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Family Hunting Territories and Social Life of Various Algonkian Bands of the Ottawa Valley

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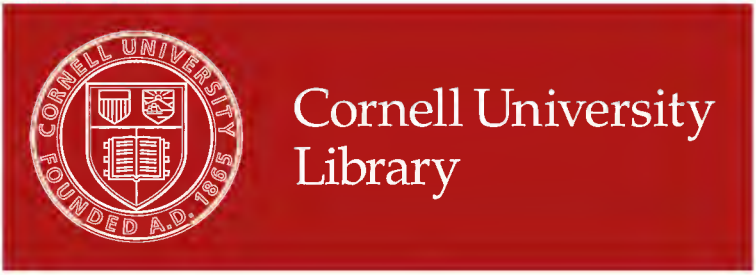

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

CHAPTER II.

CHAPTER III.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

Family Hunting Territories and Social Life of Various Algonkian Bands of the Ottawa Valley.

CHAPTER I.

FAMILY HUNTING TERRITORIES OF THE TIMISKAMING INDIANS.

Introductory.

Among the bands of Algonquins and Ojibwas in northern Ontario visited during the summer of 1913, chiefly in the interests of the Geological Survey of Canada, I spent some weeks with the Indians at the head of Lake Timiskaming, on the boundary between Ontario and the Province of Quebec.

These people are officially known as the Timiskaming band of Algonquins, numbering 241 in 1911, and located at their old headquarters in a village, North Timiskaming, 3 miles above where the Rivière des Quinze empties into Lake Timiskaming. The Timiskaming band has partially taken up farming through contact with French Canadians. Consequently the information obtained here is not of as high a grade as that secured from the Timagami band, which is of the same general type. The general results of my investigations up to this point warrant classifying the Timiskaming Indians as a branch of the Algonquin group, itself a subdivision of the Ojibwa. The Timiskaming people have, however, become greatly influenced by contact with the true Ojibwa only a few score miles to the west of them. This has resulted, through contact

and intermarriage, in the modification of some fundamental Algonquin characteristics, both in social and material life. The characteristic traits of the Algonquin group appear more genuinely in the Lac des Quinze band, about 25 miles east of the Timiskaming people, and also in the bands at the southern end of Lake Timiskaming, the Mattawa and Kipawa bands. In a general introductory paper which I am trying to prepare on the complicated ethnic affinities of the Algonkian bands to the north, more specific information will be presented on the inter-relations and areas of culture distribution of the different groups.

Although a collection of ethnological objects was made with accompanying data on material culture, especially decorative art, while visiting the Timiskaming people, this chapter will deal only with some phases of social organization. Timiskaming myths and folk-lore are published in another paper of this series. The chief object of my visit to this band was the investigation of the hunting territorial divisions which I have found to be so characteristic of all the northern tribes of the Algonkian stock so far visited.[1] I subsequently discovered that the Timiskaming Indians did not present so fruitful a field for these researches as the Timagami band of Ojibwa, where the family hunting territorial divisions and totemic clans exist side by side in the same group. For this reason I am referring the main discussion of this dual social classification to the third chapter of this paper, devoted to the Timagami band.

The Algonquin Bands.

The Timiskaming Indians may, I feel safe in saying, be definitely classified as a modified branch of the Algonquin group of the Ojibwa (Algonquin being a tribal designation distinct from, but included in, the term Algonkian, which refers to the whole linguistic stock). The modification mentioned is due to a secondary influence of the Ojibwa neighbours on the west and northwest, namely the Timagami and Matachewan bands.

[1] This statement covers the Montagnais, Naskapi, Cree, Ojibwa, Algonquin, Têtes de Boules, Penobscot, Micmac, and Wabanaki.

The Timiskaming people call themselves *Sagi·'wɑn·icəna'bi'* "Head-of-the-lake people," from their location and ancient village at the head of Lake Timiskaming. Some forty years ago there was a Hudson's Bay post there, and archæological finds on the point at the hamlet of North Timiskaming indicate an aboriginal headquarters at the same place. The term Timiskaming itself, according to native testimony, is a corruption of Algonquin *Temia'gɑmiŋ* "deep lake". The name of the present headquarters of the band is *Oba'djonasa'giŋ* "narrow current at mouth of river," which describes the topography of the village at North Timiskaming. Lake Timiskaming bears the name *Oba'djiwɑna'ŋ sagəhi·'gan* "narrowed-current lake," referring chiefly to the topography at Ville Marie farther down the lake, where there was also an ancient native headquarters and later a Hudson's Bay post.

The Timiskaming Indians regard as belonging to their own dialectic and cultural group: the Lake Abitibi Indians, *Abi't·ibi· anicəna'bi* "Blue-water people"; the Grand Lake Victoria Indians, *Kətci·sa'giŋ ani'cəna'bi* "Big-outlet people"; the Quinze Lake Indians, *Ki·nɔ·'ŋgani'cəna'bi* "Long-sand-point people"; the River Desert and Maniwaki Indians, *Təgɑzi·bi'ŋ ani'cəna'bi* "Hungry-river people"; the Mattawa Indians, *Matawasi·'bi ani'cəna'bi* "Mouth-of-river people"; and the various bands along the Ottawa river, known as *Ktci·si·'bi ani'cəna'bi* "Big-river people." This embraces practically the whole of the division classified as Algonquin. Most of these bands, it may be added, possess the same general distinctions in material culture, except that the more northerly bands, of whom the Timiskaming constitute one, had no agriculture, mat-covered wigwams, porcupine quill work, ash-splint basketry, and rush matting, as the necessary materials are absent in their latitude.

Hunting Territories.

The social units composing the band are the families, which consist of individuals related by descent and blood together with other women married to the men of the family. These

See Phonetic Key at end of paper for meaning of characters used.

families are patronymic, the family name providing a surname for the group. Individuals, of course, may have special nicknames derived from some personal characteristic, some deed, or an animal, but the classifying name of identity seems to be the family surname, the nickname being a sort of secondary modifier.

The matter, however, which constitutes the main bond of union and interest in these groups is the family hunting territory, in which all the male members share the right of hunting and fishing. These hunting "lots" or territories (*nok·i·'wak·i·*' "hunting ground") are more or less fixed tracts of country whose boundaries are determined by certain rivers, ridges, lakes, or other natural landmarks, such as swamps and clumps of cedars or pines. Hunting outside of one's inherited territory was punishable occasionally by death. More often, however, trespass was punished by conjuring against the offender's life or health. Each family, as a rule, had some shaman in its ranks who could be called upon to work malefic influence upon a member of another family who was known to have intruded. In this way we can see how, in the community of old, a much involved system of cross-conjuring must have grown up, often, as the Indians themselves state, causing more or less of rivalry and feuds between certain families. Sickness in general came to be attributed to these sources, it is claimed. Permission, however, could be obtained by a man to hunt in another's territory. This happened frequently as an exchange of courtesies between families when the game supply of one or the other had become impoverished. These privileges were, nevertheless, only temporary, except in a few cases where they were obtained through marriage. It was customary, for instance, in case a family had a poor season on its own domain, for it to obtain a temporary grant of a certain lake or stream from its neighbour, so as to tide over until a better season. When it was necessary in travelling to pass through another family territory, permission was generally sought at the owner's headquarters before passing on, and if by necessity game had been killed to sustain life, the pelts were carried to the owners or delivered to them by some friend. This gave the proprietors the right in the future to do the same in the territory of their trespassers.

These arrangements were matters of tradition and were remembered in detail by the families concerned.

The rights in the hunting territories were inherited paternally. Occasionally, to adjust matters, an old man would subdivide his district among several sons, thus creating new family groups, though, of course, these would recognize mutual privileges to a certain extent. For the most part, the territories were fairly rigid and permanent. Only a few changes are remembered to have taken place within the range of tradition.

It is interesting to note that the large and attractive islands in Lake Timiskaming were common property, or more properly reserves, to be occupied and hunted on when the families came together in the spring for their social reunion. One of these, known as Chief island, is called *Ogi·ma'mini`s·i* "Chief island," and was the property of the *Mazi'nigi`jik* family, from which the band chief was most frequently chosen. Here the chief had a regular camp and many families would, upon occasion, camp around him, using the islands, which teemed with game, for their supplies while at the gathering. The hunts which took place at these times were communal, bands of hunters driving the game from the centre of the island to the shores, where hunters were posted waiting in canoes. Then the meat obtained would become common provender for the assembly.

The chief, *ogi·ma'*, was a man chosen for life, generally from the *Mazi'nigi`jik* family, on account of his strength and wisdom.

Economically these family territories were regulated in a very wise and interesting manner. The game was kept account of very closely, so that the proprietors knew about how abundant each kind of animal was, and hence could regulate the killing so as not to deplete the stock. Beaver were made the object of the most careful "farming," the numbers of occupants, old and young, to each "cabin" being kept count of. In certain districts, moose, or caribou, were protected during one year, in other districts the next year. The killing of game was regulated by each family according to its own rules.

Marriage was a matter determined entirely by the old people of the families. The wife went to her husband's family and lived there. The children then belonged definitely to the father's family, and inherited their hunting rights in the

paternal territory. In cases of poor seasons at home it was, however, frequent for the husband to visit his wife's people and hunt, perhaps for several winters, on his father-in-law's grounds.

When the male claimants to a territory became extinct, it was divided up among the relatives in other family groups.

It would have been desirable to obtain some explanations or myths concerning the origins of these bands, but it is safe to state that none now exist, as I questioned the elders of each group and family.

Furthermore, these family divisions are not primarily concerned with animal totemism, which exists here also, although, as will be seen further on, the totemic descent being paternal, there will be a more or less permanent association between the hunting territory bands and certain totems. The main point is, however, that the hunting territory groups have developed by inheritance through individuals, irrespective of totemic communalism, and that the hunting territory names or titles, as we might call them, have also grown out of what originally were personal nicknames. This will appear more clearly in my presentation of the Timagami material. No taboos of diet or killing are found concerning these family groups. They are purely social and economic. Again, as regards the names, it might be added that some can not be definitely translated because of their great antiquity. Moreover, some of them have originated in child's talk, for example *Ogu'cen*, which is thought to be a child's pronunciation for *ogwu'si·s* "son." Personal nicknames are very often derived from such expressions of children learning to talk.

In the above brief résumé I have defined the most important facts that I learned regarding these hunting territories among the Timiskaming people. As the main object of this chapter is not to define or discuss the phenomenon in detail, but to present the data relating specifically to this band, I will add the actual facts secured from members of the different families themselves. It is my hope in the future to fill in the gaps as far as possible, listing geographically the hunting territories and families in the various bands through a large portion of northern Canada.

In the accompanying table, the number in the first column refers to the correspondingly numbered area in the subjoined map of hunting territories; in the second column is given the family designation or title; in the third, its explanation; the fourth gives the totem, to be discussed later; while the fifth column gives the general bounds of the territory.

In the first group, comprising seven families, are the original constituents of the Timiskaming band, so far as is now known. Some have about lost their identity through intermarriage with outsiders.

In the second group of families are given those who have become more or less affiliated with the Timiskaming band, though not originally members of it. Such attachments, due to migration and intermarriage, are always going on in these communities and must be reckoned with in any social study. Some of these families, as is noted, came originally from the Matachewan band of Ojibwas, others have come from Abitibi stock, still others from the Timagami country. The pressure on the Timiskaming territory seems to have been constantly from the west, the result of the continuous northward and eastward drift of Ojibwas from the Lake Huron and Lake Superior regions. This scheme provides us with a concrete and presumably fairly accurate illustration of how territorial encroachments occur among the natives.

Totems.

In the third column is given the totem. This represents the clan organization, which is of secondary importance in the social organization of these Indians. The family territorial groups form a much more active bond of kinship than the clan relationship. For this reason, considering the weakness of the clan institution among the other Algonquins eastward, it would seem natural to attribute the clan system here to the influence of neighbouring Ojibwas, with whom there has been considerable intermarriage.

The clan here is a group with paternal descent and the exogamic regulation. The emblem of the clan is an animal, which is called *nto'te·m* "my kin," the familiar term employed by

ethnologists. The totem is simply regarded by these Indians as an emblem of a group of people, related through their fathers, who may be encountered even in different tribes. Thus, the Timiskaming and Timagami people of the same totem consider themselves as distant relatives. There are no religious taboos entertained in connexion with the totem, nor is descent traced from it. The idea underlying the totem here seems to be, in brief, the idea of relationship between individuals who have inherited, through their fathers, a certain secondary nationality in the tribe, the emblem of which is the particular animal or totem. As may be inferred from the paternal reckoning in both the totemic and territorial groups, each hunting territory remains permanently in the same totemic group.

In the Timiskaming band are three totems distributed through the families: the Kingfisher, *ogi'ɕki·ma'nisi;* the Caribou, *at·i'k';* the Rattlesnake, *cici·'kwe.* The totems of some of the other families now extinct in the male line are not known.

The same totems are found among the Timagami Indians. The fact that the families in both bands are related by marriage and descent, leads one to feel that the Timiskaming totems may have been derived directly from encroaching Ojibwa families in comparatively recent times.

CHAPTER II.

FAMILY HUNTING TERRITORIES OF THE DUMOINE RIVER AND KIPAWA BANDS OF ALGONQUINS.

In this short chapter are given the family hunting territories of two bands of the Algonquin tribe, lying along the Ottawa river, eastward from the territories of the Algonquins of Timiskaming. These data, which extend our knowledge of the family claims considerably to the eastward, were obtained from Benjamin McKenzie, of the Timiskaming band, who had been raised from childhood by Po'ni·s, the proprietor of Territory 14, of the Dumoine River band. McKenzie had hunted over the whole of this territory as far as the Coulonge and had been taught the territorial bounds by his guardian as a safeguard against trespassing. As the Dumoine band has disintegrated, we have no available means of checking these boundaries. Although coming from one informant, there is no reason to doubt the correctness of the information.

The Dumoine River band of Algonquins called itself *Ki·we'goma·nicəna'bi*, "Turn-back-lake people", from the name of Lake Dumoine. They seem to have lost their separate identity. McKenzie says that they became mixed in with the Fort William Indians of the Coulonge river when he was but a young man.

As to the Kipawa band, I had some difficulty in identifying the territories with precision, as the claims have become confused owing to removal, the encroachment of the whites, and intermarriage with other Indians and with whites. The name *Ki'pəwe* denotes a "narrows beyond which the river widens". These people are also of the Algonquin tribe and are now located near Mattawa.

Socially and economically we find the same characteristics prevailing here as in the Timiskaming and Timagami bands which are respectively treated in the first and third chapters of

this paper. It is hardly necessary, therefore, to repeat the facts concerning paternal inheritance, trespass regulations, and the conservation of game in each of the family groups.

Dumoine Band.

No.	Family Name.	Translation.	Hunting District.
13	Ya'ndekwe.	"Changing colour clouds"	East arm of Grand Lac Dumoine east of Coulonge river, south of Height of Land.
14	Po'ni·s.	"Light."	South of preceding between Dumoine river and Coulonge river.
15	Ci·ma'gan (Simon).	"Spear."	Dumoine river east to Lake St. Patrick and south to Ottawa river.
16	Nɑ̃k·we'gi·jik.	"Middle of the sky."	West of Dumoine river from Ottawa river north to Grassy lake.
17	Menwɔ̃·'bunwe.	"Nice morning."	West of Grand Lac Dumoine from preceding district north to Height of Land.

Kipawa Band.

18	Mi'skoci·ma'gan (Antoine Simon).	"Red soldier".[1]	Ottawa river east and south from Lake Obashing (Beauchêne) to Maganasibi river.
19	Kwakwa'ni (Basil).	Derived from "kwakwa", baby talk in calling for a drink of water.	North of preceding to Kipawa river.
20	Kǫ·'sta (Joseph).	(?)	Indefinite information gives this band a district east of Lake Kipawa.

[1] This is also "red spear" or "red-coated soldier."

CHAPTER III.

FAMILY HUNTING TERRITORIES AND SOCIAL LIFE OF THE TIMAGAMI BAND OF OJIBWA.

INTRODUCTORY.

In my work among the Algonkin tribes of northern Ontario in the summer of 1913, one of my objects was to learn something of the conditions under which the characteristic family bands, with special hunting territories, exist in a region where the totemic clan organization also prevails. Consequently, from Lake Nipissing northward I followed the line of contact between the Algonquins,[1] Ojibwa, and Cree, obtaining data from the Ojibwa of the Nipissing band, the Algonquins of Timiskaming, Mattawa, and Dumoine river, and the Ojibwa of Timagami, as well as supplementary material from those of Mattagami, Matachewan post, and Lake Abitibi.

The best opportunity for investigating this social-ecomonic organization was afforded by the Ojibwa of the Timagami band located, for their summer rendezvous, at the Hudson's Bay post on Bear island in Lake Timagami. The small size of this band (ninety-five souls in 1913) enabled me to make inquiries, so far as I could plan them, on a number of points concerning the life of the individual and the social group.

As regards the history of the Timagami band itself, evidences seem to support the assumption that these people are part of a steady northward drift of Ojibwa-speaking tribes from the Great Lakes. The Timagami themselves say that their ancestors came from near Sault Ste. Marie (*Pawatiŋ* "at the rapids"). The vanguard of this migration seem to be the northerly extending bands at Matachewan post and Flying post, while the Timagami are more of a northeastern extension,

[1] Their territories lie north from Ottawa river to Grand Lake Victoria and from Lake Two Mountains westward to Lake Timiskamimg.

having pushed their way into the boundary of the Algonquins of the Timiskaming band. Intermarriage characterized the spread of the Ojibwa among other bands, while the assimilation of manufactures, customs, beliefs, and art has resulted, after a few generations, in producing intermediate types which are either fundamentally Ojibwa or superficially so. This northern and eastern pressure of the Ojibwa seems to correspond to their western and northwestern movement as recorded by Mr. Skinner.[1] The Timagami people are conscious of this tendency in their group, attributing it to the necessity of seeking new hunting grounds by crowding on the Cree and Algonquins in the more northern tracts in order to replace their own territory in the Great Lakes region now being despoiled by the white people.

I hope to extend subsequently the region covered by my territorial survey, represented in part on the accompanying map, so that as many as possible of the contiguous territorial boundaries of all the northern and northeastern tribes may be marked down. Then we shall be able to give actual boundaries not only to tribal groups but to dialects and to the distribution of elements of culture. This material may, moreover, prove to have some value in the field of Indian administration, should it ever be possible to reconstruct the boundaries of the native family claims in Ontario and Quebec.

Bands and Hunting Territories.

As might be expected, the family band with its special hunting territory (*nda'k·i·m* "my land") is of primary importance here, as it is throughout the whole region occupied by the northern Algonkian hunting tribes. The general characteristics of this social grouping have been already dealt with in the preceding chapter on the Algonquins of the Timiskaming band. It seems hardly necessary to repeat the general details of proprietorship, trespass, conservation of animal resources, and ideas of inheritance and marriage prevailing among the Timagami people, as they are substantially the same as among their previously discussed neighbours. I was, however, told that the Timagami divided their districts into quarters, each year

[1] *Notes on the Eastern Cree and Northern Saulteaux*, Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. IX, Part 1, 1911, pp. 11, 117-118.

hunting in a different quarter of the family territory in rotation, leaving a tract in the centre as a sort of "bank" not to be hunted over unless forced to do so by a shortage in the other tract. At such a time the family would move into this reserve and live upon it until the other tracts had replenished themselves. The institution of the hunting territory was held to by the Timagami until quite recently. They still make some effort to regard their district boundaries. I was able, in consequence, to make a careful record of the district, clan, name, and other features of the different proprietors. For two weeks, while at Bear island, I had the heads of the families themselves engaged in marking their territories on the map which is here reproduced. The results are shown upon the map itself. It is believed that the territorial bounds there defined are as correct as it is possible to make them. The Indians themselves realized the importance of the subject, and, probably for the first time in their lives, settled matters in black and white which had formerly been merely entrusted to memory. In addition to this, a diagram census of nearly the whole Timagami band, showing the family and territorial affinities, totems, and individual names, is given. In this way the social structure of a definite band may be concretely studied.

The original Timagami families seem to have numbered twelve, the proprietary names of which are as follows:

Family Hunting Territories of the Timagami Band.

No.	Family Name.	Translation.	Totem.	Hunting District.
10	Wabimα'k'wa.	"White bear."	Loon.	East of Timagami lake to Rib, Net, White Bear, and Rabbit lakes. *Kabi·mi·'gwun·e,* his brother, who married in the Timiskaming band, had a tract eastward to mouth of Montreal river.
21	Nebene'gwun·e.	"One side wing."	Loon.	East of Timagami lake to Rabbit lake and south to Red Cedar lake.

Family Hunting Territories of the Timagami Band—Con.

No.	Family Name.	Translation.	Totem.	Hunting District.
22	Cumca'ckiwe.	"Old body."	Caribou.	South arm of Timagami lake, west to Manitopipagi lake, south to Sturgeon river.
23	Caya'gwog^{w}si.	"Coming up hill."	Loon.	West of Timagami lake to Obabika lake, south to Sturgeon river.
8	Kane'cjc.	"Tomtit."	Loon.	Whitefish lake east to Montreal river, south to Sandy inlet, Lake Timagami.
24	Wenda'bœn.	"Coming dawn."	Rattlesnake.	Surrounding Lady Evelyn lake.
25	Aya'nda'ckwe.	"Sun passing across a cloud."	Kingfisher.	Obabika lake west to Sturgeon river.
26	Kamino'ckama.	"Standing solidly."	Kingfisher.	Sturgeon river east to Florence lake and north to McKee lake.
27	Ke'^{x}ke^{x}k.	"Hawk."	Rattlesnake.	Surrounding Macobe lake.
27a	Misa'bi.	"Giant man."	Beaver.	Florence lake east to Obabika lake.
28	Kohǫ'je. Pi·ku'dji·ck.	"Owl's beak." "Pile of mud."	(?)	Both sides of Montreal river north to Elk lake from Kerry lake.

[1] *Misa'bi*, who is still living, almost a centenarian, is a Georgian Bay Ojibwa who came north and married one of *Ke'^{x}ke^{x}k's* daughters many years ago. Consequently *Ke'^{x}ke^{x}k* gave him a portion of his territory in the southern part.

Family Hunting Territories of the Timagami Band—Con.

No.	Family Name.	Translation.	Totem.	Hunting District.
29	Menitcu'wac. Si·da·'we.	"Spirit man." (no meaning.)	(?)	From Mirror lake to Gowganda lake and north through Long Point lake.
30	Djɑkwuni·'gan.	"Holding a child."	Kingfisher.	Smoothwater laks to Gowganda lake.
31	Pawɑgi·'dɑk·we	"Sun rising on top of sky."	Kingfisher.	North of Sandy lake to Duncan lake.

Hunting Territories of Other Bands Adjacent to the Timagami.

Mattagami Band.

32	Oci·'mi·git.	"Scab" (?)		Tract east of Mattagami lake.
33	Wa'pi-tɑ'giji.	"Braided guts."		Sandy lake west to Nebwagwissi river.
34	Pi·ta'tigoe.	"Waves coming toward me."		A long tract west of Sturgeon river.

Whitefish Band.

35	Ote'pando. Osa'was.	(no meaning). "Yellow."	Rattlesnake.	Had same territory west of Sturgeon river. *Osa'was* was *Ote'pando's* nephew. It is said that *Osa'was'* father was a Spaniard.
	Tci·'dji.	(no meaning).	(?)	Have no territory, since there are only several women left. Their husbands were allowed to hunt with *Nebene'gwun·e* of the Timagami band.

Hunting Territories of Other Bands Adjacent to the Timagami —Con.

Nipissing Band.

No.	Family Name.	Translation.	Totem.	Hunting District.
36	Ca'bogi·'jik.			Red Cedar lake south to Lake Nipissing.

Timiskaming Band.

1 Mazi'ni·gi·'jik
7 Kitci·'bien
6 Wa'bɑni'cəna'bi
2 Wa'bigi·'jik
11 Cą'bədis
37 Ka'tci·dji.
38 Twen
39 Wa'wi·e·'ski·zik

(See table in Chapter I)

We can get some idea of an older order of distribution, when there were fewer hunting grounds, by considering the territories possessed by the bands a generation or so ago. It seems that many of the present districts are subdivided tracts, two or three sons of a former proprietor having received portions after the death of their father and founded new families with new proprietary names.

Thus *Wabi·mɑ'k·wa* (10), *Caya'gwogwsi* (23), and *Kane·'cį·c* (8) were brothers who received their allotments after the death of their father. These contiguous territories had previously formed one. *Cumca'cki·we* (22) and *Nebəne'gwun·e* (21) were also brothers who received their portions from their father. The same is true of *Wenda'bɑn* (24) and *Ke'ˣke*ˣ*k* (27); of *Kami·no·'kama* (26), *Djɑ'kwuni·gan* (30), and *Pawegi·'dɑk·we* (31); and of *Pi·ta'ti·gǫs* (34), *Wapi·tɑ'gi·ji* (33), and *Oci·'mi·git* (32) of the Mattagami band. As will be seen by referring to the census list, the groups of brothers are necessarily of the same clans. This may account for the contiguity of clans

in the same districts where former larger hunting territories have been split up into smaller sections among sons. If it were possible to pursue the historical inquiry further back, it might appear that the founders of these northern drifting Ojibwa bands were members of a few clans of the Great Lakes Ojibwa who migrated northward in search of a better game country within the last hundred years or so.

An interesting example of how territories may be loaned in part to other families in time of need is afforded by the narrative of Second Chief Oje'cewa'kwasi·no'winini (Aleck Paul), describing his experiences while staying with the chief of the Matachewan band.

"One time I went to visit Chief Michel Batiste (of the Cạ'-bədis band) at Matachewan post near Elk lake. He gave me three miles on a river in his hunting territory and told me I could hunt beaver there. I was allowed to kill any young beaver, and one big one, from each colony. He told me not to go far down the river because another man's territory began there. Said he, 'Don't go down to where you see a tract of big cedars.' And I did not go there. This grove of cedars was the measure of his boundary. Later he gave me another lake where I could hunt marten. I stayed with this chief several months and he wanted me to stay longer. Then I left and came back to my own country. Afterwards I made another visit to the territory of the Djα'kwuni·gan family (Timagami band), because this man was a friend of mine and he had often been permitted by my father to hunt on our land. He had almost been like a brother to him. Then I came back here."

Clans and Totems.

Among the Timagami people, who are true Ojibwa, the clan groupings are still recognized, though not with the emphasis that is given them by the Ojibwa farther to the south. This is due to the fact that their trend of migration is northward, away from their sources of culture. The clans are characterized by animal totemic names. Descent is reckoned through the father. Marriage must take place outside of the clan, although

there is one case in the Timagami band of two people of the same clan who married; special provision in this case was made because the husband was a half-breed. It was thought that this outside blood would prevent a marriage between too closely related people. This idea of avoiding close marriage is explained by the Timagami people as the basis of clan exogamy.

The totem (Ndo'dem "my own emblem" seems to be as close to an analysis as the Indians can give) is regarded as an emblem which designates the group, and of which the members are proud in the same way, according to the Indians, as the Americans are proud of the eagle or the British of the lion. In the Timagami band no descent from the totem was claimed. The old men at Timagami think that the totem nickname originated from the abundance of some particular animal in the old hunting territories, which later became a mark of identity for the proprietors. No dietary taboos exist in regard to the totem nor are there any special clan rights, chiefs, or face paintings. The Timagami clans are four in number:

Maŋk "Loon"
Ogi·'cki·ma`ni·si "Kingfisher"
Ci·ci·'gwe "Rattlesnake"[1]
Ami'k·` "Beaver"[2]

An outside family of Saulteaux or Cree blood has brought in the *Ka·g* "Porcupine" totem to the Timagami band, and an Indian from the Mattagami post has introduced the *At·i'k·`* "Caribou" totem in recent years.

Wisana.

Another idea of some importance in the social classification of the individual is the *wi·sa'na.* This term denotes some animal which, shortly after the birth of a child, comes near the wigwam, apparently to see the baby. Sometimes its coming is delayed until the child is a year old. Practically all children

[1] The earlier southern home of the Timagami people is indicated by this totem, as there are no rattlesnakes as far north as Lake Timagami. The Indians claim the northern limit of the reptile to be French river.

[2] The Beaver clan was brought in a generation ago by a Georgian Bay Indian, Misabi, to whom a portion of territory was given by *Ke'·ke·k* "Hawk"

have this experience and treasure the name of the animal all their lives for some reason which they cannot definitely explain. The creature, it seems, is generally of the opposite sex of the child. It is looked for and expected by the mother. Practically everybody in the band knows everybody else's *wi·sa'na*. As will be seen from the census list, the *wi·sa'na* may be any kind of animal and has absolutely nothing to do with the totemic animal. The two seldom coincide. Often the child carries the name of the *wi·sa'na* until some episode in life earns for him a nickname. There is no taboo against killing the class of animal, though the actual creature that comes to visit the baby is never disturbed or molested, even though the family may be in need of food at the time and the *wi·sa'na* a desirable game animal. It seems that the *wi·sa'na* may, until we know more about it from other cognate sources, be regarded as a sort of minor individual totem. The *wi·sa'na* of each individual in the band will be found marked in the proper column in the census list following.

Census of the Timagami Band.

In the accompanying table are given the agency roll name, totem, family territorial affiliation, *wi·sa'na* or animal visitant, and individual name or nickname, with remarks, of all but one or two members of theTima gamiband:—

Naming.

When a child is born the parents make a feast and invite all the relatives. Later, when the child is about a year old, the mother generally appoints some old man or woman, selected on account of certain good qualities, to give the child a name. At this time another feast is held, during which the name-giver lifts up the infant and announces the name he has chosen for it; in a few words he or she bestows the name upon it. Then, as the food is passed around among the assembly from right to left, the child is also handed from one to the other, and each guest kisses it. This little ceremony makes public the name, which is retained without change through life, unless it should happen that some funny episode in the person's career should give rise to a nickname. It may also happen that a child grows up without ever having the naming feast given for him. Then, of course, he simply has to acquire one by being nicknamed among his relatives or associates. Names of the latter sort are, however, considered inferior.[1] Many of them are merely syllables of baby talk which grow into the names of the little tots who utter them because they sound "cute" to their folks. In the list just given the two sorts of names can readily be distinguished.

These really poetical names, among which sky and weather terms predominate, are derived from the particular time of day or night or the condition of weather prevailing when the child is born. The names are mostly composite terms combined with "man "or "woman." They not only have an aesthetic value, being euphonious as such to the Indian ear, but disclose a creditable appreciation of nature on the part of the natives.

Chieftainship.

In the native political organization of this band the head official was the chief, *ogi·'ma.* There was also a second chief,

[1] Some nicknames given to white people illustrate how the Indians seize upon some characteristic sound or trait. A Mr. Weaver was known among the Timagami people as *Ki'tci·ami'k* "Big Beaver," by a corruption of the sound of the English name; Mr. Montgomery as *Ki'tci'pigi'u*^{w} "Big Gum"; Mr. Southard as *Ki'tci·sa'wano'gi* "Big Southerner"; Mr. Woods, the H. B. co. factor, as *Ada'wewini'ni* "Store man." On account of my interest in old time lore, I received the nickname of *Ota'tsoke·'winini* "Story man."

ani·ke' o'gi·ma "Next to Chief," and a third official known as *mi·zi'nawe* "Man who collects (for the chief)."

Under the old regime the head chief and the second chief had about the same rank. If one was absent on a hunting expedition, or incapacitated in any way, the other would officiate. Their duty was to regulate contact between the band and neighbouring bands or tribes and the government. They were always supposed to be planning for the interests of the people in one way or another. They took care of widows and orphans and it was their duty to preach occasionally on the rules of the camp or upon topics in which they thought the people needed instruction or encouragement. In this lecturing the second chief would generally do the talking, announcing that the chief had so and so to say. Should any member of the band behave in a way that was considered offensive or detrimental to the band, in other words, do wrong, the chief would call a meeting of all the men who would discuss the matter and decide what reprimand or punishment to administer. The second chief would publicly announce the result. The first chief seems to have had some personal control, inasmuch as he could go into the family camps and warn them against this or that violation of the common welfare, whether trespass or offense. There seem to have been no clan chiefs. In time of war, it is remembered, the chief was the head. He decided the fighting policy of the band, where to camp, where to move, when to retreat, when to advance, and the like. Or, if unable to go himself, he would apportion so many men to another responsible leader, whom he might appoint as his proxy. The chief seems also to have been expected to learn conjuring in order to send his *ma'nitu* to fight against enemies or rivals.

As regards the third man in rank, the *Mi·zi'nawe*, his main duty seems to have been to collect money or provisions for feasts, councils, or for the expenses of the chief's travels in visiting wherever he might consider his presence required. Another duty of this official was to distribute meat to the families when it was brought to camp.

New chiefs were elected to office in the following way. The men of the band, forming the elective body, sat around in a circle. Some old man, serving as a master of ceremonies,

would say, "This man is going to be chief," announcing the name of some candidate who had been previously agreed upon. If the choice was agreeable to the assembly, they would reply "*ehe*", "Yes". Then he would tell the nominee to stand up and shake his hat. After this was done, the assembly would rise, yelling "He! he!" and waving their hats over their heads in token of assent. This mode of election was followed in the case of the three officials. An old chief would often appoint his own successor, who, it seems, could be of any totem, the only restriction being that he must be a born member of the band.

In the accompanying table showing the chiefs as far back as they can be remembered by the Timagami people of to-day, we can see concretely that the officers were distributed in the different bands and totems, that chieftainship was for life, and that a man would commonly rise from the position of second chief to that of head chief upon the death of his predecessor.

Chronological[1] *List of Chiefs of the Timagami Band.*

Head Chiefs.		Second Chiefs.	
Name.	Totem.	Name.	Totem.
1. Ne'bəne'gwun·e "Feathers all over"[2], 1800-1835 (time of white man's coming).	Caribou.	Ke'ᶻke'ᶻk "Hawk."	Rattlesnake.
2. Ke'ᶻke'ᶻk "Hawk," 1835-1850.	Rattlesnake.	Ka'bemi·'gwun·e "Moving feather" (family of White Bear).	Loon.
3. Kane'ci·c "Little bird," 1850-1870 (founder of Kane'cic territory).	Loon.	To'nene (no meaning) There was no Misi·'nawe.	Loon.

[1] All dates are approximate.

[2] Ne'bəne'gwun·e's father was chief before him. There were no white people present at that time (before 1800). He took part in "the great Ojibwa war." This may refer to the Pontiac war of 1763.

Chronological[1] *List of Chiefs of the Timagami Band—Con.*

Head Chiefs.		Second Chiefs.	
Name.	Totem.	Name.	Totem.
4. To'nene, 1870-1888; also had name of Maya'gi·zis "Right sun". (He was life chief).	Loon.	Wa'wi·egi·'jik "Round daylight" (Frank White Bear). There was no Mizi·'nawe this term.	Loon.
5. Oda'kawa'si·ge'wini'ni "Watching daylight coming to shine" (John Paul), 1888-1900 (family of Kamino'-kama).	Kingfisher.	Wa'wi·egi·'jik "Round daylight" (Frank White Bear).	Loon.
		Mizi·'nawe: Tca'ni·zu'tc (no meaning) (family of Nebane'-gwun·e).	Loon.
6. To'nene (no meaning), 1900-1910, (oldest brother of Frank White Bear).	Loon.	Frank White Bear (same as preceding).	Loon.
7. Wa'wi·egi·'jik "Round daylight" (Frank White Bear), 1910.—	Loon.	Oje'cewa'kwasi·no'winini "Sighing of wind in trees man" (Aleck Paul).	Kingfisher.

[1] All dates are approximate.

Marriage.

Unions between young people were contracted by the old folks. They would choose some young girl for a man who they thought should marry. The marriage was celebrated by no feast, dance, or ceremony, when the first wife was taken. The man would simply build a wigwam and make a canoe and household utensils. The old folks would lead the girl to the new household, where the couple would live together. Of course they would take care to have the husband and wife of a different clan, and, in their own way, would seek to combine compatible dispositions. Polygamy was in vogue among these

people. After the first wife a man would simply arrange personally with other women whom he might desire, and take them to his wigwam on his own account without any semblance of a ceremony. The Indians claim that husband and wife seldom separated in the old days, although there was no restriction against separation. The children in such a case would belong to the father. The term for husband or wife, which is used reciprocally, is *ni·wi·'tigema'gan* "the one who lives with me"; "I marry" is *ni·ni·'bau.*

Kinship Terms.

All non-vocative forms are provided with prefixed first person possessive pronouns.

English	*Ojibwa*: "my—	*Vocative*
Father	*nu'se*, *nda'dam*	*da'ta*
Mother	*niŋga'*	*dju'dju*
Grandfather	*ni·mico'məs*	*ni·jo'məsim*
Grandmother	*niŋko'komәs·im*	*ko'kamәs*
Son	*niŋgwi's*	*niŋgwə's*
Daughter	*ninda·'nis*	
Grandson, Granddaughter	*no'ces* "grandchild"	
Brother (general term)	*ni·djki·'we* (used only by males)	
Older brother	*nisa'yes*	
Younger brother, Younger sister	*nici·'mec*	*Ka'wan* "cousin" (girl speaking)
Older sister	*nimi'ses*	*Ka'wan* "cousin" (boy speaking)
Sister (general term)	*nimi'*	
	nindawe'ma (used reciprocally by brother and sister)	
Father's brother	*nimico'mec* (also stepfather)	
	nici'cec (preferable term) (also: mother's sister's husband)	

Father's sister	*ninu'cec* (preferable term) (also: mother's brother's wife; step-mother)
	nizi·'g^{w}əs
Mother's sister	*ninu'cec* (also: father's brother's wife)
Mother's brother	*nici'cec* (also: father's sister's husband)
Father's sister's son	*nidjkiweka'wan*
	ninda'wemaka'wan
Mother's sister's son	*nidjkiweka'wan* (also: mother's brother's son)
	ninda'wemaka'wan (preferable term) (also: mother's brother's daughter)
Mother's sister's daughter	*nidjkiweka'wan*
	ninda'wemaka'wan
Girl cousins (by mother's sister)	*ninda'ŋg^{w}ecec* (reciprocal)
Boy cousins	*nidjkiwekáwan* (reciprocal)
Sister's son, Sister's daughter, Brother's son, Brother's daughter	*nindo'jimɔs*
Son's wife	*ni·'naha'ŋgani'ˋkwem* (lit. "my pleasing, satisfactory, woman")
Daughter's husband	*nini'ŋgwɔ̀n* ("satisfactory man")
Father-in-law	*ni·ji'nis* (man or woman speaking)
Mother-in-law	*ni·zi'k^{w}əsis* (man or woman speaking)
Brother-in-law	*ni·'ta*
Sister-in-law	*ni·'nim*
Step-son	*niŋgwə'skaˋwan* (man or woman speaking)
Step-daughter	*ninda'niskaˋwan* (woman speaking)
	nindo'zi·mi'ˋkaˋwan (man speaking)
Adopted son, Adopted daughter	*ni·'ta'wagiˋtcigan* (lit., "one that I brought up")

Burial.

Originally the Timagami people buried their dead largely in trees. The bodies were wrapped in blankets and clothing, sometimes encased in bark, and then placed in the branch of a spruce tree some distance from the ground. Some picturesque point in the river or lake was chosen, where it was thought they enjoyed seeing their living kin-folk passing by on their journeys. In later times tree burial seems to have been used more for the poorer class of people or for those who died in winter when the ground cannot be dug.

The people of the better class were frequently buried in the ground beneath the fireplace in the centre of the wigwam in which they had died. Then the wigwam would be moved.[1] Another method of burial was to dig a hole, line it with rocks, deposit the body therein, dressed and ornamented, provide it with bow and other available property, and cover the whole with a pile of cobble-stones brought there by the members of the family. The body was always laid upon its back. The Indians say this cairn burial was practiced to protect the body from being eaten by wild animals.

Hunter's Taboos.

Individually the men had many special taboos concerning the game which they killed. One man, for instance, when he brought home game, would always make a practice of eating certain portions, such as the head of the beaver, the knee of the caribou, or the tongue of the caribou. Sometimes he would share the privilege with his son or male relatives. Another hunter would always make a practice of eating the heart when he killed a bear. On the other hand, some hunters would never eat beaver; others would not eat the beaver's head.

These taboos are explained as having developed from individual experiences. One man, for instance, would not eat a fisher because once, when he had killed one and eaten it, although he was very fond of it, he became very sick. Another man had a dream in which he was warned not to eat beaver

[1] This reminds one of the custom found among the Muskhogean tribes.

heads. He believed that as long as he did not eat a beaver head he would continue to have good luck in finding beaver anywhere and any time. When he killed a beaver, he always cut a piece of the breast meat and ate it on the spot to preserve his power to kill beaver. Owing to the fact that some people are reluctant to divulge their secret taboo, it is difficult to get as large a collection of these as might be desired.

Hunters always placed the antlers of moose and caribou upon a trimmed tree stump, where they may be seen by passers by as an evidence of respect on the part of the slayer. To omit doing this is thought to weaken one's power as a hunter. The skulls of beaver as well as of other large animals are always placed in the branches of a tree near where they have been killed.

The bear in particular is honoured by having his skull painted with a black stripe from nose to occiput and another stripe perpendicular to this across the crown; a black spot is put in each quarter. Then a spruce tree is trimmed of bark, but left standing in its natural position; the skulls are tied to the trunk, and ribbon streamers are tacked to the top of the tree and red bands painted around the peeled portion at intervals. The bear is a much respected animal.

Dances.

The dances of the Timagami band are mostly occasional performances which take place as an accompaniment to feasting, chief-making, welcoming strangers, and sometimes before or after the hunt. While staying at Bear island I had occasion to witness several of these dances. Those still performed are the Feast Dance, Bear Dance, Duck Dance, and a common Round Dance, while the Pipe Dance is now obsolete.

The Feast Dance (*ma'guce uci'm·o*) is a celebration in honour of someone who has provided a feast for the camp. The guests are invited in the afternoon, and the food is shared from a common place where it has been spread upon the ground, each guest being provided with his eating utensils. Tobacco is distributed after the feast. When evening comes on, the chief performs the Feast Dance in honor of the donor. He

wears some extra apparel and carries a drum in his hand to accompany his singing. When I saw the dance, the chief had a woven rabbit skin robe over his head and shoulders. While singing the Feast Song, inserting a few words at times in honour of the feast maker and drumming, he dances before the assembly. Soon he threads his way in and out amongst the people, continuing his song, and when he has gone through the ranks of the spectators he dances back to the feast ground and ends his dance.

The Bear Dance (*mɑk·wə'cim·o*) is a rather simple performance in which the men and women, in no particular order form a large circle, with the leader at their head. Several of the men carry rattles made of tin cans containing pebbles. The circle of dancers led by the chief, who carries a drum and sings the Bear Dance song, then starts around counter-clockwise. The leader sometimes dances backwards, turns around, stoops, and in other ways imitates the bear. Generally some attempt is made nowadays by the leader and the men who rattle to wear Indian costume in part, donning feathers, blankets, or bead-work. The circling keeps up until the song is finished. The idea of this dance seems to be to honour the bear by imitating him.

The Duck Dance (*Ci·ci·'pci'm·o*) is another performance of which the Timagami are quite fond. It seems to have been influenced by European dances. The orchestra consists, generally, of a violin upon which some old reel or hornpipe or French jig is played. Formerly, they used the drum. The dance begins with two files of partners, the men on one side and the women on the other, side by side. All facing the musician, they begin walking backward and forward together. After doing this three or four times, the men swerve to their right and the women to their left, circle around and meet again at the head of the line. Then the partners hold hands, forming a bridge, and the couple behind passes under the bridge, takes position in front of the first couple, also holding hands, while the next couple then has to pass under two hand bridges and fall in place before the preceding ones. The whole company resumes its original position in this way by passing under the bridge and forming a new link in its lower end. This circling

and bridging is done several times. The next figure changes altogether. From the parallel line formation side by side the first couple faces right about and starts to thread in, first to the right and the left of each of the other couples as they in turn come to the head of the line and follow the first couple toward the rear. The whole movement simply becomes a swerving chain figure in which each couple alternately passes to the right and to the left of the one coming toward it. Sometimes a modern waltz turn or two is introduced between these movements. On the whole, this is said to come from the native Duck Dance in which the object was to represent the movements of a flock of drakes and ducks. At the end of the dance the performers all quack two or three times. This is purely a pleasure dance.

The common Round Dance is an outdoor performance generally performed at the camp. One man sings any one of a set of tunes, which seem to be mostly improvisations in which humorous passages are often introduced, accompanying himself upon a drum which is suspended from the branches of a tree. The dancers form a circle, generally with the men at the head of the line, some carrying rattles. Then they begin trotting around to the left quite close together, in time to the music. There is very little form to the dance. It seems to be for the most part merely a form of amusement in which women and children join in for the sake of excitement. At irregular intervals the dancers may face right about and circle in the opposite direction a few turns.

The Pipe Dance (*upwaɔ'·'ganahwe'cim·o*) used to be performed when visiting other bands. This differed only from the one already described in that the dancers form the figure outline of a pipe while dancing. This is no longer performed.

Upon the occasion of a feast which I gave to the Indians at Bear island, they performed the Feast Dance and went through the others, after which there were speeches by the chiefs and myself. Then pipes and tobacco were passed around. After another dance or two the assembly dispersed. On the next day more tobacco was distributed and another Round Dance given.

Phonetic Key.

a, as in *father*, of medium length; *a·*, lengthened.

e, open; *ɛ·*, long as in North German *Bär*.

e·, longer than *e* and close in quality.

i and *i·*, short and long in close vowels.

o, close and of medium length.

ɔ·, longer than *o* and with lips more protruded, almost like *au* of English *taut*.

ɑ, dulled form of short *a*, like *u* of English *but*.

ə, short obscure vowel of uncertain quality.

b—p, bilabial stops varying between true sonant and intermediate surd-sonant.

d—*t*, alveolar stops varying between true sonant and intermediate surd-sonant.

g—*k*, medial palatal stops varying between true sonant and intermediate surd-sonant.

s and *z*, surd and sonant dorsal sibilant pronounced with tip of tongue deflected to lower alveolar (applies only to Timiskaming Algonquin; in Timagami Ojibwa *s* and *z* are normal).

c and *j*, surd and sonant sibilant corresponding respectively to English *sh* and *z* of *azure*.

tc and *dj*, surd and sonant sibilant affricative corresponding respectively to English *ch* and *j*.

m, as in English.

n, as in English.

ŋ, palatal nasal like *ng* of English *sing*.

w, as in English.

v, as in English.

h, as in English.

^{w} (following *g*), aspirated semi-closure of lips.

‘, nasalized vowel.

‘, aspiration following vowel or consonant.

^{x}, very weak surd guttural spirant (found only in Timagami Ojibwa).

·, denotes that preceding vowel or consonant is long.

ˊ, main stress.

ˋ, secondary stress.