MUSKEKOWUCK ATHINUWICK

Original People of the Great Swampy Land

Victor P. Lytwyn
Manitoba Studies in Native History

Manitoba Studies in Native History publishes new scholarly interpretations of the historical experience of Native peoples in the western interior of North America. The series is under the editorial direction of a board representative of the scholarly and Native communities in Manitoba.


II  *Indian-European Trade Relations in the Lower Saskatchewan River Region to 1840*, by Paul Thistle


IV  *The Plains Cree: Trade, Diplomacy and War, 1790 to 1870*, by John S. Milloy

V  *The Dakota of the Canadian Northwest: Lessons for Survival*, by Peter Douglas Elias

VI  *Aboriginal Resource Use in Canada: Historical and Legal Aspects*, edited by Kerry Abel and Jean Friesen

VII  *Severing the Ties that Bind: Government Repression of Indigenous Religious Ceremonies on the Prairies*, by Katherine Pettipas

VIII  *The Ojibwa of Western Canada, 1780 to 1870*, by Laura Peers

IX  *Women of the First Nations: Power, Wisdom, and Strength*, edited by Christine Miller and Patricia Chuchryk, with Marie Smallface Marule, Brenda Manyfingers, and Cheryl Deering

X  *Night Spirits: the Story of the Relocation of the Sayisi Dene*, by Ila Bussidor and Üstün Bilgen-Reinart


XII  *Muskekowuck Athinuwick: Original People of the Great Swampy Land*, by Victor P. Lytwyn
This page intentionally left blank
Muskekowuck Athinuwick
Original People of the Great Swampy Land

Victor P. Lytwyn

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA PRESS
# Contents

Maps, Charts, and Illustrations ........................................ vi
Acknowledgements .................................................... vii
Introduction ............................................................ xi
1. Who Are the Lowland Cree? ........................................... 3
2. The Lowland Cree before European Contact: Images and Reality ............................................. 27
3. Upland Neighbours: The Northern Ojibway, Upland Cree, and Eastmain Cree ........................................... 41
4. Distant Enemies: The Inuit, Chipewyan, and Iroquois ............................................................ 59
5. The Lowland Cree and the Land: Seasonal Adaptations to Regional Resources ........................................... 81
6. The Lowland Cree in the Fur Trade before 1713 ............................................................ 115
7. The Lowland Cree in the Fur Trade, 1713-1782 ........................................................................ 135
8. The Lowland Cree in the Fur Trade, 1783-1821 ........................................................................ 173
Conclusion ........................................................................... 201
Endnotes ............................................................................ 205
Bibliography ..................................................................... 257
Index ............................................................................. 283
Maps, Charts, and Illustrations

Maps
The Hudson Bay Lowlands and Surrounding Area / 2
Vegetation Areas in the Hudson Bay Lowlands / 5
Lowland Cree Groups in the Hayes River Basin / 10
Tribes of the Cree Nation / 14
Territorial Distribution / 43, 44
Tribes of the Northern Ojibway Nation / 51
Iroquois War Routes / 75
Indian Middlemen Trade Routes / 116
Diffusion of Smallpox into the Lowlands / 169

Charts
Graham's List of the Cree Nation / 13
Lowland Cree and Northern Ojibway Groups, 1823 / 47
Graham's List of the Northern Ojibway Nation / 50
Lowland Cree Calendar / 82
Population of Homeguard Cree Goose Hunters / 140
York Factory Caribou Trade / 152
HBC Prices for Packet Service / 156
Beaver Trade at Martins Fall / 179

Illustrations
“A Plan of Part of Hudson Bay,” Graham, 1774 / 48
Isham’s Deer Snare / 85
Isham’s Hunting Beaver / 108
York Factory Hinterland / 149
Richards’s A South East View of Albany Factory / 177
Richards’s A Man & his Wife Returning with a Load of Partridges / 182
Rindisbacher’s Departure of the second colonist transport / 190
Albany, c. 1867 / 194
York Factory, 1853 / 197
Acknowledgements

This study of the Lowland Cree was done in archives and libraries. Although I have briefly visited the region on several occasions, my work does not pretend to draw on personal experience with the Lowland Cree. My objective was to challenge many stereotypical views of the Lowland Cree in the previous literature, and to provide a more complete historical picture of their involvement in the fur trade. The setting for my work was Winnipeg, in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives and the University of Manitoba. I arrived in Winnipeg in the late summer of 1979, after completing my undergraduate work at the University of Toronto. I was drawn to Winnipeg by Dr. Wayne Moodie, who was a visiting professor in Toronto during my final year of study. The geography department at the University of Manitoba became the hub of my academic experience and Professor Moodie guided my research. I was fortunate to be able to take the final course on the history of the Hudson's Bay Company taught by the eminent scholar of the fur trade and western Canada, William L. Morton. My research skills were sharpened by work on the Historical Atlas of Canada, a project that included scholars from across Canada. The work on the atlas
project at the University of Manitoba involved professors Moodie and Barry Kaye in geography, and Douglas Sprague in history. Together, we worked on a number of interesting and innovative maps depicting the history of the fur trade and Aboriginal people in the western interior of Canada. I was also fortunate to collaborate with Arthur (Skip) Ray from the University of British Columbia. His book on Indians in the fur trade of western Canada had been a catalyst for my interest in the Lowland Cree. My involvement grew from research assistant to contributor, and resulted in my authoring one full atlas plate and co-authoring a number of others. During the course of the atlas project, it was a great pleasure to meet and converse with R. Cole Harris, the charismatic and intellectual editor of volume one, while he was in Winnipeg on his tours of the various universities across Canada involved in the atlas project.

The atlas project and university course work directed me into the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, a massive collection of historical documents chronicling the growth of the company since its inception in 1670. Housed in the Provincial Archives building across from the parking lot of the flagship Bay store in Winnipeg, the company records had recently arrived from its London headquarters. Shirlee Smith, Keeper of the archives, encouraged and guided my use of the company's documents. Staff archivists were very helpful in assisting my research, especially Mark Walsh and Maureen Dolyniuk. Jennifer Brown, a recent arrival in the history department at the University of Winnipeg, taught a course at the archives, focussing on the use of the company's documents. That course, as well as Jennifer's continuing interest in my research, helped to shape the methodological aspects of my writing. Professor William Norton's course on historical geography provided some of the philosophical underpinnings for my analyses of historical and geographical data.

One of the first challenges in the *Historical Atlas of Canada* project was the identification and location of hundreds of trading posts that spread inland from Hudson Bay and westward from Lake Superior. A detailed investigation of the company archives and other fur-trade material located dozens of trading posts never before mapped in the available literature. Many of the previously unknown trading posts were within an area east of Lake Winnipeg. That discovery led to the development of my Master's thesis that traced the expansion of fur traders into the region known as the East Winnipeg Country.

The East Winnipeg study kindled my interest in learning more about the Aboriginal people who participated in the fur trade in a region that had been the focus of aggressive competition until the merger of the
Hudson’s Bay Company and the Montreal-based North West Company in 1821. I decided to begin my exploration along the western coast of Hudson Bay where the Hudson’s Bay Company traders had begun their expansion inland. While engaged in the atlas project, I had been struck with the rich documentary materials that emanated from the bay-side posts and detailed the hinterland trade with the Aboriginal people who lived within the Hudson Bay lowlands. This storehouse of information became the main source for my research concerning the Lowland Cree in the fur-trade period.

This book would not have been possible without the help and encouragement of the people already noted. Many others have assisted, including Jean Friesen, who was a member of the PhD review committee. Gerry Friesen, head of the Manitoba Studies in Native History Board of Directors, was persistent in encouraging the submission of a manuscript. He also provided insightful editorial comments that have helped to transform the academic dissertation into a book. Patricia Sanders and David Carr with the University of Manitoba Press have also helped in the transition from manuscript to book. Professor Weldon Hiebert at the University of Winnipeg prepared the maps for the book.

I would like to thank my wife, Joanne, for her support and patience. Finally, I would like to dedicate this book to Wayne Moodie, advisor, colleague, and friend.
Muskekowuck Athinuwick, the original people of the Hudson Bay lowlands, are known by a number of different names, including Swampy Cree, Homeguard Cree, and Lowland Cree. They were among the first of the Aboriginal peoples in the northwestern interior of North America to come into contact with European explorers, missionaries, and fur traders. Their geographic homeland placed them in a strategic position to become suppliers of furs, food, and other support to the newcomers, and to act as intermediaries with other Aboriginal people in the interior interested in the European fur trade. They also acted as buffers against the hostile intentions of other First Nations eager to disrupt or destroy the fur trade in the Hudson Bay region. The founding of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1670, and the subsequent building of trading posts at major river-mouth locations in the Hudson Bay lowlands, placed a business enterprise with meticulous, written record-keeping in the midst of Lowland Cree territory. Daily journals, annual reports, correspondence, and account books were kept as a storehouse of written information on the history of the Lowland Cree.
Despite their important position in the fur trade and the availability of the detailed and voluminous records of the Hudson's Bay Company, the Lowland Cree have been shadowy characters in the literature. In fact, until recently, many scholars portrayed the Lowland Cree as relatively new arrivals to the region. The Lowland Cree were depicted as a wretched group of people living in the shadow of the fur-trade establishments, and quickly dependent upon superior European-manufactured goods.

In 1979, I began a systematic study of the records of the Hudson's Bay Company in Winnipeg, in particular those pertaining to the western coast of Hudson Bay where the company had begun expansion inland. I was surprised to learn that very little had been written specifically about the Hudson Bay Lowland Cree. Part of the explanation was that few scholars had access to the Hudson's Bay Company archives until the 1970s, when the company loosened restrictions on the use of its historical materials. Another reason was the general portrayal of the Lowland Cree as people who became dependant on European trade goods and who loitered around the company's bay-side factories, seeking hand-outs. The term "homeguard" came to symbolize a people quickly dependent on and demoralized by their relationship with the fur traders.

Anthropologists who visited the Lowland Cree in the first half of the twentieth century postulated that the fur trade had rapidly transformed their way of life. Alanson Skinner was the first to conduct ethnological fieldwork among the Lowland Cree, and his 1911 study concluded that they could not have survived in the region without European supplies. Diamond Jenness included a brief description of the Lowland Cree in his 1932 book on the Indians of Canada. He believed that the superiority of European goods made them abandon traditional items. Leonard Mason, who worked among the Lowland Cree at Oxford House in 1938 and 1940, agreed with Jenness and he concluded that traditional Cree culture had vanished soon after the arrival of the fur traders. John Honigmann, who conducted fieldwork at Attawapiskat in 1948 and 1949, also noted that culture change had taken place rapidly after the arrival of Europeans.

Historians followed the anthropologists in describing a rapid transformation of Lowland Cree culture based on their dependence on European trade goods. This view was advanced by Harold Innis in his 1930 landmark study of the Canadian fur trade. It was further elaborated upon by A.S. Morton, who wrote in 1939 about the superiority of European fur traders over the Lowland Cree, and "the sway they gained over a fretful race."

Edwin E. Rich, historian of the Hudson's Bay Company, penned some of the most enduring images of the Lowland Cree. He wrote that they
became dependent upon European goods quickly, and faced starvation if the annual supply ships failed to arrive in Hudson Bay. Rich acknowledged that the Hudson's Bay Company traders also became dependent on the seasonal supply of geese and ptarmigan brought in by Lowland Cree hunters, but explained that this "entailed the obligation to feed them through the winter and keep them both loyal and fit for hunting."

Arthur J. Ray's 1974 book on Indians in the fur trade provided new insights into the relationships between Aboriginal people and Euro-Canadian fur traders. Ray was the first scholar to make extensive use of the Hudson's Bay Company account books, and his work reflected a careful analysis of the quantitative as well as qualitative information produced by the fur traders. He argued that, prior to European contact, Aboriginal people were engaged in sustainable resource-harvesting activities. They were also involved in complex trade and redistribution networks with neighbouring groups, and these factors minimized the risk of severe privation during periodic shortages of subsistence resources. The establishment of Euro-Canadian fur-trade posts changed these traditional patterns so that more time and effort were spent on hunting and trapping small fur-bearing animals or hunting geese and other game for the sustenance of the traders. Ray also explained that the new focus on commercial trade eroded traditional practices of communal resource sharing, thereby further restricting the ability of Aboriginal people to cope with periodic conditions of food scarcity. The impact of this new order was felt most acutely among the Lowland Cree who were located close to the large bay-side trading posts. However, Ray pointed out that the Lowland Cree became more dependent on the Hudson's Bay Company for material goods after the collapse of caribou and beaver populations in the region during the early nineteenth century.

Charles Bishop was the first to engage in a specific study of the Lowland Cree. His first article in 1972 examined the differences between the Lowland Cree and the Northern Ojibway in the early fur-trade period. Bishop concluded that among the Lowland Cree, the impact of European trade goods, especially hunting equipment, was "early and intense." He argued that by the late seventeenth century, the Lowland Cree had come to depend for their survival on the annual supply ships from Europe. In his later work, Bishop built on these arguments and described a radical transformation in the way of life of the Lowland Cree as a result of the fur trade. In particular, he wrote that the coastal trading posts drew the Lowland Cree to live year-round in close proximity. This was a departure from traditional patterns of territorial movement to the coast in spring and
summer, and into the upland interior in fall and winter. This change led to over-hunting of animals near the coastal trading posts, and this in turn brought the Cree into a relationship of dependency on the traders who were able to provide year-round supplies of food.

John Foster’s 1977 study of the Lowland Cree softened the dependency argument to a degree by depicting the trading posts as safe havens that enabled the Cree to live more comfortably but did not radically transform their culture. He used the term “economic interdependence” to describe the relationship between the Lowland Cree and Hudson’s Bay Company traders. He also noted that unions between European men and Cree women added a layer of complexity that also resulted in reciprocal social and cultural adjustments. Toby Morantz’s thorough study of the neighbouring Eastern James Bay Cree concluded that they successfully adapted to changes brought on by the Euro-Canadian fur trade. She observed that the Cree of eastern James Bay expanded their range of subsistence and commercial activities during the fur-trade period, and this led to changes in their social organization. However, these changes built upon rather than debilitated traditional culture and Morantz concluded that the fur trade tended to strengthen traditional patterns of social organization.

My study of the Lowland Cree delved into every corner of the Hudson’s Bay Company archives, from account books to miscellaneous files. I kept a long scroll of paper recording the names of people, groups, and places from the beginning of record-keeping in the late seventeenth century to the mid-nineteenth century. The “sacred scroll,” as I affectionately called it, was often rolled out as a visual reminder of the order of things. Although sophisticated computer database programmes are now used to store the same kind of information, I still prefer rolling out the yellowing scroll to pore over names and dates and make connections that would be impossible to make on a computer screen.

In 1991, I completed my study of the Lowland Cree and this book is a revised edition of that work. I regret that my study at that time did not include an oral history component. My recommendation to engage in an oral history programme for the York Factory area was accepted by Parks Canada and resulted in the publication of oral history narratives in 1996. The relevant oral histories from that book have been incorporated into this book. In addition, I have added oral histories from other recent publications from the western James Bay region.
Muskegnowuck Athinuwick
1.
Who Are the Lowland Cree?

The Homeland of the Lowland Cree

The Hudson Bay lowlands comprise a vast region of predominantly gently sloping, swampy land. The lowlands are underlain by bedrock dating from the Palaeozoic era, about 225 to 570 million years ago; the bedrock of the adjacent uplands is from the older Precambrian era, originating more than 570 million years ago. This geological boundary occurs almost uniformly at about 170 metres above sea level. The lowlands extend inland in a crescent-like shape, reaching a maximum inland extension of about 400 kilometres along the Albany River. The northern boundary of the region tapers toward the Hudson Bay coast north of the Churchill River, and the southern limit of the lowlands reaches the James Bay coast near the Nottaway River.

The line of contact between the lowlands and uplands is most visible across the beds of rivers where waterfalls or rapids emphasize the difference between the harder bedrock of the uplands and the softer sedimentary rock of the lowlands. Along the Hayes River the boundary is crossed at a place called “The Rock.” Robert Bell, a nineteenth-century geologist, reported that “the character of the river changes at The Rock; and from
that point downward no more rapids occur all the way down to the sea.”

Along the Albany River the line of contact occurs at Martins Fall, below which “the river changes its character entirely,” becoming broader and slower until it discharges into James Bay. Other physical features unique to the lowlands region generally follow and are influenced by this geological boundary line. For example, the general vegetation pattern in the lowlands has been called a “bogs-organic terrain,” and the extent of this vegetation regime is roughly coterminus with the geological boundary.

The Hudson Bay lowlands are gradually rising after being submerged by the massive weight of the last great ice sheets about 9000 years ago. In a process called “isostatic rebound,” the lowlands are rising at a rate of about 0.7 metres every century. Although barely perceptible, this gradual uplift adds about one to two kilometres of land to the coastline every century. The beach, or strand line, that existed at the time of initial European contact, about 380 years ago, is approximately six kilometres inland today. The Lowland Cree who lived near the coast were well aware of the gradual uplift of the land. In 1878, Robert Bell reported that “the Indians say their old goose hunting grounds along the coast to the northward of the mouth of the Nelson are now deserted by the geese, the water having ‘dried up.’”

At first glance, the Hudson Bay lowlands appear as a monotonous, level expanse of muskeg and bog, and over 90 percent of the area is classified as wetland. The dominating feature of the landscape is the flat, swampy terrain. Robert Bell, who surveyed the lower Albany River and surrounding lowlands, reported that “the river is so straight that, sitting in a canoe and looking from one end of them, the sky and water appear to meet on the horizon.” W.J. Wilson, another geologist, wrote in 1903 that “the most remarkable feature of the west coast of James bay is its extreme flatness. Looked at from a distance there is no distinct shore line, but the water and land seem to merge into each other.”

Although much of the lowlands is characterized as swamp or muskeg, a closer examination reveals subtle yet significant differences in the vegetation. Of special significance is the coastal strip of tundra vegetation that is favoured habitat for caribou and other lowland animals. River valleys and other areas within the lowlands abounded with a rich and diverse ecology, prompting some observers to describe these places as oases within the swampy lowlands. John Pollock and William Noble, who conducted archaeological investigations in the Hudson Bay lowlands, said “the Hawley Lake area stands out as a fertile pocket within an otherwise dismal topography of muskeg bog so typical of the Lowlands. It might even be termed a ‘northern oasis.’”
Along the coast, marshes provided seasonal habitat and were staging grounds for large numbers of migratory waterfowl. The coastal tundra from north of the Churchill River to Akimiski Island provided favourable habitat for massive herds of caribou that migrated each summer to feed and calve on these grounds. Edible plants, including a variety of berries, were abundant during the brief summer period. Many of the rivers and larger lakes within the lowlands contained numerous fish species such as whitefish, pike, sturgeon, and sucker. In short, the lowlands were not as desolate as some first impressions indicated. According to Jean-Luc Pilon, who conducted archaeological investigations along the lower Severn River in the 1980s, “complexity, diversity and dynamics summarize the environment of the Hudson Bay Lowlands.”

When European fur traders settled along the coast of the Hudson Bay lowlands, the Lowland Cree occupied much of the vast lowland tract. Only small portions of the northern and southern extremities of the region appear to have been avoided by the Lowland Cree because of conflicts with enemy groups. The small, northern lobe between the Nelson and Churchill rivers was an uninhabited buffer zone between the Lowland Cree and the Western Hudson Bay Inuit. Because of earlier conflicts with long-distance Iroquois raiding parties, the Lowland Cree also avoided the southern tip of the lowlands near the Nottaway River.

The inland extent of Lowland Cree territory is more difficult to ascertain from the early historical records. Few Europeans ventured inland until
packet delivery, 155–157, 191
peace agreements and treaties, 70–74, 77, 78
pedlars. SEE Canadian traders
pemmican, 96
      sturgeon, 234n76
Penesewichewan. SEE Hayes River
      Lowland Cree
pigeons, 99
pike, northern, 96, 100, 112
Pike people, 42
Pimmechikemow, 55
Pinnitakie (Albany Fort captain), 142
Pitchibourenik nation, 123
plant life, 101–103
      medicinal uses of, 170–171
pneumonia, 246n107
Poethinecaw, 55
Porcupine Nation, 124
pottery
      ancient, 29–32, 34
      Iroquois, 35
Pricket, Abacuck, 117–118
provisions trade, 183–189
      Homeguard Cree in, 136, 138
      Lowland Cree in, 136–155, 183–189
      Northern Ojibway in, 151–153
      SEE ALSO food at trading posts
ptarmigan resources, 110–111, 111
Pusquothecot (Albany River Lowland Cree
      leader), 10–11, 22
Putchekeechuk (Jack Indian leader), 218n21
Q
Quebec Inuit. SEE Inuit, eastern
Questach (Lowland Cree leader), 10–11, 22
quills, goose, 147
R
Radisson, Pierre Esprit, 127–128, 131
Rainy Lake Ojibway, 41–42
reciprocity, 18–19
Redhead, Mary, 235n88
rheumatism, 211n81
rice, wild, trade in, 102–103
river-basins
      subgroups within, 8–12
      as territorial delimiters, 21
rivers, spring breakup, 88
ruhiggan (dried pounded meat), 95–96, 110
      caribou, 98
      sturgeon, 95–96
Rupert Fort, 126
S
Saccaonapit (Lowland Cree leader), 21
Saquot (Albany River Creek leader), 10–11, 168
      leads war party against Inuit, 68
Saukamapee (Upland Cree elder), on Cree
      migrations, 55
Saulteaux (Algonquian Nation), 42, 121
Saunders, Amelia Stoney, 230n11
scalps and scalpings, 58, 63, 65, 69, 79
scurf, 158, 160, 246n102
seal resources, 113, 155
Seeseekis (Lowland Cree man), 11
Selkirk pottery tradition, 34
Seneca, 74
Settee, James, 211n91
Severn House Homeguard Cree, 199–200
Severn Indians (Lowland Cree people), 49
Severn River Homeguard Cree, 15–16
Severn River Lowland Cree, 8, 12, 49, 67–68, 97, 126–128, 129, 196
      relations of with Inuit, 62, 67–68
shaking tent, 130
Sanches (Homeguard Cree man), 174
Sioux Nation wars, 125
skins, goose, 147
slaves. SEE captives and slaves
smallpox, 158–159, 162
      epidemic of 1737–38, 158–159
      epidemic of 1782–83, 19–20, 24–25, 53,
      162–171; deaths from, 166–168, 169–170, 171; effects of, 166, 168, 173–
      175; oral tradition of, 165
      HBC efforts to control spread of, 160,
      163, 165, 166–167
Sococomekee (White Flag Merchant,
      Moose River leader), 22
spiritual revival among Lowland Cree, 251n69
Squirrel Nation, 124
St George’s Day, 139–141
Steel River Cree, 9
Stewart, William, 71–72
sturgeon, 95, 100, 113, 154–155, 233n58
      pemmican, 234n76
suckers (fish), 94–95, 100
Suckers (Northern Ojibway), 45–46
Sucutash (Albany Homeguard man), 211n81
Sugwauudugwinnewug (Men of the Thick
      Fir Woods), 42
Swampy Cree. SEE Lowland Cree
Swan, The. SEE Wapesaw (The Swan, Lowland Cree leader)
swans, 91
sweat lodges, 171
T
Tabethimo (Lowland Cree leader), 11, 22
Temiskamingues, 78
territory(ies), 8–12, 78
and boundaries, 51–52
of Homeguard Cree, 15–17
ownership of, 11–12, 21, 129
Thanadelthur (Chipewyan woman), 71–72
Tickatuckoy (Albany River Lowland Cree leader), 9, 21
Tobateekeeshick (Albany Fort leader), 22
Toho (Inuit slave), 66
Tomlins, Robert, 160
trade, aboriginal, 115–117
in James Bay, 120–127
trade routes, 116
to James Bay, 77, 121–122, 124–125;
disrupted by Iroquois, 122, 124
trading rendezvous, 116, 122–125
travel and transportation, 87–88, 104, 113, 155–157, 189–191
tuberculosis, 158, 160, 253n83
U
Uncle Thomas (York Factory Lowland Cree leader), 22
Upland Cree, 15, 42, 55–58, 135–136
wars of, 66, 125
Utrecht, Treaty of, 1713, 132
V
vegetation. SEE plant life
venereal disease, 158, 160, 245n99
W
Wapesaw (The Swan, Lowland Cree leader), 21, 211n90
Wapiswacatho (Albany River Lowland Cree leader), 22
Wappiss, or Woudbe (Albany River Cree leader), 57, 221n64
Warren, William, 41–42, 46, 218n16
war(s), Beaver Wars, 131–132
war(s), English–French, 131–133
war(s), Iroquois, 74–79, 124
causes of, 77
against the Nipissing, 122
war(s), Lowland Cree, 202
against: Canadian traders, 132;
Chipewyan, 70–74; Inuit, 58–69,
206n10, 222n6; Iroquois, 74–79
causes of, 60–61, 63, 65–66, 68–69, 72, 77
victory ceremonies, 63, 66–67, 69
weapons of, 60
war(s), Sioux, 125
Washeo Sepec. SEE Severn River Lowland Cree
Wauchusk. SEE Lieutenant Wauchusk
Waussakeeshick (Henley House Cree leader),
on war party against Inuit, 68
weapons, Alaskan Aboriginal, 60
weather, 106, 180–182
Weemeshoes (Lowland Cree hunter), 178
Wenunnetowuck, 55
Wesley, James, 27, 76–77, 119
Westmain Cree. SEE Albany River Lowland Cree
whales, white (beluga), 113
hunting of, 100, 101, 244n69
in river estuaries, 235n102
trade in, 155
White Flag Merchant. SEE Sococomekee
whitefish, 100, 113
whooping cough, 192–193
windigo blamed for smallpox deaths, 170
Winnipeg Athinuwick (People of the Seaside), 207n21
Winisk River Lowland Cree, 200
Winnenawaycappo (Albany Fort leader), 22
Winnepeg Athinuwick (People of the Seaside). SEE Lowland Cree, Coaster
Wittituckeye (Albany Homeguard hunter), 183
women
as caribou hunters, 230n11
ownership of beaver skins by, 107
as trappers, 174, 178
work of, 98, 113, 143, 235n88
Y
York Factory, 132
York Factory Homeguard Cree, 16