Moose Factory: A Review of the Literature

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Introduction and Methodology

This essay is a review of the published literature on Moose Factory and on related subjects and topics that address Moose Factory and the James Bay Cree in a substantive manner. Its purpose is to inform the interpretation program for Moose Factory by providing an overview of the principal topics treated in the literature, indicating where the existing material is sufficient and where there is a need for further research, offering access points to the literature in order to facilitate that future research, and indicating topics for which the existing research would form an adequate basis for detailed interpretive planning.

The primary author of this literature review is Edmonton-based historian Bob Beal, a specialist in Aboriginal history and the fur trade with particular expertise in the history of the eastern seaboard in the 17th and 18th centuries and in the history of western Canada in the 18th and 19th centuries. Additions and revisions have been made by Commonwealth principal Hal Kalman, working in close consultation with Beal. The research plan was provided by Commonwealth historian Meg Stanley and a review of the material was completed by Dr. John Long of Nipissing University.

References throughout the text are to the bibliography that is appended. Beal developed an initial bibliography by browsing the extensive libraries at the University of Alberta (including the Circumpolar Library, which, in particular, houses much material related to the James Bay area), by following the footnotes of many of those works, by consulting material provided by Commonwealth, and by using his own substantial knowledge of the history and the discipline. Beal's bibliography is quite comprehensive, but is not complete. Some works were read closely, others skimmed, and time was insufficient to read some others. The original bibliography has been supplemented by Dr. John Long.

The organization and analysis in this literature review is informed by Commonwealth's 'Moose Factory Overall Strategy, Architectural & Interpretive Planning Session,' of 8-9 January 2004. The research and analysis was undertaken in the context of the work being proposed by Commonwealth.

Statement of Approach and Methodology

Where works are 'unavailable,' it means that they were not available in the libraries accessible to

Beal in Edmonton. In the rare case where a work is noted as 'temporarily unavailable,' it means that they have not been in the libraries during the course of this work. Some of the works are of only minor use, and some are merely contextual. Archival material related to Moose Factory from the collections of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives in Winnipeg, the Archives of Ontario the National Archives of Canada, the United Church Archives and the General Synod Archives of the Anglican Church are not listed. The holdings of the Archives of Ontario, for example, include records from the Anglican and Methodist churches at Moose Factory, dating from about 1840. The extensive records of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND), some of which is held at the National Archives of Canada, hold material that would be useful. The DIAND holds treaty lists First Nation membership lists, for example, which might be useful; because of privacy legislation, however, these are not available without explicit authorization from the First Nation.

Historians often work with written or documentary historical evidence. That has been their stock-in-trade. Both Beal and Long have used the extensive records of the Hudson's Bay Company, for example. Long has also used the records of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, Church Missionary Society and General Synod Archives of the Anglican Church of Canada, There are, however, inherent problems in relying exclusively on these written resources, and some of the ways of overcoming these problems will be discussed below. Historians also assess the written work of previous historians; this is known as historiography, a topic which is included in this literature review.

Ethnohistory is sometimes described as a subdiscipline of history that marries historical with anthropological methodology. Beals has not been trained as an anthropologist, but in recent years has begun to think of himself, and present himself, as an ethnohistorian. Long has an undergraduate degree in anthropology, and uses ethnography to inform his interpretations of history.

Overview: Types of Sources and Knowledge

Some authors find it necessary to distinguish carefully among history, oral history, and traditional knowledge. If this is not done, one runs the risk of seriously misinterpreting 'facts about the past' that come from Aboriginal oral traditions or misjudging Aboriginal oral traditions as unreliable in providing historical knowledge (Vansina 1985, Wilson 1997 and von Gernet 2000).

History is sometimes described as the product of historians' thought (see Carr 1961.) Oral history, often the result of interviews, can be used as historical evidence in much the same way as a documentary record might be used. Traditional knowledge, though it may well contain

elements of oral history, can be considered as qualitatively different.

Oral history is simply people's remembrances of the past. (In a non-Aboriginal setting, the popular books of Barry Broadfoot spring to mind.) In Euro-Canadian culture, old folks tell stories about the past; some of them might be considered accurate and some of them might be thought of as exaggerated. In North American Aboriginal cultures, oral history can work much the same way, with one major exception. Indian cultures were, and some remain, oral cultures; they often did not have writing. It was therefore more incumbent upon the older generation to tell the younger one what had happened in the past than it was in literate societies. They also had a greater responsibility to be accurate, though definitions of 'accuracy' can differ. Aboriginal people carried their libraries in their minds.

Within Aboriginal societies, storytelling was the principal means by which the collective knowledge and wisdom of the societies was disseminated, often informally but also often by designated storytellers. Some elements of the stories may be considered oral history that can be assessed for 'facts about the past' for use in history. But the stories can also be considered as traditional knowledge. In her forward to the 1995 edition of the stories of her uncle, Edward Ahenakew, Christine Wilna Hodgson explained the process, though she used the terms 'oral history' and 'history' differently than we do:

> The Indian way of preserving and passing on knowledge from one generation to the next was through story-telling or oral history. Most stories were told in a circuitous manner. This technique challenged the listener to be both imaginative and alert to the lesson in the tale. Stories invariably started with *Kayas*, which in [Plains] Cree means 'long ago.' Each retold some aspect of history, teaching traditions, values or mores of the culture. The children's stories used humour and startling consequences to illustrate a point. (Ahenakew 1995, p.vii)

To use a simple example: The Plains Cree of what is now Saskatchewan tell the story that as a young man Chief Mistaw~sis had been given the name Iron Buffalo. On a hunting expedition, Mistaw~sis found himself caught up in the middle of the stampeding buffalo herd and had fallen off his horse. When the herd passed, his companions were surprised to find that Mistaw~sis had miraculously survived. Someone researching Plains Cree history might wonder if that event actually happened, whether it is an accurate 'fact about the past.' But asking that question may not be important, from a Cree viewpoint. It misses the point, the teaching, of the story: if you fall off your horse in the middle of a stampeding buffalo herd, it will be a miracle if you survive. Similarly, the Plains Cree have a tradition that the Creator made the buffalo emerge from under a great lake as a gift to the Cree. When the great buffalo herds disappeared from the Canadian plains, in 1879, they went back under the lake and remain there. A modern researcher might dismiss that story as not a 'fact about the past' but as merely an interesting myth. But the 'fact

about the past' that the story illustrates, and which the historian can use, is that the Plains Cree believed that the buffalo herds had not vanished, but had merely retreated. At the height of rebellion in 1885, Chief Poundmaker said that if the white man were driven from the country, the buffalo would re-emerge and the Cree would again enjoy plenty.

These examples show how that there are different ways of interpreting historical sources. One extreme, known as historical objectivism or positivism, holds that there is one "true" and unbiased history. At the opposite extreme lies the postmodern view that there are multiple views of history, it is always biased or "constructed" and all interpretations are equally valid. Postmodernists often hold that conventional history has been based on more privileged or more powerful sources. Oral tradition can be held to be unreliable hearsay, or as infallible. van Gernet (2000) argues for "middle ground" where oral traditions are accepted, but examined rigorously and critically.

A preliminary bibliography of traditional ecological knowledge in the Moose River basin – the teaching stories – was prepared by Jamieson Brant in the 1990s for the Ministry of Natural Resources' Moose River Basin Project (see also Paulmartin & Szick 1997). Some published material contains results of interviews with Cree of James Bay. Those interviews were usually done in order to discover 'facts about the past.' They are oral history, though they may also contain some elements of traditional knowledge. Researchers may not always make a distinction between the two. The attempt by Europeans to discover facts about Aboriginal lives and pasts through interviews has a long history. One of the more famous of the early recorded stories is the result of David Thompson's interviews with Saukamaupee that deals with the Cree discovery of the horse in about 1730 (Thompson 1962). Thompson focussed on 'facts,' mainly ignoring traditional knowledge or dismissing it as mere myth.

Traditional knowledge is not intended to recite 'facts about the past.' It is designed to teach young people about the ways of life. If an historian takes this approach, s/he can gain insights into how people lived and acted in the past. Preston (2002) is an excellent example of this approach, for he helps us understand the "personal meanings" of stories and events.

Scholars sometimes distinguish between "emic" (culturally-bound or inside) and "etic" (generalized or outside) approaches. The distinctions between history, oral history and traditional knowledge are one way of looking at history, but it must be recognized that these are etic labels. An emic approach would respect "inside" James Bay Cree terminology, such as the basic distinction between *atalohkan* (*atiukan* in northern Quebec), sometimes translated in English as myths or legends or sacred stories, and *tipachimowin*, sometimes translated as stories or news (Ellis 1989, 1995). An emic approach might simply present the Cree story of the great spider, and how first man and first woman were lowered to earth. An etic approach might look for common features in this *atalohkan* and in Ojibwe earth diver stories, in the northern Quebec

Cree story of big skunk and wolverine, or in other origin stories told around the world. An emic approach might study leadership in traditional cultures; an etic approach might delineate and focus on the specific western James Bay Cree concepts of *okimah* and *okimahkan* (Ellis 1960).

Stories can be viewed in a broader context as performances (Vansina 1985), and can include songs or or a shaking tent ceremony (Preston 2002). A printed transcript cannot convey the power of an actual voice. All of the northern Quebec stories told to Preston are now available in Cree on CD. The stories of Cree elder Louis Bird are available in both Cree and English online at www.ourvoices.ca

Niezen (1998) contains a good deal of oral history, particularly regarding the James Bay Cree's relationships with their ecologies. Flannery (1995) is a brief life history of one Cree woman, recorded at Moose Factory in the 1930s. Flannery's extensive fieldnotes from Moose Factory, and those of John M. Cooper, are available at the Catholic University of America in Washington, DC. Denton (2001) contains some material from oral traditions, in Cree stories from northern Quebec. Some useful oral history, in the form of interviews and stories, is contained in the various studies by Edward Rogers. The work of James Bay Cree poet Margaret Sam-Cromarty (1992, 1996, 2002) represents oral history and traditional knowledge in a different form. Murdoch (1972) is a short collection of oral history and traditional knowledge prepared for the elementary school at Wemindji on eastern James Bay.

Ahenakew (1995) and Fine Day (1973) may be presented as models for the recording of traditional knowledge. They also contain elements of oral history, but they address the knowledge of the Plains Cree and so have no direct relevance to Moose Factory.

There has been considerable oral history done at Moose Factory that may be very useful. Much of Carol Judd's work is held at the Archives of Ontario and has not been made available for the present project. John Long has an extensive oral history record which is contained on some of the hundred tapes of oral history from 1980s, copies of which have been donated to the Ojibway-Cree Cultural Centre in Timmins (see Appendix). His writings (1978-2000) often include western James Bay Cree oral history.

In all this, one has also to take account of the differences between European and Indian languages and concepts. For example, in the English language and thinking, a lake is a thing. It just sits there, unless we want to use additional language to describe it. 'Lake' translates into Cree as 'sakahikan'. But that is not what it means. The simple translation misses the Cree concept. 'Sakahikan' is a thing making things appear. It could be a place of reflections, or of reflecting, or of bringing forth life. In assessing traditional knowledge, oral history, or even the Hudson's Bay Company documentary record, one should be as aware as one can be of the Cree worldview and ways of speaking.

European vs. Aboriginal Perspectives

Canadian history traditionally has been written from a Euro-Canadian perspective. First Nations have tended to be seen through European eyes as they were encountered by explorers, fur-traders, and missionaries. Classic studies of the fur trade, such as those by Harold Innis, A.S. Morton, and E.E. Rich, take this point of view. (See also the section below on 'The Fur Trade.') With respect to James Bay, Daniel Francis and Toby Morantz (1983), in their standard study on the fur trade of James Bay, recognize the Cree perspective, but tend to emphasize the European side. This is seen, for example, in their opening sentence: 'Eastern James Bay is an inhospitable country.' Inhospitable to eighteenth-century Europeans, yes, but certainly not to the Cree who have called it 'home' for many centuries.

Morantz's later work places more weight on the Cree point of view. Morantz (1983), for example, is an ethnohistorical study that focuses on the organization and economy of the Cree people. Morantz (2002) utilizes both oral history and written sources. Carol Judd, who conducted research on Moose Factory for the Ontario Heritage Foundation, also tries to emphasize the Cree perspective. Judd deals with what she calls the mixed-blood experience at Moose Factory, particularly in her article, 'Moose Factory was not Red River' (Judd, 1983). Anthropologist Edward Rogers conducted fieldwork in northwestern Ontario and in northern Quebec. His works on the Mistassini Cree and Round Lake Ojibwe (Oji-Cree) are excellent (see, e.g., Rogers 1963), but aside from one brief report (Rogers 1966, 1973) he paid little attention to Moose Factory. The chapters by Charles A. Bishop, Rogers and Taylor in Rogers and Smith (1994) are useful overviews but do not deal specifically with Moose Factory.

Even in recent works that are much more sensitive to Aboriginal perspectives, a Eurocentric bias often seeps through. For example, Bishop's two chapters on the northern Algonquians in Rogers and Smith (1994) survey the history of the northern Cree and Ojibwe from 1550 to 1760 and then from 1760 to 1821. The cut-off dates are based on the British 'conquest' of New France (1760) and the merger of the Hudson's Bay Company with the North West Company (1821). Similarly, Honigmann (1978) and Preston (1978) have chapters on the western James Bay and eastern James Bay Cree, who they refer to as East Main and West Main Cree, employing terminology used long ago by Hudson's Bay Company officials. Even in works such as these, Aboriginal peoples are misplaced, implicitly or explicitly, in a European world. In developing interpretation for Moose Factory, it would be wise to avoid this tendency.

Few of the authors listed in the bibliography are Aboriginal, and even fewer are Cree, so the Cree perspective is still largely being interpreted through European-Canadians. Margaret Sam-Cromarty is one of a few Cree writers represented in the literature. Lillian Small (1972) recorded

and translated stories at Moose Factory. Similarly, a book of Herbert McLeod's stories was published (McLeod 1978), and his relatives have his original tapes. A number of stories were collected by school staff in the 1970s, and may still be available at Ministik School. As already noted, an excellent online Cree oral history source is located at www.ourvoices.ca, part of the Omushkego Oral History Project which features Louis Bird, Cree scholar and storyteller from Peawanuck. Logotheti (1991) interviewed six Moose Factory Crees and analyzed their life histories.

Other aboriginal authors include Nunavit Inuk activist Lucassie Arragutainaq (1995), who contributed to a book on writes about the traditional ecological knowledge of the Hudson Bay Inuit and Cree, but writers such as these remain few in number.

Historiography

Historiography is the study of the writing of history. Few bibliographical or historiographical essays that address topics relevant to our interests have been found. Carlson et al. (2001) provide the point of entry into major writings on Aboriginal history across Canada in the 1990s. Niezen (1998) assessed a considerable amount of literature on the James Bay Cree. Michael Payne's recent essay (2001) on 'Fur Trade Historiography' provides a useful entry into the fur trade literature, and is discussed further below under that topic.

Moose Factory

James Bay and the James Bay Cree do not receive a lot of attention in the literature, in contrast to other Aboriginal and fur trade communities in Canada. For Ontario, scholars and writers have tended to emphasize Aboriginal peoples of southern Ontario and the Great Lakes regions. In general, scholars have paid a great deal of attention to western Aboriginal groups as the fur trade expanded west from Hudson Bay. James Bay tends to fall out of their lines of sight.

Studies of the community of Moose Factory are few in number. Carol Judd's 'An Uncommon Heritage' is an exception (Judd n.d.). It is a good overview, and sometimes detailed, history of Moose Factory, though there is an emphasis on the experiences of the fur traders. Several works by Toby Morantz, already mentioned, are also exceptions. There is some community history in Blythe, Brizinski & Preston (1985). Long's work on the politics of education in Moose Factory (1986) and on the James Bay métis (1984) contain some community history. Architects Eric Arthur, Howard Chapman, and Hart Massey wrote an introductory history and appreciation in 1949 (Arthur et al., 1973). A brief historical article was written by anthropologist Walter Kenyon (Kenyon n.d.). With the Ontario Heritage Foundation's acquisition of a number of properties in Moose Factory in the past generation, the Foundation has undertaken an array of research initiatives. These include the many writings by Carol Judd that are cited in the bibliography, as well as reports on individual buildings (Mendel 1984, Héroux 1990) and a bilingual booklet that provides an overview self-guided tour of Moose Factory Island (*Moose Factory* 2002).

Much research was published in the past generation as a result of the events that led to the James Bay Agreement and the subsequent development of Hydro Québec's generation sites east of James Bay. A comprehensive compendium is found in *James Bay Symposium* (1977). The focus of these works, of course, is usually northern Quebec.

Ecology

A wealth of published material, much of it dating from the 1970s and 1980s, deals with the ecology of James Bay. The *James Bay Symposium* (1977) contains papers on a wide variety of ecological topics, some of which are listed separately in the attached bibliography. The literature addresses everything from geological formations to flora and fauna to water temperatures and tides. To cite some highlights: the Geological Survey of Canada (1998) offers an excellent map of geological formations, while Veillette (1999) addresses the particular and peculiar geographical phenomenon of geological rings. Riley and McKay (1980) take a particularly useful look at vegetation and 'phytogeography', as do Dutilly and LePage (1954). Reed et al. (1996) and Wypkema (1997) study the goose, an essential part of Cree life; Brassard and Audet (1977) discuss caribou, and Grenier and Audet (1977) write about moose. Freeman (1974)

addresses the water, Peck (1978: two studies) reports on the tides, and Roderick Morin (1980) on fish. Stewart et al. (1993) take a detailed look at James Bay ecology and provide some historical background. Berkes et al. (1995) include detailed hunting and fishing maps for the 1990s.

Harvey Feit (1973) describes modern resource management based on Aboriginal worldviews in the context of the Waswanipi Cree, southeast of James Bay. Roger Pothier (1975) describes the hunting and trapping lifestyles of the Mistassini people, southeast of James Bay but nearer the St. Lawrence, during the 1950s and 1960s. Rogers (1963) described the Mistassini Cree in the 1950s.

Still unwritten is a larger study that would address the overall ecology, environmental history, and traditional ecological knowledge of the James Bay basin. Clarke (1980) does the first for one small region, and Arragutainaq et al. (1995) provides a very good first step towards the last of the three. Niezen (1998) provides an excellent study of the relationships between the Cree sense of territory and their ecologies.

There is useful published material about historical ecology, such as changes in the populations and patterns of caribou and moose. The literature is weaker when it comes to the Aboriginal people's use of the resources. Nevertheless, enough material exists – contextual, in parts – to support interpretation of these subjects at Moose Factory.

Three dozen McMaster University TASO publications (see, e.g., George & Preston, 1989) are on deposit at McMaster University's Mills Memorial Library.

Community Formation and Location

The Smithsonian Institution's Handbook of North American Indians - - but no one else -- distinguishes between the West Main Cree (Ontario) and the East Main Cree (Quebec). Bishop (1978) looks at territorial groups before 1821, Honigmann (1978) at the West Main Cree, and Preston (1978) at the East Main Cree. The Moose Cree of Moose Factory are included in the West Main Cree, and the MoCreebec of Moose Factory were historically associated with the East Main Cree. Macqueen (1967) discusses the formation of the MoCreebec community at Moose Factory. Preston (1978) draws strong distinctions between 'coasters' and 'inlanders', while minimizing cultural differences between them.

Historians are not certain of the origins of the James Bay Cree. 'It does not seem there was ever a group corresponding to the James Bay Cree of today,' writes Toby Morantz (1983). David Pentland (1978) wrote: 'In the seventeenth century the ancestors of the West Main Cree probably occupied almost all of northern Ontario, with extensions into Manitoba and Quebec.'

A more recent work, Lytwyn (2002), establishes that the western James Bay Cree were well established prior to European contact and were instrumental in the survival of traders throughout the HBC trading area during the 18th and 19th centuries.

There are, however, clear language distinctions among the peoples. Honigmann (1978) for the West Main Cree and Preston (1978) for the East Main Cree described the dialects among the peoples. Pentland explained historical terminology in both the Honigmann and Preston articles. The western James Bay Cree called themselves the *omushkegowuck*, which translates into English as 'swamp people' or 'muskeg people'; they speak the Swampy Cree or n-dialect of Cree, except at Moose Factory where the closely related Moose or l-dialect is spoken. The eastern James Bay Cree speak the East Cree or y-dialect of the Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi language group (see Rogers and Leacock 1978). Cree is an Algonquian language.

Speakers of East Cree and Moose Cree can often understand each other, but speakers of other Cree dialects may have difficulty understanding East Cree. There are also subdialects in the region. It should be noted that the two primary groups who live in Moose Factory, the Moose Cree and the MoCreebec, originally spoke different dialects.

Morantz (1983) indicates that the western James Bay Cree were wary of the eastern Cree, in historical times, and were occasionally hostile to them. Despite the occasional disputes, relations between the two were generally amicable, however, and there was continuing communication and some intermarriage.

To the north and east of the East Cree were the Naskapi; those to the east and southeast were sometimes called the Montagnais and Attikamek peoples (see Rogers and Leacock 1978); today these neighbours are more often referred to as Innu. To the south of the James Bay region were various Algonquian-speaking groups that may historically have been closely related to the James Bay Cree (see Rogers 1978; Day 1978; Day and Trigger 1978). Neighbours of the western James Bay Cree were the northern Ojibwa. In the historical period, there was considerable communication among all these groups. The Cree of Moose Factory acted as middlemen (Lytwyn 2002; Ray 1974) for furs coming, from the south and west in particular, to posts on James Bay.

The primary literature sources (primarily the Hudson's Bay Company records) must be combed and carefully analyzed - - as Lytwyn (2002) has done - - to develop, in any very specific way, the identities, relationships among, and movements of the peoples who inhabited and used James Bay before the twentieth century. The 18th-century observations by James Isham (1949) and Andrew Graham (1969), published by the Hudson's Bay Record Society are useful in this regard. Scott and Morrison (1993) have assembled detailed information on Cree in the Harricanaw River drainage. A fresh, targeted look at post records for Moose Factory and its neighbours in the

Hudson's Bay Company Archives might yield additional information on the origins and ancestors of the Moose Cree.

It might also be useful to do an oral history project among the population of Moose Factory today with regard to self-identity, both historic and modern. This might not only inform site interpretation, but would also further historical investigation.

Toponymy is the study of place names. We have found no published work of this kind for the western James Bay region. Robert Bell of the Geological Survey of Canada with the assistance of fur trader W.K. Broughton developed, in 1895, a 'draft list of Indian place names in the James Bay and Moose Factory area'; this material is held in the McFarlin Library, University of Tulsa, Oklahoma. We understand that Greg Spence or John Tuner may have useful information on Cree place names in the Moose Factory area. A glance at the map shows that this might be extraordinarily valuable, both for historical analysis and modern interpretation. A good start could be made with a modern map, a good imagination about English pronunciation in the eighteenth century, and a knowledge of the Cree language. This could lead to very worthwhile projects in oral history and traditional knowledge.

James Bay Economies

The ancestors of the Moose Cree were hunter-gatherers who harvested the resources of the lowlands around western James Bay. They most likely spent much of the year in the woods, coming to the shore of the bay during the summer to exploit the marine resources and during waterfowl migrations. Anthropologists (e.g. Honigmann 1978, Preston 1978) and historians (Francis 1983, Morantz 1983, Lytwyn 2002) generally agree with this view, though there is little specific information in the primary sources about James Bay Cree seasonal movements. Lytwyn (2002) and the chart in Flannery (1995) showing the Crees' seasonal cycle are the best sources on traditional economy. Mushkegowuk Council also has an excellent 'circle' poster showing the seasonal cycle.

There is no doubt that the establishment of European traders on the Bay modified life in significant ways for the James Bay Cree. But historians have disagreed about the extent of the change in Cree social life and economy. Toby Morantz's ethnohistorical study (1983) set this record straight:

> The examination of the historical records from 1700 to 1850 fails to substantiate earlier claims that the fur trade had brought about radical changes in the James Bay social organizations.

Morantz (1977, 1982) also clarified the 'trading captain' system of the Hudson's Bay Company – a system in which the Company recognized certain individuals from the Cree of the area as heads of trading groups. Historians are sometimes unclear about whether these trading captains were leaders of existing groups, or whether they would create groups specifically for trading purposes (see Judd 'Uncommon Heritage').

There is also considerable discussion in the literature concerning the provenance, nature, and extent of family hunting territories. Flannery and Chambers (1986), using John M. Cooper notes from 1927-1934, deal with James Bay family hunting territories. One question is whether the Algonquian people designated family hunting territories before contact with Europeans, following Frank Speck's speculations about the Mi'kmaq (Speck 1973); or whether the family hunting territory is a creation of the fur trade, responding to the shift from subsistence hunting to trapping to trade with Europeans and creating a new kind of territorial concept among Aboriginal peoples (see Leacock 1973 and Niezen 1998).

Virtually our only sources of knowledge of the James Bay Cree from the last quarter of the seventeenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century are the Hudson's Bay Company's extensive records. These, however, sometimes reveal extraordinarily little about the peoples of Hudson and James Bays (e.g. Rich 1954). As already noted, Graham (1969) and Isham (1949) are outstanding exceptions. This is because in the early period the HBC actively discouraged contact with Aboriginal people on James and Hudson Bays, to prevent trading outside the Company system, to keep close control of its employees, and to prevent too much Indian influence on the trade. Beal thinks they adopted a very closed system out of simple fear of the environment and the peoples. This lack of contact is reflected throughout the Company's published records of the early fur trade period. (Beal has read all the printed records, but has not examined the much more extensive archival records.) In the secondary literature, for example in Francis and Morantz (1983), these points are strongly made.

This situation not only limits study of the primary sources, but it means that secondary material about the fur trade period contains much greater emphasis on the European experience in the trade than one might expect and makes it difficult to access the Cree perspective during the early historical period. Lytwyn (2002) is the best single historical source on the early fur trade in western James Bay; Morantz is excellent for eastern James Bay.

In the western Canada, Beal finds the HBC sources to be much more helpful in recreating Indian history and Indian involvement in the trade than in James Bay. That is because in the West, the Company found itself travelling through new, and perhaps hostile, territory. It had to get to know its suppliers and the country. In the early years of the fur trade, critics of the HBC claimed that it 'sat by the frozen sea' - limiting its activity to the coasts of James and Hudson Bay. Starting with Henley House in the mid-18th century, of course, the HBC began to set up inland posts. Philip

Turnor surveyed the Moose River basin beginning in 1781.

One way in which the European trading system did make a dramatic change in James Bay Cree economy and social organization was in the creation of the Home Guard Cree (Lytwyn 2002). These were Cree communities that established themselves permanently around the HBC posts, breaking the previous seasonal cycle of life. The Home Guard would provide the HBC with food and furs from the area immediately near the post. Some would also work as labourers for the Company. Some Aboriginals at Moose Factory were Home Guard Cree and some have been called "mixed-bloods" – obviously a Euro-Canadian term. It is difficult to tell from the existing literature to what extent today's Moose Cree represent the same people who lived and traded at Moose Factory in the early years of the fur trade (Judd 'Uncommon Heritage', Judd 1983, Judd 1984; see also Long 1984). Van Kirk, and especially Brown, explain the development of fur trade company families, people of mixed ancestry, in James Bay.

The existence and experience of the Home Guard Cree provides another way in which Eurocentric bias creeps into the secondary literature. John Honigmann wrote that the West Main Cree relied on the HBC not only for European goods 'but also even for wild goose meat, which the Company preserved in quantity for the winter to feed its own men and hungry Indians' (Honigmann 1978). What Honigmann ignored is that the Cree, probably mainly the Home Guard Cree, harvested those geese and the Company merely stored them. To reap the advantages of having the Home Guard Cree stay close to and serve the posts, the Company fed them occasionally in winter. Left to their own devices, the Home Guard Cree might have abandoned the coast, but they would not have starved. Without the Home Guard Cree, it is the white traders who may very well have starved. Toby Morantz makes this argument; see also Ray 1984.

Honigmann's statement, quoted above, is a variation of the much discussed and now largely discredited 'dependency thesis,' which was a strong feature of earlier studies of the fur trade. It was once believed that, after contact with Europeans, Aboriginals became so dependent on Europeans and European technology that they could not live without them or it. Discussion of the dependency thesis in the James Bay context can be found in Gagné (1993), Francis and Morantz (1983), and Ornstein (1997). While many historians are wary of it, the dependency thesis continues to pervade some work, sometimes implicitly. Some scholars have made a point of attacking the dependency thesis. For example, Brian Given (1994) showed that, at least as a hunting tool, the bow-and-arrow was superior to the fur trade gun. The dependency literature is best summarized in Lytwyn (2002).

The dependency thesis and its contradiction provide an excellent opportunity for interpretation at Moose Factory, by challenging deeply embedded assumptions. This raises interesting questions about the meaning of 'progress' and 'technology', and can provide insightful comparisons

between cultures and knowledge in the context of a specific cultural landscape.

It may be possible to reconstruct the economies and movements of the Moose Cree from the fur trade period to the twentieth century, using documents such as the Hudson's Bay Company archival and printed records. Toby Morantz (1983) and Arthur J. Ray and Donald B. Freeman (1978) have pointed out how this can be done (and also Ray 1974, although not with respect to Moose Factory). Lytwyn (2002) has done some fine work on the early western James Bay Cree; Scott and Morrison (1993) is an excellent example of such an exercise, connecting families today with their ancestors mentioned in historical records. Additional research would not be an easy job, and would require specialized skills, but it could be important to the community. It would involve considerable 'reading-between-the-lines' and applying ethnohistorical methodology to *both* European and Indian experience. Morantz (1983) writes:

> A very important outcome of this study is its demonstration that historical documentation can be utilized in a more objective way than has hitherto been done. One can speak of producing an ethnography using historical methods.

The literature is clear that well into the twentieth century, fur-trapping and trading remained strong features of the economies of Algonquian-speaking peoples generally (see, e.g., Taylor 1983). Have good 20th century data on the East Cree (Feit 1973), on western James Bay Cree generally (George et al. 1992, 1995) and on Attawapiskat (Cummins 2003) in particular, but we have found little published in this regard specifically for Moose Factory (but see Rogers 1966). Moose Cree First Nation, as part of its research into the effects of hydro-electric development in the Moose River basin, prepared extensive maps of harvesting use in the area. Flannery (1995) contains some useful information as a result of her interviews with Ellen Smallboy at Moose Factory in the 1930s. Niezen (1998) also contains useful information as a result of interviews. The economies have changed, of course, particularly with regard to government employment and assistance programs (George and Preston 1987). Blythe, Brizinski and Preston (1985) studied the effects of economic change on women in the Moose Factory area. As far as site interpretation is concerned, there would seem to be no particular difficulties in developing these topics.

Morrison (1992) is a definitive account of the effects of hydro-electric development in the Moose River basin. Moose Cree First Nation has conducted unpublished studies to estimate the harmful effects of hydro-electric development on its population; see Preston and Long (1998) on neighbouring New Post.

The Fur Trade

Michael Payne's recent essay on fur trade historiography provides a useful entry into the Canada-

wide fur trade literature (Payne 2001). He begins by describing the work of historians who focussed on the role of the fur trade in Canadian history. Although now relatively old, some of these Eurocentric writings remain standard reference works (e.g. Innis 1970; first published in 1930). It was not until the 1970s that a new generation of historians, including John Foster, Arthur Ray, Jennifer Brown (1980), Sylvia van Kirk (1980), and Frits Pannekoek began to examine the fur trade as a 'socio-cultural complex in which Indians, mixed-bloods, and whites were intertwined.' Brown's book has several references to James Bay.

There is a wealth of material from the Hudson's Bay Company records, published and archival, that can be used to recreate post life for the European traders on James Bay. Two points of access are E.E. Rich's publication of the Moose Fort Journals (Rich 1954) and Glyndwr William's compendium of Hudson Bay material (Williams 1975), both published for the Hudson's Bay Record Society, as well as much other material published by the Hudson's Bay Record Society and the Champlain Society. Arthur J. Ray provides a model study with respect to the handling of sources, focussing on western Canada (Ray 1974. Ray and Freeman 1978). The HBC records presumably can also be used to reconstruct Aboriginal history, by pulling out relevant historical facts about the Aboriginal people and by hearing the Indian voice occasionally coming through the white man's record.

The murder of a Hudson's Bay Company post manager, his wife and several other Crees, at Hannah Bay in 1832 (Long & Chabot 1999; Long 2000; Chabot 2002) is notable for a number of reasons. The murders seem to have been motivated for a number of reasons, but such violence was so atypical of the fur trade period. There were religious overtones. And a posse of Crees and Europeans hunted down and killed the male perpetrators.

Some archaeological material helps to round out the picture (Judd on the original post at Moose Factory; Julig on early Aboriginal presence in the region). It is not difficult at all to develop the European fur trading experience on Hudson and James Bays. Statistics about the throughput of fur trade posts on James Bay, for example, is found in the *Historical Atlas of Canada* (Harris, 1987).

What the secondary works generally ignore, however, is putting the Europeans in perspective. How did they live their lives back home? We tend to describe Aboriginal lifestyle and culture as best we can, but we also tend to ignore European lifestyle and culture except as they actually lived at such as North American fur trade posts. Ethnohistorical methodology tends to be applied to historic North Americans but rarely to Europeans. Both primary sources and secondary literature contain accounts of sporadic Aboriginal "hunger" and the occasional harshness of Aboriginal life. What about the slums of London of Paris in the same period, for the sake of comparison? The books avoid making that comparison. There remains an underlying assumption that European life, mainly because of the technology that had developed and the luxury of the

lives of the elites, was superior to North American life. And once again, of course, an emic look at hunger can provide a unique Aboriginal perspective (Black-Rogers 1986).

Very few historic sites addresses this issue. One exception is the museum at Ste-Marie-Among-the-Hurons, which includes an effective comparison of European and North American life. This is something that could valuably be done at Moose Factory, rather than just describing life within the fur trade post.

James Bay Social Structures

Anthropologists describe the Cree as an egalitarian band society, which is to say that the (extended) family was its most important institution. Although missionaries introduced a patrilineal system of names (i.e. surnames which refer to the father), the Cree were neither patrilineal nor matrilineal but bilateral, and of course had distinct kinship terms (Honigmann). Preston (1980) provides the East Cree terms for various family forms, while Scott and Morrison (1993) are an excellent source for the Harricanaw River area, including many of the Mocreebec families. See also Flannery (1995) and Niezen (1998).

James Bay Spiritual Practices

Missionaries settled in James Bay in 1840, so traditional religious practices have been impacted by Christianity for some time. Fulford and Bird (2003) describe the profound impacts of Oblate teachings on a Cree student, now an elder who has his own website (www.ourvoices.ca). Long has described the impact of early protestant missionaries on the western James Bay Cree, using both documentary sources and Cree oral tradition. A syncretic religious movement reached western James Bay in the 1840s (Long 1989b), in response to these early missionaries. The distinctive Cree syllabic system of writing was introduced by Wesleyan Methodist missionaries in the 1840s.

Cooper and Flannery, working in the 1930s, documented Cree traditional religious practices in James Bay, as did Preston in the 1960s. There are distinct differences in terminology in northern Ontario and northern Quebec: the *kwashaapshigan* (shaking tent) and *mistapew* (attending spirit) and of the northern Quebec Cree are the *kosapachikan* and *mikinak* of the western James Bay Cree. On the shaking tent see Preston (2002) and Vincent (1973). Preston (1977, 1978) and also Flannery et al (1988) have described the “windigo” - - actually *wiitiko* on western James Bay, and *atuush* on eastern James Bay - - concept among the Cree. Flannery and Chambers (1985) show how traditional East Cree religious categories changed from the 1930s to the 1960s. Nelson

(1988) is a very useful study of the nineteenth-century spirituality of the Cree and northern Ojibwa.

Traditional Cree spiritual practices were closely tied to getting a living by hunting. Taylor (1983) discusses the relationships between spirituality and hunting among the Nemaska Cree, just east and inland from Moose Factory. The Cree of northern Quebec showed respect for the goose by hanging its bones in trees to bring success in future hunts (Preston 1978). They did the same for the bear by placing its skull in a tree (Hongimann 1978). This topic offers significant possibilities in site interpretation, but must be done carefully and respectfully, recognizing the different practices of the eastern and western James Bay Cree.

Hongimann (1978), for the West Main Cree, and Preston (1978), for the East Main Cree, both provide useful summaries of the activities of the churches among the people of James Bay. See also Scanlon (1976) and Batty (1893) for letters and photographs by Anglican Bishop John Horden.

Cooper and Flannery found that traditional religious concepts persisted much later among the eastern James Bay Cree than on western James Bay. Honigmann (1978) and Long (1986) noted the persistence of traditional religious knowledge despite a Christian veneer.

While Christianity is alive and well - - and expressed in a range of denominations - - among the James Bay Cree today, there is also a resurgence of traditional and pan-Indian religious practices. Any analysis of the impacts of Christianity upon the Cree will have to reflect this diversity.

Traditional Cree hunting songs, were largely replaced by hymns – particularly on western James Bay (Preston n.d.). The Cree hand drum, largely displaced on western James Bay, is making a comeback; Norm Wesley of Moose Factory now offers workshops on making a hand drum. The northern Plains powwow drum was introduced in the 1970s. The National Film Board's Fiddlers of James Bay (1980) shows the connection between fiddle music from the Orkney Islands and "traditional" Cree fiddlers. At Moose Factory, James Cheechoo keeps this music alive. Much work remains to be done on Cree musicology.

Treaty Nine, 1905

In 2003, the Mushkegowuk Council launched its Rupert's Land Claim, arguing that the transfer of HBC territory to Canada in 1869-70 (and not the treaty) is the basis for their claims against government. Nevertheless, the signing of Treaty No. 9 in 1905 ushered in enormous changes for the Cree of western James Bay.

The primary intent of the numbered Indian treaties, begun in 1871, was to obtain the surrender of Aboriginal land rights and titles to the English sovereign so that the government of Canada would be able to apportion land legally to white settlers and companies. While these treaties contained various gifts and promises which may have seemed designed to make the Indians comfortable, if not competitive, in the white man's settlement-agricultural economy, their goal was assimilation.

Treaty Nine was signed in 1905-06 (and in 1908, 1929 and 1930) at several locations in northern Ontario. The Cree at Moose Factory signed in August of 1905. The nature and extent of the Indians' understanding of the land surrender provisions of the treaty is an open question. As with earlier numbered treaties, Indians were told they could 'live as usual,' with additional benefits the treaty would make available. The Treaty Nine provisions are much the same as those of previous numbered treaties, except that the Treaty Nine Indians were not promised nearly as much as were their counterparts in other treaty areas.

John S. Long wrote three introductory booklets on the treaty (1978) and an article on the Métis position in Treaty Nine (Long 1984), and has a continuing interest (Long 1993, 1995c, 1997, 2004). James Morrison (1986) wrote the definitive history of Treaty No. 9 (Morrison 1986). Beal is a leading expert on the process and events of the numbered treaties, though he has not specifically researched Treaty Nine in detail (see, e.g., Beal 1997; Morrison and Beal 1999).

Moose Cree First Nation has conducted unpublished research on the World War II veterans' land claim at Moose Factory, as well as its claim to lands at Moose Factory seized by the federal government for the hospital, school, RCMP and Indian administration.

Following the signing of Treaty No. 9, the Cree at Moose Factory were at first subject to an annual visit from a federal government representative - the paymaster who distributed treaty annuities of $4 per person (which continues today), and perhaps an RCMP officer. Residential schools became government-subsidized, and one opened at Moose Factory – continuing in use until the 1970s. An Indian Affairs office, staffed by a resident doctor/Indian agent opened c.1926, and RCMP detachment opened at Moose Factory in 1929. While Moose Factory declined, to a degree, with the arrival of the railroad (HBC moved its offices to Winnipeg, and Moosonee became the transportation and trans-shipment centre), it remained the centre for Anglican Church administration and federal government operations.

With the opening of the residential school, and especially following the arrival of a resident Indian agent and the RCMP, the Moose Cree – perhaps more so than the other area First Nations – came under an intensive "tutelage" campaign. Tutelage refers to a web of political controls designed to force assimilation through the arbitrary exercise of power (Dyck 1991). On the cover of Harold Cardinal's first book (1969), three puppeteers - - representing a missionary, an Indian

Affairs official and a teacher - - are shown manipulating the everyday life of Indians in Canada. The title of Cardinal's next book, Rebirth of Canada's Indians (1977), signals the onset of a different story, one of resistance and self-determination (see also Tanner 1983). This could be an important theme at Moose Factory, for recent decades have seen dramatic developments at Moose Cree First Nation (and also for MoCreebec). People at Moose Factory recall how Andy Rickard (later Grand Chief of Grand Council Treaty No. 9, now Nishnawbe-Aski Nation), during his brief tenure as Chief of Moose Cree First Nation in the early 1970s, told the local Indian Agent that he was no longer needed at their meetings; prior to this, the agent felt obliged to chair all Council meetings. Later, in the 1980s, when Ernie Sutherland was Chief, the Moose Cree Chief and Council decided not to run an annual deficit. When the water and sewer project went ahead, the Chief and Council decided to buy the equipment themselves, and keep it to maintain the infrastructure, rather than lease from contractors. Mocreebec serves as an example of self-reliance with neither band nor reserve status.

In the early 1930s, with the arrival of the railway, the Moose Cree were encouraged to settle on their reserve at the French River and become farmers. (The residential school, and the HBC before this, always had a farm operation.) Log cabins were built, potatoes grown, horses and goats were kept.

James Bay Health Care

There is very little in the literature about traditional health care among the James Bay Cree. But it would probably not be very difficult to reconstruct some of the practices, such as the use of medicinal plants and healing, including shamanism. Robert Bell (1886) of the Geological Survey of Canada and Dr. Walton Haydon (1884) provide historical accounts of traditional health care. This has been done for other parts of Canada. For example, David Mandelbaum (1979) devotes much attention to Plains Cree medicine and healing practices. Laurie Lacey (1999) surveys medicinal plants of Nova Scotia, many of them traditionally used by the Mi'kmaq. There are some mentions in the standard historical literature about health care services provided first by the Hudson's Bay Company and then the federal Department of Indian Affairs.

There is some material on the hospital at Moose Factory in archival material that we have not reviewed. In very modern times, there have been some valuable studies of health care in the Moose Factory area (see, e.g., Lavallée 1993).

The HBC kept a doctor at Moose Factory for many years. The Letitia Newnham Cottage Hospital at Moose Factory was started by Anglicans in the 1890s. The current hospital recently celebrated its 50th anniversary, and produced a commemorative volume. Missionaries, of course, undermined traditional Cree healers.

James Bay Education

Preston (2002) describes traditional educational practices among the eastern James Bay Cree. While the HBC briefly operated schools in the early 19th century, schooling became a permanent fixture in James Bay after the arrival of missionaries in 1840 (Long 1978a). With the signing of Treaty No. 9, residential schools administered by the federal government provided education. The residential school system was phased out at Moose Factory in the 1970s, but had been integrated with a local school board since 1964. Ontario's first school board for Indian students was established at Moose Factory in 1956 (Long 1986b).

With respect to residential schools, writers appear to focus on lawsuits and not the educational system. There is a general literature on residential schools (e.g., Miller 1996) and also narrowly focussed studies, such as Jo-Anne Fiske's dissertation on the education of Carrier women in British Columbia (Fiske 1981). One study that pays attention to traditional and modern attitudes to education is Taylor (1983) for the Nemaska Cree, east and inland from Moose Factory.

Schuurman (1994) conducted research at Moose Factory. She interviewed 25 graduates of the Anglican residential school at Moose Factory about their experience there. Although they had a range of positive and negative experiences, they shared many memories: how hard it was to be separated from their parent(s); all the routines they had to follow; it felt like being in jail; they were separated from siblings into age groups (Junior Boys, etc.); the students found ways to "resist"; there were gangs; punishment was harsh, even cruel; there was abuse. There were long-lasting effects, which are still affecting family life and community life today: the normal Cree life cycle was interrupted; difficulty re-establishing close relations with family members; difficulty opening up emotionally with a spouse, children; mixed feelings about Native identity; difficulty disciplining children and showing them affection; feelings of anger, injustice and loss. Nevertheless, there are, at Moose Factory, many defenders of the residential school system – who argue that they learned a form of self-discipline there, which has helped them to become successful and independent today.

James Bay Architecture

Alanson Skinner was one of the first to describe traditional Cree shelters. Fred Georgekish has produced an excellent book on the architecture of the Wemindji Cree of eastern James Bay, which may be applicable to Moose Factory (Georgekish 1996), but this is an exception. The various volumes in the *Handbook of American Architecture* address buildings, although from an anthropological rather than an architectural-historical perspective. General studies of Aboriginal

architecture (e.g., Nabokov and Easton 1989) and Canadian architecture (e.g., Kalman 1992) adopt architectural-historical method, but say relatively little about the region. Tanner (1979) has described the shaking tent. Susan Preston (2000) has examined oral tradition from eastern James Bay for Cree conceptions of the land.

The Ontario Heritage Foundation acquired a number of buildings at Moose Factory a generation ago. Its researchers have produced a number of unpublished reports on the structures in Centennial Park and on the Hudson's Bay Company staff house (see Mendel 1984, Héroux 1990, and the other work cited in the section above on Moose Factory), but these document the buildings without placing them in a broader context. The Foundation's recent popular booklet (*Moose Factory* 2002) provides thumbnail illustrations and descriptions of these and a few other buildings and places. The introduction to Moose Factory by Eric Arthur et al. (1973) also addresses buildings. Herb Stovel published an article on HBC fur trade construction techniques at Moose Factory. Despite these beginnings, a broader study of the architectural history and cultural landscape of Moose Factory has yet been written.

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APPENDIX
CATALOG OF JOHN LONGSs AUDIOTAPES

Copies of these tapes were donated to the Ojibway-Cree Cultural Centre in Timmins

#	Narrator	Date Recorded	Affiliation	Language of Tape
1	John Carpenter	June 1980	Moose Factory Cree (orig. Ojibway)	English
2-4	Isaiah Salt	June 1983	Cree (Waskaganish))	English
11-13	Willie Moore	20 March 1984	Cree	English
14-15	Fred Moore	29 March 1984	Cree	English
16-18	Redfern Louttit	2 April 1984	Cree	English
19-20	George Solomon (& text)	26 April 1984	Cree	Cree
21-22	James Wesley	April 1984	Cree	Cree
23-25	translation of 21-22	26 April 1984		English
26-28	James Wesley translation	28 April 1984	Cree (N. Wesley's tape)	English
29	Michael Patrick translation	28 April 1984	Cree (N. Wesley's tape)	English
30	Simeon Metat translation	28 April 1984	Cree (N. Wesley's tape)	English
31-33	Raphael Wabano (& text)	30 April 1984	Cree (N. Wesley's tape)	Cree
36-38	Madeline Wesley Jemima Quachegan	21 May 1984	Moose Factory Cree	Cree
39-43	Willie Wesley Abraham Richard	26 May 1984	Moose Factory Cree	Cree
44-45	Rubina McLeod	26 May 1984	Cree	English
46-49	Willie Sutherland Sr.	28 May 1984	Cree	Cree
50-52	Thomas Cheechoo	2 June 1984	Cree	Cree

53-54	William Moore	4 June 1984	Cree	English
55	Alfred Carpenter (& text)	12 June 1984	Cree	Cree
56-58	Bert Morrison Sr.	14 June 1984	Cree	English
59-60	Rubina McLeod	17 June 1984	Cree	English
61	Charles Miller	20 June 1984	Cree	English
62-64	Oliver Dick Sr.	24 June 1984	Moose Factory Cree	Cree
65-68	Bill Turner Willie Chilton	25 June 1984	Cree	English
69-71	Fred Moore	2 July 1984	Cree	English
72-73	John Blackned	6 July 1984	Cree (Waskaganish)	Cree
74	Redfern Louttit	12 July 1984	Cree	English
75	APANO General Assembly	15 July 1984	“Metis/Non-Status”	English
76	Alfred Carpenter	18 July 1984	Cree	English
79-81	James Wesley	27-28 July 1984	Cree	Cree
82	George Solomon	8 August 1984	Cree	Cree
83	Alfred Carpenter George Solomon	21 August 1984	Cree	Cree
86	Cheechoo Family	1984 release	Commercial recording – copyrighted	English
89	Fred Moore	27 Dec. 1984	Cree	English
90-91	Winnie Spencer James Cheechoo	6 January 1985	Cree	English
92	Cree Language Workshop	14 Feb. 1985	Cree	Cree and English
93-94	Louis Bird	23 Feb. 1985	Cree	English
95-96	James Wesley	26 March 1985	Cree	Cree
97-98	Louis Bird Norman Wesley	2 April 1985	Cree	English
99-100	Rubina McLeod	23 June 1985	Cree	English
101	Fred Moore	23 June 1985	Cree	English