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DOMESTIC PRODUCTION AMONG THE INNUT OF LA
ROMAINE: PERSISTENCE OR TRANSFORMATION

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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ROBERT PETER ARMITAGE



DOMESTIC PRODUCTION AMONG THE INNUT
OF LA ROMAINE: PERSISTENCE OR TRANSFORMATION?

by

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A Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

Department of Anthropology
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Newfoundland

ABSTRACT

The central concern of this thesis is to describe the character of domestic production among the Innut of La Romaine, on the lower Cote-Nord of Quebec, with the view to determining the reasons for its persistence and transformation. Special emphasis is placed on describing the methods by which the commensal family unit 'reproduces' itself over time. The role of use-value production, income from wage-labour, state transfer payments, and the sale of commodities such as furs and handicrafts, as well as the patterns of bush-food distribution between domestic units in reproducing the commensal family unit are considered in detail.

One important conclusion of the thesis is that in the post-contact period the general pattern of long-term change in Innu domestic production has been a transformation away from reliance on income from fur sales to meet the needs of the household for essential commodities to a growing dependence on government transfer payments. Today, social security payments and other income indirectly derived from government transfer payments are the motor of the economy in which the Innu are situated. Domestic activities, whether these be hunting, fishing, trapping, gathering, or craft production, cannot be financed without these payments. They are in a sense a form of guaranteed income, with numerous strings attached, which allow harvesting activities to

continue and even flourish in certain circumstances despite the rising demands for and cost of industrially-derived products. Thus, domestic production in La Romaine - harvesting practices, craft production, systems of cooperative labour and food distribution - continues until the present-day, but state transfer payments are now an essential component in the financial foundation of this form of production.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For the most part, my stay in La Romaine was an enjoyable and stimulating experience; perhaps the greatest experience of my life. I look back with fondness on my innumerable conversations with Innut of all ages, on the hunting, trapping, and fishing excursions we undertook together, on our bingo playing episodes, on the jovial teasing to which I was often subjected, and on my playful interactions with Line Mestenaepo, Sonja Mestenaepo, and 'Pikue' Bellefleur, three very special 'Children of Happiness'. I will never forget the warmth and friendliness shown to me by the Innut and their great patience with me when I made mistakes and inconvenienced them in various ways.

Many people in La Romaine assisted me with my work and helped make my life there all that much more enjoyable. My greatest thanks must be expressed to Anne and Francois Mestenaepo who invited me into their home and spent hundreds of hours tutoring me in the ways of their culture, and providing me with welcome company and friendship. Anne's parents, Francois and Alice Bellefleur, became my fictive parents in the community and very patiently tolerated my questions and intrusions. I owe special thanks to Nūtāu, Francois Bellefleur, Utshimāu at Lac Philipot, for having accepted me into his hunting group so that I could learn more about Innu life in the bush.

I would also like to give special thanks to Chief Jean-Baptiste Lalo and the entire Band Council for having allowed me to work in the community despite their initial

apprehensions; Normand Bellefleur, Band Council manager, and Edmond Mestenepeo, employed as a researcher on the Centre d'études nordiques harvesting study, both of whom provided me with much useful information; and Jeannine Mestenepeo who exercised great patience and sensitivity as a translator during the many hours of interviewing we conducted together. To all the Innut of La Romaine I express my gratitude for having been given the opportunity to live with you and share a part of your lives.

Thanks are due to Mr. Ren Cyr of the HBC in La Romaine, in addition to Mr. Henri Jenniss and Mr. Calixte Marcoux, all of whom provided me with much useful information concerning their business affairs as they related to the Innut. Mr. John Fiset, HBC manager at La Romaine from 1938 to 1943, assisted me enormously by providing many details about credit relationships with the Innut and other economic matters for the period prior to World War II. Mr. Marc Langlois and Ms. Joanne Desjardins of DIA in Quebec City helped by providing information on handicraft production and transfer payments. Christiane Beaudet, who has also conducted research in La Romaine, shared her knowledge of handicraft production and other aspects of life among the Innut with me much to my benefit.

The research undertaken in La Romaine was funded by a Northern Science Research Training Grant and by a grant from the Centre d'études nordiques at Laval University which, in conjunction with the Conseil Attikamek-Montagnais, conducted

a harvesting study in the community during and after the period of my fieldwork. The writing of this thesis was made possible by the good grace of the Dean of Graduate Studies at Memorial University who provided me with a Graduate Fellowship over a period of two years.

I am indebted to Dr. Paul Charest of Laval University for all the energy he expended in presenting my research proposal to the Conseil Attikamek-Montagnais and La Romaine Band Council, for providing me with invaluable data from the harvesting study, and for having given me much guidance and assistance with a number of problems related to the fieldwork and subsequent analysis of the data obtained there. My friend and thesis advisor Dr. Adrian Tanner has devoted innumerable hours to helping me prepare for my fieldwork in La Romaine, discussing my experiences there and observations about Innu culture, and assisting me in organizing and revising the thesis. His knowledge of Native people in the Quebec-Labrador peninsula, and his personal commitment to helping to develop our understanding of the Innu culture has inspired me greatly ever since my arrival in St. John's three years ago. Likewise, I have also benefitted greatly from my friendship with Dr. Marguerite MacKenzie who has shared much practical knowledge with me about Innu culture and conducting research among them. I owe a special thanks to Adrian and Marguerite for having kept me going when the cupboard was bare and my wallet empty.

Finally, I would like to thank Louise Lavoie whose immense curiosity, enthusiasm and great interest in Innu

culture reinforced my own, and whose friendship helped me deal better with fieldwork stress and my periods of loneliness. To my parents, I remain eternally grateful for all their moral support over the years, and for having on many occasions bailed me out financially when all other sources of income had evaporated.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
ORTHOGRAPHY OF INNU WORDS USED IN THE THESIS	xi
LIST OF TABLES	xiii
LIST OF FIGURES	xvi
LIST OF MAPS	xvi
ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE TEXT OR FOOTNOTES	xvii
CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION	1
1. Background of the Research	1
2. The Problem	2
3. Methodology	4
4. Brief Description of the Community	5
CHAPTER II. DOMESTIC PRODUCTION AMONG THE INNUT OF LA ROMAINE: PERSISTENCE OR TRANSFORMATION?	11
1. Introduction	11
2. Domestic Production Among the Innut of La Romaine	16
3. Transformation or Persistence of Domestic Production?	21
4. Reproduction of the Domestic Unit	25
5. The Determination of Innu Needs	32
6. The Persistence of Domestic Production Among the Innut	36
7. Chapter Summary	41
Footnotes	43
CHAPTER III. ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE LA ROMAINE INNUT	49
1. Introduction	49
2. Early Contact with Europeans	49
3. The Euro-Canadian Presence on the Cote-Nord and its Significance for the Innut	52
4. The Arrival of the Merchants: the HBC, Labrador Company and Other Concerns	58
5. Missionary Activity on the Cote-Nord ...	62
6. Role of Missionaries in Economic Change	65
7. Innu Way of Life 1800-1950	70

8.	The Saguenay Beaver Preserve	88
9.	Creation of the Reserve	91
10.	Development of Health Care Facilities ..	93
11.	Education and Settlement	96
12.	From Rations to Welfare: Social Security Payments	98
13.	Housing	101
14.	The Birth of the Cote-Nord Municipality	102
15.	The Winter Works Projects and Changes in Innu Commodity Consumption	103
16.	Commercial Cod Fishing	107
17.	The Arrival of New Services and Infrastructure	116
18.	History of Wage Labour by La Romaine Innut	120
19.	Chapter Summary	128
	Footnotes	134
CHAPTER IV. HARVESTING ACTIVITIES		140
1.	Introduction	140
2.	Autumn Hunting and Trapping in the Bush	141
3.	Winter Harvesting Activities	156
4.	Spring Harvesting Activities	159
5.	Summer Harvesting Activities	160
6.	Bush Food Production in La Romaine	164
7.	Funding of Transportation to the Fall Bush Carps	170
8.	Fur Sales	174
9.	Chapter Summary	178
	Footnotes	181
CHAPTER V. CRAFT PRODUCTION		182
1.	Introduction	182
2.	Type of Crafts Produced	182
3.	Craft Production as a Non-capitalist Labour Process	186
4.	Sexual Division of Labour in Craft Production	192
5.	Division of Labour According to Age and the Transmission of Craft Knowledge	195
6.	Handicraft Courses	198
7.	The Handicraft Committee in La Romaine	202
8.	Marketing of Craft Products	203
9.	The Contribution of Craft Production to Household Income	211
10.	Chapter Summary	214
	Footnotes	218

CHAPTER VI.	WAGE-LABOUR, TRANSFER PAYMENTS, CREDIT, COMMODITY CONSUMPTION, AND DEBITS TO THE HOUSEHOLD INCOME	220
	1. Introduction	220
	2. Wage-labour in La Romaine	220
	3. Transfer Payments and Other Sources of Income	234
	4. Retail Outlets in La Romaine	240
	5. Credit	241
	6. Credit and the Fall 'Outfit'	246
	7. Patterns of Commodity Consumption and Debits to the Income of the Domestic Unit	255
	8. Savings and Loans	276
	9. Chapter Summary	277
	Footnotes	280
CHAPTER VII.	BUSH FOOD DISTRIBUTION AND RELIGIOUS IDEOLOGY AMONG THE INNUT	285
	1. Introduction	285
	2. The Distribution of Bush Food in La Romaine	287
	3. The Logic of Sharing	295
	4. The Importance of Sharing with the Elderly	302
	5. Chapter Summary	306
	Footnotes	310
CHAPTER VIII.	CONCLUSIONS	311
	Footnotes	320
BIBLIOGRAPHY		321
APPENDICES		334

ORTHOGRAPHY OF INNU WORDS USED IN THE THESIS

The orthography of Innu words used in this thesis is based primarily on that used in the short dictionary of Sheshatshiu Innu-aimun compiled by Clarke (1982). This dictionary is itself based on the Mailhot-Lescop dictionary of Ushau Innu-aimun (Sept-Iles/Schefferville dialect) (1977). A list of consonant and vowel symbols is presented below.

Symbol

Sound

Consonants

p	[p] - (especially at word beginning or after a consonant)
	[b] - (especially between two vowels)
t	[t] - (as in English)
	[d] - (especially between two vowels)
k	[k] - (as in English)
	[g] - (especially between two vowels)
u	^w
k	[k]
s	[ʒ] - (as in English)
	[š] - (when before one of the stop consonants p, t or k)
ss	[s]
sh	[ṣ̌] - (used only when the [ṣ̌] sound occurs on its own, i.e., not directly before a stop consonant)
tsh	[č̣] - (= English "ch")
m	[m] - (as in English)
n	[n] - (as in English)
u	^w
m	[m]
h	[h] - (found only between two identical vowels, or else as a regular pronunciation of [š] among younger people and speakers of the lower Cote-Nord dialect, e.g., La Romaine)

Vowels

e	[e] - (cf. English "say", in an open syllable)
	[ɛ] - (cf. English "met", in a closed syllable)
ī	[i] - (cf. English "bee")
i	[ɨ] or [ø] - (cf. English "bit", "the", "planification")
ā	[a] - (between English "fat" and "father")
a	[ə] - (cf. English "sofa")
	[ʌ] - (cf. English "but", when before m)
ū	[o] - (cf. English "low")
u	[o] - (in open or especially final open syllable)
	[] - (cf. English "put", in closed syllable)
	[u] - (cf. English "do", after the sound i)

Diphthongs

eu	[ew]
āu	[aw] - (cf. English "loud")
īu	[yu] - (cf. English "you")
ai	[ey] - (cf. English "day")
	[ay] - (cf. English "bite")

The term 'Innu' refers to the people also called Montagnais-Naskapi Indians. It is spelt 'Innu' when used in the singular or as an adjective, and 'Innut' when used in the plural.

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1	Age structure according to sex of the Innu population in La Romaine	10
2	Population of the La Romaine Band, 1924-1978	10
3	The non-native population of the lower Cote-Nord from Kegaska to Blanc-Sablon, 1820-1980.....	56
4	Distribution of the non-native population of the La Romaine Posts between 1855 and 1900.....	57
5	Location of base camps north of La Romaine during the fall 1982 and fall 1984.....	85
6	Ration provided to an Innu family of four in La Romaine, 1938-1943.....	99
7	Fish purchased from La Romaine Innu Fishermen between 1969 and 1971.....	112
8	Quantity of codfish harvested by the Fishing Cooperative between 1965 and 1970.....	112
9	Quantity of codfish harvested by the Fishing Cooperative for 1969 and 1970.....	113
10	Diaries received from active male hunters according to seasons, 1982-1983.....	165
11	Number of animals harvested, live weights and edible weights of reported harvests, La Romaine, 1982-1983.....	166
12	Estimated number of animals harvested and edible pounds of meat available, La Romaine, 1983.....	168
13	Trapping program contributions paid by DIA since 1978 to the Innut of La Romaine, number of participants, and total income realized from fur sales.....	172
14	Number of furs sold by the La Romaine Innut, and total income received per year from fursales, 1978-83.....	175

15	Handicrafts produced by the La Romaine Innut: sexual division of labour; time of year produced; method of distribution.....	185
16	Range of prices received for handicrafts sold by La Romaine Innut.....	208
17	Sources of employment among the Innut in La Romaine, 1985-1983.....	222
18	Distribution of work positions among persons holding more than one such position, La Romaine, 1982-83.....	223
19	Work positions held by Innut in La Romaine by sex and category, 1982-1983.....	224
20	Total wages and number of employees per employer, La Romaine, 1982-1983.....	227
21	Work positions held by non-Innu People in La Romaine, 1982-1983.....	233
22	Total estimated income of Innu families in La Romaine, 1982-1983.....	234
23	Social assistance payments to La Romaine Innut, 1975-1976 to 1982-1983.....	236
24	Welfare payments per month.....	237
25	Family allowance payments.....	238
26	Miscellaneous transfer payments received by La Romaine Innut.....	240
27	Contents of a two-person outfit.....	247
28	Contents of a 21-person outfit.....	250
29	Method of heating houses in La Romaine.....	257
30	Approximate prices of selected food items available in La Romaine.....	263
31	Number of fiberglass boats, snowmobiles, and outboard motors owned by Innu residents of La Romaine and the total financial investment in these commodities.....	268

32	Rates of employment, unemployment, and labour force participation for native and non-native people in Canada, Quebec, and La Romaine.....	280
33	Example of fur distribution in a two-man hunting team, Autumn 1982.....	290
34	Number of people gathering at the Olamen river to harvest salmon; number of salmon harvested.....	292

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	1 Simple reproduction of the domestic unit I, labour-power and use-values are not sold.....	28
	2 Simple reproduction of the domestic unit II, use-values become commodities (are sold).....	28
	3 Simple reproduction of the domestic unit III, introduction of state transfer payments.....	29
	4 Simple reproduction of the domestic unit IV, the complex contemporary situation.....	29
	5 Circulation of money in La Romaine, 1982-1983.....	279
	6 Animal masters and other spiritual entities in Innu religious ideology.....	298

LIST OF MAPS

Map 1	Innu communities in the eastern Quebec-Labrador peninsula	7
	2 The community of La Romaine	9
	3 Innu bush camps north of La Romaine and hunting territories.....	145

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE TEXT OR FOOTNOTES

BTU	British Thermal Unit
CAM	Conseil Attikamek-Montagnais
CDN	Centre d'études nordiques
DIA	Department of Indian Affairs
HBC	Hudson's Bay Company
ICQC	Indian Craftsmen of Quebec Corporation
IECAM	Institut éducatif et culturel attikamek-montagnais
OTA	Ontario Trappers' Association

CHAPTER I

Introduction

1. Background of the Research

My interest in studying domestic production among the La Romaine Innut grew out of a general desire to work among the Algonquian-speaking peoples of the Quebec-Labrador peninsula, as well as a concern for the political and economic situation of all native people encapsulated by the Canadian nation-state. I had read much of the literature on the James Bay Cree and the threat posed to the continuation of their hunting and trapping way of life by the James Bay Hydro-electric project. I was interested in determining the extent to which harvesting activities continued among other native peoples in the peninsula, in particular, the Innu people living in the lower Cote-Nord region of Quebec. Were they still actively pursuing a way of life based on hunting, trapping, fishing, and gathering activities? If so, what was the financial foundation for these harvesting practices; had welfare and other transfer payments come to occupy a pre-eminent position in making such practices possible? What factors were responsible for changes in the relationship between the domestic economy of hunting, trapping, fishing, and gathering on the one hand and the capitalist market-place and state on the other? These were the preliminary questions that surfaced in my mind when I formulated the problem dealt with in this thesis.

The problem discussed here in this thesis was relevant to research being conducted concurrently by the Centre d'études

nordiques (CDN) at Laval University to study present-day harvesting activities among the lower Cote-Nord Innut: the magnitude of such activities in each community; their cultural significance; and their relationship to other elements of the economy in which the Innut participate. The research undertaken by CDN and by myself was undertaken in conjunction with the Conseil Attikamek-Montagnais, the political umbrella organization representing the interests of most Innu people in Quebec in their dealings with the federal and provincial governments, and was intended to provide data for use in land claim negotiations. The topic of the thesis deals quite adequately with the latter goal of the research undertaken by CDN, namely, to ascertain the relationship of harvesting activities to state transfer payments, wage-labour, craft production and the capitalist market-place in general.

2. The Problem

The central concern of this thesis is to describe the character of domestic production among the Innut of La Romaine with the view to determining the reasons for its persistence and transformation. The importance of this topic is suggested by the fact that many people, those in the social sciences and those not, believe that domestic production among Native peoples is destined to disappear as a result of the pressures brought to bear on it by the dominant economic system, and that Native peoples themselves inevitably are to be assimilated into the mainstream of

Canadian society. As the Innu people of Labrador and Quebec have expressed a strong interest in continuing domestic production, in continuing their way of the life in the bush based on harvesting the renewable animal resources found there, it is important to consider how domestic production has changed in the post-contact period. A study of the reasons why it has changed as well as the reasons why it has persisted in altered form until the present day, may prove useful in any steps the Innut take in future years to obtain political and economic structures to support this form of production and other cultural practices associated with it.

The thesis describes the present-day character of domestic production among the Innut of La Romaine with special emphasis on the methods by which the commensal family unit 'reproduces' itself. The role of use-value production (e.g. crafts and bush food), income from wage-labour, state transfer payments, and the sale of commodities such as furs and handicrafts, as well as the patterns of bush-food distribution between domestic units in reproducing the commensal family unit will be considered in detail. The price of commodities purchased and sold by members of the domestic unit, the availability of credit, and the patterns of commodity consumption are other important variables to be analyzed. A central concern will be the present-day contribution of use-value production to the household in the context of monetary inputs from wage-labour, the sale of furs and other commodities, and transfer payments. Changes in the way family units have been reproduced during and after the

fur trade period, that is, changes in commodity consumption, division of labour, land tenure, and the relative amounts contributed to the upkeep of the household from use-values, transfer payments, fur sales, and wage-labour, will also be considered. By analyzing the internal characteristics of the domestic unit of production in this way, in relation to its economic environment, a better appreciation of the nature of economic change among the Innu of La Romaine will be achieved.

3. Methodology

Most of the data presented in this thesis was obtained by means of formal interviews, participant observation, informal discussions, and review of Band Council and DIA documents. Fieldwork among the Innu of La Romaine was conducted from August 1982 to March 1983 of which ten weeks during the autumn were spent with an all-male hunting and trapping group in the bush 145 kilometres north of La Romaine. An additional four weeks were spent in the community in June and July 1983. Formal interviews were used to gather information on the history of the community, participation in wage-labour, patterns of commodity consumption and bush food sharing, craft production, and harvesting techniques. Participant observation was used primarily to study harvesting activities; the strategies employed, equipment used, and division of labour. Access to information concerning credit arrangements, religious beliefs, patterns of commodity consumption and a variety of

other topics was obtained by way of informal discussions with both the Innut and members of the White population. Band Council and DIA documents provided information concerning various transfer payments and participation in wage-labouring activities. The data presented in the Chapter III on the economic history of the La Romaine Innut was obtained through primary and secondary sources, but no effort was made to research archival materials (e.g. HBC archives) as the main purpose of the thesis is not to conduct a rigorous ethnohistorical reconstruction of economic life on the lower Cote-Nord since contact.

Apart from the methods listed above, I also acquired some information about economic relations and life among the Innut in general through a number of informal discussions with anthropologists and linguists who have previously worked in La Romaine and other Innu communities throughout the Quebec-Labrador peninsula. The data presented in Chapter IV on domestic production was made available to me by researchers from the Centre d'etudes nordiques at Laval University. This harvesting data was collected in the context of a harvesting study undertaken using harvesting diaries and questionnaires during the period October 1982 to May 1984.

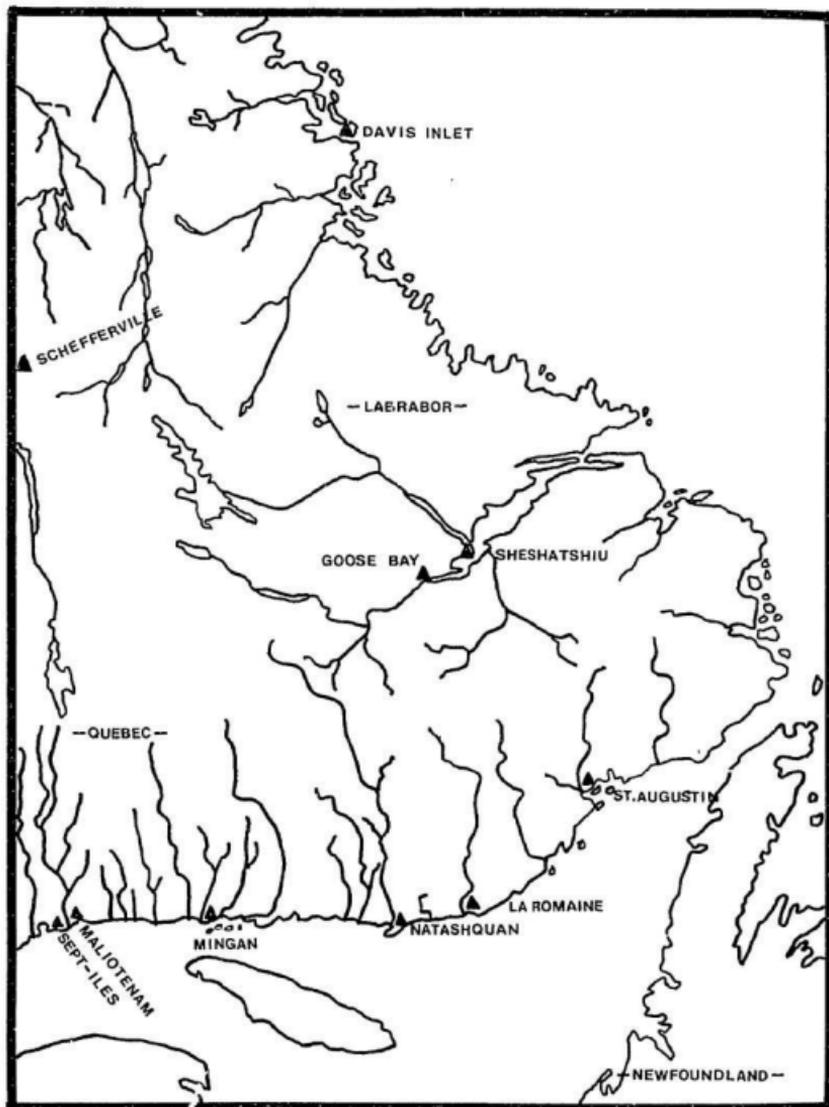
4. Brief Description of the Community

Approximately 9,600 in number, the Innut (Naskapi-Montagnais Indians) are part of the Cree/Montagnais/Naskapi linguistic-cultural continuum which stretches from the coast of Labrador to the Rocky Mountains. The Innu community of

La Romaine (Uanamen-shipu) is one of 13 Innu communities in the Quebec-Labrador peninsula (see Map 1). It is located on the lower Cote-Nord of Quebec, approximately 965 kilometres east of Quebec City: latitude $50^{\circ} 12'$ North; longitude $60^{\circ} 41'$ West. The Innuit comprise the majority of the population (629 people in 1983) and reside on a reserve 100 acres in size. French is the second language spoken by the Innu; only a few men originally from St. Augustin are able to converse in English. The White population of about 350 people, and predominantly francophone, resides in close proximity to the reserve; only a small marsh separates the two communities.

Approximately four kilometres to the east of La Romaine is the Olamen River from where the community receives its drinking water, and where the summer salmon harvest takes place. Even further east, approximately 32 kilometres from La Romaine, is the Coacoachou River, once one of the primary routes used by the Innu for travelling to inland hunting and trapping grounds. The abundance of trout on this river and its proximity to coastal areas good for collecting bird eggs, berries, and jigging lobster make it a popular camping place for many Innu families. The elderly in particular spend a great deal of time at Coacoachou during the summer months because life there affords greater tranquility and easier access to wild meat.

The Washicoutai River, approximately 15 kilometres west of La Romaine is another popular area for fishing and berry gathering activities. It is also an important route for



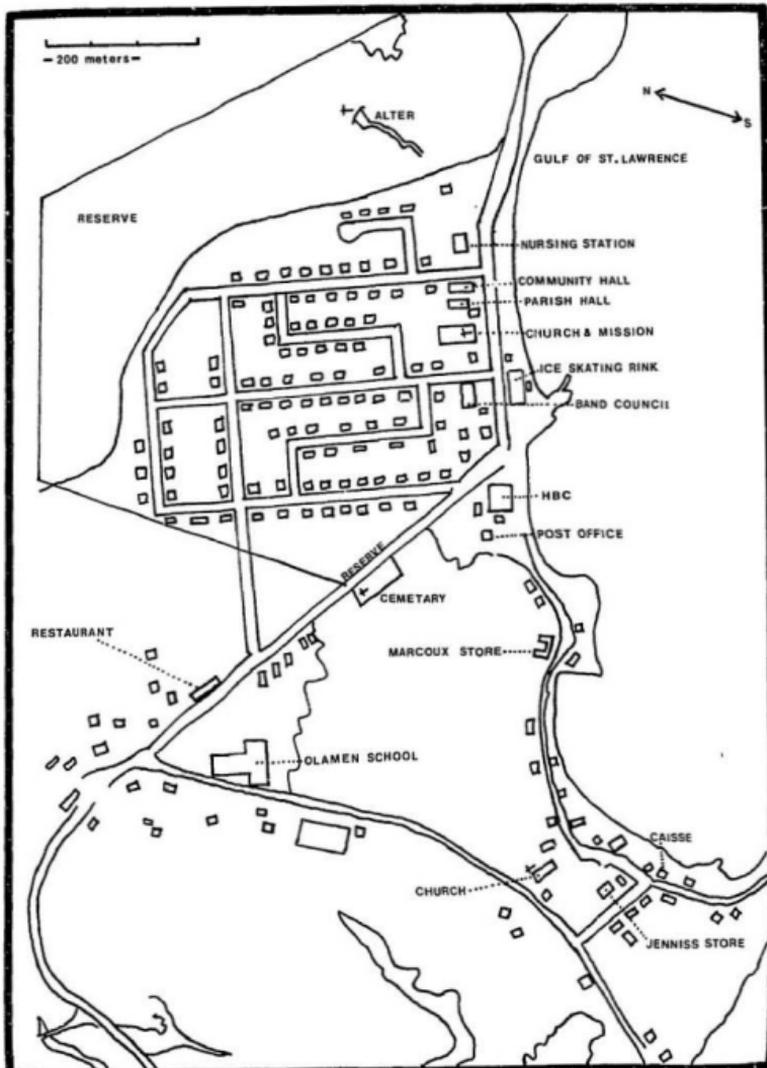
Map 1. Innu communities in the eastern Quebec-Labrador peninsula

travelling to lakes and rivers further inland where abundant quantities of trout and land-locked salmon can be harvested.

The coastline on which La Romaine is located is dotted with numerous islands extremely rich in food resources. Bird eggs, baby seagulls, blueberries, bake apples, and lobsters are harvested in great quantities on these islands throughout the summer. The islands also harbour large numbers of seabirds and migrating waterfowl which the men hunt with great intensity each spring and autumn.

A Hudson's Bay Company store, Oblate mission, parish hall, church, nursing station, and sewage treatment plant are located on the reserve in addition to the Band Council offices and community hall (see Map 2). Innu housing on the reserve is arranged in a grid-work fashion typical of reserves throughout Canada. Crushed gravel roads run throughout the reserve and connect it with the White community and with a dirt road leading to the garbage dump and Olamen River. Two retail stores selling general merchandise and food, a small grocery store, garage, motel, restaurant/pool hall, Caisse Populaire (Credit Union) and Quebecair office are located in the White section of the community. The Olamen school administered by the Commission Scholaire du Littoral which both Innu and White children attend is also located in the White section of the community. A Hydro-Quebec generating station provides enough electricity to meet the needs of the entire population.

Transport to and from La Romaine is possible by seaplane and the coastal boat, the 'Fort Mingan', between April and



Map 2. The community of La Romaine.

December. After freeze-up the community can only be reached by helicopter and ski-equipped Beaver and Otter aircraft which land on a small lake just east of the community. Heavy fogs often descend on the coast early in the spring and in the fall making air transportation to and from La Romaine virtually impossible, and sometimes seriously delaying the arrival of fresh foods and mail. Both the Innu and the White populations have had access to telephones since 1969 and television since 1974.

Table 1. Age structure according to sex of the Innu population in La Romaine, 1983 (Walsh:1984,11).

<u>Age category</u>	<u>Number of Individuals</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
0 - 4	36	35	71
5 - 9	39	39	78
10 - 14	55	42	97
15 - 19	45	52	97
20 - 24	28	31	59
25 - 29	22	21	43
30 - 34	22	17	39
≥ 35	72	59	131
TOTAL	319	296	615
AVERAGE AGE	23.0	22.3	22.7

Table 2. Population of the La Romaine Band, 1924-1978 (DIA stats.)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Population</u>
1924 -	156	1954 -	190
1929 -	132	1959 -	230
1934 -	134	1965 -	429
1939 -	121	1969 -	492
1944 -	147	1975 -	508
1949 -	171	1978 -	547

CHAPTER II

Domestic Production Among the Innut of La Romaine: Persistence or Transformation?

1. Introduction

What analytical tools are required for an analysis of the relationship between harvesting activities and other elements in the economy of the La Romaine Innut?¹ The theoretical framework to be used in this thesis draws its inspiration from the concept 'mode of production' rather than either of the formalist or substantivist traditions.

Mode of production refers to a specific combination of 'productive forces' and 'relations of production' which vary depending on the ecology, geography, cultural, and historical background of the peoples engaged in it. By producing the means of subsistence in their work upon matter, people enter into specific relations with nature and with each other. By referring to the relationship with nature, we are discussing the instruments and means of production, the people who operate them, and the technology required for this operation. Together, these three items constitute the productive forces. When we refer to the relationships between people, we are discussing the mode of cooperation, the social relations of production. These involve three aspects: "the distribution of the means of production, the goal of production, and the structure of the social relations that link the immediate producers to one another and to the appropriators of the fruits of their surplus labour" (Therborn, 1978:42). Both the productive forces and the social relations of production

comprise the 'economic base' of a society. A mode of production also includes a 'superstructural' level which is shaped by the economic base, but which influences the structure of productive forces and relations in its own turn. Thus, a mode of production is a dynamically articulated structure capable of developing internal contradictions, and which "includes an economic, juridico-political and an ideological level"(Tanner,1979:10).

'Mode of production' theory has been used to counter the transactional or exchange view of the formalists, which assigns priority to exchange relations and the underlying motivations for such exchange, in particular the way in which scarce means are allocated among alternative ends (Robbins, 1932; cf. Meillassoux,1972:94-96; Cook,1973b:28; Godelier, 1972:12-13). It has also been employed to counter the equally narrow approach of the substantivist tradition which (Polanyi,1957; Dalton,1969) also focuses primarily on problems of distribution, with production given little theoretical significance (Meillassoux,1972:94-95).

One of the main advantages of mode of production theory is that it helps facilitate the shift from general statements about economic dependence and under-development in the Third World, characteristic of the work of Wallerstein (1976) and Frank (1967), to the micro-fieldwork situation where the socio-economic dynamics at the micro-level and the dynamics of its linkages with the larger political-economic system could be taken into consideration (Foster-Carter,1978). A

number of anthropologists (Terray, 1975; Meillassoux, 1972; Godelier, 1977) have attempted to analyze micro-level socio-economic processes and change by employing the concept 'mode of production' in tandem with the related concepts of 'social formation', 'articulation', 'domination', 'transformation', and 'persistence'. A 'social formation' is a geopolitical entity comprised of a number of interdependent, 'articulated' modes of production of which one is 'dominant'. A mode of production is dominant when it subjects the other modes to the conditions for its own reproduction (Terray, 1975:91). 'Articulation' refers to the process of exchange - the flow of commodities and money between non-capitalist producers, merchants, capitalist employers, ² banking institutions, and the state. A mode of production persists when the conditions for its reproduction are maintained; it is transformed if these conditions are undermined. The reasons for the persistence and transformation of modes of production, especially those which are 'non-capitalist' (often referred to as pre-capitalist) have been of central concern in many such studies of economic change in non-industrial societies. Typically, these analyses have focused on the changes wrought by the 'dominant' capitalist mode of production on other non-capitalist modes with which it is 'articulated' in the 'social formation'.

In recent years, the concepts mode of production, social formation, articulation, domination, transformation and persistence have been applied in the context of the Canadian nation-state with the view to exploring both the

changes in and persistence of non-capitalist forms and relations of production in agriculture, the fishery, and among native people. Scott (1979) explores the present-day character of the 'domestic mode of production' of the James Bay Cree; the history of its articulations with mercantile capitalism, mature industrial capitalism, and the state, and the reasons for its continued persistence. Tanner (1979) uses a mode of production framework to generate a 'transformational model' of Mistassini Cree society. In his view, "the post-contact society has a mode of production distinct from the aboriginal society due to technological innovations and trade acquisitions, but it is a mode of production that is also distinct from that of the dominant society"(ibid.:66).

While the theoretical framework to be used here draws upon the concept mode of production, it does so in a critical manner. The mode of production framework has been particularly useful in pointing out the persistent heterogeneity of economic relations within nation-states dominated by mature capitalism. It has also been useful in directing attention to semi-autonomous production processes and distinctive distribution mechanisms which continue despite their integration with state political and administrative structures and with capitalist relations of production.

The utility of the concept mode of production has its limits, however. A lack of conceptual rigour in the

application of this concept has characterized many contemporary studies of agriculture and the fishery, where terms such as 'independent commodity production' (Johnson,1981; Hedley,1980), 'petty-commodity production' (Mann and Dickinson,1978), or 'domestic mode of production' (Sacouman,1980) are employed to denote the non-capitalist nature of labour processes and relations of production in these sectors. The problem here is that one rapidly falls into a conceptual quagmire when an attempt is made to specify the precise nature of the linkages between the micro-level processes at the level of the non-capitalist modes of production, and the capitalist mode and state (Sinclair,1983). Moreover, it is often extremely difficult to delineate empirically what it is that constitutes the distinctive non-capitalist mode of production. People engage in a plurality of occupations some of which are capitalist in nature others which are not. The products of labour are commodified, that is, sold in the capitalist market place, and industrially-derived commodities purchased to sustain the family at a given level of consumption; but at the same time, products of labour also circulate within the community according to principles different from those which typify commodity circulation under capitalism. How, then, does one delimit a specifically non-capitalist mode of production when people acquire the means of sustenance through involvement in a mixture of capitalist and non-capitalist forms of production and exchange? The only solution to this dilemma, namely, to conceive of people as 'participating' in more than

one mode of production (e.g. domestic production, independent commodity production, and capitalism, with the state mediating in these articulations) soon forces one to a level of abstraction in which one loses sight of real people 'making their own history' within the constraints imposed by economics, politics, ideology, and ecology (Thompson, 1978:80-122).

To avoid the problems posed by the concept mode of production, it is useful to employ the concept 'form of production' following Friedmann (1978:552-553, 1980:165) and Sinclair (1983:21-27). This term refers to "the structure of the basic unit of production" (Sinclair, 1983:21). When "labour is supplied and organized according to the organizational structure of the household itself" the form of production is referred to as 'domestic production' (ibid.:22). It is a non-capitalist form of production which exists in conjunction with a variety of modes of production including capitalism, feudalism, and state socialism (ibid.:22; Hill, 1983:7). Defined in this way, Canadian farmers, certain Latin American peasantry, Atlantic coast fishing families, and native people may be said to engage in domestic production.

2. Domestic Production Among the Innut of La Romaine

Among the Innut of La Romaine, the basic unit of domestic production is the commensal family unit (household or domestic unit) composed of a husband and wife, their children, and in some cases their parents and unmarried

siblings (cf. Dunning, 1959:54-64; Feit, 1982:385; Mailhot and Michaud, 1965:91-94; Scott, 1979:20; Tanner, 1979). It is not only the basic unit of production, but of consumption and distribution as well. In the community, members of each commensal family unit live together in the same house, while in the bush, they share the same tent and stove.⁴ As many as five commensal family units each with its own tent may reside together at the same campsite during the fall hunting and trapping season forming what may be referred to as a 'co-residential grouping' (Dunning, 1959:55; Feit, 1982:385) or 'famille bilaterale étendue' (Mailhot and Michaud, 1965:91). Often family units which are commensal in the community break up into smaller units in the bush camps; elderly couples or newly married couples, for example, residing in their own tents.⁵

Each commensal family unit owns most of the means of production required in harvesting activities and craft manufacture. Production itself as well as patterns of sharing are structured according to kinship relations, sex and age, while labour processes are unitary and controlled by the producer. The goal of production and exchange among domestic producers differs radically from that of capitalist entrepreneurs because it is oriented to use and not the never-ending accumulation of abstract wealth. Even the production of exchange-values in the form of furs and craft items is "geared towards filling specific needs for commodities known in advance" (Tanner, 1979:68). Domestic

producers are not interested in the 'processional value' of the commodity; 'processional value' being the "value of commodities multiplying in circulation" (Scott,1979:29; cf. Cook,1974:367; Marx,1954I: 150-151).

The notion of domestic production used here is in many ways congruent with Sahlins' conception of the 'domestic mode of production'(1972:74-99). Two important differences should be pointed out, however. Firstly, Sahlins states that one characteristic of the domestic mode is that it is "intrinsically an anti-surplus system" (ibid.:82). By surplus he means "output above the producers' requirements"(ibid.:86). While it is true that domestic producers do not generally produce with the view to accumulating an 'abstract wealth', it is false to say that they do not produce surplus. Surplus generated at a household level is often distributed to other households or is pooled for ritualistic consumption on certain ceremonial occasions (e.g. the feast [makushān] among the Innut).⁶ Moreover, the act of distributing goods not needed for the immediate consumption of the household often secures for the producer a certain amount of prestige. Henriksen notes, for example, that the Mushuāu-innut of Davis Inlet convert bush food, in particular caribou meat, into prestige and leadership. "It is by being a skilled hunter and generous with one's meat and skins that one can gain influence and a following"(1973:41).

The second difference with Sahlins' use of 'domestic

mode of production' concerns his argument that "beyond the household [the division of labour]...ceases to have organic force" (ibid.:95). By this he means that domestic units are largely autonomous in their ability to satisfy their individual needs; they are not reliant on specialized assistance from other units to secure their livelihood. To the contrary, the division of labour beyond the household is often extremely significant. For example, the detailed knowledge held by older men about animal behavior and geography is essential in many harvesting activities if the families are to achieve a secure supply of game (Scott,1979:28). Moreover, the division of labour beyond the household has for a number of years included participation in seasonal, part-time, or full-time wage-labour - activities which are now an important source of income for many Innu households.

There is some ambiguity in Sahlins' use of the terms 'production for use-value' and 'production for exchange-value'⁷ which should be clarified (cf.Cook,1974:366-367). He does not make the mistake of separating production of use-values and exchange-values into mutually-contradictory categories (ibid.:83-84; cf.Leacock, 1954:7). He is referring to the contrasting goals of production in the capitalist and domestic modes of production when he talks of production for use-value versus production for exchange-value (my emphasis). The goal of production among domestic producers is not to accumulate abstract wealth or 'proessional value', but to satisfy the immediate needs of the household for articles of

consumption. Members of the domestic unit produce both use-values and exchange-values (commodities); but when these latter are exchanged, the goal is only to satisfy limited needs for commodities known in advance (Tanner,1979:68).

While the concept domestic production refers to the structure of the basic unit of production, it tells us nothing specific about the external relations among such units or with capitalism and the state. In order to properly understand the processes by which the domestic unit reproduces itself over time it is therefore necessary to study the way in which the "internal structure of a unit of production interacts with its economic environment"(Sinclair,1983:22). In La Romaine, craft products, money, and bush food flow between family units along lines of kinship according to principles of 'generalized reciprocity' (Sahlins,1972:193-195)⁸. Income from transfer payments, wage-labour and the sale of furs and handicrafts is pooled by family members and used to purchase the commodities required in harvesting activities and to sustain household members at a socially-determined level of consumption. The distribution of subsistence products between households is the subject of Chapter VII. Members of the commensal family unit cooperate with members of other units in communal hunting, fishing, and gathering activities and divide the fruits of their harvest between them. To fully comprehend the reasons for the persistence and transformation of domestic production among the Innut it is

therefore necessary to study both the internal structure of the household but also the flow of use-values and commodities to and from the household itself. This requirement covers the general field of economic study in which processes of production, distribution, and consumption must be considered.

3. Transformation or Persistence of Domestic Production?

In general, much of the existing literature on non-capitalist forms of production has been particularly pessimistic about the ability of domestic producers to resist the pressures of capitalism. Domestic production, whether it is by Third World 'peasants', Saami reindeer herders, Canadian farmers and fishermen, or Indian and Inuit hunters and trappers, is seen as a temporary phenomenon destined to disappear under the demands by capitalism for land, natural resources, cheap labour, and markets (de Janvry, 1980; Goss, et al., 1980; Hedley, 1980; Murphy and Steward, 1956; Sacouman, 1980; Veltmeyer, 1979).

Leacock's (1954) analysis of economic change among the Innuit of Natashquan is congruent with this view. She argues that northern Algonquian societies were, at the time of her study, characterized by a fundamental and growing contradiction between production of use-values for immediate consumption by the domestic group, and production of exchange-values in the form of furs for the capitalist market-place. In her view, the contradiction was manifested in a shift in production to one similar in many ways to that of the White trappers' system of permanent, individually

owned and operated trap lines, and almost complete reliance on store-bought foods. Leacock's argument concerning the changes in Innu economic relations and land tenure practices will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

Murphy and Steward argue that the end-point of the acculturation processes described by Leacock - growing dependence on credit relations and exchange, expanding need for industrial goods, increasingly individualized land use patterns, and breakdown in "inter-familial economic dependency" - is the "assimilation of the Indians as a local sub-culture of the national sociocultural system" (1956:350). When combined with other acculturational processes such as intermarriage with non-natives, acquisition of non-native values and behavior patterns, and knowledge of the dominant language, the process of change may in fact result in the "virtual loss of identity as Indians" (ibid.:350; cf. Feit, 1982:378-380).

In contrast to those theorists who believe that domestic production is but a transitory phenomenon in the process of being destroyed, other theorists have noted the persistence of this form of production despite years of contact with capitalism, whether it be in the form of mercantile or industrial capital (Sacouman, 1980; Mann and Dickinson, 1978; Sinclair, 1983:32). But the majority of these theorists argue that the reason domestic production persists is because it serves the interests of capitalism - due to the poor rate of profit for capitalist entrepreneurs in these sectors, the fact that commodities made by domestic producers are

purchased at a price lower than the value of the labour-power expended in their production, and the fluctuating needs of capital for cheap labour. The reasons domestic production persists are attributed only to the logic of the capitalist mode of production and not to the logic of domestic production as well. These theorists tend, therefore, to downplay the role of distributive systems, labour sharing activities, use-value production, and 'traditional' belief systems in reproducing the domestic unit.

In contrast to these approaches, a number of other studies conclude that domestic producers are in certain circumstances able to 'resist' the erosive pressures stemming from their integration within capitalist nation-states due to the internal dynamics of domestic production itself, the intervention of the state, or the conscious political efforts of domestic producers themselves to preserve their economic and cultural independence (Hill,1983; Friedmann,1978,1980; Sinclair,1983). Friedmann, for example, identifies certain characteristics of 'peasant' households which inhibit the penetration of capitalist commodity relations into the cycle of reproduction of household units. The increasing reliance on the purchase of commodities, she argues, can lead to a transformation of the productive relations based in the household. In her view, stable social relations (e.g. kinship ties) granting access to land, labour-power, credit, and markets for the sale of the products of labour make household members less dependent on the purchase of

commodities either as means of production or as articles of personal consumption.

If access to land, labour, credit, and product markets is mediated through direct, non-monetary ties to other households or other classes, and if these ties are reproduced through institutionally stable reproductive mechanisms, then commodity relations are limited in their ability to penetrate the cycle of reproduction (1980:163).

In considering the factors responsible for the persistence of domestic commodity production in the tree fruit industry in British Columbia, Christensen (1981) underlines the importance of collective action by domestic commodity producers in setting up a protective structure in the form of the B.C. Tree Fruit Growers' Association. Sinclair (1983) and Hill (1983) cite the importance of subsistence production, cultural traditions, the contribution of income from wage-labour to the household, the formation of unions, and state financial assistance in reproducing the domestic unit in communities where agriculture or fishing are primary occupations.¹⁰ These studies all point, thus, to the necessity of analyzing in detail the characteristics of the domestic unit of production in relation to its economic, cultural, and political environment (cf. Feit, 1982:403).

To assist us in analyzing how domestic production among the Inuit of La Romaine is integrated with the state and capitalist mode of production, and how harvesting activities, systems of food distribution, and other domestic practices operate within this integrated environment, I shall employ the concepts reproduction and transformation, following Friedmann (1978, 1980).

Reproduction refers to the renewal from one round of production to another of the social and technical elements of production and of the relations among them. Thus, if reproduction is to occur, the means of production must be renewed, and the social product distributed among those who labour and those who control the means of production in such a way that production may recommence in its previous form....The undermining of reproduction, and the recombination of some of the old elements of production into new relations, is transformation (1980:162).

In other words, reproduction entails the perpetuation of the division of labour in domestic production, the system of access to means of production in the form of land and technology, and the methods by which the social product is distributed among household units. It entails the flow of use-values, commodities (labour-power, subsistence products, furs and crafts) and money through various distribution mechanisms to and from other domestic units, the state, or capitalist enterprises. Use-values and labour-power flow between households, tending to level in the long run any domestic surplus which may arise, but also allowing individual households to enjoy some measure of security when success at harvesting activities is uneven (cf. Henriksen, 1973:41). Most importantly, the needs of the household for means of production (productive consumption) and articles of consumption (personal consumption) must be satisfied if reproduction is to occur (Friedmann, 1980:162)¹¹.

4. Reproduction of the Domestic Unit

The needs of Innu domestic producers in La Romaine are satisfied in two forms: commodity form, namely, means of production (e.g. snowmobiles) and articles of consumption

such as food, clothing, and leisure items; and in the form of use-values produced by the domestic unit itself. The commodities required in the reproduction of the household must be purchased using income from three sources: cash from state transfer payments, cash from the sale of the labour-power of household members, and cash from the sale of commodities (e.g. furs and handicrafts). Most of the use-values consumed are produced by the household itself, but some are also obtained in the form of non-commodity services provided by the state.

As was noted previously, the Innut participate in an extensive network of generalized reciprocal exchange primarily along kinship lines, which also permit the household to acquire additional labour-power, use-values, and monetary inputs to purchase commodities. The consumption of these use-values and commodities and the cooperative allocation of labour permits the domestic unit to regenerate the labour-power required to produce commodities for sale and use-values for the immediate use of the unit itself. The labour-power of the domestic producer may also be sold in exchange for a wage either to the state, to a merchant, or to capital proper. The system of bush food distribution within the community of La Romaine is discussed in Chapter VII, while the allocation of labour-power in domestic activities is discussed in Chapters IV and V.

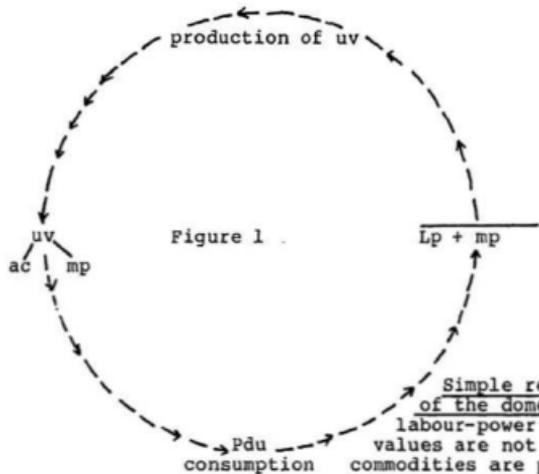
The act of selling labour-power and purchasing industrially-derived commodities ties the household to industrial capitalism. Production of furs, the purchase of

commodities, and the credit required to make such purchases ties household members to the local merchant. Inputs in the form of social security payments, family allowance, old age pensions and non-commodity services such as free medical care, and education create a certain dependency on the state. The flow of commodities and use-values to and from the domestic unit is depicted in Figures 1-4 (Lebowitz, 1980a). The circuit diagram presented here is a simplification of economic life in La Romaine, but its purpose is intended only as a heuristic device to help us in understanding how the domestic unit is reproduced.

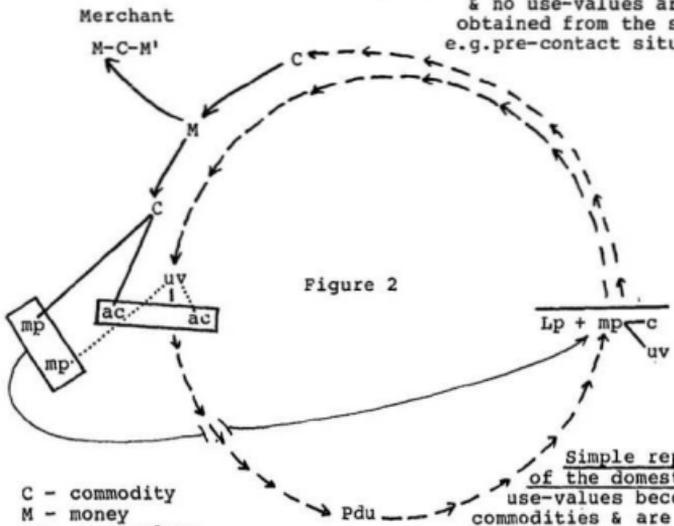
The factors which play a significant role in reproducing the domestic unit, and thus, which determine the degree and direction of economic change among the Innu of La Romaine, may be broken down into a number of different variables. Economic change, therefore, may be analyzed by considering which of these variables are operative at any point in time. These variables include the following:

- the quantity and type of state transfer payments,
- the quantity of use-values produced by the household,
- the quantity of use-values distributed between households,
- the extent to which labour-power is shared between households,
- the price received for commodities made by the household,
- the number of domestically produced commodities sold by the household, and the income derived therefrom,
- the number and kind of commodities required to reproduce the household at a socially-determined level of needs,
- the extent to which the commodities purchased are essential,
- the price of commodities needed by the household,
- the income from the sale of labour-power to the state or to capitalist entrepreneurs,
- the extent to which household members can make savings.

production process ----->
 circulation ----->

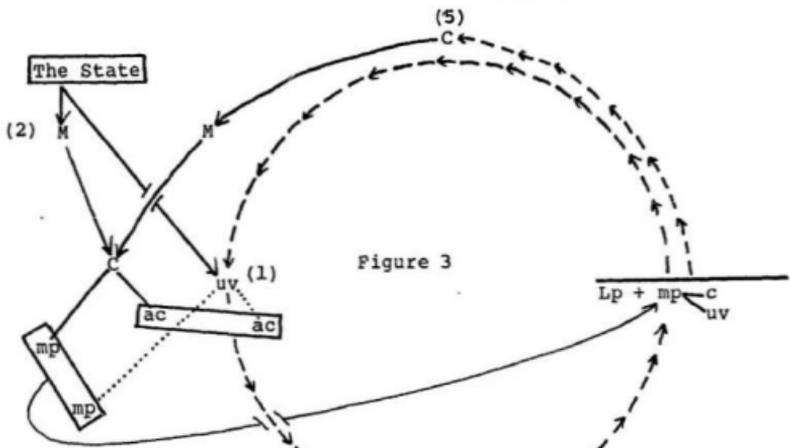


12
Simple reproduction of the domestic unit I.
 labour-power & use-values are not sold, no commodities are purchased & no use-values are obtained from the state, e.g. pre-contact situation.



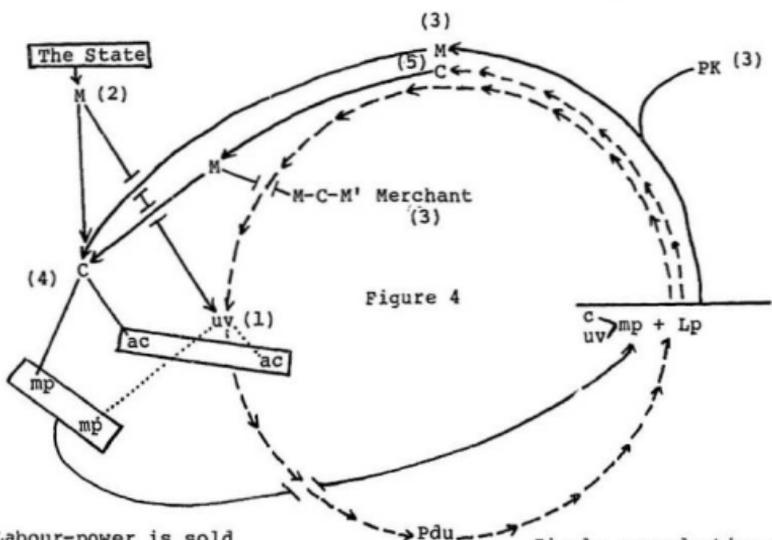
Simple reproduction of the domestic unit II.
 use-values become commodities & are exchanged for money &/or other commodities (mp & ac), for trade period.

- C - commodity
- M - money
- uv - use-values
- mp - means of production
- ac - articles of consumption
- Lp - labour-power
- Pdu - production of the domestic unit
- PK - production of capital



The state provides income with which to purchase C from the merchant or provides non-C services (uv) directly (e.g. health care).

Simple reproduction of the domestic unit III. Introduction of state transfer payments.



Labour-power is sold & income derived is used to purchase C (ac & mp) or placed in savings.

Simple reproduction of domestic unit IV. The complex contemporary situation.

By looking at changes in each of these variables and the way they interact, we can better understand economic change among the Innut of La Romaine. For example, dependency on inputs from either capital and/or the state may increase at any point in time when the following combinations of variables occur:

- Dependency on the state and capital increases when the quantity (or quality) of use-values (1) diminishes due to ecological collapse, overharvesting, or due to some other cause resulting in the reduction of harvesting and craft producing activities.

- Dependency on capitalism proper or mercantile capitalism increases when inputs from the state (2) are non-existent or minimal, and when the commodities (4) required by the household are increasingly essential for its reproduction at a given, socially-determined level of needs and/or increasingly expensive. The lack of cash and non-commodity inputs from the state and the increasing price and importance of commodities are necessary conditions in creating dependency on capitalism. The contribution of use-value production (1) to the household budget is significant in this context only when it decreases, thereby stimulating the need for store-bought substitutes.

- Dependency on the mercantile capitalist (3) increases when the price of commodities (4) purchased from the merchant increases, when the price received for commodities (5) sold to him decreases, and when inputs from state transfer payments (2) and the sale of wage-labour to the state or to capital proper (3) are non-existent or minimal. A growing dependence on the merchant occurs when the need for commodities sold by him increases, when domestic producers are required to enter into credit arrangements with him in order to purchase essential commodity items, and when monetary inputs from the sale of domestically-produced commodities to the merchant are a primary source of funds to affect such purchases. Money savings, when possible, enable domestic producers to reduce or resist dependency on the merchant. Dependency worsens if the contribution of use-values (1) to the household decreases.

- Dependency on the state (2) increases when cash inputs from the sale of commodities to the merchant, and the sale of labour-power (3) to the state or capital decrease, when the contribution of use-values (1) to the household is decreasing, and/or when the cost of commodities (4) needed as articles of consumption and means of production increases.

Transformation of domestic production among the Innut occurs if the dependency relationships discussed above modify the system of access to means of production (i.e., land tenure, etc.), the way in which the social product is distributed among households, and if the division of labour is extended to include wage employment. Undoubtedly, domestic production among the Innut has been partly transformed since contact as households now receive most of their monetary income from employment and transfer payments. But this transformation is in fact just one side of the coin. At the same time that the sale of commodities, purchase of new commodities of direct application to harvesting activities, participation in wage employment and dependence on state transfer payments alters the division of labour, harvesting methods, and system of exchange, the monetary inputs from these sources also permit the domestic unit to undertake another round of productive activities (productive consumption and personal consumption).

It should be stressed here that the contribution of use-value production to the household is significant because it may limit the degree to which transformation takes place - transformation resulting from the dependency on cash and non-commodity inputs from the state and the sale of labour-power and commodities. This dependency may be reduced, however, only if members of the household are able or willing to reduce their level of needs for industrially-derived commodities and non-commodity services provided by the state.

5. The Determination of Innu Needs

To explain the actual patterns of consumption and production among the La Romaine Innu it is helpful to consider for a moment the character of worker needs in mature capitalist societies. Lebowitz (1980b, see also Lebowitz, 1982a; 1982b) defines three types of human needs for articles of consumption: physiological, necessary, and actual. Physiological needs are those "required to produce the worker as a natural subject, the physiological requirements for particular use-values at a point in time"(ibid.:3). Necessary needs are those "rendered necessary by habit and custom. They are needs for use-values which normally at any given point enter into the consumption of workers"(ibid.:3). Finally, actual needs are those which "exist for workers in excess of what they customarily satisfy, needs which conform to the requirements of socially developed human beings"(ibid.:3). Lebowitz calls this gap between actual and necessary needs 'luxury needs', and says that whenever an increase in real wages occurs, that is, if "the means of subsistence were cheaper, or wage higher, what previously had been luxury needs now become part of what workers are normally able to satisfy"(ibid.:5).

In La Romaine, Innu necessary needs now consist of a number of commodities such as snowmobiles, television sets, rifles, and washing machines. Examples of needs which were once luxuries but which are now entering into the category of necessary needs comprise commodity items such as 'All Terrain Vehicles' and automatic coffee-makers. It should be

stressed here, however, that while changes are occurring in the kinds of commodities and use-values which enter in the category of necessary needs. the changes in and expansion of such needs do not take place in an unfettered fashion.¹⁴ Domestic producers, like wage-labourers, have a hierarchy of needs; they have decided that certain needs must be satisfied first and it is this ranking - in combination with the level of income from transfer payments, sale of commodities. and wage-labour and the relative prices which must be paid for particular industrially-derived commodities - which determines what needs enter into the category of necessary needs. However, the Innut have a hierarchy of needs for use-values and commodities which is significantly different from those commonly held by non-native wage-labourers¹⁵ .

This difference is manifested in the high priority assigned by the Innut to the production and exchange of bush foods, and the purchase of equipment of direct application to harvesting activities.¹⁶ An important reason why domestic production among the Innut of La Romaine differs significantly from that of other kinds of domestic production such as agriculture or the fishery is because religious ideology is intimately bound up with processes of production, distribution, and consumption, and in fact, plays a role in shaping the character of these, including the character of needs.¹⁷ The high priority assigned to the production and exchange of use-values such as caribou meat in Innu culture reflects not only pragmatic concerns with securing a supply

of highly nutritious food, but also the great value these use-values have in the religious ideology. The content of necessary needs is determined, therefore, in part by the amount of income available for purchasing commodities which were once luxury needs, and by factors of a cultural nature. In Chapter VI, Innu consumption patterns will be discussed in greater detail.

While it is beyond the scope of this thesis to analyze in detail the relationship between Innu religious ideology and economic relations, it should still be stressed that this ideology does play an important role in shaping the character of Innu needs and the way in which goods and services are produced, distributed, and consumed in general. Religious ideology influences the system of bush food distribution between domestic units, a subject which will be discussed in Chapter VII, and the way in which commodities and use-values are produced and consumed. This ideology and the relations of production to which it gives meaning, are incompatible with the development of a capitalist logic where the goal of production and exchange is the "passionate chase after exchange-value...the restless never-ending process of profit making" (Marx, 1954I:151).

I would suggest as a hypothesis that Innu disinterest in 'provisional value' - their adherence to target consumption levels¹⁸ - has something to do with the structural or symbolic position of the use-values produced within the system of religious beliefs. Caribou, beaver, bear, and other game are situated within a complex symbolic system

comprising two realms: physical nature and cosmological nature. The realm of physical nature is that aspect of Innu experience which is directly concerned with everyday problems of material existence and ecological constraints. The realm of cosmological nature is that aspect of experience which integrates purely material data (including use-values) from the environment into a wider, more explanatory and coherent totality (Tanner,1979:208). The cosmological realm may be said to parallel the material realm of social and productive relations in a number of ways; for one, 'animal masters' thought to exist in this realm control the actions of their physical representatives in the form of live animals which are harvested. The Innut, like the James Bay Cree, perceive relations between these animals in their physical form and in the more abstract form of animal masters which are homologous to human relations and activities. The rites which are directed towards the relations between animals in the cosmological realm are analogous to the actions of humans in their efforts to produce their material and social existence. They are both directed towards the same practical goals of everyday life, namely, the control of the environment for the purpose of securing the long-term existence of the group. They differ primarily for the reason that they "offer quite separate techniques to produce these goals"(ibid.:208).

Animals such as the caribou and beaver, by being intimately related to animal masters endowed with consciousness and impinging upon human action and awareness,

are given ideological sanction for their role as use-values in the structure of Innu needs. Any activity which attempts to displace the production (harvesting) of these use-values, such as industrial resource development or restrictive game regulations, must therefore displace their essential position within the symbolic system. For it is only by practical activity with the animals they harvest that the Innut are able to maintain these animals in their symbolic roles. In this situation, then, productive, practical activity is inseparable from religious activity. The Innut place natural entities such as animals within a wider, symbolic, cosmological realm thereby reinforcing the utilization of these animals as important use-values in satisfying their needs (cf. Godelier, 1972:44; 1977:144-151)¹⁹ .

6. The Persistence of Domestic Production Among the Innut

Given the great importance of animals to the Innut it is not surprising that equipment of immediate use in harvesting activities should occupy such an important position in the hierarchy of Innu needs for industrially-derived commodities. It is the priority assigned to the purchase of such commodities in combination with various factors such as the level of income from transfer payments, sale of commodities, and wage-labour and the relative prices of commodities which largely determine the extent to which domestic production persists.

Feit (1982), Scott (1979), and Tanner (1979) discuss the role of these factors in economic change among the James Bay Cree. In describing the economic context in which to situate

his study of Mistassini Cree religious beliefs and practices, Tanner (1979:60-72) considers the transformations taking place in Cree domestic production as well as the reasons for the persistence of its most essential characteristics. Scott devotes special attention to analyzing the role of Income Security Program (ISP) payments in reproducing the domestic mode of production, while Feit discusses the prospects for the survival of subsistence production in the contemporary context of resource development and new political and economic relations with the state (cf. Feit, 1979).

These authors argue that prior to the world depression of 1929, the credit system used by the HBC²⁰, and the character of domestic production itself, for example, the target production and consumption levels and system of reciprocal food distribution, seemed to be all that was necessary in order to deal with fluctuating market prices for furs and articles of consumption. An expanded government presence in the region commenced in the 1930's and 1940's when the effects of a drastic decrease in beaver populations had to be alleviated with rations provided via the HBC, and with the initiation of a beaver preserve system.²¹ In the post-war period, with declining prices for furs, increasing prices of commodities for consumption, changing consumption patterns, and changes in the HBC's credit system, the ability of domestic producers to meet their subsistence requirements became increasingly problematic. At this time, provision of transfer payments and cash inputs from casual and seasonal

wage-labour became essential elements in the reproduction of the Cree domestic unit.

According to Scott, when the Cree signed the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement in 1975, they were faced not only with the consequences of massive resource development in their region, but with the increasing costs of essential commodities required in the bush, and the decreased ability of existing transfer payments and income from wage-labour to deal with these increases. In signing the agreement, they sought to obtain "legal guarantees-in-perpetuity which include both continued access to subsistence resources and guaranteed improved access to industrially-derived technology, goods and services, through the Income Security Program"(ibid.:3). This program is a rationalized version of the provincial system of social security payments and is intended to support the local subsistence economies (La Rusic,1979:108). Families that wish to hunt and trap, and can demonstrate having spent four or more months in harvesting activities in the previous year are eligible for the program. Hence, the ISP "functionally replaces welfare" (Scott,1979:74), but is just one part of a wider system of transfer payments guaranteed by the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement, and which provide funds for housing, community infrastructure, health and police services, education, and administration. These transfer payments, and the ISP in particular, play an extremely important role in insulating domestic producers from changing market conditions which in the past accounted for movement back and forth

between reliance on welfare and wage-labour, and subsistence production - a movement which generally seemed to be promoting more permanent settlement in the communities. Thus, according to Scott, due to the peculiar nature of credit arrangements with the HBC in the years prior to the 1940's, reliance on transfer payments and income from wage-labour in the post-war period, and in recent years, the income guarantees provided in the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement, "traditional relations of production have remained powerful organisers of economic and social life in Cree society" (Scott,1979:150). Domestic production among the Cree has persisted despite years of contact with capitalism and the Canadian state, and increased development activity in the James Bay region (Feit.1982:402-403; cf. La Rusic,1978:124).²²

It is evident in the above account that transfer payments of one sort or another have assumed a pre-eminent position in reinforcing domestic production among the James Bay Cree. Cree harvesting activities, systems of cooperative labour and reciprocal food distribution have continued until the present-day, but state transfer payments are now an essential component in the economic foundation of these practices. The significance of such payments, the nature of credit, and involvement in wage-labour in reinforcing domestic production among the Innut of La Romaine is a central concern of this thesis and will be discussed in Chapter VI.

Dependency on government transfer payments, however, may

have certain drawbacks. For example, dependency often subjects a client population to 'wardship' and the loss of control over political and economic decision-making which this implies. Using dependency as a lever, the Department of Indian Affairs has for years attempted to push native people into the mainstream of Canadian society through various assimilation policies. As Tanner points out:

wardship gave the government extraordinary powers over the daily lives of the Indians. It was intended to prepare individuals, through tutelage policies, and with the added use of some 'sticks' and 'carrots,' for assimilation into the surrounding white-dominated society. The result, to the contrary, was the permanent economic and political dependency of Indian reserves - to such an extent that it became increasingly difficult to withdraw the mechanisms of wardship, even when it became clear that the policy could never be expected to achieve its objectives (1983:17).

These problems of economic and political dependency continue until the present-day among the La Romaine Innut. Important decisions over funding of harvesting activities, for example, require the approval of DIA which retains veto power over the funds it dispenses.²³ Thus, through its control over essential economic resources, the Department as 'patron', may attempt to ensure that the values of its choosing, such as acceptance of the industrial work ethic, are embraced by the Innut (see Paine,1971:15-18).

Dependency on the state may create problems not only because of the 'wardship' which accompanies it, but also because the level of transfer payments can decline to a precariously low level, especially if the state experiences a fiscal crisis (Sinclair,1983:192). During periods of financial restraint or when the state decides to allocate its

funding in alternative ways, domestic production by native people. dependent as it is on transfer payments, may be faced with major obstacles to its reproduction. This problem surfaces each year in La Romaine during negotiations with DIA over the amount of funds to be allocated for transporting families into the bush for the fall hunting and trapping season.

7. Chapter Summary

As stated in the introduction, the central concern of this thesis is to describe the character of domestic production among the Innut of La Romaine with the view to determining the reasons for its persistence and transformation. In this Chapter, the theoretical framework to be used in examining domestic production as it exists today as well as the changes it has undergone since contact has been delineated. Domestic production was defined as a form of production where "labour is supplied and organized according to the organizational structure of the household itself" (Sinclair,1983:21). Domestic producers own most of the means of production, they control their labour processes, and the goal of production and exchange is oriented to meeting specific needs of the household.

In subsequent chapters, the various factors responsible for the persistence and transformation of domestic production will be examined from the perspective of the commensal family unit which is the basic unit of production, consumption, and distribution among the La Romaine Innut. I am interested in

the way in which the commensal family unit is 'reproduced' over time, that is, the way in which the division of labour, system of access to means of production, and distribution of the social product is perpetuated. Reproduction entails the way in which use-values, commodities, and money flow to and from domestic units, the state, or capital. In other words, in analyzing why domestic production continues in the present-day context as well as why it has changed since contact, I want to focus on the manner in which the needs of the household for means of production and articles of consumption are satisfied.

FOOTNOTES

(Chapter II)

1

The study of economics abstracts from the totality of social relations comprising a society those elements which determine how goods and services are produced, distributed, and consumed, whether these elements include religious beliefs, political practices, or kinship relations. Throughout this thesis, the terms 'production', 'distribution', and 'consumption' will be used in conformity with the following definitions. Production is the "process by which the members of a society appropriate and transform natural resources to satisfy their needs" (Cook, 1973b:31). Distribution is the process by which the products of labour, whether these be use-values or commodities, circulate between the producers and the ultimate consumers of these products. Use of the term distribution here is synonymous with the term exchange. Consumption refers to the utilization of the products of labour in the satisfaction of multi-faceted human needs; either as means of production (productive consumption) or as articles of consumption in the form of foodstuffs, entertainment, etc. (personal consumption) (Friedmann, 1978:555; Cook, 1973:31-32). We should note, here, that Cook makes a further distinction between distribution and exchange. In his view, "distribution determines the extent to which the individual participates in...production; exchange enables him to acquire the particular products into which he wishes to convert the quantity allocated to him through distribution" (ibid.:31-32). In this thesis the term distribution includes the totality of methods by which goods and services circulate between producers and consumers, whether these be 'generalized or 'balanced' reciprocity', 'redistribution', or 'market exchange' (Sahlins, 1972:193-195; Polanyi, 1957).

2

Capital proper (the industrial capitalist) refers to a person or group of persons who owns means of production and purchase the labour-power of others with the view to producing surplus-value (profit or professional value). The extraction of surplus-value at the point of production is facilitated by the capitalist's ability to intervene in the work process by dictating the quality and quantity of commodities to be produced within a given period of time (the right to disposition over labour is sold by the worker). In contrast to the industrial capitalist, the mercantile capitalist can only share in this surplus-value by 'purchasing cheap and selling dear', by acting as a mediator between different producers, and between them and various consumers (Marx, 1954 II:34-38, 134; 1973:856; 1977:1018-1034).

3

See Sinclair (1983) for a more complete discussion of domestic production.

4

By saying that the household is the basic unit of production, distribution, and consumption, I do not mean to imply that these activities are not also undertaken by units smaller than or larger than the household. Production, distribution, and consumption among the Innu is on certain occasions organized on a level different than that of the household (see Sahlins, 1972:77-78). Ritual feasts, cooperative caribou hunting, individual trapping of mink, martin, and beaver, cooperative fishing, and gathering practices are examples of such activities organized on a different level. The household is, however, the most inclusive unit of production, distribution, and consumption because "each household normally possesses the basic tools and skills necessary for the procurement and processing of the range of resources required for secure and comfortable living, is the basic unit of consumption, and is the unit which distributes through more extended networks or kin, friends, and community members" (Scott, 1979:20).

5

We should note the difference between the Innu commensal unit and the multi-commensal Cree household where families eat separately, except during feasts, but live in the same tent.

6

La Rusic notes, for example, that James Bay Cree people "who live by harvesting as a way of life catch significantly more than their per-capita share of the food harvests. In 1975-1976, intensive harvesters accounted for 52% of the active hunting population, but harvested 62% of the catches and a higher percentage of the total food weight" (1978:13).

7

Use-values are objects, products of human labour, used in the satisfaction of human needs whatever these may be. They become commodities when they are exchanged for other objects with use-value or for money. In the process of exchange, a use-value is attributed an additional value, namely, exchange-value, which expresses the relations in which it is exchanged against other use-values. We should note, here, that the value of an object - the quantity of labour-power expended in its production - cannot be revealed unless it is exchanged against other objects in commodity form. Thus, when a use-value is placed in an exchange relationship and becomes a commodity "its own value finds in this relationship a form which expresses it" (Godelier, 1977:155).

The actual value of an object "does not change even though the object itself may be exchanged in differing proportions for other objects" (ibid.:152). But in order that it may be exchanged in differing proportions for other objects, it must have something in common with them,

namely, an equivalent amount of labour-power expended in its production. Thus, when commodities are exchanged as equivalents, it is the labour-power involved in their production which is being confirmed as identical. The fact that the exchange-value of one commodity can be expressed in another object of radically different utility indicates that value "is not a property of things exchanged, but a social reality, the necessary social labour for production" (Godelier, 1977:156).

8

According to Sahlins, generalized reciprocity "refers to transactions that are putatively altruistic, transactions on the line of assistance given and, if possible and necessary, assistance returned...The material side of the transaction is repressed by the social: reckoning of debts outstanding cannot be overt and is typically left out of account...the counter is not stipulated by time, quantity, or quality: the expectation of reciprocity is indefinite" (1972:193-194).

9

For example, the technical or natural conditions of production where labour and machinery are idle during certain periods of the year, the difficulty of supervising labour, the fact that the commodities produced are often perishable, etc.

10

See Sinclair (1983) for a more detailed review of the arguments concerning the destruction or persistence of domestic production within capitalist modes of production.

11

Domestic producers may incorporate machinery into their productive activities or develop new needs for industrially-derived articles of consumption. However, this does not necessarily mean that domestic production is being transformed. Transformation will occur if the process of commoditisation alters the relations of cooperation between domestic producers both in the labour process and in the distribution of the social product, and if the satisfaction of household needs takes place predominantly through the purchase of commodities rather than the production and distribution of use-values. Friedmann's comment on this point is noteworthy (1980:162-163): "Commoditisation occurs to the extent that each household is severed from direct reciprocal ties, both horizontal and vertical, for renewal of means of production and of subsistence, and comes to depend increasingly on commodity relations for reproduction. The process of commoditisation ultimately implies the individual status of each household".

12

"Simple reproduction refers to the regeneration of a unit on the same scale as it previously functioned. In contrast expanded reproduction, as the name implies, involves reproduction with growth" (Sinclair, 1983:197).

13

The numbers in parentheses in the following text correspond to numbers in Figures 1-4.

14

The level of necessary needs satisfied by members of the Innu domestic unit at a given moment in time reflects its struggle with the merchant or industrial capitalist over their respective reproductive needs, and the degree to which the domestic unit can satisfy its needs in non-commodity form. The reproduction needs of merchant capital, that is, the need to increase surplus-value extracted through its 'unequal exchange' relationship with domestic producers, are served by lowering the prices paid for commodities purchased from such producers, by raising the prices of commodities sold to them, and by expanding the quantity of commodities exchanged. Unequal exchange occurs when the value of the labour-power expended in the production of commodities sold to the merchant is greater than the value of labour-power expended in the production of industrially-derived commodities sold to the domestic producers.

The reproduction needs of industrial capital are served through increasing the price and quantity of commodities sold to domestic producers, by purchasing their labour-power cheaply, and by securing access to the natural resources present on the lands presently used by such producers (e.g. hydro-electric development). The state may intervene here in a number of ways which often appear contradictory. For example, it may promote resource development by Crown or private corporations of resources on lands occupied 'since time immemorial' by the Cote-Nord Innu, at the same time that it contributes funds to support harvesting activities on the same lands.

15

We should note Rich's observation (1968:45) about the difference in the character of needs between native and non-native peoples during the fur trade period. "It was always said that the Indian would only trade for necessities but that word did not carry its normal European meaning in this context. Rather, if it had any accurate meaning, it meant goods for immediate consumption. But it did not mean precisely that, for the Indian would always supply himself first with powder and shot. After that would come what the trader would call 'necessaries' and what we would call luxuries - tobacco, spirits, gay cloth of different kinds, beads".

16

Feit notes that income from wage-labour, sale of furs, and welfare has been used by the James Bay Cree "to reduce some of the most onerous aspects of the heavy work load required of intensive hunters, living in a highly unstable, relatively unproductive, and rigorous sub-Arctic environment" (1982:391).

17

I wish to define religious ideology as 'motivated thought' which aims to 'totalize' the information received by an individual concerning his natural and social environments, often adding in the process, additional levels of reality to that accessible through 'common sense thought' (Tanner, 1979:208).

18

Target consumption levels or production levels refers to production for use, that is, the production of use-values and commodities which are essentials in the reproduction of the domestic unit. Production for use should be contrasted with the goal of capitalist production, namely, the accumulation of abstract wealth or processional value.

19

The importance of use-value production to the Innu of La Romaine must also be considered in the context of political activities vis-a-vis the state. The importance of the land and its animal resources has assumed a new significance in recent years in the light of decisions by the Quebec government to undertake the hydro-electric development of a number of Cote-Nord rivers. The 'cultural renaissance' presently taking place in La Romaine is a reflection in part of a widespread feeling of anxiety among Innu people over the potential loss of access to land and animal resources (see Charest, 1988:323-337).

20

The credit system referred to here was a 'putting out' system where the "merchant periodically advanced supplies required by the producer, who later turned back a product to the same merchant" (Tanner, 1979:63). The Cote-Nord Innu and James Bay Cree were linked to the capitalist market place through this system of credit. They engaged in the exchange of furs in return for which they obtained guns, ammunition, flour, tea, sugar, canvas, and other commodities. The credit system which overlaid this 'unequal exchange' relationship could persist even when the HBC faced limited competition from other merchants, providing it had the best access to native trappers. Trading posts were placed at strategic places such as the mouths of rivers used as major travel routes to interior hunting and trapping grounds. The success of the HBC and the survival of the 'putting out' system in the face of limited competition with other traders was also due to the better capitalization of the HBC enterprise.

21

The beaver populations were decimated mainly as a result of "pre-emptive hunting by the Cree, in response to the intrusions of Euro-Canadian trappers who were extending their trapping activities during the period of high world fur prices" (Feit, 1982:391).

22

Scott (1982:3) states that as a result of the James Bay Agreement, "the value of wages and subsistence production both rose by about 40%...as more people were employed at the settlement and more families went to the bush for more

extended periods of time than had been the case in recent years". Feit notes, moreover, that subsistence hunting has "remained the predominant use of wildlife resources and the predominant harvesting activity" (1982:381).

23

Dependence on government transfer payments does not mean that the state is able to exercise such veto power in all situations. For example, among the James Bay Cree, neither the provincial or federal governments are able to cut off funds guaranteed by the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement. The Income Security Program is managed by the Cree, and the payments available through it are guaranteed by legislation (Adrian Tanner, personal communication).

Economic History of the La Romaine Innut

1. Introduction

My purpose in this chapter is to outline the economic history of the La Romaine Innut with the view to illustrating the changes which have occurred in the way the domestic unit has been reproduced in the post-contact period. These include changes in commodity consumption, land tenure, credit, and the way in which use-values, and income from transfer payments, fur sales, and wage-labour have reproduced the household in the post-contact period.

2. Early Contact With Europeans

The history of the Cote-Nord Innut is more than a history of the fur trade. It is also a history of increasing exploitation of the region's resources by merchants, lumber and mining companies, and a growing settler population. For over 400 years, the Innut have been in contact not only with fur traders and merchants but also immigrants of Quebecois, Acadian, and Newfoundland origin with whom they soon had to compete for natural resources (Gallienne, 1969:135,213). White whalers, trappers and hunters, salmon fishermen, and sealers; all these came to settle and to make their meagre livings on the barren coast. Commencing in the middle of the nineteenth century, resource extraction intensified in the upper and middle Cote-Nord regions as logging operations and sawmills were established. The mining of iron ore also dates back to this period, although it did not become a major economic force in the region until after the second World War

(Charest, 1975:50). For many years, thus, the Cote-Nord Innut have had to share their territory with strangers. It is the lengthy period of occupation by the settler population that has now become an ingredient of the utmost importance in the land claims currently being presented - an ingredient which certainly complicates the entire claims process for the Cote-Nord Innut.

Basques whalers were probably among the first Europeans to venture into the area. Even before 1500, they made annual visits, motivated by Europe's demand for whale oil, to hunt whale from the Strait of Belle Isle to as far west as Mingan, Bon-Désir, and Echafaud-aux-Basques where remains of their foundaries have been discovered (Belanger,1971:35; Charest,1975:38). Their activities on the coast lasted almost one and one-half centuries until the beginning of the French regime in the 16th century. Fishermen from Normandy and Britany also made seasonal voyages about this time to the coast in order to take advantage of the lucrative cod fishery (Charest,1975:38). It would appear that the Innut had contact with these fishermen and whalers (e.g. at Tadoussac), and that simple furs were exchanged in return for objects of European make (Belanger,1971:65-67).

It was not until the beginning of the French regime in the 1600's, with its Seignourial system and concessions, that we can say the market economy, with its mercantile relations of production, was introduced. The French Seigneurs and Concessionnaires were merchants, bureaucrats or military men

who were given land grants and leases by the French Crown for services rendered. The Seigneurs were given exclusive rights to trade with the Innut, fish cod, and hunt seal on specific portions of the coast. These rights were granted for life and were inheritable. The first one created on the coast was located at the baie de Mille-Vaches (baie de Portneuf); granted in 1653 to Robert Giffard, Seigneur of Beauport (Charest,1975:38). La Traite de Tadoussac was established in 1658 when the French Crown granted Sieur Demaure a lease extending from Isle-aux-Coudres to Sept-Iles along the coast and inland to the headwaters of the rivers draining into the St.Lawrence. The various posts situated in the Domaine du Roi, as the territory was called, were known as the Postes du Roi (Tanner,1977:7-8). In 1661 the Seigneurie de Mingan was granted to Francois Bissot de la Rivière who established a fishing post at that location (Privy Council, Great Britain, 1927:34; Frenette,1980:29). The post at Mingan was not greatly used, however, until Jacques de Lalande and Louis Jolliet became seigneurs in 1679. The fur trade with the Innut in addition to codfishing, sealing and whaling were the principal activities pursued at the post (Frenette,1980:30; Dictionnaire biographique du Canada, 1966:408).

Concessions, on the other hand, granted similar rights as those of the seigneuriers but were not necessarily renewable and were for limited periods of time. In 1702, the French army officer, Augustin Legardeur de Courtemanche, was given a 10 year concession for the coastal territory

extending from Kegaska to Hamilton Inlet in Labrador. He had already constructed a trading post at the mouth of the St. Paul river prior to receiving the concession, but moved to Bradore Bay (near Blanc Sablon) sometime around 1704 or 1705 (White, 1914:915; Privy Council, Great Britain, 1927:58; Charest, 1975:39).

When New France was conquered by the British in 1763 most of the Cote-Nord was in the hands of seigneurs or concessionaires.¹ Throughout the period of the French regime, the fur trade operated at the level of simple barter (Mak, 1982:8); the Innut brought their furs to the coast to exchange for foodstuffs, textiles, tools, and diverse products which were useful to their life in the bush. It was not until later, after the HBC was established on the coast, that money and credit became a universal medium of exchange (ibid.:8). At the HBC post at Mingan, barter was finally replaced by a system of monetary exchange at the end of the 1850's (Frenette, 1980:73).²

3. The Euro-Canadian Presence on the Cote-Nord and its Significance for the Innut

The settlement of Euro-Canadians on the Cote-Nord had a considerable impact on the Innut who visited the trading posts and missions on the coast each summer. Certain groups were dislocated from hunting and trapping grounds near to the coast as White trappers moved in and set up trap lines. When the Innut came to the coast in the late spring they had to compete with the White resident population and other non-

natives for certain resources such as game, aquatic birds, eggs, and seals. For example, in June, 1843 the HBC post manager at Musquaro reported that the Innut could not get eggs on the local islands because "those people from Halifax that comes every spring for the purpose of gathering eggs and feathers picked them all up" (HBC, B.136/c/1, June 1, 1843; cf. Rouillard, 1908:4; Fortin, 1866:34-35; Gallienne, 1969:166, 189, 213, 227). The monopoly held by the HBC for many years, granting it the exclusive right to harvest salmon on many Cote-Nord rivers, also had its impact because it interfered with Innu access to an important source of nourishment and forced them into a greater dependence on flour (cf. Carrière, 1969, v.8:216). In 1853, the HBC lost its exclusive right to harvest on these rivers, and starting in 1859, leases were sold to individual interests (Panasuk and Proulx, 1979:204). However, the 'deregulation' of the fishery yielded no benefits to the Innut as the number of salmon fishing posts proliferated rapidly; to such an extent, in fact, that by 1864, the salmon stocks on many Cote-Nord rivers had drastically declined (Charest, 1970:73; Fortin, 1854:76-77).

At La Romaine, the Innut were not able to fish salmon on the Olamen River until 1979 as the Grande Romaine Fishing Club owned by the Quebec North Shore and Paper Company retained exclusive fishing rights until this time (Panasuk and Proulx, 1979:214). The river was originally rented to an Alex Fraser in 1892 for the sum of \$170 per year (ibid.:209). Thus, competition with non-native hunters and fishermen has

continued until this day; for example. salmon fishing on the Olamen River which the Innut must share with White residents of the community and members of the fishing club, and rabbit hunting which must be shared with White residents from numerous coastal communities.

Immigration of non-native people to the Cote-Nord commenced in the nineteenth century. The immigration of Acadian, Quebecois. and Newfoundland families to the region was motivated by a number of factors such as the overpopulation of their communities of origin. the lack of new land for farming, and the dream of a prosperous life to be earned from harvesting the resources of the Cote-Nord (Charest,1970:86; Gendron and Charest,1982:6). The majority of these White settlers. however. soon discovered that life was just as difficult on the Cote-Nord as it was in their previous villages. and in fact. many left the region due to the hardships experienced there (Charest,1970:83).

The first non-native person to settle permanently in the vicinity of La Romaine was Michel Blais from Berthier. He and his partner, a Mr.Hamel, purchased a trading post at Etamamu for 250 Pounds from Woolsey, Lymburner and Co. sometime around 1821 or 1822. Fishermen and their families moved to the area around La Romaine between 1830 and 1855 from Quebec City and various counties on the south shore of the St.Lawrence such as Montmagny, Berthier, I'Islet and Bellechasse (Gendron and Charest,1982:6). Pierre Blais and Barthelemy Derapse settled at the mouth of the Washicoutai

river in 1858 and 1859 respectively, Pierre Noel had settled at Musquaro as of 1856, and Georges Metivier on the Olamen River as of 1852 (Charest,1970:65; cf.Fortin,1865:11-12). The post at Musquaro, an important trading post and meeting place for the Innut during their annual summer mission, was inhabited only intermittently by fishing families during this period, up until the settlement of Pierre Noel there in 1856 (ibid.:65).

The last large immigration to the lower Cote-Nord took place between 1872 and 1875 when forty or so families from Newfoundland moved to the region to fish cod. They settled in the existing communities of Kegaska, Mutton Bay, St.Paul's River, and founded Harrington Harbour. After this phase of immigration had passed, population shifts were restricted largely to movements within the boundaries of the Cote-Nord itself (Gendron and Charest,1982:12-14).

The main occupations of the settler men of this period included fur trapping, salmon and cod fishing, and hunting seal (Fortin,1864; Gallienne,1969:41-95). After 1870, cod fishing gradually replaced sealing as the most important economic activity for the settler population. The majority of the salmon fishing posts were situated by the St.Paul and St.Augustin rivers where, apart from a few fishermen who fished cod for Jersey companies such as Le Brocq or Le Bouthillier et Frères, most were self-employed (Gendron and Charest,1982:9). Apart from fish and game obtained by hunting, foodstuffs were purchased from independent traders who travelled by schooner from Berthier, Halifax or Quebec

City. The foodstuffs purchased consisted mainly of lard, flour, potatoes. and other goods which could not be produced locally and which were exchanged for fish, furs and seal oil (ibid.:9).

With this mix of ethnic origins on the coast, we find three languages - Innu-aimun. French and English - being spoken on the lower Cote-Nord by the end of the nineteenth century. English was spoken at Kegaska, Harrington Harbour, Mutton Bay, Old Fort, St. Paul's River and Brador, while French was the primary language of discourse at La Romaine, Tête-à-la-Baleine and Longue-Pointe de Blanc Sablon (Gendron and Charest, 1982:13; Remiggi, 1977).

Table 3. The non-native population of the lower Cote-Nord from Kegaska to Blanc-Sablon, 1820-1980 (Adapted from Gendron and Charest, 1982:16).

<u>Year</u>	<u>Population</u>
1820	50
1840	250
1855	457
1868	500
1896	900
1900	934
1926	1280
1956	3168
1961	3459
1968	4505
1978	5267
1980	5180

Table 4. Distribution of the non-native population of the La Romaine Posts between 1855 and 1900 (Charest, 1969:14-15.

	1855	1858	1896	1900
Musquaro	2 families	1	2	2
Washicoutai	1 family			
La Romaine	2 families	1	12*	18
Coacoachou	1 family	1		
Etamaniou	1 family		3-4**	1
Watagayastic	1 family			
Natagamiou	1 family	1		
Wolf Bay			1	
Ile-du-navire			1	

*55 people

**Between Etamamu and Harrington Harbour.

It is evident that the longterm presence of Euro-Canadians on the coast must be taken into consideration if we are to understand the economic context of Innu life in the post-contact period. Trading posts were set up not just to trade furs with the Innut but also to trade with local Whites. Fishing posts were established to obtain direct access to the abundant salmon stocks on many rivers, and interferred with an important Innu harvesting practice. The White residents also competed with the Innut for access to a variety of resources located in the coastal region in addition to salmon such as bird eggs, firewood, furbearing animals, and other game. The traders who came to the coast on schooners to do business with the settler population provided a serious source of competition with the larger mercantile interests such as the HBC, a situation which may have greatly affected the prices of commodities exchanged with the Innut as well as the credit arrangements available to them .³

In more recent years, it is the presence of this White population which resulted in the formation of the Cote-Nord Municipality. This municipal administration and its predominantly White population have had a significant impact on the Innu people; new services such as hospitals and air transport were provided as much for the benefit of the indigenous people as for that of the White residents. Today, the Innu find themselves affected by a variety of municipal administrative decisions, political lobbying, job creation projects, and plans for infrastructure, tourist, and resource development.

4. The Arrival of the Merchants: The HBC, Labrador Company, and Other Concerns

After 1763 when Britain took control of New France, the seigneuries and concessions quickly passed into the hands of British merchants who organized the posts under consortiums so as to achieve economies of scale, that is, to allow them to operate a large number of posts simultaneously. The first Labrador Company became the sole owner of the Etamamu Petit-Mecatina, baie-des-Moutons, Gros Mecatina, Kekarpoui, St-Augustin, Lac Sale, Grosse-Iles, and other posts extending east up the coast to Anse-aux-Dunes (Charest, 1975:40). The second Labrador Company (the Labrador New Concern) was formed when John Richardson and his partners purchased the post at Mingan as well as those belonging to the first Labrador Company in 1808 (ibid.:40; Privy Council, Great Britain 1927, 3466-3476). It retained a monopoly over salmon fishing and sealing between the Etamamu River and Blanc-Sablon, but

when it declared bankruptcy in 1820, its fishing posts were sold to various individuals among whom were some of its ex-employees (Charest,1975:41).

In 1802, the North West Company obtained a 20 year lease to the King's Posts, and in 1803 leased the rights to trade furs at posts between Cap-des-Cormorans and the Olamen river, the present-day site of La Romaine (Innis,1962:259; Charest,1975:40). When the North West Company merged with the HBC in 1821, these latter posts were put up for tender. However, the HBC failed to bid high enough, and several years later it was forced to purchase the lease for several times the original price.

The post at Musquaro was apparently established in 1710 (Voorhis,1930:120). Voorhis reports that it was an "Old French fortified trading post on lower St.Lawrence at mouth of Musquarro (Muskwaro) river.⁴ The most eastern post in Mingan Seigniory. 20 leagues from Nepioshibou"(ibid.:120). It was included in the Labrador Company's lease in 1780, acquired by the North West Company in 1803 and finally transferred to the HBC when these latter two companies merged in 1821 (ibid.:120).

In 1831, the HBC had posts at the mouths of the Olamen, Washicoutai, Musquaro and Kegaska Rivers, but of these only Musquaro was a trading post; the others were set up as salmon fishing posts (Gallienne,1969:213; Charest,1970:63). One might speculate that the rationale for setting up such a large number of posts - four in a 30 mile stretch of

coastline - was to protect the trade with the Innut and to control access to the important salmon rivers. At the time, the HBC was in lively competition with independent traders sometimes sedentary and sometimes nomadic. By establishing posts at the mouths of the major rivers in the area, rivers used by the Innut to travel to and from their hunting and trapping grounds, the HBC would have greatly increased its chances of being the first to trade for the valuable furs (Charest, 1969:3). It could also supervise fishing activities on the rivers to ensure that no independent fishermen could harvest the valuable salmon present there.

By 1846 the HBC had built two more trading posts, one at the mouth of the Etamamu River, and the other at the mouth of the Coaccachou river, thus achieving a total of six posts in a 100 mile stretch of coast.⁵ It was able to retain exclusive rights to harvest salmon on these rivers until 1853 when, in response to the company's persistent abuse of independent fishermen (e.g. houses of some fishermen were burned), special legislation was enacted by the Government of Union to allow these latter concerns to settle on the coast and to harvest the salmon present in the rivers there (Charest, 1975:41).⁶ As previously mentioned, the government started to lease the rights to these rivers to individual interests in 1859 (Panasuk and Proulx, 1979:204).

The actual status of the HBC post at Musquaro is somewhat uncertain after 1851. Carrière (1961, v.3:334) reports that it was abandoned in 1851 while Voorhis (1930:121) reports that it was "apparently closed for a time

in 1859. According to Fiset (*Le Baliseur*, April 30, 1971 no.146) the post was closed a short while after 1857 but reopened sometime around 1884-85. An advance post dependent on the Musquaro one was then established at La Romaine in 1890 (*ibid.*). Finally, during the summer of 1891 the Musquaro post was moved to the general vicinity of La Romaine; its first site apparently located east of the Olamen river (*ibid.*).⁷

Despite the closing of the post, however, the Innut "de tous les coins du Labrador inférieur", persisted in visiting the mission and the Oblate priest who held mass there each summer (Huard, 1897:443). "On y voit alors jusqu'à une centaine de familles, et c'est le plus fort groupement de Montagnais de toute la Côte Nord, après celui de Betsiamis" (*ibid.*:443). While Musquaro seemed to be shrinking in size and importance every year, at least as far as the non-native population was concerned, La Romaine was expanding in population and in terms of the services available there. Huard reports that in 1895 the population of La Romaine consisted of 55 White people, and besides having a HBC post situated there, it also had a small chapel and school (*ibid.*:444). Rouillard states that in 1907 Musquaro retained a non-native population of 20 families, and attracted Innut each summer "pour assister à la mission que leur donne un missionnaire Eudiste" (1908:119-120). He says the following about La Romaine:

Il y a ici un petit hameau peuplé d'une douzaine de familles s'occupant presque exclusivement de chasser. C'est au reste un des points importants pour le commerce de pelleteries. La Compagnie de la baie d'Hudson y possède un comptoir où tous les sauvages montagnais et naskapis viennent faire leurs échanges. Il y a une chapelle et un bureau de télégraphe (ibid.:122-123).

The move of the HBC post to La Romaine, sometime around 1891-92 marks the beginning of a change in the summer settlement pattern of the Innut. The post at La Romaine became a stopping point for those families descending to the coast along the Coacoachou and Olamen rivers as they travelled west to the mission at Musquaro. The reorientation of their trading activities to La Romaine had little major impact on the settlement pattern during the summer; Musquaro remained the primary focus. But it was the closure of this mission in 1946 (Mak,1982:10), corresponding to the division of the Cote-Nord diocese in 1946, that had the greatest affect on the summer settlement pattern of these families. From 1946 until the creation of the reserve in 1956, they camped on a small plateau overlooking the White village (informant statements; Michaud,1965:25).

5. Missionary Activity on the Lower Cote-Nord

Missionary activity among the Cote-Nord Innut commenced in 1632 when Jesuit missionaries, among them Father Le Jeune, arrived in New France. When the Jesuits were suppressed in Canada in 1782, missionary visits to the region were made sporadically by secular priests or lapsed altogether until 1844 when the Oblate Fathers assumed responsibility for the area (Tanner,1977:19). Among the Oblates who visited the

Innut on the coast, two personalities in particular stand out: Father Charles Arnaud and Father Louis Babel. Both remained on the coast until 1911 when, aged more than 80 years old, they retired from active missionary work (Gallienne, 1969:14, 41, 229; Bacon and Vincent, mimeo:124).

The Bishop of Newfoundland was responsible for the Cote-Nord between the Strait of Belle Isle and the St. Jean River from 1784 up until 1852 when the missions in the district were transferred to the diocese of Quebec (Charest, 1970:80; Carrière, 1962, v.4:35). In 1867 the missions were again transferred, this time to the Bishop of Rimouski. In 1861, the posts on the lower Cote-Nord were served by a missionary resident in Natashquan, who made two trips per year to the region (Charest, 1970:81).

In 1882, the district was divided in half: one part comprised the region from Piashte Bay to the Olamen river and was served by the missionary resident at Natashquan; the other region, extending from Tete-à-la-Baleine to Blanc Sablon was served by a missionary living first at Bonne-Esperance, then at Baie Rouge, and finally at Blanc Sablon (Le Baliseur, Sept. 30, 1971, no. 157). At the same time, the Cote-Nord was made an apostolic prefecture under Father Bosse's leadership. But in 1892, he ceded the prefecture to the diocese of Chicoutimi having been unsuccessful in his attempt to attract sufficient numbers of clergy to the region (Gallienne, 1969:149). In 1903 the Apostolic Prefecture du Bas Saint-Laurent was created, extending from Betsiamis to Blanc Sablon. The missions in this Prefecture were turned over to

the Eudist priests from France in the same year (Rochette,1926:24).

Among the various missions on the lower Cote-Nord, Musquaro was probably one of the most important. The Innut had been visiting this location for many years starting with the establishment of a fortified French trading post there about 1710 (Voorhis,1930:120). The Eudist Priest Francois-Gabriel Lecourtois was made responsible for administering to the spiritual needs of the Innut and settler population at Musquaro and the King's Posts on the Cote-Nord as of September 28,1794 (Garnier,1949:16). "When, for the first time, he visited Muskuaro, a village some 500 miles east of La Malbaie, he found a tribe of Montagnais there who had never yet seen a priest" (ibid.:17). Oblate priests started to visit the post for the first time sometime around 1850 (Mak,1982:9). The annual mission here at Musquaro, which continued until 1946 when the mission was terminated, became the regular summer meeting place for Innut all over southern Labrador (ibid.:10).

The various groups that hunted and trapped in the drainage basins of the Hamilton, St.Paul, St.Augustin, Olamen, Musquaro, Natashquan, and Moisie rivers descended to the coast each spring to trade furs and attend the mission. It was here that marriages were arranged and newborn children baptised. It was also here that the annual ritual now referred to as the "Procession des Indiens" took place. While I have no precise knowledge of the date and

circumstances surrounding the genesis of this event, Father Durocher mentions a "procession organisée en l'honneur de la Sainte Vierge" during the summer of 1845 which may be an early version of the one practiced today (cited in Carrière, 1963, v.5:140-141)

6. Role of the Missionaries in Economic Change

Missionaries exercised a significant degree of influence over the Cote-Nord Innut during much of the fur trade period as well as in more recent years with the start of a new era of large-scale government transfer payments. In tandem with the HBC and other merchants, missionaries were instrumental in influencing the Innut to frequent specific posts where trade could be carried out with them, and where they could be converted to the Catholic faith. The HBC was quick to notice the strong influence exercised by the Oblate and Eudiste priests over the Innut. Posts were constructed where missions already existed or priests were invited to set up missions at established posts (Savard, 1977:44). To attract them to specific locations, the missionaries were in some cases provided with accommodation, their transportation costs paid, and yearly allowances granted to them (Frenette, 1980:91). However, they were sometimes considered a nuisance and liability to the fur trade. For example, in 1851, the post manager at North West River, Donald Smith, was troubled by the great amount of time the Innut spent travelling to and from the mission at Musquaro, and favoured, thus, the establishment of a mission at his own post. He was

also concerned that the Innut might arrive at Musquaro and trade their furs to independent traders (ibid.:44-45).

In the fur trade period, then, the summer missions in addition to the credit system used by the HBC, were instrumental in inducing the Innut to visit specific posts each summer. The result of this was that certain families became associated with individual posts; and when DIA established reserves in the 1950's these formerly nomadic families became sedentarized at these locations.

In the period prior to 1900, few if any government services were provided to native people in Canada apart from the limited services and payments paid to treaty Indians, and rations distributed in cases of starvation.⁸ The relative lack of social security programs and services provided by the state was typical throughout the entire country at this time; not just for native people, but for the majority of the immigrant population as well.

Under the influence of attitudes formed during the pioneer era, the Elizabethan poor laws, and in the case of Quebec the social doctrine and anti-statism of the Catholic Church, the economic security of individuals was seen largely as a private and local matter to be provided for those who could not be self-sufficient by family members, charities, religious organizations, and local governments. The prevailing attitude was that few persons should require assistance. Giving assistance fostered indolence and dependency....Where assistance was provided, it was generally restricted to the sick, elderly, young, and women with dependent children only after all the family's financial resources had been exhausted (Canada,1980:9).

Despite the new responsibilities assigned to the federal government in 1867 under the British North America Act in which Indian people throughout the country essentially became

wards of the state, few of the 'benefits' of this wardship were available to the Innut of the lower Cote-Nord until the 1930's.

Starting sometime shortly before 1868, food rations were distributed to the Cote-Nord Innut perhaps as a form of compensation for dispossessing them of the salmon rivers, an important source of nourishment during the summer months (Carrière, 1969, v.8:216). In 1868 Father Arnaud wrote to Father Vandenberghe saying "Le gouvernement...avec ses lois de pêche, tue ces pauvres Indiens et les réduit à la misère" (ibid.:216). The government sent money to the missionaries who were then responsible for purchasing provisions for the Innut when they came to the mission at Mingan each summer. Carrière reports that the "allocation du gouvernement pour les Indiens reunis de Mingan, de Moisie, de Sept-Iles et de Baie-Saint-Paul s'éleva en 1868 à \$250 (ibid.:216). In 1873 the sum of \$500 was distributed by the missionaries to the Indians of Sept-Iles and Mingan many of whom were starving (ibid.:218-219). At Musquaro, it is possible that in some years an Indian agent for the federal Indian Affairs Branch (Department of the Secretary of State for the Provinces) undertook the task of distributing money or rations rather than the missionaries. In addition, when a period of famine came or when the trapping season was bad, rations were distributed by the HBC which was subsequently reimbursed by the government (Mak, 1982:11).

Thus, besides being an important factor in the sedentarization of the Innut, the missionaries soon came to

occupy an extremely important role in providing services to the settler and Innu populations as well as acting as political representatives on their behalf. They quickly worked themselves into the important position of 'patrons', acting as power brokers between the local people on the one hand and the outside world on the other (in particular the provincial and federal governments).¹⁰ This position was likely enhanced after the Second World War when the government began to provide more services to the communities in the way of regular rations followed by welfare, nursing stations, schools, and housing. In the post-war period the missionary had more political resources to play with, that is, more scarce and valued goods which by controlling granted him power and influence among the Innut and White residents. He was pre-eminent in interpreting the 'needs' of his Innu parishioners, most of whom could not speak French or English, to the government bureaucracies and in explaining the complex outside world to these same clients. He persisted in taking the initiative in acquiring services for his clients even though the financing of these services was increasingly assumed by the state.¹¹

Examples of the role of priests as patrons in more recent years are found in Garnier (1949) and Joveneau and Tremblay (1971). Garnier mentions the meetings he obtained with various members of parliament and ministers of the provincial government in his efforts to acquire new roads and bridges for Cote-Nord communities. He also discusses the

efforts the church took to provide hospitals, nurses, and schools to communities where no such services existed. Joveneau and Tremblay discuss the efforts made by Bishop Scheffer and the priests working under him to improve the economic situation of the people living along the coast.

On February 15, 1961, a meeting of great scope and scale was held at St. Augustin. Father Gabriel Dionne, O.M.I., had organized it down to the smallest details, putting into it all of his competence and heart, which he had long given to the North Shore.... Each village sent its delegate, even Musquaro with its six houses. Once again, they considered the many problems caused by isolation, distance, the total lack of communication and information, poverty, unemployment, etc.... Resultant from this three-day meeting, there was born the famous Economic Council of the Lower North Shore. The dynamic Father Gabriel Dionne, O.M.I., became the secretary and, as a matter of fact, the living soul of the organization (1971:91-92).

Throughout the 1960's and early 1970's this committee played an important role in obtaining telephone, electrical, educational, transportation and health care services for the region. It was also instrumental in organizing the twenty villages on the Cote-Nord into the Municipality of the Lower Cote-Nord (ibid.:93-94).

Thus, it is important to remember that the local priests in many of the Cote-Nord Innu communities played extremely important roles in economic decision-making. It would not be unreasonable to suggest that, in conjunction with DIA, they controlled much of the decision-making regarding economic and social policies in these communities. Evidence that the missionary in La Romaine exercised such control over the local population is presented by Michaud (1965:80-88).

This state of affairs continued up until the 1970's when the

local Band Council started to make more of its own decisions, and certain members of the community became educated to the extent that they could assume administrative responsibilities.

7. Innu Way of Life 1800-1950

Reports of Innu life before 1950 are scarce, particularly those that describe life in the bush. Frenette's history of the HBC post at Mingan in the 1800's and the journals of the HBC manager at Musquaro for the years 1843-1845 provide information on exchange relations with the HBC and other merchants, and on the kind of activities pursued by the Innut while they were on the coast. However, these references tell us little about what the Innut were doing in the interior - their forms of land tenure and harvesting practices. Reports of Innu life in the bush from people who wintered with the Innut during the 1700's and 1800's do not permit any definite conclusions about the nature of land use and tenure during this period.

Some fairly detailed oral histories of life in the bush are available for the post-1900 period, however. Bouchard (1977), Dominique (1978), Tanner (1977), Mailhot and Michaud (1960), and Bacon and Vincent (mimeo) obtained accounts from elderly informants which illustrate certain aspects of Innu life prior to the establishment of reserves in the 1950's. A number of my informants in La Romaine also provided descriptions which aid our understanding of Innu harvesting practices and land tenure during this period. Innu land use

and tenure is of concern here as it constitutes the way in which access to the products of labour, technology, tools, and raw materials of production is controlled.

The exact nature of Algonquian land tenure has been the subject of intense debate since Leacock (1954) challenged Speck's conclusion (1973[1915]; Speck and Eiseley, 1939, 1942; cf. Cooper, 1939) that individual hunting territories existed among the Algonquian peoples of the Quebec-Labrador peninsula prior to contact.¹⁴ According to Speck, hunting groups were kinship-focused,

composed of folks united by blood or marriage, having the right to hunt, trap, and fish in a certain inherited district bounded by some rivers, lakes, or other natural landmarks....The whole territory claimed by each tribe was subdivided into tracts owned from time immemorial by the same families and handed down from generation to generation (1973[1915]:59).

Leacock argues, in contrast to Speck, that the system of inherited, 'permanent' territories owned by individual families is not a traditional form of Algonquian land tenure but a product of the individualizing effects of fur trapping and trading (1954:6). In her view, these family territories would inevitably give way to a system of permanent, male-operated, individually-owned trap lines and almost complete dependence on store-bought foods in many ways similar to the system employed by White trappers.

Leacock's acculturation continuum - communal multi-family hunting groups giving way to individualized fur trapping groups - ignores important differences in the ecology of the Quebec-Labrador peninsula. She assumes that all Innu people (including the Cree) have the same pre-

contact starting point, namely, communal multi-family hunting. Other ethnologists working in the region argue, however, that many hunting groups relied on sedentary food and fur resources which permitted the establishment of hunting territories even though 'ownership' of these territories was quite flexible (Feit,1973: Rogers, 1963; Scott,1979, Tanner,1979). In the James Bay area in particular, the ecosystem permitted the utilization of beaver as the most important source of food and fur, when combined with intermittent harvesting of larger game.

In Knight's view, such territories could not have existed among the Cree prior to or even after contact because, in the long run, this form of adaptation is inherently unstable, due to ecological factors (1965:29). Fluctuations in hunting group demography and faunal populations would at times threaten compartmentalized groups unless they had a form of cooperation which did not recognize rigid definitions of territories, and which promoted equal access to all territories and the resources obtained from them.

Knight seems to be attacking somewhat of an 'ideological' conception of property relations rather than the 'actual' system. Even today, the Cree folk model of the territory system is that of a 'permanent' relationship to land, and corresponds to Speck's observations of permanent rights of ownership (1973[1915]:58). But when we look beyond this level of 'appearance', we see that the system is very

flexible, characterized by changes in hunting group composition and size from one year to the next, the exchange of harvesting privileges between hunting group leaders, the undefined nature of territory boundaries, and the fact that in practice many species of animals can be harvested on a territory without the permission of its 'owner'. These factors enable the Cree to avoid with great success the problems of demographic and faunal fluctuation delineated by Knight.

In many of the more barren ground and open-crown forest regions of the peninsula including the Cote-Nord, reliance on migratory caribou may have precluded the existence of well-defined territories. "Further north and east in the Quebec-Labrador peninsula a different ecosystem with nomadic caribou as the principal game animal made a semi-sedentary small group land tenure system inappropriate" (Tanner,1977:3; Rogers,1963:81-88; Savard,1974:56). Leacock is therefore wrong to compare different native groups in the peninsula using the same acculturation schema when their historical starting points in terms of ecological adaptation are so different.

But is Leacock's argument valid at least as far as the Cote-Nord Innu are concerned? Has a communal and nomadic multi-family system of land tenure given way to 'permanent' trapping territories owned and exploited by individual families? I wish to argue in contrast to Leacock that: (1) there is little evidence to indicate that the Innu from the Cote-Nord region relied primarily on harvesting nomadic

caribou in the pre-contact period to the exclusion of more sedentary practices of harvesting small game and trapping; (2) up until the imposition of beaver preserves by the federal government, Innu land tenure had much in common with Roger's definition of the "hunting range system" or "hunting area" where the "group returns to the same general area each year but possesses no exclusive rights to the resources. The area has no sharply demarcated boundaries" (1963:82); (3) a number of factors intervened in the use of these same general areas which meant that access to any given area could be enjoyed by a large number of people. These variables included intermarriage between hunting groups, the ability to co-reside with neighbouring groups by calling on kinship relations with them, the need to harvest animal resources along travel routes to trading posts, and the need to cooperate in the pursuit of nomadic caribou; (4) a number of changes did occur in Innu land tenure as a result of the fur trade due to the need to obtain furs required to pay off debts with the merchant, the necessity of visiting specific trading posts, and of travelling along certain rivers in order to reach these posts. The major changes in land tenure occurred as a result of various pressures which induced the Innuit to settle at particular posts, and the imposition of the beaver preserve system in the 1950's; and finally, (5) the present-day system of land tenure has not been transformed into a rigid system of private territories as predicted by Leacock.

In discussing the native way of life in the Quebec-Labrador peninsula during the fur trade period, it is important to remember that the peninsula was a single geographic unit throughout which the Innut and related groups moved. Movement between North West River, the interior part of the peninsula (e.g. the area around Indian House lake), and the Quebec Cote-Nord was the normal pattern of land use and occupation even despite attempts by individual post managers to enforce an allegiance to their own posts, using credit as the coercive means to affect this purpose (Frenette,1980:83). During this period closely related families concentrated fur harvesting activities in specific areas. However there was considerable movement within these areas, the boundaries of which were not well defined in any event, depending on the supplies of game and fur bearing animals present. Groups were free to travel through the fur-harvesting areas of other groups when hunting for caribou and other important game, and while on the way to the trading posts (Tanner,1977:42-45).

Thus, in reviewing the information about the Indian groups that appeared at Hamilton Inlet and those that appeared at posts along the Gulf of St.Lawrence, we can see that when the records speak of the movement of Indian people from one area to another, it would be more accurate to say that they came out to trade some years at one place and some years at another. They did not change the areas in which they regularly hunted and trapped (Tanner,1977:44).

Francois Bellefleur (57 years old) from La Romaine gave me a description of the yearly cycle of activities that illustrates this pattern of land use. He discussed a period in his life during the 1940's when he was in his late teens.

According to Francois, his family went hunting and trapping "wherever they wanted". This statement must be interpreted, however, in the light of other information, namely, that his group travelled into the bush along specific river valleys, and confined their activities to a certain region within which they were very mobile. They hunted and trapped wherever they wanted within this region; the specific location selected depended on game and fur-bearing animal populations, weather conditions, and the presence of other groups that habitually used the same area.

Late in the summer, Francois' group, including women and children, left from La Romaine for the Coacoachou River taking food, and traps with them. Working all day long, they transported their belongings in relays by canoe, and by foot when they came to portages. When camp had been set up for the night, it was necessary for the men to transport traps and certain provisions even further up the route before returning in the dark to their families.

According to Francois, there were formerly two groups of Innut which summered in the vicinity of La Romaine. One of these groups habitually travelled into the interior via the Olamen River, the other followed the Coacoachou River. Some members of this latter group travelled to the petit Mecatina River from where trips to North West River were sometimes made.¹⁵ Often, these two groups met up with families which had summered at other posts on the Cote-Nord or at North West River. The first activity they engaged in was to hunt

caribou.

Firstly, when we went inside, we tried to kill some caribou and to catch some fish near to the travel route. When we made a decision where to stay for the fall, we cached our provisions in that location. When we knew that the fur would be good to acquire, we stocked up on meat [before leaving to trap]. There were not many beaver in the area where we first set up camp in the fall so we had to hunt beaver very far from there. We hunted beaver in the vicinity of Lac Fourmont, just on the other side of the border [with Labrador]. We took the women and children but not much in the way of provisions, just a bit of flour. We left flour in a place where we would camp during the fall. We went north just to hunt. After hunting beaver, we returned to set our traps for martin and mink when the fur of these animals was of good quality. We would leave the women and children at a main camp after stocking up on food, and would go away for a week to camp... We spent Christmas in the bush. We left the women and children half-way along the route and descended to the coast to get more provisions, returning immediately to the bush. There was a store at Coacoachou where we went to get flour. Sometimes we came to La Romaine to get flour and returned with it to the river Etamamu. Just before Christmas, we stopped hunting for a short time in order to celebrate. We did not stop hunting during January and February. We hunted caribou after Christmas. We did not fish very much at all; perhaps just one day every so often. In the spring we descended towards the coast, while at the same time hunting muskrat along the travel route. Sometimes we spent the spring by the mouth of the river, and when the ice broke up on the river we went hunting muskrat. In June, we went to Musquaro for the marriages... We collected all the traps and carried them with us when we returned to the coast. Then, each September or October, when we went back into the bush we carried our traps with us again. We took our traps with us because we changed our trapping/hunting location each year... Formerly, the Indians did not need to have territories. Only since the reserve has been in place at La Romaine have there been territories for individual people. Because DIA came to La Romaine and distributed individual territories (interview 8/3/83).

Fiset reports (personal communication) that during his stay as manager at the HBC post in La Romaine between 1938 and 1943, Innut started to visit the post in November to obtain their rations and to exchange furs. Such visits were

made almost exclusively by men and male adolescents, and continued every month until the spring when entire families began to arrive at the coast once again. Some families would arrive about mid-April, others in May, with the remainder appearing at the post at the beginning of June. The majority of families left for the bush sometime around August 20th after having purchased their fall provisions. We should note here that Innu men were required to appear at the post every month from January 1st on in order to receive their rations. Otherwise, it was assumed that such rations were not needed (John Fiset, personal communication). It is likely, therefore, that only the groups within easy travelling distance of La Romaine or the outpost at Coacoachou were able to collect their rations on a monthly basis.

Mathieu Mestokosho's account in Bouchard (1977) is in many ways similar to that of Francois Bellefleur. After spending the summer on the coast hunting and fishing and attending the mission, family groups would travel into the bush along certain commonly used river valleys, transporting their provisions and traps in relays ahead of the women and children. After deciding on a good location to trap mink and martin, the men would immediately hunt caribou to take with them on their travels north to hunt beaver, and for later in the season when they descended southward to trap. Christmas was spent in the bush, apart from a short trip to the coast or to North West River to obtain more provisions. Hunting caribou and fishing were the primary activities during the winter months of January, February and March up until the

spring when the annual migration of ducks and geese started. When break-up started, usually in April, the families would descend to the coast once again hunting muskrat on the way (Bouchard,1977:101-117).

According to Mestokosho, a multi-family group (seven families in 1930, three families in 1935) would leave Mingan in late August and travel northward toward the Hamilton River from where they descended to North West River. Each year, they followed the same route up the St.Jean River to the Romaine River and Lake Brûlé. It was in this region (Lake Atikonak, Lake Brûlé, and Winaukapau Lake) that they would spend much of the winter hunting caribou and trapping. They often met other groups here; those which tended to frequent the posts at Sept-Iles, La Romaine and Natashquan during the summer, even though these groups took different routes into the interior (ibid.:53).

In the early 1900's, the Mingan group would descend the Hamilton River to trade at the HBC post situated at North West River. If they were short of provisions, they could obtain more from other groups and from White trappers whom they met in the bush (ibid.:15).

As the Mingan group travelled along the river valleys to and from the winter caribou hunting grounds, they continued to hunt and trap such animals as partridge, porcupine, lynx, bear, ducks, beaver and martin. They would cache stores of caribou on platforms along the travel route and in areas where they expected to be trapping or hunting later on. If

the winter was particularly cold, and no caribou or other animals were to be found, they would fish through the ice (ibid.:31,92).

When the bush camps were well provided for, with plenty of caribou meat stored away, Mestokosho's group would start trapping. Beaver and martin seem to have been the main fur-bearing animals trapped. Those people who spent too much time trapping ran into difficulties because of the necessity of obtaining larger quantities of store-bought provisions to make up for the lack of caribou meat. These provisions were difficult to transport into the bush and their purchase resulted in a larger debt to the merchant. To reduce their dependence on the trader, adults tried to consume minimal amounts of sugar, salt, flour and lard: children were given the highest priority when it came to consuming these commodities (Bouchard,1977:108-109).

It would appear from this description that the situation of the Mingan Innut was quite precarious. The reproduction of the domestic unit rested precariously on a fine balance between the availability of credit and the degree of indebtedness on the one hand, and success at caribou hunting on the other. A large debt tended to pressure the group into devoting more time to trapping to the detriment of caribou hunting. But at the same time, the only way the group could reduce its dependence on the trading post and on flour as a staple was to hunt caribou. The end result of scarce caribou was increasing debt to the HBC store in Mingan.

Sans caribou, il faut manger son pain et ensuite il faut retourner chercher des provisions au village. Mais pour avoir des provisions, il fallait tuer des animaux à fourrure. Pour tuer ces animaux à fourrure il fallait d'abord tuer des caribous. C'était le caribou le plus important. Sans le caribou, personne n'aurait eu la force de travailler comme on le faisait. Le caribou donne de la force, du courage. Il est difficile à trouver. Mais il faut le trouver. Les familles se décourageaient faute de trouver le caribou. Quand on croisait une piste de caribou, il fallait la suivre jusqu'au bout, même si la piste était très vieille....Celui qui ne faisait pas cela se décourageait et perdait ses chances, C'est la raison pour laquelle on entendait parler des familles qui revenaient à Mingan pendant l'hiver (Bouchard,1977:115-116).

Mestokosho also mentioned that people 'owned' numerous traps; but this does not demonstrate the economic priority of trapping versus hunting, as Leacock (1954) would have us believe. By caching traps and food in a number of different areas, the hunting group could roam freely in search of caribou without worrying about the transport of heavy steal traps. Wherever they hunted caribou, a supply of traps was on hand with which to obtain the fur-bearing animals required to pay off debts incurred at the trading post. Throughout the year they attempted to predict the price of the furs they would sell upon return to the settlement in the spring; they wanted to trap only enough to pay off the debts with the trader. If it had been a good year, all of these debts could be paid off (ibid.:52,115).

A number of important concerns arise in the above discussion. Firstly, we notice the high priority assigned to caribou hunting. Secondly, as far as the trapping of fur-bearing animals is concerned, there are 'target production levels' in existence. Thirdly, we are provided with an idea

of the Innu relationship with the merchant in Mingan. A well developed credit system is in operation at this point even during a period of fluctuating prices and uncertainty about whether a given fur harvest would be sufficient to pay off the debt. Fourthly, government rations were by the 1930's absolutely essential to the welfare of each hunting group. Finally, the present-day conscious model of individually-owned territories, which will be discussed shortly, attributes the genesis of these territories to government actions, namely, the establishment of beaver preserves.

This latter point is of particular importance because it contradicts Leacock's contention, that "the emphasis on acquiring furs for exchange has but recently superseded the emphasis on obtaining food for consumption, with the apparent result that individualized hunting patterns moving toward private 'ownership' of land are only beginning to replace co-operative patterns and communal ownership" (1954:6). As mentioned previously, she detected a shift during her sojourn at Natashquan in the summer of 1950 away from the highly flexible land use pattern where groups changed trapping grounds from one year to another and transported their traps with them as they went, to a system very much like that of the White trapper. In the latter case, individual trappers 'owned' specific territories where they set lines of traps which were left in place each season and returned to the following year. But Leacock is identifying a tendency here only, one which she believes results from the individualizing

effects of the fur trade. That she is too hasty in concluding that the crystallization of individual hunting territories stems directly from the fur trade is evident in her own data. She states that it was government imposition of the beaver preserves which had the greatest influence on the pattern of land use and occupation.

The government official...put the matter simply: either the Indians co-operate or there could be no restocking of beaver. The Indians agreed and chose territories, but mostly as groups, not as individuals, and for the most part on the basis of where they had decided to hunt the following winter....It subsequently became apparent, however, that the plan would not be generally followed. The orientation of the band as a whole had not sufficiently shifted away from traditional communal patterns to adopt such a system (1954:31).

In La Romaine, my informants also identified a change in their land use patterns with the imposition of the preserves. They explicitly denied that today's system (conscious model) of hunting territories existed prior to the establishment of the government's Saguenay beaver preserve in 1954.

It is quite probable that the beaver preserve system introduced by the government was responsible for what seems today to be a fixed system of hunting and trapping territories where the hunters and trappers return to the same area each successive year. In the present system, the prevalent ideology is that the utshimāu is the sole 'owner' or 'steward' of his territory. But despite the existence of this conscious model of land tenure, the present-day system remains extremely flexible. An utshimāu might say that it is 'his territory' but in actual fact we see that changes occur in hunting group composition and size from one year to the

next (see Table 5), harvesting privileges are exchanged between hunting group leaders, territory boundaries remain undefined, and in practice many species of animals can be harvested on a territory without the permission of its 'owner'. We see, moreover, that the relationship of an utshimāu to his territory is not one of 'ownership' in the contemporary North American sense of exclusive control and possession, but of a special relationship with the animal species residing there and the animal masters which represent them. The hunting group leader's right to use a particular area is based on his extensive knowledge of the resources found there, his commitment to manage these resources in a responsible manner, and his ability to maintain an open line of 'communication' with the animal masters upon which the well-being of the group is thought to depend (cf. Tanner, 1979:182-189). More will be said about the present-day character of Innu land tenure in the next chapter.

Regarding the second and third points mentioned above, we should note that it is the implantation of the credit system on the Cote-Nord that marks a significant change in Innu life. The beginning of what Bacon and Vincent call the époque de la farine brought with it a growing dependency on the posts as flour, lard, metal traps, and guns replaced their equivalents - dried salmon, seal oil, wooden deadfall traps, and bows and arrows - in the pre-contact economy (Bacon and Vincent, mimeo:102). However, the degree to which government rations or money payments

Table 5. Location of base camps north of La Romaine during the fall 1982 and fall 1984.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Fall 1982</u>	<u>Fall 1984</u>
Francois Bellefleur	Lac Philipot	Lac Philipot
Etienne Lalo	Lac Briconnet (south)	Lac Philipot
Basille Bellefleur	Lac Cobaz	Lac Doublet
Josephis Bellefleur	Lac Cobaz	Lac Doublet
Dominique-Charles- William Mark	Lac Briconnet (north)	Lac Pillet
Etienne Mollen	Lac Mouret	Lac Alix
Jerome Bellefleur	Lac Mouret	Lac Alix
Gregoire Lalo	Lac Triquet	Lac Du Gaz
Paul Bellefleur	Lac Triquet	Lac Triquet
Charles-Pierre Mark	Lac Triquet	Lac Triquet
Mathieu Peters	Lac Golet (15 miles E.)	Lac Golet
Antoine Bellefleur	Lac Golet (15 miles E.)	Lac Golet
Thomas Gregoire	Petit Mecatina River	Lac Montcevelles
Dominique Bellefleur	Lac Montcevelles	Lac Montcevelles
Raphael Mark	Lac Montcevelles	Lac Montcevelles
Josephis Mark	Lac Vitre	Lac Hakluyt
Xavier Martin	Lac Maryen	Lac Lorens
Basile Mark	Lac le Breton	Lac Bohier

where necessary to support the system in the 1800's is open to question. It is significant that by 1868 the federal government was making payments available to the Innut who united at Mingan during the summer. For example, \$250 was given to the missionary, Father Babel, to distribute at Mingan in the summer of 1868 (Carrière, 1969, v.8:216). These payments were intended to aid the Innut many of whom often arrived at the coast in a state of starvation.

By 1938, income from the sale of furs contributed even less to the reproduction of the domestic unit as the Innut became increasingly dependent on government rations. John Fiset, HBC manager at the time, reports that by the summer of each year, most families had run out of money and were living from fishing, hunting birds, and government rations

(personal communication). Government rations were in his view absolutely essential; the Innut had a difficult enough time surviving even with the meagre rations granted to them.

The purchase of provisions for the fall was made possible by a four month advance of government rations and credit from the HBC (see page for a list of the rations dispersed). Fiset reports that:

though the credit advances given to the Indians by the Company were small, they had trouble enough paying them. Most of them had to be continually pressed. Nevertheless, usually by the end of the fiscal year (May 31st), most of the Indians had paid their debts....Credit was more or less at the discretion of the manager, who of course, knew, or was supposed to know, about the capabilities of his Indians as trappers. Permission to issue these credits had to be obtained from our District Office; very seldom the amounts were changed. In the case of a complete failure of his trapping, a good Indian customer was again advanced for the same amount, others also were but at a reduced rate. Nobody was ever completely cut off. The amounts advanced were very small - it varied between \$25 to \$100, maybe \$125 (personal communication).

The inability of the fur trade and credit system to satisfy the needs of the Innut for commodities, even such basics as flour, can be blamed in part on fluctuating prices for furs. However the increasing difficulties experienced by the Innut in acquiring basic commodities must be considered in the context of the expanding use of the territory by Euro-Canadians in the 1800's. For it was the growing presence of non-native trappers and new regulations granting exclusive rights to the HBC and other interests to harvest salmon on certain Cote-Nord rivers which also did much to create economic hardship for the Innut. Incursions by non-native trappers into Innu trapping territory deprived the latter of

fur bearing animals and forced them to trap further inland, while denying them the right to fish salmon during the summer months impeded their access to an important source of nourishment, and increased their dependence on store-bought goods, as was noted previously (Carrière,1969,v.8:216).

One might think that the credit system would have insulated the Innut from fluctuations in the price of furs and the problems which this created. But this system can function well only if (1) the producer has a limited need for commodities known in advance of the productive process, (2) "all fur buyers are at the same time suppliers of all the items that a trapper might wish to purchase" (Tanner,1979:64), and (3) in the case of limited competition, the merchant has definite advantages over his competition such as the best access to the native trappers, and better capitalization. Assuming Innu needs for commodities were relatively stable and the HBC well capitalized, the question here is whether or not the HBC was ever free of competition, or in the face of limited competition, was able to secure best access to its native clients

17

Frenette states that the HBC was in fact able to establish an exclusive monopoly on the upper and middle Cote-Nord during the 19th century which entailed trade in fur, seal oil, and fish (1980:90). But other evidence suggests that the Company was persistently plagued by competition taking various forms. Independent traders and Jersey Companie visited the coast frequently at various points

during the 19th century and established a number of posts there (Gallienne,1969:123,149,189; Charest,1975:45). It would appear that these interests traded with the Innut as well as the settler population. In 1851, Donald Smith, the manager at the HBC post in North West River, expressed his concern about such traders. He was also concerned about the losses his own post suffered because many Innut preferred to trade at HBC posts on the Cote-Nord where missionaries were available rather than at his post. The HBC post manager at Musquaro reports in February, 1846, that he had gone to Kegaska "to look out for Indians and prevent them from trading with Captain Baker from Gaspe who had a schooner laid up in the ice" (HBC,B.136/c/1, Feb.3,1846).

Thus, during the 1800's the Innut may have been able to trade at more than one HBC post, and with independent traders. As a hypothesis, I would suggest that the result of a persistent competitive trading environment on the Cote-Nord was a debt system which could not insulate Innu fur producers from fluctuations in market prices or in game and furbearing animal populations.¹⁸ The recurrent starvation that stemmed in part from this situation necessitated the relatively early intervention of the government which provided rations and money dispersements using the missionaries as intermediaries.

8. The Saguenay Beaver Preserve

Based on the system of registered trap lines and beaver conservation among the James Bay Cree, DIA, in collaboration

with the Quebec Minister of Game and Fisheries, moved to set up a similar program for all of the Cote-Nord. In the late 1920's, James Watt, an HBC post manager, had started on his own initiative the first beaver preserve, located in the Rupert's House territory (Anderson,1961:129-158). In the early 1930's, the HBC obtained the lease to the territory under the management of Watt, and continued to play an important role in subsequent years in setting up and administrating other preserves (The Beaver, Sept.1948:38). In 1938, the Indian Affairs Branch, as DIA was then called, created the Nottaway preserve based on the success of the HBC's program further north. Other beaver preserves were soon established in Ontario and in Northern Quebec; these latter included the Old Factory (1941), Fort George (1942) and Mistassini (1948) preserves (Anderson,1961:152).

Hunting territories as recorded on maps were treated as individual trap lines over which the territory's utshimau ("tallyman") was made responsible for maintaining the yearly harvest within a quota set by the government, and for reporting the harvest to the Minister of Game and Fisheries. In this tallyman role, the hunting group leader received a yearly "wage" in return for notifying the government as to the location and number of beaver lodges on 'his territory'. Each trapper was then assigned a quota based on the number of occupied lodges present on the territory and the probable birth and death rates of the beaver residing there. An official seal was given to a trapper for each beaver in his quota, and he was required as a result to hand in these seals

with the beaver furs he sold to the government at the end of the year (Tanner,1979:190-192).

In 1951, the Bersimis beaver preserve was created comprising an area of 21,000 square miles (Gregoire,1979:2). The region was divided into trap lines each under the responsibility of a trapper who acted both as harvester and as beaver guardian. Subsequently, on December 11,1954, the provincial government established the Saguenay preserve. As of the summer of 1955, trapping beaver was forbidden throughout the Saguenay district when the Quebec Fur Service in conjunction with DIA began importing beaver into the area as part of a repopulation program. In 1958 DIA reported that the "program concerning the repopulation of the Cote Nord region is continuing and 246 animals which have been transported this year bring to 700 the number of beaver transplanted during the past three years" (DIA,Annual Report,1957-58:56). This program continued until the summer of 1958 and trapping resumed again on certain territories the following winter (Gregoire,1979:4-5).

At the beginning of the program, trappers were asked to count the number of occupied beaver lodges in the areas in which they usually trapped. Based on these figures and on their statements about where they trapped each winter, the government divided the area ~~apropos~~ the James Bay Cree, into individual trapping territories over which an utshimau was given responsibility for forwarding information to the government regarding the numbers of beaver lodges on his

territory.

The quota system went into effect for all the trappers at the beginning of the 1960-61 season. As with the beaver preserves in the James Bay area, "Tallymen" (~~maître-trappeurs~~) were designated, each receiving an annual fee of \$50.00 as his "Tallyman Wage" in return for reporting his harvests and those of other trappers residing with him on the territory. Beaver furs were sent to the Quebec Ministry of Game and Fisheries which then undertook the marketing of them. DIA was responsible for collecting and sending the furs to the Ministry of Game and Fisheries and in return received 10% of the selling price of each fur to cover administrative and transportation costs as well as the payment of "Tallyman wages". The payment of these 'wages' ended sometime at the beginning of the 1960's (Gregoire, 1979:4-6).

9. Creation of the Reserve

The present-day missionary in La Romaine arrived to take up his post on July 1, 1953. Some of the most radical changes have taken place in the Innu way of life during his lengthy period of residence in the community. Upon his arrival, the Innut were still very much transhumant; women and children continued to accompany the men into the bush where the fall, winter and early spring were spent hunting, fishing and trapping.

In 1953, La Romaine was but a temporary meeting-place for some 183 nomadic Montagnais. These people, scattered over miles of hunting grounds, returned in the summer of each year, to a so-called village, for the

eight or ten days' duration of a 'Mission'. They then assembled in a small chapel; its walls were weather-beaten and it braved the easterly winds for some twenty-eight years (Joveneau,1983:36-38)

In March 1955, the federal government purchased 100 acres from the Province of Quebec for \$105.00 in order to establish an Indian Reserve at La Romaine (Letter from Laval Fortier to Edmond Pouliot, March 8,1955). Over the previous two years, land for 50-60 building lots, a church, nursing station and school had been surveyed (Letter from G.H.Taggart to B.W.Waugh, Sept.24,1952). Finally, on May 31,1956, a Privy Council decree set aside this land "for the use and benefit of the Romaine Band of Indians, to be designated Romaine Indian Reserve No.2" (Privy Council, Canada, 1956).

Four years after the creation of the reserve, the eastern neighbours to the La Romaine Innut, those based during the summer months at St.Augustin, were pressured by DIA and other authorities into moving to the new reserve (Savard,1977:52).

Tous ceux qui s'occupent des Indiens: Surintendant de l'Agence indienne, officiers du gouvernement, services médicaux, compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson, directeur des écoles indiennes, Evêque et missionnaires, tous à l'unanimité reconnurent que la seule solution de progrès possible serait le transfert de ce groupe de St.Augustine à La Romaine (Angèle Vous Parle,June 30,1965).

Two families moved during the summer of 1960 followed by an additional two families in October of the same year, thus bringing the number of people who had moved by this date to 23 (Angèle Vous Parle,June 30,1965; Savard,1977:52). But the mass exodus did not take place until the following summer when the 65 remaining Innut piled themselves, dogs and

belongings on board the boat, "North Pionner", for the voyage to La Romaine. The majority of these 'immigrants', however, had great difficulty fitting into the social network of La Romaine; the men experienced trouble in integrating themselves into the fall hunting and trapping groups, the houses promised to them had not arrived, and to some extent they were subject to hostility from the local population who saw them as strangers (Savard, 1977:52-53). Thus, on April 3, 1963 three families abandoned the dilapidated houses in which they had lived over the previous two years, placed their canoes on their toboggans and headed off by foot for St. Augustin. This first group arrived at its destination one month later. Another group moved back again on the boat a short while later to bring the number of persons who had left La Romaine to 70 (Angèle Vous Parle, June 30, 1965).

10. Development of Health Care Facilities

Health care facilities were virtually non-existent on much of the Cote-Nord until the early 1900's. Initially limited medical attention was provided by missionaries and sisters who were also instrumental in building hospitals and nursing stations and obtaining doctors for the region. Garnier reports that in the early 1900's, it was rare to see doctors in the smaller communities due to the distances that had to be covered and due to the cost of this service (1949:179). In the vacuum left by the lack of medical services, the priests and nurses were called on to dispense whatever medicines and medical knowledge they had. Some

priests even provided rudimentary dental care.

Father Louis-Philippe Gagné recalls that, in one single evening, one hundred and eighty canines, molars, and incisors were uprooted by his forceps. He was then making the rounds of his missions and had stopped at the village of Romaine (ibid.:182).

In 1907, work on the Grenfell Mission hospital at Harrington Harbour was completed (Kerr,1959:151; Rochette,1926:62). Doctors from the mission visited many communities on the Cote-Nord between Blanc Sablon and Natashquan at least once a year trying to combat diseases such as tuberculosis, typhoid, diphtheria, and beriberi.

The Innut of Musquaro, La Romaine, and St. Augustin were particularly hard hit by the Spanish influenza epidemic of 1918. Georges Guillemette gives the following description of the impact of the epidemic on the Innu population in La Romaine:

Les gens descendaient de la réserve de Natashquan à Musquaro, montaient de St. Augustin à Musquaro et ceux de La Romaine aussi se réunissaient à Musquaro...les gens de St. Augustin étaient partis de Musquaro pour se rendre à La Romaine, une journée de pluie et il y avait de la grippe espagnole, une fièvre terrible. Ils se sont tentés au petit lac. Aujourd'hui on appelle cet endroit l'Hydro-Québec. Ils se trouvaient là aussi où le ministère des transports est installé. Cette épidémie de grippe, on s'en est ressenti beaucoup à La Romaine: les Indiens, les Blancs aussi, mais surtout les Indiens de St. Augustin ont été atteints un peu plus, parce qu'arrives une journée de pluie. Tentés, ils sont restés deux semaines à la même place. Pendant deux semaines, ils ont eu 14 morts. Il n'y avait pas de médecin, pas de garde-malade...Des journées, on a enterré trois morts. C'était pas très joyeux (Le Baliseur, Nov.27,1969,no.110).

Around 1939, Dr. Hodd from the hospital at Harrington was appointed Indian Agent for the Canadian government and made

occasional trips by boat or dogsled to visit the Innu and White communities, both in his capacity as Agent and as a doctor. He visited La Romaine once in the summer, once in the fall, and once during the winter leaving the Innut on their own for much of the time to attend to their health care needs themselves. Infrequent visits were also made by two Grenfell Mission dentists and a government dentist (John Fiset, personal communication).

During this period, electricity and an X-Ray plant were installed at the Harrington hospital to serve the residents along the coast (Grenfell,1932:101,260,282). By 1939, Grenfell hospitals had also been built at Mutton Bay and Blanc Sablon and it is conceivable that Innut may have visited them, or been visited by doctors from these hospitals.

In 1927 the Saint John Eudes hospital was built at Havre Saint-Pierre and has provided medical services to the lower Cote-Nord ever since (Garnier,1949:191-192). As of 1956, Dr.Hodd of the Grenfell Mission was still cruising the coast in his boat, the "Northern Messenger", providing medical attention to the Innu and White population at La Romaine (The Beaver, 1956:19-23). During the summer of 1956, Bishop Scheffer provided a boat, the "Maris Stella", which Dr.E.E.Binet used to carry out an X-ray survey of the coast (ibid.:19-23). Chronic sufferers of tuberculosis were sent to the Sanatorium at Mont Joli on the Gaspesie Peninsula, where many of them died.

By 1963, medical services were being provided regularly

in the village by nurses operating out of a nursing station brought in on a barge (Angèle Vous Parle, July 30, 1963, no.1). X-Ray clinics for tuberculosis were being held in the school and a Dentist, Albert Moisan, was making annual visits (ibid.). By 1969, the station had been moved into three trailers situated beside the mission (Naud, 1970:32). The present nursing station was opened in the spring of 1975 (Le Baliseur, Mar. 19, 1975, no.253).

11. Education and Settlement

Before the reserve was established at La Romaine, education was provided to the Innut by the missionaries when they visited the mission at Musquaro each summer. The catechism, reading and writing were the subjects taught (Vincent and Bacon, mimeo:131,171). In 1955, five Innu students were sent to a residential school in Sept-Iles, and the following year, the Soeurs de l'Espérance opened the first school for the Innut at La Romaine (St. Alexis School) (Jovèneau and Tremblay, 1971:100).¹⁹ However, the school season lasted only during the summer months due to the departure of the Innu families for the bush where they would spend the winter hunting and trapping.

'Another couple of weeks', Father Alexis Joveneau told us later, 'in the little book-filled study of the Oblate Mission, 'and there won't be a soul in the village!'. He shook his head. 'We wish the older people at least would remain here, but, you know, they are the very ones that want to go the most!' Not just the men, but the women as well make up the Montagnais hunting parties' (The Beaver, 1956:19-23).

By 1959, with the commencement of full-time schooling,

the women and children became confined to the community for the first time. This phase of sedentarization was to last until 1978 when, with the funding provided through a DIA initiated and supervised trapping program, women and children started to go into the bush once again.

A number of my informants stated that they did not want the women and children to remain in the community while the men were away hunting and trapping. The degree to which they were coerced into remaining in the community is difficult to ascertain precisely. My informants stated that DIA threatened to cut off the welfare and family allowance payments if the children did not remain in the village to attend school. In any event, DIA apparently refused to pay the cost of transporting the women and children into the bush by plane, a mode of transport which came into use around 1960-61. As one informant put it,

The first time, the children and women stayed behind in the community, it was to enable them to go to school - to learn how to write and to speak French. DIA allowed us to have houses so that the children would go to school. As a result of all this, because the children went to school, they do not know about the way of life in the bush. It is because DIA said that if the children did not go to school, it would cut welfare and family allowance, that the children and women were not able to go into the bush. We were afraid of DIA, we didn't have any choice. If DIA cut the welfare, we wouldn't have had enough money to buy food. We were happier before. We did everything that DIA wished because we were afraid that the welfare and family allowance would be cut off (interview, March, 1983).

If in fact DIA did threaten to cut off the welfare and family allowance cheques at that time, the threats were probably verbal. As there was likely no written policy whereby such payments would be withheld, it would be very difficult to

verify the statements given to me by my informants concerning the reasons why women and children started to remain in the community each fall.

From 1959 to the fall of 1966, Innu and White students were segregated, the Innu children attending the school where the present-day Band Council office is located, and the White children a school in the White part of the community itself. But after the construction of a new school in the summer of 1967, comprising six classrooms, a teachers' residence, gymnasium and library, the two groups were united in the same classrooms with the same teachers (Angèle Vous Parle, June 8, 1967, no.38). The number of school children attending the school has risen from 180 students in 1969 to the present-day level of 235 students of which 44 are White.

12. From Rations to Welfare: Social Security Payments

As stated previously, for many years starting shortly before 1868, the Innut of the lower North Shore received sporadic rations (bons d'achats, rations alimentaires) or money disbursements. During the tenure of John Fiset, HBC manager at La Romaine from September 1938 to November 1943, rations took the form of a four month advance followed by monthly disbursements (John Fiset, personal communication). After January 1st of each year, persons who failed to appear each month at the HBC post were not given their rations as it was assumed that they were not in need of them. Unissued rations were not accumulated and dispersed upon the return of the absent groups. Every Innu family received monthly food

rations during this period, the amount depending on the number of family members. A family of four was entitled to the ration listed below in Table 6.

Table 6. Ration provided to an Innu family of four in La Romaine, 1938-1943.

<u>Item</u>	<u>Quantity</u>	<u>Approx. Price</u>
flour	98 lbs	\$3.00
lard	10 lbs	2.00
baking powder	2 lbs	.50
tea	1 1/2 lbs	.68
sugar	3 1/2 lbs	.21
salt	2 lbs	.10

Total monthly ration		= \$6.49
as well as a summer ration of:		
lead shot	2 lbs	\$0.30
gun powder	1/2 lb	.40
percussion caps or caps to recap	1/2 box	.45
empty shells		-----
Total summer ration per month		= \$7.64

The monthly rations as well as the four month fall advance were charged to DIA in accordance with the Indian agent's instructions. During this period, Dr.D.G.Hodd of the Grenfell Mission at Harrington Harbour acted as Indian agent. "As Dr.Hodd visited Romaine only three or four times a year, he depended completely on the HBC for the distribution of these rations and to advise him of some unexpected happening, such as if the trapping had failed, a dire case of necessity, etc. Without these rations the Indians would have hardly survived; even with it they had a difficult enough time" (Fiset, personal communication). This system of social

security continued until about 1967 when the present day system of individual welfare cheques was inaugurated. The present system of social security payments is discussed in Chapter VI.

It is interesting to note, here, that due to the provisions set forth in the Indian Act, native people in Canada were not eligible for many of the social welfare programs available to non-native citizens until relatively recently. "Until World War Two, Indians were excluded from federal and provincial social security programmes...Welfare services for Indians tended to develop independently under the aegis of the Indian Affairs branch of the federal government" (Guest,1980:218,note 39). Whereas Indians were excluded from the Old Age Assistance Act of 1927, the Old Age Security Act of 1951 granted pension coverage to them for the first time. Prior to the second World War, then, the only way native people in the country could obtain services was to become enfranchised, that is, to give up their Indian Status as defined in the Indian Act. Consequently, parallel services were provided by DIA with the exception of Indian Health care, family allowance, and old age pension. Indian Health Services were transferred to the Department of National Health and Welfare in 1945 (Ponting and Gibbons,1980:15). Social Assistance payments are still provided directly by DIA but must parallel those given by the Quebec government.²⁰

Federal and provincial family allowance for the Innu of the Cote-Nord was implemented sometime around 1946. Cheques

were either sent directly to the families or care of the Indian Agent, were administered through Agency trust accounts, or were allowances in kind (DIA, Annual Report, 1947:224).²¹

The benefits available through family allowance were cut by the federal government in August 1978 from an average allowance of \$25.68 per month to an average of \$20 per month. However, the money saved from these cuts was transferred to low and middle income families through a "refundable child tax credit". In 1979 the credit granted \$200 per child to families with incomes less than \$18,000 but was reduced by five cents for each dollar of additional income above this level (Guest, 1980:199). The Innut in La Romaine presently receive this credit, even those whose primary source of income is welfare, upon submitting yearly federal income tax forms.

13. Housing

In the post-war period, transfer payments were also provided in the form of monies for house construction, a commercial cod fishing program, wages, equipment and materials for Winter Works programs and house construction, the tallyman's wage for reporting beaver harvests, monies for road and sewer construction, administration of band affairs, handicraft and cultural projects, monies for the purchase of trapping supplies and to pay for transport by plane into and out of the bush each year.

House construction in La Romaine commenced in 1954. Four

houses were built at this time but were not occupied during the winter months while their occupants were away in the bush. They were constructed using hand tools under the supervision of Howard Strickland of Kegaska who later supervised the commercial fishing program. According to my informants, Innu men were hired by the week to build these houses and received a salary of about \$50 for their labours. Strickland was to build another 49 houses using primarily Innu labour over the next few years. Seven houses were built during the summer of 1967 (Angèle Vous Parle, Aug.31,1967 no.40), and ten during the summer of 1968 under the supervision of Emile Vollant, an Innu from Sept-Iles (Angèle Vous Parle, Aug.31,1967,no.40; Feb.4,1968,no.44). By the fall of 1969, 81 houses had been built (Naud,1970:30). To deal with the blossoming population and needs for additional housing, DIA purchased an additional 100 acres to add to the reserve (letter from J.M.Pauze,DIA, April 1,1969). Ten more houses were built during the summer of 1979 followed by another twelve in the summer of 1981, to bring the total number of houses constructed in the community to 103.

14. The Birth of the Cote-Nord Municipality

The "Municipalité de la Côte-Nord du Golfe St-Laurent" was created on April 1,1963, by a special act (Bill 23) of the Quebec Assemblée Nationale. As mentioned previously, the creation of the municipality resulted largely from the efforts of the Economic Council of the lower Cote-Nord in which Oblate priests played such an important role. The act

group d together 15 villages between Natashquan and Blanc Sablon with its administrative office based in Chevery.

The municipality has no mayor, town councillors, or secretary-treasurer; it is run by an administrator appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council; it does not collect property taxes, and its budget comes directly from the ministère des Affaires municipales....each of the 15 communities has a local committee, composed of a chairman and a maximum of five councillors, who are elected for a three-year period. The role of the local committee is mainly to represent the villagers in dealings with the municipality and other administrative bodies (Gendron and Charest,1982:18).

The first municipal committee in La Romaine was elected exclusively by the adult members of the White population on August 1, 1965. It is interesting to note, here, that the Innut do not participate in this committee despite the fact that it makes decisions which affect them. As such, the Municipality has no jurisdiction over the La Romaine reserve which explains why the Innut direct all of their political energy through their Band Council and have nothing to do with the committee.

15. The Winter Works Projects and Changes in Innu Commodity Consumption

One of the first benefits to result from the formation of the municipality was the Winter Works program. Starting in December 1963, 50 men (25 Innut and 25 Whites residents) started building a snowmobile trail, 15 miles long from La Romaine to Lac Washicoutai. According to my informants a second trail was built as well; this one out to the Olamen River and then across the plain to the second waterfall on the river.

The Innu men worked in three gangs of workers each with a supervisor (utshimāu). The utshimāut were the first to leave the village each morning and it was they who were responsible for making the fire for the noontime meal and tea. Of the three men I talked with about their involvement in the Winter Works, two said they received salaries of \$100 per week while the third said they received \$250-300 per month. This latter person said \$50 was deducted from each check to provide an income for a short while after the work ceased. One of them said they continued to receive the same amount of welfare while they were thus employed, while another said their welfare payments were cut due to the additional income. I have no other data to verify the accuracy of the information given to me here.

What impact did the Winter Works program and the income derived from it have on the consumption patterns of the Innut? The impact can best be evaluated if the pre-World War II pattern of commodity consumption is considered first. The following list of items sold to the Innut throughout the year in the period 1938-43 when John Fiset was manager of the HBC store at La Romaine provides an accurate picture of what consumption patterns were like at this time (John Fiset, personal communication):

Foods: flour, lard, baking powder, tea, salt, sugar, hard mix candy, in addition to very limited quantities of canned meat, canned fruit, salt pork, potatoes, onions, and peppermint candies.

Clothing: Women - fancy cotton print, cotton plaid, and scottish wool plaid material for dresses, flannelette for underwear and petticoats, heavy blue denim for shirts and aprons, English

superfine cloth for the bonnets, assorted bright-coloured ribbons, coloured beads.

Men - frieze material for winter pants, assorted long pants for the summer, summer and winter caps, fleece lined underwear, cardigan sweaters, checked cotton shirts, wool socks, cotton duck to make jackets, leggings, and overalls.

Misc.: axes, flat files, pocket knives, rifles (mainly .22's), 12, 16 and 20 gauge shot guns, muzzle loaders (percussion cap), black gun power, lead shot, empty shells and caps for these, percussion caps for muzzle loader guns, matches, candles, salted Harp seal skins to make moccasins, pipes, leaf tobacco, canvas for tents and for covering canoes.

During the five year period when Fiset was manager at La Romaine, he observed no change in the kind of items purchased by the Innut. It was not until the Winter Works program commenced in 1963 that Innu needs for industrially-derived commodities began to increase and change in character. The program increased the income of the Innut for the first time; an increase reflected immediately not only in an increase in the number of commodities purchased, but also in the first large needs for credit (Ren.Cyr, present HBC manager in La Romaine, personal communication). Soon after the commencement of the program, the Innut started buying outboard motors and snowmobiles (1967). The HBC did not give out much credit prior to 1963, just enough to purchase provisions required in the bush such as flour, sugar, tea, lard and a little candy. Welfare was used to sustain the women and children in the village while the men were in the bush. Income from fur sales went to pay off the debt incurred at the end of the summer for the purchase of provisions (ibid.).

We should note, here, that the first changes in patterns of commodity consumption remained compatible with the hunting, fishing and trapping way of life. Commodities were purchased which radically reduced the level of human energy expenditure required in the pursuit of traditional harvesting activities. The increased income which the Winter Works program provided acted therefore as a catalyst in precipitating a technological revolution in Innu harvesting practices.

A heavy emphasis on purchasing machinery of use in harvesting activities, such as snowmobiles, outboard motors, chainsaws, and CB radios, has persisted in the consumption patterns of the La Romaine Innu until the present day. This does not deny the fact that Innu needs for industrial products have changed and expanded in other ways. Electric stoves, and washing machines have reduced the amount of time required by women to maintain their households. Radios, colour televisions, and stereo sound systems, compete with 'traditional' forms of entertainment and ways of transmitting information and community values (e.g. legends). One might speculate that many commodities are now purchased not so much for their intrinsic value as technological aids to domestic production, but more in response to increasing exposure to the values of Euro-Canadian society as experienced through the media and direct contact. More will be said about the subject of commodity consumption in the contemporary context in Chapter VI.

The Winter Works program continued along the lines just

described until the winter of 1968 when it was suspended due to a dispute over funding (Naud,1970:101). In 1969 the program was replaced by evening adult education courses in which adults were paid to learn how to read, write, and do basic mathematics (Angele Vous Parle, Jan.25,1969,no.48; Naud, '970:101).

16. Commercial Cod Fishing

In 1961, DIA set up the "Association Cooperative des Pecheurs Indiens de La Romaine" for those Innu men interested in commercial fishing (Lessard, 1972:16).²² The fishery itself commenced the summer of 1962 with three boats provided by DIA, and lasted until the summer of 1973. A number of my informants said they took up the fishery in the first place in response to this DIA initiative; one which they supported because "they had nothing to do during the summer anyways, and at the beginning cod was fetching a good price"(interview,4/2/83).

In total, 16 open fishing boats, 25 to 30 feet in length were used by the Cooperative. Nine of these belonged to individual fishermen and seven to DIA. Virtually all of them were purchased second-hand from fishermen in Kegaska and from local Whites, except for one boat which one Innu had built for him locally. Many of these boats were old, leaked, and in need of frequent repair. They were of a traditional design probably originating in Newfoundland or the Gaspesie Peninsula, and were made by hand from materials found in the bush near the coast. Some used 2 cylinder 'Atlantic' inboard

engines while others used small 'Envinrude' outboard motors purchased from the HBC (Willie Stubbert, former fishing instructor, personal communication).

In 1963, DIA commissioned the construction of a 40 foot boat with a hold capable of storing ten tons of frozen fish (Angele Vous Parle, July 30, 1963; Lessard, 1972:16). This larger vessel was used almost entirely for training purposes. The various instructors hired throughout the duration of the fishery program would go out on the training vessel with four or so men at a time to show them how to look for fish, and how to use fishing equipment such as nets and trawling lines (Howard Strickland, former fishing instructor, personal communication). These instructor/ supervisors were for the most part local men with codfishing experience in that part of the coast.²³

A cleaning and salting shed was built at DIA expense in the spring of 1965 with cement floors and tubs for splitting, cleaning, and salting the fish (Angele Vous Parle, June 30, 1965). The shed contained 10-12 concrete boxes each lined with plastic sheets and having drains at the bottom.²⁴ The fish were unloaded from the boats manually, thrown into wooden tubs, and transported a short distance where they were then split and washed by hand and weighed. Following this, they were taken to the salting shed where they were placed one layer at a time in the concrete boxes as they were being salted. The codfish, after spending eight to ten days drying in salt, were again washed, then dried outdoors for about two

days, and packed in wooden tubs for sale to "Pêcheurs unis" of Quebec, "Waldmans Co." of Montreal, a processing plant in La Tabatière, or to a company from Newfoundland. Much to the advantage of the fishermen, the fish plant at La Tabatière purchased fresh fish - they only needed to gut and sometimes split the fish, thus simplifying the whole process of production for them (Lessard, 1972:27). For the most part, the salted cod was destined for foreign markets such as southern Europe, Brazil, Puerto Rico, the United States or the West Indies (Peter Sinclair, personal communication).

While other fish species are present in the area, such as herring, halibut, plaice, in addition to lobster, and scallops, the Cooperative concentrated on the harvesting of codfish alone. Approximately fifty men were engaged during a 10-11 week period each summer. However, during this time each boat crew of 3-5 men spent an average of only 26 days at sea fishing (Lessard, 1972:36). It should be pointed out here that this is not a particularly unusual amount of time to spend fishing; at present, the Newfoundland average for the amount of time spent fishing during the month of July is 17-18 days (Peter Sinclair, personal communication). Weather conditions in addition to the traditional summer pursuits of hunting, fishing salmon and trout, and canoe construction were likely factors responsible for reducing the amount of time spent commercial fishing.

According to Willie Stubbert, the last instructor and supervisor for the Cooperative, the fishermen would leave the community around 6:00 a.m. to pull up the nets they set the

previous evening. They would return with their catches between 1:00 p.m. and 3:00 p.m. depending on weather conditions. It was undesirable to reset the nets the same morning and to return the following day. If the water was warm, the fish would go soft in the nets during the day thus reducing their quality and selling price. Some fishermen would return to the sea late in the afternoon or evening the same day to set their nets while others would not return until the following day.

The actual fishing was undertaken close to the shore between one and seven miles away from La Romaine from the end of May to the end of August. This is the time of year when codfish run in schools chasing herring, mackerel and squid upon which they subsist. Gill nets and baited trawl lines were employed manually - no winches or other machinery were used to haul in the nets or lines, and as a result, the work was very strenuous, and uncomfortable especially in colder weather. Each boat had a captain/'owner', who was responsible for steering, upkeep of the engine and providing the gas, and a crew of 3-4 members.

My informants told me that the number of lines and nets used depended on the number of crew members in each boat; generally one trawl line and one net were employed for each member. The extremely small quantity of gear used here was probably an important factor in reducing the productivity of the harvest. In comparison, Longliners operating with three crew members during the same period out of Port aux Choix on

the west coast of Newfoundland used 40-50 nets and trawl lines (Peter Sinclair, personal communication). We can understand why so little gear was used, however, when we remember that the fishing crews lacked mechanized equipment of any sort, apart from the motor.

Income from the sale of fish was divided among the crew members with the captain receiving a slightly larger portion to cover the cost of the gasoline. He was given a book in which to record the numbers of codfish caught during the day. The instructor/supervisor tabulated the weight of these fish and gave the calculations to the Cooperative's secretary who made out the checks on a weekly basis. Table 7 below gives us some idea of the income each crew received during a season. When divided four or more ways, these seasonal incomes did not amount to very much at all; far below that necessary to satisfy the financial needs of a family. Consequently, fishermen continued to receive welfare during the summer months and supplemented the family diet with codfish from the daily harvest.

The prices received for cod were low indeed. For example, the average prices per 100 lbs of cod for the years 1969 and 1970 were \$5.65 and \$3.80 respectively (Lessard, 1972:36). According to Lessard, the value of fish harvested per boat varied from \$129.80 to \$820.90 in 1969 and from \$105.53 to \$393.88 in 1970. The total amount of income from the sale of fish in 1969 was \$5,983.11, \$2,988.43 in 1970, and \$3,248.70 in 1971. As 16 boats were used each year, these earnings represent average incomes of \$373.93

(1969), \$186.75 (1970), and \$203.04 (1971) for each boat (Lessard, 1972:36-45); extremely poor incomes given that they had to be divided among 2-5 crew members. For example, the average weekly income for a crew of four men would have amounted to no more than \$8.50 each for the 1969 season lasting 11 weeks.

Table 7: Fish purchased from La Romaine Innu Fishermen between 1969 and 1971. (Lessard, 1972:45).

	1969	1970	1971
Bellefleur, Alexandre	\$820.90	393.88	347.70
" Charles	217.37	399.63	294.80
" Etienne	571.37	323.56	298.00
" Joseph	403.42	213.60	138.70
" Louis Noel	346.01	178.24	200.40
" Mathias	243.74	107.27	172.65
" Paul	352.66	158.16	118.85
" Simon	261.40	171.77	193.15
Lalo, Paul	283.08	105.53	222.00
" Simon	248.57	130.84	146.75
Malek, Etienne	398.16	211.32	213.50
Mark, Ambroise	129.80	-----	-----
" Antoine	351.32	154.08	185.85
" Barthelemy	259.66	148.82	123.05
" Charles	198.03	179.08	98.05
" Jean-Baptiste	-----	164.44	-----
" Joseph	266.34	130.25	253.73
" William Mathieu	449.01	.22	-----
" William	-----	-----	234.90
Total purchased:	\$5,983.11	2,988.43	3,218.70

Table 8: Quantity of Codfish harvested by the Fishing Cooperative between 1965 and 1970 (in pounds) (Naud, 1970:93; Lessard, 1972:41).

Year	Amount (lbs)
1965	57,292
1966	47,905
1967	50,207
1968	46,482
1969	103,603
1970	79,547

Table 9: Quantity of Codfish harvested by the Fishing Cooperative for 1969 and 1970, listed by week (Lessard, 1972:34).

1969			1970		
Week	Pounds		Week	Pounds	
June	16	6,316	June	9	3,852
	23	13,135		15	8,318
	30	10,567		22	16,360
July	11	5,667	July	1	7,567
	14	14,809		6	13,493
	21	10,575		13	6,344
	28	6,480		20	5,192
August	4	11,053	August	27	10,630
	11	12,374		9	4,006
	18	10,112		20	3,785
	25	2,515			
TOTAL	11	103,603		10	79,547

Why was the commercial fishery abandoned? Of the three Innu men with whom I spoke about the program, men who had been active participants in it, two stated that the fishery was abandoned because it was extremely difficult work in return for very little financial reward. The third man interviewed did not know why the program ended - he enjoyed fishing and did not find it a difficult occupation. The reasons given here by two of the above informants conform to those provided me by two of the instructors of the program with whom I also spoke. Prices for the codfish were very low at the time of the fishery, and it is only in recent years that they have started to rise to a 'respectable' level, that is, somewhere in the order of 22 cents/lb for the summer of 1982.

The Lessard report (1972), written just before the

fishery collapsed, would seem to confirm much of this rationale. Lessard acknowledges that the income derived by each fisherman was very poor, but attributes this primarily to the low productivity of their labour and to the poor quality of the product itself. Low productivity, he states, resulted from (1) the inexperience of the men who lacked the expertise necessary to locate schools of fish, (2) archaic methods of production characterized by the almost complete absence of mechanization, (3) the limitations imposed by the fishing boats themselves which were old and underpowered making fishing in poor weather somewhat dangerous, (4) lack of motivation on the part of the men to go fishing in the first place, (5) the concentration on one fish species alone, and (6) the taking of fish for the consumption of the family unit after they had been weighed. In addition to these factors, the extremely low number of nets and trawl lines employed also reduced the output of the harvest.

The poor quality of the codfish sold was due largely to the limitations of the technology used. The men were often forced to walk on the fish as it piled up in the boats or while in the process of salting them, refrigeration was entirely lacking on the boats, the fish had to be handled repeatedly, and there were deficiencies in the drainage systems in the salting boxes; all of which caused the fish to deteriorate before they could be picked up for sale (ibid.:22-24). The poor splitting techniques used by some of the fishermen and the fact that some fish were often left in

the nets for extended periods of time were also likely factors affecting the quality of the fish (Willie Stubbert, personal communication).

In terms of its effect on the reproduction of the domestic unit, the evidence here suggests that the commercial fishery made most of its impact by influencing the traditional pattern of summer resource utilization, that is, by channelling energy usually devoted to hunting, trout and salmon fishing and canoe making into the production of commodities for sale on the open market. That its interference with these traditional pursuits was not extensive is suggested by the fact that an average of only 26 days was spent by each participant actively engaged fishing out of a total of 10-11 weeks. This left a great deal of time to pursue other activities some of which quite likely involved the above-mentioned traditional ones. But in terms of a monetary contribution to reproducing the family unit, the influence of the fishery was negligible. Families continued to receive welfare throughout the duration of the fishing season, and received little if any remuneration during this time; for example, \$8.50 was the average weekly income for the 1969 season. However, the fishery did contribute to the reproduction of the family unit because most of the men brought codfish home at the end of the day for the consumption of the family. Finally, the fishery affected the domestic unit by draining funds - funds generated by the sale of furs and from employment in the Winter Works program - in order to purchase and maintain

fishing equipment. Income from these sources would otherwise have been used to purchase equipment and other goods of immediate use to the family while in the community or to the men while they were in the bush hunting and trapping.

17. The Arrival of New Services and Infrastructure

We have already mentioned the arrival of new services and facilities in the community such as schools, and housing; services funded through government transfer payments. But besides these, the 1960's and 1970's brought a number of other services to La Romaine for the first time.

Prior to 1965 the only electricity available in the village was that provided by generators feeding the HBC store, the mission, the nursing station, and ones owned individually by White residents. But in 1965, Hydro-Quebec installed diesel generators in a temporary plant to provide power to the entire community (Le Baliseur, Feb.10,1965, no.2). During the summer of 1968 the present-day power house was built with four generators capable of producing 430 kws. of electricity at a cost of \$230,000 (Le Baliseur, Aug.30,1968, no.80). Gagnon Electricity of Sept-Iles received a contract from DIA to install electricity in 61 Innu houses during the summer of that year (Angèle Vous Parle, Feb.4,1968, no.84). The consumption of electricity in the village rapidly increased and it was necessary to install a new 200 kw. generator in the winter of 1969 (Angèle Vous Parle, Feb.14,1969). By the winter of 1971, houses were being heated by small electrical heaters in addition to oil

and wood stoves which explains in part the increasing consumption of electricity. The 22 houses built most recently were all installed with electrical baseboard heaters, but many families have installed wood and oil stoves to cut down on the winter heating bill.

Seventy-five septic tanks were installed on the reserve during the summer of 1969 but were replaced by a modern sewage system with a small sewage treatment plant in 1981-82 at a cost of \$1,637,738. Fresh water was finally supplied as of February 14, 1969, after the completion of an aqueduct and pump house to transport water two miles from the Olamen river (Angele vous parle, Feb. 22, 1969, no. 49). The project was estimated to have cost \$125,000 and was the culmination of demands from the Conseil local municipal in La Romaine to the Minister of Municipal Affairs (Le Baliseur, Dec. 1, 1972 no. 188).

La Romaine was finally connected to the outside world by telephone in the winter of 1969 (Angele vous parle, Jan. 10, 1969, no. 47). Prior to this, communication with the community was possible using telegraph, which was installed sometime around 1901 (Vincent and Bacon, mimeo: 171), by mail, or by radio. In the days prior to air transport, the mail had to be transported by boat during the late spring, summer and autumn, and by dogsled during the winter. In the 1800's communication overland with the HBC post in North West River was sometimes undertaken by Innu couriers travelling by snowshoe (HBC, March 3, 1843, MG 19, D 19). By

1933, mail was being transported by plane as far as Natashquan from where it was taken by dogsled as far as Blanc Sablon. Later in the same decade, mail was dropped from a plane at communities east of Natashquan (Christiane Beaudet, personal communication). In 1972 an automatic telephone system was installed in the village to permit direct communication with the outside world (Le Baliseur, Jan.10,1972,no.164).

The first reception of television programming took place during the summer of 1971 by two of the local merchants, H.Jenniss and C.Marcoux. In the summer of 1973, the government constructed a reception antenna for capturing CBC radio transmissions directly rather than from private stations (Le Baliseur, Feb.2,1973,no.195). An antenna for TV reception was installed the summer of 1974.

In April 1979, an Innu community FM radio station went on the air for the first time with the financial and technical assistance of the ministère des Communications du Quebec and organizational support from the Institut éducatif et culturel attikamek-montagnais (IECAM) (Rencontre,1979, v.2,no.1:11-13). IECAM set up a radio production centre at about the same time in the CAM office at Village-des-Hurons. The centre contained a recording studio and a copier for producing political and cultural information cassettes for distribution to the community radio stations (*ibid.*:12). Then in January 1982, the production centre began broadcasting regional information programs directly to Innu communities (Rencontre,1982,v.4,no.2:11). In La Romaine,

day-to-day funding of the community radio is now undertaken by community members themselves through income raised in the nightly bingo games.

The Caisse Populaire, Quebec's equivalent to the credit unions found in anglophone provinces, was founded in La Romaine on Feb.8,1963, with a local White person as the first manager (Le Baliseur, Mar.15,1971,no.141). Innu have participated since that time as members and vice-Presidents of credit commissions and other committees, while their accounts there have grown in number from 12 (77 non-native members, Angèle Vous Parle, July 30,1963,no.1) in July of 1963 to the present-day number of 175.

In the summer of 1981, new crushed gravel roads were constructed throughout the reserve. Three Innu men were employed for four months, earning salaries of \$10.45 per hour. About twenty non-Innu workers were brought in from the outside to work on the road construction as well.

Full-time police service became available for the first time in 1977 with local men being recruited for this work. According to one of the present Amerindian police, the community had problems with stealing and drinking before this service started.

In 1981, the small summer chapel was demolished and replaced by a larger building housing a congregation hall, a small chapel and office space (Joveneau,1983:36). Four Innu men as well as a non-Innu carpenter imported from another community were hired by the mission to undertake the

construction. Some of these workers were also involved in the construction of a new community hall ('la Salle Bleue) which was finally completed in the winter of 1982.

18. History of Wage Labour by La Romaine Innut

Probably the earliest record of anything resembling wage employment of Innut is found in the HBC manager's diary of 1843 for Musquaro. The manager reported hiring Innu men to carry mail between North West River and Musquaro and to help with the salmon fishery and other tasks when he was faced with a shortage of White labourers (HBC, March 3, 1843, MG 19, D 19).

Creole and an Indian embarked today to fish Chekaska the people not arriving for the fishing and the season so far advanced I engaged Indians to fish and likewise sent an Indian with his Barge to Notesquen for flour. The Company's schooner arrived in the evening with the men from Quebec for the fisheries (HBC, Musquaro Post, June 19th, 1843, Journal of daily occurrences, MG 19, D19).

Unfortunately I have no information concerning the terms of employment and working conditions involved here. It is likely, however, that some Innut were employed during the summer months each year to help with work at the posts. Fiset (personal communication) reports that during the period 1938-43, the HBC sometimes hired Innut on a short-term basis to undertake odd jobs of various sorts.

Apart from such infrequent and part-time labour, wage-labouring activities did not commence on any large scale until the 1960's. As already stated, new employment after 1960 invariably involved working on government sponsored projects such as house construction projects, and the Winter

Works projects. It should be pointed out here, however, that while many Innu men were employed in government projects, many workers were imported from the outside to undertake the construction of new infrastructure such as the school, aqueduct, electrification, and installation of telephones, sewers, and roads. Moreover, the Innut had to compete for jobs with men from the White community next door. For example, when the new Hydro-Quebec power plant was being built in 1968, workers were brought in from the outside and hired locally - no Innu people were employed.

Recently, a major potential source of employment in the village has been the construction of a new wharf at which the cargo and passenger vessel, "Fort Mingan", moors. Work on this project started in July, 1982. However the majority of workers employed were imported from Montreal and other locations. No Innu people were thus employed but two local White men and one woman were. More will be said on this topic in Chapter VI.

Besides house construction, the Winter Works projects building trails to the Olamen River and Lac Washicoutai were also significant sources of wage-labour to the male Innu population. Other sources of wage labour in the post-1960 period are as follows:

- a young women, now thirty years old, hired in the late 1960's as secretary to the Association Coopérative des Pêcheurs Indiens with a salary of \$100 per season (Lessard,1972:20).
- sometime in the early 1960's a large number of men were

apparently hired by the missionary to build a new church in Musquaro.

- 1-2 men employed by H.Jenniss Enterprises to collect empty oil drums and refill them. In 1982, workers received a piece-rate of \$1.60 for each drum refilled.
- an ex-chief supposedly received a small salary for acting as a 'game warden' (Garde de Pêche) on the Coacoachou river.
- a woman now aged 35 worked as a housekeeper at the nursing station making meals and doing housework from 1965-67. In 1967 she babysat the children of a HBC manager, earning \$20 per week for her labour. She also worked for the missionary printing Angèle Vous Parle, a job for which she received earnings of \$0.25/hr. before she was married (about 15 years ago), but for which she now receives \$5.00/hr. on those occasions when she works. This person is also presently employed part-time teaching catechism at the Olamen School.
- a young woman now 22 years old employed as a clerk at the HBC store for the last five years.
- a woman now aged 29, worked 25 hrs./wk. at \$140 every two weeks for H.Jenniss Enterprises as clerk from 1972-1975. For the past eight years she has been employed as a teacher of the kindergarten children at the St.Alexis School.
- unknown number of people, primarily women, employed teaching handicraft courses. These courses probably started sometime around 1968.
- positions as band councillors and chief for which salaries were received starting around 1975.

- one male originally from Bersimis has worked for the HBC company for 15 years, 4 years of which were spent at the store in La Romaine.
- unknown number of people employed at the mission since the arrival of the missionary in 1953. Employment at the mission probably has included housekeeping and cooking, carpentry and painting, helping to prepare religious materials, and secretarial work.
- unknown number of people hired starting in the 1970's to work on Cultural Committee projects initiated to a large extent by the missionary. The committee, has produced Innu language materials concerning myths, oral histories, an Innu-aimun/French dictionary, etc.
- sporadic employment as interpreters for visiting Anthropologists, film makers, and government officials.
- janitorial work at the two schools, Band Council offices, nursing station, and mission.
- a Work Opportunity project (make work project) in 1971-72 in which 21 people were employed for two and one-half months cleaning the beach. \$17,411 was dispersed in wages; an average of \$370 per month for each individual (Indians of Quebec Association, 1973:93).
- a female secretary employed at Olamen School for the last 5-6 years.
- 1-2 people employed at the community radio station since 1979 as discussed above.
- Twenty Innu men were employed from June to December 1981 building 12 houses, earning \$245.50/wk. in wages (the foreman

received \$294.60/wk.). Unemployment Insurance in the amount of \$309/two wks. was paid out to these men in conformity with standard Unemployment Insurance regulations.

- a Winter Works project in 1981. Ten men were employed between January and February 1981 to build a small storage shed beside the Band Council Office with salaries of \$179/wk.

- students, including one male, worked on a Summer Works project during the summer of 1981.

- three female students hired as playground monitors during the summer of 1982 on Summer Works program. They received salaries of \$157/wk. and worked for six weeks.

- 1982, the Conseil Attikamek-Montagnais (CAM) hired four people, two men and two women, to work on the Land Use and Occupancy study.

- employment with the Band Council administration starting around 1960. Both men and women have been employed in a variety of positions such as Band Council manager, local employment officer, coordinator for the "Project Caribou" (alcohol abuse program), health care liaison, etc.

- one man employed two days per week to collect garbage.

- a student employed part-time at the nursing station in the summer of 1982 to translate for a visiting optometrist and to replace a White female cook while she was on vacation for two and one-half weeks.

I should stress here, that this list of wage-labouring activities is not exhaustive. While not claiming to have recorded all of the occupations engaged in by Innu people

during this period, what I have presented here does cover most of them, and gives us a fairly clear indication of just what sort of employment has been available. A more detailed description of present-day wage-labour in the village will be provided in Chapter VI. We should keep in mind that many of the occupations discussed in Chapter VI were created for the first time during the last ten years, and have not all necessarily been included in the above list of employment activities.

Some idea of the change in the number and type of wage-labouring positions available in the community can be obtained if the data presented in Chapter VI concerning the contemporary situation is compared with the situation in 1969. Naud (1970:103) reports that in 1969, work positions held by Innu residents of La Romaine consisted of: two men employed as janitors, and one man as a clerk at the HBC; one woman as a housekeeper, and one as the Band Council secretary.

When asking people about their employment histories in the village, virtually all of them said that only one person had ever worked outside. In an interview with this person, I was told he had worked as a lumberjack for Quebec North Shore Paper Co. north of Baie Comeau. An official from the Department of Employment came to La Romaine one day in 1972 and asked if any of the men there wanted to work in the forest industry at Baie Comeau. My informant was the only person to take up this offer. He took a job training course in Natashquan for two months in 1972 and worked for another

two months that summer north of Baie Comeau. He worked at this job for five months in 1973 and finally two months in 1974 when he injured his arm on the job and had to cease work. Innut from other communities including Natashquan, Mingan and Bersimis were also employed there, especially the first year. They shared the camps with White workers as well as working alongside these same in work gangs. In the second year of work, many native workers had quit, and by 1974, my informant was the only native person so employed. He was not yet married at the time and did not mind leaving La Romaine to work, especially since the wages earned were quite good; between \$150 and \$250 per week depending on the number of trees he cut. When he stopped working each year, he returned to La Romaine where he collected Unemployment Insurance. He would hunt geese in the autumn but did not go into the bush to hunt and trap at that time (interview, Feb.8, 1983).

This particular informant had additional work experience which included a job escorting youth from La Romaine to Schefferville in 1976 for a "Pow wow", and working with the "Project Caribou" between 1977 and 1980 in the capacity of councillor for people with alcohol abuse problems. It is interesting to note that this particular individual, despite his young age (36), is somewhat of a specialist in bush skills, something in which he takes great pride. He and another young man for whom he acted as an instructor in bush skills, used a number of traditional deadfall traps to supplement their limited supply of metal ones while trapping last fall. He makes his own showshoes, crooked knives,

toboggans and canoes, items usually made by older members of the community.

Apart from one incidence of employment outside of La Romaine, I was able to discover only two other clear-cut cases of someone having worked elsewhere. The first of these was a women now in her middle twenties who had married a man from Mingan and had worked for a short while on at least one occasion at the fish processing plant there. In fact, in the spring of 1983 she had returned to Mingan to work at the plant again, but returned to La Romaine shortly thereafter saying she did not want to work at the plant because too many people were drinking there. The second case involves a women, 30 years of age, who moved with her husband and two children to Quebec in the spring of 1983 to work at the CAM office at Village-des-Hurons. This individual is the same person who worked as a secretary for the Fishing Cooperative in the late 1960's. In addition, she has work experience as a translator for Cultural Committee projects sponsored by the missionary, secretary for the handicraft committee, and as an announcer for the community radio station.

In addition to the above cases of employment outside La Romaine, however, we might also include certain aspects of employment as Amerindien Police under this category of wage employment. During the training period of 20 weeks, as well as shorter upgrading courses, the men employed as police in La Romaine are required to move to Pointe Bleue. They continue to receive salaries while receiving their training there.

19. Chapter Summary

To summarize this chapter, let me delineate the most significant events in the post-contact economic history of the La Romaine Innut. These are as follows:

(1) early contact with White settlers and other non-native people who came to the Cote-Nord to exploit the rich resources present there. These White settlers and other non-Innu interests included immigrants from other parts of Quebec and Atlantic Canada, Basques whalers, traders, American, French, and Newfoundland fishermen, and sealers among others. The impact of this non-native population on the Innu way of life was that the Innut were increasingly required to compete for the natural resources of the area, in particular, salmon, bird eggs, and game and fur-bearing animals found close to the coast. The presence of a growing White population may have influenced trade relations with the merchants in general by expanding the kind of commodities available from them and influencing commodity prices. The White population later came to constitute a significant economic and political force in the region due to its numerical superiority, separate political and economic interests (e.g. tourism and resource development), and the advent of the Cote-Nord Municipality.

(2) the Innut became dependent on merchants for the provision of commodities essential in meeting basic needs: for example, means of production such as guns, ammunition, canvas, axes, and knives; and articles of consumption such as flour, lard,

sugar, and tea.

(3) the missionaries (and HBC) became important brokers for the Innut by acting as intermediaries with the federal government in the provision of rations, by providing many essential services such as basic medical aid, and by attempting to represent the perceived interests of the Innut to outside government agencies.

(4) due in part to a malfunctioning credit system which reduced the amount of credit available to them, the Innut increasingly came to require government assistance in the form of rations in order to stave off starvation. These rations were relatively small in the beginning (i.e., in the mid-1800's), but by the 1930's they were well institutionalized as regular payments. The credit system malfunctioned as a result of fluctuating prices for furs, declining populations of fur-bearing animals in some regions especially the coastal areas, increasing prices for goods, and competition with independent traders and larger mercantile interests such as the North West Company and Labrador Company.

(5) after the establishment of the reserve in the 1950's, and subsequent house construction, the Innut became increasingly dependent on welfare to satisfy household needs for industrially-derived commodities. Innu needs for such commodities expanded rapidly during this period especially after the commencement of the Winter Works program in the early 1960's. However, for the most part these needs

continued to reflect Innu interest in harvesting activities as the commodities purchased were geared to relieving some of the more arduous aspects of such activities (e.g. snowmobiles).

(6) DIA's attempt to reduce dependency on social security payments by encouraging the Innut to take up codfishing as a regular summer occupation failed largely due to the poor prices received for the fish, archaic methods of production and the resultant low productivity, and lack of motivation on the part of the fishermen, among other reasons. The cod fishery likely had some impact on the Innu population in that energy usually devoted to summer harvesting activities such as duck hunting, and trout fishing was channelled into the production of a commodity. However, income from the sale of cod was extremely low and probably provided little incentive to continue with this form of production. The fishery, therefore, did little to reduce Innu dependence on transfer payments as households with members engaged as fishermen continued to receive welfare during the duration of the fishing season.

(7) the net effect of the establishment of the reserve, house construction, and full-time education in particular was that women and children were induced to stay behind in the community while the men travelled out to the bush to hunt and trap. The most significant disruptions to the Innu way of life did not occur until the commencement of full-time education and the unwelcomed sedentarization which resulted therefrom.

(8) Innu land tenure practices changed as a result of the fur trade and missionary activity in that families gradually became associated with specific trading posts. Whereas individual hunting territories have been well established for many years among the James Bay Cree, such territories among the lower Cote-Nord Innut probably did not develop until the imposition of the beaver preserve system in the 1950's. Prior to this, Innu hunting groups were generally free to travel wherever they pleased in pursuit of caribou, and in transit from one trading post to another (e.g. between North West River and Musquaro). However, despite the formal principle of free movement anywhere in the peninsula the lower Cote-Nord Innut generally restricted their harvesting activities to certain areas, associated with the harvesting of beaver and other fur bearing species in particular. Within these areas, hunting groups were very mobile changing location from year to year depending on the resources available in any one area. Inter-marriage between groups and the changes in group affiliations made this land tenure system highly flexible. The present-day system of territories, while appearing at first glance to be quite rigid, actually continues to manifest much of the 'traditional' Innu flexibility in that exchange of harvesting privileges does occur, men can harvest many animal species throughout the region (e.g. caribou, moose, hare, grouse, and fish), families can change territories from one year to the next by mobilizing different kinship relationships, and the

boundaries of hunting territories are not well defined and enforced. The rigid system of individually owned territories which Leacock said derived from the individualizing effects of the fur trade has not come to pass.

(9) At the end of the 1970's, the sedentarization process which began with full-time education was reversed as money from a DIA funded and organized trapping program was used by the Innut to transport entire families out to bush camps for the fall hunting and trapping season. The number of people spending the fall in the bush has risen dramatically since the start of the trapping program in 1978 (see Chapter IV).

(10) wage-labour in La Romaine was very limited prior to the 1970's. In the post-1970 period, a number of residents took up full-time employment in the community while others engaged in part-time, seasonal, and occasional jobs. The majority of work positions available in the community have been administrative, in the service sector, or involving seasonal construction projects. Only a few people have ever worked outside of the community.

(11) a massive increase in the level of transfer payments to the Innut of La Romaine commenced in the 1960's when welfare payments in addition to family allowance and old age pension came to occupy an increasingly important source of funds to the upkeep of the average household. The higher level of income resulting from the expansion of transfer payments in addition to income from better paying seasonal construction jobs on the reserve made expanded consumption of commodities such as stereos, televisions, and household appliances a

reality. One might speculate here that the inauguration of television in 1974 and the new view of western society which this provided, gave added impetus to the increasing level of Innu needs for manufactured items.

FOOTNOTES

(Chapter III)

1

We should note, here, that apart from the Domaine du Roi, the rights granted to the seigneurs and concessionaires did not include much of the interior.

2

Frenette states that the trade "s'établissait sous une forme de troc assez simple. La Compagnie [HBC] y gagnait habituellement car elle était en mesure d'obtenir les fourrures à des taux très faibles. Malgré tout, vers la fin des années 1850, cette façon de faire laissa la place à un système d'échange basé sur des valeurs monétaires" (1980:72-73).

In barter, objects are exchanged in a 'negotiation' process whereby the relative utilities of the objects are assessed by one or more of the parties involved in the exchange. With the advent of monetary exchange, money mediates in the exchange process; commodities are exchanged not directly for other objects with specific utility but for money which is then used to purchase the desired objects.

3

Apparently, in 1907, there was an ongoing problem of excessive harvesting of bird eggs at many Cote-Nord locations. According to Rouillard (1908:47-48), "Tous ces oiseaux aquatiques pondent sur la lisière du littoral ou sur les roches du large, et leurs oeufs qui sont excellents à manger, sont assez fréquemment expédiés sur les marchés de Boston et d'Halifax. Il y a une vingtaine d'années, l'exploitation de ces oeufs d'oiseaux de mer constituait une excellente opération commerciale. De nombreuses goélettes de faible tonnage venaient prendre des chargements d'oeufs. Aujourd'hui les maraudeurs de Terre-Neuve et de la Nouvelle-Ecosse sont en train de ruiner cette exploitation."

4

Voorhis seems to have confused the Musquaro post with the one at La Romaine established later in the 1800's. "Under the Hudson's Bay Co. the name was changed to Romaine... It was reported on the Company lists of 1831-1857. Apparently closed for a time in 1859" (1930:120-121). But under the listing "Romaine", he presents information on the post divergent from that presented under the listing "Fort Musquarro". "Hudson's Bay Co. trading post on lower St. Lawrence at mouth of river Romaine... Originally this was a French post built before 1710. It stood in the territory granted to the Labrador Company of Quebec 1780. This company dissolved in 1820 and the Hudson's Bay Co. acquired the post. It was reported as a Hudson's Bay Co. post in 1831 and is still in operation. It is shown on Bouchette's map 1846 and on Bayfield's of 1857. The post and river were also called Olomanoshibo, Ouramane, Grand Romaine, and Old Romaine. See Musquarro" (ibid.:150). The Romaine and Musquaro posts are

marked as the same place on a map of 'Historic Forts and Trading posts' by the Canadian Department of the Interior, a map which Voorhis uses as a reference.

5Voorhis reports that the "Coacocho post...was built before 1846, and abandoned about 1857"(Voorhis,1938:53). I have no other information to verify this data. It is certain, however, that the post was in operation at a later date. It operated primarily as an 'outpost' to provide the Innut with their rations from January to April so that they could avoid travelling the lengthy distance to the post at La Romaine. The outpost was visited every month from January to April by the manager from La Romaine. It was closed in 1949 (John Fiset, personal communication).

6

The HBC even resorted to burning the houses of fishermen trying to settle by these fishing locations (Charest,1975:41).

7

Fiset's data regarding this final transfer of the post to La Romaine is in agreement with that of Huard (1897:443) who states that the HBC post had been transferred to La Romaine a few years prior to his visit, which means that the transfer took place sometime around 1891-92. The source for the Fiset information is Le Baliseur, April 30,1971, no.146, in which Pere Joveneau has taken notes from Fiset's notes originally appearing in the Moccasin Telegraph. Fiset, an HBC manager at La Romaine from September 1938 to November 1943 apparently did research on the HBC posts in the area at the HBC archives in Winnipeg. Michaud (1965:15) reports that some of the White residents believe the HBC post was moved to La Romaine in 1905. This notion was also expressed by the present-day HBC manager there. However, he added that the post had been moved back to Musquaro again for a few years before settling in La Romaine for the last time sometime around 1909.

8

Post-confederation treaties signed between the Canadian government and Indian nations were considered, at least as far as the government was concerned, as "agreements of a very special nature in which the Indians gave up their rights in the land in exchange for certain promises made by the Government" (Cumming and Mickenberg,1972:53).

9

The source for this information is Mak,1982:11. His own source here is Laforest,R.1981. Périodisation de l'utilisation et l'occupation contemporaine du territoire Saint-Augustin (juin 1981), Québec,CAM. While the study by LaForest deals primarily with the Innut of St.Augustin, Mak believes the same conclusion regarding the distribution of "rations alimentaires" can be made for the Innut of Musquaro (Andras Mak, personal communication).

10

They were able to acquire certain scarce resources in the way of education, health care, and other badly needed services. One might speculate that as far as the Innu were concerned, the "reward" to the missionary for his efforts took the form of them embracing Catholicism, renouncing certain traditional religious practices, e.g., the shaking tent, and accepting other values of the missionaries choosing such as school education for the children.

11

See Henriksen's discussion of the role of the priest in the Innu community of Davis Inlet for a good portrayal of how missionaries can act as power brokers or patrons in small native communities (1973). Paine (1971:15) defines the patron as follows: "What distinguishes the patron from his client is that only values of the patron's choosing are circulated in their relationship. There may be goods and services that are passed in the relationship in one direction only, but these do not provide a basis for distinguishing the patron and client roles....Further, the client demonstrates, to his patron and others, his acceptance of the value which the patron has chosen for circulations between them; herein lies the 'loyalty' and 'dependence' for which the client is rewarded."

12

Rochette reports that the missionaries working on the Cote-Nord "apporte à cette population non seulement les secours religieux, mais même tous les services nécessaires au point de vue matériel. Il y est le confident et le conseiller de tous, se faisant tour à tour avocat, médecin, notaire, car les professions libérales ne souffrent pas encore là d'encombrement! Le missionnaire est aussi bien souvent le plus précieux trait d'union entre cette population et les pouvoirs publics" (1926:23-24).

13

Although the Michaud thesis discusses the role of the missionary in political and economic decision-making vis-à-vis the White population, it is reasonable to assume that he played a similar if not more pronounced role among the Innu. The reasonableness of this assumption is supported by a number of statements by my informants about the role of the missionary in the community's affairs since his arrival in 1953.

14

CAM researchers have recently completed a lengthy study of Innu land tenure in the eastern Quebec-Labrador peninsula which hopefully will do much to clarify the nature of land use and occupancy here and the changes it has undergone as a result of the fur trade and other pressures. Unfortunately, I could not make use of the study as it is not yet available for scrutiny by independent researchers.

15

According to Francois Bellefleur (Jr.), the Etamamu and Petit Mecatina rivers (Nātauākamaish-shipu) were routes also taken into the interior.

16

According to Tanner (1977:22), the Oblates followed by DIA were authorized to buy food for the Innut on the Cote-Nord starting in 1851.

17

Frenette reports that the HBC tried to monopolize access to Innu trappers by attempting to make them dependent on individual posts. Innu who refused to engage in the summer seal hunt, who neglected their debts, or who did not spend enough time trapping were threatened with having their credit cut off (1980:83). The diaries of the HBC manager at Musquaro for the years 1843-1845 report the participation of the Innut there in the commercial production of seal oil but do not mention any coercive tactics used to induce them to do this. By 1938 the Innut were not engaged in any commercial seal hunting. The HBC at La Romaine did purchase a few Harbour seals but primarily from White people resident in other lower Cote-Nord communities (John Fiset, personal communication).

The HBC diaries for Musquaro also make frequent mention of Innut starving and returning to the coast during the winter in search of supplies. These may have been people who lived close to the coast and who may have had to compete with White trappers for the fur bearing animals in their areas.

18

The HBC has faced competition from independent fur traders and merchants up until the present day. While none of these competitors have ever posed a serious financial threat to the HBC in La Romaine, they have at times succeeded in securing a fair share of the furs. Fiset (personal communication) reports that during his tenure as post manager at La Romaine from 1938 to 1943, the HBC's main competitor was a local resident of the community named Arthur Guillemette (Sr). Arthur not only purchased furs from the Innut but also gave them advances to purchase provisions for the fall. Apparently, these advances were much less than those given by the HBC. Arthur's son, George, also bought furs from the Innut for a few years but never in any large quantities. We should note, here, that the presence of independent fur traders became increasingly irrelevant to the HBC after the Second World War when the company shifted the emphasis in its operations away from fur buying and selling to retail sales of a wide range of modern commodity items.

19

Le Baliseur (April 30, 1971, no.146) reports that the school was opened in 1957.

20

For a better understanding of the genesis of transfer payments to the Innu population in La Romaine it would help to consider what was happening elsewhere in the country. As previously, stated prior to 1900 social security was largely considered to be a local responsibility and fell into the sphere of charitable work. As industrialization proceeded and the agricultural population declined, provincial and

federal governments gradually began to assume more responsibility for the funding of social security programs. Manitoba enacted legislation to provide financial assistance for mothers with dependent children in 1916 but universal assistance of this kind was not available in every province until 1950 (Canada,1980:12). With the Old Age Assistance Act of 1927, assistance for the aged which had previously been provided by charities or through local relief measures was finally introduced under cost-sharing agreements between the federal and provincial governments. In 1941 the Unemployment Insurance Act of 1940 became effective. This provided Canadian citizens with a country-wide system of compulsory insurance paid for by contributions from the federal government, employees and employers. Canada's "first universal welfare payment program", the Family Allowance program, was introduced in 1944 (Guest,1980:131) for children up to 16 years old, but in 1961 Quebec initiated its own program to supplement the federal one; first providing a schooling allowance for children 16 and 17 years old, and then, in 1967, introducing a family allowance plan to supplement federal disbursements for all children up to the age of 17 (ibid.:24). The Canada Pension Plan was put into operation in 1966 but Quebec was permitted to administer its own program, the Quebec Pension Plan. Both of these plans are contributory, that is, employees pay for their pension benefits through deductions from their wages (ibid.:23). This plan thus covers all employed and self-employed persons but excludes the unemployed (Armitage,1975:130). The Old Age Security-Guaranteed Income Supplement program was also introduced in 1966 as was the Canada Assistance Plan. The former was intended to ensure that the monthly incomes of elderly people would not fall below a certain level (ibid.:219). The Canada Assistance Plan was implemented with the view to achieving a more comprehensive way of cost-sharing provincial and municipal social assistance programs. This plan replaced the previous programs for unemployment and old age assistance, programs for blind and disabled persons allowances as well as adding mothers' allowances, child welfare, welfare services and non-insured health services to the roster of programs funded through federal-provincial cost-sharing agreements (Canada,1980:24-25). The list of income security system programs presented here is far from complete. For a more comprehensive survey of programs available see Armitage (1975:114-115).

21

In Quebec, the vast majority of the Family Allowance payments distributed in 1947 were allowances in kind (59%) while 29% were cheques sent directly to the families (ibid.:224). I have no information on the type of payments administered to the Innut of La Romaine when these payments first became available.

22

Mak (1982:11) mentions that the Innut from the lower Cote-Nord posts participated in a commercial fishery as early as 1917. It is possible this type of commercial activity was

introduced by DIA in keeping with its philosophy of inducing Indian people to take up a sedentary, agricultural way of life. Where agriculture was not possible, commercial fishery may have seemed like a reasonable alternative way to induce the Innut in these parts to settle on the coast. The DIA Annual Report for 1933-34 has this to say about the fishery: "Throughout the length of the Cote Nord of the Saint Lawrence, the Indians have taken a marked interest in the fishery. At Mingan, Natashkwan, Romaine, Sainte-Augustine and Moisie, the fishery is being done under the supervision of the Department. The Salmon and Codfish are the main species taken and constitute a considerable source of revenue for these Indians".

23

These included Howard Strickland of Kegaska, Amédée Monger and Henry Jenniss and Willie Stubbert of Musquaro. They were also responsible for repairing and distributing the nets, and for training the men in how to split and salt the codfish (Angèle Vous Parle, June 8, 1967, no.38)

24

When commercial codfishing was abandoned by the Indians in 1973, the salting shed was demolished and used for firewood (Willie Stubbert, personal communication).

CHAPTER IV

Harvesting Activities

1. Introduction

As was noted in Chapter II, domestic production refers to a form of production in which "labour is supplied and organized according to the organizational structure of the household itself" (Sinclair, 1983:21). Bush food, firewood, crafts, and animal furs are produced by the commensal family unit which are either consumed directly or sold. The purpose of this chapter is to describe the character of domestic production in La Romaine; focusing on subsistence activities and on the production of furs. The Department of Indian Affairs sponsored trapping program which provides substantial financial assistance to meet the cost of certain harvesting activities in the community will also be discussed.

Domestic activities among the Innut of La Romaine may be divided into four periods which roughly correspond to Autumn, Winter, Spring, and Summer. Autumn includes the period from mid-September to the end of December and focuses on the harvesting of fur-bearing animals, fish, small game, bear, caribou, and moose. Winter includes the period lasting from the end of December to break-up at the end of March or beginning of April. The harvesting of caribou and trapping beaver are perhaps the most important activities at this time, with fishing for trout, and smelt, and hunting hare of subsidiary importance. Spring starts at break-up when the geese and other migratory waterfowl arrive and when the rivers and lakes thaw to the point that muskrat hunting

and trapping can resume. Finally, summer includes the period from June to the middle of September. Hunters continue to hunt migratory waterfowl with considerable intensity, having shifted their mode of transport from snowmobiles to fiberglass boats. Harvesting lobster, duck hunting among the islands which dot the coast close to La Romaine, trout fishing, and the collection of seagull chicks and eggs are of central concern during the month of June. July and August activities include fishing salmon, land-locked salmon and trout, hunting waterfowl (with greater intensity as fall approaches), and collecting various kinds of wild fruits such as bake apples, and blueberries.

At this point, I will describe in more detail the nature of domestic activities during each of the four seasons just mentioned.

2. Autumn Hunting and Trapping in the Bush

During the period September to December, the majority of the population, including men, women, and children, travel into the bush to hunt, fish and trap a variety of fur-bearing animals. A visitor to the community will soon recognize when the fall hunting and trapping season has arrived by observing the transition which takes place in the type of goods sold at the local stores, as they display commodities of direct application to the fall harvesting activities (e.g. traps, stoves, etc.), and the significant increase in the number of Innut visiting the stores and making purchases.

Depending on when the Department of Indian Affairs

releases the funding to pay for the rental of aircraft, families start to fly off into the bush anywhere from mid-September to the beginning of October. During my period of fieldwork in the community, the first group of Innut to depart for the bush left the community on September 28th. As the day for departure approaches, a certain excitement takes hold of everyone; the HBC store is crowded with Innut meeting with the store manager to arrange their credit and to purchase provisions. The flat-bed HBC truck spends most of the day depositing sacks of flour and sugar and boxes of provisions on the doorsteps of those households whose members will depart. The arrival and departure of aircraft and the coastal boat, 'Fort Mingan', are usually exciting events in themselves, but the departures for the bush each fall seem to have a special significance as manifested by the extra-large numbers of Innut who crowd onto the seaplane wharf to watch the aircraft being loaded and their friends and relatives depart. Inclement weather seems to add to the excitement as it often makes the exact date and time of departure quite unpredictable.

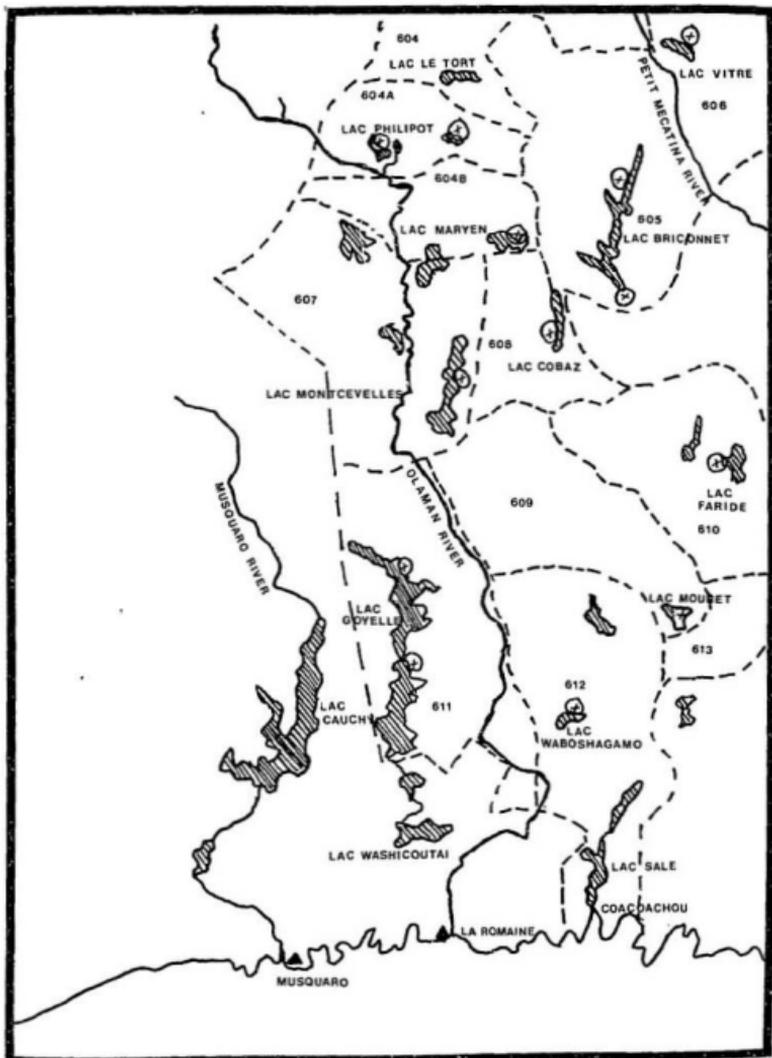
The transportation of Innu families into and out of the bush each fall is financed primarily through a Department of Indian Affairs trapping program geared to making trapping activities in the community more remunerative. The funds available through this program have reinforced the 'cultural renaissance' taking place in La Romaine. Many people who had not been out to the bush for any extended period of time

since 1959 when full-time schooling for the children commenced have been able to return to the bush again in increasing numbers. Others, especially people in the under 30 age category, have used the program to travel out to the bush for the first time. One of my informants stated that at first her reasons for going into the bush were political. She was 27 years old at the time and was really not very interested in spending three months in an isolated bush camp. However, she laid aside her initial apprehensions about 'going inside' after her husband returned from a meeting one evening and told her the Innut would lose their land to the government (intent as it is, on hydro-electric development in the area) unless they started using it more extensively. After two weeks of sore muscles and detesting the experience in general, she soon came to like the way of life in the bush a great deal. Since that first experience, her enthusiasm for returning to the bush each year mounts steadily as the fall approaches. Other female informants, while stating virtually the same opinion concerning their initial thoughts about going out to the bush, added that the renewed interest in spending the fall in the bush has permitted many teenagers and young adults to learn important bush skills which they were less able to acquire while living full-time in the settlement. Some people had to learn even the most basic skills such as how to make bannock, chop wood, and to lay the fur bough flooring in the tents.

The growing interest in returning to the bush is reflected in the increasing numbers of people who have made

use of the trapping program. A total of 347 people travelled out to the bush (195 adults and 152 children) in the fall of 1982, but of these, 250 received direct funding from DIA to cover the costs of transport (DIA stats., see Table 13). Forty-five families, and nine all-male groups travelled out to 28 different camps, virtually all of them using air transport to reach their destinations. A small number, however, returned to La Romaine by canoe. These camps are located throughout the region north of La Romaine, extending as far north as the border with Labrador (see Map 3 for locations of all the camps involved). The region where Innu fall hunting and trapping activities take place comprises an area of approximately 11,265 sq. km. (7000 sq. miles). Until recently, this territory extended north of the border into Labrador, but is no longer used, according to a number of informants, due to problems with game wardens of the Newfoundland government which has jurisdiction in the area.

Upon arrival in the bush the Innut establish base camps usually at the northern end of lakes large enough to allow the Cessna, Beaver and Otter aircraft to land and take off. The northern shore of the lake is selected primarily so that the camp will be protected from the cold north, and north west winds by the forest lining the shore. The location of the camps, moreover, permits a commanding view out over the lake, where swimming muskrat, waterfowl, and even caribou may be easily spotted. An important consideration in deciding where to locate the base camp is the availability of fir



Map 3. Innu bush camps north of La Romaine & hunting territories.

boughs for the tent floor and standing dead wood for firewood. Life for the women, in particular, would be quite unpleasant if either of these resources were located too far from the camp. Thus, changes in the location of base camps from one year to the next are made mainly in response to declining quantities of young fir and dead wood in a given area.

When more than one family is residing at the base camp, the tents are set up side-by-side close to the shore of a lake. These tents are approximately 2.1 meters by 4.5 meters by 4.0 meters in size and are equipped with sheet-metal stoves which are kept going day and night. Scaffolds are erected beside the tents: one to store provisions, the other to keep meat and animal remains out of reach of the dogs. The base camp may be moved back from the shore into the trees at the end of November to obtain added protection from the cold north winds, or to neighbouring lakes which have already frozen over to the extent that they permit ski-equipped aircraft to land safely. When travelling away from camp on trips to hunt and trap beaver at lakes distant from the base camp, the men carry with them smaller tents approximately 2.4 meters by 2.4 meters by 1.6 meters in size. They may also transport small sheet-metal stoves with them, or else use stoves cached on portage routes in previous years. For a list of provisions and equipment used in the bush during the fall hunting and trapping season see Tables 28 and 29 in Chapter VI.

For the Innut, the day starts between 5:00 a.m. and 6:30

a.m. The CB radio is turned on and family members make use of the good transmission available at that hour of day to communicate news to friends and relatives at the coast or in other bush camps. A breakfast of porridge, fried fish, muskrat or beaver stew, or left-overs from the previous night's dinner is consumed along with bannock and strong tea. The men quickly make preparations to leave camp for the day; stuffing ammunition, traps, tea bags, sugar, lard, freshly baked bannock, and perhaps a spare sweater or jacket into their hunting sacks. As sunrise brings more and more light to the camp, the men load hunting sacks, axes, and rifles into the canoes and set off down the lake to spend the day hunting and checking traps. After freeze-up, the canoes are retired up-side-down on the beach, and subsequent travel continues by foot or snowshoe; with hunting sacks being hauled on backs or toboggans.

The sexual division of labour among the Innut is such that the women remain behind at the camp and tend to a wide range of activities such as caring for the children, gathering fir boughs for the tent floors, cooking, baking bread and bannock, cutting firewood, and preparing the furs of the animals brought home by the men. In addition, the women also engage in a number of harvesting activities such as gathering berries, setting snares, hunting spruce grouse, and fishing, but these are usually conducted in relative proximity to the base camp. On occasion, the women may accompany their husbands on short trips to check the traps

and hunt small game further away from the camp. Women will also lace snowshoes and make certain crafts while they are in the bush, in particular those items of immediate application to country life such as moccasins, duffle socks, and mittens. Some women transport portable sewing machines with them so that tents, and clothing such as dresses may be made. Women's work, therefore, is by no means lacking in variation or in strenuousness, as my own experiences and those of women not habituated to life in the bush will attest. To the unexperienced, a day of cutting firewood, gathering fir boughs, checking snares, and hunting small game is quite tiring, and makes sleep welcome once the suppertime meal is over.

Both men and women, in particular those over 40 years old, retain a considerable knowledge of medicines which are made from plants and animal parts as the need arises. However, it is the older women who seem to be primarily responsible for collecting these medicines and administering them to other members of the family. Examples of medicines used by the Innut are castorum which is used to treat infections, and spruce sap which is applied on the chest to cure colds and respiratory ailments, and on open wounds to stop bleeding. I observed many such medicines being used by the Innut both in the community and in the bush, but it was not possible to determine the frequency of their use.

Male activities centre primarily on harvesting fur-bearing animals such as beaver, martin, mink, weasel, and otter, large game such as caribou, moose, and bear, and small

game such as porcupine, hare and spruce grouse. The trapping of fur-bearing animals always takes place in conjunction with hunting. Dogs are allowed to run along the shoreline of the lake, darting in and out of the forest in search of grouse and porcupine. When a grouse is flushed up into the trees or a porcupine discovered, the men quickly disembark and shoot the animal. Particular areas along the lakeshores, sides of rivers, and portage routes are reknowned for the large numbers of grouse found there. These are generally places with dense concentrations of young, sapling fir trees which form a major component of the spruce grouse diet during the period lasting from freeze-up to break-up. Innu hunters know of specific locations where these concentrations of young fir may be found, and it is there that they direct their efforts to harvest grouse. On many occasions, as we paddled along a lake or river, particularly productive regions of forest were pointed out to me. "Pitan (my name in Innu-aimun), see those trees over there; last year I shot many grouse there".

When travelling by canoe the Innut stay close to the shoreline for a number of reasons. Travel in this way is safer because proximity to the shore could mean the difference between life and death should the canoe capsize (especially on windy days). It also allows the hunter to stay close to his dog should it encounter any game, and enables him to keep a close eye on the beach for caribou tracks and signs of other animals. Moreover, swimming

muskrat, beaver, otter, and waterfowl are more likely to be found in the vicinity of the shore when travelling by canoe in this manner, and one is able to approach the quarry with greater stealth and speed.

Trapping, then, must not be seen as an activity which excludes other kinds of harvesting practices. Innu harvesting activities are generally highly integrated and may shift rapidly from one kind to another depending on circumstances. For example, one day early in November, I accompanied two Innu men on a trip to check traps. At first light, we set off south along the shore of Lac Philipot, stopping at one point to retrieve a martin that had been trapped in a leg-hold trap, and to kill a grouse which the dog flushed into the trees. We crossed the portage to the Olamen River where we intended to check traps that had been set there since the beginning of October. As soon as we reached the Olamen river we encountered an otter swimming in the river, but were unsuccessful in shooting it despite spending more than ten minutes attempting to do so. Immediately after our encounter with the otter, the 'capitan' of the canoe (person in the stern) noticed caribou tracks on the shore of the river, and advised the rest of us not to shoot at muskrat swimming in the river for fear of scaring away any caribou that may have been nearby. A mink was found in a trap on a small tributary to the Olamen, and a large martin in a trap at an abandoned camp site on the Olamen itself. After making tea, and eating some bannock at this site, we set off in the canoe once again only to discover

fresh caribou tracks on the beach close by. We charged off into the bush, the 'capitan' in the lead, where after about 15 minutes of walking, we discovered a solitary caribou which the 'capitan' shot. The caribou was partially butchered on the spot: the internal organs were removed; lungs, liver, intestines, and stomach stored away under some moss; heart, duodenum, and portions of the legs wrapped up for transport back to camp; and the rest of the corpse placed on a makeshift scaffold made from a tree felled especially for the purpose (we returned the following day to retrieve the remainder of the caribou). On our way back to the base camp at the end of the day, we checked another trap close to the Olamen river, and shot a muskrat that was swimming in the river in the vicinity of the canoe. We stopped to make tea one final time on the portage between the Olamen River and Lac Philipot and returned home in the dark about 5:30 p.m. This example, then, of a day away from the camp to check traps demonstrates how integrated trapping activities are with other harvesting activities.

The present method of trapping by the Innut consists of setting metal traps along trap lines as far as six miles away from the base camp. Leg-hold traps are the most commonly used for martin, mink, and weasel, although body-grip traps are also used but to a much lesser extent. Only a few men used deadfall traps during the period of my fieldwork; due

primarily to the fact that they were new to the area where they were hunting and trapping and had no trap lines or caches of traps in that location. Most of the middle-aged and older men know how to make deadfall traps even though they are rarely used nowadays.

The leg-hold traps are placed in small hollows made from sticks and fir or spruce boughs, constructed at the base of a tree close to a lake or stream. They may also be placed on tree stumps or in hollows cut in the sides of trees. Muskrat meat or fish bait is placed inside, and the hollow is scented with a perfumed concoction consisting of castorum, mink testicles, and store-bought aftershave lotion. Larger body-grip traps are used to trap otter and beaver. When otter are to be harvested, the traps are set on 'slides' (leg-hold traps also used here) and in streams leading into or out of lakes. Beaver traps are set at the exit or entrance ways to lodges, or at the entrance ways to the storage dens (bank burrows) made by beaver in the river or lake banks close to the lodge.

Martin, mink, and otter traps are usually visited every three to five days depending on weather conditions and whether or not camping trips are made to distant parts of the territory to hunt and trap beaver. Traps on the Olamen River in one part of the territory where I stayed, were on one occasion not visited for seven days because we travelled to an eastern portion of the territory to spend four days trapping beaver. But our trip to this area permitted my companions to check traps on a different trap line, look for

caribou, and hunt grouse and porcupine in the eastern portion of the territory. Our temporary camp also put them within walking distance of a neighbouring bush camp of some relatives who they visited.

Some traps are often checked with great frequency (e.g. every other day); those which are situated between the base camp and important portages routes giving access to other parts of the territory. It should be noted, here, that traps must be visited frequently or else the hunter may run the risk of losing the trapped animal to some predator, having it escape, having the quality of the fur deteriorate once the animal is dead, or losing the utility of the traps due to ice or snow.

Some if not all the Innut of La Romaine may practice a rotational harvesting system of resource exploitation, but my data is not adequate to make any definite conclusions on this point. At Lac Philipot, there were three areas of the territory in which traps were located but were not used during the time I was there. On one occasion I reported to the other members of the camp that I had seen a number of large martin tracks in the area where some of these traps were located. In response, I was told that the martin would not be harvested in that location in order to ensure a sufficient number to harvest the following year. My data does suggest that the present system of trapping involves placing trap lines over much of a territory, but not using some of them in certain years so that the fur-bearing animals

living there can multiply in the absence of hunters.

At the end of the season, the trap lines were visited one last time; the traps were sprung and placed on top of the hollows or up in trees. These traps might not be used again for a number of years, especially if the hunter tending them moves in with friends or relatives on another territory. Alternatively, they may be used by a different person altogether in subsequent years. Most of the traps on a territory belong to the utshimāu who knows where they are located and who lets people staying on his territory use them. However, ownership of the traps does not mean that the furs harvested become the property of the utshimāu, because it is only the person tending the traps who is the proprietor of the animals trapped in them (see Chapter VII).

A rotational system of harvesting may also be used in the case of beaver; if my observations of beaver hunting and trapping at Lac Philipot are the norm, the Innut will virtually trap out certain portions of the territory in any one year. On three beaver hunting/trapping trips made in the fall of 1982 on the Lac Philipot territory, the beaver were first shot while swimming in the lake or trapped over a period of three to four days before the roofs of their lodges were smashed in with poles to drive out any remaining inside. If this form of harvesting were practiced indiscriminately all over the territory, the beaver population would soon be destroyed. Thus, only a rotational form of beaver harvesting would preserve the overall beaver population in the territory but at the same time tolerate the trapping out of beaver in

certain locations.

I do not want to create the impression, here, that harvesting activities are organized exclusively around tending trapping lines or hunting and trapping beaver. During the fall the Innut also make day trips away from camp to look for or follow caribou, bear, and moose tracks, or just to hunt grouse and porcupine. Younger members of the group may set off for the day just to explore new areas of the territory with which they are unfamiliar.

Whatever the motivation for commencing a particular form of harvesting activity, everything depends on the weather, a highly unpredictable element in harvesting activities which makes precise planning an impossibility. In the evening, a hunter may arrive at an approximate idea as to where he would like to hunt after information about the various animal signs seen during the day and other information has been exchanged. But he can never be sure what he will do on a given day until he wakes up and can better judge what the weather will be like. To some extent, what a hunter decides to do also depends on his mood. Instead of going out for the day, he may decide to stay at camp with his family, cut firewood, make stretching boards for furs, repair his canoe, or just relax in the tent.

At Lac Philipot, the utshimāu spent much more time at camp than did his son-in-law who was the main provider of bush food for our group (the group consisted of the utshimāu, two of his sons, his son-in-law, and myself). Much of his

time was taken up with preparing beaver furs, beaming a caribou hide, doing odd jobs such as repairing traps and sharpening knives, smoking meat and fish, cooking, and making stretching boards and a toboggan. He also tended a few traps, and cut some of the firewood. His two sons and son-in-law tended the majority of the traps and hunted while I was primarily responsible for cutting the firewood and gathering the fir boughs for the tent floor. Sunday is seen as a day of rest, when one is not supposed to tend the traps or hunt large game; in theory only grouse and other small game may be harvested on Sundays.

3. Winter Harvesting Activities

Most Innut have usually returned to the community by December 25th in order to celebrate Christmas. Reunions with relatives and friends take place, the children meet Père Noël, midnight Mass is held by the Oblate priest, and small feasts take place in individual households where game brought back from the bush is consumed (e.g. caribou meat 'tourtière').

In January, after the lakes and rivers have well frozen, harvesting activities recommence. Men and women make short trips by snowmobile to fish trout and smelt through the ice on lakes and river estuaries. Efforts to trap beaver and hunt grouse and hare are also made at this time. A group of men may set off together on a four to five day trip to hunt porcupine, grouse, and hare and trap beaver in regions well known for their abundance in these animals. Unless the

weather is bad, Sunday is 'women's day', when the men are under great pressure from their wives and daughters to take them fishing for the day (see Chapter VII). Convoys of Innu couples may be seen on snowmobiles and komatiks on Sundays as they travel to and from lakes where the possibilities of catching fish are good. These couples will meet up with relatives and friends at certain lakes to spend much of the day fishing through holes cut in the ice in close proximity to one another. Before returning to the community, tea is made over a fire at a location beside the fishing holes and a portion of the day's harvest is consumed on the spot.

As soon as freeze-up has arrived and enough snow has fallen to permit the use of snowmobiles, the men resume their wood-cutting activities. In order to cut enough wood to heat a house through the winter, the men must make trips everyday or every other day to cut wood. Convoys of snowmobiles towing komatiks loaded with logs may be seen returning to La Romaine at dusk everyday during the winter months. These wood cutting trips also permit the men to select birch wood for use in making snowshoes, an activity which also takes place primarily during the winter period. Cutting firewood is an important aspect of the domestic economy in that a considerable portion of the heating requirements of the community are met by woodburning stoves. An estimated 65 out of 93 households burned firewood in the winter of 1983. However, this form of heating is not cost-free as gas must be purchased for the snowmobiles, and the 'wear and tear' on the snowmobiles themselves is heavy. Moreover, cutting firewood

is very time consuming and may compete with other harvesting activities. In some cases, women take the children and move in with their parents because there is not enough firewood to heat their houses when their husbands are away hunting (see Chapter VI, sec.7).

Caribou hunting starts in earnest around the middle of January and continues until the end of March when break-up and mild temperatures make travel extremely difficult. Access to the best caribou hunting areas, approximately 145 to 210 kilometres north of La Romaine is gained by aircraft or by snowmobile. Travel by aircraft is much more expensive than snowmobile and hence is not used as frequently as this latter mode of transportation. All-male hunting parties of four to eight men may pool their money in order to rent the Beaver or Cessna aircraft used. Besides the speed by which a hunting area can be reached, an important advantage of using aircraft is that the hunters are able to survey a large part of the territory for signs of caribou. Should caribou be spotted from the air, the hunters will descend and pursue the caribou by foot. If successful in shooting caribou, they radio back to the community and ask for another aircraft to be sent to retrieve them and the caribou they have killed.

When hunting caribou by snowmobile, the hunters may be absent from the community for more than two weeks at a time. Travel through the bush in deep snow, heavily loaded with equipment, gasoline and/or caribou meat, is very slow and hard on the snowmobile. Hunters with older snowmobiles

sometimes experience mechanical troubles and have to share snowmobiles with other hunters, increasing the travelling time even more as a result.

Hunting is certainly more strenuous at this time of year as deep snow can make travel by snowshoe and setting up camp more difficult. In order to obtain access to drinking water, holes must be chopped through many feet of ice, and extremely cold temperatures may severely limit the extent to which tracking caribou can be done. But caribou is perhaps the most important of all the animals harvested by the Innu; hunting caribou is certainly the most highly esteemed harvesting practice, one which accords great status to skillful hunters. It is therefore quite understandable that so much energy and money is expended in the pursuit of this harvesting activity given the great value placed on caribou in Innu culture. During the three month period, January through March 1983, 71 caribou were harvested in the region north of La Romaine, and as a result, caribou meat, hides, and other products were available to virtually everyone in the community.

4. Spring Harvesting Activities

The main harvesting activities conducted during the Spring include hunting migratory waterfowl and muskrat. When warmer temperatures arrive, patches of open water begin to appear in the bays, on the rivers and lakes where muskrat and waterfowl may be found resting or feeding. Muskrat may be shot from canoes or else trapped with leghold traps. Hunters

travel to river deltas and marshy areas by snowmobile as long as snow remains on the ground where they wait for geese and birds to fly within range of their shotguns. Some Innut also hunt seal at this time of year, travelling by snowmobile to frozen bays and sections of coastline where seal may be found resting on pack-ice. Whereas in the years prior to the arrival of snowmobiles, seal meat was used to feed the sled-dogs, today only the seal skins continue to have any value to the Innut, as they are used to make waterproof moccasins. Most Innut now purchase these skins from one of the local merchants. After the snow and ice disappear, duck hunting from fiberglass boats resumes among the numerous islands found along the coast near the community.

Most of the activities described here are carried out primarily by men. Women's harvesting activities at this time of year consist mainly of gathering the previous year's crop of berries (e.g. red berries) which were preserved throughout the winter under the snow.

5. Summer Harvesting Activities

Harvesting activities during the summer are perhaps more varied than at any other time of the year. Duck hunting from fiberglass boats continues among the islands close to the community, but is soon superceded by a number of other activities such as collecting the eggs of seagulls and other shore birds, the seagull chicks themselves once they have hatched, fishing trout, and jigging for lobster. The gathering activities described here are undertaken primarily

by women. Women are also responsible for collecting bake apples, red berries, and blueberries during the month of August, and join the men in fishing for trout.

Men, women, and children will often depart by boat for the day to fish 32 kilometers east or west of La Romaine at Lac Washicoutai or at the Coacoachou River. Many Innu families will camp in one of these locations, the Coacoachou River in particular, and fish over a three to five day period. Weekend fishing is of particular importance as the majority of the population leave to set up fishing camps along the coast. At such times, few boats remain on the beach in La Romaine and the community resembles a ghost town due to the absence of so many people.

At the beginning of July, salmon fishing resumes again for the year. The men gather just below the third waterfall on the Olamen River where they set nets to catch salmon attempting to migrate upstream to spawn. Meals are held in the late afternoon where everyone present is entitled to eat. Portions of salmon not eaten at this point, are distributed equally among everyone and taken home to relatives back in the community (see Chapter VII). It should be stressed here, that there is a lengthy history of confrontation between the Innut, the provincial government, and a private fishing club over fishing rights on the Olamen (see Savard, 1979, and Panasuk and Proulx, 1979). It is only recently that the Innut have been permitted to resume harvesting salmon here, and they are limited in the number of nets they can set as well as the number of salmon they can harvest.

In June and July, harvesting activities by men are integrated with canoe construction. The spruce wood used in canoe construction is first cut and left to dry in the spring after break-up has occurred. Tents are set up behind most houses which serve not only as a work place in the manufacture of certain components of the canoes, but also as a place to socialize in the evenings. Older members of the family may sleep in the tent and use it as a place of refuge from the stereo and television noise in the house. Some men may construct their canoes over a number of weeks, preferring to spend most of their time away from the community hunting ducks or fishing. Other men may work quite intensively to construct their canoes over a three to four day period, that is, once the spruce wood has been planed and the essential components such as the ribs have been cut and bent into shape (cf. Taylor, 1980: see Chapter V).

In August men make day-trips out across the tundra-like regions surrounding La Romaine to the patchwork clumps of trees which harbour grouse and hare. Snares are set in these locations and checked periodically throughout the remainder of the summer. About mid to late August, the bake apples and other wild fruits begin to ripen. Special trips are made to the islands by the women and children to gather the copious quantities of bake apples found there. Elderly women, beautifully attired in their long plaid dresses, red and black bonnets, and colourful scarfs, also make an effort to participate in such gathering activities. Throughout the

week, small groups of women, the elderly included, may be observed picking berries from the bushes lining the dirt road to the Olamen River, on the islands close to La Romaine, on the hillsides by the waterfalls at Lac Washicoutai, and in other locations where wild fruits are abundant.

Towards the end of August, short fishing/hunting trips, four to five days in duration, are made by all-male groups to more distant lakes and rivers well-known for the large quantities of fish present there. I accompanied a party of six men on one such trip to Lac Musquanus 40 kilometers from La Romaine. The trip was especially productive as over 300 trout were caught in just two days of fishing in addition to three hare, a beaver, and a duck. The beaver, duck, and some of the trout were consumed during the trip, but the vast majority of the trout were cleaned and smoked for transport back to the community. Fishing on this occasion was conducted with fishing rods, lines without rods, and lures. On another fishing trip where I accompanied two men, fishing rods and a net were used. This trip was very productive as well; a large number of land-locked salmon were caught in addition to trout.

With the approach of September and the resumption of duck and goose hunting the yearly cycle of Innu harvesting activities comes full circle. September brings with it all the preparations for travelling out to the bush once again; credit arrangements are made at the local stores, provisions and new equipment purchased, the amount of money to be allocated by DIA for aircraft rental is negotiated, and the

final decisions are made as to what the composition of the hunting groups will be for the fall.

6. Bush Food Production in La Romaine

The harvesting activities described above produce a considerable quantity of food which is consumed directly by the domestic unit or distributed to other such units, both in the community and in the fall bush camps. During the period autumn 1982 to summer 1984 the Centre d'études nordiques in conjunction with the Conseil Attikamek-Montagnais undertook research to quantify the production of bush food in La Romaine and three other Innu communities on the lower Cote-Nord, and to assess the importance of harvesting activities in the overall economy of each community. Harvesting diaries were given to active male hunters who were responsible for recording on a regular basis their harvests as well as those of other household members. These diaries were administered during the period October 1982 to December 1983 (Dominique and Walsh, 1984). A questionnaire was also administered in La Romaine and used to estimate the total harvest for the period January 1983 to May 1984. The estimates were made using a 'proportional extrapolation', after the population of hunters was stratified according to age (Walsh, 1984). The estimates concerning the total number of harvested animals were calculated in pounds of edible food, which represents the potential quantity of food available to the Innu of La Romaine during the study period. The difference between the food available for consumption and that actually consumed

represents food wasted, spoiled, fed to the dogs, or used as bait. Wild fruits and other edible plants were not included in the calculations (ibid.:2).

Table 11 presents data concerning the reported harvests by active Innu males between 20 and 70 years of age (Dominique and Walsh,1984). In La Romaine 135 males were included in the category of active hunters, but as the year progressed fewer and fewer of them filled in their diaries (see Table 10). Many hunters did not complete their diaries or included data in them from the wrong season, some did not list the quantities of animals killed, while others included in their dairies animals killed by other men. As a result of these problems, the total reported harvest during the period in which I undertook research in La Romaine, 1982-1983, is extremely conservative. According to the diaries, a total of 50,250 animals were harvested during this period yielding 60,853 kg. (134,159 lbs.) in whole weights of animals, and a total of 39,363 kg. (86,781 lbs.) in edible meat.

Table 10. Diaries received from active male hunters according to seasons, 1982-1983 (after Dominique and Walsh,1984:9).

<u>Season</u>	<u>Completed</u>	<u>Duplicates*</u>	<u>Empty</u>	<u>Rejected</u>
Autumn 82	103	9	7	-
Winter 83	98	2	3	-
Summer 83	69	-	9	1
Autumn 83	60	2	1	-

* Diaries completed in an identical fashion to one another, and included in the category "completed".

The estimates for 1983, based on extrapolations from data obtained in questionnaires, may provide a more

representative idea of the total amount of bush food available to the community in any one year (see Table 12) (Walsh, 1984:4-5). For the 12 month period, January 1983 to December 1983, an estimated 100,503 animals were harvested providing approximately 49,412 kg. in edible meat (108,900 lbs). Autumn (Sept. to Dec.) provided 38% of the total edible meat obtained in harvesting activities, winter-spring (Jan. to May) 33%, and summer (June to Aug.) 29%. The most important animals harvested during the autumn in terms of the proportion of food weight they contributed to the total consumption of bush food during this season were beaver (36%), moose (13%), and caribou (8%). During winter-spring, the most important species were caribou (25% of the total food weight during winter-spring), speckled trout (Salvelinus fontinalis) (13%), hare (12%), beaver (10%), and moose (7%). Finally, the principal animals harvested during the summer

Table 11. Number of animals harvested, live weights and edible weights of reported harvests, La Romaine, 1982-1983 (adapted from Dominique and Walsh, 1984: 34-36).

Species	Number			Year 82-83	Total	Total
	Autumn 82	Winter 83	Summer 83		Live Weights (kgs)	Edible Weights (kgs)
Common Eider	266	1645	1376	3287	5588	3911
Ducks (1)	473	2256	1007	3736	4222	2951
Canada Goose	59	161	39	259	787	552
Snow Goose	2	-	-	2	-	-
Common Merganser	57	146	26	229	311	218
Loon	12	20	48	80	144	87
Marine birds (2)	109	182	2127	2418	701	411
Shore birds (3)	-	14	44	58	9	6
Eggs	-	1756	1492	3248	-	-
Beaver	817	185	13	1015	10891	6861
Muskrat	1553	295	22	1870	1702	1197

Table 11 con't.

Species	Number			Year 82-83	Total Live Weights (kgs)	Total Edible Weights (kgs)
	Autumn 82	Winter 83	Summer 83			
Weasel	517	29	-	546	27	-
Mink	429	29	-	458	252	-
Martin	440	10	-	450	198	-
Otter	83	22	-	105	714	500
Lynx	14	3	-	17	130	68
Fox	5	4	-	9	25	-
Salmon	33	25	336	394	1749	1485
Land-locked salmon	162	134	112	408	481	408
Speckled Trout	1896	5567	2554	10017	4508	3105
Arctic Char	161	155	258	574	298	206
Lake Trout	92	65	88	245	882	502
Lake Whitefish	475	283	299	1057	719	486
Black Sucker	58	60	-	118	60	23
Red Sucker	4	4	-	8	5	2
Pike	104	50	54	208	487	291
unidentified (4)	1470	2881	438	4789	1149	814
Hare	997	1975	138	3110	4105	2612
Grouse (5)	2436	1124	41	3601	2125	1260
Porcupine	61	45	2	108	733	515
Marmot	2	2	19	23	65	46
Squirrel	389	16	-	405	61	-
Flying Squirrel	6	-	-	6	-	-
Owl	7	8	1	16	-	-
Other birds	-	1	-	1	-	-
Caribou	9	71	-	80	7520	4640
Moose	8	7	-	15	4305	2970
Bear	8	2	-	10	1360	951
Smelt	54	651	-	705	21	14
Capelin	-	20	-	20	<1	<1
Cod fish	39	232	-	298	676	474
Herring	-	155	-	155	31	22
Halibut	-	10	2	12	300	210
Lobster	-	1983	3272	5255	2628	1156
Scallop	-	409	407	816	163	25
Seal	1	4	4	9	720	382
TOTAL	13308	22676	14246	50228		

(1) May include Common Eider.

(2) Includes young and adult Seagulls, Dovekie, Scoter, Black Guillemot and Cormorant.

(3) Includes American Woodcock and Snipe.

(4) Probably includes Brook Trout and Rainbow smelt.

(5) The term "Grouse" includes the Ruffed Grouse, Spruce Grouse, and Willow Grouse.

Table 12. Estimated number of animals harvested and edible pounds of meat available, La Romaine, 1983 (after Walsh,1984:13).

<u>Species or Groups of species</u>	<u>Number Harvested</u>	<u>Edible meat (food weights)</u> (kg) (% of total)	
Common Eider	3223	3835	8
Ducks	5466	4209	9
Canada Goose	276	580	1
Brant	2	2	<1
Common Merganser	387	379	1
Canada Goose	103	111	<1
Marine birds	512	135	<1
Shore birds	1514	418	1
Seagulls	2443	440	1
Cormorants	570	479	1
Pigeon	2250	135	<1
Eggs - seagull	8674	-	-
- ducks	3925	-	-
- gulls	6479	-	-
- other	333	-	-
Beaver	1025	8395	17
Muskrat	1343	855	2
Weasel	346	-	-
Mink	428	-	-
Martin	471	-	-
Otter	93	443	1
Lynx	17	65	<1
Fox	7	-	-
Wolf	1	-	-
Salmon	560	2138	4
Land-locked salmon	1408	1436	3
Speckled Trout	9166	2846	6
Sea trout	1447	449	1
Arctic Char	613	190	<1
Lake Trout	388	796	2
Lake Whitefish	3801	1732	4
Suckers	448	89	<1
Pike	1172	1617	3
Hare	3084	2566	5
Grouse	4508	1596	3
Porcupine	92	438	1
Marmot	15	30	<1
Squirrel	772	-	-
Owl	12	4	<1

Table 12 con't.

<u>Species or Groups of species</u>	<u>Number Harvested</u>	<u>Edible</u>	
		<u>meat (food weights)</u> (kg)	(%)
Caribou	97	5562	11
Moose	18	3565	7
Bear	9	857	2
Smelt	17469	377	1
Capelin	4697	101	<1
Cod fish	584	940	2
Lobster	5911	1300	3
Scallop	4328	138	<1
Other sea fish	10	-	-
Seal	6	254	1
TOTAL	100503	49412	100

were ducks (4% of the total food weight during summer), salmon (11%), lobster (8%), codfish (6%), and Lake Whitefish (*Coregonus clupeaformis*) (5%) (Walsh, 1984:4-5).

The author of the harvesting report notes that it is difficult to determine the accuracy of the estimates presented here (Walsh, 1984:8). However, he states that other data indicates that these estimates are representative of the actual quantity of animals harvested by the Innut of La Romaine. Firstly, the estimates of the number of fur-bearing animals harvested correspond satisfactorily with statistics provided by the Quebec Minister of Recreation, Hunting and Fishing on the number sold at auction. Secondly, the estimates for the period winter-spring 1983 are similar to those for winter-spring 1984. Finally, the estimated quantity of food available for consumption by the population, 80 kg. (176 lbs.)/person/year, is not drastically below that estimated for the eight James Bay Cree communities studied by

the James Bay and Northern Quebec Native Harvesting Research Committee, namely, 96-133 kg./person/year; average 121 (267 lbs.) kg./person/year (Walsh:1984:8).

I have assigned the estimated quantity of bush food produced in one year a cash equivalent value of \$255,915. In order to determine the cash equivalent value, I assigned bush food the cash value equal to the price of one pound of ground beef sold at the HBC store in La Romaine, namely, \$2.35/lb. (\$2.35 X 108,900 lbs.). However, the estimate arrived at here probably underestimates the monetary value of bush food. As Usher notes, the nutritional value of wild meats is far greater than that of domestic meats; "two pounds of country meats have the equivalent protein value of perhaps three pounds of imported red meats" (1976:114-115). Thus, a more realistic monetary value for wild meat produced in La Romaine in terms of its high protein content in comparison to domestic meat may be more than \$4.00 per pound (ibid.:115).

7. Funding of Transportation to the Fall Bush Camps

In 1978, DIA initiated a "Program for the Economic Development of the Fur Trapping Industry on Trapping Lands Reserved for Natives" involving the majority of Indian reserves in Quebec. At face value, the goal of the program is to encourage "the rational management of trapping grounds and...the development of professionalism in native trappers" (Canada,1981:35). Local trapping committees have been formed each with a 'Sealing Officer', aerial inventories of beaver colonies are being conducted, and funds are being provided to

help trappers purchase traps, tents, stoves and other materials, to pay advances to trappers who market their furs through auction houses, and to pay for transportation to and from hunting and trapping grounds.

The process of negotiating the amount DIA will provide each year in air transport funds seems to start in the late spring. As the fall approaches, discussions between the Band Council and DIA intensify. According to members of the Band Council, a major effort is required each year to convince DIA to commit enough funds to enable all the hunting groups to fly out to the bush and back. Early in the fall of 1982, after a series of lengthy meetings, the Band Council sent DIA a resolution demanding additional funds above and beyond the sum of \$26,000 originally allocated to them for transportation.

It should be stressed here that Innu objectives for the trapping program have little to do with 'professionalizing' trapping or turning it into a profit-making enterprise. They travel into the bush each fall not just to make money from fur production, but more importantly, for ideological reasons, and because life in the bush is enjoyable in its own right. The air is fresh, tasty and nutritious bush foods are available, life is tranquil, and daily exercise can be obtained. They believe that the presence of women and children in the bush is extremely important for the transmission of bush skills, oral traditions, and spiritual beliefs and practices to future generations, many of which are not generally transmitted in the village context.

After lengthy negotiations at the end of the summer, the Band Council was able to obtain a total of \$50,000² for air transport. However, this was still insufficient to provide for the return airfare of all the groups. One hunting and trapping pair paid their own airfare into the bush and travelled back to the community by canoe before freeze-up. Three families, those of the chief, a full-time HBC employee, and the teacher of Innu culture and language, paid their own³ airfares both in and out of the bush. Two other groups, made up of men exclusively, also made their own arrangements for transport, but I am not sure exactly what these were. With five groups, DIA paid the cost of transport into the bush but not out. Consequently, they either returned home by canoe or, in the case of groups comprising women and children, rented aircraft at their own expense.

Table 13. Trapping program contributions paid by DIA since 1978 to the Innut of La Romaine, number of participants, and total income realized from fur sales (source Pierre Marquis, DIA, personal communication).

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of participants (1)</u>	<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Income from fur sales (2)</u>
1978-79	100	\$ 7,000	\$58,863
1979-80	170	17,122	60,222
1980-81	200	42,256	50,615
1981-82	200	62,000	38,404
1982-83	250	62,089	58,332
TOTAL		\$190,467	\$266,437

(1) includes men, women and children but does not include persons who travelled into the bush at their own expense. E.g. in the fall of 1982, 347 people in total travelled out to the bush.

(2) these statistics were compiled by the Fur Division, Minister of Recreation, Hunting and Fishing, Quebec.

Besides paying for the rental of aircraft, the 1982-83 contribution from DIA was also used to purchase \$3,000 worth of traps and canvas. The traps were sent by DIA in September and distributed to needy trappers. Theoretically, equipment purchased under the trapping program remains the property of the Hunting Committee, but items such as tent canvas, canoe canvas, and sheet metal stoves which deteriorate are excluded (ibid.:26). DIA also funds a certain portion of the Spilsbury SBX11-A CB radios used to communicate while in the bush. For example, \$19,000 was spent on the purchase of such radios in the fall of 1981.

The air transport of people out of the bush for medical treatment is paid by the federal government's Minister of Health. In La Romaine, a considerable degree of antagonism has been expressed by the Innut over the way in which the local nursing staff determine who should be flown out. The nurses speak with the sick or injured person or his/her relatives over the CB radio, and on the basis of the information they receive, assess the seriousness of the problem. If they believe the case is serious enough to warrant air evacuation, an aircraft is sent to transport the person to hospital. In some cases, however, the Innut and the nurses disagree over the seriousness of the illness or injury. The nurses refuse to send in an aircraft and the injured or ill person must pay for the transport himself. During the fall of 1982, the Hunting Committee financed all such transportation costs out of revenues generated from

bingo games. During October and December, 1982, aircraft were rented on three occasions to fly sick people out of the bush. The expense of renting aircraft for these people amounted to \$1,933.50, an amount which the chief felt should be paid by the Minister of Health.

8. Fur Sales

As soon as they return from the bush, usually just before Christmas each year, the Innut dispose of their furs in one or more of the following ways:

- (1) they take them immediately to the HBC for sale,
- (2) they take them immediately to H.Jenniss Enterprises for sale,
- (3) they take them to the 'Sealing Officer' working under the DIA sponsored trapping program where they receive an advance of at least 50% on the final price of their furs which are sold at the auction in North Bay, Ontario,
- (4) they turn a certain portion over to their wives, daughters, or other relatives for use in handicraft work, and
- (5) they retain a certain portion for sale to the HBC or H.Jenniss Enterprises after Christmas whenever the need for cash arises.

In addition to disposing of their furs in these ways, each trapper gives a fur to the Oblate priest as a tithe.⁴ "It is the tradition that each man give a fur to the priest after the fall trap each year - either a beaver, a martin, a mink or an otter. In return, the priest gives a special mass just for the family". Furs may also be given to the priest at

this time as a gift made in prayer for someone who was sick during the fall while family members were in the bush hunting and trapping.

Table 14. Number of furs sold by the La Romaine Innut, and total income received per year from fursales, 1978-1983 (after Walsh, 1984; source: Minister of Recreation, Hunting, and Fishing, Quebec).

Species	Number of Furs Sold				
	78-79	79-80	80-81	81-82	82-83
Seal	-	26	10	-	-
Beaver	427	704	715	484	500
Muskrat	622	338	1082	1578	1704
Weasel	55	114	22	71	407
Mink	84	123	198	249	352
Martin	245	271	155	221	448
Otter	80	66	89	67	95
Fox	17	3	-	1	6
Lynx	39	18	9	3	12
Wolf	-	-	-	-	1
Squirrel	59	78	329	29	179
Income	\$58,863	\$60,222	\$50,615	\$38,404	\$58,332

(Total 1978-83 = \$266,437)

The total income generated from the sale of furs is estimated to be \$58,332 which comprises only 3.0% of the total income earned from all sources by the Innut in La Romaine (cash equivalent of bush food included). We should note here, that this figure represents the total income realized from the sale of furs at fur markets and not the actual income received by Innu trappers. Transportation, and administration costs, royalties, and profits are deductions from the gross income obtained from fur sales.

In the period after full-time schooling commenced until the start of the trapping program, money from the sale of furs went to pay off the debt incurred by the trapper when he purchased his grubstake (provisions and traps) early in the

fall. Welfare monies were used to sustain the women and children who were required to stay in the community. At present, many trappers make arrangements with the HBC, Marcoux, or H.Jenniss Enterprises to use their welfare cheques to pay off their debts while they are in the bush. Income generated through the sale of furs in December is used to pay off any outstanding debts, to purchase small commodity items such as Christmas presents for the children, or make down-payments on the purchase of larger commodity items such as snowmobiles. Credit arrangements will be discussed in more detail in Chapter VI.

The DIA sponsored trapping program makes advances each December to trappers who sell their furs through the Ontario Trappers Association (O.T.A.) auction in North Bay. The amount of the advance, either 50% of the selling price or at the discretion of the 'Sealing officer', is deducted from the selling price of the furs. The difference in the advance and the final selling prices of the furs (minus the abovementioned deductions) is forwarded to the trapper about a month after sale. The 'Sealing Officer' provides the trappers with up-to-date information on fur market prices and visits each camp by plane late in October to pick up furs for immediate shipment to the auction. The salary of the Sealing Officer, the cost of shipping the furs to North Bay, and other expenses are paid out of the 'Quebec Fur Account', "a fund comprising money taken from a general deduction of 4% of the gross amount of individual sales to auction houses

(O.T.A. or Hudson's Bay Company)" (Canada,1981:25).

Fur prices are highest in October and remain high until after Christmas when changing light, temperature, and ice (in the case of beaver and otter) conditions begin to affect the quality of the fur. The furs are better in quality in November and December but fetch a better price in October due to their scarcity (high demand, low supply) at this time. In La Romaine, most of the furs are sent to auction between December 15 and January 1. Prices for the furs decline after Christmas. Also, unless they are stored in a proper environment, furs deteriorate rapidly and will not fetch a good price. Pelts which have deteriorated through improper storage or through poor preparation (e.g. not degreased properly) may lose 20% to 70% of their value.

Long-term fluctuations in fur prices seem to result from changes in consumer demand in the international fur market and decisions made by the large fashion houses or furriers. In Brochu's view, fashion houses and furriers play an important role in determining which furs will be fashionable in any given year.

According as to whether the public "responds" favourably or only luke-warmly to the fashion presented to them, the price of a particular fur may rise or fall. Certain fashions may have absolutely catastrophic results for the Indians and Eskimos, in the case where fashion switches to "foreign" furs such as Alaskan seal or astrakhan, or else in the situation where synthetic furs may come in to take the cream of the market (Brochu,1971:46).

More generalized economic conditions also affect demand for fur products such as the purchasing power of the average consumer. For the example, the great increase in demand for

furs during the second World War, and the general increase in prices which accompanied this, stemmed in part from the expanded buying power of women workers employed in war-time production (ibid.:47).⁵

What is highly significant about fur production by the Innut is that it has declined so drastically in terms of the income it provides relative to other sources. In 1982-83, it contributed only 3.4% to the total monetary income of households (cash equivalent value of bush food not included). In Chapter III, it was noted that the growing dependence on government rations followed by welfare to sustain the domestic unit started sometime shortly before 1868 when food rations were distributed for the first time. Unfortunately, I lack the economic data to document in detail the process by which decreasing prices for furs, and long-term increases in commodity prices and demand for industrially-derived goods and modern technology resulted in a growing dependence on social security payments. However, it is noteworthy that just prior to WWII, when John Fiset was HBC manager at La Romaine, income from fur sales could in no way meet even the most basic needs of Innu families. The meagre government rations provided to them were by then an absolute necessity.

9. Chapter Summary

In this chapter, a wide variety of harvesting activities practiced by the Innut of La Romaine were described, as was the sexual division of labour in such activities. It was noted that harvesting practices are highly integrated;

hunting or trapping furbearing animals takes place in tandem with the harvesting of grouse, hare, caribou, moose, bear, porcupine and fish. Harvesting furbearing species involves much more than simply the production of furs; it also involves the production of a considerable quantity of meat. For example, hunting and trapping beaver in the fall may provide as much as 36% of the total quantity of bush food produced. Beaver and muskrat together can provide enough meat to feed a family throughout the duration of the fall.

The production of all such bush foods in general contributes greatly to the reproduction of the domestic unit and forms a sizeable portion of the total income received in the community when considered in terms of its equivalent monetary value. Approximately 49,400 kg. (108,900 lbs.) in edible meat may be produced in any one year with a cash equivalent value of \$255,915. Bush food production may contribute, therefore, as much as 13.0% of the total income available to households in La Romaine.

The monetary value of fur production alone is small at present; \$58,332 in revenue from fursales was generated in 1982-83 which constitutes only 3.4% of the total cash income available to Innu households. However, the contribution of fur production assumes more importance when considered in the context of the bush food production which takes place simultaneously with it. Fur and bush food production together comprised approximately 16.0% of the total revenue of Innu families during 1982-83.

It must be stressed here that fur and bush food production are important to the Innut not just because of the contribution they make to meeting the subsistence and monetary needs of the family. These harvesting activities are also highly valued in their own right, as highly enjoyable cultural practices which lend great meaning to life as a whole. Moreover, there is also a highly important religious side to fur and bush food production which, while not having any measure in monetary terms, must never be ignored when talking about the role of bush products in reproducing the domestic unit.

FOOTNOTES

(Chapter IV)

1

This amount includes the eggs of various coastal birds such as seagulls and ducks.

2

In addition to this amount, \$6,089 was spent on a beaver inventory, \$3,000 on hunting and trapping equipment, and \$3,000 on salaries and expenses for the Sealing Officer.

3

The HBC employee took a three week vacation in order to spend time in the bush with his family.

4

Père Luc Sirois reported having received 5 caribou hides, and 13 mink, 12 beaver, 18 muskrat, and 2 weasel furs during the summer Mission held in Musquaro in 1939. \$222.75 was obtained from the sale of these furs (General Balance Sheet, Cote-Nord, Quebec, Missions, 1939).

5

Consumer boycotts of particular furs, e.g., the White-coat seal hunt on the Atlantic coast of Canada, also have a significant impact on fur prices and demand. If the 'Animal Welfare' and 'Ban-the-leghold-trap' advocates direct their attention to the harvest of beaver, martin, mink, otter, fox, lynx, and other fur species with the same kind of energy as that directed to the seal hunt on the Atlantic coast, native trappers may expect a serious decline in fur prices.

CHAPTER V

Craft Production

1. Introduction

One form of domestic production which receives a great deal of attention in La Romaine throughout the year is the production of crafts. The purpose of this chapter is to describe the character of craft production by the Innut of La Romaine; the labour processes involved, the type of items produced, the relationship between craft production and other economic activities, and the financial contribution made by it to the total income available in the community.

Before we proceed any further with this subject, it is important to cite a word of caution concerning the use of the terms craft, and handicraft. Both terms suggest the existence of a specialized occupation in which certain products of labour are made with commercial sale in mind. To the contrary, craft production as it presently exists in La Romaine produces objects with a utilitarian function in everyday life (e.g. means of production) which may or may not be sold. My use of the terms craft or handicraft, thus, is meant to refer to the gamut of objects made for domestic use and for exchange.

2. Type of Crafts Produced

Crafts may be divided into three categories in terms of the way they are distributed: (1) items used only by the domestic unit, (2) items sold and used domestically, and (3) items made just for sale. The majority of craft objects

made at present fall under the second category. Moccasins and mittens, items which are sold in the largest quantities, in addition to gloves, boots, wool toques, beaver and muskrat fur hats, duffle coats, wool and duffle socks, 'traditional' women's bonnet's and men's hunting jackets, purses, caribou bone decorations, hair pins, snowshoes, and lamps are also used to varying degrees by the Innut in everyday life as well as being sold.

The materials and designs used in making these objects may have changed over the years in response to the influx of new ideas from other native communities, western society, and commercial pressures, but the objects themselves are still widely used in everyday life. For this reason, most of them constitute means of production - they are essential in harvesting activities and in the production of other craft items. They constitute perhaps the most basic means of production of all, in that the domestic unit cannot be reproduced without clothing, and technological aids to harvesting activities such as snowshoes.

It is only recently that a separate category of products - those made solely for sale - has emerged. These include the beadwork headbands, beaver tooth and bead necklaces, key chains, bracelets, Innu dolls, and the odd carved item made by men such as miniature traditional spears, skate key chains, and miniature canoes and sleds. Even here there is a certain continuity with the past, in that the decoration applied to such objects has always been an important part of

Innu culture. Prior to the seventeenth century, decoration was often painted or embroidered on to clothing and sacks using porcupine quills and moose or caribou hair. However, beginning in the seventeenth century, beads and cotton thread were used in increasing quantities instead (Levesque, 1976:42). I do not know to what extent contemporary decorations such as the five and six petal beadwork flowers sewn on moccasins and gloves have their genesis in the detailed, dream-inspired, embroidery and porcupine quill designs which were once intended as symbolic prestations to the Animal Masters or to a hunter's 'Great Man' (mistāpeu)¹.

A number of items such as tools (e.g., the curved draw knife, caribou tibia beaming tool), toboggans, canoes, cotton hunting sacks, tents, rifle bags, and carved children's toys such as weather vanes and spinning tops are not sold except in rare instances. The majority of items made by men fall into this category; items produced either as children's toys or for use as means of production. Many of the women aged 40 years old and above make clothing such as pants, shirts, dresses, jackets, and petty coats for themselves and for other members of the family, but such items also are not made for sale. Only the embroidered duffle coats and the odd 'traditional' hunting jacket are sold. We should note, however, that native people in other communities in Quebec have started to produce some of these items commercially. The canoe-making 'industry' among the Innut of Sept-Iles is a case in point.

Table 15. Handicrafts produced by the La Romaine Innut: sexual division of labour; time of year produced; method of distribution (adapted from Beaudet, 1983:19).

Sex	Time of Year	items used only by the domestic unit	items sold and used domestically	items made just for sale
Female	All Year	rifle bags clothing: pants shirts, dresses, petty coats, jackets tents hunting sacks hunting jackets and pants school bags ammunition pouches	moccasins gloves mittens boots wool toques fur hats duffle coats wool and duffel socks 'traditional' bonnets purses hair pins wall decorations snowshoes (lacing)	Innu dolls beadwork headbands, necklaces beaver tooth necklaces bracelets key chains
Male	Fall	stretching boards and hoops toboggans caribou tibia scraping tool		
	Winter	komatik caribou tibia beaming tool flenzing tool snowshoe-making tools toboggans toboggan-making tool (āpatākūān)	snowshoes (frames)	
	Summer	canoes canoe-making tools		
	All Year	curved knives children's toys		carved items: miniature harpoons, canoes, sleds, skate key chains 'tipi' style lamp

3. Craft Production as a Non-capitalist Labour Process,

Like the labour processes involved in Innu harvesting practices, craft production is decidedly non-capitalist in its organization and purpose. In this regard, it parallels that of the task-oriented pre-capitalist peasant depicted in E.P.Thompson's "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism".

The peasant or labourer appears to attend upon what is an observed necessity...Social intercourse and labour are intermingled - the working-day lengthens or contracts according to the task - and there is no great sense of conflict between labour and "passing the time of day" (Thompson, 1967:60).

Some craft products are made as demanded by the exigencies of the season (e.g., canoes, toboggans, seal skin moccasins), some whenever the need arises (e.g., when a pair of moccasins wears out), and others when there is spare time available or when a need for cash arises.

La notion de temps "à l'heure" est également nouvelle pour l'Indien habitué qu'il est à penser à ses activités et au temps qu'il y consacre en fonction des saisons ou des cycles de la nature. Il est impossible, pour sa production artisanale, de parler de "passe-temps" ou de "plein-temps". Son rythme de production était traditionnellement fondé sur ses besoins et ses intérêts (Simard, 1977:47).

The productivity of craft producers in terms of the rate and number of products made varies from person to person due to factors such as the individual's level of skill and his/her motivations for making them in the first place. For example, many women only make handicrafts when 'they feel like it' or when they receive orders. In the male domain, stretching boards and hoops may not be made for a number of years if those left over from previous years are in good condition and

appropriate to the size of the animal furs being prepared. Likewise, a toboggan will be made in the fall only if there is sufficient snowfall and the camp does not already possess one.

At present, craft production in La Romaine is integrated with other domestic activities. Handicraft production in the household allows women to tend children, prepare meals, converse with other members of the family and guests, play bingo, or watch television (sometimes all of these simultaneously). Handicraft materials can be quickly put aside when other activities such as cooking or housecleaning assume greater importance. While in the bush, crafts may be made in the gaps in the daily routine of chopping wood, gathering fir boughs, and cooking. The fact that women produce craft objects for sale in far greater numbers than do men may in part be explained by the ease with which craft manufacture can be integrated into other household activities. By contrast, male harvesting activities require a much narrower concentration of attention to the immediate tasks of checking traps or tracking game; tasks, moreover, which also take them far from the camp where caring for children is necessary.

As is the case with women, craft production by men in the community is not only intermingled with social intercourse but is integrated with other activities, of which obtaining firewood is one of the most important. Along with hunting and fishing activities, it must be organized in such

a way that a supply of firewood is always available to the household.

An example of how craft production is intermingled with other labour activities and with social intercourse is the production of snowshoe frames undertaken by my fictive father (Nūtāu) during the winter of 1983 (January-March). During this period, he made four pairs of snowshoes for sale. The labour process involved in making one pair of snowshoes started when he cut birch wood while on a trip by snowmobile to collect firewood (Feb.17th). At approximately 11:00 a.m. the next day, after the younger children had gone to school and his wife (Nakāu) had gone off to fish on Lac Washicoutai, he settled into his working space beside the kitchen stove where he proceeded to cut the birchwood into thin strips from which the snowshoe frames would be fashioned. Working quickly and without taking any breaks he shaved more and more wood off the strips using his crooked knife for this purpose. The children came home for lunch, regarded his work briefly, and then shifted to another room to watch television. Starting at 12:20 p.m. he took two of the green birch strips, bent them around his knee (the wood was not steamed or soaked with hot water), and roped them together to form the outer portion of the snowshoe frame. The children left for school again at 12:50 p.m. and at 1:00 p.m. he started to bend and rope the second snowshoe into its appropriate shape. At 1:25 p.m. one of his sons left for Lac Washicoutai by snowmobile to pick up Nakāu. At 1:40 p.m. he compared and adjusted the shapes of each oval-shaped frame, and inserted

short boards into them to hold the tension while they dried. By 2:00 p.m. Nūtāu had finished working on the snowshoes for the day, having placed the frames up behind the stove to dry.

Work was resumed again four days later on February 22nd. Starting at approximately 11:00 a.m. once again, he dismantled the frames which had been drying behind the stove, and trimmed off excess wood and bark from them. He assumed the same working position (sitting/kneeling beside the kitchen stove) as before using his thighs as a work bench upon which to rest the frames. The cross braces were carved for each snowshoe, the two strips of birch making up the outer portion of the frames were nailed together, and notches cut in them into which the cross braces were inserted. Finally, using a hand drill he made holes in the outer portion of the frames and threaded green twine through them to hold the coloured wool tassels in place and from which caribou hide babiche would later be attached by Nakāu. The entire operation was completed by 1:30 p.m.

The process of making these snowshoe frames is typical of the majority of labour processes performed by Innu men and women outside of the wage-labour context. The following points stand out concerning the way this process is organized:

(1) the producer is the owner of the means of production required in the process (often tools may be borrowed from friends and kinsmen). Here they included a chainsaw (to cut the birch), a snowmobile (to transport the birch back to the

community), a crooked knife, a chisel, and a drill.

(2) the operation is carried out in the producer's home or tent (or alternatively the home of a relative or friend).

(3) the process is carried out in the presence of other household members, relatives, or friends.

(4) the process is integrated with other activities and social intercourse. For example, the birch wood was obtained by Nūtāu during a trip to cut firewood; and while making the frames, social intercourse was maintained with other family members as they came and went from the house.

(5) the producer has complete control over the conception and execution of the labour process. All knowledge of this process is possessed by him/her. In the case of Nūtāu, this knowledge was acquired from observing his father and grandfather make snowshoes. He sets his own pace of work, decides when to commence and finish, and whether to take breaks. Therefore, there is no separation of conception and execution - Nūtāu was responsible both for planning the individual tasks which had to be undertaken in order to complete the snowshoe frame and for actually performing these tasks.

(6) the production process is unitary rather than divided up into its constituents and assigned to a number of different individuals (Sahlins, 1972:79).

(7) the work is carried out with great intensity, and is preceded and followed by periods of inactivity². On each occasion Nūtāu worked continually without rest until each phase of the production process had been completed. Six days

lapsed from the time he started working on the snowshoe frames until the time he finished, but actual work on them was confined to portions of three separate days. On each of these three occasions, after terminating his work on the snowshoes, he spent the remainder of the day either shopping at the HBC store, repairing a snowmobile, chopping wood, and/or engaging in leisure activities such as visiting with friends and relatives. Note, here, the similarity with the work patterns of tradesmen in seventeenth century England, where "social intercourse and labour are intermingled...[and where the] work pattern was one of alternate bouts of intense labour and of idleness, wherever men were in control of their own working lives" (Thompson,1967:60,73).

The principles underlying the work pattern described here are essential to every labour activity in which the Innut of La Romaine engage; whether this be hunting, trapping, and fishing or the production of moccasins by women; whether the products are sold or used exclusively by the domestic unit. They differ greatly from the principles upon which labour in the industrial work place under capitalism is organized, where "the essential element is the systematic pre-planning and pre-calculation of all elements of the labour process, which now no longer exists as a process in the imagination of the worker but only as a process in the imagination of a special management staff" (Braverman,1974:119), and where the monopoly over knowledge of the work process is used by management "to control each

step of the labor process and its mode of execution" (ibid.:119). In La Romaine, Innu labour processes are varied and a division of labour exists according to age and sex, but they all share the same principles of organization, and therefore, can be contrasted with those found under capitalism. They must also be contrasted with labour processes which have emerged in other native communities where individual craft producers have established "cottage industries" for the mass production of crafts. The workshop production of canoes, and snowshoes by the Mistassini Cree in the late 1970's is a case in point. Here, the labour process has been analyzed into its various elements, and the components produced in large quantities before they are combined to produce the finished products.

4. Sexual Division of Labour in Craft Production

As mentioned previously, there is a definite sexual division of labour in terms of which sex is involved in the manufacture of the final product. The craft items made by women for sale vastly outnumber those made by men for the same purpose. Moreover, "La majorité de la production des femmes se retrouve dans le domaine du vêtement. Elles assurent durant toute l'année de quoi vêtir les membres de la famille" (Beaudet, 1983:21). In contrast, craft objects made by men comprise mostly means of production such as canoes, snowshoes, toboggans, and tools of various sorts.

Despite the division of labour between the sexes in terms of what is produced, both men and women may be seen as

contributing labour to the production of many handicraft items when the entire labour process is considered from start to finish. The labour process involved in making caribou hide moccasins, for example, starts with the male hunter shooting, gutting, skinning, and butchering a caribou and transporting the butchered parts and hide back to the community or camp. Either he or an older female member of the family flenzes the hide, removes the fur (beaming), soaks it in water, and stretches it over a pole to freeze (this last step is done when the hide is intended for snowshoe babiche). From this point on, work on the caribou hide is usually undertaken by women. Staking the hide out on the ground to stretch, freeze, and bleach in the sun, tanning (with caribou brains or bar soap), smoking, and subsequent cutting of the hide into materials for use in making moccasins are female tasks entirely.

The manufacture of snowshoes starts with male labour; birch wood must be cut and the snowshoe frames made. Women are then responsible for lacing the frames with caribou or moose hide babiche. Likewise, the manufacture of any item using animal fur, such as beaver fur caps, requires first that the animal be trapped and transported back to the community or the camp where the hide can be removed, scraped, stretched, and dried.

Virtually every male trapper in the community contributes a portion of his furs to his wife, mother, or some other female relative for use in making crafts. One informant said he gave eight beaver (5 large and 3 small),

one martin, five mink and ten muskrat furs to his wife for her handicraft work. The remainder of his furs - two beaver, nineteen martin, and nine mink - were sold to the HBC or sent to the auction at North Bay, Ontario. Another informant said he and his son trapped 27 beaver, eight mink, two otter and 30 muskrat. Of these, eight beaver were sold at North Bay, 10 small beaver given to this wife for handicrafts, and the remainder sold to the HBC. My fictive father gave a total of four beaver to his eldest daughter and three beaver, one martin, and one mink to his wife for use in making handicrafts. One martin fur was given to the priest as a tithe, while the remainder of his furs - two beaver, five mink, seven martin, six muskrat, and seven weasel - were sold at North Bay. Two other informants said they gave none of the furs harvested that fall to their wives for handicrafts. One of these women is an avid craft producer - she said that normally her husband provides the furs needed in her craft work.

By adding beaver, mink, muskrat, or martin fur to boots, mittens, and gloves, a higher price can be obtained for the finished product. Often, these furs are of low selling value either because they are too small or because they are damaged in some way. Scraps of fur left over from making larger craft items are used to decorate small handicrafts such as bracelets, headbands, and key chains.

Whereas the trapping of the animal is a male activity exclusively, the preparation of the fur may be done by either

sex. Fur preparation is undertaken by men primarily during the fall hunting and trapping season in camps where women are absent. In the case of handicraft items which are made with store-bought materials, however, the male component in the labour process is eliminated. For example, moccasins made with store-bought cow-hide, duffle liner, and beads entail only the labour of women in cutting out the material, sewing the components together, and stitching in a beadwork design.

5. Division of Labour According to Age and the Transmission of Craft Knowledge

A division of labour in handicraft production is also to be seen in terms of the age at which people begin to make specific items. Generally, the older a person is, the more proficient she is at making intricately sewn, embroidered, or pleated handicrafts, and the greater is her repertoire of products. Handicraft production by women starts in childhood, even as young as four years old, when girls are shown how to thread coloured beads in preparation for sewing a flower or star motif onto mittens or moccasins (cf. Beaudet, 1984:41). Then, starting, in their early teens, they learn how to make the simpler items such as key chains and necklaces. In their late teens or early twenties, women learn how to make moccasins and mittens followed by more complicated items such as gloves, wool socks and hats. Sewing the pleats in the toes of moccasins seems to be a difficult skill to master and some women in their forties have not yet learned how to do this. In such cases, they often ask a sister or other relative to sew the pleats for

them. Detailed embroidery in ammunition pouches, purses and duffle coats is done by all post-adolescent women, but particularly skillful work seems to be reserved to women over the age of forty. The 'traditional' black and scarlet bonnet is one item which only elderly women make. Some of my middle-aged female informants stated that this was the one item which they were not yet able to make, even though many of them were able to make virtually every other handicraft item. They all intended to attempt making the bonnets at some unspecified point in the near future.

Despite being able to make a great number of different handicraft items, the middle-aged women interviewed stated that they each had their own 'specialities' regarding the type of product made. Invariably, the same 'specialities' are made by most women (hence they are not really specialities). These include moccasins, mittens, and boots. The fact that women have such 'specialities' reflects not that they are unable to make other items or that they are less skillful at making these. Rather, it reflects the fact that the moccasins, mittens, and boots are preferred items due to the higher selling price that can be obtained for them in relation to the amount of labour-time expended in their production.

Besides possessing an extensive repertoire of craft skills and being able to make a large variety of items, a number of women could also be thought of as innovators.³ They are constantly making new handicraft items or trying new

beadwork or embroidered designs - ones which have not yet been made in the community. One woman, for example, was very interested in the design of my canvas-legged moccasins purchased in Sheshatshiu, Labrador. She promptly borrowed them so that she could study how they were made and make a pair herself. This same woman also made Innu dolls for the first time while I was there, without ever having received instructions in how to make them.

Men begin to make craft items at a much later age than do women. Starting in their late teens, they learn how to make stretching hoops and boards using an axe and crooked knife. Construction of toboggans, canoes, and snowshoes does not generally commence until the age of 30 has been reached. By then, the average Innu male will already have spent many years watching his father or grandfather make such items. However, there is a considerable range in the degree to which men possess handicraft skills in the community. One man I met was just learning how to make a canoe at the late age of 52. Another, aged thirty, was assisting his father-in-law in constructing a canoe by helping him plane fir wood from which the canoe ribs would be made. However, he had not yet acquired all of the knowledge required to make a canoe from start to finish. The youngest man in the community capable of making a canoe was aged 28 years old at the time of the study. Another young man, aged 35 was also able to fashion a canoe. Originally from St. Augustin, this latter person prides himself in his knowledge not only of how to make snowshoes, canoes, crooked knives, stretching boards, and

toboggans, but also of the more 'traditional' bush skills such as how to make deadfall traps (he is the only person to have left the community to work as a lumberjack north of Baie Comeau). Most younger men will claim how to make such items but without ever having undertaken the manufacture of them.

Craft knowledge (as well as knowledge of hunting, trapping, fishing, cooking, medicine, childcare, etc.) among men and women has been transmitted until recently by means of children's games which mimic adult behavior, participant observation, and oral tradition. However, the fact that many young adults spent major portions of their youth away from the bush due to full-time schooling meant that many of these skills were never passed on to them. The bush is perhaps the most important context in which the 'traditional' bush and domestic skills are learned. Such skills are often not transmitted to the younger generations in the community context, perhaps due to the presence of the western educational system and competition with 'modern' forms of information dissemination such as television.

6. Handicraft Courses

While male and female craft skills are still transmitted inter-generationally to a great extent via children's games, oral traditions and participant observation, the learning process has become increasingly incorporated into handicraft courses. Courses were offered for the first time starting around 1968 and were intended primarily for married women (Beaudet,1983:25). I do not know if the Innut participate in

such courses because they fill a gap in the process of learning craft skills, or simply because a monetary remuneration is available to participants. It is certain that most people learn some craft skills over time outside of the course context, but at a rate which depends on their individual interest among other factors. The courses seem to provide an added incentive to learn craft skills, especially since money is available to the otherwise financially strapped participants. That the availability of additional income is an important reason for taking craft courses is suggested by the fact that some participants enlist even though they are already quite proficient in the skills being taught. Participants can learn in the space of a twelve-week course what normally might take them five years to learn in the process of learning in an informal situation making crafts with their mothers, grandmothers, or elder sisters. The courses also provide a different social environment in which learning can take place. The teaching of craft skills in a course takes place in a highly social atmosphere in which participants are momentarily free of household concerns and children.

Since 1979, four courses have been offered in how to make snowshoes (1979-80), and eight courses in how to make moccasins, mittens, gloves, and other items (5 courses in 1979-80, 2 in 1980-81, and 1 in 1982-83) (Beaudet, 1983:26). The total funds dispensed by DIA from 1980 to 1983 for the operation of handicraft courses amounted to \$40,000 (Marc

Langlois, DIA, personal communication). The last course offered (started Feb. 23, 1983), engaged 15 female participants six hours per day, five days a week for 12 weeks. Each participant received a remuneration of \$60 to \$95 per week, the precise amount depending on the number of pre-school children she had. Two women were hired to teach the course: one aged 46 and hired full-time with a salary of \$600 per week; the other aged 61 and hired part-time with a salary of \$300 per week. The full-time position was held by a woman who was also president of the Handicraft Committee at the time. A total of \$24,900 was paid out in 'salaries' to both the instructors and students. The ages of the students varied from 20 to 31 years old with an average age of 26 years old. Eight of the students' only other source of income was welfare, five were members of nuclear families whose source of income was wages, one was a member of a family unit whose only other source of income was unemployment insurance, and one was a member of a family unit which received both welfare and unemployment insurance.

The purpose of the course was to teach the students how to make a variety of handicraft items including necklaces, keychains, moccasins, boots, mittens, gloves, Innu dolls (this taught for the first time), bracelets, headbands, wool toques and socks, headbands, leather purses, canvas school bags, and duffle coats. These craft items were sold at a local exhibition the following spring. A portion of the income derived from their sale was used to help pay the costs of the Handicraft Committee, and the remainder was divided

among the course participants themselves (Christiane Beudet, personal communication). In previous years courses have taught how to tan moose hide, do macrame, lace snowshoes, make the 'traditional' women's bonnets and snowshoe frames (for men), and make the same items as those made in the course mentioned above.

Late in the spring of 1983, the Band Council applied to the Federal Ministry of Employment and Immigration for funds under the "New Employment Expansion and Development" program to conduct a canoe-making course. The course was postponed until the summer of 1984 due to an apparent lack of funds and the lateness of the application. Had it taken place as scheduled by the Band Council, it would have engaged 15 young men as students and one man as instructor over a 13 week period. Salaries of \$192 per week would have been paid to the students and \$320 per week to the instructor, with a \$365 per month contribution from individual welfare monies used to subsidize the salaries. The total cost of the course would have been \$36,192 including salaries and materials but excluding the contributions made to salaries from welfare payments. The average age of the participants selected for the course was 22 years old.

Craft courses are usually funded by the Ministry of Employment and Immigration and administered by the School Board. DIA's involvement in the courses is restricted to defining, in conjunction with the Band Council, the contents of a course, and to providing some funds for the purchase of

raw materials when no other source of funding can be found (Marc Langlois, DIA, personal communication). Funding is provided after an application is received from the Band Council. In La Romaine, the Band Council either initiates the courses itself (e.g., the canoe making course) or administers requests from the Handicraft Committee. Administration of the salaries and funds for raw materials is undertaken by the Band Council or by the local Ministry of Employment and Immigration representative. The choice of instructor is made by the Band Council, but on the recommendation of the Handicraft Committee when the course deals only with women's handicrafts. In certain cases, however, an instructor may be brought in from another community if there is no one among the local Innu population with the requisite skills. In such cases, the choice of instructor - who may be native or non-native is made by the School Board.

7. The Handicraft Committee in La Romaine

DIA has also been involved in funding the local Handicraft Committee after it was founded by the The Indian Craftsmen of Quebec Corporation (IQQC) in 1976.⁴ The membership of the committee at this time is comprised entirely of women, which reflects, perhaps, the lack of involvement by men in craft production for sale. Its purpose is to organize handicraft courses, represent women craft producers in dealings with the Band Council and various levels of government so as to obtain funding and other forms

of assistance, to represent their interests in meetings with other native handicraft committees held in Quebec City each year under the auspices of the corporation, to purchase materials on behalf of the membership, and to organize the marketing of craft products. The Committee has received the following funds from DIA since 1979 (Marc Langlois, DIA, personal communication):

1979-80	\$25,000	-	\$20,000 to set up premises for craft workers.
		-	\$5,000 to purchase materials.
1980-81	\$15,000	-	\$10,000 to purchase tools and materials.
		-	\$5,000 for research into the production of a catalogue of Innu handicrafts from La Romaine.
1981-82	nil		
1982-83	nil		

8. Purchase of Materials and Marketing of Craft Products

The Handicraft Committee has purchased materials from ICQC for distribution at discount prices to local women. The Corporation was set up in conjunction with DIA to promote the development of Indian craft production in the province and undertakes to stock supplies of raw materials needed in such production. Caribou and moose hides, furs, teeth, claws, feathers, and other items are purchased from hunters and trappers and are stockpiled and redistributed to handicraft producers. Industrially-derived materials used in handicrafts, such as duffle, cow-hide, wool, key holders, thread, ribbons, glue, canvas, beads, zippers, undressed dolls, and tools such as needles, scissors, and leather punches are also sold. By far the majority of the materials

used by women craft producers in La Romaine are purchased on an individual basis from this outlet due to the lower prices available there. The three women who have joined the corporation on an individual basis (\$5 per year membership) are able to benefit from discount prices not available to regular customers. Materials are also purchased from the local HBC, Marcoux, and Jenniss stores, and stores in Harrington Harbour, Sept-Iles, and Natashquan, but in small quantities (e.g., duffle, wool, thread, cotton, beads, and needles).

Virtually all of the craft producers in La Romaine sell their products on an individual basis. There is no coordinated marketing mechanism through which local producers can sell their crafts. Despite its stated objective to promote the sale of handicrafts by Indian people, ICQC has never set up a marketing structure for Indian people in the province, and its promotional activities are restricted primarily to organizing craft expositions (Marc Langlois, DIA, personal communication).

Handicrafts are sold in the largest numbers to the local White residents (e.g. school teachers), but visiting anthropologists and government workers, the resident missionary and school principal also buy large quantities of such crafts. During the summer they are sold to tourists who pass La Romaine on the coastal boat, the "Fort Mingan", to the tourists encountered in Ste-Anne de Beaupré when trips are made to the Cathedral there at the end of July, to the construction workers building the new wharf, and infrequently

to handicraft stores in Natashquan, Sept-Iles and Quebec City. Women craft producers always seem to have their products available for sale even when they are confined to hospital beds in distant communities. A newcomer to the community does not have long to wait before contingencies of children arrive on the doorstep with their mother's or older sisters' handicrafts for sale.

Sometimes, trips are made on the 'Fort Mingan' or by fiberglass boat when shorter distances are entailed, to the neighbouring villages of Kegaska, Havre St-Pierre, Tête-à-la-Baleine, Harrington Harbour, Chevery, La Tabatiere, and Blanc Sablon with the express purpose of selling handicrafts. Likewise, journeys are made by snowmobile after freeze-up, from December to March, to sell mittens, moccasins, gloves, duffle coats and other items to the stores in Kegaska. Much activity precedes such journeys as women try to make as many items as possible before departing. Frequently, they are asked by relatives or friends to take crafts to sell on their behalf.

I joined one expedition to Kegaska on a Saturday morning in mid-February. It would seem from the number of Innut who also travelled there that day (30 to 40 people including men, women, and children) that such trips are made not so much to sell handicrafts - although this is the pretext given for going - but because it is also a shopping trip and a social event or 'journey of adventure' in which women, teenagers, and children can join the men in an outdoor activity (the

trip). Groceries are purchased in small quantities, as well as beer and the odd item of clothing. There is a widely held belief among the Innut that prices in Kegaska are universally better than those available at the stores in La Romaine (the owners/operators of which are sometimes referred to as thieves, kātshimutshīshit). The apparently lower prices of commodities sold in Kegaska is frequently put forth as one reason for travelling there as well as the potential for selling handicrafts.

There are three merchants in Kegaska two of whom purchase handicrafts. Only one of them, however, Mr. Butt, buys crafts in any significant quantities. On the occasion of my visit to the community, he was not purchasing any crafts because he had not received any recent orders for them, and because he was awaiting the return of an Innu woman who was willing to sell her products at lower than average prices (much to the chagrin of other women in La Romaine).

Handicrafts are produced and sold in the largest quantities in the fall and just prior to Christmas. At the end of August, the teachers return from their summer vacations, and many, especially those new to the community buy crafts in large quantities. The construction workers building the new government wharf leave at the end of September and buy handicrafts before their departure. Few crafts are made for sale by women who spend the fall in the bush as their time is mostly taken up by the camp routine of collecting fir boughs for the tent floor, chopping firewood, preparing furs, and cooking. Crafts of immediate use to the

domestic unit are made however. One female informant who spent the fall of 1982 in the bush made mittens, boots, and duffle socks, and laced three pairs of snowshoes for use by her family. Women who remain in the community continue to make handicrafts gearing up for the increase in demand just prior to Christmas when teachers, the school principal, missionary, and other non-native residents begin to purchase their Christmas presents.

All of my informants were unanimous in the belief that it is members of the White community who pay the worst prices for handicrafts. "The Whites over there give bad prices; they always lower the amount of money they are willing to pay for handicrafts". Craft producers are often in dire need of money and so are not in a position to refuse such prices. Examples of what constitute poor prices were given to me: snowshoes which the Innut feel should sell for \$100-\$125 sold for \$60-\$80; adult moccasins which they feel should sell for \$20-\$30 sold for \$8-\$12.

Opinion as to who pays the best prices for handicrafts was varied, but even so, there was still some basis for agreement. Those willing to pay the best prices were listed as: the nurses in the hospital in Blanc Sablon, a man who visited the Innu camp at Ste-Anne de Beaupré and made large purchases, the school teachers, wharf construction workers, tourists, and visiting researchers. The range of prices received for handicraft items is listed below in Table 16.

Table 16. Range of prices received for handicrafts sold by La Romaine Innut (based on statements from eight women craft producers. Note: not all of the items listed here are made by each of the eight informants).

<u>Item</u>	<u>Price</u>
Moccasins	
cow hide	\$8-\$30
caribou hide	\$10-\$35
Mittens	
canvas	\$12-\$15
cow hide	\$25-\$35
+ beaver fur	\$35-\$50
+ bear fur	\$50
+ martin, mink, seal, or muskrat fur	\$12-\$35
+ otter fur	\$20-\$35
Gloves	\$25-\$55
Boots	
leather	\$45-\$90
+ beaver fur	\$60-\$80
+ bear fur	\$70
+ seal fur	\$50-\$60
+ otter fur	\$60
Hats	
beaver fur	\$40-\$60
lynx fur	\$35
'Traditional' Bonnets	\$50-\$80
Coats	
duffle	\$170
canvas	\$20-\$35
leather	\$102
Key chains	\$2-\$3
Headbands	\$5-\$8
Necklaces	
beaver teeth	\$5-\$10
beadwork	\$4-\$12
Bracelets	\$3
Socks	
duffle	\$25-\$30
wool	\$12-\$20
Purse (sacoché)	\$12-\$35
Small purse (bourse)	\$5-\$15
Wall decorations	
beaver fur	\$40-\$80
beaver teeth	

The variation in the prices listed in Table 16 is due to other factors besides variations in what customers will pay. The size of the item (child or adult size), the degree of beadwork and fur decoration, and the cost of materials involved are other factors which explain the price variation here. Generally, however, the prices charged for crafts of the same size and quality are remarkably similar. Most informants stated that they did not know why the prices they charge are so similar. One said she did not know if the women in the community generally charge the same prices as it is she alone that determines the prices of her products. Another stated that the same prices are charged "so that people do not individually drop their prices and make it impossible for other people to get a good price. We always try to get the highest prices for our handicrafts".

What factors determine the base prices for handicrafts? The factors which seem to operate in the determination of prices are:

- (1) the cost of materials
- (2) supply and demand (what the market will bear). Demand for handicrafts increases at Christmas when they are purchased as presents. Informants state that prices are generally better at this time. When buyers are scarce, producers are more likely to accept the low prices paid by local White people.
- (3) the financial need of the producer. Prices seem to be lower when the producer is in dire need of money. At Christmas, families generally have more available cash as

income from furs is forthcoming as soon as the hunting and trapping groups return from the bush. The reduced need for cash would tend to reinforce factor (2) above.

(4) the amount of labour-time expended in the production of the craft item. Generally, the more time spent in making an item, the more money charged for it. However, this principle does not always hold; there is a preference for making moccasins and mittens which obtain a high price in relation to the amount of time required to make them. Necklaces, while made in large numbers, are considered not worth the effort to produce given the length of time required to make them in relation to the low price for which they can be sold. Note, also, that the use of a sewing machine by many women to increase productivity (reduce labour-time expended per item) does not result in lower prices.

(5) the extent to which furs and detailed beadwork or embroidery are used as decoration.

(6) the quality of the product. For example, poorly sewn and cut leather work, grease and crayon marks, and use of furs which have not been tanned reduces the selling price.

(7) community consensus. Women craft producers obtain by means of informal discourse a general idea of the prices charged by other women in the community. In particular, they know of extreme cases when someone has received an exceptionally good price for a craft item or alternatively a bad price. Knowledge that one person was able to obtain good prices from a particular source is likely to induce other

women to ask the same higher price for their products. It is by this mechanism, that the price charged throughout the community for a craft item will increase over time. Women who consistently charge lower prices for their crafts - and as a result make it difficult for other women to receive good prices - are likely to experience social pressure in the form of gossip to reform their ways.

9. The Contribution of Craft Production to Household Income

In the logic of capitalism, craft production by the Innu of La Romaine would hardly be considered 'rational'; by industrial standards prices are low while labour-time expended in production is high. This is perhaps the reason why DIA has assigned a low priority to providing funds for the development of craft production in Indian communities throughout Quebec.

As an example of what craft production pays the individual producer, take the case of moccasins. A 21.25 sq. ft. piece of 3-3 1/2 oz. yellow cowhide costing \$41.43 (\$1.80/ sq. ft. + \$3.18 C.O.D. charge) is sufficient material to make five pairs of moccasins. When we add the cost of duffle lining (two yds. X 60 ins., 37/38 oz. at \$16.50/ yd = \$33.00), beads (\$1.00), and thread (\$2.50) to this, we obtain a total cost for materials of approximately \$77. Each moccasin must be sold for more than \$15.40 if any profit is to be made. Given a hypothetical production time of four steady hours per moccasin (using a sewing machine), and a selling price of \$20 per moccasin, the hourly rate of pay for the

producer is estimated at \$1.15 per hour.

Due to the high labour intensity of craft production and the low prices which can be obtained for the finished product, it would seem unlikely that much income could be contributed to the upkeep of the domestic unit. What, then, is the contribution of handicraft production to the total domestic unit income? It was not possible to measure earnings from handicraft sales during the fieldwork period as craft producers were not able to remember with any accuracy the quantities of items made throughout the year, and it was judged unfeasible to administer diaries to each producer at the time (based on harvesting diaries). As a result, it is not possible to determine with any accuracy the total amount of income generated in the community through craft sales. The quantity of items sold varies greatly from one artisan to the next, and therefore, it is not even possible to arrive at an accurate determination of the average quantity produced per household.

Nevertheless, despite the impossibility of determining accurately the total income derived from craft production, it is still of some value to estimate in crude terms the yearly income for two handicraft producers from whom I have data. This will at least give us a rough idea of what sort of income is possible from handicraft sales. The first producer, a woman aged 50, seems to produce large quantities of crafts throughout the year. This observation is based on her own statements and on the fact that she was often occupied with

craft work on the many occasions when I visited her house. On the day that I interviewed her, she had completed three pairs of moccasins, and had pleated the toes in an additional three pairs for her sister. The day before, she had completed four pairs of moccasins. Let us assume the following in order to estimate how much income she earns from handicrafts:

(1) she does not make handicrafts everyday, but she makes a total of nine pairs per week, (2) she produces an average of nine pairs per week, 26 weeks per year. During the remaining 26 weeks of the year, she is engaged in harvesting activities or living in the bush, (3) income from moccasins comprise 90% of her total earnings from craft sales, (4) the average price received for these moccasins is \$20, and (5) the cost of materials is \$15.40/pair. Given these assumptions, the total income derived from the sale of moccasins alone would be about \$41 per week, \$1066 per year. If we increase this result by 10% to account for income from other craft items, we arrive at a total income of about \$1173 per year.

Consider now, the second producer who is in fact the daughter of the first. This person makes craft items in far smaller quantities than does her mother. I lived with the second producer and her family and therefore was in a position to observe the frequency with which she made craft items, at least during part of the year. As a crude estimate, she produces no more than one pair of moccasins for sale per week. Assuming that she does not spend any prolonged period of time in the bush or engaged in harvesting activities and receives income from the sale of these

moccasins, or from the sale of other craft items (e.g. necklaces) which all together generate an equivalent weekly income, her total income from the sale of handicrafts would be \$4.68 per week or about \$239 per year.

Both of the cases presented here represent extremes in the amount of earnings which craft production may generate among the female craft producers in La Romaine. The average income earned per family probably lies somewhere between these two extremes, and is therefore much lower than the estimate given by DIA of \$1,588 per year (Marc Langlois, DIA, personal communication).⁶ The DIA estimate is intended only as a general average for Quebec as a whole and makes no allowance for regional or local disparities. No accurate data was available to assist in making it as handicraft producers are reluctant to provide the government with information concerning the amount of income from the sale of handicrafts for fear that their welfare payments will be reduced (ibid.). Thus, while recognizing that craft production may provide a significant monetary input to Innu households in La Romaine, the lack of data upon which to base estimates has meant that I have not included income from this source in the calculation of the total estimated income available to Innu households during 1982-83.

9. Chapter Summary

In reviewing this chapter, the following points stand out concerning craft production among the Innu of La Romaine:

(1) craft production is heavily integrated with other domestic activities and social intercourse, and is not a specialized domain of production in the same way that wage-labour is.

(2) it is decidedly non-capitalist in its organization and purpose because producers own the means of production. The labour process is unitary and conducted in the home or tent, is integrated with other activities and social intercourse, and the producer has control over the conception and execution of this process.

(3) the products of labour both have a utilitarian function in everyday life - many of them serve as means of production - and are also sold. Only a few items are either not sold, or made exclusively for sale. The goal of production and exchange of craft items, however, is not to accumulate an abstract wealth, but to assist in meeting the immediate financial needs of the household (Sahlins,1972:83; Tanner,1979:68).

(4) a division of labour exists according to sex and age. Craft items made by women vastly outnumber those made by men. Craft items made for sale by women also outnumber those made by men for the same purpose. Women, therefore, occupy an important position in the production of Innu material culture and in guarding the community's cultural heritage in general (Beudet,1983:29) . Both men and women contribute to the production of many handicraft items when the entire process is considered from start to finish. The harvesting of furs

by men, and their subsequent preparation by women is a case in point. In terms of age, the repertoire of craft objects made and the skill level involved is greater among men and women over forty. Repertoire and skill increase with age. This has its correlate with the general increase in knowledge of hunting, trapping, fishing, cooking, medical practices, history, mythology and religion which accompanies increasing age.

(6) Craft knowledge is still transmitted intergenerationally by means of oral tradition, participant observation, and the mimicry involved in children's games. This knowledge is also acquired by younger generations in the context of Handicraft Courses initiated by the Handicraft Committee or Band Council and administered by the Band Council and various levels of government. The courses may be necessary to repair any damage to the traditional methods of knowledge dissemination caused by the Western school system and new forms of entertainment (e.g. television) which may have occurred. Alternatively, the courses may not actually replace the 'traditional' methods of transmitting craft knowledge but may just supplement them. The real advantage of these courses to the Innu may be simply that they are a source of income in an environment where employment and other sources of cash are hard to obtain.

(7) the prices of handicrafts are determined by a mixture of market factors of supply and demand, the cost of materials, and the producer's notion of the amount of time and skill involved in making the crafts, and non-market factors such

as community consensus and the financial need of the producer. The absence of an adequate, coordinated marketing facility in the community has a negative effect on prices in that craft producers are forced to sell on an individual basis, and therefore, are often not in a position to resist demands to sell for less (especially when they are in dire need of money).

(8) the income earned from craft sales is low in relation to the amount of labour expended in production. When conceived in terms of an hourly wage, craft production is estimated to pay less than \$2.00 per hour. It was not possible to determine the contribution of handicraft sales to the total income received by members of the community in 1982-83, but on a household basis, such sales may contribute between \$239 to \$1173 to the yearly income of each family.

(9) government presence is felt at both a financial and administrative level. Handicraft courses and the management of the Handicraft Committee is overseen by DIA. Some funds are provided to organize these courses and finance the operations of the Committee, but funds are provided on a much larger scale to IQQC. The advantage of this Corporation to the people of La Romaine is that it provides a centralized distribution centre for craft materials at prices lower than those available at local stores. In summary, then, the presence of the state has diminished monetarily in recent years, and has done little per se to directly reinforce this form of domestic production in La Romaine.

FOOTNOTES

(Chapter V)

1

See Speck (1935:35), Levesque, (1976:98-100), and Podolinsky Webber (1983:60-69) for discussions on the origins and meaning of craft motifs.

2

Compare this observation with Sahlins' statement (1972:86): "Work [by domestic producers] is accordingly unintensive: intermittent and susceptible to all manner of interruption by cultural alternatives and impediments ranging from heavy ritual to light rainfall" (my emphasis).

3

Note, here, that the older women in the community are repositories of all sorts of knowledge besides craft knowledge. Knowledge of 'traditional' Innu medicines, history, life in the bush, religious matters, and legends are cases in point. Thus, "Leur rôle dans la communauté est primordial puisqu'elles sont les gardiennes non seulement de la culture en général mais aussi d'une grande part de la culture matérielle puisqu'elles y détiennent des savoirs particuliers" (Beaudet, 1983:29).

4In 1972-73, DIA, after 'consultation' with Indian groups across the country initiated a plan for the development of native handicrafts. The National Corporation of Indian Arts and Handicrafts was established with provincial branches such as the The Indian Craftsmen of Quebec Corporation (IOQC) under its direction. In 1976 DIA transferred responsibility for handicraft development and financial administration to the national organization. Only the Indian people of Quebec refused to transfer total responsibility for handicraft development to the corporation, and still rely on two DIA resource persons to coordinate development programs in 32 Indian communities. Their decision to retain DIA's involvement was made because the Minister had not consulted all of the Indian bands in the province (Marc Langlois, DIA, personal communication). IOQC has never obtained the support of all the Indian groups in Quebec, and has apparently suffered on occasion from poor management of the funds allocated to it (over \$2,000,000 since its foundation) (ibid.).

When the national handicraft development plan was announced in 1972, a "Plan of Development of Amerindian Arts and Craft" was designed for the Indian communities of Quebec. It intended to set up workshops in each community, undertake research into traditional handicraft designs for use in production, to set up a marketing mechanism for crafts, teach craft skills, and encourage the commercialization and profit-making capacity of Indian artisans. Between 1972 and 1979, 16 workshops were established on reserves throughout Quebec at a cost of \$45,000 each, with contributions of

\$200,000 for equipment, and \$500,000 to meet operational costs. But successive budget cuts since 1972 have made it increasingly difficult to fund handicraft programs. In fact, the total funds allocated by DIA for handicraft development in Quebec have been drastically reduced since 1973 despite greatly increasing demands for assistance (e.g. 1973 budget - \$500,000; 1984 budget - \$100,000) in favour of financing ICQC. The low priority assigned to community craft development in Quebec is reflected not only in the reduction in funding but also by the move to officially eliminate handicraft development from DIA's Economic Development section as of April, 1984. The reduction in funding has meant that the two DIA resource people have not been able to extend their services to the Innut of La Romaine, and has not permitted the financing of a better method of marketing the crafts produced there (ibid.).

5

A former HBC manager reports (John Fiset, personal communication) that during his employment at La Romaine from 1938 to 1943, the FPC "used to buy a few caribou skins, and a good number of moccasins - not the fancy ones but mainly the kind to be used for snowshoeing. These were then resold locally to the Whites. Second hand snowshoes (very few new ones) were also purchased for resale to the Whites. The Indians did make a few fancy, beaded moccasins and mittens, but these were for special orders". The present HBC manager stated that the company has generally not purchased handicrafts from the Innut since his arrival in 1967. However, one year he did purchase \$5000 worth of handicrafts (moccasins, mittens, etc.) for resale in urban-based HBC stores.

6

DIA estimates that there are 80 handicraft producers in La Romaine (DIA, Report on "Artisanat et Industrie Secondaire," Quebec, July, 1983).

CHAPTER VI

Wage-Labour, Transfer Payments, Credit, Commodity Consumption, and Debits to the Household Income

1. Introduction

In Chapter II it was noted that the commodities required in the reproduction of the Innu commensal family unit must be purchased using income from three sources: cash from state transfer payments, cash from the sale of the labour-power of household members, and cash from the sale of commodities. This chapter will focus on the nature of wage-labouring activities in which the Innu participate, government transfer payments, and the way in which income from these sources, in addition to income from fur and craft sales, is spent. The credit system used by local merchants will be described and its role in the economy assessed, as will the nature of savings and loans. The structure of present-day Innu needs, that is, the character of commodity consumption, will also be addressed. A central concern in this Chapter, therefore, is to chart the flow of cash inputs into and out of the household with the view to assessing the role such inputs play in reproducing domestic production.

2. Wage-labour in La Romaine

Information regarding the character of the wage-labour market in La Romaine was collected over a 12 month period between August 1982 and July 1983 using formal and informal interviews with Band Council workers and other members of the community. Working conditions, labour histories, salaries and how these salaries were spent or redistributed in the

community were discussed whenever possible. It was not possible to meet directly with each person (93 in total) holding some sort of wage-labouring position during the 12 month period focused on in this study. Therefore, in some cases it was necessary to collect data on certain work positions by relying on information provided by Band Council and DIA records, on statements by relatives of the person concerned, or by persons who held the same sort of position either simultaneously or at some previous time. It was necessary to make estimates of the total income derived from each work position as few people were able to provide figures on what they earned annually.

The total number of employment positions filled by Innut in La Romaine between August 1, 1982 and July 31, 1983 was 102. Table 17 lists the different categories of employment available. The 102 employment positions listed do not reflect the actual number of people who held some form of employment during the 12 month period. Ninety-three people were employed at some time of which 52 were men and 41 women. The higher number of working positions held in comparison to the number of people employed indicates that a number of workers occupied more than one position. In fact, 12 people held more than one job. Nine of these held two jobs while the remainder held three, though these positions were not necessarily held concurrently. Five of these workers were men and seven women. Table 18 shows in more detail how these

Table 17. Sources of Employment Among Innuit in La Romaine, 1982-1983.

SOURCE	FULL-TIME	PERMANENT PART-TIME	SEASONAL	OCCASIONAL	TOTAL
PUBLIC SECTOR					
Band Council	6	14		7	27
Police	2	7			9
Nursing Station	1	1		1	3
School Board	4	8		6	18
Canada Summer Works			12		12
Translation				4	4
TOTAL	13	33	12	18	73
PRIVATE SECTOR					
Hudson's Bay Co.	2	7			9
H.Jenniss Merchant		2			2
TOTAL	2	9			11
OTHER					
Catholic Church		10			10
CDN & CAM	2			6	8
TOTAL	2	10		6	18
TOTAL ALL CATEGORIES	17	49	12	24	102

employment positions were distributed among the 12 people holding them. The 93 people thus employed comprise 27.9% of those 16 to 65 years of age. Of the 330 people adults comprising this potential labour force, 116 are women (50.3%) and 164 are men (49.7%).

Table 18. Distribution of work positions among persons holding more than one such position, La Romaine, 1982-1983.

	(p) (p)	(p) (o)	(p) (p) (o)	(p) (o) (o)	(p) (o) (f)	(p) (s)	(o) (o)	(o) (s)	(s) (s)
Female	7	2		1		1	1	1	1
Male	5		3	1	1				
Total	12	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1

(p) = permanent part-time
(o) = occasional employment
(f) = full-time
(s) = seasonal

The official government method of calculating the rate of unemployment, which considers only those persons employed, and those available for work who actively looked for work in the four weeks prior to the census,¹ is clearly inappropriate in a community like La Romaine where employment is so scarce. Assuming that all of the persons between the ages of 16 and 65 are able-bodied, the actual rate of unemployment among the Innu population is somewhere around 94%, calculated on the basis of those adults who are employed full-time and those unmarried adults who earn enough part-time income to disqualify them from receiving welfare. There are two such individuals in this latter category.²

I have categorized employment in the community into full-time, permanent part-time, seasonal, and occasional (see Table 19). The first two of these categories need no further explanation, but my use of the latter two may create some

Table 19. Work Positions Held by Innut in La Romaine by sex and category, 1982-1983.

Type of Employment	Number					
	Male	% of total persons employed	Female	% of total persons employed	Total male & female	% of total no. employed
Full-time	11	10.8	6	5.9	17	16.7
Permanent Part-time	27	26.5	22	21.6	49	48.0
Seasonal	4	3.9	8	7.8	12	11.8
Occasional	14	13.7	10	9.8	24	23.5
Total	56	54.9	46	45.1	102	100.0

confusion. The seasonal work performed in La Romaine consisted entirely of Canada Summer Works projects involving house repairs and projects for the students attending schools and CEGEP in Sept-Iles. I have treated such employment as seasonal because it is provided every summer in the community even though the participants vary from year to year. What I have termed 'occasional' jobs are those which become available on an *ad hoc* basis; there being no guarantee that they will appear in subsequent years. These include employment in construction projects, odd jobs such as painting buildings for the School Board, part-time work on research projects conducted by CDN and CAM, and maintenance and construction work for the Band Council. I have not treated the handicraft course as a type of employment in the

community but rather as a training program. The instructors hired for this course, however, were considered wage-labourers, and hence, were included with other School Board employees.

The number of employment positions fluctuates drastically from one year to another depending on the availability of occasional jobs. Starting in the summer of 1983, three Summer Works projects involving house repair, and the construction of a warehouse, ice-skating rink and baseball diamond for the Band Council were organized through the Federal Ministry of Employment and Immigration under a "New Employment and Development Application" program. Two of the Summer Works projects did not start until August 1983, and therefore, were not included in the data presented here. It should be pointed out, however, that such projects are a major source of employment for men during the summer months. The two projects which started in August employed a total of 15 men with salaries ranging from \$320 to \$192 per week for 15 to 22 weeks. With each of these projects, workers had \$375 per month transferred from their welfare payments to their salaries. For example, the workers on the one house repair project which did commence in July were each to receive \$1075 per month in wages of which \$365 was a contribution from their welfare payments.

There were 17 full-time employment positions held by Innut which comprises 16.7% of the total number of positions held and 5.2% of the potential labour force of 330 adults. Permanent part-time positions comprised 49 (48.0%) of the

total positions while seasonal and occasional positions comprised 12 (11.8%) and 24 (23.5%) respectively.

The total income derived from wage-labouring positions during the 12 month period in question was \$332,814 or 16.9% of the total amount of income from all sources (\$1,963,672). This amount represents an average of \$3,263 per work position (102) or \$3,579 per worker (93). The Band Council was the biggest employer in the community (27 work positions) but was not the most important source of income from wage-labour. The School Board (18 positions) provided the greatest amount of income from wage-labour (\$112,519). Other employers are listed as follows in order of the total amount provided in salaries:

- Amerindian police, nine work positions with total salaries of \$32,347;
- the HBC, nine positions with total salaries of \$27,621;
- CDN and CAM, eight positions with salaries of \$20,568.
- Nursing Station (Health and Welfare Canada), three positions with salaries of \$16,928;
- the Catholic Church (Oblate Mission), 10 positions with salaries of \$15,316;
- Summer Works for students, nine positions with salaries of \$9,807;
- translation for researchers, four positions, with salaries of \$618;
- H.Jenniss Enterprises, two positions with salaries of \$480.

It is important to note here, that the private sector sources of employment in La Romaine, that is, the retail HBC, and H.Jenniss Enterprises, provide only 8.4% of the total wages earned. The Catholic church provides 4.6%; but by far,

the greatest source of income from wages is the provincial and federal governments (80.5%).

Table 20. Total wages and number of employees per employer, La Romaine, 1982-1983.

	<u>Employer</u>	<u>No. of Employees</u>	<u>Total Salaries</u>
1.	School Board	18	\$112,519
2.	Band Council	27	\$96,610
3.	Amerindian Police	9	\$32,347
4.	HBC	9	\$27,621
5.	CDN and CAM	8	\$20,568
6.	Nursing Station	3	\$16,928
7.	Catholic Church	10	\$15,316
8.	Summer Works	12	\$9,807
9.	Translation	4	\$618
10.	H.Jenniss Enterprises	2	<u>\$480</u>
	TOTAL	102	\$332,814

In terms of the type of on-reserve work positions available to the Innu of La Romaine, the contemporary situation is very much the same as it was throughout Quebec ten years ago. A study commissioned by the Indians of Quebec Association stated that in 1973,

There are a few jobs on the reserve, either permanent or temporary usually with the band council, Indian Affairs or some other government department, such as National Health. Some of the jobs on the reserve are of a clerical or professional nature such as band manager, Bay Company clerk or teacher, while those at the school or nursing station are custodial. Seasonal jobs on the reserve include house building, repairs, road building and stevedoring (1973:56).

While differing in minor details from the situation in 1973, present-day employment in La Romaine continues to be primarily administrative, service oriented, and seasonal involving construction and repair projects on the reserve.

The highest full-time salary received in the community was that of a male Innu school teacher, \$26,036, while the lowest such salary was that of the CDN researcher,

\$11,522.28.⁴ The greatest amount of income generated from wage labour in any one household was \$27,420 due to the combined efforts of one couple, one member of which was employed as a teacher at the Olamen School and the other full-time at the HBC. The total income of their household was in fact much greater than this due to contributions in the form of social security payments from the parents of the school teacher. The total income of the household, comprising five adults and three children, may have been as much as \$40,453, the highest in the community.

One characteristic of some significance concerning the Innut of La Romaine is their lack of mobility - they have only in rare cases sought employment in other communities. As previously stated in the section on the History of Wage Labour (Chapter III, section 18), only four individuals have ever left the community to work elsewhere. A man now aged 35 was employed as a lumberjack north of Baie Comeau for the Quebec North Shore Paper Company. A young women aged 24 worked for a short while at the crab meat processing plant at Mingan while another women now aged 30 left in the spring of 1983 to work at the CAM office in Quebec City. The recruits for the Amerindian police may also be considered as employed outside of the community while they are receiving their training at Pointe Bleue as they receive remuneration during this period.

The lack of employment by Innut outside of La Romaine can be explained in part by the absence of primary resource development along the lower Cote-Nord in general. At

present, there is no mining, mineral exploration or forestry operations on this part of the coast, activities which in other parts of Quebec have employed native people, at least for short periods (see Tanner, 1968:47-52). The absence of employment in these areas is reflected by the fact that the private sector provides only 8.4% of the total income earned through wage-labouring activities. The closest resource development activity is north of Havre St-Pierre, 140 miles west of La Romaine and entails the mining of titanium.

Given the nature of the skills possessed by the Innut here, the type of work which they would be most able to perform, namely, unskilled work in primary resource extraction such as forestry, is located far from the community.⁵ To work in these occupations would therefore entail a considerable degree of disruption to the worker's life, requiring prolonged periods of separation from the community and social network in which he/she is a part. One might speculate here as well, that in addition to the prolonged periods of separation from kin which such work would entail and the lack of skills, the nature of industrially organized work available in other communities may also act as an important disincentive to people in La Romaine.⁶ Lack of control over the work process, the patterns of authority and discipline in the workplace, industrial definitions of time and efficiency, and lack of access to traditional activities such as hunting, trapping, and fishing may be important barriers to taking employment in resource extraction industries away from La Romaine (cf. Indians of

Quebec Association, 1973:23-24).

As Tanner has noted, for many native people to adapt successively to an industrially organized work environment requires "both innovations in the organization of work, and the transformation of social relations within Indian communities, and between Indians and Whites"(1968:65). Native people are not likely to voluntarily take up such forms of employment unless they are part of an "interrelated 'style' of life" in which culturally valued activities of hunting, fishing, and trapping can also be performed. According to Jain, native people "may engage in sporadic work patterns in order to be free to participate in their traditional activities such as fishing and trapping, which are seasonal in nature" (1981:311).

The importance of an interrelated style of life to the Innu of La Romaine is illustrated in the statement by one of my informants who said her father, who teaches Innu language and culture at the local school, would become ill each spring unless he was able to take time off to hunt geese and ducks. In the Autumn of 1982 he took a short vacation in order to hunt and trap with his wife and one child. In February, 1983, he took three weeks off work in order to hunt caribou. His daughter and son-in-law acted as substitute teachers in his absence.

Other people engaged in full-time wage-labour have suffered some impairment of access to harvesting activities. This impairment is manifest most clearly in the absence of

full-time workers from the bush during the fall hunting and trapping season. Apart from the teacher mentioned above, only one other full-time worker spent a prolonged period of time in the bush during the fall of 1982. This person spent his three week vacation from the HBC at a bush camp close to La Romaine. Other full-time workers manage to achieve some kind of a compromise between full-time employment and harvesting activities by hunting, fishing, or gathering on the weekends, during vacations, or by periodically taking time off from work (e.g., to hunt caribou in the winter). For example, a full-time female teacher, unable to go fishing on the weekends because she has to babysit and do the housework, said she is able to go on fishing trips during the easter and summer school breaks. She also collects wild berries during the summer months.

Henriksen discusses a number of reasons why the Innut of Davis Inlet have trouble adapting to wage employment (1973:87-90). In his view, the high value placed on individual autonomy makes it difficult for the Innut to cooperate in "the monotonous work of some white men under the supervision of a boss" (ibid.:90). Moreover, the lack of ritual (e.g., *makushān*) in wage-labour and the way income from it is distributed, make it difficult to convert this form of production into the kind of prestige which normally results from traditional harvesting activities (ibid.:87). These factors may also be important in the case of the Innut of La Romaine in explaining why wage employment continues to be a relatively low prestige occupation vis-a-vis hunting,

fishing, and trapping.

The employment positions presently available to the Innu population must be considered in the context of the total number of positions available in the community, that is, positions occupied by both Innu and non-Innu people. Table 21 below presents the work positions occupied by White residents and other non-Innu people from August 1, 1982, to July 31, 1983.

It should be noted here that of the 124 or more work positions occupied by non-Innu people, those in the category of wharf construction were largely not available to either the local White or Innu population. Only two local men worked on the wharf construction project during the summers of 1982 and 1983. In addition to the wharf construction project non-residents were employed to paint the nursing station, repair telephones and electrical problems on the reserve, to install insulation in houses belonging to White residents, and as pilots. A total of 34 people were non-resident (not living full-time in La Romaine) wage-labourers working in La Romaine.

When we compare the kind of employment held by non-Innu people with that held by Innu we notice the following:

(1) the sources of employment for the White residents are much more diverse than for the Innu.

(2) Innu are almost entirely dependent on wages which derive directly from transfer payments, for example, from work on the Band Council, or from the School Board. The wages of White residents, however, derive more from service occupations such as retail sales, tourism, banking, transportation services, and maintenance and repair work. Twenty-seven non-Innu people were working in jobs financed directly from transfer payments (e.g. teachers and nurses).

Table 21. Work Positions Held by non-Innu People in
La Romaine, 1982-1983.

Employer or Occupation	No. of Employees
RETAIL	
1. HBC	7 resident in La Romaine 2 non-resident
2. Jenniss Store	7
3. Marcoux Store	5
4. Bobbitt Store	2
PUBLIC SECTOR/SERVICE	
5. Joncas Restaurant	3 resident in La Romaine 1 non-resident
6. Olamen School	18 (15 teachers, principal, 1 janitor, 1 secretary)
7. Post Office	1
8. Caisse Populaire	2
9. Hydro-Quebec	3
10. Nursing Station	4
11. Servicing 'Fort Mingan'	8
12. Regionair Agent	2
13. Snowmobile and Outboard Motor Repair	1
14. Motel Madame Ruby	2
15. Catholic Mission	3
16. Snowmobile Trail Maintenance	2
17. Meteorological Data Collection	1
18. Electrician	1 non-resident (to service houses on reserve)
19. Telephone Repair	1 non-resident
20. Garbage Disposal	1
21. Painters	2 non-resident (painted nursing station)
22. Insulation installation	2 contract (White houses)
23. Manager of Innu Band Council	1
24. Backhoe Operator/Owner	1
25. Wharf Construction	20 (summer 1982, 2 resident) 11 (summer 1983, 2 resident)
26. TOURISM	
Musquaro, Olamen, and Washicoutai Fishing Clubs	10
TOTAL	124 work positions
27. DOMESTIC COMMODITY PRODUCTION	
Commercial Trout Fishing	1
Lobster Fishing	2
Trapping	<u>6</u>
	9

(3) more White residents (22) were employed by the local retail outlets than were the Innu (11) despite the higher population of Innu in the community.

(4) only one White person was employed by the Band Council.

(5) like the Innu, many occupations held by White residents are part-time or seasonal. Thus, the White population is also heavily dependent on social security payments. Only nine White residents were engaged in some form of domestic commodity production (commercial trout fishing, lobster fishing, and trapping), but these were seasonal in nature and provided incomes too low to permit subsistence without social security payments.

3. Transfer Payments and Other Sources of Income

Besides wage labour other sources of income in La Romaine are the sale of furs and handicrafts, income from a handicraft course, provincial family allowance, federal family allowance, old age pension, unemployment insurance, the refundable child tax credit, and welfare. The income from each of these sources is listed below in Table 22.

Table 22. Total estimated income of Innu families in La Romaine, 1982-1983.

<u>Source</u>	<u>Total Income Provided</u>	<u>Percentage of Total Income</u>
1. Welfare	\$779,413	39.7%
2. Wage Labour	\$332,814	16.9%
3. Bush food	\$255,915	13.0%
4. Old Age Pension	\$152,081	7.7%
5. Federal & Provincial Child Tax Credits	\$123,143	6.3%
6. Federal Family Allowance	\$111,608	5.7%
7. Unemployment Insurance	\$63,686	3.2%
8. Fur Sales	\$58,332	3.0%
9. Handicraft Course	\$42,300	2.2%
10. Provincial Family Allowance	\$37,725	1.9%
11. Handicraft sales	n.d.	---
12. Other Income*	\$6,655	0.3%
TOTAL	\$1,963,672	99.9%

*Includes income from providing room and board to visiting researchers.

The income obtained from unemployment insurance (approx. \$63,686) represents insurance money received by 25 men who worked on house construction, road construction, and a warehouse construction project during 1981-82. In addition, one man received insurance after having terminated his job disposing garbage. Six other people may have received unemployment insurance between August 1, 1982, and July 31, 1983 - two teachers of the handicraft course, a band council employee, an HBC employee, and two Amerindian policemen all of whom had terminated their jobs - but were not included in the figures due to lack of data.

The total estimated amount of monies received from the federal child tax credit was approximately \$103,243. This credit, in the amount of \$343 per child in nuclear families with total incomes of less than \$18,000 per year, was provided to an estimated 301 children. Eighty-seven out of 94 households received the credit for one or more children. Approximately \$19,900 was dispersed in provincial child tax credits in 1982-1983 to 77 recipients. These payments are provided once a year for children under the age of six; \$300 for the first child in a family, \$200 for the second; \$100 for the third, \$100 for the fourth, etc.

I have no data on the amount of welfare payments to the Innu before 1975. Payments for subsequent years are shown in Table 23. For the years 1975-76 to 1979-80, DIA (1980) reports that social assistance was the primary source of income for the Innu residents of the reserves at Bersimis,

Sept-Iles, La Romaine, Schefferville, Natashquan, Mingan, St-Augustin, and Les Escoumins. In La Romaine, social assistance comprised 62.18% (\$355,927), family allowance 21.36% (\$122,287), and old age pensions 16.45% (\$94,184) of the total amount dispensed in social security payments during 1979-80, namely, \$572,398. Of these bands, La Romaine had the largest number of people dependent on welfare with 85.9% of the population receiving such payments in 1975-76 and 69.5% in 1979-80 (DIA, 1980).

Table 23: Social Assistance Payments to La Romaine Innu, 1975-1976 to 1982-1983 (DIA, Quebec, Sept. 1980; Joanne Desjardins, DIA, personal communication, 1984).

<u>Year</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Recipients</u>	<u>% of Population</u>	<u>Amount Dispersed</u>
1975-76	503	432	85.9	\$254,485
1976-77	510	400	78.4	254,363
1977-78	509	280	55.0	224,430
1978-79	508	318	62.6	265,130
1979-80	558	388	69.5	355,927
1980-81	nd	nd	nd	501,046
1981-82	nd	nd	nd	566,314
1982-83	630	nd	nd	695,755

During the 12 month period August 1982 to July 1983, the Innu population in La Romaine received approximately \$1,080,827 in old age pensions (14.1%), social assistance (72.1%), and family allowance payments (13.8%).

The formula used to determine monthly welfare payments is presented in Table 24 below while the formulas used to determine monthly federal and provincial family allowance payments are presented in Table 25.

Table 24. Welfare Payments Per Month.

Month	Adults	Children	Ordinary Needs	Shelter Allowance	Total
	1	0	\$138*	--	\$138
August,	1	0	311	\$65	376
September,	1	1	428	85	513
1982	1	2	469	85	554
	2	0	513	85	598
	2	1	562	85	647
	2	2	600	85	685
October,	1	0	142*	--	142
November,	1	0	322	65	387
December,	1	1	443	85	528
1982	1	2	486	85	571
	2	0	531	85	616
	2	1	581	85	666
	2	2	621	85	706
January,	1	0	144*	--	144
February,	1	0	328	65	393
March,	1	1	452	85	537
1983	1	2	496	85	581
	2	0	541	85	626
	2	1	592	85	677
	2	2	633	85	718
April,	1	0	146*	--	146
May,	1	0	334	65	399
June,	1	1	458	85	543
1983	1	2	503	85	588
	2	0	549	85	634
	2	1	600	85	685
	2	2	642	85	727
July,	1	0	147*	--	147
1983	1	0	338	65	403
	1	1	463	85	548
	1	2	509	85	594
	2	0	555	85	640
	2	1	607	85	692
	2	2	649	85	734

*if under 30 years old and "able to work". DIA disperses welfare in conformity with province of Quebec regulations. Single adults, unless they are handicapped in some way, receive only \$146 per month even when there is absolutely no work available in the community. All able bodied persons under 30 receive this amount whether there is available wage-labour or not.

Table 25. Family Allowance Payments

Province of Quebec*

(Ministère de la Main-d'oeuvre et de la Sécurité du revenu)

1st child	\$7.52/month
2nd child	10.05/month
3rd child	12.55/month
for each child after the 3rd	15.05/month

*Monthly rates as of January 1983. A supplement of \$82.34 is provided for handicapped children.

Federal Government*

(Health and Welfare Canada)

	Ages 0-11	Ages 12-17
1st child	\$17.12/month	\$24.25/month
2nd child	27.19/month	34.32/month
3rd and each additional child	66.18/month	71.31/month

*Monthly rates as of January 1983. When there are more than three children in the family, each additional child receives \$66.18/month if under the age of 11, and \$71.31/month if over this age.

Twenty-nine people were dependent on pensions either because they or their spouses were over 65 years old.⁸ As of July 1983, single widowed or divorced pensioners or those whose husbands or wives were not pensioners received a combined monthly pension and Guaranteed Income Supplement of \$514.35; married couples, both pensioners, received a combined monthly pension and Supplement of \$455.34 each; and married pensioners whose husbands or wives were between 60 and 65 years old received \$455.34 and a "Spouse's Allowance" of \$455.34 as well.⁹ An estimated total of \$152,081 was dispensed in pension monies during the 12 month period, August 1, 1982, to July 31, 1983.

Of the total income of \$1,963,672 received during the 12 month period, 66.7% (\$1,309,956) is derived from transfer payments including unemployment insurance and the refundable child tax credit. The total income received represents a per capita income per year of \$3,117 (population of 630 people) or an average of \$5,470 for each adult (359 adults including pensioners). Total domestic unit incomes ranged from a low of \$3,673 for a single person household to a high of \$40,453 for a five adult, three child household with two full-time wage-labourers. Twelve households had total incomes under \$10,000 per year, 58 had yearly incomes between \$10,000 and \$20,000, 17 had incomes between \$20,000 and \$30,000 per year, and seven households had total incomes between \$30,000 and \$41,000. The average income per household was \$20,890 (94 households, an average of 6.7 people per household).

It is important to note here that all of the households in the income bracket \$30,000 to \$41,000 per year had a least one member who was employed part-time or full-time at some point in the year. They were also families that had a large number of single family welfare recipients. For example, one family with a total income of \$33,144 received income from a pension and spouse's allowance, wage-labour, and six welfare recipients.

Other types of transfer payments to the La Romaine Innu besides welfare, family allowance, old age pension, and unemployment insurance are listed below in Table 26.

Table 26. Miscellaneous Transfer Payments Received by La Romaine Innut (DIA, stats.).

Type of Payment	Year	Amount Dispersed
1. DIA Trapping Program	1978-1983	\$198,467
2. Handicraft Committee	1979-1983	48,888
3. Band Council operating funds	1980-1983	2,862,452*
4. Education	1982-1983	846,188**
5. Health Care	nd	nd

*Fiscal years 1980 to 1983. For a breakdown of how these monies were spent, see Appendix 1.

**April 1982 to March 1983.

4. Retail Outlets in La Romaine

There are three general retail merchants in La Romaine who outfit the Innut each fall and provide them with credit. Of these, the HBC, situated on the reserve, has the highest volume of sales to the Innut, and gives out the most credit. Marcoux does not sell much in the way of hardware or expensive items such as outboard motors or snowmobiles although he does have the local dealership for the sale of 'Yamaha' snowmobiles. Like the HBC, H.Jenniss Enterprises is basically a general purpose retail store selling food, clothing, hardware, gasoline, furniture, housewares, stereo equipment, toys, as well as 'Motoski' snowmobiles, and outboard motors. A fourth store, 'Depanneur Bobbitt', has been in operation in La Romaine since 1980 but its sales are restricted to small quantities of canned goods, candy, milk, cigarettes, and some frozen meats in the evenings and on the weekends when the other stores have closed. ¹⁰ Bobbitt does not sell provisions to the Innut in the fall and does not provide credit. ¹¹

5. Credit

Credit is as important to the Innut in La Romaine today as it was in former years. Prior to the commencement of large-scale social security payments, credit was the glue that bound the Innut to a particular trading post. Without it, provisions could not be obtained for the lengthy trips into the bush to hunt and trap. But whereas in the pre-welfare state era credit was the focal point of the hunter's economy, today it must share this position with welfare payments. Welfare is now the motor of the economy as it is the largest source of cash income in the community. But it is welfare and credit in tandem which permit a hunting group to outfit itself for the fall hunting and trapping season. The essential purpose of credit has shifted, moreover, to facilitating both the purchase of a variety of expensive commodity items such as snowmobiles, televisions, boats, household appliances, and furniture as well as the purchase of provisions in the fall.

The change in the purpose of credit is mirrored in the type of accounts presently available at the HBC store. These include a non-interest account for the purchase of food, and fall provisions which must be paid by-weekly or monthly, and an interest account for the purchase of large durable items such as snowmobiles, outboard motors, household appliances, and furniture. As of March 1983 there were 262 clients holding the first type of account of which 210 were Innut, and 150 clients holding the second type of account of which
12
135 were Innut.

We noted in Chapter III that the first large needs for credit started around 1964 when the Winter Works Projects began and the Innut started to purchase outboard motors and snowmobiles for the first time. Since then, the demand for credit has risen dramatically. The HBC manager stated that in 1976, the total amount of monies owed to him by Innut clients was \$4,000. By 1981, this amount had risen to \$19,000, and to \$25,000 by March 1983. To combat the increasing indebtedness of the Innut, and the concomitant risk of non-payment, the manager decided it was necessary to decrease the maximum amount available to all his Innu clients, and to rapidly reduce individual credit limits when the client failed to pay on time. Jenniss also reported that the demand for credit from his Innu clients had greatly increased in recent years. Innut owed him a total of \$15,000 as of March 1983 (excluding monies for construction materials owed by the Band Council).

In order to purchase expensive commodity items such as snowmobiles, it is common for an entire family to contribute money to the down-payment, leaving the buyer to pay off the balance and interest himself. The brother of one of my informants wanted to purchase a snowmobile in February so he could go caribou hunting (a 'Skidoo-Elan' costs \$1,799). Members of his family helped him pay for all but \$50 of the amount required for the down-payment (his sister who is employed gave him \$150). The HBC manager put him to work in the store to earn the remaining \$50.

While credit can be obtained from the HBC at any time of the year, the autumn is when the need is the greatest. Normally, the amount available at the HBC under the first category of non-interest credit varies from \$200 to \$300 depending on the client's income and history of previous payments. But in the fall, the need for credit increases as families outfit themselves for the hunting and trapping season in the bush. The average amount of credit given out by the HBC for the purchase of provisions in the fall of 1982 was \$1,300 per family (per welfare recipient).

When deciding how much credit to give to a hunter and family, the HBC manager calculates the amount of welfare that will be received over the two to three month period while the hunter is away in the bush. Credit is given out in proportion to the amount of monies to be received in welfare during this time. The hunter signs an agreement authorizing the manager to collect his welfare cheques from the Post Office so that by the time he and his family return to La Romaine in December, most of the debt has been eliminated.

Marcoux and H.Jenniss Enterprises, the other merchants in the community who give credit, follow a similar procedure to that used by the HBC - the welfare cheques are collected from the Post Office on behalf of the absent families and applied to the payment of their debts. Marcoux gave as much as \$2,057 to one client and then collected his welfare cheques every 15 days from the Post Office. Twelve weeks of welfare cheques (\$2,118 for a family of four) would pay off the debt incurred here. Marcoux has 57 Innu clients and

charges interest on all credit dispersed. Jenniss said he gave an average of approximately \$1,000 in credit per hunter (welfare recipient), but one or two were given a maximum of \$1,500. He has approximately 60 Innu clients who pay interest on all debts incurred.

Jenniss expressed considerable concern about the way in which the Innut pay off their debts. Often the welfare cheques sent to a hunter during the fall must be used to pay off debts at the other stores as well, and as a result, money remains to be paid in December when the hunter returns to the coast. Apparently, some clients arrive back in La Romaine and take the cheque from the Post Office that was intended to pay off the debt at the store. In such cases, he sometimes experiences difficulty in getting the client to pay back his debt. In fact, according to Jenniss, some clients play one merchant off against the other. A client will not pay his account for a long time, that is, not until he reaches his credit limit at the other two stores and has problems obtaining credit from any source. He will then return to the Jenniss store and pay off just enough of his debt to enable him to obtain more credit.

I once tried not giving more credit for a while to someone who did not pay for ages. 'You made us wait, now you can wait', I said. I stopped this because I was worried that the other Indians wouldn't pay their debts. They might think, 'He doesn't give more credit when you pay your debt, so why bother paying?'. There are some who only pay their debts in order to get more credit.

Other Innu clients, he explained, will pay off a debt incurred for the purchase of one item, such as a snowmobile

but will cease paying on this during the seasons when the item cannot be used. They may buy another item, such as an outboard engine, and make payments on this instead. The manager of the HBC stated that he also had this problem before he adopted the policy of consolidating debts into single accounts for purchases of expensive items such as snowmobiles. All three merchants, said that the vast majority of their Innu clients are good at paying off their debts.

We should note here that many years have passed since the HBC would advance a hunter the full amount of his expected earnings from the sale of furs. As was noted in Chapter III, government aid was essential even in the 1930's to outfit the hunting groups. The amount of rations dispersed was already quite significant in relation to the amount of credit available. In 1938 a family of four was entitled to a food ration priced at \$6.49 per month (\$25.96 per four month period), while the maximum credit available varied from \$25 to \$125 depending on the "capability of a man as a trapper" (John Fiset, personal communication). Nowadays, the expected return from the sale of furs is of no importance in determining how much credit will be made available.

As far as the majority of hunting groups are concerned, market fluctuations in the prices of furs, and ecological changes in the furbearing animal populations are no longer important factors in determining whether they will be able to pay off their debts. Payment of the debt to the merchant is now guaranteed by the welfare cheques arriving at the Post

Office every two weeks. Welfare payments, thus, are a type of 'guaranteed income' to the Innut of La Romaine, permitting them to live in the bush without pressure to trap for commercial exchange. The income that is received from trapping can be used not only to pay off any debts which remain but also to buy new means of production (e.g. snowmobiles) and other items such as household utilities, and Christmas presents, the purchase of which represents an increasing need for industrially-derived commodities.

6. Credit and the Fall 'Outfit'

The harvesting activities engaged in by the domestic unit each fall require a variety of items the majority of which are purchased in commodity form from the local merchants. For the purpose of this thesis, these items shall be divided into two categories: 'basic equipment' and 'expendable items'. 'Expendable items' are defined as those commodities which are consumed during the three month period spent in the bush each fall. 'Basic equipment' comprises those commodities used not only during the fall but at other times of the year as well, and which normally have a life-span of more than three months.

The size of the outfit, that is, the total quantity of basic equipment and expendable items transported into the bush, will vary according to the size of the group and the duration of its residence there, as well as the amount of welfare and credit it obtains in the fall. The cost of

outfitting may be as low as \$900 for a two-person group, or as high as \$7,792 for a 23 person group. Examples of the contents of outfits taken into the bush during the fall of 1982 by a two-man group as well as a 23 member group are presented in Tables 27 and 28.

Table 27. Contents of a two-person outfit.

Expendable Items*

<u>Item</u>	<u>A's Share</u>	<u>B's Share</u>	<u>Total</u>
flour (60 kgs each)	\$50.25	\$50.25	\$100.50
sugar (5 lbs from A, 25 lbs from B)	5.00	15.00	20.00
tea (4 sacks, 100 bags ea.)	7.20	7.20	14.40
margarine (5lbs ea.)	6.25	6.25	12.50
salt (1 lb)	--	.83	.83
ammunition (.22 short, 150 rounds each)	10.17	10.17	20.34
snare wire (3 rolls each)	1.77	1.77	3.54
candy (1 pkg each)	2.19	2.19	4.38
canned meat (1 can each)	2.39	2.39	4.78
candles (60 from A, 52 from B)	27.00	23.40	50.40
matches (2 boxes each)	1.90	1.90	3.80
garbage bags (1 pkg)	2.30	--	2.30
soap (1 pkg, 3 bars)	1.89	--	1.89
cigarettes	--	49.00	49.00
Subtotal	118.31	170.35	288.66

Basic Equipment

Traps

2 large conibear (330-2)	\$43.78		
2 small conibear (220-2)	23.38		
21 leg hold (no.1)	98.49		
2 large conibear		\$43.78	
10 small conibear (220-2)		116.90	
8 leg hold (no.1)		37.52	
Subtotal	\$165.65	\$198.20	\$363.85
Total estimated cost =	\$283.96	\$368.55	\$652.51

*basic first aid and non-prescription medicines were provided free of charge from the nursing station.

Other Basic Equipment

<u>Item</u>	<u>Quantity</u>	<u>Cost</u>
canoe and paddles	1	100.00*
canvas tent	1	125.00*
axes	2	60.00
hand saw and spare blade	1	20.00
files	2	7.00
crooked knife	2	7.00*
sharpening stone	1	5.00
curved skinning knives	4	48.00
rifles .22	2	203.00
stove and pipes	1	27.00
nylon cord	50'	16.00
plastic sheet	1	3.00
fishing lures and line	3	6.00
thread and needles		3.00
drinking cups	2	6.50
tea pail	1	9.00
frying pan	1	12.00
large stew pot	1	15.00
medium stew pot	1	8.00
large mixing bowl	1	11.00
assorted cutlery		3.00
tin trays	2	6.00
canvas hunting sacks	4	20.00*
moccasins	2 prs.	30.00*
duffle inserts	2 prs.	10.00*
mittens	2 prs.	20.00*
work gloves	6 prs.	22.00
ammunition pouches	2	1.00
denim and wool pants	4 prs.	104.00
long underwear	2 prs.	12.00
hats	4	31.00
assorted clothing		80.00
coats	2	80.00
rubber boots	2 prs	50.00
sleeping bags	2	74.00
towels	2	18.00
Subtotal		= \$1,252.50

Total estimated cost of 'basic equipment' = \$1,764.45

*Approximate cost of materials.

The cost of transporting these men and their belongings into the bush was not covered by the DIA trapping program under which the majority of hunting groups received free airfare. They faced, therefore, the additional expense of

\$394.70 for a one-way trip to a location 80 km. northeast of La Romaine. For the return journey, they travelled by foot and by canoe.

Thus, the total cost of the trip for both these men was approximately \$1,047.21. We should point out, here, that the cost of the trip would have been considerably lower if the pair had not been required to purchase new traps. Traps comprised 56% of the total cost of the trip excluding airfare. They may in subsequent years purchase additional traps, especially if they do not intend to use the same territory on a regular basis. If we assume, however, that the same traps will be used in the future, the cost of the initial investment would be spread out over many years. The 'profit' from the sale of their furs would have been considerably greater had there been no need to purchase traps.

The elder member of the pair (A) said he received \$400 credit from the HBC of which he gave less than one-half to his wife who stayed behind in the community. He used one of his welfare cheques to finance his share of the airfare (\$197.35).

Together the members of the group harvested 34 beaver, 8 martin, 5 mink, and 3 otter which they divided between them (17 beaver, 6 martin, 3 mink, and 1 otter to member A) and sold at the North Bay auction upon their return. Member B received a total of \$334.94 (\$193.50 advance) for his furs, and Member A \$490.35 (\$218 advance) for his.

The total revenue earned by both men from the sale of their furs (\$825.29) was not enough to pay for the total cost of their trip (\$1,047.11).¹⁴ However, as welfare payments were used to pay for the expense of renting a plane, the income from fur sales was more than enough to pay off the debts incurred at the HBC.¹⁵ Member A incurred expenses of \$283.78 at the HBC, but received income from the sale of his furs at North Bay amounting to \$490.35. He used his \$218 advance to pay off part of his debt.

The provisions consumed by the above group constitute the bare minimum. The trapping outfit of a four family hunting group would be much more extensive. The outfit of one such group with a total of 21 members of whom 14 were adults contained the items presented below in Table 28.

Table 28. Contents of a 21-person outfit.

Expendable Items

<u>Item</u>	<u>Quantity</u>	<u>Cost</u>
flour	52 X 20 kg.	\$845.00
sugar	9 X 20 kg.	182.00
lard	11 X 10 kg.	297.00
baking powder	30 X 1.5 kg.	285.00
tea	7 cases	490.00
coffee	5 X 283 g.	38.60
potatoes	4 X 50 lbs.	33.56
margarine	12 X 1.36 kg.	42.84
butter	18 X 1 lb.	43.74
salt	6 X 1 kg.	5.10
yeast	10 X 24 g.	9.80
canned milk	24 X 385 ml.	20.40
powdered milk	10 X 500 g.	32.50
dry pea soup	15 X 132 g.	15.75
dry beans	14 X 454 g.	15.26
rolled oats	9 X 1.35 kg.	23.40
molasses	9 X 675 g.	11.43
pilot biscuits	20 X 350 g.	33.80
canned meat	10 X 340 g.	23.90
candies and cookies		100.00
apples	10 lbs.	5.00

Table 28 con't.

oranges	10 lbs.	5.00
'Aspirin'	2 bottles	2.70
muscle liniment	1 bottle	2.35
vapour rub	5 bottles	?
'Eno'	3 pkgs.	8.25
thermometer	2	4.30
detergent	5 X 500 ml.	8.05
hand soap	18 X 400 g.	31.50
laundry detergent	2 X 1.2 kg.	7.70
bleach	2 X 1.8 l.	3.00
garbage bags	4 X 10	2.30
toilet paper	40 X 2	58.00
sanitary napkins	3 X 48	29.94
steel scrub pads'	5 X 4	2.15
cigarettes	14 cartons	171.50
tobacco leaves	5 rolls	10.00
candles	430	193.50
matches	10 X 450	8.50
spare canvas		
batteries	26 X 2	142.74
gas for chainsaw	30 gal.	95.70
oil for chainsaw	9 l.	31.95
engine lubricating oil	6 X 16 oz.	14.70
ammunition		
.22 short	10 X 50 r.	33.90
.22 long	5 X 50 r.	17.45
30-30	1 X 20 r.	16.98
12 gauge shotgun	1 X 12 r.	16.49
nylon cord	100 ft.	15.98
lobster twine	2 rolls	19.90
sewing thread	15 spools	17.25
snare wire	10 rolls	5.90

Total Estimated Cost of Expendable Items = \$3,531.76

Basic Equipment

<u>Item</u>	<u>Quantity</u>	<u>Cost</u>
large tents	4	\$800.00
small tents	2	250.00
large stoves	4	56.00
small stoves	3	21.00
stovepipe sections	24	144.00
axes	9	270.00
chainsaws	4	1210.00
handsaws	2	40.00
tarps	6	30.00
binoculars	1	75.00

Table 28 con't.

CB radio	1	1500.00
AM radios	4	180.00
5 gal. gas containers	5	70.00
blankets	12	250.00
sleeping bags	6	210.00
towels	8	80.00
dish towels	5	7.50
rubber boots	21	378.00
rubber pants and jackets	4	200.00
cotton and leather gloves	30 pr.	100.00
thermal long underwear	21 pr.	126.00
cotton and dacron hardhat liners and other hats	21 pr.	180.00
denim and wool pants	35 pr.	600.00
shirts	70	560.00
white cotton hunting jackets	5	
other assorted clothing, e.g. socks, coats, etc.		500.00
cotton/duffle mittens	21 pr.	210.00*
leather moccasins	21 pr.	315.00*
sealskin moccasins	3 pr.	20.00*
duffle inserts for moccasins	8 pr.	40.00*
canvas hunting sacks	9	45.00
ammunition pouches	5	10.00
toboggans	2	
snowshoes	12 pr.	
canoes	4	400.00*
hunting dogs	4	
sewing machine (hand)	1	300.00
needles		4.00
ice chisel	1	33.00
shovel	1	15.00
hacksaw	2	40.00
curved skinning knives	12	144.00
beaming tool (caribou tibia)	2	
flenzng tool	2	
handplane	2	40.00
crooked knives	6	21.00*
screw-driver	2	30.00
driver/drill	1	25.00
pliers	1	15.00
hammer	2	34.00
carpenter's pencil	2	1.00
files	4	14.00
sharpening stones	3	15.00
pocket knives	5	50.00
30 ft. fishing net	1	60.00
lures and fishing line		30.00
Lakefield .22 long semi-automatic rifle	2	280.00

Table 28 con't.

Lakefield .22 short bolt	3	305.00
action rifle		
Winchester 30-30 lever	3	819.00
action rifle		
Remington 870 pump shotgun	2	1000.00
tea kettles	4	75.00
large mixing bowls	4	46.00
medium mixing bowls	4	32.00
stewing pots	4	60.00
frying pans	4	48.00
drinking pots	21	70.00
tin trays	15	45.00
assorted cutlery		20.00

Total estimated cost of 'basic equipment' = \$12,688.50

*Approximate cost of materials

Early in the fall, the nurses at the local nursing station receive a list of groups intending to travel out to the bush. Boxes of medical and first-aid supplies are then prepared according to the number, age, and sex of the people in each camp. The nurses estimated the average cost of these supplies to be approximately \$100 per group. We should note here that some groups still feel it necessary to purchase additional medical supplies such as 'Aspirin' and muscle liniment from the local stores. The supplies likely to be provided to a group of 21 people are listed as follows:

Tylenol: Children's	Blistic lip balm
Bradosal throat losanges	Gamphen Surgical Soap
Ozonol ointment	2 roles of surgical tape
Dimetapp-A for congestion.	Elastoplast bandaids
Hibitant disinfectant	2 large bags of cotton bandages
Dequadin oral paint for	1 large elastic bandaid strap
muth infections	cotton dressing

As the income that can be obtained from welfare payments by each family in this 21 member group during the 10 to 12 week period in the bush can amount to \$1,765 to \$2,118,

there should be little difficulty, as least theoretically, in paying off the debt incurred for the purchase of expendable items. However, the credit not used for the purchase of expendable items must be used to replace basic equipment, in particular tents and stoves which have a fairly limited life-span. The maximum level of credit available, equivalent to the maximum income received from welfare during the period spent in the bush, may be needed therefore to purchase expendable items and to replace 'basic equipment'.

We should note that members of the family who have regular employment in the community and who do not spend the fall in the bush make monetary contributions to assist other family members in purchasing the fall outfit. One of my informants, for example, who was employed full-time by the Band Council, purchased \$200 worth of flour, sugar, baking powder, and other provisions for her parents as part of their fall outfit. Another informant who was employed full-time as a teacher, not only purchased \$200 worth of provisions for her family, but also financed the rental of a Cessna aircraft (\$300) to transport provisions into her parent's camp late in October. Monetary contributions such as these either permit the family to purchase commodities for the fall outfit above and beyond the limit imposed by the amount of credit available, or else, reduce the family's need for such credit in the first place.

The conclusion to be made here, is that where the majority of family members spend the fall in the bush,

welfare payments are the primary means by which the credit advance can be guaranteed and the fall outfit financed. The income that can be generated from the sale of furs (an average of \$2,083 per hunting group or \$969 per family) is not sufficient to meet the cost of fall provisions. We should note, also, that it is the payment of transportation by DIA through its fall trapping program (a total of \$50,000 in 1982-83) which also plays an important role in permitting Innu families to spend the fall in the bush. It is credit, therefore, in tandem with transfer payments in the form of welfare and funding for airtransport which constitute the economic backbone of fall harvesting activities.

7. Patterns of Commodity Consumption and Debits to the Income of the Domestic Unit

In section 3 of this chapter, the average household monetary income was estimated to be \$20,890 (94 households, an average of 6.7 people per household). The question to be addressed in this section is how household incomes are spent by the Innut of La Romaine. It was not possible to obtain precise quantitative data during the fieldwork period on the way in which household incomes were spent. However, rough data was obtained concerning various debits to the household income to cover the cost of electricity, telephone, heating, house payments, and community services, the purchase of large commodity items such as snowmobiles and boats, as well as the purchase of the fall outfit described above. It was also possible to obtain information on the circulation of money within the community and to other communities, that is,

money placed in savings, spent on the purchase of commodities from retail outlets, transportation to the bush and to other communities, repairs of machinery, and on cooperative fund raising projects such as bingo and raffles. The various debits to the household budget may be placed in two categories: discretionary and non-discretionary spending. Non-discretionary spending comprises monies paid by the domestic unit on a regular basis to cover the cost of electricity, telephone, household heating, community services, and house payments. Discretionary spending in contrast comprises monies spent on a more random basis depending on the availability of cash and the economic priorities of the family. These include monies spent on transportation, commodities, bingo, and community raffles. Purchases of food fall somewhere between these two categories as the frequency and quantity of the purchase depends in part on the availability of bush foods.

Electricity is used by the Innut for heat and light, water heaters, stoves, washing machines, stereo systems, and televisions. Houses without any kind of electrical heating pay on the average of \$30 per month in electricity payments. Payments for those with electrical baseboard heating reach their peak during the three month period December through February, the coldest time of the year, when payments average \$125 per month. Electricity bills for these households decline after February to a level of about \$30 per month during the summer months. Some houses use small portable

electrical heaters or the kitchen stove to supplement the heat generated from oil or wood burning stoves; these may have bills of about \$60 per month during the coldest winter period. Very little electricity is consumed while the families are out in the bush during the fall but consumption jumps sharply again in December upon their return to the village. In general, electricity consumption by the Innut has been increasing every year as more televisions, washing machines, stereo systems and other domestic utilities are put into use. The construction of more and more houses with electrical baseboard heating has also done much to increase electricity consumption.¹⁷

In addition to electricity, wood, oil or combinations of these are used by the Innut to heat their homes. An estimate of the number of houses using each type of heating is enumerated below in Table 30.¹⁸

Table 29. Method of Heating Houses in La Romaine.

<u>Heating</u>	<u>No. of Houses</u>
oil only	2
electricity only	17
wood only	25
oil + wood	40
oil + electricity	2
oil + wood + electricity	-
wood + electricity	7

Total	93

There are 23 new homes in the community all of which have electrical baseboard heat. The residents of six of these homes have installed additional methods of heating such as wood stoves to help reduce their electricity bills.

Residents who heat their homes entirely with fuel oil are likely to have monthly heating costs of \$190 to \$285 during the coldest periods of the year. The average household burns two to three 45 gallon drums of oil each month at a cost of \$95 each during this period. Like electricity, the cost of heating with fuel oil dwindles to almost nothing during the summer months.

As noted in Table 29 above, there were 25 households using wood as the only form of heating during the fieldwork period. The cost involved in this sort of heating includes the expense of gas and oil for the snowmobiles and chainsaws required to cut and transport the wood. All the larger trees close to La Romaine suitable for use as firewood have long since been harvested. As a result, a journey of 32 km. is required to the vicinity of Lac Washicoutai in order to find the proper stands of trees. The journey requires a considerable investment in time and snowmobile gas as well as wear and tear on the snowmobile itself. Convoys of snowmobiles, each trailing a komatik heavily loaded with logs, can be seen returning at dusk each day to the community. The male member(s) of a household must make such trips every day or every other day depending on the heating needs of the family. Just before breakup takes place in the spring, men increase the frequency of their trips so that wood can be stockpiled to heat the house during the warmer months when travel by snowmobile is no longer possible.

The contribution of this form of heating to the

household budget is difficult to ascertain in precise terms. One method of determining this contribution would be to assign a monetary equivalent to the firewood consumed, that is, its equivalency with other forms of heating such as oil and electricity. Another method would be to calculate the energy liberated (in B.T.U.'s) for a certain quantity of wood consumed in a given time period and assign a monetary value to this result equivalent to the cost of energy produced by an alternative form of fuel. Both of these methods, however, ignore the production costs of firewood and the amount of time invested in harvesting. A more accurate measurement of the contribution of firewood to the economy may be possible by calculating these production costs. But even here, differences in hauling distances, size of snowmobiles, labour time expended, and amount of wood transported each trip render such calculations inaccurate. A rough idea of the production costs involved is possible when we base our calculations on estimates of the amount of gasoline and oil consumed each trip and neglect for the time being any consideration of the labour power expended in production.

Informants stated that each trip to and from Lac Washicoutai to harvest firewood consumed approximately four gallons in gas. Each trip is estimated to cost \$17 (\$3.05/gal. plus the cost of oil, \$2.45/16 oz. and gas and oil for the chainsaw). If we assume that an average of three trips are required each week, then the monthly cost of heating with wood is about \$204 per month during the coldest time of the year. The actual cost of heating by wood is

greater than this amount as the wear and tear on snowmobiles and chainsaws and the amount of labour-time expended in harvesting must also be taken into consideration. Thus, the cost of heating with wood seems to be much greater during the winter months than the cost of heating with electricity (estimated average of \$125/mon.), and only marginally lower than the cost of heating with oil (estimated average of \$190-\$285/per month). If wood is stockpiled before breakup, however, the cost of a certain portion of the harvesting expenses could be spread out over the spring, summer, and fall months when wood can no longer be harvested. The overall cost of heating by wood may then in fact be lower than heating by electricity or oil.

Virtually all of the Innut households have telephones, although many are cut off from time to time due to non-payment of bills. During the fieldwork period, the basic monthly service charge for telephone service added \$11.65 to the overall debit for each household. The amount of money spent each month on telephone can be greatly augmented, however, due to the cost of long-distance calls to friends and relatives living in distant communities, who are attending school and CEGEP's, or who must receive medical and dental care in distant hospitals.

Other kinds of non-discretionary spending are the monthly payments or 'taxes' to the Band Council of \$14 for sewage, garbage disposal, and water, and \$25 to pay off the debt for the new reserve housing.

It was not possible to quantify in precise terms the relative proportions of bush to store-bought foods consumed in the community, but as a rough estimate, based on observations of the eating habits of one family, store-bought food probably makes up the largest portion. Out of a total of 139 meals (excluding breakfast) consumed by this family during the period of my residence with them in the village, 43 meals (31%) consisted mostly of bush foods. Nineteen (32%) out of 60 dinners, and 24 (30%) out of 79 lunches consisted of bush foods. All of the breakfasts except one consisted of store-bought foods.

In contrast to diets in the community, the composition of meals eaten in the bush consists of bush foods to a greater extent. During our stay at Lac Philipot, 38 (63%) out of 60 dinners, 25 (46%) out of 54 lunches, and 17 (29%) out of 58 breakfasts were comprised of bush food. It should be stressed here, however, that the relatively low composition of bush foods in the diet just described may not necessarily be representative. The adult male member of the household is an avid hunter throughout the year, and as a result the proportion of bush to store-bought foods consumed by his family may be higher than that of other families where the men do not hunt as much due to their involvement in wage-employment or some other reason. But on the other hand, these figures may be under-estimates due to my presence as a room-and-board paying lodger. The Innut themselves state that they do not need to eat as often as non-Innut. Thus, the higher percentage of store-bought food in the diet of the

family with whom I resided may in fact result from obligations they may have felt to keep me 'well fed'.

Although I do not have precise data to demonstrate the amount of money spent by domestic units on food versus other commodity items, the annual expenditures on food probably comprise the greatest portion of income spent. The fact that food prices in La Romaine are generally higher than in urban centres elsewhere in Quebec indicates that the relatively low domestic unit incomes (average of \$20,890) are even less adequate to the task of meeting basic needs than are the incomes of poor urban dwellers. The higher food prices in La Romaine are attributed to the greater costs of transport to the isolated community; costs which increase significantly in the winter months when perishable foodstuffs must be transported by aircraft. Table 30 below lists prices for certain food items available at stores in La Romaine in comparison with prices in Montreal. Approximate prices for these items are also presented for the year 1972 to provide some idea of the degree of price increases over the past ten years.

Despite a dependency on store-bought foods, a dependency which constitutes one of the larger debits to the household budget, it should be remembered that domestic production does contribute a significant amount of fresh food to the household diet. As previously mentioned, these foods are not just a supplement to the diets of the Innut to compensate for inadequate incomes. Bush foods are greatly valued not only because of their better taste, but because they are richer in

Table 30. Approximate prices of selected food items available in La Romaine (1972 and 1983) and Montreal (1983). Source for 1972 prices is Indians of Quebec Association, 1973:73.

Item	Quantity	La Romaine		Montreal
		1972	1983	1983
flour	50 lbs.	\$5.50	\$16.25	-
sugar	10 lbs.	1.65	3.58	3.18
baking powder	1 lb.	.63	2.86	2.74
lard	1 lb.	.27	1.29	1.09
cornflakes	12 oz.	.47	1.34	1.48
corned beef	12 oz.	.89	2.59	2.59
carnation milk	385 ml.	.29	.85	.79
tea bags	1/2 lb.	.79	2.69	2.24
skim milk				
Grand Pre	1 l.	-	1.09	.75
bacon	500 g.	-	3.75	2.89
wieners	454 g.	-	2.89	2.89
Quaker oats	1.35 kg.	-	2.60	2.28
McCain				
Superfries	1 kg.	-	1.89	1.75
spagetti	500 g.	-	1.07	.69

nutritional value than store-bought foods, and the process of harvesting them is valued in its own right.

Besides payments for electricity, heating, community 'taxes', and telephone, the Innut of La Romaine also make discretionary expenditures on commodities, repair of machinery, bingo, raffles, entertainment, and transportation. Commodities are purchased at one or more of the four stores mentioned above, namely, the HBC, H.Jenniss Enterprises, Marcoux, or Depanneur Bobbitt, but are also purchased in small quantities when trips are made to Kegaska, Havre St-Pierre, Sept-Iles, or Montreal where prices are thought to be considerably better than those available from the local merchants. As noted previously, handicraft

materials are purchased from the local merchants, but are obtained in the largest quantities from the Indian Craftsmen of Quebec Corporation in Ste-Foy, Quebec. Clothing, magazines, and handicraft materials seem to be the items most commonly purchased outside of La Romaine. During summer trips to Ste-Anne de Beaupré a certain portion of the items purchased will also include religious icons and souvenirs.

Generally, the Innut of La Romaine spend very little of their income on beer or other forms of liquor. The community is 'dry' by choice, having on at least two occasions voted against the granting of a liquor license to one of the local merchants. They believe that alcohol has done much to erode the cultural traditions of Innu people in some of the communities further west, and they want none of the alcohol-related problems causing such erosion in their own community. Some alcohol is purchased, however, when journeys are made by boat or snowmobile to Kegaska or when ordered in on the 'Fort Mingan' from Harrington Harbour or Kegaska. But it would seem that few people could be thought of as drinking in excess. It is primarily younger people in the 18 to 30 age group who consume alcohol and who are more in favour of having a liquor outlet in the community.

In 1978, two White residents (husband-wife) opened what is referred to locally as "le restaurant". It rapidly became an important 'institution' in the community as it provides one of the few sources of entertainment to Innu and White youth alike. The "restaurant" contains two pool tables, a Juke Box, and three computerized TV games all of

which receive a considerable degree of attention especially during the evening hours. Chocolate bars, potato chips, ice-cream cones and other snacks, cigarettes, snowmobile spark plugs and drive belts as well as a limited selection of cooked food such as hamburgers and club house sandwiches are sold. The restaurant is in fact the centre of social life in the community for youth in the 8-20 year age group; large numbers of children can be seen gathered outside the restaurant as a matter of course. The only disruptions in this pattern occurred when poor weather discourages outdoor activity or when other forms of entertainment are provided on the reserve. Many parents complained about the constant drain on their finances caused by the demands from their children for money to buy snacks or play games at the restaurant. Some stated that it was only when they moved to the bush during the fall that they were finally able to avoid such demands.

Purchases made by mail from catalogues are another way in which the household income is spent, although to a limited extent. Every household has at least one copy of a 'Simpson Sears' or 'S.I.R. Mail Order' catalogue about the house. Informants said that some of the items purchased through these catalogues included wall-paper, clothing, curtains, handicraft materials, hunting decoys, rifles and other outdoor equipment.

Trips are made to Kegaska and Harrington Harbour by snowmobile in the winter and by fiberglass boat in the

summer, but aircraft or the coastal boat, the 'Fort Mingan', must be used to reach more distant destinations. The cost of transportation by air, boat, or snowmobile to distance communities is actually quite expensive. The round trip airfare to Sept-Iles costs \$260 per individual, but travel to this destination is possible at a much lower cost after break-up if the 'Fort Mingan' is taken first to Havre St-Pierre (\$37 one way) followed by the bus from there to Sept-Iles (\$20 one way). Innut from La Romaine can keep their travelling costs to a minimum by residing with relatives in Natashquan, Mingan, or Sept-Iles/Maleotenam.

A certain portion of the household income is also devoted to financing trips into the bush during January, February, and March to hunt caribou. When the journey is by rented aircraft, the passengers split the cost among them. On one trip to hunt caribou at the end of February 1983, four men and their families split the round-trip fee of \$1220 four ways. On this trip, the four hunters in question met up with four other hunters in the vicinity of Lac Betaux, 198 km. north of La Romaine. This latter group had also rented an aircraft to travel into the bush. Together their total harvest for the two week hunting trip amounted to one porcupine and two caribou.

Five days after their return to the community, many of these men left once again to hunt caribou, but this time by snowmobile. The cost of transport by snowmobile is much cheaper than airfare, but is more time consuming and subjects the snowmobile to a great deal of physical stress. One of the

members of the above hunting party required 32 gallons of gas for the 338 km. round-trip (using a Bombardier Elan snowmobile and komatik). Gas and oil for this snowmobile cost him approximately \$113, an expense considerably lower than the \$300 price tag for his share of the aircraft rental on the previous trip. We should note, here, that some hunters charge \$100-\$120 for single caribou carcasses to help cover the costs of airtransport or snowmobile fuel.

Families with members who are employed in some capacity are able to finance the rental of aircraft into the bush during the fall to transport provisions into the bush camps, and furs and meat back to the community. Two trips were made in the fall of 1982 by the daughter of the utshimāu with whom I resided. The cost of renting a Cessna float plane to transport herself, other family members and provisions to the camp located 145 km. north of La Romaine amounted to about \$350 each trip. She is presently employed part-time as a clerk at the HBC store.

In Chapter III it was noted that Innu needs for credit and industrially-derived commodities have expanded and changed in character since the first Winter Works Projects were introduced in 1963. The first major needs for expensive commodity items consisted of improvements to the technology required in harvesting activities. These included snowmobiles, fiberglass boats, outboard motors, chainsaws, and modern bolt action rifles and shotguns. At the moment every household possesses at least one snowmobile, boat,

outboard motor, and chainsaw. An inventory of snowmobiles, outboard motors, and boats was taken at one point during the fieldwork period. The cost of these commodities, an estimate of the total number owned, and the total community investment in them is presented in Table 31 below.

Table 31. Number of fiberglass boats, snowmobiles, and outboard motors owned by Innu residents of La Romaine and the total financial investment in these commodities.

<u>Item</u>	<u>Cost per Unit</u>	<u>Quantity</u>		<u>Total Assets</u>
<u>fiberglass boats:</u>	\$1,149 ea.	88	=	\$101,112
<u>Outboard motors:</u>				
Johnson 20 hp	1,653 ea.	10	=	\$16,530
Envinrude 35 hp	1,918 ea.	3	=	5,754
Envinrude 25 hp	1,779 ea.	25	=	44,475
Envinrude 20 hp	1,653 ea.	32	=	52,896
		70	=	\$119,655
<u>Snowmobiles:</u>				
Bombardier				
Citation SS 3500	3,500 ea.	6	=	\$21,000
Citation 4500/4500E	3,195 ea.	12	=	38,340
Everest 500/500E	2,400 ea.	4	=	9,600
Nordik	2,699 ea.	8	=	21,592
Elan	1,799 ea.	99	=	178,101
Motoski	1,799 ea.	20	=	35,980
		149	=	\$304,613
Total estimated community investment			=	\$525,380

The sum of \$525,380 represents a considerable investment on the part of Innu families - one which must be renewed periodically as the equipment concerned wears out. Informants stated that snowmobiles have an average lifespan of two years before they are sold, retired to community use alone, or scrapped for parts. Boats have a life-expectancy of

about ten years, and outboard motors seven to eight years. Snowmobiles, fiberglass boats, and outboard motors are considered essential components of a family's repertoire of harvesting equipment, and the periodic need to invest in them represents a significant debit to the household budget.

After 1968, when electricity was installed in reserve housing for the first time, the level of commodity needs expanded again, reflecting a general interest in radios, record players, electric stoves, refrigerators, washing machines, coffee makers, and other household appliances. Televisions rapidly became popular after a reception antenna was installed in the summer of 1974. Nowadays, virtually every household has a colour television, electric stove, refrigerator, and washing machine. Like the investments in harvesting equipment mentioned above, the purchase of commodities which either provide entertainment or assist women in the execution of their household domestic activities also represent a considerable investment by Innu families. During the fieldwork period, the total amount of investment in televisions, stoves, refrigerators and washing machines alone was estimated at \$209,526 for the entire community.

The HBC is now heavily oriented to retail sales, and a wide variety of commodities such as furniture and clothing can be purchased or ordered at the store in addition to foodstuffs. There seems to be a growing demand for commodities consumed by the external mass society, a demand which is reflected in the interest shown by younger members

of the community in western clothing styles, 'Telejournal' magazines, portable radios and tape decks, records, tapes, and games (e.g. 'Monopoly'). Only the women aged 45 and older retain the motivation and skills to make their own clothing. The change away from the 'traditional' style of women's dress consisting of the colourful plaid dresses, petty coats, and Jacobin bonnets to the contemporary norm of denim pants, T-shirts, and nylon jackets started in the 1960's when students were sent away to school in distant communities for the first time. Older members of the community bemoan the loss of the old ways of dressing which they associate with a distinctively Innu cultural identity.

We might speculate here that an important factor in stimulating demands among the more youthful members of the community for mass consumer products is the exposure to 'American mono-culture' they receive in the school system, through watching the television and imported films, and by visits to larger urban centres such as Sept-Iles, Quebec City, and Montreal. Window shopping in the covered shopping centres in Sept-Iles seems to be a popular pastime among young people from La Romaine who must reside there in order to obtain more advanced education. Quite possibly, it is exposure to consumer society in contexts such as these which contributes to the expanding needs for commodities by the community as a whole.

While needs for commodities are growing and changing in character, the Innut are not completely at the whim of market pressures to expand such needs limitlessly. As noted

previously, their needs for the products of the larger industrial society are not growing in an unfettered manner. Interest in hunting, fishing, trapping and bush life in general is very strong in La Romaine, and the patterns of commodity consumption still reflect this interest in a big way, and not necessarily the priorities of the average North American consumer. Many of the items purchased from local merchants, especially the more expensive ones, are purchased because of their utility to the bush way of life, or because they reduce the labour-time required in the domestic work performed by women. Commodity purchases for items of use in hunting, trapping, fishing, and other forms of domestic production constitute debits to the household budget twelve months of the year.

Electric drills, sewing machines, and other tools for repairing motors and household appliances and for making craft items are examples of how commodity purchases are geared to domestic production. In 1981, male members of the community who make canoes each summer started buying electric planers (approximately \$160) for the first time. The planers are especially useful for making the ribbing and planking required in canoes, and replace the more laborious method of making these components using a crooked knife.²⁰ Even the 'All Terrain Vehicles' (ATV) which have only recently appeared for sale in local stores have direct application to harvesting activities despite their predominant role in providing transportation in the village. In the summer of

1983, new owners of such vehicles used them not only for village transport but also to travel to the Olamen River to partake in salmon harvesting activities.

It is of interest to note that of the four ATV's purchased in the spring of 1983, two were purchased by families with no other source of income apart from welfare, while two families received all or a sizeable portion of income from wage-labour. As far as the relationship between income and commodity consumption is concerned, in general those families with higher incomes possess larger quantities of commodities; reflected in the greater degree of interior decoration in their housing, better quality furnishings, newer radios, stereos, televisions, and snowmobiles, and more money to spend on airfares for hunting trips to the bush. The majority of such families have one or more wage-earners in the household (e.g. Band Council employees), or alternatively, receive supplementary income in the form of room-and-board paid by visiting researchers. The only people owning automobiles in La Romaine are those with full-time employment.

Repairs to equipment used in harvesting activities constitute yet another expense for the average Innu household. While most men are proficient at performing minor repairs on their snowmobiles and outboard motors (some know how to rebuild engines), the more difficult mechanical problems are usually referred to the two mechanics employed by H.Jenniss Enterprises or an independent mechanic in the White part of the community. This latter person repairs 80%-

85% of the Innu snowmobiles and 90%-95% of their outboard motors, while Jenniss repairs the remainder.

The Innut use their equipment much more often than local Whites. This is reflected in the rate at which such equipment wears out, and the frequency with which it is taken in for repair. In a given year, the independent mechanic may make as many as 800 repairs to Innu snowmobiles. Parts for snowmobiles and outboard motors are expensive, and when combined with the cost of labour (\$15-\$20 per hour), can constitute a hefty repair bill. Minor repairs of snowmobiles comprise electrical problems, changing the bobbywheels, drive chain, and track, while the most common repairs to outboard motors, involve damage to the drive shaft and gear in the foot of the motor caused by hitting submerged rocks. The average Innu owner of such equipment is largely precluded from making many of the repairs just mentioned, because the necessary tools are often specialized and quite expensive to buy. It was not possible to quantify the amount of money spent by the Innut in repairs to their hunting equipment, but it is not likely to constitute a considerable expense relative to other household debits. It should be stressed, however, that when mechanical problems arise, the expense for repairs must be met quickly if wood cutting, hunting, and fishing activities are to continue without serious interruption.

Bingo is another way in which household income is spent in La Romaine. It is both an important source of revenue for

a variety of committees and a popular evening pastime with which other activities such as socializing with friends and relatives, making handicrafts, and watching television are integrated. The Hunting, Radio, Recreation, and Handicraft committees take turns running the bingo evenings over the local radio station and each collects the profits from the night's proceedings. Approximately 200 cards are distributed at prices ranging from \$1.50 to \$2.50 each during the winter, spring, and summer evenings, but this number declines during the fall to approximately 100 cards when many families are away in the bush.²¹

In La Romaine, one rarely misses an opportunity to play bingo; the women in particular, make a special effort to play every evening, even if there is only sufficient money for the purchase of one card. The total cost of playing bingo can add up when it is played with such regularity. I estimate the average weekly expenditure on bingo cards on the part of the family with which I resided during my stay in the community to be \$20 - an expenditure, which the husband jokingly stated was the financial bane of the family.

Prize money, on the rare occasions when one is lucky enough to win, is usually spent on food and other household necessities. One informant used her \$150 prize from the "gros rollo" to finance new parts for the snowmobile her husband used for hunting, fishing, and obtaining firewood.

'Nevada' tickets are also sold on a door-to-door basis by some committees (e.g. the Radio Committee). These are small cards which operate on principles similar to the 'One-

armed bandit' gambling machines played in Reno, Las Vegas, and Nevada. The game is not played very frequently, but seems to attract a great deal of interest on those occasions when it is. It acts as a magnet to collect any loose change lying about the household.

Every so often money-raising drives are undertaken by the local scouting and girl guide organizations, in particular the cubs (les louveteaux) and brownies (les jeannettes). In the winter of 1983, the cubs went on a door-to-door drive selling buttons for \$2 each in an effort to raise money for a trip to Rimouski. The brownies also went on periodic fund-raising drives selling raffle tickets for 50 cents. Boxes of groceries worth \$35-\$40 could be won in these raffles.

During the festivities for St-Jean Baptiste Day, and the Winter Carnivals, participants in the various organized games such as rifle-shooting contests, snowmobile and snowshoeing races, and tug-of-war contests, contribute small amounts of money to finance the prizes given out at the end. I and other participants in the sports events organized for St-Jean Baptiste Day paid \$2 each for the right to join in the tug-of-war contest. Winners each received a flashlight.

Films are presented by the Recreation Committee in the Community Hall usually on a weekly basis. Karate films are extremely popular - children and adults pay \$1 and \$2 respectively to see them.

The Catholic Mission also receives a certain portion of

the household income. A tithe is paid in animal furs each Christmas as was mentioned in Chapter IV. Money is given to the church primarily in the collections taken during church services. Informants stated that the normal amount given each service by an individual is \$1, but may be as high as \$5 or \$10 at Christmas, funerals, and celebrations. To commemorate the 30th anniversary of the arrival of the missionary in La Romaine, a door-to-door collection was made requesting a minimum contribution of \$2 from each adult as a present to the missionary. A total of \$900 was given to him by the community as well as a new chalice and other presents.

9. Savings and Loans

A certain portion of household incomes are placed in savings at the local Caisse populaire, a financial institution similar to the Credit Unions found elsewhere in Canada. As of June 11, 1983, 175 Innu held accounts here with a total investment in savings of \$20,471.90. The majority of the Innu clients use the Caisse simply to exchange cheques, but some take loans and save considerable sums of money. For example, on June 11, 1983, three Innu clients had savings between \$1000 and \$2000, ten had savings between \$500 and \$1000, and 29 had savings between \$100 and \$500. Thus, in total 24% of the clients had savings over \$100. Informants stated that they saved money at the Caisse to pay for future purchases of snowmobiles or boats or to finance excursions to other communities.

The manager of the Caisse stated that the Innu borrow

considerably more money than do the White residents. Most of the loans are made in the autumn and spring for purchases of snowmobiles, boats, outboard motors, chainsaws, and the fall outfit. At other times of the year, some men take loans of \$100-\$200 just to finance short hunting trips. Other loans are made for purchases of stoves, and refrigerators. The manager estimated that outstanding loans to local Innut numbered approximately 100 as of June 1983.

9. Chapter Summary

To briefly summarize this chapter, we have noted that the Innut of La Romaine receive income from a variety of sources of which welfare payments comprise the greatest portion (39.7%), followed by wage labour (16.9%), old age pension (7.7%), federal family allowance (5.7%), federal and provincial child tax credits (6.3%), unemployment insurance (3.2%), fur sales (3.0%), a handicraft course (2.2%), and provincial family allowance (1.9%). When the monetary equivalent of bush foods produced by members of the community are considered as part of the total income, the total income climbs to approximately \$1,963,672. Bush foods constitute therefore an estimated 13.0% of the total community income.

It was noted that fur sales make up an extremely small portion of the total community income, while wage labour is quite significant despite the fact that few people in the community are employed (27.9% of those aged 16-65 years of age). Handicraft production may also provide a substantial amount of income but it was not possible to estimate its

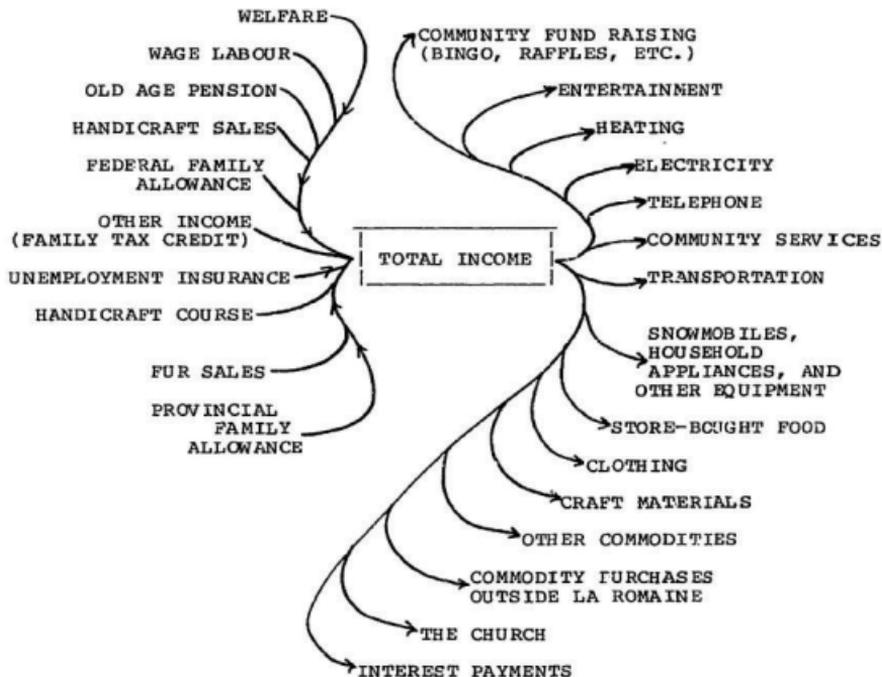
contribution.

Credit plays an important role in allowing groups to outfit themselves for the fall hunting and trapping season in the bush. The expected income from the sale of furs has nothing to do with the decision made by a merchant about the amount of credit to be given to a client, in contrast to the pre-settlement period. Rather, the amount given to a hunting family depends on the amount of welfare they will receive while they are away from the community.

The circulation of money in La Romaine is depicted in Figure 5 below:

This chapter has hopefully described the cash sector of the economy in La Romaine, that is, the contribution made by welfare payments, and other sources of income to the total income of the community, and how this income is circulated in the purchase of commodities. The various debits to the household budget were delineated, and some estimate of the ability of existing sources of cash to pay for these debits was made. The growing demand for commodities has in effect reinforced Innu dependency on welfare and on credit from local merchants. Credit and welfare are necessary both to pay for the fall outfit and to pay for a variety of consumer items now required in everyday community life.

Figure 5. Circulation of money in La Romaine, 1982-83. Note, this diagram does not include non-commodity services provided by the state.



FOOTNOTES

(Chapter VI)

1

Statistics Canada defines unemployed people as that portion of the population 15 years of age and over who, "during the reference week: (a) were without work, actively looked for work in the past four weeks (ending with reference week), and were available for work. (b) had not actively looked for work in the past four weeks but had been on layoff and were available for work. (c) had not actively looked for work in the past four weeks but had a new job to start in four weeks or less from reference week, and were available for work" (Canada, 1983).

2

By comparison, the average seasonally adjusted rate of unemployment in Canada (both sexes) was 12.4% (Canada, 1983). We should note, here, that the actual rate of unemployment in Canada is somewhat higher than this as people without work who had not actively looked for work in the four week period prior to the census were not included in the calculation, nor were residents of the Yukon, and North West Territories, people living on Indian reserves, inmates of prisons, and full-time members of the armed forces (ibid.). They are, for the purpose of the census, 'not in the labour force'.

Statistics are available from the 1981 Canada Census concerning employment and income among the La Romaine Innut. At first glance, the rate of employment estimated for the population appears low (11.1%); lower in fact than the national rate for native people in Canada (15.9%). However, the estimate must be considered in the context of the relatively large number of people not included in the labour force; 87.0% versus 48.9% for native people in Canada as a whole (See Table 32 below).

Table 32. Rates of employment, unemployment, and labour force participation for native and non-native people in Canada, Quebec, and La Romaine (Statistics Canada, 1981 Census).

	La Romaine	native people Quebec	non-native people Quebec	native people Canada	non-native people Canada
% employed	88.9%	83.8%	89.2%	84.1%	92.8%
% unemployed	11.1%	16.2%	10.8%	15.9%	7.2%
% in labour force	13.0%	50.4%	61.4%	51.1%	65.0%
% not in labour force	87.0%	49.6%	38.6%	48.9%	35.0%

3

I have included three Committee Cultural positions here as they were organized and administered by the Band Council.

4

This amount represents the total salary received during the fieldwork period and not the actual wage of \$14,000 earned per year.

5

"In order for...a worker to be productive, he must internalize a wide range of middle-class values. His performance is a function of three major types of skills - adaptive, functional and specific. Most Native workers probably lack the adaptive skills which enable an individual to meet demands for conformity (such as punctuality and dress requirements) and the demands for change due to the physical, interpersonal and organisational arrangements and conditions of a job" (Jain,1981:319).

6

Throughout Canada, Indian people are over-represented in primary and unskilled types of employment. Most are "employed in primary economic activity, such as agriculture, fishing, forestry, arts and crafts, and wildlife" (Jain,1981:311).

7

The sources of error in the calculations of the total community income are as follows:

(1) The calculation of the total income generated from the sale of furs may be an underestimate as many men give a certain portion of their harvest to their wives for use in making handicrafts. On the other hand, the estimated contribution of income from fur sales may err on the high side as DIA statistics are for the prices received for furs at auction. The net income received by native harvesters may be considerably lower after deductions such as profits and shipping costs have been made.

(2) The figures suggested for the total income provided by wage labour err on the low side due to the difficulties experienced in obtaining data about certain categories of employment, for example, income from "odd jobs", and infrequent part-time work at the Oblate Mission.

(3) The calculations given for income obtained from Unemployment Insurance are underestimates. It is possible that some people received such payments without my knowledge.

8

In the latter case one spouse would have to be over 65 and the other over 60 in order to receive the 'spouse's allowance'.

9

These rates apply only to those pensioners whose yearly income from non-pension sources, including that of their spouses, was less than \$47.99. The amount dispensed per month is reduced as non-pension income rises above this amount.

10

A fifth store, the first ever to be operated by an Innu person, opened in September 1983.

11

Drygoods, and fresh fruit, meat, and vegetables arrive by boat during the shipping season and by airplane after freeze-up although in smaller quantities and at a greater cost. Foodstuffs are purchased from Provigo in Sept-Iles, L.R.D'Anjou in Rimouski, and Aligro in Matane; three outlets which supply the entire Cote-Nord. The HBC also receives supplies from its own distribution centres in Sept-Iles and Montreal.

12

At the HBC, clients are required to make a 50% down-payment on durable items and to pay off the balance and interest on a monthly basis. Interest rates are decided by the HBC head office in Winnipeg. Rates fluctuate with changes in bank interest rates and credit card rates.

13

The distinction between 'basic equipment' and 'expendable items' is one made by Jarvenpa in his study of the Chipewyan of Patuanak, Saskatchewan (1980:105-109). The distinction is somewhat arbitrary as 'basic equipment' have a limited life-span, and theoretically, the amount by which they depreciate each year can be added to the cost of each year's outfit. However, it would not be particularly beneficial to calculate the depreciation entailed here; due firstly, to the impossibility of calculating with any certainty the lifespan of many of the objects taken into the bush, and secondly, due to the fact that some of the items used are craft products. In the latter instance, a monetary equivalent must be determined for the craft product in question before calculating the depreciation value per year, a process which introduces error at a second level. Moreover, many of the non-expendable items comprising the technological component of the outfit are purchased and used at other times of the year. Tent canvas, for example, is usually purchased as part of the credit advance for the fall outfit. The depreciation value of the tent materials, which have a maximum life-span of two years, could thus be spread over this period, that is, added to the cost of two outfits. Other items, however, such as canoe canvas, are purchased early in the summer without using the credit advance. It would distort our understanding of the relationship between the amount of money spent each fall by a group in provisioning itself for the bush and the credit available to effect this purpose if the depreciation values of canoe canvas, chainsaws, rifles, clothing, axes and other commodities purchased and used throughout the year were added to the cost of the fall outfit.

It is still useful, however, in the following discussion of the fall outfit to list that portion comprising 'basic equipment' and the approximate cost of purchasing it at the stores in La Romaine. This will give us some idea of the

total investment in commodities required by a group in order to engage in fall harvesting activities.

14

All expenses considered, both men would have made a profit on their fur sales had DIA financed the cost of air transport (\$172.78 profit instead of a \$221.92 loss). Without the expense of traps, this profit would have increased to \$525.63.

15

The total revenue earned from the sale of furs must be considered in the context of the great contribution made by bush foods to the diet of the group. A monetary equivalent can be estimated for this contribution. See Chapter IV.

16

Electricity is provided to the Innut by a Hydro-Quebec generating station located in the community at a cost of 3.25 cents/kw./hr., the standard rate throughout Quebec for residential consumers.

17

Over the past decade, Hydro-Quebec has found it necessary to install more and larger generators in its power station to cope with the rapidly increasing demand for electricity.

18

These estimates were based on discussions with members of the community at large, band council workers, my own observations of whether wood was being stored or chopped outside the house, whether the external oil tanks were connected, and my knowledge of which houses had electric base-board heating. One household is not included in the figures presented here as it was abandoned at the time of the study, apparently because it is too cold during the winter months.

19

Up until March 1, 1983, these expenses were deducted automatically from the welfare cheques. But starting March 1, DIA started a new system of payment whereby each household was sent two cheques; one for \$39, the other for the regular welfare payment. The head of each household was then responsible for paying the \$39 to the Band Council. Persons who failed to pay were threatened with having the shelter allowance (\$65 or \$85) cut from their welfare payments. Apparently, DIA wanted the Innut to "get used to paying their own bills" (statement from Band Council manager).

20

The HBC manager stated that he had noticed a marked change in Innut patterns of purchasing such tools in recent years. Apparently, tools were purchased by only a few people and then shared among other users. Recently, however, the Innut have wanted their own tools, and are making more individual purchases as a result rather than relying on the previous system of sharing.

When the cards are sold at the lower price, as is the case during the fall when many families are away in the bush, the prize money available is generally much smaller (e.g., a total of \$210 in prizes). Normally, in an evening of playing bingo, four prizes of \$25, eight of \$20, and one of \$150 can be won. On the evening of February 2, 1983, volunteers from the Hunting Committee sold cards door-to-door at \$2.50 each. Of the 180 cards distributed, two were given free to each of the nine volunteers selling them. A total of \$350 was given in prize money and at the end of the evening, the Hunting committee was able to report a profit of \$55.

CHAPTER VII

Bush Food Distribution and Religious Ideology Among the Innut

1. Introduction

In previous chapters, it was noted that use-value production, that is, the production of animal furs, meat, and other animal derivatives, continues to play an important role in reproducing domestic units among the Innut of La Romaine. Evidently, there are pragmatic reasons for continuing to engage in harvesting activities due to their substantial contribution to the household diet in terms of the volume and high quality of food provided. But apart from such pragmatic concerns, harvesting activities are highly valued in their own right. Innu ethnic identity is involved here; one reason why hunting, fishing, and trapping are highly valued is because they are identified with 'Indianness' - what it means to be Innut. In other words, hunting, trapping, and fishing provide symbols used in ethnic boundary maintenance. But beyond this, another reason why such harvesting activities are highly valued may be because they provide the raw materials for Innu thought - Innu mythology, ritual, and symbolic action. Perhaps, hunting, trapping, and fishing are highly valued by the Innut because they are religious events which give great meaning and expression to life as a whole. Perhaps, moral aspects of harvesting and sharing the products of such practices are expressed or conceived of in the idiom of specific religious beliefs. Thus, religious ideology may be a factor in reproducing domestic production because harvesting activities are not just simple economic practices

separate from other aspects of Innu life, but are heavily integrated with religious ideology.

In this chapter I wish to develop further the idea that Innu religious ideology somehow reinforces domestic production; that it somehow presents barriers to the transformation of domestic production. I will concentrate on one important aspect of domestic production, namely, the system of bush food distribution, with the view to determining if religious ideology plays any role in reinforcing this system. The question to be asked is, does religious ideology in Innu society in any way help to perpetuate the system of "generalized reciprocal exchange" of bush food? Henriksen's work among the Mushuāu-innut of Davis Inlet indicates that religious beliefs do contribute to maintaining the patterns of bush food sharing (1973).

In what follows, I will briefly describe some of the formal characteristics of Innu bush food sharing, and then look at Innu religious ideology as it pertains to sharing. It is not my intention, here, to discuss the origins of particular forms of bush food sharing and the role of religious beliefs in the determination of these forms, as such a discussion would require a detailed look at sharing in the context of Innu land tenure, the history of the fur trade, and other complex economic and historical subjects which are clearly beyond the scope of this chapter.

2. The Distribution of Bush Food in La Romaine

In Hunters in the Barrens, Henriksen devotes considerable attention to the way in which bush foods are distributed among the Mushuāu-innut of Davis Inlet; the great value assigned to sharing and how this is related to the status of male hunters. In discussing the way in which caribou meat is divided up, for example, he states that,

the redistribution and eating of caribou plays a significant part in the social life of the camps and strict rules guide the sharing and distribution of its various parts and hide. These rules vary with the circumstances. If two or more men are hunting together, they divide the kill equally between themselves. However, should the number of caribou and men not correspond, and should there already be enough meat in the camp, the Naskapi will not bother to quarter the animals. Without following any definite rules in this situation, the hunter who shot the most animals may get one or two animals more than the others, or a hunter with a big family may get the most while a hunter with a small family may get the least. Once back in camp, each of the hunters shares his part with the households that did not get any caribou that day. In this way, every household is assured of not only meat but also hides, as nobody can give away a caribou without giving away its skin...There is one rule which applies to any kind of animal that is shot: the man who makes the kill must always give the animal to his hunting companion (1973:31).

With minor differences, the Innut of La Romaine follow the same rules of distribution as those described by Henriksen for the Mushuāu-innut. For both groups, caribou is the most cherished of all animals harvested, virtually every part of the corpse must be utilized in one way or another, and strict rules govern how the meat and other parts are to be consumed. Both groups stress the importance of ensuring that the caribou as well as other animals harvested by them are treated with care in the way they are slaughtered, butchered,

and in the way that bones and waste flesh are disposed.

In attempting to discover the rules of bush food distribution among the Innut of La Romaine, I relied primarily on statements by informants about how they would distribute meat in specific contexts and about occasions when they had killed animals and distributed them to other people. In many cases I was not actually able to witness the distribution of bush food between individuals or families. As a result, many of the rules described below are 'rules in theory'; they are statements from the Innut themselves about how one must share food which I was largely unable to verify in practice. But while I was not always able to observe specific types of food distribution, it was evident that a great deal of food redistribution was taking place in the community, as manifested by the constant flow of children between houses with packages of meat, the unexpected appearance of caribou carcasses in homes of elderly people no longer able to hunt themselves, and the gifts of porcupine meat, and other game which would appear on my dinner plate. Therefore, the examples of bush food distribution in La Romaine which follow, while not intended to represent the system of distribution in its entirety, serve to portray many of its formal and essential characteristics.

a) Two men travelling in a canoe. The man at the rear of the canoe, the 'capitan', is usually the owner of the canoe and undertakes the responsibility for most of the steering. The man in the front of the canoe must also play an important role in steering the canoe especially through rapids, but it

is he who is required to shoot any game encountered during the trip. He may be required at a moment's notice to drop his paddle and shoot at swimming beaver, otter, or muskrat, and ducks, loons, geese, cwls, and other bird life.

Despite the fact that it is the man in front who does the shooting, it is the 'capitan' who receives the products of the harvest, including the meat and furs. If one beaver or a muskrat is shot, the 'capitan' keeps the fur but shares the meat equally with his partner. If an even number of animals is shot, the 'capitan' divides up the furs and the meat equally. If both the 'capitan' and his partner disembark from the canoe to hunt grouse or porcupine, the harvest is divided equally between them. The 'capitan' is thus the recipient of all animals harvested during the trip, but is required to share the meat and furs acquired with his partner.

b). Trapping of mink, martin, weasel, squirrel, otter, and lynx. These animals are usually trapped with leg-hold traps on trap lines tended every three to four days by individual hunters or hunters operating in teams of two, each with their own traps. Two hunters will often have their traps spread out along the same trap line, and will check them together, hunting grouse and muskrat, and looking for caribou and bear tracks in the process. The furs harvested on the trap line become the property of the person who sets the trap itself even though the trap may be owned by another person. For example, at Lac Philipot, where I stayed with four men during

the autumn of 1982, all the traps belonged to the utshimāu, Francois Bellefleur. His son-in-law, Francois Mestenepeo and his sons Maxime and Bruno tended these traps. Francois Mestenepeo became the owner of all the furs he harvested as did the 16 year old Maxime. Fifteen year old Bruno gave his furs to his father who, upon his return to the coast, sent them to North Bay, Ontario, for sale at auction. In the latter case, the principle of individual ownership of furs is moderated by another principle where a father and son work as one economic unit until the son is in his late teens or is married.

Table 33. Example of fur distribution in a two-man hunting team, Autumn 1982. Member A was the 'capitan'.

	<u>Member A</u>	<u>Member B</u>
beaver	17	17
martin	6	2
mink	3	2
otter	1	2
muskrat	16	15

c). Beaver Harvest. In theory, beaver furs are the property of the utshimāu of the territory in which they are harvested. But the utshimāu is obliged to distribute these furs equally among all the adult male trappers residing at his camp. Beaver meat is distributed equally to the other families residing with the utshimāu.

d). Caribou hunting. In a party of men hunting caribou, the oldest man makes the decisions as to how the hunt will take place; that is, where the other hunters will place themselves in relation to the caribou and who will be the primary

marksman (kill the lead caribou). He will also be responsible for dividing up the hides, and meat.

If there are just two men hunting, the man who shot the caribou gives it to his partner who then divides up the meat equally keeping the hide for himself. Should a young man kill a caribou while hunting on territory with his father-in-law, the caribou will be given in its entirety to the father-in-law who will divide up the meat (among a wider circle of kinsfolk), keeping the hide for himself. A younger man would certainly ensure that the elderly resident in the camp received an adequate supply of meat; in fact, this latter person would receive the choicest parts of the caribou harvested.

e). A fishing party of six men. Three hundred trout are caught through the combined efforts of all six men. The trout are gutted and smoked while the six are still at the base camp. There are three canoes, three pairs of men, a 'capitan' and his partner in each canoe. The 300 trout are first divided up in the bush just before the men break camp; one member of the party divides them up into three equal piles. Thus, each pair (each canoe) receives 100 trout. On the way back to the community, each pair stops at a location, one of the numerous islands spread along the coast, where they pause to make tea and smoke cigarettes. They divide the remaining 100 fish equally between them, each man taking 50 fish back home to his wife or mother who concern themselves with distributing the harvest to kinsfolk, friends, and other members of the community.

f). Summer salmon fishing on the Olamen River. The person who reaches the river first each morning is the one who may place his net out for the day. This rule emerged in the context of an agreement between the Band Council and the Minister of Recreation, Hunting and Fishing which stipulated that in the summer of 1983, for example, no more than two nets could be set at the waterfalls near the mouth of the Olamen River, and no more than 120 salmon harvested. During the day, then, as many as 75 men will gather at the falls to assist in tending the nets, to socialize, and to partake in the meals which terminate the harvest at the end of the day. The owners of the nets must divide their catch equally among the men, teenagers, and children present at the river. A meal of boiled or fried salmon is held at the side of the river late in the afternoon and everyone is given a portion no matter how small the harvest was that day. Each person brings his

Table 34. Number of people gathering at the Olamen river to harvest salmon; number of salmon harvested.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Number of people at the river</u>	<u>Number of Salmon Harvested</u>
July 5	59	24
6	40	15
7	22	10
8	34	5
9	16	2
10	75	4

own supply of bannock, tea, and sugar (but the tea and much of the bannock is shared as well). Any salmon left over from this meal is distributed equally by the owner of the net to those present, each of whom transports his share back to his

family in the community. We should note, here, that this harvest is primarily a male activity, except for Sundays when women and children accompany the men down to the falls for the day.

g). Sunday hunting and fishing trips. Sunday is considered 'women's day' when men are obliged to take their wives and children with them to fish trout and salmon, jig for lobster, collect berries and bird eggs, and hunt seagull chicks on the islands close to La Romaine. During the winter, there may be a large number of married couples fishing at the same holes on a lake. These couples are not required to share their catch with each other, but if any one person catches a large quantity while the others catch none, then a few fish are given to the less successful people. The catch is not shared equally. As far as I can tell, this rule also applies to the harvest of bird eggs, seagulls, and lobster (e.g. when a large number of people, say 4-5 families, are jigging lobster around the same islands) but does not preclude a redistribution of such game to close kin upon return to the community.

h). A husband/wife couple share moose meat and fish with other groups. "Last year, Johnny-Paul shot a moose when we were out camping. As soon as he had killed it, another group of people came by consisting of Henri, Charlotte, Bernard, and Jeannette. Johnny-Paul gave one-half of the moose to Henri's group. We didn't have enough space on the komatik for the moose's head which was very large so Johnny-Paul put it up in a tree. On the way back, we gave some of the meat

and the fish (we had over 100 fish) we had caught to André and his family who were camping near Lac Wabashagamau. When we returned to La Romaine, my mother distributed the moose meat to other people in the community. My grandfather got just a little; he didn't want much because he doesn't like moose meat. One of my maternal aunts, my father's brother, and one of my parent's neighbours were given meat. Johnny-Paul gave some of the moose to his mother who distributed it further to two of his brothers. I had hoped to keep some of the meat in the freezer until the spring, but it was soon given away; in fact, it only lasted about two weeks."

i). Sharing in the community. Once game is brought back to the community, it is distributed to relatives and friends by the hunter's wife or mother. Phones ring, and children go running about with packages of meat and fish. The harvest is distributed first to close kin, for example, parents, brothers, sisters, but in particular grandparents, then to more distant kin such as uncles and aunts, and to good friends and neighbours. Finally, the harvest is given to anyone who comes asking for a share; but this latter distribution is one which takes place in theory. I never witnessed or heard of any specific examples of this taking place.

j). Makushān. Perhaps one of the most important community forms of distribution of bush foods is the ritual feast known as the makushān. Nowadays, this feast takes place with much less frequency than in former years due mainly to the growing

scarcity of caribou, which along with the bear, is the most important animal to the Innut. Makushān is primarily a ritual feast involving the communal consumption of cakes of caribou fat, pimī, prepared from the crushed and boiled leg bones of the caribou. Obviously, this kind of makushān can only take place when there is an adequate supply of caribou meat. In recent years, small feasts have been held primarily for the elderly, due to the fact that there are too few caribou harvested during the year to provide pimī for everyone in the community at one feast. However, large 'makushān' involving the entire community do take place on special occasions in which a variety of foods may be served. Lobster, duck, goose, rabbit, beaver, salmon, and trout, for example, may be served in addition to bannocks of various sorts and desserts of wild berries (e.g. bake apples, red berries, etc.). A large 'makushān' was held in La Romaine in July of 1983 while I was there to celebrate the 38th anniversary of the priest's arrival in the community.

3. The logic of sharing

The patterns of food distribution described here conform generally to what Sahlins terms 'generalized reciprocity', they are "transactions that are putatively altruistic, transactions on the line of assistance given and, if possible and necessary, assistance returned...the counter is not stipulated by time, quantity, or quality: the expectation of reciprocity is indefinite" (1972:193-194). It is fairly clear, here, that the Innut place great value on sharing the

products of harvesting activities. The question I want to address now is whether there is anything in the content of Innu religious ideology which may reinforce or affirm the values of interdependence and sharing, and therefore, contribute to the persistence of domestic production. Henriksen discusses at length the great value placed on sharing among the Mushuau-innut of Davis Inlet, and the kind of negative sanctions applied to people who do not distribute bush food (1973:111). One point of significance in his discussion concerns the way in which sharing is highly interrelated with the natural and mythological realms of Innu culture. He says:

Through the activities involved in hunting and sharing meat, the hunter is simultaneously interacting with the physical environment, the animal spirits, and his fellow Naskapi. He cannot separate them, since they are interrelated. If a Naskapi does not adhere to the proper code of behaviour, he is sanctioned not only by his society but also by the animal spirits that control the physical environment and his luck in hunting (ibid.:108).

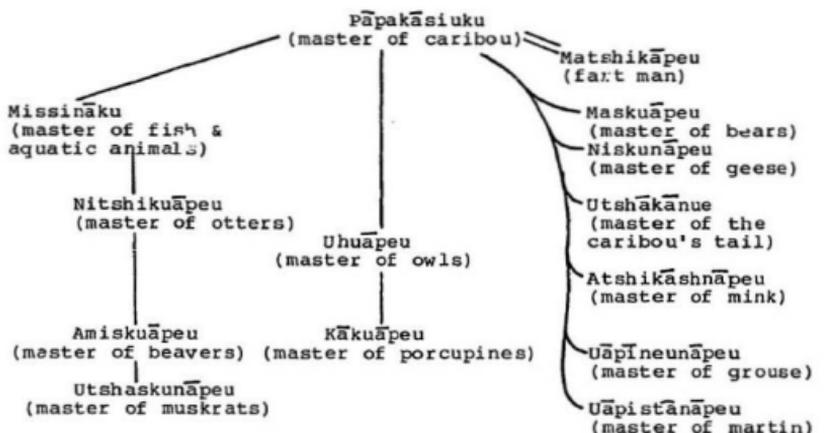
For the Innut of La Romaine, sharing is also highly interrelated with the natural and mythological realms, as I will now explain. The Innut of La Romaine, like the Mushuau-innut, have retained a large measure of their beliefs in spiritual beings such as animal masters despite hundreds of years of contact with Christianity. They see no contradiction between belief in God and Jesus Christ on the one hand, and animal masters and various forest spirits on the other. God is responsible for overseeing the activities of human beings, people of all races, while the animal masters, for their part, oversee the activities of the

animals.

The Innut believe that both their spiritual and material well-being are dependent upon the important relationships maintained between them and the animal masters. Each animal species has an animal master, or spirit, of which Pāpakāsiuku, the master of the caribou, is the most important and most powerful (see Diagram 6). It is the animal masters who are responsible for giving the hunter and his family game upon which life depends. In return, the hunter must follow certain rules, in effect, showing respect to the animal masters in various ways. These rules of respect include placing the bones of the animals killed on outdoor scaffolds, in trees, or lakes and streams, making sure that the dogs do not eat the bones, placing animal fat in the fire, and wearing decorated clothing while hunting. It is important to treat the bones and other remains with great respect, the Innut believe, because the animal masters need them to regenerate new animals. Respect must also be shown by making sure that no animal species is overharvested, that no animal flesh is wasted, and that bush food is shared with other people. Failure to treat the remains with respect, or to follow any of the other prescriptions, such as ensuring that animals are not overharvested, will cause the animal masters to get angry and to punish the offending person. The punishment usually entails the animal master refusing to give any more animals to the person who has shown disrespect. In other words, the offending individual would have no success

in future attempts to hunt that species (cf. Tanner, 1979:106).

Figure 6. Animal masters and other spiritual entities in Innu religious ideology (Armitage, 1984:56).



Manitush utshimāu
(master of insects)

Anīkāpeu
(master of frogs
and toads)

Uāpanatsheut
(summer forest people:
Micmacs?)

Mimenteu/Atshen
(giant cannibal monster)

Kātshimetsheshut
(spirit beings seen or heard
in the dark or fog)

Tshīpait/Kātshākushut
(ghosts)

Tshitshikuānush
(master of wolves)

Tshīshikunāpeu
("the weather watcher":
spirit of the 'Y' tent post)

Tūhīs
(legendary giant dog)

Tshīuetinush
(northern, cold weather
spirit)
Memekueshut
(spirit beings living
in caves)

Uīshāuātsheshu
(giant canoe spirit)

One can see, therefore, that it is extremely important for the Innut to maintain good relations with the animal masters. An angry master may cause a severe shortage of a particular animal species, with starvation as a possible consequence. Henriksen makes a similar observation for the Mushuau-innut, who also believe that "if they break one of the rules pertaining to the handling of an animal, they will secure no more of that animal...that following the rules will further their relationship with the animals. Thus, the communal meals are not only a pleasant social activity and a way of sharing the meat, but they also serve to secure luck in hunting as well" (ibid.:33).

A number of informants told me that failure to share would result in no future success at hunting because the offended animal masters would no longer allocate game to the individual who had violated the rules of sharing. For example, I was told by one informant that in the year prior to my fieldwork period, two young men shot 23 caribou but did not share enough of the meat. Caribou were given to certain elderly members of the community at a price of \$100 to cover the transportation costs, and a small makushān was held, but just for the elderly. They failed to make any of the meat available to the rest of the population. Because of their stinginess, the old said they would not be successful at hunting caribou again in the future. They had subsequently gone hunting again and had seen tracks, but had not killed any caribou.

Some Innut also believe that Matshikapēu, the fart man,

renowned for his humorous comments and imitations of animal sounds during the evening hours in the bush, also plays an important role in ensuring that bush food is shared between groups. Matshikāpeu (also called Maiti or Meāpeu) is the master of the rectum and anal sphincter who punishes people as well as animal masters for transgressing his rules. One way to offend him (to show disrespect) is to mistreat feces, for example, by kicking or throwing them about needlessly. But he will also get very annoyed if people do not share bush food. In answer to the question what would happen if one was stingy and did not share meat, one informant said that Matshikāpeu would probably say "Why do you always want to feed just your own ass? Why don't you feed that other man's ass? His ass is hungry".

Matshikāpeu's punishment for the stingy person is to make him constipated in a way that may threaten his life. Moreover, as was mentioned above, the Fart Man's regulations regarding sharing also apply to the animal masters themselves. In one myth, Matshikāpeu is friends with Pāpakāsiuku, the caribou master, and the Innut. One day Pāpakāsiuku refuses to give caribou to the Innut, so the latter communicates with Matshikāpeu in the shaking tent² and tell him about the problem. Matshikāpeu makes Pāpakāsiuku constipated so that he can no longer defecate and fears he will die as a result. Pāpakāsiuku finally relents and in return for providing caribou to the Innut, has his constipation relieved by Matshikāpeu.

The idea that misfortune such as lack of success at hunting or a physical ailment such as constipation will befall those who do not share is directly related to what may be an essential component in Innu thought as a whole, namely, the concern with sustenance and lack of sustenance. In her analysis of Innu myths from the lower Cote-Nord region of Quebec, Vincent (1978) argues that this concern is evident in the constant reference to the absence of food and the risk of being eaten by cannibal spirits, and that there is a life/death opposition in Innu thought which must be analyzed from the perspective of sustenance versus lack of sustenance. In one myth for example, some members of a hunting group are labelled Atshen, cannibal monsters, because they have an abundance of food on their scaffold while the other members of the group have none and are hungry. It is Mistāpau, a spiritual protector of the Innut referred to as 'grandfather' who intervenes by entering the tent of the Atshen and taking caribou meat to distribute to the famished members of the group. It would seem, that one symbolic role of the Atshen in this myth is to protect the caribou from excessive exploitation by the Innut, but the end result of this is to cause starvation among this latter group.

In this and other myths, Atshen are associated with periods of famine because this is a time when the taboo against anthropophagy is the most significant.

Sa présence [Atshen]...est associée à la famine, mais à une famine liée à un refus de partager assez semblable à celui que l'on trouve chez d'autres personnages mythiques, comme le maître du caribou, par exemple (Vincent, 1978:158).

The association in these myths between Atshen and failure to share on the one hand and cannibalism and famine on the other points, then, to the sustenance/lack of sustenance theme in Innu thought.

If do not share ----> then famine ----> then cannibalism
----> then food for Atshen.

Thus, failure to respect the rules of sharing as set forth by Pāpakāsiuku will not only result in no caribou being given to the offending person, but according to Innu mythology may also result in someone becoming the food for an Atshen. The more one respects the caribou, the greater are one's chances of avoiding Atshen (cf. Vincent, 1978:163).

4. The importance of sharing with the elderly

I would like to consider now another aspect of sharing, namely, sharing with the elderly, and how it seems to be sanctioned in religious ideology in various ways. I noted previously, that particular emphasis is laid on ensuring that the elderly receive a steady supply of meat and the choicest morsels at that. There are even taboos which reserve certain portions of animal corpses for the consumption of the elderly alone. For example, the elderly are given the caribou fetuses to eat. Young men or women who consumed the fetus would, some Innu believe, tire very quickly while walking on the trail. Similarly, the bear paws are given to an old person to eat, not to a young man, because if the latter was to eat the forepaws, he would not be able to see the bear the next time he went hunting.

The Innut say that the reason why they emphasize the importance of sharing with the elderly is that when today's active hunters and their wives were just children, it was their parents who provided them with nourishing bush foods. It is now the responsibility of the children to nourish their parents who are no longer as able to provide for themselves. But beyond this level of explanation, the reasons why the Innut stress the importance of sharing with the elderly have a religious character which quickly becomes apparent when we examine the role accorded to the elderly in religious practice and thought.

The prestige of the elderly is due in large measure to their perceived ability to communicate effectively with the hidden cosmological realm of animal masters and other spirit beings. They play an important role in maintaining the relations with the animal masters and in protecting their kin from magical/psychic attack by sorcerers and evil spirits. They are thought to be the best able to communicate with the animal masters; this being accomplished by way of dreams, drumming, and various divinatory techniques.

Dreams in general are messages from the animal masters which are interpreted to determine the location of game, in particular, caribou, as well as the best time to go hunting. Men dream while pounding the caribou skin drum, during the makushān, or on other occasions when they wish to establish direct communication with the animal masters. They enter into a trance while playing the drum and dream about the location of caribou. One divinatory technique used to

communicate with the cosmological world is 'scapulamancy'. Here, a porcupine or caribou scapula is held over a fire until it is charred and cracked. The cracks are then studied to determine the possible location of game.

Scapulamancy, drumming, and dream interpretation represent, in effect, attempts to "see into the hidden spiritual level of animal distribution" (Tanner, 1979:122). The animal masters decide in advance which hunters to give animals to in the hunt, as well as the number of animals to give them. One informant expressed this idea in the following way. In any one year, individual hunters have 'credit' with the animal masters, that is, they have been allocated a certain number of animals based on their record of following the rules concerning the treatment of the animals in previous years. Breaking any of the rules established by the masters will result in a hunter 'losing credit' in subsequent years, as manifested by his lack of success in harvesting the particular animal species of the master that has been offended. Divination and dreaming are, therefore, techniques to acquire knowledge about how much 'credit' one has with an animal master at any moment in time.

The special powers of the elderly are also thought to lie in their ability to protect their kin from magical/psychic attack by sorcerers and maleficent beings such as Atshen. The Innut believe that the elderly are able to combat these evil sorcerers and maleficent beings in their dreams. One person from La Romaine told me that the members

of her family faction are not afraid of a so-called sorcerer from another faction in the community because "we have our own old people who are able to fight against him in their dreams." Evil sorcerers are believed to be able to kill people and harm them in other ways while dreaming about them.

Is it any wonder, then, that the Innut accord so much respect to their elders when in fact the entire spiritual and material well-being of the community rests on their shoulders. The high value placed on providing them with bush foods reflects the role they are thought to play in providing for and protecting the entire community. They receive information from the animal masters about when and where to hunt, oversee the proper treatment of animal remains and ritual division and distribution of the meat and fat so that no disrespect is shown to the animal masters, and they protect against maleficent sorcerers and spirit beings. Thus, in a certain sense, generalized reciprocal exchange relations continue with the elderly even though they are not able to participate actively in harvesting; what they provide in return for nourishment is invaluable knowledge, communication skills, and protection for the group as a whole. Moreover, when a person grows old in Innu society, his/her contribution to the community is seen to increase not diminish in importance; there is an inversion in the relationship between productivity and the group ideology granting immense respect and prestige to the elderly.

5. Chapter summary

Innu religious ideology which I have attempted to portray here stresses the interconnectedness of human society with that of the animal masters and other spirits. Does this ideology play a role in the logic of bush food distribution? I believe it does, but I state this conclusion with certain reservations. The reasons why sharing is important are explained to a certain extent in the idiom of beliefs which make the Innut subject to rules imposed by the animal masters. In structuralist terms, these rules comprise a 'totalizing' set of beliefs about what affects human behavior, about events in the social and natural worlds affecting human fortune (cf. Levi-Strauss, 1966:263). I suggest that food-sharing is made an important rule among the Innut by loading it heavily with moral value, which is what Sahlins believes occurs with many hunting and gathering peoples (1972:212). I suggest, moreover, that moral value is applied by situating food-sharing symbolically in a cyclical process of exchange between the Innut and the cosmological realm of animal masters. The animal masters allocate animals to the hunters, the animals are killed and distributed among the men, butchered, given to the women, distributed further by the women, the meat and other parts are processed by the women, and finally, the remains of the animal are disposed of in such a way that the masters can regenerate new animals to be harvested again by the Innut at some point in the future. The animal masters have, according to the Innut, established rules to ensure that this cycle of exchange continues. If

there is any rupture in this cycle of exchange, certain negative consequences result, such as famine and with this the possibility of cannibalism. Failure to share would seem then to violate morally laden rules and evoke the wrath of the animal masters, in addition to interrupting the entire cycle of exchange between the Innut and the animal masters.

I should stress, here, my concern about falling into a reductionist trap where the Innut beliefs described are seen as owing their existence only to the functional role they may play in reproducing economic relations. I am also wary about saying that beliefs in sanctions for failure to properly treat animal remains or to share exist simply because they have a functional role in reducing potential conflict or encouraging people to be accountable to one another.

For example, we may wish to think of Innut religious ideology as a system to hold people morally 'accountable' to one another (Douglas, 1980:49,61). It may operate in a way similar to the witchcraft beliefs held by the Azande and other African groups. Among the Azande of the Sudan/Zaire region in central Africa described by Evans-Pritchard (1937), witchcraft accusations acted to sanction those people who may have been stepping outside the bounds of socially approved behavior where they may not be accountable to their peers. We will remember that in the case of the Innut, Atshen, the cannibal monster, is someone who has transgressed important social norms and is not longer accountable to the group. The concept Atshen can be seen here as a form of marginality,

of expulsion from human society, of those who do not accept the regulations of social life (sharing being one of the most important regulations). With the Azande, accusations functioned in part as a social control mechanism and were restricted almost entirely to "the area of ambiguous relationships, rivalries between peers, points in their institutions where friction arises and where no buffers of social rank or wealth created distance between persons" (Douglas, 1980:58). Perhaps, ideological sanctions among the Inuit which punish people for failing to share operate in a similar fashion, in that they promote an ethic of sharing in a society where food and lack of food are a central concern; a potential source of friction between groups and individuals.

Gluckman (1965) states that witchcraft operates to force persons to be accountable for their actions; it is conceived as the idiom through which morals and social norms are expressed, and constitutes, therefore, an important agent of social control. In his view, witchcraft often occurs in situations of competition between kin, when certain members of the society in question appear to be advancing in terms of material goods and prestige above the level enjoyed by their fellow citizens. He cites Richards' work among the Bemba as an example of this. "To find one beehive with honey in the woods is luck, to find two is very good luck, to find three is witchcraft" (ibid.:59). Thus, witchcraft among the Bemba, may operate in part as a mechanism to ensure that redistribution of scarce, or socially valuable items takes

place and to ensure that the egalitarian foundations of the society are maintained.

Innu religious ideology may operate in an analagous fashion. I suggest that it is the idiom through which morals and social norms are expressed in Innu society, and may constitute therefore, an agent of social control. We should remember in this regard the statement of one informant from La Romaine who said that the reason why two young hunters did not have any success in hunting caribou was because they failed to share enough caribou meat on a previous occasion. If the religious ideology does operate to some extent in this fashion, then we could say that it is indeed a factor contributing to the persistence of domestic production.

But in conclusion, I stress that religious ideology has an autonomous existence and is not determined entirely by what goes on at the economic level; Innu retain the beliefs described in this chapter not just because of the role they may play in perpetuating systems of food distribution, harvesting and ecological practices, or in making people accountable to one another and providing the idiom through which morality, social norms, and conflict are expressed. Religious beliefs, also give meaning to Innu life, they 'totalize' the natural and social worlds as an end in itself, because the 'stuff' of human relationships and relations with the environment are 'good to think'.

FOOTNOTES

(Chapter VII)

1

I wish to define ideology as 'motivated thought' which aims to 'totalize' the information received by an individual concerning his natural and social environments, often adding in the process, additional levels of reality to that accessible through 'common sense thought' (Tanner, 1979:208).

2

The shaking tent is one of many methods used by the Innut to communicate with the animal masters, Mistaput, and other spiritual beings. Animal masters and other spirit forces are thought to join the Kamantushit, or Shaman, in the tent causing it to shake, sometimes violently.

CHAPTER VIII

Conclusions

Throughout this thesis I have attempted to describe the present-day character of domestic production among the Innut of La Romaine, as well as its shifting role since contact in the reproduction of the domestic unit. Domestic production today entails a variety of hunting, trapping, fishing, and gathering practices whereby the renewable resources of the land are harvested for immediate consumption by the commensal family or related units. It entails the production not only of such use-values as bush food, but crafts, and furs as well. These latter two items become commodities when they are sold for cash to non-Innu residents, merchants, tourists or other visitors to the community. Bush food, fur, and craft production by the Innut are non-capitalist in the way they are organized because producers own the means of production, the labour process is integrated with other activities and social intercourse, and because the producer has control over the conception and execution of this process. Production as well as patterns of sharing are structured according to kinship relations, sex and age, while the goal of production and exchange differs radically from that of the capitalist because it is oriented to use and not the accumulation of abstract wealth.

The persistence of domestic production and its role in reproducing the commensal family unit entails the perpetuation of the division of labour in harvesting

activities, the system of access to means of production in the form of land and technology, and the methods by which the social product is distributed among household units. Despite the present-day persistence of domestic production among the Innut, it was noted in Chapter III that the way in which the family unit has been reproduced since contact has changed. These changes started with the commencement of intensive fur trading activities in the Cote-Nord region in the 1700's. Subsequently, settlers and other non-Innu interests arrived on the coast to exploit the rich animal resources present there. As a result of an expanding White population on the coast, the Innut were increasingly required to compete for the natural resources of the area, in particular, salmon, bird eggs, and game and fur-bearing animals found close to the coast.

One effect of the fur trade was that the Innut became increasingly dependent on merchants, in particular the HBC, for the provision of commodities essential in meeting basic needs for means of production such as guns, metal traps, and ammunition, and articles of consumption such as flour, lard, sugar, and tea. During the fur trade era, credit was the glue that bound the Innut to a particular trading post, for without it, provisions could not be obtained for the lengthy journeys into the bush to hunt and trap.

Another effect of the fur trade, but also as a result of missionary influence, was that Innu land tenure practices were modified; land-tenure and summer residency patterns changed when the Innut began to frequent specific posts where

they could meet the missionaries, exchange furs, and renew their credit arrangements. The present-day system of territories, based in theory on the beaver preserve system established in the 1950's, continues to manifest much of the 'traditional' Innu flexibility in that exchange of harvesting privileges does occur, men can harvest many animal species throughout the region, families can change territories from one year to the next by mobilizing different kinship relationships, and the boundaries of hunting territories are not well defined and enforced.

Starting in the mid-1800's, many lower Cote-Nord Innu increasingly became dependent on government assistance in the form of rations in order to prevent starvation. In the beginning, these rations were relatively small, but by the 1930's they had become regular payments. The dependency on government transfer payments intensified rapidly after the establishment of the reserve in the 1950's. The most significant changes to the Innu way of life commenced at this time through the intervention of DIA which introduced full-time education, started the construction of houses and other facilities, and established a more formalized band council structure. The net effect of full-time education was that women and children were induced to stay behind in the community while the men travelled out to the bush to hunt, trap, and fish. A Winter Works project in the early 1960's provided the first substantial wage-labour in the community and precipitated a steady growth in Innu needs for

industrially-derived commodities, due in part, to the increased access to money which this work afforded.

Later in the 1960's, welfare payments in addition to family allowance and old age pension came to occupy an increasingly important source of funds to Innu families. The higher level of income resulting from the growth of such transfer payments in addition to income from seasonal construction jobs on the reserve made the purchase of stereos, televisions, household appliances and other commodities possible. While Innu needs for such commodities are growing, high priority continues to be assigned to the purchase of equipment of direct application to harvesting activities. The priority assigned here, reflects the high value placed in Innu culture on the production and exchange of bush foods. In Chapter VII it was noted that much of the value placed on bush food production and exchange is derived from Innu religious ideology stressing the interconnectedness of human society with that of the animal masters and other spirits. The importance of sharing is explained to a great extent in the idiom of religious beliefs which make the Innut subject to rules imposed by the animal masters.

In the present-day context, welfare payments comprise the greatest portion of the total income available to Innu households. During the period August 1982 to July 1983, welfare payments comprised 39.7% of the total income, wage labour 16.9%, old age pension 7.7%, federal family allowance 5.7%, federal and provincial child tax credits 6.3%, unemployment insurance 3.2%, fur sales 3.0%, a handicraft

course 2.2%, and provincial family allowance 1.9%. Full-time, part-time, seasonal, and occasional wage-labour provided income for 27.9% of the population 16 to 65 years of age.

Wage-labour in La Romaine is primarily administrative, service oriented, and seasonal involving Band Council employment, construction and repair projects on the reserve. Very few people leave the community to take up wage-labour in other locations. One draw-back to full-time wage-labour in the community, is that it results in some impairment of access to harvesting activities. Most full-time workers cannot travel out to the bush in the fall and must restrict their hunting, fishing, trapping, and gathering activities to weekends and vacations.

It was noted that the production of bush foods continues to contribute greatly to the reproduction of the domestic unit and forms a sizeable portion of the total income received in the community when considered in terms of its equivalent monetary value. Based on estimates of the total production of edible meats in 1983, bush food production may contribute as much as \$255,915 per year to the income of Innu households (13.0% of the total income available).

One important conclusion of this thesis is that in the post-contact period the general pattern of long term change in Innu domestic production has been a transformation away from reliance on income from fur sales to meet the needs of the household for essential commodities to a growing dependence on transfer payments. Usher argues that the

general pattern of economic change in Native communities throughout northern Canada since contact has occurred in this manner, but that dependency on income from wage-labour has also played an important role in enabling domestic producers to meet the cost of equipment and supplies required in harvesting.

Very often the returns from exchange production are insufficient to meet the capital requirements (operation and maintenance) of the entire complex of domestic and exchange production. That is why subsidies or wage employment have become important to the maintenance of traditional activities. People may have to take on seasonal or even permanent employment to finance their traditional activities, as commodity exchange is less and less able to meet these needs. This was the real crisis of the fur trade a generation ago, and why transfer payments came to play such a key role (Usher, 1981:18).

At least as far as La Romaine is concerned, it would appear that income from wage-labour plays little part in financing the purchase of supplies and equipment used during the fall. Some people employed in full-time jobs do provide cash to relatives to assist them in the purchase of supplies and large commodity items such as snowmobiles, but the extent to which this takes place is limited.

In La Romaine, a change in the nature of credit arrangements with local merchants has occurred concomitantly with the growing dependence on transfer payments. Whereas in the years prior to the commencement of massive transfer payments, fall hunting and trapping outfits were financed by credit backed up by income from fur sales, at present, welfare and credit in tandem permit the financing of the fall outfit. The main purpose of credit has shifted since the

1960's from its primary role in financing the fall outfit to allow the purchase of a variety of expensive items such as snowmobiles, boats, televisions, and household appliances.

Today, social security payments and other income indirectly derived from government transfer payments are the motor of the economy in which the Innu are situated. Domestic activities, whether these be hunting, fishing, trapping, gathering, or craft production, cannot be financed without monetary inputs from these payments. In a community where very few job opportunities are available, and the independent commodity production of crafts and furs generates income insufficient to meet basic household needs for commodities, social security payments are the driving force of the economy. They are in a sense a form of guaranteed income, with numerous strings attached, which allow harvesting activities to continue and even flourish in certain circumstances (e.g. the DIA trapping program) despite the rising demands for and cost of industrially-derived products.

La Rusic has arrived at the same conclusion in his discussion of the situation of the Waswanipi Cree just prior to the signing of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement in 1975. He notes that

welfare was especially important for one-half of the families who were on the welfare rolls. For that group, perhaps as much as three-quarters of available cash came from this source. This is the group who would be principally involved in the bush economy. In the light of this, the importance of welfare in sustaining the bush sector of the Cree economy is evident (1978:37).

Thus, like the Cree, Innu harvesting practices, craft

production, systems of cooperative labour and food distribution continue until the present-day, but state transfer payments are now an essential component in the financial foundation of these practices.

Domestic production among the Innut of La Romaine has persisted until the present-day, but what are the prospects for its survival in the future? As transfer payments now constitute the financial backbone of domestic production, the survival of this non-capitalist form of production depends in part on the willingness of the state to continue to provide funds. Should the state experience a severe fiscal crisis or decide to allocate its funding in alternative ways, the present structure of financial support for Innu harvesting activities and other aspects of domestic production could be seriously threatened. This is not to say that such harvesting practices could no longer continue, but they would have to be undertaken in a way which required less industrially-derived commodities such as snowmobiles, boats, and chainsaws, and less dependence on government financed transportation to and from the bush.¹

A more serious threat to the survival of domestic production among the La Romaine Innut is posed by various proposals to exploit many of the natural resources of the region. In future years, hydro-electric development of major rivers on the lower Cote-Nord, increasing numbers of sports hunters and fishermen, and an expanded military presence in the form of NATO low-level training exercises may pose

serious obstacles to the continuation of the Innu bush-oriented way of life. Apart from this, the actual motivations for actively pursuing harvesting practices may diminish in future years. Increasing and/or prolonged exposure on the part of Innu youth to the values of the external, dominant society through the school system and mass media, and a growing interest in the commodities consumed by this society may mean in future years that less value will be placed on harvesting activities. Thus, participation in wage-labour, when possible, may seem more attractive to those Innut who are interested in adopting the cultural practices of the dominant society and the consumption patterns that go with it.

In the long term, it is likely that the many problems faced by domestic producers in La Romaine in reproducing their way of life will only be solved if the Innut are able to achieve political and economic self-determination, or if this should prove impossible, legal guarantees can be extracted from the Canadian state to ensure that (1) the financial basis of domestic production is maintained (e.g. guaranteed annual income programs), (2) resource development schemes and other forms of interference are limited in the extent to which they separate the Innut from their means of production (the land), and (3) exposure to the values of the dominant North American culture does not erode irrevocably Innu values which stress the importance of harvesting and perpetuating the Innu relationship to the land and animals.

FOOTNOTES

(Chapter VIII)

1

When I discussed this point with the La Romaine Band Council in July 1984, I was told quite emphatically that the Innut would continue to travel into the bush to engage in harvesting activities even if government funds for transportation were not provided.

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APPENDIX 1

Funds transferred from DIA to the La Romaine Band Council,
1980-1983 fiscal years.

<u>Type of Payment</u>	<u>Amount Dispersed</u>		
	<u>1980-81</u>	<u>1981-82</u>	<u>1982-83</u>
Basic needs	-	\$44,784	\$33,727
General administration	\$20,594	27,410	36,252
Core funding	26,250	33,727	-
Water supply	6,000	-	-
Water main maintenance	-	2,250	-
Water main operations	-	2,250	-
Municipal services	6,345	6,400	-
termination of septic tanks	-	40,000	-
sewer construction	-	1,637,738	-
Sewers	-	-	20,564
Major renovations (electricity)	-	-	18,000
House repairs	-	-	10,775
Band Council office repairs	-	-	10,000
Insulation of sewage treatment plant and construction of a shelter for the sewage pump	-	-	10,000
Household refuse	-	-	7,232
Fire protection equipment	-	-	23,000
Construction of community centre	-	-	28,000
Recreation	5,552	5,602	-
TOTAL	\$64,741	\$1,800,161	\$197,550
TOTAL 1980-83 = \$2,062,452			

