Anthropological Papers of the University of Alaska

Volume 5 Number 1



Not for Resale

College, Alaska

December

1956

ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ALASKA

Volume 5 Number 1

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

Trends in Aleutian Stone Artifacts
William S. Laughlin and Gordon H. Marsh 5

The Attawapiskat Swampy Cree:
an Ethnographic Reconstruction
John J. Honigmann. 23

Not for Resale

Anthropological Papers of the University of Alaska accepts suitable original papers on any phase of Arctic or sub-Arctic anthropology. Photographs and line drawings should be kept to a minimum; excessive illustrations will be charged to the author.

Footnotes should be in the text, and bibliographies follow the form set forth in Volume 3, Number 2.

This publication will appear at irregular intervals.

Not for Resale

IVAR SKARLAND
Head, Department of Anthropology

JAMES W. VANSTONE
Editor

RUTH LEINBACH
Assistant Editor

GORDON H. MARSH
MARGARET LANTIS
WENDELL OSWALT
Consulting Editors

Price of this Issue—$1.50

TRENDS IN ALEUTIAN CHIPPED STONE ARTIFACTS

WILLIAM S. LAUGHLIN AND GORDON H. MARSH

Owing to the considerable depth and antiquity of the Chaluka midden, Umnak Island, it has been possible to examine the similarities and differences between artifacts and skeletons from different levels. It is immediately apparent that the relative frequencies as well as the absolute numbers of artifacts vary with succeeding periods in time. By examining the trends inside a single site over a long period of time it is possible to distinguish those artifacts or assemblages of artifacts which are stable and characteristic features of the people who lived there from those artifacts whose life history is more episodic and less permanent. A study of the interrelationships may also enable us to throw light on the problem of which artifacts are actually interdependent upon each other and which ones are relatively more free to vary in their form or frequency. Thus, we wish to consider the interrelationships of various artifacts within a single historically continuous cultural tradition. This will aid in eventual comparisons between sites by improving our understanding of the duration in the form and in the relative frequencies characterizing the relationships between different kinds of styles of artifacts which are characteristic of particular periods in time.

The Chaluka midden is especially useful for tracing developments in the material culture of the Aleutian Eskimos, for there are differences in technique of manufacture as well as in the form of the artifacts. In the lower levels are many artifacts made of lamelles, which represent an identifiably different technique in manufacture from the more common pressure flaking technique or free hand flaking used to make the ordinary spalls. In addition, a sample from the more recent western end of the site was provided evidence of the use of ground slate blades, ulus. Thus, another real difference in technique of manufacture as well as in the form of the artifacts, and associated with a different point in history, is available for study within the confines of the same permanent village site. The subject of the lamellar flaking industry has already been examined (Laughlin and Marsh, 1954). Here we wish to treat the subject of chipped stone artifacts by looking into the categories of projectile points, knives, adze blades, and lamellar scrapers and gravers, together with certain related bone artifacts.[1]

Not for Resale

[1]Our anthropological investigations of the Aleuts were initiated in 1948 with the Aleutian expedition of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, with funds from the Viking Fund, Inc., and the U. S. Office of Naval Research. They were continued in 1949, 1950 and 1952 with grants from the Graduate School, University of Oregon and by contracts between the Office of Naval Research. Department of the Navy, and the Arctic Institute of North America. Reproduction in whole or in part is permitted for any purpose by the United States Government. Personnel of the expeditions have been Dr. C. F. A. Moorrees, Dr. Fred Alexander, Dr. S. M. Garn, Mr. Alan G. May, Mr. Fred Milan, Mr. James Leach, Mr. Philip Spaulding, Mr. Philip Newman, Mr. G. D. Berreman, Prof. John James, Prof. Gordon H. Marsh and Prof. W. S. Laughlin. The United States Coast Guard as well as the Military Services aided the expeditions with transportation and other important facilities.

It will be noted in the succeeding tables that the cultural deposits have been divided into fifths. This has been done so that areas of different depths in the same excavation may be rendered comparable since all the strata lie horizontally. For each section excavated, one meter by three meters square, the surface and bottom position were determined and this total depth of deposit has then been divided into fifths. Thus, 38 sections of the 1948-50 excavations, constituting one large trench in the eastern portion of the site, are presented in this fashion. While the excavations were usually made on 25 cm. levels, such divisions are too fine for analysis in terms of the number of artifacts and duration of classes of artifacts. As a general rule, whenever the deposits have a total depth of less than one meter they may contain specimens sloughed down from the deeper or older portions. Those sections of 2 m. or more in depth appear to give the most consistent and reliable sequence of artifacts. Ten sections of less than 2 m. in depth on the outer periphery of this excavation may contain some specimens from the older strata.

PROJECTILE POINTS

Before examining the relation between projectile points and the other categories of chipped stone artifacts it is desirable to outline the changes between the styles within this category. The 81 specimens of this major category have been sorted into four styles according to the presence or absence of tangs, and round or square shape of the butt. These criteria were based on the observation that the slots or basins in the harpoon heads were round or square. They proved to be significant criteria for they tend to vary together in their time sequence.

Square Butt, tanged: Style 1. 47 specimens. (Plate 1, rows 1 and 2)

These are distributed from bottom to top but are rare in the bottom and the top fifth. They are most frequent in the 4th and 3rd fifths which together comprise 62% of the total number of this style. Since the harpoon style H-3 (fluted) is the chief style into which these could have been inserted in the earlier periods, it is significant that seventeen out of twenty-two harpoon heads of this style (77%) are also found in the 4th and 3rd fifths.

Square Butt, untanged: Style 2. 10 specimens. (Plate 1, row 3)

These are distributed from bottom to top but with complete absence in the 3rd fifth. They are evenly divided between the two lower and the two upper fifths.

Round Butt, tanged: Style 3. 17 specimens. (Plate 1, rows 5 and 6)

These are also distributed from bottom to top with an absence in the 3rd fifth. A majority of 14 (82%) occur in the upper two fifths. This kind of point could be inserted into harpoon style H-8 and spear style S-11, both of which are most frequent in the upper two fifths (17 out of 22 of H-8 and 7 out of 8 of S-11 occurring in the upper two fifths). These bone heads have a gouge basin on the side of the end, rather than a slot in the end.

Round Butt, untanged: Style 4. 7 speciments. (Plate 1, row 4)

Not for Resale

These are distributed from bottom to top with an absence in the 3rd fifth. Four occur in the bottom fifth.

Table 1. Distribution Summary of Propectile Points

Percentages designate the proportions of each style to the totals (last column) found in each layer

	Style 1	Style 2	Style 3	Style 4	Total
1/5	5 (36%)	1 (7%)	7 (50%)	1 (7%)	14
2/5	7 (37%)	4 (21%)	7 (37%)	1 (5%)	19
3/5	8 (100%)	0	0	0	8
4/5	21 (84%)	2 (8%)	1 (4%)	1 (4%)	25
5/5	6 (40%)	3 (20%)	2 (13%)	4 (27%)	15
	47	10	17	7	81

Table 1 illustrates an obvious shift of relative style frequency from the lower levels to the upper levels. The square butt points have clearly diminished in favor of the round butt points. Since spearheads. and harpoon heads with slots (S-5, H-3, H-5, H-6) are more common lower down, while those with gouges or basins (S-11, H-8, H-9) are more common higher up we can interpret the findings in the projectile points as an expectable conformity between square butt points and slots, and round butt points and basins, as well as a possible relation between tangs and slots as against no tangs and basins.

KNIVES

Chipped stone knives could be sorted into many more categories than those employed here. Only three categories, however, are sufficiently well defined and numerous to provide useful information in sequence analysis. The one common criterion is a bifacially chipped cutting edge. The tanged knives ("Eskimo crooked knife") are characterized by one edge being larger than the other, chipping over both surfaces, and a tang (Plate 2, upper). Chipped ulus (Plate 3, upper) could be further subdivided into curved-edge ("semilunar") and straight-edge varieties, both of which may have the back worked for hafting. Most certainly a number of these were intended for hafting in a long handle with the greatest width of the blade away from the butt of the handle. Hafted knives of this kind have been found by Helge Larsen at Platinum (Larsen, 1950). The third category of "tailoring" knives consists of those blades each of which has two edges which meet at a point, either at 90° or less. The blade as a whole may be either square or triangular (Plate 2, lower).

Table 2. Distribution Summary of Knife Blades

	Tanged	Ulus	Tailoring	Totals
1/5	15 (31)%	31 (63%)	3 (6%)	49
2/5	26 (54%)	19 (40%)	3 (6%)	48
3/5	15 (79%)	2 (10.5%)	2 (10.5%)	19
4/5	31 (69%)	10 (22%)	4 (9%)	45
5/5	14 (42%)	17 (52%)	2 (6%)	33
	101	79	14	194

The decrease in the ratio of tanged knives is of interest because this artifact has been an important one from the earliest occupation.

Not for Resale

ADZE BLADES

All adze blades (Plate 3, lower) have been formed by chipping. The cutting edge is always bevelled to one surface, as with scrapers. Many of these blades show smoothing or polishing, especially on the outer surface (away from the handled side, i.e., the "wedged" edge). We found no way of distinguishing between polishing resulting from use, and possibly intentional polishing. Adze blades were hafted by means of a whalebone socket or headpiece with a basin, to which the handle had been attached. A category of chisel could possibly be constructed for those with narrower bodies and thinner edges. Thirty blades are made of cherts, the remaining 15 of andesites. They were distributed in the following numbers:

top 1/5	3 (7%)
2nd 1/5	7 (16%)
3rd 1/5	5 (11%)
4th 1/5	17 (38%)
bottom 1/5	13 (29%)
Total	45

The predominance of adze blades in the lower two fifths is matched by the similar distribution of bone socket pieces: six in the fourth fifth and one each in the third and second fifth. It may be noted here that the diminution of artifacts in the third fifth is common to knives, projectile points, sea-otter bone tools and other categories. There is a possibility that the nature of the deposits change at this time, and that they represent materials found in the refuse thrown out of houses rather than that found inside houses in large part.

Perhaps the most important point is the clear evidence that a heavy wood-working industry was known to the Paleo-Aleuts at the time of their entry into the Aleutian Islands. This industry consists of heavy stone mauls, bone wedges, adzes and various abrading tools.

LAMELLAR GRAVERS AND LAMELLAR SCRAPERS

The sorting criteria for lamellar blades, i.e., lamelles, are those previously set forth. (Laughlin and Marsh, 1954). A lamellar graver is characterized by retouching along both edges to form a sharp point or a snub-nosed tip on one end of the flake. All retouching is on only one face of the flake, that face being the non-core surface of the flake. A lamellar scraper is retouched along one or both edges of the flake, but without a definitely pointed or tapered working end. Again, all retouching is on the non-core surface of the flake. The retouching is usually confined to the edge so that the prismatic form of the original lamelle can be seen.

Table 3. Lamellar Tools (Plates 4 and 5)

	Gravers	Scrapers	Totals
1/5	1	3	4
2/5	4	2	6
3/5	2	4	6
4/5	14	12	26
5/5	14	13	27
		Total	69

Not for Resale

The great predominance of lamellar tools in the lower two fifths has given a clue to the antiquity of the manufacturing site on nearby Anangula Island. The absence of polyhedral cores, whereas many were found at the manufactory, suggests that these flakes were manufactured away from the village. The existence of the Anangula manufactory makes it obvious that such flaking was done at such a site, but did not indicate whether or not such flaking was also done in village sites. At Anangula 753 lamelles and 16 polyhedral cores were found. The absence of cores here may simply be a sampling accident resulting from the small numbers involved. The paucity of polyhedral cores at other sites in Alaska where lamelles were found is also a matter of some interest.

Tools of the same general form as these, plus others of related form, all made on lamelles, may be seen in the categories of sidescrapers, endscrapers, gravers and rare types of scrapers from Ipiutak (Larsen and Rainey, 1948: plates 16, 17, 18, 19 and text figures 24, p. 106 and 25, p. 108). Few unworked lamelles and no polyhedral cores were found at Ipiutak. If the people did not spend the entire year at Ipiutak they may, of course, have manufactured these tools elsewhere, or in a specialized manufactory such as the one at Anangula. Alternatively, we may raise a question concerning the manufacture of lamelles. No polyhedral cores of sufficient size to match the larger lamelles have been found. Does this mean that the larger lamelles were struck from ordinary cores, as occasional products in the manufacture of ordinary spall flakes? Large numbers of cores and flakes, both lamellar and non-lamellar, will be needed to deal definitively with this kind of question.

The form of these lamelles is the same for large and small ones with reference to the six sorting criteria employed. It is of considerable interest that the same kinds of tools were made of lamelles in the Ipiutak artifacts. The relation between size of lamelle and material, which was shown to be highly significant (Laughlin and Marsh, 1954) is again seen to apply here at Chaluka. Of the lamellar gravers 69% were made of cherts, 17% of obsidian and 14% of andesite. Of the lamellar scrapers 41% are of cherts, 38% of obsidian and 21% of andesite. Chert was clearly favored for both these types of tools, though obsidian was apparently not as useful for gravers as for scrapers.

This would be understandable if the function of the gravers was cutting and carving which would subject obsidian to more cross strain and hence breaking, than would the action of scraping or sawing for which the scrapers may have been used. Since andesite produces poor lamellar flakes, this is perhaps why it was least favored, though being the commonest of the three types of stone it had to be used when the other two were not at hand.

Other categories of chipped stone artifacts which could have been included in this study, such as thrusting points, spall flakers, etc., are either too few in numbers, too nebulous in sorting criteria or otherwise unproductive of useful information.

Not for Resale

Turning to the interrelations of the categories of chipped artifacts described here it is possible to see recognizable trends in their relative frequencies.

Table 4. Distribution Summary of Chipped Stone Artifacts

	Projectile Points	Knife blades	Adze blades	Lamellar gravers & scrapers	Totals
1/5	14 (20%)	49 (70%)	3 (4%)	4 (6%)	70
2/5	19 (24%)	48 (60%)	7 (9%)	6 (7%)	80
3/5	8 (21%)	19 (50%)	5 (13%)	6 (16%)	38
4/5	25 (22%)	45 (40%)	17 (15%)	26 (23%)	113
5/5	15 (17%)	33 (37%)	13 (15%)	27 (31%)	88
	81	194	45	69	389

The proportion of projectile points is relatively stable over the entire period of time represented by these five fifths (some 3-4,000 years), whereas there is a consistent increase in the proportion of knives. The decreasing trends are unmistakable in the adze blades and in the lamellar tools. The stability in projectile point proportions is especially interesting in view of the changes within the category of projectile points and the corresponding changes in the bone spear and harpoon heads. Knives have always been an important item in the tool inventory of the Eskimos. Their increase, coupled with the decrease in lamellar scrapers and gravers suggests the possibility that some of the functions of the lamellar tools were taken over by the knives, which can be very effectively used as scrapers. The use of wood for qayaqs, umiaqs and house planks makes the decrease in adze blades difficult to interpret with any plausible correspondences.

FLAKING TOOLS

There are three kinds of bone tools which were used in flaking stone. The most important early style flaker is made of a rib, most usually a sea otter, and has a blunt, short bevel at the working end, with the point usually on the outer curve of the rib. There is much indication of abrasion on the end used for flaking. (Plate 6, upper). The new style of rib flaker (Plate 6, lower), possibly an awl instead of a flaker, has a sharper and longer taper, with the point usually on the inner curve of the rib, and appears to have been made from the rounder and more curved ribs of the sea otter. For this analysis 319 old Style I rib flakers, from the 1950 excavations only, are presented. Their distribution ends in the second fifth and they appear to be replaced by the new Style II, which begins abruptly in the second fifth and continues into the first fifth.

The second kind of flaking tool is the usual form found in other Eskimo sites (Plate 7, upper). It is cut or split from bone, often identifiable as rib, probably of whale. These split rib flakers become more common in the later deposits.

The third kind of flaker is made of the baculum of sea mammals such as sea lion, seal and sea otter (Plate 7, lower). They seem not to vary significantly in their distribution, though the numbers are too

Not for Resale

small to justify any penultimate statements. Their use is known from ethnological sources. A boy was presumably not considered a marriageable man until he had worn one down to its base (Jochelson, 1936, p. 71).

Table 5. Distribution Summary of Flaking Tools

	Rib Flakers		Split Rib	Baculum	
	Style I	Style II	Flakers	Flakers	Total
1/5	0	17 (74%)	6 (26%)	0	23
2/5	9 (17%)	33 (64%)	8 (15%)	2 (4%)	52
3/5	35 (80%)	0	7 (16%)	2 (4%)	44
4/5	159 (94%)	0	4 (2%)	6 (4%)	169
5/5	116 (97%)	0	1 (1%)	3 (2%)	120
	319	50	26	13	408

Assuming that rib flaker Style II is the successor to Style I, there is then no significant decrease in rib flakers, but rather a clearly delineated change in form. Split rib flakers appear to have been gaining in proportion, though the numbers involved are small.

FLAKING TOOLS AND ARTIFACTS OF CHIPPED STONE

When the total numbers of chipped stone artifacts and of flakers are compared, two trends stand out: 1—There is a diminution in absolute numbers seen in the fourth, second and first fifth. As previously mentioned the third fifth contained less artifacts of all kinds, though the proportions of kinds of artifacts in it appear to agree with the lower and upper fifths. 2—There is an inversion in the proportion of flaking tools to chipped stone artifacts. The ratio of flakers to artifacts is 6:4 in the bottom two fifths. In the second fifth it is 4:6 and in the top fifth has become 2.5:7.5

Table 6. Summary Distribution of Chipped Stone and Flaking Tools

	Chipped Stone	Flaking Tools	Totals
1/5	70 (75%)	23 (25%)	93
2/5	80 (61%)	52 (39%)	132
3/5	38 (46%)	44 (54%)	82
4/5	113 (40%)	169 (60%)	282
5/5	88 (42%)	120 (58%)	208
	389	408	787

In summary of the sequence of the east end deposits of Chaluka, with reference only to the artifacts discussed here, it appears that there has been a real and significant change from the bottom to the top. This change consists of unequal diminutions in numbers and consequently changes in the relative proportions of the artifacts to each other. The most clear cut change is the replacement of Style I by Style II in the rib flaking tools, if indeed all the Style II artifacts are flaking tools. Equally dramatic is the sharp reduction in adze blades and in lamellar flake tools. The overall reduction in the numbers of chipped stone artifacts and of the related flaking tools presents a major trend in the prehistory of Chaluka. Reasons for these trends are easier to suggest than to prove. Possibly these figures

Not for Resale

anticipate the introduction of grinding and polishing as seen in the ground slate blades found in the west end of this same midden. The age of the deposits represented by these five fifths may provisionally be estimated at from 3-4,000 yrs. ago to a time prior to the Russian contact which is approximately 1760 AD.

WEST END DEPOSITS

In 1952 excavations were made in the west end of Chaluka. The purpose was to secure some of the late materials. From the artifact inventory of the mummy caves, and shallow or surface collections, it was obvious that ground slate blades, shallow stone lamps, long single-piece sockets, circular labrets decorated with concentric circles and various styles of harpoon and spearheads ought to be found. The Aleuts of Nikolski had shown us where one of the first Russian parties had lived at this end of the midden. In addition, they had recovered late type artifacts in the process of digging garbage pits, baraboras and in reburying skeletons encountered in their digging operations.

An investigation of the topography of the site and surrounding area indicates that Chaluka was founded when the bay extended further inland, covering what is now a gravel terrace overlain with a shallow layer of soil. As the site expanded, and the gravel terrace was built up, the people moved slowly to the west, keeping a portion of the site on the bay. Only the western end of the site now fronts directly on the bay.

The projectile points confirm the shift from the earlier predominance of square butt points to the later predominance of round butt points. Of the total 19, 5 belong to the square butt styles and 14 to the round butt styles. The total number constitutes 27% of all these categories of chipped stone artifacts.

Knives are represented by 25 chipped blades and 14 ground slate blades. This total represents 55% of all the chipped stone artifacts. Probably all 14 ground slate knives were ulus. No projectile points or other artifacts of ground slate were found.

Eight adze blades were recovered. This represents an increase, numerically and proportionately, constituting 11% of all chipped stone artifacts.

Five lamellar scrapers were found, constituting 7% of all chipped stone artifacts.

The diminution in rib flakers seen at the east end is confirmed, for none of either style was found. However, 9 split rib flakers were recovered. Thus, the gain in proportion of split rib flakers appears to be continued into the contact period.

The presence of one lead pin in the side wall of a whalebone bucket is presumed to be reliable evidence of Russian arrival in the islands, if not at this particular site. The other kinds of late artifacts were found, and also skeletons of the Neo-Aleut variety. None of this kind of skeleton had been discovered in the east end. It is likely

Not for Resale

that the west end deposits overlap in time with the uppermost fifth or two fifths at the east end. As a whole they were comparatively shallow, 2 m. at the deepest, and were interrupted with many burials, 15 in all. Thus it was not considered feasible to partition the deposits into fifths or even into halves, though the lowermost artifacts may be equable in time with the second or first fifth of the east end deposits.

Bibliography

Jochelson, Waldemar

1925. Archaeological Investigations in the Aleutian Islands. **Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication No. 367.** Washington.

Larsen, Helge

1950. Archaeological Investigations in Southwestern Alaska. **American Antiquity,** Vol. 15, pp. 177-186. Menasha.

Larsen Helge and Froelich Rainey

1948. Ipiutak and the Arctic Whale Hunting Culture. **American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers,** Vol. 42. New York.

Laughlin, W. S. and G. H. Marsh

1954. The Lamellar Flake Manufacturing Site on Anangula Island in the Aleutians. **American Antiquity,** Vol. 20, pp. 27-39. Salt Lake City.

University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

University of Alaska
College, Alaska

Not for Resale

PLATE DESCRIPTIONS

Plate 1. Pprojectile Points (3/5 natural size).

Plate 2. Tanged Knives (upper), Tailoring Knives (lower), (1/3) size).

Plate 3. Ulus (upper), Adze Blades (lower).

Plate 4. Lamellar-flake Tools.
Gravers: 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28.
Scrapers: 3, 8, 11, 12, 16, 18, 22, 27.

Plate 5. Lamellar-flake Tools.
Scrapers 1-12, and 14.
Adze blade (?): 13.
Graver: 15.

Plate 6. Rib Flakers. Style I (upper), Style II (lower).

Plate 7. Split-rib Flakers (upper 2 rows) and Baculum Flakers (bottom). Lower right is a fresh unworked sea-otter baculum. Next to it is a baculum partly made into a compound fishhook shank. The rest are flakers.

Not for Resale



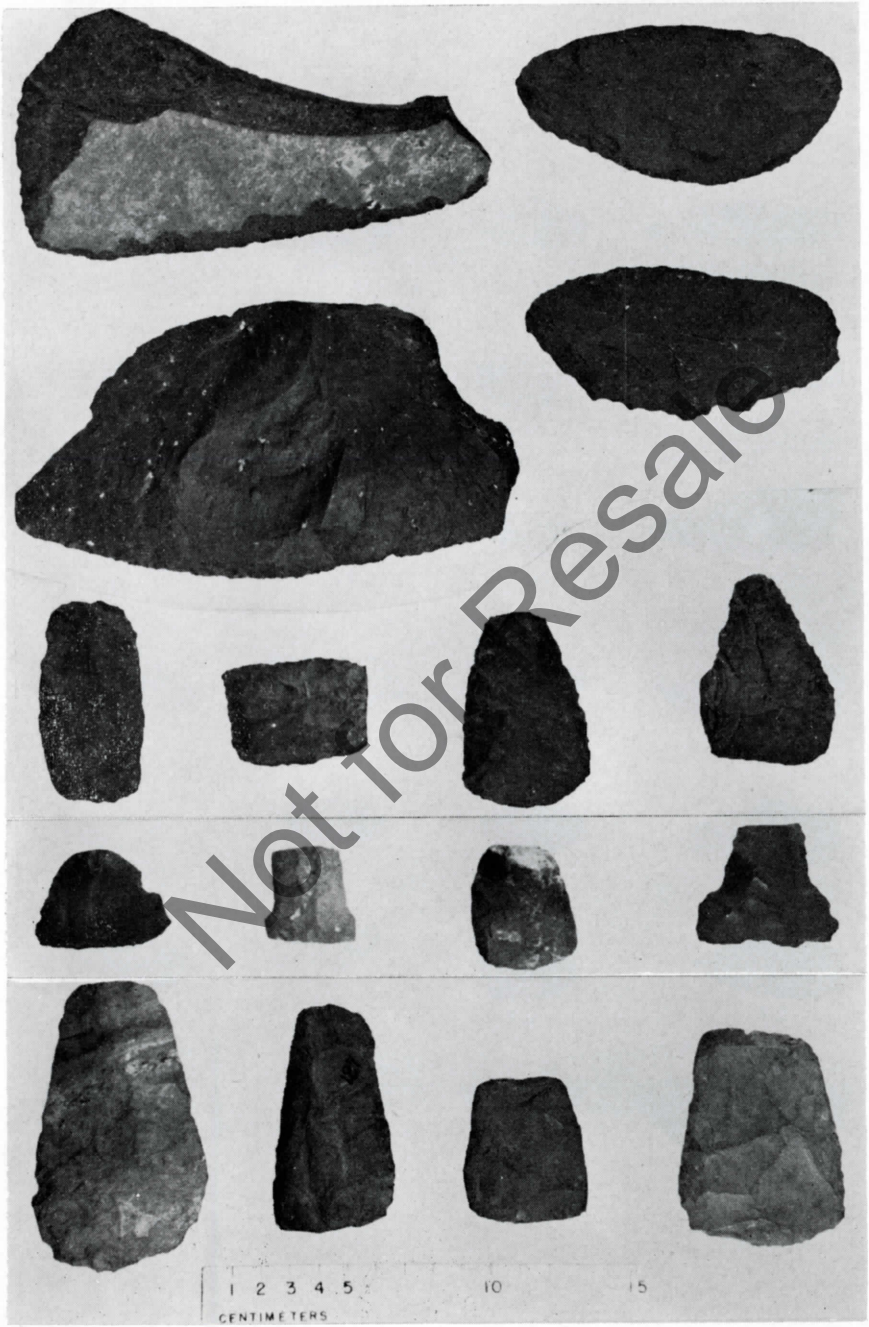
Not for Resale

Plate 1

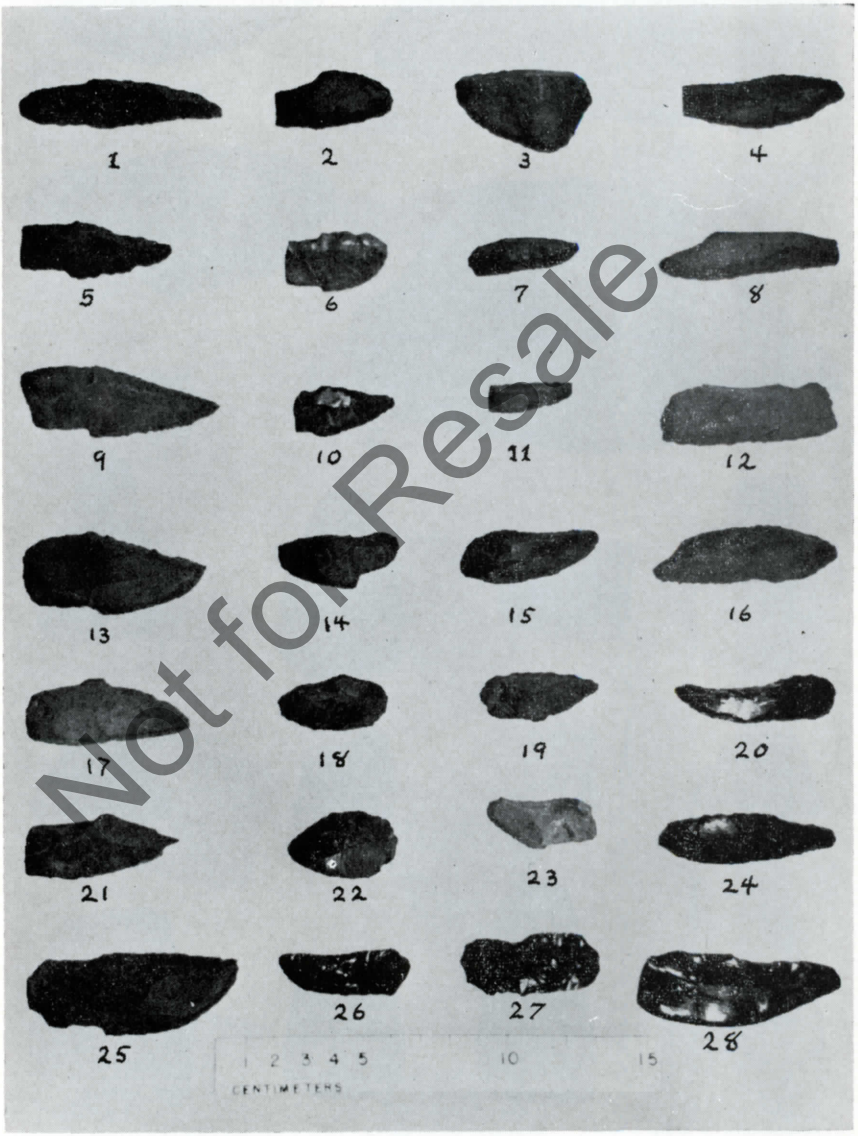


Not for Resale

Plate 2

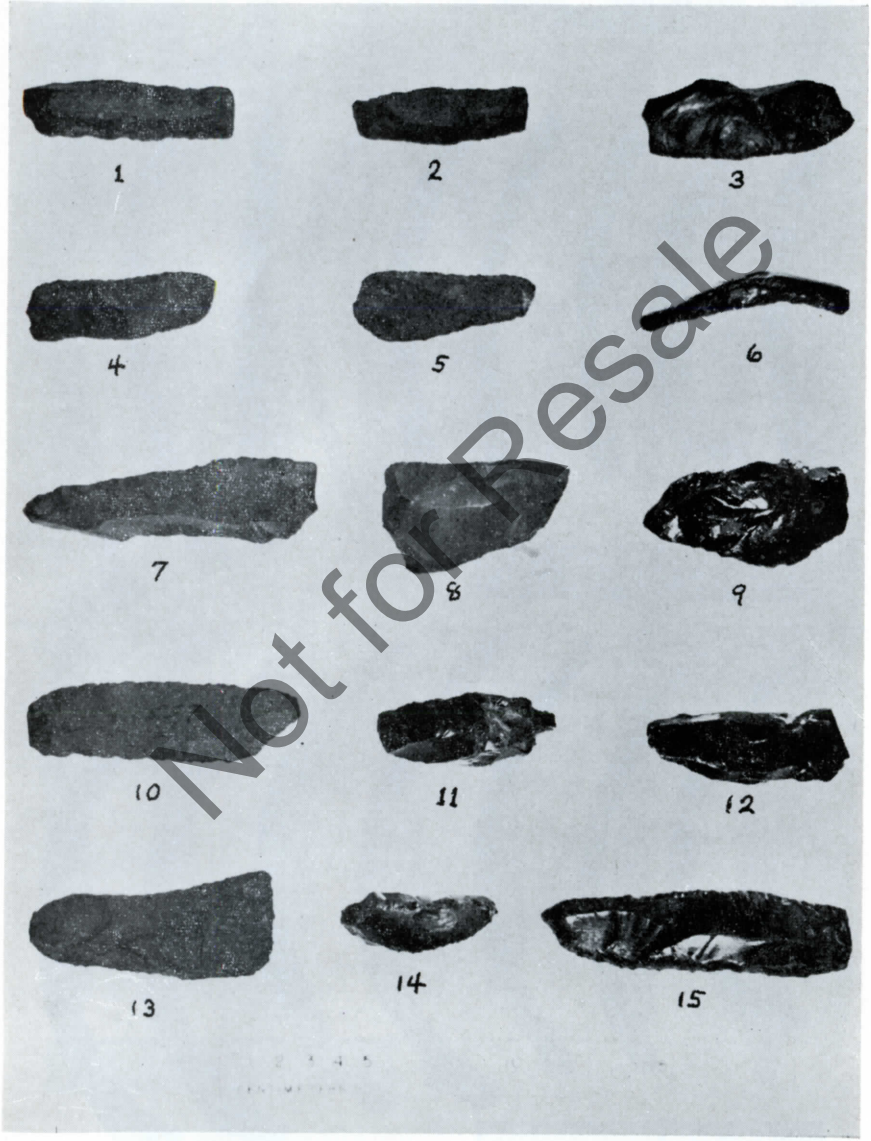


Not for Resale

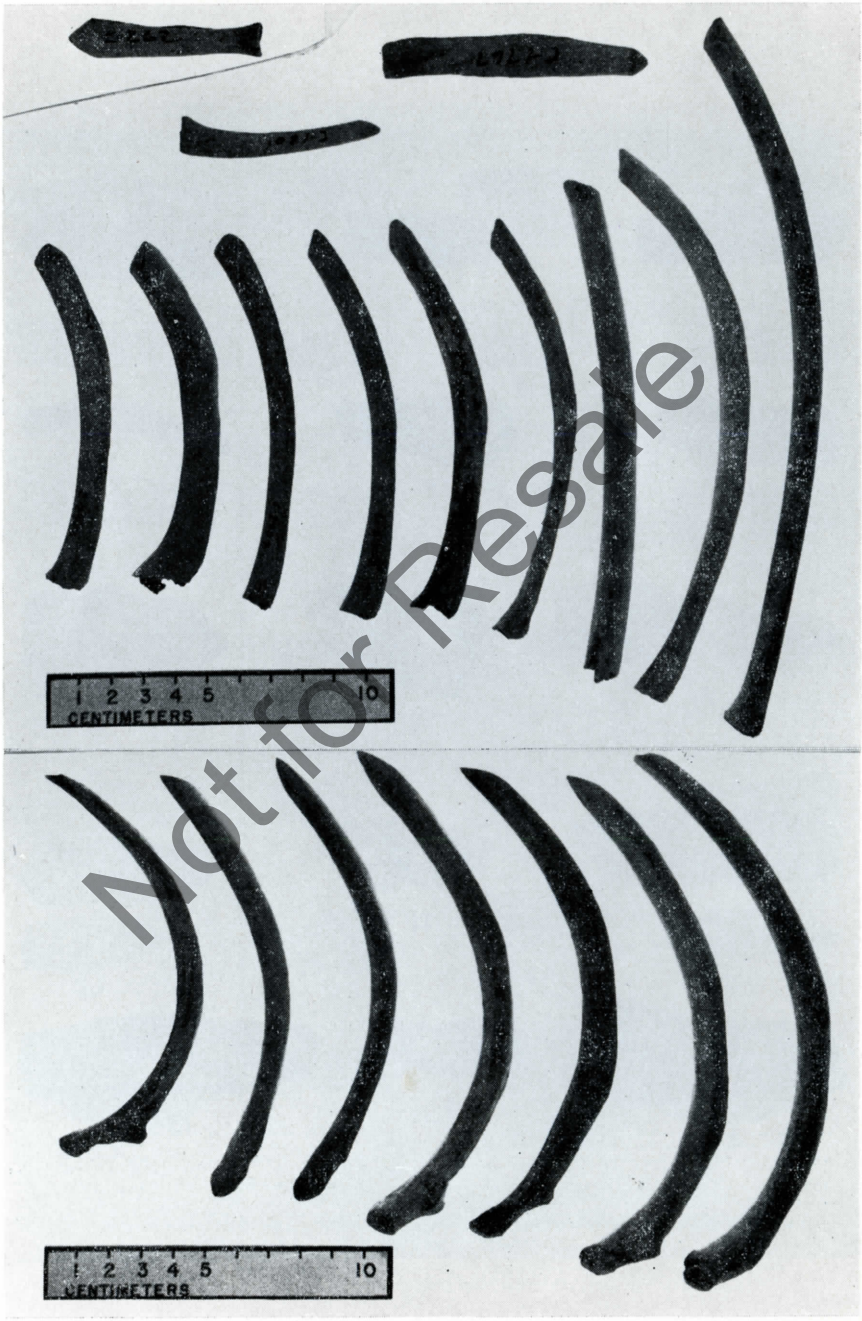


Not for Resale

Plate 4

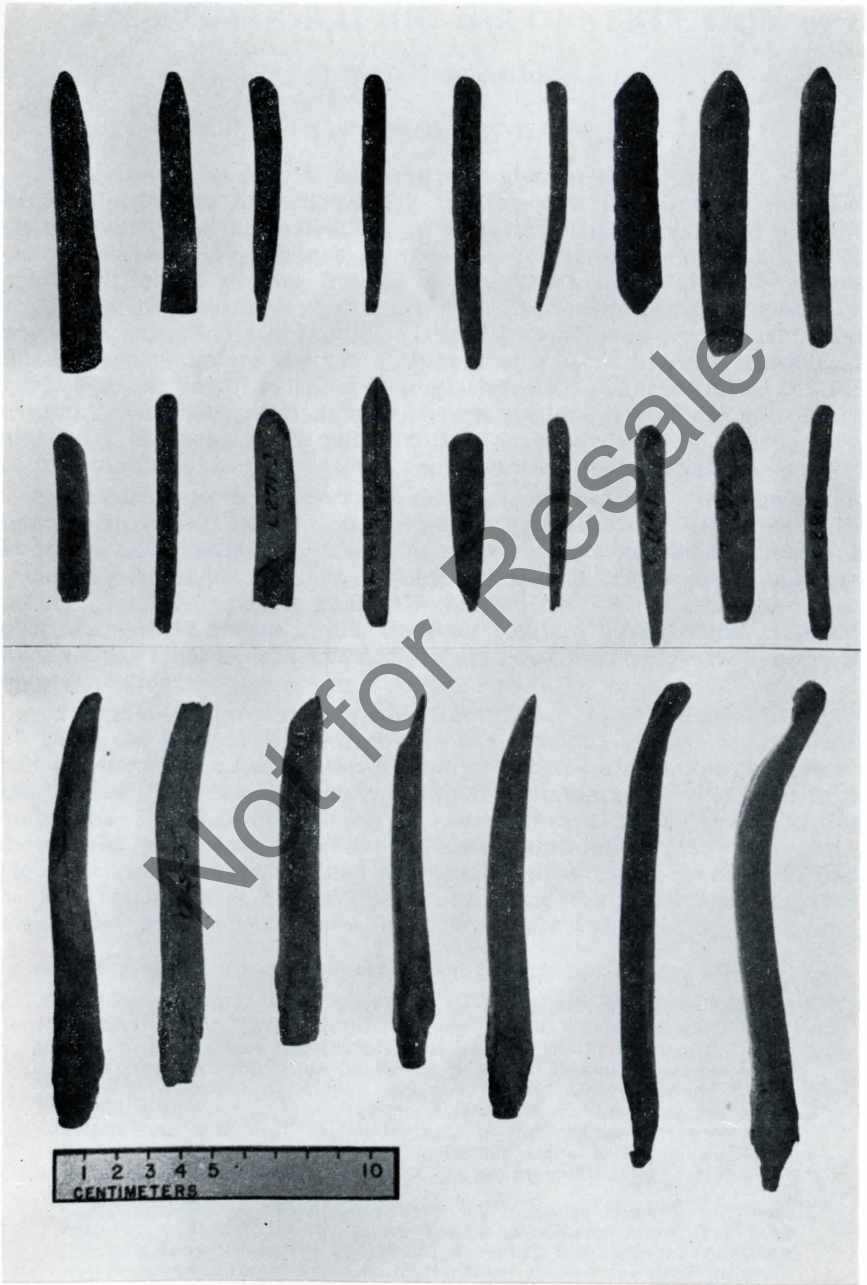


Not for Resale



Not for Resale

Plate 6



Not for Resale

Not for Resale

THE ATTAWAPISKAT SWAMPY CREE AN ETHNOGRAPHIC RECONSTRUCTION

JOHN J. HONIGMANN

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. *Aim.* Most of the material presented in the present paper has been collected in Attawapiskat, a trading post and Catholic mission on the west coast of James Bay in Ontario[1]. The object is to present as comprehensive a picture as possible of the precontact and early contact lifeways of the Indians dwelling west of James Bay and southwest of Hudson Bay. Contact with Europeans has a long history on this coast, Indians having visited Fort Albany for nearly two hundred years before the establishment of a store in Attawapiskat in 1901. Missionaries first called at the latter place about 1850 and built a church there in 1893. Our data, therefore, are limited to those precontact and early contact culture patterns that have persisted in the memory of informants or in the contemporary practice of the people.

1.2. *Field work.* Part-time field work in reconstructing the aboriginal culture was carried on from July to early June, 1947-48 (with about a month's absence).[2] Checking the virtually completed manuscript occupied part of the summer of 1955. Occasional references to contemporary practice or people generally refer to 1947-48. During the latter part of the first season in the field information began to be collected in the Cree language. A community study of modern Attawapiskat is in preparation.

Two main informants provided information. George Kiiookii, about 50 years old in 1947, served most in the role but seemed to learn the full significance of his task only slowly.[3] Much information he gave in the beginning of his relationship with the ethnographer was uncritical and vague. Later, especially in 1955, as he grasped his responsibilities more fully and participated with greater confidence, many data previously collected were checked and amplified. Apparently Kiiookii had come to learn that no blame followed an admission that certain customs mentioned by the questioner had never obtained in the aboriginal

[1]For a sketch map of this region see Honigmann, 1952, p. 531.

[2]Funds in 1947-48 were provided by the National Committee for Community Health Studies, Dr. Percy Vivian, Chairman, and Dr. G. Gordon Brown, anthropological member. In 1955 the generosity of the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research and the Institue for Research in Social Science of the University of North Carolina enabled a return trip to Attawapiskat. Many acknowledgements shall wait until the publication of the culture of the contemporary people. Here we will mention only the generous and unfailing help of the Oblates of the Immaculate Conception.

[3]I am grateful to Floyd Lounsbury and Charles Hockett for their help in enabling me to make rough phonemic sense from my transcriptions. When the abbreviations An. or Inan. appear following native terms animate and inanimate noun classes are distinguished.

Not for Resale

culture. The man's father and grandfather had lived consistently along the upper Ekwan River, not far from present-day Attawapiskat. Seventy year old Jacob Atooket, the second major contributor of precontact material, came originally from Sutton (Nameekoo) River, quite far north of the Attawapiskat River and west of Cape Henrietta Maria. This is still in the Attawapiskat area as we shall define it. Aboriginal lifeways persisted longer inland along the Sutton River than they did along the coast of James Bay. Atooket proudly cited his old, paternal grandfather as an excellent source of information. No consistent attempt has been made in the present paper to distinguish Sutton River culturally from the southern part of the Attawapiskat area. Among the more casual informants, James Ookiimawin'niw gave only limited service. While older than Atooket, his memory seemed less reliable and he did not seem inclined to follow the rigid lines of questioning. He no longer lived in 1955. James Carpenter, like James Kattakwapit and John Sutherland (the latter had lived all his 73 years at Lake River) offered only incidental help. Alec Wesley, head of the sole Protestant family in the area (and a chief in 1955) helped out with information about the southern margin (Lawaci River basin) of the region. Mrs. William Nakootcii gave limited assistance.

1.3. *Nomenclature.* Forefathers of the present-day Attawapiskat Indians—those Cree-speaking people who trade into Attawapiskat trading post—occupied country stretching from Kapiskaw River north to Hudson Bay. They ranged about 150 miles inland from the marshes of James Bay and the head of Cape Henrietta Maria. Within this area specific, smaller macrocosmic bands were loosely identified by the river drainages which they occupied (8.2.1.). For example, inland from the Cape, which marks the separation of Hudson and James Bays, were the Namee'koo (Sutton) River people. These were probably divided between subgroups that visited the coast and others which remained inland around the Lakes. The former probably took up trading at Winisk when the white man's store arrived there in 1901. Previously they may have visited Fort Severn. The inland Sutton River people remained more isolated but eventually drifted to Attawapiskat post. West of Sutton River were the Wii'niskiiwiisakahiikaniiwi'niiwak, "People of Groundhog Lake," or the Winisk Indians.[4]

South of Cape Henrietta Maria come (in that order) the Lake River, Opinikaw, Attawapiskat proper, Nawaacii (Lawaci according to the map makers, who adopted the northern dialect), and Kapiskaw bands. In this account the term Attawapiskat Indians does not apply only to the dwellers of the Attawapiskat River basin but to all the people inhabiting the boundaries specified above. The population of this area, of course, never constituted a formally organized group. Informants agree that the designation Oomaskee'kowak (freely translated "Dwellers of the Muskeg" or Swampy Cree) still applies to all the west coast people

[4]According to Skinner (1911, pp. 9-10), west of the Winisk people, along the shores of Hudson Bay, dwelt the "Nēapī-ininuwug, or 'West-people,' or York Cree, residing in the vicinity of York Factory." It will be noted that we include in Attawapiskat two cultures which have been diferentiated by Driver, et al. (1953), namely, Barren Ground and Attawapiskat cultures.

NOT FOR SALE

of James Bay, including the Southerly Moose River Indians. The designation Swampy Cree has also been used more broadly than for inhabitants of the James Bay Clay Belt, being extended to include Cree-speaking Indians in northern Manitoba (Mason, 1941). The term, Oomaskee'kowak, means little to the Indians who live on the east coast of James Bay, at least not to those who trade at Great Whale River, Quebec (Honigmann, 1949-50). An Attawapiskat informant expressed himself to be "stumped" by the dialect of the East Coast people, especially by that of the Fort George Indians. Apparently, therefore, the Swampy Cree take their name from the extensive area of muskeg which they inhabit and comprise a relatively homogeneous dialect and culture area. The Attawapiskat people still term all the people who live beyond the headwaters of the Kapiskaw, Attawapiskat, and Lake Rivers, Ootciipwee'wak (Ojibwa), meaning "strangers." But the word also carries some implication of distrust and fear in many of the contexts in which it occurs.

1.4. *Environment.* The appellation Swampy Cree, or People of the Muskeg, neatly sums up the character of the country inhabited by the the Attawapiskat Indians. Large stretches of water-logged flatland alternate with low ridges that carry stands of spruce, tamarack, and cottonwood. A little birch (mostly black) still grows on higher ground. Willows are abundant, especially at the edge of the coastal marshes where they plague winter travel by fan-hitched dogs. To the north, in the area around the Cape, timber is even more scarce. That country is within the southern extension of the barren grounds. Aboriginally more than today the west coast supported caribou, fox (black, red, and white), lynx, black bear, otter, mink, marten, and, of course the rabbit. Deer and moose visited the muskeg very rarely. Owls, ptarmigan, hawks, willow grouse, fool (spruce) hens, and loons still occur in fair supply and the coastal marshes extend hospitality to abundant numbers of geese, ducks, and other shore birds. Available fish include the whitefish, lake and brook trout, pike, sturgeon, and loche (ling). Seal and white whale occasionally entered the tidal estuaries to be killed for human consumption. Today seal help to feed dogs. Despite this catalog of local fauna, game never seems to have been plentiful in the Clay Belt. Intensive fur trapping has further depleted resources.

Not for Resale

2. BASIC TOOLS AND TECHNIQUES

2.1. *Basic tools.* For their cutting and other basic tools the Attawapiskat Indians relied on easily fractured stone as well as on bone, horn, animal tooth, and wood. It will be seen that bone provided a number of the smaller implements requiring more delicate or precise construction. The substance also lends itself to careful working, a function that metal comes to serve under different cultural conditions. Stone tools were used largely by men while bone occurred perhaps more frequently in the contexts of feminine tasks. None of the primary tools required much time or energy to fabricate. Their utility was high. Hence, it would appear that the tools of the aboriginal Attawapiskat Indians possessed considerable efficiency.

2.1.1. Informants could supply little information about the actual techniques that entered into making stone implements. Nor could anybody be persuaded to attempt the manufacture of any implements. According to Kiiookii, a "black stone" was heated and then struck with a hammerstone. The four or five inch flakes dislodged became useful when ground to a cutting edge and hafted in wood or caribou horn. Fabricating a stone knife occupied about two hours. To protect the finished blade, a woman made a rawhide scabbard provided with skin thongs that attached to the belt (5.1.3). Flint (pi'wanakwaasinii, An. or Inan.) furnished blades when simply chipped, without preheating. Use of stone knives apparently continued among the Sutton River people until about 1880. An informant from this district also denied hafting. In using a knife Indians cut both toward and body and away. Nobody recalled semilunar knives. "Black stone" also furnished material for (ground ?) stone axes but whether ax heads were grooved could not be ascertained. Quite clearly the ax head was hafted off center, making grooving a likely feature. These instruments functioned well only when used to cut small poles. Heavy use quickly fractured the cutting edge. Adzes of any type (including a caribou horn variety) remained unknown. Other stone implements included a mortar (anvil ?) for pounding dry meat or cracking boiled marrow bones, and an unworked pebble to serve as pestle, or, in other contexts, as a hammer.

2.1.2. Knives for cutting meat generally consisted of rib bones of the caribou, moose (rare), and bear (3.7.8). Animal bone further supplied material for the awl used by women for sewing and which also aided men to repair some item of skin apparel while on the trail. The bone needle with an eye had a place in women's sewing kits but informants knew nothing of using the penis bone of a marten for that purpose (Skinner, 1911, p. 127). With the needle went a thimble, consisting of a hollowed-out moose or caribou toe bone. Kiiookii claimed that a hafted beaver scapula bone served as an ax (adze ?) and could effectively cut through tree trunks. However, he added, the power of dream helpers (9.4) contributed significantly in making the instrument effective for such purposes. On closer questioning he expressed his doubts about the whole thing. From the lower forelimb of the caribou a woman derived her flesher (mii'kiikwan, An.). After the bone had boiled for "a long time" a man shaped it and provided the sawtooth-edged blade. Around the upper end, below the joint, he then lashed a rawhide or smoked skin wristband that served to increase leverage. In use the flesher was ordinarly held by one hand far down near the cutting edge, the open face of the blade facing the user. Larger fleshers, requiring a woman to use both hands, were also made. To remove hair from a hide women employed a bone side-scraper (pa'skwaahiikan, An., or paskwaa'tciikan, An.). In use the worker pushed the tool away from herself. A lower lynx jaw yielded a needle for unfastening the lacing in a wornout snowshoe when somebody desired to reuse the line. For filling snowshoes people used needles or caribou bone or wood provided with center eyes.

2.1.3. Apart from its use in providing material for hafts, caribou horn also supplied material for making awls that were used in drilling

Not for Resale

wood. A disadvantage lay in the weakness of this substance. Horn fleshers or scrapers could not be recalled.

2.1.4. Beaver tooth drills, closely resembling the Ingalik beaver tooth chisel (Osgood, 1940, p. 85), utilized incisor teeth taken from the uncooked jaw of that animal. Indians recognized that boiling the head made the incisors very brittle, so that they fractured upon pressure.[5] These drills served to make holes in snowshoe frames as well as for counter-sinking lines on snowshoes and toboggans. Mechanical drills were lacking.

2.1.5. Wooden tools included wedges made by men and driven into wood with a simple tree limb, such a maul being referred to by the word now applied to a hammer. A man also cut a barking tool out of willow. The implement was four and a half feet long and about one and half inches wide. A ladder, consisting of a small tree with only the short stubs of branches left in place to serve as rungs, provided access into a tree in order to remove bark.

2.1.6 Native copper implements as well as trade in copper artifacts did not occur. One informant had heard of copper used among southern and western Indians.

2.2 *Skin work.* Caribou skins intended for clothing first underwent an operation in which the woman cut adhering meat and fat from the inner surface. For this she used a flesher (2.1.2). The task had to be done soon after the animal was butchered in order to prevent rot. Then she laid the hide across the flat (?) side of a split log, one end of which rested against her knee and the other on the ground, and removed the moistened hair with a sidescraper (2.1.2). Next the worker applied a mixture of brains and water, or pike livers, to both surfaces of the skin and left it in place for about three days. After that the skin was suspended outdoors between two upright poles and hung in fine weather to dry. Only later did the woman rinse it and soak it in water overnight, following which it would be dried again. Two people then stretched the material by pulling it the long and broad way until soft. Scraping and beating a skin that had been soaked in brain or liver mixtures were specifically denied for the postcontact period, although these processes occur today, and apparently subsitute for pulling. From the hide that had been treated in this way babiche line might now be cut (see 2.3). Otherwise smoking followed and completed the tanning process.

2.2.1. Skins of the bear, seal (never chewed), and white whale where also tanned (see also 2.3.10). To soften sealskin, fish eggs sometimes substituted for brain or livers. Oval stretching frames of willow helped to dry beaver skins, the pelt being lashed on the frame with willow bark line. Kiiookii could not recall formboard stretchers for mink, fox, and other small pelts in the aboriginal period. Certain fish skins, especially ling(loche) could be used for line without further processing than drying (see 2.3.6).

[5]The specimen which the author collected for the Yale Peabody Museum contains a tooth taken from a jaw that had been boiled. Several teeth were damaged by Kiookii's attempts to demonstrate use of the implement.

Not for Resale

2.3. *Cordage.* Attawapiskat contained the full complement of lines which one expects to find in a northern forest culture. Lashing entered into many techniques and different lines suited specialized purposes. The Indians secured cordage from rawhide, babiche, fully tanned skin, sinew, sealskin, furred rabbit hide, foetal animal pelts, fish skins, willow bark, willow root, spruce root, and grass.

2.3.1. Rawhide line originated from a caribou or bear skin from which the hair and flesh had been removed. In the usual pattern of cutting a large quantity of line one proceeded from the outside border of the hide toward the center in a spiral fashion. Red willow bark furnished a dye often employed to give rawhide a reddish hue (2.7).

2.3.2. Getting information about babiche line proved difficult. Apparently people have almost forgotten the preparation of this type of cordage since the adoption of "number five" cotton twine for snowshoe filling, the chief end for fine babiche in the precontact period. Babiche, or semi-tanned skin line, commonly came from caribou hide (although a calf moose skin would do nicely for this purpose) which had been soaked and stretched in the fashion described (2.2). Before being used, the maker dried the cordage on a simple frame made by bending a long willow pole in the shape of a U. The spring of the fresh wood kept the line taut. Outdoor drying in the cold winter air yielded the best semi-tanned skin line, but the drying frame had to be kept out of the reach of hungry dogs. When dried in cold weather the cordage came out white and very flexible compared to the stiffer, hot weather variety. Use of a snowshoe as an emergency drying frame could not be recalled. Sometimes such line was dyed by soaking it in a solution of red willow bark. When babiche provided the front and rear filling of snowshoe panels it was known as ati'pis (An.).

2.3.3. Smoked skin line served mainly for hauling the toboggan in the days before dogs existed to be hitched. Two strands were often twisted (braided ?) together to give greater strength (6.2.2).

2.3.4. Sinew line, employed in sewing, originated from the tendons situated alongside the spinal column of the caribou. Having been cleaned of all traces of flesh, women washed the fibers and kneaded them with a twisting movement in which the hands revolved in opposite directions. This loosened individual strands so that they could easily be separated. Drying took place on a flat board. In winter the strands dried soft if hung outdoors in sunlight and wind. For strength several strands of sinew were twisted but the line was never braided nor did it ever serve as a bowstring (3.4.2). A little sinew came from the tail tendons of the fox and fisher and an occasional moose but none from the marten, beaver, or the wings of grouse and ptarmigan (Osgood, 1940, p. 106; Skinner, 1911, p. 127).

2.3.5. To make rabbit skin line for plaiting, the individual pelts had first to be scraped clean of meat and fat after which each skin was cut, spiral fashion, into a single, long cord. The finished line was twirled in the air for about five minutes in order to strengthen it. A simple three pole frame assisted in the weaving of rabbit skin robes and coats. After the blanket had been completed it was hung outdoors, preferably in cold weather, to dry. About one hundred pelts provided

Not for Sale

a large double blanket and seventy a single blanket. Fox pelts were sometimes treated in the same way.

2.3.6. From the skins of brook trout, loche, and sturgeon women cut a line used to fill the front and rear panels of snowshoes as well as rabbit snares. The worker removed the skin as a whole, peeling it from the tail to the neck, and while still wet cut it in a continuous spiral. All this was done without splitting open the skin. The resultant line possessed the finess of "stovepipe wire." Jacob Atooket claimed that fish skins were first dried, then soaked, cut, and finally twisted into loose spirals for added strength.

2.3.7. A most common cordage, willow bark line, was used in single and braided thicknesses. In summer, strips of bark from a standing willow branch were split in desired widths (about one-eighth of an inch, if intended for braiding), and dried outdoors or in the tipi. Drying made the cordage "tough." To later braid the line it had first to be softened by soaking in water. In winter the willow poles were cut and warmed by a fire, then bent, and finally peeled. Mothers sometimes inexplicably used the bare backs of children below the age of walking to twist willow bark line. Youngsters are said to have enjoyed this form of service (Osgood, 1936, p. 72). Willow bark line provided a filling for the center panels of snowshoes and also material for the foot lashing of those appurtenances. Other uses included the breast line for burden carrying or hauling toboggans, cordage for tying tipi poles, preparing fish weirs, garter leggings, and outside belts.

2.3.8. Informants recommended spruce root line highly for its strength. Only the "long thin" roots were selected by men or women. Sometimes such roots were split in as many as four parts before being fine enough for use in sewing bark baskets or canoes.

2.3.9. The probable nature and use of grass line is indicated in the present day pattern of loosely twisting a handful of marsh grass and then employing the resultant line to tie together the necks of several geese or the split jaws of fish.

2.3.10. Uncommon sources of line included otter and beaver skins, full tanned sealskin, as well as raw, semi-tanned, and smoked bear skin. Informants denied cedar bark cordage and also did not recognize the bow loom as an aboriginal trait.

2.4 *Knots.* Present-day Attawapiskat Indians use a variety of knots. The clove hitch secures the center panel filling to the snowshoe frame at the beginning of lacing. With the sheet bend two ends of line are joined. A knot formed by piercing an end of skin line and then threading the remaining portion through this cut fastened short lengths of line to the rims of wooden snow goggles.

2.5. *Containers.* The materials used in constructing containers included wood, bark, skin, spruce root line, and willow bark or root line. For eating-dishes men carved oval-shaped, undecorated, wooden bowls from spruce or poplar.[6] Spoons originated from the

[6]Cedar, which grew not far up the Albany River from the coast, supplied the material for dishes in that area, according to Willy Loutit, an informant from Fort Albany. These containers were etched with fire.

Not for Resale

same substances. At least following the introduction of the steel crooked knife, men also constructed wooden boxes which were sewn with spruce root line. Spruce bark and, more rarely because of its local scarcity, white birch bark provided watertight vessels when simply folded at four corners and then sewn together with spruce root or willow bark line high up on the sides. Their shape often widened toward the base.[7] Such bark baskets appear to have been made largely by women. Decoration sometimes consisted of painted geese or caribou heads or the outline of a beaver. Their main employment seems to have been for storage (3.7.6 and 3.7.7). Tanned skin as well as fish skin provided stuff for bags, containers of the latter material holding small objects like a woman's sewing things. Many fish, including the sucker, trout, and ling were employed for this purpose. Woven spruce root vessels for cooking were sometimes exteriorly coated with mud that hardened when suspended over fire. This is as near as any form of pottery could be recalled.[8] From willow bark line women fashioned a net bag used to carry meat and other objects. Such a container corresponds to the netted babiche bags employed among some Athapaskans (McClellan, 1953, p. 48; Honigmann, 1954, p. 53), a reference to which met with no recognition by Attawapiskat informants. Stone carved vessels and grass basketry were denied.

2.6 *Measurement.* Systems of measurement usefully aided the execution of manufacturing techniques. Informants spoke of five more or less standardized linear units: length of the thumb; span from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the third finger; span from the tips of the fingers to the point of the elbow; distance from the center of the sternum to the tips of the fingers of an outstretched hand; distance between the outflung arms, from finger tips to finger tips.

2.7. *Paints and dyes.* Yellow, white, and red paints derived from colored earths like red ochre (wanuuman, An.) served to decorate certain objects, for example, arrows. Red berry juice yielded a cosmetic employed by women and also represented the favorite color. From the gall bladder of ducks and geese Indians obtained a blue-green pigment (both colors are still designated by a common term), while black paint came from willow charcoal, the wood first being boiled, according to Kiiookii. Use of any brown pigment was denied (Watkins, 1938, p. 211). The prefix signifying "half" helped to distinguish flat from glossy colors. Grease or water formed bases in mixing pigments.

2.7.1. Red willow bark boiled in water provided a red dye sometimes used on moose skin. From the berries of a willow-like plant, identified only as waatcaskwee'tiw, a black dye could be extracted by boiling the fruit.

[7]Similar vessels impressed Morice (1889, p. 136) among the Athapaskan Carrier. He calls them "remarkable by the absence of any seam (the bark being simply folded upon its four corners and so retained by a split encircling switch)." They "did service as a kettle or boiler."

[8]Thirty years ago the Indians at Winisk, on lower Hudson's Bay, are said to have fired clay vessels in the baking oven of the kitchen stove. The age of any part of this pattern could not be learned.

Not for Resale

2.8. *Fire.* Making fire constituted a basic technique, the blaze serving for cooking, heating, manufacturing, and to drive off mosquitoes. People used the strike-a-light method of kindling fire with flint and pyritic stones. Striking was done with the right hand, the spark being directed upon tinder. (Gunpowder later came to be adopted for this purpose.) People kept tinder (glowing in winter) in birch bark containers and also transported fire on glowing sticks. At least in the morning upon arising, building a fire constituted women's work. While Kiiookii never had heard of a bow or hand drill, nor of the scraping stick method for making fire, Atooket admitted a very small bow to have been used for this purpose at Sutton River, the point of the drill being inserted in dry tinder. Old time fireplaces in earth lodges (4.2.2.) were elevated about four inches above the floor and often possessed a base of sand. Despite inquiry, nothing could be learned about the origin of fire.

3. FOOD: ITS COLLECTION, PREPARATION, AND EATING

Perhaps the food quest constitutes a focal area in every culture, although that is by no means proven. Among the aboriginal Attawapiskat Cree this certainly provided one of the most elaborated sectors of the culture, around which considerable time and emotion were invested, and one influencing many other areas of behavior. The material of this section will be categorized under the following headings: calendar, seasons, annual cycle, hunting, fishing, divination with reference to food getting, and dietary.

3.1 *Calendar.* Some of the dominant activities in the annual round of food getting are indicated in the names of the lunar months. In the following calendrical terms note the opening of the year with spring.

mikisii'wiipiisim.	Eagle moon.
ni'skiipiisim.	Goose moon (about April).
anii'kiipiisim.	Frog moon.
sa'kiipakawiipiisim.	Attractive moon (referring to the time when the deciduous plants become green and start to flower).
ooposkoo'wiipiisim.	Small birds hatch moon.
oopahoo'wiipiisim.	Birds flying moon (also called oopi'mahoowiipiisim, Flying - up - of - ducks moon).
whewhe'hoopiisim.	Wavy moon (the time when the snow— and other geese—fly south).
kaskati'niipiisim.	Freeze-up moon.
pawatcaaki'naciicpiisim.	Little bit of winter moon (Mandelbaum, 1940, p. 203).
kiicee'pawatakinampii'sim.	Half old moon (also translated as: Great winds everywhere breaking off twigs from trees moon).
kiicee'piisim.	Old moon.

Not for Resale

3.2. *Seasons.* The Cree probably responded to seasonal changes more closely than to the smaller intervals charactrized by the appearance of new moons. Each of the following eight seasonal terms constitutes a verb and is so translated:

siikwuun.	There is still a little snow but the ice is breaking and the water is just starting to run (early spring).
minuu'skamin.	The water is high and going fast (the season of high water when the rivers flood following breakup; about the middle of May).
nii'pin.	It is hot weather (summer).
mekwaa'niipin.	It is middle summer and very hot (midsummer).
takwaa'kan.	The cold is starting to come just a little (beginning of autumn).
mi'kiskaw.	The water is starting to freeze (late fall or early November).
piipuun.	It is cold weather (winter).[9]
mekwaa'piipuun.	It is middle winter and very cold.

3.3 *Annual cycle.* During the summer a few families or hunters drifted toward the coastal marshes to hunt the moulting ducks and to await the southerly flying geese that began to arrive toward fall. While waterfowl may not have played the outstanding role in diet aboriginally that they do today (the assumption being that shotguns are better suited for their killing than bow and arrows), they must have been fairly significant nevertheless. In the extreme north, the tundra of Cape Henrietta Maria and adjacent barren grounds accommodated caribou throughout the summer and families went there to hunt in that season. In the Sutton River area the people migrated to Sutton Lake where they caught lake trout and jackfish and lived either in single family groups or in clusters of families, "like in a town." Signs of cold weather sent the Indians inland to the forest. Here they began to hunt migratory caribou and moose or subsisted on fish caught under the ice of lakes. Ptarmigan made welcome additions to the larder at this time, and rabbits were probably easier to snare in winter than when the country consisted of almost continuous swamp. Indians remarked that in winter the caribou often remained on the Cape, "out where the wind keeps the land clear of snow." But cold, the danger of storms, and the absence of wood made the tundra dangerous for these people who did not possess the specialized adaptive skills of Eskimo. With the arrival of spring, hunters watched for the returning geese. Families took care to locate dwellings a safe distance above the probably crest of the rising rivers.

In general, the Attawapiskat area appears to have been relatively poor in game. Following white contact the disappearance of caribou impoverished the Indians still further. Starvation periods until recently occurred both in winter and summer.

[9]Skinner (1911, p. 48) "early winter" or pīchīpīpun, a term literally translatable as "into winter" and perhaps to be rendered "into a year" inasmuch as piipuun is also used to measure units of time corresponding to our years.

Not for Resale

3.4 *Hunting.* Coming now to techniques employed in the food quest, the Attawapiskat Cree secured food through gathering, land trapping, land hunting, fowling, fishing, and a little sea mammal hunting. Women collected berries, a few roots, and rhubarb with pointed digging sticks that do not appear to have been hardened by charring. Atooket denied any knowledge of such implements.

3.4.1. Indians set snares of willow bark line and various types of traps. They preferred springpole and liftingpole snares for catching rabbits. The springpole toggle was suited to summer, when a cut willow could be planted with both ends in the ground forming an arc under which the trapper hung the noose. Over the foundation he (or, probably more commonly, she) bent a standing willow to serve as a toggle. A frozen, fresh willow would break when bent. Therefore, in winter rabbit snares were of the liftingpole type. After the pole had been cut its upper (thinner) end was supported in a forked stick. The snare line held down this end of the toggle, the noose being suspended over a rabbit run. The liftingpole could also be omitted and a snare suspended from a movable toggle alone. However, as the animal struggled to free itself from such an impediment, which became wedged in underbrush, it might break the snare line and so escape. The snare itself consisted of a fish skin or spruce root line. Snares for moose and caribou required rawhide line secured to fixed toggles, like trees. Caribou snares were always constructed with bare hands. Indians also sought to snare the lynx, fisher, otter, marten, fox, mink, and probably the bear (although Kiiookii denied bear snares). Beaver snares were also denied.

Deadfalls caught the black bear, mink, marten, otter, weasel, lynx, and fisher. The bait stick always went under a trigger stick and pointed into the pen of the trap.[10] A beaver trap consisted of a fence of poles spanning a stream and provided with a single opening across which, facing upstream, an oval shaped enclosure of poles was built. Above the opening to this pen the trapper constructed a "door," consisting of a number of poles lashed to crosspieces and resting on an upright trigger stick placed in the bed of the creek. When the beaver entered the pen it dislodged the trigger stick (apparently, however, only after the animal was already well in the trap.). Pens made like baskets were also placed on the downstream side of a natural beaver dam in which an opening was cut. The trap was lifted out once the animal had entered. George Kiookii at one time affirmed that beaver netting did not occur aboriginally (Skinner, 1911, p. 25). An elderly woman, Mrs. William Nakootcii, spoke uncertainly of willow bark line as a probable material for beaver nets and Atooket confirmed her information.

Asked about the relative advantage of deadfall and snare, Atooket and Kiiookii thought that the latter involved least effort but then could not explain why deadfalls were ever constructed. Kiiookii denied pitfalls but reported hearing of Eskimo who dug a pit for the fox in

[10]Willy Loutit of Fort Albany maintained that a fall log will drop more quickly when the bait stick is placed on top of the trigger stick but he admitted that the Indians still tend to locate it below.

Not for Resale

a snow bank and then doused the sides with water to prevent the animal's escape.

Snowshoe traps for birds consisted of a snowshoe resting on a trigger stick from which a line ran to the hidden hunter—usually a small boy. Bait lay scattered on the surrounding ground and under the snowshoe. At a suitable moment, with the bird underneath the poised trap, the youth brought down the snowshoe, covering the prey. Sometimes nets made with willow bark line and mounted on wooden frames three feet square served the same purpose as snowshoe traps for catching ptarmigan. For willow grouse a fence of willow or tamarack sticks, in which snares occurred at intervals, was built around the birds' dancing ground. Members of a single family might cooperate in building such a device.

3.4.2. The chief implements for land hunting included the bow and arrow, lance, bola, and club. Spruce, tamarack, willow, or "any kind of wood" provided a man with a bow. Nevertheless, the best bows used tamarack, especially the wood that grew toward the outer surface of the trunk. Bow wood was flexed after being heated over a fire, in hot water, or in hot earth. When possible such wood was dried in summer but if necessary it could be prepared by hanging it in the heat of a dwelling for about four days. Bows varied in size; some measured the spread of a man's arms; others reached to his forehead when standing erect. Informants denied that size was deliberately made proportional to a man's height. Variously sized bows for special purposes appear to have been lacking. Two informants denied backing of any kind. "I heard that Eskimo did this," said Atooket, "but not the Indians."[11] Usually bows also remained undecorated. The bowstring consisted of a semitanned skin line, never of sinew or, as Skinner (1911, p. 24) affirms, willow bark line. With the bow at rest the bowstring remained about eleven inches from the stock. When not in use the weapons were unstrung to preserve tension in the wood. Nobody used wrist guards and only men possessed bows, never women. For arrows (Sing., aku'sk, An.) men used tamarack or spruce wood to which red ochre or green paint might be applied for decoration after the manufacture had been completed. Arrow straighteners consisted simply of a split piece of wood in the crotch of which the shaft was worked to and fro. Stone and bone points were bound to the head of the arrow with smoked skin line. Multibarbed points as well as blunt edged bird arrows seem to have been manufactured, although Atooket did not acknowledge the former. Detachable points found no place in the armory and symbolized Eskimo to informants. Split feathers from the eagle, goose, grouse, or spruce hen supplied the material for vanes, being attached to the shaft with sinew line. Most arrows contained three-feather vanes; some, however, held four or only two vanes. A man's hunting equipment generally included not more than three or four arrows which he kept in a rawhide quiver made from the skin of the upper joint of a caribou's hind leg. This bag, which remained

[11]But Skinner (1911, p. 24) reports backing further south in the Bay.

Not for Resale

without compartments, averaged two feet in length and hung suspended by a smoked skin line under the left armpit. The line crossed over the right shoulder. A fringed skin running along the length of the quiver provided decoration but nobody recalled painted containers of this type. In use the bow was held vertically (never horizontally), the first joints of the index and second fingers gripping the arrow's nock (Osgood, 1940, p. 202).

Plain tamarack lances, seven feet long, with fire hardened points dispatched wounded caribou and also served for killing the black bear. Lances with stone points were also employed. None of the informants whom we questioned recalled the atlatl. Bolas of caribou skin sometimes made a weapon against geese but hunters made no use of the sling. The club furnished a common enough weapon and might even help a man kill an animal as large as a black bear when it had been cornered in its den. The beaver gaff hook was denied.

3.4.3. Barren land caribou, especially during their migrations, furnished a favorite target for hunters who sometimes pursued them south as far as the Albany River. The number of these animals venturing into the Muskeg Dwellers' country remained relatively small, however, and to hunt them was difficult. Deep snow greatly advantaged a man in bringing down the animal. Semicircular tracking helped to bring caribou in winter, and moose in any season, within range of a hunter's bow. Having discovered a fresh sign of an animal, the Indian made a semicircular movement away from the track and then back to it, moving in the direction of the animal. From the freshness of the track when it was reencountered the hunter estimated the distance which the next arc should be in order to bring him out of the brush directly on the feeding or resting prey. In summer and autumn men removed moccasins as well as trousers in this type of hunting, the explanation being that the custom prevented the garments from becoming soaked in the muskeg. A caribou or moose antler rubbed on trees called the breeding animals in autumn. Caribou surrounds possessed greatest value in March and April, months when the animal could easily outrun a pursuing hunter on the crusted snow. They were also built in summer and midwinter. Two slightly different descriptions derived from informants may refer to alternative practices. According to John Sutherland, the people built a "big" willow or spruce brush "fence," about twelve feet high, hung with "clothes" surrounding the area where deer were feeding. The fence no doubt formed a rough circle, open at one side, the entrance. In diameter the yard measured about two long city blocks ("the width of the river") and its construction represented the cooperative effort of old people, children, and adults. Sometimes three or four families, 18 to 25 people, engaged in the task which took about half an hour. As the deer tried to escape from the surround men stationed at the entrance easily dispatched the animals, 15 or 20 at once. According to Kiiookii, a funnel-like, long corridor fenced with brush led downwind and served as a trap. It took about an hour to complete. As the builders, including women, moved in the direction of the wind their scent frightened the animals who charged downwind within the corridor toward the end where hunters lay hidden,

Not for Resale

waiting to shoot.[12] Atooket denied knowledge of Attawapiskat hunters ever building a circular corral around a herd of caribou but had heard that the Fort George Eskimo did this, pursuing the animals *into* the stockade with dog teams. In Attawapiskat caribou decoys were not used.

3.4.4. Group hunting also helped in taking ptarmigan. Three or four men might cooperatively drive the birds toward a bank of concealed snares. This occurred only in brushy places and in winter.

3.4.5. To kill owls a decoy mouse was made and secured to a line which ran toward an ambushed hunter. As the owl swept down over the moving decoy the hunter shot. From a blind the Indian shot waterfowl on the wing. He found it easy to club moulting ducks on the coastal marshes where they could even be caught with the bare hands in summer. Mud and wooden goose decoys (several carved on a single pole but no doubt only after the advent of steel cutting tools) aided fall hunting of the migrating game birds. People called waterfowl, distinct calls being used for species like the duck, loon, and goose.

3.4.6. At least along Sutton River hunters employed small hunting dogs to run down moose and to help in catching otter and beaver. Dog shoes or dog tying racks were not provided for these dogs.

3.5. *Fishing.* The importance of fishing may be reflected in the variety of implements and techniques available for that activity. It will be seen that such techniques were suited to both summer and winter. Working through the thick midwinter ice must have been extremely difficult and however important fishing may have been, it did not provide an unfailing source of food.

3.5.1. Angling, said Atooket, never occurred on the Sutton River during the precontact period. Kiiookii and Alec Wesley, however, affirmed the aboriginal use of bone hooks. To prepare these a rabbit leg bone was split and two short lengths of bone, one end of which had been sharpened, were crossed and bound together at about a 30 degree angle. After attaching bait to the sharp ends, the angler suspended the hook from a willow bark line. Such implements continued to be used till about 1900. Crude hooks (barbless ?) made from the small forks of a spruce tree, one end being sharpened after having been hardened in fire, may represent contact influence. Apparently angling served mainly to catch ling in winter. The man, woman, or boy seeking fish sat, sometimes for as long as five hours, on a foot-deep layer of

[12]The device described by Kiiookii resembles the Caribou Eskimo's converging lines of stone cairns topped with grass sods, the black soil being placed upward. Among those people wives and children got behind the herd of caribou and frightened it by waving coats or howling in imitation of wolves. The caribou raced between the rows of stones, supposedly believing each to represent a man. They dared not break through the avenue but moved toward where armed hunters waited (Birket-Smith, 1929, pp. 110-111; Rasmussen, 1930, p. 40). Following contact the Sutton River people used to hunt on the Barrens by lining up a row of poles in the form of a great funnel, on each pole a rag being tied to blow with the wind. The caribou were driven into this avenue, at the farther end of which the hunters waited. The caribou remained frightened of the poles and blowing cloths, mistaking them for men. Among the Caribou Eskimo the authorities previously cited report that gull skins also served to keep the animals within the stockade.

Not for Resale

spruce brush in front of an ice hole. The fisherman might also construct a windbreak of similar material but he never made a fire on top of the ice. Baiting the hook numbed the fingers so that they had to be thawed with the breath. In summer hooks helped to take jackfish and trout from lakes.

3.5.2. Weirs and nets probably proved considerably more productive than hook and line. September and October were mentioned as favorite months for weir fishing. In building the trap, people first made a fence that converged toward the center of a creek. For this they used stakes of spruce or other available wood, driving them into the water bed with mauls. Set close, these stakes were never lashed together. In the apex of the angle formed by the converging arms of the fence the workers set a basket trough made of thin poles lashed with willow bark line. The trap measured about three feet in width. Kiiookii and Atooket disagreed about whether people used dip nets to take fish from the weir. The latter informant affirmed that nets were used and described willow bark line dips, two feet in diameter, mounted on a three foot long handle. A sweep (kwaa'pahwan, An.), serving to push fish into the trap, consisted of a three or four foot willow pole bent at one end to form an oval two feet wide. Here went a filling of willow bark line. The remaining length of the stick provided a handle.

3.5.3. Kiiookii thought that fish nets did not exist prior to contact. He argued that a net (a'nipii, An.) of willow bark line, the most likely substance for that purpose, instead of holding fish securely would allow them to slip through. Apparently he reasoned that the mesh could not be made small enough. Jacob Carpenter and Mrs. William Nakootcii insisted that fish nets of willow bark line had been set long ago but that few living persons had seen them. The current net shuttle is doubtless of European origin (Maclaren, 1955, p. 87; types i-j).

3.5.4. For assistance in ice fishing, water getting, and, perhaps, to set nets under river ice, men cut an ice scoop (akwe'skuupan, An.) from a 21 inch length of spruce wood or poplar. The scoop itself measured about ten inches in diameter, the remainder of the wood providing the handle. Similar scoops served to bail canoes. How the certainly existant ice chisel had been fabricated prior to contact could not be learned. Certainly it did not come from the tusks of the then unknown walrus, said Kiiookii. Fish spears, up to seven feet long, contained double rows of tines made simply by wedging apart the split lower end of a wooden shaft. Atooket spoke of bone points on fish spears. Detachable point harpoons, like night fishing with torches, formed no part of the aboriginal culture. Use of the former was taught to the Indians by personnel of the Hudson's Bay Company.

3.5.5. Long ago in the southern part of the area Indians killed seal in shallow water with bow and arrows. It seems likely that the hunters encountered the white whale only when it washed up on a beach. The flesh of neither animal aroused much appetite and, furthermore, said Kiiookii, the white whale did not even possess a useful skin. Atooket denied that seal or whale were ever taken by the Sutton River people. Perhaps this means only that the inland Indians whom he represented did not move down to the coast. In 1955 he showed an unusual apprecia-

No. 10 Reserve

tion for rendered seal fat and remarked about how the people had used it in his youth.

3.6. *Divination.* Specific techniques (unempirically suited to achieve their end according to our reasoning but apparently not at all supernatural to the Cree) existed whereby a person could forecast his success in hunting (Speck, 1935, p. 159). All of the following activities, designated as papee'weewin (papee'wew, he divines) did not directly involve the relationship of a man to his dream helpers (see 9.3 and 9.5). Hence they are reported here rather than in conjunction with more esoteric matters. Note how often, when a favorable sign is indicated, the informant adds that the good fortune would occur *soon.*

SCAPULIMANCY. A man seeking the location of game heated the shoulder bone of a caribou or moose over fire. From the resultant cracks he learned the direction in which to proceed. If the bone cracked only slightly, the omen indicated poor luck; if the crack went far, game would be abundant.

BEAVER PELVIS. A pelvic bone from the beaver was taken in the left hand and held slightly away from the body, but about level with the face. With the eyes closed the diviner stabbed with his index finger to where he thought the hole to be. For the finger to enter the hole with one try indicated good fortune on the hunt.

BEAVER TIBIA. The tibia of a female beaver was wrapped in caribou skin and then broken in the hands. The number of splinters revealed how many beaver would soon be killed.

BONE TOSSING. The mandible of a fish was thrown into the air. If it landed facing the thrower he would soon get fish.

OTTER PAW TOSSING. If the paw fell with pads down the diviner knew he would soon kill otter. A beaver paw could also be used.

FISH CLAVICLE. To find a fish clavicle containing a small ring of bone promised early good fortune in fishing.

OTTER TAIL. The tail was removed and incised along the entire length and then scraped clean of meat. The flap of skin was put away in a tree overnight. In the morning the exterior surface was inspected. Perhaps one would find caribou, beaver, or other hairs to have been deposited on the surface. These indicated the fortune of the hunter. Atooket expressed great confidence in this oracle.

CARIBOU BONE. The facial (?) bone of the caribou was allowed to drop off the crown of the head. If it landed on the ground, concave side up, good luck for the hunter was promised.

WHISKEY JACK SINGEING. A plucked whiskey jack (Canada jay) was heated and then seized by one claw. Without looking at the bird in his hand a man asked: 'Where are the caribou?" He then tore loose the claw. If blood or red flesh showed, he knew that his luck would soon be favorable. Kiiookii explained the choice of this bird by saying that the whiskey jack was like an Indian—always on the look-out for food.

JACKFISH HEAD. After cutting a small piece of cartilage from the head of a jackfish a man held it over fire to heat. Then he placed the cartilage on a surface. Should it "jump" he knew it would not be long before he succeeded in catching more jackfish.

PHYSIOLOGICAL REACTIONS. Hiccoughing, palm itching, eye twitching, or muscle twitches all promised imminent good fortune, generally in hunting. An eye twitch, however, also promised the arrival of visitors.

3.6.1. The following oracles, closely related to the list just given, failed to be recognized: divining with an otter tail, muskrat skull, bear patella plus hot rock, string (Honigmann and Honigmann, 1947). The somersaults of a raven homehow indicated good fortune.

3.7. *Dietary and eating.* Data will be presented concerning the importance of fish, fat, and game in the diet; cooking; preservation;

Not for Resale

eating customs; starvation foods, and, finally, substances rejected as not fit to eat or because of some other belief.

3.7.1. As already suggested, fish formed a mainstay of the diet both in summer and winter (3.5). In the latter season people hoped to be able to rely on game for food, meat apparently possessing prior value. Fish were cleaned before cooking. The eggs, fatty intestines, and other viscera, like the head formed regular items of consumption. With a tamarack pestle six inches high fish eggs were pounded and the resultant mass added to water for a thick "gravy." A favorite means of cooking jackfish consisted of suspending them from a pole alongside the fire. A big fish would break an ordinary stick with its weight, Kiiookii said impressively.

3.7.2. Fat possessed a value in some respects exceeding that of meat alone because it gave strength and also, we suspect, because it satisfied hunger for a relatively long time. Seal fat promised to make a person as strong as an Eskimo, according to Kiiookii. Meat which contained little fat, like rabbit, ranked low in the scale of preference. Rendered fat formed a valuable commodity which people stored in caribou or moose stomachs as well as in bladders but never in loche stomachs.[13] It could also not be stored directly in bark containers lest the taste be contaminated. Grease rendered from fish, for example, pike, went largely to flavor dry fish eaten in winter. Many people rendered seal blubber by hanging it from a stick near the fire and catching the drippings in a birch bark vessel. Occassionally a few berries were added to the grease as it solidified. It would later be spread on ptarmigan or other birds killed in winter or even eaten plain. Making seal grease disappeared from regular domestic techniques after people ceased to be "very hungry"—no doubt after the diffusion of lard. Today it is rarely rendered.

3.7.3. Here are some of the major meat foods: moose (in a rare winter the animal reached Attawapiskat country in small numbers); caribou (the fat animal migrating south from the Cape in autumn was much preferred); black bear (especially when encountered in summer); polar bear (rare but sometimes taken in autumn); beaver (mainly in winter, in summer eaten in time of need); lynx (rare in the area); fisher; marten; otter; porcupine (killed in winter); ground hog (practically absent from the southern part of the country); wolverine (abundant), and deer (rarely seen). Of birds, several varieties of geese and ducks visited the region twice annually and people also bagged loon in summer.

3.7.4. Game viscera regularly eaten included goose and beaver stomachs and the lungs of game birds. People also consumed the eyes of caribou, beaver, and other animals. Denial met questions concerning use of hung or soured caribou stomachs, rotted meat, stuffed viscera. In winter nobody objected to eating remains of some large animal killed by wolves; the cold, of course, preserved the meat from decay.

[13]"The fat dropping from the fish in drying (as they hang in the house) is carefully collected and preserved for future use in bags made of skins of embryo rabbits, bladders of pike, or in similar receptacles." So says McInnes (1912, p. 134).

Not for Resale

Vegetable items included wild rhubarb; spruce fibers (eaten uncooked for taste in summer); birch sap (only occasionally collected in spring); wild onions (only the bulbs and lower end of the stem constituted an edible portion), and uncooked rose buds. Wild carrots did not grow here.

3.7.5. Indians cooked most of their food (including birds' eggs and fish) by boiling, care being taken not to overcook. In occasional roasting before an open fire preference also went to rare meat. Commonly boiling took place in plain or, less often, in clay covered woven spruce root kettles suspended over a fire. Hot stone boiling in spruce bark vessels may also have taken place and caribou stomachs (flavored with their coating of moss) resisted heat well when hung over heat filled with blood, portions of lung, and heart. The stomach itself did not get eaten. Sometimes, Kiiookii believed, people dug a pit two feet deep in earth and spread a layer of spruce brush in the excavated ground. Meat of caribou or geese went on the bed of brush with more brush above and then a blanket of stones and sand. Over this a fire continued to burn for about an hour. Nobody cooked in skull cap vessels nor did anybody add salt to food. Initially the salt of the trader met with little appeal.

3.7.6. It would seem that fish formed the staple dried food, one that people saved for winter consumption. After severing the head, the split animal, stretched with a stick in the body cavity, was hung on crosspoles in heat. When thoroughly dry, pounding with a stone softened it prior to storage. Additional fat and, perhaps, blueberries might be added to the pounded meat. People kept dry fish in a bark basket or animal bladder. A large haul of caribou taken with aid of a surround meant that much of this was dried and the meat converted into pemiikan (Inan.) just the same as fish. By themselves berries were not dried but in cool weather Indians stored them outdoors in birch bark vessels.

3.7.7. This seems a suitable place to discuss beverages. Water in which meat had been cooked provided a greatly relished soup. Plain water, stored in spruce bark containers, furnished the standard beverage. In winter it was obtained from melted snow and never, as is done today, from a hole in the river (also not from ice). On a journey a man desiring to drink placed a wooden dish under a snow laden branch located within range of fire. People occasionally boiled mountain ash for two hours, after stripping the bark, to make a beverage with medicinal properties.[14] From the leaves and stems of the muskeg tea plant a "tea" could be obtained but the water of the first boiling was always discarded.[15]

[14]Europeans taught the Cree to make another beverage by adding one inch of spruce needles (each separated from its stem) to an equal (?) quantity of water and then allowing fermentation.

[15]Tobacco, of course, remained unknown. After contact people sought to imitate tobacco with shredded bark of a willow-like plant known as mikwaa'peemik. They dried the bark by heating it in a frying pan. Rubbing between the palms readied the substance for smoking. It was never chewed. Our informant did not recognize the practice of adding wood ash to tobacco to make snuff.

Not for Resale

3.7.8. No eating order for the sexes governed ordinary meals. At feasts men ate first with children and women following. Shells, held at their thicker end, and horn or wooden spoons (Sing., ee'miikwan, An.) provided means for eating liquids from wooden or sewn bark containers. Cooked meat might be cut on a bed of spruce brush with a tamarack wood or bone knife, or lifted to the mouth and a piece cut off in front of the lips. Mealtimes tended to be irregular. With food abundant people ate as many as five meals daily—just as appetite stirred. With food short, a morning meal exhausted the larder which might not be replenished that day. For wiping the hands after butchering game or handling food the Indians used goose feathers, grass, or spruce bark.

3.7.9. Informants seemed considerably preoccupied with former periods of hunger. Foods listed as welcome, or which were sought, when nothing else existed to eat included weasel, squirrel, wolf, white whale, loche stomachs, spruce and willow fibers, a rock moss growing at Sutton River and capable of providing a broth, honey, the contents of the caribou stomach, and dog flesh. In winter hungry people scraped aside snow looking for low bush cranberries and even pounded the dried lower limbs of rabbits prior to cooking them (Skinner, 1911, p. 25). Cannibalism very exceptionally occurred in such circumstances and then only by a "bad" man. The cannibal often sickened but otherwise remained unpunished and did not automatically acquire a taste for human flesh through his indulgence (9.1.2.)

3.7.10. The items never eaten include willow buds, lily bulbs, mud, bot fly larvae in a caribou skin, seal liver, and caribou milk. Informants lacked knowledge of people avoiding black and white bear livers but did say that neither bear nor seal livers were greatly relished. No specific avoidances were observed by children, although youths of either sex were advised to eat lightly lest they become weak and develop a sore stomach. Such advice logically restricted the consumption of grease and, perhaps, also of water (Honigmann, 1954, p. 109). According to Atooket the same advice applied to a person of any age. The belief that beaver blood led to hemorrhage and easy perspiration may have led to restricted use of the substance by ambitious hunters. Otherwise food avoidances by a man did not help his successful pursuit of game. Women, however, avoided some foetal animals (and perhaps other foods) lest by eating these they imperil the ability of a hunter to take game (9.2.2.).

4. HOUSING

4.1. *House types.* The houses of the Swampy Cree are as difficult to categorize as our own; one form may correspond in some elements to another while varying in details. Dwellings suited the season and, needless to say, the continental climate of northern North America is one marked by extreme seasonal variations. In addition, however, shelters also varied with length of expected occupancy so that quasi-permanent and temporary dwellings may be recognized. In association with a subsistence economy based on hunting and collecting no really long term occupancy of any site could be expected. As well as dwellings,

Not for Sale

Indians also erected auxiliary structures like the sudatory, menstrual camp, and subterranean cache.

4.2. *Dwellings.* The conical dwelling was basic and possessed a three pole foundation (Mason, 1941, p. 16); Kiiookii had never heard of a four pole base and failed to recognize that the four pole foundation possessed advantages in a windy area (Mandelbaum, 1940, p. 211). He asserted that large poles were anchored into the ground when people expected dangerous winds.

4.2.1. In summer, when women undertook construction of a wi'-kwaam (Inan.), three foundation poles were assmbled on the ground in the manner described by Skinner (1911, p. 12) and lashed together with tanned skin or willow bark line, the lower end of which never hung down inside the house to be tied to a stake as described by Mandelbaum (1940, p. 211). In any season men cut the poles. Having raised the foundation, the next step consisted of laying on from 18 to 25 additional poles, the number depending on the size of the structure. Work proceeded in a clockwise or counter clockwise direction. To count the poles during construction or afterwards promised ill-fortune (Skinner, 1911, p. 12). A wikwaam consisted of a lower border of grass and then pieces of spruce bark about five feet wide stripped from a standing tree. Occassionaly about six caribou skins, sewn together with sinew line, enclosed a small lodge while ten served to cover a larger structure. The surface of the skins received no decoration. When using bark, sections of the material were joined with spruce root or willow bark line through holes made with an awl. In laying the bark around the framework each layer overlapped the lower one. A space about 18 inches high allowed smoke to escape at the top of the tipi but no flaps or ears existed to encourage proper draft. A skin flap covered the entry. Once the covering had been set in place in additional poles leaned against the house afforded protection from wind. On a hot day raising the lower edge of the skin cover or moving aside the grass helped to cool the interior. A complete grass cover could not be used because when the grass dried it would easily catch fire from the household fireplace.

4.2.2. In winter to erect a conical shelter, or askiikan (Inan.), a man set a forked pole in the earth, resting another pole in the fork, then placing the third pole so that its upper end interlaced the prongs of the fork above the second foundation pole. A willow switch held the foundation poles together at a point below the apex. On the switch (or collar) additional poles were laid close together. The site was excavated to a depth of a foot or eighteen inches (Mason, 1941, p. 17), dirt being piled around the sides on the interior where, covered with brush, it made a support against which the occupants could recline. A double layer of brush or, if locally more abundant, a grass cover might be laid on the pole framework. Turfs provided the wall and gave the house its name (askiikan is loosely translated as earth lodge). Jake Carpenter corroborated Kiiookii on occasional use of a layer of spruce brush which was then covered with earth or snow (when an askiikan had to be built on frozen ground?). A skin flap or plaited rabbit skin robe weighted with a pole covered the entry. Probably no

Not for Resale

vestibule such as now protects the partly canvas covered "earth" lodge entry from drafts existed prior to contact. At least Atooket denied one while Kiiookii uncertainly thought such a structure might have been erected. Obviously an earth lodge could not be excavated in winter without first thawing the ground. Hence we suspect that Indians built the askiikan in the fall, as they still occasionally do. The house type probably increased in importance with the reduction of mobility following contact and semi-sedentary winter residence on assigned trap lines. At Winisk, Atooket saw a house made only with closely laid poles and no bark or turf cover. This he called a mistikookiiwan. Winter posed the problem of clearing snow from a dwelling site or to pile snow over the dwelling walls but the Cree cut a four foot long snow shovel (makanatee'puj, An.) from a single piece of spruce. The blade consisted of a rough triangle with its apex toward the top, of course. A knob at the upper end of the shaft made the object resemble a canoe paddle (6.1.1.). Kiiookii said that in spring the Indians along the coast of the Bay sometimes put their houses on natural snowdrifts, six feet high, for protection against high water.

4.2.3. In winter or summer two conical dwellings covered with spruce bark might be joined together through a ridge pole, forming a capoo'tawan (Inan.). Against the ridge pole further poles were laid. The length of fifteen feet accomodated several families.

4.2.4. In all seasons people built a beehive-shaped house (cii'tookan or waaki'nookan, Inan.), using willows for the framework. A winter cover consisted of spruce bark or turfs, the crest being left open in order to allow escape of smoke. Bark was actually sewn to the foundation with spruce root line. These shelters stood seven feet high and possessed a diameter of eight feet. Kiiookii recalled seeing Sabette Mattinas, an old woman, make such a dwelling when she had been caught by rain while net fishing in the bush. Although Sabette came from Ojibwa country, Kiiookii affirmed that the Attawapiskat people made similar buildings a long time ago. Atooket knew of such a house at Sutton River and designated it as cii'tokan.

4.2.5. Conical dwellings commonly accomodated only a single family, although two family units (sometimes inhabited by two men who had married sisters) also occurred. An imaginary boundary cut through the fire from entry to rear wall demarcated the provinces of each social group. In an askiikan or wikwaam visitors (ideally?) took places at the rear. Ranged around the ground plan, moving in a clockwise direction from the entry, were unmarried girls, the wife, small children, the husband, grown sons, and, again close to the entry, more girls. In the capootawan visitors sat in the middle of the house, under the ridge pole, where the fire also lay. Here, too, the men sat, women remaining near the entry.

4.2.6. Temporary dwellings varied from simply an open brush camp or lean-to to a beehive shaped willow lodge covered with brush. The latter afforded good protection from rain. One form of lean-to used by travelers consisted in leaning a ridge pole into the branches of a tree and then adding spruce brush on either side to make a kind

Not for Resale

of inverted v-shaped house. In winter a makeshift shelter might be made of two rows of small spruce trees planted in snow and interlaced on top. Kiiookii denied dugout snow huts. A layer of snow contributed to windproofing of an askiikan.

4.3. *Appurtenances.* All except transitory summer shelters contained a fireplace. Made of dry or moist earth (clay) or circle of stones, the fireplace accomodated only relatively short lengths of wood. Poles never radiated far from a fire or extended beyond the entry of the house. Apparently the draft often left much to be desired and children especially wept when their eyes filled with smoke. Willow branches tied with a line provided a broom. Bedding consisted of caribou and beaver skins but poor people slept directly on the carpet of spruce brush that always covered a house floor. In rare cases an old man whose legs ached from some exertious trek built a foot rest consisting of a cross bar lashed to the tipi poles about three feet from the ground. The bar supported his ankles. A small fire (hot coals?) under the oldster's calves gave gentle comfort throughout the night.

4.4. *Nonresidential buildings.* Turning now to nonresidential structures, the sudatory resembled the beehive shaped house but always possessed a skin or bark cover. About six feet in diameter and five or six feet high, the building contained a small fire in which stones were heated. On the hot stones bathers poured cold water. An opening might be provided at the top to allow some steam to escape. Further reference to the sweat lodge occurs below (9.6.3.). Kiiookii thought only a strong shaman erected a sudatory. Menstrual huts appear to have borne no specific designation and resembled the conical lodge, except for their smaller dimensions (about five feet high and four feet in diameter). Apparently used only at menarchy (9.2.6.), the menstrual lodge was built by the girl's mother some 200 yards from the family camp. Kiiookii had never seen either a sudatory or menstrual house and estimated their final displacement to have occurred about 30 and 40 years previously. A widow withdrew for three or four days into a beehive shaped mourning hut built about four feet high (9.8.3.).

4.4.1. Caches varied in type. Simplest was the pole cache, a pole 16 feet tall on which a person lashed goods to be stored and then leaned the entire structure against a tree where he bound it securely with willow bark line. The four pole platform cache stood 6 feet above the ground. Any elevated shelter cache was denied. A simple box 6 feet high protected with heavy poles covered with bark and sod made a ground shelter cache. Inverted v-shaped ground cache remained unknown. The subterranean cache ranged from 3 to 5 feet square and was about 3 feet deep. The excavated area, lined with logs, contained flooring of spruce bark. Here dry fish and meat would be stored in autumn, the contents, protected by poles covered with sand. Rarely did anybody make a snow cache, which consisted merely of snow covering a supply of meat located close to a dwelling.

4.4.2. Dance house like smoke house remained unkonwn but the Cree sometimes did clear a ten foot square area of ground for ceremonial purposes. Fenced with piled up willow branches or spruce brush, the

Not for Resale

area contained entries at either end.[16] In winter ceremonial grounds without brush fencing would be constructed on a snow free ice surface. Any directional orientation could not be ascertained. The conjuring lodge, 12 feet high and 6 feet in diameter, followed the plan of the conical dwelling but generally possessed a caribou skin cover (9.5.2.).

5. CLOTHING

Material on dress will be covered under general clothing for major body areas; children's garb; headgear; clothing for the extremities of the body; care of clothes; decoration of garments, and adornment applied directly to the body surface. Finally, customs of elimination have been included in this section.

5.1. *General.* The caribou constituted the principle source of clothing and of the line used in sewing. Sealskin as well as rabbit line (2.3.5), plaited, also provided dress material and fur covered otter and beaver pelts frequently furnished the stuff for warm winter coats. Fishskin, birdskin, and gut found slight or no place in garment manufacture (see 5.3, 5.4). One gathers that not only did the Indians kill moose too rarely for the skin to be important in tailoring but priority went to the lighter "deerskin."

5.1.2. Dress, like housing, varied between summer and winter, although clearly defined seasonal types of clothing are still harder to specify than specific house types. People did not change the basic dress between warm and cold weather as much as they added or subtracted garments. Of course, dress varied between the sexes and an important function of clothing lay in concealing those body parts exposure of which, under certain situations, would be immodest.

5.1.3. In summer men wore an inner belt supporting the breech cloth (asiiya'n, An.) of plaited rabbit or fox skin line which passed between the legs. The cloth measured about four inches wide. Such a brief covering worn alone, serving primarily functions of modesty, sufficed on a hot summer day. In the evening, however, a robe of fur or woven rabbit skin might be added, secured close to the body with a sash of willow bark line. Women in summer wore a caribou skin dress reaching below the knee and provided with wrist length sleeves. Like men, women went without moccasins in summer and, according to Atooket (a careful informant) as well as other sources, did not wear breech cloths in any season. Kiiookii felt women did use this garment and mentioned an added layer of moss to collect the menstrual flow (in response to a direct question). We do not believe that the difference between the accounts reflects a real difference between the Sutton River and Attawapiskat bas'ns. Three pairs of thongs closed the woman's dress between neckline and stomach and could readily be undone to facilitate nursing a child (8.3.1.). Dresses

[16]Robinson (n.d., p. 169) describes the ceremonial enclosure for the dog feast built around Winnipeg (Fort Garry): "An inclosure about forty feet long by twenty-five broad, fenced in with branches of trees, is laid off on the prairie. It is situated due east and west, and and has an opening in either end . . ."

Not for Resale

covered the shoulders and did not consist merely of two lengths of skin joined by lines across the shoulders (Skinner, 1911, p. 121).

5.1.4. For winter men retained the breech cloth but added leggings, coat, moccasins, and mittens. Smoked skin leggings (also called trousers today) on the inside of the leg reached nearly to the crotch and even higher outside. They hung loosely around the limb, being supported from the inner belt and also secured by garters below the knee and around the ankle. The coat—apparently of fur—possessed long sleeves and usually closed at the throat. Like the woman's dress it did not open down its full length. Headgear and covering for the extremities will be described below (5.3 and 5.4). Variations on this basic pattern include double leggings; also leggings made with deerskin tanned with the hair on or of plaited rabbit skin line. Both the latter types were worn with the hair next to the skin. Men agreed that in cold weather such seamless aboriginal garments chilled the crotch and genitals. Attawapiskat and Sutton River informants recalled that in winter men donned one-piece trouser-moccasin combinations. The designation of these remained the same as for leggings. A woman added leggings and coat to her basic summer garb. Her coat may have been longer than the man's and instead of attaching to an inner belt the leggings hung supported at the thighs by garters. Warm headgear, shielding also the side of the face, moccasins, and mittens (to be described below, 5.3 and 5.4) completed feminine winter garb.

5.1.5. Several carefully questioned sources indicated that the hooded coat or parka did not appear until introduction of the capot by white men. Kiiookii once more differs, however, and on repeated occasions insisted that hoods had always been attached to men's coats. He denied use of a parka stretcher, as well as of detachable sleeves or mitts for the garment. He also described knee-length trousers (or leggings) and spoke of smoked skin leggings for both sexes that lashed along the length of the outside of the limbs. According to Kiiookii, poncho-like robes of skin tanned with the hair served to protect both sexes from the extreme cold. These contained holes for arms to which sleeves could be attached, he affirmed.

5.1.6. Around his neck, suspended over the chest, a man usually carried a bag containing his flints and amulets (Russell, 1898, p. 197).

5.2. *Children's dress.* Informants agreed in denying specialized children's clothing, like combination coat and trousers. Beyond early childhood young people followed their elder's style of dress except that plaited rabbit skin line constituted the chief garment material, even in summer. Young children did not use a breech cloth and no ceremony marked investiture in any item of adult dress (see also 8.3.1.). Babies, carried in moss-padded skin bags, supported on the mother's back, needed no clothing.

5.3. *Headgear.* The variety of headgear mentioned by our sources suggests that in this trait Attawapiskat followed a familiar northern forest and Northwest Coast pattern (Honigmann, 1954, p. 64). In part hat and season varied congruently. In summer both sexes wore caps of marten or plaited rabbit, fox, or muskrat skin, hair turned inside or out. Men wore woven spruce root and willow bark caps, or, perhaps,

Not for Resale

simply a caribou skin headband. In winter skin caps possessed fur shields to protect the ears and face from intense cold. Such caps in both sexes might have a composite make-up. One of rabbit skin, for example, possessed a crown of beaver or muskrat fur, hair side inward. Flaps (presumably of rabbit fur) came over the ears and two ends of smoked skin line, tying under the chin, held them firm. Even the loonskin hat shows up in Attawapiskat, seemingly the only garment manufactured from birdskin.

5.4. *Moccasins and mittens.* We heard in Fort Albany that as recently as sixty years previous (that is, about 1887) the Indians used to go barefoot in summer, sometimes even breaking through the thin spring ice of the coastal marshes without adequate foot protection. Hence, the Hudson's Bay Company's imported sealskin boots (from Great Whale River, Quebec) presented a manifest advantage and won quick favor. Seal entered the rivers in autumn and from the early part of the century the Cree began to supply part of their sealskin boot requirements. In Attawapiskat, too, the arrival of Eskimo-made sealskin boots influenced footwear. These waterproof garments possessed a readily perceived advantage for muskeg travel and people began to copy them, sometimes even using the not so durable skin of the white whale. Caribou skin winter moccasins with high sealskin uppers also came into use, apparently to conserve caribou hide. Attawapiskat informants also corroborated the pattern of going barefoot in summer. "Men used to have very hard feet in the old days," said Atooket. In winter both sexes donned plaited rabbit skin moccasins as well as of smoked caribou and ling skin. They never employed bark for this purpose.[17] The standard pattern of the moccasin conformed to type 6-C in Skinner (1911, p. 20). That author's "deer's tooth" design entered later, being copied from moccasins imported and retailed by the Hudson's Bay Company. Skinner's type 6-A remained unknown. Sometimes in winter merely a rabbit or muskrat skin tied around the foot served for protection. With moccasins went duffel (a'ciikan, An. or Inan.) of untailored rabbit or other fur, hair, dried grass, or moss (from a spruce tree). Rubbing between the hands softened dry grass and no doubt helped to pack it down into an insulating cushion.

5.4.1. The mitten (asti's, An.) in cold weather did for the hand what the moccasin did for the feet. When made of smoked caribou skin, people added hair, grass, and other duffel for warmth. Fox, beaver, plaited rabbit skin line, and other fur mittens presumably required no duffel and were worn with the fur next to the skin. Neck cords of tanned skin line joined a pair of mitts. Sometimes a plaited rabbit skin coat included a pair of mittens from the same material sewn to the sleeves. In the case of children, a second line attached to the neck cord provided a kind of noose into which the wearer slipped his head. Gauntlets reaching to near the elbow often consisted of a single piece of skin stripped from the leg of the caribou without being cut lengthwise.

[17]Skinner (1911, p. 126) speaks of sturgeon skin moccasins among the Saulteaux. Attawapiskat sources did not know if their ancestors used this substance for footwear.

Not for Resale

5.4.2. For protection from extreme cold people (perhaps when traveling) wore small tufts of rabbit fur inside the nostrils.

5.5. *Care of clothing.* Kiiookii said in August, 1947, that caribou skin garments were not washed, just shaken to loosen dirt and lice. In March, 1948, he described a washtub dug out from a poplar trunk three feet long, one foot wide, and a foot deep. The outer sides of the tree were squared off. In this trough the Indians washed "deerskin" clothing (but never plaited rabbit skin garments) with poplar ash. In our opinion this testimony recalls a postcontact pattern of which Kiiookii had heard, one displaced by galvanized tubs in which moccasins are still occasionally cleaned along with textile garments. Mending and patching served to repair torn items of dress. An informant explained that sometimes the skin of a brook trout alone proved available for mending caribou hide moccasins. A coat or trousers lasted about one year, the breech cloth probably somewhat longer.

5.6. *Decoration of clothes.* Painting, porcupine quill embroidery, caribou or moosehair tufts, skin fringe, and feather decoration of garments, like the bow loom, could not be recalled for Sutton River. Atooket stated that skin fringes only began to be used about 1907. He recalled use of fur trimming as well as sewing teeth on the back of a boy's coat or on the outside of a baby's moss bag, people being especially delighted by the rattling sound coming from these appendages. For the southern part of the area, Kiiookii testified to skin fringes on shoulders, back, and along the neck opening of coats, as well as on the sides of leggings. Both sexes fancied such ornamenting. Brightly colored feathers decorated the front, back, and sleeves of coats. Undyed porcupine quill work he both denied and affirmed on separate occasions. Skinner (1911, p. 15) reports this form of decoration. Moccasins in the Attawapiskat region remained plain. Beaver, marten, muskrat, or mink fur reportedly trimmed the parka hood (see, however, 5.1.5) and the necklines of other garments. Caribou phalanges added decoration (as well as sound?) when sewn to attire. Ornamentation by hair tufts or painting did not occur.

5.7. *Bodily adornment.* Men and women wore the hair long and sometimes plaited. The braids of men hung down on either side of the face but women coiled a single (?) braid at the back of the head. Sometimes men simply allowed the hair to hang down loose; it customarily extended to the shoulder. Beyond that length, according to Atooket, it simply did not grow, although a woman's hair extended far down the back. Women sometimes cut the hair level with the ear lobes and thereby saved on the work of braiding. Knives served to cut the hair. Men left a mustache grow but usually plucked facial hair with wooden tweezers. Neither sex removed eyebrows or pubic hair though Kiiookii had heard of Ojibwa women removing the latter. A young man, Fred Mud, claimed to have heard that Swampy Cree of both sexes as well as the Ojibwa plucked facial, armpit, and pubic hair (Skinner, 1911, p. 24). Shamans sometimes allowed themselves to grow a beard. In her hair a woman wore combs carved by men from caribou antler and hooves or out of tamarack. Men used wooden combs to smooth out tangled locks but did not wear them for adornment.

Not for Resale

Fish spines never served as combs according to Kiiookii but Atooket again differed. In the hair girls might wear flowers but neither sex added feathers. Beaver, otter, and caribou grease or marrow furnished ointments used in summer and winter for the head, hands, and face. Apparently otter grease enjoyed high preference for this purpos. Black bear grease, on the other hand, dared never be employed on the head lest the hair fall out. Greasing the skin, an operation performed by the hands alone and generally following meals, protected the complexion from excessive darkening. With the juice of red berries or other red paints (sometimes made with a pigment obtained from roasted drift-wood of a certain type) women painted circles on their lips, cheeks, and also colored the eyebrows. Other parts of the anatomy remained unpainted.

5.7.1. Mutilation of the face was not common. Tooth filing; dislocation of the teeth; nasal septum plugs (Atooket had heard of these and see also Mason, 1941, p. 8); cheek or lip labrets, and helix ornaments seem not to have existed. Otter teeth or other small objects adorned the earlobes of women and, more rarely, men. When a girl reached ten years, a man, older woman, or girl of her age pierced the lobes with a needle. A piece of line drawn through the hole remained until the scar healed leaving an opening. An ear ornament is called taptatee'-pasuun (An.).

5.7.2. Boys and girls practiced needle and line tattooing with charcoal in order to add attractive designs to the back of the hand or, in the case of girls, on the nose as well. Puncture tattooing could not be verified (Mason, 1941, p. 8).

5.7.3. Wristlets, necklaces (except those of bear claws for old men), and perfumes did not occur. People did not use rabbit livers to clean the hands

5.8. *Elimination.* For elimination people visited a secluded part of the bush, no area being reserved for one sex or the other. Both sexes urinated while standing but squatted to defecate. A stick served to clean the anus.

6. TRANSPORTATION AND TRAVEL

Mobility is often vital for food gatherers; hence, this area of their culture is often relatively elaborated. Such a generalization certainly holds for the northern forest, where sharp seasonal changes are also found related to diversified modes of travel and transportation. Patterns in this sphere will be described under the headings of water travel (mainly dealing with canoes), land travel (including burden carrying, trail marking, as well as mobility with the aid of toboggans, snowshoes, snowglasses, and bridges), and divination with regard to weather.

6.1. *Water travel.* Two canoe types—a small, hunting vessel and the longer traveling craft with higher gunwales—as their names imply served somewhat differing functions. One or two men paddled the hunting vessel and both sexes cooperated in propelling the boat used for travel. Kiiookii spoke of the latter canoe as generally carrying two families. Men used spruce bark mainly in building canoes although some people acquired birch bark vessels after they began to visit

Not for Resale

Fort Albany to trade. Any man could make a spruce bark boat but workers with special aptitude for the task not unusually did so in exchange for payment in tanned skins or fur robes. For bark the Indians selected a tree relatively clear of branches. An informant pointed out that the spruce ribs of aboriginal boats were spaced somewhat further apart than in contemporary craft.[18] After the appearance of the metal crooked knife, six to ten days of labor sufficed in building a vessel, time depending on size. It would appear that building a canoe represented one of the most time-consuming tasks in the aboriginal culture. Heavy work lay in sewing bark to the frame with spruce-root line, a task in which women assisted. In return for so much labor the family derived a boat that lasted about two summers. Even in that period several patchings with spruce root line, the "darned" spot further protected with spruce gum, may have been required. Although decked canoes are said not to have occurred, travelers sometimes temporarily covered a hull with a caribou skin. Women and children sat under such a makeshift shelter. Atooket denied that painting or any other form of ornament decorated the prow or any other part of the vessel. Kiiookii described animals' heads (caribou, beaver, black bear) painted on the bows for attractiveness. The differences may reflect regional variation between the Sutton and Attawapiskat basins.

6.1.1. Travelers obtained paddles from spruce wood and rounded off the blade, leaving a raised center ridge. The rounded knob provided a grip. Atooket denied decoration of paddles; Kiiookii affirmed painting the blade and handle with stripes in red ochre. While traveling in smooth water one man sat in the stern and guided the craft. In rough water a man in the bow assumed responsibility for navigation. Occupants of a boat rarely changed their posts in approaching rough water. Sometimes an older man in the stern called his son's attention to special problems which he perceived in the course ahead. In the large travel canoes, a man always sat in the stern while women occupied the bow and center. Boats were turned in the direction of game before a hunter shot from a canoe.

6.1.2. According to Kiiookii, square sails, made from joined pieces of spruce bark or sewn lengths of caribou skin lashed to upper and lower yards, helped to propel traveling canoes. Atooket also thought sails to have been likely prior to contact. Both men readily agreed to use of a cruder device, consisting of willows piled in the center of the vessel, to catch a breeze.

6.1.3. While sailing, people did not reckon distance by the number of points remaining to be rounded before reaching a destination. Rather they referred to the number of creeks remaining, with each creek possessing a name (6.2). In winter the number of lakes to be passed by toboggan or walking constituted a similar measure of distance.

6.1.4. To cross bodies of water too deep for fording, setting gill

[18]A resumé of considerable information on canoes in northeastern North America appears in Loewenthal, 1920/21, pp. 219-226. See also the short film "Birch Bark Canoe" distributed by the Province of Quebec Tourist Information Bureau.

Not for Resale

nets, and for longer journeys men constructed rafts of spruce poles (Atooket remained uncertain about V-shaped ones). A small fireplace on the craft provided a means for cooking on long journeys. When guiding rafts people used only poles, never sweeps.

6.1.5. Reference to the following traits met explicit denial: dugout canoes, moose skin boats, a hole in the upper end of the paddle handle, travel in canoes joined in pairs, and blackening hulls in beaver hunting.

6.1.6. Not everyone knew how to swim, float, or tread water. Some men, however, could cross rivers using their hands in dog-paddle fashion.

6.2. *Land travel.* Like water travel, most land movement occurred in daylight. In both summer and winter people moved across the land, pursuing game, shifting camp, or looking for fish sites. Memories proved uncertain about whether the stone ax had been employed to blaze trees. Atooket and Kiiookii corroborated each other on the use of such trail (or game site) markers as broken saplings or branches, the exposed fresh wood pointing the direction, moss or grass hung in a tree, and a stick planted in the ground in the specified direction. Signal posts of the type described by Lips (1947, p. 474) remained unknown but Kiiookii approved of the idea. No doubt place names, commonly applied (as they continue to be) to places along the coast, rivers, and lakes also helped people to communicate their travel plans. It would seem that the Swampy Cree distinguished cardinal points aboriginally, the direction being signified by using the root of the word for the respective wind plus the locative suffix—uk. Thus: niiwiitootan waapanuk, "I would go east" (waapaninowew designating the east—the direction of light). To indicate distance people referred to "near" or "far" although they also mentioned the number of days or nights occupied in making a specific journey (6.1.3). For further specificity people included references to the means of travel. Thus, a journey might occupy "Two days by foot or snowshoes." Terms referring to the progress of the day, night, or phases of the moon also made possible precision in speaking about travel. Calendars of knotted line remained unknown but count of elapsing days was sometimes kept by drawing or painting charcoal lines on spruce sticks, several of which were bound together. Nobody used picture writing.

6.2.1. Dogs used to be packed in summer along the Sutton River but (Atooket and Kiiookii agreed) never in the Attawapiskat basin. From the informant's reference to traps being carried in this way it would appear that dog packing, like the use of large dogs for traction (6.2.2), occurred well within the postcontact period. In human packing men and women supported goods on the back with the aid of two smoked skin lines, one passing around the shoulders and outside of the arms, the other over the crown of the head. Occasionally two men supported a porcupine or small bear from a pole resting on one shoulder of each. Reference to single shoulder poles and chest pack sticks brought no recognition. Of the two sexes, women, at least when they were well, could support the greater loads, due to their greater strength, said Atooket.

6.2.2. Even after the Company's example introduced the sled,

Not for Resale

toboggans remained common for winter bush travel. On the coast, however, Indians learned to prefer the sled because when toboggans came to be used in coastal travel to visit Fort Albany the wet ice of James Bay frequently adhered to the running boards and impeded traction. Two or three tamarack (or, if unobtainable, spruce) planks sufficed to build a toboggan 7 feet long and 18 inches wide. The boards were sewn together with babiche or rawhide line countersunk to avoid friction as it passed from one hole to another on the running surface. Hot water applied with a piece of tanned skin moistened the wood for bending, a task accomplished across the worker's knee. When the material had assumed the desired curve the craftsman lashed it in position with rawhide line. A period of drying followed. No use of a bending apparatus similar to the implement found among the Kaska Indians could be recalled (Honigmann, 1949, p. 60, p. 95, and Plate 6). Lashing loops along the side of the vehicle consisted of willow bark line strengthened by braiding. Apparently poles lashed on each side of the vehicle sometimes provided a means of tying down the load (Skinner, 1911, p. 44). In packing, the heaviest portion of a load went in the center of the toboggan and back from center. Young children (below 7 years) and incapacitated women might also be drawn.

A man rarely owned sufficient dogs with which to haul a toboggan. Presumably the small aboriginal dogs never entered a harness. "Just now that I see big dogs around. They have come from Winisk and from down below Moosonee," said Atooket, connecting their introduction with the white man. Dogs began to be hitched in tandem fashion, the fan hitch coming later and being regarded as preferable because the animals "do not work well" in the former hitch, according to Kiiookii. Men and women, therefore, provided the chief, if not the only, motive power. A raw or tanned skin line (caribou, seal, or bear) served as harness, passing around the upper arms and breast of the hauler. A person pulling a toboggan carried no sticks (Skinner, 1911, p. 45). In Fort Albany we heard that a tamarack toboggan lasted two or three years; a spruce wood vehicle less.

6.2.3. Two types of snowshoes existed: the "flat" variety and the more familiar, babiche filled ones. The flat snowshoe (misti'kwaasam, An.; in Albany we heard the term makatuu'm applied to this device) measured four or five feet in length and consisted of flat spruce or cedar boards shaped approximately like the standard webbed variety (Skinner, 1911, p. 45, p. 146). A hole might be cut in the board just below the place where the wearer's toe would fall but filling the space with babiche was not inevitable. An upturned nose on the flat snowshoe occurred only rarely. Indications strongly suggest the flat snowshoe to be of postcontact origin, its manufacture facilitated by the crooked knife. In Litte Whale River, P. Q., Loewenthal (1920/21, p. 212) reports its use in the spring when netted snowshoes became clogged with slush and rendered walking extra fatiguing. Two informants (one in Fort Albany) said that people without babiche used "stick snowshoes" for emergency wear. Atooket could not say why the flat variety was ever made and would not identify one type as superior to the other.

Not for Resale

6.2.4. Both rounded and pointed snowshoes (sing., aasa'm, An.) are known today but, according to Atooket, the former represent the true aboriginal pattern and the pointed variety diffused from Fort Severn to Sutton Rier about one hundred years ago. Kiiookii thought the rounded variety to be more recent and ascribed it to inland Indians. He affirmed that the round toe is better suited for coastal than inland travel. Size of the shoe varied both with size of the wearer and purpose. Thus women generally wore a smaller snowshoe in agreement with their shorter stature. The man's shoe was long for hunting or relatively short when intended for breaking trail. Tamarack furnished the preferred material for which birch would readily have been substituted had it been more common in the area. After the wood had been shaped with a "knife" (?) drying for about six days followed. Then it was bent across the worker's knee. A woman did the filling, using babiche (later number five twine—see 2.3.2) for front and rear panels and rawhide (even, sometimes, willow bark line—see 2.3.7.) for the center. As far as could be ascertained, filling did not depart from the general pattern generally observed in the northern forest. In emergencies rude "bear paw" snowshoes were made by bending a willow stick and filling the space with any available line.

6.2.5. Nobody recalled snowshoe pegs or a snowshoe staff (Honigmann, 1954, p. 52).

6.2.6. On glare ice Indians wore snowglasses consisting of skin strips possessing narrow slits for vision or else a frame of tamarack wood, with space for vision, blackened on the external surface by charring. Blackening cut some of the glare reflected from the ground, according to Kiiookii. Sometimes the wooden snowglasses included a visor.

6.2.7. Single and plural log bridges helped people to cross a narrow stream. Willow "curduroy" spread on the marshy parts of a trail or on the bank where people disembarked from canoes provided another variety of "bridge." At least people designated the two devices by the same word.

6.3. *Divination.* Foodgetting and the mobility on which subsistence activities depended closely hinged upon weather. Hence it is not surprising that the Indians believed in the reliability of omens that predicted forthcoming conditions. Some of these follow:

An evening rainbow; the next day rain.
A red sunset; the next day warm or hot.
A quick sunset; the next day bad weather.
A ring around the moon; cool or cold weather in prospect.
The sun's rays refracted in the atmosphere; rain in prospect.
A red ring around the sun; very cold in two days.
Bright northern lights; a strong wind coming.
Smoke drifting across a river without rising; a bad day with wind in prospect.[19]

[19]From a Moose Factory informant we learned that when the glare ice cracks slightly in early winter more snow is in prospect. The ice is "calling" for the snow because it is cold.

Not for Resale

7. RECREATION

Data will be categorized under the headings: games; toys and other *objets de plasir;* drums; songs; dancing, and story telling. Despite the relatively numerous traits to be mentioned, it does not seem likely that recreation constituted very much of a focal area of aboriginal interests.

7.1. *Games.* References under this and the following heading may prove most useful if arranged alphabetically according to an easily recognized name of the game or implement. Hence, we begin with *ball-in-the-air,* an activity of summertime played with a stuffed caribou skin ball. The game included both sexes as well as children and probably resembled the Eskimo keep-away game (Honigmann, 1952) in that players tried to keep the ball flying through the air. Both sexes and all ages also participated in *blind-man's-bluff,* in which the players circled a blindfolded person who stood in their midst. According to Kiiookii people indulged in this play both in summer and winter but Atooket denied that it ever had been played. Men alone *boxed* and, according to the former source (who must have seen boxing during his service in World War I), even wore mittens to avoid inflicting undue pain and bruising. *Caribou-hunting* represents the summer game described by Skinner (1911, p. 38) but which possessed neither symbolic nor instrumental significance among the Attawapiskat Cree. Boys and young men played using pebbles or bows and arrows. Apparently originating on the eastern shore of James Bay, the *cup-and-pin* game, also described by Skinner (1911, p. 36) came to Attawapiskat about 1902. Kiiookii never saw but had only heard about the game which, he affirmed, took place in summer and power involved stakes. He thought both sexes must have played. Atooket, however, without referring to recent diffusion gave an explicit account of the play. Men and women playing separately tossed toe bones of the caribou or deer which were strung on a caribou skin line. The players sought to catch as many of the bones as possible on a pin, also strung to a line. Though nobody offered wagers, the players kept score by marking tallies in charcoal on a stick.[20] *Finger-pulling* may still be seen, indulged in particularly by girls. In the absence of rules or goals, the activity constituted a very unformalized recreational activity. *Football* provided amusement for men and boys at any time of the year. In *goose-hunting,* a summer sport, there lay opportunity for boy players to develop their shooting capacity. The game seems to have followed the form described by Skinner (1911, p. 38) in which two youths sat in a blind and threw pebbles toward other boys who approached the lair wearing goose feathers. To play *hide-and-seek* boys hid in willows or other cover until discovered by a hunter. If they could not be located, the seeker might order them to whistle so that they could be found. The game was not played in winter, an informant logically (and patiently) explained, because then tracks would reveal the hiding place. In summer grown women and men on segregated teams played *pull-pole-tug-of-war.* According to Kiiookii

[20]This seems to be an appropriate place to insert that the Attawapiskat Indians had no difficulty in counting to a thousand or higher.

Not for Resale

the sexes *raced* against each other and such contests also inolved swift runners of the same sex. Atooket, however, denied racing for Sutton River. Winter provided a favorite time for running races further south in the area. The *ring-and-pin* game enjoyed popularity in the same season. It required a bent willow ring tied with willow bark line. A stick about two feet hight constituted a pin, or goal, and the player standing about 100 yards (?) from the target sought to throw the ring over the goal pin. Each player received three rings and an expert could land them all. Men and boys played but not girls. *Scaling* stones across water or snow amused youngsters of both sexes. Sometimes people made *snow figures,* for example the figure of a man facing south. To do so might help form a crust on the snow (see 7.2 under "buzz toy"). Boys divided into teams to play *stickball,* a summer and winter sport. Two "rag" balls were connected with a piece of line and thrown into the air with a stick, the intention being to land them into one's own team's goals. The goals consisted of a pair of sticks planted in the ground or snow. Cheers rang out to reward a skillful play. *String figures* were constructed out of smoked skin line according to Kiiookii but Atooket somewhat surprisingly denied their manufacture. *Tag,* played in summer, furnished boys with another opportunity to estimate each other's swiftness. The tagger was chosen by drawing sticks (called "deer") of differing lengths from one player's hand. He who picked the shortest length became the "wolf" and chased his playmates until he could slap and "kill" each, shouting "pah'kat" as he did so. Only when all players had been tagged did the game end. Men alone played the summer *war game,* shooting blunt arrows at one of their number who sought to dodge the missiles. Development of accurate marksmanship constituted a manifest goal of the play. Although girls sometimes *wrestled,* this sport was bad form when played by women and hence remained confined mainly to men. Relatives could freely wrestle, brothers-in-law being especially likely partners (not among the Kaska; see Honigmann, 1954, p. 70). Stakes included animal skins as well as wives, with attempts made to reunite a married couple after a victor carried off another's spouse.

7.1.1. Certain games, like dart or otter hunting (Skinner, 1911, p. 37) dice throwing, tug-of-war, rope-tug-of-war, shinny, target throwing with an ax, or a square game resembling puss-in-the-corner, did not occur. The absence of play with skins may be related to the scarcity of moose in the area. Informants also denied snow drawing, riddles, or tongue-twisters.

7.1.2. Surprisingly the familiar "stick game" of the northern forest (Osgood, 1937, p. 126; Honigmann, 1949, pp. 174-175) does not seem to have been played in Attawapiskat. Kiiookii and Atooket stated that they had never heard of gambling in this way but another source claimed the stick game had been played but only by shamans. A young Moose Factory informant also identified the sport with shamans. Perhaps our description of the game, in which the leader of a team asks his opponent to guess in what hand a token lies secreted, suggested to these latter informants a conjurer's ability to make things vanish.

7.2. *Toys.* Certain playthings have been referred to in describing

Not for Resale

the games in which they occurred. We spoke about the *ball,* for example, and its cover of smoked caribou skin stuffed with caribou hair and sewn with sinew line. Children and young adults amused themselves with the *bullroarer.* Although swung mainly in summer and generally outdoors, it is not clear whether an avoidance governed use of the implement in winter or indoors. Swinging a bullroarer might raise a north wind which, if strong enough, aided in caribou hunting by rustling the brush. A toy *bow and arrow* provided playthings popular with both sexes. The *buzz toy* consisted of a spruce wood disc (without a sawtoothed edge) perforated by two center holes through which passed a sinew line. The ends of line attached to inch-long pieces of wood. After moistening the line the player wound up the toy by swinging the line in circular movement toward himself. Swift tugs at the ends spun the disc to the accompaniment of a characteristic sound. Playing with this toy in winter is believed to have driven away caribou because the animals feared the sound (9.2.3). Buzz toys sometimes consisted of caribou shin bones (Skinner, 1911, p. 140). Indians regarded the *head of the loon* as nice to look upon and so sometimes preserved it. Spruce bark *masks* painted around the eye and mouth openings provided amusement at dances but possessed no further significance. Masking with animal skins did not occur. For his daughter a man carved a wooden *doll,* adding painted features, including the nose. He also prepared a wooden cradleboard (Cf., 8.3.1), the child's mother contributing small clothes of caribou and rabbit skin. Children sometimes converted the doll clothing into attire for puppies. From a *pea shooter,* consisting of a bone tube provided with a tamarack plunger, boys shot mud pellets. For a reason not explained this device could be employed only while the ground remained unfrozen. In summer adults equally with children enjoyed a *swing* made of spruce root line. From willow or other wood people carved *tops,* sometimes adding stripes of paint.

7.3. *Drums.* Made and used exclusively by men, drums consisted of a strip of spruce wood about two inches wide bent in the form of a hoop, the two overlapping ends being sewn with willow bark line. Rawhide caribou skin furnished the drumhead, the edges being tied on the undersurface. Drums averaged ten inches in diameter and prior to being played were heated over fire. Drumsticks, with which an instrumentalist could execute several rhythms, bore a small rounded knob on the end intended for beating, according to Kiiookii.

7.3.1. Instruments like clapping sticks, rasping stick, plank or water drums did not occur. Kiiookii claimed he had seen a water drum 300 miles west of Attawapiskat among some Saulteaux Indians (Mandelbaum, 1940, p. 217).

7.4 *Singing.* The occasions when people sang included feasts, curing (9.6), when putting a child to sleep, while in the kosapatciikan (9.5.2), and at the wiitiko-killing celebration (7.5). Men sometimes addressed the rising sun with song, petitioning for success in caribou and beaver hunting. Making sure his sweetheart could hear him, a young man sang of love. No concept of individual song ownership appears to have existed. Luck songs, instrumental in bringing about

Not for Resale

successful hunting, were freely taught to a youth by friend and relative. Sometimes a shaman sang in order to bring somebody's conduct into line and two or three "strong" shamans, accompaning themselves with drums, might ridicule each other with song, an appreciative audience listening. Mourning as well as war songs were denied.

7.5. *Dancing.* A limited number of occasions were marked by dancing in the ceremonial enclosures previously described (4.4.2). After sunrise or following sunset adults, paired by couples, moved in a clockwise direction grasping the hands of the partner in front and behind. A shaman occupied the center of the ring and kept time with a drum while the people sang. The dancers solicited blessing in the form of food and health, each participant presumably addressing his own source of power. The same dance took place after the return of a war party but apparently without singing any special songs. A second occasion of dancing came when a shaman had succeeded in killing a wiitiko (9.1.2). Now only the men in camp assembled, waiting until darkness had fallen. Moving about a hundred yards from the dwelling they moved in a circle while standing one behind another. All through the night the dancers periodically alternated between a clockwise and counter-clockwise direction. Standing in the middle, a shaman kept time with a drum while the others sang. Men also danced in preparation for a hunting trip, imitating the stalking and shooting of game as they moved around a shaman wearing a black bear skin. The dance lasted an hour or two and seems to have taken place when the people fell desperately short of food. Only indoors did people sometimes dance around a fire, never in the ceremonial grounds.

7.5.1. Following contact the Attawapiskat Cree adopted the familiar tea dance. A group of men cooperatively purchased tea, flour, and baking powder. Women made bannock. In the evening people assembled in a house, the sexes seating themselves to form two semicircles that faced each other. Behind stood the food servers. Dancers came forward, never more than about four men and four women at a time, and danced with a kind of tap step that had been derived from Europeans. Such affairs lasted until early in the morning but ceased to be held following conversion by the Catholic missionaries. In the words of an old woman: "When religion came the dancing stopped."

7.5.2. Line dancing, the give-away dance, any dance in preparation for war, and dances participated in by women alone remained unknown.

7.6 *Story telling.* Summer and winter, but generally in the evening when work was done, people told stories. Often these were about the culture hero, Tcakaapic, the man in the moon. Although the writer made little effort to collect folktales, the following Tcakaapic themes were present in Attawapiskat (Fisher, 1946): Snaring the sun, swallowed by whale (or big fish in Sutton Lake), killing great frog, reducing size of great animals, breaking bird's wing to still wind, sired by wind without mother, born as rabbit, and stealing fire. The following themes from the same cycle could not be recalled: Being abandoned in camp, surviving dangerous rapids, big beaver escaping, teasing the turtle, and earth diver. Gluskabe remains an unknown

Not for Resale

figure. Many of the incidents in the Tcakaapic cycle did not win the approval of the missionaries. So these traditional Algonkian folktales too, with few exceptions, have ceased to be part of Attawapiskat culture.

8. SOCIAL RELATIONS

Like in the northern forest generally, relatively simple social organization characterized the Attawapiskat Cree. A large proportion of interaction involved only people who could trace actual genealogical connection. Very low density of population, associated with an uncertain food supply, reduced the chances of encountering strangers. Groups larger than the family with which the individual retained any sense of solidarity remained small and, in view of their probably shifting membership, commanded only a weak sense of allegiance and identification. This general picture will be amplified by describing the family and household groups, larger units, typical role behavior between kin, and, finally, some norms and their social enforcement.

8.1. *Family and household.* The nuclear family rarely occupied a dwelling by itself. Frequently (ideally?) two brothers-in-law lived together, the household being held by the attachment of the sisters. Perhaps an aged parent (or both parents) remained in such a unit supported by the sons-in-law. Two brothers also formed a household nucleus and sometimes the group included a son-in-law as well who was serving out a period of matrilocal bride service. The family itself not unusually included both own and adopted children, adoption occurring when a parent died or when the household included too many mouths to feed.[21]

8.2. *Larger units.* We cannot say how often the household camped or traveled alone. Often, however, 2 to 5 families traveled in a body and sometimes as many as 8 or 10 settled around a good fishing site (like present-day Attawapiskat). Such units represent fluid bands, the members of which were often kin to one another and recognized a kind of leader (or "boss"). This man advised his followers on the basis of his expert knowledge, telling them where to travel for meat or fish. Informants denied any close identification of the leader with the authorities of modern times. "In the old days no Indian had the right to tell the people what to do. The people together decided." A leader represented a "wise man" (or "resource person" in modern parlance) who helped others to make advantageous decisions. Atooket pointed out that the band chief "gave orders because he was the oldest in the bunch . . . because he know all about things." The relationship resembled more the bond linking father to children than that which today relates the elected chief to the three or four hundred Indians of the government's "Attawapiskat Band." A leader worked industriously so that he frequently had surplus meat to distribute to his followers who, however, were often his kin. He possessed an exemplary reputation, was a powerful shaman, and could speak ably. The latter appears to have been an extremely important qualification for office. The statement

[21]It is still a common custom among the Ruperts House Cree (Kerr, 1950, p. 96).

Not for Resale

that the band head "gave orders" is misleading if interpreted literally, as Atooket also suggested. Behind those words is the concept perhaps better rendered by saying that the leader encouraged the people, his advice sustaining both morale and morality as well as helping them to secure food. The role overlaps the roles of priest, village-aid worker, and political authority as these are specialized in some societies. A leader never levied physical punishment on adults as part of his role. With advancing age his authority passed to another, perhaps to his brother or son, provided that such a successor was capable and wise enough "to know what to do." Neither a woman nor bachelor could occupy the status.[22]

8.2.1. Beyond the microcosmic band, which has just been described, existed a vaguer, wholly noncorporate unit, the local group or macrocosmic band (Sieber, 1950, pp. 31-32; Honigmann, 1946, p. 64), occupying a particular river drainage like the Aattawapiskat (1.3). According to Kiiookii, from 10 to 15 families made up such an aggregate for which no specific term is available in the language. Nothing is known of the stability of these organizations. It is likely that in each generation affinal ties to some extent created genealogical links between the constituent microcosmic units and formed the basis for circulation of people within the territory. A macrocosmic band kept to its own territory most of the time simply because the members knew that other people were already exploiting an adjacent area which could not support too large a population (8.4.1.). No sanctions prevented visiting the country of another macrocosmic group and adjacent units of this type did not engage in war.

8.3. *Kin behavior.* We shall include here relations of an individual with his parents (including birth and early care), grandparents, siblings, aunts and uncles, cousins, spouse (including the marriage patterns), and other affinals. Finally, brief words about friendship ties will be added. A formal list of kin terms has been published previously (Honigmann, 1953).

8.3.1. Birth took place in the home, the mother, with the assistance of an old woman, delivering her baby on a robe of rabbit skin. For the father this seems to have involved an unusually busy time. "For one week he don't sleep," explained Kiiookii, except for catnaps during the day. The informant could not explain any symbolic significance attached to the industriousness of the new father. Specifically he mentioned only the latter's constant obligation of cutting wood to keep the dwelling warm. Parturition involved the recumbent position, a woman never kneeling or squatting. Following delivery she remained in bed for (as long as?) 12 days. Twins met with neither fear or ambivalence. The midwife cached the afterbirth in a tree (Mason, 1941, p. 57), well in the bush and received a small gift for her service. The

[22]We put little stock in the following as an account of a precontact pattern. "My father told me that long ago when people traveled one was like the boss (i.e., manager of the local Hudson's Bay Company post). He did not paddle but just sat in the canoe. He could teach all things to the boys. He knew where fish could be found. This I heard. I don't know if it is true or not. He would also kill a stranger who threatened the camp" (Kiiookii).

Not for Resale

baby belonged to both parents although no rational justification for such bilateral placement could be furnished. Perhaps a slight patrilineal emphasis appears in the statement that a widower gave a young child to his sister, to rear; but then, the informant added, it might also be taken by the deceased woman's sister. Either parent bestowed a name that remained in use for life without any avoidance being attached to its casual use. Neither birth nor name feast focussed ritual recognition on a child. Teknonymy seems also not to have been practiced. The newborn's care kept a woman busy. Its first nourishment took the form of water sucked through the skin of a rabbit paw. Meanwhile the mother waited for lactation to begin before nursing her baby. After two days the infant drank milk from the breast. Nursing lasted about two years. Soot spread on the breast induced fear in order to aid weaning. Also the child at that time received a hollow bone from a goose leg through which to suck liquids or a pacifying piece of fat. Children were active and on occasion needed to be restrained. In the first year the cradle board served nicely for that purpose (Kiiookii denied use of skin baby bags). Later a skin line harness attaching child to the house provided a useful means of control. At about this time training came to occupy the mother increasingly and she also had to clothe, clean, and delouse her child. Corporal punishment never reached the point of severe chastisement. From the age of ten, boys accompanied fathers on short hunting trips but longer expeditions waited until several more years elapsed. The family celebrated with a feast the youth's first caribou and first large catch of geese but apparently did not ceremonially mark any other "first" (5.2).

Considerable respect dominated the parent-child relationship (compared, for example, to attitudes expressed toward grandparents). With marriage a daughter's respect for her father turned to avoidance; she scarely spoke to him but might eat in his presence. A son tended to avoid both parents following his marriage (to what degree is not clear). Illegitimacy posed a special problem for elders who faced the burden of rearing the child. Scolding might be employed in an endeavor to persuade the daughter to reveal the father from whom support could be claimed. Or a seducer might be urged to "stay with" (i.e., marry) the girl. Whether he chose to do so or not, no stigma or social disability attached to the offspring of an illegitimate union.

8.3.2. Mild joking marked the relationship between a grandfather and grandchild but did not include the grandmother. Teasing between those relatives did not interfere with the oldster giving advice to his grandson. Ideally such counsel possessed considerable value, deriving as it did from rich experience. Grandparent terms were freely extended to unrelated old people, who reciprocated with the term for grandchild. The levity directed toward old people, or at least those classed as grandfather, becomes more understandable when we realize that even the strongest shaman, like the best loved band leader, tended to lose his power with the onset of decrepitude without gaining compensation (Cf., 9.7). Age represented less a matter of years than a growing and perceivable physical decline. In a period of severe food shortage

Not for Resale

persons of this generation and kinship category, who were incapacitated for travel, sometimes had to be abandoned. When this occurred the hunters and their families left wood in the dwelling and hopefully promised that somebody would return as soon as they found food. If the shortage continued too long, however, a sad sight would greet the people who finally came back.

8.3.3. Siblings of the same sex felt a closer bond than those of opposite sex. The warm ties between two sisters continued beyond their marriage, especially if they married two brothers or cooperated in a composite family founded on sororal polygyny. The avoidance that a girl reserved after marriage for her father was paralleled by that felt toward her brother. Perhaps from puberty, the two rarely spoke or ate together alone, although they did so if others were present. This relationship between adult siblings of opposite sex did not allow a youth to monitor his married sister's conduct, a role sometimes assumed by the husband's brother. Sibling terms were extended to include parallel cousins and with these the threat of incest occassionally materialized. Incest merited severe scolding but rarely led to physical punishment and never to death. What special disposition, if any, occurred for the children of incestuous unions could not be ascertained.

8.3.4. The father's brother enjoyed a friendly comradeship with his brother's son. Practical joking featured high in the relationship and the two also hunted together. Similar ease characterized a girl's interaction with her father's brother but not to the extent of sexual relations between them. A man reserved the same respect for his mother's sister as for his own mother but did not extend the mother term to the former. Role playing between a girl and her mother's sister resembled that between a boy and the father's brother, a reciprocal term further linking niece and maternal aunt. We have few data about an individual's ties to a father's sister or mother's brother. However, the classification of these as parents-in-law will allow their further study in connection with affinal kin (8.3.7).

8.3.5. Just as sex had no place in relations with parents' siblings so it was not supposed to occur between the children of these (i.e., between parallel cousins) when classified as siblings. But between children of siblings of opposite sex (cross cousins), however, premarital sex relations were tolerantly regarded. Symmetrical cross cousin marriage appears to have been preferred (8.3.6).

8.3.6. Relationships between a husband and wife ran the whole range from warmth to friction or physical aggression. Marriage for both sexes came around 18 or 20, a little younger for girls, perhaps. Two fathers concluded an engagement with a simple handclasp (8.3.8). The agreement dissolved if one or both of the children strenuously objected. "If they don't want to marry, they fight afterwards," Kiiookii explained, offering an insight into the ideal expectations of the marital state. Boys and girls also exercised independent initiative in selecting spouses (8.3.7) and sometimes defied parents who objected to a match. The couple would then secretly elope and assume residence nearby in the forest. They might return the following spring, expecting their union would be recognized and accepted. Normally a feast joined in

Not for Resale

by both families of orientation celebrated a couple's first marriage. How marriage was sometimes arranged in the event of illegitimacy has been discussed (8.3.1). As mentioned previously (8.3.5), cross cousins represented preferred mates, like elsewhere in the Algonkian area (Eggan, 1955, pp. 519-543). Sometimes a husband and wife came from different macrocosmic bands, occasionally even bands located as far away as Winisk or Moosonee (but never from the opposite coast of James Bay and only rarely from the inland Indians called Ojibwa).

A customary period of bride service followed both a primary and secondary union (Mason, 1941, p. 50; Sieber, 1950, p. 21). It lasted one or two years, after which a young husband struck out for himself or (ideally?) returned to his father's band. The next season, however, the couple might go to live with the wife's people or even move away to live alone.[23] Most marriages remained monogamous but both sororal and (more rarely) nonsororal polygyny occurred. Kiiookii's father's father lived with five wives. Concubinage and polyandry were lacking. Two informants doubted whether the levirate followed a man's death (but see 8.3.7). The sororate often did and remained a custom until discouraged by missionaries. Extramarital sex relations, both in the form of wife exchange between friends (never brothers or brothers-in-law) and sexual hospitality to a stranger, existed aboriginally (Mason, 1941, p. 51). One gets the impression that at least men perceived such arrangements to be fraught with tension. If a man loaned his wife he often felt a compulsion to achieve sex relations with another woman in the same way in another part of the country. Adultery (i.e., extramarital relations not condoned) led to physical violence between spouses, between the wife and other woman, or husband and his wife's paramour. Mutilating an unfaithful wife could not be recalled. Chastity belts were unknown. Divorce meant simply that one spouse quit another. Although common, separation was not exactly prevalent and usually followed cause, like abuse of a wife by her husband or undue familiarity between the woman and other men. Small children remained with the mother (who, in turn, went to live with her parents) while older ones (especially boys) accompanied the father. A man might visit his divorced wife to bring food for his children even once she had remarried. Occasionally a separated couple resumed living together as man and wife.

8.3.7. In this section we will discuss customary relationship patterns of an individual to his parents-in-law and siblings-in-law. The customs of marital residence apparently permitted each partner to live for some time with affinal relatives (8.3.6). Beyond avoiding familiarity, a woman needed to demonstrate no great respect to her husband's father. With her mother-in-law she often enjoyed congenial intimacy. Apparently only a weak avoidance obtained between a man and his mother-in-law, at least this became the case after some years of mar-

[23]Careful inquiry in 1955 confronted us with considerable difference of opinion and makes it clear that the pattern of patrilocal residence previously asserted on the basis of limited testimony (Honigmann, 1953, p. 811) may not be true. Bilocal or neolocal residence appear to have been frequent following the initial period of bride service.

Not for Resale

riage. Kiiookii had never heard of a woman averting her face in a son-in-law's presence or of communication between the two passing through the daughter. Shyness also disappeared with time in a man's relations with father-in-law but the young man's respect and sobriety in the presence of the older did not diminish. We ought to recall that in cases of cross cousin marriage parents-in-law often represented parents' siblings and in any event were designated by the latter terms. As part of the negotiations preceding a primary or secondary marriage, a man made his father-in-law a free gift consisting of a few skins. In no sense did this normally constitute purchase of a bride in the same sense that, after contact, one might purchase a gun or other object. Kiiookii had heard of Winisk man who offered to sell his daughter for cash but "Just one man talk like that," and the people of that place had disapproved. During his stay in the wife's household a youth hunted with his father-in-law but, as Kiiookii pointed out, the former found it difficult enought to support his own family without becoming the mainstay of another. The older man took interest in his married daughter's welfare and might reprimand mistreatment of the husband.

Siblings-in-law were classed in two major categories and customary relations followed this dichotomy:

Cross cousin of opposite sex

The term, nii'tim, was used reciprocally between BrWi and HuBr and WiSi and SiHu.

Although informants failed to recall any levirate (9.8.3), the familiarity between these pairs, extending to playful physical contact and threats of sexual possession (initiated by the man) is compatible with levirate as well as with sororal polygyny and the sororate (8.3.6).

Cross cousin of like sex

Reciprocally a man called his SiHu or WiBr by a single term, nistaw' and the term ntaa'kos was used reciprocally between BrWi and HuSi.

Between two men related by marriage conversation avoided sexual topics but no other show of respect was demanded.

8.3.8. Broadly speaking, friendship is a quality apt to exist in any interpersonal relationship, whether between kin or nonkin. Visiting, verbal greetings, perhaps handclasps, and generous feeding of guests constituted devices which cemented friendship links. Atooket thought the handshake to be postcontact and told how at first the people would shake hands with one another even after only one day's absence from camp. The pattern of delayed greeting reported by Saindon (1928, p. 37) at first proved difficult to verify. Atooket said that as soon as a stranger entered a house people greeted him and he returned the gesture. Then we realized that Saindon was probably describing an implicit pattern which we had also directly observed. In this pattern a man returning after a long absence goes past his wife and children to the house without a sign of greeting. Friends never sealed their bond in blood but did sometimes call each other "brother." Women never entered formal friendship alliances of this type.

8.3.9. Homosexual relations, berdaches, and bestiality did not occur, nor would our sources admit to necrophilia, exhibitionism, or voyeurism. Kiiookii seemed familiar with "peg-pulling" as a means whereby a boy at night aroused a sleeping girl and got her to follow him.

Not for Resale

8.4. *Ingroup norms.* Much of this section will treat attitudes about property and offenses against life.

8.4.1. The attitude toward real property is illuminated by the custom of a hunter sharing his game with other families living in the microcosmic band. Sometimes this meant the food that the successful hunter had carried home. At other times the whole camp moved to the scene of a bear or caribou kill to divide the meat. In hunting itself people "walked" anywhere or fished in any stream within the territory of the macrocosmic group. The notion of territorial ownership by families did not appear until after the arrival of the Hudson's Bay Company. A beaver house was not explicitly owned by the person who first discovered it, although by blazing a tree near a den (prior to contact?) a man indicated a claim (Honigmann, 1954, p. 88). Similarly, people set fish weirs as they pleased, never disputing rights to a particular site. On the other hand, it was illegal for somebody to set one trap upriver from another when no stream entered between the two points. Setting nets close together brought no comment. Dwellings seemed to have been owned more clearly than land and by men, regardless of who had done most of the construction (4.2; 4.3). On the other hand, considering that a man's personal objects were freely appropriated by a brother or son, it is unlikely that ownership of a house carried much real power. Ownership of food caches also remained limited. Someone in need who found a cache could take what he needed. Then he carefully saw to it that word of what had happened reached the owner, thus distinguishing his behavior from theft. A victim of theft demanded return of the stolen goods of their equivalent. Stealing did not ordinarily lead to physical violence. Sometimes a shaman divined in order to discover a thief (9.5). Finding lost property conferred a right of possession only when the previous owner could not be identified; otherwise the finder was bound to turn over the goods.

8.4.2. Murder, including first degree killing and manslaughter (even killing in self-defense), led to direct vengeance or retaliation by sorcery. An accidental killing, such as occurred in a hunting accident following a misconception ("one did not know that a person was there") did not carry a predictable threat of vengeance. In other cases a brother or parent (father?) of the victim often used his dream power (9.3) to avenge the death or else called upon a strong shaman for help, offering payment in the form of skins, meat, or other valuables. That night the shaman directed sorcery against the intended victim who, it is important to note, possessed enough power of his own to know what was happening (see 9.7). In more direct retaliation, a kinsman of the deceased never sought to kill a relative of the murderer. Vengeance sometimes led to feuding but steps to block a cycle of retaliatory acts would quickly be taken by "the grandfather" of one of the victims. A man fearing vengeance from kinsmen of his victim might flee and seek shelter with a kind person, usually an older man. The latter would bury the refugee under snow and through lying throw off the pursuers when they arrived. There existed no pattern of avoiding blood or symbolic vengeance through payment. The good

Not for Resale

offices of neighbors, however, helped to settle less serious quarrels.

8.4.3. Miscellaneous conventions included the custom of a woman in public sitting on her buttocks with her knees together. A man's proper sitting position was less explicitly defined; generally he knelt, knees apart, body resting on his buttocks. Any sanctions against incest could not be ascertained and the offense does not appear to have been threatened by death or banishment. Persons who developed a violent psychopathology were bound.

8.5. *War.* The long history of European and, later, Canadian power in James Bay is associated with the practical disappearance of even any traditions about war. In distinction to certain other aboriginal culture patterns, fighting (which was anyhow not prevalent) must have ceased by 1700. According to Kiiookii and Atooket, long ago the Attawapiskat Cree fought off attacks by Eskimo (eciimee'wak). These supposedly did not come only from the north but also from the east coast of James Bay, around the foot of the Bay, where Moosonee is now. The Eskimo are said to have fought with bows and arrows. They scalped victims and stole children. It is possible that accounts of enemy penetration from the south refer to raids by Huron or Iroquois Indians, after whom the Nottoway River in the southeast corner of the Bay is named (Swanton, 1952, p. 233). However, we do not believe that these tribes ever reached far up the west coast. Rather, Kiiookii must have heard of their forays on his east coast travels. Eskimo raids from the north appear also to have taken place and the Cree pursued those enemies into the barren ground that shelves Hudson Bay. Both our main informants denied that the Attawapiskat people raided the Ojibwa. For protection from kidnapping in war parents hid children in snow pits. Armor and shields remained unknown but a shaman's power offered great protection to warriors. According to Kiiookii purificatory techniques, like vomiting and sweat bathing, removed the "bad smell" of enemy killing.

9. COPING WITH UNCERTAINTY AND DANGER

Uncertainty coupled with danger certainly lay in travel and the food quest, as well as in old age, violence, theft, and many other situations of aboriginal life already touched upon. We have described how the Cree tried directly to meet those threats. The subject now is another menacing area, one of largely unseen threatening agents but not unreal to the Indians. Also we will discuss the counterpart, postulated helpers who functioned to restore order in the somewhat unpredictable world of direct experience. For the Muskeg Dwellers postulated a relatively elaborate structure of agents or powers that worked both for the benefit of man and against his interests. Their conceptions also included means for bringing under apparent control areas of living that could not be handled solely through human actions or by reference to empirically observable relationships. Anyone could see that a man obtained food through perseverant hunting or that hunting maintained life. Anyone could see that a traveler proceeded upstream through exerting energy with his paddle. To a certain extent the relevance of techniques to ends was readily apparent. But why

Not for Resale

did game sometimes elude a hunter? Why did men differ in ability? Why did death sometimes, and unpredictably, visit a house? Why at other times did sickness disappear, leaving the patient well? Certain beliefs of the Cree helped them both to explain such uncertainties and to do something about the dangers indicated.

Despite difficulty in getting informants to think along these lines, in comparison to other areas of Attawapiskat culture (say social organization) religion reveals a high degree of elaboration. In more operational terms, the food quest, travel-transportation, recreation, and religion are four areas of culture for which our respondents could provide many patterns. Data will be presented under the following categories: general concepts, avoidances and related observances, dream quest, shamans, divination, curing, sorcery, and, finally, death and eschatology.

9.1. *General concepts.* Cooper (1933) through intensive field work sought to learn if the concept of a Supreme Being in James Bay (Great or Old Spirit, ki'tciimanitoo or kiicee'manitoo) antedates European contact. Part of his data come from the Attawapiskat area. For example, Jeannette Sagaba'kiskam (who, despite having been born in Attawapiskat was reared in Fort Albany) told him (pp. 47-48) that "There was only one Manitū" and "He was always above." She admitted, however, a bad manitoo (ma'tciimanitoo). Frank Rickard is said to have lived for 27 years on the northern half of the west coast. Yet he spoke in the dialect of Moose Factory (or else Father Cooper's interpreter is quoted) when he said (pp. 44, 46): "Before prayer the manitoo was, the people say. But, certainly they did not know what manitoo" (translation ours). At Fort Albany Patrick Steven (p. 50) told Cooper "'Before the ministers came the Indians knew only ma'nitū and there was no Kitci Manitū.' ". The same informant (p. 52) denied belief in a "Matci Manitū" "'Till they got the Bible.'" Cooper's data from other parts of James Bay were somewhat more explicit. On their basis he concludes (p. 76): "All informants agreed that the Supreme Being was really the master or 'boss' of all things in general, including mankind" and (p. 75) "was consistently conceived of as being somewhere above." He is convinced that the belief in a Supreme Being antedates contact. However, prior to contact "The more common name by which the Supreme Deity was known was simply Manitū . . . the name Kitci Manitū seems to have come in after the arrival of the missionaries" (p. 74). "The Manitū was clearly personal in the minds of my informants, and not identified with personal supernatural force" (p. 75).[24]

Our data conflict consistently with Cooper's position so far as it pertains to the Attawapiskat area. Testimony secured from Kiiookii and Atooket confirms Skinner's (1911, p. 59) statement that there existed no belief in a personalized Supreme Being aboriginaly. Although one

[24]We would point out Cooper's somewhat unjustified procedure in translating "manitoo" as masculine and personal. The Cree verb does not inflect for sex gender. Has Cooper verified that manitoo is masculine? That it is an animate noun is certain but usually it refers to an impersonal reference (cf., Sieber, 1950, p. 77).

Not for Resale

informant admitted that the concept of kiiceemanitoo antedated the arrival of missionaries it did so only because a powerful shaman is said to have dreamed of kiiceemanitoo shortly before the arrival of the priests. Dreaming provided a basis for knowing the future and in this case it allowed prediction of the coming of the missionaries. Informants could not understand allusions to an abstract, impersonal manitoo similar to the Siouan concept of wakonda. The term kiiceemanitoo was never applied to the sun (but see 7.4). Jake Carpenter, however, said that the moon was a manitoo, perhaps referring to the identification of Tcikapic with that body (7.6). Kiiookii also firmly denied any concept of a matciimanitoo for the pre-contact period but Jake Carpenter contradicted him. Kiiookii recognized, of course, that the Indians aboriginally had postulated entities unfavorable to man. For example, a masculine being led travelers astray during a snowstorm and mista'pew, a giant, inspired fear for reasons not clear. The 18 or 20 inch long tracks of the latter might occasionally be encountered in the snow and he also manifested his presence through whistling. Mi'ciihamisk, "big beaver," who lived in a specific lake that drained into the Attawapiskat River, also aroused fear. Some Indians had seen his body which was the size of a polar bear (Speck, 1935, pp. 110-112). Nobody conceived of the big beaver as a beaver overlord. Big otter (mi'ciiniikik) seems more to have promoted respect than terror, although the line between the two emotions in Attawapiskat may have been an uncertain one. People passing the big otter's residence went quietly and avoided laughing. His dwelling lay on a rocky island in the middle of some rapids on the upper Attawapiskat River. Here he caught fish, eating the bodies but leaving the heads for people to find. Long ago some white men came down the river unwittingly talking and laughing until their vessel overturned in the rapids. They lost their lives through having offended miciinikik. Certain monsters inhabited mountains like those near Sutton Lake. People who approached close to a mountain could often hear the echolike ring of the monsters' voices.

One old man once put his house up near a mountain. In the evening as the sun was about to set the children were playing outdoors, making considerable noise. Then they heard the animal on the mountain howl (or growl). The old man ordered them to stop playing. At dawn the monster came from the mountain and approached the camp. It knew there was an old man in the dwelling. A big lake separated the mountain from the house and the animal crossed the lake. The Indian went out alone to meet it. The two met in the middle of the lake. The old man's guardians were all around him and they attacked the monster as the old man watched. Then the old man went along the lake to where a tree stood. Here he rested. When he returnd the monster had been eaten by the guardians. The old man went home and everyone felt glad.

Underwater man (naame'sininiw, An.), or "fish man" to give the literal translation, in size as well as form resembled a true human being. He wore his hair long and tangled. Living in James Bay, south of Attawapiskat and near the estuary of the Kapiskaw River, he was "not good" and inspired fear in people. Sometimes in summer, as the sun set and the tide came in, one might see the underwater

Not for Resale

people swimming and diving, even entering Kapiskaw River for a short distance. Underwater beings were also associated with one of a pair of lakes southwest of Winisk, near the head of a tributary of the Winisk River. In the season of high water two human beings, frightening and long-haired, were sometimes seen emerging from their waters. Dwarf people (Sing., memeekwee'ciw, An.), who also lived in water and lacked a true nose, occasioned no fear in Indians who encountered them. But neither did they render any service to the people (Speck, 1935, pp. 72-73; Mandelbaum, 1940, p. 263; Sieber, 1950, p. 76). Tcikaapic, the hero of many tales, was himself a small man but remarkably strong and, apparently for that reason, feared (7.6). Among the only "animal masters" whom Kiiookii recalled was Great Caribou, ki'tciihaatik (Cooper, 1933, p. 48). Very old, he apparently ruled the caribou and directed representatives of the species to hunters (Speck, 1935, p. 83). "Man of the North" and Tanner's (1944, p. 580) katci-medgizu (ki'tciimitcisiw?) could not be identified.

9.1.1. It is somewhat surprising that none of these concepts enjoyed great importance as far as explaining the order of events was concerned. As conceived of by the Cree, they hardly represent explanatory nor particularly powerful entities. They are only weakly articulated with other aspect sof culture. For more significant, explanatory concepts we must wait until we come to avoidances and the vision quest (9.2, 9.3).

9.1.2. In an emotionally more significant position than the foregoing general concepts stood the wii'tiko (An.), male and female representatives of which sometimes reached heights greater than a church steeple. So cannibalistic were those beings that they even consumed their own fingers and lips to arrest the craving for human flesh. Hiding in the bush, always naked, a wiitiko betrayed his presence by tracks. At night he might be heard whistling in the forest, and parents dissuaded children from whistling at night. Sometimes a wiitiko pursued a traveler but never into camp; fire and barking dogs kept the being from approaching near a dwelling. Shamans sought out wiitikowak to kill them or sometimes fought the creatures in dreams. Kiiookii agreed that a starving person driven in desperation to eat human flesh (sometimes?) became a wiitiko. But a younger informant defined a wiitiko as a person who having died rises again as a normal being but with exceptionally strong powers. He can penetrate objects, cross rivers, and is invulnerable. Today at any rate the concept seems to be very loosely and contradictorily structured. It is also merged with ootci'skwaatciw by young men. To Atooket the two concepts remained quite distinct. Male and female ootciskwaatciwwak (they resembled human beings) remained occupied in looking for human victims to eat. Often they too ate their own lips out of cannibalistic hunger but they did not reach giant stature. The loud heart beat of an ootciskwaatciw announced his arrival in a vicinity.

9.2. *Observances.* The practices pertaining to animals, sex, and other subjects now to be examined appear to have been carried out with purpose. Hence they may be regarded as instrumental, or coping,

Not for Resale

techniques in comparison to other rituals (for example the expressive avoidances occurring between certain kin).

9.2.1. While he could not comprehend the concept of hunting as "holy," Kiiookii readily admitted to a series of avoidances governing the treatment of slain animals. For the bear (black and white) a quite explicit ritual complex existed, beginning with the silent apology to the animal offered by some men even before they killed it. After approaching the dead creature the hunter sat silently and, following the introduction of tobacco, smoked a few minutes. Following skinning, a token offering of food might be made to the pelt, usually a bit of fish. In postcontact years a blanket might be provided for the skin to rest upon. One feels that deliberate irreverence toward the carcass was avoided. Pointing to a bear in the bush occasioned no moral reaction but such a gesture was improper around the place of butchering (Skinner, 1911, p. 71). A small piece of the animal's heart went into the fire; the bones and paws were burned. Men and boys ate the bear head after it had cooked over the fire, suspended from a rawhide line. No special significance attached to any particular portion. Women could eat portions of the animal other than the head and heart. Certain men, zealous about their shamanistic power, painted black stripes horizontally across the skull of a bear and diagonal lines from the eyes downward. They then deposited the skull in a tree near camp, but never in the Hudson Bay Company store as they know the Fort Albany Indians did (Skinner, 1911, p. 70). Perhaps the old way of life survived longer in the Sutton River basin than further south. At any rate, Atooket recalled his father depositing unpainted bear skulls in trees, like people used to do "a hundred years ago." Old men occasionally manufactured and wore bear claw necklaces but people avoided the use of black bear grease on the hair, hands, or face. Such grease might cause the hair to fall out. An old man shortened his life by eating bear's tongue. Titles of respect did not exist for the bear nor was the usual designation, maskwa, avoided in the animal's presence. No avoidance (like that reported for Ghost River, Ontario) on picking berries during a bear hunt occurred in Attawapiskat.

9.2.2. Animal observances may conveniently be presented in the following summary fashion (see also 3.7.10):

Avoided as food by women:	Head and heart of bears, caribou. moose, beaver, marten, and otter; caribou tongue; beaver head; foetal caribou (denied by Atooket), and foetal rabbit.
Ceremonial deposition of bones:	Bear, caribou, moose, game birds, marten, otter, and wolf. In the case of beaver, the bones were returned to the water so as not to offend the animal and lose the ability to hunt it successfully. Caribou bones were cached in trees or willows. The skeletons of geese and ducks could be cached in a tree, burned, or thrown into the water.
First fruits ceremonies:	Caribou, moose, beaver, geese, duck. In the spring the first goose and duck was cooked without detaching the wings. Failure to do this meant that the species might not come again (see Cooper, 1933, p. 77).

Not for Resale

All people avoided beaver blood lest through eating it they come to spit blood afterwards.

9.2.3. Caribou involved special ceremony to the extent that the first one slain in winter prompted a small feast marked by dancing and singing (Skinner, 1911, p. 40). Women avoided eating the entire head and heart of the animal but without thought that the soul resided in any of these parts. Playing with buzz toys ceased with the approach of winter because the noise frightened caribou from the locale. People never pierced a slain caribou's eyes to prevent the animal from witnessing its own butchering.

9.2.4. The scarcity of dogs aboriginally may be related to the absence of explicit avoidances regarding that animal's diet. The careful deposition of many animal bones, of course, effectively prevented what dogs there were from eating game (Mason, 1941, p. 28). Kiiookii spoke of ritual eating of a dog by men shortly prior to the expected arrival of caribou in winter. The eating enhanced the shaman's ability to predict the location of the herds. Dog sacrifice for Cree Indians is reported by Cooper (1933, p. 66), Mandelbaum (1940, p. 197), and Mason (1941, p. 60).

9.2.5. Use of loon charms on nets, the decoration and preservation of goose heads (Skinner, 1911, pp. 73-74) or avoidance of cutting the windpipe of a goose (reported to us for Ghost River, Ontario) could not be recalled.

9.2.6. Because women were dangerous during menstruation and probably also at the time of parturition, precautions surrounded these processes. The Indians had no theory of menstruation although the customary term (pii'simooaspinee'win) clearly links it to the moon (pii'sim). Women probably employed no means to catch the menstrual flow (but see 5.1.3). A menstruant—at least at menarchy—observed seclusion in a small shelter located close to the regular dwelling (4.4). Nobody used the dish from which the girl ate at this time and later it was burned. Atooket and Kiiookii remained uncertain about periodic seclusion after menarchy (also uncertain is Sieber, 1950, p. 22). They denied that a woman during her menstrual period refrained from any customary activities. She would not, however, at that time step across a man's snowshoes and even in 1948 slept apart from her husband (See also Mason, 1941, p. 49). At menarchy a girl tried to keep occupied, even if only by picking needles from spruce brush. By way of explanation Kiiookii offered only the belief that isloation made work desirable. In her camp the girl frequently rattled three or four sticks, "same as play." That the sound symbolized a warning to men is a logical conjecture. Neither scratching stick, drinking tube, hood or cloak, specific food avoidances, or feast formed part of the attenuated menstural seclusion complex. From the fifth month sex relations ceased, not to be resumed until about two months after confinement. Information indicates that men avoided the place of birth. Shamans would not use their powers to deal with matters like conception or parturition.

9.2.7. Miscellaneous observances included not whistling after dark for fear of attracting a wiitiko (9.1.2.), and not counting poles in erecting a conical dwelling lest ill fortune follow. Cooper (1933, p.

Not For Resale

46, p. 58) reports a careful avoidance of carrying meat uncovered out of doors and also a practice of feeding the fire with pieces of meat (p. 54). Cannibalism was avoided partly because of the serious illness it brought on. A man who committeed this act vomited, lost a measure of control over his behavior, and soon lost all appetite. Women felt no constraint in expressing breast milk on the ground (Honigmann, 1954, p. 119).

9.3. *Dream quest.* The dream state under certain circumstances is thought to have constituted a kind of possession (piitci'skawew, "It takes possession of him") in which the dreamer was entered by a helper—a conceptualized counterpart of an animal, rain, snow, a cloud, star, wind, tree, stone, fish, sun, moon, or the Big Water that was James Bay. Getting explicit information on this subject did not prove easy perhaps, as one old man explained, because since people have started to worship (in church) "they gave up all their dreams and dreams no longer bother them."

9.3.1. Boys and girls made a deliberate attempt to secure helpers by dreaming. Toward that end each sex, but especially boys, spent time in solitude, starting when about ten years old. Boys spent as long as a month at a time in the bush; girls somewhat shorter periods. The dreamer's camp might be only 200 feet from the house but the important point was to live there without fire and eat only lightly. "Just the same church," Kiiookii explained. The quest might be unsuccessful but it could also be wonderful, as when a cloud, giant goose, tree, or a cannibal being spoke to the seeker. The potency of the experience depended in part on the details remaining a secret with the recipient who knew, however, that he had received power which would increase with age. For three days the youth ate little, looked at nobody, and hid under a piece of caribou skin in his family dwelling. Then came a feast to which the father invited neighbors and at which the youth danced publicly displaying an animal skin (Petitot in Skinner, 1911, p. 63). Two or three years usually elapsed before a ten year old dreamer tried to perform the work of a miteew or shaman (9.4). A vision secured without living in the bush conferred little power. Some seekers slept on scaffolds located between trees in ordr to solicit more powerful helpers. Kiiookii pointed out that the higher one went the more powerful the dream. A week on a scaffold six feet high enabled one to see "deer, moose, not much." At eleven feet more powerful visitants appeared while two weeks on the highest level brought "anybody; cloud every one kind." High in the boughs, in the evening after sundown, when the wind had died, the dreamer might feel the tree shake. This constituted evidence that the quest was finished. To remain too long might turn the seeker into an animal (Skinner, 1911, p. 61). Other men, to secure powerful helpers, sometimes dug a hollow in the ice and slept there for three nights. While sex did not debar a person from securing a helper and a girl might receive strong power, she could never exceed a man's potency. Sometimes girls dreamed of copulating with a bear or other animal and men experienced sexual contacts with female animal helpers, their dreams being accompanied by seminal emissions. Such experiences meant the

Not for Resale

acquisition of much power but they never prevented the dreamer from marrying.

9.3.2. Dreams could also produce illness or other trouble. Kiiookii gave the case of an old woman who heard a black bear tell her not to speak to anyone and not to eat bear meat lest she die. She became extremely fearful (but "not crazy"), refusing to eat, never leaving her tent, weeping for long periods, not seeing anybody, and talking to herself. The same case, termed a wiitiko psychosis, is described by Saindon (1928, p. 28).

9.4 *Shamans.* The term miteew' refers to a dreamer; not to any dreamer, but to a person whose dreams had brought him a nonphysical kind of strength that we shall call power. Every person who successfully dreamed of power being bestowed on him by helpers was a miteew. Shamans did not have a stronger or different souls from other people. Some men received help from a greater number of sources, or from more powerful helpers, than others. With such assistance the miteew could divine, cure, perform sorcery, defeat a wiitiko, and conjure. But apart from thse esoteric matters, a person with power did everything well: he made fine snowshoes, a good canoe, hunted successfully, never became ill, and lived long (Sieber 1950, pp. 78ff). He worked hard and shared much food with other band members. Often today it is difficult to tell if an informant uses the word miteew to designate a very powerful dreamer (that is, one with an outstanding reputation for divination and curing) or for any person with power. Certainly any degree of power allowed a man or woman to try to cure. In event of failure another miteew would be sought. In this way men with especially outstanding reputations for power came to be recognized. Kiiookii estimated that about ten such men might have existed in the widely dispersed population of the Attawapiskat area at any one time.

9.4.1. Sometimes a miteew carried a caribou skin bag slung over his right shoulder. This contained his "medicines": bones of a goose, fish, moose, bear, white whale, ptarmigan, or porcupine, as well as roots. The informant did not say so but perhaps these objects symbolized power sources of which the miteew had dreamed and that were themselves postulated to contain concentrated power. Kiiookii affirmed that a dreamer also refrained from eating animals that corresponded to his helpers.

9.4.2. Dreamers sometimes impressed a prospective patient or victim with their abilities through engaging in contests of power with one another or in conjuring for an audience. Atooket had heard of shamans ridiculing one another through singing as they stood at opposite ends of a dwelling. No drum was used but sometimes one man would shake the other to show him his lack of fear. Time must be acknowledged to have exaggerated the jugglery or a highly reputed shaman but informants insisted that he could not only stop shotgun pellets with his clothing but could fire an unloaded gun and eat red hot iron.

9.4.3. The term mitee'wiiwin designates the activities of any miteew.[25] We agree with Cooper (1933, p. 111) that Skinner's (1911,

[25]Not to be confused with mitewee'win, "play".

Not for Resale

pp. 62-63) references to a "Midewiwin" Society apply not to the James Bay Cree but probably to inland Indians whom the latter encountered at Fort Albany. We did not learn of any association of ranked shamans in aboriginal Attawapiskat. Kiiookii accepted the suggestion of annual summer gatherings of shamans but denied any notion of these as formal occasions marked by conjuring. This probably means the gatherings consisted of fortuitous assemblies of men who, as most men did, possessed dream helpers.

9.5 *Divination.* Related to the fact that shamans' deeds have become exaggerated with time is the difficulty of discriminating between accounts of normal (or routine) divination and feats of wonder-working or conjuring in which the people believed. That a shaman foretold the coming of white men is probably an instance of retrospective magnification. That shamans divined the cause of illness may refer to routine divination. Neither was dream power indispensable for foretelling the future as the two terms for divination indicate: papee'wiiwin, already discussed above (3.6), refers to a means of foretelling the future in which anybody could engage by manipulating suitable oracles; manitoo'keewin, on the other hand, designates divination performed with the aid of dream helpers and apparently constitutes but a small area of related activities to which the general term miteewiiwin applies (9.4.3).

9.5.1. Concerning manitookeewin, this word refers to such practices as a shaman dreaming in his sleep of what was to come; seeing the future in a pool of water (Speck, 1935, p. 159), or beating a drum, the tympanum of which supported a small object whose "jumps" indicated the direction of game (Tanner, 1944, p. 643). A miteew divined a thief by looking through holes drilled in caribou and moose bones or a tube of spruce bark which he swung around until he could discern clearly. No singing preceded or accompanied these acts of divination.

9.5.2. The most spectacular mode of divination required construction of a kosapa'tcikan, or "shaking tent," in which the miteew retired. A shaman entered a kosapatcikan not only to foretell the future but also to diagnose illness, for sorcery, and help promote general good fortune. Any season made a suitable time for working in the shaking tent but the practice always occurred at night. The miteeew or, more usually, his client (someone who wished to benefit from the mitteew's power) went into the bush, perhaps eighty feet from the closest dwellings. Here he constructed a structure of poles, three feet in diameter at the base and 10 or 12 feet high but closing in (like a tipi?) on top. A spruce bark cover was sewn in place, leaving only an entry. Spruce boughs provided the carpet.[26] The shaman made no fire when he

[26]A Moose Factory informant spoke of a barrel-shaped kospatcikan containing a pole floor covered with a layer of grass. The poles for the walls of the lodge were thrust into the earth under the flooring and then were held upright with the aid of three flexible (willow?) pole hoops lashed in place with spruce root or other line. After contact, according to the same source, the lodge came to have a roof of double canvas between which shot was put to rattle as the building shook.

Not for Resale

entered the structure. As a matter of fact, no fire was even laid near the building but we could not learn why. Sitting in customary fashion, knees forward and resting on the back of his legs, the shaman began to sing a wordless chant in which he stated his request: to kill by sorcery, learn the future, promote good hunting, discover a wiitiko, or cure a patient. He sang to the power source which, after some time (3 to 6 hours said Kiiookii) manifested itself and refused or granted the request. When the source entered or approached the lodge the structure shook, as from a heavy wind. Sometimes a rattle or empty tin containing shotgun pellets, which had been suspended in the lodge, shook when the power source entered. Spectators outside the structure witnessed the spectacle and called questions to the diviner.[27]

We received the following account from James Ookiimawininiw:

> I have seen my father make a kosapatcikan for a man, George Wapino. This fellow, Wapino, didn't help because he was the one that was going to work in there. The fellow, Wapino, then put on new clothes and went into the tent to kosapatam in the night. When they go in the tent they just hear voices of whatever animals they want to conjure up. The lodge poles are bent over on the top, closing the roof . . . People outside watched and they heard the voices. The voices were animal sounds, all kinds of animals. The people heard voices. I did not stay around because I was too young. The people watching heard both animal sounds and human words. Not every man could do this. Their dreams were talking . . . Their voices were high up, where the poles were bent across, that's where the voices were sitting and the shaman faced the ground in all this.

When the power sources had departed, the miteew revealed what he had discovered. Following its use the building was immediately

[27]We have notes of the kosapatcikan as recalled by the Cree of Peace River Crossing and Vermilion, Alberta (Honigmann, 1943). Poles taller than a man's head were firmly planted, close together, in a circle wide enough for two men to enter. Willow splints lashed the poles together at three places. A rope tied around the structure anchored it to a tree or to the ground. The lodge was then covered with several pieces of rawhide. The shaman did not help to build the lodge, although he remained present and urged the builder to construct a strong building. Two informants failed to mention an entrance. According to one man the lodge was built inside of a big tipi. The shaman, holding his drum, was covered with a piece of moosehide or a blanket (sometimes after being bound) and placed close to the kosapatcikan. At first another man began to sing. The shaman disappeared, entering the lodge. "Then you can hear all sorts of animals inside. The man sings. The house shakes. He goes in there to tell the future. Sometimes his spirit goes away to see the future." Another eyewitness stressed the stoutness of the kosapatcikan. "I didn't quite believe it. All of a sudden the blanket just went flat and I heard him inside. He was singing there. It didn't take long before he told us that the woman was still alive but that she was pretty sick and wouldn't last long . . . If anybody wanted to find out about relatives all they had to do is fill up a pipe and hand it in. I filled my pipe, lit it, and handed it in. My pipe was pretty near lit but this thing was drawing on it so hard it was nearly in a blaze . . . The pipe came out—bowl red hot. It happened that I asked about my wife's relatives. So it came back and told us that her folks were all right. 'Same as the last time you see them,' he says. There were some more sounds we didn't understand come out of the tipi. This man's wife was interpreting. She could understand this language this thing was talking."

Not for Resale

disassembled, the poles being laid to face east (Mason, 1941, p. 70, says never to be used again). Doffing headgear during the act of taking down a kosapatcikan, avoiding touching the building with rabbit skin, or keeping women from contact with the poles remained unknown customs until mentioned by the ethnographer. Kiiookii thought the mitteew may have been carried into the lodge while bound and that sometimes the power sources possessed and spoke through him. Ookiimawininiw denied both suggestions.

9.6. *Healing.* Curing of illness could be accomplished with or without the use of dream helpers. This section describes, first, healing accomplished through a shaman's power, including the curing of mental illness, and sweatbathing; second, curing with the aid of plant medicines and other physical agents of therapy. It is not implied that anything esoteric adheres to the latter practices which are included here mainly to treat the subject conveniently in one place.

9.6.1. A miteew cured by utilizing his dream power in two principle techniques: singing (Kiiookii objected to the statement that the shaman "prayed," although he admitted occasions when people did pray) and drumming. In singing the curer stretched his hand over a container of water which after some time (two hours?) became "strong." Then the patient drank the liquid. If the latter did not improve the shaman returned and tried a different cure. For example, he would cut shavings of spruce brush, sing over them with a drum, and offer them to the patient to eat. The miteew did not return a third time. Failure of the sick person to recover indicated death to be inevitable. On the other hand, relatives might seek out another miteew with more potent helpers. Confession also formed part of the curing process, the practitioner reciting offenses whose commission the patient denied or affirmed. (The contemporary word for the Catholic sacrament of confession does not cover the aboriginal pattern.) In place of a drum the shaman might also shake a skin rattle. Some illness came away through sucking, after which the miteew spat out the substance which he had extracted—blood, a small moose bone from the chest, slivers of wood, or grass. The shaman applied his lips or a small bark tube (after contact a gun barrel) to the skin of the patient. Sore body parts were sometimes healed through the application of the corresponding part of a bear's carcass by a miteew with power derived from a bear. A song accompanied the therapy. The patient or his relatives paid for curing immediately, a skin or manufactured object being the customary recompense. Shamans did not return payment in the event of death. No sex specialization marked shamanistic curing; that is, a miteew of either sex attended any patient.

9.6.2. Not every shaman, but only one with very potent dream helpers, could cure behavioral disorders. The symptoms of such disorders included eating brush and other inedibles, tearing clothing, or walking in the snow without footwear. Inability to keep food on the stomach, which sometimes followed cannibalism, also fell in this category (9.2.7). The miteew's singing, accompanied by the ingestion of powerful

Not for Resale

substances, restored the victim's health. Following is a less successful story:

Two girls with mental illness came to a miteew's tent. They entered and watched the miteew as they sat on the ground. The shaman gave them some meat to eat. They took it and pretended to eat but spat it out inside their clothing. Then one went to sleep because it was night. They lay down near the door but only pretended to sleep. After the fire died down and the tipi was dark they stood up and were going to kill the occupants of the dwelling. But the miteew stood up. Instantly the girls lay down again. The old man dreamed many things. All gave him knowledge. He told the girls he could not cure them. A man went to cut a hole in the ice. The miteew seized the girls and accompanied them to the water and plunged them in. The water in the lake began to surge under the ice and the ice lifted, although it was a foot thick. Everybody was afraid. Then it stopped. The girls were dead.

9.6.3. Sweatbathing disappeared 30 years ago but seems to have required the presence of a miteew and so may correspond to a shamanistic cure. On the other hand, the possibility that use of the sudatory falls into both the types of curing which we distinguish should not be overlooked. Mainly used in winter, the sweat lodge has already been described (4.4). After steaming himself the bather plunged into cold water. Sweatbathing produced luck in hunting.

9.6.4. A brief list of plant remedies, which did not require administration by a shaman, follow:

Muskeg tea. Used for toothache, blisters, blisters on the lips, but not for retention of urine (as Skinner, 1911, p. 76, reports for "Kakige'bûk").

Oskiitee'puk (a short plant growing along rivers but not found in muskeg). The leaf boiled in a little water for 1½ hours formed material for a poultice that relieved swellings. Sometimes plain hot water served the same purpose.

Tamarack bark. A cup of the external bark boiled in two cups of water for half an hour served to stop the flow of blood from a fresh cut.

Spruce gum. Applied to the swolien surface of cuts, the gum remained in place overnight with treatment being repeated in the morning.

Balsam gum. A teaspoonful boiled in three cups of water for three hours provided a remedy for retention of urine.

Wikee'suk (a grass found in muskeg). One piece of grass shredded and soaked in two cups of lukewarm water for four hours provided a substance for an effective poultice to promote healing of a deep cut slow to heal otherwise. This very strong medicine should not stay in place more than 15 or 20 minutes.

Wild rhubarb. Half a cup of the root boiled in two cups of water for 20 or 30 minutes provided material for a poultice against slow-healing cuts.

Willow bark. Shredded and moistened with water, the bark made a good poultice for burns, which were first bathed in cold water. Shredded red willow bark cooked in water was applied to an instep inflamed from walking with snowshoes.

Spruce cones. Ten or 15 boiled in a quart of water for two hours made a beverage to heal sore throat. A cupful used as an eyewash helped to guard against snowblindness. A hot solution in a container placed between the legs also served to cure snowblindness. The patient sat hunched over the vessel, his head covered with a robe.

Kaka'kiminatiwak (a vine with edible blueberries). A cupful of the vine cut up and boiled in a quart of water relieved heart pain, sore back, and limb ache.

Spruce needles. New needles boiled with an equal quantity of water for 1½ hours provided a medicine to relieve chest coughs (but Kiiookii seemed somewhat uncertain about the use of spruce needles for this end).

Not for Resale

Plain hot water taken till the stomach was full induced vomiting. For overeating people chewed spruce gum. Snow helped to thaw out frozen body parts while ice applied to the head relieved headache. Surgery among the Cree meant cutting blisters, setting broken bones (after which the limb was bathed in warm water), and amputating a frozen part not larger than toe or finger. The use of warmth to relieve tired calf muscles has been described (4.3) and heat applied through hot stones eased stomach and other pain. In fact, heat application represented a relatively common form of therapy in aboriginal Attawapiskat. Wood ash (from spruce or poplar) mixed with water and rubbed on the scalp to stay for half a day killed lice. A loche skin bag or rabbit stomach (the latter useless in winter when it broke easily) provided the water bag of the enema which was used to relieve constipation. The open end of the bag fitted over a willow bark tube or hollow goose bone. The water from an enema, which was always injected while lukewarm, might first be boiled with some balsam fibers or fish grease added. Crutches are reported to have been used aboriginally.

9.6.5. The following patterns of therapy did not obtain: boiled spruce bark for cuts; inner birch bark, cottonwood, or poplar bark boiled; charcoal, red ochre, fish eggs, whitefish oil ingested; bone plugs for toothache; burned squirrel tail tip; nasal mucous applied to burns; bleeding, including bleeding of eye vessels for snowblindness; tooth extraction with chisel or any other way; swallowing of a skin line to induce vomiting; skin line introduced in the rectum for an enema; sinew to cure toothache; name changing; Cesarian section, and trepanation. People knew no cure for barrenness.

9.7. *Sorcery.* In the opinion of the Indians, considerable illness came through the agency of malevolent sorcerers. Any miteew could request aid from his dream helpers to promote injury and the victim could as easily be a good person as a wicked one. In some stories told of sorcery no apparent offense motivates the deed. An explanation probably lies in the use of sorcery as a *post hoc* explanation for illness, A man fell ill and the event was ascribed to a shaman who, without thereby admitting the act, was then employed to cure his alleged victim. Old men were especially dangerous sorcerers (8.3.2). The next section gives some techniques of sorcery. There is little chance that the frequency with which these were manifestly employed can be reconstructed.

9.7.1. Often hair served the sorcerer's purpose. Having secured even a single strand from the head of an intended victim, the miteew sang over, and then discarded, it. Presently the owner felt pain in his head. Fingernail parings served the same end and shamans carried parings, perhaps to maintain their control over people. Small sticks or miniature arrows burned in fire to the accompaniment of singing and drumming caused the objects to fly from the fire and to "hit" somebody. In turn, when a curer sucked an intrusive object from the body of a patient he often ascribed its origin to a sorcerer and returned it to the sender. Thus, shamans constantly dueled with one another through matching their powers. Often, however, the opponent

Not for Resale

of a curer was an anonymous practioner located in a distant macroscopic band. Any shaman remained vulnerable to attacks from a miteew stronger than he. In view of this belief, it is not surprising that a strong shaman inspired fear as well as respect or that a man with reputedly strong power could dominate people and exploit women sexually.

9.7.2. The following account of sorcery came from James Ookiima-winniniw (born about 1881).[28]

> This shaman in the kosapatcikan was angry with somebody and he was trying to kill his enemy. George Wapino was conjuring George Williams, who had taken his wife away from him. George Wapino thought that after he got his enemy into the kosapatcikan, the latter would not be able to get out and would die there. While George was conjuring the fellow being sorcerized would die, even though he was far away at the time. The animals were coming who were his dreams. People made a little bone, the size of the first joint of the finger. While the dream helpers came the bone shot through the person being sorcerized.

Another incident from the same informant:

> Once I pretty near died at Niialkaw. We were going back and I woke up at night and I had a pain in my right side, like a cramp, right here below the armpit. I could hardly breathe. I could only breathe half. Then I brought up a lot of blood. I dreamed that I knew what was making me sick. It was something about the size of my index finger. I dreamed that I was taking it out. I thought it was a man who was making me sick . . . I don't know the man. I dreamed that it was a fellow from here. I had gotten a loan of an accordion from a fellow, Opakwone, and I didn't break it, but I dreamed that it was this fellow, because I got him mad, even though I didn't break it . . . That's why he tried to kill me, because he got mad.

How the omnipresent threat or possibility of sorcery may have helped to maintain deferential relations in the society of aboriginal Attawapiskat is apparent from these accounts (see also 8.4).

9.8. *Death and eschatology.* Death came through illness, accident,

[28]From John Faris of Moose Factory we obtained two accounts of sorcery believed to have occured at Ghost River, Ontario:

"An old lady told a story. Her brother was a conjurer who had an enemy in another conjurer. Once, when the brother was trapping on the other fellow's line with him, the brother was getting lots of fur and the other tried to chase him off by conjuring. He would send a four-legged monster against him. The brother heard of this and started to carve many small pieces of wood with unusual animal forms. He stuck these in front of his tent and when he saw the monster coming toward him, he conjured these images larger until they started to move and make weird noises. They all killed the monster and the old woman said that after the animals killed the monster nothing else ever came around the tent."

From his mother's father John had heard the following: "Two old men were in the bush trapping rabbits. One felt that the other was conjuring all the rabbits away from him. He conjured up a giant against his enemy. Sitting in the tipi, the second family heard a giant coming and they were afraid. The old man told them to bend their heads low, facing the ground. He said he would send a giant bulldog (apparently "bullfly" was meant) against the giant. Suddenly they heard a giant bulldog with wings the size of blankets going toward the giant whom he drove back. The other man could not match this shaman's power."

Not for Resale

or suicide. Indirectly, death could be induced by sorcery (9.7). This belief, however, did not rule out the possibility that sometimes illness or accidents occurred without the intervention of other persons. No life continued forever. Even the strongest miteew, people knew, had to die. Little could be learned about aboriginal suicide except that it might be promoted through extreme hunger. Common methods included drowning or hanging oneself by jumping from a branch. Suicides did not generally announce their intention. In the case of drowning people tried to recover the body for ground interment. The following paragraphs will discuss patterns for handling of a corpse, mourning, and soul or ghost beliefs.

9.8.1. A relative — mother, son-in-law, or brother — washed the corpse. The body of a man might be washed by either sex but a woman usually handled a dead woman's body. Spruce or (more rarely) birch bark provided a shroud in which to bury the extended corpse. Irrespective of the cause of death, ground interment constituted the normal means of disposing a dead adult or child. Generally burial followed within 12 hours. The shallow grave, about three feet deep, was prepared by a brother, father-in-law, son-in-law and the deceased's clothing sometimes rewarded the gravediggers. Sometimes the pit was walled with poles, each about 2½ inches in diameter. Additional poles covered the corpse and supported grave goods. When hunger left survivors too weak to dig, they constructed a ground cache of poles and stones over the body. Surface burial also occurred in winter. *Beigaben* included a cup, knife, basket, extra hat and moccasins, and bow and arrow (for a man). On top of the grave survivors hung snowshoes and, after contact, a handkerchief. These objects were suspended from a simple stick marking the head of the grave. Thereafter mourners paid little attention to a burial place but if they subsequently returned to the spot the grave might be tidied. Because survivors promptly moved from the scene of death they perforce abandoned the dwelling in which death had taken place. Occasionally the house and possessions of the deceased were burned but usually friends received the movable goods. Dogs and mementos might be retained in the family. Kiiookii explained destruction of the house by saying that people did not want to see the place of death any longer.

9.8.2. Negative patterns associated with burial include: cremation; canoe, water, tree, or elevated cache burial; secondary deposition; coffin; flexed burial; purification for gravediggers; grave watching, or surrounding the camp with fishnets to prevent return of the ghost. *Beigaben* were never removed from the grave as Skinner (1911, p. 80) reports. No automatic sanction punished failure to provide a decent burial.

9.8.3. Men and women wept upon the death of close relatives. Sometimes a new widow retired to a small, dome-shaped hut at the new campsite. Here she remained in seclusion for 3 or 4 days after her husband's death, eating slightly and wailing. Kiiookii explained that such a shift of residence relieved her grief which familiar surroundings aggravated. His explanation suggests seclusion as an

Not for Resale

alternative to moving campsites. In 2 or 3 years she might remarry but quick remarriage or resumption of sex relations earned disapproval for a widow. In the interim her husband's brother might care for the woman and supervise her conduct. Perhaps she also married her brother-in-law, although informants doubted this (see, however, 8.3.7). Sometimes a widow lived with her brother, sister, or parents. A widower did not retire to a mourning house but was supposed to wait at least a year before remarriage or sex relations. Clearly the sororate occurred frequently. Old people, especially, women, mourned periodically but left off after about a week. Informants denied mourning songs; widow's hair cutting; scarification or burning of a widow's body, or ashes on her face. Death and aniversary feasts did not occur.

9.8.4. Like animals people possessed a soul (the soul of other powers of animals did not exceed man's). Other objects, like trees, rivers, or canoes lacked a spiritual counterpart. The soul resided in the chest until death when it quit the body but continued to remain in proximity to it. The soul did not die nor was it ever reincarnated. Following arrival of the Church, the souls of the deceased "went to heaven." Of course, informants did not reconcile the belief in ghosts remaining near the corpse with the notion that the Aurora Borealis represented dancing souls of the dead. The latter belief appears to have virtually been forgotten. One man recalled his mother advising that one should not look at the northern lights too long (Cooper, 1933, p. 54, p. 57; Mason, 1941, p. 62).

Although nobody feared the soul, seeing a ghost represented a frightening experience, chiefly because it foretold death. Ghostly apparitions might be encountered anyplace and not merely around burial sites. The ghost, which usually resembled a clothed human being, was not transparent, and could not directly injure a living person. Kiiookii recalled no time limit after death during which ghosts appeared and never heard of souls manifesting themselves in the popping of fire (Cooper, 1933, p. 54). However, vapors rising off muskeg (Skinner, 1911, p. 81), whistling, knocking on dwelling poles, and sounds of nonexistant people all evidenced ghosts and constituted omens of one or more impending deaths (Honigmann, 1945). People in the bush not infrequently perceived canoes with voyagers, lone travelers, and fires in areas lacking evidence of actual human occupancy. Frightened, the witness knew that he had seen ghosts. The community did not explicitly believe that a relative would, following death, avenge himself for mistreatment during life (Honigmann, 1949, p. 203). The ghosts of strangers were more terrifying than the apparition of a deceased relative.

Not for Resale

Bibliography

Birket-Smith, K.
1929. The Caribou Eskimos. **Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition,** Vol. 5, Pts. I, II. Copenhagen.

Cooper, J. M.
1933. The Northern Algonquian Supreme Being. **Primitive Man,** Vol. 6, pp. 42-111. Washington.

Driver, H. E., et al.
1953. Indian Tribes of North America. **Indiana University Publications in Anthropology and Linguistics,** Memoir 9. Bloomington.

Eggan, F.
1955. Social Anthropology: Methods and Results. In: **Social Anthropology of North American Tribes**. Second edition. Chicago.

Fisher, Margaret W.
1946. The Mythology of the Northern and Northeastern Algonkians in Reference to Algonkian Mythology as a Whole. In: Man in Northeastern North America. **Papers of the Robert S. Peabody Foundation for Archaeology,** Vol. 3, pp. 226-62. Andover.

Honigmann, J. J.
1943. Fort Nelson (British Columbia) Field Notes.
1945. Northern and Southern Athapaskan Eschatology. **American Anthropologist,** Vol. 47, pp. 467-469. Menasha.
1946. Ethnography and Acculturation of the Fort Nelson Slave. **Yale University Publications in Anthropology,** No. 33. New Haven.
1949. Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society. **Yale University Publications versity Publications in Anthropology,** No. 33. New Haven.
1949-50. Great Whale River (Quebec) Field Notes.
1952. Intercultural Relations at Great Whale River. **American Anthropologist,** Vol. 54, pp. 510-522. Menasha.
1953. Social Organization of the Attawapiskat Cree Indians. **Anthropos,** Vol. 48, pp. 809-816. Wien.
1954. The Kaska Indians, An Ethnographic Reconstruction. **Yale University Publications in Anthropology,** No. 51. New Haven.

Honigmann, J. J. and I. Honigmann
1947. A Kaska String Oracle. **Man,** Vol 47, article 159, pp. 139-40. London.

Kerr, A. J.
1950. Subsistence and Social Organization in a Fur Trade Community; Anthropological Report on the Ruperts House Indians (Typescript).

Lips, J. E.
1947. Naskapi Law (Lake St. John and Lake Mistassini Bands)—Law and Order in a Hunting Society. **Transactions of the American Philosophical Society,** Vol. XXXVII, Pt. 4. Philadelphia.

Loewenthal, J.
1920/21. Irokesische Wirtschaftsaltertuemer. **Zeitschrift fuer Ethnologie,** Vols. 52-53, pp. 171-233. Berlin.

Mandelbaum, D.
1940. The Plains Cree. **Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History,** Vol. 37, pp. 155-316. New York.

Mason, Leonard
1941. The Swampy Cree: A study in Acculturation. M. A. Thesis, University of Minnesota.

Maclaren, P. I. R.
1955. Netting Knots and Needles. **Man,,** Vol. 55, article 105, pp.85-89. London.

McClellan, Catharine
1953. The Inland Tlingit. **Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology,** No. 9, Salt Lake City.

McInnes, W.
1912. Report on a Part of the North-West Territories of Canada Drained by the Winisk and Attawapiskat Rivers. In: Reports on the District of Patricia. **Report of the Bureau of Mines, Province of Ontario,** 21, Part 2. Ottawa.

Miller, W. G.
1912. Introduction and Summary of Contents. In: Reports on the District of Patricia. **Report of the Bureau of Mines, Province of Ontario,** 21, part 2. Ottawa.

Morice, A. G.
1889. The Western Dénés. **Proceedings of the Canadian Institute,** Ser. 3, Vol. 7, pp. 109-174. Toronto.

Not for Resale

Osgood, C.
1936. Contributions to the Ethnography of the Kutchin. **Yale University Publications in Anthropology,** No. 14, New Haven.
1937. The Ethnography of the Tanaina. **Yale University Publications in Anthropology,** No. 16, New Haven.
1940. Ingalik Material Culture. **Yale University Publications in Anthropology,** No. 22. New Haven.
Rasmussen, Knud
1930. Observations on the Intellectual Culture of the Caribou Eskimos. **Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition,** Vol. 7, Pt. 2. Copenhagen.
Robinson, H. M.
n.d. The Great Fur Land. London.
Russell, Frank
1898. Exploration in the Far North. Iowa City.
Saindon, Emile
1928. En missionnant: Essai sur les missions des Pères Oblats de Marie Immaculée. Ottawa.
Sieber, S. A.
1950. The Saulteaux Indians. Revised edition. Techny, Illinois (mimeographed).
Skinner, A.
1911. Notes on the Eastern Cree and Northern Saulteaux. **Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History,** Vol. 9, pp. 1-177. New York.
Speck, F. G.
1935. Naskapi. Norman.
Swanton, J. R.
1952. The Indian Tribes of North America. **Bureau of American Ethnology,** Bulletin 145. Washington.
Tanner, V.
1944. Outlines of the Geography, Life and Customs of the Newfoundland-Labrador. **Acta Geographica,** 8, i, pp. 437-891. Helsinki.
Turner, L. M.
1894. Ethnology of the Ungava District, Hudson Bay Territory. **Bureau of American Ethnology, Annual Report,** No. 11. Washington.
Watkins, E. A.
1938. A Dictionary of the Cree Language as Spoken by the Indians in the Provinces of Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta. Toronto.

Institute for Research in Social Science
The University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Not for Resale

CORRECTION

In Vol. 4, No. 1, a contributor's name was omitted from the first page of one of the papers. Wendell Oswalt was the author of the paper entitled "Prehistoric Sea Mammal Hunters of Kaflia, Alaska." The editors regret this error.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ALASKA

Vol. 1, No. 1 — Out of print

Vol. 1, No. 2 — Price $1.50

STRAY NOTES ON THE ESKIMO OF THE ARCTIC ALASKA ..... Diamond Jenness
THE SAUCER-SHAPED LAMP OF THE ESKIMO ..... Wendell Oswalt
CONTEMPORARY PROBLEMS OF FOLKLORE COLLECTING AND STUDY ..... Viola E. Garfield
NEW WORLD AFFINITIES OF CAPE DORSET ESKIMO CULTURE ..... Elmer Harp, Jr.
EVIDENCE OF EARLY TUNDRA CULTURES IN NORTHERN ALASKA ..... William Irving

---

Vol. 2, No. 1 — Price $2.00

RECENT POTTERY FROM THE BERING STRAIT REGION ..... Wendell Oswalt
CARVED HUMAN FIGURES FROM ST. LAWRENCE ISLAND, ALASKA ..... James W. VanStone
CHILD REARING PATTERNS AMONG THE GREAT WHALE RIVER ESKIMOS ..... Irma Honigmann and John Honigmann
EARLY INTRUSION OF AGRICULTURE IN THE NORTH ATLANTIC SUBARCTIC REGION ..... Gudmund Hatt
NUNIVAK ESKIMO PERSONALITY AS REVEALED IN THE MYTHOLOGY ..... Margaret Lantis

---

Vol. 2, No. 2 — Price $1.50

POTTERY FROM NUNIVAK ISLAND ALASKA ..... James W. VanStone
PATTERNS OF PREFERENTIAL MARRIAGE AMONG THE ALASKAN HAIDAS ..... Rosemary A. Allen
REGIONAL CHRONOLOGIES IN SPRUCE OF THE KUSKOKWIM RIVER, ALASKA ..... Wendell Oswalt
BUCKLAND ESKIMO MYTHS ..... Charles Lucier

Vol. 3, No. 1 — Price $1.00

EDWARD WILLIAM NELSON ..... Margaret Lantis
HUMAN HAIR AS A DECORATIVE FEATURE IN TLINGIT CEREMONIAL PARAPHERNALIA ..... Edward L. Keithahn
A COMPARATIVE SURVEY OF ESKIMO-ALEUT RELIGION ..... Gordon H. Marsh
METAPHYSICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE FOLKTALES OF THE ESKIMOS OF ALASKA ..... John R. Cumming

---

Vol. 3, No. 2 — Price $1.50

CHANGES IN THE SEDNA MYTH AMONG THE AIVILIK ..... Edmund S. Carpenter
ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS AT KOTZEBUE, ALASKA ..... James W. VanStone

---

Vol. 4, No. 1 — Price $1.50

CHANGING SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND KINSHIP AMONG THE ALASKAN HAIDAS ..... Rosemary A. Allen
THE FAMILY AMONG THE WESTERN ESKIMO ..... Barbara Harris Mickey
PREHISTORIC SEA MAMMAL HUNTERS AT KAFLIA, ALASKA ..... Wendell Oswalt

---

Vol. 4, No. 2 — Price $1.50

THE T 1 SITE AT NATIVE POINT, SOUTHAMPTON ISLAND, N. W. T. ..... Henry B. Collins
THE ENGIGSTCIAK SITE ON THE YUKON ARCTIC COAST ..... Richard S. McNeish
A STONE LAMP FROM YUKON ISLAND, ALASKA ..... Gordon H. Marsh
"PILLOWS" AND OTHER RARE FLINTS ..... J. L. Giddings

Not for Resale

Not for Resale

Jessen's Print _ Fairbanks, Alaska