

CALVIN MARTIN

KEEPERS OF THE GAME

Indian-Animal Relationships
and the Fur Trade



UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
Berkeley · Los Angeles · London

University of California Press
Berkeley and Los Angeles, California
University of California Press, Ltd.
London, England

Copyright © 1978 by

The Regents of the University of California

ISBN 0-520-03519-4

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 77-78381

Printed in the United States of America

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Design: Al Burkhardt

Composition: Freedmen's Organization

Lithography: Publishers Press

Binder: Mountain States Bindery

Text: Compugraphic Paladium

Display: Compugraphic Paladium and

Photo Typesetter Palatino

Paper: Westland Publishers opaque, basis 50

Binding: Joanna Arrestox A 34620

Pimadaziwin: The Good Life

FROM ITS CASUAL beginnings on the shores of the Maritimes, the Canadian fur trade soon spread westward. It was only natural that the trade would find one of its most lucrative and enduring markets in the interior, in that great swath of land bounded by the Great Lakes, Lake Winnipeg, and Hudson Bay. Here were innumerable lakes and ponds—pockets gouged out of the resilient Canadian Shield by millennia of glacial movement—interconnected by a network of streams. This was lake country, the home of the beaver, muskrat, otter, fisher, marten, and mink.

In the creation myth of the indigenous Indians, these and other beasts were once related to mankind. Chipewyan legend had it that woman was the first human being. In her nocturnal dreams she imagined herself sleeping with a handsome youth, who was in reality her pet dog transformed. One day a giant appeared in the land. With mighty strokes he shaped the rough-hewn landscape into lakes and rivers and mountains—all the landforms we know today. Then he stooped down and caught up the dog, “and tore it to pieces; the guts he threw into the lakes and rivers, commanding them to become the different kinds of fish; the flesh he dispersed over the land, commanding it to

become different kinds of beasts and land-animals; the skin he also tore into small pieces, and threw it into the air, commanding it to become all kinds of birds; after which he gave the woman and her offspring full power to kill, eat, and never spare, for that he had commanded them to multiply for her use in abundance."^{1, a}

(After the creation, in Cree and Ojibwa legend, the culture hero, *Wisekedjak*, was enjoined by the Great Spirit (*Kitchi Manitou*) to teach man and beast how to live properly together. Ignoring his solemn commission, he instead taught pleasure and incited quarrels, and the ground soon became stained with the blood of man and animals. Repeatedly the Great Spirit warned him to end this mutual slaughter, but *Wisekedjak* ignored the admonition. Finally, exasperated to the limit, the Great Spirit destroyed all creation in a flood. Only a beaver, an otter, and a muskrat survived, as they took refuge with the now distraught *Wisekedjak*. When the waters eventually subsided, man and all other life-forms were remade, but *Wisekedjak*, the "Flatterer," was stripped of his great authority. From then on he was to be a deceiver only: a trickster-transformer.²

In those olden days, legend had it, men were mightier than they were now. The beaver were people, as were the bear, lynx, and fox; they lived among man and spoke with him.³ That was the dawn of creation, an event still vivid in the collective imagination of the Ojibwa, Cree, and Chipewyan at European land-fall. Tales of culture hero and trickster-transformer; phallic, cannibal, animal tales; tales of adventure and of passion all originated in those days of heroes and powerful magic.

Early seventeenth-century Jesuits and coureurs de bois who came among the Upper Great Lakes hunting-and-gathering bands could scarcely appreciate this supernaturalistic world view.^b

a. The "never spare" injunction is not typical of Indian origin myths or other racial recollections, which usually stress wildlife preservation. The present anomaly is probably explained as an attempt by Hearne's Chipewyan traveling companions to rationalize their wasteful slaughter of game before the critical Englishman.

b. I use the word "supernaturalistic" as a convenience for the reader. To the Indian the spirit world was not distinguished from the natural world; for him there was nothing supernatural.

Yet their writings, even with their cramped ethnocentrism, are vital in reconstructing Ojibwa abstract culture. Supplementing these early sources are the records of late observers, including literate Indians and modern ethnographers, which, used in conjunction with Cree and Chipewyan sources, serve to expand our consciousness and understanding of the Ojibwa cosmic view and cultural setting. For all three groups—Cree, Chipewyan, and Ojibwa—shared in large measure the same belief and value system.⁴

Nature, as conceived by the traditional Ojibwa, was a congeries of societies: every animal, fish, and plant species functioned in a society that was parallel in all respects to mankind's. Wildlife and plant-life had homes and families, just as man did. Each species had its leaders, reminiscent of the Micmac cosmology, known in recent years as "bosses"—an apt expression borrowed from the modern lumber camp. In the old days they were more quaintly termed "masters" or "keepers" of the game, and each local band of a particular species was said to have its own boss. Indians are reluctant to talk about these things today, for fear of ridicule; nevertheless, these beings were (and in some areas continue to be) very real to them. Animal, bird, and fish bosses are typically white and larger than the rest of their species. To see one of them is a rare privilege indeed.^{5, c}

The game keepers were minor manitous in an Ojibwa universe that is said to have "teemed" with such beings. "Those of the forest clothed themselves with moss," recalled the young Ojibwa chief George Copway; "during a shower of rain, thousands of them are sheltered in a flower. . . . The Ojibway, as he reclines beneath the shade of his forest trees, imagines these gods to be about him. He detects their tiny voices in the insect's hum. With

c. See George Copway, *The Traditional History and Characteristic Sketches of the Ojibway Nation* (London: Charles Gilpin, 1850), pp. 137-139; and Copway, *The life, history, and travels, of Kah-Ge-Ga-Gah-Bowh (George Copway), a young Indian chief of the Ojebwa nation, a convert to the Christian faith, and a missionary to his people for twelve years; with a sketch of the present state of the Ojebwa nation, in regard to Christianity and their future prospects . . .* (Albany: Weed and Parsons, 1847), p. 55, where an Indian inveighs against those whites who, by their ridicule, have shamed the Indian into silence about his traditional beliefs.

half closed eyes he beholds them sporting by thousands on a sunray. In the evening they are seen and heard."⁶ Manitous like these saturated the Indian's world. There were many others, some of them remote but still felt.

Kitchi Manitou, the Great Spirit, was the creator and sustainer of all things. A benevolent being equated with the sun by the early Jesuit fathers, he was too physically distant and omnipotent to influence affairs directly. So his will was executed by a descending hierarchy of subordinate manitous, each of whom had a unique function and abode. Evoking an image familiar in American politics, Ruth Landes writes that "among the manitos the mighty ones, like the great birds and beasts, were solitary Characters (a respectful appellation for them) who met in smoke-filled councils to discuss cosmic affairs."⁷ Just as everything had a purpose, so everything had its manitou, or spirit, whose power and influence depended on its significance to the Indian. Spectacles of Nature—waterfalls, rivers and lakes, large or peculiarly formed rocks, aged trees—had especially strong manitous. So, too, did the elements, which in the Indian mind were personified: northwind, thunder, lightning, cold, and so forth. All things animate and inanimate had spirit, and hence being.⁸

Man and Nature were conceived of as tripartite beings: each had body, soul, and shadow. The soul was the seat of being, the life principle. Should it ever become lost (in sleep or unconsciousness) or stolen (by a malevolent conjuror), the individual would be accounted dead, even though his life signs might show him alive and healthy. Shadow, the third part, was the "eye" of the soul, since through it the soul was informed.⁹

The aboriginal Ojibwa was thoroughly immersed in this great and complex system which he strove to manipulate to his advantage. Man's niche or, more appropriately, his purpose in the natural order was to live the Good Life: *pimadaziwin*, in Ojibwa. "The central goal of life for the Ojibwa," wrote the ethnologist A. Irving Hallowell, "is expressed by the term *pimadaziwin*, life in the fullest sense, life in the sense of longevity, health and freedom from misfortune."¹⁰ In the words of Matonabbee, Samuel Hearne's Chipewyan guide, "These people have . . . 'nothing

to do but consult their own interest, inclinations, and passions; and to pass through this world with as much ease and contentment as possible."¹¹ This was what each individual normally expected for himself; if it was not forthcoming, *someone* was to blame. Events could legitimately be personalized because they were either personalities (or beings) in their own right—as were legends and myths—or they were perpetrated by human or "other-than-human" persons.¹² Hence, if the Good Life was to be realized man was obliged to address himself to this composite society of life in a way that would be least likely to give offense. Success for the Ojibwa therefore depended upon his paying scrupulous attention to innumerable details of comportment.

Lest such a life seem unduly precarious, it should be emphasized that the Indian implicitly believed he had a right to success: as long as he conformed to the rules of the system he could fear nothing. This was the ideal, at any rate. In reality, the rules were constantly broken, and this often unconsciously. *Pimadaziwin* could be restored by hiring a conjuror to reveal the source of the problem, if it were not already known, followed either by public confession of the designated transgression (in recent years, anyway) or by some other appropriate remedy. In modern times, at least, a disease sanction against socially disapproved acts—in-hospitality, stinginess, ridicule, the selection of a marriage partner not of the cross-cousin category, sexual deviancy, and so on—has operated as a highly effective means of maintaining normative behavior: proscribed behavior results in punishment (as disease), which is relieved through public confession, which in turn reinforces the canons of normative behavior and accentuates the disease sanction concept.¹³

As we extend these ideas further, we come to realize that the key to understanding the Indian's role within Nature lies within the notion of mutual obligation: man and Nature both had to adhere to a prescribed behavior toward one another. If the Indian had any concept of a balance of Nature, this was it. Catastrophe resulted when either one or both parties broke the contract by some extraordinary act which caused injury to the other. For, in contrast to the exalted position of man in Judeo-Christian

tradition, Ojibwa cosmology conferred upon the Indian a rather humble stature. What innate intellectual or physical abilities did mankind have that would rank him above the rest of creation, reasoned the Indian? Surely he was not as sagacious as the beaver, who could build a lodge, fell trees, make burrows, and dam a watercourse with such ingenuity. Nor did he have the remarkable instincts of many other species.¹⁴ Man, instead, had been given the awesome right to harvest Nature: he was, by definition, the hunter and gatherer, dependent upon wildlife and plant-life for his subsistence.¹⁵ All his livelihood—his tools, weapons, clothing, shelter, food, etc.—was collected from these other life-forms. He knew that he must never abuse them by taking more than he needed for the present,¹⁶ nor insult them through ridicule or blasphemy,¹⁷ nor torture them in any fashion.¹⁸ For their part animals, fish, birds, and plants were to yield themselves up to man for his needs. This relationship of the hunter to the hunted, and its perversion following white contact, will be explored in greater detail later on, in a subsequent chapter. Suffice it to say for now that the Ojibwa hunter was acutely aware of the boundaries of propriety which he was not to transgress. If he did he ran the risk of revenge from outraged game spirits. Conversely, wildlife were not to subject man to duress, since he in turn might retaliate with his arsenal of sanctions.

The Indian child reared in this kind of behavioral environment was taught that nothing was profane. Every activity, whether it be hostile, sociable, subsistence, or whatever, had spiritual overtones; all of his relations and functions were above all else spiritual. The socialization process drilled this into the youth until it became his guiding principle. On the practical level, this meant that the Indian would approach every situation fortified with spiritual power. Life was, by definition, a spiritual enterprise.¹⁹

Consequently, in Ojibwa society, the newborn male was conferred a name suggestive of success, generally in the hunt, since by its meaning a name conveyed magical power. The puberty fast marked the next rite of passage—the critical transition from childhood to adulthood. On this most solemn occasion the youth entreated the spirit beings of the universe for guidance throughout the rest of his life.

One summer in a wood, he was to examine his ambitions and prostrate himself through ritual fasting, thirsting, sleeplessness, fierce concentration on the goal of “seeing and hearing” a well-disposed manito, weeping and blackening his face with charcoal from the fireplace and rubbing ashes on his hair. He recalled all he had heard about “power,” in his ears were the pleas of grandparents and parents to “make something” of himself, “to fill [his] emptiness.” To the manitos he declared his pitiable-ness, his utter dependence on spiritual aid, the desperateness of life. Through the miasma of hysterical fear there came to the fortunate seeker—dry-mouthed, empty-bellied, and light-headed—a kindly spirit voice that assured, “My grandson, here is something with which to amuse yourself. . . .”²⁰

The manitou instructed the lad to gather certain articles and place them in a pouch, a medicine bag, which from thenceforth would hold the charms needed for success. Possessed of his tutelary spirit and medicine the youth was finally prepared to meet the world on its own terms.²¹

The puberty fast, explained Hallowell, signified the change in a boy’s dependence on human to super-human beings. A new set of obligations accompanied the transformation.

He must respect his blessings and use them carefully. In effect, the basic principle involved might be stated as the obligation to preserve the equilibrium of nature. Nature’s bounty depends on his using his powers skillfully, being self-reliant, ready to endure hardship, even starvation. He may be aggressive, predatory, in relation to the flora and fauna of his habitat, for his was a food-gathering and hunting economy. But he must only take what he actually needed to provide food, clothing and warmth for himself and his family. He must not be destructive or greedy, and he must never torture any animal. If he acts otherwise the animals will be withdrawn from him by the superhuman entities who directed them to him. In the end he will destroy himself since neither the material nor spiritual sources of life will be any longer available to him.²²

Together with fasting, dreams constituted another means of direct communication with the spirit world. Through them spirit beings intruded upon man’s consciousness, instructing him what he must do upon awaking, or forewarning of danger, or possibly giving insight to a perplexing problem. The dreamer seemed to sense which dreams were frivolous and which were not, and in these latter he placed absolute faith. Whenever dreams and fasts and divination (often scapulimancy—divining with a

scapula) failed to inform, there was always the conjuror to turn to. By means of his greater powers of spiritual coercion the suppliant might succeed in obtaining satisfaction. Fasting, dreaming, and conjuring thus provided a conduit for dialogue between the spirit world and man.

Super-human aid was likewise crucial in Ojibwa subsistence pursuits, as will become more evident further on. Friendly spirit helpers—a man's own and those of sympathetic game bosses—whose services were augmented by potent magical charms and a good bit of cunning, were the prerequisites to hunting success. Paradoxically, there was nothing in this to suggest foul play, for man and beast had agreed that each of these was a legitimate technique, or in Harvey Feit's apt terminology, "recipe," in the chase.²³

Clearly the Micmac had a great deal in common with their Eastern Subarctic brethren: both groups shared a profoundly animistic view of the universe. As was the case with the Micmac, these interior tribes endowed mechanical tools with both spirit and body, the understanding being that the spirit was the animating force, rendering a tool effective or useless.²⁴ Samuel Hearne was deeply perplexed by this conviction on the part of his Chipewyan companions. He derided as a "superstition" that which prompted them to tie "birds bills and feet" and the "toes and jaws of . . . otters and jackashes" to newly made fishing nets. "Unless some or all of these be fastened to the net, they will not attempt to put it into the water, as they firmly believe it will not catch a single fish." The first fish caught in such a net was to be ritualistically broiled as a first-fruits offering. "A strict observance of these rules is supposed to be of the utmost importance in promoting the future success of the new net; and a neglect of them would not render it worth a farthing." Added he in a note, "They frequently sell new nets, which have not been successful." Rivalry between nets was another problem to watch out for, he discovered, for if they were positioned too close to one another, "one net would be jealous of its neighbour, and by that means not one of them would catch a single fish."²⁵

Fishing with hook and line was hedged about by "equally absurd" superstitions.

For when they bait a hook, a composition of four, five, or six articles, by way of charm, is concealed under the bait, which is always sewed round the hook. In fact, the only bait used by those people is in their opinion a composition of charms, inclosed within a bit of fish skin, so as in some measure to resemble a small fish. The things used by way of charm, are bits of beavers tails and fat, otter's vents and teeth, muskrat's guts and tails, loon's vents, squirrel's testicles, the cruddled milk taken out of the stomach of sucking fawns and calves, human hair, and numberless other articles equally absurd. Every master of a family, and indeed almost every other person, particularly the men, have a small bundle of such trash, which they always carry with them, both in Summer and Winter; and without some of those articles to put under their bait, few of them could be prevailed upon to put a hook into the water, being fully persuaded that they may as well sit in the tent, as attempt to angle without such assistance. . . . The same rule is observed on broiling the first fruits of a new hook that is used for a new net; an old hook that has already been successful in catching large fish is esteemed of more value, than a handful of new ones which have never been tried.²⁶

Hunting magic, both imitative and contagious, was thus the order of the day. The northern Indians operated on the principle that game could be tricked, cajoled, and coerced into their hands. The first of these schemes, deception, was a favorite ploy. Animal shadows, so the theory went, were constantly on the alert for the hunter—actually the hunter's shadow. In fact, Diamond Jenness was informed by Parry Island Ojibwa that one of the principal reasons for their changing hunting territories was because their shadows would become too familiar to the animal shadows. It was well known that animals hid themselves from hunters whom they recognized. Based on the premise that animals are psychologically identical to man, particular rules of conduct were necessary for the hunter to deceive successfully the game shadows. Jenness explained: "A primary rule in hunting is not to concentrate all your attention on the game you are seeking. Look at the trees around you and consider whether they are suitable for making fishspears or can be turned to other uses. Examine the plants at your feet and consider whether they will make beneficial medicines." Animals are readily duped by man, so he was told. "The shadow of the deer (or moose) will be thrown off its guard, will believe that you are not engaged in hunting, and will fail to carry back a warning" to its congeners. Charcoal

was often smeared on the face to disguise the hunter's visage "and throw the animals off their guard."²⁷

Starving times called for another form of deception. Whites were frequently confounded by the Indians' ability to endure severe, protracted hunger with a completely detached air. Rather than betray their anxiety they usually went to the other extreme and assumed a joyful demeanor. The motive behind this peculiar, seemingly contradictory, behavior was, again, deception. For, "if nothing was taken in the hunt, it was a sign of death . . . ; animals saw the Indian's spirit in mourning and fled away." So the maverick fur trader Alexander Henry, the Elder, recalled that whenever food was scarce during his captivity, "the custom was to black our faces with grease and charcoal, and exhibit through resignation a temper as cheerful as if in the midst of plenty." And Samuel Hearne recorded in his memoirs that his spirits were frequently buoyed by his comrades' "merry and jocose" air when the party was in fact starving.²⁸

Setting out on the winter hunt the Ojibwa hunter commonly sought the goodwill of the manitous by offering them a dog in sacrifice. By this means game spirits and their bosses were put in a good humor and became well-disposed to capture.²⁹ Seeking even further advantage, the hunter and his family invoked the lingering shadows of departed relatives and friends, requesting their support in the hazardous months ahead. In this latter ceremony, it might be pointed out, there inhered a compelling reason for permanent family hunting territories. Ancestral spirits, valuable for the aid they offered, could be found only on these lineal territories; to hunt elsewhere would be to cut oneself off from their care.³⁰ The dog sacrifice and the ancestral invocation were used to make the hunt propitious; they gave the hunter the confidence he needed that all was in order. Perhaps, as an additional source of aid, he might dream the whereabouts of the game that was concealed to all but the spiritual eye within the fastness of his vast range.

Success rested on more than these, however. Charms were still needed to make hunting gear infallible, and the hunter must of course be adept at deception. If the weather was inclement, it too could be made cooperative by magical means. The buzzer,

a hollowed bit of wood with string attached, was swung about the head to bring the northwind. Or, if a soft, slushy snow hindered the capture of large game, a snowman was fashioned to entice cold weather and give the snow a firm crust.³¹ When game was still not forthcoming, in spite of all these inducements, the desperate hunter applied directly to *Nanabozo*, the Great Hare, the hunter's special manitou, in what became known as the "medicine hunt."³²

The ceremony, wrote the nineteenth-century ethnographer Joseph N. Nicollet, "is celebrated in times of distress . . . when the land has been exhausted, and when families lie dying of hunger. The native who can no longer bear the spectacle of misery surrounding him, whose vain efforts of the hunting grounds result only in his own exhaustion, and who is at the end of his rope decides to implore the manitos to be charitable unto him."³³ Only if he were a *mide*, a member of the curing society, or *Mide-wiwin*, could the man perform the ritual himself. Otherwise he would enlist the services of one to conduct the ceremony for him.

The supplicant retired alone to his lodge where, seated in the dark, he carefully sketched out the stylized form of the animal species he craved. *Nanabozo*, an essential participant, was represented in a carved figurine. Placing both of these before him, in tangible representation of the hunter and the hunted, he prayed most earnestly for the manitou to save his starving family by leading him to the elusive game. Then he paused, calmly waiting for the expected vision with eyes closed in deep concentration. Eventually, in his imagination, he detected the animals cautiously approaching his lodge. They were giving themselves up to him. Exuberant, the supplicant rushed out to inform the band of his vision, the men proceeding to the spot where they knew the game graciously awaited them.³⁴

Once the game had been captured a whole new set of rituals and taboos came into play. For nothing was more offensive to the game bosses and the shadows of the slain than to have the carcass desecrated—bones gnawed by dogs, flesh eaten by menstruating women, and other insults. Rituals of disposal and consumption found their most elaborate form of expression in the

celebrated bear cult, already described. The elder Alexander Henry recalled the scene that followed his shooting of a hibernating female. "The bear being dead, all my assistants approached, and all, but more particularly my old [adopted Ojibwa] mother . . . , took her head in their hands, stroking and kissing it several times; begging a thousand pardons for taking away her life: calling her their relation and grandmother; and requesting her not to lay the fault upon them, since it was truly an Englishman that had put her to death."³⁵ Their effusive condolences did not prevent his Ojibwa relatives from butchering the carcass with dispatch, however. The severed head was adorned with ornaments and set on a scaffold within the lodge, with a plug of tobacco placed near the snout.

The following morning a ceremonial feast of atonement was held. When the lodge had been swept and all had been placed in order, "Wawatam blew tobacco smoke into the nostrils of the bear, telling me to do the same, and thus appease the anger of the bear on account of my having killed her." Henry balked, protesting that he was not afraid of the animal's displeasure, but his host prevailed upon him to comply with custom. "At length the feast being ready, Wawatam commenced a speech resembling in many things his address to the manes [spirits] of his relations and departed companions; but having this peculiarity, that he here deplored the necessity under which men labored thus to destroy their *friends*. He represented, however, that the misfortune was unavoidable, since without doing so, they could by no means subsist."³⁶ With this, the assembled company proceeded to consume the bulk of the carcass—truly a gastronomic feat of perseverance.

The "eat-all" feast, so christened by incredulous white observers who dismissed it as an improvident orgy, was in reality a ceremony of communion with the spirit of the slain beast. Jenness wrote that the shadow of the slain bear "accompanies the carcass to become a guest in the hunter's wigwam."³⁷ Under the watchful, anxious eye of the unseen shadow the various parts of the beast's anatomy were devoured in set fashion. All of this scruple was necessary "if they [the communicants] are to expect the god

of the earth to grant to the village his favor and abundance of his blessings," wrote a somewhat confused, although essentially accurate, Nicolas Perrot. "It is not without making great efforts that they come to the end [of the feast]. . . . There are some of them who die from such excesses, and others who are scarcely able to recover from them." When all had been consumed the celebrants were congratulated by the rest of the village. "They reply to all those civilities by saying that it is only the proper thing for brave men to do their duty on such an occasion."^{38, d}

For some obscure reason, bear meat was the only food that required immediate and total consumption. But even this rule was not always observed, as in the Henry case (above) when some meat from the slain sow was preserved. More typically, however, the edible portions of the animal were devoured forthwith. Henry elsewhere related a curious incident involving a Frenchman who found himself unable to finish his assigned portion on one of these occasions. Being of a resourceful nature, he concealed the surplus under his shirt and made his way to the door. All of a sudden he was set upon by the dogs, who had scented the concealed flesh, which they now tore from him and began devouring—to his acute embarrassment. "The Indians were greatly astonished; but presently observed that the Great Spirit had led the dogs by inspiration to act in order to frustrate the profane attempt to steal away this portion of the offering. As matters stood the course they took was to put the meat into the fire and there consume it."³⁹

The underlying purpose of this and related ritual and taboo

d. Adrian Tanner, in his work among contemporary Mistassini Cree, has offered some insights on the ideology of the feast which may have some bearing on the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Ojibwa eat-all feast described here. "Food served at a feast is in a sacred condition," he writes, "and must be consumed by the participants or given to the spirits, either by putting it in the fire," and so forth. Elsewhere he explains that the surplus must be concealed in order not to incur the wrath of the game spirits. This is done either by overeating and concealing the surplus in one's stomach or by wrapping up and carrying out the excess. It appears, furthermore, that the animal being consumed is understood to symbolize sexual union, and hence reproduction, between the males and females of the commensal family. Adrian Tanner, "Bringing Home Animals: Religious Ideology and Mode of Production of the Mistassini Cree Hunters" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1976), pp. 296, 313-314, 324.

was of course the desire to propitiate the soul-spirit, or shadow, of the slain animal. Were the hunter foolishly to ignore these ceremonials the offended shade would report the outrage to the other members of its species, who in retaliation would withdraw from that locality or inflict disease. Above all, the bones of the animal or fish carcass were to be scrupulously protected from harm. Generally they were deposited, intact, in their natural element—aquatic, marine, or terrestrial. For the Ojibwa and their neighbors were convinced that the souls and spirits of slain animals and fish returned, in due course, to re-inhabit and reclothe the bones thus preserved. Indeed, the Indian applied this principle to explain the fluctuations in game numbers that are readily apparent in this part of the country. "Sometimes many souls come up from below to be reborn, sometimes only a few; then there are correspondingly many or few animals upon this earth. The bosses of each species regulate their numbers. . . . So a district may teem with hares one winter and contain hardly any the next, because their boss has ordered them to move into another district or has sent their souls back to their home below."⁴⁰ This strange belief in the reincarnation of wildlife spirits was also remarked upon by Father Allouez, in his *Relation* of 1666–1667. The Ottawa residing at Chequamegon, he reported, "believe . . . that the souls of the Departed [fish] govern the fishes in the Lake [Superior]; and thus, from the earliest times, they have held the immortality, and even the metempsychosis, of the souls of dead fishes, believing that they pass into other fishes' bodies. Therefore they never throw their bones into the fire, for fear that they may offend these souls, so that they will cease to come into their nets."^{41, e}

e. One is liable to get the impression from reading Ruth Underhill, "Religion among American Indians," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 33 (May 1957):130, and other ethnographic sources (e.g., Frederica de Laguna, "The Atna of the Copper River, Alaska: The World of Men and Animals," *Folk* [Dansk Etnografisk Tidsskrift] 11/12 [1969/70]:22; and Robert J. Sullivan, *The Ten'a Food Quest*, Catholic University of America, Anthropological Series No. 11 [Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1942], pp. 94–96, 107–108, 110), that trapped animals, especially aquatic mammals, could be continuously regenerated merely by throwing their bones back into the water, the implication being that the northern Indian

Infractions against this subsistence code resulted in starvation, as has been outlined above, or disease. Taken together, these were the two greatest crises that pre-Columbian Ojibwa society faced. Out of anxiety over the former there evolved a psychosis

hunter could resort to this procedure indefinitely and so capture unlimited quantities of furbearers without risk of offending the game spirits. This is not so.

A prominent theme which recurs time and again in the ethnographic literature on Canadian Indian hunting is that game must not be hunted to excess. There is a very clear injunction against wasting game, in the sense of hunting or trapping too many game. Harvey Feit found that Waswanipi "hunters feel themselves under an obligation to limit kills to those animals they know are harvestable without initiating a decline in the population." Or elsewhere, "It is part of the responsibility of the hunter not to kill more than he is given, not to 'play' with animals by killing them for fun or self-aggrandizement" (Harvey Feit, "Twilight of the Cree Hunting Nation," *Natural History* [August-September 1973], pp. 56, 54–56, 72; Feit, "The Ethno-Ecology of the Waswanipi Cree; or How Hunters Can Manage Their Resources," in *Cultural Ecology: Readings on the Canadian Indians and Eskimos*, edited by Bruce Cox, pp. 115–125 [Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973], pp. 117, 121; A. Irving Hallowell, *Culture and Experience* [Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1955], p. 361). Robert Sullivan, S.J., remarked that "the indiscriminate slaughter of caribou after the introduction of firearms" among the Koyukon was "clearly in direct violation of the general belief that the Supreme Being punishes waste . . ." (*Ten'a Food Quest*, pp. 75–76). Thus, returning the bones to the water may indeed have guaranteed their regeneration, although this was not construed by the Indian as a license to kill these animals in unlimited numbers.

Yet some might argue that the anxiety Feit witnessed among his Waswanipi Cree informants over the excessive slaughter of game is a recent development, a case of spiritual obligations and considerations conforming to a white-induced conservationism (the family hunting territory system). One could then modify the preceding argument somewhat and make the case that, *aboriginally*, these people had only to throw the bones of beaver and other commercially valuable aquatic mammals back in the water to produce them in unlimited numbers for slaughter and trade. I would dispute this, on the grounds that (a) such a crass conviction flies in the face of the hunter's *normally* cautious and solicitous relationship with game animals which, moreover, appears definitely to be aboriginal, antedating fur company programs aimed at encouraging efficient game management; and (b) it is further belied by the spirit of hostility and vengeance which enveloped the early fur trade in this area—native hunters would not have displayed negative emotions toward the beaver they were harvesting, as I will continue to show they did, if all they had to do was return the bones to the water to be guaranteed a new crop.

I realize these objections do not constitute an unassailable case in my favor, and that one could continue to challenge the issue. Yet I feel, from reading a large body of ethnographic and historic literature on the subject, that Feit's informants held to an aboriginal hunting ethic—that to kill too many game was to risk the ire of the game bosses—which was suspended for the majority of the fur trade era and subsequently revived as game conservation once more became practicable with the inauguration of the family hunting territory system. See the Epilogue, p. 176, for further discussion of this point.

of the *wittiko*, a mythical cannibalistic giant with an insatiable appetite for human flesh. In the harsh environment of the north woods, extreme hunger experienced by emotionally insecure individuals often drove them to distraction, to an insanity which rendered them incorrigible cannibals, in behavior much like the mythical cannibal-giant. The only cure, often insisted upon by the *wittiko* itself, was death.^{42, f}

But our concern, here, is primarily with the latter problem: disease, and native theories of disease etiology. In his published doctoral dissertation on "Chippewa Preoccupation with Health: Change in a Traditional Attitude Resulting From Modern Health Problems," Robert Ritzenthaler observed that the Ojibwa have had a long history of excessive concern with health, an interest which he felt may well have anticipated white contact.⁴³

Without a doubt the most visible expression of that concern has been the famed Midewiwin, a kind of community health organization equipped with a wide range of ritual paraphernalia and the principal repository of tribal folk-history. Admission to the "Grand Medicine Society" was an arduous process, beginning with extensive (and often expensive) instruction by one of the mide priests, whereupon the candidate was qualified to enter but one of the four stages of knowledge and medical proficiency.⁴⁴

The cult has languished in recent years, however; there seem to be few individuals, men or women, knowledgeable enough in its mysteries—or willing enough—to transmit them to understudies. Likewise, there appear to be few individuals interested in learning them. The Society enjoyed its greatest popularity in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the early decades of this century, especially among the southern Ojibwa groups who, with their predilection for a village way of life, were more inclined to subscribe to a corporate religion. The Northern Ojibwa, scattered throughout Ontario and Manitoba and pursuing a more particularistic way of life, have preferred visionary shamanism over the Midewiwin.

f. See Cornelius J. Jaenen, *Friend and Foe: Aspects of French-Amerindian Cultural Contact in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), for *wittiko* cases reported from the seventeenth century.

It now seems clear, thanks largely to the efforts of Harold Hickerson, that the Midewiwin was a post-contact, nativistic cult. Hickerson, who has combed the *Jesuit Relations* and other appropriate seventeenth-century sources, found no signs of it prior to the early eighteenth century. Its antecedents appeared to him to have been embedded in shamanistic practices which may have been influenced and transformed by the roughly contemporaneous medical societies existing within surrounding tribes, such as the early seventeenth-century Huron.⁴⁵ One should bear in mind that this is only conjectural, however.

In a series of incisive essays, Hickerson has maintained that the Society served as a crucial integrating device in the newly emerging, unified southern villages at the turn of the eighteenth century. Prior to this, in the second and third quarters of the seventeenth century, while the progenitors of the Ojibwa were living as semi-autonomous clans occupying discrete territories along the northern shores of Lakes Huron and Superior, there was apparently no social-political need for anything like the Midewiwin. The Feast of the Dead served their integrative needs admirably. Periodically, Hickerson has found, these related clans would congregate at some site, such as Sault Ste. Marie—usually a site that straddled an important fur trade route—to celebrate the Feast. Through its various functions—the cementing of existing alliances and the solemnizing of new ones through the intermingling of the bones, the bestowal of chiefly titles on survivors, and the acquisition of prestige through the ostentatious and lavish distribution of wealth—the ceremony served as an effective forum for conducting diplomacy among the related clans.

Yet the Feast had been rendered obsolete by the turn of the century, as the French assumed control over diplomatic initiatives (both intertribal and Indian-white), and as the clans or lineages began edging westward, northward, and southward along the shores of Lake Superior in pursuit of greater hunting and trading advantages. The northern branch of the tribe shunned the village life of their southern relatives, who now began coalescing in large, multiclan communities at strategic trading sites. The first such major southern village was formed at Chequamegon, at the tip of the peninsula of the same name, on the south

shore of Lake Superior. And it is here that the Midewiwin first emerged as a highly effective institution binding the disparate clans together into an unprecedented village unity. Whereas before, at Sault Ste. Marie for example, the village had been a loose confederation of allied kin groups, the new multiclans village (e.g., Chequamegon, with its satellite village at Keewenaw) was a tight, unitary society comprised of increasingly insignificant kin segments. Previously, the Feast of the Dead had served to maintain the unity of allies; now the Midewiwin functioned to maintain solidarity within a single society, the village, which was rapidly becoming a discrete segment of a tribe: the Chipewewa.⁴⁶ "The Midewiwin, then, may be described as the ceremonial of a representative body of men (and women) drawn from all the cohering kin-segments of the village organism. Implicit is the fact that the members of the priesthood belonged to any and all gentes and functioned in the village interest. The wealth distributed in initiation fees and in the feasts passed among village members and not outside the village. Perhaps most important, the Midewiwin through its priesthood provided the village with a tribal tradition through the symbolism of the megis [the money cowrie, *Cypraea moneta*, which the Ojibwa must have procured from Europeans] and other mythical devices."^{47, 8}

During the course of its development, the practitioners of the Midewiwin took it upon themselves to record on birchbark scrolls the late prehistoric-early historic westward migration of their ancestors. Candidates seeking admission into the cult were instructed from these and other charts, which appear to have been copied and re-copied numerous times over the centuries, with some apparent modifications introduced along the way. The so-called Origin and Migration scrolls are of particular interest to us, here, since in the majority of cases they show the late prehistoric or protohistoric Ojibwa situated on the Atlantic coast of Canada. Over a period of some years they allegedly

g. See Selwyn Dewdney, *The Sacred Scrolls of the Southern Ojibway* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press for the Glenbow-Alberta Institute, 1975), pp. 71-72, on the source of the megis.

migrated west, following the St. Lawrence Valley, to the Great Lakes, where they were first encountered by Europeans.⁴⁸

William Warren, one of the first historians of his people, related that he was once spectator to a mide initiation ceremony where the following "migration" speech was given by the presiding priest, Tugwauganay, his maternal great-uncle. "The language and phrases were so obscure to a common listener," prefaced Warren,

that it would be impossible to give a literal translation of the whole speech. The following passage, however, forcibly struck my attention.

"While our forefathers were living on the great salt water toward the rising sun, the great Megis (sea-shell) showed itself above the surface of the great water, and the rays of the sun for a long period were reflected from its glossy back. It gave warmth and light to the An-ish-in-aub-ag (red race). All at once it sank into the deep, and for a time our ancestors were not blessed with its light. It rose to the surface and appeared again on the great river which drains the waters of the Great Lakes, and again for a long time it gave life to our forefathers, and reflected back the rays of the sun. Again it disappeared from sight and it rose not, till it appeared to the eyes of the An-ish-in-aub-ag on the shores of the first great lake [Ontario]. Again it sank from sight, and death daily visited the wigwams of our forefathers, till it showed its back, and reflected the rays of the sun once more at Bow-e-ting (Sault Ste. Marie). Here it remained for a long time, but once more, and for the last time, it disappeared, and the An-ish-in-aub-ag was left in darkness and misery, till it floated and once more showed its bright back at Mo-ning-wun-a-kaun-ing (La Pointe Island [i.e., Chequamegon]), where it has ever since reflected back the rays of the sun, and blessed our ancestors with life, light, and wisdom. Its rays reach the remotest village of the wide spread Ojibways."

Warren was understandably puzzled by the speech. Could it have any basis in fact, he wondered? Determined to find out, he visited the old man in his lodge one evening and asked him to re-tell the story, this time stripped of its allegorical element.

After filling his pipe and smoking of the tobacco I had presented, he proceeded to give me the desired information as follows:—

"My grandson," said he, "the megis I spoke of, means the Me-da-we religion. Our forefathers, many string of lives ago, lived on the shores of the Great Salt Water in the east. Here it was, that while congregated in a great town, and while they were suffering the ravages of sickness

and death, the Great Spirit, at the intercession of Man-ab-o-sho [*Nana-bozo*, the Ojibwa culture hero], the great common uncle of the Anish-in-aub-ag, granted them this rite wherewith life is restored and prolonged. Our forefathers moved from the shores of the great water, and proceeded westward. The Me-da-we lodge was pulled down and it was not again erected, till our forefathers again took a stand on the shores of the great river near where Mo-ne-aung (Montreal) now stands.

"In the course of time this town was again deserted, and our forefathers still proceeding westward, lit not their fires till they reached the shores of Lake Huron, where again the rites of the Me-da-we were practised.

"Again these rites were forgotten, and the Me-da-we lodge was not built till the Ojibways found themselves congregated at Bow-e-ting (outlet of Lake Superior), where it remained for many winters. Still the Ojibways moved westward, and for the last time the Me-da-we lodge was erected on the Island of La Pointe, and here, long before the pale face appeared among them, it was practised in its purest and most original form. . . . This, my grandson, is the meaning of the words you did not understand; they have been repeated to us by our fathers for many generations."⁴⁹

Scholars, including linguists, archaeologists, and ethnologists, are skeptical of the idea that the ancestral Ojibwa might have originated somewhere far to the east, on the Atlantic coast.⁵⁰ They are still arguing among themselves over whether the proto-Ojibwa occupied the entire northern shore of Lake Superior at first contact or whether they were restricted to the subboreal zone east of Michipicoten Bay.⁵¹ As far as I know, no one has yet attempted to set the eastern boundary of the late prehistoric Ojibwa, an assignment which would be fraught with difficulties: there is the problem of the intervening Laurentian Iroquois, who apparently controlled Tugwauganay's east-west migration route for at least part of the sixteenth century; added to which there are linguistic discontinuities between Atlantic coastal Algonkians and the historic Upper Great Lakes Ojibwa.

And yet Roland Dixon felt he detected a substantial similarity between Micmac and Southwestern Ojibwa mythology. Concluded he: "The Cree, Saulteaux, and Menomini form a closely related group, with which the Mississagua shows much in common. The [Southwestern] Ojibwa stands somewhat apart, being

connected with the group, and particularly with the Cree, largely by its culture-hero elements, and showing a strong similarity to the Eastern group of the Micmac, Abnaki, and Maleseet in so far as regards the non-culture-hero elements. It also has more affiliations with the Iroquoian tribes than any other in the whole Western group. . . . The Eastern tribes make up a pretty coherent group, for the most part unrelated to the Western, in which, however, the Micmac stands out markedly, by reason of its strong similarities to Western, particularly Ojibwa, elements." From here he went on to postulate that "traditionally the Ojibwa had moved west, from a position much farther to the east, and north of the St. Lawrence; this would bring them closer to the Micmac geographically, with whom, and not with the Abnaki, their agreements are found."⁵² He reiterated his theory in a subsequent article on "The Early Migrations of the Indians of New England and the Maritime Provinces": The Micmac may have at one time occupied a great sweep of territory from the Upper St. Lawrence to its mouth. "In their earlier habitat the Micmac were in contact with the Ojibwa, who at that time lived much further east than in historic times, this association accounting for the close mythological similarities between the two tribes."⁵³ The advancing (Laurentian) Iroquois presumably pushed the Micmac east to their historic location, and in the process wedged themselves between the heretofore comingling "Ojibwa" and Micmac. Archaeological data are too inconclusive at this point to throw much light on the issue, which undoubtedly sounds rather fanciful to most specialists.

Someone subscribing to the Dixon theory might construe Tugwauganay's statement, that his people were hammered by epidemic disease while living "on the shores of the Great Salt Water," as an oblique reference to a protohistoric contact situation, when the ancestral Ojibwa contracted alien diseases from the same European fishermen who were trafficking with the coastal Micmac. Such an interpretation would allow one to reconcile the tale of Warren's maternal ancestors "suffering the ravages of sickness and death" while located on the Atlantic coast and the visitation of the "great Megis," which transmitted to them "this

rite wherewith life is restored and prolonged," with the oddly similar tale of woe recounted by the Cross-bearing Micmac. The Micmac version had it that there was once "a time when their country was afflicted with a very dangerous and deadly malady" from which they were delivered by the timely intervention of "a man, beautiful as could be, [who] appeared to them with a Cross in his hand" and admonished them to fashion and venerate a like symbol, as it would drive away the pestilence.^{54, h} Significantly, in both instances, Micmac and Ojibwa, the people apostatized. The mide priest, Tugwauganay, claimed that devotion to the cult was rekindled several times before it was finally "practised in its purest and most original form" at Chequamegon (La Pointe), where Hickerson and Selwyn Dewdney are agreed it originated.⁵⁵ Despite these parallels, the case for an Atlantic coastal origin must be rejected as being too speculative at this stage of inquiry.

There are several things that we might salvage from this evidence, however. One is the distinct possibility that the Midewiwin existed in some form prior to its full differentiation at Chequamegon—that it had waxed and waned in a more rudimentary form for several generations prior to the turn of the eighteenth century. Another is that the Ojibwa may well have been hounded by disease throughout the course of some sort of westward migration—if not from the Atlantic coast, as Tugwauganay and other mide priests would have us believe, then from some indeterminate point further west, possibly even as far west as Sault St. Marie. Finally, it appears certain that the Midewiwin developed, in part anyway, as an institutionalized reaction to that tragic situation.

h. There are peculiar similarities between the agent of relief in both the Micmac and Ojibwa accounts. In Tugwauganay's version of the Origin myth the agent was a megis shell sent at the instigation of *Nanabozo*, who had interceded on the Indian's behalf before the Great Spirit. In other versions, he is identified as a bear, in others an otter, and in still others as the sun manitou. Yet others claim that a man was sent over from western Europe as the special messenger of the Manitou Council, bearing with him the gospel of the Midewiwin (Dewdney, *Sacred Scrolls*, pp. 32-36, 41-46, 54-56, 158-159, 170-176; Laura Makarius, "The Crime of Manabozo," *American Anthropologist* 75 [June 1973]:663-675). One can only wonder at the connection between this enigmatic figure, of such fluid identity, and the Micmac "beautiful" man carrying the cross.

By the time Frenchmen began noticing them in the mid-seventeenth century, in their habitat southeast of Lake Superior, the Ojibwa were already reeling from what were obviously European-derived diseases. No one can say for certain when these diseases first arrived; the only evidence we have to go on is folkloristic testimony, which seems to put the inaugural date well before the actual physical appearance of whites. I, at least, am inclined to agree with this interpretation, since it fits a pattern established for many other parts of the New World and since local circumstantial evidence appears to corroborate it. In sum, I would postulate that the proto-Ojibwa contracted Old World disease well before they laid eyes on their first Frenchman (probably Etienne Brulé, who penetrated the area in 1621-1623); that these diseases began thinning their ranks while they were in the process of moving west to the north shore of Lake Huron; and that a rudimentary form of the Midewiwin had evolved to cope with new disease environment conditions which were firmly established by the time Europeans began documenting them in the mid-seventeenth century.

Shifting from the Origin and Migration scrolls to the so-called Master scrolls and ritual charts, which depicted the various spirit powers associated with the cult and showed the candidate how they were to be approached, one finds a striking association of animals with disease. W. J. Hoffman, in his classic account of the Midewiwin as he observed it in 1889 on the White Earth reservation, Minnesota, wrote of the various evil manitous—serpents, bears, a panther and lynx—which "occupied and surrounded" the first three degree lodges. When the candidate eventually reached the fourth and final structure of initiation, he had to brace himself to meet a most sinister panel of disease-mongering manitous: the panther, the turtle, the "big" wolverine, the fox, the wolf, the malevolent bear, the lynx, the serpents—these in company with yet more wildlife figures. These had "now assembled about this fourth degree of the Midē'wigân to make a final effort against the admission and advancement of the candidate." "They are the ones who endeavor to counteract or destroy the good wrought by the rites of the Midē'wiwin, and

only by the aid of the good man'idōs can they be driven from the Midē'wigân so as to permit a candidate to enter and receive the benefits of the degree."⁵⁶ Subsequent researchers would make the same sort of observation: malevolent, disease-dealing spirit agents were symbolized as various animals on the scrolls.⁵⁷ The cosmic struggle against disease thus reduced to one pitting the "good man'idōs" of uncertain taxonomy against a host of evil animal spirits. I shall say more about this curious identification of wildlife with disease, further on.

Pursuing the disease theme even further, one finds that virtually all major illnesses were ascribed to some supernatural agent in traditional Ojibwa society. The categories of such disease varied: soul loss, sorcery, breach of taboo, disease-object intrusion, and spirit intrusion.⁵⁸ Briefly explained, soul loss or incapacitation usually meant that the victim had been raided by a malevolent conjuror who, typically, had snatched the soul away while the victim slept. Another symptom of the same misfortune was evident in the case of an intractable illness; for here again, in spite of the patient's apparent life signs, he was considered already dead—his soul had vanished. Recovery in either case was achieved by engaging a conjuror who had notoriously potent magic, hopefully more powerful than that of the thief.⁵⁹

The second category, sorcery, involved black magic once more. Sorcery, incidentally, is probably the most common reason given by contemporary Ojibwa for "Indian" sickness. One Indian is convinced that another, who bears him a grudge for some insult, "has been employing his art in conjuring to make him unhappy or unsuccessful"; or, to put it more quaintly, someone has "thrown bad medicines [*sic*]" his way.⁶⁰ Once again, the victim would hire a conjuror to identify the source and, if possible, turn the tables on his tormentor. The commissioned shaman, or mide, then consulted his manitou or manitous (in the shaking tent rite) regarding the appropriate cure, after which he "implores, begs, beseeches, commands, and directs the spirits to deliver the patient from" the disease's grip. Rummaging through his medicine bag, he locates a suitable cure—a certain herb—which he administers orally.⁶¹

Passing over breach of taboo, which has already been explained, we find that disease-object intrusion was a favorite diagnosis of the so-called sucking doctors (a type of conjuror), furnishing them the opportunity to demonstrate their remarkable skills of legerdemain. Some wicked sorcerer had imbedded an infectious object (a sliver of wood, or bone, some hair, or just about anything) in the victim's body, which could only be extracted by pressing the mouth (or a tube) to the affected part and sucking it out.⁶² Samuel Hearne was impolitely amused as he witnessed Cree shamans assiduously using a variant of this technique: they clapped their lips to the anus of the patient and blew vigorously. As far as he could tell, the sole effect was defecation in the face of the blower punctuated by blasts of flatus.⁶³ Spirit intrusion, the final category, was similar to disease-object intrusion, except that the victim in this instance was tormented by an evil spirit requiring exorcism.

Taken together, the foregoing ideology of disease, belief in hunting magic and ritual, and super-human world view animated the Ojibwa hunter-gatherer on the eve of European landfall. "Their native belief system, in short," wrote Hallowell on the Saulteaux Ojibwa, "defines the psychological or behavioral environment in which they live, and no purely objective account of their geographical locale, its topography, its fauna and flora would be sufficient to account completely for their behavior in relation to this physical environment."⁶⁴ Herein lies the meaning of the Indian's response to the fur trade and the contact experience in general.

CHAPTER FOUR

Contact and Nature's Conspiracy

JUST WHEN the loose collection of bands known as the Ojibwa first felt the European influence is problematical. We would guess that their initiation was through middlemen, easterly tribes who carried the news, the contagions, the paraphernalia, and the fur-trading impulse west to the Upper Great Lakes.^a

a. Father François du Peron wrote in a letter of April 1639, describing the Huron, that these people were trading with the French and surrounding tribes, including the Sauteaux Ojibwa. *Jesuit Relations*, 15:155.

The standard general works on the Ojibwa are Ruth Landes, *Ojibwa Sociology* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1937); Landes, "The Ojibwa of Canada," in *Cooperation and Competition among Primitive Peoples*, edited by Margaret Mead, pp. 87-126 (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1937); R. W. Dunning, *Social and Economic Change among the Northern Ojibwa* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959); Harold Hickerson, *The Southwestern Chippewa: An Ethnohistorical Study*, American Anthropological Association Memoir 92, vol. 64, no. 3, part 2 (June 1962); Hickerson, *The Chippewa and Their Neighbors: A Study in Ethnohistory* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970); Hickerson, "The Chippewa of the Upper Great Lakes: A Study in Sociopolitical Change," in *North American Indians in Historical Perspective*, edited by Eleanor Burke Leacock and Nancy Oestreich Lurie, pp. 169-199 (New York: Random House, 1971); and Charles A. Bishop, *The Northern Ojibwa and the Fur Trade: An Historical and Ecological Study* (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, 1974). Specialized topics which bear on the present subject are found in Diamond Jenness, *The Ojibwa Indians of Parry Island, Their Social and Religious Life*, Canada, Department of Mines, *National Museum of Canada, Bulletin No. 78*, Anthropological Series No. 17 (Ottawa, 1935); A. Irving

Situated deep in the interior of the new continent, this *terra incognita*, the emergent Ojibwa were hunter-gatherers, meaning that they farmed very little or not at all. There is some evidence, as was mentioned in the Prologue, that certain bands, such as the Missisauga, Nipissings, and Sauteaux—bands which resided for a portion of the year along the shores of the Upper Great Lakes—cultivated maize.¹ Because of a short growing season, the crop was harvested green. For the most part, however, the Ojibwa relied on wild plants, fish, Virginia deer, moose, caribou, furbearers, and waterfowl for their subsistence.²

Along the edges of swampy lakes and creeks they harvested wild rice in autumn, great quantities being husked and laid up "for the consumption of the year," to be boiled when the time came with fat, fish, maple sugar, or meat of all sorts.³ Late in the season, with the wild rice secure, the individual (extended) families broke camp and quit the shore, moving inland in the company of several other related families to hunt and trap a communal territory throughout the winter months (November through March).^{4, b} This was the season for gathering furs and hides for clothing and numerous other domestic uses. As for the tools and techniques of the chase, they were, generally speaking, identical to those utilized by the Micmac. There is a suspicion that the Ojibwa were more inclined to preserve food than were their Micmac brethren—meat typically being cut into strips and smoked over a low fire, rendering it lighter of load and preserving it for future use—but the evidence for this is inconclusive.⁵ These constituted the lonely months, when starvation stalked the land in the figure of the dreaded *wittiko*.

Hallowell, *Culture and Experience* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1955); and Landes, *Ojibwa Religion and the Midewiwin* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968). See Helen Hornbeck Tanner, *The Ojibwas: A Critical Bibliography* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press for the Newberry Library, 1976), for a useful guide to the great corpus of literature on these people.

b. The origins and nature of the Algonkian family hunting territory system have been debated for years by ethnologists. See Charles A. Bishop, "The Emergence of Hunting Territories among the Northern Ojibwa," *Ethnology* 9 (January 1970):1-15; Bishop, *Northern Ojibwa*, pp. 206-220, 284, 287, 289-296, 308; and Calvin Martin, "The Four Lives of a Micmac Copper Pot," *Ethnohistory* 22 (Spring 1975):111-133.

The spring breakup brought the scattered hunting bands together once again in the festival of maple sugaring. Old acquaintances were renewed, new ones struck up, gossip freely passed around—and conjuring indulged in. The women did the actual tapping and boiling; it being up to the men to secure the food and collect the wood.⁶ After the feasts and frivolity the bands moved on to summer quarters. Here, in patriclan villages, there might be a hundred to three hundred individuals camped on a body of water that was sure to yield them plenty of fish. Hooks and nets (including seines) brought in the smaller varieties, while the larger sturgeon and whitefish were speared.⁷ The Saulteaux, who took their name from the rapids at Sault Ste. Marie, on the St. Mary's River, were famous for their adroitness at this latter technique. Carefully guiding the canoe down the maelstrom, the sternman steadied the craft while his companion, standing, impaled the whitefish as they battled the current upstream.⁸ It was by all accounts a marvelously choreographed spectacle.

As the days got shorter and the air brisk, family members went out to pick the wild berries (blueberries, in particular), many of which were preserved.⁹ After the berrying season came the wild rice season, once more, as the subsistence cycle moved full circle.

We get our first sustained view of the Ojibwa in the *Jesuit Relations*, where fathers Jogues (immortalized by Francis Parkman) and Raimbault are described as having been the first of their order to have visited a segment of the tribe, in 1641, at what was to become, through the subsequent efforts of Father Allouez, the mission of Sault Ste. Marie. Jogues and Raimbault were succeeded in 1660 by Father Menard, who wintered the year on Keweenaw Bay, Lake Superior, and disappeared, mysteriously, the next. Father Claude Allouez succeeded the ill-fated Menard, reaching Chequamegon in 1665, where he erected the mission of La Pointe (later to be called St. Esprit) in the midst of refugee Ottawas (close kinsmen to the Ojibwa) and Hurons (actually Tobacco Indians) driven west by the marauding League Iroquois. "For thirty years did Alouez travel from tribe to tribe,

through the forests and over the prairies of the vast wilderness which a century later came to be organized into the Northwest Territory, and established missions. . . ."¹⁰ Writing to his superior in Québec, this remarkably energetic man outlined his mission at Chequamegon. "Here we have erected a little Chapel of bark, where my entire occupation is to receive the Algonkin and Huron Christians, and instruct them; baptize and catechize the children; admit the Infidels, who hasten hither from all directions, attracted by curiosity; speak to them in public and in private; disabuse them of their superstitions, combat their idolatry, make them see the truths of our Faith; and suffer no one to leave my presence without implanting in his soul some seeds of the Gospel."¹¹ Like his predecessor Pierre Biard, the reverend Father Allouez was a man with a powerful vision.

The one persistent theme of these Jesuit authors was the devastation, especially of a spiritual nature, wrought by disease among the mission tribes. From their letters it would appear that the fathers occupied themselves mainly with praying for and ministering to the sick, baptizing those whom they could. At first, the Indians were suspicious of baptism, fearful that it caused death, but they were soon convinced otherwise. In the words of Allouez, "A circumstance greatly facilitating the Baptism of these Children is the belief, now very common, that those sacred waters not only do not cause death, as was formerly held, but even give health to the sick and restore the dying to life."¹² Thus it was with these tender words that Cree parents comforted their feverish children at the Sault, "'Do not cry,' they said to them when the children moaned in their sickness; 'Do not cry, Baptism is going to cure you.'"¹³ Many were miraculously cured, or so the fathers claimed in their journals, frequently triggering the patient's conversion and, less often, a community revival. "No sooner had he [Father Gabriel Druilletes] landed here [Sault Ste. Marie] than a grievous disease broke out among the greater part of our Savages; yet, instead of checking the course of the Gospel, it, on the contrary, brought it into great repute by many wonderful cures. This made such an impression on these peoples' minds that, by the grace of our Lord, they declared themselves

openly for the faith; and all the elders have publicly promised to embrace it when they are sufficiently instructed."¹⁴

A countertheme to the ministrations of the fathers was the bitter opposition of the shamans. In predictable fashion the shamans found themselves discredited before their people for their inability to effect a cure by traditional means. Whereupon the priest was summoned—he was usually waiting in the wings anyway, eager to seize just such an opportunity. Oftentimes, it seems, by invoking his Christian resources, he shamed his rival by working a cure. The loss of face was naturally resented by the shamans, some of whom in their anger breathed threats against the blackrobes. Others who had experienced the efficacious power of Christianity renounced their "jugglery" to become devoted followers of Christ.¹⁵

Yet, from remarks scattered here and there in the *Relations*, we gather that these and other mission Indians were not constant in their new-found faith; many of them apparently relapsed into heathenism after a short period of time, reminiscent of the Micmac experience.¹⁶ Allouez judged the Ottawas at Chequamegon to be a people with "very little inclination to receive the faith, since they are extremely addicted to Idolatry, superstitions, legends, polygamy, unstable marriages, and every sort of licentiousness, which makes them renounce all natural shame." "They freely acknowledge that what I teach them is very reasonable," he complained, "but license prevails over reason, and, unless grace is very strong, all our teachings are of slight effect."¹⁷ Nearly fifty years later, Father Gabriel Marest found the Saulteaux at Michilimackinac to be of the same disposition. "Religion does not take so deep root in them as we could wish; and there are only a few souls who, from time to time, give themselves truly to God, and console the Missionary for all his labors."¹⁸

The Ojibwa and other tribes among whom the blackrobes moved were tenacious of their ancient beliefs not because they were savages, as the Jesuits accused, but rather because their world view and ritual had been functional up until then. Naturally, therefore, they were reluctant to jettison it altogether. It is

an obvious point, yet nonetheless worthy of emphasis. Any success at proselytization must be interpreted within the larger context of the epidemic diseases. Indians were dying off in droves, and at least some of them saw in Christianity a panacea. So long as Christianity offered relief from their physical anguish the Ojibwa and others were willing converts; the more virulent the epidemic the more successful the conversion. With cure or a lull between epidemics, apostatization was rampant. Nothing was more frustrating to the resident Jesuits than this cycle of disease-Christianity-interlude-apostatization. Blind to this process and rationale, the fathers could not discern that there was nothing inherently virtuous about the Gospel to these people; instead, they charged the Indians with having a capricious nature.

Christian conversion must be understood, then, as an adjunct to disease. The two greatest killers were probably smallpox and plague, smallpox becoming endemic to the area by the mid-seventeenth century. Over the years these were joined by rickets, tuberculosis, syphilis, typhus, cholera, scarlet fever, and others—diseases which would sweep through a vulnerable native population in insidious clusters, decimating and demoralizing the victims. Consider the course of one of these contagions: smallpox. We know from documentary evidence that by 1641 the entire St. Lawrence–Great Lakes region had been ravaged, probably repeatedly, by a smallpox epidemic which had started among the Montagnais seven years earlier. One might interject that Jesuits, their *engagés*, the *coureurs de bois*, and explorers were carriers of the virus, as were Indian intermediaries and such contaminated trade goods as blankets and clothing. Smallpox may have struck again in 1662–1663, or thereabouts, as it spread throughout New France. The intervening years between this outbreak and another known to have occurred in 1738 may very well have witnessed several other visitations. It was back, again, in 1752 and 1781–1782. The younger Alexander Henry, nephew to the other Henry, furnished a crude estimate of the death toll of this latter epidemic as it moved through the heavily populated site of present-day Winnipeg. "Many hundreds of men, women, and children were

buried there," he bitterly recalled in his journal.^{19,c} It evidently took another hundred years for the disease finally to be brought under control.²⁰

So prevalent was disease that a band of enterprising Nipissings almost succeeded in discouraging a party of fur-laden Indians from descending to Montréal by warning that "the pest" was stalking the French colony. A skeptical Frenchman, who happened to be traveling with the latter group, recognized it as a bluff to frighten his companions into dumping their furs and turning back. It was certainly odd, he declared facetiously, that "ignorant" Nipissings could have survived the sickness unscathed when the surrounding French were succumbing. "The Nepicirinién replied to him. 'Our spirits have preserved us.' 'Your spirits,' the Frenchman answered, 'are incapable of that, and are no better able to do you any good. It is the God of the French who has done everything for you, and who supplies your needs, although you do not deserve it.'"²¹ The truth is that he was right. The manitous of the Indians had lost their protective powers—and the Indians knew it.

Neither the obstructionism of wily Nipissings or other intervening tribes nor the depredations of the Iroquois could prevent the furs from pouring into the warehouses at Montréal, Three Rivers (Trois-Rivières), and Québec.²² When hostilities between the French colony and the Five Nations Iroquois became so intense as to close off the river routes, the western tribes impatiently stockpiled the pelts, waiting for the chance to run the blockade.

Furs, after all, were the business of New France. As expressed by Father Nau, with scarce exaggeration, "Monsieur The Count

c. "When Hudson Bay was discovered," wrote David Thompson, "and the first trading settlement made, the Natives [i.e., the Cree] were far more numerous than at present. . . . In the year 1782, the small pox from Canada extended to them, and more than one half of them died; since which although they have no enemies, their country very healthy, yet their numbers increase very slowly" (Thompson, *Narrative, 1784-1812*, edited with an introduction and notes by Richard Glover [Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1962], pp. 92, 236-237). Samuel Hearne, *A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772 (1795)*, edited with an introduction by Richard Glover (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1958), pp. 115-116, estimated that nine-tenths of the Chipewyan had died of smallpox recently contracted from the Cree.

de Maurepas is right when he says that The officials in Canada are looking not for The western sea but for The sea of beaver."²³ These same officials were careful to impress that fact on the Jesuit missionaries who, however reluctantly, appear in general to have promoted the trade. "We try as much as we can," Father Nouvel reassured Count Frontenac in the spring of 1673, "conformably to what Monsieur the Governor and Monsieur the Intendant have written to us about it, to incline them [the Saulteaux] to continue their intercourse with the French."^{24,d} Nicolas Perrot carried the message to the Potawatomi, close kin of the Saulteaux, when he visited their country sometime between 1660 and 1700. His hosts, who evidently had never laid eyes on a European before, insisted he must be "'one of the chief spirits'" because he used iron. Capitalizing on their naiveté, Perrot politely inquired whether they might like to trade with the French, "as the beaver was valued by his people"—something of an understatement.²⁵

Nouvel's obsequious letter of compliance may well have been prompted by a new threat that was causing the governor some anxiety. Three years earlier the restored Stuart monarch, Charles II, had chartered the Hudson's Bay Company, magnanimously granting it a monopoly of the trade throughout the Bay's vast watershed. For the next hundred and fifty years, until the merger of the Northwest Company with the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821, the interior would be mercilessly raided for its furs, the scene of a fur-trading war whose principal casualties were the beaver and the Indian. To his discredit the Indian capitalized on the rivalry, in somewhat the same fashion that the League Iroquois had earlier played the imperial powers of England and France off one another. No one company or native hunter could count on other Indians for support in maintaining a sustained

d. Bruce Trigger, "The Jesuits and the Fur Trade," *Ethnohistory* 12 (Winter 1965):30-53, maintains that the Jesuits, in Huronia at least, were not agents of the fur trade. Although they were obliged to barter in furs, these being the standard medium of exchange, they did not have a stake in or an obligation to the fur business. I suspect that the blackrobes compromised their isolationist and protectionist position as the century progressed and they increasingly alienated their New French audience.

yield policy of harvest, the best advice in such a cutthroat atmosphere therefore being to "trap out and get out," which is precisely what most Indians did; over-hunting became the only viable alternative.^{26, e}

Beaver were already scarce along the southwestern shore of Lake Superior by the time the Hudson's Bay Company began doing business.²⁷ Indeed, wildlife destruction now occupied the primary energies of the *Saulteaux*, declared Perrot. They "have degenerated from the valor of their ancestors, and devote themselves solely to the destruction of wild animals."²⁸ "A few years ago beaver were plenty on the upper part of these forks," confirmed Alexander Henry, the Younger, referring to the confluence of the Rat with the Red River, "but now they are nearly destroyed."²⁹ Beaver were likewise depleted in the Nipigon country by the end of the eighteenth century. Confided the Nor'wester, Duncan Cameron, to his business partners in Montréal, "I am, however, sorry to remark that this part of the country is now very much impoverished since; beaver is getting scarce, but I have nevertheless managed to keep up the average of returns by shifting from place to place every year and increasing the number of posts, which, of course, augmented the expenses and made the trade dearer, but that cannot be helped at present, and we must conform to circumstances and hope to see a reform soon."³⁰ The "circumstances" he alluded to were these: the Indians were less zealous trappers and hunters than they had been formerly, and intense competition for their furs between the Northwest Company and the Hudson's Bay Company had made them careless about repaying credits. Added to that, the operating costs of the trade had skyrocketed, fueled in large part by unscrupulous traders who were overpaying the natives for their

e. Daniel Harmon, *A Journal of Voyages and Travels in the Interior of North America, . . . During a Residence of Nineteen Years, in Different Parts of the Country . . .*, transcribed by Daniel Haskell (Andover: Flagg and Gould, 1820), p. 432, listed the following furbearing species, in descending order of importance, as being the most sought after by the Northwest Company in the early decades of the nineteenth century: beaver, otter, muskrat, marten, bear, fox, lynx, fisher, mink, wolf, and buffalo. In an accompanying list he showed the relative weights of furs, again in descending order, annually exported by the Company: beaver, marten, muskrat, bear, otter, wolf, buffalo, lynx, "etc."

catch. This, of course, encouraged the Indians to clamor for more. Meanwhile, the beaver were becoming ever more scarce—driving up costs even higher. The fur trade had simply extended itself to its farthest geographical limit, wearily concluded Cameron. The rapidly diminishing game resources within this now-confined area could yield only correspondingly diminishing returns, should the Company prolong the enterprise. Further exacerbating the problem was the Hudson's Bay Company's confounded premium system, whereby HBC factors were awarded a bonus for each skin they secured. Here was the ultimate folly: commercial suicide.³¹

Things were really not as bleak as Cameron made them out to be; the Nipigon country was not abandoned nor did the Northwest Company go bankrupt. Cameron himself, although perhaps unwittingly, contributed to the overall instability by capriciously assigning hunting territories to indebted Indians.³² It is not difficult to imagine how the hunter, devoid of spiritual ties to a new and arbitrary hunting territory, chosen merely because of its expediency to the trade, would have few qualms about cleaning out its furbearers. On a much broader geographical scale, roving bands of Indian pelt-hunters were abandoning exhausted territories within their tribal areas to raid those of their neighbors, where there were still furs to be found. Samuel Hearne thus felt the Hudson's Bay Company served to gain when Chipewyan hunters made peace with their Cree neighbors, whose territories they promptly began scouring for furs.³³ And Daniel Harmon found Iroquois as far west as the Mackenzie Subarctic, indiscriminately slaughtering beaver on Carrier territory.³⁴ Similarly, the "Chippewas [Ojibwa] have lately come from the southward where their own countries are exhausted of the Beaver and the Deer [caribou]" to hunt on Cree territory, complained Thompson. Formerly, he continued, the "great western forest"—the area between Lake Winnipeg and the Rocky Mountains—"had very many Beaver." Had it not been for the ruthless competition of fur companies these western Indians would have had an abundance of beaver, he maintained, certainly enough to satisfy their needs. But Canadian traders, i.e., Nor'westers, had imported "a

great number of Iroquois, Nepissings and Algonquins who with their steel traps had destroyed the Beaver on their own lands in Canada and New Brunswick."^{35, f}

Not only were the beaver and other furbearers vanishing, but so were the moose and caribou, mainstays of the Northern Ojibwa diet. The result was predictable: whereas hunger had previously been sporadic in Ojibwa society, by the early nineteenth century it had become a way of life.³⁶ The Ojibwa captive John Tanner, having narrowly escaped death by starvation, reflected on the terrifying experience: "This is but a fair specimen of the life which many of the Ojibbeways of the north lead during the winter. Their barren and inhospitable country affords them scantily the means of subsistence, that it is only with the utmost exertion and activity, that life can be sustained; and it not unfrequently happens that the strongest men, and the best hunters, perish of absolute hunger."³⁷ Before the victim succumbed to "absolute hunger," an inadequate diet rendered him extremely vulnerable to infectious disease.³⁸ The hunter and his family became caught in a vicious circle of debilitating disease curtailing hunting, which in turn impoverished the diet, which in turn invited infection, and so forth. Malnutrition and illness thus developed a synergistic relationship. Sometimes relief came in the form of rations dispensed by humane traders, yet these were scarcely enough to carry a family through the hungry winter months or even through a short-term famine. Those unfortunates who were caught in such desperate straits resorted to eating their dogs, first, and then their moccasins. When these proved insufficient to tide them over, they tried eating the inner bark (i.e., cambium) of firs, or boiling a loathsome mush known as *tripe de roche* (an edible lichen), or even consuming caribou dung—anything to stay alive.^{39, g}

f. In an editorial note, Richard Glover has dated this influx at about 1798.

g. Bishop, *Northern Ojibwa*, has plotted the course of Northern Ojibwa decline in exquisite detail.

It is clear, he feels, that things were going well for the majority of them during the middle and later decades of the eighteenth century and indeed for a few years after the turn of the new century: trade goods were plentiful as the HBC and Northwest Company competed vigorously for the products of the chase. There seemed to be plenty of furs to go around, and Indians prospered as

In spite of such tragedies and austerities, the trade ground on. Casting about for some sort of meaning to all of this, David Thompson concluded that it was inevitable, and that was all there was to it. "Previous to the discovery of Canada . . . this Continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, may be said

they moved from post to post, applying for and getting easy credit. These were the years of reckless hunting of both furbearers and large game (moose and caribou), the latter providing the bulk of the Indian's diet. It appears that hunting for furs was largely secondary to hunting for food during these flush years. It also appears that the Ojibwa were scarcely dependent upon European trade goods. Meanwhile, social organization was changing in response to new environmental conditions and the pressures of the fur trade: clan segments were giving way to bilateral kin groups of several dozen members (i.e., composite bands of twenty-five to thirty individuals). Bishop emphasizes repeatedly that the Ojibwa lived very well before the turn of the nineteenth century; starvation was probably extremely rare, and the Ojibwa enjoyed a significant population increase.

The decades of over-hunting began to register in 1805/1810 or so. Both furbearers and cervines (moose and caribou) were becoming alarmingly scarce by the first one or two decades of the century. Native hunters were now forced to turn to alternate sources of food, in particular hare and fish. What few moose and caribou remained were soon killed off, as were most of the surviving beaver. Hunting for food now occupied an increasingly larger proportion of their time just when they found themselves increasingly dependent upon the trading post for relief. Store-bought food, European clothing, and other supplies suddenly became critical to survival, and yet they became more and more difficult to obtain as fewer pelts were surrendered in exchange. Not surprisingly, the credit system was much abused during these years of austerity.

Things only got worse with the HBC-Northwest Company merger in 1821. Seeking to economize, the newly amalgamated firm closed unprofitable posts, making it more difficult for dependent Indians to move around in order to secure the hare, fish, and furs which were now so vital to their continued existence. The few beaver that remained were rendered even more inaccessible by the inauguration of a beaver conservation program which included the resting of certain hunting areas and the Company's refusal to accept summer beaver. Almost perversely, the HBC raised the price of trade goods right at the point when they were indispensable to the Indian's livelihood. And to cap it all off, the credit system was replaced by the unpopular ready-barter system, placing the higher priced goods even further out of reach.

All of this served to make the Indian less mobile and consequently more dependent on the post for food, clothing, blankets, twine (for nets), leather (for footwear and clothing), guns, and ammunition. Food shortages were endemic from the early decades of the nineteenth century until the turn of the twentieth, when the moose and caribou returned to the area. Indeed, Ojibwa hunters found that their physical survival was often intimately tied to hare cycles—such was the degree of their destitution. It was during this period that the staking of beaver lodges became commonplace and furs were reckoned to be the property of the individual who had secured them. This, together with the atomization of the hunting group into small family units, marked the beginning of land tenure in severalty for the Northern Ojibwa.

to have been in the possession of two distinct races of Beings, Man and the Beaver."⁴⁰ The two were locked in mortal combat, with the Indian the perennial underdog. Man's primitive tools were pitifully inadequate to penetrate the fortress-like lodge, reasoned Thompson. So the Indian stood by and watched, helplessly, as beaver multiplied and became a nuisance, and then a menace, assuming possession of every waterway that lent itself to their purposes.

Every River where the current was moderate and sufficiently deep, the banks at the water edge were occupied by their houses. To every small Lake, and all the Ponds they builded Dams, and enlarged and deepened them to the height of the dams. Even to ground occasionally overflowed, by heavy rains, they also made dams, and made them permanent Ponds. . . . Thus all the low lands were in possession of the Beaver, and all the hollows of the higher grounds. . . . the dry land with the dominions of Man contracted, every where he was hemmed in by water without the power of preventing it.⁴¹

And still they increased, and the Indian sullenly retreated before the plague.

Thompson, a sober man, was not indulging himself in a mere flight of fancy; Cree legend confirmed and very likely informed this passage. He was a keen observer of Indian ways, taking a special interest in their spiritual complex. Whatever information he gleaned on Cree beliefs, he assured the reader, was painstakingly obtained from those old enough to recall the aboriginal sentiments. He thus scrupulously avoided recording anything that he suspected might have been contaminated by white influences. "My knowledge," he declared, "has been gained when living and travelling with them and in times of distress and danger in their prayers to invisible powers. . . ."⁴² We would seem justified, then, in considering him a serious and credible source.

It is from Thompson and Alexander Henry, the Elder, whose veracity as an adopted Ojibwa is likewise unimpeachable, that we learn of the Indian's underlying spiritual motive for exterminating the game in the name of the fur trade. The revelation came to Thompson, although we are by no means certain he appreciated its full import, in the course of a conversation with

two aged Cree in the vicinity of Lake Winnipeg. The discussion having drifted to the subject of beaver, his hosts began to reminisce for the benefit of their English guest.

They said, by ancient tradition of which they did not know the origin [*sic*] the Beavers had been an ancient People, and then lived on the dry land; they were always Beavers, not Men, they were wise and powerful, and neither Man, nor any animal made war on them.

They were well clothed as at present, and as they made no use of fire, and did not want it. How long they lived this way we cannot tell, but we must suppose they did not live well, for the Great Spirit became angry with them, and ordered Weesaukejauk to drive them all into the water and there let them live, still to be wise, but without power; to be food and clothing for man, and the prey of other animals, against all of which his defence shall be his dams, his house and his burrows. . . .

The old Indian paused, became silent, and then in a low tone [they, the two Cree] talked with each other; after which he continued his discourse. I have told you that we believed in years long passed away, the Great Spirit was angry with the Beaver, and ordered Weesaukejauk (the Flatterer) to drive them all from the dry land into the water; and they became and continued very numerous; *but the Great Spirit has been, and now is, very angry with them and they are now all to be destroyed* [emphasis added].⁴³

Henry corroborated and elaborated upon this bizarre tale of divine wrath. Sometime in the past the Great Hare, *Nanabozo*, "took from the animals the use of speech. This act of severity was performed in consequence of a conspiracy into which they had entered against the human race. At the head of the conspiracy was the bear; and the great increase which had taken place among the animals rendered their numbers formidable." *Kitchi Manitou*, explained Henry in another context, had deprived the beaver of speech "lest they should grow superior in understanding to mankind."⁴⁴

Fitting these legends together, we find that the Indian's initial impulse to destroy wildlife may not have been a desire to harvest their furs for trade. That came later. However improbable it may seem to our Western way of thinking, the explanation seems to lie in the fact that on the eve of European contact man and beast were at war. The Indian, true to the behavioral environment in which he operated, was convinced that the bear and the

beaver (doubtless in league with other species) had conspired against man to destroy him. The case against the beaver has already been made in part: mankind was intimidated by the continual encroachment of this animal upon his domain—dry land. As for the bear, the ringleader of the plot, he had turned his superior physical and spiritual strength against the weaker Indian. Thompson conveyed this hostility in a speech made by a Cree hunter to a bear about to be slain. "The eldest man now makes a speech to it; reproaching the Bear and all it's [*sic*] race with being the old enemies of man, killing the children and women, when it was large and strong, but now, since the Manito has made him, small and weak to what he was before, he has all the will, though not the power to be as bad as ever, that he is treacherous and cannot be trusted, that although he has sense he makes bad use of it, and must therefore be killed."⁴⁵ He might just as well have inserted the phrase "European technology" for the word "Manito," since the Indian gained the upper hand in the struggle, armed with rifles, with steel traps, steel axes, steel knives; and with steel-tipped spears and chisels. "Thus armed the houses of the Beavers were pierced through, the Dams cut through, and the water of the Ponds lowered, or wholly run off, and the houses of the Beaver and their Burrows laid dry, by which means they became an easy prey to the Hunter."^h "Every animal fell before the Indian; the Bear was no longer dreaded, and the Beaver became a desirable animal for food and clothing, and the furr [*sic*] a valuable article of trade."⁴⁶

Summarizing the cosmological sequence of events as reconstructed from legend: *Nanabozo*, the special guardian of the Indian race, had confounded the conspiracy of the beasts by striking them dumb. Yet they still pressed in upon man, who trembled before the powerful game bosses as they kept filling the land with their kind. Things changed with the advent of

h. The reader will recall that I chided Harold Innis, on p. 10, for expressing a nearly identical sentiment. Innis seemed to accept as a foregone conclusion that the beaver would be excessively exploited once the Indian began pursuing it with European-improved weapons. What he failed to understand is that destruction of the beaver was prompted by an antecedent hostility, an antipathy which found in the new technology its most convenient means of expression.

European technology, which put the Indian on the offensive. Through the spirits (manitous) of his new weapons the hunter waged a brief, holy war of extermination.^{47, i} For a few years, perhaps decades, the Indian hunter gloried in his omnipotence. Nature, which had once rejected his supplications and frightened him, now lay prostrate at his feet.

i. Throughout his journal Hearne made reference to the senseless slaughter of game, for which the Indians could offer no satisfactory explanation. I would submit that it was due to a superiority they now felt over an animal kingdom which had once frightened and defied them.

Chapter Three: Pimadaziwin: The Good Life

1. Samuel Hearne, *A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772* (1795), edited

with an introduction by Richard Glover (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1958), pp. 219-220.

2. David Thompson, *Narrative, 1784-1812*, edited with an introduction and notes by Richard Glover (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1962), pp. 77-78.

3. Thompson, *Narrative*, pp. 92, 154-155; Peter Jones, *History of the Ojebway Indians; with Especial Reference to Their Conversion to Christianity* (London: A. W. Bennett, 1861), p. 71; Alexander Henry, *Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories Between the Years 1760 and 1776* (1809), edited with an introduction and notes by Milo Milton Quaipe (Chicago: The Lakeside Press, R. R. Donnelley and Sons Company, 1921), p. 128; *Jesuit Relations*, 50:289; Sister Bernard Coleman, "The Religion of the Ojibwa of Northern Minnesota," *Primitive Man* 10 (July and October 1937):54.

4. See Roland Burrage Dixon, "The Mythology of the Central and Eastern Algonkians," *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 22 (January 1909): 1-9; James W. VanStone, *Athapaskan Adaptations: Hunters and Fishermen of the Subarctic Forests* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1974).

5. Diamond Jenness, *The Ojibwa Indians of Parry Island, Their Social and Religious Life*, Canada, Department of Mines, *National Museum of Canada, Bulletin No. 78, Anthropological Series No. 17* (Ottawa, 1935), pp. 22-23; Daniel Williams Harmon, *A Journal of Voyages and Travels in the Interior of North America, . . . During a Residence of Nineteen Years, in Different Parts of the Country . . .*, transcribed by Daniel Haskell (Andover: Flagg and Gould, 1820), pp. 363-364; Jones, *History of Ojebway Indians*, p. 84; Thompson, *Narrative*, pp. 74-76, 88.

6. George Copway, *The Traditional History and Characteristic Sketches of the Ojibway Nation* (London: Charles Gilpin, 1850), p. 153.

7. Ruth Landes, *Ojibwa Religion and the Midéwiwin* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), p. 24.

8. J. C. Beltrami, *A Pilgrimage in Europe and America, Leading to the Discovery of the Sources of the Mississippi and Bloody River; with a Description of the Whole Course of the Former, and of the Ohio*, 2 vols. (London: C. H. Reynall, 1828), 2:298; George Copway, *The life, history, and travels, of Kah-Ge-Ga-Gah-Bowh (George Copway), a young Indian chief of the Ojebwa nation, a convert to the Christian faith, and a missionary to his people for twelve years; with a sketch of the present state of the Ojebwa nation, in regard to Christianity and their future prospects . . .* (Albany: Weed and Parsons, 1847), pp. 36-37; Copway, *Traditional History*, pp. 152-153, 164-165; Peter Grant, *The Sauteux Indians* (written ca. 1804), in *Les Bourgeois de la Com-*

pagnie du Nord-Ouest, edited by L. R. Masson, series 2, pp. 303-366 (Québec: De l'Imprimerie Générale A. Coté et Compagnie, 1890), pp. 353-354, 356; Harmon, *Journal of Voyages and Travels*, pp. 363-364; Hearne, *Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort*, p. 222; Edwin James, ed., *A Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner (U.S. Interpreter at the Saut de Ste. Marie.) During Thirty Years Residence Among the Indians in the Interior of North America* (London: Baldwin and Cradock, 1830), p. 137; Jones, *History of Ojebway Indians*, p. 84; Nicolas Perrot, *Memoir on the Manners, Customs, and Religion of the Savages of North America* (written sometime between 1680 and 1718), in *The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and Region of the Great Lakes*, edited by Emma Helen Blair, vol. 1, pp. 23-272 (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1911), pp. 48-49; Thompson, *Narrative*, pp. 74-76; *Jesuit Relations*, 50:285-289; Sister M. Bernard, "Religion and Magic Among Cass Lake Ojibwa," *Primitive Man* 2 (July and October 1929):53; A. F. Chamberlain, "Notes on the History, Customs, and Beliefs of the Mississauga Indians," *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 1 (July-September 1888):157; Henry R. Schoolcraft, "Mythology, Superstitions and Languages of the North American Indians," *Literary and Theological Review* (New York) 2 (March 1835):103.

9. Jenness, *Ojibwa Indians of Parry Island*, pp. 18-20.

10. A. Irving Hallowell, "Ojibwa Ontology, Behavior, and World View," in *Culture in History: Essays in Honor of Paul Radin*, edited by Stanley Diamond, pp. 19-52 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), p. 45; Hallowell, "Sin, Sex and Sickness in Saulteaux Belief," *British Journal of Medical Psychology* 18, part 2 (1939):191-197; Hallowell, *Culture and Experience* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1955), pp. 291-305; Hallowell, "Ojibwa World View and Disease," in *Man's Image in Medicine and Anthropology*, Monograph 4, edited by Iago Galdston, pp. 258-315, Institute of Social and Historical Medicine, New York Academy of Medicine (New York: International Universities Press, 1963), pp. 274, 293.

11. Hearne, *Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort*, p. 221.

12. Hallowell, "Ojibwa World View and Disease," pp. 264-265, 269-270, 271-274, 283, 310; Hallowell, *Culture and Experience*, p. 145; Hallowell, "Ojibwa Ontology," p. 45.

13. Hallowell, "Sin, Sex and Sickness"; Hallowell, "Ojibwa World View and Disease."

14. Thompson, *Narrative*, p. 155; Hearne, *Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort*, p. 232; A. Irving Hallowell, "Bear Ceremonialism in the Northern Hemisphere," *American Anthropologist*, n.s. 28 (1926): 1-175; Hallowell, "Ojibwa World View and Disease," pp. 271-272, 283; Landes, *Ojibwa Religion*, pp. 27-28; Alanson Buck Skinner, "Notes

on the Eastern Cree and Northern Saulteaux," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 9, part 1 (New York, 1911): 69-73, 76, 162-164.

15. Schoolcraft, "Mythology, Superstitions and Languages," p. 105; VanStone, *Athapaskan Adaptations*, pp. 88-89, 122; Landes, *Ojibwa Religion*, p. 25.

16. Copway, *life, history, and travels*, pp. 51, 27; Grey Owl, *Pilgrims of the Wild* (London: Lovat Dickson and Thompson, 1935), p. 24; Jenness, *Ojibwa Indians of Parry Island*, p. 80; Bernard, "Religion and Magic," p. 55.

17. Copway, *life, history, and travels*, p. 27; Copway, *Traditional History*, pp. 130-131; Hearne, *Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort*, p. 220; Thompson, *Narrative*, p. 75.

18. Jenness, *Ojibwa Indians of Parry Island*, p. 80; Hallowell, "Ojibwa World View and Disease," pp. 278-279, 286.

19. Landes, *Ojibwa Religion*, p. 22.

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 21, 8.

21. Duncan Cameron, *The Nipigon Country* (written between 1804 and 1805), pp. 229-300 in *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*, ed. Masson, pp. 260-261; Copway, *life, history, and travels*, pp. 48-51; Copway, *Traditional History*, p. 154; Grant, *Sauteux Indians*, pp. 356, 357; Thompson, *Narrative*, p. 81; *Jesuit Relations*, 50:291; 54:139-143.

22. Hallowell, *Culture and Experience*, p. 361.

23. Harvey A. Feit, "The Ethno-Ecology of the Waswanipi Cree; or How Hunters Can Manage Their Resources," in *Cultural Ecology: Readings on the Canadian Indians and Eskimos*, edited by Bruce Cox, pp. 115-125 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973).

24. Hallowell, "Bear Ceremonialism," pp. 10-11; Jones, *History of Ojibway Indians*, p. 72.

25. Hearne, *Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort*, pp. 211-212.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 212.

27. Jenness, *Ojibwa Indians of Parry Island*, pp. 22, 7; Henry, *Travels and Adventures*, p. 115; Perrot, *Memoir*, pp. 127-129.

28. Coleman, "Religion of Ojibwa," p. 55; Henry, *Travels and Adventures*, p. 115; Hearne, *Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort*, p. 44; Grant, *Sauteux Indians*, p. 331.

29. Henry, *Travels and Adventures*, pp. 125-126.

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 130-131, 145-146; Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, *Primitive Mentality* (1923), translated by Lilian A. Clare (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966), pp. 212-213.

31. Bernard, "Religion and Magic," p. 55; John M. Cooper, "Field Notes on Northern Algonkian Magic," *Proceedings of the Twenty-*

Third International Congress of Americanists, New York, September 1928 (1930):513-516.

32. James, ed., *Narrative of Captivity*, pp. 192-193.

33. Martha Coleman Bray, ed., *The Journals of Joseph N. Nicollet: A Scientist on the Mississippi Headwaters with Notes on Indian Life, 1836-1837*, translated by André Fertey (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1970), p. 211.

34. *Ibid.*, pp. 211-216; James, ed., *Narrative of Captivity*, pp. 72, 174, 189; Cameron, *Nipigon Country*, p. 262.

35. Henry, *Travels and Adventures*, p. 139.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 140.

37. Jenness, *Ojibwa Indians of Parry Island*, p. 24.

38. Perrot, *Memoir*, p. 131.

39. Henry, *Travels and Adventures*, pp. 194-195; Adrian Tanner, "The Elementary Feast and Its Transformations: Old and New Data from Quebec-Labrador" (Paper delivered at the Annual Meetings of the Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association, Toronto, August 24, 1974).

40. Jenness, *Ojibwa Indians of Parry Island*, pp. 23-25.

41. *Jesuit Relations*, 50:289.

42. Morton I. Teicher, *Windigo Psychosis: A Study of a Relationship between Belief and Behavior among the Indians of Northeastern Canada*, Proceedings of the 1960 Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society, edited by Verne F. Ray (Seattle and London: Distributed by the University of Washington Press, 1960); Seymour Parker, "The Wittiko Psychosis in the Context of Ojibwa Personality and Culture," *American Anthropologist* 62 (August 1960):603-623; Landes, *Ojibwa Religion*, pp. 12-14.

43. Robert E. Ritzenthaler, "Chippewa Preoccupation with Health: Change in a Traditional Attitude Resulting From Modern Health Problems," *Bulletin of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee* 19 (December 1953):223.

44. Harold Hickerson, *The Chippewa and Their Neighbors: A Study in Ethnohistory* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970), p. 52.

45. Harold Hickerson, "Notes on the Post-Contact Origin of the Midewiwin," *Ethnohistory* 9 (Fall 1962):406; Hickerson, *Chippewa and Their Neighbors*, pp. 51-63.

46. Harold Hickerson, "The Feast of the Dead Among the Seventeenth Century Algonkians of the Upper Great Lakes," *American Anthropologist* 62 (February 1960):81-107; Hickerson, "Notes on Post-Contact Origin of Midewiwin"; Hickerson, "The Sociohistorical Significance of Two Chippewa Ceremonials," *American Anthropologist* 65 (February 1963):67-85; Hickerson, "The Chippewa of the Upper Great

Lakes: A Study in Sociopolitical Change," in *North American Indians in Historical Perspective*, edited by Eleanor Burke Leacock and Nancy Oestreich Lurie, pp. 169-199 (New York: Random House, 1971), pp. 176-178.

47. Hickerson, "Sociohistorical Significance of Two Chippewa Ceremonials," p. 79.

48. Selwyn Dewdney, *The Sacred Scrolls of the Southern Ojibway* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press for the Glenbow-Alberta Institute, 1975), pp. 21-22, 57-58, 60-71.

49. William W. Warren, *History of the Ojibways, Based upon Traditions and Oral Statements* (1853), in the *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, vol. 5, pp. 21-394 (St. Paul, Minn.: Published by the Society, 1885), pp. 78-80.

50. Charles A. Bishop and Victor Barnouw, personal communication.

51. James V. Wright, "An Archaeological Survey along the North Shore of Lake Superior," Ottawa, *National Museum of Canada, Anthropology Papers*, no. 3 (March 1963); Wright, "A Regional Examination of Ojibwa Culture History," *Anthropologica*, n.s. 7, no. 2 (1965):189-227; Wright, "The Pic River Site: A Stratified Late Woodland Site on the North Shore of Lake Superior," *Contributions to Anthropology V: Archaeology and Physical Anthropology, National Museum of Canada, Bulletin No. 206*, Anthropological Series No. 72 (Ottawa, 1967) pp. 54-99; Wright, "The Application of the Direct Historical Approach to the Iroquois and Ojibwa," *Ethnohistory* 15 (Winter 1968):96-111; Wright, "Michipicoten Site," *Contributions to Anthropology VI: Archaeology and Physical Anthropology, National Museum of Canada, Bulletin No. 224*, Anthropological Series No. 83 (Ottawa, 1969), pp. 1-85; Charles A. Bishop, *The Northern Ojibwa and the Fur Trade: An Historical and Ecological Study* (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, 1974), pp. 4-7; Bishop and M. Estellie Smith, "Early Historic Populations in Northwestern Ontario: Archaeological and Ethnohistorical Interpretations," *American Antiquity* 40 (January 1975):54-63; Bishop, "The Emergence of the Northern Ojibwa: Social and Economic Consequences," *American Ethnologist* 3 (February 1976):39-54.

52. Dixon, "Mythology of Central and Eastern Algonkians," pp. 8-9.

53. Roland Burrage Dixon, "The Early Migrations of the Indians of New England and the Maritime Provinces," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, n.s. 24 (April 1914):74.

54. Father Chrestien Le Clercq, *New Relation of Gaspesia, with the Customs and Religion of the Gaspesian Indians* (1691), translated and edited by William F. Ganong (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1910), pp. 146-152.

55. Dewdney, *Sacred Scrolls*, pp. 167, 170-176.

56. W. J. Hoffman, "The Midé Wiwin or 'Grand Medicine Society' of the Ojibwa," *Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, 1885/86, pp. 143-300 (Washington, D.C., 1891), pp. 262, 261.

57. See Dewdney, *Sacred Scrolls*, pp. 94-96, 110-111, 140, 122-130.

58. Ritzenthaler, "Chippewa Preoccupation with Health," pp. 190-192.

59. *Jesuit Relations*, 50:301; Bray, *Journals of Joseph Nicollet*, p. 218.

60. Cameron, *Nipigon Country*, p. 262; Grant, *Sauteux Indians*, p. 364.

61. Bray, *Journals of Joseph Nicollet*, pp. 218-222.

62. Henry, *Travels and Adventures*, pp. 117-120.

63. Hearne, *Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort*, pp. 123-126.

64. A. Irving Hallowell, *The Role of Conjuring in Saulteaux Society*, Publications of the Philadelphia Anthropological Society, vol. 2 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1942), p. 5.

Chapter Four: Contact and Nature's Conspiracy

1. Claude Charles le Roy, Bacqueville de la Potherie, "History of the Savage Peoples Who Are Allies of New France," taken from his *Histoire de l'Amérique septentrionale* (1753; first published 1716), in *The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and Region of the Great Lakes*, edited by Emma Helen Blair, vol. 1, pp. 273-372; vol. 2, pp. 13-136 (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1911), 1:278-280.

2. Nicolas Perrot, *Memoir on the Manners, Customs, and Religion of the Savages of North America* (written sometime between 1680 and 1718), vol. 1, pp. 23-272 in *The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and Region of the Great Lakes*, ed. Blair, pp. 102-103; Peter Grant, *The Sauteux Indians* (written ca. 1804), in *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*, edited by L. R. Masson, series 2, pp. 303-366 (Québec: De l'Imprimerie Générale A. Coté et Compagnie, 1890), p. 330; James V. Wright, "The Application of the Direct Historical Approach to the Iroquois and Ojibwa," *Ethnohistory* 15 (Winter 1968): 107-108; Lois Kay Lippold, "Aboriginal Animal Resource Utilization in Woodland Wisconsin" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1971), p. 168; Charles A. Bishop, *The Northern Ojibwa and the Fur Trade: An Historical and Ecological Study* (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, 1974), pp. 4-8, 328, 342, 347.

3. Grant, *Sauteux Indians*, p. 309.

4. Martha Coleman Bray, ed., *The Journals of Joseph N. Nicollet: A Scientist on the Mississippi Headwaters with Notes on Indian Life*.

1836–1837, translated by André Fertey (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1970), p. 253; Duncan Cameron, *The Nipigon Country* (written between 1804 and 1805), pp. 229–300 in *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*, ed. Masson, p. 274; George Copway, *The life, history, and travels, of Kah-Ge-Ga-Gah-Bowh (George Copway), a young Indian chief of the Ojebwa nation, a convert to the Christian faith, and a missionary to his people for twelve years; with a sketch of the present state of the Ojebwa nation, in regard to Christianity and their future prospects . . .* (Albany: Weed and Parsons, 1847), pp. 12, 19–20; Grant, *Sauteux Indians*, p. 326; Daniel Williams Harmon, *A Journal of Voyages and Travels in the Interiour of North America, . . . During a Residence of Nineteen Years, in Different Parts of the Country . . .*, transcribed by Daniel Haskell (Andover: Flagg and Gould, 1820), pp. 379–380; Alexander Henry, *Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories Between the Years 1760 and 1776* (1809), edited with an introduction and notes by Milo Milton Quaipe (Chicago: The Lakeside Press, R. R. Donnelley and Sons Company, 1921), pp. 24–25, 123, 143–144, 206–207; Edwin James, ed., *A Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner (U.S. Interpreter at the Saut de Ste. Marie.) During Thirty Years Residence Among the Indians in the Interior of North America* (London: Baldwin and Cradock, 1830), pp. 103–104; Peter Jones, *History of the Ojebway Indians; with Especial Reference to Their Conversion to Christianity* (London: A. W. Bennett, 1861), p. 71; David Thompson, *Narrative, 1784–1812*, edited with an introduction and notes by Richard Glover (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1962), p. 79; Bishop, *Northern Ojibwa*, pp. 7–8, 11, 328, 342, 344–345; Wright, “Application of Direct Historical Approach,” pp. 107–108; Harold Hickerson, “The Chippewa of the Upper Great Lakes: A Study in Sociopolitical Change,” in *North American Indians in Historical Perspective*, edited by Eleanor Burke Leacock and Nancy Oestreich Lurie, pp. 169–199 (New York: Random House, 1971), pp. 169–178.

5. Cameron, *Nipigon Country*, pp. 254–255; Grant, *Sauteux Indians*, p. 330; Henry, *Travels and Adventures*, pp. 131–132, 141–142.

6. Henry, *Travels and Adventures*, pp. 143–144.

7. Grant, *Sauteux Indians*, pp. 345–346.

8. Henry, *Travels and Adventures*, p. 61.

9. Perrot, *Memoir*, pp. 102–103.

10. *Jesuit Relations*, 1:33.

11. *Ibid.*, 50:297.

12. *Ibid.*, 51:23, 50:277.

13. *Ibid.*, 55:125.

14. *Ibid.*, 55:117, 127, 129–131; 56:113.

15. *Ibid.*, 55:123–125, 127–129.

16. *Ibid.*, 50:307–309.

17. *Ibid.*, 51:21; 50:305.

18. *Ibid.*, 66:283.

19. Alexander Henry, *Journal* (1824), in *The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry . . . and of David Thompson . . . , 1799–1814*, edited by Elliott Coues, in 3 vols. (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1897), 1:46.

20. John Duffy, “Smallpox and the Indians in the American Colonies,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 25 (July–August 1951):324–341.

21. Potherie, “History of Savage Peoples,” 1:339–341.

22. George T. Hunt, *The Wars of the Iroquois: A Study in Intertribal Trade Relations* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1940); Allen W. Trelease, “The Iroquois and the Western Fur Trade: A Problem in Interpretation,” *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 49 (June 1962):32–51.

23. *Jesuit Relations*, 68:283.

24. *Ibid.*, 57:21.

25. Potherie, “History of Savage Peoples,” 1:309–310.

26. John Dunn, *The Oregon Territory, and the British North American Fur Trade; with an Account of the Habits and Customs of the Principal Native Tribes on the Northern Continent* (Philadelphia: G. B. Zieber and Company, 1845), pp. 57–58, 65; James, ed., *Narrative of Captivity*, pp. 10–11.

27. *Jesuit Relations*, 50:307.

28. Potherie, “History of Savage Peoples,” 1:281.

29. Henry, *Journal*, 1:60–61.

30. Cameron, *Nipigon Country*, pp. 245, 288.

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 296–297.

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 254–255, 258, 275, 277, 281.

33. Samuel Hearne, *A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772* (1795), edited with an introduction by Richard Glover (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1958), pp. 115–116.

34. Harmon, *Journal of Voyages and Travels*, p. 268.

35. Thompson, *Narrative*, pp. 149, 229.

36. Bishop, *Northern Ojibwa*, pp. 11–12, 107, 184–190, 229, 232–235, 246–247, 249, 254, 255, 264–266, 277–278, 281–283, 296–298, 344–345.

37. James, ed., *Narrative of Captivity*, pp. 228–229, 236; Hearne, *Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort*, pp. 212–213.

38. Marshall T. Newman, “Ecology and Nutritional Stress in Man,” *American Anthropologist* 64 (February 1962):22–34.

39. Cameron, *Nipigon Country*, p. 298; *Jesuit Relations*, 55:135; Perrot, *Memoir*, pp. 102-103; Grant, *Sauteux Indians*, p. 331.
40. Thompson, *Narrative*, p. 151.
41. *Ibid.*, pp. 151-152.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 75.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 155.
44. Henry, *Travels and Adventures*, pp. 204, 128.
45. Thompson, *Narrative*, pp. 95-96.
46. *Ibid.*, pp. 152, 95, 153-154, 156.
47. Potherie, "History of Savage Peoples," 1:309-311; Hearne, *Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort*, pp. 75-76.