also reward men in that sector who travel farther from the post.

The Attawapiskat post sector shows a higher concentration of trappers than the Lake River district - .0046 visitors per square mile in the former and .0027 in the latter (assuming an average of fifteen trappers visiting the Lake River trap lines in the seasons of 1944-45 and 1945-46).

These tables only incompletely reveal the extent to which the Attawapiskat Indian travels for income-producing furs and food. Typically, he leaves the post in autumn by canoe to travel from thirty to one hundred and fifty miles, largely upriver. Unless the wind permits a sail to be used power comes from paddling, the wife lending her energy in the bow while the husband occupies the more responsible position in the stern. Children sit in the center of the craft where a woman may join them if there are grown sons to replace her at the paddle. Once on the trapping ground the greatest travel is done by the husband in the course of setting his traps. Figures are lacking with which to compute the average distance travelled by a trapper while covering his line, but it is certainly great. Sometimes the man pulls his food, traps, and tent on a small toboggan through snow in which dogs could only poorly travel. Whether hauling or driving dogs, the trapper in addition to more than eight pounds of winter clothing wears a pair of snowshoes weighing as much as eight pounds. Between visits to his traps a man may remain in camp from two days to a week. The approach of Christmas is the signal for most families (except those located farthest inland) to visit the post. Unless a family has many dogs, the wife now walks the distance originally covered in canoe. Pregnant women, those who have recently borne a child, or who are otherwise incapacitated do not usually walk. However when dogs are weak or lacking riding becomes impossible even for them. Thus a woman who had given birth in the middle of December two months later walked forty miles in two days. After Christmas, laden with accumulated family allowances and perhaps another advance issue of relief, some of the families may return to their trap lines by walking. These people will probably once again visit the Post at Easter. Other families remain in the Post after Christmas until spring is close and then travel to nearby trapping grounds where canoes were cached in the fall. Now too they generally walk. Children from six or seven accompany parents on foot, wearing diminutive snowshoes. Younger children ride on the sleigh. When travelling long distances women do not usually carry babies on their backs. Excluding travel while in the bush, the following is the not exceptional travel record of a young man whose wife was confined in early December:

Fall to Christmas: Travel to trap line (by canoe)
and return on foot (wife riding on sleigh) 148 miles

Midwinter: Travel to Akimiski and back by husband
alone; three trips (six crossings) 264 miles

Spring: Travel to trap line afoot (wife riding) and
return (by canoe) 148 miles

Total 560 miles

Other travel records are given below:

Man and wife walked 150 miles before Christmas when they returned from their trap line on the upper Ekwan River. The wife walked the whole distance and the husband often hauled, assisting the dogs through soft snow. Two of the children (a boy, eight, and a girl, eleven) walked equally with the parents. Three smaller children rode. The wife and children remained in the post for the balance of the winter but the husband twice travelled over one hundred and fifty miles inland to hunt beaver beyond the boundary of the mainland preserve. Following the last trip he returned to the post by canoe.

Father and three sons travelled to Attawapiskat post from above Big Lake River. They covered about 165 miles in five days, walking all the time and occasionally hauling to assist the dogs. In October they had travelled upriver by canoe, in some places against a strong current, in nine days. After remaining at Attawapiskat for a few days in March they left the post and returned inland walking. Shortly thereafter the father became ill (haemorrhage was reported). He returned to Attawapiskat in early June by canoe.

In autumn another family travelled by canoe sixty miles upriver and returned to Attawapiskat before Christmas, everybody walking. They made the trip back to the bush in four days but again visited the post before Easter, the wife walking, two sons (aged twelve and ten) riding part of the way. Again went inland after the holidays and came out by canoe in late May.

People are not fond of winter travel and are particularly proud when they successfully come through difficult weather. Thus one man spoke of having crossed the Bay in a blizzard enroute to Akimiski Island.

He said that the men already there had been very surprised to see him and that "not one of them could have done what I did. When I got to Akimiski my heart pretty near stopped, I was so thirsty from hauling. There was only one dog and my son was using it." On the trip he froze the helixes of his ears and also a spot about the size of a dime on his chin. The reference to thirst is related to the fact that water is not freely drunk by Indians at any time and never while travelling. Also, in the middle of the channel separating Akimiski Island and the mainland he could not stop to brew tea.

Table 24 illustrates the frequency of reported incomes from trapping during the three years preceding field work. Years refer to the trapping period, which runs from November 1 to May 31, although furs are not all sold until late June. Families are reported in the tabulation, unmarried sons' incomes being pooled with those of fathers. The few widows and widowers who reported income from trapping have also been included. In all cases the amounts represent the rough estimates given to the Indian Agent when he came to pay treaty. There is a question whether some individuals did not deliberately give lower incomes than were actually earned in order to impress the official with the necessity of continuing relief. There seems to be no means of definitely answering this question but since estimates are usually given publicly in the presence of other Indians, and since men are proud of their earnings, extreme understatement does not seem very likely.

Effort was made to exclude from Table 24 families whose income was earned outside of the Attawapiskat area (for example, in Moosonee). The information required to make such eliminations was not always available from reading the census data. Hence several such families may have been included with the resident population. Where widows or widowers reported income from trapping, they have been included for the years in which they made statements and checked in the "Not available" category for other years. These facts explain why the total of reporting families is larger than the number of able bodied family heads listed in Table 2. When information of the earnings for 1947-48 becomes available, careful discrimination between families who are resident and removed from the area will be possible.

To some extent the unequal distribution of trapping incomes can be related to inequalities in the distribution of productive resources (Tables 22 and 23). This is especially true with reference to the location of trap lines within or outside of the beaver preserve boundaries. That is to say, those men whose trap lines have been included in the Company's preserve are currently barred from exploiting beaver on those grounds. Presumably their potential earnings are affected by this prohibition. However, reports indicate that indigenous beaver practically disappeared from the near-coastal districts many years ago while remaining more abundant farther

inland. Differences in family trapping income are also related to the composition of the individual family. Grown but unmarried sons provide assistance and may increase earnings by several hundred dollars. Although two families, usually related through marriage, often spend all or part of the winter together, they do not divide total earnings, each unit trapping for itself. Other factors affecting income are illness of the trapper, his wife, or children which may cause time to be lost from trapping; the frequency with which traps are revisited to remove snow, fur bearers, and relatively worthless prey like Canada jays and squirrels. Finally income is determined by the family's ability to trap. Skill appears to be quite evenly distributed throughout the male population, although younger men were pointed out who, because their fathers were unskillful, had not adequately learned such techniques. The disappearance of beaver some years back in the coastal district has also caused youths to mature without extensive experience in trapping that animal. Differences in trapping income are not largely dependent on unequal ownership of such indispensable capital goods as guns, canoes, and traps.

TABLE 24
DISTRIBUTION OF TRAPPING INCOMES AMONG
FAMILIES

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

Coming now to the unequal distribution of incomes from one year to another, within a brief span of time, such as is covered in Tables 24 and 25, differences from one year to another would seem to be due, first, to the

opening of beaver trapping on Akimiski Island in 1946-47, second to changes in the market value of furs, and, finally to the cyclic fluctuations of animal populations. A larger proportion of "farmed" beaver pelts in the 1947-48 fur bags and better prices for such furs as muskrat and mink, appear to be responsible for the very much higher earnings characterizing the year of field work.

Contrary to what was once thought, all animal populations do not pass through a seven year cycle. The rabbit, important as food for humans and also the prey of foxes, reaches a peak at an average of 9.7 years, the muskrat every nine or ten years, and foxes every four or five years (6:7). In the absence of a great variety of animal species in the Attawapiskat area the people are chiefly dependent on foxes, muskrat, otter, and mink. When these fur bearers, and in particular the first two, undergo drastic reductions (like foxes began to in 1946-47, probably reaching their low in 1947-48), then income must be seriously affected unless prices rise. The chronically low incomes reported for the Indians in this area are probably due, first, to the reduction of fur bearers like the marten, lynx, and, to some extent, mink through too intensive trapping by an increased human population; second, to the fact that ecologically the area does not appear to be suited to a wide variety of species; and, finally, to the relatively great concentration of human population within the coastal district, a population too large to be able to profit much by exploiting the region's resources.

Table 25 reveals the total income derived from trapping by the Attawapiskat Indians from 1944-45 to 1947-48. Also shown is the average income per trapping family for those years and the per capita income (assuming a fixed resident population of 470 individuals). In the final column are per capita incomes derived by combining family allowances and income from fur.

TABLE 25

TOTAL AND AVERAGE INCOMES DERIVED FROM TRAPPING

<u>Years</u>	<u>Total Income</u>	<u>Average Family Income</u>	<u>Per Capita Income</u> ¹	<u>With Family Allowances Added</u>
1944-45	\$30,800	\$362.00	\$65.53	\$ 65.53 ²
1945-46	40,800	542.00	103.83	119.33
1946-47	22,700	238.00	48.30	73.41
1947-48	41,097	513.71	87.44	120.65

1. Per capita figures are based on a resident population of 470.

2. Family allowances not yet issued.

The furs from which this income is earned are sold to the three main trade outlets previously described. The greater proportion of furs are sold by men and grown sons, who also do the bulk of the trapping, thus giving this sex direct control of the largest source of income. Each individual disposes of the pelts which he collected and some may be marketed at various times in the course of a winter, whenever a trapper returns to the post. Unlike the practice in some northern fur posts, sealed bids are not offered in Attawapiskat. Fur is not always sold with an eye to letting it go to the best paying trader. A large bag is split two or three ways, allowing the greatest bulk to the two trading companies and, sometimes, a little to the Mission. This division is not without practical significance - it serves to keep friendly relations with both traders from whom the individual hopes to receive a favourable debt the following fall. At least one or two men understand how style changes in the outside world affect the demand for various types of furs, the prices paid, and finally, the incomes of Indian trappers. Criticism of the prices paid for fur is not lacking. Some Indians are reluctant to sell at the outposts, feeling that the clerks there are inexperienced graders and hence have been instructed to pay low prices. A few men, aware of the prices paid in cities, are bitter at the gap between those and Attawapiskat figures. In the case of beaver killed on the Akimiski preserve this discrepancy is accentuated by the fact that the trapper does not immediately receive full value for his skins. These pelts, in distinction to beaver skins trapped outside of the preserve boundary, may be sold only to the Hudson's Bay Company where they initially were about two-thirds of their value. The remaining third (or less) is paid several months later and depends on the margin of profit which the company realized when the bales were auctioned. A certain amount of final sale price is deducted to cover the expenses of the preserve.

The mainland Indian on whose trap line the Company has "planted" beaver receives no rent from the Company, probably because of the nature of his ownership rights to the ground. Many men are not in favour of the Company retaining control of the mainland preserve and would prefer to see the project acquired by the government. This wish was expressed for the anthropologist's benefit at a meeting called by a few men in April. A transcript of the spokesman's remarks follows:

It is four years now since the beaver were put on the mainland sanctuary. The Indians are afraid that if the Company remains in charge of that preserve it will not go well with the Indians because the Company does not pay well for skins. It would be a good thing if the government soon acquired control of this sanctuary so that the furs will be better paid for. The Indians are poor here and the reason is that our fathers and grandfathers received too little money for their work. We want

to be recognized as Indians. By that we mean we want to see that the Indians are taken care of, because we don't have money to pay out like a white man.

The beaver boss from the government came here and said we could sell beaver to /the free trader/ if the opposition /i.e., the competitor of the Company/ paid more than the Company. He said we were free to put the beaver where we wanted to, as long as we paid our debts. He said this the first time he came here and many people heard him.

...We did not ask the Company to put the beaver here. Had we asked, we would have preferred to have the government put them here."

Inland trappers have no reason to share these views. Operating beyond the borders of the sanctuary they are free to take one beaver for every house that they count on their territories. The trappers who are within the preserve, whose right to trap beaver has temporarily been halted (until 1955), and whose incomes are lower than those of the far inland people are resentful of the freedom and prosperity that their neighbours enjoy. They claim that the government should close beaver inland in the country adjacent to the preserve lest the depletion of streams there cause the animal to migrate from the sanctuary toward better feeding opportunities.

At Moose Factory, where a beaver sanctuary is operated for the Indians under government supervision, skins taken from that preserve are not sold to traders directly but are put up in an advertised auction by the Indian Agent. It is interesting to note that the Hudson's Bay Company has not bid in these auctions for several years. For the first auction the manager is reported to have been allowed by his employers to bid \$4,000, for skins that were finally sold for close to \$6,000. The Indians thus receive considerably more money than would be the case if they traded individually with fur buyers. It is possible to deduce that the profit motive in fur trading deprives the Indian of considerable potential income. In return, however, a large well capitalized trading organization can carry a large stock of food and equipment, aid the administration of Indian affairs and health by making available radio and other facilities, and provide additional income for Indians who are willing to engage in labour for wages.

Indians feel little responsibility for the beaver sanctuary which is now being stocked at Attawapiskat. Tallies are conducted because men are paid to do this work but even then sometimes are not faithfully carried out.

This is not to suggest that the Indian does not know the principles of beaver conservation. He is well aware of the theoretical values of restocking and protection but his disinterest is due to his lack of orientation toward the future as well as the fact that he does not feel himself to be an integral part of the Company's undertaking.

Attention may now be directed from fur trapping to the remaining sources from which the Attawapiskat people derive their income.

Wages are paid by the Company, Mission and free-trader for services like cutting wood, repairing sidewalks, clearing willows, painting, hauling water, freighting to Big Lake River, guiding the missionaries, assisting in the Mission sawmill, unloading boats, packing goods to warehouses, and clerking. Prior to August 15, 1947, this labour was paid for largely at the rate of \$1.50 per day, although a few tasks earned \$2.00. The current rate of pay is from \$2.00 to \$2.50. The Indian clerk employed by the Hudson's Bay Company in summer receives a salary of \$45.00 monthly. Dry wood cut in the bush earns \$7.00 for a pile (green wood, \$5.50). The average pile contains about seventy-five poles, each four inches in diameter. These can be cut in a day but winter hauling requires from four to eight trips into the bush with a dog team and sled supplied by the woodcutters. Table 26 indicates the amounts paid as wages by the Hudson's Bay Company to Attawapiskat Indians, the years referring to the business period from June 1 to May 31. Records in 1948 extend only to May 1. The amounts include salaries paid to beaver guardians, of whom there were eighteen in 1947-48 but fewer in preceding years. Each guardian draws one hundred dollars annually. Where rations are given in addition to wages (as to the four Akimiski but not the mainland guardians and to Indians freighting or otherwise travelling for the Company), these have not been included in the tabulation. Probably in each of these years an average of thirty individuals performed more than such incidental labour as unloading boats for the Company. For the calendar year 1947 the Mission paid about \$1500. to Indians in return for labour, seals, and other products. About forty individuals shared this amount. It may be assumed

TABLE 26

AMOUNTS PAID IN WAGES TO ATTAWAPISKAT INDIANS

<u>Period</u>	<u>1945-46</u>	<u>1946-47</u>	<u>1947-48</u> <u>(to May 1)</u>
Amount	\$5130.65	\$3926.50	\$4520.00
Per Capita ¹	10.92	8.35	9.62

1. Per capita figures are based on a resident population of 470 persons.

that similar sums were paid by this organization in preceding years. In 1946-47 the per capita income derived from these combined outlets for wage labour was about \$11.60, increasing the total per capita income for that period to \$85.01 and for 1947-48 to about \$133.46.

Indians are critical of the rates paid for wage labour, especially in comparison to the prices charged for goods. Here they have the support of the missionary Saindon who, in 1928, wrote that a wage of two dollars a day is "truly very modest when compared to the cost of living in the Bay" (24:41). Interesting to note is the fact that in the James Bay area where few Indians earn above a thousand dollars annually from trapping and where, consequently, the potential labour supply is great, wage rates are low. In northern British Columbia where the average income from trapping is close to three thousand dollars, labour is paid for at the rate of a dollar an hour and here Indians sometimes employ white specialists to build them boats and houses. In neither area does one discover a difference in the general lack of enthusiasm shown for this type of work. Wage scales are justified by Attawapiskat employers pointing out that local prices have fallen as much as fifty percent in the last ten years. They maintain that the Indians work slowly, loiter long, and must be constantly supervised. These latter criticisms appear well founded, although when the Indian is enthusiastic about undertaking a task he works vigorously and constantly, with manifest enjoyment. In addition the work often elicits spontaneous co-operation on the part of bystanders. There is not much wage labour which arouses such enthusiasm or which does not soon become routine. It is not likely that higher wages would change work habits. Some reasons for the disinterest demonstrated toward labour for wages have already been presented in discussing summer attitudes and behaviours. In brief, the Indian does not regard such work as meaningful. It has a small place in his scheme of values. Also, he is not prepared to lose himself in a daily routine. This is not surprising when it is recalled that in American society children, through school attendance and classroom habits as well as in many other ways, receive a long period of training in the ability to persist in routine shop, store, or office work. Even then, and despite the fact that few alternatives to routine labour exist in American society, there are occasional individuals who deviate from the norm and cannot tolerate routine activity. The Indian, on the other hand, receives no preparation for work of this sort or for work whose goals are relatively remote from the individual's interest. When more congenial alternatives, like goose shooting, are available it is small wonder that his attention cannot be kept on his job. The motivating ideals and attitudes pertaining to trapping and hunting (to be discussed below) do not apply to wage labour, except in a very few men. Yet another set of motivations comes into play when men visit Moosonee to work on the railroad section gangs at five dollars a day, less deductions for board and

income tax, or cut timber in the bush for contractors at four dollars. The migrants lack other sources of income, most being unable to secure trapping rights near Moosonee. Furthermore a process of selection has probably drawn upon somewhat deviant types to undertake migration. Others have gone to be near hospitalized family members. Experience in labour outside of Attawapiskat is responsible for the opinion that white men have an easier life than Indians. "The white man works by the clock and stops when the clock tells him to and sits down to good meals. But an Indian's life is not like that when he is in the bush."

Within the Indian community little money changes hands in return for services and little labour is hired. Occasionally skilled labour will be employed to help build a house. An old woman expects about five dollars for acting as midwife.

There is some feeling that contractual relations should be paid for with food ("rations") as well as with money. The people are quite aware of the fact that following that practice would lessen the wage rate but, probably because of the strong emotional values pertaining to food, are not disturbed by the possibility. The mainland beaver guardians met with the Company manager during the winter of 1947-48 to protest that while they received only wages the Akimiski Island guardians were rewarded with rations plus salary for their duties. Here inequality of treatment may have promoted resentment. The manager replied that the Akimiski guardians' work was more difficult and time consuming, leaving no time for hunting and trapping. Meeting the expectation for rations of food above current wages would probably quiet much of the criticism of low wage rates. Generally speaking, however, a rehabilitation program in Attawapiskat which envisaged greatly increasing labour for wages would run into serious opposition and enjoy little chance of success.

The sale of country products to Mission, Company, and other Indians is a relatively unimportant source of income. About half-a-dozen of the seal killed in autumn are sold to these buyers at an average price of seven dollars. Fowl, when sold, bring twenty-five cents for a duck, fifty cents for a wavy, and one dollar or one dollar and a quarter for the Canada goose. About one hundred and fifty birds are sold annually. Goose feathers earn ten cents a pound but are not often marketed, being rather used in the manufacture of blanketing. Very few fish were sold to the Mission for dog feed in the fall of 1947 but a gunny sackful was said to be worth two dollars (at Fort Albany the price was said to be four dollars).

The most important manufactures sold within the community are camp stoves and canoes. The stoves are made by one old man who is supplied by the Company with galvanized sheet metal, rivets, tools, and a place to work. The stoves are then acquired by the Company at four

dollars each and retailed in Attawapiskat for six dollars. They are small wood burning affairs about two feet long, ten inches high, and nine inches across, light enough for easy transportation. Two lids and a door are provided. Three and a half inch stove pipe is imported for sale with the stoves. Completion of one stove takes about two days. The cooper works only three weeks in the fall and a similar period in the spring. By that time his metal is exhausted and the supply of stoves adequate for probable demand. Any stepping up of camp stove production would depend upon finding markets outside of Attawapiskat. Canoes were originally made under the same arrangement, the Company contracting for their manufacture and sale. Currently only one or two vessels are made annually by one individual. Securing the proper wood (local spruce) and cutting it to size is the largest part of the task but takes only about a week, despite the fact that the builder lacks suitable tools. A small completed vessel sells for fifty-five dollars, the purchaser supplying canvas, paint, and nails. This is almost one quarter of the price charged in 1948 for an eighteen foot factory made canoe. Potentially there is a great market for boats in Attawapiskat since many canoes now in use have deteriorated and need replacement which the small incomes do not readily permit.

Cash rental fees are an extremely minor source of income. Occasionally dogs are loaned at the rate of fifty cents a day and sometimes rent of a quarter or fifty cents is charged for the use of a tool. Interest is not charged on an occasional monetary loan. However, a gage pledged as security is spoken of as "loaned" to the creditor (o'ma pa'skisiikan ki'itawiihitin, "this gun I lend you") and the creditor has the right to use the object during the period of lien. The gage may not be sold, however, and the creditor is responsible for damage to a gaged object. Monetary loans have become very rare in past years, probably as a result of the increasing financial poverty of the community. Capitalism is not well understood. This was revealed when a group of men, who were engaged in freighting to Big Lake River, objected to the owner of one canoe receiving thirty dollars for the trip while the others in the boat received only twenty dollars. The previous manager, who told the story, pointed out that they did not recognize the logic of a return on capital and added, "They couldn't see that without a canoe they would be out of a job."

Treaty money is paid annually, increasing the per capita income by four dollars, the sum received by every man, woman, and child. Two or three veterans of World War I receive pensions of about thirty dollars monthly. The several families who have sons working on the railroad south of Moosonee or in the tannery at Guelph, Ontario, occasionally receive small sums of money but the amounts are unimportant as far as the community's total income is concerned.

The Indian receives most of his earned income in two fashions: currently for service rendered and in advance. Income received currently is rarely paid in cash, the employee or seller usually being credited with the amount in the books of the Company, Mission, or free trader. He then buys against this credit. Income paid in advance, (for example, the credit received by a trapper in the fall, against which he buys his winter food supply) is locally known as "debt". The custom of furnishing debt was more prevalent in the past when summer credit was advanced for firewood to be cut in winter and for waxes to be supplied in autumn. Even treaty money could be mortgaged in this way. Except at Lake River, where wood debt is still issued (the credit being provided by the Attawapiskat manager), to-day only fur debt is regularly granted in the fall, at Christmas, or in spring before the muskrat season. Fur debts are repaid at Christmas and in early summer. The size of a fur debt is governed by two important factors. The manager is first guided by the likely fur yield of the country or of a particular trapping district. This estimate depends largely on how many furs were trapped during the preceding winter. Thus, because the fur cycle began to decline in 1946-47, debts were considerably lower for the following winter, which included the period of field work. The second main factor governing debt is the previous record of the individual trapper. A man who failed to trap successfully one winter (leaving a portion of his debt unpaid) receives a lower debt the following fall. To guide new managers in judging risks the Company maintains a record of local trappers that includes the amounts of debt issued in successive years, whether or not it was promptly repaid, and also, noted somewhat crudely, the psychological characteristics of the trapper expressed in such words as "lazy", "a bum", and so on. The current manager in several cases refused to be guided by this book in making small advances to individuals, whose qualities he apparently determined to test independently. An issue of debt does not necessarily interfere with continued relief, although, as already pointed out, the fact that relief is being received may sometimes, in a poor year, be a pretext for not extending debt. Families may take advance relief rations and use debt for additional staples and supplies. A few married women receive small debts independently of their husbands and repay them with furs trapped by themselves.

The custom of advancing credit is of potential significance for a planned development program. The fact that debts are largely conscientiously repaid follows from the fact that failure to do so will greatly reduce a family's operating capital in succeeding years. From this practice the Indian has learned the significance of loans so that capitalization of families for gardening or other undertakings (in the manner followed by the United States Department of Agriculture) could be instituted without much preliminary ground breaking. The ultimate aims of such loans would probably be to make the family independent. Debt in the North to-day

rarely achieves this goal. The Indian is never really free of debt. The money left over in spring, when debt is repaid, is not saved for the following winter's outfit but is quite rashly spent. This is true in parts of Canada where trapping incomes are high as well as in Attawapiskat where incomes are low. The Indian does not have the same appreciation of saving money that is characteristic of many social classes in American society. A few Attawapiskat families own war savings certificates and have savings deposited with the Indian Affairs Branch but the amount of money invested is small.

Self-sufficiency may require the inculcation of positive feelings for thrift but it is not likely that habits of saving can be introduced except in a small way until income increases and existing wants for new canoes and objects like sewing machines, gramophones, and radios are met. To institute thrift will not be easy. Money is an intangible thing to people who are accustomed to think concretely rather than abstractly. Rigorous saving also depends on a greater sense of futurity than the Attawapiskat Indians now cultivate. Goal orientation is now extremely limited. It is important to remember that the amount of foresight developed by a society is roughly proportionate to the demand for such thinking determined by the degree of technological complexity. Probably every society which the world has ever known has fallen short of developing the amount of planning required for efficiency. Western society is no exception. In a world closely linked by communication facilities, provided with devastating weapons of war, and requiring close interpersonal co-operation for economic production we are not able to plan our behaviour to avoid war or labour troubles; these we deal with when they arise. The rapid rate in which social change has occurred in Attawapiskat is probably related to the fact that the Indian has not yet learned how to handle money in the way that it is customarily treated in societies with long financial histories behind them and in which the invention of money coincided with training in its use and significance.

The lack of strong emotional participation in the Hudson's Bay Company's beaver conservation program can also be partly explained by absence of futurity attitudes. It would be advisable for a planned development program not to introduce immediately policies which are loaded with futurity thinking. Rather integration with the present patterns of thought might be sought as often as possible while thrift is held out as a goal to aim toward. The use of schools to encourage saving will probably not be overlooked although no such program is yet followed in those institutions. It is reported that the administration of beaver preserves by the Ontario Government will include payment for such pelts in instalments, the final amount not being received by the trapper until the fall following the sale of the skins when it could be used to outfit the

trapper for winter. This scheme may contribute to reducing the Indian's dependence on debt unless traders undertake to advance credit on the final payment before it is received.

Gardening

In the total economy gardening remains a relatively unimportant source of food. In this report it is considered ahead of collecting and hunting only because, like marketing, agriculture is not an indigenous feature of the Indian economy, having been derived from white sources. In recent years the Indian Agent as well as the missionaries have expended money and effort in order to increase interest in the cultivation of vegetables and garden yields. For example, hoes and other implements have been supplied to the Indians at government expense. However, native interest in gardening remains slight and the activity is largely restricted to Attawapiskat. The Lake River people are generally away from their area during the growing season and are not in Attawapiskat post long enough to plant or harvest. They have not been supplied with agricultural implements. One man living along the coast about halfway between Lake River and Attawapiskat planned to revive a family garden at his home before coming to the latter settlement for the summer.

From six bags of seed potatoes supplied by the Mission and planted in the spring of 1947 the community garden produced about twenty bags of extremely small potatoes. A bag of potatoes averages about seventy-five pounds, indicating a total yield of fifteen hundred pounds of potatoes distributed among at least thirty families, or an average of about fifty pounds per receiving family (who would distribute very few of them further). In addition the people are reported to consume annually about one hundred bags, or seventy-five hundred pounds of potatoes, purchased from or contributed by the Mission. Potatoes are eaten almost exclusively at the post, freezing conditions not permitting their transportation to the bush in winter. No potatoes were saved for seed in 1947. In the spring of 1948 it was planned to add onions and carrots to the community garden.¹

Two Indian gardens (sing., niita'kitciikan) are located at Attawapiskat post. One small plot located close to the bank is privately tended by an elderly widower while the community garden land is located on an island opposite the westerly end of the settlement. Here there are two strips of

1. More varied crops are planted by the Mission, including lettuce, radishes, carrots, turnips, and cabbage (the latter crop failed in 1947).

cleared floodland, one about two hundred feet long and half as wide and a smaller strip which was unworked in the spring of 1947 but was supposed to be put back into production in 1948. Indians estimated that the preparation and planting of both plots should occupy a team of ten men not more than about nine working days, but they counted on the Mission supplying a horse and plow for cultivation. These facilities are freely loaned by the missionaries who, however, point out that hoe cultivation would be more satisfactory for the available type of land. While the Indians know that the Mission secures fertilizer from dog and horse excrement, similar products are not conserved for the community garden. Rotten coastal suckers (carp) are sometimes added to the garden in small quantity as fertilizer before potatoes are planted. The chief asked whether illness might not result from the use of decayed organic material and excrement in garden land.

Work in the community garden begins after the flood waters of minooskamin have receded, the ice blocks which were thrown up on the land melted, and the weather grown sufficiently warm to thaw the earth to a depth of at least two feet. In 1948 these conditions were realized by the beginning of June (but at least two weeks later in 1947). At this time too most of those families trading from Attawapiskat post have arrived to spend the summer and from the men the chief recruits garden workers. Men working on the land share a ration of flour, baking powder, tea, and sugar provided at government expense. One or two young men are detailed to cook and prepare bannock and tea with which the workers refresh themselves in the course of the day.

Several factors combine to encourage delay even after the time for cultivation is perceived to be at hand. Among these are the absence of sufficiently strong motivations toward gardening (to be discussed in the following paragraph); the fact that the Mission cannot loan its team and teamsters until its own garden is plowed; the awareness of many family heads that they will be gone from the post before the time of harvest is at hand, hence will be unable to participate directly in the benefits of the garden, and the number of duties for which the Hudson's Bay Company employs Indians in early summer. These tasks include restoring the wharfs, which are annually removed from the river to avoid damage by break-up, and placing airplane and ship buoys into the river in readiness for the first visitors.

Lack of appetite for root crops cannot be regarded as a factor interfering with positive motivations toward gardening. Almost all persons enjoy eating potatoes while carrots and onions are spoken of fondly as desirable relishes to add to soups. The filling quality of potatoes also recommends them for food. Green vegetables are less familiar. The main factors operating against a more extensive and intensive cultivation program

appear to be the absence of a tradition of plant cultivation together with all the seasonal habits and patterns of thinking that such a tradition would include; the obnoxious nature of tasks like digging and ground clearing, which are also foreign to the indigenous economic system (occasionally trails are cleared and then only in the course of walking), and the lack of patterns of foresight with which to bridge mentally the gap between planting and harvesting. It has already been suggested that the Indian is motivated strongly by the promise of a quick and abundant return for his labour (as in waterfowl hunting and muskrat trapping during the heights of those seasons). In relation to such demands cultivation is seen as unproductive and, especially for the male, irksome. Since women are more used to performing routine tasks for which there are few dramatic rewards it may be hypothesized that a more successful gardening program will result if women shared or even assumed a large proportion of responsibility for this activity. At present women normally do not participate at all in planting and harvesting. No matter how desirable root crops may be to eat, compared to game and waterfowl they are apt to remain a relatively mundane food for a long time to come. This too recommends the participation of women, since it is that sex which has been traditionally responsible for the more commonplace aspects of diet, like rabbits and fish, men being identified with the emotionally more important foods whose procurement requires special skills and the expenditure of greater effort and time. To secure the successful participation of women in gardening will probably require abandoning a community garden. The Attawapiskat Cree, like most northern Indians, live in strong family systems and are not accustomed to co-operative undertakings on a community scale. The fact that men who co-operate in cultivation together receive only about half of the yield, the balance benefitting widows who do not participate in the work, is undoubtedly an additional factor related to the absence of strong motivations toward gardening. Just as they are unfamiliar with and emotionally disinterested in the idea of joint production, the Indian also remains little aroused by appeals for charity. Few men feel keen responsibility for unrelated destitute oldsters. Therefore the idea of gardening being for the benefit of the aged exerts relatively slight motive power. Family controlled gardens, preferably located along the bank close to the dwellings, would integrate with other aspects of food production, which are exclusively in the hands of individual families. Land close to the bank is relatively well drained and originally gardens were located at such sites but were abandoned when a former Indian agent condemned them as unsightly. With private gardens located in public view competitive motives, important in other aspects of production might also be brought into play to intensify agricultural activities. Help would probably have to be provided to enable the gardeners to fence their land against children, dogs, and the Mission's cattle.

For several years at least gardening will continue to benefit from leadership. In the past it has been the chief or councillors who organized labour in the garden and kept after the men until a work party was organized. In the spring of 1948 the experimentally conceived, direct participation of the anthropologist demonstrated the effectiveness of mild and indirect leadership. The anthropologist's campaign to get the garden into as early production as possible began by reminding the chief (in the presence of other men) that the doctors who had constituted the summer medical party would be interested in hearing about the start of the garden. It was also suggested that the physicians would be interested in pictures of gardening activities. Finally the point was made that unless cultivation began soon the anthropologist would be gone from Attawapiskat without having had the opportunity of witnessing the activity. Such reminders were made at the beginning of the last week of field residence; on the Saturday afternoon the first party of men organized by the chief and supervised by an ex-chief began digging a drainage ditch around the garden land.

Collecting

Collecting, while differing from gardening in the fact that it is traditionally rooted in the lives of the Attawapiskat people, produces a relatively slight amount of food for the population. The principle items collected in 1947-48 are listed in Table 27, together with, in the case of berries, the quantities obtained. Estimates of quantity were obtained from two sources: the food books and interviews with families returning from trap lines. Unfortunately only a few families who kept the former records reported any consumption of berries. Hence reliance had to be placed primarily on the less satisfactory verbal testimony of informants with no possibility of checking such figures against other evidence. The method of calculating the amount of berries collected and consumed is crude and only limited reliability can be predicted for these particular figures. If berries were mentioned in the food book it was assumed that at least one quart had been consumed at one sitting; in the case of interviews, informants were asked to designate some convenient vessel capable of holding the approximate volume of fruits obtained and eaten. It is likely, however, that the estimate of total quantity of berries eaten constitutes close to a maximum rather than a minimum figure.

By far the most frequently collected berry (min; pl., min'a) is the low bush cranberry (wiisa'kiimin), which, while not overwhelmingly prevalent in the Attawapiskat area is nevertheless frequently distributed over the muskeg countryside. Some informants complained that cranberries were less abundant in 1947 than in other years and blamed this fact on the late cold spring which was said to have interfered with their growth. In selected

TABLE 27

COLLECTED FOOD PRODUCTS OF ATTAWAPISKAT
INDIANS (1947-48)

<u>Product</u>	<u>Season when Collected</u>	<u>Average Quantity Consumed per Family</u>	<u>Estimated Total Quantity</u>
Berries	Late summer and fall; slight amounts in early spring	9.5 quarts	760 quarts
Labrador Tea	Summer and winter	slight	slight
Rhubarb	Mid-summer	slight	slight
Eggs	Summer	very slight	very slight
Buds	Spring and early summer	very slight	very slight
Sap	Early summer	very slight	very slight
Reeds	July to early September	very slight	very slight
Tamarack Roots	Summer	very slight	very slight
Stone Moss	Summer	Rare	Rare
Spruce Gum	Summer and winter	very slight	very slight

parts of the area the blueberry (ni'skamin), blackberry (askii'min), and black currant (manito'min) are occasionally found. The raspberry (anoo'skan) is cultivated on the Mission's premises. Although formerly hunger in the spring drove families to dig in the melting snow for low bush cranberries, currently this type of collecting was reported by only four or five families (they secured an average of 3.3 pints each). Berry picking is in the hands of women and girls who undertake expeditions in groups of twos and threes. Only two or three such trips are organized by a family from late summer until the first snowfall. The results are generally consumed by the collecting family itself. A negligible amount of berries is sold to

white people in the community. Because of the small quantity gathered during a single picking, few berries are preserved for the winter. One family, however, which collected about sixty-four quarts of low bush cranberries, continued to eat fruit until the week of February 2, 1948. (It is interesting to add that an unsuccessful attempt was made to sell the whole amount to the anthropologist.) In most cases berries are preserved by simply storing them outdoors on a stage in the cool autumn air. Occasionally several quarts are cooked with sugar and stored as "jam". Aboriginally the people made pi'miikan from dry fish or meat and pounded berries but this food is no longer prepared.

Labrador tea (also called muskeg tea), kakiikee'pak, is sometimes gathered when came across in the bush or around the post. It is mixed with commercial tea for drinking. In March the anthropologist came across a patch of dried Labrador tea growing above the level of the snow. Tracks indicated that women passing by en route to a rabbit camp had stopped to pick a few of the leaves. Rhubarb (mii'tciimosk), cultivated by the Mission and sold to the Indians ready cooked, is also collected by a few women during July and in August. Gull eggs were only once reported to be eaten in the early summer of 1948.

The remaining collected products are not classed as food by the Indians but appear to be classifiable as delicacies which the people utilize in slight frequency when they encounter them during the course of travel. The bud (wacaskwee'tuj) of both the juniper (ma'sakiisk) and willow (nii'pisii) is eaten in early summer, but no more than three or four a day by such older folks as fancy them. Younger people are said to be neglecting many of the items in this category of collected products. In early summer a spot on the trunk of a spruce, poplar, or tamarack tree may be cleared of bark and the wood scraped upward with a knife until a few drops of sap (mi'stikwapuj) collect on the blade. The sap, tasting "fine, like sugar" is then eaten. Along lakes a long reed (kitciika'miwask mos'koscii) is sometimes found growing as high as ten feet. At the top is a black-yellow bulbous growth (waskata'muj). These are occasionally picked from July to September, peeled with a knife, and eaten. In summer the roots of a large tamarack (wakiina'kan) are sometimes dug up, peeled with the finger nails, rinsed, chewed, and swallowed. Stone moss (wa'kana a'pisk) occurs quite far up the Attawapiskat River where, in summer, it may be collected and boiled for half an hour with the addition of flour, lard, and salt. It is then eaten. Aboriginally boiled stone moss was a starvation food. Spruce gum (pi'kiw) is occasionally chewed.

Wild rice, peas, and carrots are reported to be lacking in the area. Aboriginally the tubers of the wild onion (cikakwa'nayesk) were eaten (but not the leeks), as were also wild rose buds and honey. Lily bulbs and ferns, ingested elsewhere in the North, were apparently never used for

food by the Attawapiskat Indians. Ants were never eaten. Geophagy is unknown. Following white contact new spruce needles were occasionally collected with the intention of preparing an intoxicating beverage; this is no longer done. During minooskamin ducks and geese containing eggs are sometimes killed. The eggs are cooked with the flesh.

There is little doubt that the exploitation of wild vegetable resources, notably berries, has fallen off during the last one or two decades, probably as a result of the increasing importance of imported food in the diet. Yet the traditions of collecting and preserving fruit remain. To prevent further loss of these techniques and to increase the consumption of berries an action program might try to develop education and propaganda toward the end of encouraging the collection of berries. In general people regard these products as tasteful food but are not aware of any particular health values associated with their use. Along with teaching the latter advantages, careful preservation and greater consumption might be encouraged by offering prizes to families who produce evidence of having generously exploited these resources while in the bush. Since the increased consumption and preservation of fruit would heighten demand for sugar, a commodity of which few families have enough, prizes in sugar would seem to be appropriate in this connection. Encouraging the sale of berries and rhubarb to the Hudson's Bay Company or Mission for redistribution (as in family allowances for cash) would be another means of extending the use of these foods in the post. If a scheme of family gardens is adopted a community organizer could advise and assist the planting of rhubarb, raspberries, and other shoots along fences. The artificial cultivation of rhubarb and low bush cranberries by women close to Attawapiskat and Lake River posts (where the plants are currently not too plentiful) also deserves exploration. Finally, experimental work might be conducted to discover means of preparing palatable dishes from such foods as willow, wild rose, and other buds. Such dishes could perhaps be introduced to school children in Attawapiskat and Lac Ste. Anne.

Fishing

Increasing reliance on imported foodstuffs, while reducing the intensity of fishing as a food getting activity, has not interfered with the continued importance of fish in the native diet. Fish (names'ak; sing., names') are a staple food. They are eaten with especially high frequency when other country products are lacking but even during the autumn period, when wavies are abundant, they figure in meals at least once a day. Their use seems particularly related to the attempted conservation of stores of waterfowl like wavies and Canada geese. Fish are ideally regarded as a healthful food, their chief shortcoming in the minds of the people being that used alone they do not result in a long lasting feeling of repleteness. Evidence of the changing place of fish in the domestic economy is seen in the rarity

with which dry fish and fish grease are prepared and perhaps in the slight use made of fish intestines as human food.

The extent to which fishing is engaged in for food may be gauged from Table 28. In estimating the amount of fish consumed per domestic unit, families who kept records of the amount of country products eaten have been tabulated apart from those who were interviewed and reported their fish consumption from memory. The figure derived from the first source is probably more accurate. The period covered by these figures extends from late August into the middle of June. Families whose interviews covered very much shorter periods have not been included in the tabulation. The apparently considerably lower consumption of whitefish by interview families is a phenomenon that may be explained by several factors. In some cases actual lower consumption is indicated by the fact that such families were absent from Attawapiskat post during the period of late fall when whitefish were fairly abundant in the lower reaches of the Attawapiskat River. In other cases the explanation appears to lie in the fact that the persons interviewed failed to remember the number of whitefish consumed. Apparently the difficulty stems from the fact that small fish are not thought of in terms of number. It is not clear, however, that they are even reckoned in terms of volume. At any rate, it is disconcerting and difficult for an informant to be asked to quantify his remembrance of fish eaten or killed. Figures in column five for whitefish and coastal sucker are based on a total number of one hundred and twenty domestic units, thus admitting the number of widows and aged couples who rely heavily on fishing for country food with which to supplement their otherwise meager diets. The total consumption of other fish was calculated by assuming eighty consuming families. Weights given in the sixth column in the case of whitefish and ling were derived by actually weighing specimens. For other fish reliance had to be placed on the estimated weights offered by informants which, if several weights were given, were averaged. The final column offers weights after cooking. A ling, cleaned of viscera (including the liver), with head and tail in place, weighed seventy-four ounces before and forty-one ounces after thirty minutes boiling, a net loss of thirty-three ounces. A forty-one ounce ling cleaned of viscera (but containing the liver) and lacking head or tail, yielded fourteen ounces of cooked meat. It may be estimated that the edible portion of a cooked fish (assuming that the intestines are not eaten) constitutes roughly about fifty percent of the total weight of the animal as removed from the water.

Of all sea food the whitefish (hati'kamek; pl., hati'kamekak), widely distributed in northern waters, is the fish most commonly caught and eaten by the Attawapiskat Indians. Here its size appears to be somewhat smaller than in the Mackenzie River basin. The fact that this is a migratory fish, leaving the river for the Bay in early summer and travelling a short distance inland from the post in late autumn, has a profound effect on the people's eating habits. In early summer, following minooskamin, the whitefish move

into salt water where they remain until late summer although the real force of their return is not experienced until the cool days of autumn, in September and October. The run then lasts until freeze-up. Gradually they swim upriver to lay eggs after which they are said to again move coastward to remain in the lower river for the balance of the winter. Late summer and fall are the seasons when it is easiest to catch many whitefish although the character of a run varies from year to year. In 1947 the long mild fall was blamed for their scarcity and the winter was also poor, one man saying: "Fish are much less this winter than in years back. Some winters we could live on fish, they were so plentiful." (From December through May this informant's family ate 111 whitefish or about 4.6 per week.) A picture of fall fishing in 1947 may be derived from the records presented in Table 29.

TABLE 28
TYPES AND AMOUNTS OF FISH EATEN (1947-48)¹

<u>Type</u>	<u>Average Number Consumed per Family</u>			<u>Estimated Total Quantity Consumed</u>	<u>Average Weight per fish</u>		<u>Estimated Total Weight before cooking</u>
	<u>Food Book (N=15)</u>	<u>Inter-view (N=16)</u>	<u>Combined Average</u>		<u>Before Cleaning Oz.</u>	<u>After Cooking Oz.</u>	
Whitefish	242.0	80.0	156.0	18,720	13 (N=13)	7 (Estim)	243,360
Ling	6.0	10.0	8.0	640	58 (N=14)	29 (N=2)	37,120
Jackfish	14.0	27.0	20.5	1,640	52 (Estim)	26 (Estim)	85,280
Trout	3.0	14.0	8.5	680	17 (Estim)	8 (Estim)	11,560
Coastal Sucker	10.0	31.0	20.5	2,460	13 (Estim)	7 (Estim)	31,980
Inland Sucker	3.0	2.0	2.5	200	16 (Estim)	8 (Estim)	3,200
Wall-eyed Pike	1.0	10.0	5.5	440	52 (Estim)	16 (Estim)	14,080
Sturgeon	0.0	2.0	1.0	80	208 (Estim)	104 (Estim)	16,640
TOTAL							443,220

1. Covering the period from late August to the middle of June. Fishing is of slight economic importance in June and early July. In late summer mainly whitefish begin to be caught, the quantity increasing as autumn shades into winter.

The following remarks on net fishing apply primarily to whitefish. Large hauls of fish are greeted with pleasure. While relative abundance certainly determines increased human consumption and perhaps preservation by drying, a goodly proportion of a large catch is also utilized for dog feed. It is obvious that setting more than one net will usually result in securing more fish, yet not all families set plural nets, perhaps because of the increased work which this practice involves for women. Indians also recognize that for greatest efficiency nets must be frequently visited because as a net becomes full it twists against itself and fish are no longer trapped in the meshes. The frequency of visiting nets varies with the abundance of fish. During the heavy fall or spring runs two or three trips daily to the nets may be undertaken. During the rest of the fishing season once a day suffices and in the intense cold of winter three or four days are allowed to elapse before the net is toilsomely lifted through the chopped ice.

Fish nets are manufactured by women from twine that is purchased or secured in relief. Their construction involves little difficulty but some skill. Net floats are cut from spruce wood and prior to use are allowed to dry for about a week. Two sets of floats are required, as one must be regularly removed from the water for drying when the wood begins to be waterlogged (about every two weeks). In Attawapiskat nets are commonly set opposite the post or, in the bush, close to the camp in quiet and not too shallow water. In late summer several old women join together and move two or three miles downriver where experience has taught them good fishing can be expected. Fish camps of this type are maintained for about a week. A family feels free to set its nets (or hooks) anywhere and within the borders of any trapping ground. A travelling group is thus permitted to fish whenever it stops to make an evening camp. No resentment is expressed if a person places his net upstream from another. Customary law, however, formerly regulated the location of fish weirs. A second fish weir, it was pointed out, should not be set upriver from another unless an intervening feeding stream promises to supply fish for the lower trap. Prior to freeze-up nets must be removed from the water lest they freeze into the ice. They are reset after heavy ice has formed. Because the whitefish avoids places of rough ice, nets are always set under a relatively smooth surface. It is the custom to remove nets from the water in late winter and midsummer, when few or no whitefish can be expected.

As already indicated net fishing is generally in the hands of the women but husbands sometimes co-operate by paddling and holding steady the canoe while the women remove fish from the water. Following their removal fish are placed in galvanized iron pails where they remain until further processed. Fish tend to be utilized almost completely within the producing family. A few may be sold, exchanged, or given away but this is not usual, the majority of families (with the exception of a few incapacitated oldsters) operating their own nets.

TABLE 29
AUTUMN 1947 FISHING DATA

<u>Date of</u> <u>Visiting Net</u>	<u>Number of</u> <u>Fish</u>	<u>Comments</u>
Oct. 13	15 (two nets)	"Still too warm".
Oct. 17	10 (two nets)	
Oct. 20	8 (one net)	"No fish".
Oct. 23	40 (two nets)	
Oct. 28	20 (two nets)	
Oct. 28	5 (two nets)	
Oct. 29	21 (three nets)	
Nov. 6	70 (one net)	
	80 (two nets)	
Nov. 7	10 (two nets)	
Nov. 11	30 (two nets)	
Nov. 11	42 (three nets)	
Nov. 16	30 (one net)	Nets are located under the river ice from the date.
Nov. 19	20 (one net)	
Nov. 19	8 (one net)	
Nov. 19	30 (one net)	
Nov. 19	25 (one net)	
Nov. 21	15 (one net)	
Nov. 24	3 (two nets)	"Fish are extremely scarce". This was blamed on the fact that the ice was still unfrozen downriver and the fish were not moving up.
Nov. 24	5 (one net)	
Nov. 24	4 (one net)	

The ling or loche, locally called marai (mina'skwatcoos), is to be caught only in winter, beginning in late January. Following high water in early summer, after the young have been born, the ling rapidly disappear, perhaps travelling inland. Their short season and the fact that they swim too low to be caught in nets and hence must be trapped on baited hooks, restrict the frequency with which ling appear in diets. Size and fatness, however, somewhat compensate for lesser numbers. As elsewhere among northern Indians, ling liver is keenly relished, one man describing it to be "as good as cod liver oil." The fish itself is highly favoured but the head is regarded as too full of bones to make good eating. Setting hooks for ling

is usually men's work although sometimes a few women occupy themselves in this way. The hooks are mainly purchased and only rarely prepared from nails, even when, as in the winter of 1947-48, the store was short of these implements. One or more hooks baited with meat are attached to a pole which is set through a hole chiseled in the ice. Industrious ling fishing is recognized as requiring the simultaneous setting of from twenty to thirty hooks. With twenty-six hooks set one man caught twenty-seven ling during the first three weeks of March. A widow with five hooks in the water reported catching forty of these fish during January. In general the exploitation of ling appears to be somewhat neglected although this may be related to the fact that commercially manufactured hooks were not available during the period of field work.

Jackfish, actually the great northern pike or maskinonge (kinoceew'), is only rarely encountered along the lower Attawapiskat River but occurs along inland waterways and lakes with considerably greater frequency. The smaller members of this species are frequently caught in nets but hooks may be set to kill large jackfish.

Indians classify the speckled and lake trout as a single species (masamee'koos). The speckled variety is sporadically distributed along the Ekwan and upper Attawapiskat Rivers and families visiting Akimiski Island are able to secure a considerable number of these fish from local creeks. Trout are regarded as delicious eating.

The boniness of the sucker or carp (namee'pin and mekwa'tcikas) does not recommend this fish for eating but large quantities are used for feeding dogs. In summer the coastal sucker (mekwatcikes) is almost the only fish available near the post and then he is more frequently eaten. The wall-eyed pike or yellow pickerel (okes') is also criticized unfavourably as too bony to make good eating. His provenience is inland. Sturgeon (namew') is rarely caught by Attawapiskat Indians but size, fatness, and taste place him in high repute. The only other fish reported eaten by the people could not be identified for its English common name. Called oskane'siw it is described as white or grey, containing many bones, and being generally similar to the white carp or coastal sucker. Very few were reported to have been killed and apparently the fish is found only in the interior. Turtles are unknown in the area. The oyster is found at a few places along the coast north of Attawapiskat. Indians are not fond of the taste of these sea animals but in the past occasionally ate some. The very small crabs and lobsters that occur are not eaten. Frogs, while abundant, are also avoided for food, although Indians speak of a previous missionary at Fort Albany having eaten frogs' legs.

To some degree the dietary role of fish is determined by their scarcity in various parts of the area or at certain periods of the year. On the other hand it seems likely that motivations toward fishing are such that opportunities to secure available sea food are being neglected. It would seem as though the pattern of neglecting fishing under a store food economy, a pattern which has been noted among northern British Columbia people, at Moose Factory, and by A. J. Kerr, at Rupert's House (14) is also making its appearance in Attawapiskat. Any progressive neglect of fishing will not only result in fewer fish being eaten but also in a larger proportion of imported food (notably rolled oats, lard, and shortening) going to provide dog food. The primary explanation for the motivational shift from fishing lies in the prosaic definition given to most sea food. While ideally people recognize that fish are healthful, this attitude is overshadowed by the fact that fish are not really highly valued--in comparison to meat, for example. Fish, eaten well nigh exclusively, could not sustain a person. As one informant put it, if a man existed principally on fish "He would be hungry pretty soon and would not be strong. Pretty soon he would become thin and lose his fat. Fish are not good for working hard". The capture of fish is not usually accompanied by excitement or great pleasure. In brief, they are a routine food only slightly more attractive than such imported foodstuffs as flour and rolled oats. To these facts is related the allocation of most fishing to women. Especially when the run of fish is slight may their exploitation be most neglected. The reasons for neglecting food resources when these are declining in availability have already been discussed.

To prevent the further displacement of fish means might be provided to preserve fresh fish caught during the fall period of abundance (fresh fish are preferred to their dried variety) while at the same time undertaking to stimulate renewed interest in netting and angling. Thus evidence of serious fishing could be made a condition for receiving relief, net materials and hooks being provided in relief; the setting of plural nets might be encouraged and in summer short expeditions for women organized to good fishing sites located within a day's journey from the post. Picnic-like fishing trips lasting a few days at a time are likely to be enormously popular among women and are quite traditional. In winter it might be possible to stimulate inland fishing for large jackfish and sturgeon by offering opportunities to market surpluses to Indians in Attawapiskat and Lake River posts during the Christmas holidays. Traditionally fishing for sturgeon and jackfish has occupied only a small part of a man's busy winter and it is generally far less remunerative than other occupations open to him at this time. Hence it is not likely that the time invested in specialized fishing can be greatly increased unless it is made attractive enough to compete with fur trapping. Experimental work could also be carried on to discover new techniques for ice fishing which will facilitate this occupation. As a means of broadening

the local economic base consideration is further suggested for the idea of a relatively large boat equipped with seine nets from which the men, after a period of training, could practise deep sea fishing in summer. It is, however, not likely that the vessel would be used more than once or twice in the course of the summer, except possibly to take Akimiski Island trappers to their winter habitat. The boat could be made the responsibility of these men. Whether the cost involved in such a project is warranted when balanced against probable results must be left to administrative appraisal.

Fowling

With fowling the reader begins to enter a discussion of those food getting activities in which the greatest interest and positive emotion are invested and from which the people derive their choicest foods. Fowl killed and eaten by the Attawapiskat population in 1947-48 are listed in Table 30. The figures were obtained, like those for fish, from food books and interviews. Families were interviewed even though they did not spend a full winter in the bush. The reason for this was the fact that all families do not normally spend equal periods away from the post. Any attempt to compose a statement of the average consumption of country land food must take this into account. Calculations made for the second and third column of the table are always expressed to the nearest whole number, unless the average figure is below unity. Eighty domestic units were considered in computing column five. The lower number of autumn fowl killed by interview families is in large measure due to the fact that among such interviewees were many inland families who did not tarry along the coast in autumn.

Of all fowl, the wavy (snow or blue goose, whewhe'ho), duck (eiiciip'), and Canada goose (niska') are unquestionably of major importance to the population. They are also the birds in whom the greatest emotional interest is invested, although somewhat less value is attached to the duck than to the remaining two species. As may be seen from Table 30, a greater number of wavies are killed in the fall than in the spring. In 1948 the spring wavy kill was exceptionally low, apparently because the weather was already too warm when the birds arrived and the ground bare of snow.

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1. Deep sea fishing is reported to have been attempted commercially by European immigrants at Moosonee. The industry failed, largely, it is said, because of transportation and capitalization difficulties. Since the Indian Agency at Moose Factory is currently building a sawmill, lumber for a fishing vessel at Attawapiskat would be available at low cost. If the venture is successful the Indians could also market their catch in other James Bay ports. Commercialization on this scale, leading to high wages for the crew, might produce greater interest in this industry than is envisaged above.

These conditions are said to have quickly driven the birds farther north to their nesting grounds. On the other hand rather few geese are shot in autumn and many more in the spring after their return. As one Indian put it:

Every year there are changes in the game hunted by the Indians. It is not every spring that the Indian makes a good living from the birds coming into the country. When you get an early spring, it is poor for wavies. Not every Indian can kill wavies even when they are plentiful. The only ones that make a living are those who were brought up on the coast... this is about the fifth time in my life that we have had wavies all winter till they came again in the spring. The informant's family ate 370 wavies from the fall of 1947 - more than any other family in the area. Lots of times we had none in the fall because they were scarce. In truth we get the most wavies of all the people here. I am the only man around here now who lived on wavies all winter.

Despite this man's record kill of fall wavies, no informant designated the fall of 1947 to be an outstanding season for these birds. The fact that the period was dry was pointed to as disadvantageous but it would appear that this condition was somewhat offset by the very wet summer which had prepared the marshes for the birds' arrival. Before quitting the field the anthropologist heard people express the fear that the fall of 1948 would be poor for wavies because of the winter's low snowfall. Although such correlations made by Indians may seem to be favoured by experience, they cannot be assumed to have invariable or even high validity. What they do reveal is the concentration of thought in the exigencies of fowling and the desire to have waterfowl in abundance so that a great many can be easily killed. The latter condition is, as already pointed out, of great motivational importance.

Waterfowl hunting in the fall is accomplished along the coast, the hunter travelling to the tidal marshes where, in a relatively dry place, he usually builds a small blind of willow poles covered with grass. In the spring blinds for geese are often located along rivers. Outside the blind mud decoys are placed to attract Canada geese. White wavy wings attached to a pole serve the same function for wavies. In the spring charred wooden decoys outlined with white paint, quite attractive in their finished form, are employed for geese while wavies are sometimes secured with snow figures. Numbers four or five shot are commonly preferred for ammunition, larger shot being described as having less penetrating power and hence being less likely to kill. The birds are called close to the blind and fallen birds are secured soon after they have dropped. Several men in a blind may talk, or smoke, leaving the enclosure

TABLE 30

TYPES AND AMOUNTS OF FOWL EATEN (1947-48)¹

Type	Average Number Consumed per Family			Estimated Total Quantity Consumed	Average Weight		Estimated Total Weight Before Cooking oz.
	Food Book (N-17)	Inter-view	Combined Average		Before Cooking oz.	After Cooking oz.	
Wavy (fall)	83.0	63.0 (N=19)	73.0	5,840	54 ² (N=5)	22 ³ (N=1)	
Wavy (spring)	9.0	2.0 (N=23)	5.5	440			
Wavy (total)	92.0	65.0	78.5	6,280			339,120
Duck (fall)	34.0	15.0 (N=19)	24.5	1,960			
Duck (spring)	12.0	9.0 (N=23)	10.5	840	36 ⁴ (N=1)	14 (Estim)	
Duck (total)	46.0	24.0	35.0	2,800			100,800
Goose (fall)	4.0	4.0 (N=19)	4.0	320			
Goose (spring)	11.0	24.0 (N=23)	17.5	1,400	130 (N=12)	52 (Estim)	
Goose (total)	15.0	28.0	21.5	1,720			223,600
Ptarmigan	8.0	4.0 (N=24)	6.0	480	22 (Estim)	9 (Estim)	10,560
Spruce hen ⁵	5.0	7.0 (N=24)	6.0	480	22 (Estim)	9 (Estim)	10,560

1. Covering the period from late August to the middle of June. A few water-fowl eaten during June are undoubtedly omitted as well as the small ducks and shore birds killed in June, July, and August. The number, however, is probably not great.
2. Feathers, lungs, liver, heart in place; intestines removed.
3. Based on only one large wavy, weighing 84 ounces with feathers, lungs, liver, and heart in place but intestines removed. After being boiled this bird weighed 32 ounces, indicating a loss of over 60% through cooking - assuming that the intestines were not eaten. Loss is as great or perhaps greater when meat is dried and then cooked for eating.
4. Feathers and intestines in place.
5. Many spruce hens are probably included in the category of "partridge".

TABLE 30 (Continued)

Type	Average Number Consumed per Family			Estimated Total Quantity Consumed	Average Weight		Estimated Total Weight Before Cooking Oz.
	Food Book (N=17)	Inter-view	Combined Average		Before Cleaning Oz.	After Cooking Oz.	
Grouse	8.0	10.0 (N=24)	9.0	720	22 (Estim)	9 (Estim)	15,840
"Partridge"	20.0	0.2 (N=1)	10.1	808	22 (Estim)	9 (Estim)	17,776
Owls	0.8	0.8 (N=24)	0.8	64	40 (Estim)	16 (Estim)	2,560
Hawk	2.0	0.4 (N=25)	1.2	96	32 (Estim)	13 (Estim)	3,072
Loon	2.0	1.0 (N=16)	1.5	120	40 (Estim)	16 (Estim)	4,800
Shore Birds	4.0	2.0 (N=24)	3.0	240	8 (Estim)	3 (Estim)	1,920
Small Birds	4.0	0.6 (N=24)	2.3	184	5 (Estim)	2 (Estim)	920
					Total		731,528

to attend to bodily needs. At noon, if the day is so warm that the birds rest from flying around at this time, a small fire is made to brew tea to drink with bannock. A fowl may also be roasted for the noonday meal. Each night the hunter returns to camp with his uncleared birds in a bag or lashed together around the neck with grass line (kiiweeya'potew, "he or she comes home with country food"). Just inside the entrance of a dwelling the fowl are thrown on the ground or floor, the several hunters in a family keeping their kills separated. Then the men eat, generally of some meat killed on a previous day, tea, and bannock. In the morning one of the newly killed birds will be cooked for breakfast and during the day the remaining birds are cleaned by the wife and daughters. No attempt is made to separate those killed by a particular individual unless allocation between family units is required. A few waterfowl may be distributed beyond the family, especially during the period when they are most abundant. The relative number given away is not great, however, probably never over ten percent of a season's total kill. The distribution is usually in the hands of a woman and recipients include relatives of both spouses who are unable to hunt. A present of waterfowl is governed by the same rules applying to any form of gift-giving. Presents do not have to be reciprocated among the Attawapiskat Indians. Although it may be polite to make a return if the donee is able to do so, failure to make a counter gift does not create a socially compulsory situation. Frequently the loan of a shotgun is repaid by wabies. When

young men receive ammunition from aged people (who draw the supplies in relief) with which to hunt waterfowl, the larger portion of the catch goes to the person for whom the work was undertaken. The sale of waxies is handled by men. Only white purchasers are solicited, Indian customers usually approaching the hunter when they wish to buy fowl or other game.

A number of ideals regulate the hunting of waterfowl, particularly waxies and Canada geese. Since deliberate violation of these norms produces resentment, they may be regarded as legal in nature. Thus, blinds should not be placed too close together unless one person specifically desires to aggravate another. When stands are in close proximity (within half a mile) fowl will become confused or the man on the side nearest the feeding grounds will kill a disproportionate share. Wild shooting into the feeding grounds is also resented and blamed for driving the birds away. Fowl should be called while in flight and then shot. Shooting should close with sunset as hunting later, when the birds fly low, will cause the fowl to become shy and hard to kill in the future. Shooting after sunset is also prohibited by provincial game laws. Planes flying over the coastal marshes in the fall are also accused of startling the birds. When several men are hunting together it is regarded as discourteous always to strive for the first shot at a flock. In describing such a person people say wee'sa atcin'aho, "too much he is in a hurry".

In Table 30 the category of ducks includes, among other species, the small type called tciistana'kociip and the "fall duck", takwa'kiiciip, which could not be more closely identified. So called "fish duck" are not usually eaten. Many ducks are killed while the hunters are in the blinds waiting for larger waterfowl. A few are clubbed to death with paddles in summer when they are moulting in the marshes. In the spring a family may catch several ducks in steel traps set for muskrats.

Several birds are collectively called "partridges" by the Indians. The ptarmigan, or white bird (wapinew'), is described as having once been abundant in the whole Attawapiskat area. Currently its numbers are small. Most are shot but occasionally they may be caught in a bird trap made of a square of fish net supported on a wooden frame which is raised above the ground with a trigger stick to which a long line is attached. The line goes to the concealed trapper (usually a woman, boy, or girl) who has baited the trap with rolled oats. Like the spruce hen (mistik'pinew') the willow grouse (a'kasko) is primarily killed by shooting. Under grouse in the above table is included the bird called pa'kasko, whose identity could not be learned beyond the fact that it resembles the willow grouse. Perhaps the ruffed grouse is indicated. People who kept food books did not always distinguish the particular type of partridge to which they had reference. Hence Table 30 includes a category "partridge" which must be taken as likely including ptarmigan, spruce hens, and grouse. Since these birds

are of similar weights their joint consideration is not of great disadvantage for present purposes.

Under owls are included various types of owls distinguished by Indians under such names as nanaskee'siw and kaka'kiw. The generic name for owl is hoho'misiw. The scarcity of owls in 1947-48 was referred by Indians to the also great infrequency of mice and rabbits. Owls are shot by men or caught in steel traps by older people and children.

The hawk, of which there are also several types, is also usually caught in baited steel traps set on poles. Generally such traps are set by old people and young girls in the fall, particularly in spring. Muskrat traps too catch a small quota of hawks. The loon (mo'kwa) is principally shot in spring.

Under the heading "shore birds" are included plovers, especially the yellow leg (cece'siw); gull (kiiask'), which is rarely eaten but shot with a vengeance when seen plundering fish nets, and saka'tamiw, said to resemble a gull. Plovers are the most frequently eaten birds in this group but they are mainly shot by youths canoeing through the coastal river arms. More of them would undoubtedly be killed if ammunition were more plentiful.

"Small birds" is a term used to designate the Canada jay or whiskey jack (wiiskiitca'nis); robin (pipi'tciw); snowbird, one of the earliest birds to appear in spring; bittern (mokaho'siw), and the unidentified oskaniinew', perhaps the bullfinch. Most of these are caught with net traps described above and set by women and children. The whiskey jack is sometimes cooked by children who play camp.

The bird resources of the Attawapiskat area appear to be fairly closely exploited. The fall waxies, numerically the most important fowl, are, however, not evenly spread throughout the community. Excluding from consideration the very old, who cannot hunt many waxies, this unequal distribution is due largely to the fact that many inland families leave Attawapiskat before they are able to secure large stocks of these birds. To delay departure might mean having to wait until the river ice is firmly frozen or might delay arrival at the trap line until after the opening of the trapping season (November 1). As a result the average family travelling inland uses one third less geese for food than does the average family trapping near the coast. It has already been pointed out that the excellent food supply guaranteed along the coast of James Bay has been responsible for attracting inland families to the coast. In connection with the distribution of the population on trapping lines attention was also drawn to the fact that people are relatively concentrated along the coast, probably because this allows them a longer period to hunt waterfowl in autumn. It is not likely

that inland families could be easily persuaded to engage more intensively in this type of hunting nor does it seem advantageous to suggest that these families become coastal trappers. Whether a number of coastal families could be encouraged to hunt geese even more intensively in order to supply waterfowl for distribution to inland families is also somewhat doubtful. The economic and emotional value of geese suggests that additional birds killed would very likely go to swell the family larder. In years when moose and rabbits more thickly populate the inland district of the area some compensation for the absence of waxies in the diet is provided for inland families. The current availability of beaver inland also provides a form of meat which is scarce along the coast. Large jackfish and sturgeon are also found inland rather than along the lower reaches of the rivers and in some measure contribute to making good the deficiency of waterfowl. Presence inland in spring is no disadvantage with respect to killing the ducks and Canada geese arriving in spring.

It may be pointed out that the period when waterfowl figure most prominently in the diet (late fall and early winter) is also a period when fish are relatively abundant (see Table 32). This suggests that the poorer and less varied late winter diet could be improved by conserving frozen waterfowl. Preserved fresh waxy would also relieve the summer shortage of fresh country food. Considerable effort would be necessary to persuade the people to ration and preserve a fair proportion of their fall waxy and geese kills.

Trapping and Hunting

Except as far as the capture of rabbits is concerned, the Indian's trapping is primarily undertaken in quest of furs, which can be turned into income. Nevertheless a considerable portion of fur bearing animals caught during the trapping season are also used as food. In fact meat derived from this source may be quantitatively more important than game killed by hunting. Flesh foods eaten among the Attawapiskat Indians during 1947-48, as calculated from food book and interview data are listed in Table 31. The calculations in the fifth column have been made primarily on the basis of eighty families containing one or more male hunters capable of securing the respective type of animal food. In the case of the rabbit and muskrat, however, consideration was given to an estimated ten widows who exploited these resources. Only the known kill of large mammals (bear, moose, caribou, and deer) is given in this column.

There is no question but that in years when he is abundant the rabbit (wa'puc) provides an important source of winter food. This was hardly the case in 1947-48. Although readily eaten, little emotional value is attached to rabbit flesh, probably largely because of its lack of fat. Like fish, rabbit

TABLE 31

TYPES AND AMOUNTS OF ANIMALS EATEN (1947-48)¹

Type	<u>Consumed per Family</u>			Estimated Total Quantity Consumed	<u>Average Weight</u>		Estimated Total Weight Before Cooking Oz.
	<u>Food Book (N=17)</u>	<u>Inter- view (N=26)</u>	<u>Combined Average (N=26)</u>		<u>Before² Cooking Oz.</u>	<u>After Cooking Oz.</u>	
Rabbit	78.0	28.0 (N=26)	53.0	4, 770	25 (N=4)	14 ³ (Estim.)	119, 250
Fox	1.0	0.3 (N=19)	0.7	56	96 (Estim.)	?	376
Skunk	0.4	0.0 (N=26)	0.2	16	30 (Estim.)	?	480
Otter	2.0	3.0 (N=26)	2.5	200	40 (Estim.)	?	8, 000
Mink	1.0	1.0 (N=26)	1.0	80	30 (Estim.)	?	2, 400
Muskrat	34.0	25.0 (N=23)	30.0	2, 700	26 (N=5)	?	63, 030
Beaver	2.0	8.0 (N=25)	5.0	400	285 (N=2)	?	114, 000
Squirrel	19.0	13.0 (N=26)	16.0	1, 280	16 (Estim.)	?	20, 480
Groundhog	0.0	0.03 (N=26)	--	very slight	--	--	
Weasel	0.3	0.0 (N=26)	--	very slight	--	--	
Seal	0.06	0.0	--	very slight	--	--	
Moose				15	9500 (Estim.)	?	142, 500
Bear				3	1600 (Estim.)	?	4, 800
Caribou				11	2000 (Estim.)		22, 000
Deer				1	1600 (Estim.)		1, 600
Beer				slight			
					TOTAL		509, 116

1. Covering the period from late August to early June. A few dried muskrats eaten during June are probably omitted.
2. Represents weight with skin and viscera removed but including bones.
3. Based on an estimated average forty-five percent loss in cooking. A 29 ounce rabbit boiled for 1 1/2 hours and boned yielded 16 ounces of edible meat, including brain, liver, kidney, and lungs.

is a mundane food very often trapped by women and children in the vicinity of the post or winter dwelling. Farther inland than Attawapiskat post rabbits can be gotten throughout the year. The knee high water in the muskeg close to the coast, however, drives the most of these animals out of this district as soon as the spring thaws are at hand. Hence rabbit is largely eaten in the period from November to April. Despite their scarcity on the mainland in 1947-48, the Akimiski Island trappers managed to kill a considerable number and this is one reason why the food book families tabulated in the table show over twice the average rabbit consumption of interview families. Traps for rabbits basically consist of snares made with twine and placed over a rabbit run. The construction of a snare occupies about fifteen or twenty minutes. A family sets about fifteen or twenty rabbit snares at a time but the number is never carefully counted. At any time a woman may place an additional noose where signs indicate hope of a kill. She always carries a few knotted lengths of twine in her pockets with which to replace snares from which animals have escaped. To forestall escape trappers may rub a bit of frozen rabbit dung along the snareline. This is said to inhibit the animal from chewing himself free. Wire snares would undoubtedly be more efficient in this regard but are not used by the average family. Rabbits, like small fish, are not well remembered in terms of the number eaten, another possible reason for the lower consumption reported by interview families. A common way of estimating the number killed is in terms of whether or not enough skins were secured for a small, medium size, or large blanket, about fifty, one hundred, and one hundred and fifty pelts respectively. Indians are aware of an illness that occasionally strikes and kills large numbers of rabbits. When found such carcasses are not eaten. Rabbits are largely consumed within the family that killed them. The heart, liver, and lungs are always used for food.

With his numbers partly dependent on the rabbit cycle, the fox (makee'ciw) was not abundant in the area during the season of field work. Fox trapping, done with wire snares or steel traps, is a man's occupation. He engages in it from the period after freeze-up (officially the season opens November 1) until early January. Then the animal begins to "run" and as a result wears his fur by rubbing against willows. A few fox are also shot. Informants agreed that fox were generally more numerous in the past when red, black (silver), and white varieties were frequently traded. Currently the red fox predominates, only the Lake River trappers occasionally producing a few Arctic whites. By no means are fox widely eaten nor are they ranked as particularly good food. When choice is possible the fatter animals will be selected for food and the other meat fed to dogs. When the animal is plentiful in the area a family will distribute skinned foxes to neighbours for eating. Among the most relished parts of the fox is the flesh of the ventral surface and of the fore and hind quarters. The head, including brain, is regarded as edible but the ribs contain too little meat to make them worth bothering with unless other food is scarce. Fox bones are poor in marrow; therefore

people only rarely crack them to seek this fat. Liver, stomach, and intestines are avoided. A fox that has eaten well on rabbit and mouse is apt to provide good food for humans. A diet of seal meat, however, spoils the taste of fox flesh and fat. In 1946-47, when about five hundred fox were killed, informants estimated that about one in two had been used for food. This figure seems unduly high but on the other hand a metis' estimate of one fox out of twenty eaten is probably too low and reflects the taste of a relatively sophisticated person. It seems fair to assume that with other meat plentiful fox would soon disappear from the diet.

The skunk (ciikak') is regarded as even less edible than the fox and among most families is wholly rejected for eating. Older people use the meat with somewhat less hesitation, particularly in midwinter when other fresh food is scarce.

Of primary value for his fur, which commanded a good price in 1947-48, the otter (niikik') is occasionally eaten but with little evidence of keen enjoyment. For taste otter meat appears to rank slightly ahead of fox and mink (sakwee'ciw) in the opinion of natives. Informants estimated that at least one out of two trapped otter and mink were eaten. Evidence suggests that this estimate may be correct for otter but, with other food available, is probably too high for mink. Mink liver is avoided for food.

In distinction to the fur bearers discussed above, the muskrat (wa'tcosk) is far more enthusiastically received as food. The occurrence of a large number of these animals in the spring (their season officially opens March 31), when the weather begins to grow warm, leads to the preservation of a considerable number by drying. This provides a little meat to eat in June. The spring of 1948 represented the second year in succession that these animals were "scarce". Five years previously, informants recalled, a single family could secure more than three hundred rats. When so large a number are killed it is likely that only about one in two will be eaten while in 1948 it is estimated that eighty percent of the total catch were used for food. The stomach and intestines of the muskrat are avoided as food.

As already pointed out, the beaver (amisk') is not equally available to all families. In 1947-48 the animal provided an important source of food for inland trappers exploiting the area west of the beaver preserve's boundary and were also available in a somewhat smaller quantity to families who were detailed to trap the animal on the Company's Akimiski Island preserve. By 1955 it is hoped that many more families will be provided with beaver meat as a result of the opening of the mainland beaver sanctuary. In 1946-47 Akimiski Island beaver were caught in April and May, the meat of the seventy-five animals killed going to swell a diet that also (at least after the

middle of May) included geese and muskrats. In 1947-48, however, winter beaver taking was substituted for spring trapping. Inland beaver are trapped throughout the winter. It is considered more difficult to trap the animal in the months from December to February but the generally meager diet of this season is benefitted by the food. When large numbers of beaver begin to be taken in the area, preservation of the meat would be greatly facilitated by a winter season, unless artificial means were provided for storage of spring-killed animals. Beaver meat is also regarded as tasting best in early winter, when fat is most abundant. The most relished parts of the animal are the hindquarters (opham' wiias') followed by the flesh of the ventral surface (was'kiikan wiias'). The ribs lack fat as does the head. The heart, brain, and tail are well regarded, the former two organs being commonly reserved for children. The paws are also used for food. Only occasionally do people eat beaver liver and kidneys, never the intestines. The blood is avoided, perhaps because of the persistence of an aboriginal belief that it makes the eater short winded. Beaver bones have no marrow.

To a slight extent the unequal distribution of beaver resources at the present time is offset by the custom of generously sharing available meat. Only about fifty percent of the Akimiski Island beaver were consumed within the producing family, the balance being distributed among neighbours in Attawapiskat post. Access to such meat may be considered another advantage accruing to families that remain in the post during midwinter. Less extensive distribution obtains inland where neighbours are scarcer and families dwell far apart. Here less desirable parts of the animal are fed to dogs. Like all large game animals, beaver are trapped and hunted by men, women preparing the skins for market and the meat for consumption.

The single groundhog (gopher?) (wii'noosk) known to have been eaten in the Attawapiskat area during 1947-48 is sufficient evidence of the animal's scarcity. Groundhog are relatively more abundant in the region of the Winisk River, where this herbivorous animal is also more frequently eaten and relished. The introduction of groundhog into the upper Attawapiskat River district or, possibly, the domestication of the animal for food in the post, would seem to be ecologically feasible and might provide an additional dependable food supply.

Many of the squirrels (sing. ani'kwatcas) eaten were not specifically killed for food but were shot or trapped for their fur. Others were caught in traps set for animals bearing more valuable pelts. Children are pleased to kill squirrels and then contribute the meat to mothers for cooking. They may also prepare the flesh themselves in the course of play. Among adults, squirrel meat is regarded with little relish.

Only a slight part of one seal (ha'kik) was used for food by a single reporting family. In the past seal were eaten during periods of extreme need but currently the number killed goes almost exclusively to the dogs.

Fifteen moose (moos) are known to have been killed during the term of field work as compared to about fifty in the winter of 1946-47. Most of the number taken were tracked and shot a considerable distance inland where the meat was distributed among a limited number of neighbours. Only a few pounds of moose meat reached Attawapiskat post. Like caribou and deer, moose meat is very highly favoured. A visit by moose to the area is important not only in terms of the large quantity of meat provided but also for the skins out of which snowshoe webbing and moccasins may be manufactured or which may be marketed for cash. The meat is widely and generously distributed but within the post, where cash is supposed to be available, it is often sold.

Both the black and white bear (mas'kwa and wa'pask, respectively) are found in the Attawapiskat area. Only the former species was reported to have been killed in 1947-48. This does not preclude the possibility that some white bears may have been taken in the more northerly district exploited by the Lake River people. In 1946-47 those Indians killed four white bears (two cubs) out of a total kill of ten bears. Two cubs are included in the total of three bears killed in 1947-48. The intestines, stomach, liver, kidneys, and brain of bears are avoided for food, the paws eaten only in time of extreme hunger. The bones are not rich with marrow.

The brush caribou (locally called "deer") (hatik'), once fairly plentiful along the west coast of James Bay, has all but disappeared from the country. Various hypotheses have been advanced for the animal's practical extinction but none include practical suggestions for repopulation. In 1946-47 fourteen caribou were reported killed; during the period of field work eleven of the animals were known to have been taken and used for food. The contents of a caribou's stomach are never eaten but this occurred in the old days. The single deer (apistomoo'sis) killed in the area could not be more clearly identified.

A bull (mistoos) is the single term applied to a cow or bull) slaughtered by the Mission in the fall of 1947 provided a few pounds of meat for several post dwelling families who participated in its limited distribution.

Few other varieties of flesh food are available to the Indians. Porcupine and lynx apparently occur a considerable distance inland but are never caught by Attawapiskat hunters. Mice are rarely cooked as a part of children's play. Once or twice in the memory of informants raccoons have been killed beyond the confluence of Big Lake River. Marten and fisher are said to have been fairly plentiful once but became exhausted at the time when the two companies competed for furs in the area. The Hudson's Bay Company

is said to have placed mink and marten on Akimiski Island at the time when beaver preservation was instituted. Despite the prevalence of rabbits suitable for prey by marten, neither they nor the mink multiplied. The marten are believed to have migrated to the mainland.

For flesh food, as for fur, the people are largely restricted to a few indigenous animals like the rabbit, fox, and muskrat, with beaver present inland. It should also be clear from this analysis that herbivorous animals (beaver, muskrat, moose, and caribou) are in general preferred for food to carnivores like the otter, mink, and fox. It is interesting that in 1948 a Fort Albany Indian in an interview with a newspaper reporter deplored the fact that his people were forced to eat fox, an animal which, he said, was regarded as unfit for food by other bands.

This review of the animals used in the food economy of the Attawapiskat Indians makes clear that the channels through which meat reaches the table are controlled by two gatekeepers, wives and husbands. Women are primarily concerned with rabbit and, to a somewhat lesser extent, with muskrat. The bulk of meat production is left to the men. A discussion of the psychological factors underlying the food getting activities of these gatekeepers will be postponed for the moment. There is no question but that trapping and hunting involve a considerable expenditure of time, effort, and energy--particularly for the man. However, it is somewhat unfair to speak of hunting and trapping as difficult food getting activities because often, at the same time that the man secures food through these channels, he is also accumulating fur from which the cash income derives. Only in land hunting for moose and caribou is it possible to separate the pursuit of fur from the search for food. However in most years there is too little large game available to occupy much of a man's time. Hence in Attawapiskat we do not find the conflict between trapping and hunting which is complained about by Indian groups living in areas better stocked with land mammals. Among the Attawapiskat Cree the amount of time invested in trapping (leaving out of consideration individual variations resulting from illness or other personal factors) is grossly determined by the abundance of fur bearers in the area and hardly at all by the exigencies of food shortages. In a winter when fur bearers are scarce, leading to the rapid exhaustion of waterfowl caches, there remains little in the country that can be exploited except "partridges". Hence without imported food to fall back upon hunger quickly could become fatal.

It should be clear from this discussion that the scarcity of fur bearers in the Attawapiskat area has created a situation in which dependence on relief could develop. To expect that increasing the number of beaver or any other edible game in the country will necessarily lead to a reduction in the consumption of imported food is not realistic. The increase of beaver at

Rupert's House has not decreased dependence on store foods. As a matter of fact the beaver program there may be regarded as having increased the demand for certain imported staples by providing income for their purchase. Why has the beaver program had this effect on Rupert's House diet? Close study will furnish answers to this question which cannot help but be of vital importance for the success of a rehabilitation program. It may, however, be pointed out that the introduction of beaver was not accompanied by any education or propaganda which would have prevented in some degree the neglect of fish and berries, the places of which were taken by store food--if they were at all adequately replaced, speaking in a nutritional sense. Also it seems likely that meat consumption per individual family is apt to be higher when there is a variety of meat rather than when only one form of flesh food is abundant. Monotony is probably the responsible factor here. Such variety was not made available at Rupert's House. It is likely that economic changes will have to be accompanied by an intensive educational program if long-range health goals are to be safeguarded. To date this has not been a part of the Government's fur conservation policies.

Although trapping and hunting for fur and food are hard work, there is every reason to assume that these activities, as well as rabbit snaring and fowling, are more tenaciously rooted in the life of the people than fishing and the gathering of wild vegetable products. This means that they are more resistant to change, less likely to be driven out of existence. Nonprofessional observers in the North have long been cognizant of the Indian's attachment to his career as a hunter. They have noted the fact that trapping and killing game are engrossing topics of interest and frequent subjects of conversation. Thus Saindon (24:30) a missionary who passed much of his career along the west coast of James Bay, including years in Attawapiskat, has written:

A narrer ses chasses il est intarissable. Conscient de sa competence, il est fier de fair parade de son savoir qu'il et etale avec satisfaction, qu'il souligne de gestes accentues, de paroles triomphantes ou passe sa verve. Pour lui, c'est l'art des arts, le "ne plus ultra" du savoir, ce qui dans son appreciation le rond bien superieur au blanc.

Several reasons for the tenacity of these habits may be offered, at the same time exposing the complex web of motivations which drive the Indian in his pursuit of game. We will ignore the fact that trapping produces income on which the native is primarily dependent for store purchases, since the desire for financial status appears to be an auxiliary motive superimposed on older and traditional ways of regarding the exploitation of animal resources.

Of prime importance is the fact that trapping and hunting produce a type of food which is ranked higher than fish or berries. An informant who was asked the consequences likely to follow if a person tried to subsist only

TABLE 32

WEEKLY INCIDENCE OF COUNTRY FOODS IN DIETS (1947-48)

Week of	Families	Duck	Whitefish	Berries ¹	Jackfish	Coastal Carp	Ling	Rabbit	Plover	Goose	Wavy	Loon	Partridge	Inland Carp	Owl	Moosemeat ²	Otter	Spruce Hen	Grouse	Ptarmigan	Trout	Fox	Small Birds	Squirrel	Mink	Beaver	Wall Eye Pike	Muskrat	Skunk	Sturgeon	Hawk	Variety ³ Index
Aug. 25	4	14	22	5	1	12	2																								6	
Sept. 1	9	58	119	5	1	4		4	13	1																					8	
Sept. 8	9	18	135	2		3			10	2	2																				7	
Sept. 15	8	31	109	4	3	4		2			3																				7	
Sept. 22	11	65	129	3	1	7		2	5	7	42	1																			10	
Sept. 29	11	36	53	1				10		3	120		4																		7	
Oct. 6	10	21	30	3	1			11		2	85		7	1																	9	
Oct. 13	9	21	26	6	5			6		1	74		5																		8	
Oct. 20	9	19	36	9	7			12		3	66		5		1	x															10	
Oct. 27	10	6	52	6				27		1	59		12		2	x	5	2													11	
Nov. 3	14	18	100	7			1	24		4	73		6	4		x	2	5	2	1											14	
Nov. 10	14	14	149	4	9	3		64		1	51		11			x				1	2										12	

1. This column indicates number of times berries eaten.

2. The symbol x indicates one or more meals of moosemeat during the week.

3. Based on a count of the country foods eaten during that week.

TABLE 32 (Continued)

Week of	Families	Duck	Whitefish	Berries	Jackfish	Coastal Carp	Ling	Rabbit	Plover	Goose	Wavy	Loon	Partridge	Inland Carp	Owl	Moosemeat	Otter	Spruce Hen	Grouse	Ptarmigan	Trout	Fox	Small Birds	Squirrel	Mink	Beaver	Wall Eye Pike	Muskrat	Skunk	Sturgeon	Hawk	Variety Index
Nov. 17	14	10	169	3	5			75			53		16		1		2	3	2	1												12
Nov. 24	13	9	125	3	9	1		59			54		11		1		1	3	1	1	8	1										15
Dec. 1	11	6	85	4	5			51		1	46		12				1			4			1	3								12
Dec. 8	11	14	71	4			3	49			41		6		1			5		6	10				1							12
Dec. 15	11	8	121	4	2			51		1	45		8		1		1	4		2		4			2							14
Dec. 22	11		169	2			2	21		6	41					x																7
Dec. 29	11	1	171	3				12		2	29					x				3												8
Jan. 5	13	2	161		2	3		23		1								6			1				1		3					11
Jan. 12	11	2	115	2				34		1			3	2	1		1	1	3				3	5	2	2	2	1				16
Jan. 19	12	2	158	2	1			19			22		2	2					1	3				3	4	4	2					13
Jan. 26	12		158				2	15		4	22					x				4		1			3							9
Feb. 2	11	2	157	1	1			48			22			1							2		3		3							10
Feb. 9	10		165					28		1	23								1			2			4							7
Feb. 16	11		103		3		3	33		1	26													3								7
Feb. 23	9	1	62		1		5	17		2	14			3																		8
Mar. 1	10		150				4	40			7		3								1			2								7
Mar. 8	7		61		2			48			3		1			x					1		3		3							9

TABLE 32 (Continued)

[illegible]

on flour, meat, fish, tea, berries, rolled oats, and milk had a good word to say only about meat. "If somebody ate only meat, this would be good. He would be strong. Wavies would fill him because they are fat, but if the meat was rabbit it would not be good." Such an attitude is empirically sound and has been validated in Stefansson's famous experiments (25). Meat is also valued because, being "tough" ('maskawaw') it requires a longer time to digest and hence prevents hunger from quickly returning. It is significant that the word for "food" mii'tcim is sometimes used to designate meat alone. Wiias' is the more common word for animal flesh.

The production of meat and fowl is heavily determined by the fact that the activity and its results possess strong symbolic significance. This symbolism may be loosely summed up in the word "prestige". A so-called "good hunter", i. e., a youth or adult male who works industriously at hunting and trapping and produces a satisfactory amount of meat for table and fur for sale, achieves differential status in the community. The status is largely of a subtle and covert kind. He less earns special privileges than a diffuse respect from his contemporaries. Such status wins him access to sexually and maritally desirable women, enhances his reputation with the parents-in-law, makes his suggestions listened to in group deliberations, lends him a greater sense of security and poise, and finally, assures him that, behind his back, he will be well discussed rather than be the subject of unfavourable gossip. With the income derived from fur a good trapper can acquire the outward symbols of status, things like efficient equipment. He also has the means of adequately providing for himself and his family. None of these rewards accrue as clearly (some not at all) to the female engaged in fishing and collecting. When these latter activities disappear they result in a wife becoming more dependent on the food and income produced by her husband. If he can meet those needs unaided by his wife it is with the result that his status stands to benefit still further. A wife may identify with the status of her husband and in the community benefits somewhat from his repute. Her greatest prestige, however, comes from fulfilling her female role well--keeping her house clean, attiring herself neatly and cleanly, and remaining sexually chaste and faithful to her husband.

Both sexes manifest interest in competing for excellence in their economic activities. In the male this competition is most significant. Unlike in American society, however, competition is not advertised but exists deeply under the surface. Men do not usually boast but allow the grapevine system of communication to convey their successes through the community. Where successes are lacking, failures are certain to make equally fast headway. To boast overtly (mamata'komoo, "he boasts") arouses dislike. Children at an early age are encouraged by parents to control this trait. At the same time children are urged to strive for excellence. Similarly to be overtly competitive brings disapproval and may lead to avoidance. Even in sports, where competition is ideally enjoyed, considerable laughter indicates the desire of the exhibitionist and his audience to reduce the aggressive connotations of the performance. For competition is defined as a form of aggression. The best

kind of competition is to strive toward approved goals without doing so at the expense of anybody else. Children are urged to develop into capable and respected adults but this is never done by invidiously comparing the child at the expense of others. A covetous person, for example, (askone'niimo, "he is covetous") is competitive in an antisocial sense when he finds a locale with many animals but on his return to the post lies, saying that resources are lacking in the country he just visited. Ideally one should allow others the opportunity to exploit such an area for game without, however, sacrificing one's own chances. The self-abnegation connoted by the Christian idea of sacrifice is relatively meaningless to the Attawapiskat personality.

Competition, in the Attawapiskat sense of not striving to outdo others but as a cautious and unadvertised effort to build up self esteem and allay insecurity, can be of great utility in a planned development program. For example, it may be usefully employed for increasing the family's food production through gardening, fishing, collecting, and preservation. A previous Hudson's Bay Company manager shrewdly utilized this motivation when he offered a prize to each inland and coastal trapper who brought in the best catch of fur. Such inducements, however, may easily run into an apparently contradictory but related motivation, namely the fear of failure. The Indian's self-esteem is not sufficiently high to permit competition for excellence when the chances of success are highly dubious. In order to get people to compete in unfamiliar activities (like food preservation) they will first have to be convinced that they will not utterly fail and so come to look foolish. The motivations of competition and fear of failure are only apparently contradictory. Underneath the desire for excellence lies a strong sense of shame which keeps people trying for the respect and high opinion of their neighbours. It is as if people must be sensitive to failure if they are to value good performance. A low opinion of somebody is characteristically expressed in gossip and in public ridicule (laughter).

The sensitivity to shame is clearly shown in the uses to which laughter is put. The Attawapiskat Indian laughs under conditions where we would not, hence the meaning of the behaviour is extremely difficult for a foreigner in the society to perceive and define. The Indian laughs, for example, in a not too serious accident situation. The person witnessing the accident laughs lightly, apparently intending the message: "You have been clumsy but don't take it too seriously, it is nothing, just a joke". The person guilty of clumsy behaviour tries to laugh even more than his audience. The meaning seems apologetic on his part. He deliberately exposes his own ridiculousness, thereby saving himself embarrassment (much like the Japanese waiter who smiles when he spills soup on a lady patron's dress). Laughter is also used in embarrassing situations; a woman alone laughs when a man walks into her house. She is ashamed and he is (or should be) ashamed. The laughter on her part anticipates criticism and apologizes for the situation. A community

organizer working with the Attawapiskat Cree might study laughter and learn to use it to save himself and his subjects further embarrassment.

Another psychological characteristic related to economic activity, which may be usefully called into operation in a rehabilitation program, is the Indian's high evaluation of hard work and effort. Not only is successful production (of meat and fur) rewarded in the Indian community but also, and quite apart from success, industrious pursuit of the goal. The respect withdrawn from the aged comes not only because they fail to produce but also because they shirk hard work or give up trying--often because illness or general debility makes any considerable expenditure of effort impossible. One old man in Attawapiskat, who lives poorly, nevertheless enjoys some regard because of his determination to secure his own wood, fish, and even waterfowl. The reader will recall the paralyzed old man mentioned above who was treated to the scorn of his wife because "never does he do anything, never!" A planned development program can encourage the high evaluation of hard work for economic ends. As already pointed out, relief could quite easily be made conditional upon the display of sincere effort and the community would very likely approve. Never must it be overlooked, however, that Indians will expend their sincerest effort only for goals that are meaningful in terms of their own values--not the values of white men. Inculcating new values will involve most strongly the efforts of the community organizer.

Cost of Living

The theme of the previous section has been the manner in which Attawapiskat Indians secure, first, income with which to buy food or other necessities and, second, foods from various sources, including relief and family allowances. It is now proposed to study the equipment which the native has at his disposal for exploiting the natural environment as well as the effort and time necessary to produce stated quantities of fur and food with the aid of that equipment.

It does not seem practical to separate the Attawapiskat family's capital goods from its other possessions inasmuch as this is a family economy and the home is the center of production. Most of the resources of the home are used to some extent in the production of wealth. No complete inventory was made of the material resources owned by the Indian community as a whole. Rather a few families were casually selected and most of their possessions tabulated and valued. Values of equipment were mainly set by Indians themselves in response to the question: "How much would you sell this for?" Clothing and other very personal goods were not listed, nor were gramophones and other recreational objects. Ammunition on hand was not mentioned by any subject. From these inventories it should be possible to approach one

aspect of the cost of living, namely, the value of the goods which the Indian requires for work. The other part of the problem is how much the Indian can produce with his equipment.

Table 33 lists the pertinent data for Charles Kiiokii, a thirty-six year old man who, apart from visiting Amiski Island to trap a few beaver, did very little trapping in 1947-48 because of ill health. He remained in the house during most of the latter part of the winter while his forty-four year old wife secured wood and daily cut it with the help of her daughter. In the spring the wife is reported to have secured most of one of the largest muskrat catches in the community. Unmarried children consist of four daughters, aged twenty-one, eleven, nine, and two. There is also a ten year old son. A seventeen year old son was married in September 1947 and went to live with his father-in-law's family.

TABLE 33

EQUIPMENT OWNED BY CHARLIE KIIOKII (MARCH 18, 1948)

	<u>Description</u>	<u>Value</u>
House,	built of logs at least two years ago and taking two months to complete. A large building, hexagonal in shape. Wife cut the logs in the bush and additional lumber was obtained from the Mission. A hole was burned in the roof during the winter of 1947-48. A new dwelling will be constructed next summer.	\$20.00
Tent,	twelve feet long and years old. Took about seven hours to sew, the canvas having been supplied in relief.	5.00
Logs,	fifty, cut and reserved for a new house. Cutting occupied about six hours of actual work but involved several days of activity. Each log valued at twenty-five cents.	12.50
Stove,	an oil drum that cost six dollars when new and took an hour to shape. Now two years old.	3.00
Stovepipe		3.00
Tent stove,	condition very poor. Owner set no value.	----

TABLE 33 (Continued)

	<u>Description</u>	<u>Value</u>
Toboggan,	purchased this winter from the Company.	\$11.00
Sled,	about three weeks old. Took a few hours to make.	2.00
Dogs,	one, and two puppies. Latter valued at five dollars each.	20.00
Fishnet,	one year old.	.50
Gun,	single shot twelve gauge shotgun. Four years old. Cost fifteen dollars new.	6.00
Gun,	.22 rifle, two years old and costing twelve dollars new. Had been forgotten on Akimiski Island and would be fetched later.	10.00
Axes,	three	6.00
Tools,	including saw (three years old), hammer, (five years old), plane (three years old), crooked knife, and scissors.	4.50
Snowshoes,	two pairs. Made during the current year.	9.00
Traps,	about thirty.	22.50
Lamps,	kitchen utensils, etc.	2.50
Furniture,	two tables and two chairs, all made by the owner.	5.00
Bedding,	mainly quilts of wavy feathers.	2.00
		<hr/> \$144.50

Earnings

1944-45	\$350.00
1945-46	400.00 (son, \$100. addit.)
1946-47	205.00 (son, 60. addit.)
1947-48	250.00 (estimated)

Also receives relief and family allowances.

In comparison to other Attawapiskat families, this group, due to relief and family allowances, enjoys an existence the improvement of which appears to be chiefly limited by the husband's incapacity from vague pains. The chief economic needs of the family are a new house (already partly provided for), a new canoe (which would cost about two hundred dollars if purchased from the Company), additional dogs, a double barrelled shotgun, a new tent, and tent stove.

Table 34 inventories the possessions of George Kiiokii, aged forty-nine, and his wife forty-two. He is a brother of Charlie (Table 33). Two daughters, eleven and nine, were in school during most of the term of field work leaving two sons, six and three, with the family. The man did no trapping until the latter part of the muskrat season. Illness in his case appears to be largely psychological in origin. In 1945 an appendectomy was performed and advice given to "take it easy" for two years. This advice has been literally followed although the government physician assured the subject in July 1947 that the wound had fully healed.

TABLE 34

EQUIPMENT OWNED BY GEORGE KIIOKII (MARCH 18, 1948)

	<u>Description</u>	<u>Value</u>
House,	built of logs by the Mission and purchased for forty dollars several years ago.	\$40.00
Tent,	about three years old. Sewed in about eight hours from canvas secured in relief.	6.00
Stove,	an oil drum that cost seven dollars in the fall of 1947 and was cut to shape by the wife in six hours.	9.00
Stovepipe and damper.		4.25
Tent stove,	three years old. Received in relief.	6.00
Sled,	a gift from another Indian. Probably took about two hours to complete.	1.00
Dogs,	one small dog (valued at five dollars) and four puppies, each worth about one dollar.	9.00
Gun,	double barrel shotgun, about five years old. Cost forty-five dollars new.	25.00

TABLE 34 (Continued)

	<u>Description</u>	<u>Value</u>
Gun,	.22 rifle, about twelve years old and cost ten dollars used.	\$4.00
Gun,	30.30. Is fifteen years old and cost ten dollars used. Now in poor condition.	4.00
Canoe,	In April 1948 was thoroughly repaired and covered with new canvas secured in relief. All work done by the owner in about a week.	50.00
Fishnet,	one year old.	.50
Axes,	two.	3.00
Tools,	(including hammer, saw, crooked knife).	3.00
Snowshoes,	one pair.	4.00
Traps,	ten	5.00
Kitchen utensils,	lamps, table, and chair.	4.00
Bedding		2.00
TOTAL		<u>\$179.75</u>

Earnings

1944-45	\$100.00
1945-46	----- (Ill in the hospital)
1946-47	-----
1947-48	180.00 (Estimated, including fees from anthropologist.)

Also secures relief and family allowances.

George plans to resume inland trapping in the fall of 1948 and will then have to secure additional traps as well as a rifle in good repair. Compared to other families in the community this group lived somewhat below average, due chiefly to the fact that the husband did not hunt any waterfowl in the fall of 1947 and engaged in no trapping. The anthropologist's fees in addition to relief and family allowances helped sustain the family during the period of field work.

The equipment of a fifty-two year old widow and her thirty-five year old widowed son shown in Table 35 illustrates close to the minimal capitalization required by a family to live in adequate comfort and independence. The family makes considerable effort to secure country food and fur in the vicinity of the post. Extending the range of operations is difficult because of the fact that the widower suffers from a neurotic condition that interferes with lone and distant travel.

Being a widow, this woman is not asked by the Indian Agent to report her earnings to the Indian Agent. Her son is also excused because of his mental illness. Relief and family allowances are received, the latter for the six year old son of the widower. Considering the group's consumption of country food alone, these two adults lived as satisfactorily as some of the community's more active families.

TABLE 35

EQUIPMENT OWNED BY MAGGY KATAKWAPIT (MARCH 18, 1948)

<u>Description</u>	<u>Value</u>
Dwelling, a well built frame lined with cardboard on the interior. A tipi serves as vestibule. Dwelling given by brother-in-law.	\$35.00
Stove, made of an oil drum. About eight years old. Given by a friend. Value including stovepipe.	4.00
Tent stove, Secured in relief three years ago.	6.00
Traps, sixteen.	8.00
Sleds, two. Both are several years old.	5.00
Dogs, one.	15.00
Gun, twelve gauge shotgun; seven years old, cost forty-five dollars new.	10.00
Fishnets, two. Less than one year old.	1.00
Canoe, four years old. Received as a gift.	30.00
Axes, two.	2.00

TABLE 35 (Continued)

<u>Description</u>	<u>Value</u>
Tools, (including crooked knife and saw).	\$2.50
Snowshoes, one pair. Made during the current winter.	5.00
Two lamps and kitchen utensils.	3.75
Trunk, two years old. Cost six dollars new.	3.00
Bedding, mainly rabbit skin robes.	2.00
TOTAL	\$132.25

Currently sixty year old Jacob Ajtail (Aihtail), whose equipment is given in Table 36, lives with only a fifty-five year old wife. His seventeen year old son recently left the Attawapiskat area.

TABLE 36

EQUIPMENT OWNED BY JACOB AJTAIL (MARCH 24, 1948)

<u>Description</u>	<u>Value</u>
Dwelling, a tent walled with lumber for a distance of about three feet from the ground. Interior lined with canvas. Building about six years old.	\$15.00
Stove, four years old, received in relief. Including stove pipe, value set at	10.00
Tent, made last year. Canvas given in relief. Sewing occupied about six hours.	20.00
Tent stove, broken; was received in relief.	3.00
Fishnet, less than one year old.	.50
Gun, sixteen gauge shotgun about four years old. Was received from the son.	10.00

TABLE 36 (Continued)

<u>Description</u>	<u>Value</u>
Gun, 3.03 rifle. About fourteen years old. Cost about one hundred dollars when new.	\$20.00
Gun, double barrel, twelve gauge shotgun. Cost about one hundred dollars when new. Muzzle is badly broken and owner refused to set any value.	5.00
Snowshoes, three pairs. Only two pair made during the current winter valued.	10.00
Canoe, two years old. Cost one hundred and ten dollars new.	100.00
Canoe, very old and broken. Cost one hundred dollars when new.	15.00
Dogs, three and one puppy. One dog valued at ten dollars; others at twenty dollars each. No value set on the puppy.	50.00
Sled, three years old. Made by son-in-law and has iron runners.	4.00
Toboggan, Made during the previous winter in about five hours.	1.00
Lamps, two, and cooking utensils.	8.00
Table	2.00
Bedding	<u>10.00</u>
	TOTAL
	\$284.50

Earnings

1944-45	\$175.00
1945-46	500.00 (son, \$155.00 add'l.)
1946-47	275.00

Also receives relief.

Illness of both the wife and husband kept this couple in Attawapiskat post for a considerable part of the winter. Nevertheless, Jacob joined the men who visited Akimiski Island to trap beaver on the Company preserve. The man is apparently well organized for trapping (he probably had at least twenty traps cached in the bush and worth about \$15.00) but age and illness will probably continue to reduce both his own and his wife's activities.

Table 37 is an inventory of the possessions in the hands of a twenty-nine year old man who was married two years previously to a twenty-two year old girl. A son was born to the couple in December, 1947. In contrast to Jacob Ajtail, Fred Mud is just starting out on an independent career. He possesses good health and a determination to work.

TABLE 37

EQUIPMENT OF FRED MUD (MARCH 19, 1948)

<u>Description</u>	<u>Value</u>
Tent, one year old. Given by the Mission. Cost \$35.00 new. (This dwelling is used only in the bush. The family owns no town house but the husband is reported to have started building one with his brother-in-law in June 1948).	\$ 6.00
Tent stove, given by his father. Including stove pipe.	2.50
Gun, sixteen gauge shotgun. Four years old. Cost fifty-five dollars when new.	30.00
Gun, .22 rifle, just purchased. Cost price,	10.00
Canoe, seven years old. Purchased in co-operation with father for one hundred and ten dollars. Twice covered with new canvas and paint.	26.00
Fishnet, less than one year old.	.50
Dogs, three.	30.00
Sled, given by brother-in-law during the current winter. Occupied four hours to make.	3.50
Axe, one year old.	1.50

TABLE 37 (Continued)

<u>Description</u>	<u>Value</u>
Tools	\$ 1.00
Kitchen utensils.	4.00
Trunk, three years old. Cost \$17.50 new.	5.00
Suitcase, three years old. Cost six dollars new.	2.00
Bedding, including rabbit skin robe one year old. Seven feet long. Valued at seven dollars. Also part wool blanket costing five dollars the previous fall.	9.50
TOTAL	\$131.50

Earnings

1945-46	\$400.00
1946-47	70.00
1947-48	275.00 (estimated, including fees from anthropologist)

Receives family allowances but only occasional relief.

Considerable care must be taken in appraising the adequacy of these resources. From a rather spuriously "objective" point of view, which does not take into account the sentiments of the community, one might say that since the equipment which has been described lends itself to optimal production it is wholly adequate. It is true that the Attawapiskat Indian family can more than double its "capitalization" in the course of a winter's work, provided that natural resources are available. But the people are nevertheless not satisfied with what they identify as minimal equipment. Public opinion identifies nobody in the Indian community as rich, several as poor, and many as "a little poor."

A number of attempts were made to determine the relative amounts of purchased and country food consumed during a stay in the bush, the time and effort expended in trapping, and the net earnings over stated periods of time. Only two of these records are complete enough to warrant publication. They do not attempt to account for depreciation of capital equipment. Table 38 presents the data for a forty-two year old man who, among other trips, left for the bush on February 19 and returned on April 3. He was accompanied by another man but left his family (a wife and five children) in the post. The

informant's reported consumption of country food appears to be unconvincingly low. It is likely that he shared a few additional fish and beaver secured by his partner.

TABLE 38

TRAPPING TRIP OF RAPHAEL WABINO (45 DAYS)

<u>Food Take</u>	<u>Food Consumed</u>	<u>Value of Consumed Food</u>	
Flour, 98 lbs.	49 lbs.	\$2.75	
Tea, 3 lbs.	4 lbs.	4.80	
Fat, ¹ 13 lbs.	11 lbs.	4.95	
Rolled oats, 36 lbs.	36 lbs.	4.20	
Sugar, 14 lbs.	14 lbs.	3.50	
Baking Powder, 2 lbs.	1 lb.	.30	
Salt, 2 lbs.	1 lb.	?	
Jam, 2 lbs.	2 lbs.	.85	
Butter, 2 lbs.	2 lbs.	1.90	
Molasses, 2 lbs.	2 lbs.	.65	
Milk, 5 lbs.	5 lbs.	3.00	
Cheese, 1 lb.	1 lb.	.30	
Coffee, 1 lb.	1 lb.	.90	
Klik, 3 tins	3 tins	1.35	
Dry Apples, 1 lb.	1 lb.	.45	
Beans, dry, 5 lbs.	5 lbs.	.60	
Grouse	3	---	
Rabbit	5	---	
Beaver	3	---	
Otter	3	---	
Jackfish	11	---	
TOTAL VALUE		\$30.50	\$30.50
Gross earnings from fur			103.00
Net earnings from fur			72.00
Daily net earnings (45 days)			1.61

In the fall of 1947 Fred Mud (see his equipment inventory above) was advanced \$110.00 in debt by the Hudson's Bay Company. Fall and winter trapping produced a total income of \$103.86. Additional spring credit from the Company amounted to \$10.00, leaving a total debt of about \$17.00. To this must be added a debt of \$45.00 at the free trader's. On March 21, 1948 Fred, his wife, and baby left the post in the company of his brother-in-law and wife's sister to be gone until May 31. Food consumed and fur income earned on this trip are shown in Table 39.

1. Half in shortening and half in beef tallow.

TABLE 39

TRAPPING TRIP OF FRED MUD (71 DAYS)

<u>Food Consumed</u>	<u>Portion Received in Relief</u>	<u>Value of Consumed Food</u>	
Flour, 122 lbs.	24 lbs.	\$12.30	
Sugar, 15 lbs. ¹	5 lbs.	3.75	
Baking Powder, 3 lbs.	1 lb.	.90	
Fat, 25 lbs. ²	10 lbs.	11.25	
Salt, 3 lbs.	--	--	
Coffee, 1 lb.	--	.90	
Milk, 5 lbs.	--	3.00	
Rolled oats, 8 lbs. ³	6 lbs.	1.00	
Rabbits	20		
Geese	30		
Ducks	9		
Small ducks	12		
Spruce hens	4		
Grouse	6		
Ptarmigan	8		
Loons	5		
Snowbirds	3		
Jackfish	20		
Inland sucker ³	50		
Coastal sucker ³	70		
Walleyed Pike	5		
Trout	2		
Ling	1		
Otter	6		
Mink	2		
Rats	13		
Squirrel	46		
Owls	2		
TOTAL VALUE OF CONSUMED FOOD		\$33.10	\$33.10
Gross earnings from fur			165.00
Net earnings from fur			131.90
Daily net earnings (71 days)			1.86

1. Supply exhausted May 21.

2. Probably half in shortening and half in beef tallow.

3. Most of these items went to the dogs.

These inadequate data allow little room for interpretation. They do, however, demonstrate the closeness of the population to a subsistence standard of living and the indispensable role of country food, first, for a balanced diet and, second, to increase net earnings. Without country food products, Fred Mud's net earnings would have been severely reduced.

Preparation of Food

Little food, except occasionally berries, is eaten unprocessed. By their insistence that meat be cooked or dried to make it palatable the Cree Indians long ago distinguished themselves from the Eskimo, an Algonkian word which designates "One who eats raw flesh". Despite the basic importance of food preparation, routines of processing are relatively uncomplicated. If the haute cuisine in upper class French cooking is regarded as one extreme of food processing, then Attawapiskat techniques come very close to the opposite pole of simplicity. Related to this is the fact that only on festive occasions does a meal contain a variety of more than three or four basic items.

There are several reasons for the simplicity of cooking procedures. In the past, for one thing, the people never developed extensive traditions of food processing that could be passed on to the present generation. Up until recently, meat and fish were the staple foods beyond which appetite had little range to develop. Culinary techniques were further limited by the available utensils. Meat or fish were generally boiled in plaited spruce root or other simple containers and sometimes broiled. To-day long established usages to a large extent still determine the content of meals as well as their preparation. With no positive feelings for vegetables other than root crops as an accompaniment of meat nobody makes an effort to include the former products in a meal even when money is available. Anything more complex than simple boiling or frying is likewise regarded as unnecessary and would also be somewhat impractical, even when a family is firmly settled in the trading post or permanent winter camp. Dishes and other utensils are limited, working surfaces small, and stove space mostly too small to accommodate more than two containers at a time. Furthermore a woman's time is not spent only in the kitchen but is occupied by visiting the fishnets, trapping in season, cutting wood, and when her husband is unavailable, fetching wood from the bush. It is the limitation of material equipment which closely determines the pattern of boiling potatoes with meat.

Inventories of cooking utensils from three families are presented in Table 40. One straight kettle in every family is generally reserved to prepare tea or coffee and is not used for boiling meat. The smaller straight

kettles are often used by men to brew tea while travelling. In addition to kettles and frying pans, three families are known to possess a stove with an oven compartment in which food can be baked. Poles are often lashed across the diameter of a tipi for use in drying fish and game. Most families also own a large stirring spoon carved from wood by the husband or wife.

Hot summer days impose a special limitation on food preparation. People are reluctant to build or long sustain stove fires in dwellings during warm weather and meals are often prepared outdoors over open heat. When travelling, tent stoves are set up every night. Low, crowded tents, however, make cooking while travelling far more inconvenient than it is apt to be in the more spacious, permanent dwellings.

TABLE 40

INVENTORIES OF COOKING UTENSILS

<u>Family A</u>	<u>Family B</u>	<u>Family C</u>
1 3 quart straight kettle	1 2 quart enamelware pot	1 2 quart enamelware pot
2 1 pint straight kettles	1 1 quart enamelware pot	2 1 quart enamelware pots
1 frying pan	2 3 quart straight kettles	2 3 quart straight kettles
	1 frying pan	1 2 quart saucepan
		1 frying pan

Food preparation is principally in the hands of married women who are assisted by daughters. Men, of course are required to cook for themselves when away from home and widowers regularly prepare their own meals. Seldom do married men cook extensively while they are in the bush. Mostly they remain content to rely on lard-spread bannock (often taken along from home) and tea for two out of three meals. Freshly killed game is sometimes broiled by hunters in the course of a working day.

The division of labour followed in cooking is of potential significance for an action program. While both sexes are to some extent responsible for securing food from the market or off the country, its preparation rests primarily in the woman's hands. Her motivations must be understood before

her behaviour can be changed. Obviously a wife fixes meals in a form that she expects will please her husband and children. She is also limited by the resources put at her disposal by the husband. Women are not fond of spending long hours in the preparation of food, are not given to exchanging recipes (there are few to communicate), but can acquire a certain modicum of prestige beyond the family circle for being skilful cooks. Experience in cooking for the family of the Hudson's Bay Company manager is especially likely to promote a woman's reputation. The conclusion therefore follows that by appealing to a woman's prestige motivations an action program might be best able to secure desired changes in cooking habits.

Reference has several times been made in the previous pages to the play cooking of children, including boys and girls from seven to twelve. Economically the food prepared in this fashion is of slight importance. The habit of play cooking, however, which is widely found among northern Indians, could be taken advantage of in an educational program oriented toward more nutritive food preparation.

All cooking is done for the primary family. Co-operation in food preparation between related families is rare and occurs only in connection with feasts.

In discussing the preparation of food for immediate consumption, meat cooking will be considered first and then the processing of fruits, vegetables, and purchased food. There are three ways of preparing flesh food and fish: by boiling, frying, broiling before an open fire, and roasting in an oven. The first two are by far the most common. Broiling is largely restricted to occasions when men, who are away from home, cook freshly killed game or waterfowl, although occasionally plover, moose head, and moose horns may be broiled even while the family occupies permanent quarters. Moose horns are prepared in this fashion only during summer when the soft velvet (omiciwii'tana) can be scraped off and eaten. Boiling and frying appear to be in almost equal favour and the shift from one to the other is a means of securing variety in food. It cannot be said that boiling is practised to conserve shortening or lard because additional fat is always generously added to water in which meat is cooking. Salt is generally added to the liquid only after the meat has been removed. In the case of meat broth (but not the water in which fish has been cooked), rolled oats, pabulum, or flour is further added for thickening. Part of the preference for boiled food arises from the fact that boiling meat or fish yields a rich broth ("gravy") which everyone enjoys as an accompaniment of the meal. Even water in which only potatoes have been boiled is used after flour has been added for thickening. It is very unusual for an Attawapiskat household to discard cooking water and the same tendency has been reported by anthropologists for other far separated bush Indian tribes.

Most of the mammals have their internal organs removed as soon after killing as possible. In the case of the beaver, the carcass is then brought to camp. Here it is skinned by the women and the head and tail are removed. The tail will be boiled, but only after the scaly surface has been scraped clean. The flesh of the carcass is cut free from the skeleton in a long strip on either side of the ribs. Later each long strip is cut crosswise into sections about two inches wide. Then the backbone is cut free and meat around it loosened but not cut off. The ribs with their adhering flesh are divided into sections large enough to fit into a cooking pot. These sections contain the heart and kidneys still attached to the inner bodily cavity. The forelimbs and hindlegs are separated from the body and the flesh upon them loosened. All the meat is washed in a basin of cold water. It will be boiled until soft - about one hour for a young beaver. The paws are partly scraped free of the scales and then placed in red hot coals to clean them further. They are then ready for boiling.

The butchering of smaller animals, like the rabbit, squirrel, and muskrat, is of course simpler, the basic procedure being to cut the skinned carcass into sections with the heart, lungs, and kidneys attached. Foetal animals (sing., otcatcamatcee'ciis), prepared by frying, are considered a delicacy. Caribou, moose, and rabbit are cooked in this form. Foetal otter, mink, muskrat, fox, and bears are not ordinarily eaten but would be in event of severe hunger.

Fish that have been cleaned are transversely sectioned for boiling. The heads may or may not be included. Fins are not removed until the meat is served. Whole fish, including the head, are fried in relatively deep fat. Sometimes the intestines are added or, if not discarded, they may be fried separately.

Fresh game birds, including waterfowl, are most frequently prepared by boiling - the heart, lungs, and kidneys being allowed to remain attached to the various parts of the carcass. Out of a sample of 128 wavies shot in the fall of 1947, seventy percent were designated by the informant in his food book as "fat", twenty-four percent as "a little fat", and six percent as without fat. Assuming the reliability of such a sample it is interesting to note that additional lard or shortening is always added when cooking geese. The intestines of ducks and the windpipes of any fowl are never eaten. Goose intestines are sometimes boiled or more commonly fried for half an hour to make them suitable for eating. Often they are discarded. Goose heads, wings, and the lower extremities of legs are soaked in warm water, scraped free of feathers, and then boiled. Similar parts of the loon and, more rarely, the duck are also prepared for food but never of the ptarmigan, grouse, and spruce hen. Judging from food book data, these parts of the waterfowl are most apt to be cooked when women and children are alone in camp.

Fats are an important substance in the Indian diet and are secured by purchase or rendered at home. A distinction is made between the unrendered fat as taken from the animal and the fat that has been liquified and then allowed to congeal. The first is called wii'nin, the second pi'mii. Commercial fats, including butter and salt pork, are all pimii, or grease. A modifying word must be used to make more exact distinctions or else the borrowed term pa'ta is employed for butter. Marrow, which is highly relished, is also called wii'nin until it has been rendered. Animals differ in the amount of fat they possess. Thus the bear, beaver, otter, and seal have much, as does the ventral surface of the sturgeon, loche liver, and fish intestines. Generally speaking moose and caribou contain only a limited quantity of fat but moose tongue is somewhat richer. Fat is rendered while meat is boiled. Goose and fish intestines, however, are fried to extract grease. In general the preparation of fat as a procedure separate from cooking has declined since the introduction of commercial fats. Seal grease was rendered long ago but to-day is apparently prepared by only a single family. The blubber of the seal is cut into small pieces, fried, and stored. The taste of the grease is repugnant to most people.

Marrow is known to vary in quality and quantity according to the part of the animal from which it is derived. The richest sources of marrow in the moose and caribou are the lower joints of the legs, then the upper joints. These bones are broken and boiled for about an hour with the addition of a little salt. Sometimes the bones are heated in an open fire, then cracked, and the marrow sucked free or spooned forth with a knife.

The preparation of tinned meat is not essentially different from that of game. Klik, the most frequently used type of canned meat (it is also the cheapest and is available in family allowances) may be boiled with the addition of rolled oats but is more usually fried. Salt pork, purchased from the Company and Mission, is boiled, also with the addition of oats. Sardines (pl., namee'ciicak) are eaten as they come from the can.

It would seem that very few berries are eaten uncooked, perhaps because in that condition they satisfy hunger more poorly than when prepared with flour, shortening, and sugar. In the latter form berries may provide the main course of a meal, substituting for meat, fish, or porridge. A common recipe for paskamina'sawan, or berry stew, demands about eight cups of berries (usually low bush cranberries), one and a half quarts of water, a half cup of sugar, and two heaping teaspoonsful of lard. These ingredients are cooked together for about half an hour, flour being added to thicken moderately. Universally in Attawapiskat berries have their skins broken during the cooking process. Sometimes this is deliberately done, the woman pressing the fruit against the sides of the cooking vessel with the back of a spoon. Rosebuds are cooked with the addition of water and fat.

Raisins (pl., coo'miniicak) are occasionally cooked like berries and prunes may be prepared for eating by boiling with sugar. Tomatoes (pl., tamee'tisa) are most frequently eaten cold, as they come from the can, but may also be boiled for half an hour, together with a little flour or rolled oats plus milk and sugar. On still rarer occasions tomatoes are included in meat stock with rolled oats. Potatoes (pl., patee'tisa) are almost universally peeled before being boiled (very small potatoes may be cooked in their jackets). The peeled vegetables are placed in cold water with a little salt and allowed to boil for approximately half an hour. Unless mashing follows cooking, shortening with flour or rolled oats are added to the water. Grease is also mixed into mashed potatoes. Frying occurs somewhat less frequently than boiling in the case of potatoes but is more popular than mashing. Fried potatoes have always been first boiled. Dried pea beans (pl., antcii'minak) are soaked for several hours and then cooked with fat and salt - about a quarter pound of shortening being added to four cups of dried beans.

Of imported foods, three of the most important are flour (pakwee'ciikan), rolled oats (anoo'min), and fats (pimii). The latter, as already pointed out, enter into combination with most foods during the cooking process. Combined with flour and baking powder (opi'siikan) it provides bannock (a'nokinaw). To make a batch of this bread usually requires slightly over one pound of white flour, two tablespoons of baking powder, a pinch of salt, and about a quarter pound of fat. Melted shortening may be added to the flour-baking powder mix or solid fat cut in and mixed with the fingers. Water is added to bring the dough to proper consistency after which it is shaped into a round loaf about eight inches in diameter and slowly fried in about an eighth pound of fat. To prevent burning, the frying pan may be elevated between two bricks or set above an inverted plate. Often a number of small rolls, two or three inches in diameter, are made from a batch of dough. Sugar is not usually to be spared for bannock dough. Two tablespoons of milk are sometimes included in bannock. For variety raisin bannock is occasionally made or, instead of frying the dough, dumplings may be made and boiled in water. Whole wheat flour is not available in Attawapiskat. According to the Company's interpreter, the Fort Albany Indians once rejected such flour, referring to it as "dog meal". In summer bannock is largely neglected in favour of bread (pil'sowee a'nokinaw) purchased from the Mission.

Closely related to bannock in constitution is kaskapi'tciikan, made as follows: In a cloth flour sack are combined three pounds of flour, baking powder, some raisins, fat, and about a pound of brown sugar. Pepper and cinnamon are added to season. The sack is tied and placed in boiling water to cook for several hours. The dumpling which is then removed from the bag will be cut up and served. This dish is regarded as somewhat a delicacy but is rarely made.

Rollled oats, like flour, are added to tea and soups but are also more directly consumed. Porridge is a common breakfast dish in Attawapiskat, especially when meat is scarce or lacking in variety. It may also be served at other times of the day. Porridge consists of rolled oats or pabulum to which shortening, milk, and sugar have been added together with a pinch of salt.

Macaroni is prepared by boiling it in water to which shortening and salt are added and sometimes also tomatoes. Occasionally macaroni may be added to meat stock.

The outstanding features of food preparation just described is the central role of boiled meat or fish in the diet and the way in which many other food products tend to be adapted to that roll. Potatoes, carrots, onions, tomatoes, pabulum, rolled oats, flour, and macaroni are all to varying degrees used as "filler" for meat or fish stock. It is likely that as additional foods are introduced in the diet they will be similarly utilized when possible. For this reason, as well as because of the mechanical limitations affecting food production, it may be suggested that modifications in food habits which are most likely to be adopted would be those which introduce additional soup fillers. Obviously, however, the additions must be palatable and appetizing.

Among beverages "tea broth"--tea with added flour or rolled oats--represents a variant of the pattern of adding filler to an already palatable liquid. Despite the fact that various physicians attached to the Indian Agency plus the missionaries have condemned tea broth as unhealthful, the beverage promises to be strongly persistent. According to a personal communication from Dr. Elizabeth Chant Robertson this preparation is by no means unhealthful. The practice of adding rolled oats to tea was probably derived from Scotsmen who visited the area as traders of the Hudson's Bay Company. Generous helpings of sugar are added to tea and tea broth whenever possible. Saccharine tablets were briefly available in Attawapiskat. From a government physician the people learned that the substance was dangerous for the heart. It is not surprising that, in a society much concerned with heart functioning, this advice applied to an unfamiliar product should have been quickly heeded. Among the younger generation tea with milk is growing in favour but even young people prefer more solid fillers, particularly when the meal lacks meat. Coffee still enjoys a minor popularity but gives evidence of future growth. Its promotion is probably held back by the factor of cost. Milk and sugar are regularly taken in coffee; never are rolled oats or flour added. Other beverages occasionally made include wine (locally called "beer"), whose basic ingredients consist of raisins or, more rarely, prunes. A crude estimate suggests that during 1946-47 at least 120 pounds of raisins and two hundred pounds of sugar were employed in wine making, the product being almost exclusively consumed by men. A recipe for raisin wine, as reported by an informant, is given below:

A milk drum is filled about three quarters full of warm water. Two cups of sugar are placed in a frying pan with water and heated to dissolve. A yeast cake is added to the cooled syrup which is then added to the water in the drum. About five additional pounds of sugar are added and dissolved by stirring with a wooden spoon. "To use a metal spoon is bad; it makes it taste bad." Three pounds of raisins (or prunes) go into the drum which is then tightly covered and the mixture put away to ferment for a week. When believed ready to drink, the wine is poured into jars or bottles and left to settle for an additional twenty-four hours.

Wine making is an extremely secret operation that does not commence until most of the town has gone to bed and the family feels safe from interruption. There is no interfamily co-operation in the activity.

Water in Attawapiskat is mainly needed for cooking and washing and is rarely used as a beverage. The only preparation required comes in winter and spring when river ice must be melted. Women or older girls usually fetch water or ice, cutting the latter with an axe and carrying it to camp in a gunny sack. There it is emptied into a milk drum which is kept close to the stove. Water prepared from ice is much preferred for tea. Snow is only occasionally used for water and then mainly by people in the course of travelling. Stagnant ponds in the muskeg are not often utilized for water supply, less because the people fear to contract illness from such water than because of its unpleasant taste.

Preservation

Historically, as already shown, the northern forest Indians devoted relatively little time and interest to cooking. There is no extensive body of recipes which has been passed down from older generations and the pride felt in culinary excellence is slight. On the other hand the preservation of food for future consumption is an activity that has long been valued and one which was often indispensable for survival. Even to-day when survival is not so immediately dependent upon the preservation of meat products, this form of processing continues and is seriously regarded by the people.

Food preservation is partly determined by the nature of the food supply in the northern forest. Game and fish cannot be depended on to be available in the same quantity throughout the year. When these foods grow scarce there exists no comparable product on which the people can rely; hence the desire to secure as large a share of country food products as possible at the time when they are most freely available. This food is then preserved against a period when it will be scarce.

Rather similar reasoning underlies in part the Indian's so-called lack of appreciation for conservation. White people wax indignant or critical at the fact that an Indian encountering a yard of several moose will typically kill as many animals as possible. The white critic ignores the fact that long range conservation is able to develop in a society like his own because for him game is merely an auxiliary food, or a delicacy. Animal husbandry assures him a much more constant supply of meat. The Indian's behaviour is equally logical (once the premises of his reasoning are accepted) inasmuch as he is very uncertain as to when he will again encounter a moose or whether the animal will even again visit (much less remain) in a particular part of the area. Furthermore the white man's reasoning, which says in effect: "In expectation of having game here for a long time to come I'll take only male animals in such and such a number," is ill suited to a philosophical system that is not accustomed to reaching far into the future. The Indian, as already pointed out, has never troubled to develop either historical or futurity thinking to any great degree.

Assuring the Indians of a steady supply of fresh meat would be the first step in introducing an appreciation of game conservation. Even then the latter program would probably not become successful overnight. Apart from the economics of need, killing an animal is in itself an exhilarating experience. This is because of all that the action symbolizes in terms of the "goodness" of animal meat and the prestige of the hunter. A successful conservation program would either have to provide substitutes for the satisfactions attached to killing or else laboriously seek to change present patterns of thinking and feeling. Obviously, in areas where there are law enforcement agencies, it is simpler to regulate hunting through legislation.

It is probably true that large scale killing of game is not necessarily followed by proportionately large scale preservation. An abundance of meat results in a heavier meat diet immediately rather than over a long future period. Emotional factors are operative here. With the most satisfactory food supply undependable, its occurrence appears to whet appetites, making eating (or even gorging) assume a somewhat festive meaning. Also fresh meat is definitely preferable to meat that has been dried - the most common means of preservation. Furthermore, attitudes of sharing or distribution interfere with the accumulation and preservation of meat from the larger game animals (including beaver, moose, and caribou). The hunter's family is strongly expected to give away a large share of such meat. He receives some pleasure from following this expectation and also confers pleasure by his action. Wholesale sharing, however, is not practised. That is, it is not necessary that everybody in the neighbourhood be summoned to participate in the distribution of everything, down to the last fraction of a moose. This is even more true with regard to game birds which are distributed to a far more limited extent. In sum, the same factors that in part determine preservation, namely an undependable supply of the staple and most preferred food, to-day also operate against large scale accumulation.

The occurrence of the undependable food renders immediate consumption much more desirable than postponement.

These introductory remarks have more than theoretical relevance. They explain at least partially why the average wavy cache is exhausted by Christmas. They also outline the problem which an action program will have to overcome through education and propaganda if it is interested in encouraging more food preservation. Improved means of preservation, like quick freezing, may help achieve the latter goal by improving the taste quality of preserved meat and fish.

The people attempt to distinguish between the long and short term preservation of food. The verb asta'tcikoo "he caches") designates the action of a person putting anything (including food) by for future use. Typically, but not necessarily, such storage would take place on a platform built on four poles about six feet high (tasiipa'tcikan, "cache"). "Astatcikoo" carries the traditional meaning of putting up meat for use in the future, as geese in the fall or moose meat in the late summer. Food caches are rarely expected to last longer than one season. Caching, therefore, does not refute the conclusion previously reached, that the Indian is characterized by an absence of long range futurity thinking.

The verb na'hastaw has the meaning of "he stores it tentatively," as food is stored in the house when it is brought home from the store.¹ If, however, a person leaves food in the house while he departs for a long journey one speaks of him as caching (kii'astatcikoo, "he has cached it"). The temporary storage of food in the cupboard is important in a society which receives a large proportion of its edibles in bulk through relief and family allowance issues. There are societies in the world where a large amount of food would be promptly distributed or consumed in a community wide feast as soon as it was received. The Cree and other northern bush Indians lack this traditional usage: They are able to keep flour, rolled oats, beans, shortening, baking powder, and other items for relatively long periods of time and, furthermore, show considerable skill in husbanding these resources so that they often last the required period of time. To be sure families sometimes prematurely exhaust one or another item (like tea and sugar) but, as in our society, care is taken to avoid such shortage. Food in the house is regarded as a form of wealth. If the quantity is sufficient to last a year (like the rations of the Company manager and the anthropologist), then it equals riches.

1. Only nouns classed as inanimate are governed by this transitive verb. Animate nouns (like the one for flour) take the animate verb form, na'hanew, "he stores 'him' tentatively."

For reasons that are not too clear food in the house is concealed in boxes and other receptacles so that it is hidden from the sight of visitors. Of a person who hides food from sight one says, without condemnation, a'koham ('he conceals it /an inanimate substance/), a word that may also designate the covering of the body with clothing. The careful removal from sight of food stores appears to be an index of food anxiety, perhaps related to the embarrassment associated with eating in certain situations. It is likely that the anxiety is related to the possession of large private resources in a society where chronic food shortage is an expected phenomenon. In the past, country food resources were shared in the small, extended family communities that dotted the Attawapiskat area. Large game animals, as previously pointed out, were and still are shared more widely. With the coming of a type of food that was not freely available but represented money, and the simultaneous development of a larger community, patterns of distribution became restricted to the larger species of game. Geese, ducks, and fish, which were not usually widely shared in the past, remained unaffected by altering conditions and are, in fact, generally hung up in public view. However, no clear precedents were available for the handling of relatively large quantities of scarce and coveted imported food. The pattern that emerged tended implicitly to group the latter products with small game and fish as items not to be indiscriminately shared. Yet people felt insecure about exclusive possession, uncertain as to whether or not it represented the sin of hoarding. Concealment developed to defend against the anxiety and so to-day food in the house is matter of factly concealed, although everybody is more or less aware of the quantities that a particular family has at its disposal. In case of necessity a family short of an item like tea or sugar may request it from a nearby related or unrelated neighbour. Such requests are not indiscriminately made. There is no evidence of them being refused but the quantities of food given out in this way are small. A person with means is expected to pay for an item that he needs. These norms of sharing do not apply to households consisting of two related families (e.g., two brothers-in-law or a parent and married child). Food is often pooled in dual family households or shortages met by generous sharing. Among the Kaska Indians of British Columbia, where resentment against sharing purchased food is openly expressed along with demands that such food should be freely distributed according to need, the anthropologist noted no concealment (10:39). Personal relations involving food in Kaska society are much more marked by hostility than in Attawapiskat. We do not suggest that concealment has resulted in the Cree people's more even tenor of interpersonal relations. Rather, of the two northern forest communities it appears that in general Attawapiskat more satisfactorily solved the overall problem of how foodstuffs were to be regarded and handled.

Some attention was paid to the physical conditions of food storage in order to determine the extent of loss by spoilage. Sugar, flour, and

rolled oats are sold to Indians in cloth or paper bags. Dry milk, in quantities of less than fifty pounds, is also commonly sold in paper containers, one and five pound Klim cans not being widely issued in relief and family allowances. Many households keep milk, and sugar in paper or cloth sacks until the substances are used up. Hardening never causes waste. Somewhat fewer families transfer the foods to tin containers for storage. Rolled oats are sometimes retailed in moisture proof paper bags which also suggest themselves as suitable containers for powdered whole milk. Careful investigation offers no evidence of loss due to packaging or storage conditions. Perhaps in a year when mice are prevalent they may steal food from paper and cloth containers. Loss by mice was uncommon during the period of field work. Wetting of food during fall transportation is frequently complained of by post managers as a cause of food loss but little damage of this type was reported by Indians. Dogs are another hazard to food stores facing every Attawapiskat household. A dwelling from which the family is temporarily absent must be carefully closed to prevent invasion by the untied dogs of neighbours or by animals that have broken free. Tents are particularly vulnerable to these thieves but even then their marauding is curtailed by a family's caution in keeping food in secure boxes or other containers. According to customary law, theft by a dog, when it can be definitely established, should be reported to the owner. The latter is responsible for the damage and must chain the animal. Repetition of the offense that is due to the owner's continued negligence can be punished by shooting the dog. The anthropologist once saw an indignant Indian with a gun pursuing a dog the length of the village without being able to secure a shot. Probably not one percent of the annual supply of imported food is lost through spoilage or theft by mice and dogs.

Selection of the winter outfit is determined by environmental factors to the extent that food which is believed to perish when once frozen, or whose taste becomes impaired by freezing, is not taken to the trap line. Thus potatoes, canned tomatoes, and evaporated milk are avoided for winter consumption. Powdered whole milk as well as condensed milk are readily accepted, however, and the latter would be consumed in much larger quantities were it cheaper or available in family allowances. Frozen (akwa'kotin, "it is frozen") evaporated milk is thrown away, following the advice given by the Company and Mission. Tomatoes and tomato juice that have been frozen are unwillingly eaten, people objecting to their unpleasant taste.

In the past Indians have preserved berries, fish, and meat. To-day the preservation of berries, either whole or boiled, is quite rare. Fish are dried (akwa'wew, "he dries meat or fish") during periods of abundance but apparently the supply available at any one time for consumption by humans and dogs is never enough to last more than about a week. There can be no question but that fish drying has declined enormously in recent years. Theoretically any kind of fish may be dried. The procedure is to sever the

head, split the ventral surface, and remove the larger bones and spine. Each side is then again sliced partly through from the dorsal to ventral surface. This results in a large strip of meat which, after being sprinkled with a little salt, is hung on a pole indoors or out to dry over a slow fire. The dried fish (sing., akwa'wan or kapa'soot na'mes) are then stored in an empty Klim drum within the house.

About fifteen percent of the wavies killed in autumn were dried and perhaps a somewhat larger proportion of spring geese. Any dried waterfowl is referred to as na'mestik. The fresh birds are plucked and gutted after which the meat is deftly sliced from the skeleton in a single strip and hung over slow heat. The intent is never to smoke the flesh and the taste of smoked meat is definitely disliked. The heads, wings, and legs of such birds are saved for soup and the skeletons are also boiled. Sometimes the viscera are immediately rendered for fat and preserved; more frequently they are given to the dogs. More than by drying, fall waterfowl are preserved in their feathers by hanging in a cool place after removing all viscera but not the lungs, heart, and kidneys. A pinch of salt is added to the gutted carcass. From whites Indians have learned about salting geese in barrels but this is little done in Attawapiskat. One woman said, "Some people salt the wavies in barrels. This tastes better than dried meat. If I had a barrel and salt, the meat would not hang like that." A warm fall threatens the preservation of hung waterfowl. It is estimated that the consumption of wavies during the winter of 1947-48 was curtailed between five and ten percent due to spoilage caused by weather. Salted wavies are also said to be vulnerable to decomposition from heat.

In the spring muskrats that have been cleaned are also extensively dried. When available the meat of moose and caribou is cut into long slices and dried much in the same way as fish and waterfowl.

Pemmican (pi'miikan) is no longer made.

The drying of meat or fish is typically woman's work and it is this sex, therefore, which determines to a large extent the amount of preserved food that is to be available in winter and early summer. A woman is influenced, of course, by the fact that the family may not care much for dried wavies as well as by the common desire to eat waterfowl daily during the height of the autumn fowling season. By tending her fish nets at this time she can provide a supplementary food which, eaten daily, will in some measure conserve the supply of geese. A man, when he kills a large mammal far from camp, sometimes dries meat in order to avoid rapid spoilage. Boys learn techniques of food preservation by watching their mothers; older sisters from more directly assisting in the work around camp.

From the missionaries the Indians in the past received dehydrated potatoes and carrots locally processed. A former Oblate (in about 1941) also introduced the people to dry flaked fish, which they are supposed to have become very fond of. The processing was discontinued after his transfer from Attawapiskat. Currently plans are being made by the Director of the Attawapiskat Mission to place a canning kitchen in the projected new school building at the people's disposal. Here women will be invited to preserve waxies in the fall and, perhaps, beaver in the winter for summer consumption. It is proposed to allow women who are resident in the post a portion of the canned meat in payment for the quantity that they put up for other families. The venture represents a bold experiment in community reorganization.

Eating

By way of resume, it may once more be said that the Attawapiskat adult sits down to what in his opinion is an adequate meal when the servings include a country product, preferably meat or at the least fish; an imported food product, perhaps potatoes or rolled oats in the meat stock; bread in the form of bannock, or a Mission purchased white loaf; a spread for the bread, and finally, tea. Currently some such combination of food items adds up to a satisfactory meal, the enjoyment of which is not disturbed whether the family eats it from a table in the town house or on the floor of a bush dwelling.

Three meals a day are standard procedure in the average household. Men who are travelling over the trap line may eat more irregularly, occasionally skipping noonday eating or remaining content with tea "filled" with flour, shortening, and sugar and accompanied by bannock. Young children are not discouraged from eating between meals--a chunk of bannock plain or spread, a handful of prunes, a dried fish warmed by being placed on top of a stove, or a cup of milk with sugar. One would suspect that the nibbling of children between meals dulls appetites. Here may be one explanation for the finicky food tastes of children. Young people as well as adults frequently drink tea in the course of a day without, however, brewing it afresh for each serving. A large pot of tea usually stands on the floor near the stove of the dwelling and is quickly warmed up when desired. The writer once saw an old woman who had finished the evening meal daintily slicing slivers of shortening from a partly opened package and eating them with the blade of the knife. During the height of the waxy season, when fish were also fairly plentiful, another family under observation ate three or four cooked meals between noon and ten p.m. The woman's brother laughed heartily when he translated this family's records. For an adult to eat solid food between meals (oka'ciimoo, he always eats") is regarded as improper, an attitude that is rationalized by the belief that "constant" eating may

that is rationalized by the belief that "constant" eating may produce illness. Nevertheless the introduction of an unexpected and desirable food item to the family between regular mealtimes (for example, a gift of freshly killed moosemeat) may be followed by immediate preparation and eating. In other words, the practice of three daily meals is much less rigorously observed in the Attawapiskat household than in American society. The people are aware, however, that to indulge appetite each time that it stirs would quickly exhaust a food supply. Eating, therefore, is governed by an element of compulsion, being partly directed to conserving the imported food on which a family largely depends and which is largely issued at monthly intervals in the form of relief and family allowances. Obviously, urging the average family to eat more (a type of advice sometimes given by the government nurse) would be impractical and even uneconomical without at the same time increasing the supply of food.

Generally the whole family eats together, children being summoned from play to join their parents. The meal does not, however, wait for a youth of from thirteen years onwards. He receives food whenever he arrives to eat. The cooked food is transferred from the cooking vessel into a serving basin or pan, which is then placed on the table or ground. The wife may serve the food onto the individual plates or each member of the family, including children from about seven or eight, helps himself from the serving pan. No matter which form of serving is followed, the group waits until everyone is ready to eat. The wife serves herself last and may also bone the fish or cut the meat of younger children before she eats. From the age of six or seven a child no longer requires his mother's assistance in eating. The meat stock with added filler is served after the solid food has been eaten and is generally drank from a bowl. When there is any choice, meat that is "strong", i. e., which requires steady chewing, is usually given to the men in the family or to a guest while soft parts and portions that are regarded as delicacies to the children and women. Inasmuch as the family eats together with respect for one another's needs, Saindon's statement does not apply. He wrote: "Le premier servi au pot-au-feu, c'est le chef de la famille. Les autres mangent apres lui. Et s'il ne reste rien?...Alors, it faut se resigner a jeuner patiment" (24:33). It probably happens that, as in our society (23:39), a wife sometimes surrenders a proportion of her share of food for the benefit of the family but there is no evidence as to how significant in terms of nutrition this behaviour may be. Meat is commonly eaten with the fingers, a knife being used to cut off pieces and carry them to the mouth. The soft ends of the bones of fowl and rabbits are often chewed to obtain marrow. Sometimes a cut is made in this soft end with a knife before it is lifted to the mouth. Beaver bones are not cracked to obtain marrow as the amount present in them is too slight. Fox bones are cracked with a knife and the broken ends sucked. Caribou and moose bones are split with heavier instruments and the marrow eaten with the tip of a knife. In a few families each member always uses his own plate and cup. Bread and

bannock are taken after the meal with tea and probably often serve to fill the stomach. Each diner helps himself to liquid milk, flour, lard, or sugar and adds it to his tea. Rolled oats are added to the beverage while it is still on the stove. When a person is strongly hungry and the meal is not sufficiently filling, flour may be selected in preference to milk for use in tea. All children beyond the age of two or three drink tea, although mothers may add generous amounts of milk to the cups of younger family members. A child deprived of the beverage and seeing others drinking it will cry and otherwise indicate his preference, which is then generally honoured.

Mealtimes in the home are occasions of conversation. Members of the family who were away from the house will recount some of the things that they experienced. Little was learned about tabooed conversation. Some people consider it improper to refer to the ease with which a certain item of meat or fish can be captured. Boasting about food getting at meals is also not approved of and a child who approaches such topics may be warned that he threatens the ability of the family ever again to kill the particular animal of which he talks.

A period of relaxation usually follows a meal taken in a permanent dwelling. On the trail, however, and particularly in very cold weather, eating is apt to be accompanied by a less complete state of relaxation, just as food preparation becomes fraught with difficulties. This is an important consideration for understanding why men eat briefly and inadequately when they are travelling alone in the bush. Bitter cold weather freezes ungloved hands even a few feet from a blazing fire while closer contact with heat results in a different type of pain. Dishes cannot be washed on the trail. Despite these inconveniences, the Indian appears much less tense and uncomfortable while swallowing a trailside meal than is the case with a tenderfoot white man. Obviously this is because the former has experienced such conditions since early childhood.

People do not like to eat in the presence of others who are not doing so. The presence of a non-eater, particularly if he is a stranger, produces strong embarrassment, as though the eater was caught in an immodest situation. Usually the visitor who arrives during mealtime averts his face from the eating group, which may secure greater ease by allowing the guest a cup of tea. It is likely that these attitudes are partly related to a general self-consciousness about the use of food in a society where the food supply is still thought of as precarious and where, in the past, eating with the knowledge that other people were suffering hunger acquired the value of being dishonourable. At feasts table space is not available for a large number of diners so that guests have to eat in the presence of those who have already been seated as well as those who will later be invited to eat. No constraint marks eating on festive occasions, apparently because of the knowledge that

in time everyone will be served. The private nature of family mealtimes seriously limited the anthropologist's observations, as did the people's attitude that it is improper to too closely examine food in the house or on the stove. While Indians likewise avoided staring at the anthropologist when he ate, they soon learned to accept the open display of some foodstuffs in his house and scanned these with considerable interest. There is no reason why a demonstration kitchen would not be practical in Attawapiskat.

During her visits the government nurse promoted the consumption of cod liver oil and vitamin tablets for children, expectant mothers, and individuals for whom these preparations had been prescribed by the doctor. It was suggested that the tablets be taken with meals. When the anthropologist checked on consumption during the winter of 1947-48 he found only a few families who admitted that they used cod liver oil more than occasionally and several who said they never used it, either because nobody was ill or because the taste was disliked. The annual quantity of cod liver oil distributed by the Mission is not negligible. From the summer of 1946 to February 20, 1947 (about twenty months) 408 pints of Westchem Oil were issued, or about 245 pints annually. People exhibit some tendency not to solicit additional oil when the supply that they have been furnished is exhausted. Vitamin preparations are not given in the day school. When questioned about the distribution of cod liver oil to children the missionary teacher explained that he lacked teaspoons for this purpose. Indians believe that the advantages of cod liver oil lie in its ability to give strength, fatness, and to "make the lungs strong".

Of the taboos which aboriginally governed food avoidances few remain to-day. Pregnant women are not enjoined to avoid specific foods, although they are advised to eat lightly, particularly of meat and sugar, and to remain fairly active. Following this advice is said to prevent a difficult delivery. There is still an attitude that "everybody should be careful not to eat too much fat" and particularly a fear that beaver fat, because it is very "greasy", will produce illness and vomiting if eaten in too great quantities. Such beliefs, it would seem, are largely empirically derived. It is said that the "stomach fat" of the caribou and other large land mammals (called wii'se and said to look almost like lace), should never be followed by a draught of cold water or it will lodge in the esophagus like a lump and choke the person. Fats in general are divided into those which are hard (like beef tallow and lard) and those that are soft. Soft fats do not solidify firmly and include butter, bacon grease, wavy drippings, and beaver fat. While hard fats are used for frying, they are not relished as a spread for bread or lean meat. Vegetable shortening, although technically a hard fat, is eaten with the same relish as butter. During the winter of 1947-48 a shortage of shortening led the Company to issue half the fat allowance of relief rations in the form of lard. Few people who were interviewed were happy about this substitution.

One might suspect that a people who have experienced acute and chronic starvation, who conceive their food supply to be inadequate, and who are extraordinarily conscious of the importance of food, would eat everything which bears the definition of food. Actually this is not the case. Not only does practically the entire society reject certain items as food (seal, for example, which was sometimes eaten in the past and is known to be an Eskimo favourite) but individuals are governed by idiosyncratic food preferences and, what is more significant, avoidances. One principle determining food preferences is indicated in the following communication by a coastal informant:

I come from along the coast. I was brought up there. I think the people along the coast are better off than the inland people. The people inland like the food inland best but the coastal people have a different life. The people inland do well on rabbits. We along the coast are done best by waxies. And best is when they are a little fat. That's what I'd like to eat now - it would do good to the bodies of the wife, and children, and me.

This man's knowledge of nutrition and ethnology are both a bit too simple. Rabbit is widely recognizing among Indians as a food that does not insure adequate physiological functioning. Ethnologically the evidence suggests that the more plentiful supply of country food like waterfowl along the coast has attracted families from inland. Nevertheless there is probably truth in the assertion that, apart from the greater rewards of trapping, those people who remain inland have a somewhat greater preference for inland food (notably moose) and a somewhat lower regard for waxies, ducks, and store products. On the other hand neither category of people would outrightly reject one or the other type of food.

Food rejections are much more extensively developed on an individual than a group level. Among adults the anthropologist heard persons say that they did not especially care for, or rarely ate, bannock (or flour), beaver, cheese, sugar ("something happens to my heart when I use sugar"), boiled fish, otter, dumplings, coffee ("It's new stuff and I don't like it."), tomatoes, and tomato juice. Pork lard is almost universally disliked as compared to vegetable shortening.

Some of these rejections can be explained by the fact that among adults tastes have not been strongly established to recently introduced food items (tomatoes, cheese, coffee, and others). But it seems likely that, taking the population as a whole, "finicky" appetites are symptomatic of other personality needs. What these needs are is difficult to say. Two suggestions may be made to explain the psycho-dynamics of food rejection, as here defined. In the first place, negative attitudes may be related to a

complex feeling, seldom fully verbalized, that seems to be as follows: "The food supply is uncertain; often we will be short of anything to eat; then we must eat 'anything' - even mink, bones, mice, and weasel." There is evidence that some such attitude is implicit in the thinking of most adults. The point of view is the one compulsive note in the society's food habits (comparable to the American's compulsion: "I must eat what is good for me"). Under this condition an ability to be selective represents an escape from the ever present necessity of being ready to eat unfit material (we cannot say "unfit food", as this phrase is meaningless for the Attawapiskat Indians - by definition anything that is food is theoretically fit to eat). In part, of course, the ability to be selective has greatly increased as a result of the introduction of varied foodstuffs of outside origin. A finicky appetite is actually an indulgence for the native who lives under near subsistence conditions in which he has to be ready to eat "anything". Finicky appetites are, of course, socially contagious.

A second factor, explaining the acquisition of food rejections by children and the maintenance of those attitudes in adults, involves an examination of the early feeding of infants.

Breast feeding of a baby does not usually begin until milk begins to flow, the colostrum being regarded as unfit for food. In the interim water or fish broth may be offered in a bottle or at the end of a cloth which is squeezed into the infant's mouth.

Along with being urged to drink milk and to avoid coffee, cocoa, pepper, and flour in tea, nursing mothers are advised to wash the nipples before feeding. It is certain that when this is done (which is seldom) the cleansing itself is not carried out with hygienic care. Breast eroticism is not developed. A young man who playfully sucked his lactating wife's breast in daytime was advised by his older brother not to repeat the behaviour on the grounds that it was not nice and injurious to the teeth. Suckling is a pleasurable experience whose enjoyment is related to the mother's love for the child (...niiminiiweniten awacic tacine enocanit ekitcisakihak. "I like it when the baby always sucks because I love him extremely.")

When nursing begins the breast is offered day or night, whenever the baby cries. Crying is regarded as signifying hunger or some discomfort that the reward of feeding can alleviate. It would seem that infants eat about ten times in the course of twenty-four hours. A mother's breast is said to ache when a baby cries violently, and the mother relieves this discomfort at the same time that she satisfies the child's needs. This breast pain may be psychosomatic. When nursing does not alleviate crying the new mother quickly becomes distraught and characteristically reasons that a different end of the alimentary system is at fault. She then arranges to give the child an enema, even though the baby may be only two months old. Mothers suffer

considerable anxiety that nursing babies are not receiving sufficient nourishment from the breast. To this attitude may be related the readiness with which supplementary feedings are instituted. A bottle with a nipple is the common means of supplementing mother's milk and bottle feeding was strongly recommended by a previous government physician under the notion that the instrument would be administered hygienically and thus avoid contact between an infant and a possibly tubercular mother. If a bottle and breast are both unavailable, as during the mother's absence when an older sister may briefly care for a few months' old baby, the crying infant is offered a weak solution of condensed milk or Klim at the tip of a cloth, which is squeezed into the baby's mouth as it lies on the girl's lap.

Data on breast feeding and supplementary feeding will be found in Table 41. The figures indicate that weaning rarely comes later than two years but never before one year. Since toilet training also begins between eighteen and twenty-four months, it would seem that the young child is exposed to two emotionally important experiences within a relatively brief time span. Weaning from the breast is accomplished with the aid of camphorated oil or charcoal smeared in the area of the nipple. The termination of breast nursing tends to be final, with the child not being tolerated when he wishes to return. Insofar as weaning occurs because the child is "getting older" it probably signifies some promotion in growth. For the same reason regressive symptoms, like finger sucking, are forbidden by parents. A pacifier (tcootcoos'iikan, "breast thing") is a common adjunct to final weaning, people using either the purchased rubber variety or a long strip of meat on which the child may suck. Available evidence suggests that weaning from the breast tends to be a disturbing experience for the child and one which may be accompanied by hostility toward the lap baby who has replaced the youngster.

Anxiety concerning the child's eating habits continues once nursing is completed. A number of informants complained that their children, ranging from four to seven, ate poorly or rejected food eaten by the rest of the family. Another mother praised her less than a year old baby, who sucked pieces of meat and ate bits of fish, saying, "Smart eat that baby." Semi-solid food, notably pabulum, fish broth, and mashed fish, tends to be introduced to the child before one year of age. Meat is offered at about the time of weaning, when a child is also expected to be able to drink from a cup. Young children may be denied when they request certain foods from the parents' table on the grounds that they are still unable to digest the food (meat) or that it would injure them (as sugar is believed to injure the teeth). Tots are also discouraged from mouthing objects picked up from the floor, some mothers offering a piece of meat or other food as a distraction.

TABLE 41

EXTENT OF BREAST AND SUPPLEMENTARY INFANT FEEDING¹

<u>Family and Child</u>	<u>Age²</u>	<u>Breast Fed Until</u>	<u>Bottle Fed Until</u>	<u>Correlates of Weaning³</u>
George Kiickii				
Euphemia	11	15 mos.	never	
Madeleine	9	12 mos.	never	
	6	12 mos.	25 mos.	Resentment; use of pacifier; compulsive nose picking; toilet training; sibling rivalry at 36 months; masturbation at 48 months.
Louis	3	15 mos.	24 mos.	
Xavier Ajtail				
Marcel	11	24 mos.	24 mos.	Use of pacifier
Gabriel	7	18 mos.	18 mos.	
Raphael	5	18 mos.	18 mos.	
Emil Nakogee				
Margaret	11	25 mos.	never	
Mary	9	24 mos.	never	Birth of younger brother and desire to displace latter at the breast; use of meat pacifier; nail biting; masturbation at 36 months.
Remi	7	24 mos.	never	
Mary Martha	5	24 mos.	never	
Angela	3	24 mos.	never	
Jacob Koostatcin				
Antoine	14	12 mos.	never	
Sophie	11	12 mos.	never	
Michel	8	24 mos.	never	
Gregoire	5	24 mos.	never	
Mary	2	12 mos.	24 mos.	

1. Only children who have completed nursing are included.

2. Age as of 1947 census.

3. Weaning is here defined as the termination of nursing, either from breast or bottle.

From these data emerges the suggestion that the considerable care and even anxiety attached to infant and child feeding situations (which anxiety is in turn merely a part of the general concern that parents feel and express toward children) transmit themselves to the child. Children, along with discovering that foods are distinguished by different tastes, learn that all foods are not of equal value or significance. Few invariable principles exist for making rational distinctions between foods. Hence the development of idiosyncratic food attitudes or finicky appetites. It is also interesting that fish, which is regarded as highly desirable for children and is one of the earliest solid foods eaten by them, should enjoy such slight esteem in the adult system of food values. Pure milk is also rarely drunk by adults and porridge is not one of the cherished dishes but rather a food to be eaten when meat is scarce.

The tendency to develop idiosyncratic food preferences and rejections promises to complicate the ease with which food habits can be altered.

Closely related to food selectivity is the factor of ennui as a motivational determinant of eating habits. This may be stated simply in the words of an informant speaking about waterfowl. "If you eat it too long, you don't feel like eating it," he complained. "You want to eat bannock or something. The Indian never found something that he could use all the time without stopping." The fact that food becomes monotonous to the Indian palate can probably aid the introduction of new foods or different forms of food preparation.

Apart from food idiosyncrasies, eating habits are also to a certain extent governed by ideas of taste and flavour. The quality of sour (ciwii'kisiw), for example, is not enjoyed. People identify this flavour by reference to the taste of lemons. Beans left for a day or so in a warm dwelling acquire this taste as do spoiled oats, soup, fish, and meat. Food which is potent or sharp to the taste (akos'pokwan), like pepper, salt, and whiskey, is also regarded as unpleasant. Indians use relatively little salt or pepper. There is a belief that white men possess heavy facial hair because they eat a good deal of salt. Of course other factors than taste would govern the consumption of whiskey. Flour, rolled oats, or meat that is mouldy (akwa'kosoo) is either thrown away or fed to the dogs. A hungry person, however, may wash the mould from meat, but even then the unpleasant taste is said to linger. Food is never taken from a rusty can; instead the tin is returned to the store, just as people return lumpy oats and flour to the trader. The taste of sweet, of course, is highly relished and candy has enormous popularity with children.

There is some tendency (and, due to Mission influence, one that is probably growing) to rate foods according to whether they are good for the health. "We like to eat things that will keep the body fit," one man said.

"In my family I like to get things that will help the body live and keep us comfortable. Every day I look for things that will do my body good and my wife's". Although looking for the health giving qualities of food is limited in its development by the circumscribed knowledge of physiology, it is recognized that food produces strength, fat, and heat. Tooth decay is said to follow from the heavy use of sugar, although the anthropologist also heard that a prevalence of flour in the diet or poorly cooked meat could damage these organs. The idea that food should be selected for its beneficial bodily effects does not yet profoundly influence eating habits but can probably be used as a leverage point in a food education program.

People are thought to eat less in summer than in winter, the reason given being that the harder work is done during the latter season. Men are expected to consume more food than women. The latter sex, it is said, is not only built more slightly but also on the average possesses a smaller stomach.

Extremely little waste characterizes the Indian's food habits. Examination of garbage reveals relatively little food to be discarded and that which is thrown away is fed to the always hungry dogs. There is a strong conviction that "good" things, whether food or clothing, should not be discarded while they still possess human usefulness. Here is one reason why it is extremely unlikely that many Indians could be found who would discard half or more of a killed moose and eat only the best portions. Yet this allegation is perennially heard from whites. There is reason to believe that food given to the dogs, to whom little affection attaches except when they are puppies, is thought of as discarded. Hence the ambivalence expressed by informants when they learned of the anthropologist's interest in what percentage of imported foods was used for dog feed. Himself uncertain of the propriety of giving "good" things to dogs, the Indian translated the anthropologist's curiosity to mean criticism. One man, without being called on to do so, defended his actions in the following words:

Last year I ate caribou here and seal, moose, wavy, rabbit, muskrat, beaver, fox, and duck. And when I get no country food I get food from the store. The same for the dogs, they eat from the store. And I spend money for the dogs I have. When I go on a train I pay ten dollars. When I use a team I don't spend money like that. The dogs are working just like a train. That's why I don't care if I spend money on the dogs.

Another man said:

When the Indians don't have dog food they must give the dogs their own food so that they will be able to use them.

The amount of imported food fed to dogs is difficult to establish. In the first place the amount varies by season, dogs are not fed as well in summer when they are idle as in winter when they work. Then too, the allocation of rolled oats and lard or shortening to dogs varies according to the success of a particular family in securing one or more seal in the fall and other country products throughout the winter. Thus the necessity of using store products may vary from year to year according to the abundance of game. It has already been suggested that fish and waterfowl intestines are usually given to the animals as well as meat suitable for human consumption. A previous Hudson's Bay Company manager suggested that about three hundred pounds of rolled oats were annually allotted to dogs. Study of a sample group of twenty-five families indicates a total population of about two hundred dogs in the area, or 2.5 per hunting family. Only seven of these sample families admitted using oats and purchased fat for these animals. Each feeding of store food requires between half and a pound of rolled oats and half a pound of lard daily. If one third of the families fed three quarters of a pound of oats and half a pound of lard to sixty-five dogs for sixty days in the winter of 1947-48 (when game was scarce), the total consumption of oats would be 2,945 pounds. This is certainly a minimum estimate. To the oats may be added at least 1,950 pounds of lard and beef tallow. Dogs are fed by the men in the family who allocate store food for this purpose. Cats, a popular pet in the Attawapiskat area, survive on scraps and are apt to be served their food before the economically more important dogs.

Feasts represent a pattern of eating to which brief reference has already been made and which deserve a further word of comment. Two types of feast can be distinguished, public feasts organized by whites in Attawapiskat, which the entire Indian community feels free to attend, and family feasts marking weddings, at which attendance is by invitation only. Public feasts include the tea and cakes served by the Hudson's Bay Company on New Year's Day. The Company provides the food and premises (the carpenter's shed) for the occasion while the chief's family secures assistance to help cook the materials. In summer the Company also arranges a Beaver Feast from some of the proceeds of the Akimiski beaver preserve.

The affinal families co-operate in financing and otherwise providing for wedding feasts. Food is served to repeated sittings of guests from mid-morning to mid-afternoon. Cigarettes or tobacco are also distributed. A large wedding party costs both families in the neighbourhood of one hundred dollars. In general feasts receive their flavour from the abundance and variety of food which they feature and also from the availability of unusual delicacies like doughnuts, ice cakes. On the day following a wedding guests may call again to take home remainders of food.

Feasts are one occasion when a guest feels free to comment (with praise) on the quality of the food to which he was treated. Under other circumstances an Indian is not accustomed to criticize either favourably or otherwise the meals he was served in a relative's home. Teasing a person with food, as by offering an object and then pulling it back, is also extremely bad taste and may arouse serious resentment. Apparently food is too serious a commodity to joke with.

Alcoholic drinking parties in Attawapiskat, because they are conducted in great secrecy and never include as participants more than two or three good friends or relatives, do not partake of the character of private feasts. Women are not usually permitted to join drinking parties and presumably boys under fourteen are also not invited to drink. Mild drunkenness is much liked, ostensibly because of the good feeling it promotes, but excessive intoxication is ideally rejected because "then people will sometimes talk bad and fight". Except in one youth (who had spent some time working along the railroad and on his return to Attawapiskat boasted of drinking and ~~being~~ being apprehended for drunkenness), alcohol appears to serve no function of narcissistically enhancing the social picture of the self, as it does among some late adolescents in American society. Young men do not drink with the impression that it makes them appear mature or sophisticated. Hunting waterfowl and undertaking long journeys in the winter bush much more confer this type of prestige.

CHAPTER 5

RECOMMENDATIONS

Problems

The recommendations which follow are based on the recognition of a number of interrelated problems affecting the Attawapiskat Indians and their administrator, the Canadian Government. Briefly stated they include:

- (a) The high infant mortality rate, officially estimated at 212 per 1,000.
- (b) A considerable incidence of illness, including tuberculosis, and widespread apprehensiveness concerning illness.
- (c) Insufficient medical attention. During most of the year there is one physician in James Bay to attend to the needs of three thousand Indians spread over five hundred miles of coastline. Radio communication, which is partly in the hands of laymen without medical training, has not shown itself to be a satisfactory means of securing medical advice in event of serious illness. There is also a resistance to hospitalization on the part of prospective patients and families.
- (d) Widespread anxiety and a considerable incidence of incapacitating mental disease.
- (e) Economic insufficiency which demands a large amount of public assistance in the form of food, clothing, and technological apparatus.
- (f) The lack of a clearly defined relief policy which would transcend the powers and personalities of individuals charged with administering assistance.
- (g) Declining use of certain natural resources as food, notably berries and fish. At the same time no adequate nutritional substitutes for these products are being received.
- (h) Lack of instruction in nutritional requirements which would inculcate more adequate patterns of marketing, eating and food preparation.

- (i) Insufficient control over the environment. Particularly this is true concerning the preservation of foodstuffs in as appetizing a form as the people would like.
- (j) Widespread discontent on the part of the population with the Government's administration of their affairs. Such feelings express themselves in charges running from broken treaty promises to inadequate relief.
- (k) Absence of educational facilities designed specifically for the needs of a bush Indian population whose children do not continue in school for more than three years. There appears to be little relationship between the experience in the school and the community as well as little carry-over from the former to the latter. The people themselves desire educational facilities in Attawapiskat.
- (l) A tendency for traders, Indian Agents, and missionaries intolerantly, unsympathetically, and even rudely to regard features of the Indian way of life which to them seem strange. Basically, such attitudes would seem to rest upon a lack of information and cross cultural sophistication.

Minor problems, or those for which no recommendations are made, include: the tendency of the Hudson's Bay Company sometimes to issue relief in lieu of debt; those factors in the administration of family allowances which cause families to have to wait several months before a new baby is accredited and which sometimes cut off benefits to children who, according to parents, are not yet sixteen years of age; and the fact that because family allowances are issued according to the prices of food in the North, Indians receive less value for the family allowance dollar than do people in southern Canada. Also to be mentioned is the need for better demographic records and records of individual annual incomes from all sources. A final problem for which no recommendation will be made concerns the overpopulation of the area and the concentration of population in the southeastern sector of the area, near the village and within convenient range of the coastal marshes where waterfowl may be hunted. The population density is probably an important factor in keeping down incomes in this poor trapping area.

Possible Solution

(a) It is recommended in general that any action taken relative to the problems enumerated above be made a part of a systematic plan. In the experience of community organizers the comprehensive approach to community rehabilitation has demonstrated its superiority over "the piece-meal method

of rehabilitation" (16:13). One may expect that such a program will be put in charge of not only a trained community organizer but, because of the problems to be faced in working with an alien culture, one who has some anthropological sophistication. A qualified worker would, for example, realize the importance of securing the co-operation of the people, make them aware of the overall objectives of the program, and take them into immediate aspects of planning. Emphasis must be laid on the fact that community rehabilitation is a profession, membership in which is dependent on possessing skill for dealing with people. Unless Indian Agents or teachers in the Indian service possess professional qualifications they are not likely to carry out rehabilitation successfully. From the standpoint of the anthropologist, the central aim in community reorganization is summed up in the following principle: "Supervisors must work within the social structure as they find it. They must recognize that the old people and the priests can make or break the program... various factions must find it so advantageous to co-operate that they want to work together" (16:14).

We proceed now to more specific recommendations, which may be conceived of as the particular aspects of a comprehensive action program. Many of these, it will be recalled, have already been introduced and discussed at appropriate points throughout this report.

(b) Attawapiskat is in need of improved medical facilities designed to reduce infant mortality; introduce greater efficiency into diagnosis, treatment, and emergency hospitalization, as well as to organize plans for developing the hygiene, sanitation, and nutrition of the community. The need for mental hygiene should also find provision in a medical program. A regional hospital will not be fully successful until Indians have learned to think of hospitalization in practical terms. Education in the functions of hospitals may be brought to their attention through posters, literature, as well as by educators, priests, and nurses. A small nursing station in Attawapiskat might facilitate reeducation with reference to medical care. In numerous cases people are reluctant to travel to hospitals leaving their relatives. In other cases close relatives do not wish to lose contact with children. As part of a larger program for promoting hospital use, thought might be given to the possibility of preserving the interaction of the patient and his group while the former is undergoing hospitalization.

(c) It is recommended that relief be continued in Attawapiskat as long as is necessary to maintain the present (i. e. 1947-48) standard of living. The people will have to be honestly informed that assistance will be discontinued when increased income or country foods are sufficient to supply adequate food, clothing, and equipment.

(d) To make the administration of relief less dependent on the personalities of particular Indian Agents, Hudson's Bay Company managers, and local chiefs, a definite relief policy should be designed. It is recommended that, with the knowledge and co-operation of the people, relief be utilized to further greater self-sufficiency. The nutritional adequacy of relief rations may have to be improved if rations are to meet the dietary requirements of people like the aged, who depend on assistance for a major share of their foodstuffs.

(e) As a means of stepping up, or at least maintaining present levels in the production of country food, relief should be given where necessary with the expressed intention of helping people to help themselves. Thus relief may enable the family to remain in the bush longer in mid-winter and in the post longer in autumn in order to harvest the garden. Relief may also be used to supply twine for additional fish nets and the materials for preserving food. At the same time able-bodied individuals receiving relief and not setting plural fishnets, gardening, or otherwise increasing the production of country food should be advised that the function of relief is to supplement other sources of food. Several communications media could be simultaneously employed to inculcate the necessity of increased food production, including posters, printed literature, and the Mission pulpit. It may also be found practical to encourage a few families to produce a surplus of berries or fish to convert into cash. The surplus could then be distributed in family allowances and relief.

(f) Intensified gardening can also increase food production. Family gardens, containing rhubarb and berry patches, and located in the village should be encouraged in place of the present community garden. The reasons for this recommendation have been discussed in the report. Interfamily competition in gardening may also serve to increase interest in gardening. To institute family gardens in the village will require that individual owners be provided with implements and fencing materials.

(g) As a further inducement for families to visit or extend their midwinter stay in the bush, it may be possible to issue family allowances in advance in cases where the recipient indicates his intention of quitting the post. Advanced allowances will also serve to improve the winter diets of families living away from the post.

(h) The possibility of exploiting deep sea fishing grounds in James Bay deserves careful examination. It may be a means of increasing both food production and income.

(i) The preservation of country food in appetizing form from periods of abundance to seasons of relative scarcity will be facilitated by canning and quick freezing techniques. To some extent canning may have to be the

relatively specialized occupation of women who remain in the post during the fowling season and in winter. Cannery will need instruction in methods of processing. Competition may be encouraged as a means of increasing the quantity of preserved food (23a) as well as make sure that preserved staples are saved for a period of scarcity. Thus awards should be given in a small ceremony marking the beginning of the "short" season, when these foods are to be consumed.

(j) To increase income the continuation of the beaver conservation program introduced by the Hudson's Bay Company promises to be of the greatest value. Investigation should be made into the reports that the area is unsuitable for beaver and that the animals are not multiplying at the expected rate. Additional, similar conservation schemes would also help. A limited program of manufacturing, including the production of canoes and camp stoves, may prove successful. Markets for the stoves will have to be found outside of the Attawapiskat area. As an immediate measure to increase purchasing power the Mission and Hudson's Bay Company should be urged to increase the wages paid for labour. This appears especially desirable in view of the extraordinarily high prices current in the North.

(k) Government administrators should recognize the protective role which the Indian community expects them to fulfil. Policies may not always make it possible completely to live up to this role but to some extent it would probably always be possible to keep them aware of the fact that the greater society is not neglecting their welfare and is not without interest in their problems.

(l) Regardless of the group by which they are to be run, improved educational facilities are needed in Attawapiskat if the school is to assist in the rehabilitation program and if it is to help the people adapt to their current problems. These problems include securing the ability of communicating with white groups, increasing the production of country food, acquiring more effective trapping techniques, training in methods of food preservation and preparation which will make more appetizing and more nutritious dishes, and acquiring a modern knowledge of sanitation, nutrition, and hygiene. The school may also prove useful as a laboratory for the food preparation of such items as rose and willow buds. Student gardens and saving accounts may direct interest toward those activities in later life just as current instruction in dressmaking helps the girl to prepare clothing for her family at home. It would seem desirable to localize education in Attawapiskat and to design it so that what children learn in school can be more readily transmitted to parents or applied by children in the home and in their settlement. An efficient school curriculum would adapt itself to the fact that children very rarely attend classes for more than two or three years. Effective teaching also recommends that teachers remain aware of the characteristic psychological features of the children

they educate. Literacy in the indigenous tongue should continue to precede learning to read and write in a second language.

(m) The psychological welfare of the community appears to demand that those white groups now in association with the Indians become better informed concerning the cultural standards and values of the Indian community. Cross-cultural tolerance, sympathy, and understanding are essential if societies with different lifeways are to live harmoniously side by side and if the values of the dependent group are to be protected from violent uprooting, the consequence of which may be social disequilibrium and personal anxiety. In the case of the Mission, Government and Company personnel these aims could be realized if instruction in some basic principles of human relations were given, for example, to the same extent that post managers now receive regular advice on attending to nutritional requirements. Summaries of the social anthropology of the area in which they work might also serve to increase their understanding of Indian motives and behaviours. Where training courses precede service in the North, anthropology might be included in the training curriculum.

APPENDIX A

A Note on Language

The Attawapiskat dialect uses the following:

vowels: /i/ pronounced as in English "it".
 /e/ pronounced as in English "set".
 /a/ Somewhat between English "father" and "hat".
 /o/ Somewhat between English "low" and "law".

Lengthening of a vowel is indicated by duplication. Thus /ii/ has the value of the vowel sound in "eat", /ee/ corresponds to "ate", and /oo/ approximates "soon".

Consonants are pronounced almost as in English except for the fact that the stops /t/, /p/, and /k/ are slightly voiced so that they approach the English sounds /d/, /b/, and /g/ respectively. The sounds "s" and "c" (the latter pronounced like the initial sound of English "sugar") are used interchangeably. In other words, substitution of one of these sounds for the other would not change or obscure the meaning of a word. One of the most elusive distinctions for the English speaker to master in learning Cree is the aspiration /h/ accompanying some vowels.

The common diphthongs are /ew/, pronounced somewhat as in German "Leo"; /iw/, as in English "mew". /aw/ as in English "loud", and /aj/ as in English "pie".

German and French are examples of languages distinguishing masculine, feminine, and neuter nouns, Cree completely ignores such classification. There are not even personal pronouns which distinguish persons by sex, the Cree speaker simply implying "the third person (singular) walks" or "third persons (plural) cry". The Cree speaker does, however, categorize nouns as either animate or inanimate. The class to which a specific noun belongs must be memorized, as there are no prefixes or suffixes which immediately denote such membership. Nouns pertaining to people or animals are always animate, but so are the words for several objects and certain foods. Inanimate nouns are always limited to objects which lack life. Following are a few common, animate substantives:

<u>na'pew</u>	man
<u>awa'cic</u>	child
<u>asam'</u>	snowshoe
<u>pakwe'ciikan</u>	flour
<u>sop</u>	soap
<u>tcistee'maw</u>	tobacco

Animate nouns form their plural by adding -ak, inanimate by adding -a.

Verbs are intransitive and transitive. The former are divided into those which refer to an animate actor or those referring to an inanimate actor. Thus paki'cin means "he falls" and paki'tin, "it falls". There is no infinitive. Inanimate intransitive verbs are used to describe states of inanimate being.

Thus:	<u>pii'poon</u>	it is winter
	<u>sii'kwoon</u>	it is spring
	<u>tii'piskaw</u>	it is night
	<u>ta'kajyaw</u>	it is cold

Common adverbs preceding these verbs include: nas'pitc, "extremely"; a'picic, "slightly", and a'cee, "already". The latter word is as common among Attawapiskat speakers as "O.K." is in American usage. It is employed, for example, as an exclamation on occasions like the arrival of a boat, plane, or person and also upon the completion of an act.

Transitive verbs are divided into those which refer to an animate and those which refer to an inanimate goal.

Thus:	<u>na'hanew</u>	he stores "him" tentatively (as flour)
	<u>na'hastaw</u>	he stores it tentatively (as milk)

Dictionaries and grammars of the Cree language are available but suffer from difficulties like the fact that they have not been constructed by scientific linguists. Among such books may be mentioned E. A. Watkins and R. Faries, A Dictionary of the Cree Language (Church House, Toronto, 1938) and Horden, J., A Grammar of the Cree Language (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London, 1934).

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