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ABORIGINAL AND POST-CONTACT TRAITS OF THE MONTAGNAIS-NASKAPI CULTURE

By

Edward S. Rogers

A Thesis

In partial fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts in Anthropology

The University of New Mexico
1953

This thesis, directed and approved by the candidate's committee, has been accepted by the Graduate Committee of the University of New Mexico in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

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5/26/53
DATE

ABORIGINAL AND POST-CONTACT TRAITS OF THE MONTAGNAIS-NASKAPI CULTURE

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis is an analysis of the culture of the Montagnais-Naskapi Indians of the Labrador Peninsula in northeastern North America. The compound term "Montagnais-Naskapi" was proposed by Hallowell.[1] "Montagnais" had previously been used to designate those bands living in the southern half of the Peninsula and "Naskapi" those in the north. The compound name was later employed for both groups because of their general culture and linguistic similarity.

The main purpose of this study is to reconstruct Montagnais-Naskapi culture, with the exception of mythology, at the time of European contact. The greatest emphasis, however, is upon material culture since little previous attention has been given this aspect.

A second problem is to determine what elements of culture the Montagnais-Naskapi have borrowed from the Eskimo, Great Lakes Algonkians, Iroquois, and Europeans. The borrowed traits must necessarily be identified before a reconstruction can be made.

Another problem is to determine the effect the environment has had on the culture of the Montagnais-Naskapi. In

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[1]Hallowell, 1929, The Physical Characteristics..., Footnote, p. 337.

addition, the relationship of the Montagnais-Naskapi and Eskimo is investigated, and finally the position of the former in the Northeast and subarctic is examined.

In making the study, ethnographic reports and available historical source material are utilized. Of the historical sources dating from the 1600's, the Jesuit Relations contain the most pertinent material. Even so, the missionaries' remarks about the Indian, especially regarding material culture, are generally cursory. Another source of information for this early period are those volumes of the Champlain Society Publications which deal with the early period of the Hudson's Bay Company. Unfortunately, these documents are even more barren of facts concerning the Indian's way of life than those of the Jesuit Relations.

There is a lack of material during the 1700's. At this time, exploration was being carried on outside the Labrador Peninsula in an endeavor to open up the West. This was to change somewhat during the 1800's, when a renewed interest was manifest in the area. But most of the nineteenth century accounts still lack detail. Turner and Hind are exceptional, for they describe more of the Indians' culture than any of their predecessors or contemporaries. During the 1900's, the systematic gathering of material was begun by such ethnologists as Speck, Lips, Strong, Cooper, and Skinner. The latter two worked to only a limited extent in

the western section, and Strong in the northern section of the Montagnais-Naskapi country. Speck, working intermittently for some twenty-five years, and Lips concentrated their studies on the Indians of the southern half of the Peninsula.

Published material on the Montagnais-Naskapi by trained field workers is scanty. Speck contributed more than any other ethnologist, but he did not concern himself greatly with material culture.

Before describing the culture of the Montagnais-Naskapi, some background material is presented. A summary of the ecology of the Labrador Peninsula is given, since the Montagnais-Naskapi, being primarily hunters, were closely linked with the environment.

Next, a short account of the archaeology of the area is presented. It is hoped that the archaeological material can be linked with the modern inhabitants of the Labrador Peninsula.

The European exploration of the Labrador Peninsula is outlined. This historical survey indicates the earliest dates of contact between the Europeans and the various groups of Montagnais-Naskapi.

Finally, the distribution of the Montagnais-Naskapi, Eskimo, and Iroquois in and about the Labrador Peninsula both in the past and present is examined. This examination

may suggest when and where outside contacts with the Montagnais-Naskapi may have taken place.

THE AREA

The area under consideration is the Labrador Peninsula. This region is bounded on the west by James and Hudson Bays, on the north by Hudson Strait, on the east by the Atlantic Ocean, on the south by the Gulf of the St. Lawrence, and on the southwest by a line running from the mouth of the Saguenay River to the southern tip of James Bay (see Map 1).

The Labrador Peninsula, as defined by these limits, is over 500,000 square miles in extent. This area is a high, rolling plateau which rises abruptly within a few miles of the coast on the south and east, more gradually on the north and west, to heights between 1500 and 2500 feet. The interior country is undulating and traversed by ridges of low rounded hills that seldom rise more than 500 feet above the surrounding level.[1] A belt of land, somewhat higher than the general interior, follows the coast of the Gulf of the St. Lawrence a short distance inland. Along the northern half of the Atlantic coast rise the Torngat Mountains. These mountains reach an elevation of between 5000 and 6000 feet, which is considerably higher than any other portion of the Peninsula.[2]

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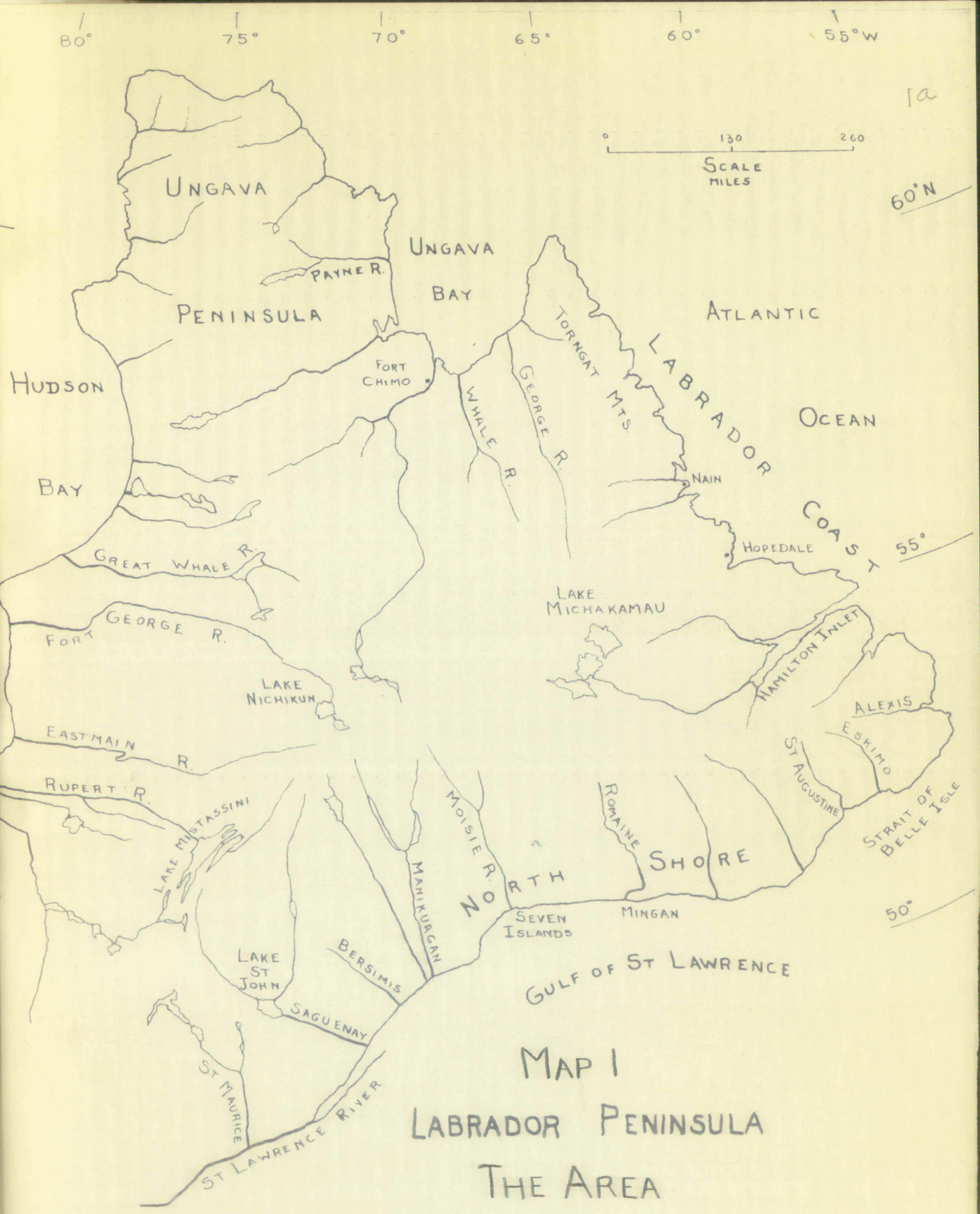
[1] Low, 1897, Report on Explorations..., p. 21L.

[2] Ibid., p. 23L.

THE AREA



MAP 1

LABRADOR PENINSULA

THE AREA

The Labrador Peninsula is the eastern portion of the Canadian Shield, a geologic area of pre-Cambrian rocks which surround Hudson and James Bays.[3] Rock formations of the Palaeozoic and Mesozoic Eras and Tertiary Period are infrequently reported. The Quaternary Period, however, is represented by glacial deposits of the Pleistocene epoch.

Geological evidence for repeated glaciation during the Pleistocene Epoch has not been established, but it is assumed that four periods existed here as further south.[4] With the withdrawal of the ice at the close of the Pleistocene Epoch, the regions of low elevation of eastern Canada became flooded. Areas about Hudson Bay, which stand as high as 900 feet above sea level today, were covered by the sea at this time. To the south, the sea entered the St. Lawrence Lowlands and produced beaches as far inland as Ottawa, 690 feet above present sea level. About the region of the Gulf of the St. Lawrence, beaches were formed at less than 450 feet above sea level.[5] These beaches are of interest because they contain archaeological sites which, if contemporaneous with the beaches, suggest considerably antiquity for man in these areas.

As the ice withdrew, the climate over the Labrador

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[3]Anon. 1947, Geology and Economic Minerals of Canada, p. 11.

[4]Ibid., pp. 325-26.

[5]Ibid., p. 345.

Peninsula gradually changed. The general theory is that tundra, scrub, conifers, and deciduous forests shifted before the advancing ice and then receded as the ice melted.[6] In the bottom of the living peat profiles, however, there appears to be little or no evidence of tundra conditions. Instead, in southeastern Canada the record begins with a marked abundance of fir and spruce pollen.[7] This may be the true picture. Glacial ice in itself is not enough to prevent the growth of trees, as examples in New Zealand and Alaska attest.[8] The analysis of pollen for bogs of southeastern Canada showed first a period of pines and spruce. Above this was a hemlock maximum, then Carex peat with deciduous forest, and then raw sphagnum peat on top. The first and third are thought to be periods representing continental type climate with the last period warmer, while the second and fourth indicate humid periods.[9]

Whatever the sequence in re-forestation and climatic change may have been when the ice withdrew, the Labrador Peninsula was left covered with a mantle of glacial debris which disrupted the drainage pattern and set the stage for the present geographical conditions.

---

[6]Sears, 1935, Glacial and Post-Glacial Vegetation, p. 37.

[7]Ibid., p. 46.

[8]Ibid., p. 38.

[9]Sears, 1932, Post-Glacial Climate..., p. 3.

An estimated one-fourth of the total area is covered with lakes. These lakes range from small ponds to lakes with surface areas hundreds of square miles in extent.[10] The drainage pattern is almost radial from near the central area of the Peninsula, with the shortest rivers flowing into the Gulf of the St. Lawrence. The most extensive drainage area is in the western half of the Peninsula, with flowage into James and Hudson Bays.[11]

The climate ranges from cold temperate in the south to arctic in the north and at high elevations in the interior.[12] Annual precipitation over the interior varies from fifteen to twemty inches in the north to thirty-five inches in the south.[13] During the winter the snowfall is from three to six feet. During the summer season the rainfall, if not great, is constant, as a day rarely passes without drizzles or thunder showers.[14] The summer season begins almost simultaneously throughout the interior. The transition from winter to summer normally occurs during the first two weeks in June. Summer lasts at most three months. By September the snow no longer

---

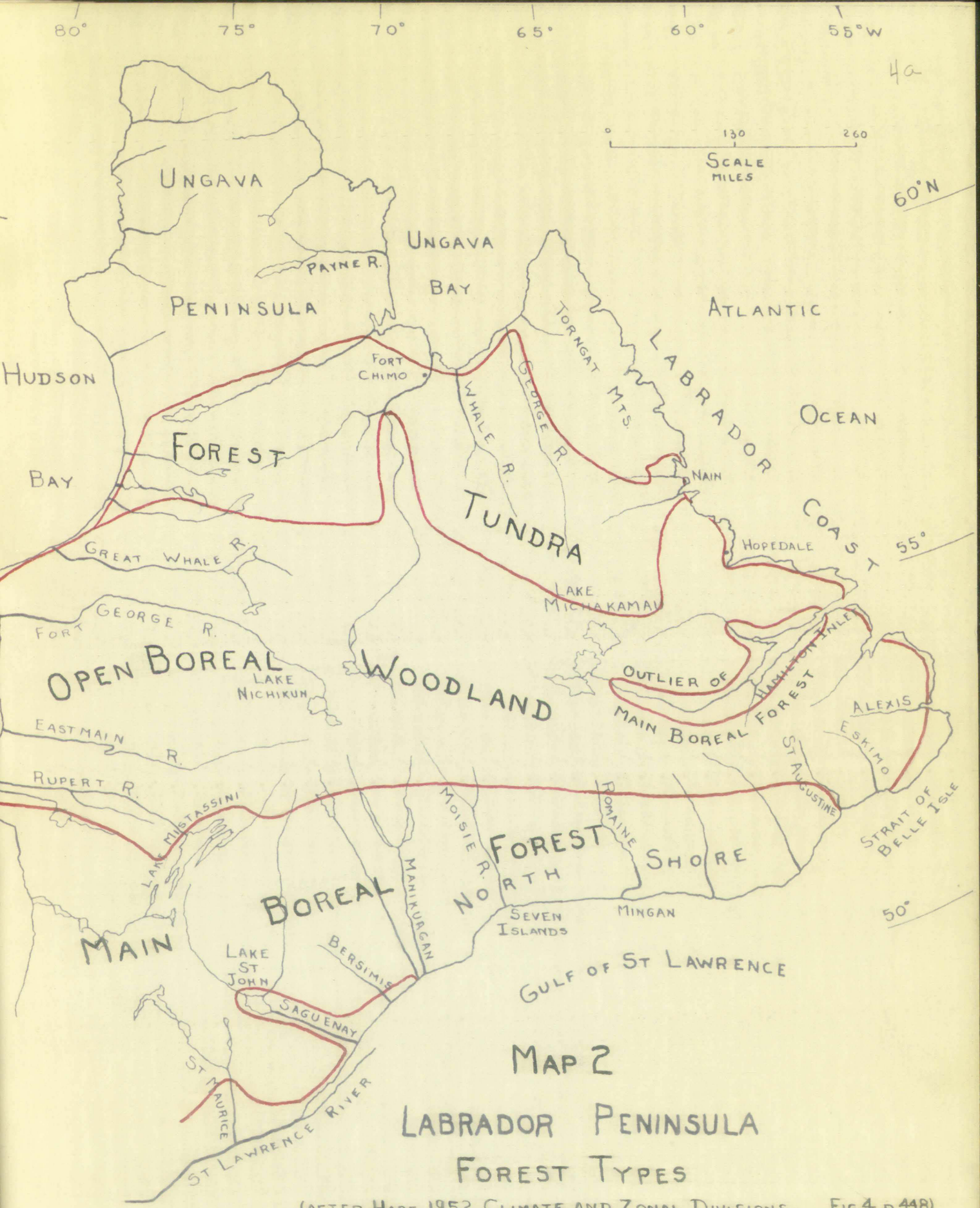
[10]Low, 1897, Report on Explorations..., p. 23L.

[11]Ibid., pp. 25L-26L.

[12]Ibid., p. 27L.

[13]Taylor, 1945, Canada, Fig. 26, p. 68.

[14]Low, 1897, Report on Explorations..., p. 29L.



MAP 2

LABRADOR PENINSULA

FOREST TYPES

(AFTER HARE, 1952, CLIMATE AND ZONAL DIVISIONS ..., FIG. 4, P 448)

melts on the ground and the smaller lakes become completely frozen. The temperatures during the winter season are often very low on the interior highlands away from the ameliorating influence of the sea.[15]

The Labrador Peninsula is almost completely covered by the great circumpolar boreal forest or taiga. Only in the Ungava Peninsula and in the region of the Torngat Mountains are trees totally lacking. For the forest area, Hare has proposed three subdivisions (see Map 2); the "Forest-Tundra" in the north to the limit of tree growth, the "Open Boreal Woodland" forming a wide band across the central portion of the Peninsula, and the "Main Boreal Forest" which is located along the southern edge of the Peninsula.[16]

The Forest-Tundra region is a zone in which the tundra and boreal forest associations intermingle. Boreal forest associations are found along the rivers as "lichen-woodland"[17], which consists of open stands of trees with a thick floor of lichens (Cladonia or "reindeer moss").[18] The Open Boreal Woodland zone is composed of the "lichen-woodland" forest type. On the wetter ground muskeg areas are formed of stunted trees,

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[15] Ibid., p. 28L.

[16] Hare, 1952, Climate and Forest Divisions..., Fig. 4, p. 448.

[17] Ibid., p. 455.

[18] Ibid., p. 453.

Labrador tea, and Sphagnum moss.[19] The Main Boreal Forest east of Lake St. John is a close-forest association of black spruce and balsam fir, while to the west it is composed of white spruce and balsam fir.[20]

The chief trees within the boreal forest are white spruce (Picea glauca), black spruce (P. mariana), larch or tamarack (Larix laricina), and balsam fir (Abies balsamea). The jack pine (Pinus banksiana) is common in the western half of the region.[21] Also present are the white birch (Betula papyrifera), balsam poplar (Populus balsamifera), aspen (Populus tremuloides), and certain alders (Alnus spp.). Black ash (Fraxinus nigra) and cedar (Thuja occidentalis) extend northward into the Main Boreal Forest almost to its northern limit.[22]

Small fruits and berries are found variously distributed within the Labrador Peninsula. These include the cherry (Prunus pensylvanica), bake-apple (Rubus Chamaemorus), arctic raspberry (R. idaeus strigosus), strawberry (Fragaria virginiana), Indian pear (Amelanchier canadensis), blueberries (Vaccinium spp.), and crow-berry (Empetrum nigrum).[23]

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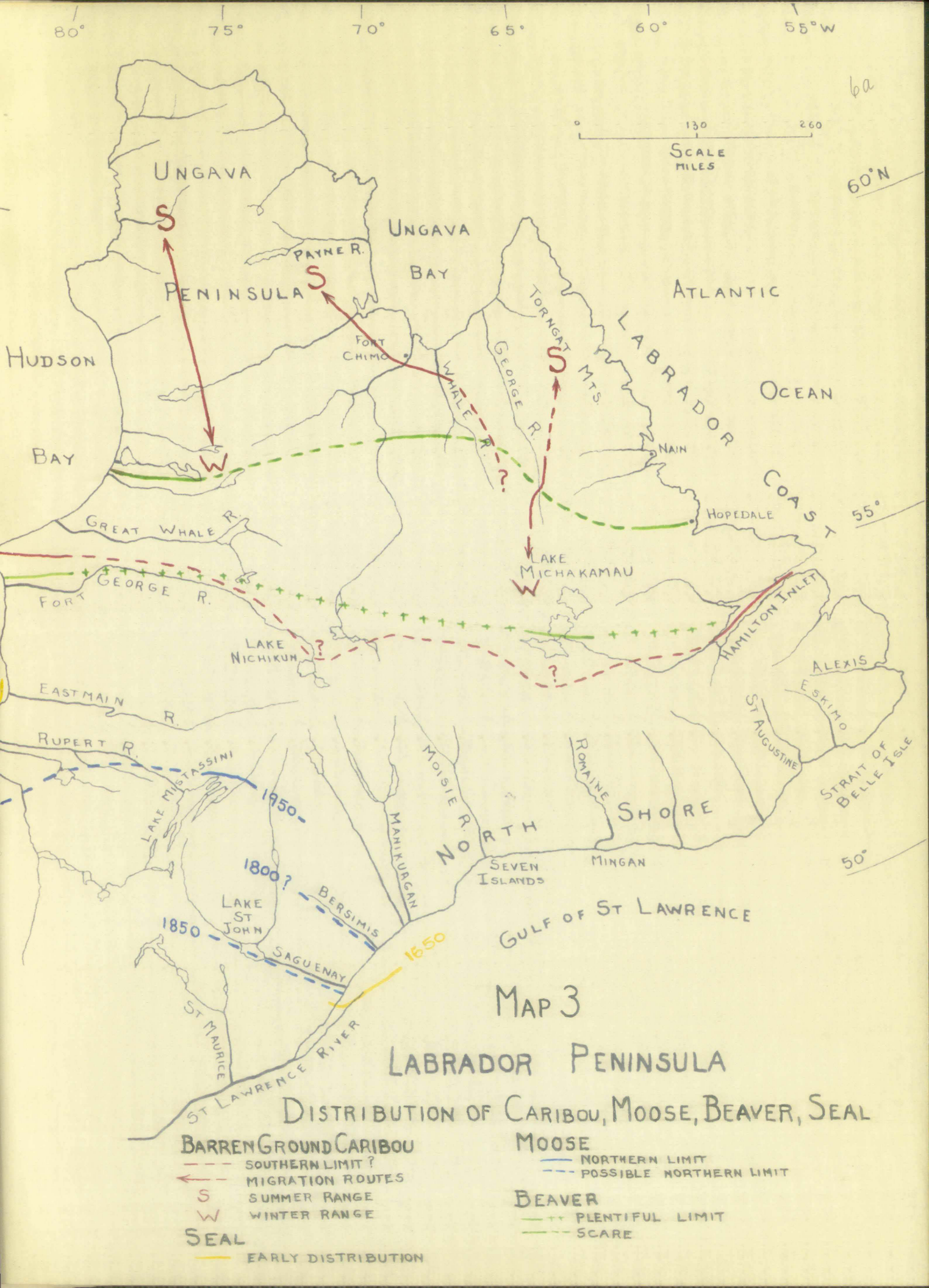
[19] Ibid., p. 455.

[20] Ibid., p. 456.

[21] Ibid., p. 447.

[22] Ibid., pp. 448-49.

[23] Low, 1897, Report on Explorations..., pp. 38L-40L.



MAP 3

LABRADOR PENINSULA

DISTRIBUTION OF CARIBOU, MOOSE, BEAVER, SEAL

BARREN GROUND CARIBOU

- – – – SOUTHERN LIMIT ?
- ← – – MIGRATION ROUTES
- S SUMMER RANGE
- W WINTER RANGE

SEAL

- —— EARLY DISTRIBUTION

MOOSE

- —— NORTHERN LIMIT
- – – – POSSIBLE NORTHERN LIMIT

BEAVER

- —++— PLENTIFUL LIMIT
- ——– – SCARE

The fauna of the Peninsula is not rich in variety of species but these, though few in number, are the basis of the natives' livelihood, both at present and in the past. An attempt has been made to give both past and present ranges where possible.

The barren ground caribou (Rangifer arcticus caboti) ranged over the barren and semi-barren grounds [Tundra and Forest Tundra] in immense herds in the latter part of the last century. They reached as far south as Cape Jones on the west and Hamilton Inlet on the east. There were three major herds (see Map 3). One herd migrated northward every year from the Richmond Gulf -- Clearwater Lake area to the western side of the Ungava Peninsula where it summered. Another herd migrated across the lower Koksoak River to summer on the eastern side of the Ungava Peninsula. The third herd crossed the George River just north of Lake Michikamau and summered in the Torngat Mountains area between Nain and Nachvak. In autumn, the herds migrated inland and southward into the semi-barrens [Forest Tundra] in large bands. During the months of April and May they returned to the barrens [Tundra]. In the northward movement, the caribou traveled in small bands.[24]

In 1934 the barren ground caribou were found in more or less scattered bands over the treeless Arctic Zone [Tundra]

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[24] Ibid., pp. 318L-319L.

and through parts of the scantily timbered Hudsonian Zone [Forest Tundra]. They had been greatly reduced in numbers in most of the districts near the coast.[25] Rousseau, who traversed the George River country, stated that only a few caribou were now left in this area.[26]

The woodland caribou (Rangifer caribou caribou), larger than the barren ground variety, were found in the more open places of the heavily wooded parts of the Canadian Zone [Main Boreal Forest] and the southern edge of the Hudsonian Zone [Open Boreal Woodland]. In 1894, Low wrote that within the past twenty-five years woodland caribou had been very plentiful throughout the southern wooded regions but were now practically exterminated on the southern watershed.[27] In 1934, they did not appear to be very common anywhere.[28]

It has been thought that moose (Alces americana americana) have been extending their range northward into the Labrador Peninsula during the last several hundred years (see Map 3). Evidence in favor of this is not completely convincing. Le Jeune mentioned the Indians hunting "elk" [moose] in the

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[25]Anderson, 1934, Mammals of the Eastern Arctic..., p. 93.

[26]Rousseau, 1948, The Vegetation and Life Zones..., p. 95.

[27]Low, 1897, Report on Explorations..., p. 318L.

[28]Anderson, 1934, Mammals of the Eastern Arctic..., p. 93.

vicinity of the Saquenay River as early as 1634-35.[29] To the west of here, at the southern end of James Bay, moose hides were obtained by the Hudson's Bay Company from the Indians in 1671.[30] The James Bay Indians, however, may have obtained the hides from natives to the south. Later, a guide informed Hind[31] that moose extended as far as the Saquenay River, and formerly farther to the east, but had been exterminated by 1861. Hind stated that formerly the moose extended as far as the Bersimites River.[32] Low was doubtful whether moose entered the south-west limits of the Labrador Peninsula [his southern boundary being a line from the lower end of James Bay to Seven Islands] from the headwaters of the Ottawa River where they were found abundantly.[33] At Lake Mistassini moose are present but here they are known to have been recent immigrants.[34] The meager evidence suggests no major shift northward of moose since the 1600's except in the region of Lake Mistassini.

The black bear (Ursus americanus americanus) ranges as far north as the limit of the wooded country but is most abundant in the southern area in the burnt districts.[35] It is

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[29] Jesuit Relations, Vol. 7, p. 179.

[30] Champlain Society Publications, Vol. 5, p. 16.

[31] Hind, 1863, Explorations in the Interior..., Vol. I, p. 122.

[32] Ibid., p. 124.

[33] Low, 1897, Explorations in the Interior..., p. 317L.

[34] Cameron and Morris, 1951, The Mammals..., p. 129.

[35] Low, 1897, Report on Explorations..., p. 316L.

scarce in the region about Fort Chimo[36] but apparently common to the east.[37]

Canadian beaver (Castor canadensis canadensis) are common in the wooded regions and extend into the semi-barrens [Forest Tundra] wherever food is found (see Map 3). They are numerous as far north as Big River [Fort George River] on the west and nearly to Lake Michikamau in the east.[38] Beaver did extend to Richmond Gulf[39] on the west and Hopedale on the east[40] in limited numbers, and were taken by the Indians at Fort Chimo [Ungava Band].[41]

A number of other animals range throughout the Labrador Peninsula to the limit of the trees in the north. These are the red squirrel (Sciurus hudsonicus hudsonicus), porcupine (Erethizon dorsatum picinum), snowshoe rabbit (Lepus americanus americanus), lynx (Lynx canadensis canadensis), fox (Vulpes rubricosa bangsi), weasel (Mustela spp.), and otter (Lutra canadensis canadensis).

A few species, uncommon in the north, are more numerous in the southern wooded regions. These are the muskrat (Ondatra

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[36]Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, pp. 279-80.

[37]Strong, 1930, Notes on the Mammals..., p. 5.

[38]Low, 1897, Report on Explorations..., pp. 320L-321L.

[39]Ibid., p. 320L.

[40]Strong, 1930, Notes on the Mammals..., p. 7.

[41]Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 280.

zibethic aquilonia), marten (Martes americana brumalis), and mink (Mustela vison vison). The woodchuck (Marmota monax ignava) does not range north of the southern region.

The lemming (Dicrostonyx) and arctic hare (Lepus arcticus labradorius) are found only in the northern barrens [Tundra] and semi-barrens [Forest Tundra]. The wolf (Canis lycaon lycaon) and wolverine (Gulo luscus) are more common today in the northern rather than southern half of the Peninsula, where they have been nearly exterminated.[42]

Five species of seals occur in the area, three of which may have entered into the economic life of the Montagnais-Naskapi. The ranger or freshwater seal (Phoca vitulina concolor) is common on the coast and lower parts of rivers of the Labrador Peninsula and is also found in some of the inland lakes.[43] The jar seal (Phoca hispida) is found on the Atlantic Coast and in Hudson Strait.[44] The bearded or big seal (Erigmathus barbatus barbatus) is rare in the St. Lawrence and on the southern Labrador Coast, but is common on the northern coast and in Ungava Bay, Hudson Bay, and into James Bay.[45]

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[42] Low, 1897, Report on Explorations..., pp. 313L-321L; Anderson, 1934, Mammals of the Eastern Arctic..., pp. 94-104.

[43] Low, 1897, Report on Explorations..., pp. 316L-317L.

[44] Ibid., p. 317L.

[45] Ibid., p. 317L.

In the early 1600's, the seal, species unknown, extended further up the St. Lawrence River than now (see Map 3). The Jesuit missionaries mention its being taken near Tadoussac,[46] and Wintemberg[47] excavated seal bones there. During the same period, seal extended further south in James Bay. Oldmixon stated that Governor Baily went to kill seal at the foot of James Bay.[48]

White whale (Delphinapterus leucas) are found from the North Shore of the Gulf of the St. Lawrence, up the Atlantic coast, through Hudson Strait, and south in Hudson Bay at least as far as Great Whale River.[49]

There is abundant bird life in the Labrador Peninsula. Inland, there occur the loon (Gavia immer), gulls (Laurs spp.), terns (Sterna spp.), American merganser (Mergus merganser), American golden-eye (Glaucionetta clangula), American scoter (Oridemia americana), Canada goose (Branta canadensis), eider duck (Somateria mollissima), spruce partridge (Canachites canadensis), willow ptarmigan (Lagopus lagopus), rock ptarmigan (L. rupestris), osprey (Pandion haliaetus), and the Canada jay (Perisoreus canadensis).[50]

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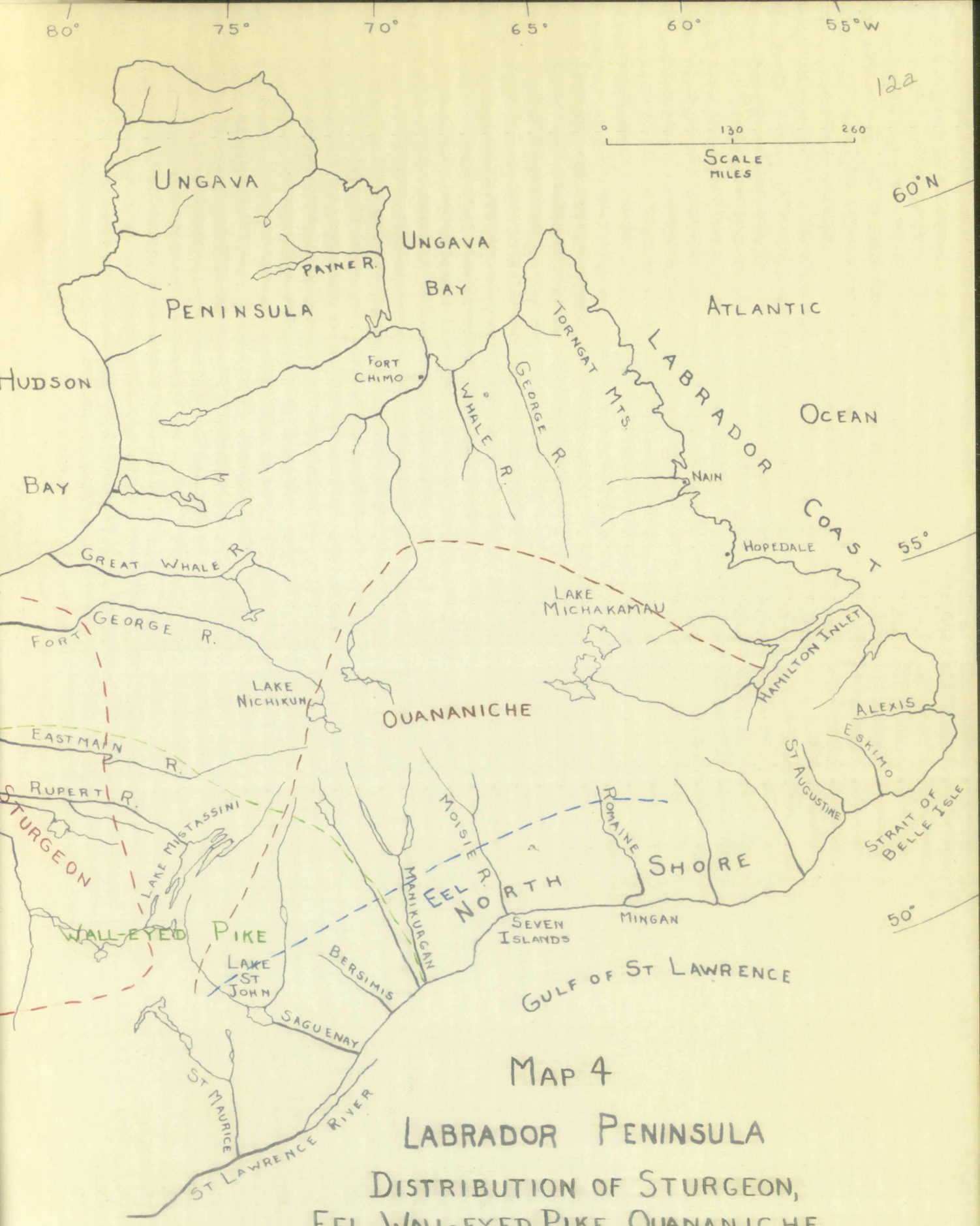
[46] Jesuit Relations, Vol. 68, pp. 89, 91, 93.

[47] Wintemberg, 1943, Artifacts from Ancient Workshop..., pl 316.

[48] Champlain Society Publications, Vol. 18, p. 384.

[49] Anderson, 1934, Mammals of the Eastern Arctic..., p. 73.

[50] Traverner, 1945, Birds of Canada, pp. 37-9, 78-9, 98-9, 104, 108, 110-11, 140-42, 153-54, 157-59, 303-04; Low, 1897, Report on Explorations..., pp. 323L-328L.



MAP 4

LABRADOR PENINSULA

DISTRIBUTION OF STURGEON, EEL, WALL-EYED PIKE, OUANANICHE

In almost every lake and river, fish occur in abundance. The principal species are the sucker (Catostomus spp.), whitefish (Coregonus sp.), lake trout (Cristivomer namaycush), brook or speckled trout (Salvelinus fontinalis), pike (Esox ? lucius), and ling (Lota maculosa).[51] Confined to the southwestern portion of the Peninsula are the sturgeon (Accipenser sp.) (see Map 4) and wall-eyed pike (Stizostedium vitreum) (see Map 4).[52] In theeastern part of the region, the ouinaniche (Salmo salar ouananiche or similar subspecies) is found (see Map 4).[53] Eel (Anguilla sp.) are reported from the area along the North Shore of the Gulf of the St. Lawrence near Romaine[54] and from near Tadoussac (see Map 4).[55] Salmon (Salmo salar) are common in the rivers draining into the Gulf of the St. Lawrence, the Atlantic Ocean, and Ungava Bay.[56]

---

[51] Ibid., pp. 329L-332L; Munroe, 1949, Notes on Fish of the Interior..., pp. 166-171.

[52] Low, 1897, Report on Explorations..., pp. 329L, 332L.

[53] Ibid., p. 330L; Monroe, 1949, Notes on the Fish of the Interior..., p. 169.

[54] Low, 1897, Report on Explorations..., p. 332L.

[55] Jesuit Relations, Vol. 5, p. 89.

[56] Low, 1897, Report on Explorations..., pp. 329L-330L.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

The archaeology of the Labrador Peninsula is indifferently known, and such material as has been found is widely scattered and allows for no clear picture of past events. Furthermore, sites have produced mostly stone tools of heterogeneous types. Because of this and because the historic Montagnais-Naskapi culture is primarily one of bone and wood, workers have been unable to establish a connection between the prehistoric and historic cultures of the area.

Few sites which might be considered early have been located in the Labrador Peninsula. This is not surprising, for undoubtedly glacial ice remained until a relatively recent date. The few possible early sites that have been discovered are situated on raised beaches along the North Shore from the Strait of Belle Isle to Tadoussac. To the southwest of the Peninsula in Ontario two stone working industries have been located which may be quite early. Artifacts from at least one of these sites show correspondences with some of those from probable early sites in the Labrador Peninsula.

Sites of later date have been found along the North Shore and in the interior about Lakes Mistassini and Albanel. Eskimo remains, the earliest being of the Dorset Culture, have been located in the Strait of Belle Isle area, along the Atlantic Coast of the Peninsula, and down into Hudson Bay.

One Eskimo site has been discovered in the interior of the Ungava Peninsula.

One of the two industries located outside the Labrador Peninsula and possibly of considerable antiquity is situated on raised beaches at Thunder Bay, Ontario. Because of the typology and on geological grounds, MacNeish thinks this site represents a group of people who were living along or close to the shore of Lake Algonquin. He suggests two possible interpretations to account for this industry. One possibility is that the material is part of a single artifact complex, similar to those found at Plainview, Hot Springs, Ft. 41, and Allen (Ft. 50). The other possibility is that each is a regional variant of and derivative from a general underlying cultural complex that was early in the eastern Plains and edge of the Woodlands.[1]

To the east, the other possibly early industry is located on raised beaches near Killarney, Ontario. Stanley, the geologist who worked with Greenman, is of the opinion that one of the sites was occupied when the ice was within one hundred miles to the north,[2] just after the level of Lake Algonquin began to fall. The tools are of a relatively large size and show simple working techniques. None are

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[1]MacNeish, 1952, A Possible Early Site..., pp. 36-37.

[2]Greenman, 1943, An Early Industry..., p. 260.

ground.[3] Greenman considers that the relationship of the Killarney material is chiefly with an industry at Tadoussac, Quebec, and one near Hopedeal, Labrador.[4]

The material at Tadoussac, one of the possibly early sites in the Labrador Peninsula, is located on raised beaches near the mouth of the Saguenay River.[5] In general, the tools are well made, being both chipped and polished. Pottery is absent, as at Killarney.[6]

Wintemberg suggests that the people who occupied this site arrived long before pottery using peoples in this area. He believes that the material has little connection with Eskimo types, probably does not represent a proto-Eskimo culture, but has closer connections with the so-called Red Paint people of Maine.[7]

If Wintemberg is correct that the site of Tadoussac was inhabited before the advent of pottery in Eastern Canada, it may well be early. Pottery bearing sites in Eastern Canada have not yet been dated by Carbon 14 but several have in New York State. The Oberlander Component No. 2 was found to be 2948-* 170[8] years old. This component is considered by Ritchie

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[3] Ibid., p. 261.

[4] Ibid., p. 264.

[5] Wintemberg, 1943, Artifacts from Ancient Workshop..., note, p. 314.

[6] Ibid., p. 339.

[7] Ibid., p. 340.

[8] Griffen, 1952, Radiocarbon Dates..., p. 366.

to be related to the Vinette Component which has pottery associated with it.[9] Tadoussac, therefore, might be older than 1000 B.C. Its position on raised beaches suggests an early date. On the other hand, the introduction of pottery may have been considerably later in the Tadoussac area than in New York State. The distribution of pottery among northern peoples was generally scattered and late.

The Hopedale material comes primarily from three sites between Hopedale and Nain, Labrador. One is situated on an island, another on the coast, and the third some forty miles inland at the head of a small lake. The material includes chipped spear or dart points, a few small arrowheads, several points ground from thin pieces of slate, one chipped semi-lunar knife, a ground semi-lunar knife, and celts.[10]

Strong is of the opinion that this industry was more closely connected with the older Indian cultures to the south than with the developed Eskimo culture of the Labrador Coast. H believes that these sites might have been occupied by Beothuk and suggests that a group of Beothuk became separated from those on Newfoundland and was driven northward by the Montagnais-Naskapi, as the latter moved into the Labrador

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[9]Ritchie, 1944, The Pre-Iroguoian Occupations..., p. 152.

[10]Strong, 1930, A Stone Culture from Northern Labrador ..., pp. 127-29.

Peninsula.[11]

There is no evidence for Strong's opinion. The tools do not show any great resemblance to those that have been considered Beothuk. While Strong's artifact complex may be Indian, it is not possible to suggest a relationship with any other stone industry so far found in the Labrador Peninsula. It has even been suggested that Strong's material might be Dorset.[12] However, this does not seem to be the case either.

Besides Hopedale and Tadoussac, there are three small sites which are of more recent date. Speck mentions two near Tadoussac.[13] One at Riviere du Moulin a Bande contained pottery and bone-pointed implements of the common Montagnais type. This site he considered a Montagnais salmon fishing station. Another camp site was found near the mouth of Riviere des Bergeronnes. This was a shell heap which yielded bone material and pottery. At the third site, located at Bradore, Wintemberg found a few pieces of pottery with Algonkian type decoration.[14]

In the interior, a number of sites exist in the vicinity of Lakes Mistassini and Albanel. At these, heavy core

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[11] Ibid., pp. 140-41.

[12] Bird, 1945, The Archaeology of the Hopedale Area, p. 180.

[13] Speck, 1927, Family Hunting Territories..., p. 397.

[14] Smith, 1929, Archaeological Field Work..., p. 333.

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[11] Ibid., pp. 140-41.

[12] Bird, 1945, The Archaeology of the Hopedale Area, p. 180.

[13] Speck, 1927, Family Hunting Territories..., p. 397.

[14] Smith, 1929, Archaeological Field Work..., p. 317.

tools, scrapers, knife or spear points, and a few pieces of polished stone were found. No pottery was discovered. In spite of the scarcity of polished stone tools in these sites, Johnson considers that the Mistassini artifacts more closely resemble those of Tadoussac than any other site. There seems to be a lack of correspondence with the Hopedale artifacts. Many of the artifacts, however, can perhaps be compared with the Killarney material.[15] Although dating is practically impossible, considerable erosion of the sites and water rolling of the artifacts suggest respectable antiquity for some of the sites. Others in this area may be of relatively recent date as several trade artifacts were found which may have been incorporated in the site at the time of its occupation.[16]

At the Strait of Belle Isle on the Labrador side, Harp located a number of sites on beaches as much as one hundred forty feet above sea level. The material contains both chipped and polished artifacts but no pottery or bone.[17] Again, it has little correspondence with that from the sites discussed previously, except in the case of individual artifacts.

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[15] Johnson, 1948, The Rogers' Collection..., pp. 95-97.

[16] Johnson, 1948, The Rogers' Collection..., p. 95; Rogers and Rogers, 1950, Archaeological Investigations..., p. 336.

[17] Harp, 1951, An Archaeological Survey..., pp. 205-09.

The sites so far considered, with the possible exception of Hopedale, apparently represent cultures other than Eskimo. Sites attributed to the Eskimo have been found along the coast of both the Labrador Peninsula and Newfoundland. The oldest of these sites are considered as belonging to the Dorset culture.

In 1925, Jenness defined the Dorset culture from material collected by Eskimo at Cape Dorset, Baffinland.[18] Since that time Dorset sites have been located on the coasts of Newfoundland and the Labrador Peninsula. Leechman excavated two in northern Labrador Peninsula, one at McLelan Strait near Cape Chidley, another at Nuvuk, just south of Cape Wolstenholme.[19] Wintemberg located sites on the northwest coast of Newfoundland containing some artifacts sufficiently distinctive to link the sites with the Dorset culture.[20] Harp further substantiates this.[21]

The problem of the Dorset culture is a complex one. Its age has not been determined. Jenness thinks it is more primitive than the Thule in certain respects, but believes it

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[18] Jenness, 1925, A New Eskimo Culture..., pp. 428-37.

[19] Leechman, 1943, Two New Cape Dorset Sites, pp. 363-75.

[20] Wintemberg, 1939, Part I, p. 85; Part II, p. 330.

[21] Harp, 1951, An Archaeological Survey..., p. 218.

The sites so far examined, with the possible exception of Hopedale, apparently represent cultures other than Eskimo. Sites attributed to the Eskimo have been found along the coast of both the Labrador Peninsula and Newfoundland. The oldest of these sites are considered as belonging to the Dorset culture.

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[18] Jenness, 1925, A New Eskimo Culture... pp. 425-27.

[19] Leechman, 1945, Two New Labrador Dorset Sites, pp. 295-99.

[20] Wintemberg, 1939, Part I, p. 95; Part II, p. 250.

[21] Harp, 1951, An Archaeological Survey.... 219.

does not represent the earliest Eskimo horizon on the coast.[22] It is generally conceded that the Dorset preceded the Thule culture and later mingled with it in certain areas of the Eastern Arctic. De Laguna thinks that the Dorset people were the great contributors to the northeastern Indian culture during the Archaic Period.[23] Because Carbon 14 increases the antiquity of the Archaic in the Northeast, Hoffman suggests that the Dorset-like component found in the Archaic cultures was carried northward into the Eastern Arctic as the ice sheet retreated.[24]

Another problem arises in Newfoundland with regard to the position of the Dorset people and the Beothuk. The only definite Beothuk sites date from the contact period.[25] Much of the material has been collected from the surface, prohibiting the determination of separate cultural complexes if they were present. Harp suggests that the Beothuk may have reached Newfoundland long before the Dorset people, but that later there was unquestionably a period of contact.[26] In the Hopedale area Bird excavated several sites which, according to him, are ancestral to the modern Eskimo. He believes

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[22] Jenness, 1925, A New Eskimo Culture..., p. 437.

[23] De Laguna, 1946, The Importance of the Eskimo..., p. 140.

[24] Hoffman, 1952, Implications of Radiocarbon..., pp. 16-17.

[25] Howley, 1915, The Beothuks..., pp. 330-32; Harp, 1951, An Archaeological Survey..., p. 218.

[26] Harp, 1951, An Archaeological Survey..., p. 219.

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[22] Jenness, 1925, A New Eskimo Culture... p. [illegible].

[23] De Laguna, 1936, The Importance of the Eskimo... p. [illegible].

[24] Hoffman, 1952, Implications of Radiocarbon... pp. 10-11.

[25] Howley, 1915, The Beothucks... pp. 320-321 Harp, 1951, An Archaeological Survey... p. 210.

[26] Harp, 1951, An Archaeological Survey... p. 219.

that the modern Eskimo began to settle this area between 1500 and 1600.[27] Further, Bird believes that the "skraelings" of the Norse were Dorset people, and that possibly Strong's "Stone Culture" is Dorset.[28] Remains of sod houses, steatite vessels, chipped tools, and Eskimo graves have been found north of Nain.[29] At Forteau Bay, at the west end of the Strait of Belle Isle, there are stone ruins[30] which, from the description, resemble Eskimo dwellings, and on an island near St. Augustine, several post-European stone walled Eskimo graves have been discovered.[31]

In the interior of the Ungava Peninsula, near the head of the Payne River, there have been located the remains of an Eskimo site.[32] Rousseau thinks these may date from a warmer period, for the bases of the houses are embedded in permafrost.[33]

On the east coast of Hudson Bay, there are remains of Eskimo occupation. This culture has been described by Jenness[34]

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[27]Bird, 1945, The Archaeology of the Hopedale Area..., p. 179.

[28]Bird, 1945, The Archaeology of the Hopedale Area..., pp. 180-81.

[29]Cadzow, 1928, Archaeological Work..., pp. 98-101; Packard, 1885, Notes on the Labrador Eskimo, p. 481.

[30]Lloyd, 1875, Notes on Indian Remains..., pp. 39-40.

[31]Smith, 1929, Archaeological Field Work..., p. 333.

[32]Michea, 1950, Exploration in Ungave Peninsula..., pp. 54-58.

[33]Rousseau, 1949, A travers l'Ungava, pp. 127-28.

[34]Jenness, 1941, An Archaeological Collection..., pp. 189-206.

and Quimby,[35] the latter naming it "Manitunik." They both believe that it is a Thule culture influenced by Dorset.[36] Quimby states that it had developed a number of new and characteristic traits and had been influenced by the Indians of the Labrador Peninsula. He does not believe the Maitunik culture to be very ancient.[37]

In summary, the evidence suggests that the Labrador Peninsula was first inhabited by men following the melting ice northward. This was true if the sites located on raised beaches were occupied at the time the beaches were being formed. This possibility is consistent with the Carbon 14 dates for human occupation in the archaic sites of New York State.

While it can not be shown conclusively that the cultures of the early Archaic Period evolved into the historic cultures of the Northeast, such may well have been the case. Unfortunately, the scanty archaeological material from the Labrador Peninsula makes it impossible to establish a connection between the Montagnais-Naskapi and earlier cultures. All that can be said is that some Montagnais-Naskapi traits are found in early horizons to the south of the Labrador

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[35] Quimby, 1940, The Manitunik Eskimo Culture..., pp. 148-65.

[36] Ibid., p. 165; Jenness, 1941, An Archaeological Collection..., p. 205.

[37] Quimby, 1940, The Manitunik Eskimo Culture..., p. 165.

Peninsula. These may be part of a basic subarctic culture which extended from northeastern North America to the Mackenzie Basin of the Northwest.

Northeastern coastal Eskimo culture extends back into the proto-historic period but no further. The ancestral culture of the modern Eskimo of the Labrador Peninsula came from the north (Baffinland) as an offshoot of the Thule. This latter had its roots in the Western Arctic. The position of the Dorset culture remains an enigma. It influenced the Thule and appears to have had some connection with the Archaic of the Northeast.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The first sighting of the Labrador Peninsula or Newfoundland by Europeans was by the Norse about 1000 AD.[1] For the next five hundred years there were no more proven voyages to this part of the New World.

In 1497, John Cabot renewed the contact with this area. He probably landed in Newfoundland and perhaps coasted as far north as Hamilton Inlet on the Labrador Coast.[2] Gaspar Corte Real, in 1500, reached the coast of Labrador and in 1501, Newfoundland.[3] The next voyage of importance was in 1534 when Jacques Cartier entered the Gulf of the St. Lawrence by way of the Strait of Belle Isle.[4] He returned the next year and sailed up the St. Lawrence as far as present-day Montreal.[5] In 1541, Cartier made a third voyage, this time wintering near the mouth of the St. Lawrence.[6] In 1542 and 1543, Roberval was on the St. Lawrence River and explored the

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[1] Gosling, 1911, Labrador, pp. 7-12.

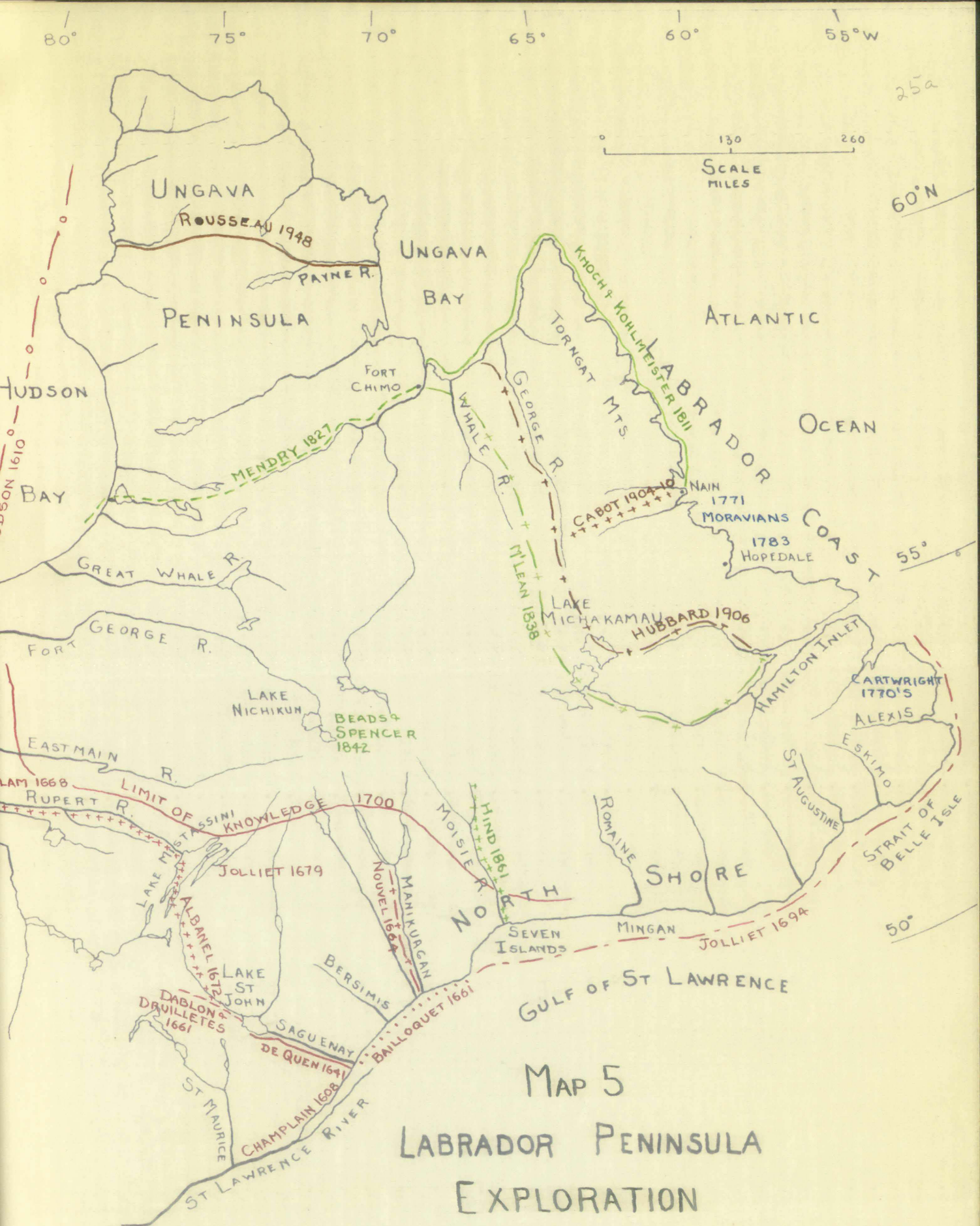
[2] Ibid., p. 32.

[3] Ibid., p. 34.

[4] Ibid., pp. 75-77.

[5] Ibid., p. 89.

[6] Ibid., pp. 89-90.



MAP 5

LABRADOR PENINSULA EXPLORATION

Saguenay River.[7]

Exploration of the northern coast of the Labrador Peninsula began near the end of the sixteenth century. In 1577, Martin Frobisher apparently sighted the northern coast of Labrador in the neighborhood of 58 degrees north and then sailed a short distance into Hudson Strait.[8] Weymouth, in 1602, explored a considerable distance westward into Hudson Strait.[9] Henry Hudson, in 1610, sailed through Hudson Strait and down the east coast of Hudson and James Bays.[10]

During the early part of the seventeenth century the first permanent settlements were established in the St. Lawrence Valley and missionary work begun. In 1608, Samuel de Champlain founded the post of Quebec.[11] From here, some thirty years later, the Jesuits began their missionary work in the southern half of the Labrador Peninsula (see Map 5). In 1641, Jean de Quen ascended the Saguenay River and discovered Lake St. John,[12] although Tadoussac at the mouth of the Saguenay had been a center of traders for years. Dablon and Druilletes, in 1661, penetrated about one hundred

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[7]Low, 1897, Report on Explorations..., p. 8L.

[8]Ibid., p. 9L.

[9]Baird, 1949, Expeditions to the Canadain..., p. 3.

[10]Ibid.

[11]Lower, 1949, Colony to Nation, pp. 11-12.

[12]Low, 1897, Report on Explorations..., p. 9L.

miles north of Lake St. John,[13] and in 1664, Nouvel ascended the Manicouagan River to the lake of the same name and visited the "Papinachois."[14] Pierre Bailloquet reached the mouth of the St. Lawrence in the country of the "Oumamiouek" in 1661.[15]

Until now the French had no European rival to fear in the southern Labrador Peninsula. But in 1668, Zachary Gillam, sailing under the English flag, entered the mouth of the Rupert River and established a trading post. Two years later the Hudson's Bay Company was officially formed.[16]

The presence of the English on the Bay stimulated the French to a short period of more extended exploration of the Labrador Peninsula. In 1672, Charles Albanel canoed from Lake St. John to Lake Mistassini and down the Rupert River to James Bay to investigate the English.[17] Again in 1674, Albanel went north to James Bay, and in 1679 Louis Jolliet followed him, establishing a trading post between Lake Albanel and Mistassini.[18] Jolliet, fifteen years later, explored the North Shore to the Strait of Belle Isle and up the Atlantic Coast of the Labrador Peninsula.[19]

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[13] Jesuit Relations, Vol. 46, pp. 173, 247-83.

[14] Winsor, 1884-89, Narrative and Critical History, Vol. IV, p. 270.

[15] Jesuit Relations, Vol. 47, p. 61.

[16] Wilson, 1899, The Great Company, pp. 44-51.

[17] Jesuit Relations, Vol. 56, pp. 149-217.

[18] Burgesse, 1947, Jolliet on James Bay, pp. 12-15.

[19] Delanglez, 1944, Journal de Louis Jolliet..., pp.168-206.

These four trips greatly increased the known limits of the country, but it was the end of French exploration in the Labrador Peninsula. Writing as late as 1730, Laure could only name four posts between Ile aux Coudre and Seven Islands -- Tadoussac, Chicoutimi, Jeremie Islet or Papinachois, and "Moisy River."[20]

In the latter part of the eighteenth century the Moravian missionaries became interested in the Eskimo of the Labrador Coast. In 1771, they established a post at Nain,[21] and in 1783 at Hopedale.[22] About this time the English entered Hamilton Inlet to trade with the natives.[23]

During the nineteenth century, the Labrador Peninsula became a center of renewed interest (see Map 5) after a hundred years during which few people gave it much concern. The Moravians, Kohlmeister and Kmoch, in 1811, explored the northern Labrador Coast and reached as far as the mouth of the Koksoak River in Ungava Bay.[24] Clouston in 1821 and 1824 explored the Eastmain River towards the interior. In 1827, Mendry passed overland by way of Clearwater and Seal Lakes to

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[20] Jesuit Relations, Vol. 68, p. 27.

[21] Holmes, 1827, Historical Sketches..., p. 73.

[22] Ibid., p. 84.

[23] Low, 1897, Report on Explorations..., p. 14L.

[24] Holmes, 1827, Historical Sketches..., pp. 102-03.

the Larch and finally the Koksoak River, where he established Fort Chimo[25] for the Hudson's Bay Company. From Fort Chimo, in 1838, M'Lean explored south to Hamilton Inlet,[26] where a Hudson's Bay post had been established in 1837.[27]

In 1842, Beads and Spenser mapped the area around Lakes Nichikun and Kaniapiskau in the heart of the Labrador Peninsula.[28] During the latter part of the nineteenth century, Packard, Hind, Stearns, and Turner examined various sections of the Peninsula. At the same time, the Geological Survey of Canada sent yearly parties into the interior.[29]

During the first half of the twentieth century, there was a continued interest in the Labrador Peninsula (see Map 5). Cabot, Hubbard, Wallace, Rousseau, and others made their way into the interior. At the present time, the iron deposits at Knob Lake are making possible the opening up of the country. A railroad is being constructed from Seven Islands to the ore beds, and roads are being extended into the southwestern portion of the Peninsula to facilitate the transport of the rich mineral deposits located on this part of the Pre-Cambrian Shield.

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[25] Low, 1897, Report on Explorations..., p. 15L.

[26] M'Lean, 1849, Notes on Twenty-five Years'..., pp. 34-59.

[27] Low, 1897, Report on Explorations..., p. 16L.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Ibid., p. 19L.

DISTRIBUTION OF INHABITANTS

Because of the necessity to limit the material in this paper, Michelson's delimitation of the Montagnais-Naskapi as a linguistic group is employed.[1] Accordingly, the Montagnais-Naskapi are bounded by the Eskimo on the north and east, the Micmac and Abnaki on the south across the St. Lawrence River, and by the Algonkin and Cree on the southwest.

Linguistically, the distinction between Montagnais-Naskapi and Cree is based on tenuous evidence. The distinction between the Montagnais-Naskapi and the Algonkin, Micmac, and Abnaki appears to be well established,[2] and the languages of these groups belong to a linguistic stock which is distinct from that of the Eskimo.

Culturally, it is impossible to establish a boundary separating the Montagnais-Naskapi from the bands on the southwest, because the assemblage of traits in contiguous bands from the interior of the Labrador Peninsula to the Great Lakes changes so gradually. This, however, is not the case with the Micmac and Abnaki who can be distinguished culturally from the Montagnais-Naskapi. The Montagnais-Naskapi are even more clearly set apart from the Eskimo.

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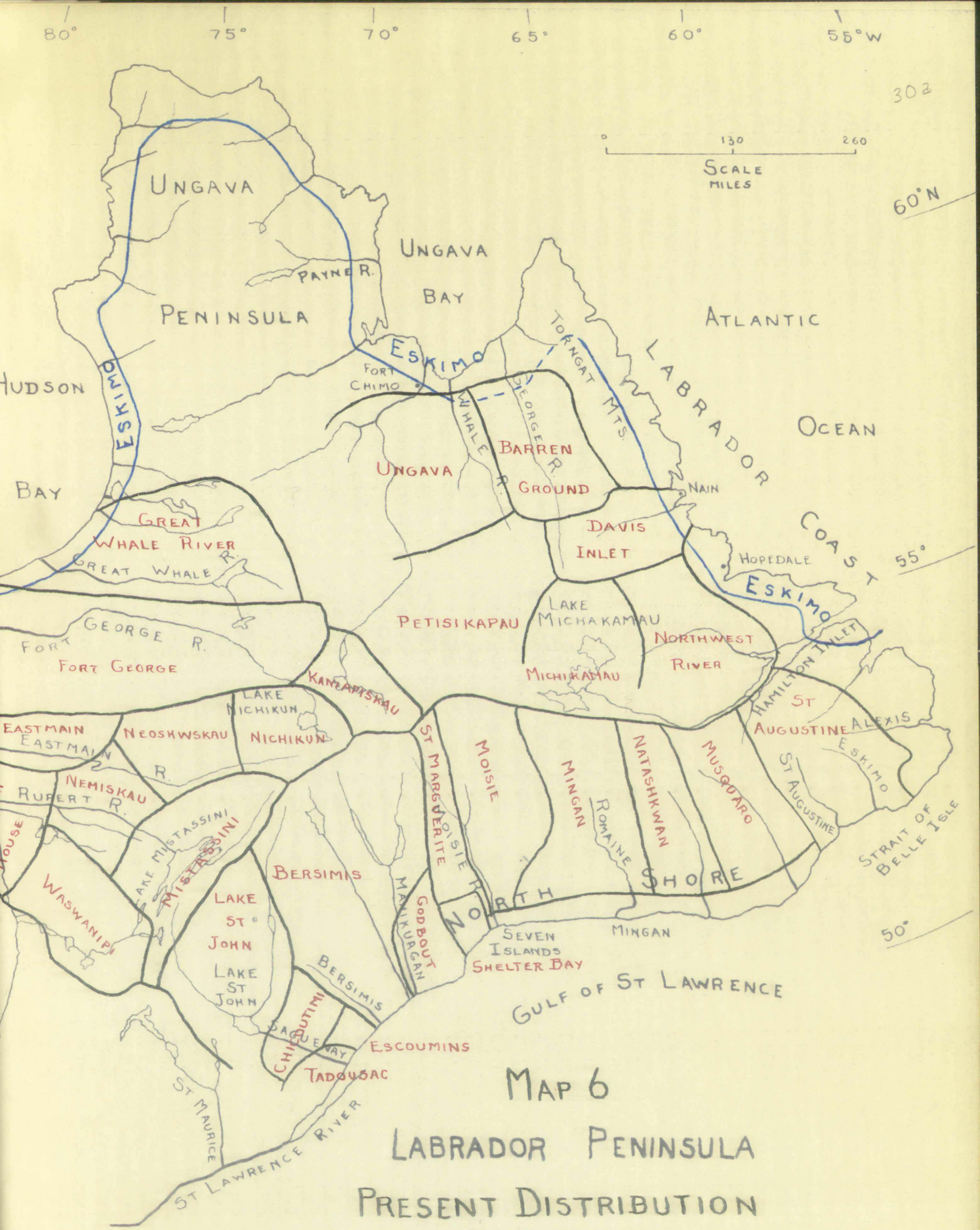
[1] Michelson, 1939, Linguistic Classification..., pp. 67-95.

[2] Bloomfield, 1946, Algonquian, p. 85.



MAP 6

LABRADOR PENINSULA

PRESENT DISTRIBUTION OF INHABITANTS

In accordance with Michelson's linguistic boundary for the Montagnais-Naskapi area and the distribution of bands within this area as outlined by Speck, Cooper, and Davidson,[3] twenty-nine bands are currently recognized (see Map 6).

These bands inhabit nearly all of the interior of the Labrador Peninsula with the exception of the Ungava Peninsula and the Torngat Mountains. They extend along the coast of James Bay and the North Shore and one band reaches the Labrador Coast at Davis Inlet. The bands are the Ungava, Barren Ground, Davis Inlet, Great Whale River, Petisikapau, Michikamau, Northwest River, Fort George, Kaniapiskau, St. Augustine, Musquaro, Natashkwan, Mingan, Moisie, St. Marguerite, Shelter Bay, Godbout, Bersimis, Escoumans, Tadoussac, Chicoutimi, Lake St. John, Mistassini, Waswanipi, Nemiscau, Rupert House, Eastmain, Neoskweskau, and Nichikun. They are bordered on the southwest by the Moose Factory Cree, Abitibi and Grand Lake Victoria Algonkin, and Tete de Boule Cree Bands.

Another people who inhabit the Labrador Peninsula are the Eskimo (see Map 6). Groups of Eskimo are scattered from

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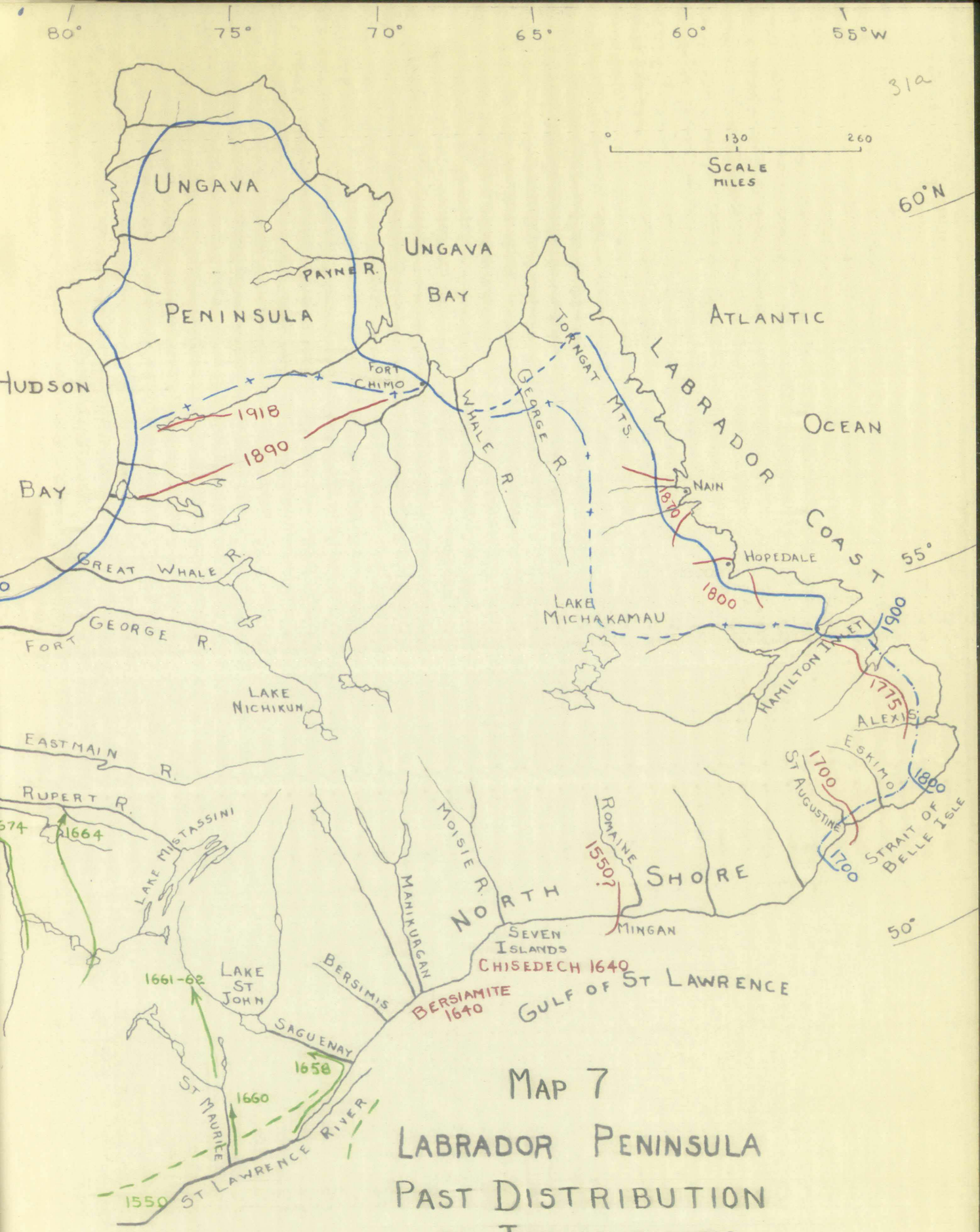
[3]Speck, 1931, Montangais-Naskapi Bands..., Map 2, p. 565; Cooper, Field Notes 1927, 1932, 1933; Davidson, 1928, Family Hunting Territories..., Plate 1, opp. p. 44.



MAP 7

LABRADOR PENINSULA

PAST DISTRIBUTION OF INHABITANTS

MONTAGNAIS-NASKAPI
— PAST

ESKIMO
— PRESENT
-·-·- PAST
+—+— INLAND HUNT

IROQUOIS
- - - PAST
← RAIDS

Hamilton Inlet north along the Labrador Coast, through Hudson Strait, and south to Great Whale River in Hudson Bay.[4] A few families may still be found south of these limits.

In discussing the past distribution of the Montagnais-Naskapi, it will be necessary to consider former Eskimo and Iroquois movements in the area. It is important to ascertain the distribution of these groups both in the past and present to determine where and when they may have influenced the Montagnais-Naskapi.

During the last four hundred years, there is no evidence that the areas presently occupied by the Montagnais-Naskapi and Eskimo have changed greatly (see Map 7). It is true there has been a withdrawal of the Eskimo from the Strait of Belle Isle, but that is all.

There is little information on the distribution of the Montagnais-Naskapi during the 1500's. One reference of Cartier's, which if correctly interpreted, would place them at least as far east as the Mingan Islands. According to Cartier in 1534, the people "have boats in which they go by the sea, which are made of the bark of the birch trees, wherewith they fish a good many seals."[5] From the description of the coast, as quoted Gosling, it would appear to

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[4]Hawkes, 1916, The Labrador Eskimo, p. 22.

[5]Gosling, 1911, Labrador, p. 77.

have been the North Shore. If Cartier was referring to the coast at the time of his sailing into the Gulf of the St. Lawrence, then the people he spoke of were east of the St. Augustine River; but if on his way out, then the location may have been anywhere east of the Mingan Islands.[6] These people were certainly not Eskimo and probably not Iroquoian speakers. As there is no evidence that the Beothuk lived on the North Shore during historic times, there is a strong possibility that the people Cartier described were Montagnais-Naskapi.

In the Jesuit Relations, there are a few references to the location of the Montagnais-Naskapi during the 1600's, east of the area of Lake St. John. One of the earliest, in 1640, states that the Chisedech [Shelter Bay Band] and the Bersiamite [Bersimis Band] were located upstream from the Eskimo. The latter lived at the entrance to the Gulf of the St. Lawrence.[7] Joliet, in 1694, met Indians in the vicinity of the St. Augustine River, who may have come from Mingan.[8]

During the 1700's, the Montagnais-Naskapi were living in the southeastern portion of the Peninsula. Cartwright, in 1775, stated that they were on Nevile Island at the mouth

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[6]Burpee, 1927, An Historical Atlas of Canada, p. 5.

[7]Jesuit Relations, Vol. 18, p. 227.

[8]Delanglez, 1944, Journal de Louis Jolliet..., p. 179.

of the Alexis River,[9] and in 1776, that two families came to trade at Sandwich Bay.[10] Further up the coast, Crantz is quoted as saying that Hopedale was established to promote intercourse with the Indians who live in the interior and approach the coast in small parties.[11] In 1790, several families of Indians came to trade at a post some twenty miles from Hopedale, and in 1799, two Indians reaching Hopedale appeared to have come from the south and to have been baptised by a French priest.[12] Today the Montagnais-Naskapi do not occupy any territory on the Atlantic Coast. The Davis Inlet and Barren Ground Bands have recently been in the habit of coming out to the coast but only to trade.[13]

There is some evidence that the Eskimo may have moved south into the Gulf of the St. Lawrence during the sixteenth century and then left during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Gosling is of the opinion that because Cartier and other early voyagers through the Strait of Belle Isle did not mention the Eskimo, the latter did not enter this

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[9]Townsend, 1911, Captain Cartwright..., pp. 159-60.

[10]Ibid., pp. 207-08.

[11]Holmes, 1827, Historical Sketches..., p. 85; Packard, 1885, Notes on the Labrador Eskimo, pp. 478-79.

[12]Packard, 1885, Notes on the Labrador Eskimo, p. 479.

Hubbard, 1908, A Woman's Way through Unknown..., p. 158

region until towards the end of the 1500's.[14] This would agree with Bird's opinion that the Labrador Eskimo entered the Hopedale area between 1500 and 1600.[15]

Statements in the Jesuit Relations suggest that Eskimo were living about the Strait of Belle Isle during the latter part of the 1600's.[16] Joliet heard of three Eskimo families wintering near the St. Augustine River[17] and saw the first evidence of Eskimo occupation at the east end of the Strait of Belle Isle.[18] During the 1700's, Eskimo were common in this region.[19]

During the 1800's, the Eskimo were becoming less numerous on the southern Labrador Coast and in the Strait of Belle Isle.[20] Hubbard, in 1906, saw Eskimo at Rigolette,[21] but

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[14]Gosling, 1911, Labrador, p. 18.

[15]Bird, 1945, The Archaeology of the Hopedale..., p. 179.

[16]Jesuit Relations, Vol. 18, p. 227; Vol. 45, p. 65; Vol. 47, p. 221; Vol. 59, p. 49.

[17]Delanglez, 1944, Journal de Louis Jolliet, p. 179.

[18]Ibid., p. 185.

[19]Holmes, 1827, Historical Sketches, pp. 69-70; Packard, 1885, Notes on the Labrador Eskimo, pp. 475-76; Townsend, 1911, Captain Cartwright..., pp. 41, 137-38, 320.

[20]Chappel, 1818, Voyage of His Majesty's Ship..., pp. 97-98, 190; Holmes, 1827, Historical Sketches..., pp. 91, 108; Boilieu, 1861, Recollections of Labrador..., pp. 124, 221; Packard, 1885, Notes on the Labrador Eskimo, pp. 471, 556.

[21]Hubbard, 1908, A Woman's Way through Unknown..., p. 208.

Hawkes, in 1914, could find only two Eskimo women on the southern coast of Sandwich Bay.[22] He stated that Eskimo were not found south of Hamilton Inlet.[23] Speck stated that Eskimo formerly lived on the east coast of James Bay but had recently moved north to Cape Jones.[24] But Cooper could find no evidence of such a movement.[25]

One other source of contact for the Montagnais-Naskapi must be considered. That was with the Iroquois. In the 1500's, the Iroquois may have extended well down the St. Lawrence River towards its mouth. It has been suggested that Stadacona (Quebec) was a Mohawk town and that Hochelaga (Montreal) may have been Huron but was more likely to have been Onondaga. By the time of Champlain, the Iroquoian speakers had left, and either Algonkin or Montagnais-Naskapi occupied the area. The retreat of the Iroquois may have resulted from the pressure of the Algonkians, who, obtaining iron trade goods to the east of Quebec, forced the Iroquois out of the St. Lawrence Valley.[26]

In 1609, groups of Algonkians persuaded Champlain to

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[22]Hawkes, 1916, The Labrador Eskimo, footnote p. 15.

[23]Ibid., pp. 14-15.

[24]Speck, 1931, Montagnais-Naskapi Bands..., p. 566.

[25]Cooper, 1946, The Culture of the Northeastern..., pp. 274-76.

[26]Bailey, 1933, The Significance of the Identity..., p. 97.

help them make war on the Iroquois. About 1630, the Indians of Tadoussac and Quebec made a raid on the Iroquois and took nine prisoners.[27] Undoubtedly other raids took place in the early 1600's. The Iroquois retaliated, and during the middle of the 1600's they were at the height of their aggressiveness, raiding northward into the country of the southern bands of Montagnais-Naskapi. Six raids have been recorded between 1658 and 1674 (see Map 7), and quite likely more took place.[28]

Another source of Montagnais-Naskapi contact was with the Hurons whom the Jesuits brought to Quebec. Hind mentions that some Hurons were established northeast of the St. Maurice River after 1648.[29] It was about this time that the Iroquois were scattering the Huron Nation, and a part of the latter, with some Jesuit priests, made their way to Quebec and settled there.[30]

The distribution of the inhabitants of the Labrador Peninsula as outlined here is not in complete agreement with that given by Speck. Speck thinks that there is evidence in the Jesuit Relations to suggest an eastward expansion of the

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[27] Jesuit Relations, Vol. 5, p. 27.

[28] Ibid., Vol. 44, p. 219; Vol. 46, p. 209; p. 289; Vol. 47, pp. 149-53; Vol. 56, p. 183; Champlain Society Publications, Vol. 18, pp. 385, 390.

[29] Hind, 1863, Explorations in the Interior..., Vol. 1, p. 274.

[30] James, 1906, The Downfall of the Huron..., pp. 322-29.

Montagnais in the 1600's[31] with the retreat of the Eskimo from Mingan.[32] He is also of the opinion that at the time of the arrival of the French, the Montagnais were located between Quebec and Seven Islands and inland to the Height of Land.[33] While this may be true, there does not seem to be enough information to state definitely that the Montagnais were not located to the east of Seven Islands at this time. Algonkian pottery, which is probably precontact, has been found at the west end of the Strait of Belle Isle, indicating Indian occupation here before 1600. As stated earlier, as late as 1730, the Jesuits were familiar, according to their writings, with the territory only as far east as Seven Islands. The distribution given by Speck for the Montagnais seems to be only for that country with which the Jesuits were familiar. As for the Eskimo, no archaeological evidence has been found of their occupation west of the Strait of Belle Isle.

Speck also believes that the eastward expansion of the Montagnais might have been caused by the Iroquois raids.[34] If there was an eastward drift, and this was rather unlikely to have been anything more than a short movement towards the

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[31] Speck, 1931, Montagnais-Naskapi Bands..., p. 561.

[32] Ibid., p. 569.

[33] Ibid., p. 561.

[34] Ibid.

coast, it apparently was not caused by the Iroquois. Those bands of Montagnais-Naskapi which were hit the hardest and oftenest are either still in their old locations or were exterminated, with a few survivors perhaps escaping to neighboring bands. The Lake St. John, Mistassini, Tadoussac, Bersimis, and Tete de Boule (Cree) bands are still located in nearly the same places today as when first described by the Jesuit priests as early as 1640. No evidence has been found that any of the eastern bands were driven to their present locations by the Iroquois. It is interesting to note, however, that many of the Montagnais-Naskapi still fear the Iroquois. This fear, in many cases, is the result of contact with other bands who were terrorized by Iroquois raids.

Speck states that evidence from old maps suggests that the Eskimo lived in the interior portion of the Labrador Peninsula as far west perhaps as Lake Nichikun.[35] But not until the 1800's were there eye-witness accounts of this part of the country. Early map makers were apt to fill the blank spaces on their maps in order to sell them more readily.[36] This is probably the case with the early maps of the Labrador Peninsula, showing Eskimo in the interior. Recently, the Labrador Eskimo have been strictly coastal,

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[35]Speck, 1931, Montagnais-Naskapi Bands..., pp. 566-68.

[36]Raisz, 1948, General Cartography, p. 28.

with the possible exception of one band thought to be living inland from Nachvak westward to the drainage area of the Whale River (sic).[37] Furthermore, no archaeological remains have yet been discovered in the interior which can be referred to the Eskimo, except in the Ungava Peninsula.

However, Eskimo do travel inland to hunt caribou, but not, as a rule, over thirty miles from the coast.[38] There is one instance where they may have reached Lake Michikamau,[39] and Eskimo from both Hudson and Ungava Bays met in the interior of the Ungava Peninsula to hunt caribou.[40]

From the information available, it can be tentatively concluded that the Montagnais-Naskapi held the interior of the Labrador Peninsula at the time of first contact. During the 1700's, they began to make their way to the coast in the region of the Strait of Belle Isle and northward, to Davis Inlet. The cause may have been the desire to visit the newly established trading posts.

At what period the Eskimo entered the Gulf of the St. Lawrence will probably not be known until archaeological work has been done in this area. The suggestion is that they arrived in the latter part of the 1500's or early 1600's.

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[37]Speck, 1936, Inland Eskimo Bands..., p. 314.

[38]Hawkes, 1916, The Labrador Eskimo, p. 14.

[39]Prichard, 1911, Through Trackless Labrador, p. 171.

[40]Flaherty, 1918, Two Traverses Across Ungava, p. 124.

Since that time the Eskimo have been slowly retreating to their present location north of Hamilton Inlet. In the Hudson Bay area no shifts have taken place within the historic period.

Certain of the Montagnais-Naskapi bands, from the 1600's to the present, have had varying amounts of contact with the Labrador Eskimo. Because of the lack of specific data, it is not often possible to say which bands had direct contact, nor at what date a particular trait was adopted.

Contact among the southern bands was limited to raids against the Eskimo of the Strait of Belle Isle. At these times captives were taken.[41] Among the northern bands, contacts between the two groups appear to have been more frequent or more intimate. While there is no direct proof of this, it is suggested because of the greater number of Eskimo traits found among the northern bands than those to the south.

There are several traits found among the southern bands of Montagnais-Naskapi that appear to have been derived from the Iroquois. Whether or not these were acquired during the 1500's, when the Iroquois lived in the St. Lawrence Valley, or during the 1600's, when the Iroquois were raiding the Montagnais-Naskapi, it is impossible to say. It might

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[41] Jesuit Relations, Vol. 45, p. 65, 69; Vol. 59, p. 49.

[4] Jesuit Relations, Vol. 45, p. 65, 69; Vol. 59, p. 49.

well be that an interchange of customs took place with the Huron who settled near Quebec.

MONTAGNAIS-NASKAPI CULTURE

Socio-Political Organization. Certain aspects of the socio-political organization of the Montagnais-Naskapi have been worked out by Speck and Cooper in some detail. Band distribution and family hunting territories are fairly well known for the area.

There are twenty-nine bands of Montagnais-Naskapi found in the Labrador Peninsula. Speck defines a band as

> a group inhabiting a fairly definite territory with more or less stable number of families, possessing paternally inherited privileges of hunting within tracts comprised again within boundaries of the territory, often having an elected chief, speaking with idioms and phonetic forms by which they and outsiders distinguish themselves as comprising a unit, often with minor emphasis on this or that social or religious development, often with somewhat distinctive styles of manufacture and art, and finally traveling together as a horde and coming out to trade at a definite rendezvous on the coast.[1]

One change should be made in this definition. The rendezvous need not necessarily be on the coast, but may be at a large lake, such as Lake Mistassini, where the Mistassini Band gathers. In addition, it is only during the summer months that members come together as a band unit.

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[1]Speck, 1926, Culture Problems .... pp. 277-78.

a distinction between economic habits and political structure.[2] The distinction was made between the northern communal hunting bands and the southern bands with definite family hunting territories.

Speck and Eiseley[3] recognized two types of hunting systems in the Labrador Peninsula. One system of hunting is nomadic and communal. The families of one band hunt together as a unit for the greater part of the year. This type of hunting system was found in the open tundra [Forest-Tundra] north of the forest zone. The barren ground caribou was the economic mainstay. The other type was based more upon a limited nomadic principle and seems to be confined to the coniferous forest area to the south [Main Boreal Forest] generally .

According to these authors, the factors governing communal hunting are the influences affecting the movements of flesh-yielding and fur-bearing animals. If the migration routes of the caribou changed, the communal hunting band had to break up into family hunting units.[4] The northern bands of White Whale River [Great Whale River Band], Ungava, Barren Ground, and Davis Inlet, however, largely lacked the concept of definite hunting territories. Hunting conditions

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[3]Speck and Eiseley, 1942, Montagnais-Naskapi Bands ..., pp. 219-20.

[4]Strong, 1929, Cross-Cousin Marriage..., p. 285.

were different among the southern bands, where game was more diversified and moose entered into the economy. Individual families hunted on definite hunting territories of their own.

Both types of hunting may have prevailed in the same band at different seasons. The Nichikin and Michikamau Bands had both types,[5] and were apparently on the border between communal hunting and family hunting bands. These bands lived in the area of Open Boreal Woodland, where there was a transition from the Main Boreal Forest to the Forest-Tundra. The region marked the southern limit of the barren ground caribou and the northern edge of the more varied and non-migratory fauna. It was primarily in the Forest-Tundra Zone that true communal hunting was found, among the Ungava, Barren Ground, Davis Inlet, and perhaps the northern families of the Great Whale River Band. These four were located on the migration routes of the barren ground caribou. The bands just south could only hope to take this species during the winter. While little is known of these groups, the barren ground caribou seemed to be subsidiary rather than a staple among them. It was the boundary between the tundra and the forest that determined the varieties of mammalian forms and apparently separated the two types of socio-economic life of the Montagnais-Naskapi.

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[5]Speck and Eiseley, 1942, Montagnais-Naskapi Bands ..., pp. 234-35.

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[5] Speck and Eiseley, 1942, Montagnais-Naskapi Bands ..., pp. 234-35.

While the communal hunting system of the northern bands is little known, the family hunting system of the southern bands has been studied in great detail.

The boundaries of a family hunting territory were usually known within a quarter of a mile to two or three miles,[6] but were apparently not marked.[7] The boundaries were rivers, lakes, or other natural landmarks.[8] Actual title to the land was held by an individual, usually an adult male, but occasionally a female. The right to the hunting ground was permanent and abiding, and there was no superior or public authority anywhere in the band who had any recognized right to coerce a band member into alienation of his land. As a rule, inheritance was in the male line, commonly from father to son, but not infrequently from brother to brother, from father-in-law to son-in-law; but in some cases land was inherited in the female line. The land was never sold, although there was no strict prohibition against this, nor a denial of the right to sell. The land was frequently loaned temporarily.

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[6]Cooper, 1939, Is the Algonquian Family..., p. 66.

[7]Speck, 1923, Mistassini Hunting Territories..., p. 460; Speck, 1927, Family Hunting Territories..., p. 389.

[8]Speck, 1915, The Family Hunting Band..., p. 290.

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[6] Cooper, 1939, Is the Algonquian Family ... p. 56.

[7] Speck, 1923, Mistassini Hunting Territories ..., p. 460; Speck, 1927, Family Hunting Territories ... p. 389.

[8] Speck, 1915, The Family Hunting Band ... p. 290.

Deliberate poaching was frowned upon[9] and punished by conjuring,[10] but to take food while traveling was permitted.[11] A feature of economic importance of the family hunting territories was the conservation of resources by the natives.[12] They conserved beaver within the entire area, but other animals were hunted near the edges of the family territory, leaving the center for breeding stock.[13] The head of the hunting territory allotted portions to married sons or other married male relatives or dependents hunting with him, and would often renew the right at the beginning of each hunting season.[14] He might divide the land among his sons or hold it till his death.[15] If there was one son, he received the land; if only one daughter, she inherited. Otherwise, the oldest son obtained the land, and if there was enough game, the others stayed with him; if not, they went with their affinal relatives.[16] Hunting territories were often known by local

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[9]Cooper, 1939, Is the Algonquian Family..., pp. 67-68.

[10]Speck, 1923, Mistassini Hunting Territories..., p. 460; Speck, 1927, Family Hunting Territories..., p. 389.

[11]Cooper, 1939, Is the Algonquian Family..., p. 68.

[12]Speck, 1915, The Family Hunting Band..., p. 293.

[13]Cooper, 1939, Is the Algonquian Family..., p. 69.

[14]Ibid., p. 72.

[15]Ibid., p. 67.

[16]Speck, 1917, The Social Structure..., p. 97.

names identified with the family.[17] The size of the hunting territory was variable,[18] and, in general, was larger the farther north the band was located.[19] There were no sealing or fishing rights in existence in the waters of the St. Lawrence.[20]

Both Speck and Cooper are inclined to believe that the system of family hunting territories was pre-Columbian.[21]

The family was composed of a small group of kin related by consanguinity and affinity, with patrilineal tendencies.[22] The children of the Montagnais-Naskapi family grew up relatively free of restrictions. There were no ceremonies to mark the various stages of their growth. At the birth of a child, no special acts or rituals were known to take place. Infanticide was not practiced.[23] No adolescence rites are reported. The paternal uncle was highly respected by boys and younger men, for the uncle often took the father's place as the boys' advisor and hunting

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[17]Speck, 1915, The Family Hunting Band..., p. 290.

[18]Hallowell, 1949, The Size of Algonquian Hunting..., pp. 35-45.

[19]Speck, 1923, Mistassini Hunting Territories..., p. 461.

[20]Speck, 1927, Family Hunting Territories..., p. 392.

[21]Cooper, 1939, Is the Algonquian Family..., p. 89; Speck, 1931, Montagnais-Naskapi Bands..., pp. 574-75; Speck and Eiseley, 1939, Significance of the Hunting..., pp. 277-78.

[22]Cooper, 1939, Is the Algonquian Family..., pp. 66-67; Speck, 1917, The Social Structure..., p. 85.

[23]Speck, 1933, Ethical Attributes..., p. 568.

associate.[24]

Regarding marriage among the northern Algonquians, Speck states that there were no formalized regulations between the members of different families or bands. The only barriers to marriage were those of blood kinship; unions of first cousins, as well as half-brothers and half-sisters, being "generally and strictly" avoided. This was consistent with their classification as brothers and sisters through the operation of the levirate.[25]

This statement of Speck's does not seem to be entirely true for the Montagnais-Naskapi. There is no evidence that the custom of the levirate was ever practiced, although cousins might be classed as brothers and sisters.[26] Furthermore, Strong reports that the Barren Ground, White Whale River [Great Whale River Band], and Ungava Bands practiced cross-cousin marriage.[27] According to Michelson, a form of cross-cousin marriage was practiced among the people of the northeast corner of Lake Kaniapiskau [Kaniapiskau Band?]. Here a man could marry the daughter of his paternal aunt. But this was the only cross-cousin he could marry.[28] Speck,

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[24] Ibid., pp. 574-75.

[25] Speck, 1917, The Social Structure..., p. 96.

[26] M'Lean, 1849, Notes on Twenty-five Years'..., Vol. II, p. 127.

[27] Strong, 1929, Cross-Cousin Marriage..., p. 277.

[28] Michelson, 1938, Studied among the Montagnais-..., p. 122.

in 1930, reported that the Mistassini Band still practiced cross-cousin marriage in the first degree,[29] as did also the Lake St. John Band.[30] But two years later, Hallowell published a paper stating that according to a manuscript of Speck's neither of these bands practiced cross-cousin marriage.[31] Nevertheless, because of the kinship terminology, Hallowell felt that cross-cousin marriages were practiced in early times among the Montagnais-Naskapi.[32]

Information is too scanty or contradictory to state with any assurance that the Montagnais-Naskapi, as a group, do or ever did practice cross-cousin marriage. All that can be said at the moment is that marriages did not take place between close blood relations.

Permissible polygyny was practiced in the past, apparently throughout the Labrador Peninsula, although monogamy prevailed because of the limited number of women.[33]

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[29] Speck, 1930, Mistassini Notes, p. 421.

[30] Ibid., p. 423.

[31] Hallowell, 1932, Kinship Terms..., p. 182.

[32] Ibid., p. 199.

[33] Jesuit Relations, Vol. 5, p. 35; Jesuit Relations, Vol. 68, p. 53; Champlain Society Publications, Vol. 18, p. 389; M'Lean, 1849, Notes on Twenty-five Years', Vol. II, p. 121; Hind, 1863, Explorations in the Interior, Vol. II, p. 100; Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 270; Cabot, 1909, The Indians, p. 215.

The sororate and sororal polygyny were practiced by the Montagnais-Naskapi. Among the Ungava Band, a man could marry two sisters either in succession or simultaneously.[34] In the Lake St. John Band, a man could marry his sister-in-law after the death of his wife.[35] Two daughters of a Michikamau man were said to be married to one man at the same time.[36] Hind noted, while at Seven Islands, that a "Nasquapee" who died left two wives who were sisters.[37]

There is a suggestion that among some of the eastern bands, a custom of having temporary wives existed. The guides accompanying Hubbard were offered temporary wives by the Indian women at an encampment at Resolution Lake [Davis Inlet Band].[38] Strong referred to a custom among the Barren Ground and Davis Inlet Bands which may be the same as that described by Hubbard. The custom was an exchange of sex privileges between a particular group of men and a particular group of women. A man had the right to ask for another member's sister or cousin with whom he could then spend the night. It was sisters that were exchanged, never wives.[39] No other

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[34] M'Lean, 1849, Notes on Twenty-five Years'..., Vol. II, p. 127.

[35] Speck, 1930, Mistassini Notes, p. 423.

[36] Speck and Eiseley, 1942, Montagnais-Naskapi Band..., p. 237.

[37] Hind, 1863, Explorations in the Interior..., Vol. I, p. 324.

[38] Hubbard, 1908, A Woman's Way through Unknown..., pp. 161-62.

[39] Strong, 1929, Cross-Cousin Marriage..., pp. 283-84.

Montagnais-Naskapi band has been reported to have any custom similar to this.

The only information on how marriages are contracted comes from the Ungava Band. The son informed his parents of his wish to marry, and they concluded the negotiations with the family of their choice.[40]

For the Lake St. John Band there is no evidence that the mother-in-law taboo existed,[41] and this apparently was true among the rest of the bands.

Expedience governed the occurrence of matrilocal or patrilocal residence. Residence depended upon the number of sons and daughters in the parental families, the physical condition of family members, whether the father was living, and the circumstances of the uncles. Also affecting the choice of residence were the abundance of game, the condition of the hunting district, and even temporary climatic conditions. Personal circumstances likewise entered into the decision.[42] Among the Ungave Band, it was claimed that at marriage the husband went to his father-in-law's tent and stayed twelve months, after which he was an independent member of the community.[43]

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[40]M'Lean, 1849, Notes on Twenty-five Years'..., Vol. II, p. 127.

[41]Speck, 1927, Family Hunting Territories..., p. 393.

[42]Speck, 1917, The Social Structure..., p. 97.

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[41] Speck, 1927, Family Hunting Territories..., p. 393.

[42] Speck, 1917, The Social Structure..., p. 97.

[43] M'Lean, 1849, Notes on Twenty-five Years'..., Vol. II, p. 127.

Among the southern bands the predominant pattern was patrilocal residence. But under various situations matrilocal residence was practiced. Patrilocal residence would be expected when patrilineal inheritance of the family hunting territories was the general rule. The pattern may have been different among the northern bands. There may have been a year's residence with the wife's family, a circumstance which was easily made possible by the communal hunting of the barren ground caribou. However, there is not enough evidence to do more than suggest the possibility that residence of this type prevailed among the northern bands.

The dead, apparently, have always been interred by the Montagnais-Naskapi, although burial was often delayed until the summer thaw. A Jesuit missionary in 1632-33 spoke of having "found a dead body..., raised high upon a wooden scaffold, and near it were its clothes and other belongings, covered with bark...,." The Indians [Montagnais ?] told him they would bury the body when it stopped snowing.[44] The Ungava Band placed the body on a scaffold in the winter, and then interred it the following summer.[45]

Hind gives an account of a curious burial custom among the Montagnais-Naskapi. According to him, the Indians

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[44]Jesuit Relations, Vol. 5, p. 129.

[45]M'Lean, 1849, Notes on Twenty-five Years'..., Vol. II, p. 123.

used their snowshovels to dig a hole about three feet deep, which was then sometimes lined with pieces of wood. The body was generally placed on its side, but occasionally in a sitting position. The head was always placed facing west; the feet to the east. They wrapped the corpse in skins or a blanket. A gun, axe, fire-steel, flint, tinder, and kettle were placed at its side. Sometimes, the Indian's dogs were hung at the head of the grave. A little birch bark hut was built over the grave. Through a small window the relatives thrust bits of tobacco, "deer" meat, and other trifles. When a woman was buried, her paddles and wooden dishes were placed in the little lodge over the grave. When a child was buried all its toys were laid in the little lodge, and sometimes tiny snowshoes were hung before the lodge.[46]

No other reference to the use of a grave house has been reported for the Montagnais-Naskapi. It is possible that Hind may have inserted an account of a Great Lakes Indian burial with which he was undoubtedly familiar. The grave houses are reminiscent of those reported for the Ojibwa Indians of Parry Island.[47]

Turner said that he obtained evidence at Fort Chimo [Ungave Band] that scaffold burial and suspension from trees

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[46]Hind, 1863, Explorations in the Interior..., Vol. I, p. 170.

[47]Jenness, 1935, The Ojibwa Indians..., p. 105.

[Ungava Band] that scaffold burial and suspension from trees

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[46] Hind, 1863, Explorations in the Interior..., Vol. I, p. 170.

[47] Jenness, 1935, The Ojibwa Indians..., p. 105.

were practiced formerly, and that interment was introduced by the missionaries.[48] At the time he was there, the Indians at the post interred their dead in rudely constructed coffins. At the head, they placed a small branch from a tree. If the death occurred in the hunting period when the ground was solidly frozen, they suspended the corpse from the branches of a tree. They tried to return the following summer to bury the body. A distinguished person was often buried in winter. The grave was dug under the fireplace where the ground would have thawed. The tent was then moved.

Turner's evidence for the introduction of earth burials by missionaries among the Ungava Band is not conclusive. Although the first missionaries reached the country of the Ungava Band in 1811, they met no Indians.[49] M'Lean, twenty-five years later, reported interment,[50] and yet at that time no missionary work had been started. Furthermore, the fact that the Indians, in the late 1880's, practiced interment when hunting, away from missionary influence, suggests that interment was old.

If death occurred among the Natashquan Band during the winter, the body was not buried in the interior where they were hunting. Rather they waited until spring, brought

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[48] Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 272.

[49] Holmes, 1827, Historical Sketches..., pp. 102-03.

[50] M'Lean, 1849, Notes on Twenty-five Years'..., Vol. II, p. 123.

the body to the coast, and buried it near their summer gathering place.[51]

At present, the dead are buried, and a picket fence is erected around the grave with a wooden cross at the head.[52]

With regard to the customs associated with burial, the Jesuit Relations mention that the body was removed through the side of the "cabin," and that when death took place it was customary to strike the "cabin" to drive out the spirit.[53] It was tabu to use anything belonging to the deceased[54] or to mention his name.[55] The Northern Lights were said to be the dead dancing.[56] According to the Jesuit Relations, the Indian's hair "is tied behind except when mourning."[57] The extent of these funeral customs is not known.

There are a few references to killing or abandoning the aged. It was said that the Ungava Band destroyed their parents and relatives when they were too old to work. The parent himself expressed a wish to be killed, and his son or nearest relative strangled him.[58] This same practice was

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[51] Townsend, 1913, A Short Trip..., pp. 170-71.

[52] Hubbard, 1908, A Woman's Way through Unknown..., p. 127.

[53] Jesuit Relations, Vol. 5, p. 129.

[54] Ibid., p. 135; Curran and Calkins, 1920, In Canada's Wonderful..., p. 122.

[55] Jesuit Relations, Vol. 5, p. 135; Cooper, 1926, Some Notes on the Waswanipi..., p. 460.

[56] Cooper, 1926, Some Notes on the Waswanipi..., p. 460.

[57] Jesuit Relations, Vol. 5, p. 25.

[58] M'Lean, 1849, Notes on Twenty-five Years'..., Vol. II, p. 122.

current, until recently, among the Barren Ground and Davis Inlet Bands.[59] The aged and infirm, among the Mingan Band and perhaps all along the North Shore, were either allowed to starve or existed on the charity of anyone who would undertake to care for them.[60] According to the Jesuit Relations, it was customary to kill the sick who were expected to die, with a blow from a club or an axe;[61] or they were abandoned in the forest.[62]

Apparently none of the foregoing descriptions are eye witness accounts, except possibly those of the Jesuit priests. Rather, they appear to be stories obtained from the natives, who may have been relying on their mythology, or from whites who had heard it from the Indians. Nevertheless, it seems that there is a good probability that the killing or abandonment of the aged was formerly practiced, explainable by economic factors, especially among the northern bands.

Speck says that abandoning the aged may be a survival of some remote phase of life. References to the practice are

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[59]Cabot, 1909, The Indians, p. 216.

[60]Stearns, 1884, Labrador, a Sketch..., p. 267.

[61]Jesuit Relations, Vol. 5, p. 143.

[62]Ibid., p. 103.

frequent in their mythology, but the contemporary Indians evince the very opposite of such a tendency. Speck finds it hard to say whether there has been a radical change, or whether it has been emphasized by tradition like endo-cannibalism because of its rarity of occurrence.[63]

Speck states that there has not been, up to the present, a single authentic instance of cannibalism, and that it was not an institutionalized trait among the northern Indians.[64] I have found only one reference to it. The Montagnais [?] were said to have ended the torture of some Iroquois prisoners by eating the victims almost raw.[65]

Warfare among the hunting tribes of the Northeast appears to lack any economic basis. They engaged in war to gain prestige or to provide an outlet for emotions.[66] Among the Montagnais-Naskapi it was of little importance. Most accounts refer to clashes which took place in the distant past.[67] The Montagnais-Naskapi, however, did occasionally raid the Eskimo and the Iroquois at the time of early French settlement.[68]

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[63] Speck, 1933, Ethical Attributes..., p. 568.

[64] Ibid., pp. 587-88.

[65] Jesuit Relations, Vol. 5, p. 31.

[66] Hadlock, 1947, War Among the Northeastern..., p. 220.

[67] Cabot, 1912, In Northern Labrador, pp. 49-50.

[68] Jesuit Relations, Vol. 5, pp. 29-31; Vol. 45, p. 65.

There was little or no war equipment. The only article of which mention has been made is a shield. An Indian near Tadoussas [?] had a shield which was very long and wide, easily covering the whole body and reaching "from my feet to my chest."[69] It was made of a single piece of very light cedar slightly bent or curved. At the top and the bottom, it was sewn with a leather string to prevent splitting. The shield was carried on the left side with a cord passing over the right shoulder to hold it in place.[70]

Hind also mentions a shield of the same description, but undoubtedly he took his information from the Jesuit Relations, with which he was familiar.[71] This isolated shield may have been an item of war loot taken from the Iroquois, or a direct copy. At all events, it was not Montagnais-Naskapi but a trait common among the tribes to the south.

War clubs and special bows have not been reported from any part of this area. Warfare probably became obsolescent after the Iroquois raids of the 1600's, although there may have been sporadic clashes with the Eskimo after that date. Between the Eskimo and Montagnais-Naskapi a traditional enmity

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[69] Ibid., Vol. 5, p. 95.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Hind, 1863, Explorations in the Interior..., Vol. II, p. 18.

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[69] Ibid., Vol. 5, p. 95.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Hind, 1863, Explorations in the Interior..., Vol. II, p. 18.

appears to have always existed, though there is some evidence that it is breaking down at the present time.[72]

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[72]Honigmann, 1952, Intercultural Relations..., pp. 514-21.

Religion. The religion of the Montagnais-Naskapi is not well known. The most detailed information, gathered by Speck, comes from the southern bands. Knowledge regarding the beliefs of the northern bands is very scanty.

In general, no new material was obtained from the historical sources, which tend to have rather meager information on this subject. Therefore, while religion plays a large part in the life of the Montagnais-Naskapi, the discussion of it here will be necessarily limited.

Montagnais-Naskapi religion was individual rather than institutionalized. There were no medicine societies or masked dances, only semi-religious round dances and games.[73] Only the ceremonial "Bear Feast" might be considered a formal, group religious performance.[74]

Religious activity was largely an individual matter. Each hunter was more or less a conjuror adjusting himself to the unknown.[75] To adjust to and learn of the unknown, the individual practiced numerous methods of divination -- scapulimancy,[76] gazing at a decorated object, mirror, or a

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[73]Speck, 1935, Naskapi, pp. 18-23.

[74]Ibid., pp. 94-95.

[75]Ibid., p. 18.

[76]Ibid., p. 139.

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[73]Speck, 1935, Naskapi, pp. 18-25.

[74]Ibid., pp. 94-95.

[75]Ibid., p. 18.

[76]Ibid., p. 139.

pool of water,[77] manipulating a beaver pelvis[78] and tibia oracle,[79] bear patella oracle,[80] and several more. Dreams were a means of revelation and helped one keep in touch with the unseen.[81] They were very important as a religious process, especially hunting dreams. The individual obtained inspiration, when concentrating on a future hunt while taking a sweat bath.[82]

Each individual had a "soul-spirit" which was his helper through life.[83] But to gain spiritual guidance there was no recourse to seclusion or fasting.[84] The "soul-spirit" spoke to the individual through his dreams.[85] To strengthen his "soul-spirit" sweat baths were taken.[86]

The Montagnais-Naskapi attributed to animals the same emotions and purposes in life as man. Connected with this belief was the idea that much religious responsibility on the

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[77] Ibid., p. 159.

[78] Ibid., p. 160.

[79] Ibid., p. 161.

[80] Ibid., p. 162.

[81] Ibid., p. 180.

[82] Ibid., p. 212.

[83] Ibid., pp. 41-44.

[84] Ibid., p. 48.

[85] Ibid., p. 180.

[86] Ibid., p. 212.

part of the hunter was involved when any animal was killed.[87] The degree of religious responsibility, however, varied with the animal. The bear was accorded the highest ceremonial respect, while caribou and beaver may have ranked next.[88]

In their art, there was some representation of certain spiritual concepts such as the "soul-spirit."[89]

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[87] Ibid., pp. 76-77.

[88] Ibid., pp. 78-79.

[89] Ibid., p. 190.

Art. The art of the Montagnais-Naskapi was based primarily on the double curve motif but included a certain number of floral and geometrical forms.[90]

The floral design was not common among the northern bands.[91] The southern bands had a tendency to modify the simple double curve designs in such a way as to produce floral patterns.[92] This use of floral designs Speck considered a recent historical development reflecting European influence.[93]

Decoration was applied primarily to birch bark containers and skin clothing. The art of etching on birch bark was practiced among the southern interior bands but not among those on the coast where birch bark was scarce. The patterns used in bark etching were made by folding pieces of birch bark and biting designs into them with the teeth.[94] These bitten patterns also formed an art pastime for the women.[95] Moose hair embroidery and painting were found among both the coastal and interior bands. In later times, there was beadwork, silk embroidery, and a form of embroidery in

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[90]Speck, 1914, the Double Curve Motive..., p. 15 and Fig. 25.

[91]Ibid., p. 10.

[92]Ibid., p. 12.

[93]Speck, 1937, Montagnais Art in Birch-Bark..., p. 93.

[94]Speck, 1914, The Double Curve Motive..., p. 11.

[95]Speck, 1937, Montagnais Art in Birch-Bark..., p. 76.

which braided animal wool was sewn upon leather or cloth to form a pattern.[96]

There was more evidence of an artistic tendency among the Mistannini Band than other southern bands. They did much beadwork and silk embroidery. Flower and plant designs were conspicuous but were often combined with the double curve motif.[97]

Painting on skins reached its highest development among the northern bands. The Ungava Band used special implements for painting on skins. These implements, made from bone, horn, or wood, were carved in the shape of a fork with one to four tines and a short handle. Those with several tines were employed to make the complicated patterns of parallel lines and were always of antler. The simpler ones were sometimes of wood. A block of wood with one or more carved bowl-shaped cavities or small wooden bowl served to hold the mixed paints.[98]

Some pigments were obtained from the traders; some were aboriginal. A red pigment, prepared from a red earth, was reduced to the finest possible condition by kneeding with the fingers. Water was then added and often a small

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[96]Speck, 1914, The Double Curve Motive..., p. 11.

[97]Ibid., p. 12.

[98]Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, pp. 296-97.

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[96] Speck, 1919, The Double Curve Motive..., p. 11.

[97] Ibid., p. 12.

[98] Turner, 1891, Ethnology of the Ungava District, pp. 296-97.

quantity of oil or tallow. A favorite vehicle for the paint was sucker's roe.[99]

To decorate a skin, a thin layer of paint was placed in the palm of the hand. The paint stick was then carefully drawn through the paint[100] and then applied to the skin.

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[99] Ibid., p. 297.

[100] Ibid.

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[99] Ibid., p. 297.

[100] Ibid.

Games. There were a number of games played by the Montagnais-Naskapi children. The boys of the Ungava Band ran, jumped, and wrestled Eskimo fashion.[101] They shot at targets with bows and blunt arrows. Targets, representing caribou, were cut out of flat boards and set up in the snow.[102] The same game has been reported for the Eastmain Band.[103] Only one form of play was observed among girls. While walking, they generally tossed stones or chips into the air and strove to keep at least two up at once.[104]

Rattles for children among the Ungava Band were made from a wooden hoop covered with two heads of membrane. Within the rattle were placed a few pebbles or shot. The rattle was suspended in front of the child from a tent pole.[105]

The "Caribou Hunt" was played by Mistassini Band children with a toy herd of caribou made from splints of birch. The child used a pliable stick of spruce with which he propelled tiny missiles formed by biting off the end of a sliver of the same wood. If one of the miniature caribou was knocked down, it was thought that the boy's father would

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[101]Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 321.

[102]Ibid., p. 326.

[103]Skinner, 1911, Notes on the Eastern Cree..., pp. 36-39.

[104]Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 321.

[105]Ibid., p. 326.

have good luck during the next caribou hunt.[106]

The "Hare Hunt," another Mistassini child's game, was played to induce rabbits to come to the snares. The father made the articles for the game, and the children were encouraged to play. Game equipment consisted of forked birch sticks called "snares" and an equal number of "hares." The hares were whittled from cedar and sharpened at both ends. There was a circle of curls near one end made by leaving some shavings attached. One snare for each child was set in the ground in a circle about twelve to fourteen inches in diameter. Inside the circle, the sticks representing hares were set in a tight cluster, the ends with the shavings at the bottom near the ground. A small piece of food was impaled on the top of each hare, and the shavings were lighted with shreds of birch bark. As the hares burned through they fell. The food on those landing in the fork of the snares was eaten by the child opposite. Those that missed the snares had to be played again.[107]

The young at Mistassini drew lots in the form of sticks, one of which was longer than all the rest.[108] Tops, each made of a wooden disc with a sharpened stick running

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[106] Speck, 1930, Mistassini Notes, p. 426.

[107] Ibid., p. 429.

[108] Ibid., pp. 432-33.

through the middle, were another form of amusement for the children.[109] When the body of a rabbit or marten was being spitted before the fire, children tried to spear the heart with sharpened sticks.[110] Leather slings and slings with wooden handles were another type of toy at Mistassini.[111]

On the Moisie River, an Indian woman [Moisie Band?] who was preparing to go out in a canoe, would give a small paddle to her daughter.[112] A miniature paddle of this type has been seen among the Mistassini Band, and it may well be that this is a form of toy.

The principal source of amusement for men of the Ungava Band was draughts or checkers, but no wagers were laid upon the issue.[113]

A game corresponding to the "Cup and Ball" game was played. Hollow cones made from the terminal phalanges of the caribou's foot were strung on a thong. To one end of the thong was tied the tail. To the other end of the thong a peg was tied. The player held the peg in one hand and, tossing up the bones, tried to catch the nearest one on the

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[109] Ibid., p. 433.

[110] Ibid., p. 434.

[111] Ibid.

[112] Hind, 1863, Explorations in the Interior..., Vol. I, p. 93.

[113] Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 323.

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[109] Ibid., p. 435.

[110] Ibid., p. 434.

[111] Ibid.

[112] Hind, 1863, Explorations in the Interior.... Vol. I, p. 93.

[113] Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 323.

point of the peg. The object of the game was to catch the bone the greatest possible number of times.[114] A game similar to this was played by one of Hind's guides [Petisikapau Band ?]. He had small perforated wooden discs. These were strung on a piece of leather and a thin strip of wood attached to the end of the thong.[115]

The "Otter Hunt" was played by the Mistassini hunters. A hunter made four bundles of cedar twigs each about five inches long and tied with babiche or thread. These represented the otters. They were set side by side, and the hunter, standing about six feet away and using a small bow and arrow, attempted to hit the bundles one after another. The number he hit indicated the number of otters he would kill on the next hunt.[116]

The "Cedar Bundle" game has been reported for the Mistassini Band.[117] It was first mentioned in the Jesuit Relations for the Indians near Tadoussac [?]. This is the first game to have been described for the Montagnais-Naskapi. A small bundle of "pine" sticks was tied together and attached to a pointed stick. The bundle was thrown into the

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[114] Ibid., pp. 323-24.

[115] Hind, 1863, Explorations in the Interior..., Vol. I, p. 277.

[116] Speck, 1930, Mistassini Notes, pp. 429-30.

[117] Ibid., p. 430.

air and caught on the end of the pointed stick.[118] The "Cedar Bundle" game, according to Speck, was a substitute for the "Cup and Ball" game.[119]

The "Wedge" game was played at Mistassini. A small wedge of birch was inserted into a cleft in a birch log which was stood on end. The log was struck a blow with the poll of an axe just beyond the wedge. This sent the wedge into the air, and the player who succeeded in sending the wedge the highest was the winner.[120]

The "Button" game was played with a bar of wood through which passed two strings to form a loop on each side. Strung on each loop was a button. The object of the game was to transfer one button to the loop with the other button. A specimen from the Barren Ground Band was made with a bone bar. Those from Mistassini and Lake St. John Bands and from Seven Islands [Moisie or Shelter Bay Bands?] were made with a wooden bar.[121]

A final game, the "Six Barred Cross" puzzle, was accomplished by the separation of six notched and fitted segments.[122]

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[118] Jesuit Relations, Vol. 7, p. 97.

[119] Speck, 1930, Mistassini Notes, p. 431.

[120] Ibid.

[121] Ibid., p. 432.

[122] Ibid.

Pipes are included in this section as a matter of convenience. Today, a great deal of smoking appears to be done purely for relaxation, but this practice may have some religious associations. At certain times, smoking was conducted for ritual purposes in much the same manner that some of the previously discussed games were played.

The Ungava Band smoked, chewed, and took snuff. Pipes were made from river pebbles of a fine-grained compact sandstone of a reddish brown to light red in color. A greenish sandstone and a dark hard slate were also used. There was considerable variation in size. The rough stone was first chipped into crude form and then polished with a file or coarse stone. Stems were from four to eight inches long and were made of spruce wood. Pipe cleaners, made of either bone or wood, were used.[123] The pipes were of the "keeled" variety.[124]

The Eastmain Band had the "keeled" type of pipe, similar to that of the Ungava Band. The stem was of either bone or wood.[125]

Stone pipes were smoked at Seven Islands [Moisie Band?].[126] The stem was about sixteen inches long and

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[123]Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, pp. 302-04.

[124]Ibid., Plate XXXVIII, opp. p. 302.

[125]Skinner, 1911, Notes on the Eastern Cree..., pp. 39-40.

[126]Hind, 1863, Explorations in the Interior..., Vol. I, p. 323.

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[125]Skinner, 1911, Notes on the Eastern Cree..., pp. 39-40.

[126]Hind, 1863, Explorations in the Interior..., Vol. I, p. 325.

ornamented with eagle's feathers, five to six in number, "sloping towards the bowl." The Indians mixed the roasted inner bark of the red willow with tobacco.[127] The Naskapi [Petisikapau and/or Michikamau Bands] saved the dottle and chewed it.[128]

The Mistassini Band made red slate pipes decorated with lead inlay.[129]

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[127]Ibid., p. 325.

[128]Hind, 1863, Explorations in the Interior..., Vol. I, p. 324.

[129]Speck, 1923, Mistassini Hunting Territories..., p. 455.

Shelter. Two types of habitation have been in use among the Montagnais-Naskapi in recent times (see Map 8). From the information available, the conical lodge seems to be the old and basic type. The dome-shaped lodge would appear to be a relatively recent introduction among the southern bands. Among the northern bands, skins were used to cover the lodges, but to the south birch bark was employed for this purpose.

Bark covered conical lodges have been reported from a number of localities in the southern half of the Labrador Peninsula. At the mouth of the Eskimo River [St. Augustine Band] the foundation of the lodge consisted of long, thin, rounded poles that had been hardened by charring in a fire. These were set in a circle with a diameter of some ten feet. At the top of the lodge, the ends of the poles extended one foot to eighteen inches beyond the point where they crossed. Over this frame were placed layers of birch bark. To hold the bark in place poles were placed on the outside. One opening was left in the front for an entrance, and another was left at the top for the smoke to escape.[130] Cartwright also reported the use of bark as a covering east of the Eskimo River.[131]

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[130]Stearns, 1884, Labrador, a Sketch..., p. 97.

[131]Townsend, 1911, Captain Cartwright..., p. 352.

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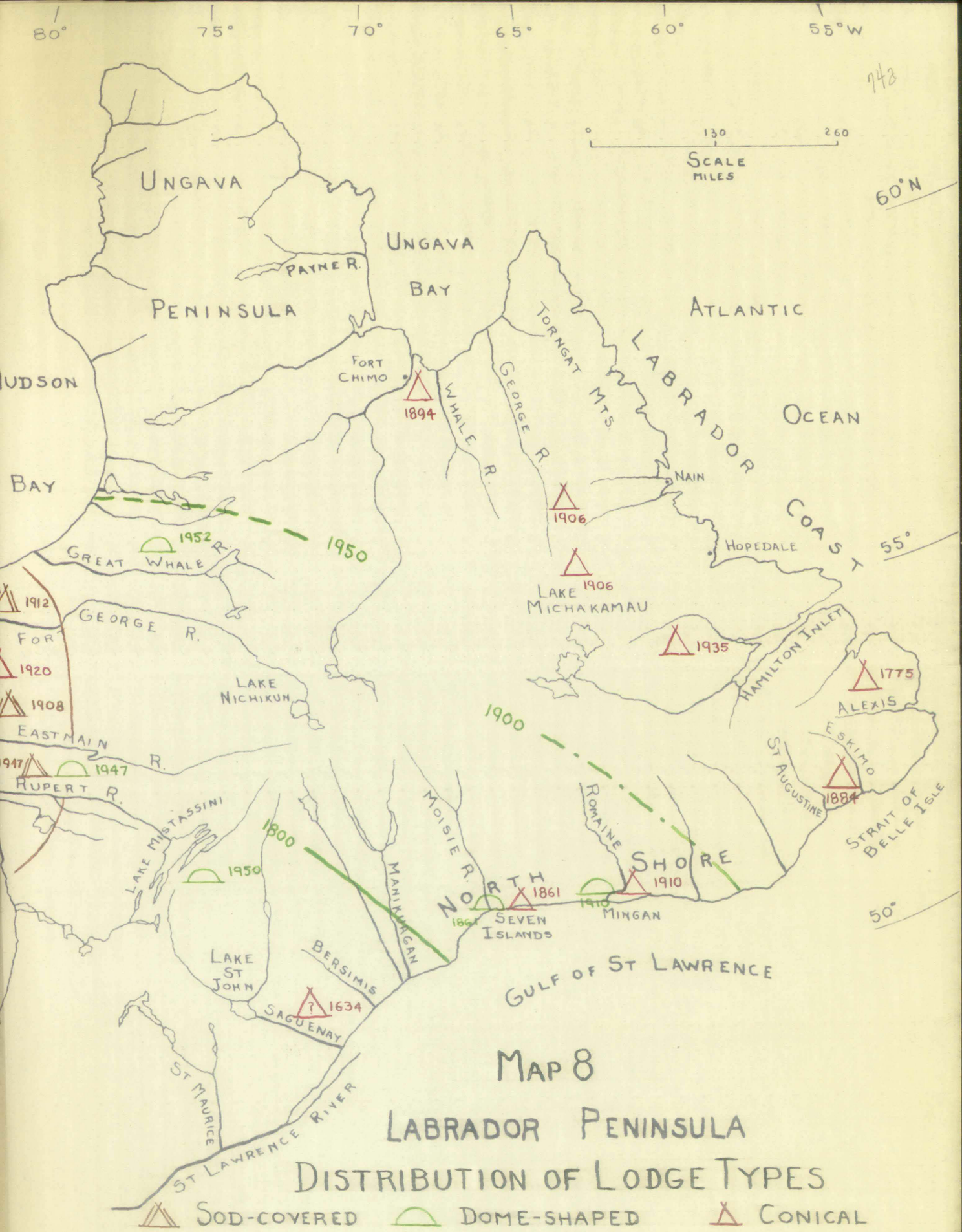
[130] Stearns, 1888, Labrador, a Sketch..., p. 97.

[131] Townsend, 1911, Captain Cartwright..., p. 352.



MAP 8

LABRADOR PENINSULA

DISTRIBUTION OF LODGE TYPES

SOD-COVERED DOME-SHAPED CONICAL

The Jesuit Relations refer to a "cabin" used by the Montagnais. This was probably the conical lodge and not the dome-shaped lodge since, in winter, according to the description, the poles were placed in the snow and not in the ground.[132] It would seem that poles would not hold firmly enough in snow to allow them to be arched over to form the dome-shaped lodge. The plan of the "cabin" was either round[133] or square.[134] The snow was first cleared away with snowshoes or with a shovel used specially for this purpose. Twenty to thirty poles were used in the frame which converged slightly at the top. Upon this frame two or three strips of bark were placed, starting at the bottom. The bark strips or roles were made of several pieces sewn together. A skin served as the door. Inside, branches of fir covered the ground and the wall of snow.[135] Another reference indicates that the "cabins" were made of poles, clumsily covered with bark, and with the top uncovered.[136]

Other references to the conical lodge were recorded for the North Shore,[137] Rupert House Band,[138] Fort George

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[132] Jesuit Relations, Vol. 7, p. 37.

[133] Ibid., pp. 37, 103.

[134] Ibid., p. 37.

[135] Jesuit Relations, Vol. 7, p. 37.

[136] Jesuit Relations, Vol. 5, p. 27.

[137] Townsend, 1910, A Labrador Spring, p. 157.

[138] Curran and Calkins, 1920, In Canada's Wonderful..., picture opp.. p. 74.

Band,[139] Montagnais -- the bark strips for this lodge were placed vertically -- ,[140] and the Northwest River Band (?), whose lodges had skin and canvas covering.[141]

The conical lodge among the Ungava Band was ten to fourteen feet high and ten to eighteen feet in diameter. The foundation was of small poles. These were covered with caribou skins sewn together in two strips. One strip, longer than the other, encircled the bottom half of the lodge. The shorter one was put on last, the upper half overlapping the bottom strip to shed the rain and snow. The peak was left open to allow the smoke to escape. The floor was covered with branches of young spruce. In the center of the lodge a fire-place was constructed of a few stones. The head of the family occupied the side opposite the door.[142]

At Indian House Lake [Barren Ground Band] conical lodges were used. These were covered with dressed caribou skins sewn together and drawn tight over foundation poles. An old piece of sacking was hung across the doorway.[143] Poles were leaned against the outside to hold the skins in place.[144] Conical lodges were also reported at Resolution

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[139] Ibid., picture opp. p. 122.

[140] Speck, 1935, Naskapi, Plate I, opp. p. 32.

[141] Ibid.

[142] Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, pp. 298-300.

[143] Hubbard, 1908, A Woman's Way through Unknown..., p. 176.

[144] Ibid., picture opp. p. 172.

Lake [Davis Inlet Band],[145] and from the southeast corner of the Labrador Peninsula. The latter were covered with caribou skins.[146] These were undoubtedly conical lodges, as they were said to be the same as the Beothuk lodges.[147]

A lodge on the Eastmain River [Eastmain Band] at the Hudson's Bay Company post was made of split logs set on end against a frame and covered with sod and moss.[148] Another on the coast north of Fort George [Fort George Band] was made of split logs and covered with brush.[149] One other sod covered conical lodge was seen on the lower Rupert River [Rupert River Band]. It was made of long poles placed close together and covered with canvas over which was placed a layer of moss, sod, and dirt.[150] These are the only references to this type of lodge for the Montagnais-Naskapi.

Dome-shaped lodges were not common in the Labrador Peninsula. Hubbard wrote of seeing oblong structures at Lake Michikamats [Michikamau Band ?], at Cabot Lake [Davis

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[145] Ibid., p. 160.

[146] Townsend, 1911, Captain Cartwright..., p. 352.

[147] Ibid., p. 34; cf. Howley, 1915, The Beothuk or Red Indians..., pp. 29-30, 48, 85, 211.

[148] Skinner, 1911, Notes on the Eastern Cree..., p. 13.

[149] Leith and Leith, 1912, A Summer and Winter..., p. 177.

[150] Rogers and Rogers, 1948, Archaeological Reconnaissance..., p. 84; Plate VIII, No. L, opp. p. 84.

Inlet Band?], and at Resolution Lake [Davis Inlet Band]. The first of these was sixteen feet long and had two fire-places, each marked by a ring of small stones. Doorways were at either end.[151] A second contained three fire places.[152] A third was covered with dressed deer skins.[153] It is questionable whether or not these were really dome-shaped lodges. In addition to this possibility, they might be similar to the Feast Lodge of the Ungava Band,[154] or they could be constructed with a ridge pole and rounded ends like those of the Labrador Eskimo.[155]

One of the Montagnais lodges reported by Hind was definitely of the dome-shaped variety.[156] It was covered with birch bark strips stitched together with caribou sinew.[157] The dome-shaped lodges, as reported for other sections of the North Shore, were constructed of birch poles stuck in the ground and forming a circular or oval floor plan. The poles were then arched over and tied to one

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[151] Hubbard, 1908, A Woman's Way through Unknown..., p. 128.

[152] Ibid., p. 148.

[153] Ibid., p. 160.

[154] Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 322.

[155] Ibid., p. 227.

[156] Hind, 1863, Explorations in the Interior..., Vol. I, p. 323.

[157] Ibid., p. 322.

another. The arched poles were strengthened by split birch saplings interwoven at right angles. The frame was covered with canvas.[158] Some of Honigmann's informants at Great Whale River reported a winter house which is referred to as "a beehive-shaped structure." This was made of poles lashed together and covered with canvas and banked high with snow. The ground was slightly excavated and always covered with spruce boughs.[159] The dome-shaped lodge has also been seen on the lower Rupert River.[160]

Besides conical and dome-shaped shelters there were several specialized types. One of these was the "Feast Lodge" of the Ungava Band. This was nearly oval at its base, with a width of about eighteen feet and a length of about twenty five feet. The top was drawn to an apex creating a pitched roof. The entrance faced southeast.[161] This is the only record of this type of structure for the Montagnais-Naskapi, unless the oblong structures reported by Hubbard were similar. The latter, however, were used for living quarters rather than for feasts.

Mention has been made in the literature of two structures slightly different from those described before.

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[158]Townsend, 1910, A Labrador Spring, pp. 157-58.

[159]Honigmann, 1952, Intercultural Relations..., p. 513.

[160]Rogers and Rogers, 1948, Archaeological Reconnaissance..., p. 84.

[161]Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 322.

One, seen at Fort George post [Fort George Band], was a large conical lodge, fully twenty feet in diameter, connected with a smaller one by a double lean-to passage.[162] The other was mentioned by a Jesuit priest when at Tadoussan in 1632-33. It was the "cabin" that belonged to the "war captain." It was "long and narrow" with three fires in the middle, each fire five to six feet from the others.[163]

When traveling, the Montagnais-Naskapi made use of several types of shelters. One type consisted of a small tent. This, among the Davis Inlet Band, was made of skin and shaped like a "broad collar." The tent could be stretched into various shapes. A set of short poles supported the tent.[164] A small leather traveling tent was also used by the Ungava Indians [Ungave Band].[165]

An over-night shelter was used by the Indians [Davis Inlet Band ?]. On one side of a tree the lower branches were removed. These branches were then interwoven at a steep angle among the higher branches that remained. This shelter was usually constructed on the south side of a tree for protection from a possible north storm. The Indians

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[162]Curran and Calkins, 1920, In Canada's Wonderful..., p. 328.

[163]Jesuit Relations, Vol. 5, p. 27.

[164]Cabot, 1912, In Northern Labrador, p. 160.

[165]M'Lean, 1849, Notes on Twenty-five Years'..., Vol. II, p. 126.

One, seen at Port George post [Port George Band], was a large conical lodge, fully twenty feet in diameter, connected with a smaller one by a double lean-to passage.[162] The other was mentioned by a Jesuit priest when at Tadoussac in 1633-34. It was the "cabin" that belonged to the "war captain." It was "long and narrow" with three fires in the middle, each five five to six feet from the others.[163]

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[163] Jesuit Relations, Vol. 5, p. 27.

[164] Cabot, 1912. In Northern Labrador, p. 160.

[165] M'Lean, 1849. Notes on Twenty-Five Years'..., Vol. II, p. 126.

slept here using their "little leather tent" [traveling tent?] as a blanket. This leather covering was six to seven feet wide.[166]

Still another type of temporary shelter [Davis Inlet and/or Barren Ground Band] was the snow house used on the barrens. A heap of snow was allowed to freeze for half an hour. It was then hollowed out with snowshoes and deeply bedded with spruce boughs, if they were available. The Indians said that their ancestors merely burrowed into a snowbank. Strong suggested that the elaboration of the snowbank for a shelter may have been inspired by the Eskimo.[167]

An "open-top" shelter was made by the Lake St. John Band Indians. Three or four balsam saplings were partially cut through several feet above the surface of the snow. The tops were then bent at the point where the cut had been made and slanted down to the snow. Branches were inter-woven vertically into the balsam tops to form a frame about four feet high and ten feet long. The saplings were so chosen that a semi-circular wind-break was constructed. The snow was tramped down within the arc and a little snow packed around the sides. A flooring of twigs and branches about a foot

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[166]Cabot, 1912, In Northern Labrador, p. 176.

[167]Strong, 1929, Cross-cousin Marriage..., p. 287.

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Still another type of temporary shelter [Davis Inlet and/or Barren Ground Band] was the snow nooks used on the barrens. A heap of snow was allowed to freeze for half an hour. It was then hollowed out with snowshoes and deeply bedded with spruce boughs, if they were available. The Indians said that their ancestors merely burrowed into a snowbank. Strong suggested that the elaboration of the snow-bank for a shelter may have been inspired by the Eskimo.[167]

An "open-top" shelter was made by the Lake St. John Band Indians. Three or four balsam saplings were partially cut through several feet above the surface of the snow. The tops were then bent at the point where the cut had been made and planted down to the snow. Branches were inter-woven vertically into the balsam tops to form a frame about four feet high and ten feet long. The saplings were so chosen that a semi-circular wind-break was constructed. The snow was tramped down within the arc and a little snow packed around the sides. A flooring of twigs and branches about a foot

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[166]Cabot, 1912, In Northern Labrador, p. 176.

[167]Strong, 1929, Cross-cousin Marriage..., p. 287.

deep was prepared.[168] Three other structures were constructed by the Montagnais-Naskapi. One structure was used for shamanistic performances, another, for taking sweat baths, and a third for storage.

The sweat lodge was undoubtedly employed by all the bands of Montagnais-Naskapi. It was a small dome-shaped structure similar to the dome-shaped lodge. Among the Indians of Tadoussac[?], it was a small low "tent" of bark covered with fur robes. Five or six stones were heated and placed inside.[169] The occupant then poured cold water over the stones. Baths were believed to have a curative effect.[170] According to Hind, these lodges were covered with bark.[171]

The sweat lodge of the Ungava Band was constructed of small poles, usually willow or alder, bent into a dome-shaped form and covered with tent skins. Stones were heated in a fire and the lodge quickly erected over them after the fire had been removed. Cold water was poured over the stones.[172] This structure has also been seen among the Mistassini Band.

Two types of conjuring lodges were in use by the

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[168]Speck, 1926, An Incident in Montagnais Winter Life, p. 63.

[169]Jesuit Relations, Vol. 5, p. 105.

[170]Ibid., Vol. 68, p. 73; Hind, 1863, Explorations in the Interior..., Vol. I, p. 189.

[171]Hind, 1863, Explorations in the Interior..., Vol. II, p. 14.

[172]Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 300.

Montagnais-Naskapi. It is not possible from the little information available to determine their relative ages or their distribution. The Jesuit Relations describe the conjuring lodge as a small wooden "cabin" within which an Indian enclosed himself towards nightfall, singing, crying and howling.[173] In the late 1600's, apparently at Moose Factory or Rupert's House, a conjuring lodge was described as a "small Tower...wyth sticks about eight feet high," the top open, and the rest covered tightly with skins.[174]

The conjuring lodge among the Ungava Band was shaped somewhat like a barrel. It was of small diameter and securely closed with what appeared to be skins. The skins were pegged to the ground.[175] The Mistassini and Lake St. John Bands also employed the conjuring lodge.[176] What is thought to be the Mistassini Band type was similar to that of the Ungava Band. It was constructed of poles from three, or occasionally five, different varieties of trees. These poles were placed in the ground in a circle with the tips bent toward the center forming a conical or hemispherical structure with an

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[173] Jesuit Relations, Vol. 5, p. 157.

[174] Champlain Society Publications, Vol. 18, p. 389.

[175] Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 273; Fig. 85, p. 274.

[176] Burgesse, 1944, The Spirit Wigwam..., p. 53.

opening left at the top. One hoop was placed near the top and another three to four feet from the ground. Originally, the lodge was covered with birch bark, but now canvas is used. The conjuror took no part in the construction of the lodge.[177]

Hind stated that the conjurors [Moisie Band?] used the sweat lodge. It was occasionally constructed on a larger scale so that two or three could participate at the same time.[178]

The third structure, used for storage, was the cache rack. Caches among the Rupert House, Nemiscau, Waswanipi, and Mistassini Bands consisted of a platform, some six feet above the ground, generally supported on four posts. Near the head of Cabot Lake [Davis Inlet or Michikamau Band], Hubbard described a cache which was placed on the ground. It was ten feet long and six feet wide at the base. The cache was built in the form of an "A" tent, with the trunks of tree five to six inches in diameter. These were set close together vertically and chinked with moss and boughs.[179]

Household furnishings of the Montagnais-Naskapi were limited. They consisted of snow shovels, brooms, several varieties of knives, spoons, and containers.

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[177] Ibid., p. 51

[178] Hind, 1863, Explorations in the Interior..., Vol. II, pp. 14-15.

[179] Hubbard, 1908, A Woman's Way through Unknown..., p. 148.

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The third structure, used for storage, was the
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Mistassini bands consisted of a platform, some three feet above
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of Gabot Lake [Davis Inlet or Hamilton Inlet], Hubbard
described a cache which was placed on the ground. It was
ten feet long and six feet wide at the side. The racks were
built in the form of an "A" tent, with the uprights of bark
five to six inches in diameter. These were set close to-
gether vertically and enclosed with moss and boughs.

Nonsedentary Montagnais of the Labrador-Quebec area
limited. They consisted of snow snowshoes, dogsled, several
varieties of knives, spoons, and containers.

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[177] Ibid., p. 31

[178] Hind, 1863, Explorations in the Interior..., Vol.
II, pp. 14-15.

[179] Hubbard, 1908, A Woman's Way through Unknown...
p. 148.

The Mistassini Band had several types of knives. One type, used in eating, had a caribou rib blade and a wooden haft. Another, the "big knife," was made from a moose tibia. It was used for cutting leather and butchering, as well as serving as a stiletto.[180] A third knife, used as a trimming knife, was made from the lower mandible of the beaver.[181]

The crooked knife, probably common to all Montagnais-Naskapi, was reported for the Ungava Band.[182] The blade was usually fashioned from a file and curved at the tip. The handle was carved of wood.

Spoons of wood and bear scapulae were made by the Mistassini Band. These varied in size according to their use.[183] A narrow-bowled spoon with a long haft, while similar to the European ladle, was said to be an old Mistassini type. It was also found in use among the Natashquan and Barren Ground Bands.[184]

A broad and flat bowleed spoon (Fig. 1) with a short haft cut at a sharp angle to the bowl was a common form in the Labrador Peninsula. It was employed primarily for eating grease,[185] and is, therefore, known as the "grease ladle" or spoon. The so-called "fish spoon" (Fig. 2) had a more

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[180]Speck, 1930, Mistassini Notes, p. 447.

[181]Ibid., p. 451.

[182]Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, pp. 317-18.

[183]Speck, 1930, Mistassini Notes, p. 443.

[184]Ibid., pp. 443, 445.

[185]Ibid., pp. 445-46.

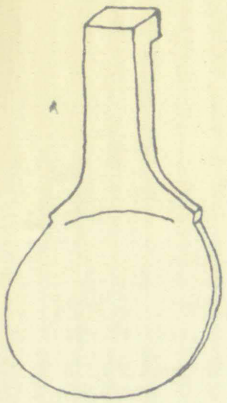

FIGURE 1 GREASE SPOON

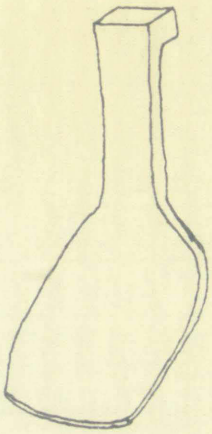

FIGURE 2 FISH SPOON

(AFTER SPECK, 1930, MISTASSINI NOTES, FIG. 118, p 445)

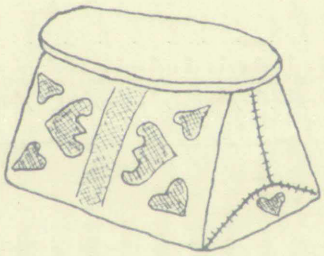

FIGURE 3 BIRCH BARK BOX

(AFTER SPECK, 1930, MISTASSINI NOTES, FIG. 111, p 437)

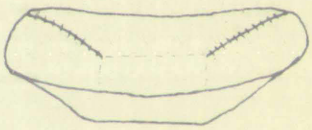

FIGURE 4 BIRCH BARK TRAY

(AFTER SPECK, 1930, MISTASSINI NOTES, FIG. 114, p 440)

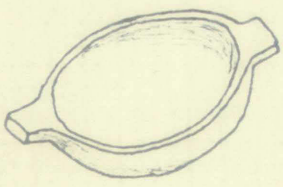

FIGURE 5 WOODEN DISH

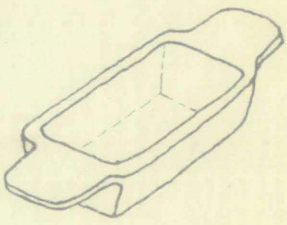

FIGURE 6 WOODEN DISH

(AFTER SPECK, 1930, MISTASSINI NOTES, FIG. 117, p 444)

rectangular bowl than the grease ladle and was used, as the name implies, for eating fish.[186]

Spoons among the Ungava Band were made of caribou antler and wood.[187] Those shown in Figures 119 and 120 of Turner's report are quite similar to the grease ladles.[188] The spoons illustrated in Figures 121 and 122 have a more deeply carved bowl than the preceding two, and there is a projection from the back and end of the handle.[189] These, however, may be only variations of the grease ladle type.

Willow brooms were used on the east coast of James Bay.[190] No other record of Montagnais-Naskapi brooms has been found, but among the tribes of the Great Lakes wooden brooms were made.[191] From the information available, it is not clear whether they were of the same construction.

Snowshovels were made of wood. The blades were rather shallow and the handles were about four feet long. They have been reported for the Ungava Band,[192] the Moisie River

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[186] Ibid., pp. 446-47; Fig. 118, p. 445.

[187] Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 302.

[188] Ibid.

[189] Ibid., p. 303.

[190] Flaherty, 1924, My Eskimo Friends..., p. 10.

[191] Jones, 1935, A Chippewa Method..., pp. 23, 28.

[192] Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 319.

Indians [Moisie Band?],[193] the Montagnais [Tadoussac Band?],[194] and the Mistassini Band. They were probably found in use by every band inhabiting the Labrador Peninsula.

Various types of containers were used. Birch bark boxes were common among the southern bands. Spruce bark and wooden containers were substituted for birch bark boxes among the northern bands. Skin containers were employed generally throughout the Labrador Peninsula. Pottery vessels were practically non-existent, if not completely so, in this area in historic times. Archaeological remains suggest that pottery was in use by the southern bands before the time of European contact.

At the time of contact, the bark of the birch tree was used by the southern bands of Montagnais-Naskapi for dishes and wrappings.[195] No reference has been found to the use of birch bark for containers or dishes east of the region of the Moisie River,[196] nor among the northern bands. This may be due to the decreasing size of birch trees towards the east and north. Hind stated that both the Montagnais and

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[193]Hind, 1863, Explorations in the Interior..., Vol. I, p. 246.

[194]Jesuit Relations, Vol. 7, p. 37.

[195]Ibid., Vol. 5, pp. 61, 97; Vol. 7, pp. 45, 99.

[196]Hind, 1863, Explorations in the Interior..., Vol. II, pp. 17-18.

Naskapi visited the Moisie River region to obtain birch bark. This was one of the few places along the eastern North Shore where there were large trees.[197] Stearns mentioned that the Indians went to Anticosti Island to get birch bark.[198]

The bark was removed from the trees in late winter or early spring with an axe, wooden wedges, and knives.[199] The summer bark lacked the dark coating and therefore could not be decorated by etching.[200] A bone perforator was used to make holes for stitching the bark together.[201] Sewing on all the bark containers was done with split spruce roots. The roots were used in their natural color. The hoops on the larger and more durable boxes were made of maple [this would only be among the southern bands].[202] The Montagnais-Naskapi used "positive" design etching, according to Speck. For a background, the dark inside surface of the bark was removed revealing a lighter surface. The design was left dark.[203] Porcupine quill embroidery was lacking.[204]

Several types of birch bark containers were made. The bark was first trimmed to a rectangular shape. To make boxes

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[197] Ibid., Vol. I, p. 46.

[198] Stearns, 1884, Labrador, a Sketch..., p. 279.

[199] Speck, 1937, Montagnais Art in Birch-Bark..., p. 67.

[200] Ibid., p. 53.

[201] Ibid., p. 67.

[202] Ibid., pp. 65-66.

[203] Ibid., p. 71.

[204] Ibid., pp. 65-66.

with oval tops and rectangular bases and to construct food trays, cuts were made at each corner to facilitate folding the bark.

One type of box (Fig. 3) had a rectangular base with inward sloping sides and an oval top. Most of these had lids with collars and were used for the storage of personal effects. The boxes were often ornamented with etched designs. No examples of this type have been obtained east of Seven Islands or north of Nichikun.[205] A special variety of this type was used for the storage of bear and caribou grease, meat, and other foods. This variety had no rim hoop, the sides were brought closer together at the top; and closed by a thong tied to each side.[206]

A second type of container (Fig. 4) was the individual food tray or feast dish.[207] The diameter across the top varied from three or four inches to fourteen inches.[208] The eating trays and dishes of the Mistassini Band had ends which flared upward, a peculiarity not present in the trays of other bands.[209]

Round containers formed a third type. These were used

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[205] Ibid., pp. 57-59.

[206] Ibid., p. 59.

[207] Ibid., p. 59.

[208] Ibid., p. 62.

[209] Speck, 1930, Mistassini Notes, p. 439.

for materials other than food. They were cylindrical or sometimes oval in shape, with fitted bottoms and, frequently, fitted tops. The bottoms were never of wood, but of bark sewn inside the end. The distribution of these boxes did not extend as far north as the first two types.

A small form of the above was used for carrying either beaver "scent" or matches. The long edges of a rectangular piece of bark were fastened together by spruce root sewing or by a mortice lock fastening to form a cylinder. The bottom was held in place by tacks or wooden pegs. The mouth was closed by a wooden plug with toggle buttons. Sometimes a leather thong was added for attachment to the hunter's belt. These containers were about five inches high and one to one and a half inches in diameter, and were undecorated.[210]

The fourth type was the folded dish. The rectangular piece of bark, without being cut at the corners, was folded into the desired shape. These were for storage of grease, food, and berries. They were also used for food boiling when no other receptacle was available. They had no covers, were quickly made, and soon discarded.[211]

The simplest container was a single fold of birch bark

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[210]Speck, 1937, Montagnais Art in Birch-Bark..., pp. 62-63.

[211]Ibid., p. 64.

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[210] Speck, 1937, Montagnais Art in Birch-Bark..., pp. 62-63.

[211] Ibid., p. 64.

sewn across the two perpendicular sides. They were sewn with spruce roots, babiche, or thread. In these containers combs and other flat objects such as cards were kept. When they were used for combs, the dried tail of a porcupine was often attached to the case. The tail was used for cleaning the combs.[212] Comb cases were made by the southern bands and have been reported for the Ungava Band.[213]

Spruce bark boxes sewn with spruce roots were utilized by the Ungava Band. The bark was obtained in the spring. Sometimes, the boxes had skin tops closed with a draw-string.[214] Although Turner stated in his report that these were of spruce bark, he called them "birch bark baskets" in Figures 116 and 117.[215] He undoubtedly meant spruce bark, since birch bark was difficult to obtain in the northern area.

Birch wood food dishes were used among the Mistassini Band. They were carved with the crooked knife from a block of wood and stained red. Each member of the family had a personal dish. A large round one (Fig. 5) belonged to the father, a smaller round one to the son, a large oval one (Fig. 6) to the mother, and a small oval one to the daughter.[216] A drinking cup, possibly an European copy,

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[212] Ibid., p. 65.

[213] Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 319; Fig. 146, p. 320.

[214] Ibid., p. 301.

[215] Ibid.

[216] Speck, 1930, Mistassini Notes, p. 443.

was made from a birch knot.[217]

Wooden containers were made of spruce or larch by the Ungava Band. A thin rectangular piece of wood was obtained. Next a groove was cut parallel to the edge of the longer side. The wood was then steamed and bent into circular or oval shape. Next a bottom piece was fitted into the groove. Finally, it was sewn together with split spruce or larch roots.[218]

Skin containers are mentioned in the early accounts and presumably antedate European contact. The Jesuit priests spoke of tobacco pouches made from the skins of muskrats and other animals. The small opening at the head, of a cased animal skin, formed the mouth.[219] Seal oil containers were made from seal bladders.[220] Among the Mistassini Band, the bear's bladder, caribou esophagus, sections of the intestines of animals, and fish skins, especially those of the sucker, were used as grease and oil containers. The fish skin container was made by first removing the head. The skin was then cased. The neck opening was closed with a grooved wooden disc. The neck skin was placed over the edge of the

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[217] Ibid., p. 449.

[218] Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, pp. 300-01.

[219] Jesuit Relations, Vol. 5, p. 131.

[220] Ibid., Vol. 68, p. 91.

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217 Ibid., p. 449.

218 Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, pp. 300-01.

219 Jesuit Relations, Vol. 5, p. 191.

220 Ibid., Vol. 68, p. 91.

of the wooden disc and bound with "thread" which drew the skin into the groove. The vent of the fish was closed with a smaller plug. The bands on the coast [North Shore probably] made containers of seal stomachs, which were closed by tying and not with a grooved wooden plug.[221]

Bags were made from the skin of caribou legs by the Ungava Band.[222] Another container, already mentioned for this band, utilized the subcutaneous tissue from the caribou hides.

A bladder was used among the eastern bands [Barren Ground and/or Davis Inlet Band] for the storage of pemmican.[223] Bladders were used by the Barren Ground Band for grease and oil containers.[224]

There is one reference to an earthen bowl in which food was served by the Indians of Lake Mistinipi [Barren Ground or Davis Inlet Band].[225] This, however, may have been an European trade piece. Pottery has been found in the country inhabited by some of the southern bands of Montagnais-Naskapi. Unfortunately, except for the possible exception of

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[221]Speck, 1930, Mistassini Notes, pp. 436-37.

[222]Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, pp. 301-02.

[223]Cabot, 1909, The Indians, p. 211.

[224]Speck, 1930, Mistassini Notes, pp. 436-37.

[225]Cabot, 1912, In Northern Labrador, p. 240.

sites near Tadoussac, pottery remains have not been definitely linked with the Montagnais-Naskapi. As there is no evidence, however, that there were pottery using people in this area before the Montagnais-Naskapi, it can tentatively be suggested that the latter had pottery before the time of contact.

Clothing and Personal Adornment. The earliest information on dress, for the areas of Tadoussac and Lake St. John, is from the Jesuit Relations.

The style of dress varied slightly according to the seasons, the sex of the wearer, and the geographical location of the band. During the summer, little clothing was worn, but during the winter, additional garments were used for protection against the cold. There was a slight difference between the clothing of the men and women. A third variation existed between the southern and northern bands. The latter made use of tailored clothing unknown to the southern bands.

At the time of contact, clothing was wholly of skins. Garments were made of "elk" [moose], bear, and other animal skins.[226]

In hot weather or when in their lodges, the men of the southern bands wore only a strip of cloth [breech-cloth][227] or a piece of skin which fell from just below the navel to the thighs.[228]

The women, on the other hand, wore skins which hung from the neck to the knees. These were fastened together at

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[226] Jesuit Relations, Vol. 7, p. 13.

[227] Ibid., p. 11.

[228] Ibid., Vol. 5, p. 23.

the shoulders with cords and secured at the waist with a cord.[229] The Mistassini Band occasionally made this type of women's dress.[230] The Jesuit Relations describe the women's costume as a long shirt,[231] which may refer to the same type of dress.

In cold weather, apparently the women as well as the men wore, in addition to the breech-cloth or dress, leggings, sleeves, moccasins,[232] and robes.

Leggings were made of moose skin with the hair removed. They were fastened under the instep with a string. The seam at the side had a fringe, to which beads and shells were attached. The leggings were quite long, especially in front, extending from the ankles to the thighs. To the upper edge were fastened cords which were tied to a leather belt worn next to the skin.[233]

Sleeves were made of "mink" skins with stripes painted either lengthwise or around the sleeve. The sleeves were broad at the top, covering the shoulders and almost uniting at the back. Two thongs fastened them together in front and back.[234]

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[229] Ibid., p. 25.

[230] Speck, 1930, Mistassini Notes, p. 455.

[231] Jesuit Relations, Vol. 7, p. 11.

[232] Ibid., Vol. 5, p. 25.

[233] Ibid., Vol. 7, p. 15.

[234] Ibid.

In summer the Indians of the southern bands went barefoot,[235] but in winter they used moccasins, which were made of moose hides previously worn as clothing. This was done because the hides, having been used as clothing, had absorbed a certain amount of grease and body oils. These oils were desirable because they prevented the moccasins from shrinking when they became wet. The moccasins were made especially large for winter [this gives the impression that they may have been worn in summer also]. Before the moccasins were put on, the feet were wrapped with rabbit skins or strips of old blankets folded lengthwise two or three times. Moose hair was placed in the wrappings. Occasionally, two pair of moccasins were worn. The moccasins were tied over the instep.[236]

Robes were made of either bear skins with the hair outside[237] or

> the ones they value most are made of the skins of a kind of a little black animal found in the Huron country....[238] and it takes about sixty of them to make a robe. The tails of the animal are fastened to the bottom, to serve as a fringe; and the heads above make a sort of border. These robes are nearly square in shape; the women paint colored stripes on them from top to bottom, which are about as wide as two thumbs, and are equally distant from each other, giving the effect of a kind of lattice work.[239]

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[235] Ibid., Vol. 5, p. 127; Vol. 7, p. 17.

[236] Ibid., Vol. 7, p. 17.

[237] Ibid., Vol. 5, p. 13.

[238] Dr. Hibben suggests that this is black mink.

[239] Jesuit Relations, Vol. 7, p. 13.

The men wore the robe in two ways. In mild weather, they carried it over one arm and under the other; or else it was stretched across the back and held in place by two little leather strings which they tied over their chests. When the weather was cold, both men and women wore the robe under one arm and over the opposite shoulder, hanging down to the knees, and tied around the body with a cord of dried intestines.[240]

Blankets and parkas made of rabbit skins are not mentioned in the early literature. The first information comes from Hind, who stated that the "Nasquapee" made robes of rabbit skins.[241] The Mistassini Band and the Indians between Fort George and the Eastmain Rivers on the James Bay coast used rabbit skin blankets and parkas.[242] The Lake St. John Band wore rabbit skin robes.[243] Speck stated that blankets and parkas of rabbit skins were found only among the southern Montagnais-Naskapi.[244]

The rabbit skins were woven or knitted upon a rectangular frame with a simple hoop stitch. To twist the rabbit

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[240] Ibid., Vol. 5, p. 25; Vol. 7, p. 13.

[241] Hind, 1863, Explorations in the Interior..., Vol. I, p. 325.

[242] Speck, 1930, Mistassini Notes, pp. 451, 453; Leith and Leith, 1912, A Summer and Winter..., pp. 181-82.

[243] Speck, 1926, An Incident in Montagnais Winter Life, p. 65.

[244] Speck, 1937, Analysis of Eskimo and Indian..., p. 352.

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[240] Ibid., Vol. 5, p. 25; Vol. 7, p. 15.

[241] Hind, 1863, Explorations in the Interior..., Vol. I, p. 325.

[242] Speck, 1930, Mistassini Notes, pp. 431, 435; Leach and Leith, 1912, A Summer and Winter..., pp. 181-82.

[243] Speck, 1926, An Incident in Montagnais Winter Life, p. 65.

[244] Speck, 1937, Analysis of Eskimo and Indian..., p. 352.

skin strings, a spindle stick, notched at one end, was used.[245]

In the south both sexes went bareheaded[246] except in very cold weather.[247] It was said that they did not know how to make hats but that they bought them.[248] The lack of a description of any head covering suggests that there were no indigenous types.

In general, the above was the early costume of the southern bands of Montagnais-Naskapi with the possible exception of rabbit skin blankets and parkas. There were a few minor variations found along the coast of the North Shore, which will be touched on later. Several additions to this style of dress were found among the northern bands.

The first information for the northern bands was that of M'Lean, who was at Fort Chimo [Ungava Band] in the 1830's. He observed that the winter dress consisted of a closed jacket of "deer" [caribou] hide, worn with the hair next to the skin. In addition, an "over-coat" was worn which reached to the knees. This was made of the same material, but with the hair outside. The over-coat overlapped in front and was secured with a belt from which hung a knife and smoking bag.

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[245] Speck, 1930, Mistassini Notes, p. 453.

[246] Jesuit Relations, Vol. 5, p. 25.

[247] Ibid., Vol. 7, p. 11.

[248] Ibid.

The legs were protected by a pair of leather breeches and cloth leggings [previously, undoubtedly made of skins like those worn by the southern bands]. The hands were protected by a pair of gloves reaching to the elbows. On the head was worn a cap ornamented with bear and eagle claws.[249]

The dress of the women consisted of a square piece of dressed deer skin, tied around the waist by a cloth or worsted belt, and fastened over the shoulders by leather straps. They also had cloth leggings and a jacket of leather.[250]

Turner, while at Fort Chimo in the late 1800's, added a few details to the above picture. The summer coat [apparently the over-coat of M'Lean] had a collar and sleeves with cuffs for extra length. The bottom edge of the coat was enlarged by inserting pieces of skins in V-shaped sections. The seams were stitched with sinew, like that used by the Eskimo.[251] The breeches, which covered only the upper portion of the thighs, were held in place by draw-strings at the front.[252] The leggings were secured by a string attached in front and tied to the breeches. The legging seam was on the

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[249] M'Lean, 1849, Notes on Twenty-five Years'..., Vol. II, pp. 125-26.

[250] Ibid., p. 126.

[251] Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 282.

[252] Ibid., p. 283.

outside. To this a fringe was attached.[253] Moccasins were worn.[254] For winter, the feet were first wrapped with old baling cloth.[255] In severe winter weather, mittens were often lined with the thin skin of a foetal caribou.[256]

The winter coat [apparently the caribou-skin jacket of M'Lean] had a short slit in front, sometimes with a V-shaped piece of skin inserted, to enlarge the neck hole. The bottom was widened in the same way as the summer coat. At the back of the neck, a piece of skin about eight inches square was attached. A few winter coats had hoods attached to the back of the neck.[257] For under-clothing the men wore an additional suit of ordinary clothing.[258]

In summer, the women usually wore clothing obtained from the traders, but occasionally a skirt of tanned caribou skin.[259] In winter, they wore a sleeveless "gown" reaching from the chin to a little below the knees. Sleeves were put on separately. The leggings extended higher than those worn by men, and the bottoms covered the tops of the moccasins. They were made either of skin or cloth. Moccasins were the

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[253] Ibid., p. 284.

[254] Ibid., pp. 284-85.

[255] Ibid., p. 289.

[256] Ibid., p. 286.

[257] Ibid., p. 287.

[258] Ibid., p. 288.

[259] Ibid., p. 289.

same as those of the men. For additional protection from the cold, the shoulders were covered with the soft skins of young caribou,[260] and a robe with the hair on was worn. The robe was "held together by small loops of sinew or deerskin [caribou]" and a belt about the waist kept it in place.[261]

The summer head gear of the men was a handkerchief or merely a thong of caribou skin.[262] Girls and newly married wives often made beaded bands, lengthened by thongs, which their men tied about their foreheads. A cap of caribou skin was usually worn during wet weather. In spring a visor was worn to protect the eyes from the glare. It was made from a stiff piece of caribou skin. Two strings, tied behind the head, secured it.[263]

The Indians trading at Nain [Davis Inlet and/or Barren Ground Band] wore beaded head bands tied about their brows. Others wore flat round caps of cloth decorated with white beads and shirt buttons.[264]

There are a few references to the dress found among some of the eastern bands at the beginning of the twentieth

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[260] Ibid., p. 291.

[261] Ibid., pp. 290-91.

[262] Ibid., p. 286.

[263] Ibid.

[264] Prichard, 1911, Through Trackless Labrador, p. 201.

century. At the head of Indian House Lake [Barren Ground Band], the women had clothing of cotton or woolen goods, but a few wore skins. The skin clothing was a rather long skin shirt with a hood attached.[265] The men wore dressed caribou skin breeches and moccasins. Over the breeches were drawn red cloth leggings reaching from the ankle well above the knees and held in place by straps fastened about the waist. Shirts were of both cloth and dressed caribou skin and were worn outside the breeches. Over the shirt was worn a white coat bound about the edges with blue or red cloth.[266] The picture opposite page 162 shows the skin jackets of the men coming down to mid-thigh and cut straight across. The sleeves extend to the wrists. There is no sign of a hood. The coat opens in a V at the throat. One man wears a belt about the waist.[267] This suggests the type of jacket described by M'Lean or the winter coat of Turner although the picture was taken in the summer. At Resolution Lake [Davis Inlet Band] a boy is shown wearing a hooded parka cut straight across the waist.[268]

The George River Indians [Barren Ground Band] wore

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[265]Hubbard, 1908, A Woman's Way through Unknown..., pp. 176-77.

[266]Ibid., p. 170.

[267]Ibid., opposite p. 162.

[268]Ibid., picture opp. p. 162.

caribou-skin coats; some had cloth shirts over these. They also used skin breech-cloths and inner shirts of young or unborn caribou with the fine hair turned in.[269] The leggings were of Hudson's Bay Company "strauds." Inland, people lacked headgear,[270] but three men were pictured by Hubbard wearing round caps without visors.[271] In winter, a "frock" [skin jacket] with a hood attached was usually worn with the hair next to the skin. For extreme weather, this jacket was made without a hood. Over it was worn a hooded jacket or coat made with the hair outward.[272]

Among the Indians of the southeast corner of the Labrador Peninsula [St. Augustine Band?], Cartwright saw winter jackets of beaver or caribou skins with the hair on.[273] To the west [Mingan Band?], dressed caribou skin "waistcoats" were common among the men.[274] These may be copies of European jackets or the native type found among the northern bands.

In general, moccasins made of moose or caribou hide were common over most of the Peninsula. There are, however,

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[269]Cabot, 1912, in Northern Labrador, p. 85.

[270]Cabot, 1909, The Indians, pp. 209-10.

[271]Hubbard, 1908, A Woman's Way through Unknown..., picture opp. p. 162.

[272]Cabot, 1909, The Indians, pp. 209-10.

[273]Townsend, 1911, Captain Cartwright..., p. 352.

[274]Stearns, 1884, Labrador, a Sketch..., p. 268.

several references to boots and moccasins made of seal or dog skins. Near Tadoussac [Bersimis, Escoumins, or Tadoussac Band], the Indians used seal skins for "shoes" and also clothing.[275] Seal skin boots have been reported for the Indians of the North Shore[276] and the Great Whale River Band,[277] and seal skin moccasins for Seven Islands [Moisie Band?].[278] Dog skin boots [St. Augustine Band?] were made with the foot part of seal skin and the top of dog skin.[279]

Hoods are mentioned occasionally in the literature dealing with the northern bands. Among the southern bands there are even fewer references. The Mistassini Band were said to have rabbit skin parkas with hoods.[280] The author has seen a child among the Waswanipi Band wearing one of these. At Natashquan [?] a boy three to four years old wore a long fur coat with hood.[281] According to the Jesuit Relations woemn sometimes wore a "hooded cloak" or "great coat,"[282] but it is not clear whether or not this was a trade item.

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[275] Jesuit Relations, Vol. 5, p. 85.

[276] Stearns, 1884, Labrador, a Sketch..., p. 267; Townsend, 1910, A Labrador Spring, p. 156.

[277] Honigmann, 1952, Intercultural Relations..., p. 513.

[278] Hind, 1863, Explorations in the Interior..., Vol. I, p. 335.

[279] Stearns, 1884, Labrador, A Sketch..., p. 99.

[280] Speck, 1930, Mistassini Notes, p. 451.

[281] Townsend, 1910, A Labrador Spring, p. 164.

[282] Jesuit Relations, Vol. 7, p. 11.

Another item of clothing was the tuque. This has probably been taken over, at least in part, from the French. This source is suggested because of its similarity to the French cap and because its highest development seems to have been along the North Shore. It was generally worn by the women but occasionally by the men of the Ungava Band.[283] This cap has been called variously "Montagnais cap," "women's cap," or "liberty cap." The tuque was made of red, black, blue, or green broadcloth in alternate strips. Usually only red and black were used. Alternate colored stripes were sewn together vertically to form a peaked cap. The border was usually decorated with embroidery or with beads. This type of cap has been reported for the North Shore [Mingan Band?],[284] at Seven Island [Moisie Band?],[285] Moisie Band,[286] St. Augustine Band [?],[287] at the Natashquan River [Natashquan Band?],[288] at Resolution Lake [Davis Inlet Band],[289] at Indian House Lake [Barren Ground Band],[290] and the Ungava Band.[291]

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[283]Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 286.

[284]Stearns, 1884, Labrador, a Sketch..., p. 268; Townsend, 1910, A Labrador Spring, pp. 155-56.

[285]Hind, 1863, Explorations in the Interior..., Vol. I, p. 335.

[286]Speck, 1935, Naskapi, picture opp. p. 48.

[287]Townsend, 1913, A Short Trip..., p. 172.

[288]Bryant, 1913, An Exploration..., p. 5.

[289]Hubbard, 1908, A Woman's Way through Unknown..., p. 157.

[290]Ibid., pp. 176-77.

[291]Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, pp. 286, 290.

A sleeping bag was used by the Ungava Band when traveling. It was a leather bag lined with down into which were thrust the sleeper's arms.[292]

There were no distinctive costumes for infants. Babies were merely wrapped in cloth[293] padded with moss. Formerly, they were probably wrapped in soft skins. There is no evidence that the cradle board was ever used by the Montagnais-Naskapi. While Hodge has made the statement that the Montagnais, but not the Naskapi, had a cradle board,[294] he was probably referring to the cradle board of the Tete de Boulé. The nearest equivalent to a cradle board among the Montagnais-Naskapi was a cradle of bark.[295]

A variety of tools (discussed under "Skin Dressing") were employed by the Montagnais-Naskapi to prepare skins before they were made into clothing. For the making of clothing only the awl has been recorded.

The awls of the Ungava Band were made of steel or iron. The hafts were of deer antler varying from a Y-shape to that

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[292] M'Lean, 1849, Notes on Twenty-five Years'..., Vol. II, p. 126.

[293] Townsend, 1910, A Labrador Spring, p. 157; Curran and Calkins, 1920, In Canada's Wonderful..., p. 141.

[294] Hodge, 1922, Guide to the Museum..., pp. 167-68.

[295] Jesuit Relations, Vol. 5, p. 235.

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[294] Hodge, 1922, Guide to the Museum..., pp. 107-8.

[295] Beauit Relations, Vol. 5, p. 235.

of a cresent.[296] Presumably, awls were formerly of bone.

Besides the decorations applied to clothing, the Montagnais-Naskapi practiced little personal adornment. This consisted of only the hair-do, face painting, and tattooing. The latter two have been reported but once, and therefore may not be typical of the Montagnais-Naskapi in general.

Hair-do has been described only for those bands of Montagnais-Naskapi living in the eastern half of the Labrador Peninsula. The women generally parted the hair in the middle and gathered it on blocks on each side of the head above the ears. This type has been reported for the North Shore,[297] Barren Ground Band [?],[298] Davis Inlet Band [?],[299] at Nain [Davis Inlet Band ?],[300] and among the Ungava Band.[301]

The men, according to Townsend, wore their hair cropped below the ears[302] in what appears to be called the "calotte" bob. But at Tadoussac, according to the Jesuit Relations, the Indians wore their hair long and tied behind

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[296]Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 319; Fig. 142, p. 318.

[297]Townsend, 1910, A Labrador Spring, p. 155.

[298]Hubbard, 1908, A Woman's Way through Unknown..., p. 179.

[299]Ibid., p. 157.

[300]Prichard, 1911, Through Trackless Labrador, p. 200.

[301]Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 320.

[302]Townsend, 1913, A Short Trip into the Labrador..., p. 172.

the head except when in mourning.[303] It is not clear whether this style applied to men, women, or both sexes.

Only Hind mentions tattooing. The Naskapi [Pętisikapau or Michikamau Band] used a fish bone or knife to cut an incision over the cheek bone, into which a colored substance was placed.[304] Generally the men were tattooed from the cheek bone to the nostril on either side. The marks consisted of shallow cuts "about a line wide, parallel to one another, and about a line apart."[305] Women were sometimes tattooed. Hind went on to state that the incision was made with a flint or a knife, and gunpowder or the juice of some herb was rubbed into the cut.[306]

The Jęsuit Relations describe several forms of face painting at Tadoussac. The noses were painted blue, eyebrows and cheeks were painted black, and the rest of the face red. Other Indians had black, red, and blue stripes drawn from ears to the mouth; still others were entirely black except the upper part of the brow, the area around the ears, and the end of the chin; some had only a wide ribbon-like stripe

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[303] Jesuit Relations, Vol. 5, p. 25.

[304] Hind, 1863, Explorations in the Interior..., Vol. I, p. 82.

[305] Ibid., Vol. II, p. 97.

[306] Ibid., pp. 97-98.

drawn from one ear to the other, across the eyes, with three little stripes on the cheeks.[307]

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[307] Jesuit Relations, Vol. 5, p. 23.

Transportation. Methods of transportation among the Montagnais-Naskapi were primarily adapted for travel on water and snow. For water travel, the canoe was the primary device. For snow, the snowshoe, toboggan, "canoe-sled," and recently the sled were employed.

The birch bark canoe was the principal summer transportation device in the subarctic of North America. Unfortunately, detailed information regarding the canoe among the Montagnais-Naskapi is lacking.

There are references in the Jesuit Relations stating that the canoe was very neatly made of bark,[308] and that the women sewed the bark with willow withes or similar wood after the men had made the frames.[309]

At Eskimo Point [St. Augustine Band?], the canoe was about twelve to fifteen feet long and two and one half feet wide at the center, with a depth of about three-fifths of the width. From the middle, it tapered to the bow and stern and each end was slightly elevated and pointed.[310] Chappell, in the early 1800's, mentioned seeing birch bark canoes in this same area.[311]

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[308] Jesuit Relations, Vol. 5, p. 23.

[309] Ibid., p. 133.

[310] Stearns, 1884, Labrador, a Sketch..., p. 225.

[311] Chappell, 1818, Voyage of His Majesty's Ship..., pp. 105-06.

In constructing canoes at Fort Chimo [Ungava Band], the bark, after being soaked, was shaped over an earth mold. The strips were then sewn together with split spruce roots. Next the frame was inserted, and then spruce gum and seal oil were applied to the seams with a small spoon-shaped paddle.[312]

Formerly, the canoes were built with no sheer at either end, according to Turner's informants. Now the canoes are constructed with a certain amount of sheer in imitation of the canoes of the East Main Indians [either Eastmain Band or the Indians of the east coast of James and perhaps Hudson Bay]. The canoes of both the East Main Indians and Little Whale River Indians [Great Whale River Band], however, were built with more sheer than any of the canoes of the Ungava Band.[313]

Birch bark canoes were also employed by the natives at the head of Indian House Lake [Barren Ground Band].[314] Hodge stated that in the Museum of the American Indian there were two types of canoes represented for the Montagnais-Naskapi. One resembled those used by the Indians of Maine. The other had more sheer, somewhat in the manner of the Chippewa canoe.[315] No provenience was given.

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[312]Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, pp. 304-06.

[313]Ibid.

[314]Hubbard, 1908, A Woman's Way through Unknown..., p. 175.

[315]Hodge, 1922, Guide to the Museum..., p. 166.

Even though there is little information as to the distribution of birch bark canoes among the Montagnais-Naskapi, it would seem certain that all the bands possessed them at the time of contact. Among the northern bands, however, there was the problem of the availability of birch bark.

Turner said that at Fort Chimo [Ungava Band] birch bark had to be imported from the St. Lawrence since the little that was available in the country was of very small size.[316] The same condition existed on the west side of Hudson Bay at Port Nelson, in a region quite similar to Fort Chimo. As early as 1686, the Hudson's Bay Company instructed its representative in the Bay to ship as much birch bark as possible as often as possible from the lower end of James Bay to Port Nelson. The Indians there had little birch bark and wanted it for their canoes.[317]

Does this mean that the northern bands used no birch bark canoes until traders supplied them with bark, or that the Indians entered the area only after traders arrived? Neither suggestion seems plausible. Perhaps skin boats were used but there are no references to skin boats among the northern bands of Montagnais-Naskapi. They may have traded

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[316]Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 306.

[317]Champlain Society Publications, Vol. 11, p. 180.

for birch bark with the southern bands before white contact. That trade was developed in the Labrador Peninsula is suggested by the fact that the Mistassini Band traded red slate pipes as far away as the St. Lawrence.[318]

Whatever the distribution may have been in the past, it appears that at least two types of canoes were employed in the Labrador Peninsula. One type had little or no sheer; the other had a moderate amount of sheer. The implication is not clear. It may be, as suggested by Turner, that the canoes with no sheer were older than those with sheer. On the other hand, it may simply mean that different styles of canoe were used under different circumstances: a canoe for small lake travel or for small rapids is usually without much sheer, while canoes for heavy rapids or large lakes tend to have considerable sheer.

The only available information on canoe paddles comes from the Ungava Band. Paddles were about five feet long, the blades thirty inches long and four and one half inches wide. The handle terminated in a knob.[319]

Canoes were often transported during winter by means of a "canoe-sled" (Fig. 7). The canoe-sled of the Mistassini

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[318]Speck, 1923, Mistassini Hunting Territories..., p. 455.

[319]Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 307.

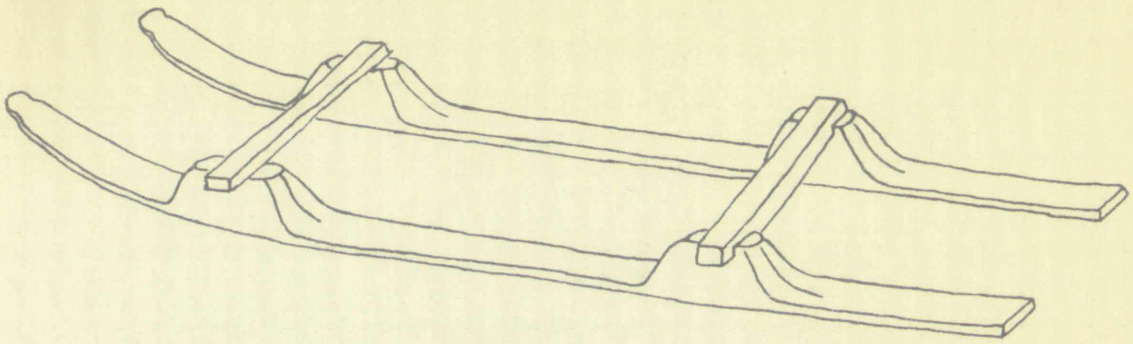

FIGURE 7 CANOE-SLED

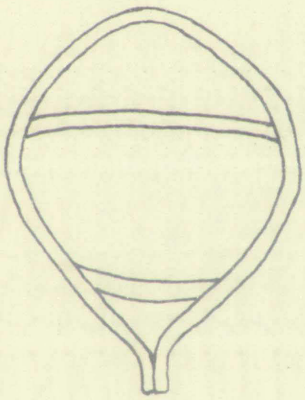

FIGURE 8 SWALLOW-TAIL

(AFTER TURNER, 1894, ETHNOLOGY OF THE UNGAVA DISTRICT, PLATE XL, OPP. p 308)

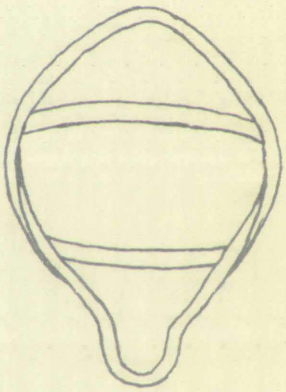

FIGURE 9 ROUND-END

(AFTER TURNER, 1894, ETHNOLOGY OF THE UNGAVA DISTRICT, PLATE XLII, OPP. p 312)

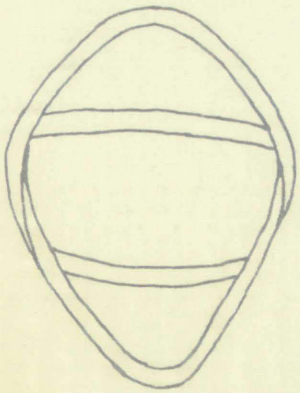

FIGURE 10 BEAVER-TAIL

(AFTER TURNER, 1894, ETHNOLOGY OF THE UNGAVA DISTRICT, PLATE XLI, OPP. p 310)

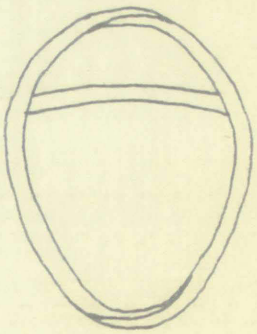

FIGURE 11 SINGLE BAR

(AFTER TURNER, 1894, ETHNOLOGY OF THE UNGAVA DISTRICT, FIG. 129, p 309)

Band consisted of two runners, four to six inches wide, and perhaps an inch thick, and eight to twelve feet long. Trapezoidal blocks, six to twelve inches high, were left as a part of the runners on the top side near each end. The runners were then held together by cross bars attached to the front and rear blocks. While the canoe-sled has not been fully described for the Montagnais-Naskapi, its presence has been noted among the Mistassini Band.[320] At Northwest River, a "sled" with broad flat runners, which may be a canoe-sled, was obtained by Wallace from the Indians [Northwest River Band?].[321] A "runner-sled" was used by the Barren Ground or Davis Inlet Band,[322] though this may refer to an Eskimo sled.

A problematical type of transport was the skin boat. As has been mentioned, no direct reference has been found to a skin boat among the Montagnais-Naskapi. A passage quoted from the Jesuit Relations refers to the construction of a skin boat in Hudson Bay. The ribs were of wood, and the boat was propelled with paddles.[323] Speck twice mentions skin boats for the Montagnais-Naskapi,[324] but he does not

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[320]Speck, 1927, Family Hunting Territories..., p. 391.

[321]Wallace, 1905, The Lure of the Labrador Wild, p. 313.

[322]Cabot, 1909, The Indians, p. 208.

[323]McQuire, 1901, Ethnology in the Jesuit Relations, p. 261.

[324]Speck, 1922, Beothuk and Micmac, table opposite p. 44; Speck, 1936, Inland Eskimo Bands..., pp. 326-28.

give any source for this information nor specify the band.

The toboggan was used by the Montagnais-Naskapi to transport supplies and game during the winter months. Toboggans have not been reported for all the Montagnais-Naskapi, but there is no reason to believe that all the bands did not use them.

The first mention of what is thought to be a toboggan occurs in the Jesuit Relations, which refers to "sledges" made of bark or wood, and drawn by a man.[325]

Cartwright describes a "sled" used by the "mountaineers" [St. Augustine Band?]. This was made of two thin boards of birch, each about six inches broad, one quarter of an inch thick, and six feet long. These boards were fastened parallel to each other by slight "battens" sewn with thongs of caribou skin. The foremost end was curved up to rise over the uneven surface of the snow.[326] This is obviously the toboggan, not the true sled. Chappell, probably referring to the Montagnais living near the eastern end of the North Shore, added that the toboggan was shod with strips of bone.[327] How commonly toboggans were shod in this manner is not known. However, I saw a toboggan in the Lake St. John area shod with two strips of

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[325]Jesuit Relations, Vol. 5, p. 141.

[326]Townsend, 1911, Captain Cartwright..., p. 357.

[327]Chappell, 1818, Voyage of his Majesty's Ship..., p. 160.

wood.

Toboggans among the Ungava Band differed greatly in size, but the length rarely exceeded thirteen feet. Two boards were used, held together by five or six bars fastened at the outside edges and on either side of the joint. At the forward end, the boards curved upward as much as eighteen inches. The width of the forward part of the curved front was not often over nine inches; width at first bar, fourteen inches; between the first and second bar, eighteen inches; and at the end five to seven inches.[328]

The toboggan of the Barren Ground or Davis Inlet Band was as narrow as sixteen inches and was one quarter to five sixteenth of an inch thick. They were usually made of white birch but sometimes of larch.[329] Mention has been made of a toboggan at Northwest River [Northwest River Band ?].[330]

In general the toboggans were much alike with only minor variations in dimensions. The length varied from six to thirteen feet and the width from twelve to eighteen inches. They were always made of two boards; if possible these were of white birch.

Only in very recent times have dogs been employed to

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[328]Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, pp. 308-09.

[329]Cabot, 1909, The Indians, p. 208.

[330]Wallace, 1905, The Lure of the Labrador Wild, p. 313.

pull the toboggan. Formerly, they were pulled by men with the aid of a tump line across the forehead and with their hands twisted into the line behind the back.[331]

The Jesuit Relations states that the "sledge" was pulled by men[332] as did Chappell.[333] Cabot does not mention the use of dogs for pulling the toboggan [Barren Ground or Davis Inlet Band?] but Turner, at a somewhat earlier date, stated that sometimes a small dog was attached to the toboggan [Ungava Band].[334] A. T. Leith reports [Moose Factory Band -- Cree] that one to three dogs were hitched to a toboggan, and that the practice had only come into use in 1908.[335] Speck states that thirty years ago [ca. 1900] at Lake St. John the men pulled the toboggans.[336]

From this little information, it still seems safe to suggest that the use of dogs to pull the toboggan only came into use among the Montagnais-Naskapi towards the end of the last century.

Snowshoes provided another important means of

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[331]Cabot, 1909, The Indians, p. 208.

[332]Jesuit Relations, Vol. 5, p. 141.

[333]Chappell, 1818, Voyage of His Majesty's Ship..., p. 106.

[334]Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 309.

[335]Leith and Leith, 1912, A Winter and Summer, pp. 193-94.

[336]Speck, 1925, Dogs of the Labrador Indians, p. 59.

transportation during the winter. Unfortunately, the names of snowshoe types vary in different parts of the Peninsula. Turner's classification for the Ungava Band is used here wherever descriptions from other areas make this possible. However, where names are given but descriptions are lacking, it is impossible to identify the types in terms of Turner's classification. Because of the variety of esoteric names, and, in some cases, complete lack of data, it is impossible to state the provenience of types with any accuracy.

The Ungava Band had four types of snowshoes -- "swallow-tail" (Fig. 8), "beaver-tail" (Fig. 10), "round-end" (Fig. 9), and "single bar" (Fig. 11). The frame of the first type was made of one piece of wood; the last three, of two pieces. The pieces were nearly an inch wide and a half-inch thick. In the beaver-tail and round-end the two pieces were bent and joined together by a long lap splice at either side of the shoe. The splices were wrapped with caribou skin thongs. The first three types were made with two cross bars, one of which was the toe bar, set in mortices on the inside of the frame. For the frame and cross bars, birch wood was favored, but spruce and larch were occasionally used as birch was difficult to obtain.[337]

The netting was made of caribou skin with the hair

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[337]Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, pp. 309-11.

removed, cut into strips of variable width depending on where it was to be used in the snowshoe. The netting of the toe was of finer line and mesh than that for use between the two bars. The netting at the heel was the finest of all. Near the center of the toe bar, a semi-circular space was left for the toes. The snowshoe was held on the foot by a wide caribou skin thong attached at the edges of the semi-circular opening back of the toe bar.[338]

The single bar snowshoe was not much used. The two pieces of wood in the frame were joined by a lap splice at the toe and heel. There were two varieties of shoe -- one with the bar set directly under the foot, the other with the bar at the front of the toes.[339]

The Little Whale River Indians [Great Whale River Band] had snowshoes made of flat spruce boards shaped like the netted "beaver-tail" and with the same type of foot strap.[340] An illustration shows that they were made of two pieces of wood held together with two cross bars attached somewhat like the bars on the toboggan. A toe hole was cut just behind the front bar.[341] Turner was told that this

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[338] Ibid.

[339] Ibid.

[340] Ibid., p. 312.

[341] Ibid., Fig. 131, p. 311.

type was for use in soft snow. The Ungava Band did not use them.

Hind describes snowshoes he saw at Seven Islands [Moisie Band?] which were nineteen inches broad and thirty-three inches long.[342] These measurements suggest the "round-end" or "swallow-tail." Stearns, who wintered near the mouth of the Eskimo River [St. Augustine Band territory], reports that "beaver," "otter," "porcupine," and "bobtailed" snowshoes were used perhaps more frequently than any others in this area.[343] No description is given of the shapes of these various forms.

According to Townsend, the Labrador snowshoe [probably in reference to the North Shore] was almost everywhere tailless or nearly so, and nearly circular or slightly ovoid in outline. Some, however, had short rounded tails and were called "beaver-tail" snowshoes.[344] This "beaver-tail" was probably the "round-end" type described by Turner. The tailless form would suggest the "beaver-tail" or "single-bar" of Turner's description.

Cabot, apparently referring to the Indians of the eastern and northern part of the Peninsula, reports snowshoes

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[342]Hind, 1863, Explorations in the Interior..., Vol. I, p. 324.

[343]Stearns, 1884, Labrador, a Sketch..., p. 149.

[344]Townsend, 1910, A Labrador Spring, p. 173.

of the round type ["beaver-tail" or "single-Bar"?]. He also states that the snowshoes of the Saguenay district were from twenty to twenty-four inches broad with a tail four to five inches long ["swallow-tail" or "round-end"?]. Over the rest of the Peninsula, a wider shoe with a mere loop for a tail was generally used ["round-end" or "beaver-tail"?].[345]

Among the Mistassini Band the snowshoes were of the short broad type;[346] Speck's Figure 126 shows the "swallow-tail" type.[347] There was also a smaller "willow-bark" snowshoe netted on a crude wooden frame of unpeeled branches. This type was often used as a temporary makeshift.[348] Another Mistassini form was the "round-end" type.

Special tools involved in the manufacture of snowshoes were the snowshoe netting needle and the "mesh evener." The snowshoe netting needle was of bone, horn, or iron. In shape, the tool was narrow, flat, and rounded at each end, to enable its use in either direction. The eye, which carried the line, was located in the center. Various sized needles were used for different sizes of mesh.[349] The mesh evener, as

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[345] Cabot, 1909, The Indians, pp. 208-09.

[346] Speck, 1930, Mistassini Notes, p. 457.

[347] Ibid., p. 456.

[348] Ibid., p. 457.

[349] Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 310.

illustrated by Speck, appears to be a leg bone sharpened at one end.[350] Speck states that both the needle and the mesh evener were made of bear bones.[351]

The last item for winter transport to be discussed is the sled. Sleds have only been reported from the southern bands of Montagnais-Naskapi, with one exception. Strong reports that the Davis Inlet and Barren Ground Bands used sleds drawn by a few Eskimo dogs harnessed in the fan hitch.[352]

The first mention of the sled was by Hind, at the settlement of Moisie [Moisie Band?]. He stated it was about thirty inches broad and ten to twelve feet long, and was formed of two longitudinal runners shod with whale bone. The runners were fastened together by means of transverse bars let into the runners and strengthened with strips of copper. The dog harnesses were made of seal skin. The lead dog was placed thirty feet in advance and the others were arranged in pairs behind the leader in a tandem hitch. There were sometimes three or four pairs of dogs in addition to the leader.[353]

Stearns gives a very good description of the construction of the sled used at Eskimo Point just west of the

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[350] Speck, 1930, Mistassini Notes, Fig. 121, p. 450.

[351] Ibid., pp. 450-51.

[352] Strong, 1929, Cross-Cousin Marriage..., p. 287.

[353] Hind, 1863, Explorations in the Interior..., Vol. II, p. 158.

southern entrance to Strait of Belle Isle]. Unfortunately, he did not state that it was constructed and used by the Indians [St. Augustine Band], and the impression is that it was a product of the whites.[354] The sled, however, clearly showed Eskimo influence in its construction, fan hitch for the dogs, and seal skin harnesses.

According to Speck,[355] the sled of the Montagnais [probably the Lake St. John Band and their neighbors] had two side pieces of wood. The side pieces were connected by round cross bars. A thill was bolted to the front end of each side piece. Between the shafts and tied firmly to them was a stiff leather collar. If two or more dogs were used in tandem, the front ones pulled on traces attached to their collars. Wooden runners were used in the spring when the snow was soggy; at other times iron runners might be used.

According to Speck, westward from Eskimo Point, dogs were hitched in tandem; east along the entire coast, the more Eskimo-like fan hitch was used.[356] He does not specify whether Indian, Eskimo, or whites employed these hitches. The southwestern Montagnais-Naskapi bands did use a tandem hitch with the type of sled described above. To the east,

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[354]Stearns, 1884, Labrador, a Sketch..., pp. 145-48.

[355]Speck, 1925, Dogs of the Labrador Indians, pp. 61-63.

[356]Ibid., p. 62.

at the Moisie River, the hitch was tandem but with a seal skin harness. It is not possible to say if any of the southern bands of Montagnais-Naskapi ever used the fan hitch. Twenty-five years ago, Speck reported that the Mistassini Band employed nearly pure Eskimo dogs, and Eskimo harnessing and driving techniques[357] with apparently an Eskimo type sled. This does not seem reasonable, for today they use the sled typical of the southern Montagnais-Naskapi, with collar and shafts. Unfortunately, Speck never visited the Mistassini Band but derived his information from a few who came out to trade at Lake St. John.

Two other transportation devices have been reported for the Montagnais-Naskapi. A stretcher is described in the Jesuit Relations. Two men carried a sick woman upon poles, crossed in the form of a "stretcher."[358] This, an isolated case, may have been copied from Europeans.

The other device was the swimming board. Among the Lake St. John Bank and in the adjacent regions the swimming board was a cedar hand paddle. The paddle was ovoid in shape, rounded on the bottom, and had a hollow margin on the

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[357] Ibid., pp. 60-61.

[358] Jesuit Relations, Vol. 7, p. 115.

upper side to fit the grasp of the hand. The paddle averaged six inches in breadth and three inches in height. One was held in each hand, between the thumb and fingers. Men not able to swim used them when crossing narrow streams. They were made as the occasion arose and then discarded.[359]

Indians, swimming in the Godbout River [Godbout Band], used two small cedar paddles.[360] A paddle illustrated by Turner[361] from the Little Whale River Indians [Great Whale River Band] was roughly crescent shaped, with a hole near the upper or wider edge for a hand grip. One board was used in each hand.

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[359]Speck, 1937, Swimming Paddles..., p. 727.

[360]Comeau, 1923, Life and Sport on the North Shore..., p. 328.

[361]Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, Fig. 148, p. 321.

Hunting and Fishing Methods. No evidence has been found which might indicate that the Montagnais-Naskapi ever practiced agriculture. Among the northern bands crops could not have been raised because of the climate. But at Lake St. John a limited amount of agriculture could have been practiced, as it is today by Europeans. Instead, all of the Montagnais-Naskapi bands depended for subsistence wholly upon hunting and fishing.

Their main support was derived from land animals. The Montagnais-Naskapi used a number of hunting devices including spears, bow and arrow, nets, and numerous traps.

Fish were undoubtedly an important resource, especially during the summer months when the Montagnais-Naskapi were confined to the rivers and lakes, even though few devices were used for their capture. Nevertheless, fish are not often mentioned in the early accounts. Today, fish are an important item of food for the Waswanipi and Mistassini Bands during the summer.

Vegetal foods, on the other hand, were minor, but did add variety, and at times were eagerly sought. No special tools were used for gathering.

Hunting with the simple bow and arrow is still occasionally practiced by the Montagnais-Naskapi when certain game are hunted or when ammunition is scarce.

Hind describes the bow of the Naskapi [probably a

member of either the Petisikapau, Michikamau, or perhaps Kaniapiskau Band] as being six feet long. Arrows were of two kinds. One type of arrow had a broad heavy head about two inches in diameter which was a continuation of the shaft. A piece of flint was fastened to the head. This arrow resembled those of the Montagnais [North Shore Band?]. It was used for killing small birds and animals, such as ptarmigan and porcupine. The second type of arrow had a head of iron or copper, formerly of bone. The head was about six inches long, pointed and barbed at one end, and fastened to the arrow shaft with sinew. Tyis type of arrow was used for killing caribou, bear, and lynx.[362]

When Turner was at Form Chimo, the Ungava Band still used the bow and arrow to kill ptarmigan and rabbits. The bow was made of larch or spruce. It was four to six feet long, one inch thick, and one and a half inches wide at the center. The ends were slightly thinner and narrower. The string was a strand of caribou skin twisted or rolled. The arrows were twenty-four to thirty inches long and feathered with three ptarmigan feathers. The head was usually an egg-shaped knob terminating in a slender point.[363]

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[362]Hind, 1863, Explorations in the Interior..., Vol. I, p. 292; Vol. II, pp. 106-07.

[363] Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 312.

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[362] Hind, 1863, Explorations in the Interior..., Vol. I, p. 292; Vol. II, pp. 106-07.

[363] Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 312.

The Primary Release was used by the Mistassini men in the "Otter-hunt Game," but they used the Mediterranean release in hunting.[364]

Two references to the cross-bow occur in the literature. It is not known whether it is European, as Turner believes,[365] or is possibly indigenous. Turner reports that the children of the Ungava Band used small cross-bows,[366] and Boilieu mentions the cross-bow among the "Mountaineer" Indians [St. Augustine or Northwest River Band ?].[367]

The use of spears for killing game was apparently most common among the northern bands. The Ungava Band speared swimming caribou. For this a spear with an eleven inch blade, made from a file, was attached to a six foot wooden shaft. The stem formed the greater part of the length of the point. It was bound to the shaft with sinew.[368]

The Ungava Band had a smaller spear, modeled after the caribou type, which was at times shot from a bow.[369] This

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[364]Speck, 1930, Mistassini Notes, p. 430.

[365]Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 313.

[366]Ibid.

[367]Boilieu, 1861, Recollections of Labrador..., p. 189.

[368]Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, pp. 313-14.

[369]Ibid., p. 314.

may be the same as the second type of arrow described by Hind. Cabot describes a spear [Barren Ground Band?] similar to this type. It was a slender shaft three to four feet long tipped with a sharp-edged diamond-shaped blade of steel.[370]

During the winter, the Barren Ground and Davis Inlet Bands used the caribou spear to kill black bear.[371]

The Little Whale River Indians [Great Whale River Band] speared white whales. The spear consisted of an iron or copper blade riveted into a "harpoon head" made of caribou antler. The harpoon-like head was attached to a caribou antler foreshaft which was not detachable. The float used with the spear was a circular wooden disc fitted to the upper end of the shaft.[372] Today, a seal skin float is used.[373]

A spear used for sturgeon has been reported from the Waswanipi Band but without description.[374] This was also used by the western families of the Mistassini Band.

In the Jesuit Relations is described what appears to be a type of beaver harpoon. This was an iron dart to which was tied a "string." The hunter threw the dart while holding

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[370]Cabot, 1912, In Northern Labrador, p. 241.

[371]Strong, 1930, Notes on the Mammals..., p. 5.

[372]Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, pp. 314-15.

[373]Honigmann, 1952, Intercultural Relations..., p. 513.

[374]Cooper, 1926, Some Notes on the Waswanipi, p. 460.

the end of the "string." The beaver was then allowed to dive to the bottom, and when it had become weakened through loss of blood, it was pulled to the surface.[375] The Mistassini Band had a moose tibia "harpoon" blade with two opposed barbs and a hole used in binding it to a shaft. This was used for beaver and large fish[376] and may be comparable to the beaver "harpoon" described by the Jesuits.

A special club was used by the Indians of the North Shore [bands?] with which to kill porcupines.[377]

The chute, without the pound, was used by several of the western bands for hunting caribou. At Fort George [Fort George Band] and Whale River [Great Whale River Band] the Indians commonly constructed two fences of widely spaced poles. Attached to the poles were pieces of cloth. The rows of poles converged to form a V. The hunter was stationed at the apex.[378]

Blinds attached to the front of the canoe were reported among some of the southern bands of Montagnais-Naskapi. At the mouth of the Moisie River, Hind saw two Naskapi [Petisikapau, Michikamau, or perhaps Kaniapiskau Band] stalking a

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[375] Jesuit Relations, Vol. 5, p. 61.

[376] Speck, 1930, Mistassini Notes, pp. 449-50.

[377] Stearns, 1884, Labrador, a Sketch..., p. 214.

[378] Skinner, 1911, Notes on the Eastern Cree..., pp. 25-27.

pp. 25-27.

loon from a canoe which had a "tree" placed in the bow.[379]

This blind was probably similar to one described by Comeau for the Indians of the North Shore. The favorite method for shooting scoters involved the use of a blind set at the bow of a canoe. This was made from cotton cloth or from the branches of the Canadian balsam. In the latter case, the bow of the canoe was first covered with branches bound on securely with twine. Next, two small saplings, an inch or two in diameter and eight feet long, were cut and the branches removed. One side of each sapling was then smoothed with an axe. Upon the surface of one of the saplings small branches were laid in such a manner that the stems rested on the sapling and the tops extended out perpendicularly on both sides. About two layers of branches were required. When this was finished, the other sapling was placed over the branches and lashed firmly to the bottom sapling with twine. This formed a flat blind about two and a half feet in width. A thin wedge, inserted between the two saplings near the center, acted as a mast and held the blind in position. The sides of the blind rested on the gunwale. A small aperture was left in the blind for observation. This device was

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[379] Hind, 1863, Explorations in the Interior..., Vol. I, p. 331.

employed for many species of water fowl.[380]

Similar blinds have been seen among the Waswanipi and Mistassini Bands.

The Indians of the North Shore used neither artificial nor live decoys for water fowl.[381] No mention has been found of decoys being used for hunting by any of the Montagnais-Naskapi bands.

Little is known of the traps employed by the majority of the bands of Montagnais-Naskapi. Trap systems have been described by Lips for the Mistassini, Nichikun, Rupert House, Bersimis, and Waswanipi Bands of Montagnais-Naskapi and the Tete de Bould Band of Cree. However, he states that he was unable to ascertain which traps were formerly preferred, which were most numerous, or to determine the direction of diffusion of the trap systems among the bands.[382] Unfortunately, Lips did not visit all bands, and it is unlikely that he obtained a complete picture. The following discussion employs the terminology and divisions as outlined by Lips.

Lips identified a series of "trap-like catching methods." These methods did not involve true traps, since no automatic

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[380]Comeau, 1923, Life and Sport on the North Shore..., p. 268.

[381]Ibid., p. 272.

[382]Lips, 1936, Trap Systems..., pp. 3-4.

release mechanisms were employed and the presence of the hunter was, therefore, required. In one, a simple snare was attached to the end of a pole approximately seven feet in length. The other end was held in the hands of the hunter. It was used for partridge, lynx, young bear, and more rarely for fish.[383]

A snare of this type has been reported for the eastern bands [Davis Inlet or Barren Ground Band ?] where it was used for hunting birds of the grouse family.[384]

Also placed in this class are fish nets used to take partridge, duck, and loon. Occasionally a smaller net was made especially for this purpose. Two lengths of net, sixty to one hundred feet long, were used to make a double width. Poles, about five feet high, were set up in two rows. The distance between the two rows of poles was the width of the double net. The double net was attached to the tops of the poles and at the points of attachment was weighted with stones. "Gravel-sand" was spread below the net as bait. The operator concealed himself fifty to sixty feet away and with a string pulled the net from the poles when the birds had gathered below the net. In heavy snow, the poles were pulled down with the net, both the poles and the net being securely

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[383] Ibid., p. 7.

[384] Cabot, 1909, The Indians, p. 204.

attached to one another.[385]

Another "trap-like catching method" was employed for hunting beaver. A net-bag about one to one and a half yards long was constructed of twine. The opening of the bag was placed between two poles set under the ice at a narrow section of a river. The opening faced towards the beaver house. A signal stick extended from the lower half of the opening of the net-bag to the bottom of the ice. Two strings passed through a ring and along the edge of the net. These were pulled to close the mouth of the net-bag.[386] A similar beaver net, made of caribou skin thongs, was described for the Ungava Band. It was placed over the mouth of the exit of a beaver house.[387]

The whiskey-jack or Canada Jay trap was popular among the women and children. Three or four posts were set in the ground in such a way as to support two snowshoes facing each other on the oblique. A string was attached to the toe hole of one and passed through the toe hole of the other snowshoe and led to the operator. A baited stick was set into the seave of one of the snowshoes. When the string was pulled, the snowshoes came together trapping the bird. The toe holes

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[385]Lips, 1936, Trap Systems..., pp. 7-8.

[386]Ibid., pp. 8-9.

[387]Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 317.

were filled with leaves and grass to prevent the escape of the bird.[388]

Deadfalls were a second class of traps described by Lips and called by him "Gravity Traps." The five traps in this class worked on the deadfall principle. They differed primarily in the type of release mechanisms employed.

The "Marten and Mink" trap (Fig. 12) was constructed as follows. First, two rows of posts were erected, the rows diverging outward from a post or a tree. Next, a base log was placed on the ground in front of and against the two end posts of the trap. A single small post was then set in front of the base log. This post held the base log in place and guided the fall of the striking log or deadfall. The striking log extended obliquely from the ground across the front of the trap and between the post holding the base log and the two end posts of the trap. The striking log was held in place by the release mechanism. This consisted of a holding board about three inches long, one end of which rested on the base log, the other end supporting the striking log. Next, the flattened end of a bait stick was inserted at either the lower or upper end of the holding board. The bait stick was about eleven inches long. The free end of the bait stick extended back into the trap and carried the bait, usually

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388Lips, 1936, Trap Systems..., p. 9.

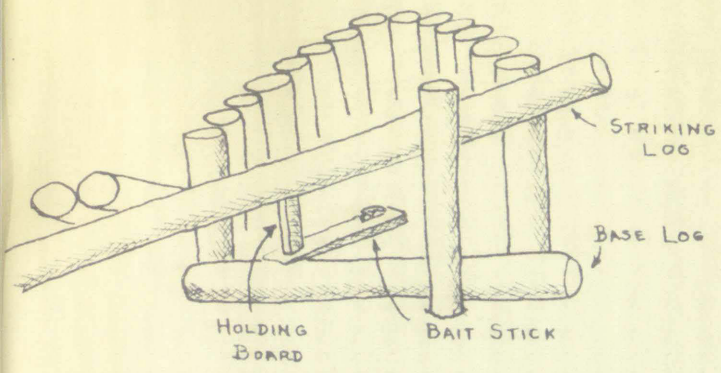


FIGURE 12 MARTEN AND MINK TRAP
(AFTER LIPS, TRAP SYSTEMS..., FIG. 5, p 30)

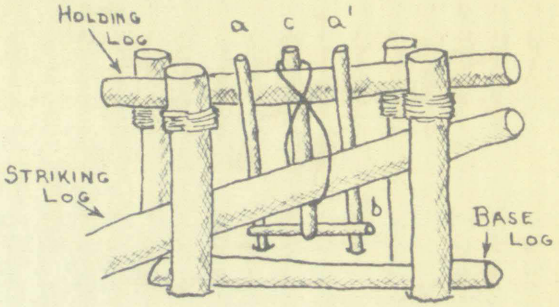
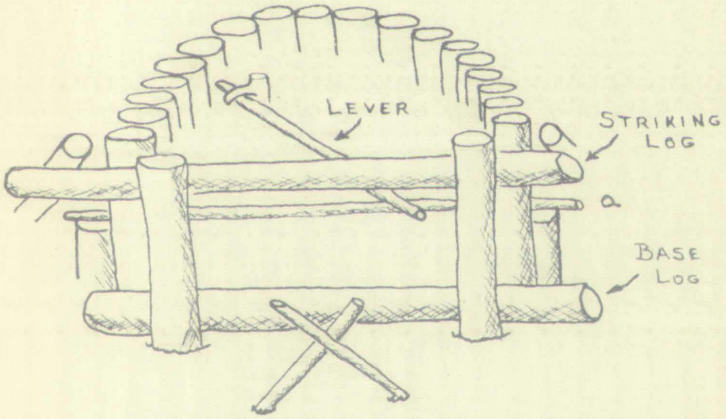
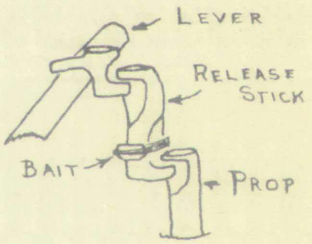


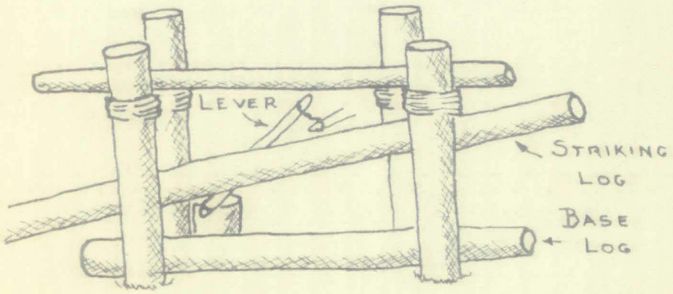
FIGURE 13 OTTER AND BEAVER TRAP
(AFTER LIPS, TRAP SYSTEMS..., FIG. 12, p 33)

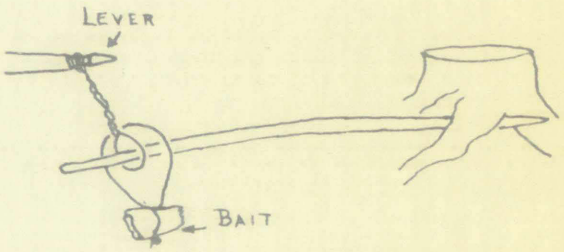




RELEASE MECHANISM

FIGURE 14 BEAR TRAP
(AFTER LIPS, TRAP SYSTEMS..., FIG'S 7 AND 7A, p 31)





RELEASE MECHANISM

FIGURE 15 BEAR TRAP
(AFTER LIPS, TRAP SYSTEMS..., FIG'S 9, 9A, AND 10, p 32)

dried fish. More logs were sometimes laid across the lower end of the striking log for additional weight. Finally the trap was covered with branches.[389]

The finished trap was about twelve inches deep with a front opening about nine to twelve inches wide. Slightly larger traps were used for wolverines. This trap was in use from mid-November until the end of March.[390]

The Ungava Band employed this type of trap for mink and marten but with a Figure-four trigger release mechanism.[391]

A second type of deadfall was the "Otter and Beaver" trap (Fig. 13). Two pairs of posts were erected opposite each other some distance apart. The posts of each pair were just far enough apart for the placement of a base log between them and resting on the ground. The posts of each pair were tied together near the top with spruce roots upon which rested the holding log. The striking log extended obliquely from the ground between the posts of each pair and in line with the holding and base logs. Next two small poles (a & a') were set in the ground just behind the base log. These poles extended upward obliquely to pass in front of the holding log. Near the bottom and at the front of poles a and a', a

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[389] Ibid., pp. 10-11.

[390] Ibid.

[391] Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 281.

horizontal release stick b was placed. The releast stick b was held in place by a vertical stick c which pressed against the releast stick b on the front side. The vertical stick c extended beyond and behind the holding log. Around the top of the vertical stick c passed a string of spruce roots. The two ends of the spruce root string were then brought over the holding log and down and around the striking log and tied together. The roots held the striking log in place. The position of the sticks a, a', and b of the release mechanism varied, depending on whether beaver or otter were to be killed. Finally, the whole trap, except for the entrance, was covered with branches. No bait was used.[392]

The "Otter and Beaver" trap was set in game trails during April and May when the soil had thawed and at the end of September or the beginning of October.[393]

The last three types of deadfalls discussed by Lips were for the capture of bear.

The first of these three bear traps (Fig. 14) was constructed with two rows of poles diverging outward from a single post similar to the "Marten and Mink" trap. In front of each end post another post was erected. A base log,

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[392]Lips, 1936, Trap Systems..., pp. 14-15.

[393]Ibid.

resting on the ground, extended across the front of the trap between the end posts and the two posts in front. Just in back of each end post a shorter post was erected. Across the tops of these two posts a pole was laid. A "lever" rested on this pole and extended back into the trap to the release mechanism. The striking log, passing in front of the trap and between the end posts and the forward posts, rested on the lever. The release mechanism was of three pieces. One piece, called the "prop," was a short pole set in the ground. It was notched at the upper end. The second piece, the "release stick," was notched at both ends. The notch at one end fitted into the notch of the prop. The third piece was notched at one end. This notch fitted into the notch at the upper end on the release stick. The other end of this last piece hooked onto the lever. A bait of bacon rind or dried fish was tied to the release stick. To finish the trap, two crossed poles were set in front of the trap to prevent the bear from backing out. The completed trap was five feet high, two feet wide, and four feet deep.[394]

The second deadfall for bear (Fig. 15) was constructed exactly like the "Otter and Beaver" trap except for the release mechanism. This mechanism consisted of a short post set on the left hand side of the rear post of the right hand

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[394] Ibid., p. 12.

pair of posts. Across the top of this post a lever was placed which extended back into the trap. The lever also extended out of the trap and under the striking log to support it. The lever was notched near the end inside the trap. Below this end a horizontal pole was securely attached. Over the end of this pole a loop was passed which was tied to a bait of dried fish. Then another loop was placed over the end of the pole and then tied at the notch in the lever. The trap was next covered with branches over which birch bark was placed to keep the bait dry. Finally, in front of the trap crossed poles were erected.[395]

The third bear trap was constructed in the same way as the "Otter and Beaver" trap. Additions were a baited stick placed behind the trap and small boards resting against the release stick (b in Fig. 13).[396]

Deadfalls were mentioned for the Barren Ground Band [?][397] and the Indians of the North Shore.[398] They were used for capturing wolverines, foxes, and possible wolves.[399] Unfortunately, the release mechanisms were not described in either account.

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[395] Ibid., p. 13.

[396] Ibid., p. 15.

[397] Cabot, 1912, In Northern Labrador, p. 265.

[398] Stearns, 1884, Labrador, a Sketch..., p. 179.

[399] Cabot, 1912, In Northern Labrador, p. 265.

pair of poles. Across the top of this post a lever was placed which extended back into the trap. The lever also extended out of the trap and under the striking log to support it. The lever was notched near the end inside the trap. Below this and a horizontal pole was securely attached. Over the end of this pole a loop was passed which was tied to a bait of dried fish. Then another loop was placed over the end of the pole and then tied at the notch in the lever. The trap was next covered with branches over which birch bark was placed to keep the bait dry. Finally, in front of the trap crossed poles were erected.[395]

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Deadfalls were mentioned for the barren Ground Eskimo [?][397] and the Indians of the North Shore.[398] They were used for capturing wolverines, foxes, and possible wolves.[399] Unfortunately, the release mechanisms were not described in either account.

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[395] Ibid., p. 15.

[396] Ibid., p. 15.

[397] Cabot, 1912, In Northern Labrador, p. 265.

[398] Speare, 1894, Labrador, a Sketch..., p. 179.

[399] Cabot, 1912, In Northern Labrador, p. 265.

Snare traps were a third class listed by Lips. These traps were constructed without a springing pole. The snare was set in such a manner that the animal merely became entangled in it.

A snare used for partridge, rabbits, and lynx was fastened to a low branch or a forked stick set in the ground. It was kept open by small bent branches set on either side and was blocked underneath by small sticks.[400]

The Ungava Band employed a snare trap made of narrow thongs of caribou skin. Three thongs were usually plaited together to form a "layer," and then three layers were plaited together to form the snare line. The length of the line varied from ten to twenty feet. At one end a loop was formed by turning the strands back and splicing them. The other end was passed through the loop to make a noose. The snares were placed in a narrow defile containing bushes. The free end of the snare was tied to a tree and the noose suspended in such a way that the antlers of the caribou would become entangled. Caribou were then driven through the defile.[401]

In the snare trap class, Lips has placed "snare gravity traps." The snare gravity trap for bear was constructed with a large tree trunk, placed horizontally in the fork of

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[400]Lips, 1936, Trap Systems..., p. 16.

[401]Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 315.

a tree. One end of the trunk extended farther than the other and was weighted with stones. The holding mechanism, set under the un-weighted end of the trunk, consisted of two posts about two and a half feet high and two feet apart. A horizontal pole was tied to these two posts near their tops with spruce roots. The snare, formerly of moose or caribou hide but now of wire, was set below the horizontal pole. It was attached by a special tie to this pole and to the end of the tree trunk. A tug on the snare released the tie, allowing the snare to be jerked up by the unbalanced tree trunk. To complete the trap it was covered with brush. Bear were attracted by little staves set up around the trap and covered with syrup or other bait. The trap was set at the same time of year as the other bear traps described above.[402]

Foxes were captured in smaller traps of the same construction. Lynx traps of this type had a small fence built behind the trap within which bait was placed. The fenced enclosure was covered with branches. An even smaller trap was used for rabbits. Also owls were taken by this means, using a piece of rabbit skin for bait.[403]

The final class of traps were the springing pole

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[402] Lips, 1936, Trap Systems..., pp. 16-17.

[403] Ibid.

traps. This type was used very rarely and only for lynx, fox, and rabbit. The release mechanism was exactly the same as for the snare gravity traps, and none showed the specific release mechanism of the typical springing pole traps.[404]

The rabbit springing pole trap was set throughout the year near rabbit holes. The "holder" of the trap was a bent branch with both ends placed in the ground. Within the holder a snare was suspended. The springing pole was bent down over the holder. A string attached to the end of the springing pole was tied to the holder and snare with the same tie as in the snare gravity traps. The snare was disguised with brush.[405]

Lynx were captured with a springing pole trap by the Ungava Band. The loop of a snare was placed over a circle of low pegs surrounding the tongue of a Figure-four set of triggers. The springing pole, usually a lithe sapling, was strong enough to lift the forelegs of the animal from the ground when the noose encircled its neck.[406]

Another trap classed with the springing pole traps by Lips was the whiskey-jack trap used for the capture of the Canada Jay. It was employed by the women and children exclusively. A branch about seven feet long was placed in the

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[404] Ibid., pp. 17-18.

[405] Ibid., p. 18.

[406] Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 281.

ground and the snare string, of brass wire or thread, was attached to the upper end. A hole was bored through the branch about a third of the way from the top. Through the hole the snare thread was pulled tightly arching over the top of the pole. A release stick was then pressed into the hole so that the thread could not slip back. A bait was placed at the end of the release stick. The weight of the jay, perching on the release stick, caused it to fall out of the hole. This released the snare which caught the bird's feet and pulled the jay against the upright branch.[407]

According to Speck, the whiskey-jack trap was not only found among the Mistassini and Lake St. John Bands but also among the Barren Ground Band.[408]

The jay was snared only during times of famine. Ordinarily, it was not molested as its cries were thought to indicate the location of moose.[409]

Besides being hunted with bows, arrows, spears, and traps, game was secured by a variety of other methods. Beaver were captured by the Ungava[410] and Eastern Bands[411] [probably the southern families of the Davis Inlet Band]

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[407] Lips, 1936, Trap Systems..., pp. 18-19.

[408] Speck, 1930, Mistassini Notes, p. 436.

[409] Ibid., p. 435.

[410] Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 316.

[411] Cabot, 1909, The Indians, p. 204.

ground and the snare string, of brass wire or thread, was attached to the upper end. A hole was bored through the branch about a third of the way from the top. Through the hole the snare thread was pulled tightly around over the top of the pole. A release stick was then pressed into the hole so that the thread could not slip back. A bait was placed at the end of the release stick. The weight of the jay, perching on the release stick, caused it to fall out of the hole. This released the snare which caught the bird's feet and pulled the jay against the upright branch.[107]

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Besides being hunted with bows, arrows, darts, and traps, game was secured by a variety of other methods. Beaver were captured by the Ungava[110] and Eastern Bands[111] [probably the southern families of the Davis Inlet Band]

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[107] Lips, 1935, Trap Systems..., pp. 18-19.

[108] Speck, 1930, Mistassini Notes, p. 136.

[109] Idid., p. 135.

[110] Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 316.

[111] Cabot, 1909, The Indians, p. 204.

by blocking the entrance to the lodge and taking the animals out. Caribou were stalked by the Davis Inlet Band during the winter.[412]

Dogs have been mentioned in connection with their occasional employment as draft animals, but their major use was for hunting. In general the Montagnais-Naskapi used a small breed of dog for hunting. The southern bands taught their dogs to "hose into the snow at a signal to smell for beaver."[413] Among the northern bands [Barren Ground and/or Davis Inlet] hibernating bear were sometimes located with the aid of dogs, and the latter were commonly employed for hunting smaller game. When traveling, the Indians often put their dogs ashore to run along the banks in search of game.[414]

Fishing equipment among the Montagnais-Naskapi consisted of gill nets, hooks, and perhaps weirs. Spears, described above, were also used.

Naskapi [Michikamau, Petisikapau, or perhaps Kaniapiskau Band] fish nets were made of caribou skin thongs.[415] Among the southern bands, nets may have formerly been made of caribou thong or perhaps of spruce roots. Today, the

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[412]Strong, 1930, Notes on the Mammals..., p. 5.

[413]Speck, 1926, An Incident in Montagnais Winter Life, p. 63.

[414]Cabot, 1909, The Indians, p. 204.

[415]Hind, 1863, Explorations in the Interior..., Vol. II, p. 107.

Montagnais-Naskapi either buy twine nets or buy the twine to make the nets themselves. For making the nets, netting needles and gauges (Fig. 16) were used. Netting needles were of various lengths depending on the size of the mesh desired. One from Mistassini was eight and three sixteenths inches long.[416] They were rectangular, except for one end which came to a point. The thickness of the needle was about one quarter of an inch. At the pointed end, a section was cut out, leaving the edge of the needle intact. In addition, a spike of wood was left extending into the center of the cut-out section, over which the twine was looped. The other end was indented to hold the twine. The net gauge was a nearly rectangular piece of thin wood.

The Ungava Band fished with nets during the summer and fall and also set them under the ice in winter.[417] The net float (Mistassini and Waswanipi Bands) used in summer, was a narrow piece of wood split at one end to receive the top line of the net (Fig. 18). Those for winter were ovoid in shape with either a knob or a hole at one end, to which the top of the net was tied (Fig. 19). Net sinkers were merely beach pebbles tied to the bottom of the net. Occasionally they were notched.

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[416] Speck, 1930, Mistassini Notes, Fig. 125, p. 455.

[417] M'Lean, 1849, Notes on Twenty Five Years'..., Vol. II, p. 123.

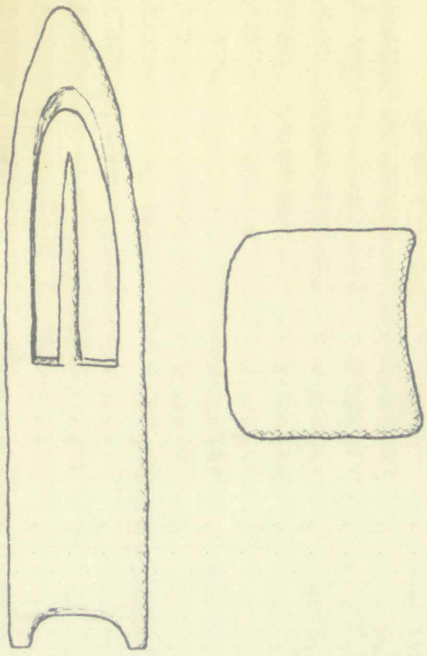

FIGURE 16 NET SHUTTLE AND GAUGE

FIGURE 17 FISH HOOK
(AFTER TURNER, 1894, ETHNOLOGY OF THE UNGAVA DISTRICT, FIG. 149, P 321)

FIGURE 18 SUMMER NET FLOAT

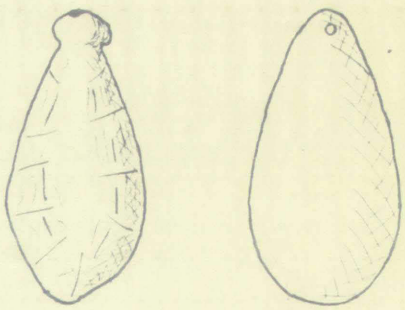

FIGURE 19 WINTER NET FLOATS

At Fort Chimo [Ungava Band] the hook was made with a steel barb.[418] Turner illustrates an example (Fig. 17) that is bound to a wooden or bone shank.[419] At Lake Nipisis [Petisikapau Band?] fish hooks of the same design were made of wood and copper.[420] Another type of fish hook, seen by Hind at Seven Islands and owned by a Naskapi [Petisikapau Band?], was made of two pieces of bone. The pieces were tied together in such a way that they were parallel to one another when baited. But as soon as a fish swallowed the hook, a pull on the line separated the pieces of bone so that they were at right angles to each other.[421] Before metal was introduced, the barbs were apparently of bone.[422] A hook made of lynx bone was used by the Waswanipi Band.[423] The fish lines were made of caribou skin.[424]

Weirs have been reported for the Waswanipi Band but no description given.[425]

When fishing during the winter, the Indians had to cut holes through the ice. For this work, ice picks and ice

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[418]Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 320.

[419]Ibid., Fig. 149, p. 321.

[420]Hind, 1863, Explorations in the Interior..., Vol. I, p. 201.

[421]Ibid., p. 324.

[422]Ibid., Vol. II, p. 107.

[423]Cooper, 1926, Some Notes on the Waswanipi, p. 460.

[424]Hind, 1863, Explorations in the Interior..., Vol. II, p. 107.

[425]Cooper, 1926, Some Notes on the Waswanipi, p. 460.

scoops were employed.

Ice picks, among the Ungava Band, were made of a worked piece of bone or horn which was attached to a wooden haft. The bone or horn piece was shaped like a narrow mortising chisel. The wooden haft was grooved at one end into which the bone or horn fitted. In the late 1800's the ice picks were equipped with iron points.[426] Iron ice chisels were one of the early items traded by the Hudson's Bay Company. One of the earliest records dates from 1682.[427]

Skinner stated that the "Cree toward Labrador" [Montagnais-Naskapi ?] used stone and bone "celts" attached to long wooden handles as ice chisels. The celt was merely an extension of the haft.[428] It is not certain where he got his information. Stone celts are almost lacking from the archaeological sites in the interior, and they have not been reported in the ethnologic literature.

The ice scoop among the Ungava Band was made with the blade of antler and the haft of wood.[429] Undoubtedly, the other bands of Montagnais-Naskapi had ice scoops, but no mention of the fact has been found.

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[426] Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 319.

[427] Champlain Society Publications, Vol. 8, p. 252.

[428] Skinner, 1912, Traces of the Stone Age..., p. 393.

[429] Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 319.

Food and Its Preparation. The staple food of the Montagnais-Naskapi was meat. In addition, some vegetal food was used when available. Food resources varied somewhat within the Labrador Peninsula, and the game taken differed from band to band and even within a band. The main difference, however, was between the northern and southern groups. In the north, the barren-ground caribou was the major item of subsistence, while in the south varied game resources made possible a more diverse diet. Nevertheless, among the northern bands, during times of famine, every food source was utilized except some carnivorous animals. In the south, certain types of food were not eaten even though present and utilized by neighboring bands. Unfortunately, there is no indication what the situation would have been during a famine.

Preparation of food was much the same among both the northern and southern bands. In the north, there was more emphasis on drying meat and the preparation of pemmican. This emphasis may have resulted from the more migratory nature of the game. Caribou could be killed in large numbers only in the fall and spring; if the meat was not to be wasted, some method of preservation had to be employed. These bands merely emphasized a technique with which all the Montagnais-Naskapi were familiar.

Early in historic times European foods were traded to the Indians. This practice has considerably altered their

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Early in historic times European foods were traded to the Indians. This practice has consequently altered their

diet over a period of years. In 1684, the Hudson's Bay Company gave its representative in the Bay permission to trade food to the Indians.[430] Undoubtedly, the French had been trading food with the Indians before this time, although Laure, as late as the 1730's, said that it would be a good idea to feel the Indians at Chicoutimi to keep them from hunting beaver during the summer.[431]

As has previously been stated, among the southern bands a greater variety of foods was consumed. Eels appear to have been a staple food for the Tadoussac Band [?] and other bands perhaps as far east as Seven Island [Moisie Band?]. The Jesuits, apparently referring to the Montagnais near Tadoussac, describe the process of drying eels. The eels were opened up the back, eviscerated, washed, and then hung in the smoke of a fire. They were gashed in a number of places so that they would dry more easily. Besides being dried, they were roasted on little wooden spits thrust into the ground near a fire.[432] Hind recorded that the Montagnais [Moisie Band?] smoked eels for winter use.[433] Among the Lake

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[430] Champlain Society Publications, Vol. II, p. 124.

[431] Jesuit Relations, Vol. 68, p. 109.

[432] Ibid., Vol. 5, pp. 89-91; Vol. 7, p. 97.

[433] Hind, 1863, Explorations in the Interior..., Vol. II, p. 18.

St. John Band, eels, although known, were not eaten.[434]

Seal were taken by the bands in the general area of the North Shore. Laure stated that in winter the Indians hunted seal eight "leagues" below Tadoussac.[435] The Montagnais living about Seven Islands [Moisie and Shelter Bay Band?][436] and those near the mouth of the Eskimo River [?] [St. Augustine Band][437] hunted seal. The "Nasquapee," [Petisikapau Band?], when they first came to the North Shore during the 1800's, soon learned to hunt seal.[438]

When a seal was brought into camp, the women and children rushed to the beach and divided the loins, ribs, feet, flippers, and head. The skin and blubber were removed in one piece. Women cut up the blubber and the men rendered it, keeping the oil for seasoning broth ("sagamite").[439] Indications are, however, that much of the rendered oil was traded to the French. The meat was boiled in a kettle or pieces were broiled on small wooden spits planted before a fire.[440]

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[434]Speck, 1935, Naskapi, p. 79.

[435]Jesuit Relations, Vol. 68, p. 83.

[436]Hind, 1863, Explorations in the Interior..., Vol. I, p. 4.

[437]Stearns, 1884, Labrador, a Sketch..., p. 99.

[438]Hind, 1863, Explorations in the Interior..., Vol. I, p. 324.

[439]Jesuit Relations, Vol. 68, pp. 89-93.

[440]Ibid., p. 89.

Laure states -- presumably referring to seal -- that he had never seen the Indians eat any.[441] He may have been referring to the people of the Lake St. John Band who did not eat seal,[442] but the available evidence indicates that the bands along the North Shore did eat seal.

Sea birds, which nested along the North Shore, were another source of food for the Indians. Eider were spitted, dried, and smoked, and their eggs were roasted.[443]

Beaver are not mentioned as food in the early literature, but were of first importance to some of the southern bands.[444]

These bands killed moose, which furnished one of the principal foods in winter.[445] Moose have been an important source of food for the Mistassini Band since its first arrival in their territory. The meat was either boiled or dried by the women.[446] While they were an important food, they were generally difficult to capture except in deep snow.[447]

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[441] Ibid., p. 85.

[442] Speck, 1935, Naskapi, p. 79.

[443] Townsend, 1910, A Labrador Spring, pp. 153, 160.

[444] Speck, 1935, Naskapi, p. 78.

[445] Hind, 1863, Explorations in the Interior..., Vol. II, pp. 18-19.

[446] Ibid.

[447] Jesuit Relations, Vol. 7, p. 179.

Caribou are rarely mentioned as food among the southern bands. Hind stated that the Montagnais lived on caribou as well as other game during the winter.[448] Laure spoke of herds of caribou on which the Mistassini Band subsisted.[449] Undoubtedly, before the virtual extermination of this animal in the southern region, it was an important item of food.

Other foods consisted of rabbits,[450] ptarmigan,[451] and spruce partridge.[452] According to Speck, bear were of great importance.[453] Porcupine were taken.[454] The quills were removed by hanging the porcupine over a fire.[455] Marten were roasted by the Mistassini Band.[456] Ducks and geese were utilized.[457] Fish -- trout,[458] whitefish, pike, and dore --

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[448] Hind, 1863, Explorations in the Interior..., Vol. II, p. 19.

[449] Jesuit Relations, Vol. 68, p. 47.

[450] Hind, 1863, Explorations in the Interior..., Vol. II, p. 19; Speck, 1926, An Incident in Montagnais Winter Life, p. 63; Townsend, 1910, A Labrador Spring, p. 167.

[451] Townsend, 1910, A Labrador Spring, p. 167.

[452] Ibid.

[453] Speck, 1935, Naskapi, p. 79.

[454] Hind, 1863, Explorations in the Interior..., Vol. II, p. 19.

[455] Stearns, 1884, Labrador, a Sketch..., p. 215.

[456] Speck, 1930, Mistassini Notes, p. 434.

[457] Townsend, 1910, A Labrador Spring, p. 167; Champlain Society Publications, Vol. 11, p. 13.

[458] Townsend, 1910, A Labrador Spring, p. 167.

were caught. Among the Waswanipi[459] and Nemiscau[460] Bands and the western families of the Mistassini Band sturgeon were an important food source. The Indians of the Nemiscau Band gathered at Lake Nemiscau during September to catch and dry sturgeon.[461]

Of vegetal food little mention has been made. The lilly root was eaten by the Indians of the Tadoussac [?] area.[462] Berries were gathered in the fall. Blueberries were important and much blueberry cake was made. After the berries were stewed in a kettle until they adhered, they were dried.[463]

In times of famine, tripe de roche,[464] the inner bark of the birch tree, and caribou moss[465] were eaten.

There were three main methods of preparing meat. One was to boil the meat to form a broth.[466] The liquid was always drunk after the meat had been eaten.[467] Before the

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[459]Cooper, 1926, Some Notes on the Waswanipi, p. 460.

[460]Low, 1897, Report on Explorations..., p. 329L.

[461]Ibid.

[462]Jesuit Relations, Vol. 5, p. 103.

[463]Cabot, 1909, The Indians, p. 213.

[464]Hind, 1863, Explorations in the Interior..., Vol. I, p. 231.

[465]Ibid., Vol. II, p. 18.

[466]Jesuit Relations, Vol. 68, p. 91

[467]Hind, 1863, Explorations in the Interior..., Vol. II, p. 18.

introduction of iron kettles bark containers were used. Stone boiling was practiced,[468] and this continued long after European contact.[469]

The second method was to roast the meat on a spit placed before the fire. The other method of preparation was to smoke or dry the meat. Whether it was eaten in this condition or first pounded up or boiled to form a broth was not stated.

Among the northern bands, the staple food was the barren ground caribou.[470]

Caribou, as well as moose and bear, were skinned by slitting the hide from the neck to the heart and then down both forelegs. The slit was continued from the heart to the crotch and then down each hind leg.[471]

Caribou were then stripped of fat, and the viscera removed. The fat was laid to one side and saved for future rendering. The meat was removed from the bones and taken to the tents where it was dried over a fire. When the flesh was sufficiently dry, it was put into packages, each of about thirty pounds, and covered with the parchment-like

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[468] Jesuit Relations, Vol. 68, p. 91.

[469] Hind, 1863, Explorations in the Interior..., Vol. II, p. 18.

[470] M'Lean, 1849, Notes on Twenty-five Years', Vol. II, p. 124; Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 276; Strong, 1930, Notes on the Mammals, p. 2.

[471] Cooper, 1926, Some Notes on the Waswanipi, p. 460.

subcutaneous tissue of the caribou skin [Ungava Band].[472]

In the high cool barrens where the eastern bands lived, [Barren Ground and/or Davis Inlet Band] whole carcasses, skinned and eviscerated, were left on the gravel beaches to be dried by the sun and wind.[473]

Caribou pemmican was common. The dried meat [Ungava Band] was pounded on a smooth hard stone with a stone or metal pestle into a coarse powder. The ligaments were removed, and the pounded meat put in "baskets" or bags for storage.[474] The eastern bands [Barren Ground and/or Davis Inlet Band] were said to prefer this method of storage. Among this group the pemmican was packed in a bag or a bladder, and melted fat poured over it.[475]

Formerly, the pounders were of stone but are now of iron obtained from the traders. They are bell-shaped, with the larger end being used for pounding.[476]

Caribou fat was a favored dish. The back fat was often dried and smoked. The long bones were cracked and the marrow extracted -- the most highly prised part of the caribou. The remaining bones containing marrow were cracked, placed in

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[472]Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, pp. 277-78.

[473]Cabot, 1909, The Indians, p. 211.

[474]Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 280.

[475]Cabot, 1909, The Indians, p. 211.

[476]Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 302; Hubbard, 1908, A Woman's Way Through Unknown..., p. 148.

a kettle, and the marrow dried out over a slow fire [Ungava Band].[477] After the cracked bones had been boiled sufficiently, the Indians at Mistinipi Lake [Barren Ground or Davis Inlet Band] skimmed the grease and caribou hair from the top of the mixture and drank the remaining broth.[478] The fat which had been stripped from the carcass was placed in kettles, rendered over a fire, and then poured into another vessel to cool. Some of the rendered fat was used for food.[479]

Another method of preparing the caribou [Barren Ground and/or Davis Inlet Band?] was to place the blood of the animal in its paunch, with some of the partly digested moss. This mixture was then cooked and dried to form a mass which could be crumbled into grains resembling brownish gunpowder. It was used chiefly in times of scarcity or when starting for a day's hunt in winter. A cup of water, with a handful of powder stirred in, might be drunk. No more food would be eaten until the hunt ended.[480]

Foetal caribou were considered a delicacy by the Indians of the Ungava Band.[481]

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[477]Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 278.

[478]Cabot, 1912, In Northern Labrador, p. 240.

[479]Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 278.

[480]Cabot, 1909, The Indians, pp. 211-12.

[481]Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 280.

The black bear, among the Barren Ground and Davis Inlet Bands, was the second most important food animal.[482] Bear were scarce in the Ungava Band territory and were unimportant in the diet.[483]

Porcupine provided an important food source for the barren ground bands [Barren Ground and Davis Inlet?].[484] The quills and hair were removed by the Ungava Band by scorching or by pouring hot water over the body.[485]

Ducks, geese, ptarmigan, hares, rabbits, and beaver were killed for food by the Ungava Band.[486] Beaver were not known to the Barren Ground and Davis Inlet Bands, whose area this animal did not inhabit.[487]

Of the carnivorous animals, only the lynx was eaten by the Ungava Band, and then only when food was scarce.[488] The wolverine was eaten by the eastern bands [Barren Ground and/or Davis Inlet Band?] but only in times of famine.[489]

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[482]Strong, 1930, Notes on the Mammals..., p. 5.

[483]Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, pp. 279-80.

[484]Strong, 1930, Notes on the Mammals..., p. 8.

[485]Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 279.

[486]Ibid.

[487]Strong, 1930, Notes on the Mammals..., p. 7.

[488]Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 279.

[489]Cabot, 1912, In Northern Labrador, p. 151.

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[482] Strong, 1930, Notes on the Mammals..., p. 9.

[483] Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, pp. 279-80.

[484] Strong, 1930, Notes on the Mammals..., p. 8.

[485] Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 279.

[486] Ibid.

[487] Strong, 1930, Notes on the Mammals..., p. 7.

[488] Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 279.

[489] Cabot, 1912, In Northern Labrador, p. 191.

The Ungava Band did not eat the wolverine, wolf, or fox.[490]

The Indians of the Ungava Band eagerly sought birds' eggs and enjoyed partially incubated embryos.[491] They ate both the eggs and young of the ptarmigan.[492]

Salmon, trout, whitefish, and suckers were caught by the Ungava Band during the summer with nets and hooks. In winter, they fished with hooks through holes in the ice for trout.[493] Nets were set under the ice during a part of the winter. From the latter part of December until the end of March, the fish remained in deep water, making it impossible to employ the gill net for their capture.[494]

In the northern area [Barren Ground and/or Davis Inlet Band] the service-berry or mountain cranberry was of importance for food,[495] and among the Ungava Band berries [blueberries?] were esteemed.[496]

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[490]Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 280.

[491]Ibid.

[492]Ibid., p. 279.

[493]Ibid., p. 280.

[494]M'Lean, 1849, Notes on Twenty-five Years'..., Vol. II, pp. 123-24.

[495]Cabot, 1909, The Indians, p. 212.

[496]Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 301.

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Baren, the fish remained in deep water, making it impossible

winter. From the latter part of December until the end of

trout.[93] Nets were set under the ice during a part of the

winter, they flashed with hooks through holes in the ice for

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[90]Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 280.

[91]Ibid.

[92]Ibid., p. 279.

[93]Ibid., p. 280.

[94]M'Lean, 1869, Notes on Twenty-five Years'..., Vol. II, pp. 123-24.

[95]Cabot, 1909, The Indians, p. 212.

[96]Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 301.

Skin Dressing. The Montagnais-Naskapi, being primarily a hunting people, utilized the skins of the animals they hunted in the making of clothing, containers, and shelters. Few tools were used in preparing the hides. Furthermore, the treatment of the skins was not complicated when compared with Eskimo methods. There was no tanning, nor was there any method of preparing waterproof skins.

The beaming tool (Fig's. 20 and 21) among the Ungava Band was used to remove the hair from hides. It was made from the radius of the caribou. A segment was cut from the central section at the back of the bone to produce a sharp edge. The ends of the bone served as handles.[497] Among the Mistassini Band the edge was often serrated.

To work the flesh side of the hide [Ungava Band] the tibia or large bone from the hind leg of the caribou was used (Fig. 22). One end of the bone was beveled to produce a chisel edge, either straight or slightly rounded, and often serrated. Some scrapers had a serrated "spatula-shaped" piece of iron set in the cavity of the bone. If a leg bone was not available, a wooden handle was made shaped like the long handle of a morticing chisel and the metal blade fastened to it. A looped thong was attached in a notch at the upper end of the handle. This loop encircled the wrist

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[497] Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 293.

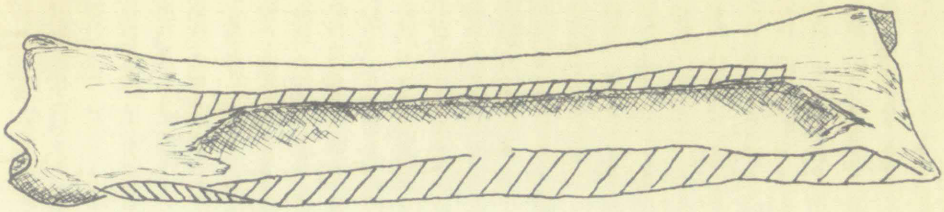


FIGURE 20

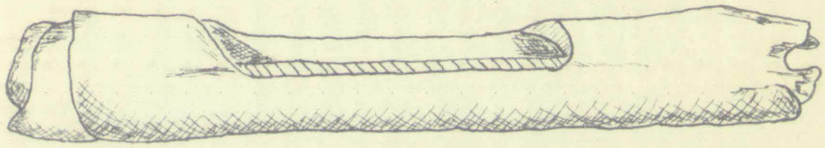


FIGURE 21 (AFTER TURNER, 1894, ETHNOLOGY OF THE UNGAVA DISTRICT, FIG. 102, p292)

BEAMING TOOLS

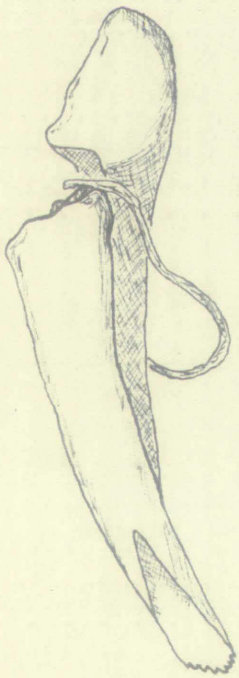


FIGURE 22

(AFTER TURNER, 1894, ETHNOLOGY OF THE UNGAVA DISTRICT, FIG. 104, p293)

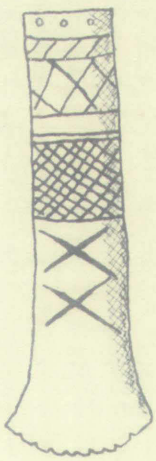


FIGURE 23

(AFTER SPECK, 1935, NASKAPI, PLATE XVI, opp. p. 174)

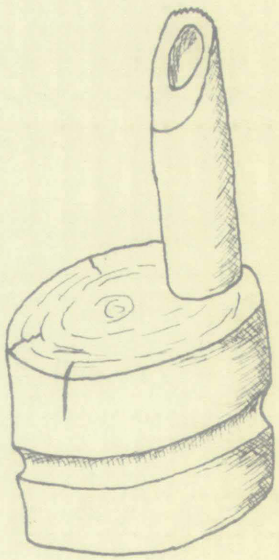
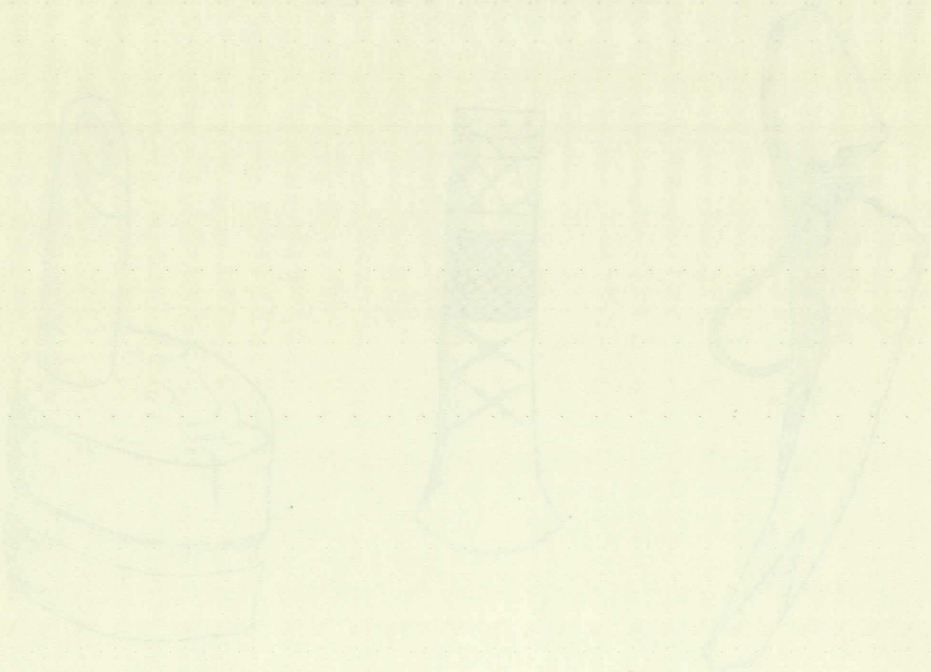


FIGURE 24

SCRAPERS



and prevented the hand of the worker from slipping down the wooden or bone handle.[498]

The Montagnais-Naskapi [southern bands?] used the leg bones of bear for scraping the flesh from beaver and otter skins (Fig. 23). The bone was beveled and decorated.[499] These bands also had a moose leg bone scraper which was beveled and the edge serrated. A cloth or leather loop prevented the hand from slipping.[500]

The Mistassini Band had a scraper (Fig. 24) made from a leg bone which had been squared at one end and beveled at the other. The beveled end was often serrated. The scraper was mounted on a section of wood three to four inches in diameter and about four inches long. In making the wooden mount, a spike of wood was left extending beyond one end and near one edge. The bone scraper was slipped over this spike and secured with thongs. Around the middle of the wooden mount a groove was cut to which was attached the thong to prevent slipping. The Waswanipi Band used the same type of tool, except that the bone scraper was fitted over a spike of wood left at the center rather than at the edge of the mount.

A scraper called an "oodloo" was mentioned by Stearns

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[498] Ibid., p. 294.

[499] Speck, 1930, Mistassini Notes, p. 449; Fig. 121, p. 450.

[500] Ibid., Fig. 119, p. 446.

for removing the hair from hides -- probably for the region of Eskimo River.[501] Speck said that the bands along the southeast coast of the Labrador Peninsula scraped seal skins with an ulu. He stated, however, that the term "ulu" was known only to the mixed Eskimo-whites on the Strait of Belle Isle. Formerly the tool had been the scapulae of a seal.[502] The ulu or semi-lunar knife was used a great deal by the Indian women at Great Whale River [Great Whale River Band].[503]

The preparation of hides was a relatively simple process. Seal skins were dressed only by the bands on the southeast coast. The hide was placed on a frame stretcher, and scraped against the grain of the fur with a semi-lunar knife. Afterwards, the skin was hung up to dry. The semi-lunar knife was also used to soften stiff hides. Skins were not chewed as they were among the Eskimo.[504]

Caribou skins, immediately after removal, were left in a heap by the Ungava Band for several days to decompose and loosen the hair. The pelt was then thrown over a pole some three to four inches in diameter and three to four feet long. One end of the pole rested on the ground while the skin dresser pressed her abdomen against the other end. The

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[501]Stearns, 1884, Labrador, a Sketch..., p. 179.

[502]Speck, 1937, Analysis of Eskimo and Indian..., p. 347.

[503]Honigmann, 1952, Intercultural Relations..., p. 513.

[504]Speck, 1937, Analysis of Eskimo and Indian..., pp. 347, 349.

for removing the hair from hides -- probably for the region of Rankin River.[501] Speck said that the banda along the southeast coast of the Labrador Peninsula scraped seal skins with an ulu. He stated, however, that the term "ulu" was known only to the mixed Eskimo-whites on the Strait of Belle Isle. Formerly the tool had been the scapulae of a seal.[502] The ulu or semi-lunar knife was used a great deal by the Indian women at Great Whale River [Great Whale River Band].[503]

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[501] Stearns, 1884, Labrador, a Sketch..., p. 179.

[502] Speck, 1937, Analysis of Eskimo and Indian..., p. 342.

[503] Honigmann, 1952, Intercultural Relations..., p. 513.

[504] Speck, 1937, Analysis of Eskimo and Indian..., pp. 342, 349.

skin dresser used a beaming tool,[505] scraping the hair off with the grain rather than against it.[506] Among the Montagnais-Naskapi bands of the southeast coast, the hide was soaked in brine prior to de-hairing.[507]

The Ungava Band worked the inside of the skin to free it of particles of flesh and blood. The skins of caribou and other large animals were often allowed to dry before being scraped, and had to be moistened before being worked. To aid in working the skin, a stake several feet long was driven in the ground. The skin was thrown, flesh side up, over the stake. The skin dresser knelt before it, and with her left hand, lifted an edge of the skin from the ground. Starting at this edge, she began to separate the subcutaneous tissue from the hide, using a beveled scraper. The tissue was removed whole, washed, dried, and used for covering bundles of dried meat. The skin was scraped to remove some of the moisture.[508]

Next a mixture of putrifying brains, liver, and fat was applied. This was spread over the flesh side of the hide in a thin layer and worked in by rubbing with the hands. It

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[505]Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 293.

[506]Speck, 1937, Analysis of Eskimo and Indian..., p. 350.

[507]Ibid.

[508]Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, pp. 293-94.

was allowed to remain for several hours or days before it was removed.[509]

Finally, the skin was scraped and rubbed between the hands; the less pliable portions were worked with a scraper resembling a small scoop until they became soft.[510] According to Speck, probably in reference to the southern bands, the skin was pulled and stretched by several persons working together. It was dried gradually by twisting it with a tourniquet, while held in the hands or suspended from a tree. If the first operation did not soften it, the skin was again washed, treated with brains, and dried. With heavy skins the process might be repeated three to five times if necessary.[511]

Among the Ungava Band, if the skin was too oily after dressing, a quantity of powdered chalk, clay, calcined bone, or even flour was rubbed over it to absorb any remaining fatty matter. Skins to be used for clothing were treated in this manner. Those intended for rawhide were simply rubbed with a quantity of fat and allowed to dry.[512]

The hides destined for tents and foot wear, among the Ungava Band, were smoked. Two skins of approximately the

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[509] Ibid., pp. 294-95.

[510] Ibid.

[511] Speck, 1937, Analysis of Eskimo and Indian..., p. 35.

[512] Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, pp. 294-95.

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[509] Ibid., pp. 294-95.

[510] Ibid.

[511] Speck, 1937, Analysis of Eskimo and Indian...
p. 35.

[512] Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District,
pp. 294-95.

same size and condition were sewn together to form a bag with the de-haired side within. Next, the bag was suspended from a pole with the head and neck portions left hanging free. To the edges of the latter was sewn a cloth funnel. This conducted the smoke up into the bag and at the same time prevented the skins from being scorched by the fire. Fuel for smoking the hides was rotten wood which was infected with a certain species of fungus. This was thoroughly dried, placed in a pan, and allowed to smolder.[513] Wood chips were used for smoking by the southern bands.[514]

When sufficiently smoked the skins were taken down and the cloth removed. They were then folded with the smoked side in and allowed to season for several days. This prevented the coloring, produced by the smoke, from disappearing.[515] After smoking, the skins could be washed and would remain pliable when they dried.[516]

A white skin was produced by stretching it on a frame and leaving it for several days exposed to "frost-drying." In this condition, the skin was not washable, but dried stiff after being wet.[517]

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[513] Ibid., pp. 295-96.

[514] Speck, 1937, Analysis of Eskimo and Indian..., p. 352.

[515] Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, pp. 295-96.

[516] Speck, 1937, Analysis of Eskimo and Indian..., p. 352.

[517] Ibid., p. 351.

Bear skins were scraped on the flesh side with a "vertical" scraper. The hair was not removed. They were hung to dry and then stretched on a frame.[518]

Fox skins were scraped with a knife-like bone or wood scraper and stretched on a board spreader.[519]

Beaver skins were not cased. They were removed from the carcass with an end scraper of bone and then scraped with the same implement. In scraping they were held against the skin dresser's thigh.[520] The skin was stretched on a hoop made of two spruce or willow saplings lashed together (Mistassini and Waswanipi Bands).

Most skins, except beaver, bear, moose, and caribou, were cased. They were stretched on a two piece board frame. An exception to the two piece frame was a one piece wooden stretcher which was apparently used for muskrat skins.

Small mammal skins were scraped with a small bone end-scraper and worked soft with the hands. Rabbit skins were merely cased and dried. They were not scraped or worked in any way. They were cut spirally and twisted with the aid of a "sand bag spindle" (Mistassini Band) or "twirler-spindle" (Montagnais in general).[521] Portions of bird skins were used

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[518] Ibid., p. 352.

[519] Ibid.

[520] Ibid.

[521] Ibid.

for edging bags, pouches, and for ornamentation. They were scraped with a small bone end-scraper and worked soft with the hands.[522]

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[522] Ibid., p. 353.

CONCLUSION

In the introduction several problems were outlined. The major one was a reconstruction of the Montagnais-Naskapi culture at the time of European contact. In order to do this, it was recognized that borrowings since that time would have to be identified. To isolate the borrowed traits was, therefore, a second problem.

During the course of the study, several criteria were used to determine the identity of a borrowed trait and the direction of its diffusion. First it was necessary to establish that the trait was common to the Montagnais-Naskapi and either the Eskimo, Great Lakes Algonkians, Iroquois, of Europeans. Next, the similarity of the trait common to the two groups was compared. Further evidence was furnished, if it was found that the distribution of the trait was restricted to certain Montagnais-Naskapi bands in contact with or near the neighboring group. Fourth, the degree of integration of the trait in Montagnais-Naskapi culture was examined. Another source of evidence were the inferred dates for a trait's introduction to the Montagnais-Naskapi based on the historical sources. Finally, statements made by the informants of ethnographers were considered as additional evidence of borrowing.

It was found that while no one of these criteria

CONCLUSION

constituted proof of borrowing, taken together they indicated a high degree of probability. It is recognized, however, that a more intensive examination of the other peoples inhabiting the subarctic might necessitate a different interpretation of some of these "borrowed" traits. Unfortunately, time did not permit making such an all inclusive study. Furthermore, definitely European traits that have been adopted are not considered.

In making the reconstruction and determining what traits might have been borrowed, several difficulties were encountered. Scanty information from historical sources made possible only a partial reconstruction of certain aspects of the Montagnais-Naskapi culture. Therefore, modern ethnographic sources were used to corroborate and supplement the historical data. Furthermore, the time of contact and, therefore, of the early historical source material varied for different bands, spanning the period from the seventeenth to the early nineteenth century. The reconstruction, accordingly, was not synchronous throughout the area of the Montagnais-Naskapi. This chronological disparity of source material introduces an element of error in the reconstruction, for it obscures the internal cultural changes which have been continuously operating within the bands over the historic period.

It was sometimes difficult to determine whether a

constituted proof of borrowing, taken together they indicate a high degree of probability. It is recognized, however, that a more intensive examination of the other peoples inhabiting the subarctic might necessitate a different interpretation of some of these "borrowed" traits. Unfortunately, time did not permit making such an all inclusive study. Furthermore, definitely European traits that have been adopted are not considered.

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It was sometimes difficult to determine whether a

trait had been borrowed by the Montagnais-Naskapi while inhabiting the Labrador Peninsula, or whether it was a trait common to all the subarctic cultures from a remote period and brought with them from outside the Peninsula. Even when borrowing could be established, the direction in which the trait was diffused was often indeterminable.

In spite of these difficulties, the criteria set forth above made it possible to identify a number of traits suggestive of Eskimo influence.

White whales were hunted by the Great Whale River Band, apparently in imitation of the Eskimo. The harpoon employed was a direct copy of that used by the Eskimo. The wood float attached to the handle, however, appears to have been an Indian modification which has now been given up in favor of the Eskimo seal skin float. The seal skin boot and ulu have recently been taken over by members of this band.

Tailored clothing, in use by the Ungava, Barren Ground, and Davis Inlet Bands, is suggestive of Eskimo influence. It is conceivable, however, that the idea of tailored clothing was indigenous among the northern bands. Several factors support this possibility: Montagnais-Naskapi tailored clothing is not a direct copy of the Eskimo style; it appears to be much older than the traits which can be clearly identified as borrowings from the Eskimo; and it is well integrated into Montagnais-Naskapi culture, being

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utilized for their highest artistic expression.

Whether tailored clothing was an Eskimo inspiration or not, certainly hoods and breeches would appear to be. Hoods are not mentioned by M'Lean in the 1830's, while in the 1880's Turner states they were uncommon. This suggests that hoods were introduced during the middle of the last century. Breeches are mentioned in the earliest sources; but, since they are direct copies of the Eskimo type, it is highly probable that they were borrowed.

There is a remote possibility that mittens were borrowed from the Eskimo. The evidence, however, is slight and is based on the fact that the mittens used by the two groups were of the same pattern. Furthermore, mittens have not been recorded for the southern bands until late. This evidence, if trustworthy, would strengthen the possibility of an Eskimo origin.

In addition to tailored clothing, hoods, and breeches, other Eskimo traits are found among the Barren Ground and Davis Inlet Bands. Strong reports that the Eskimo dog, sled, and fan hitch had been taken over from the Eskimo about fifty years ago [ca. 1880].[1] Also the formal and temporary exchange of sisters and cousins among a group of men may be derived from the Eskimo custom of wife lending. Finally, the

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[1]Strong, 1929, Cross-Cousin Marriage..., p. 287.

use of an excavated snowbank as an over-night shelter may be due to Eskimo influence, as Strong suggests.[2]

Another trait held in common by the Ungava Band and the Eskimo was the custom among the girls, as they walked, of tossing stones or wood chips into the air. Turner believes that this habit was derived from the Eskimo,[3] and it may well have been. Finally, the Ungava Band's use of dogs to pull toboggans suggests Eskimo influence. If this is true, the influence occurred during the latter half of the last century since M'Lean does not mention this fact.

Borrowed Eskimo traits are not nearly as common among the southern bands. Speck implies that the Montagnais-Naskapi of the Strait of Belle Isle area had adopted the fan hitch for dog driving[4] and states they had the ulu.[5] There is, however, no additional evidence for the adoption of the fan hitch in the Strait of Belle Isle area other than Speck's implication.

The only indication of borrowing from the Eskimo by the southern Montagnais-Naskapi is found among those bands along the North Shore. The Indians' use of seal skin boots

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[2] Ibid.

[3] Turner, 1894, Ethnology of the Ungava District, p. 321.

[4] Speck, 1925, Dogs of the Labrador Indians, p. 62.

[5] Speck, 1937, Analysis of Eskimo and Indian..., Fig. 2, p. 346.

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in this area suggests Eskimo influence, but it cannot be proved. While boots may have been copied from the Eskimo, the employment of seal skin in their manufacture does not seem to have been due to Eskimo contact. A missionary of the early 1600's mentions seal skin "shoes" worn by the Indians near Tadoussac. This area was presumably not under Eskimo influence at this early date, if the assumption is correct that the Eskimo did not reach the Strait of Belle Isle until the close of the seventeenth century.

Iroquoian influences were minimal and found only among the southernmost bands. The cedar shield may have been a direct copy of an Iroquoian shield or may have been acquired during a raid. From the available information, these bands traded for "mink" robes with the Huron, not making them themselves. The "long, narrow cabin" of the "war captain" is reminiscent of the Iroquois long house. Because of the lack of precise description, it may have been, however, the same as the "oblong" structures seen by Hubbard among the eastern bands.

There are several other traits which appear to have come from the Indians to the southwest of the Montagnais-Naskapi and which probably had their origin among the Great Lakes tribes or, in several cases, among the Athapascans.

One of these was the dome-shaped lodge which, during the past three hundred years, has been slowly diffused

northward (see Map 8). There is a suggestion that this is also the case with the rabbit skin blanket. Sapir noted the possibility that the rabbit skin blanket might have originated among the Shoshonean tribes of the "southern plateaus" although there was no proof that this was the case.[6]

The sod-covered conical lodge, confined to the bands about James Bay, may have been derived from the west, having come originally from the Athapascans. While the long narrow type of snowshoe has not been reported for the Montagnais-Naskapi, the author has seen them at Waswanipi and was told this type was used occasionally by the Mistassini Band. Its origin is probably the same as that of the sod covered conical lodge.

Pipes, while found throughout the Labrador Peninsula among both the Montagnais-Naskapi and the Eskimo, undoubtedly came from south of the St. Lawrence River and not by way of the Eskimo. In support of this is the fact that it was the Indian type of pipe that the Labrador Eskimo smoked[7] and not the Russian type such as the Alaskan Eskimo used.

The conjuring lodge, present by the late seventeenth century, is known only to the western bands. No mention is made of the lodge among the eastern bands, and it is unlikely

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[6]Sapir, 1951, Time Perspective..., p. 403.

[7]Hawkes, 1916, The Labrador Eskimo, pp. 98-99.

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that this omission was accidental. This would indicate that it was derived from groups to the southwest of the Montagnais-Naskapi.

Wooden brooms may likewise have been derived from the south, although there is a question as to whether or not they are aboriginal.[8]

While today the Montagnais-Naskapi have adopted many items of European culture only those which have been described in this paper will be considered.

There has been some doubt as to where the southern bands obtained their sleds. These sleds, being of different construction than those of the Eskimo, especially in utilizing shafts and collars, are more reminiscent of Europe than aboriginal America.

The sled was first mentioned by Hind in the middle of the last century. It can be tentatively concluded, therefore, that the sled was introduced during the first half of the 1800's.

The gill net, or at least the net shuttle and gauge with which it was made, was perhaps of European origin. While the making of the gill net seems to have been common to all the Montagnais-Naskapi bands, a reference in the Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company of about 1680 suggests this was

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[8] Jones, 1935, A Chippewa Method..., p. 29.

not always the case. A representative of the Company stationed in the Bay requested a net maker from Europe for the express purpose of making nets for the Indians so that they could use them to take fish when traveling to the posts to trade.[9]

The tuque, worn primarily by the Montagnais-Naskapi women, apparently was derived from an early French cap. Speck believes that the "Button" Game and the "Six-barred cross puzzle" were of European origin.[10] The use of the Figure-four trigger release mechanism for traps by the Ungava Band was probably derived from European contact.

While there is no direct evidence, it can tentatively be suggested that chieftancy and a feeling of band unity were stimulated by European contact and the fur trade.

This review of foreign elements in Montagnais-Naskapi culture shows clearly the highly selective nature of borrowing. This appears among the Montagnais-Naskapi to be dependent on several factors. In the first place, material items were selected most readily. Second, and more important, only those traits that could be of immediate utility within the framework of their already existing culture were adopted.

Even though both the Eskimo and the Montagnais-Naskapi

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[9]Champlain Society Publications, Vol. 8, p. 297.

[10]Speck, 1930, Mistassini Notes, pp. 431-32.

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[9] Champlain Society Publications, Vol. 8, p. 297.

[10] Speck, 1930. Miscellaneous Notes, pp. 431-32.

were dependent on hunting for their subsistence, the former used equipment and techniques adapted to sea mammals while the latter used equipment and techniques adapted to land mammals. Accordingly, the Eskimo had little to offer the Montagnais-Naskapi. On the other hand, Europeans had a number of technological traits that could be directly turned to the advantage of the Montagnais-Naskapi culture. This, apparently, was recognized by the natives, and they adopted a great many more European than Eskimo goods. In addition, the fact that the Montagnais-Naskapi had, in general, more intimate contacts with Europeans may in part explain the greater degree of borrowing. Nevertheless, the Montagnais-Naskapi have adopted little, no matter how advantageous it might be, that would necessitate a drastic change in their way of life.

It was the ability to integrate the item into the borrower's culture that was decisive in the case of the Montagnais-Naskapi. It was not dependent apparently on the prestige of the donor nor on the type of culture possessed by the donor, except insofar as the latter had something the borrower could use. In addition, these borrowed traits show how a culture such as the Montagnais-Naskapi is continually adding new items to its total complement of traits and, at the same time but much more slowly, giving up others. Their culture, regardless of its simplicity, was never static. Finally, traits tended to be adopted individually and not as

assemblages. The evidence for this is weak, but among the northern bands, for instance, it appears that breeches were adopted at least fifty years before hoods and one hundred years before dog driving.

With the borrowed traits removed, a reconstruction of Montagnais-Naskapi culture at the time of contact can be made. As a complete description of Montagnais-Naskapi culture has already been given, only a summary is necessary here.

For subsistence, the Montagnais-Naskapi depended upon hunting, fishing and some gathering. Hunting was done with bows and arrows, spears, snares and deadfalls, and dogs. Fish were caught in nets and with hook and line. The meat was prepared by roasting, boiling, and drying. The skins, simply prepared, were used for clothing and containers. Clothing consisted of a breech-cloth for men and a sleeveless dress for women. In addition, both wore moccasins, leggings, and robes. Besides skin containers, there were bark trays and many types of bark boxes. Wood and bone were utilized in the making of many types of tools -- spoons, shovels, dishes, net floats, skin stretchers, scrapers, arrow and spear points, and knives.

The Montagnais-Naskapi lived in conical lodges throughout the year. In summer, they traveled by birch bark canoe and in winter by snowshoe and hand drawn toboggan.

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The extended family was the basic unit of social

organization. Ceremonies at birth and adolescent rites appear to have been lacking. There were no marriage regulations except the barrier of near blood relations. Cross-cousin marriage may have been practiced by all the bands. Death ceremonies consisted of a few minor rites before the corpse was interred. There was a well developed family hunting ground system, but band unity was undoubtedly poorly developed. Warfare was practically non-existent.

Religion was individualistic, there being no cult groups, and it permeated all aspects of life, especially hunting. Shamans were present, but in actuality each man was something of a shaman.

Art, in the form of the double curve motif, was highly developed and executed on birch bark and skins.

With the reconstruction as summarized above, the examination of yet another problem as proposed in the introduction may be pursued. This problem is to determine the effect of environment on a group of people possessing the same fundamental culture and speaking the same language in an area where the environment varied. A detailed examination of Montagnais-Naskapi culture has shown that, while the fundamental culture was similar for all the Montagnais-Naskapi, there were differences between the northern and southern bands. This dichotomy of the Montagnais-Naskapi can in part be explained directly or indirectly in terms of the environment.

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The southern bands made use of the more varied game resources in their area; they emphasized family hunting territories and family conducted hunts both perhaps partly in response to the varied fauna; they employed birch bark extensively for dishes, boxes, canoes, and lodge coverings, and art in the form of birch bark etching.

The northern bands were set apart by their dependence on caribou; family hunting territories being of minor importance, the band conducting the hunt; spruce bark was used for containers; skins were also utilized for containers and lodge coverings; and art was largely confined to painting on skins.

From this summary of the major characteristics of the northern and southern bands, the environment can be seen to have had its effect. The natural resources which differed in the two areas limited the possibilities the people had for the production of material goods and the means of subsistence. On the other hand, the environment did not determine how these resources would be employed or the method of their manufacture, which remained fundamentally the same for both the northern and southern bands.

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northern bands. This evidence suggests that contact between the two groups has not been in existence for many centuries before the advent of Europeans or that contact, if it extended over a longer period, could not have been very intimate. The former suggestion seems the more reliable, for archaeological and historical evidence indicates that the Eskimo arrived in northern Labrador Peninsula four to five hundred years ago and in southern Labrador Peninsula three to four hundred years ago. Since the northern bands have been the most influenced, it would appear they were already located in the northern part of the Peninsula when the Eskimo arrived. This is contrary to Speck's opinion[11] that the Eskimo arrived first and controlled considerable portions of the interior before the Montagnais-Naskapi entered the Peninsula.

At present there is no way of determining how long the Montagnais-Naskapi inhabited the Peninsula before the advent of the Eskimo. Apparently, those bands who today occupy the northern half of the Peninsula were, at some indeterminate time in the past, members of the southern bands. The evidence for this assumption rests, first of all, on the fact that there are no archaeological remains in the region of Hudson Strait to suggest that the Montagnais-Naskapi came from the north. Second, the southern bands represent the typical Montagnais-

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[11]Speck, 1936, Inland Eskimo Bands..., p. 325.

Naskapi culture, the culture of the northern bands being an adaptation of that of the southern bands to the more northern habitat. This is indicated by the construction of spruce bark boxes in the same way as birch bark boxes and the use of skin rolls for lodge coverings in place of birch bark rolls. These adaptations, though few in number when compared with the rest of the cultural items, suggest strongly that they once lived farther south.

The final problem was to establish the position of the Montagnais-Naskapi in the Northeast and in the subarctic in general. The evidence indicates that the Montagnais-Naskapi have had few outside contacts, except with Europeans. Their position has been marginal to the cultural developments of the Iroquois, Great Lakes Algonquians, and Eskimo. When compared with other cultures of the subarctic, the Montagnais-Naskapi are seen to have a cultural tradition that is basic to them all. The Montagnais-Naskapi, however, have not elaborated this basic underlying culture, either internally or through contacts, as have the majority of the peoples of the subarctic. The absence of a distinctive elaboration in their culture suggests that the Montagnais-Naskapi have long been isolated within the Labrador Peninsula outside the stream of cultural developments that have taken place elsewhere in the Northeast and in the subarctic.

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